

A GENERAL ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY

of the

A M A B H A C A
(East Griqualand)

by

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T H E S I S

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INTRODUCTION.

The material for this survey was collected during field investigations in the Mount Frere district of East Griqualand during the period January to October, 1949.

The Bhaca are a small group of people occupying roughly the district of Mount Frere - although a considerable number lie outside district boundaries, particularly on the Mount Ayliff side - with a Southern Nguni type of culture and speaking a dialect of Xhosa. They are of particular interest as they are representative of those tribes who were forced to flee from Natal during the chaotic period of Zulu history subsequent to T/haka's rise to power, and, unlike the Mpondo, Thembu and Xhosa tribes, they are thus fairly recent immigrants into the Cape. The Bhaca are very conscious of their Zulu origin, although "Zulu" is hardly the scientifically correct term to apply to it. Van Warmelo⁽¹⁾ has stressed the fact that before the rise of T/haka (c 1816) Natal was the home of a number of different tribes, the majority little more than large clans, roughly divisible into separate groups both dialectically and culturally, viz., (a) the true Nguni or Ntungwa, (b) the Mbo and (c) the Lala tribes. The name "Zulu" should correctly be applied only to the descendants of the small Zulu clan which by rapine and conquest established political and cultural supremacy over the whole of Natal from 1816 onwards. Those tribes which did not submit were forced to flee or be annihilated, and these successive southward waves of fugitives have given rise to the establishment of numerous small tribes in the Cape, classified by van Warmelo as "Fingo and Other Recent Immigrants into the Cape". Other tribal elements moved north and today exist as Swazi, Rhodesian Ndebele, Transvaal Ndebele, Ngoni and others.

At least a century of wandering away from Natal has modified considerably the culture of these immigrants and today the culture of Bhaca, Xesibe (in the district of Mount Ayliff) and the various Mfengu tribes, approximates more nearly to Southern Nguni than to Northern Nguni culture. Foreign influence on the Bhaca must have been strong - at one period the tribe lived in Pondoland under the protection of Faku - and today there is ~~some~~

(1) Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa, Page 49

~~considerable~~ intermarriage with Mpondo, especially on the Eastern boundary which impinges on the district of Tabankulu, and with Hlu6i and Xesi6e. In the following chapters the question of cultural origins and ethnic composition will be taken up: here it is sufficient to say that ethnographically Bhaca culture today is Southern Nguni in character.

As to the original culture of the Bhaca we know practically nothing, and it is doubtful whether we shall ever know in any detail. The pre-T/hakan era is completely obscured in the bloodshed of the early nineteenth century, and, as T/haka's policy was to insist on the acceptance of Zulu language and culture, tribal differences were merged until today it is practically impossible to disentangle them. We cannot say then, what was the original culture of the Bhaca before they left Natal; it is even difficult to determine to which of the three groups mentioned above they belonged, although Bryant has some evidence on this matter⁽¹⁾. All we know is that two groups of related clans, the Zelemu and the Wu/e, lived somewhere in the Pietermaritzburg area and it was from there that they fled. Their original culture was thus of Northern Nguni type, although it would be wrong to adduce from this that it was identical with Zulu culture as we know it. Be that as it may, it is certain that Bhaca culture has undergone vast changes since Madzikane led his warriors out of Zululand.

The Bhaca are interesting, therefore, in that they provide a bridge, both culturally and historically, between North and South Nguni, and this was one of the main reasons why they were chosen as the subject of this study. Then, too, for purposes of comparative study, it was recommended by the Committee for African Studies in the "proposed research programme in anthropology" submitted to the National Council for Social Research, that "A study of some tribe in Southern Natal is essential" and that "we still need some studies of at least one other Southern Nguni people, such as the Thembu or Xhosa, neither of which have been adequately dealt with in the available literature". The Bhaca fulfil both these conditions as they are a Southern Nguni people hitherto never studied, and they have very definite connections with Southern Natal. Actually a senior branch of the tribe occupies a location in the Ixopo district of Natal,

(1) See Chapter I. Probably the Bhaca are an offshoot of the distinctive Lala group. - a view which is becoming generally accepted.

but they are numerically weak and in this study I have confined myself to the two important tribes in East Griqualand.

Literature on the Bhaca is practically non-existent, a fact which makes reconstruction and comparison with the past extremely difficult. Early travellers merely mention them in passing, and generally speaking, the Bhaca seem one of the least-known of Transkeian tribes. Even the annual first fruits ceremony or ingcube, when the pagans come dressed in their finery to sing and dance in the village streets, seems to be comparatively unknown outside the little village of Mount Frere, where it causes mild interest once a year very like the Coon Carnival at Cape Town on New Year's Day. On the East Griqualand Bhaca we have one article by Engelbrecht on Marriage customs⁽¹⁾ and an historical paper by Cook⁽²⁾, and that is all - apart from a linguistic analysis of the Bhaca dialect by Jordan⁽³⁾. The position is slightly better for the Bhaca of Southern Natal (Umzimkulu district) where Kohler has written on cicatrization and on the first fruits ceremony (in German)⁽⁴⁾ and on marriage customs⁽⁵⁾. The distinctive Bhaca dialect, too, is not a literary language and is giving way before Standard Xhosa which is taught in all the schools. I have had to rely, therefore, solely on my own fieldwork for most of the data presented here, making use of comparative material on cognate tribes to guide my investigations. I have been particularly indebted to Prof. Wilson's detailed analysis of Mpondo culture⁽⁶⁾:

- (1) J. A. Engelbrecht: 1930-31. Enige Huweliksgewoontes van van die AmaBaca. Tydskrif van Wetenskap en Kuns, 9, 158-65. This refers to the Wu/e clan, Toleni, Mount Frere.
- (2) P. A. W. Cook: History of the AmaBaca. Paper in the School of African Studies, U.C.T.
- (3) A. C. Jordan: Some Features of the Phonetic and Grammatical Structure of Bhaca. unpub. thesis in U.C.T.
- (4) M. Kohler: 1931 Ueber Keloide bei Negeren. Kathol. Missions Särzth. Jahrbuch 8, 9-22. Ukuchama. 1931 Ueber Rhythmus und exaltierte Zustände am Fest der ersten Früchte bei den Zulu Kaffern. Kath. Miss. Jahrbuch 8, 111-26. Ingcube ceremony at Umzimkulu.
- (5) 1933 Marriage Customs in Southern Natal. Ethnol. Publ. vol. 4. Puberty rites, premarital sex relations, betrothal and marriage ceremonies and married life.
- (6) M. Hunter: 1936 Reaction to Conquest. Oxford.

her standard of fieldwork presented a level of research inspiring and stimulating but, unfortunately, seldom attainable without her lifelong acquaintance with native life and command of the vernacular. Bhaca and Mpondo culture have many points of similarity and it is hoped that this study will be regarded in a comparative light with "Reaction to Conquest".

For historical data the statements of old men were supplemented by the paper by Cook, Brownlee's "Transkeian Historical Records", Bryant's "Olden Times in Zululand and Natal" and various missionary publications. ~~Literary sources, however, are very meagre.~~

Method of Work.

My aim in this survey is to present a picture of Bhaca life and custom as it is lived today, and to try and reconstruct wherever possible the traditional culture, and to trace out the changes, in some cases very sweeping, that have been made by contact with that most aggressive and dominant of all cultures - Western Civilization.

Through my fieldwork I have come to realize more clearly how difficult it is to get a clear and coherent account of the past - even the fairly recent past - especially in the detail required in modern anthropological research. In the last few years many of the old men who "knew the customs" have died, while the accounts of those who remain and remember the old days do not always coincide, especially in the details. In a complicated ceremony like the ingcube informants gave the most spectacular features, like the cattle race and the cutting off of the bull's foreleg, and were not interested in sociological details of behaviour or meaning. Perhaps an even greater difficulty was the chronology of events: it was an exceptional informant who gave a clear, detailed and connected account of a complicated ritual like the marriage ceremonial. The absence of relevant literature made this even more difficult. There are two tribes of Bhaca in the Mount Frere district and each considers itself the rightful leader. The Administration recognizes the chief of the junior house, who has by far the larger following and whose family has been in the district longer, as the more important of the two chiefs and he alone has civil jurisdiction, and although both chiefs are recognized and both receive a salary. The fact that the numerically weak senior house consider themselves, by virtue of their seniority, entitled to the paramountcy of the

Bhaca, has caused a great deal of ill-feeling between the two sections which periodically leads to bloodshed. The Government has wisely refrained from appointing either chief as paramount of the whole of the Bhaca and the two tribes are independent although linked by strong bonds of kinship and culture. As each tribe has its own particular "axe to grind", however, traditions of history and the chieftainship had to be treated with considerable caution if the correct version was to be extracted.

The study of contact influences and what has come to be called "social change" was easier, as evidence of the revolution in Bhaca life caused by contact with the trader, missionary and officials is everywhere apparent.

In all, I spent approximately nine months among the Bhaca and during that time endeavoured to identify myself as much as possible with Bhaca life and thought. I first spent two months at Buffalo Neck trading store about three miles from Lugangeni, the Great Place of Chief Waḡane Makaula, the most powerful of the two chiefs and descended from Ncaphayi, the famous younger son of Madzikane's great house. I then moved across the Kinira River to another trading store, Glen Holey, in Mhlot/heni location which also falls politically under Chief Waḡane but whose sympathies are with the senior section and who fight with the neighbouring Lutateni location whenever they get together. Mhlot/heni is about six miles from Mpoza, the Great Place of the descendants of Madzikane's senior son, Sonyangwe, and was thus within easy riding distance. As Mpoza is the real stronghold of Bhaca custom and language I was in an exceptionally good position to study both intertribal relations and true Bhaca custom. Actually my selection of areas was dictated by whether I could get accommodation with traders or not and I was fortunate in that respect. The Bhaca, like all the Nguni tribes, live in small household settlements scattered over the country, mainly on the slopes of hills and mountains, and thus no true village life is found as among, for instance, the Sotho. The trading store, therefore, plays an important part as a focal point where neighbours meet and discuss the latest gossip, and, more important to the ethnologist, as a clearing house for news of any feasts or ceremonies which may be taking place in the district. At the store young men could be seen at any time of the day lounging on the verandah and using the ploughs as seats while they discussed the love affairs of the night before and kept a

watchful eye open for the arrival of an attractive girl. Women called in on their way to a feast or to the fields, and one was able to study Bhaca values and methods of bargaining by listening to the women discussing the relative merits of shawls or the quality of german prints. ^hMlot/heni store served three locations, two of which, Lut/hikini and Mhlot/heni, were on very bad terms with the third, Lutatani, because of political views on the chieftainship. It played its part romantically as well as economically as a girl from Lutatani might meet a youth at the store and they might decide to marry. This would have complications as the groom would not dare to enter Lutatani with his friends at the risk of being assaulted, so the marriage, if it survived opposition of parents, would have to take place by proxy, a girl friend of the groom representing him at the girl's home.

using the store as headquarters I made almost daily trips through the fields and among the huts of the people, watching the agricultural activities and housekeeping, and talking to men, women and children. The majority of Bhaca are professing Christians and by attending the local mission, weddings and funerals I became very well known in the area. The idea that a European would take the trouble even to attend their funerals seemed to touch them deeply and did much to break down the barrier of suspicion. I found it extremely gratifying, after a few months, to arrive at an umfi (settlement) for a ceremony or at the headman's imbizo and be greeted by old friends and recognize familiar faces. My camera caused great interest (and fear, among the pagans) and I was continually being asked for "ifoto" (photograph). Some mothers, especially around Buffalo Neck, even offered to pay me if I would photograph their children: it was so much more convenient than going into Mount Frere by bus! During reaping time I helped in the fields and, generally, despite the language difficulty, tried to take part in the community life as much as possible. The difficulties under which a European anthropologist works in the Transkei - as in the rest of South Africa - should not be underated. No matter how thoroughly he tries to identify himself with native life he still retains a high degree of social visibility. His dress is different, he lives (of necessity) with the white trader, and, so important and significant in the South African scene, his colour is different. His presence, then, is bound to affect to a greater or lesser extent the attitude of his informants and even the "atmosphere" or detail of ceremonies. Then, too, he does not fall into any category recognized by the African. Dissociation from the Administration is very difficult to attain. Eventually,

however, I was "accepted" and given the name "Dizamasiko" - the revealer of customs.

Occasionally long trips on horseback were necessary to see expert informants on such subjects as the chieftainship, the first fruits ceremony and tribal history, and to attend weddings, but most of the material was collected within a few miles of the centres from which I worked. The Bhaca tribal area is not very large, and, wherever possible, I tried to find out whether a custom was widespread in an area or localized. I made a point of trying to observe everything personally but this was not always possible. This applies particularly to sex life and birth customs, but, also, the ethnographer is at a disadvantage in that he cannot make things happen - he must wait for them. A real pagan marriage, for instance, (umt/hato weboso) is a very rare occurrence nowadays, and, indeed, I never met a trader who had seen one. They do occur, but, unfortunately this did not happen during my stay among the Bhaca in the areas in which I worked. At Glen Holey I was on the border between the two tribes and thus was in a particularly good position to study intertribal relations. I made a special point of attending the headman's court (imbizo) whenever it was held. At Lugangeni I also attended the court of the chief to which appeals from the headman's court are forwarded.

I supplemented my information from Bhaca informants by discussing various aspects of their life with European experts. I went out with stock inspectors and discussed native methods of stock-raising with them; the labour recruiter and agricultural demonstrator were questioned and Bhaca Christianity discussed with European and African ministers of religion. Records of cases and other documents in the magistrate's office were utilized to throw light on matters political and the problems of administration, and cases were witnessed in the court house. The trader too, because of his life-long experience of native life has points of view which must not be neglected: his services to the African go far beyond merely supplying material needs, and the Transkeian trader today has many calls on his advice, occasional financial help, and, in cases of sickness and birth, his motor car. All these sources of information, then, have been drawn upon in preparing this study of Bhaca life.

Unfortunately I did not possess a working knowledge of Xhosa and so the use of an interpreter was necessary. I was extremely fortunate in enlisting the services of a Fingo youth of about twenty-three, called Righthand Mfaba. Since the age of ten he has lived with his maternal grandmother at Lugangeni

as her "son" - a very common arrangement among the Bantu - and was thus conversant with Bhaca life and custom. The slightly more objective attitude to Bhaca life resulting from his "foreign" origin was a great help: his knowledge of Xhosa culture (his paternal home is at Idutywa) gave him a comparative background against which to compare cultures, and his happy and attractive personality made him acceptable and popular wherever we went, thus greatly lightening my work. Although around Lugangeni Standard Xhosa is mainly spoken (or at least Bhaca minus the thsefula sound-shiftings) he was able to understand the "broad" dialect of the Mposa area, and, indeed, without his help, little real progress would have been made. Although he has been to a large mission institution in Southern Natal and has all the sophistication of J.C., jive, and soccer, he has always maintained a lively interest in the culture of his people and time and again has answered a question with information he himself got while a child herding cattle on the Buffalo Neck hills near his home.

A word as to Bantu words in the text. I have perforce to use Xhosa words in cases where there is no English equivalent or where the English has not the exact semantic connotation of the native. Prof. Wilson has pointed out⁽¹⁾ the difficulties of translating even the simplest idea exactly. The whole context of emotion and the cultural background differs so greatly between European and Bantu culture that the search for exact similes is practically hopeless. Thus I have used native words wherever necessary. Among the Bhaca both Standard Xhosa and the Bhaca dialect are spoken but the former only is taught in schools. Actually, even Xhosa-speakers frequently use true Bhaca words. Thus kaffir beer is never utywala but ijiki, milk is not u6isi but intusi. In the text I have used the true Bhaca word, but where it resembles the Xhosa word except for sound-shiftings, e.g. *umthi (Xh), umthsi (Bh), a tree, when first used I have given the Xhosa word for comparison.

I have had some difficulty in getting vital statistics, numbers of stock per umai, etc. The Bhaca are very suspicious of any questions regarding the number of children born, the number of wives or of cattle, fearing that the information might

(1) Reaction to Conquest Page 12.

be used to assess taxation or to control stock. Thus it was only after a fairly lengthy acquaintance with the people that I was able to get any information at all, even then Administration records supplying most of this type of data.

Theoretical Concepts.

As in all sociological studies, the research worker in social anthropology is faced with the problem of presenting his material. On one hand his aim must be to obtain absolute objectivity, and yet it will be obvious that he will have impressions of his society which are highly subjective, but which nevertheless play an important part in the complete understanding of the culture. Apart from this, he is faced with a mass of social facts, many seemingly unrelated to one another, and the need for some theoretical skeleton, on which to hang them so that their interdependence and connection can clearly be seen, is very necessary. Earlier anthropologists tended merely to list their material under chapter headings, discussing the tribal habitat, physical features of the people studied, material culture, social organization, magic and religion, etc., and made little or no attempt to indicate the connection between them.

Within recent years, however, the conception of culture has changed. Malinowski⁽¹⁾ has stated that "Culture must not be treated as a loose agglomeration of customs, a heap of anthropological curiosities, but as a connected living whole" and this view is shared by Radcliffe-Brown and the so-called Oxford school of "Structuralists"⁽²⁾. Culture is conceived as a living, dynamic organism in which each element, whether religion, economic organization or magic, has a definite part to play in the corporate life of the whole. This view has had far-reaching effects on the presenting of material, and anthropologists have paid more and more attention to theoretical problems and the logical presentation of data on these lines. Malinowski regards culture as a vast, artificial structure built up between man and his environment, shielding him from its rigours and equipping him with the means of exploiting it

(1) "Social Anthropology" Enc. Britt., 14th ed., (1929) p. 864.

(2) Radcliffe-Brown, A.R.: "The Social Organization of Australian Tribes". in OCEANA MONOGRAPHS (1931) No. 1 pp. 155, also Evans-Pritchard, Fortes, Gluckman, Schapera and others.

to his own advantage. The exact cultural content is determined by the basic biological needs of Shelter, Food and Sex, and it is from these three "basic imperatives" that he derives such obviously cultural elements as marriage ceremonies, religion and government⁽³⁾. Other writers, particularly American, approach the problem from a more psychological angle, and seek to find a basic drive in each culture which shapes and directs every part of it⁽⁴⁾.

Important and stimulating as these approaches are, I feel that they tend to leave out of account one important factor, especially pertinent to the problem of presentation - the fact that, after all, what we are studying is not some intangible abstraction composed of the various elements that go up to make "culture", but the actual people who make up the society and who live in social relations with one another, thereby making the existence of such phenomena as religion and economic life possible. In the same way the meeting of cultures cannot be conceived as the contact of one "culture" with another, producing a third through modification. Culture, as an abstraction, cannot be objectively studied: in contact situations contact occurs between the human beings concerned, attitudes and values are changed, with a resultant change in material and spiritual spheres. The meeting of the two differing, yet cognate, cultural elements, Christianity and ancestor worship, is meaningless without reference to human relationships. The pagan comes into touch with the new ethic, not by some mystic spiritual contact, but by contact with the missionary, native Christian or prayer meeting. These social relations bring about a change in attitude towards his indigenous religion, and, in this way, contact modifies existing culture. In the same way, the effect of migratory labour on an African tribe must be understood with reference to the essentially human factors of depleted man power, decrease in marriage stability owing to the shortage of males and the lack of discipline among the young owing to the irregularity of the father-child relationship. Thus I feel that, in a study of this sort, we should take the social structure of the people

(3) Malinowski, B. A Scientific Theory of Culture. (CHAPMAN HALL, (1944).)

(4) Benedict, R. Patterns of Culture, Mead, See also Bateson's Naven.

as the centre of study, and show how all other elements go to support and continue it. I do not claim any originality for this point of view as it forms the basis of the work of such writers as Radcliffe-Brown, Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, and is essentially a sociological approach to society. The theoretical outline of my presentation of the data on the Bhaca I have adapted from the sociologist, Ginsberg, but, throughout, my theoretical debt to the above writers will be apparent.

It is obvious that society cannot exist without the human beings that are a part of it. It is equally obvious that the individuals in any society are aware of one another, and, through this awareness, react to one another in various ways. Society, without this awareness and reaction, would cease to exist, and it is impossible to envisage such a state of affairs in any situation in which human beings come together. The social awareness of other personalities gives rise to what have been called "patterns of behaviour" between individuals in society, and these patterns differ markedly, depending on various factors such as status, kinship, political domination, and many more. Radcliffe-Brown has called these patterns between people in society, "social relations", and has this to say about them:-

"A social relation exists between two or more individual organisms where there is some adjustment of their respective interests, by convergence of interests, or by limitation of conflicts that might arise from divergence of interests."

The term "interest" is used to refer to all behaviour that we regard as purposive.

"To speak of interest implies a subject and an object and a relationship between them. Whenever we say that a subject has a certain interest in an object, we can state the same thing by saying that the object has a certain value to the subject". (1)

Thus, in the father-son relationship, there is an adjustment of interest, which effects behaviour patterns between them. The son is expected to show obedience and respect while the father should combine firmness with affection. It is obvious that the possible number of relations is infinite and not confined to the family. There is, for instance, the master-servant, servant-master, teacher-child, chief-subject

(1) Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "On Social Structure" J. Royal Anthropol. Instit. Vol. 70 (1940)

trader-customer, to mention but a few. It will be seen that the whole society is made up of a web of such social relations forming the society. It is these social relations which we must investigate in our study of social structure, and the problem of "how the people get on with one another" - parents with children, bride with parents-in-law, etc., - will form the basis of our study of Bhaca society.

Although this is perhaps the most important element it is not the only one. The interacting group of individuals is subject to biological needs, especially food and shelter, and so we find that the social organization is deeply rooted in the environment. Economic activities have arisen to ensure the material basis of the society. Then, too, it is essential that the individuals that form the structure shall be renewed, on death, by others, i.e. the society must be perpetuated and, in all societies, we find the institution of marriage. It will be seen that a biological as well as a social need is met by these two elements, and we here come into line with Malinowski's "basic needs". In presenting my material, then, I have taken these "anatomical" elements, of society, and, following Ginsberg, regard them as the morphology of Bhaca society. Thus, under the section, Social Morphology, I have included social organization, the development of the individual in the society (with its accompanying changes in status, and thus in social relations with others), the economic basis of the social system (with relations of co-operation and reciprocity), and its perpetuation by marriage (with its attendant forces of cohesion and disintegration).

These are not, however, by themselves, sufficient to ensure the life of the society. Human beings do not slavishly follow rules and traditional patterns of behaviour, even although inculcated and underlined from childhood, so that they become almost unsonscious, and there is always the danger that maladjusted individuals may break away from the accepted norm, and endanger the social solidarity of the society by anti-social behaviour. Society is dependent for its existence on its members living amicably together, and anything that disturbs the harmony of social life, whether by homicide, theft, adultery or disobedience to authority, must be ruthlessly suppressed. Thus a set of mechanisms ^{is} employed which acts as ^{a body of} Social Controls. These can be listed as:-

- (a) political organization,
- (b) religion and
- (c) magic.

This classification is, to some extent artificial. Although the function of each is, to ensure the existence and welfare of the society, they do not all do it in the same way, and, while there is considerable overlapping (magical and religious elements are sometimes difficult to disentangle; political authority may have religious sanctions), each has a primary function of its own.

Political organization, as Radcliffe-Brown has shown, is characterized by the use, or at least the threat of use, of force to compel the members of the society to behave within the bounds of the group, and, externally, acts as a unifying mechanism binding together the various groups within the society so that they present a united front to attack from without. The Control Mechanisms do not work in a vacuum and political organization among the Bhaca is closely connected with the kinship structure with its insistence on the importance of seniority.

The Bhaca conceive of their dead as still members of the tribe, who have passed to another plane, but who retain a lively interest in the welfare of their descendants, with powers to help and interfere in times of sickness and of danger. Bantu religion is largely a matter of placating the ancestors in time of trouble and sickness and so preventing the depletion of the group - a very important matter in a primitive society where so much depends on man-power. One gets the impression that, although members of the tribe, the ancestors can be vindictive and act against society. I am aware that in some societies, e.g. the Plains Indian, the indigenous religion is not so obviously sociologically determined as it is much more individualistic, but I think the above is true of African ancestor worship. The worship of the amathongo (ancestral spirits) is essentially a form of selfpreservation, and there is very little moral content as we know it.

Finally, magic exists side by side with religion and overlaps it, to some extent, in function. It is used to counteract attacks made by disease, wars, lightning, etc., on the society, and also as a protection against anti-social elements in the group itself, e.g. sorcerers and witches. It thus has also an anti-social use. The Wilsons consider magic as an integral

part of primitive religion.⁽¹⁾ Both political organization and religion are closely linked and rooted in the social structure; they have a structural form as well as their function of social control.

In the final chapter, on Social Change, I have tried to trace out the effects on Bhaba society of the contact with western Civilization and, wherever possible, to explain them.

The following, as an ethnographical account of the Bhaba of East Griqualand, does not, as such, purport to be a contribution to anthropological theory, but I have thought it advisable and necessary to relate the material I have collected to the above concept of society. I have felt that social anthropology, as a comparative science, should have a definite theoretical form for the detailed sociological monographs, so necessary if we are to arrive at scientifically valid generalizations about the nature of human society.

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(1) Wilson, G. and M. The Analysis of Social Change. Cambridge (1945) Page 72.

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Of my East Griqualand friends I owe a debt which cannot be measured to my interpreter, Righthand Mfa6a - indeed without him this study could scarcely have been written. His unfailing good humour and loyalty have been appreciated more than he will ever realize and he will always be regarded with affection as a valued friend. Then, too, I would like to thank all my friends in Mount Frere for their hospitality and kindness to me during my long stay amongst them, and especially to Mr. and Mrs. G. Bradbury and Mr. and Mrs. D. Mayne, who threw open their homes to me and made a wanderer feel welcome. I am indebted to Mr. E. T. Bunn of Buffalo Neck Store for hospitality and very real help in contacting informants and for the use of his car during the period I was with him. It is with especial gratitude that I mention Mrs. W. M. Taylor for her kindness in welcoming me to her beautiful home on the Umzimvu6u, and for all she has done to make my stay pleasant and comfortable. Amongst others, I would like to thank the following for their friendship and help:- Messrs. D. and C. Trower, C. C. Smith, A. and H. Smith, Fr. Mannion, Mrs. and the late Mr. George of Osborn Mission, Mr. Kelly, the Resident Magistrate, Mount Frere,, Chiefs Wa6ane Makaula and Kut/hiwa Nomt/heket/he, (Mr. P. Woodall, the assistant Magistrate), and a host of others. It is doubtful whether this will ever reach the eyes of my many Bhaca friends, who collaborated so helpfully in the making of the Incwadi Yamasiko AmaBhaca, but it is, nevertheless, a monument to their interest and assistance. "Ndiya bulela kakhulu".

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Hillbrow,
Johannesburg.
January, 1950.

CHAPTER I.HISTORY AND HABITAT.

Almost four thousand feet above sea level, watered by the summer mists that veil the wooded kloofs and green escarpments of East Griqualand, lies the country of the Bhaca. It is here that the descendants of the great chief and magician, Madzikane, found sanctuary after years of wandering and warfare, built their brown huts in the valleys and on the mountain slopes, tilled the red earth and watched their cattle fatten and multiply on the mountain ranges of Intsizwa and Magano. It is a good land, greener and more majestic than the rolling hills and flats of the more southerly Transkei proper and deeply carved by its two main rivers, the Umzimvubu and the Kinira, into valleys thousands of feet deep, clothed with euphorbia and aloe, and encircled by ranges that stretch away until they meet the horizon in the blue ramparts of the Drakensberg. Here, for a hundred years, the Bhaca have lived their primitive life, celebrating the ripening of the crops by the elaborate ceremonial of the sacred first fruits ceremony and worshipping the spirits of the dead chiefs and ancestors as their fathers and their fathers' fathers did before them in the forested valleys of Zululand whence they came. Here, too, the White Man came in the latter half of the last century. The story of the Bhaca from the 1860's onward is one of increasing contact with the White Man's culture, the virile and dominant Western Civilization, a story of change and modification, the details of which we shall try to trace out in this study.

Today the Bhaca live in the north-eastern portion of the large block of country known as the United Transkeian Territories, set aside solely for native occupation and stretching from the Kei River in the South to the Umthamvuna in the north. Within this area no European settlement is permitted apart from the traders, whose stores form a network over the whole country, and the population of the small villages which have sprung up round the seats of magistracy and who are mainly occupied in the dominant activities of trading and administration. The Transkeian tribes, therefore, are not in close proximity to the great mass of European Civilization as are, for instance, some of the small tribes in the Transvaal. Nevertheless there has been a steady and progressive modification of the indigenous culture, not only through the introduction of material goods by the trader, but by the more fundamental and "spiritual" changes through education and travel. For a very large proportion of Bhaca males go annually to the gold mines of the Rand where they come into direct, firsthand contact with Western technology, values and ways of life, while

some of the more educated attend boarding-school in the Cape or Natal. As we shall see later, economic pressure makes it necessary for practically every native male to seek work outside the tribal territory and there is an increasing tendency to migrate to the large seaport towns of Cape Town, East London, Port Elizabeth and Durban, with their new, war-stimulated industries, where wages are higher and work more congenial than in the mining industry. All these are extra-territorial contact influences of the greatest importance in our study of a society in the process of change. This very fact of change with its emphasis on the dynamic rather than the static imposes difficulties on a study of a society made at a given point of time, and the problem is increasingly engaging the attention of contact-anthropologists⁽¹⁾. Some sociologists, e.g. MacIver, deny that a society is ever completely static. "Society exists only as a time sequence. It is a becoming, not a being; a process, not a product". Again, "...society lives on only as a changing equilibrium of present relationships"⁽²⁾. He contrasts "society" with "culture" which is more static. Although this is undoubtedly true, the rate of change is, ordinarily, fairly slow. This study, made over a period of approximately nine months, does present a picture of Bhaca society at that particular point of time, and can, I submit, be taken as unchanging for purposes of ethnographic description. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that this is somewhat artificial and all along we shall be noting modifications and lines of change. As an ethnographic survey of the Bhaca we are chiefly concerned in this study with the cultural and sociological elements which distinguish them from other Southern Bantu tribes, but it is hoped that, inter alia, some useful if slight contribution will be made in this field.

- (1) See Malinowski: "Dynamics of Culture Change." Yale (1945)
 Wilson: "The Analysis of Social Change". Cambridge University Press (1945).
 Malinowski: "Present State of Studies in Culture Contact", AFRICA xii (1939).
 Herskovits: "Acculturation".
- (2) MacIver, R. M.: Society: A Textbook of Sociology. Pages 394, 395.

Definition of Bhaca Society in Space and Time.

Before embarking on the analysis proper of Bhaca life the history and ecology of the people must be described: it is essential to fix the society in time and space, as these two factors are significant to the proper understanding of the culture. By time is meant the chronological sequence of events which resulted in the presence of the tribe in that particular locality, a factor especially important in the study of the Bhaca who have only recently (within the last hundred years) settled in their present home. This is at one end of the process. At the other end we arrive at the ethnic stock of the original nucleus of the tribe, and, by the various contacts traced out by the time sequence, can determine to what extent there has been admixture with other tribes - either by intermarriage or the modification of existing, or adoption of new, culture elements. For example it is significant to know that the Bhaca resided for a considerable time with the Mpondo and it is certain that this has had an important effect on their present day culture. Thus we cannot leave the historical study out of account. It should be appreciated, however, that objectively accurate history is very difficult to determine in a society with no written records, but for the Bhaca the main facts presented are, I think, absolutely accurate. In any event, from a sociological point of view, what the people believe about their history and origin, whether correct or not, is perhaps even more important than the true account, as it colours their whole attitude to their origins and relations with other tribes. It is a living part of the culture. Legend and tradition play an important part in the social relations of today.

By space we mean the geographical extent of the tribe. "In studying political organization, we have to deal with the maintenance or establishment of social order, within a territorial framework, by the organized exercise of coercive authority through the use, or the possibility of use, of physical force"⁽¹⁾ But, on the other hand, social relations must not be thought of as ending with the political unit. The human units that co-exist and react to one another within the political framework of the Bhaca tribe are also in relationship with members of other tribes and, indeed, the network of relationships can be extended to

(1) Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. Preface to "African Political Systems" ed. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, Oxford, Page xiv.

include the whole world. In trading stores one may see sunshades manufactured in Japan, prints from the United Kingdom, mouthorgans from Germany and tinned meat from South America. In a very real sense, then, Bhaca relations are world-wide. Bhaca living under Chief Waḡane Makaula intermarry with members of Kut/hiwa's section and there is much coming and going between them to attend weddings and other ceremonies. With the establishment of schools and institutions young Bhaca meet members of other tribes, not only the nearby Mpondo, Hluḡi, Mpondomise and Xesiḡe, but others further afield such as Zulu, Sotho and Tswana. Especially with the former group there are relations of intermarriage, economic co-operation, mutual church membership and many others. For purposes of study, however, it is necessary to demarcate the subject to be studied and for this purpose we shall take the criteria of political allegiance. The position is complicated by the fact that there are two Bhaca chiefs in the Mount Frere district each with his own following. On the other hand the Bhaca, although recognizing this, all call themselves by the name "Bhaca" and consider themselves one people; the area which the two tribes occupy is not large and there are no great differences in culture. Their homogeneity is such that they can legitimately be treated as one cultural entity. Applying the criteria of political allegiance to the two Bhaca chiefs in the Mount Frere district, this study leaves out of account the group of about 1,000 Bhaca living in the district of Mount Ayliff and adjoining Mount Frere, who fall under the Xesiḡe chief, and also the section of the tribe in the Ixopo district of southern Natal, numerically small and occupying one location.

Space also includes a study of demographic and topographical features, the distribution and density of the population and its relation to climate, and ecology with their effect on settlement and seasonal activities (and thus on social life).

Connected to space and time, through tribal origins and the geographical proximity of other tribes whether in the past or present, is the question of language. In its origins the distinctive Bhaca dialect is Northern Nguni - although not necessarily Zulu - but through wanderings among Southern Nguni tribes, notably the Mpondo, it has been considerably modified. This modification is being continued today through increasing contact with other tribes and through education. On the Rand Bhaca converse not in Bhaca but in Xhosa, and Standard Xhosa is taught in the schools.

In this chapter, then, we are concerned with:-

- (1) History,
- (2) Habitat and
- (3) Language.

History.

The Bhaca belong to the group of Nguni tribes classified by van Warmelo in the category "Fingo and Other Immigrants into the Cape". That is they have not been resident in their present habitat in the Cape for as long a period as have the Mpondo, Thembu, Xhosa and other kindred tribes, but owe their locality, and even existence, to intrusive movements into the Cape of fairly recent occurrence, mainly occasioned by the T/haka wars of the early nineteenth century. A detailed history of this period will be found in Bryant's "Olden Times in Zululand and Natal". Examples of these movements are the various Mfengu tribes such as the Hlu6i, Zizi and Bhele, groups of whom are found occupying a large area of East Griqualand, especially in the western portion, the Hlangwini and the Xesi6e of the Mount Ayliff district. The history of the Bhaca, then, is one of migration from Natal. Of their life before that practically nothing is known, history before the time of the chief Kalime/e becoming tenuous and unreliable in the extreme.

Apparently the earliest historical home of the Bhaca was in what is now the Pietermaritzburg district of Natal. All informants preface the account of their history by saying, "We came originally from Zululand." We are told by Soga⁽¹⁾ that originally the Bhaca and Wu/e were kindred tribes, both descended from a common ancestor, Mjoli, the Wu/e being the senior house. Bryant states that the original name of the Bhaca was Zelemu; it must be remembered that the name "Bhaca" is not, as ~~it~~ is usual among Bantu tribes, derived from the name of a tribal ancestor, but is a term of opprobrium conferred on them by the Zulu when they fled before T/haka's wrath from Natal. (from Nguni word, Ukubhaca, "to flee"). The a6akwaZelemu lived among the group of tribes Bryant calls the DebeNguni, one of the many groups of tribes or rather extended clans (among which was the small Zulu clan destined to play so great a part in subsequent South African history) that inhabited Natal at the beginning of

(1) Soga, J. H.: "The South Eastern Bantu". 1930. Page 447.

the nineteenth century. He maintains that although the Zelemu (Bhaca) claim to be of Zulu extraction, and possibly came into Natal via Zululand, there are certain peculiarities of custom and language which make this view difficult to accept. Bryant's investigations show that a possible reason for this identification of the Zelemu with the Zulu is the similarity in the names of the traditional founders of the respective tribes. According to the genealogies, the Zelemu claim the chief Lufulwenja (died probably 1734) as the founder of their tribe while the Zulus recognize Lufenulwenja who lived about a century earlier. Modern Bhaca have no memory of this early period.

Agreeing with Soga, Bryant points out that the Zelemu claim the Wu/e and Latha as related clans, but the Zulu do not. The Wu/e are still an important clan among the Bhaca. Another reason for the belief in the Zulu origin of the Bhaca is that the latter recognize a forbear, Zulu, and, indeed, this is the isiBongo (praise-name) of the ruling house today. On the other hand it is possible that this is a different Zulu from that of the Malandela family. Tradition says that the Zelemu came originally from the Pongolo River below the Lebombo Hills on the Transvaal-Swaziland border. Thence they moved down to Natal and we find them hiding in the Nkandla forest, north of the mid-rugela, whence they had been driven by some unknown tribe. Tradition relates that they were so afraid of being discovered that they dispensed with fire in cooking game for food. Bryant (Page 370) refers to this habit as an "uncontrollable passion", and it is interesting to note that today meat is habitually eaten raw at feasts. (ukufukuthsa).

In T/haka's time the Wu/e were a powerful and numerous tribe of which three sections have been recorded. One, under Mqinambi, was situated on the Kharkloof River, another, under Hlepu, on the upper reaches of the Mgeni, and a third, under Nondza6a, in the territory bordering on the lower part of the Mgeni. The Zelemu were their immediate neighbours. It must be remembered that accounts of this rather obscure period are very conflicting and the above is submitted tentatively. From now on we are on more certain ground.

According to Soga, in the country just south of the Zulu-Thethwa tribes ruled by T/haka, were the amaCunã under their chief Macingwane. They appear to have acted as a buffer-state between T/haka and the Zelemu-Wu/e group of tribes - until they were attacked by T/haka. They successfully resisted the attack, but decided that they should move south out of the reach of T/haka's impis. This brought them into immediate conflict

with the Zelemu and Wu/e to the south. The Cunã were strenuously opposed, but their armies managed to break through and Macingwane passed on to the Umzimkhulu. The removal of the Cunã exposed a number of tribes to T/haka's attack and there was a large-scale movement south, away from the danger zone. Again the Zelemu lay in the path of the fleeing tribes and opposed their advance. A confederacy was formed by a section of the Bhele, the Dunge, Funze, Nyamnywini and the Nhlangwini to overcome the opposition. At first they were unsuccessful but later were joined by the Gwenyane and succeeded in breaking completely through, practically destroying the Wu/e and dismembering the Zelemu in the process. To all intents and purposes the Wu/e ceased to exist as a separate entity and they were collected under Madzikane, son of the great Zelemu chief, Kalime/e. It is from this point that we pass into the realm of remembered history, enshrined in the memories and genealogies of the present day. There the new tribe, consisting of the remnants of the Zelemu and Wu/e, seem to have remained until about 1820 when Madzikane quarrelled with T/haka. Legend has it that T/haka suspected that Madzikane was an aspirant for the Zulu throne, and, while granting him an audience at his Great Place, incited his dog to bite the Zelemu chief. The Bhaca proudly relate that the dog refused to bite Madzikane, thereby "showing that Madzikane was a man fit for ruling - firm and strong". Apparently this confirmed T/haka's worst suspicions and Madzikane was forced to flee with his following, hiding temporarily in the depths of a forest to escape detection. It was here that the name Bhaca was first applied, for, said T/haka, "Ubhacile kwaZulu" - "He has fled from Zululand".

The fleeing Bhaca took the route formerly taken by the Cunã, but it soon became obvious that T/haka had sent his impis in pursuit. A battle was fought at Mkomanzi in Natal and the Zulu were temporarily held off. It was during this battle that Madzikane pierced an opponent in the eye, and it is said that this deed caused him to be called by T/haka, Gobiswana, i.e. "the Tearer-out" (of eyes). In these legends the tribal consciousness and pride of the Bhaca can be clearly seen. After this check to the redoubtable T/haka he was praised by the Zulu as Madikane, the Scatterer, from the play on his name and the verb ukudikadika, to scatter. It should be remembered that this history is strongly coloured by Bhaca accounts and these traditions should be regarded in this light. Soga mentions an alliance made with Macingwane, the Cunã chief, but there is no other evidence of this.

A stop seems to have been made across the Mzimkhulu at Malenge and from there Madzikane pushed on to Rode eighteen miles north-east of what is now the little village of Mount Frere, still followed by the Zulu. A few miles beyond, the Ntsizwa range bars the approaches to Rode, and it was while crossing this that a terrible snow storm overtook the pursuing Zulu regiments and hundreds of warriors, being as they were without adequate protection, died of exposure. Since then the range has been called Intsizwa (young man) after this debacle. There is no evidence to bear out Cook's statement, admittedly obtained from an expert informant, now dead, that the Bhaca, who had taken refuge in the Umzimvubu valley, turned on the Zulu remnant and annihilated them. All informants maintain that this is not so, and the steepness and height of Intsizwa make this improbable. The decimated regiments of the Zulu army were probably left to get home as best they might. This miraculous victory was attributed to the medicines of Madzikane who had a great reputation as a doctor. He is stated to have told his people that he would fight the Zulu alone by burning his charms and medicines; the thick smoke rising from them turned into the black clouds that brought the snow and sleet which routed the Zulu impi. He was reputed to be able to obtain milk from a heifer merely by slapping its sides with his hands.

The Bhaca then made their way into what is now the Matatiele district and, through Maclear, to the Engcobo district. Here they met a large force of Thembu and Qwathi, and, in the following battle, Madzikane was killed. Traditionally he is supposed to have prophesied his death, saying that the man who would kill him would himself die before the breath was out of his (Madzikane's) body. He also said that, although dead, his body would not fall to the ground until the third day when the sun would be darkened, and, finally, he advised his sons, Sonyangwe and Ncaphayi, to seek protection under the Mpondo chief Faku. Apart from his being impressed with the beauty of Pondoland his magic showed him that "all the winds smell bad except that from Pondoland". At the battle of Egqutyini Forest, near Engcobo, his prophecies regarding his death came true. No one today knows the exact locality of his grave but it is said by some that his whitened bones still lie in the forest and any bird or beast who comes near them dies suddenly. Sonyangwe and Ncaphayi, with a miserable remnant, managed to elude the Thembu-Qwathi confederacy and escaped to Lusikisiki in Pondoland. Dates are difficult to

determine but this was about the year 1837.

Faku, the paramount chief of the Mpondo, received them well. Sonyangwe was given a tract of land in the Rode valley, on the Mount Ayliff side of the Umzimvu6u, while Ncaphayi settled to the immediate south, in what is now Cweraland. It is said that a hundred oxen were given by them to Faku: no doubt more would have been exacted, but, after the vicissitudes of their trek from Natal, the Bhaca must have been very poor. A short time after the settlement, Sonyangwe was attacked by an impi of Bhele, under their chief Mdingi, who marched his men up the Umzimvu6u valley by night and surprised the Bhaca at Rode. Sonyangwe was killed in the ensuing fight: the scene of the battle can be clearly seen from the trading store at Mhlot/heni. At the time of his death Sonyangwe's son and heir, Mduyana, was a minor, and thus his uncle, Ncaphayi, became regent of this section of the Bhaca as well as his own. The position was complicated by the fact that Mduyana was reputed to be an illegitimate son, Sonyangwe's own wives having no male issue, and it was suggested that Ncaphayi should take one of his brother's wives, under the ngena (levirate) system, and raise up an heir for him in this way. In any event they objected strongly to Ncaphayi personally taking over the chieftainship of this section of the Bhaca. After a few years of his regency, Mduyana was made chief in succession to his father, Sonyangwe.

After living some time under Faku, the Bhaca and Mpondo quarrelled. The exact cause of the disagreement is difficult to determine and the episode that led to the final break was probably the culmination of a series of similar sources of friction. Apparently a Bhaca headman, named Mqambeli died, leaving daughters and a son called Mpatsana. When the daughters married they insisted on keeping the lobola cattle for themselves, refusing to give them to their brother, who considered himself entitled to them under native law, as successor to their father. The case was taken to Mboza where Ncaphayi seems to have supported the daughters. Mpatsana appealed to Faku, and the position became so tense that a portion of the Bhaca again moved.

Mduyana took his section north, settling for a time near Ixopo in Natal, and from there migrating to the Umzimkhulu district to the protection of the Griqua chief, Adam Kok. Dates are difficult to ascertain definitely, but this must have taken place in the latter half of the 1860's, as the Griqua were only placed in the Umzimkhulu district by Sir Philip Wodehouse in 1862, with the object of establishing in Nomansland (as the area was then called) "a power, acting under British prestige, believed to be sufficiently

civilized to set a good example and sufficiently powerful to maintain order"⁽¹⁾. This effort ended in failure and the Griqua were themselves obliged to ask for a British resident to maintain the peace. In 1869 the Griqua district was extended to the Kinira - the river which today bisects Bhaca territory approximately from south to north - and thus included all of what now is the Matatiele district. The land between the Thina and Kinira, today the Bhaca tribal area, was given to the Tlokoa chief, Lehana, and the Hlu6i, under Zi6i.

When Mdutyana moved on to Natal, Ncaphayi remained in the Umzimvu6u valley and relations between him and Faku became so bad that the latter sent a punitive expedition against him. Ncaphayi's section must have been some time under Faku's paramountcy. We read in the Records (Page 99) of Faku quarrelling with the Xesi6e chief, Jojo, who fled to Ncaphayi for protection. This the latter refused to give, saying that he was Faku's "dog" and thus could not give sanctuary to his enemies. "Faku allowed Jojo to remain with Ncaphayi because both Jojo and Ncaphayi belonged to Faku"⁽²⁾. Later the Xesi6e fell out with the Bhaca and Jojo returned to Faku. This episode is interesting as it shows clearly that these two chiefs surrendered their independence, to a large extent, when claiming the protection of Faku. The "Mpatsana incident" indicates that the court of the protecting chief was, on occasion, regarded as a higher court of appeal from that of the protected chief. These conclusions are tentative owing to the paucity of historical data, but they seem to bear the stamp of probability. Other evidence of this period of Bhaca history shows Ncaphayi "eating up" the Mbula, and in 1836 an embassy was sent by Sir Benjamin D'Urban to the chiefs Kreli, Vadana and Faku. Although Ncaphayi was himself prevented from attending the meeting by floods, he sent three of his councillors, and was acknowledged by the other chiefs "to be the ally and subject of Faku"⁽³⁾. In December, 1840, a commando under Andries Pretorius, with a small auxiliary native force under a petty chief

(1) Brownlee: F. "Transkeian Historical Records". Page 45 (1923).

(2) Brownlee: T. H. R.; "Minutes of meeting held at Ngozi" Page 99 (1868)

(3) Brownlee, F.: op. cit. Page 67.

names^d Fodo, attacked the Bhaca, routing them and capturing several thousand head of cattle. There has been much controversy as to the justifiability of the attack, but Brownlee states that the explanation of the volksraad of the Free State Farmers (who left that country for Natal) is substantially correct. It appears that in 1838 Faku himself instigated the farmers to attack Ncaphayi with a view to weakening an old enemy. This "Ncaphayi affair" as it was called, was an unwise step on the part of the Boers, and materially contributed to the eventual annexation of Natal by the British⁽¹⁾. It is clear, then, that the period 1835-48 saw much activity on the part of Ncaphayi, who, at one time was considered, by the Boers at least, as being superior in strength to the Mpondo⁽²⁾. During this period the other section of the Bhaca, under Mdutwana, was resident in Natal, probably in the Ixopo district: unfortunately we have no record of them at this time.

Tiring of his "thorn in the flesh", Faku sent a strong impi against Ncaphayi. Of the two dates given, 1844 and 1848, the latter is more probable. The Bhaca were utterly defeated and Ncaphayi, isolated on a rock and surrounded by the enemy, was killed. One story relates how the surrounding grass was fired and he was killed in jumping from the rock, while another states that his arm and thigh were broken while trying to escape, and he was left on the battlefield unnoticed. On the following day he was noticed by some herdboys, and called to them to kill him. They were afraid and reported the matter to Faku who sent three men to dispatch his old enemy. When they arrived and were about to pierce him, Ncaphayi stopped them by lifting his hand and told them to use his spear otherwise they would meet the same fate as the man who had killed his father, the magician Madzikane. So died the best-known of the Bhaca chiefs.

From about the year 1836 Ncaphayi had been making attempts to obtain a missionary for his people - probably from political and prestige motives rather than from strong religious convictions, (The redoubtable Ncaphayi remained a heathen till his death). In a letter dated November the 12th, 1838, the Rev. Thomas

(1) See Wilson, D.: Shawbury: A Story of a Mission Page 8.

(2) Brownlee: Page 69.

Jenkins, then missionary at Buntingville, wrote,

"As Capai is so urgent in his request for a missionary and has sent so repeatedly to me to know when he is to expect one, I have promised to forward his request to the Committee.

This large tribe of people (the Bhacas) are entirely without the means of religious instruction They are the most warlike and savage of all the tribes in Kaffraria; and are more dreaded by their neighbours than any other people: indeed they are so intent on war and plunder that they are seldom quiet for four months together without making their savage attacks on other tribes,"

Old men among the Bhaca assert that Ncaphayi repeatedly invited the Methodist Church to send him a missionary, and, to that end, sent three men to Grahamstown, "going day and night and keeping to the forests, with elephants' tusks as a present." In 1839 the Rev. W. H. Garner was appointed missionary to the Bhaca, and he set up what later became the Shawbury Mission Institution at the Great Place at Isilindini (Dumsi). Later this famous training school was moved south to the Tsitsa River, near Qumbu, among the Mpondomise. Thus the disintegrative force of Christianity came to the children of Madzikane.

Ncaphayi's Great son, Makaula, was still a boy at the time of his father's death and ^DKiko, son of the Righthand house, ^{Diko} became regent. He was assisted in the government of the tribe by Ncaphayi's Great wife, Noniko or Mamjucu, who was an extraordinarily shrewd and clever woman. She had the distinction of being called Imazenamsene, i.e. the cow with testicles.

It will be remembered that, at the time of the quarrel with Faku, Mduityana had moved to the Umzimkhulu district under the protection of Adam Kok. He must have spent at least ten years in the Ixopo district before coming under Kok, as the Griqua were only settled in 1862, while the quarrel with Faku seems to have taken place in the latter half of the forties. Mduityana had two wives, Namgwadlu the Great wife and Majosela the second wife. Apparently he favoured the latter and her son, and tried to place them in the Great house. He was opposed in this by his family and followers as he already had an heir in that house. The reason for Mduityana's estrangement from his Great wife is traditionally attributed to an incident that occurred during their betrothal. It was the custom for the affianced Great wife of the chief to present him with a clay dish called ukhamba from which to eat. This sealed the engagement and "showed that he could not take another great wife". One day the chief was out with his young men when he met a group of girls among whom was his future wife. Mduityana is supposed to have said, "Let the girls pick their lovers", expecting her to come to him. Instead she

went to someone else. He was so enraged that at first he refused to marry her and only the counsels of his men, and the fact that most of the lobola cattle had been already handed over, persuaded him to go through with the wedding. He never forgave her, however, and built her kraal at a distance from the Great Place. Her son he called Cijisiwe (from the word ukwecija i.e. to tell a lie) in reference to this episode. Mduyana had another son by his second - and favourite - wife, named Nomt/heket/he, and it was this son that he wished to make his heir. As we have seen, this move was unsuccessful.

Frustrated, Mduyana sent the young Nomt/heket/he to live with Makaula, who had succeeded the regent Diko, but, on his (Mduyana's) death, his younger brother Thiba took Nomt/heket/he back to Umzimkhulu where he was acting as regent to Cijisiwe. This bringing together of the two young men was an unwise move on Thiba's part, for, when they became of age, they both claimed the chieftainship. After a great deal of fighting and bloodshed Cijisiwe moved with his followers to Ixopo on the Natal border, where they are settled to this day under Cijisiwe's great grandson, Kumkani. Theoretically, therefore, this group are the senior section of the Bhaca, being descended from Sonyangwe, Madzikane's Great son, but they are numerically very weak and occupy only one location. The East Griqualand Bhaca, however, visit relatives and friends on occasion and recognize them as blood relatives, but, apart from this, the two groups do not have much to do with one another. It seems possible that the Natal Branch approximates more towards the N. Nguni in culture: the differences in the two groups would make an interesting subject for research.

Nomt/heket/he remained in the Umzimkhulu district under the Griquas, without the assistance of whom he could never have beaten Cijisiwe, until trouble arose with the Griqua authorities. Apparently a witch was smelt out and burnt alive in her hut and Nomt/heket/he refused to give the names of those involved to the Griqua^{dufferin}. This act of connivance was greatly resented, not only by the Griquas but also by a section of the Bhaca, and Nomt/heket/he fled to the Bizana district with about 250 followers.

By this time Diko had relinquished his regency of Ncaphayi's section in favour of the young Makaula who immediately made peace with Faku, paying a thousand head of cattle. Some time before a younger son of Madzikane, Sontsi by name, had left Umzimkhulu with a small following and had been given land by a European in Mhlot/heni, on the Umzimvu6u, near Rode, the scene of Sonyangwe's death. Later Mgxuthwana, son of Sontsi's brother Chitha, arrived

and settled at Lut/hikini. Today these two locations occupy an interesting place in Bhaca politics. The Administration recognizes them as coming under Chief Wabane Makaula, and appeals from the headmen, Sontsi and Chitna, are heard at Lugangeni, but they consider Nomt/heket/he's section as the senior and all their sympathies are with them. Feeling is so high that fighting breaks out periodically between the two locations and the neighbouring Lutateni which is pro-Makaula. Sontsi later invited Makaula to come out of Pondoland with his following and settle with him at Mhlot/heni, ruling him "as his elder brother". This Makaula refused to do and passed on to what is now Lutateni, where he built his Great Place. Here he left his wives and built another kraal at Lubaceni, near Mount Frere, where he remained surrounded only by his men. It is said that he instructed his first born, Mngcisana, to build a kraal where he should die and this was done at Lugangeni (formerly called Marwaqa). This is still the Great Place of the Makaula chiefs.

In 1872 Makaula made his first application to be taken over as a British subject, and in 1875 the Secretary for Native Affairs for the Cape Colony informed him that the Government was ready to accede to his request. Certain rights had to be surrendered. Every person was to have the right to take suits and complaints to the magistrates without let or hindrance, the people were to pay taxes, and no person was to be put to death for witchcraft, smelt out, "eaten up", etc. Makaula stated that he was willing to comply with these conditions, but, in consideration of his giving up his position as independent chief, he wished to have an annual allowance made to him and to certain specified headmen.

Makaula very strongly opposed any of the Bhaca seeking refuge in Pondoland and made representations to the Cape Government until he was allowed to invite Nomt/heket/he to come out of exile, and settle with his following in the Mount Frere district. He was given land along the Mvenyane River and his successors control the following locations:- Mpoza, Nomkolokoto, Colana, Siquhingeni and Ntsimangweni.⁽¹⁾ The genealogy of the Bhaca royal house is shown hereunder.

It appears that Makaula recognized that Nomt/heket/he was

(1) When Nomt/heket/he first settled at Mvenyane he had no status in the eyes of the Administration. Later Makaula made further representations and Nomt/heket/he was recognized as a headman with a salary. In 1880 Nomt/heket/he did good work and for his services his pay was increased. In 1883 he was offered land in the Qumbu district by the Vacant Lands Commission but refused, preferring the Mount Frere District.

of the senior house (Sonyangwe's) and thus of higher rank, but he made it clear that his section had no territorial authority over the people of his (Makaula's) area. Nomt/heket/he exercised authority only over the five locations mentioned, but as head of the senior section, his was the privilege of being the first to celebrate the first fruits ceremony. We thus get the picture of two independently political tribes, the one, however, acknowledging the ritual precedence of the other. Reliable evidence states that at one time Makaula was even willing to hand over the whole district to Nomt/heket/he about the year 1880 but that this was strenuously opposed by the resident magistrate of the day, Mr. J. H. Garner. Thus the position remained static - Makaula being regarded as the politically more powerful chief and Nomt/heket/he as the ritual leader of the Bhaca. During the life-time of Nomt/heket/he and Makaula this arrangement seems to have worked fairly well.

After Makaula's death, however, trouble arose when his son, Mngcisana, and his brothers claimed priority in tribal matters - especially in regard to the ingcube. Traditionally it should be performed by the senior house on the Friday and on subsequent days by the more junior sections; it is the prerogative of the leading tribe.

The main contention in present day Bhaca politics (to be treated in greater detail later) is this question of the paramountcy over both the tribes. The Lugangeni section are by far the larger numerically and have been in the area the longer. On the other hand the Mpoza group are the senior. Which should take precedent, especially in the ingcube (first fruit) festival, and the enlargement of the Mpoza area, making the Kinira the boundary between the two tribes, will be a vexed question, unfortunately probably often leading to bloodshed, for many years to come.

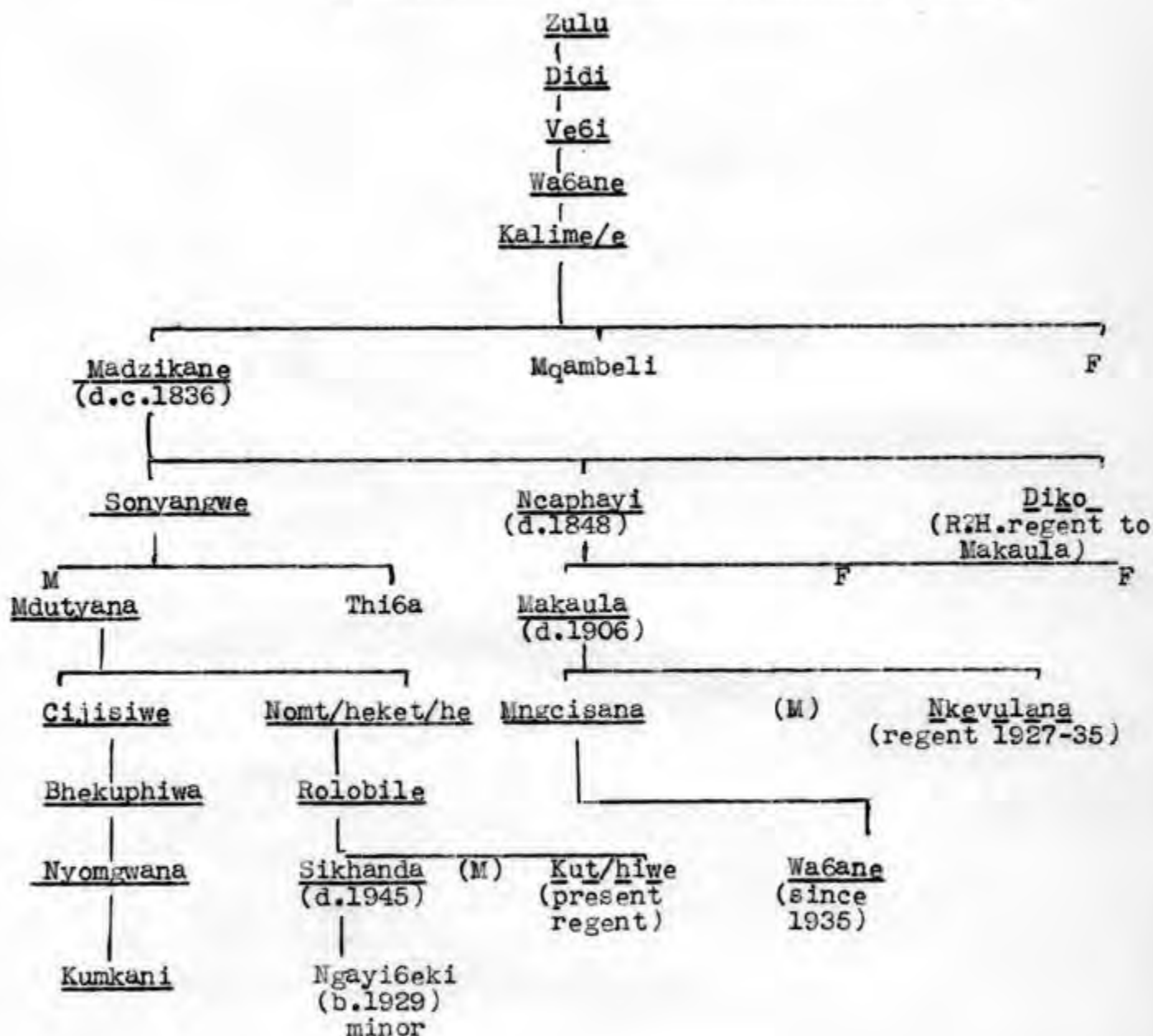
This, then, is the history of the Bhaca - as far as is known. We have traced the fortunes of the tribe from its genesis in Natal to its present day locality. Perhaps more than most tribes the Bhaca are their history: we will now describe the land in which they eventually settled.

GENEALOGY OF THE BHACA ROYAL HOUSE.

Owing to lack of space only the most important names, bearing directly on the chieftainship can be given.

F = female
M = male

Names of chiefs underlined _____
Names of regents " - - - - T - - - -



(I X O P O)

(M P O Z A)

(L U G A N G E N I)

Habitat and Demography.

East Griqualand occupies the mountainous plateau, deeply cut by river valleys and broken by mountain ranges, that stretches from the massive Quatlamba or Drakensberg range in the west to the borders of Pondoland on the east. To the south west it is bounded by Thembuland, the dividing line being the headwaters of the Umthatha River and the watershed between the streams that flow into the Bashee and Umzimvu6u respectively, and on the north by the Province of Natal. On the west it impinges on Basutoland, except in the south west where it is divided from it by the European-settled district of Barkly East. No part of the territory is less than thirty miles from the sea and thus, as one should expect, the climate is not as mild as on the coast.

The whole of East Griqualand is high above sea-level. The lowest section of the territory, where the land falls away towards the coast, is not less than 3,000 feet above sea-level, and, as one moves west, there is a constant upward incline until the great mountain wall of the Drakensberg is reached. The most elevated parts are so cold that the natives do not care to live there, but the high altitude brings mists and rain and the soil is generally fertile and, in the summer months, covered with rich grass on which cattle and horses thrive. The higher areas are good for sheep and goats. The heavy rain and mists encourage the growth of thick indigenous forests in the kloofs and valleys where streams rush down through tangles of luxuriant bush, fern and yellowwoods, often covered with creepers and lichen. In the deeper valleys the vegetation changes and becomes sub-tropical with aloes, euphorbia, thorn trees and scrub. Great changes of climate are found in a relatively small area - in the Buffalo Neck pass over the Mgano range snow lay unmelted, even at midday, for weeks, while at Glen Holey, in the valley of the Umzimvu6u and almost a thousand feet lower, it was pleasantly warm. The two areas are about 20 miles apart, giving some indication of the extremes of temperature met with. In the summer months the rainfall is usually considerable, occurring mainly in the form of violent electric storms, but there are occasional seasons of drought. For instance the 1949 rains came at the very end of January and native crops were perched beyond recovery - in fact that year saw one of the worst droughts in South African history. Another enemy of the peasant farmer is hail - the stones sometimes as much as four inches in diameter - that flattens the crops and kills cattle and sheep. Occasionally cases are reported of human beings

being killed by hail. At these times the rivers come down in flood carrying away cattle and possessions, the driving mists envelop the mud-churned impassable roads and activities come to a stop until intaka yezulu, the lightning "bird of heaven", ceases its dance of death. Despite all this, it is a pleasant land, drought never seems to be as bad as in some other districts of South Africa, and it would seem that the area is capable of supporting a fairly large population.

The Bhaca occupy the territory roughly corresponding to the district of Mount Frere, the boundaries of which were laid down by the Griffith-Ayliff-Grant Commission of 1872. Later the district was subdivided into wards or locations by Mr. R. W. Stanford, the Assistant Chief Magistrate of East Griqualand, and the tribe, in those days, occupied the locations of Lutateni, Lubacweni, Mpendla, Mhlot/heni, Dangwana, Shushu (this is the name of the ^{present} headman's family), HlanHlane(?) and T/hungwana. Today the tribe has spread to include practically the whole of the Mount Frere district, overflowing to the east into the Mount Ayliff district. The Bhaca occupy a roughly rectangular piece of country, bounded by the Thina River in the south-west, by the Umzimvu6u on the north, by Cweraland and the Umzimvu6u on the east, and on the west by the Hlu6i tribes of the Matatiele and Mount Fletcher districts. In the south-west of the area there are enclaves of Zizi, Mpondomise, Xesi6e and Hlu6i, but, apart from these, the territory is occupied practically exclusively by Bhaca. To the south-east the numerous Mpondo clans stretch to the coast, and, to the east is the tribal territory of the Xesi6e. A section of Xesi6e under Sodladla was settled at Maboba where they are today under his successor, and two sections of Hlu6i, one under Mtengwane and the other from the Herçhel district, were finally located at the Ncome. Today there are two predominantly Hlu6i locations on the north-west (Matatiele) border of the Mount Frere district - Kinira and Ncome.

The Administration has calculated the incidence of ethnic admixture in the various locations as follows. (This should be accepted only as a very rough approximation).

FIG. II.

<u>Name of Location</u>	<u>Ethnic Composition</u>	<u>No. of Tax Payers</u>	
		<u>1949</u>	<u>1935</u>
Mlot/heni	Bhaca	279	203
Lut/hikini	Bhaca	144	107
Lutateni	Bhaca	503	356
Mpoza	Bhaca	733	530
Mvenyane	Bhaca	720	522

<u>Name of Location</u>	<u>Ethnic Composition.</u>	<u>No. of Tax Payers.</u>	
		<u>1949</u>	<u>1935</u>
Ntsimangweni	Bhaca	601	436
Colana	Bhaca	581	420
Nkungwini	Bhaca	535	739 379
Ngungundhlovu	Bhaca	806	569
Nqumane	Bhaca	262	191
Mkemane	Bhaca	698	543
Sihlahleni	Bhaca	419	307
Ca6azi	Bhaca	338	249
Mpendla	Bhaca	666	488
Lubacweni	Bhaca 96% Griqua 3% Fingo 1%	658	473
Ntlabeni	Bhaca 50% Hlu6i 50%	408	299
Ngwet/heni	Bhaca 75% Hlu6i 25%	538	392
Mandeleni	Bhaca 25% Hlu6i 75%	1146	839
<u>Kinira</u>	Hlu6i	383	281
<u>Ncome</u>	Hlu6i	971	701
Njijini	Bhaca 98% Griqua 2%	208	153
Cancele	Zizi 75% Mpondomise 25%	604	432
Qwidlana	Bhaca	751	551
Maboba	Xesi6e	692	507
Umzimvu6u	Hlu6i	368	270
Lugangeni	Bhaca	664	486
Mt/hazi	Bhaca	420	308
T/hungwana	Fingos 50% Hlu6i 35% Bhaca, Mpondomise, Coloured 15%	614	451
Mhlangala	Bhaca	277	194
Mpemba	Bhaca	615	450
Ngxa6axa	Bhaca	272	200
Lwandlana	Bhaca/Wu/e	605	444
Dangwana	Hlu6i 80% Bhaca 20%	350	257
Toleni	Hlu6i	962	704
Mvuzi	Bhaca 75% Hlu6i 25%	877	639
Nomkolokoto	Bhaca	426	307

It will be obvious from the above percentages that this analysis of the ethnic composition of the Bhaca is extremely tentative and merely indicates roughly the predominant group or the approximate proportion between different groups in each location. It will be seen that, although descendants of the nucleus of the tribe are in the majority, there have been accretions from other tribes and that, today, not only pure Bhaca come under the authority of the Bhaca chiefs. There is a large proportion of Hlu6i - in two locations under their own headmen - and, to a lesser extent, Xesi6e, Mpondomise, Coloured (Griqua) and Fingo. That, even in the locations listed here as pure Bhaca, there is considerable admixture, is proved by an analysis of marriages made by me in Mhlot/heni location, of which 25% were contracted with Hlu6i women and smaller percentages with other tribes, especially Xesi6e. It is strange that there is practically no indication of Mpondo settlement considering the part played by the Mpondo in the history of the Bhaca, although there is a certain amount of intermarriage with Mpondo women,

especially on the south-eastern border. The ubiquitous Fingo, perhaps the most progressive of Transkeian tribes, are found mainly settled round the Great Place at Lugangeni where they play an important part in tribal life. The Chief's secretary is a Fingo. The whole question of the part played by non-Bhaca groups in tribal life and government will be taken up more fully in a later chapter.

Of the 36 locations	24	are predominantly Bhaca
	3	are mixed Hlu6i and Bhaca
	4	predominantly Hlu6i
	1	predominantly Xesi6e
	<u>4</u>	mixed Bhaca, Hlu6i, Xesi6e and Griqua.
	<u>36</u>	

From the figures in Fig. 11 it will be seen that there has been a steady increase in population and taxpayers during the period 1935-1949. The 1935 figures are taken from van Warmelo's "A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa", (Page 18), and relate to male tax payers only.

In 1935 the Bhaca outside Mount Frere were as follows:-

Mount Ayliff	450
Ixopo (Nov. 1932)	802
Bulwer (Feb. 1933)	800
Umzimkhulu	<u>6,400</u>
	<u>8,452</u>

I have not been able to get relevant figures for 1949. The greatest number of Bhaca outside the Mount Frere district is thus in the Umzimkhulu district. Today they number probably about 10,000.

The N.A.D. Survey Report for 1949 gave the area of the Mount Frere district as 684 square miles with an overall Native population of 49,953, giving a density of 73.03 persons per square mile. As has been seen, not all these persons are Bhaca, there being over 1,000 Hlu6i and about 500 Xesi6e as well as other groups, but as intermarriage is becoming increasingly frequent this factor can be ignored and the figures considered as referring to Bhaca alone. The density of the Mpondo according to Hunter (1933) was 66.6 persons per square mile. Thus the density is slightly higher for the Bhaca although the time lapse must be taken into account. The Swazi figure is 22.8⁽¹⁾ - considerably lower. Then, too, the area of the Bhaca tribal territory is small when

(1) Marwick B.: "The Swazi". 1940.

compared with the Pondoland (3,900 square miles) and ~~the~~ Swazi-land (6,704 square miles). It is to be expected, therefore, that the mechanics of cohesion and solidarity binding together members of the tribe would be greater than that unifying Mpondo or Swazi, although this point is difficult to determine. The smallness of the population has certainly meant a greater homogeneity in the acceptance of Western elements of culture.

Language.

We now have to discuss the language of the Bhaca, the peculiar dialect that differentiates them from those tribes who speak pure Xhosa, or Xhosa with but slight dialectal variations. For much of the following I am indebted to A. C. Jordan's "Some Features of the Phonetic and Grammatical Structure of Bhaca"⁽¹⁾.

"Bhaca is spoken chiefly in the Mount Frere district but a fairly large number of Bhacas, who claim to speak Bhaca, live in the Umzimkhulu district, and about a thousand live in the district of Mount Ayliff. According to van Warmelo⁽²⁾ there are roughly 10,050 Bhaca tax-payers in Mount Frere, 4,500 in Umzimkhulu, while those in Mount Ayliff number less than 1,000. In none of these districts is Bhaca the only dialect spoken. Mount Frere has a considerable number of Hlu6is who speak Hlu6i; Mount Ayliff is predominantly Xesibe-speaking, and "there is probably no place where the native population consists of so many small units and different elements as the Um^zim^hkulu district" (van Warmelo). The Bhaca dialect is therefore contiguous with almost all the dialects of Nguni spoken in the Transkei; for the south, the south-east and the east are inhabited by Mpondomise and Mpondo, respectively, and Standard Xhosa, too, exerts its own influence on this dialect, chiefly through church and school, where Bhaca, like all non-literary dialects, is being stifled to death".

Actually the extent to which pure Bhaca is spoken differs to a marked extent with locality. The most primitive Bhaca-speaking area is in the four or five locations of

(1) Unpublished M.A. thesis.

(2) A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa This was in 1935. The registered number of tax-payers (1949) was 16,881

the Mpoza section. Nearby locations, but slightly further away from Mpoza, such as Mhlot/heni and Lut/hikini, show an increasing admixture of pure Xhosa, mainly spoken by ministers and teachers, and also a tendency to mix the two dialects in speaking. At cases at the Sontsi headman's court one heard the pure Bhaca as well as Standard Xhosa spoken - even from the same man - and Bhaca-speakers usually use Xhosa when speaking to non-Bhaca. The use of Bhaca is not confined to the old people and one often hears children speaking the dialect in all its thsefula correctness. Mandla, the eightyyear old son of the Mhlot/heni headman's brother spoke nothing else, and non-Bhaca speakers often had great difficulty in understanding him. Speaking of the Bhaca in general they say "They hardly use their lips". Bhaca is not often heard at Lugangeni, Chief Wabane's Great Place. This may be due to the fact that there is a large colony of influential Fingo there and Wabane himself has been to Shawbury Mission Institution. It seems likely that with the spread of education the old Bhaca tongue will eventually be replaced by Xhosa. [An extremely small percentage of Bhaca can speak English or Afrikaans with any degree of fluency, despite the large number of schools in the district, and even those who have been to the Witwatersrand goldfields seldom acquire more than a smattering. Old Milandu had been in France with the Labour Corps in the 1914-1918 War, yet had as little English as the most primitive tribesman. Fluency in English is practically confined to teachers and ministers and a few high-school children. Chief Kut/hiwa could not understand it nor the local evangelist at Mhlot/heni, yet I have met witchdoctors who understood and spoke it perfectly. Here and there one comes across a fluent English-speaker - often an ex-domestic servant or factory hand, who has had long and intimate contact with the language. Afrikaans is spoken occasionally among the Griqua who form little pockets of settlement especially round Mount Frere and in the Njijini and Lu6acweni locations, and, strangely enough, by the "young bloods" back from the towns. A bastard form of the language is very popular among the tsotsi class of young criminals of Johannesburg and Durban, where they form gangs with gambling, pickpocketing, robbery and rape as their *raison d'etre*. Widepadded jackets, narrow trousers, jazz ties and Afrikaans slang are the (rather Americanized) hallmarks of sophistication - and their influence is beginning to be felt in the reserves. Sotho is rarely heard despite the proximity of Basutoland and the Sotho-speaking area of Matatiela.

The typical Bhaca dialect owes its distinctiveness to sound shiftings. I do not intend to enter into a detailed analysis of the language - even if I were qualified to do so - but a description of the main sound changes that serve to distinguish the dialect from Zulu and Xhosa, and at the same time bring it nearer to Swazi, will assist in the appreciation of words in the text. I take Standard Xhosa as the basis of comparison: only some of the main consonants are dealt with.

(a) Primary plosives.

Xhosa d changes to dz, e.g. Xh. -dala (old) Bh -dzala.

Xhosa th " " ths, e.g. thathu (three) Bh thsathfu^{*}
umthi (tree), Bh umthsi

* (Ths can only be followed by front vowels; thf precedes back vowels.)

(b) Nasal compounds.

Xhosa nd changes to ndz before front vowels, e.g.
Xh. inda6a (news) Bh indza6a.;
but changes to ndy before back vowels e.g.
Xh. indoda (man) Bhaca indyodza.

Xhosa nt changes to nts e.g. Xh. inta6a, intsa6a.

(c) Fricatives.

Xhosa z changes to t eg. umzi (kraal) becomes umti
ukwaazi (to know) "ukwaati.

These are a few of the most outstanding changes, although there are differences in some vowels, especially in nasalization, and in practically all the consonants, compound or otherwise, but enough has been said to indicate the essential peculiarity of the language. The dento-fricative quality of many of the consonants and the substitution of t for z, especially in final syllables, imparts the peculiar lisping character to the language, called by the Bhaca thsefula.

Generally speaking Nguni dialects fall into three groups, viz. the khuluma-speakers (Zulu, 'to speak'), the thekeza-speakers (from ukuthekeza, 'to speak with a lisp', used to describe Nguni dialects in which z is replaced by t) and thsefula-speakers (from the word (Zulu) referring to the speech of those tribes, especially on the South Coast of Natal, who substitute y for l). Thus from a Zulu point of view the Bhaca are thekeza-speakers, but no Bhaca will hear of this. "Siya thsefula". Although this form of Nguni closely resembles

Swazi in its phonetic structure, there is a decided difference between the two languages which Bhaca-speakers easily recognize: the reason for this parallel development of the dialects of two widely separated immigrants from Natal would make an extremely interesting subject for research and would have to take into account the psychology of the people, the nature of linguistic development and laws of phonological change, as there is no evidence of any physical contact between Swazi and Bhaca. The only link is the tradition that madzikane learnt his powerful magic "kwaDlamini" i.e. among the people of the Swazi, but this is pure legend - and the whole subject is outside the scope of the present writer. The distinctiveness of Bhaca does not depend solely on sound-shiftings; there is also a difference in vocabulary to a limited extent. To illustrate these two points I append a list of Bhaca words with their Xhosa and English equivalents:-

(A) Differences due to sound-shifts.

<u>English</u>	<u>Xhosa.</u>	<u>Bhaca.</u>
bull	inkunzi	inkunti
book	incwadi	incwadzi
mountain	inta6a	intsaba
man	indoda	indvodza

(B) Difference due to vocabulary.

kaffir beer	utywala	ijiki
premarital sex inter- course	ukumet/ha	ukut/hina
goat	ibokhwe	imbuti
vegetables	imifune	isigwamba
Kaffircorn porridge	umqa	isidudu
basket	ingobozi	anyazi
mat	ukhukho	isicamba
clay pot	inqhayi	untila
hare	umvundla	unogwaja
sheep	igu/a	invu
chicken	int/ont/o	igcokwe
puppy	injena	um6ulukundlwana
pumpkin	ithanga	iphuti
door	ucango	uhlaka
ground hornbill	intsikizi	ingududu
sour porridge	inembe	imbila
shoes	izihlengu	iticathula
boundary	umlimandela	umnyele
hat	umnqwazi	isigqoko
pig	ihagu	inulu6e
ash	umthuthu	udwadwa
donkey	undle6ende	imbongolo
to walk	ukuhamba	ukukhamba
to talk	ukuthetha	ukuboba
milk	ubisi	intusi
girl	intombi	inkatanyana
bride	umt/hakazi	umakhoti
axe	izembe	igawula
forest	ihlathi	iligxa
crab	unonkala	inkalankala
secretary bird	inxhanxhosi	igogolofithi

It will be seen that there are marked differences in vocabulary, and Bhaca can be regarded very definitely as a separate dialect of Xhosa.

We have discussed the criteria that mark off the Bhaca from their neighbours in East Griqualand and from other South African Bantu tribes, and the historical sequence of events that brought them to their present habitat. Bhaca culture today is a product of these influences. We have now to investigate the society that they helped^{to} form.

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SOCIAL MORPHOLOGY

CHAPTER II

THE STRUCTURE OF BHACA SOCIETY.Summary of Section.

The centre of this study of Bhaca society is the concept of social structure, the reciprocal patterns of behaviour obtaining between the constituent human units, and the organization of these units, on various criteria, into structural systems. The chapter dealing with social organization, therefore, is fundamental and all other chapters are orientated towards it, attempting to show how every other element of culture serves to maintain the human beings without whom the society would not exist. Chapter II, then, contains an analysis of Bhaca social structure and a synthetic account of social life as lived within this structure. This social structure is composed of a number of statuses which again find their reality in the individuals who occupy them and pass, during their life-time, through the various positions. Chapter III thus deals with status and the development of the individual, with his accompanying progressive acquisition of the differing statuses. I consider these two chapters as cognate.

As the food-drive is perhaps more fundamental than that of sex,⁽¹⁾ and the structural organization cannot exist without the resources of the material environment, the chapter on economic organization is introduced next, and finally that on marriage, the means whereby this whole socio-economic organization is perpetuated. It could be argued that these two latter topics could also be treated under the section on Social Control, but I prefer to leave this section to the more specific control mechanisms of political organization, religion and magic. The main difference between these two sections of the study (Morphology and Control) is that the elements under the former are biologically determined. Social organization is based on relationship (birth), and, on the accident of birth, geographical distribution. Status is a secondary derivation from the fact of the social structure, also determined by the biological criteria of sex, age and birth. Economic life and marriage are in line with Malinowski's "basic imperatives" of food, shelter, and sex.⁽²⁾

(1) Cf. Richards A.I. : Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe - 1932, Chap. 1.

(2) Malinowski B. : A Scientific theory of Culture - 1944, Chap. VII et sequ.

The elements treated under the section on Social Control are derived mechanisms which ensure the smooth functioning of this complex morphological entity.

The structure of the society

Scattered over the district of Mount Frere, nestling in the fertile river-valleys, clinging precariously to the slopes of the mountains or punctuating the flat-topped escarpments, lie the kraals of the Bhaca. As one travels through the country one comes across clusters of brown-thatched huts, each one with the doorway facing towards the rising sun so that its first rays strike through into the mists of sleep, waking the inmates to another day. On each hut is painted a white design, a broad strip about two foot wide, encircling the walls just below the eaves and extending down to frame the windows and door. It is said that the white-washed markings were first used by the amakholwa, the Christians, to distinguish them from their pagan neighbours, but, today, practically every hut bears this mark. The presence of distant kraals, otherwise invisible against the brown of a hillside, is often revealed by the bright points of white reflecting the brilliant Transkeian sun.

These huts are not spread uniformly over the country but tend to be concentrated into definite areas, usually on the side of a mountain or hill or among the thorn-trees and boulders of a humid river valley, or, indeed, anywhere near to water but well drained and not too damp. Each little community is seen, on investigation, to consist of a number of groups of huts, usually consisting of four or five dwellings, built in a row and facing a fenced-in enclosure in which the cattle are kept. This group of huts, or umti (Xhosa umzi), as it is called, is the basic unit of settlement among the Bhaca, and contains, usually, one family group, often extended to include near relatives such as aged parents, or perhaps even a stranger. The Bhaca do not live in villages as do some other South African Bantu tribes, i.e. the groups of huts do not form an organic unit with a corporate village life, but, to a large extent, each umti is an independent organization with its own fields (situated some distance away in a fertile stretch where all the fields of the community are located), its own stock and its own intimate social life. I am using the term "cluster" to denote the neighbourhood unit of a group of these umti located in a particular area and forming a well defined local unit. The umti going to make up a cluster are not necessarily contiguous, the distance between them ranging from ten to five hundred yards,

but they are separated from other clusters by large stretches of veld or grazing land. Distances between clusters are as much as 2 or 3 miles. It is between members of a cluster that a feeling of one-ness and mutual economic co-operation is greatest, and it is here that this Nguni tribe comes nearest to the Sotho or Venda idea of a village. This local group, although so important, is not clearly appreciated as a group by the Bhaca. Its importance lies in the strong ties that always arise among people who live near together, who meet one another daily and who work together in the fields. It is usually, too, a kinship unit, as people related to one another tend to settle near to one another. The Bhaca do not often refer to the cluster as such but, when pressed, call it an isixeko (a collection of homesteads). A number of itixeko are found in a stretch of country, under the jurisdiction of a district headman (isi6ondza), called an ilali (location).⁽¹⁾ These locations, of which there are thirty-six in the Mount Frere district, were originally demarcated by the Administration and each forms the basic unit of local government. The thirty-six locations fall into two sections. Five in the Mvenyane valley⁽²⁾ come under the descendants of the chief Nomt/heket/he, while the rest, occupying the country as far south as the Thina river, acknowledge Chief Wabane Makaula.

The above is a very brief sketch, to be detailed later, of the territorial alignment of 49,953 Bhaca living within an area of 684 square miles⁽³⁾ thus giving a density of 73.03 persons per square mile. As has been seen, this distribution is not uniform over the area and the population is concentrated into pockets of settlement with large areas of cultivation and grazing land in between. To the visitor this territorial distribution of huts is the only material indication of Bhaca society. Occasionally people are seen working in the fields, herdboys drive the cattle home at night and now and again groups of chatting men and women pass by on their way to visit friends. If the kraals (imiti) are visited, children are seen playing in the inkundla (courtyard between the huts and cattle kraal) and women prepare the evening meal, but, superficially, there is surprisingly

(1) e.g. the location of Mlot/heni was divided into the following neighbourhood units (clusters):- Rwantšana, Mlot/heni, Mfun-deni, Luqolwini and Sinyameni; Lugangeni comprised Centule, T/hongweni, Sirudlwini, Magwini, Magxeni and Malongwe.

(2) viz. Mpoza, Nomkolokoto, Siquhingeni, Colana and Ntsimangweni.

(3) N.A.D. Survey Report 1949.

little activity and one is made very aware of the intangibility of the social structure. The only material manifestations are the spatial distribution of the population, group work in the fields, occasional feasts and glimpses of the intimacies of family life caught while passing a hut. The initial effect on the fieldworker is one of frustration and discouragement. Where and what is this vague thing called social structure? Is there a reality in social relations? It is only later, when one becomes immersed, oneself, in the society that the intangible, yet powerful bonds binding and regulating the members of the society become clear and their far-reaching ramifications are seen. One notes the behaviour of children to their parents, the rules of avoidance that a bride must observe towards her parents-in-law and the relations of co-operation and reciprocity between clansmen in the business of wresting a living from the soil. Maladjustments and crises are noted, underlining the fact that social relations and structures do not always function smoothly: the headman's court offers the opportunity of studying the society's attempts to resolve the conflicts in individuals within the framework of the political machine, and sorcery satisfies the frustrated neurotic outside of socially recognised institutions.

Analysis of the dynamics of social cohesion.

As has already been discussed, Bhaca society is composed of a net-work of social relations linking the members of the society through their awareness of one another and causing them to behave towards one another in certain culturally determined ways. The name "patterns of behaviour" was given to this concept. It is necessary at this point to analyse more fully this phenomenon of social relations.

Although we have used the simile of a "net" of inter-linked relationships, this concept, when applied to Bhaca society, is misleading. The linked relations must not be thought of as a homogeneous fabric as, say, a fishing net, stretching its intangible links uniformly over the spatial extent of the society. Rather is there a tendency for the formation of definite patterns round nuclei producing "knots" or "gathers" - to pursue the metaphor. Social relations are not static; they may differ in intensity dependent on the depth and character of the emotions they evoke in the minds of the individuals concerned. Thus some relations have a greater intensity than others, depending on a number of factors. In Bhaca society the two main factors influencing the intensity of social relations are (a) kinship and (b) locality. Kinship, the consciousness of being descended from a common ancestor in the male line (the Bhaca, like all the Nguni, are patrilineal), the mutual love of parents and

children and all the complex of emotions summed up in the saying "Blood is thicker than water" is perhaps the most important. Closely linked with it is locality. People who work together, know each other's affairs intimately, work adjacent fields and co-operate in ploughing, develop a spirit of neighbourliness and affection which becomes deeply rooted in their emotional life. Then, too, neighbours are often relations. The social relations centring round the basic unit of kin (the family) become the nucleus of the "knots" or "gathers" in the fabric of the social system. To make this clearer we must analyse the dynamics of the social relation.

Social relations have a dynamic relationship between them: they differ in intensity. As I conceive it there are two types of intensity, viz.

- (a) the intensity of the relations between two individuals in society (here used in the special sense of depth of feeling of the relationship), and,
- (b), The intensity of the parts within the whole structure i.e. of a particular relationship within the whole fabric of such relationships forming the society.

Both these types of tension depend on proximity of subject to object to keep them at the requisite tautness. Translated into human terms this means that two people must see one another fairly often or else the emotional ties that bind them will undergo a change. A Bhaca man may be expected to assist his father's brother harvest his crops, but if they live miles from one another this relationship will not be entered into. Likewise, although a child is expected to love and respect his mother, these emotions will undergo modification if he is sent to live with his widowed grandmother for a number of years. Relations must be kept alive by constant use.

It is necessary now to explain what is meant by the second type of social relation - one that is extremely important in the understanding of structure.

As has been before mentioned, social relations in a society fall into definite patterns or configurations within that society. A very large number, although not all, are capable of being grouped into units or systems based primarily on kinship. It is these units or structural forms that form the backbone of the society, as, fundamentally, the Bhaca tribe is based on kinship. In its genesis it comprised one of the groups of extended clans that inhabited Natal in the pre-T/hakan period, and today, still, the essential quality of the tribe is that it is a kinship group - although, as we have seen, the process of years has seen the accretion to the original group of elements of other ethnic stocks by marriage or voluntary submission to

the Bhaca chiefs. The Xesi6e of Maboba, under their headman Tyilenzima Sodladla (the area is known by the Bhaca as Maxesi6eni - the place of the Xesi6e), and the two Hlu6i locations of Ncome and Kinira, under Pothwana and Mehlamakhulu, are the best examples of the latter type, while the high proportion of non-Bhaca marriages within the tribal area indicates the former. I have called these important structural forms composing the basis of society, structural units, of which there are three.

(1) The primary structural unit. By this I mean the nexus of relations centring round the biological family and its extension to include near relations on the male, and, to a lesser extent on the female, side. Translated into spatial terms this corresponds to the basic territorial unit of the umti and refers to the set of relations obtaining between parents and children, children and grandparents, between siblings, etc. It is within this group that the intensifying factors of kinship and proximity function to the highest degree, and it is here that the intensity of relations between the members of society is greatest. In a very special sense the family is the most important and fundamental unit of Bhaca society, and it is the complex of relations clustering round the family that forms the "knots" in the network of social relations. Within the family all the basic needs of life, physical and emotional, are realised. From the earliest years the individual is nourished and loved, the developing senses of the child comes into contact with the world through the environment of the family, the worship of the ancestral spirits is centred round the hearth and Bhaca education is largely a matter of conditioning and the inculcation of mores by precept and instruction within the family.

The concentration of intense relations around the family appears to set up a force which can only be likened to that of a magnetic field, drawing the individuals comprising the primary structural unit towards one another and towards a hypothetical centre, creating a special sense of "oneness" in the members of the group.⁽¹⁾ This feeling of unity is what Radcliffe-Brown calls the "social solidarity" of the group. For want of a better term I have called this phenomenon of seeming magnetic force geno-centric force. By this I mean the intangible, emotional "pull" occasioned by the consciousness of kind, of common biological origin. The spatial extent of the tribe is composed of a number of these concentrations of intense relations (families) each, however, retaining its form and solidarity by the centripetal pull of this force. Every

(1) The reason for this intensification of relations, can best be looked for in the findings of the discipline of group psychology.

member of Bhaca society is subject to this force - the general effect being the division of the population into definite kin-units possessing considerable solidarity and with a dynamic existence which prevents their break up.

As we get farther away from the socio-geographical centre of any of these primary structural units the effect of the genocentric force becomes weaker, i.e. the remoter the relationship to the family the less intense become the ties that unite the members, and the individual passes out of their orbit of influence, either himself to form a new family with its own nucleus, or to enter into the genocentric influence of another family - by marriage, adoption or residence.

As has before been stated, the Bhaca place great emphasis on kinship and an attempt is made to perpetuate the bonds of kin, with all their obligations and emotions, beyond the family. This is done by the institution of the clan which I have called the secondary structural unit.

(2) The secondary structural unit (clan). With the family the social relations are kept at the requisite degree of tension by proximity - but, as will be shown later, the Bhaca clan is not a local unit. Clansmen, although tending to settle in one particular area, are not necessarily contiguous, and other methods have to be utilized to keep alive the consciousness of kin, the genocentricity of relations. This is done primarily through the use of a praisename or isi6ongo by all members of the clan. Bhaca clans are patrilineal, i.e. they are a group of people who regard themselves as being descended from a common ancestor in the male line. The clan is also eponymous, i.e. it takes the name of the original founding ancestor, who is almost invariably not traceable in the genealogies. As we have seen, genocentricity depends to a very large extent on contact - preferably close geographical proximity - and it is possible to have greater intensity of relations between non-related neighbours inhabiting the same cluster (isixeko) than between blood relatives. Nevertheless the isi6ongo acts as a very powerful agent in keeping the sentiments on which clan solidarity depends at the requisite tension.

The Bhaca do not seem to conceive of those bearing the same isi6ongo as forming a distinct group in the society. There are no clan meetings at which all the members come together, and a man, during his lifetime, sees only a small proportion of his own clan members. Some may even be found scattered in other tribes, and, as clan members are expected to show hospitality to one another and render mutual assistance in economic affairs, a traveller in a foreign area is pleased when he meets a man of the same isi6ongo for here he knows that he will obtain food and

shelter. Righthand was often invited to the home of the local evangelist at Mhlot/heni for a meat feast; they both had the same praisename, Limaku. The consciousness of group only appears to be present when, for some reason or other, clansmen come together. The anthropologist's concept of a large group of people descended from a mythical founder is, to the Bhaca, an abstraction. They recognise fellow members when they meet them and enquire about their isi6ongo, but it ends there. There is no common word for "clan". The nearest is "isi6ongo", "praise name". (1)

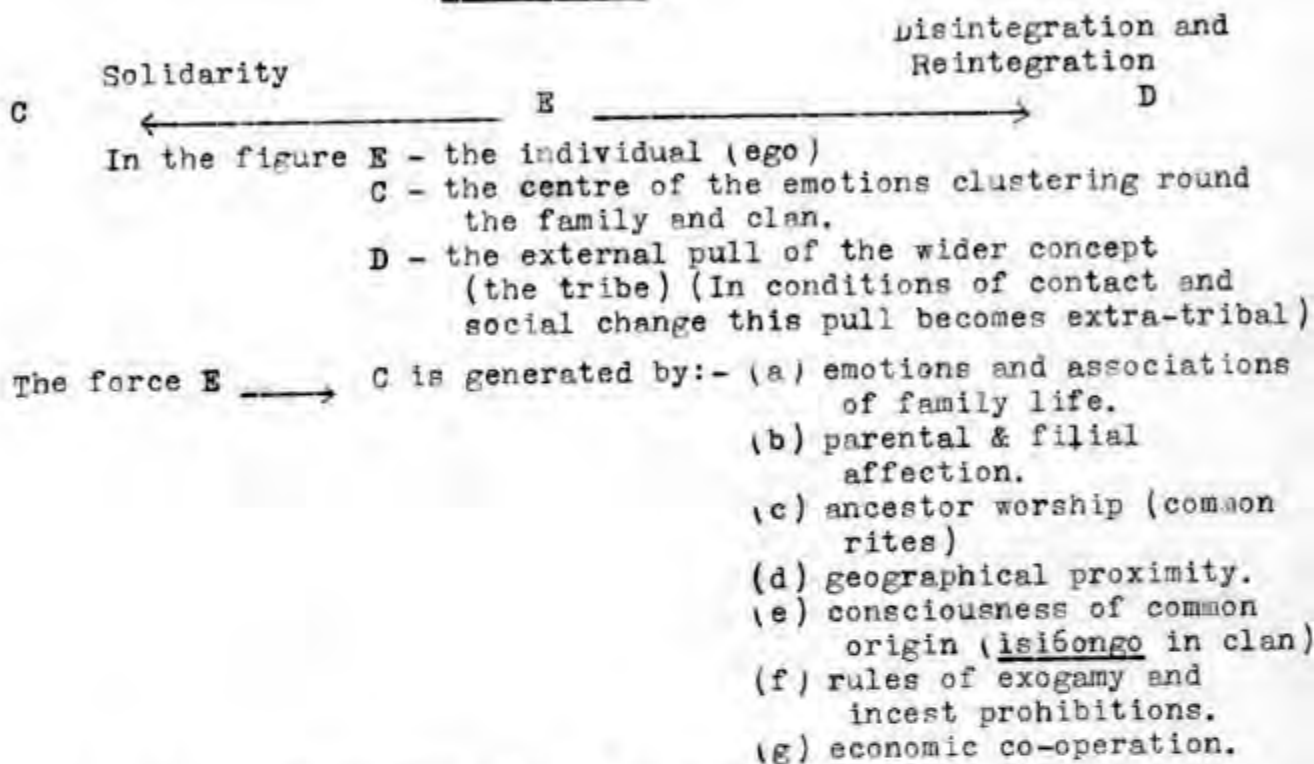
The mere possession of such a name is not in itself sufficient to keep up the intensity and consciousness of the relationship. Even the economic aspect of mutual help is often neglected. A much more far-reaching mechanism is necessary and is employed, linked inseparably with the isi6ongo, viz., the rule of exogamy. People who bear the same isi6ongo may not marry or even have sexual relations with one another. It is interesting to note how important this prohibition still is in Bhaca social mores, and how little it has been affected by the impact of Western ideas. Dingane, one of the most influential and happy-go-lucky of the iindlavini (member of one of the gangs of young men) who had been to the Rand, reacted with horror at the suggestion that it would be possible to ukut/hina (have external sexual intercourse) with a girl of the same clan as himself in the urban locations of Johannesburg where no one would know. The horror of incest through breach of clan exogamy is a very potent method of keeping alive the consciousness of common kin. Thus in the secondary structural unit (clan) the genocentric force, which has become attenuated by spatial distance, is reinforced by the institution of the isi6ongo and exogamy. It will be seen that the secondary structural unit will include a large number of primary units all having a genocentricity of their own, each, however, centring on the mythical founder of the clan, with their divergent interests synthesized. Bhaca clans are atotemic.

(3) Tertiary structural unit (tribe). We now come to the consideration of the tertiary unit in Bhaca social structure, which is the tribe, and the necessity of further refining the concept of social relations. Each individual in the society, in addition to being acted upon by the genocentric force generated by the concentration of intense social relations round the family nucleus, is subject to another force, which, for want

(1) I have discussed this point with other Africans of varying tribes since and have reached the same conclusion. Some Bhaca know the word indzini for this group but the term is rarely met with.

of a better term, can be called centrifugal, i.e. the movement away from the exclusive interest in the family and clan, and the consciousness of belonging to a wider group - the tribe. The existence of this force is essential to the existence of the tribe as such, but is hostile to the solidarity of the family and clan. Thus the individual is pulled in two opposing ways - towards the family, with all its associations, and towards a wider ideal, the tribe. The interaction of forces can best be explained by a figure:-

FIGURE III.



e, f, and g apply to the clan as well as family.

The force E → D is generated by

- (a) tribal consciousness and pride. (songs, myths).
- (b) the chieftainship.
- (c) ingcube (first fruits ceremonial).
- (d) warfare.
- (e) the desire for marriage outside clan and within tribe.

with the enlargement and extension of social relations, resulting from the impact with Western civilization, we get an intensification of this pull away from the dominance of kin and the family. Some of the added factors influencing this weakening of local bonds and extension of interests and relations beyond the tribe are as follows:-

- (f) marriage outside tribe
- (g) individualism
- (h) wider trade relations
- (i) education
- (j) migrant labour
- (k) African Nationalism

- (l) Christianity
 (m) wider political and legal bonds (1)

With the tribe there is very little genocentric force as such. This is mainly due to the spatial extent of the distribution of members, and the heterogeneity of the population stemming from the fact that the tribe has ceased to be merely the sum of the descendants of the original component clans, and includes foreign groups. It is therefore necessary for other factors to be called in to bind its members together. Chief of these is the consciousness of belonging to the tribe - a form of nationalism based fundamentally on the genocentricity of kin but owing its vigour to the institution of chieftainship. Loyalty to a chief is the one attribute common to all members of the tribe of whatever ethnic stock, and the chief is the centre around which all the social relations are gathered up and bound into a common system. He is the father of his people, usually the senior representative by descent of the tribal founder and, as such, is the high priest of his people. He is the supreme law-giver and judge: he is the tribe (2). His importance is emphasised among the Bhaca by the sacred first fruits ceremony (the ingcube) at which he and the tribe is strengthened by the chief's medicines, handed down from the great wizard and founder of the tribe as we know it today, Madzikane. Tribal sentiment is also kept alive by traditions and songs recounting the prowess of the tribe in the past and at the present day. Then, too, tribal consciousness and solidarity is emphasised and underlined when the group is threatened from without or itself asserts itself in aggressive warfare. Many of the tribal songs deal with war.

In the greater complexity of Western Civilization, social relations are organized around other interests than those of kin. Religious life is centred round the Church in its various forms and creeds; the economic drive round the complex systems of commerce, finance and industry with their dependence on the cash nexus: education for status is catered for by schools, universities

(1) The Wilsons (The Analysis of Social Change: Cambridge 1945) refer to this extension of relations as "increase in scale" (page 40). They correlated an increasing intensity in wider relations with a decreasing intensity of narrower relations. "The corollary of this is that local patriotism declines as wider loyalties develop" (page 41) and man becomes less dependent economically, emotionally and even religiously (with the change from ancestor worship to Christianity) when linked with the wider society of Western civilization.

(2) c.f. the statements from the Swazi quoted by Kuper in "The Uniform of Colour" (Home Univ. Press 1947) "Kings are only lost by war and where there is no king the nation is dead". "There is no country without a king, just as there is no home without a headman". Pages 98,99.

and learned societies, and innumerable associations, societies and clubs serve those whose interests are cultural, physical or scientific. This organization of individuals through structures of social relations based on criteria other than kin is not a feature of Bhaca society. Religion occurs only within the family group of the primary and secondary structural units and the ancestors of each are conceived to take a deep interest in the affairs of their children. The senior representative of the family by birth is the intercessor between all those dependent on him and the ancestral spirits, as is the clanhead, and, to a much more attenuated degree, the chief is chief priest to his people when the sacred tribal ancestors have to be approached in times of national emergency or in the yearly strengthening of the tribe. Education takes place within the family circle as does the greater portion of economic activity. The Bhaca do not have structural organizations based on age as do the Zulu, Swazi and Tswana, for example, who have a system of age grades, and there are no "Schools" for the initiation of young boys and girls. Bhaca society, therefore, is organized on two main principles viz., king and locality: social relations depend on what we have called genocentricism and proximity for their organization.

With the impact of Western civilization new structural groupings arise and individuals enter into social relations with one another because of mutual interest in Church, education, agriculture (e.g. Farmers' Associations) and, a later development, political ideologies. These aspects will be dealt with later, and, with the relaxing of social bonds resulting from the widening of social relations, will form the basis of the final chapter.

My duty here has been to outline briefly the bare bones of the social structure - the structural forms that compose the back-cloth against which the social life of the Bhaca is lived. We must now fill in the "flesh", the descriptive details. The whole life of the individual is lived within the framework of these structures, strangers are incorporated without difficulty as individuals, families or sections of clans within the tribal framework and fused into the system through the acknowledgment of the chief as political, ritual and economic head. Our concepts of primary, secondary and tertiary structural units must now be translated into factual terms.

Family life - social composition and material aspect.

As we have seen, the basic unit of Bhaca settlement is the umti. Each consists of a man, the owner, with his wife or wives and their dependent children, possibly married sons with their wives and children, unmarried daughters and perhaps an aged relative or widowed brother. marriage, as among all the

Bantu, is polygamous and is also patrilocal, and although formerly the umti might consist of a large aggregation of people belonging to families related in the male line, today the average umti consists of three adults and three children⁽¹⁾.

It will be seen that although the majority of imiti do not, today, contain more than six people, adults and children, a fair proportion, c. 30%, contain more and, in one particular case, contained 29 people. This was the kraal of a very wealthy polygamist who had attained great prominence as a herbalist. (inyanga).

Within the polygamous household each wife has her own hut and, usually, a store hut. Unlike the Zulu and Mpondo, huts are seldom built in a semicircle, a straight row being preferred, and today, with the sharp decline of polygamy due to Christianity and the new economic system based on cash values, imiti tend to consist of not more than four or five huts. The newly-founded family needs, basically, four huts - a sleeping hut, kitchen, store hut and one for strangers. Grandparents tend to sleep in the kitchen with the young children until the latter have reached the age when they begin love-making, when separate huts will be built for the girls and boys of the family. These huts for young people are called intsanga, and are successively occupied by the children as they grow older until they marry, building a new umti, either adjacent to or away from his father's kraal, if a boy, or going to live with her husband if a girl. The unmarried girl's intsanga plays a very important part in the life of adolescent youth as it is here that she entertains her lovers. Traditionally the intsanga should not be built at the end of the row of huts comprising the umti but somewhere in the centre so that the girl's male relatives - her father and brothers - can keep an eye on her and her lover. The significance of this will be discussed later in the section on marriage. On the other hand it is considered better that the intsanga should not be next to the father's hut as, if this ~~was~~ so, the girl's lovers would be frightened to come to the girl - and no parents with their daughter's interests at heart would want this. "They do not want their daughter to be called isi/umani (a person who is not loved), but they want to control matters", as one informant put it. An ideal arrangement would be the sleeping hut (indlu enkulu) in which the parents sleep, the kitchen hut, then the girl's intsanga, the store hut, and finally the boys' hut in which her brothers sleep.

The area in front of the umti is occupied, in most cases, by the cattle kraal (isi6aya), usually square in shape and

(1) See Appendix A. From a census of 63 imiti the following was obtained:- adults 3.03, children 3.06. Compare this with Hunter's figures for the Mpondo "four to five adults and four children" (page 15).

composed of aloes planted close to one another to form a fence. Occasionally brushwood is used for the kraalwall, or, in areas of broken ground, stones. Sometimes the isi6aya is built behind the umti. In contrast to Mpondo practice, I have hardly ever come across a circular isi6aya and the square or rectangular form predominates. It should be said here that an interesting feature of Bhaca polygamy is the fact that there is no righthand and lefthand house, a custom that is so widespread among the Nguni generally. Most Bhaca today are monogamous, although there are, of course, exceptions. Skankanka, the wealthy herbalist mentioned above, had seven wives, each with her own kraal, but all contiguous and scattered along one ridge. The first wife married ranks as the great wife, the indlunkulu as she is called, and all other wives take rank in the order in which they are married. There is no system of placing wives under the "houses" of a Great or righthand wife to support it as "rafters" (iqadi). Each wife, on marriage, is given her own hut, either in the same umti or some distance away, her own fields and her own stock. Wealthy polygamists make a practice of building the kraals for their various wives a number of miles apart and a chief can have his kraals scattered in many districts. The second wife married is also given a "house" called the indlu encane (the little hut) and subsequent wives are ranked as indlu yesithsatfu (third hut) or indlu ekeKathsi (Xhosa indlu pakhathi) (middle, or inside hut), indlu yesine (fourth hut), indlu yesihlanu (fifth hut), and so on. Each house has certain stock allocated to it which cannot be alienated from it by the head of the umti without the approval of the wife of that house and its own property and fields which are tilled by the personnel of the house and whose produce belongs solely to that house. Thus, on analysis, it will be seen that the umti is not an amorphous structure of family relations but is itself divided into various sections (the houses) each composed of a wife with her children, united, however, by their allegiance to a common father. Despite this further subdivision of the structure of the family it must not be thought that the house in a polygamous household forms a separate unit that can exist by itself. In Bhaca law every woman is a minor and the family group can only be recognized legally through a male family head. On the death of the head the family tends to split up into its component houses, but, immediately, control is taken over by the heir of each house, i.e. the eldest son of the house, which then forms the nucleus of a new family. Occasionally it happens that there is no heir or that he is still a minor and the widow acts in his place, or a brother of the deceased takes over responsibility. Today, with the widespread incidence of Christianity among the Bhaca, the widowed wife of the family head is assuming an

important role in this respect. She must be consulted by her sons on the disposal of house property and, even during his lifetime, a husband is supposed to consult his wife and heir on the disposal of property of their particular house. T/helwane, a man of about forty, was the eldest son of a brother of the Mhlot/heni district head, yet his mother, a woman of great personality, was consulted and referred to on all matters concerning the family. It appears that the influence exerted by a family head's widow depends to a large extent on her personality. Christianity with its teachings of the equality of individuals and the opportunities of personality development offered by the manyano or Women's Associations has contributed largely to this greater influence of women in family affairs.

Today the incidence of polygamy is very low among the Bhaca. The very great majority have only one wife, and few polygamists have more than two. There are of course exceptions. Skankanka had seven wives and Chief Mngcisana (died 1926) was notorious for the number of his kraals. He has well over twenty wives and stories are still told how he would meet children when travelling through the country who asked for sweets saying that he was their father. He was reputed to have so many concubines scattered over the country that he literally did not know the number of his children. A polygamous husband must be careful to distribute his favours equally between all his wives or else his life will be made miserable through jealous quarrels between them. The usual practice is to spend a week with each. This custom causes a certain amount of fluidity in the composition of the different houses in the umti, for while he is sleeping with a wife, her children are taken into the huts of the other wife or wives, so that they are constantly moving from one hut to another. At any one time the people sleeping in a hut will be a wife, her children, and perhaps the children of another wife. If the husband is away from the umti for any reason, all the wives are supposed to sleep together in one hut - usually the indlu enkulu. This is ostensibly to prevent the suspicion of any unfaithfulness on the part of the wives ⁽¹⁾. All wives come under the control of the great wife (indlunkulu), who is the first one married and who is responsible for their fidelity and good behaviour. This does not always work in practice. Mankwali, a junior wife, was made pregnant by a man while working in the fields, but the senior wife (theoretically responsible) explained that it was not her fault and escaped trouble. Each house has its own fields cultivated by the wife of that house who is helped by the other wives if they are on good terms. The

(1) An interesting picture, if slightly biased, of life in a polygamous household will be found in "Zulu Woman" by Rebecca Reyher.

garden near the umti, which supplies the more immediate family needs, is owned and worked in common.

Family life - description of dress and of the umti.

One of the first things that strikes a visitor to the Bhaca is the fact that the great majority have forsaken the primitive dress of their ancestors and adopted the German print or coat and trousers of the White Man. This transition is brought about mainly through the teaching of the church and reflects the fact that the majority of the people are professing Christians. While one still frequently sees qa6a (pagan) women in traditional goatskins, the men have completely adopted the European-style of dress and the ancient Bhaca dress is today worn only by a few youths in the Buffalo Neck and Njijini areas. It would be well at this stage to give some description of the distinctive Bhaca costume. Bryant⁽¹⁾ has something to say of the original dress before the exodus from Natal:-

"The dress of the wu/e-Zelemu (Bhaca) men consisted of a separate covering fore and aft, as with the Zulu-Nguni; but the sporran and buttock-cover was with them, not prepared of skins (as with the Zulus), but of square patches of supple matwork woven of fine grass (after the manner of the small Zulu eating mats or iziTebe) and strung from the projecting thigh-bone before and behind. A tiny headring, fashioned after the manner of the Zulus but scarcely larger than a duck's egg - one of which was met with still in use as late as 1889 - was worn by men, sewn onto the hair, and allowed to grow upward with the latter, till it rested on an oval wall of hair four to five inches in height, resembling somewhat, when seen from a distance, the highcrowned Turkish fez worn by Soudanese soldiers. This high-ringed coiffure (termed an umPatsha) continued common among Natal natives - though the dimensions had since increased to those of the Zulu oval saucer - until near the 90's of last century. The Zelemu women wore a kilt similar to that of the Zulus, but of dressed sheepskin (in place of cow-hide), or alternatively of the paunch of an ox. Their hair, smeared with red ochre mixed with grease, was twisted into numberless strings, falling, like an inverted mop, down as far as the eyes and over the ears and neck, the whole being termed an umYeko. Young unringed men also wore a similar umYeko, but minus the red ochre. With a woman, a black umYeko denoted mourning for a dead chief or husband. Hollow, cylindrical neckrings (called izimBedu, Zulu imNaka) of copper or brass were worn originally as aristocratic decoration by both sexes.

(1) Olden Times in Zululand and Natal - Page 375.

In later years, the men, having discovered that the metal became uncomfortably heated in the sun, abandoned the bauble solely to the female sex The men remained content with smaller similar rings (amasongo) worn round the wrist or arm.

Maize was unknown in those early days in Natal, the principal cereal crop among the Zulus being upoko (Eleusine caracana). Their cultivated vegetables consisted of pumpkins and gourds alone in later years (perhaps during Dingiswayo's and Shaka's time) a short variety of kaffir corn (Sorghum cafrorum) and afterwards a short yellow variety of maize (Z. ungoye or ulwandle-kazana) was introduced."

As we have seen the traditional dress of the Bhaca men has disappeared and the ragged cast-off clothes of European manufacture are universal. A few young gaba men wear a type of dress based on the original but made of trade cloth called salampore (ityali) a striped material much favoured by Bhaca pagan youth. It consists of a loin cloth (unonstwintswintswi) over which is draped a skirt of the same material reaching almost to the ankles and meeting in the front so that, in walking, one leg protrudes. The upper part of the body is usually covered by a white singlet bought at the store and a handkerchief or other piece of cloth is tied round the head. Those who have been to the goldmines, and they constitute the great majority, are considerably more sophisticated in their dress. They are the ones who comprise the iindlavini, the gangs of young men who roam the countryside looking for girls and who perform the dances of indlam at marriages and at initiation ceremonies of young girls. The dress of the iindlavini differs markedly from one locality to another. Round Maboba, Njijini, Lugangeni and Mvuzi, white shirts (silk if possible) and well-creased trousers are de rigueur, while at Mlot/heni and Lut/hikini multi-coloured shirts and jerseys with fantastically flared trousers with many patches of violently contrasted colours are the vogue. Then, too, all iindlavini of any standing decorate themselves with dansothando - the pins and necklaces of coloured beadwork given to them by their lovers. Others wear pinafores, dresses, and other articles of feminine attire over their clothes to show that they are loved by many girls. All iindlavini carry two or more sticks and I aroused much laughter and good-natured comment when I arrived at a wedding with two sticks. In the low-lying river valleys, where jackals and other vermin live among thorn-bush and rocks, bags made of animal skin are common in which are kept the medicines to produce love. Even Otjie, the half-witted and malformed herd at Glen Moley, had his love medicines, and, it was rumoured, had successfully made love to girls. The rest of the iindlavini were sceptical, however.

The dress of Christian young girls consists of short frocks, often of floral material, and Christian women wear the typical full-skirted frock, usually of blue german print, with a black headcloth, iseyidukhwe (Afr. sydoek). On festive occasions a black skirt with coloured silk blouse is usual. Women and girls seldom wear shoes. Those who possess them prefer to go without and one often sees women going to church bare-footed until the building is reached, when they stop and put on their shoes. Some school children and most men wear shoes at least some of the time and the demand at Glen Holey was great enough for a fulltime cobbler to earn a livelihood mending shoes on the store's verandah.

But it is in the dress of the pagan woman and girl that typical Bhaca dress is still seen. The chief article of clothing for young girls is a short skirt of coloured beads, called an isikhakha, hanging in front and a bright square of yellow or red cloth bound firmly round the hips and buttocks but open in the front to allow the isikhakha to be seen. Apart from bangles, bead necklaces and head strings this is all the essential clothing a young girl needs. On more formal occasions a breast-cloth (usually a small towel) is tied behind the neck and allowed to hang down in front, covering the breasts. Hair is worn shaved close until the girl becomes engaged when it is allowed to grow, preparatory to it being greased with fat and ochre and rolled into ringlets to form the typical married woman's coiffure. All amaqaaba (pagans) are very fond of wearing round their ankles bangles made of the rubber rings used for sealing jam jars or cut out of motor car tubes. (itilinge).

As observed by Bryant, Bhaca women wear skirts, not made from oxhide but from the skins of sheep or, more often, goats. This is distinctly unusual as most Transkeian tribes have adopted European cloth which is usually stained red with red ochre. Bhaca women do not use red ochre at all except in their hair, and the skin is made supple and soft by burying it for some time in the manure of the cattle kraal, so that the hair will come off easily, and rubbing it well with fat. This, while keeping the body free from lice and other guests, takes some getting used to especially in a hut full of sweating bodies on a hot day. Fundamentally qaaba dress consists of two pieces of goatskin tied front and back and supported by a leather belt (formerly one of bead work). At home the breasts are left bare but when going to the store or to town a fat-smearred blanket or iseyidukhwe is bound under the arms and tied in front. Sometimes Pondo sheeting, saturated in fat, is substituted for the goatskin skirt. But it is in their headdress that the Bhaca women are most distinctive. It is difficult to describe the coiffure or unyaaba (Bryant's umyeke) as it is called. The impression one gets is of a thick roll of red clay encircling the head a few inches above the eyes from which hangs a thick fringe of greasy ochre-smearred strings

of hair "like an inverted mop". The fringe is prevented from obscuring the vision by being caught back over the eyes by a piece of black cloth called in iqhiya, the general effect being very much like that of a Glengarry or service forage cap. The method of creating the headdress is as follows. On engagement the young girl allows her hair to grow until it sticks out in a thick bush. Sometime before her marriage she rubs it with a mixture of fat and red ochre (ibovu) and twists it into strings until it hangs down in a long, thick fringe all round her head. From some photographs of the ingcube ceremony taken in 1912 which I was fortunate enough to obtain, it appears that this was the usual way the hair was done, merely hanging loose with a circlet of beads called ichele round the crown. Since then there seems to have been a further development. A cloth stuffed with wool is taken and used for the base of the headdress. It is thickly smeared with fat mixed with red ochre and the ringlets are pushed through it and allowed to hang down all round the head. The section in front is pulled back by the iqhiya. This mode is universal today. I could get no information on when or why this new fashion was introduced or from where. Photographs of ghaca in Ixopo taken by Kohler show the 1912 fashion only.

Having described the people we must visit a typical umti and describe the material structure in which their daily life is lived and in which the ghaca are born, live and die. In nearly every hut one finds evidence of European material culture in the form of a bedstead, sideboard or merely cooking pots bought at the store. The degree of Westernization ranges from the homes of the chief and his secretary, the latter owning an harmonium, to the most primitive tribesman still using the clay pots and grass mats of his ancestors. The following is a compound picture of a fairly well-to-do umti, a synthesis of a number of typical kraals.

This homestead consists of three huts, a kitchen, main hut and storehut. The kitchen hut is rather dark and smoky and the reed and grass thatch and roof-poles are grimy and black from the smoke of years. Bunches of drying kaffir corn, implements and nicknacks like scissors and medicines, stuck in the thatch, are also covered with a thick layer of soot, making them difficult to distinguish. In the centre of the mud and dung floor, rather dusty and strewn with the objects of daily use, is the circular, slightly hollowed-out iziko or hearth where most of the evening cooking is done, filling the hut with dense clouds of smoke and making seeing and breathing difficult. During fine weather the fire is made out in the inkundla (courtyard) and this is also done on moonlight nights. Fire is a sociable thing and, especially during the extremely cold East Griqualand winters, supper is a time when all the family gather round and discuss the news of the day. At such times the kitchen assumes the status of the most important hut in the umti. The

back wall of the hut is built up in the form of a low shelf of earth which is used for storing pots. On it are three three-legged trade pots (ungxawu), blackened by use, three large clay pots for beer, and an ordinary trade bucket, fairly new. A shallow enamel bowl lies with them, and, in front of the ledge, is a large flattened stone with a bowl-shaped hollow worn in the centre. Near it is the pecked grindstone. Corn and mealies are placed in the hollow and ground by rubbing with the cylindrical grindstone.

The left wall is occupied by an uthango, a semi-circle of sundried bricks and stones, forming a space in which dried mealies are kept for more immediate use. Not all huts have this uthango. On the wall on the man's side (the right on entering the hut) an old battered army kitbag hangs from a peg. It belongs to Inkosi, the eldest son of the kraal and is full to bursting with dried roots, bottles and magic paraphenalia. There are a few tin cans, widely used among the Bhaca for carrying odds and ends (ibekile Afr. beker) a large tin bath resting on the uthango and some woven grass mats and trays. A block of wood does service as a seat and a large woodbore, used for drilling holes in the logs used for making sledges, a spear and a couple of sticks are stuck in the thatch on the man's side. Pigs, hens and even young calves wander in and out of the huts and the ever-present kaffir dogs lie in the sun covered with flies, making the approach of a stranger a hazardous affair.

The main hut of this umti is a bigger structure than the kitchen. In both huts the doorways are large, big enough to allow the entry of a full-grown man without much stooping, and they are thus a development of and improvement on the original Nguni beehive-type of hut with the low entrance. This type of hut is today universal among the Bhaca and most Transkeian tribes and is built of sundried (Kimberley) brick or sods. Most huts have window openings, about a foot square on one or both sides, closed by a square piece of board, attached at the centre and swivelling round on itself to block the opening. In our umti the main hut has an iron bedstead along one wall and the floor next to it is covered with a grass mat (isicamba). Immediately on entering the door on the right is a wooden form used for visitors. In Bhaca etiquette it is considered very bad manners to keep standing on entering a hut - so suitable seating is always provided ⁽¹⁾. At the head of the bed, on an old tea-box, is a well made wooden chest with a lock and an ornate brass handle, probably bought on the Rand. It is used for storing clothes. Facing the doorway is a wooden dresser on which a set of tea things and various dishes and vases are kept. On the topmost shelf rests

(1) This is also so among the Venda. A woman who stands on the threshold of a hut will have difficulty in labour.

a Bible, a couple of cheap tin trays and a small pile of hymnbooks in the vernacular. Between the dresser and the box is a homemade table made from the top of a soap box set on rickety wooden legs. On it is a broken gramophone. In the middle of the hut is a wooden table and two chairs made locally by native carpenters. On the side of the hut opposite the bed is a grass sleeping mat and blankets rolled against the wall, and the floor is kept very clean with a handleless reed broom called umt/haya. As in the kitchen hut, the thatch is made the receptacle of all sorts of odds and ends stuck into it, viz. a pair of shearing scissors, blackened with soot, a hammer, a short spear and branch of the gum tree (used in an infusion of hot water to ward off colds c.f. our use of eucalyptus). There is also a piece of dried honeycomb, burnt in the doorway of the hut every night by the eldest son to keep away the malicious and mischievous imp, thikolo/e, from coming into the hut. His widowed mother is an influential member of the local manyano (Women's Association) and the co-presence of a Bible and hymnbooks on ^{the} one hand and the material of African magic and witchcraft on the other is symbolic of the many inconsistencies in the practice of Bhaca Christianity.

Finally let us look in at the store hut. It is situated on the otherside of the great hut to that of the kitchen and is about the same size. On the left side when entering one sees a great pile of yellow maize cobs drying on the floor and taking up about a half of the floor space. Choice cobs, selected for more immediate use, are tied by their twisted-back paper-like leaves to a grass rope stretched across between two beams. On a peg at the back of the hut hangs a saddle and bridle and an axe and a couple of tin cans stand against the back wall. Near the door is the large stamping block made from the trunk of a tree hollowed out at the top, and lying next to it is the well-worn wooden stamper. As this is a Christian kraal there are no large clay pots of kaffir beer (ijiki), only marewu, unfermented gruel, being drunk. All huts are closed by (usually) ill-fitting wooden doors fitted with a hasp and staple and secured by a lock. This introduction of the custom of locking up everything is a new development in a society that had very little in the way of personal property of any value: it appears to have been stimulated by men returning from the mines and this is borne out by the number of Rand-made wooden trunks, so beloved of mine boys, that are found in most homes. Then, too, there has been the spread of the new values based on a cash economy and the emerging importance of personal property.

The social composition of the umti.

Each umti consists of the family of a man (head) with the house (indlu) or houses of his one or more wives, the children of these wives, if unmarried, and perhaps one or two married sons with their wives and children. Married daughters live away at imiti of

their husbands. There are great variations in the actual size and composition of the umti, as will be seen from an examination of Appendix B, in which a random sample of the social composition of imiti in Rwantsana and Mhlot/heni clusters is presented.

Some interesting facts emerge from the family analysis. In all twenty-nine families investigated there is not one case of polygamy - an indication of the extent of Christianity among the Bhaca. Of the sixteen cases in Mhlot/heni, only one, Saḡisa Milandu, was not at least a professing church member. Not all marriages, however, were contracted in church, showing that church adherence is, in some cases, a fairly new phenomenon. Often traders are required to supply a complete "Christian" outfit to a recently converted qaba woman - the massive clay-smearing headdress is removed, the head shaven and the inevitable long-skirted German print donned to emphasise the departure from heathen life. As we shall see later this departure is often more apparent than real. Another point to be noticed is the comparative smallness of the family as compared to, say, the Mpondo of twenty years ago ⁽¹⁾ and, presumably, the Bhaca of that period. There is, unfortunately, no data on the former size of the Bhaca family, but, as the cultures of the two tribes are so analagous, one can safely assume that the size of the umti was similar.

There are several possible reasons for this reduction in size. Chief of these seems to be the relaxing of parental control. Nowadays practically every young man goes to the mines on reaching the age of eighteen and, with the added sophistication and relative freedom from restraint and public opinion, young men tend to set up their own houses at an earlier age than was formerly the case. On the other hand migrant labour also acts in the opposite way and tends to deter young men from setting up their own kraal for some years after they would normally do so. Then, as we have seen, the decrease in polygamy has the natural effect of reducing the size of the umti. Whereas it would formerly consist of a number of houses each with its wife and children there is now only the small family group. Today it is rare for brothers of the head to reside in the same umti with their families and the tendency is for each man to have his own kraal. The most common residents outside the immediate family of parents and children are aged grandparents, and perhaps children of deceased brothers. Examples of these arrangements can be seen in the sample. The effect of this reduction in the size of the local group on the nexus of social relations binding the family will be discussed later after these relations have been studied in greater detail.

family Life - life in the umti.

Although the basic pattern of the Bhaca umti, a pattern considerably modified in recent years, is one of a number of houses

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Hunter, op cit. - Pages 61-64.

(itindlu) each consisting of a wife and her children with its own property, especially in cattle, and the use of certain fields, the umti is a single social group and a high degree of co-operation and common loyalty is expected between all the constituent members. The binding force drawing the members together and uniting them is centred on the common allegiance to the head; it is from his status in the society that the various statuses of the members stem, and they find their meaning with reference to him. The houses in a polygamous kraal rank in the order that the wives were married to the head: the children of each house have their status affected by this ranking, and the position that the umti as a whole occupies in the society results from the status of the family head within the total structure. [Status, among the Bhaca, results from various factors⁽¹⁾. of primary importance is birth. The influence of primogeniture is very strongly underlined in the Bantu family - very much more so than among Europeans. Elder brothers expect and exact a large amount of respect from those younger than themselves. This type of relation is re-emphasised in the custom that a younger brother should never call an elder brother by his name but refer to him as mkhuluwa. This point was forcibly brought out one day when a European youngster, of about 15, the son of neighbours, was talking to me and calling me by my first name. Mfaša, my interpreter, asked me about it afterwards. He said that every time the boy referred to me by my name his "whole body writhed". He would hardly believe me when I explained that it was quite usual between friends and that my younger brother invariably called me by my first name. His comment is illuminating:- "I will take over everything of European civilization - but not that!" From this we can expect that the most important umti in an area is that belonging to the man senior by birth - usually the district head. As there is a strong tendency for relatives, i.e. clansmen, to settle in one area the head is usually the senior representative of the clan in the district. On the highest level the chief is the senior representative of all the families in the tribe. Formerly birth was the only factor affecting the importance of an umti in the society. Today other factors come in. Although the headman's kraal is the centre of political and ritual life in a district the kraal of the local evangelist or umfundisi (ordained minister) is fast ousting it from its primary position. Often, as at the home of the Rev. M. at Lugangeni, it is the site of a church or school, two institutions which have contributed much to social change among the Bhaca. Apart from birth a man might become important by his personality, his eloquence at the tribal courts, as a councillor to chief or headman, or as a noted witchdoctor or herbalist. Then, too, he might be wealthy and a

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This is discussed more fully in Chapter III.

liberal entertainer. All these factors affect the social significance of an umti in the society and, indirectly, the members.

Members of an umti work and eat together. Even if wives of a polygamist have separate kraals some distance from one another and thus cannot actually take meals together, they are expected to co-operate in field work and help one another, that is, if they are on mutual good terms. Unlike the Mpondo, wives do not appear to take the duty of cooking in turns but co-wives will be seen, one preparing pumpkins or grinding corn, while another fetches water or does some other household task. There are no definite times for eating - "When one feels hungry one eats", and meals are taken whenever desired. As members of the family are often out herding, drawing water, at the headman's kraal or at school or at any of the many feasts and ceremonies that vary the life of the Bhaca tribesman, hungry men, women or children are always arriving home ready for food, and a meal must be ready. No special places are set aside for meals. In the chilly winter evenings the family gathers round the hearth fire in the kitchen hut, but on warm summer nights the men can often be seen near the cattle kraal eating and talking, while the women sit round the fire, made, during fine weather, outside the hut. If men-folk or visitors are sitting near the cattle kraal the food is sent to them by the young boys and girls of the umti.

Certain taboos must be observed when eating. When a person is given food, the spoon with which to eat it must be handed to him separately. It must not be put in the dish with the food. Also food must not be opened out to cool when it is hot, for if this is done it is believed that, when fighting, the man will be severely thrashed and will fall asprawl with legs and arms spread. If a spoon is used with which to do this a man will get iyu6ukulo, a severe pain in the stomach. When finished eating a man should not leave his spoon on the empty plate. If both food and beer is given to one when visiting a kraal one must be careful not to sit between the plate of food and the beaker, i.e. they must not be placed on either side of one. If this is done to a man he will become weak. The food must be given first, and then the beer. These customs apply only to men and not to women. When asked the reason for this the Bhaca say that "women are not going to face the world with all its difficulties". Other taboos dictate that, when entering a hut, sticks (always carried by men) must not be left leaning against the wall but must be laid flat on the floor at the threshold or stuck in the thatch - if the visitor is staying in the kraal for some time. If this is not done one will always be beaten by one's enemies. People should not be pointed at and, in giving a knife to a person, the handle should be presented first. If this is not done the person will say "you want me to be stabbed by my enemies". "When you point at someone with your forefinger it

means that you despise him and means that he is an inyholi (i.e. a person with only one eye)". "Pointing is only done to young children e.g. 'This is my child'". Apparently one can point at a friend, but it is insulting to do it to anyone else.

Food is simple and the diet unvaried to the point of monotony. The day usually starts with a cup of tea brought to the bedstead or sleeping mat of the parents by young children or perhaps a young bride. This cup of tea is known as imvuko (from ukuvuka to awake) and coffee or cocoa may be substituted instead of tea. The latter is usual, however, and it is extremely amusing to witness to what extent the tea habit has a hold on Bhaba diet. After the mother, father and perhaps grandparents have been served, the whole family drinks tea. No Bhaba home is home without the cup of tea and the amount of tea bought at the local store is testimony to the place it plays in Bhaba social life. Although they have not yet reached the sophistication of the near-by Liyengweni Hlu6i, who prefer certain brands of tea, the Bhaba are assiduous tea-drinkers and visitors are always greeted with the cheap tin tray, the glass cups and chipped enamel tea pot. Women are heard to say that if they do not drink tea when they wake their heads ache unbearably and their "eyes do not see right". The expression "Andivukanga" (lit. "I have not got up") is synonymous with "I have had no tea"! This tea habit is especially found among women many of whom have special recipes for making tea. Some women feel in no need of breakfast after they have had the imvuko. "She is now strong". Before the morning tea is drunk, usually about sunrise, a special cup of warm water, known as ukuxu6a (to gargle), is brought in and the mouth washed out, the water being spat out. No food is taken with the tea.

Then the breakfast (ukudla kwakusasa) is prepared. This usually consists of a porridge of ground mealies or mealie meal. The mealie grains are ground in the hollow grindstone and put into water so that the husks float to the surface and are skimmed off. It is then boiled and stirred a while. When it starts to bubble (ukubadla) it is ready for eating and called iphalit/hi (porridge) or indengane. It is put into plates and eaten with or without sugar. If the kraal head is still in his hut his food may be taken to him but usually people take their own food and sit about outside or walk over to the cattle kraal eating it. If there are strangers staying at the umti the whole family is expected to be present at meals. Plates and basins are collected and put aside for washing in warm water and are dried with a cloth known as ifadukhwe (Afr. vadoek) Tea is again brought and bread (umkhupha) and each person is given one or two inch-thick slices. Butter is very seldom used and jam even less. A variation is often made and sour porridge (imbila) is eaten. Milk is not eaten with this as it tends to curdle. If there is amasi (sour milk) available umvu6o may be substituted for breakfast. This

consists of kaffir-corn or maize, ground and cooked (inko6e) and mixed with amasi.

At about 2 or 3 in the afternoon stamped mealies (umngqu/o), perhaps mixed with beans, and marewu (unfermented beer used by Christians)⁽¹⁾ is usual. Unlike the Hlu6i, the Bhaca are very early risers and work in their fields till noon, the afternoon usually being spent idly. In the evening umvu6o is eaten with tea, or umkupha might be preferred. The main meals are breakfast and supper. Meat is seldom eaten although an occasional fowl or sheep may be slaughtered, and this is the reason why weddings and other ceremonies at which oxen and other stock are killed are so generally patronized. Some of the wives of "school people" have been to an industrial school and learnt cookery in the European style: the European visitor is often offered little buns called amakukisi (Afr. koek)⁽²⁾. Meat cooked with a dumpling of flour, water and salt is considered a great delicacy and generally "people are glad when there is meat". The evening meal is late as members of the family are often not home until 9 o'clock or even later. Children eat at any time during the day, going to their mother whenever hungry. This is an extension of the way in which babies are reared - given the breast immediately, as often as they cry for it. Very occasionally a school person will buy tinned food, usually tinned beef or condensed milk, and at Mhlot/heni a well-known baby food was preferred to ordinary tinned milk in tea. Traders find that sugar, meal, flour and tea are the lines that sell best. Aerated minerals are becoming increasingly popular among the school people and condensed milk is bought when milk is scarce. The pagans often refuse to buy it and call it "donkey's milk!". In summer (January) potatoes become available and are eaten with cabbages, cauliflowers, carrots, onions and other vegetables grown in an increasing degree by school people. The great majority, however, still rely on imfe (sweet reed), pumpkin and herbs, for vegetable variations in their predominantly starchy diet.

To illustrate the monotony of Bhaca diet I got Mfa6a to keep a diary of what he ate in two periods, one at the end of summer

- (1) The usual name for beer, made from kaffir-corn or maize, is called ijiki (Xhosa - utywala). Church members, however, are not allowed to drink fermented beer and non-fermented substitutes are used. Marewu, a type of sour gruel, is widely used by Christians. Members of the Methodist Church make a certain type of drink called ingodi from ground mealies as they are debarred, in theory, from even drinking marewu.
- (2) The wife of the district headman Zihle had been to an industrial school and on the walls of her home at Mount Horeb were pinned large sheets of paper on which were drawn diagrams of quantities used in cooking such as heaped and level tablespoons, cupfuls and drawings of various types of vegetables. At her home I enjoyed the tastiest meal of any in a Bhaca umti - roast chicken, gravy and all the attendant vegetables. She did not sit down to table with us but stood and served, very nervous that her efforts would not be acceptable.

(April) and the other in winter (July). He was staying at a fairly well-off Christian home, but one typical of the Bhaca generally. This will be found in the Appendix C.

Several interesting points emerge from this analysis of diet. It will be noticed that in the summer months (April) a large amount of green food is available from the ripening crops and such dishes as green mealie bread, isiru (cooked green mealies), imfe (sweet reed), isopo and roasted mealie cobs form a considerable part of the diet. Generally speaking the summer diet appears much richer and more varied. In winter the changes are rung on dishes made from dried mealie cobs hung in the store hut or from grains stored in the grain pit dug in the cattle kraal. This has often a musty, fermented smell caused by the germination of the grains, and, while extremely unpleasant to the European or non-Bhaca, is considered a great delicacy. The nearby Hluŋi, who store their grain in large baskets say contemptuously of the Bhaca habit, "We bury our dead - not our food". Three other points emerge. First the relative monotony of the diet, the extensive use of tea and the absence of meat. Almost the only time meat is eaten is when a beast is killed for some ceremony (initiation, marriage, etc.) or as a propitiation to the ancestors. The occasions for these killings will be described later when the ceremonies are described in greater detail. According to one medical practitioner in the district, a research specialist in native diet, this absence of meat is one of the causes of the high incidence of blindness among, not only the Bhaca, but ~~among~~ the African peoples generally. The lack of gravy, which acts as a sauce, makes the Bantu have recourse to large quantities of salt (1) to flavour his vegetable diet, and it is this unassimilable salt that is deposited in the tissues and, incidentally, under the lids of the eyes forming cataracts. The preponderance of salt also has the effect of causing obesity as the salt in the system retains a large amount of water to dilute it.

Because of its rarity meat is a great delicacy only equalled, among the pagans, by beer, and when an animal is killed, or beer brewed, neighbours and relatives are invited to share in the feast. Sometimes, if relatives live at a distance, invitations are sent to them, but usually it is understood that all are invited. The various portions of a beast are divided among those present according to clearly defined rules. When a killing at a witch-doctor's initiation is made, for instance, half of the meat goes to the doctors present and the other half is divided among the guests (see Chapter on Religion). The various parts of the beast are designated by special names⁽²⁾:-

- (1) The large amount of salt sold by traders reflects this fact.
- (2) I give these names here so that their introduction further on, when ceremonies are discussed in more detail, will be more intelligible.

- Imbethfu: the thin layer of meat covering the ribs just behind the shoulder. (Of special ritual significance).
- umxhoko: the flesh between the shoulder and the chest.
- umkhono: whole of the front leg from shoulder to hoof.
- ihlintelo: meat covering the neck-bone - given to people who have helped in the killing and cutting up of the beast.
- unongena: meat between back legs and trunk.
- itisu: layer of flesh over stomach and waist.

The division of meat in various contexts will be discussed later.

When food is given to a person it should be received with both hands and it is etiquette for some food to be left over, indicating that the recipient is satisfied. After a meal a cup of water is passed round and the mouth washed out. The water is then spat out outside the hut. In addition to the prohibitions mentioned earlier, it is considered wrong to pierce a piece of meat with a knife and nibble at it. The analogy is with a spear and it is thought that if this is done the eater will be killed by a spear. Then, too, one must not talk to a man while he is eating or drinking: he will not be able to derive benefit from the food. Food cannot be served by a menstruating woman (see the section on umlaza - infra).

Each wife cooks for her own hut but meals are eaten at the great hut or kitchen hut and the food is taken there. A wife who refused to eat with the rest of the family might be suspected of intrigue. Often each wife cooks a different dish so that the individual tastes in the umti might be satisfied. During the reaping and hoeing season the wives go out to the fields to work very early and return in the early afternoon. Often a junior wife will be told off by the senior wife to return early and prepare the evening meal. "When a polygamist marries a second wife he calls her 'our child'. She is under the senior wife who can order her to do things".

thus is life lived in a Bhaca umti. The whole pageant of life from birth to death takes place within the confines of its huts, fields and cattle kraal. The kraal is home to the Bhaca. It is in the umti that he first comes into contact with other members of society, that the social relations are formed that will influence and regulate his life from the cradle to the grave. As we shall see, patterns of behaviour developed in the family are, by the classificatory system of kinship terminology, extended to other, more remote relations (with modifications due to the attenuation caused by distance). The commensalism, co-operation and mutual affection stemming from the family activities we have just described are the generating forces of the phenomenon of genocentricism. We shall now have to investigate more fully the relations that are developed

within the family⁽¹⁾.

social relations within the umti (Primary structural unit).

As we have seen, the basic unit among the Bhaca is the family, giving us the primary social relations which exist between parents and children. Although the majority of Bhaca families follow this pattern, in certain cases, where there is more than one wife, a complication is introduced, yet the basic pattern is similar. The relations that interest us here are those between:-

- (a) co-wives
- (b) mother and children
- (c) father and children
- (d) brothers and sisters
- (e) children and parents' brothers and sisters
- (f) children and grandparents.

All these relations are reciprocal. Because of its peculiar quality the husband-wife relationship will be treated under the section on marriage. Like the above it is a blood relationship, but only in a very special sense. Ultimately the nexus of social relations is rooted in a purely biological drive - the sex urge.

(a) The relations between co-wives are, as a general rule, a complex mixture of disparate elements. On one hand there is the co-operation and esprit de corp resulting from common residence and domestic associations and a common loyalty to the husband. Harmonious living together is the socially expected norm. On the other hand there is the perfectly human (apparently fundamental) desire for exclusive sexual possession and the jealousies and hates stemming from it. Allegations of witchcraft are proverbially common among co-wives and this feature has been noted by all those who have studied the polygamous household. Unfortunately I had little opportunity of studying this aspect of family life among the Bhaca both because, as a man, I had little access to the intimate details of female domestic life, but, mainly because there are so few polygamists today. Although the relationship between co-wives (and, perhaps, between wives and husband, - cases have been known of wives uniting and forming a hostile 'bloc' against an unfair or cruel husband) does not always follow the socially approved pattern, there appears to be very little jealousy between wives and each others children and, as Hunter has pointed out, co-wives feed and look after each others children as if they were their own⁽²⁾. Much has been written about the status of wives in a polygamous household, dwelling on the moral and social effects on both the man and his wives.

- (1) The network of social relations in Mpondo family life has been brilliantly described in "Reaction to Conquest". Much of the following is repetitious and the most important features only are thus included.
- (2) The whole pattern of Bhaca family life is very similar to that of the Mpondo. There are slight differences in detail and, as a general rule, the family is monogamous and smaller than that of the Mpondo of twenty years ago. We can see the processes of change outlined by Hunter in her section on "Tendencies in family life" (pages 59-60), already far advanced among the Bhaca.

It should not be assumed, however, that the position of a wife in such a household is always untenable and humiliating. The more wives a man has, the higher his position in the community, which reflects, as we have seen before, on the position of the individual members, in this case the wives. Then, too, the presence of many wives considerably lightens the work to be done and cases have been known of a wife actually indicating to her husband a woman who would be acceptable as a second wife. The Bhaca, however, are fast reaching a stage when the social relations between co-wives will no longer exist owing to the disappearance of polygamy. Even today the incidence of this form of marriage is very low, but we can assume, with a very high degree of probability, that the pattern among the Bhaca was formerly very similar to that among the Mpondo. Bhaca women are also being infected with the European ideal and are becoming dis-satisfied with sharing the husband with other wives. This is of course, upheld by the Church.

(b) Mother and children. As among all human societies, the biological bond between mother and children is very close among the Bhaca, and the period of dependence, continuing long after weaning which only takes place after about two or three years, sets up strong emotional links. This attitude is adopted and re-emphasised by society and a very deep and tender love between mother and uterine children is the socially approved norm. Traditionally mothers are less harsh than fathers and it is said, "If you want anything you go to your mother. A father is often strict". She often acts as a buffer against paternal authority and is called iphiko (wing) or ihlati lokutimela (forest of hiding). When children want anything or have a problem, they immediately go to their mother, in the same way as European children do. If they think they are being neglected or are refused anything, quite little tots will threaten to leave home and go and work so that they might earn money to buy things. Usually the mother will try to placate the father when he is angry or try to wheedle money out of him for herself and the children. Much diplomacy and ingenuity is exercised in this. At night, when the father is reclining on his isicamba (mat) or on his bedstead, enjoying his pipe, the wife will approach her husband about it "for it is at night that the affairs of the umti are discussed." If any of the children get into trouble she will plead for them, especially if a daughter is being forced into an unwelcome marriage. She often uses much guile in getting her own way - drawing comparisons with other families, and men who are "more proud of their children", and letting an idea "simmer" overnight to be pressed home on the following morning. Both wives and children often give a higher figure when asking for money to buy clothes at the store, so as to have extra cash for pocket money. On the death of the father a son will take his mother to live with

him at his umti, and as we have seen, the mother plays a big part in ordering the affairs of the umti, or house, in a polygamous household, even when the son is quite old. If it happens that she does not get on with the eldest son or his wife she may go and live with another son. Youngest sons often remain in the umti of the deceased father with the eldest son.

It will be seen that the mother-child relationship, like all social relations, is reciprocal, i.e. it imposes mutual behaviour patterns on the individuals concerned. A deep love is expected between both and mutual help and affection. The relationship is not symmetrical however, i.e. the emotions invoked are not of exactly the same order as they would be, for instance, between two siblings of the same age and sex. The influence of generation, mentioned earlier, affects this relationship, and the child is expected to respect his mother because she belongs to the preceding generation. One of the most serious oaths is to refer to the sexual organs of one's mother. The wife of the Chief is called Noshaca - the mother of the Bhaca. In spite of this affection between mother and child, children are often sent to live with aged parents, usually paternal, to help them and eventually to take over the umti. Apparently mothers acquiesce quite readily - "It is a custom".

(c) Fathers and children. Bhaca fathers are often also very fond of children and it is a man's greatest desire to have offspring to carry on his name, work for him, and, formerly, to perform the necessary sacrifices to his departed spirit. Apart from this pride and satisfaction a very deep and real love exists in many cases, and fathers are as prone to spoil children as are mothers. On the other hand the respect due to a mother is amplified in regard to a father. All his life a son is under his father's control and, in law, a father is responsible for his son's misdeeds. He must consult his father in all important matters and is expected to bow to his wishes in the matter of choosing his future wife, although, in practice, this latter is seldom found. On the other hand, the father is responsible for paying fines for his son; he must help him in providing cattle for the ikhazi (bride wealth). If a son's clothes are confiscated by the father of a lover, the girl's people go straight to the father who will usually, unless his son's behaviour has angered him, buy them back for the customary amount. (See Chap. III). In return for the ikhazi cattle a son is expected to "keep the father", i.e. support him in his old age. If he does not do this the father may ask that the cattle be given back and this can be upheld in court, "The court will say that the father is maphesahlutha (a giver and a taker)". When young he must help in herding, gardening, ploughing, run messages, etc. and, if unmarried and working, is expected to send money to his father. This is often done even after marriage. Even after leaving his father's umti

a man should ask his father's advice and consult him, and a father might consult his son "if he is a good father". If a man makes a feast or holds a beer drink his father should be the first to know about it and his advice must be asked on which ox of the herd to slaughter. "It shows that you are still a good son". A father will also help at his son's umti, seeing that the horses are fed and welcoming strangers if the son is away from home. Old Milandu lived near his son's kraal with his wife, but spent most of his time at his son's kraal, pottering round and doing little things for him. He was much respected in the location for his good life and wisdom.

A father is responsible for the health of his son and makes a ritual killing for him when he is sick (idzini). Even when the son has his own umti and herds he will consult his father when about to kill ritually. If the father is old and infirm and cannot attend a feast himself he will be sent the liver, kidneys and choice bits of meat. "A son should remember his father". If a son, as sometimes happens, is antagonized against his father by mischievous companions it will be said, "Ulahle imbo yakhe ngophoyiyana" (He throws away a good thing because of a bauble), and often people will refuse to help him. The above proverb is often quoted in the past tense after some misfortune has happened. These attitudes continue until death; a father buries his son and the eldest son his father, and after death the son sacrifices to his father's spirit. As with all social relations the father-son relationship depends on propinquity to keep it at its requisite tension. A father living at a distance will not be consulted in economic and ritual matters and his death would not leave such a poignant gap as it would if he were living at his son's kraal.

Between father and daughter there is the same affection as between father and son, especially when she is small. As she matures she naturally grows towards her mother, but she is constantly with the males of her family and none of the usual taboos against men, except those when menstruating, apply (see section on umlaza Chap. III). Before she reaches the age of puberty the taboos connected with ritual impurity, resulting from menstruation and fatal to cattle (umlaza), do not apply, and the young daughter of the umti can enter the cattle kraal (isi6aya) as often as she wishes. As with the son, the daughter must respect and obey her father. This means that she should marry the man whom her father chooses to be her husband, but, in practice, she is seldom forced against her will - although cases have occurred where this has happened. A girl can always resort to an elopement with her lover, if things get too difficult.

The duties of a daughter to her father are counterbalanced by his obligations to her. He is her legal guardian until her marriage and must protect and support her even after her marriage.

As among the Mpondo, if he receives ikhazi for her, he must provide her wedding outfit and, from time to time, gifts pass from him to her in-laws. If she is ill, it is conceived that the spirits of her paternal ancestors are troubling her, and, as the ritual head of his family, her father must provide the necessary beast to be killed in propitiation. Likewise he buries her if she dies in his kraal. Wives are often accused of witchcraft, the reaction of the in-group of the man's family to the stranger from another family and clan within their midst, and if she is "smelt out", a girl can flee to her father for protection. He also protects her if her husband assaults her or treats her badly; she may run away and claim shelter at his kraal. If the father thinks a complaint has been well-grounded he may demand a beast (intlawulo) as compensation. Fathers, however, are keen that their daughters should stay with their husbands as a dissolution of marriage would mean the return of the ikhazi cattle and possible unpleasantness between the two families. There do not seem to be many cases of girls being forced to marry. This is due to the fact that most marriages are first arranged between the young couple concerned, and only then are the parents informed. "A man goes to the girl first, not to her parents; if he does so the father will say 'Am i a girl, go and speak to my daughter'". Occasionally a girl tells her parents about a man who is subsequently accepted by the family council, consisting of parents and near relations on the father's side, but afterwards changes her mind. In such a case she may be called before the council and possibly be forced to go through with the marriage, especially if ikhazi cattle have already been handed over. Informants say that she might even go down on her knees and plead with them. Occasionally a marriage may be forced with a rich suitor, but generally these cases seem to be exceptional.

Siblings - the relations between brothers and sisters.

As we saw earlier, when discussing the influence of primogeniture, a distinction is always made between younger and elder brother, i.e. the relationship between them is not absolutely symmetrical. A younger brother must respect his elder brother, run messages and do his work while the former enjoys himself, and expect to be beaten and scolded if he refuses. As in all relations this is expressed linguistically. A younger brother may not use the name of his elder brother but refers to him as mkhuluwa or ubuti (Afrik. boetie), while the elder either calls him by his name or umninawa, mfowethfu or wihlo. The reaction of Mfa6a to a youngster calling me by my first name has already been recorded. The elder brother, on the other hand, stands to the younger almost in the position of a father, and, indeed, when the head of the umti dies, the elder brother, especially if the heir, stands in loco parentis. This involves taking over all the duties of the father and, inter alia, becoming responsible for a younger brother's maintenance, the

cattle for his bride-wealth, and ritual killings, his burial if he pre-deceases him, and his actions in the eyes of the law. The younger brother reciprocates, - all social relations are reciprocal - by contributing part of his earnings to the elder just as he would to a father. This social difference between brothers is conferred, on marriage, to a younger brother's wife, and, as among the Mpondo, she must be especially respectful to her elder brother-in-law. Much more freedom is allowed with her husband's younger brothers, with whom she may laugh and joke. When it is remembered that he will probably become head of the umti on his father's death, the fact that he is treated almost as a father-in-law is understandable. She cannot sit on the man's side of her husband's elder brother's hut, and, generally, she must observe all the rules of hlonipha (ritual avoidance) that she observes towards her father-in-law. The emphasis on primogeniture is so strong that the eldest son of an eldest son, if married, ranks higher in the umti of his deceased grandfather than a younger son of the deceased still resident there, and becomes head of the kraal. He is, however, expected to consult his father's younger brother in all matters concerning the administration of the umti.

As Hunter has shown, every brother claims authority over the wives and children of another. This stems from the fact that a wife has usually been lobola'd with cattle from the umti and the brothers, therefore, claim the right to order her around, chastise her if necessary, and, in fact, treat her as their own. This is born out by the fact that if a man dies his widow can be taken over by a brother (usually younger) and seed raised up to the dead man under the custom of ukungena - the levirate. It is conceived that she has not only married an individual but a group, her husband's family, and has transposed her reproductive powers from her group to his. Her husband's group do not consider themselves bound to lose those powers merely on the death of the husband. The ukungena custom will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter on marriage. This must not be taken to mean that brothers normally have sexual rights over their brothers' wives, and any caught doing so are open to a charge of adultery in the courts.

Brothers and sisters of the same house, i.e. of the same mother, grow up together and play together as do children all over the world, and often very deep attachments exist between them. There is the universal tendency over the age of about seven for boys to form gangs and roam the countryside while girls keep together in much the same manner, and this is encouraged by the boys being sent out to spend a large part of the day in the veld herding, while girls fetch water and wood and help about the home. As we shall see later brothers and sisters are often "linked" into pairs by their father so that the ikhazi cattle received on the marriage of the girl may be used by the son to lobola a wife. The respect due to an elder

brother must also be accorded ^{to} by a sister, but there does not seem to be the same differentiation by age amongst them. Sisters are much more nearly socially equivalent to one another. A woman is entitled to take any utensils she needs from the wives of any of her brothers and she is treated with respect by her brother's children, becoming an ithfongo (ancestral spirit) to them on her death. Unlike the Mpondo custom, however, she is not responsible for handing the special strip of meat called intsonyama to her brother's daughter on her initiation. This duty belongs to the paternal grandmother. After marriage sisters leave home and go to live at their husbands' kraals and although they often visit one another they tend to lose contact with one another - another case of how important locality is in keeping alive social sentiments.

Children and siblings of parents. As we shall see later, when discussing the Bhaca system of kinship nomenclature, the behaviour patterns towards the father are extended to his brothers. This is expressed linguistically. Like the father the father's brother is addressed as 6awo (father) and addresses his brother's child as nyena, (son), mtfwanam (my child) or by its own name. It should be remembered that the child usually sees his uncles often and the relationship is constantly emphasised. As brothers are not socially equivalent, father's brothers, too, differ in status according to their order of birth. Brothers older than the father are accorded greater respect than those younger, and, again, a special term is used to convey this difference and ensure the correct behaviour patterns. Younger brothers of a father are referred to as 6awomncane (little father) and elder brothers as 6awomkhulu (great father). ~~elder brothers are accorded much more respect than younger and~~ A man may not ordinarily smoke in front of a 6awomkhulu while he may do so in front of a 6awomncane. Although not absolutely socially equivalent a brother can give orders to, punish, and correct his brother's children although he is often correspondingly fond of them. Bhaca say "He must treat his brother's children like his own". On his death the father's brother becomes an ithfongo (ancestral spirit) to his son with power to influence the latter's affairs for good or evil.

In practice, however, there is a difference between the intensity of the relations between biological father and son, and son and 6awomncane or 6awomkhulu, and this is mirrored in a relaxation of obligations between them. As a resident in the same umti, or at least in a neighbouring one, the father's brother forms part of the family council, and, as a member, is consulted in questions of ritual killings and marriages and is assisted in cultivating his fields. Cases are rare where the father's brother contributes some of the ikhazi cattle to his nephews' marriage and a youth is aware that he will not inherit anything from his 6awomkhulu. Thus there is not

the further sanction, that of reciprocity, to encourage the observation of obligations. A son knows that if he does not help his father he is liable to be refused help in obtaining cattle for lobola, and might, in certain circumstances, be disinherited; there is no corresponding incentive with the father's brother, but one should consult him - "Not to do so shows enmity". If a father dies the brother may perform sacrifices on behalf of his family and take his place until the heir is old enough to take over.

As we should expect from the principle of social equivalence of siblings, "sisters of the mother ^{is} addressed like ^{one's} their own mother as Mhanha, uma, and, like the father's brother, treats and addresses her sister's children as nyana (son), intfombi (daughter) or umtfanam (child). As among the Mpondo the exact relationship can be expressed by the use of the word uanti (Eng. auntie), an interesting case of the adoption of a foreign word into the kinship system, or, less frequently, umalumehati. As mother's sisters almost invariably live away from the umti at the kraals of their husbands the relationship between them and children is often attenuated and there are no ritual or economic bonds to reverse this tendency. In the event of social contact between the individuals concerned, the relationship is warmly acknowledged, but, as we have seen, it does not play a very important part in the system of relations centring round the family - and thus in the generation of genocentric force.

We have discussed social relations with father's brother and mother's sister. Two other relations of parent's siblings must now be analysed - father's sister and mother's brother. Social relations are influenced by three main factors:-

- (a) generation,
- (b) primogeniture and
- (c) sex.

In these two sets of relations the determinating factor of sex comes into play. In the case of father's sister, the principles of the social equivalence of siblings dictates that the sister is of the same order as the father, but is influenced by the sex factor. Thus the father's sister (udzadz'obawo) is regarded as a sort of female father. She must be treated with great respect by her brother's wives, especially those of her younger brothers, being called indvodzakati, and waited upon by them when she visits her brother. She is particularly respected by her brother's children, although, generally speaking, she does not command the respect and authority that she does in some Sotho and Venda tribes. The mother's brother (umalume), on the other hand, is not an important factor in the life of the individual. He seldom lives near at hand and opportunities for meeting do not often occur. No economic obligations obtain between mother's brother and sister's son and the latter does not inherit from the malume. The only time he contributes to his nephew's ikhazi is when the latter has stayed

with him for some years. An illegitimate son usually lives at the kraal of his mother and thus will come into contact and under the authority of his maternal grandfather, grandmother and mother's brothers. In this event he would be helped with the ikhazi cattle. Occasionally it happens that a son or daughter is "loaned" to the maternal grandparent and in this case too, part of the ikhazi cattle may be retained by them, if a daughter is married, or given by them, if a son is married. The outstanding feature of these relationships is the extension of the behaviour patterns within the biological family to include relatives outside the family. Some of these relatives, such as brothers of the head, are found within the umti, but others, such as married sisters of the head, live at a distance and relations are intermittent. The reduction in size of the umti, described earlier, tends to increase the number of these relatives living away from the umti and favours the emergence of the biological family of husband, wife and their dependent children as the basic unit of Bhaca social structure and settlement rather than the extended family as formerly.

Grandparents. Finally we must discuss the place of grandparents in the primary structural unit. As a son often lives in the kraal of his father, taking over when he dies, children grow up, in many cases, in the same umti as their grandparents. Their attitude to them is a complex mixture of respect and familiarity. On the one hand the influence of generation dictates respect, increased by the double span. On the other hand the presence of two asymmetrical relations, (father and son and father's father and son) appears to have the effect of cancelling one another out, and there is a corresponding degree of familiarity between grandparents and grandchildren. The paternal grandfather, as head of the family, commands great respect, and his wife is head woman in the umti. Just as a man's wife avoids his father and may not pronounce his name under the hlonipha custom, so she avoids his grandfather, although the avoidance as we should expect, is not so strict. Grandfathers are consulted on matters of ritual, economic affairs, etc., as are fathers, and are particularly respected as they will soon become amathfongo - ancestral spirits. Indeed a very old person is often called ithfongo. It is with the maternal grandparents, then, that this feeling of affection and familiarity is greatest. When the head of the umti dies there appears to be a relaxation of the relationship between grandmother and children. Children often sleep with a widowed grandmother in the kitchen hut and generally are spoiled by her, and a very deep attachment often exists between them. Grandfathers, too, when they get old, are indulgent and kindly. I have seen old Milandu fondle his little grandchild on his knee as he spoke to us about the history of the Bhaca and the death of chief Sonyangwe across the valley at Kode.

At night the children gather round the fire and listen to the stories (iintsemi) told by the old grandmother with all the natural art and graphichness of the african. Almost invariably I found the old cogo's, the old women, among the happiest, friendliest and best-humoured of the community, and the agility of many of them when dancing at a feast was amazing. I found them much easier to get on with than the younger women who were inclined to be secretive and suspicious. Often the eldest grandson is sent to live at the kraal of his grandparents to work for them in their old age, look after them and eventually inherit the property in the kraal. This was the case with Mfafa who came up all the way from Idutywa, his home, to live with his grandmother at Lugangeni. She had married a Bhaca, although a Mfengu herself.

We have now discussed the various social relations that arise out of the biological family and the existence of blood relatives. Relations arising from marriage will be discussed in the chapter on marriage. It will be seen that the geographical unit of the umti is the setting of a number of these relations based on birth and locality, and the complex emotions and behaviour patterns centring round them are the source of the genocentric force on which depends the solidarity of the group.

The umti is thus an extremely well-defined unit in Bhaca social structure. Unlike the Mpondo, who tend to give each umti a name, e.g. Hewu, the pleasant place, the Bhaca do not do this but give names to individual huts instead, e.g. eThembeni, eKhibilli (Kimberley), Germiston (hut of a mine boy), etc. Polygamists, though, usually have special names for the kraals of their wives if separate ones exist. It is said that a man will not have more than two wives in a kraal - "they will fight" - but, as we have seen, the material for studying this is fast disappearing. Masala Makaula, an influential district head of the royal house at Ngungundlovu had two kraals, one for each wife, and Skankanka had five kraals scattered over Magxehi location. Chief Mngcisana had large numbers of wives, and a correspondingly large number of kraals, though each wife did not necessarily have a kraal to herself. His main kraal was at Lugangeni (the name comes from the word uganga meaning a ridge or the breast bone of a chicken - the kraal was built on a ridge), and others were at Hewu, Sikhululweni, mangeni and Mthonyamani. Sikhululweni means "the place where people are freed" and it takes its name from the fact that if people were pardoned for some wrong doing they were sent to this kraal and given food. Also strangers visiting the chief were entertained there. It lies just below the Lugangeni kraal and is now occupied by Nomajala, a sister of Mngcisana. mangeni, "the place of lies", is said to be the kraal where Mngcisana heard from his indlunkulu complaints from junior wives that he was neglecting them.

The linguistic designation of kin - Bhaca kinship terminology.

As we have seen, social relations must be kept alive in the minds of the individuals concerned and this is done by recognized patterns of behaviour between them. Contiguity is an important factor in keeping these patterns alive. A further mechanism employed to ensure their observance is to link patterns of behaviour with kinship terms with which they are always associated. There is always a close connection between the kinship term and behaviour. We have seen that because a man calls his father's brother 6awo (father) he behaves towards him as he would to a father, with a modification due to increase in social distance. Kinship terms are also used as polite modes of address. Bawo is commonly used to address an older man whether related or not, and an old woman is always referred to as mhanba, mha or mhakhulu. Older people refer to younger as mntfanam, (my child), mntfakwethfu (our child) or ntfombi (daughter). The use of such terms does not imply actual relationship and no socially approved patterns are associated with them. All they convey is an attitude of mind - one of friendliness and co-operation. The following table of kinship terms are behaviour-significant. It will be seen that it refers to all relatives to the first ascending generation on both the husband and wife's side. As such it extends beyond the confines of the primary structural unit but does not extend to include all clan members. Its extent corresponds more or less to the lineage (usapho) to be discussed below, but includes both mother's and father's lineages. A table of Bhaca kinship terms will be found in the Appendix D.

Certain interesting points emerge from this analysis of terms. A bride takes over the terminology of her husband when she marries him; thus she calls both her mother's brother and her husband's mother's brother, malume, her grandfather and her husband's grandfather 6awomkhulu and their grandmothers makhulu. Then, too, we must notice the introduction of terms taken from European languages (English and Afrikaans) and their extensive use. uanti and uompi (from Engl. auntie and Afr. oom) are fast replacing the Bhaca term for father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband (significantly relatives, not primarily of blood, but of marriage) and father's and mother's sisters. The widely used term si6ali is possibly of Afrikaans origin (c.f. the Tokwa of the Zoekmekaar district's use of sivhara (Afr. swaer)) and the word kazini (cousin) has come into vogue among the iindlavini and is being increasingly used. The words si6ali, and kazini are terms used affectionately between friends and contemporaries, whether related or not.

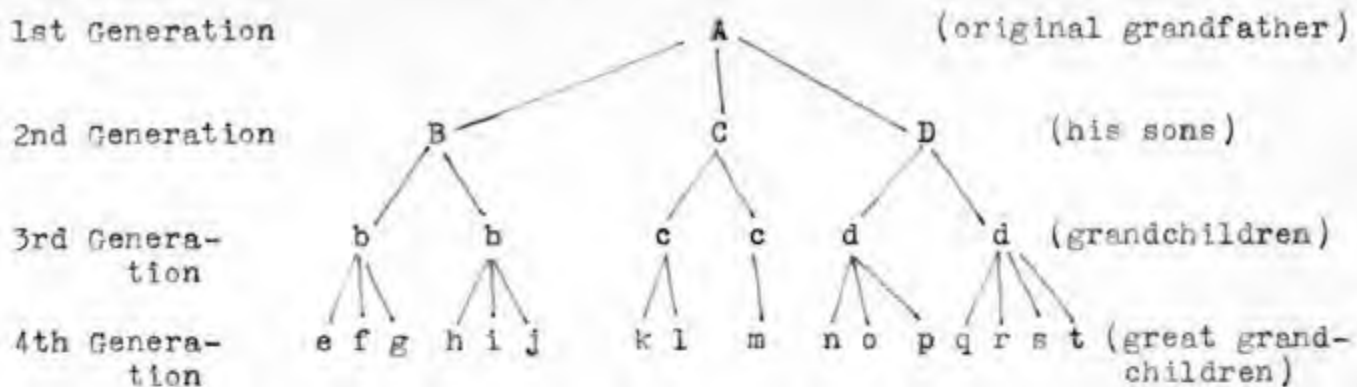
The structure of the primary structural unit - the lineage.

The social relations centring round the family and

functioning against the background of the umti are organized on the basis of descent. This is obvious if we remember their reliance on kin and the blood bond. As we have seen, they are also dependent to a large extent upon contiguity and propinquity but, with the break up of the extended family, the decline of polygamy and the consequent reduction in the size of the family, the social relations of the unit do not, as they used to, tend to coincide with the system of Bhaca grouping called the lineage (usapho). Whereas at one time members of the usapho tended to live together in the same umti or at least in contiguous imiti, today there is a distinct tendency to scatter. In any case the female members of the usapho eventually left it to live with their husbands.

Briefly the usapho or lineage is a group consisting of all the people who trace their descent from a common grandfather. Thus it differs from the clan where descent is alleged but cannot actually be traced in the genealogies. Bhaca trace their lineages in the male line and a child takes the lineage of his father, but he will also know the lineage of his mother. The word usapho differs in different contexts. A group of brothers living away from their paternal home will refer to their combined families as the usapho of so-and-so (the grandfather). It can also be used to refer to all the inhabitants of an umti. In actuality, however, the lineage includes the families of all the sons of brothers having a common father. Today the Bhaca lineages do not necessarily form a local group, but the fact that this originally was the case (and apparently still is among the Venda and other tribes - see Stayt p. 185) justifies its identification with the primary structural unit. Like the clan with its isifongo (vide infra) the consciousness of lineage membership is maintained by the use of a common name which acts as the surname of all the people of the group. The lineage is a much clearer social group to the Bhaca mind than the clan, and, due to the concentration of genocentric force, is a more potent legal, economic and religious unit. Today we are witnessing a modification in Bhaca social structure - the emergence of the lineage as a separate grouping when formerly it coincided with the extended family occupying the umti: we shall treat it here, however, with the primary structural unit.

The name borne by the lineage is almost invariably that of the founding grandfather and it is carried by his grandchildren as a surname (ifani). Their children, however, will not bear his name but that of his son: thus each generation adopts a new surname and the surname of a son will not usually be that of a father. This can best be expressed by way of a diagram:-



Here the grandchildren of A will have his name as their surname but when he dies their children (e, f, g, k, l, n, o, etc.) will take the name of their respective grandfathers as surnames, i.e. B, C and D. It will be seen that the original usapho (A) will split up into three new lineages (B, C and D). This will become clearer when translated into actual terms. Bumbu had two sons, Masimini and Jojo. Masimini had six sons of whom we shall only refer to two, Anderson and Kolisile. Their surname was Bumbu. Anderson has a son, Usipho, whose surname will become Masimini. In practice a man may please himself whether he actually takes the name of his grandfather or not. He might prefer the name of an earlier ancestor - but he must be able to trace the relationship in detail first. A good example of the inheriting of a surname is the Bhaca royal family. The present chief's name is Waḡane Makaula, after his famous grandfather; his son, on the other hand, will bear the name Mngcisana, after Waḡane's father. One of his relatives decided to use the name Ncaphayi after a still more remote ancestor. Similarly Skankenka's son did not take the surname Dazukela (that of his grandfather) but Gxobole (the name of his great grandfather). The sons of James Mdani also showed much variation. The eldest son called himself, after his great grandfather Mdani, the second after the grandfather, xaḡa, and the third after his father, James. Thus three brothers had three different surnames. The taking of the name of the grandfather is the rule, however. There is an increasing tendency, however, for the surname to become stabilized, following European pattern. Zulu, on the other hand, tend to use the isiḡongo, as a surname.

The word usapho is extended to include all people living in the same umti. Even non-relatives in a kraal are included, e.g. mfaḡa was considered part of the usapho of the kraal in which he was staying at mhlot/heni. This point is interesting as it shows the importance again of propinquity in generating genocentric force and the assimilation of even non-relatives into the pattern. Mfaḡa was addressed as son and, as terminology is, as we have seen, so closely linked with behaviour, would not think of taking any of the

girls of the kraal as lovers - they were his "sisters". His inclusion in the family was also one of convenience, as only thus could he be permitted to drink milk from the cows of the umti, for amasi (sour milk) can only be drunk within the clan. (see below) For social reasons it was necessary that he should join the clan and usapho of his host. This was done through conferring on him a status in the society with associated kin term and behaviour. The family was saved from the disruptive force of sex in the close circle and the inconvenience of the amasi was obviated. The usapho was formerly, and is still, the smallest and most coherent economic, religious and legal unit in Bhaca society. members co-operate in economic matters and discuss matters of common interest with one another, the senior member by birth of the lineage is responsible for ritual sacrifices to the amathfongo, the lineage ancestors, and, generally the usapho is a well-defined social unit.

The secondary structural unit - the clan.

We now come to the second system of Bhaca social relations comprising the group called the clan. As we have noticed before, there is no well-known word denoting the group of people believing themselves descended from a common ancestor in the male line. perhaps the nearest is the word isi6ongo, meaning specifically the praisename by which all clan members are known. It will be noticed that a clan, as a lineage group, contains a number of intsapho and that an usapho, by the splitting noticed earlier, will eventually expand until it becomes a new clan with the lineage head becoming the mythical founder.⁽¹⁾ The various nuclei of social relations composing the primary unit are collected and synthesised into the wider system on the criteria of kin, and emphasised by the isi6ongo and accompanying rules of exogamy and co-operation.

In approaching clanship among the Bhaca, various problems forced themselves on my attention. Some of these were:-

- (a) Do all clan members have the same praisename (isi6ongo)? Can the isi6ongo be changed e.g. by marriage or is it immutable?
- (b) What is the incidence of marriage between members of the same clan? This breaks the rule of exogamy, but, according to old informants, this was fairly common formerly.
- (c) Is marriage confined to intermarriage between Bhaca clans, i.e. are they within the tribe?

(1)

For a detailed diagrammatic representation of the origin of clans through splitting see Fortes M., The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi. Oxford.

- (d) Do the same names occur invariably in the isi6ongo, i.e. can one speak of a set of praisenames? Are the names added to by individuals?
- (e) Are praisenames always the names of ancestors?
- (f) Do clan members tend to live together territorially? Is the clan a local unit?
- (g) What is the extent of clan solidarity - the degree of genocentric force?
- (h) Do clan members tend to "cluster" in areas?

I felt that the only way to get scientific data on the above subjects was to make an analysis of clan distribution, and clan names in the area in which I lived. Mhlot/heni is a small location (c. 6 square miles in extent) and I endeavoured to visit every unti within it recording the clan name and origin of husband and wife. As is to be expected, with patrilocal residence, the husband was nearly always a Bhaca but there was a very wide divergence in the tribal origin of the wife (for greater detail on this point see Chap. V on marriage). It is dangerous to take a limited area and draw broad generalizations from it but from other observations I am satisfied that the area chosen was typical for the Bhaca as a whole.

Analysis of clan and lineage distribution, Mhlot/heni location.

Mhlot/heni is divided into five sections or "Clusters" (neighbourhood units) as I have called them. (itixeko), viz., Mhlot/heni, the name of the great place of the district head, Rwantsana, meaning "roughness" (it occupies a steep and rocky area), Emfundeni, the "flat place", Luqolweni, the "ridge", and Sinyamini, the "dark place", so called because it lies in the deep valley of the Umzimvu6u and loses the sun early. Even on moonlight and starlit nights it is dark. It will be seen that these names are related to topographical features and I was interested to see whether each cluster was the "home" of a clan or not. I found that a lineage of a clan often had its home in a cluster. A detailed analysis of clan distribution will be found in Appendix E and must be studied in conjunction with the sketch map and the genealogies of the most important families that are appended.

We are now in a position to answer some of the queries arising from the clan - although any generalization from one district must be tentative. ~~However, from a superficial examination of other areas I am satisfied that Mhlot/heni is a fairly typical area.~~

It appears that the isi6ongo is a constant factor in Bhaca life, and that the rules of clan exogamy are strictly observed. There is no case of intermarriage between people of the same clan. An interesting example of how a clan may eventually

split and inter-marriage be allowed is the case of people who bear the clan-name Zulu, but with the modification "kwaDidi". When asked their isiBongo they will always say "Zulu kwaDidi", i.e. the Zulu of Didi. I have been unable to trace the origin of this split. Both Zulu and Didi are the names of Zelemu chiefs who lived long before Madzikane led the Bhaca out of Zululand and the division must have occurred at a very remote age. This is the only example of a clan splitting that I have been able to obtain, although this does not mean that the instance was unique. The only tradition I met with stated that the split was instigated by a chief because of the adultery of a wife, but the details are missing.

It will also be seen that marriage is not confined to marriage between Bhaca clans alone, although some clans, e.g. the Luthuli, prefer it. The sample showed marriages with Zulu, XesiBe Mpondo, Hlu6i, Mpondomise and even Sotho clans. The whole question of intermarriage will be dealt with more fully in the section on marriage. The clan is not a territorial unit and the usapho is fast ceasing to be one. On the other hand there are distinct concentrations of clan members in various areas. The Luthuli occupy Luqolweni almost exclusively, the Dlangamandle live together at Kwantsana, while the Siwela and Bele form pockets of clan members at Mhlot/heni. It must not be thought, however, that these places are necessarily the home of the clan; rather are they the home of lineages within a clan which form intimate local units and concentrations of genocentric force. They have varying degrees of contact with other clan members scattered over the spatial area of Bhaca territory, who also form lineage pockets of settlement.

where clan members live together the usual forces of propinquity and kin operate to maintain clan solidarity. When they are scattered the isiBongo, or clan praisename, functions in their stead, emphasising the common descent.

The isiBongo.

Every Bhaca man and woman belongs to a clan and bears the name of that clan. Although Bhaca do not ordinarily conceive of the whole body of people comprising the clan, there is a word used occasionally to designate the people having the same isiBongo. It is indzini,⁽¹⁾ and each indzini has a chief who is the senior representative of the senior lineage in the clan. The clan tends, sometimes, to extend beyond the confines of the tribe and the chief

(1) From discussion with not only Bhaca but members of other tribal groups on the Rand I have come to the conclusion that the great majority of Bantu are unfamiliar with this and other similar terms in their languages.

of the Dlangamandla (Bulokhwe) lives in Pondoland. The Bhaca clans are not totemic and there are no special clan meetings to which all members of the clan come. Being atotemic no food taboos exist for clan members ~~of the clan members~~ and as far as I could ascertain, no clans have special functions. The exception to this is, of course, the royal clan of the chiefs bearing the name Zulu. Only those of the royal clan can become chiefs or headmen. An analysis of the clans of district heads will be found in the chapter on political organization. All clan members should consult the senior representative of the clan in their district before a marriage, ritual killing or economic undertaking, but, whether they do so or not depends on circumstances, and as is so often the case in social relations, personalities. In family affairs a matter is first discussed by the husband and wife and then the adult members of both mothers and fathers usapho who live nearby, are consulted. Members of the clan, however, are apparently seldom consulted, even if a family lives in an area far from their immediate relations, but among people of the same isi6ongo. There were people of the same isi6ongo at Lugangeni, but Mfa6a was never invited to their weddings, nor did they ever visit him. All members of the Bele clan at Mhlot/heni should consult Wilson Milandu, (see genealogy Appendix E), but the Somndayini branch of the Milandu family are not on good terms with him and the etiquette is ignored. Old Elias, himself admitted that correctly he should consult Wilson, although he was an elder of the Church and perhaps the most influential man in the location. He was much more respected than Wilson, who was a bit of a rogue. Clan members who live together in the same cluster help one another in cultivating the fields and hospitality is always expected between ~~clan members~~^{kin} but, despite the isi6ongo, relations become tenuous and behaviour patterns do not always obtain.

The isi6ongo, apart from kin-delineation, exists as a polite mode of address and can be used instead of the usual formulae as a means of expressing thanks. In collecting iti6ongo in the field I found that informants would often give me two or more names. This raised further problems. If an isi6ongo was the name of the original ancestor how could these other names be explained? Did a group of names always occur in combinations i.e. did they form a "praise-set"? To answer these questions I decided to compile a list of the names associated with each clan. The names, I found, fell into two groups, (1) those obviously of the founding ancestor and other (usually legendary) ancestors in the male line, and (2) other names, or rather phrases, obviously not connected with human beings but of a descriptive or "praising" character. An important fact was that each clan member questioned

gave me the same group of names, indicating that the "praise set" concept is correct. I divide each praise set into two parts, viz. the isiBongo proper, the eponymous name, and the "praise song" or laudatory phrase, called itikhukumeto. The following analysis of six Shaka itiBongo illustrate this point. (I was not able to obtain the meaning of all the praise songs. These lists do not complete the number of names in each set.)

- (A) Zulu (Royal clan)
 Ve6i
 Wa6ane
 Kalime/e
 Madzikane
Wenawakwamsunumncan'yanangokuwuswela
 (You of the anus which is small because you lack it)
Wenawakhulasili6ele
 (You who grew when we had forgotten that you grow)
- (B) Bele
 Khu6oni
 Ngwendu
 Langa
Macwanekazi
 (You great chickens)
Makholwazimemo
 (You believers in invitations)
A6anga wulum'6ilini
 (Those who bite the intestines)
A6adla owencamazana
 (Those who eat of the animals)
- (C) Ulanga
 Bele
 Mngwe
 Nthitha
 Mantlangothi
 Madlala
- (D) Siwela
 Matalankosi
 Fezani
 Qu6ula
 Vut/heka
 Nyamana
 Mfula
 Mna6ela
- (E) Dzani6e
 Gaba
 Thayisa
 Nqolo
Mathandanendle
 (Those who love the veld)
Bakhi6exonya
 (pluckers of reeds)
Ningadlulina6adluli6endlela
 (Do not pass with those that pass along the way)
Ngobani 6ahle
 (because you (pl.) are beautiful)
- (F) Madlela
 Malanga
 Phezani
 Nemaka
Undidlalisandl'omni
- (G) Luthuli
 Zhenca
 Thsa6isa
 Msuthu

The isiBongo names, agents of social control, seem through their function to become endowed with an almost sacred significance. As the names of the founders and ancestors of the clan (who are conceived by the bhaca as being still members of the clan though existing on a different, supernatural plane), the praise-set becomes a magico-religious formula analogous to the spell and is repeated ceremonially when offering is being made to the ancestors on occasions of illness and misfortune. As we should expect, the praises of the chief are particularly sacred and form an important part of national ceremonies such as the ingcube (festival of the first fruits).

As we have seen, linguistic terms are always associated with behaviour patterns: if they do not evoke appropriate motor or mental responses they tend to fall into disuse and their impact on the social life of the people tends to weaken and disappear. Being denied the mechanism of spatial juxtaposition and public insistence, itiBongo employ a different method to increase the "social awareness" of clan membership. This is the rule of clan exogamy. Sexual relations between all members of the clan, with the mother's clan and with members of the clan of both grandmothers are forbidden. In this the Bhaca, like all Nguni, are much more strict than the Sotho tribes, for instance, who allow, and even prefer, marriage between cross-cousins. Originally this seems to be an extension of the incest taboo along the lines of the classificatory kin system and, as such, is a perfectly logical development. The sociological function of the taboo appears to be a secondary, but extremely important, attribute. It is only within the clan that amasi (sour milk) is drunk; clan members will only drink milk from one another's cows, but in practice, this tends to be confined within the lineage. One does not marry into an umti in which one drinks amasi. We have already discussed the horror with which Dingana greeted the suggestion that he might have sex relations with a girl of the same clan in Johannesburg where no-one would know. The first thing a young man asks a girl is her isiBongo and one often hears an indlavini bewailing his luck that a particularly pretty girl happens to belong to the same clan as himself. One gets the impression that there has been very little modification in this attitude with the impact of Western Civilization.

For reference and comparison I append the names of the Bhaca clans I managed to collect. It is not claimed that the list is exhaustive, but it is practically so (Appendix F). The list gives at least 85 pure Bhaca clans and, taking the population at 49953 gives approximately 587 persons per clan. It should be remembered, however, that Bhaca society includes many foreign clans of Hlubi, Mpondo, Zulu and other origin, brought

in by marriage and there are families of foreign clans who have immigrated from outside Bhaca territory. Examples of these are the Mfengu families at Lugangeni and the Mpondomise family of Msaseni at Rwantana (see Appendix E). Males stabilize the clan in the tribal area; women, on marriage, extend the clan throughout the area and beyond to other tribes. As we shall see later, there is a tendency for a wife to be ultimately assimilated into her husband's clan.

I was not able to establish the connections and relationship between clans but the Wu/e clan obviously is descended from the original Wu/e tribe that was decimated by the Cunu in the early Natal days and joined the Zelemu under the chieftainship of Madzikane (see Chapter I). The Zulu kwadidi are an offshoot of the original Zulu clan, following the usual Nguni practice of designating it by the name of an ancestor junior to the progenitor. Descendants call themselves Zulu, with the qualification, kwaDidi (of Didi), and it is conceivable that the clan will eventually emerge as Didi. Reference to the genealogy of the royal family will show that Didi was one of the early Zelemu chiefs, a descendant of the original Zulu. It is said that only a chief can start a split in a clan.

The tertiary structural unit - The tribe.

We have now discussed the two main forms of social grouping among the Bhaca, both based on kin, - the extended family and the clan. We have seen how the individuals making up the society are drawn together by genocentric force, depending on consciousness of kin and, in the case of the family, propinquity, into structural systems, with a solidarity dependent on the genocentric "pull" of the human units to one another and to a hypothetical "centre" of concentrated force. This has the effect of dividing the society into a number of social groups, each self-contained, integrated, with a corporate emotional and material life and opposing disintegration (the family); these groups in turn are organized, again through consciousness of kin and reinforced by the institution of the praise set, into larger systems, extending over the spatial extent of the society and beyond, called clans. Originally these groupings coincided with the tertiary structural unit. The tribe was a collection of related clans. Today, however, the tribe is not merely a collection of kin but contains elements of many ethnic groups. The number of marriages with non-Bhaca women appearing in the above analysis of clan distribution bears this out and there are many non-Bhaca who have settled, for various reasons, under the Bhaca chiefs. The picture we get, then, is of a number of disparate kin-units, some of differing ethnic stock, welded together to form a well-defined group - the tribe. Our problem is, what are the mechanisms employed by the society to keep these strongly individualistic elements, each conscious of its

own existence, with its own solidarity and fiercely opposed to any attack on that group-consciousness and solidarity, within one organization? The structural groups which we have been examining divide the tribe; what techniques are used to unite it?

As we have seen, kinship cannot explain this unity. Not all tribal members are descendants of the original tribal nucleus and some method is necessary to unite them. What we are getting, in effect, is a force working in the opposite direction to the genocentric. The individual in society is thus acted upon by both forces. On the one hand he is accustomed to looking at his "in-group" with the emotions and loyalty inculcated since childhood; on the other he is conscious of a wider loyalty, that which comes from belonging to the tribe.

Perhaps the most important factor here is the allegiance to a common chief. The whole question of the chieftainship and the hierarchy of local government will be discussed later, but in a very special sense, the chief is father of his tribe, the provider and defender of his people, the head of the group and the embodiment of all the sentiments and values arising from it. These sentiments are reemphasised and underlined in the national first fruits ceremony (ingcubo) which are held annually by which the tribe and the chief are strengthened and the solidarity of the tribe qua other tribes. The unity of the tribe is again made conscious in the minds of the members in time of war and the attack on its solidarity from outside has the immediate effect of merging local differences. This is a commonplace even in our own society; coalition governments are a fairly frequent feature of times of national emergency.

The Bhaca are very conscious of their tribal origin and jealous of the honour of their tribe. Much dissatisfaction occurred during the visit to the Transkei of the Royal Family in 1947 when, it was alleged, preference was given to the Mpondo, Thembu and other chiefs. I constantly heard complaints about this. Tribal pride is inculcated in the schools. The following is a song taught at Mbonda school, Lugangeni, (in Xhosa).

"Thina '6aseMbo sasonwabile ngamxe/a engaphambili,
 "(We of Mbo we were happy some time ago)

"SingamaZizi, singamaBhele, namaHlu6i.
 "(We are the Zizi, we are the Bhele, and the Hlu6i).

"Kwathi mhla kwafika uShaca, iinkosi zethu zazingooBungane
 "(It is said when the Bhaca arrived our chiefs were Bungane)

"nooma6endla, sasukeliswa neuMadzikane.
 "(and his men. we were chased by Madzikane)

"Naako semka sayakut/ho ku6engu apho sibhileli ngokunwaba
 "(There we left, we went to 6engu (near Engcobo) where we stayed in peace.

"sesidiGene amaMfengu, kodwa inxalenye aBambo woyifumana
emaHluBeni

"(being mixed with the Fingo, but some of the aBambo you
will get in the HluBani country (Kinira location, mount Frere).

It refers to the rout of the HluBani clans by the Bhaca
under Madzikane. The following poem by Majola commemorates an
important episode in Bhaca political history - Chief Wabane's
installation to the chieftainship.

"Siyekhumbula na mhla uWabane wayebeko ukubayi'inkosi ?

"Do we remember the day that Wabane was present to become a chief?

"Kwesuka amakhosi amakhulu anje ngooPoto,

"There came great chiefs like Poto (Mpondo),

"Bota naBoom/we/we namanye amaBanda kusiziwa emgidini.

"Bota (Mpondomise) and Mo/we/we (Sotho of Matatiele) and other
groups coming to the feast.

"Kwakukho nomhlophe into ebonakalisa ukuBa mntu lo mkhulu.

"There was also the white man, the thing that showed that the
man (Wabane) was great.

"Abafazi babekho beduda kuselwa, kutyiwa inyama zenkomo ezili/umi

"Women were present, they danced drinking, eating meat of 10
cattle.

"Waye lapho umfo omkhulu enxibe ezobukosi impahla.

"And he was there, the great man, wearing the clothes of
chieftainship.

"Kwakikizelwa ngabafazi asina amadoda exhobila.

"They shout gladly, the women danced, men armed themselves.

"Yasuka into kamqhayi yakhwela entla komzi, yazit/ho
ezibongo zayo

"There came the thing of Mqhayi, he climbed above the
kraal, he said his praises.

"Isithi, wuyani maBhaca kuBa nizuze umntwana,

"Saying, 'Rejoice Bhaca, for you have begotten a child'

"Uyihlo, unyoko, nomkhuseli wenu'

"Your father, your mother, and your protector.'

"Emva koko savakala izibam, ukuBonakalisa ukuBa lento inkulu.

"After that we heard the guns⁽¹⁾, to show that it was a
great thing.

"Waye yena inxibe isithsaba senyamakazi ekuthiwa incanda,

"He himself put on a crown made from an animal known as the
porcupine.

"Kwathi emva koko yachithakala impi zaya kwindawo zonina.

"Then after that the army went home (lit. to the place of
the mother).

Other factors that tend to disrupt the local kin group
and favour the emergence of the tribe-concept is the rule of exogamy
that insists that a man marries outside his own kin group. In a

(1) The firing of a gun is an important feature of Bhaca
festivals such as weddings.

later chapter, that on marriage, we shall discuss the effect of marriage on the social solidarity of the primary and secondary structural units.

Tribal feeling is also expressed territorially, and the fact that they occupy a common stretch of territory and know intimately the same mountains, rivers and valleys increases the realization of oneness. Bhaca on the Rand think nostalgically of the Buffalo Neck hills, hunts along the subtropical valleys of the Umzimvuŝu and Kinira where jackals and small game are still found, and all the complex of associations that stand for home. They discuss common experiences in well-known surroundings and realize that, above all, they are Bhaca. A custom, originally intended to prevent sickness, has given the Bhaca a tribal marking by which they can be recognized. This is the custom of ukuchasa, the slitting of the cheeks, performed on young children so that they will grow well and not become sick. The custom will be described more fully in the next chapter and is analogous to the Xhosa custom of amputating the top joint of the little finger.

Social relations do not stop at tribal boundaries. Though marriage, trade, travel, education and Christianity, Bhaca are coming into contact with other tribes and with Coloured and Europeans. School children at Mhlot/heni often walked the five miles to the Rode school in the Xesiŝe country of Mount Ayliff and groups of women continually visited relations in the neighbouring Xesiŝe, Hluŝi and Mpondo areas. With the coming of motor bus services that link the villages of Qumbu, Thabankulu, Tsolo, Mount Ayliff, Kokstad, Matatiele, etc. with Mount Frere, and which operate between Mount Frere and all the locations of the district, travel has greatly increased. Children are sent to school as far south as Tsolo and Shawbury on the banks of the Tsitsa, and a large proportion of Bhaca men are always away at the gold mines of the Rand or the coal mines of Natal. And, via the teachers, a new spirit of African nationalism is being introduced. This, however, has not as yet gained much ground, and the Bhaca, generally speaking, is little aware of what goes on outside the mountain barriers of his green and well-favoured homeland.

The social dichotomy based on religion.

We have discussed the groupings in Bhaca society based on kin. There is one other feature of the social structure which we must describe, the dichotomy of relations based on the effects of the introduction of Christianity. Thus it is not inherent in the social structure but its importance makes its treatment here imperative.

Since the commencement of missionary work in the latter part of last century, with its new ethic and strongly proselytising

nature, a most disruptive element has been introduced into Bhaba social relations amounting almost to a revolution. Early missionaries looked upon the customs and ceremonies of the pagans as wrong and contrary to the ideals and precepts of Christianity and insisted on converts making a clear break between the old life and the new. The details of this change will be discussed in more detail in the relevant chapter; it is sufficient to observe here that, during the last seventy years or so, missions have been very active among the Bhaba and that the majority of Bhaba are today professing Christians. I use the word professing advisedly as investigation reveals many inconsistencies in behaviour and belief, and magic and witchcraft appear to have increased rather than decreased. Be that as it may, Christians form a distinct group in the community.

Christians are forbidden to attend pagan festivals and dances and are forced to abstain from the universal custom of ukufukuthsa - the eating of raw meat - considered a great delicacy among the pagans. Ijiki (kaffir beer) is also forbidden and the unfermented marewu or ingodi substituted. The church frowns on marriages between Christians and pagans and Christian parents do not like their children to play with the children of unbelievers. The social life of the two sections operates on two different, and seldom overlapping, planes, and conditioned attitudes are very deep-seated. I remember the acute embarrassment and feeling of guilt with which mfa6a attended our first pagan festival. He had never been to one before and he was alarmed that his minister or aged grandmother would hear about it. Normally a happy-go-lucky extrovert, popular everywhere he went, and not very religiously inclined, it took some time before he got over his initial reticence and embarrassment. The associated attitudes and taboos are not superficial in the Christian African, especially in those who have been brought up in a Christian home.

Christians are, ipso facto, the main agents for social change. They are usually the most progressive and the homes show the highest incidence of goods of Western manufacture. Most Christians attend the local mission school and the term "school people" is synonymous with Christians. Although they are cut off from the normal social life of the pagan community, new social groups based on religion and church organization have arisen. Services are held on Sunday, Bible classes are held at the larger mission centres, there are associations for men, women and children, concerts and prayer-meetings. All these activities serve to heighten the solidarity of the Christians and underline their social distinctiveness. The dichotomy has also linguistic determinants. The Christians are called by the pagans amakholwa (believers), or, occasionally amagqoboko (the pierced ones)

while the pagans are referred to as amaqaba. Pagans are impatient of the Christians' prohibitions. One woman commented: "I prefer beer to church. In the church they are always fighting one another. Even if we quarrel beer takes away all ill-feeling".

There is a growing class of dressed people who are neither pagans nor Christians. Many have been to school and the gold mines and are more sophisticated, wearing European clothes and mixing with both groups. Here is the comment, in the form of a song sung at a local school of a Bhaca teacher:-

IMVO ZAMABHACA.

"Thina maBhaca suhlulwe kathathu ngokwesimo sethu:

"We the Bhaca are divided into three (groups) according to
our manner of life;

"Sifumona amakholwa, nabaphakathi abanxabayo, namaqaba qobo.

"We get the Christians, and the middle ones who are clothed
and the pagans proper.

"Amakholwa angabantu beCawe, abaphakathi ngonxazonke, amaqaba
acalanye.

"The Christians are people of the Church, the middle ones are
wanderers, the pagans have their own way.

"Phakathi kwezizintlu zonthathu sikhekha olukugqibela.

"Among these groups we prefer the last.

"Amakholwa ayaqhatha, bathi bakhuliwe abanye baSo kanti akunjalo.

"The Christians cheat, some of them say they are christianized
and yet it is not like that.

"Aaba baphakathi abafuneki mpela

"These middle ones are not wanted at all.

"Amaqaba ngabantu botywala, notywala kuphela.

"The pagans are people of beer, and beer alone.

"Abaphakathi bazenza zonke ezi zinto.

"The middle ones do all these things.

"Amakholwa asemva kubu6i kanti ngabona bantu bakhulu, na6a
balulekileye.

"The Christians go after evil, and yet are the great and
important people.

"Ngoko mawethu masenze into ibenye xa nguntu ophilileyo.

"Therefore, people, let us do one thing if you are a wise person.

The above is interesting as a social document because it illustrates certain trends in Bhaca social life. The first is the reaction of a presumably Christian teacher to Christianity and his alleged preference for the pagan way of life. Also we can see the common accusation of Christian hypocrisy possibly tinged with envy at the prominent social position of some Christian ministers who tend to be dictatorial. Pagan youths quarrel with the abaphakathi (the middle ones) as they often make love to pagan girls. The pagan and Christian groups tend to be endogamous.

The above adumbrates the social set-up and the problems arising from the juxtaposition of two ethics of life. The details will be treated more fully in the Chapter on Bhaca religion.

We have now completed our survey of the structure of Bheca society and the social grouping based on kin, locality and religion. We must now describe the passage of the individual through this structure, the changing social relations and the increase in the social status of the individual within the society that come with age.

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APPENDIX A.

The composition of imiti.

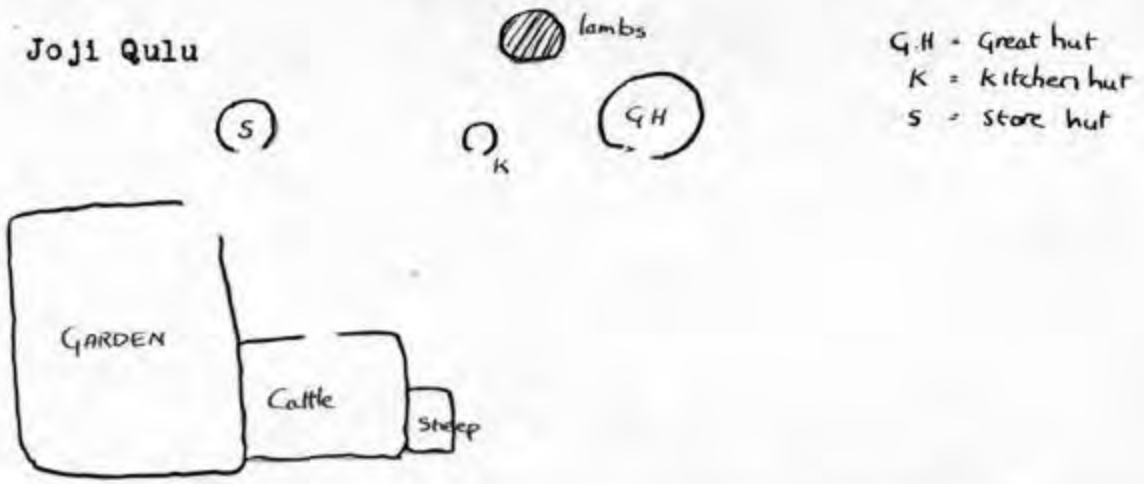
The composition of the imiti in the sample was analysed as follows:-

<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>No. of imiti with 1,2,3 etc. adults</u>	<u>No. of imiti with 1,2,3 etc. children.</u>	<u>No. of Families.</u>
1	6	14	-
2	25	8	5
3	13	15	8
4	12	8	12
5	4	3	9
6	1	2	9
7	-	3	4
8	1	2	7
9	-	1	2
10 and over	1 (14)	1 (15)	<u>7</u>
			63
			—

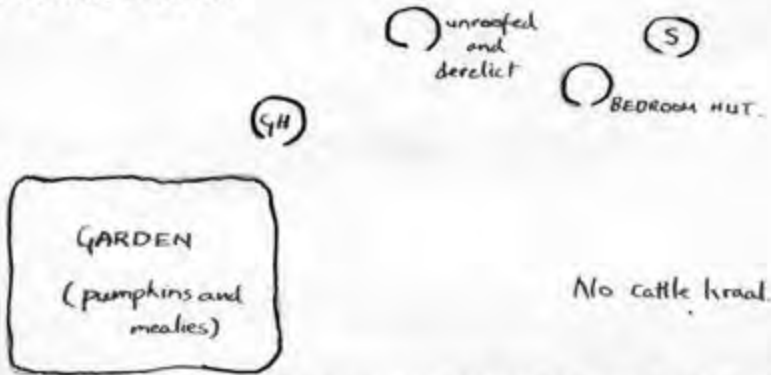
(gura)

PLANS OF IMITI

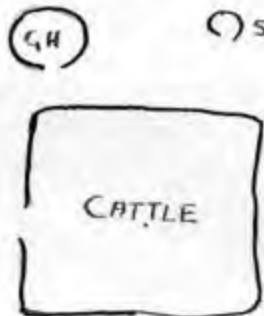
Joji Qulu



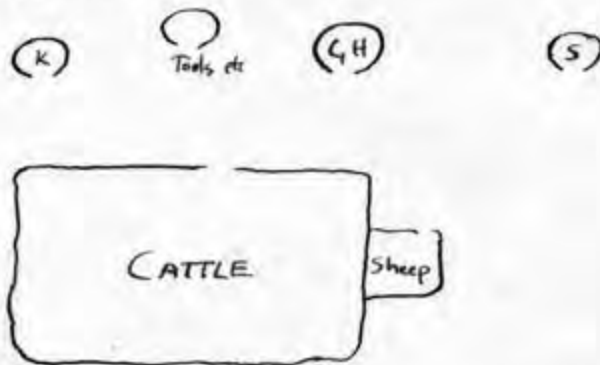
Mchukhu Sontsi



Smakamaka Sontsi



Falinzima Milandu

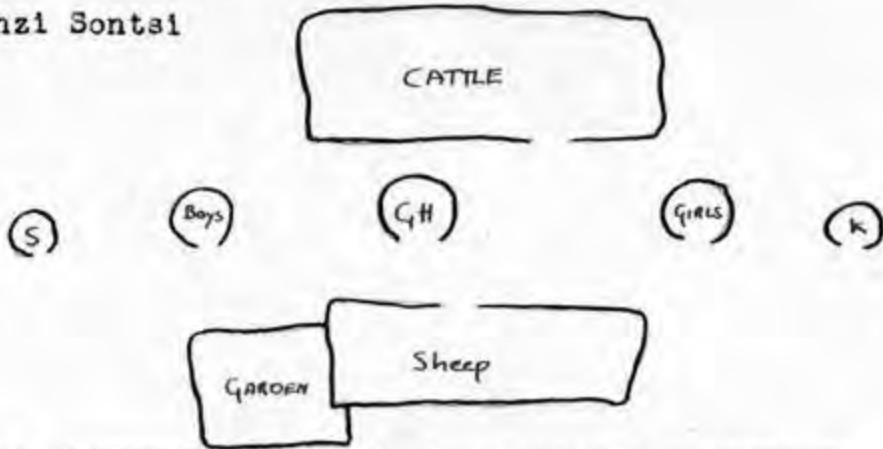


Mavumbuku Sontsi

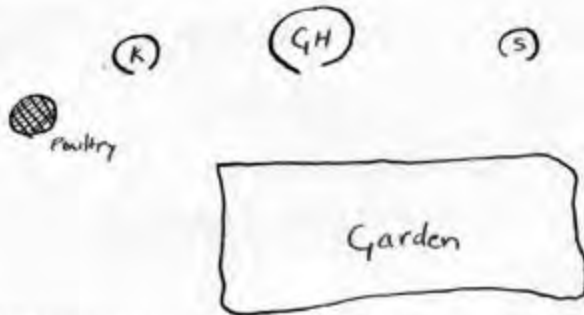


Plans of imiti (continued).

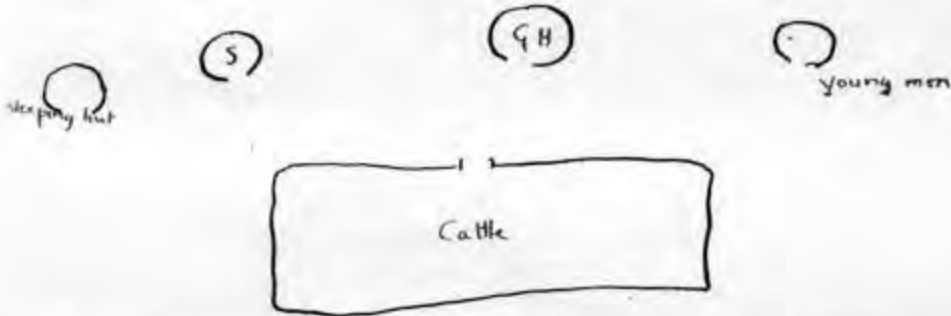
Makhinzi Sontsi



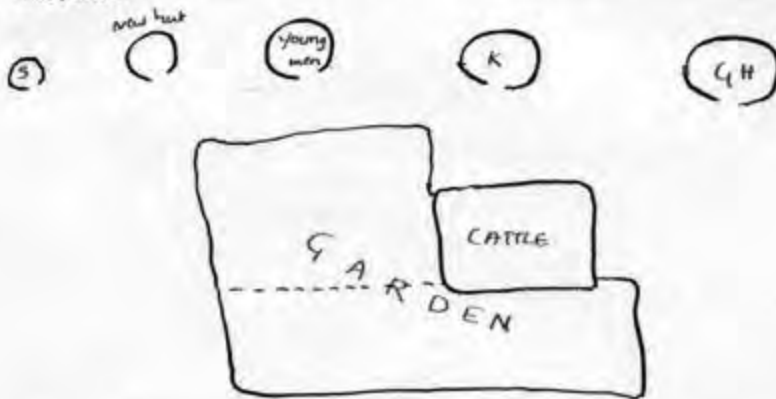
Magumtha



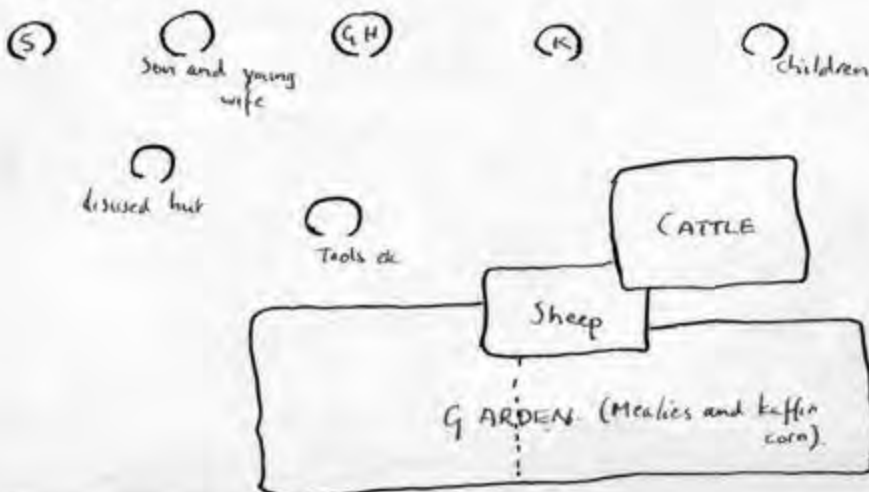
Skhuni Mramba



Mboba Luvalo



Makhobe Nongqotho



APPENDIX B.

The social composition of the umti.

The following is an analysis of the social composition of imiti, Rwantzana and Mhlot/heni clusters, Mhlot/heni location.

S - son D - daughter Figures refer to approximate age.
RWANTSANA.

<u>Owner of umti</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>IsiBongo</u>
(1) Miyalezi Mdudzi	Miyalezi Wife Harriet (c.17) D Malindela (13) S Ntombent/a (4) D	Chiya
(2) Samson Sibembe	Samson Wife 2 S (8 and 6 yrs.) 1 D (7) D of wife's brother	Dlangamandla
(3) Alven Sibembe	Alven Wife 1 S 2 D Alven's father's wife (younger wife than Alven's mother)	Dlangamandla
(4) Mpayipheli Mdudzi	Mpayipheli (at mines) Wife 2 young children	Chiya
(5) Mathuni Msaseni	Mathuni Wife Sabelo (c18) S Beauty (17) D Mzwelibanzi (8) S (The eldest son, Mago6e, living nearby in Emfun- deni cluster with father's younger brother).	Dosini (Mpondomise)
(6) Jani Sontsi	(Jani deceased) Wife (c 74) Daughter (26) S working away at Lusikisiki (Wife is mother of late headman and grandmother of heir, Dumiso)	Zulu
(7) Station Sivile	Station (c 54) Wife (second, married after death of first) S of first wife (at Johannesburg)	?
(8) Magada Sontsi	(Magada deceased) Wife 3 S (under 12) Magada's mother (c 70) Magada's late brother's wife. Her children:- 2 S, 1 D (all under 7)	Zulu

<u>Owner of umti</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>IsiBongo</u>
	baby Magada's second brother (at present in Johannesburg) D of Magada's elder sister (17) Magada's third brother	
(9) Lemani Milandu	Lemani Wife Melfos S Nonde6i D Thanduxola D (c 3) Malithuli (wife's brother's son)	Khomboni
(10) Gqukani Nodla6a	Gqukani Wife Mishingeni S (5) Eldest S's wife Her baby	Zulu kwaDidi
(11) Vuyisi Nodla6a	Vuyisi Wife Forster S (28) Nomzama D Nomfanelo D Maqamka S	Zulu kwaDidi
(12) Joel Nodla6a	(Joel deceased) Wife D (17)	Zulu kwaDidi
(13) Stanford Nodla6a	Stanford Wife S 2 D	Zulu kwaDidi
MHLOT/HENI		
(14) Mchuku Sontsi	(Mchuku deceased) Wife (c 65) Johannes (eldest S) Makheswa (his wife) Nomkhambuthi (16) D Hlabathi S) Nikiwe D) twins (11) Maye6a S (8) Nomangesi D (5) Also Magaga, son of Makheswa's sister living with Johannes "because his mother's children were dying".	Zulu
(15) Sikhwat/he Milandu	Sikhwat/he Wife Mlomezisu S (20) His wife Mandlenkosi (15) S Nomazeki D (13) Novathule) Nomazalo) twins D (9) Malungelo) Malungisa) twin S (10)	Bele (Khomboni)
(16) Arthur Sontsi	Arthur (teacher) Wife Baby	Zulu

<u>Owner of umti</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>IsiSongo.</u>
(17) Sa6iso milandu	Sa6iso Wife deserted to Kokstad Bekukuphiwa S (17) Nkosifikile S (15) Makhosandile S (10)	Bele
(18) Babathi Milandu	Babathi Wife McLeod S (15)	Bele
(19) Si6i Mangumtha	Si6i (eats at brother Joel's, see (21)) (wife deceased) Sofoniya S (20) married at Johannesburg Maphinda S (18) Evelina, D of brother	Zulu kwaDidi
(20) Abe/aya milandu	Abe/aya (wife deceased) Nomtuthuzelo (c 18) of first wife (There is another D at Ndakeni about 5 miles away in Mount Ayliff district) Newly-married wife.	Bele
(21) Joel Mangumtha	Joel (at present in Johannesburg) Second wife (first deceased) Nomadiphende D (17) } by first wife Nogijima D (12) } Mandla S (5) by 2nd wife (Joel's elder brother - Si6i (see 19) eats at <u>umti</u> as his wife is dead)	Zulu kwaDidi
(22) Wilson Milandu	Wilson (first wife deceased) Second wife Bafana (6) S of Wilson's D, Nomandombi (33) Thenzi D (9) by second wife Hansi (4) S " " " John (2) S " " "	Bele
(23) Mnyamana Ngaxa	(Mnyamana deceased) Wife Sikhuni S (20) married His wife Notigadla (17) D of Mnyamana	Siwela
(24) Zwelonke Sontsi	Zwelonke Wife Faniswa D (18) Mqhathuveni D (16) Zulu S (14) Yavuya S (11) Nokuhlwa D (9)	Zulu
(25) Mafaketha Ngaxa	(Mafaketha deceased) Wife Nomawesile D (10) Zamuxolo S (4)	Siwela
(26) Smakamaka Sontsi	Smakamaka Wife Lungilé S (2)	Zulu

<u>Owner of umti</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Isi6ongo</u>
(27) Shadrach Mgcezu	Shadrach (c 70) Wife Jeremiah S (32) married Mamgoni (his wife) Elias S (27) (Both Jeremiah and Elias are teachers) Fanny (17) Shadrach's deceased brother's D. Nomnikela D (15) Nolusindiso D (13) Khehle (4) Jeremiah's S Phoncu (5) " D Nomangaliso D of headman Thebeni (staying there to be near school)	Jwara (Mfengu)
(28) Falanzima Milandu	Falanzima Wife Sindisiwe S (5) Zaziso S (1)	Bele
(29) Thomas Silimu	Thomas Wife	Zulu kwaDidi

APPENDIX C.ANALYSIS OF TYPICAL BHACA DIET AT TWO PERIODS

The following is a record of the diet of Mfa6a kept during two periods, viz. April (Summer) and July (Winter). I am satisfied that it is reasonably typical.

Summer (April).Thursday 21st

Morning: Tea on waking. Ipalit/hi yamaBhaca, made from slightly fermented maize grains, tainted from the underground grain pit, ground and cooked. It is eaten plain or with sugar.

Midday: Isiru (cooked green mealies), tea, imfe (sweet reed), marewu (fermented gruel.)

Evening: Umvu6o, imfe, tea, roasted mealies, umngqu/o (stamped mealies) marewu.

Friday 22nd.

Morning: Tea with stamped mealies

Midday: Tea, sour porridge, imfe.

Evening: Roasted mealies, "soup" (isopo) made of green mealies cooked with beans.

Saturday 23rd.

Morning: Tea, warmed up isopo, imfe.

Midday: Isiru, (Xh. ibagolo).

Evening: Umvu6o (sour milk with mealie grains)

Sunday 24th:

Morning: Tea, Umkhupha (native bread), porridge.

Midday: Tea, bread, stamped mealies

Evening: Amasi (sour milk), tea

Monday 25th.

Morning: Tea, bread made from crushed green mealie grains, "European bread".

Midday: Stamped mealies, marewu.

Evening: Umkhupha, tea, imfe

Tuesday 26th.

Morning: European bread, tea.

Midday: Imbila (sour porridge), marewu.

Evening: Umvu6o.

Wednesday 27th.

Morning: Tea, umkhupha.

Midday: Stamped mealies, marewu.

Evening: Roasted mealies, imbila

Winter (July).Sunday 24th.

Morning: Tea, bread

Midday: Tea, bread

Evening: Stamped mealies.

Monday 25th.Morning: Tea, stamped mealiesMidday: Tea, stamped mealies.Evening: Tea, bread.Tuesday 26th.Morning: Tea, ipalit/hi (with milk and sugar)Midday: Tea, sour porridge, ground mealies mixed with pumpkin.Evening: Tea, stamped mealies.Wednesday 27th.Morning: Tea, bread, stamped mealiesMidday: Tea, mealie bread, sour porridge.Evening: Tea, stamped mealies.Thursday 28th.Morning: Isangcozi (ground mealies from grainpit mixed with sugar and milk), tea.Midday: Imbila, stamped mealies, tea.Evening: Tea, umkhupha, European bread.Friday 29th.Morning: Ipalit/hi, amasi, teaMidday: Imbila, tea.Evening: Stamped mealies, marewu.Saturday 30th.Morning: Tea, stamped mealies, bread.Midday: Tea, bread, meat (the first meat for four months from sheep killed for a sick woman), stamped mealies.Evening: 2 eggs, 2 cakes (amakukisi). The eggs were bought in the village of Mount Frere as a delicacy.

APPENDIX D.

BHACA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The following is a list of terms used to designate kin among the Bhaca showing the classificatory extension of terms to include relatives beyond the primary structural unit. (1)

Note: Typewritten B = bilabial implosive

	<u>Address</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Father	<u>Bawo</u>	<u>U6awo</u> (my father) <u>U6awo wakho</u> (your father) or <u>uvihlo</u> (seldom used) <u>Uyise</u> (his father)
Mother	<u>Mhana, ma</u>	<u>Umhana</u> (my mother; <u>Umhana wakho, uma wakho</u> (your mother) <u>Umha wakhe, unina, uni'ka</u> (his mother)
Son	<u>Nyana, mntfan'am</u>	<u>Unyana, umntfan'am</u>
Daughter	<u>Ntfombi yam, mntfan'am</u>	<u>Intfombi, umntfan'am</u>
Child	<u>Mntfana</u>	<u>Umntfana</u>
Elder brother (man speaking)	<u>Mkhuluwa, buti</u>	<u>Umkhuluwa, ubuti</u>
Younger brother (man speaking)	<u>Mninawa</u>	<u>Umninawa</u>
Sister (man speaking)	<u>Dzadzewethfu, sisi</u>	<u>Udzadzewethfu, usisi</u>
Elder sister (woman speaking)	<u>Dzadzewethfu</u>	<u>Udzadzewethfu.</u>
Younger sister (woman speaking)	<u>Dzadzewethfu</u>	<u>Udzadzewethfu</u>
Brother (woman speaking)	<u>Mfowethfu</u>	
Great-grandfather	<u>Khokho</u>	<u>Ukhokho</u> (often ithfongo)
Great-grandmother	<u>GOGO</u>	<u>Ugogo</u> (ancestral spirit)
Father's father	<u>Bawo-mkhulu</u>	<u>U6awo-mkhulu</u>
Father's mother	<u>Mha-khulu</u>	<u>Umha-khulu</u>
Son's child	<u>Mtukulwana, mtukulu</u>	<u>Umtukulwana, umtukulu</u>
Daughter's child	<u>Mtukulwana, mtukulu</u>	<u>Umtukulwana, umtukulu</u>
Great-grandchild	<u>Mntfan'omtukulu</u> <u>Mntfan'omntfan'am</u>	<u>Umntfan'omtukulwana</u>
Father's elder brother	<u>Baw'omkhulu</u>	<u>U6aw'omkhulu</u>
Father's younger brother	<u>Baw'omncane</u>	<u>U6awo'omncane</u>
Brother's child (man speaking)	<u>Mntfan'am</u>	<u>Umntfan'am</u>
Father's sister	<u>Dzadz'o6awo, anti</u>	<u>Udzadz'o6awo, uanti</u>
Brother's child (woman speaking)	<u>Mt/hana</u>	<u>Umt/hana</u>
Mother's brother	<u>Malume</u>	<u>Umalume</u>
Sister's child (man speaking)	<u>Mt/hana</u>	<u>Umt/hana</u>

(1)

I am indebted to Mr. A.C. Jordan M.A. of the University of Cape Town for checking the accuracy of this list.

Mother's elder sister	<u>Mha-khulu</u>	<u>Umha-khulu</u>
Mother's younger sister	<u>Mhan'omncane</u>	<u>Umhan'omncane</u>
Sister's child (woman speaking)	<u>Mt/hana</u>	<u>Umt/hana</u>
Father's brother's son	<u>Kayise</u>	<u>Ukayise</u>
Father's brother's daughter	<u>Kayise</u>	<u>Ukayise</u>
Mother's sister's son	<u>Mzala</u>	<u>Umzala</u>
Mother's sister's daughter	"	"
Mother's brother's son	"	"
Mother's brother's daughter	"	"
Father's sister's son	"	"
Father's sister's daughter	"	"
Husband	<u>Myeni</u>	<u>Umyeni, indvodz'am</u>
Wife	<u>Mfati, or by isi6ongo</u>	<u>Umfati wam, inkosikati yam</u>
Wife's father	<u>Bawo</u>	<u>U6awo</u>
Wife's mother	<u>Mhanha, ma</u>	<u>Umhenha uma</u> <u>UMKHWEKATI</u>
Daughter's husband	<u>Mntfan'am</u>	<u>Umkhwenyana</u>
Wife's brother	<u>Mlam wam, si6ali</u>	<u>Umlam wam, usi6ali</u>
Sister's husband (man speaking)	<u>Si6ali, by name</u>	<u>Usi6ali</u>
Wife's sister	<u>Si6ali, by name</u>	<u>Usi6ali</u>
Sister's husband (woman speaking)	<u>Si6ali</u>	<u>Usi6ali</u>
Wife's brother's child	<u>Mt/hana</u>	<u>Umt/hana</u>
Father's sister's husband	<u>Bawo, ompi</u>	<u>Umyeni wodzadz'o6awo</u>
Wife's sister's child		
Mother's sister's husband		
Husband's father	<u>Bawo</u>	<u>U6awo, u6awotala</u>
Husband's mother	<u>Mhana, ma</u>	<u>Umhana, umhatala</u>
Son's wife	<u>Makhoti</u>	<u>Umakhoti (bride)</u>
Husband's brother	<u>Mfowethfu, 6awo (elder brother)</u>	<u>Umfowethfu</u>
Husband's sister	<u>Indvodzakati</u>	<u>Indvodzakati</u>
Brother's wife (man speaking)	<u>Si6ali</u>	<u>Usi6ali</u>
Brother's wife (woman speaking)	<u>Makhoti si6ali</u>	<u>Usi6ali</u>
Husband's brother's child	<u>Mntfanam</u>	<u>Umntfanam</u>

Father's brother's wife	<u>Mhana, ma</u>	<u>Mam'omkhulu</u>
Husband's sister's child		
Mother's brother's wife	<u>Malumekati</u>	<u>Umalumekati</u>
Wife's brother's wife	<u>Si6ali, by name</u>	<u>Usi6ali</u>
Husband's sister's husband	<u>Ndvodzakati</u>	<u>Indvodzakati</u>
Wife's sister's husband	<u>Mnakwethfu</u>	<u>Umnakwethfu</u>
Husband's brother's wife	<u>Mzakwethfu</u>	<u>Indvodzakati</u>
Son's wife's parents	<u>Bakhoti</u>	<u>A6akhoti</u>
Daughter's husband's parents	"	"
Co-wife	<u>Zakwethfu</u>	<u>Uzakwethfu</u>

APPENDIX E.ANALYSIS OF CLAN AND LINEAGE DISTRIBUTION: MHLLOT/HENI
LOCATION.

This analysis must be read in conjunction with the appended sketch map and genealogies. See text, page 82.

<u>RWANTSANA</u> <u>Name of Kraalhead</u>	<u>Clan of Kraalhead</u>	<u>Clan and Tribe</u> <u>of Wife</u>
I Josiah Sontsi (deceased)	Zulu	Xaša (Hluši)
II Mahleka Sontsi	Zulu	Ndlovu (Hluši)
III T/holwane Sontsi	Zulu	Mjoli (Bh./Wu/e)
IV Sograra Sontsi	Zulu	? (Hluši)
V Miyalelezi Mdudzi	Chiya	Siwela (Bhaca)
VI Samson Sibembe	Dlangamandla	Radeše (Hluši)
VII Alven Sibembe	Dlangamandla	Luthuli (Bhaca)
VIII Boois Sibembe	Dlangamandla	Shamu (Xesiše)
IX Jeffrey Hleti	Ngceme	Khasiše (Hluši)
X Edward Hleti	Ngceme	Siwela (Bhaca)
XI Goli Hleti	Ngceme	Dlamini (Hluši)
XII ? Mramba (deceased)	Luthuli	Dlamini (Hluši)
XIII Mphayipheli Mdudzi	Chiya	Dlala (Bhaca)
XIV Fokwana Msaseni (Mpondomise)	Dosini	Zhence (Bhaca)
XV Silolo Msaseni (Mpondomise)	Dosini	Luthuli (Bhaca)
XVI Mathuni Msaseni (Mpondomise)	Dosini	Dlamini (Hluši)
XVII Jani Sontsi	Zulu	Khantini (Bh/Wu/e)
XVIII Station Sivile	Madlala	Dosini (Mpondomise)
XIX Mkhini Sivile	Madlala	Chiya (Bhaca)
XX Daniel Sibembe	Dlangamandla	Solo (?) From Rode possibly Hluši)
XXI Magada Sontsi	Zulu	Khwananzi
XXII Skilpad Sontsi	Zulu	Radeše (Hluši)
XXIII Elias Ngxesi	Dlangamandla	Siwela (Bhaca)
XXIV Lemani Milandu	Bele	Chiya (Bhaca)
XXV Gqukani Nodlaša	Zulu kwaDidi	Luthuli (Bhaca)
XXVI Vayisi Nodlaša (twin of above)	Zulu-Didi	Luthuli (Bhaca)
XXVII Stanford Nodlaša	Zulu-Didi	Dzaniše (Bhaca)
XXVIII Joel Nodlaša	Zulu-Didi	Meduna (Sotha)
XXIX Josakha Mdudzi	Chiya	Bele (Bhaca)
XXX Gele Qomfa (related to Nodlaša)	Zulu-Didi	Sišiya (Zulu)
XXXI Mphat/hana Vukuthu	Luthuli	Fodwa (Bhaca)

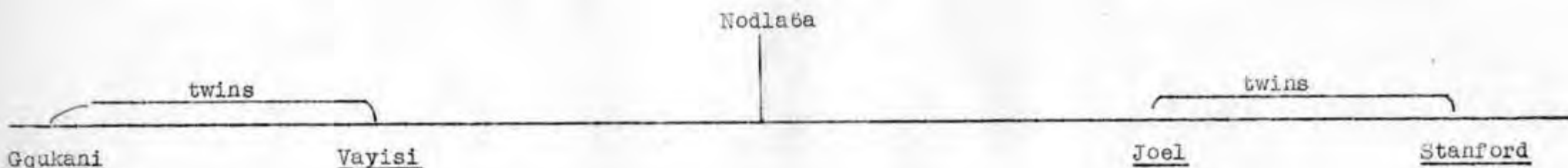
Notice is drawn to the preponderance in this cluster of the families of Sontsi (the family of the district head), Sibembe, Hleti, Nodla6a and Msaseni (Mpondomise). Except the latter, all are Bhaca.

The relationship of some of these Rwantsana families is shown in the following genealogies:-

N.B. Those still alive with own umti, underlined thus, _____
" " " without own umti underlined thus, - - - - -

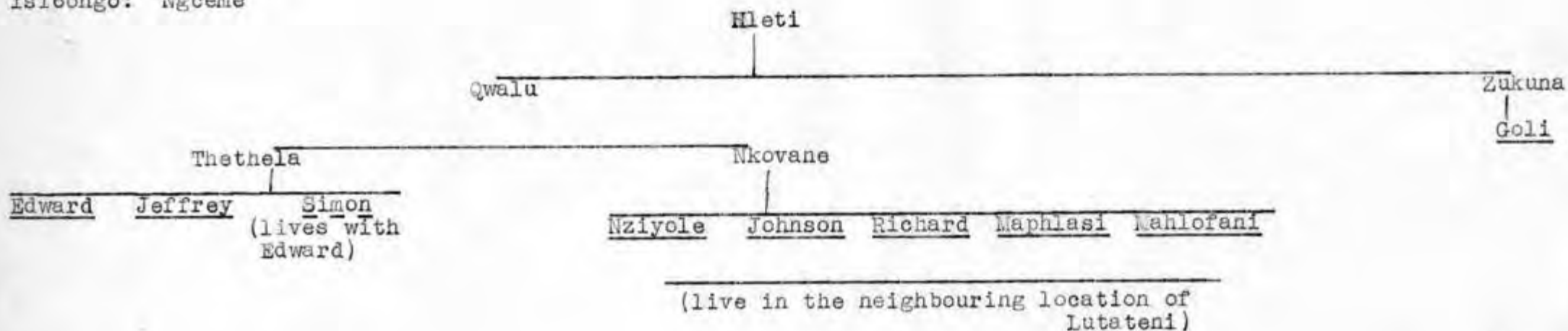
Nodla6a

Isi6ongo: Zulu kwaDidi



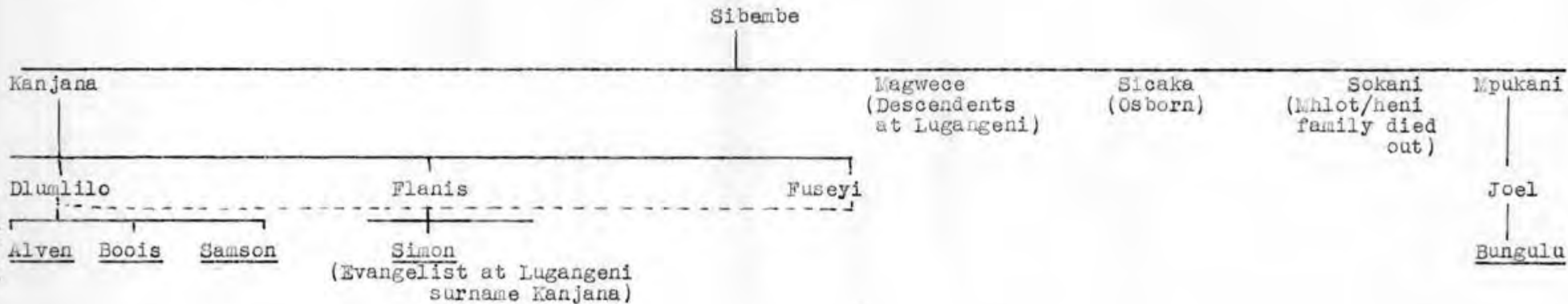
Hleti

Isi6ongo: Ngceme



Sibembe

IsiSongo: Dlangamandla



(N.B. Dlublilo died before he had children. Wife Ukungena by brother Fuseyi and Alven, Boois and Samson born. Fuseyi never married own wife.)

MHLOT/HENI

(The few families in Sinyemini are included here).

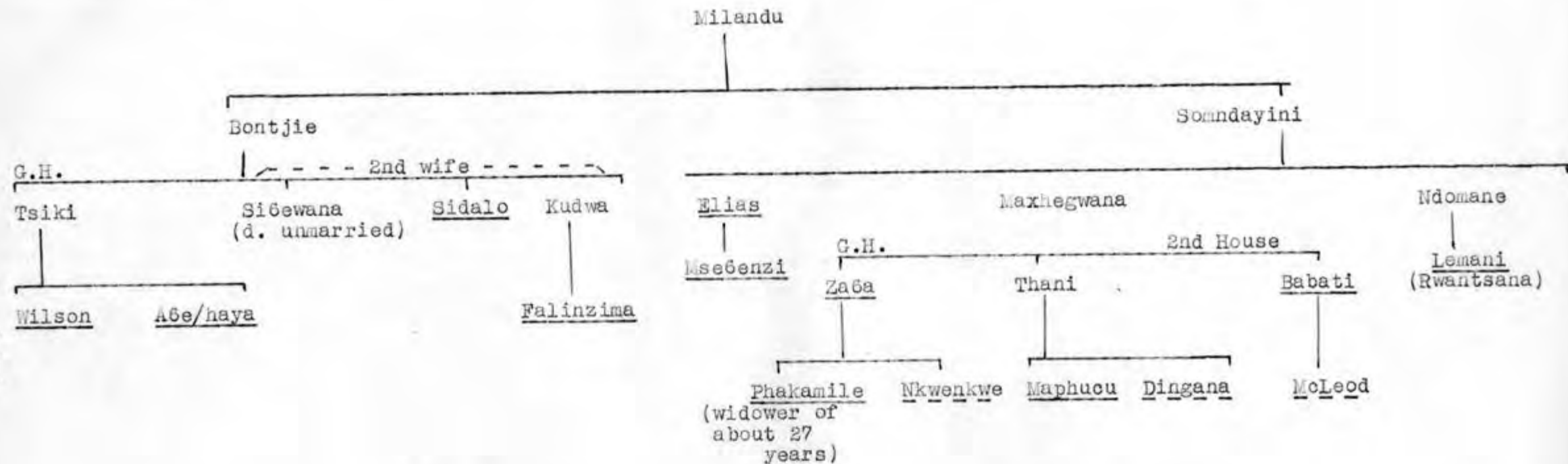
<u>Name of Kraalhead</u>	<u>Clan of kraalhead</u>	<u>Clan and tribe of wife</u>
I Wilson Milandu	Bele	Mpofane (Mpondo)
II Joji Qulu	Siwela	Lingwane (Xesi6e)
III Edmund Qulu	Siwela	Dzani6e (Bhaca)
IV Mchuku Sontsi	Zulu	Dlamini (Hlu6i)
V James Sontsi	Zulu	Keswa (Hlu6i)
VI Khelephu Milandu	Bele	Langa (Bhaca)
VII Mbonyana Qulu	Siwela	Snamu (Xesi6e)
VIII Mavumbuka Sontsi	Zulu-Didi	Mzizi (Hlu6i)
IX E. Gwayi (Hlu6i)	Keswa	Khumalo (Hlu6i)
X Smekamaka Sontsi	Zulu	Madlala (Bhaca)
XI Makhinzi Sontsi	Zulu	Nyawuza (Mpondo)
XII Mazu6ele Magumtha	Zulu-Didi	Mnguni (Mfengu grew up among Bhaca)
XIII Falinzima Milandu	Bele	Siwela (Bhaca)
XIV Paul Sontsi	Zulu	Siwela (Bhaca)
XV A6e/haya Milandu	Bele	Menda6a (Hlu6i)
XVI Sidalo Milandu	Bele	Miya (Mpondomise)
XVII Elias Milandu	Bele	Mandat/hi (Mpondo)
XVIII Msebenzi Milandu	Bele	Ma6a6a (Hlu6i)
XIX Maphucu Milandu	Bele	Madlala (Hlu6i)
XX Dingana Milandu	Bele	unmarried
XXI Babati Milandu	Bele	Dlamini (Hlu6i)
XXII ? Magumtha	Zulu-Didi	Majota (Mpondomise)
XXIII Za6a Milandu	Bele	Majili (Bhaca)
XXIV Umtunywa Milandu	Bele	Zulu-Didi (Bhaca)
XXV Dingilizwe Sontsi	Zulu	Dzani6e (Bhaca)
XXVI Skhuni Qulu	Siwela	Mtoli (Bhaca)
XXVII Isaac Qulu	Siwela	?
XXVIII ? Ngcezu (Mfengu - teacher)	?	Magavini (Bhaca)
XXIX Mkhengelezi Sontsi	Zulu	(I did not ascertain the clan and tribe of the wives of the following)
XXX Jani Milandu	Bele	

<u>Name of kraalhead</u>	<u>Clan of kraalhead</u>	<u>Clan and tribe of wife</u>
XXXI Makavu Milandu	Bele	
XXXII Nkomoyethungo Gwayi	Kheswa	
XXXIII Aaron Qulu	Siwela	
XXXIV Dadatana Qulu	Siwela	
XXXV Jalvani Sontsi	Zulu	
XXXVI Simon Thima	Dlangamandla	
XXXVII Simikade Milandu	Bele	
XXXVIII Mayima Sontsi	Zulu	
XXXIX Mordecai Sontsi	Zulu	
XL Sidlele Qulu	Siwela	

The preponderance of the Sontsi, Milandu and Qulu families will be noticed. Although centred in the Mhlot/heni cluster, as the ruling family of the whole district (location), is found in all the clusters. The isiBongo "Zulu" denotes the blood royal. The Milandu and Qulu lineages appear to be centred at Mhlot/heni although members are found outside the cluster in other locations e.g. Lugangeni, Lutateni and CaBezi. In these concentrations of family relations round the lineage we can see the original primary structural unit and note its break-up. The genealogies of the Milandu and Sontsi lineages are appended.

Milandu

Isi6ongo: Bele

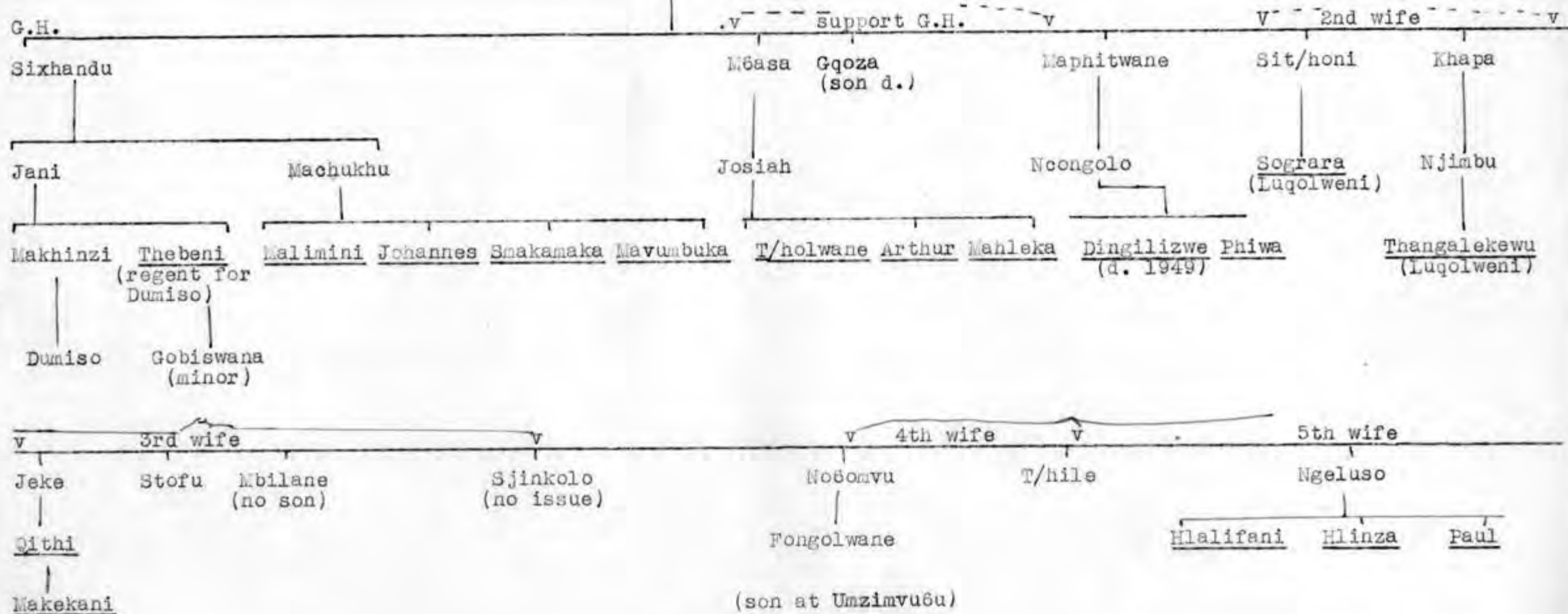


Makewu, Jani and Simakade (see distribution list) were untraced in the genealogy.

Sontsi

Isibongo: Zulu

Sontsi
(youngest son of Madzikane ?)

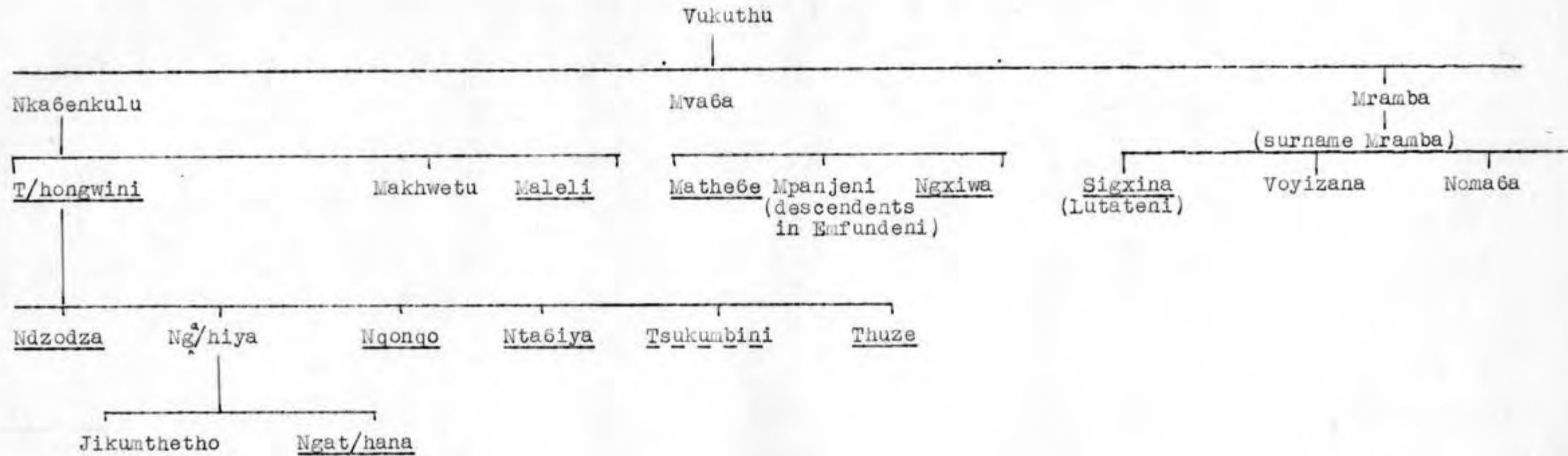


(110)

LUQOLWENI

<u>Name of kraalhead</u>	<u>Clan of kraalhead</u>	<u>Clan and tribe of wife</u>
I Peter Deli (Hlu6i)	Rade6e	Yo6a (Mfengu)
II Nqonqo Vukuthu	Luthuli	Nkwali (Mfengu)
III Ndzodza vukuthu	Luthuli	Zhucu (Bhaca)
IV T/hongwini Vukuthu	Luthuli	Chiya (Bhaca)
V Jikumthetho Vukuthu	Luthuli	Mguqu (Bhaca)
VI Maleli Vukuthu	Luthuli	Mpompotsela (Bhaca)
VII Thuze Vukuthu	Luthuli	Mxa6aniso (Bhaca)
VIII Nyat/hana Vukuthu	Luthuli	Ncakili (Bhaca)
IX Mathe6e Vukuthu	Luthuli	Mtolo (Bhaca)
X Ngxiwa vukuthu	Luthuli	Hloko (Bhaca)
XI Nta6iya Vukuthu	Luthuli	Mjaka (Bhaca)
XII Nta6a Mramba	Luthuli	Zengeli (Bhaca)
XIII Mayika Mramba	Luthuli	Nyoni (Bhaca)
XIV Ngum6oni Sontsi	Zulu	Ma6unga (Bhaca)
XV Phehlela Sontsi	Zulu	Jwara (Bhaca)
XVI Mngatulula Sontsi	Zulu	Dla6adla6a (Bhaca)
XVII Mt/hot/hovade Sontsi	Zulu	Mnyamana (Bhaca)
XVIII Nyaula Sontsi	Zulu	Manyezi (Bhaca)
XIX Njimba Sontsi	Zulu	Nqa/iyana (Bhaca)
XX Ninza Gqwara	Gqwaru	Mjoli (Bhaca)
XXI S. Hlonze	Mpovane	Hlot/heni (Bhaca)
XXII Dlanaye Njinga	Mpovane	Ganyana (Xesi6e)
XXIII Thafile Mafede	Maqolo	Mafosi (Bhaca)
XXIV Qu6uza Mantoma	Mpovane	Lolo (Bhaca)

The vukuthu family thus predominate in Luqolweni, with a fair number of Sontsi. The high incidence of marriage among the former is interesting and, apparently unusual, and can be explained by the fact that the Vukuthu pride themselves on marrying only Bhaca. It is believed that the "family" i.e. the clan, Luthuli, will be weakened if foreign blood is introduced. The following indicates the relationship of some of the Vukuthu imiti:-



EMFUNDENI

<u>Name of kraalhead</u>	<u>Clan of kraalhead</u>	<u>Clan and tribe of wife</u>
I David Sibembe	Dlangamandla	Luthuli (Bhaca)
II Nohlongi Sibembe	Dlangamandla	ngwane (Xesi6e)
III Khwenene Qulu	Siwela	T/halini (Bhaca)
IV Tuku Mramba	Luthuli	Su6ani (Bhaca)
V Nongwetsu mdudzi	Chiya	mtolo (Bhaca)
VI Nkwenkwana Mdudzi	Chiya	Novunywa (Bhaca)
VII T/hobeni Msaseni (Mpondomise)	Dosini	hlalandini (Bhaca)
VIII Khomanisi Mdlaka	Dlomo	Singizi (Bhaca)
IX Thebeni Sontsi (regent)	Zulu	mtambo (Hlu6i)
X Mhlalanini Nodla6a	Zulu-Didi	Mgogo (Bhaca)
XI Thatha Qulu	Siwela	Tasife (Bhaca)
XII Million Msaseni (Mpondomise)	Dosini	Luthuli (Bhaca)
XIII Mayo6uka Sontsi	Zulu	Bukwane (Hlu6i)
XIV Khomponi Mva6a	Luthuli	Yina (Hlu6i)
XV Bafubafu Mva6a	Luthuli	Siwela (Bhaca)
XVI Mbungulu Sibembe	Dlangamandla	Mthembu (Hlu6i)
XVII Ngqeza Mva6a	Luthuli	Zimbomvu (Bhaca)
XVIII Qithi Sontsi	Zulu	Sakhe (Bhaca)
XIX Makuka Mdudzi	Chiya	Siwela (Bhaca)
XX Mago6a Mdudzi	Chiya	Snamu (Xesi6e)
XXI Magogodza Mramba	Luthuli	Khambula (Bhaca)
XXII Malimini Sontsi	Zulu	Sinqokoma (Bhaca)

APPENDIX F

LIST OF BHACA CLANS

The following is a list of the most important Bhaca clans. The list is not exhaustive, but does, I believe contain the great majority of names.

Zulu	Vaphi	Nga/iyana
Zulu kwaDidi	Gweva	Zi6i
Sele	Gemane	Lotholi
T/hezi	Mqokozo	Chwane
Phezani	Mqhutywa	Jali
Siwela	Wu/e	Nala
Dlangamendla	Mlambo	Jingiswa
Jwara	Jiya	Ngwele
Gqwaru	Jiwu	Luthuli
Radu	Habile	Ngxabani
Ngemaza	Ntoli	Tenza
Mgaxwana	Mt/hali	Mxabaniso
Lolo	Bovu	Zingi
Lukwane	Σhu6a	Σhukwa
Mafosi	Mpompotsela	Thasife
Dlomo	Hlaladini	Novunywa
Su6ani	Madlala	T/halini
Zimbomvu	Sakhe	Khembula
Mabunga	Chiya	Nyoni
Dla6adla6a	Hloko	Maqolo
Nyamana	Zengeli	Zhucu*
Mjeka	Mpovane	Manyezi
Xa6a	Dzani6e	Gamedze
Mjila	Ngceme	Mafodo
Jili	T/halaza	Mdluli
Neskili	Purwane	Hlot/heni
Mgoqe	Mtolo	Singizi
Nku6aza	Sinqokoma	Khwananzi
Mguqu		

* I use the combination zh to express the voiced palato-fricative consonant (the voiced form of sh in Xhosa orthography ʃ). The sound is peculiar to Isibhaca.

CHAPTER III.THE ATTAINMENT OF STATUS: GROWING UP.The concept of status.

The social relations which go to form the fabric of Bhaca society owe their variety, and in many cases, their existence, to the presence in society of status. This may be defined as the position any individual occupies in the society, with its attendant rights and obligations, patterns of behaviour and associated emotions of social approval. The concept of status has various facets. On the one hand a man may have a number of different statuses - he may be a father, husband, chief's councillor, skilled hunter or orator, but, on the other hand, he also occupies a position in the society which is the sum of all these differing statuses. He is the product of all these plus his own inherent personality and this combination determines his place in the social structure. It is to status that asymmetrical relations owe their existence; the idea of degree is inherent in the concept, and the relations between father and son, chief and subject, teacher and child, etc., in which different patterns of behaviour obtain between the two individuals concerned, stems from their differing statuses. Patterns of reciprocal behaviour between two such individuals flow from two poles of reference, each being a status, and, to reintroduce the metaphor, statuses are the "knots" in the net-work of social relations that form the society. All relations exist with reference to statuses and, ipso facto, all members of the society must possess status.

Status can be of two kinds. On the one hand it can be structural i.e. arising from the individual's place in the society, from his membership of clan, family, local group, tribe etc., and the place he occupies in each, and is, as such, automatic; or it can be individual, i.e. attained through individual qualities of personality and ability. The position of a successful herbalist or orator are examples of this type of status but, in Bhaca society, instances of this type are rare. Various criteria are used by the society to determine structural status and the chief of these are:-

- (a) Sex,
- (b) Age, and,
- (c) Birth.

In this chapter we shall discuss the passage of the Bhaca from birth to death and his attendant change in status, .

with special reference to the above three criteria. All the various statuses in the society go up to make the structural form, of that society, the static skeleton which is constant. The human members of the society pass through this structure in their life-time, and, as we shall see, do not relinquish their membership even on death, but merely pass on to another plane. Even here the status occupied by the deceased member is closely correlated with his status on earth. The spirit of a powerful chief is more feared than that of a commoner and it is doubtful whether young children or unmarried persons become amathfongo (ancestral spirits). The place of the deceased members is taken by others and there is a steady stream of individuals passing through the structure and occupying the various statuses in succession.

(3) SEX

The determination of status by sex.

As in all human societies, Bhaca women occupy a certain position in the society, with associated taboos and attendant rights and duties, merely because they are women. Certain occupations, which will be discussed later in the chapter on economic life, are relegated to them. Some of these, such as cooking and housekeeping, stem from the woman's position in the home, which in turn derives from the female physiological attributes. Then, too, certain occupations such as hunting and warfare are debarred to women. Women among the Bhaca are always considered as minors. They are perpetually under the guardianship of some male, either father, brother or husband, who is responsible for their actions and who must represent them in the tribal court - although a woman may give evidence at a trial. (See Chapter on ~~economic~~ political life).

Women attain greater status on marriage; an unmarried woman is despised and laughed at and the bearing of children is considered the ultimate fulfilment of life. Apart from the mere fact of being married a woman's status is largely dependent on the status of her husband and his position in the society. It is a great thing to be the wife of a headman, chief, prominent councillor or wealthy ~~herdsman~~ ^{herdsman}, (among Christians, a minister, teacher or elder). The number of wives a man has is an indication of his wealth and a great wife, with a number of junior wives under her, holds an important and enviable position. A chief's wife is the most important woman in the tribe and is known as the mother of her people. Sikhande's widow was referred to as NoBantu, NoBhaca (Mother of the Bhaca) and Indlunkulu, the Great Hut, although she has not the important position in the tribe that the Swazi Queen Mother has.

As we have seen, a widowed wife of a kraal head is consulted on all important matters by her sons. The introduction of Christianity has increased greatly the importance of women in the society and the manyano women's associations attached to practically all churches provide opportunities for capable women to develop their personalities and powers of leadership and so gain status in the eyes of the community. From the point of view of individual status there are also opportunities for women with ability. The vast majority of itangoma, diviners, are women, who **thereby** have an opportunity to wield considerable influence on the society, and, incidentally to acquire considerable wealth (See Chapter on witchcraft and magic), and, in the economic sphere, expert women potters and weavers may build up a wide reputation. Certain women are famous for their hospitality and the quality of their beer and the function of a popular hostess is another means of gaining prestige with all its attendant satisfactions.

Generally speaking, however, women hold an inferior position in Bhaca society. Although this is an almost universal phenomenon, the reasons for which need not be gone into here, a contributory reason for this ^{among the Bhaca} is the concept of umlaza, or the ritual impurity of women, which must now be discussed.

The concept of umlaza.

The Bhaca, in common with all Bantu tribes, believe in the existence of a peculiar spiritual essence, associated with certain objects, called umlaza. Umlaza can be conveyed to other objects or people by contact and it is cognate with the Polynesian mana described by Radcliffe-Brown and Codrington. People or things invested with this power are conceived to be dangerous to others and patterns of avoidance are introduced to prevent contagion. As the above authors have pointed out, the concept has two qualities depending on its source; it can be sacred (as the person of a chief or deity) or unclean (as a corpse). The word umlaza is used by the Bhaca to convey the idea of uncleanness and defilement and they appear to differentiate between two types of uncleanness (ritual impurity) - that deriving from the sexual function of women, particularly the menstrual blood, and that arising from death. Informants often asked when questioned on umlaza, "What kind do you mean; that from a woman or that got when someone has died?" Death always brings defilement, even to those outside the family circle, and at the funerals I attended during my stay among the Bhaca, an important feature was the washing of the hands by all present to remove the pollution. Washing removes contamination.

Umlaza pertains typically to women. A woman has it during her periods of menstruation until she has washed, after a miscarriage and for a month after her husband or child has died. Both men and women have umlaza after sexual intercourse until they have washed, and in the case of a man it appears to derive from contact with the woman. Umlaza can also be got from eating particular foods. Meat of any animal that has died, i.e. not been killed, is considered unclean and pork also falls under the prohibition. It is believed that if anyone who has eaten pork touches medicines he will make them powerless and lose their magical efficacy. In this case it is difficult to attribute all the power to umlaza, as pork plays an important part in protective magic and is reputed to make the medicines of wizards powerless. It is also much used in the doctoring of huts against lightning, and to prevent injury in war and hunting. Apparently the eating of honey does not give umlaza as is reported in the case of the Mpondo.

Umlaza can be removed by washing in water or by chewing or rubbing the body with a root called isigungwa which is dug up and bruised^d between two stones. At funerals, soap and a basin of water are always provided as pollution affects those present even if the corpse itself has been washed. All the funerals I went to were Christian and it was apparent that the washing of hands was not associated with the umlaza taboo in the minds of the people. When asked, Christians said that they believed that washing in this context was introduced from Europeans, but old Milandu, an elder, stated that he washed because the corpse was unclean. Generally speaking umlaza is believed in by pagan and Christian alike. Umlaza deriving from sexual connection is dangerous even within the circle of the polygamous family. If a man goes from one wife to another without first purifying himself "the umlaza enters into him and he swells". Here again it is obvious that, as a female emanation, it is dangerous to the male; sexual umlaza originates in the woman and contaminates men and other objects. It can be transmitted, however, by the receiver to a third party. As a possible source of pollution, women are feared and avoided, and this reacts on their status in the society.

People who have umlaza, whether men or women, are dangerous to all cattle, sheep and goats, but not to pigs and poultry. Although, generally speaking, a man with umlaza cannot

enter a cattle kraal or milk the cows, in practice this taboo is often broken. Many informants say that nothing will happen to the stock, if he does. Women, during the age of child-bearing, are forbidden the cattle kraal and a menstruating woman will avoid even walking through a herd of cattle grazing in the veld for fear sickness and harm would come to them. There is a very rigid taboo against a woman stepping over ox yokes, trek chains, spears or stocks and informants commented that this was "the most important taboo". Apparently retribution following the non-observance of the rule acts in two ways. On the one hand the "woman will menstruate before her time", and, on the other, the cattle will get sick and die. If men or cattle cross the spoor of a woman who has umlaza they will become weak and might die. The fact that women after the menopause and children before the age of puberty are allowed freely to enter the cattle kraal shows the linkage of umlaza with the sexual functions.

No one with umlaza may drink the product of cattle, amasi (sour milk), and if a member of the clan or a related clan dies some milk will be spilt from the calabashes. Bhaca say that this is true Bhaca custom, although it may have been introduced from Pondoland. After a death milk is avoided for a week after which a special goat is slaughtered called ukudliswa intusi (to drink milk). It will be seen that cattle, and the product of cattle such as milk, are particularly sensitive to the effects of umlaza and any contact will weaken the cattle and cause the cows to miscarry. "Their blood will become bad, even if it is summer", (the time of green grass when the stock are in prime condition). Umlaza negatives the power of medicines and a doctor will avoid using his medicines if there has been a death. He will also avoid contact with women on the night before he has to use his magic. It is also believed that contact with umlaza will make a sick person worse, although one informant stated that, if a man was very ill, intercourse with his wife would help him to recover.

Umlaza affects both warriors and their weapons. It makes the former become u6uthakathaka, i.e. their knees become weak, and, if a man's wife dies, he cannot touch his sticks or spears until a week's mourning period is over. No man may have sexual intercourse with his wife on the night before the ingcube ceremony, or before going on a raid. He may not even pass the time in love making. No menstruating woman will touch her husband's sticks or spears and she will be careful, while in that state, not to walk in his footsteps in case he should become polluted.

A woman with umlaza must take special precautions. "She must talk", i.e. she must confess her state so that men will know to avoid her. Among the Bhaca there is the same belief as among the Mpondo that a woman with umlaza aggravates a river. On arriving at a river she must tell the river that she is menstruating. She must then take water into her mouth (ukuraḡula) and spit into the water and the water will be calm for her to cross in safety.

A woman should not pass between men, especially if she is pregnant: the man might be using strong medicines. Also "a woman may not pass between a headman and his men", and at an imbizo (gathering, court case) at which men were gathered at the headman's kraal, his wife appeared, going towards her hut, but changed her course and made a wide circuit to avoid them.

It will be seen from the above that sex plays an important part in regulating status, although, in practice, its influence is largely of a negative character imposing disabilities on women because they are women. In only a few cases does being a woman actually lead to the attainment of higher status and, these are practically confined to the profession of divining, - a calling necessitating a highly emotional and mystical type of mentality. (b) AGE

The determination of status by age.

Of much more importance is the factor of age. As a Bhaca passes through life from birth to death, he automatically passes through various statuses of increasing standing in the society. This progression is considered so important in many societies that it is capitalized, and the various statuses graded into what are called age sets. Examples of this type of organization are found among the Zulu, Swazi and Tswana tribes, in South Africa, and the Kikuyu and Kamba in Kenya, although the actual details differ widely among these tribes. The Bhaca, on the other hand, do not utilize this method, but, nevertheless, there are very definite stages in the life of an individual. The reaching of maturity, in particular, is considered an important event and is given social recognition in the form of initiation ceremonies, - for girls at least. Marriage is another change of status that brings with it new powers, authority, obligations and a new emotional life. Even death can be considered as a step to a new existence on a new plane. The ceremonies connected with death and marriage will be described in later chapters as they do not only involve a change of status but have important

other functions in the social life. Here we are concerned with the attainment of the status of full membership of the tribe, the long period of child-hood and adolescence with its accompanying conditioning of the human units that are the potential adults of the tribe and who will play a part in the controlling of its destinies.

Ideas concerning conception.

The Bhaca realize that conception results from sexual intercourse between men and women. "When people marry intercourse takes place and a child is born". Many questions on the subject are met with an "Andaati" (I don't know), probably because women are naturally reticent about these things to men-folk, especially a male investigator, and also because church members are very chary about discussing such things. Hlonipha (a form of linguistic taboo described later) words are used much more freely among them than among the uninhibited pagans. The following information was thus obtained with some difficulty.

It is known that conception causes pregnancy in the woman and the sign of this is the cessation of menstruation. Also the connection between puberty and the ^{menstrual} ~~menstrual~~ function is appreciated; "if a woman has no menstruation she cannot become pregnant". When pregnant a woman "is always cross", irritable and nervous and "she feels like insulting everybody". Ideas of conception are crude and tend to differ between individuals, but it is recognized that the sperm (amadlozi) of the man enters the stomach of the woman and mixes with her blood. The blood that would normally flow at the monthly period is retained and forms a clot in which the baby develops. After three months this clot bursts and the baby emerges from it fully formed and possessing eyes, limbs, etc. The baby remains in the body of the mother getting bigger and bigger until expelled on the ninth month at birth. The father's part in conception is well known, indeed it is stated that "the father makes the child". The word amadlozi appears to be used for both men and women as it is realized that both men and women produce a fluid at intercourse. It is believed that the vaginal fluid is female-producing and the spermatazoa male-producing and if the child is a boy it is said that the "sperms" of the mother are weak, if a girl, that the man has only given a little sperm. If a man eats certain food such as meat, beans, groundnuts (amatongomani), eggs and cheese, he will be virile. Actually most people do not know how conception occurs. Certain women have some knowledge of obstetrics and the others merely listen and agree. Men, if

asked, say "Yiya e6afatini", "Go to the women". The Bhaca do not worry much about the physiology of conception: "Thsina sibeka umntfwana esisweni kanina, sikambe, siye ejikini". "We put the child in the stomach of the mother, we go to beer". In cases where there is doubt about the paternity of a child the palms of the baby's hands are examined carefully and if the lines coincide with those on the hands of the suspected father, his guilt is considered proved. It is believed by some that the sperm of the man actually goes to form the child. A real old pagan woman insisted that the semen of the man formed the bones (the white parts) and the woman's blood formed the flesh - the brain was given by Uthixo (God). This is connected with the practice of continuing cohabitation up to the eighth month of pregnancy "to build up the child in the womb". According to one old gogo (grandmother) men insist upon their rights but her husband had been more considerate and left her in the seventh month. Intercourse during pregnancy is said to make the vagina big and so facilitate birth and "if a man impregnates a woman and goes away to the mines it will take a long time before the baby is born because the organs become small". It is recognized that a baby takes after both its father and its mother or one of them and, where an unmarried girl has been made pregnant after having had connection with many men, the man whom the baby resembles most will be held responsible. "In a baby, you can sometimes see that the mouth is like the father but the body is like the mother" and "The resemblance of a baby to its father depends on the strength of the husband's sperms." A baby can also look like its grandfather - "This is difficult to explain". During the period within the mother's body the baby derives nourishment from its mother's milk. It is believed that the unborn child suckles by means of a nipple (or "vein") on the inside of the mother's breast and movements of the foetus during gestation are interpreted as the turning round of the child to reach the other breast. One woman, when told that this idea was incorrect said that she agreed. Sometimes a baby refuses to suckle when it is born. How could this happen if the baby was used to suckling while still inside the mother!

The Bhaca desire many children, both boys and girls being welcomed, and abortion is practically unheard of, although no ways are known of preventing conception except coitus interruptus. My informants had never actually

known any case of abortion occurring in the district, although they had heard of instances. "It is only hearsay". Apparently, however, there are some strong medicines that cause miscarriage and occasionally a woman takes them who has ^{conceived} ~~conceived~~ a child ^{by} ~~to~~ another man in the absence of her husband. Cases seem to be confined to married women who wish to conceal their condition from their husbands; no normal woman would wish to kill her unborn baby, and even unmarried girls, once quickening has made them aware of the life within them, would receive the idea with repulsion. These medicines can be obtained from the linyanga (Xh. amaxhwele - herbalists). Apart from the horror, the thought of abortion raises in the mind of Bhaca women, there is the legal sanction against homicide, "She would be arrested". The Bhaca do not seem to have ever had the practice of killing deformed children, and today Christian ideas reinforce this. They feel strongly against it; "It is a sin", "The child was given by God" and must die a natural death. Twins, too, are never killed. "A woman is pleased when there are two at the same time". Twins are considered peculiar, out of the ordinary. There is a superstition about the use of the word twins (amawele) in referring to them and the term abakhosi is used. When a twin dies they never say of it "Uyafile" (he has died), but ulandiwe (he has been fetched, i.e. by God), and, even, if years later, the other twin falls ill, it is said to want to "follow" the first, and is washed with medicines over the latter's grave. A pagan woman who has borne twins must wear a necklace made from the legbones of a fowl, which is worn until the children are weaned - usually two years after the birth. Each of the twins wears a small necklet made from the delicate footbones. The large necklace is called ^{himi} imiqabuka (from ukuqabuka, to get /imiqabuka better) and it is thought that if this is not worn the child might get sick and die. As soon as twins are born a goat, imbeleko, is killed with the two fowls for the necklace bones. Immediately after the birth the fat of the goat is taken by the mother, rolled into a rope and tied round her neck for the first week. After that the fat is removed and the necklace of chicken bones substituted. This protective use of fat is a feature of the initiation of the itangoma, diviners, and holds an important place in the pharmacopoeia of protective magic. It is dictated by custom that a woman should not conceive for two years after the birth of

a child and during this time the husband is expected to practice coitus interruptus to prevent pregnancy. To bear a child during this period is considered a great disgrace. Pregnancy. Bhaca women do not rest during pregnancy and continue working right up to the time of delivery. No allowances are made for her condition and she works hard, although "it depends on the kindness of her husband" who might allow her to slacken off as her time draws near. It is thought by some that if she does not work she will have difficulty in labour "because she is lazy". Much of the routine household work is extremely strenuous, and a wife must fetch water and fire wood daily, sometimes from great distances, and hoe the fields which are usually situated in the humid river valleys - an extremely gruelling task. Then, too, grinding, stamping mealies and kaffir corn and all the host of daily chores exact their toll on the expectant mother.

Girls frequently suffer from menstrual pains, although one old woman denied their physiological origin, saying that all pains (itilumo)⁽¹⁾ are sent by young men in medicines to "make her run mad". Be that as it may, traders stock and sell large quantities of ^{female} preparations to the young girls of the district and some herbalists (iinyanga) specialize in remedies for this complaint. Women, too, have pains during pregnancy and there is a high incidence of difficult births and cases of delayed labour. It is said that labour sometimes lasts as long as a week. Difficult births are not attributed to the strenuous life women lead during pregnancy but to the fact that the woman has crossed the spoor ^(umkhondvo) of a thikolo/e (legendary ape-like animal used by wizards as familiars), or a wizard. (~~umkhondvo~~). Despite these difficulties children are earnestly desired. A case occurred in one of the Johannesburg locations which illustrates this point. A woman who had been barren for a number of years approached the location superintendent with a view to adopting a child, as she, like all Bantu women, feared the social reproach of being sterile. With the superintendent's connivance she decided to pass the child off as her own and to that end made it known in the location that she was pregnant. To complete the illusion she progressively wrapped more and more clothes round herself to give the impression of pregnancy and, in due course, produced the

(1) From ukuluma, "to bite".

baby as her own. Waḡane's wife was sent all the way to the Rand to try and effect a cure for her temporary barrenness. As the wife of a Christian, and therefore monogamous, chief, it was most important that she should give birth to an heir.

During pregnancy a special medicine is used to ensure the health of the mother and child. In the fifth or sixth month of her pregnancy a woman having her first child is given a special plant called isihlambeto (Xh. isihlambezo) from ukuhlamba, (to wash). The plant can be used in two ways; it can be either bruised with a stone and an infusion made in cold water, or it is grown in a pot and the water drunk by the pregnant bride, "so that the baby will lie gently in the stomach". A woman is usually given the isihlambeto by her mother-in-law; in any case, it must come from the home of her husband and be given "by an old, experienced person". The various clans tend to have different plants for the isihlambeto but all appear to be members of the agapanthus family. Two plants are usually dug: one is used in an infusion and the other is grown in the pot in the infusion. The isihlambeto is said to work inside and if the woman does not have one she will take a long time to give birth. If the isihlambeto is not given to her, apparently "small" medicines called imbelekana are substituted, but "they are the same as castor oil". The plant is usually grown in a tin beaker bought at the store and brought from the bride's home. Apparently a certain plant called uluḡani is dug by the mother-in-law for the isihlambeto. When the plant has been placed in the beaker of water it is put before the young bride and she is told to confess any bad dreams she has had, or if she has committed incest (umbulo). "Everything must be known", and if anything is held back it is believed that the baby will not suckle. This will also happen if the woman possesses a familiar in the form of ichanti or impundulu (see chapter on witchcraft and magic) and sometimes this is confirmed by the finding of scratches (iintlanga) on the woman's arms and back, presumably caused by the familiars, who are believed to have sexual connection with their owner, at the height of erotic excitement. These beliefs are widespread but are slowly giving way to

education; "to-day, if a child does not suckle, people go to the European doctor". If a woman does not confess the isihlambeto will not flourish, and (there seems to be identification here) the child in the womb will also languish. Confession negatives the bad results of relations with familiars, clan members (thus breaking the incest rules of exogamy) and ^{dreams, in which many of the accounts of possession by} familiars have their sole existence. Often, however, a woman refuses to confess - "she does not say anything".

A complication is introduced where the child is illegitimate and all informants were unanimous that an illegitimate child would not be given an isihlambeto. This is especially so if the woman is married. Unmarried girls can usually get a plant from their lovers and even a married woman, if she can hide the fact of her adultery from her husband, may succeed in getting an isihlambeto from her husband's kraal. A young bride must water her isihlambeto regularly for if it withers the child too might get sick and perhaps die. ⁽¹⁾ The use of isihlambeto seems to be dying out among Christians and thus among the Bhaca generally. To-day it is regarded like castor oil and Epsom salts. Every morning from the sixth month the makhoti drinks from the infusion and keeps the can full of water. Some say that after birth the baby is also given some of the infusion to drink until the week's seclusion is over when the water is thrown out and the plant discarded.

Pregnant women are careful not to wear anything tight round arms, legs or waist as it is believed that it will cause strangulation of the infant in the womb or difficulty in labour. Bhaca realize that it is impossible to determine the sex of an unborn child, but there is a certain plant called ugoba used to help the mother during pregnancy. Sometimes its root is in the shape of the male generative organs, and it is then said that the woman will have a boy. It apparently has the power of influencing the sex of the child and not merely foretelling the future. Apart from medicines and the isihlambeto, massage is sometimes resorted to to facilitate birth. In one case, where parturition was delayed, a woman was scolded by her husband's family and her own brothers who beat her and kneaded and pummelled her stomach to try and induce birth. The child was still-born and the woman died. Certain food taboos are associated with pregnancy and it is believed that if a

(1) For a more detailed account of isihlambezo among the Mpondo see Hunter pp. 148-150.

pregnant woman sees a corpse she will have a miscarriage. Various magical techniques are used to ensure an easy birth. An infusion made from the afterbirth of a horse is drunk to insure ~~that~~ the birth will be quick. If the afterbirth takes a long time to come away, the fat of the seal ^(injalwandi) ~~is~~ given to the woman on a spoon. "Even Christians use it". Another remedy is the herb called umlableni (umshu6alo) mixed with old ash from the fire, white of egg and green trade soup, and drunk.

Birth. Among the Bhaca a first-born child must be born at the home of his mother, but, apparently, in exceptional cases such as distance or the sickness of the mother, it can be born at the husband's umti. Children, after the first-born, are usually born at the husband's home unless the wife particularly wants the confinement to take place at her home, when an indulgent husband might allow it. Both boys and girls are desired; although daughters, on marriage, bring cattle to the umti through the lobola transactions, "each son is an umti". Informants said that sons were responsible for their burial and for sacrifices to them when they themselves became amathfongo (ancestral spirits).

Various medicines, usually of a purgative nature, are used to help the birth and at intervals the stomach of the woman is bathed with warm water. Every now and then the women of the umti, assisting at the birth, move and massage the stomach "so that the baby will lie properly" and a transverse presentation be avoided. During this time the mother-in-law must keep away from the hut in which the woman is lying as her presence is thought to make the birth more difficult. If the birth is delayed unduly the owner of the umti will drive the cattle from the kraal into the inkundla (courtyard) in front of the woman's hut and, "if one of the cattle passes water, it is said that the amathfongo are complaining." An old woman, a member of the husband's family, is called to 6onga (praise) the ancestors, (usually referred to as ookhokho or oogogo i.e. grandparents). She will ask them what is wrong (c.f. the similar ceremony at a sickness, see Chap. ^{on religion} 6). If the woman does not get better a diviner (isangoma) is called in. "She will say that the ancestors want meat and a beast will be slaughtered for an idini", and the lungs, heart and thick blood (ubu6ende) will be offered as a propitiation. The isangoma

may say that the illness is caused by the mother's ancestors and in that case the beast is provided and the idini conducted by her father. "If this is done the mother will be freed from her difficulties". As soon as the child is born loud shouts are set up by the women and the amathfongo are praised by everyone. When one has given birth the Bhaca say, "Ithfongo/ika bawo lisebentile" - "the spirit of my father has worked".

The umbilical cord (inka6a) is never severed with a knife but with the stem of inchongolo, a hollow grass found near rivers, or isiqungwa (c.f. Mpondo ^{umqungwa} ~~isiqungwa~~, Tambookie grass). Other informants say that the sharp-edged ubengu grass is used. It is believed that the use of a knife will cause the baby to bleed profusely. The cord "is cut off about an inch from the end". The afterbirth (umkhaya) is taken outside by the husband's mother, and, after being rubbed on the ground "so that the child will live", is wrapped in a cloth and buried in the back of the hut. To-day there appears to be a tendency for the afterbirth to be buried at night some distance away from the kraal; in any event it must be buried by someone who has given birth before. It is feared that if an enemy or a witch should get hold of the umkhaya, he could use it to bring harm to the child. ~~(This is a common belief)~~. During the birth the woman does not lie on a couch of grass as is reported from among the Mpondo, but on a mound made from earth brought from outside the hut or on a goatskin, informants differing on this point. All the time the woman is in labour a fire must be kept going in the hut to keep her warm, but she must be careful not to sit too close to it. If the woman dies in childbirth the baby is taken by another woman of the kraal and reared by her. All the time of the confinement the woman must not leave the hut except for purposes of nature and no man, not even her husband, is allowed to enter. She is confined to the hut even after the birth of the child - eight days for a son and six for a daughter, and must not eat amasi (sour milk) or food mixed with it. Here we meet the umlaza taboo again: the woman is unclean and cannot eat the product of the herds until purification. She may eat sour porridge, meat and tea, however, for "she should have a bright complexion when she comes out". Men are only allowed into the hut on the eighth day. Even the father is not allowed to enter the hut till then as he might have picked up umlaza or crossed the

spoor of a snake, or otherwise be dangerous to the health of the baby. Apart from the above foods the woman is given umsofo, a plant used as a vegetable and mixed with mealie meal; but the part of an animal called impundu (lit. buttock, after a fancied resemblance) is avoided. If it is eaten the baby will have no hair.

Every morning and evening the baby is washed in warm water and, on fine days, it is held over a fire in which the twigs of a tree called umnquma are burnt, and passed through the smoke by its paternal grandmother. Other informants mention the plant called isifutho (Fagara capensis Themb.) being used. The child should swallow some of the smoke and, as it swings back and forwards over the fire the grandmother chants to it. The words of the chant differ with individuals but they are usually a variation on the following. "Naal' isela, ye! he! he! (Here is the thief)", each syllable emphasised by a shake of the child, then, to the baby, "Uvile" - "You are strong".⁽¹⁾ Bhaca say that the smoking of the child keeps the child well or "so that the child will have sense." If the baby has an intungwa i.e. its navel sticks out, a string of white beads is put round its neck. This is also done to stop running eyes.

A couple of days after the mother comes out of confinement the father slaughters a goat called imbeleko at a special thanksgiving ceremony. This is done particularly for a first-born child. Christians say that it is a thanksgiving (umbulelo from ukubulela, to thank) to God (Uthixo); pagans say that it is the amathfongo that are thanked for the safe delivery of the child. Among the Bhaca there is, as in so many other cases, often a synthesis of the two ideas. "We thank God, but the ancestors are also thanked", "the ancestors are really understood" - these are the statements of Christians. Killings are not always made for a baby, but, if it is not done, there is always the possibility of the child becoming sick. Malimini's

(1) For a more detailed discussion of variations and possible meaning of similar chants among the Mpondo, see Hunter op. cit. pp. 152-154.

daughter was gcagcisa 'd (abducted with her own consent) and taken to her husband's kraal. Because she was gcagcisa'd the baby was born at the umti of the husband, lobola was not completed and there was no ceremony (umjadu). Only after a year it was performed, and then only after the baby had become sick. The custom does not seem to be confined to pagans and "even the minister does it". In Malimini's case the imbeleko was slaughtered at the father's place first, but, as the baby continued to be sick, the killing was again made at the mother's home, as is correct. In normal cases the imbeleko is provided by the child's father, but, in the case of a first-born, by the child's maternal grandfather. In the latter case the husband's relatives come with presents of clothes, tea, coffee and other groceries to the wife's place. Only female relatives come; the men remain at home. After some weeks have elapsed the woman's father must send the child back to the paternal home (ukugodusa, to cause to go home) and exactly the same ceremony is again performed and the imbeleko killed. "It is just a give and take", and both groups vie with each other in the giving of presents. In many respects the custom resembles a marriage with the visits of the groom's people to the bride's home with gifts, and vice versa. In both cases the fathers of the young couple do not attend the ceremony held at the other umti, nor do their male relatives and friends. The ceremony can be divided into the following stages:-

(1) The arrival of the women of the man's group with gifts for the child. They arrive in the late afternoon and sleep in a special hut assigned to them in the umti or put up with various friends in the neighbourhood. That evening the maternal grandfather slaughters a goat called imbeleko to thank the ancestral spirits for the child's birth, and, among pagans, the skin is used to make the sling by which the baby is tied to its mother's back. The women of both groups spend the night in the great hut singing and dancing, called ukudlala kwaafati (the playing of the women), vying with each other, the two groups trying to outdo each other in grace and verve in dancing. The men of the kraal look on, if so inclined, or spend their time gossiping or drinking beer. A round loaf of bread, a cup of sugar and tea is placed in the middle of the hut floor and the group of women which wins, i.e. which does not tire first, receives them as a prize.

(2) The next morning an ox is killed by the bride's father and is cut up for meat. It has no special name, "it is just for meat". Men of

the neighbourhood arrive during the morning and sit in the cattle kraal while women cook meat and gossip. The killing of a beast "shows that the man is great".

(3) The arrival of the women of the neighbourhood with gifts and singing hymns at midday. More dancing and meat-eating in the afternoon.

(4) The possible killing of the ukuchola (see below) if anyone wants it. The evening is spent in dancing and singing as on the first night. On the next day the women from the man's umti return home and a few weeks later the ceremony is repeated at the paternal home.

In order to translate the above into more detailed and concrete terms, I append a description of the umjadu (feast) held by Malimini, mentioned above, for the first-born child of his daughter. We have already described how the mother was gcagcisa'd by a Pondo and the baby was born at the husband's kraal. It became sickly and the imbeleko was slaughtered but with no effect. One day the daughter arrived unexpectedly from Pondoland with the women of her husband's place and the sick child. Malimini was taken rather unawares but good-naturedly consented to kill the imbeleko that evening. For hours that night the women of the husband's kraal and those of the wife's hastily assembled for the occasion, danced and sang and competed with one another for the prize. This was a Sunday evening.

On the following morning early the cattle of the kraal were driven into the cattle-kraal and one was selected for slaughtering. It was caught by the young men, thrown to the ground and stabbed in the chest with an assegai belonging to the owner of the umti. When it was dead the beast was skinned and cut up, and part of the meat was taken, in the skin, and placed in the centre of the hut in which the women were seated gossiping and joking. During the morning the local headman, a half-brother of Malimini, arrived with other men of the neighbourhood, for a meat feast, whatever the occasion for it, is a great event in the location. As the morning wore on the men sat in the cattle-kraal discussing various matters; at one stage quite a heated argument arose about Wabane's right to the throne. Political matters are a favourite topic when men get together and I was in an area which favoured Kut/hiwa's family as the rightful Bhaca paramounts. All the while the women of the umti cooked the meat and prepared stamped mealies.

About midday neighbouring women arrived with marewu, sugar and meal, carried on their heads in paper bags or wicker

baskets. As they, reached the kraal they slowed down and began to sing a hymn as they, one by one, stooped to enter the door of the great hut, where the rest of the women were sitting. In the middle of the hut lay the hide of the dead beast containing some of the meat from it lying in a pool of its blood. All the women present wore European-type clothes and the majority were church members. The local evangelist's mother was present. As soon as the women (about 50) were comfortably settled they began to sing, clapping hands to the rhythm of different chants. A woman would start a chant and, as soon as they recognised it, the rest would join in clapping. Now and then a woman would get up and dance to the clapping, in the narrow space in the centre of the hut, much to the delight of the rest. The dance would get faster and faster until the woman returned to her side of the hut out of breath, after having touched a woman of the other side who would then have to take her place. These dances of the women depend largely on galvanic movements of arms and legs for their effect; tense contortions of the body in time to the chanting, the rhythms of which are often very complicated and pleasing; and the protrusion of posteriors which always caused laughter and comment. Even old gogo of over sixty joined in with all the abandon and agility of youth, and one woman had come prepared with match boxes tied with pieces of cloth to her ankles to accentuate the rhythms. Not all possess the unselfconsciousness of these and some merely did a few steps and returned to their places as unobtrusively as possible. Chants were sung over and over again, the clapping in the confined space of the hut became deafening, and, as the morning wore on, the atmosphere in the crowded hut got warmer and warmer and sweat ran down many faces.

Later in the afternoon Malimini was informed by a woman of his umti that the mother of the husband had said that two of her party were unable to eat the meat of the beast killed for the umjadu and they needed some other type of meat. This is a socially recognized custom called ukutefa (to pretend to decline) and is often done at weddings. Even if a woman is enjoying meat she might say that she is not and demand a beast called ukuchola, usually a goat or a sheep. The custom appears to be confined to women; "the only time a man can be "fussy" is when buying an engagement ring".

The two women were asked what they would take. Malimini ordered a goat and a sheep to be brought into the great hut by the young men and, standing in the middle of the hut next to the animals, addressed the side of the hut on which the son-in-law's relatives were sitting: "There you are, 6akhoti 6am (my relatives in law), I have nothing in my hand but I am giving you these two 'fowls' to satisfy my two a6akhoti, even although you have not satisfied me", (by completing the lo6ola). "I am showing you that I am not from a poor man". There was a dead silence for some moments and the two women concerned apparently would not choose until one old woman shouted "6akhoti, be quick, we have not much time, be quick or you won't get anything!" Everyone laughed at this sally, and Malimini responded with, "Be quick, you all know that you will take the goat with the skin and the waist". This again caused laughter as it is a custom that the waist is always kept by the family. The chest is given to the owner of the umti and the part known as imbethu, behind the shoulder, is roasted and given to the child to suck. It is afterwards eaten by the mother. Eventually it was decided to kill both the goat and the sheep and they were taken out to the kraal where they were slaughtered. The meat was shared out, dancing and singing continued throughout the afternoon, and tea and marewu was passed round. Cups were collected in grass baskets (iinyati) and returned to be refilled for someone else. By the end of the afternoon about 70 people were in the great hut. Dancing and feasting continued far into the night and the next morning the women from the husband's group returned home with the wife and child. A few months later the wife's mother and women relatives will pay a return visit bringing gifts, and a beast will have to be slaughtered for them in the same way.

Sometimes the imbeleko is not slaughtered and the baby refuses to suckle. If this happens the imbeleko goat is immediately killed, the baby is given a little of the gall to suck and some is smeared on its body. The inyongo (gall bladder) is inflated and tied to the baby's arm and the stomach fat is worked into a roll and tied round the baby's neck. There is a remarkable similarity between this custom and what is done at the initiation of a doctor (isangoma), and the doctoring of twins. (see Chap. ^{on religion and magic (22)} ~~on religion and magic~~). The skin of the imbeleko is used for the baby alone, either for it to sit on or for carrying it bound to the mother's back. If the skin is used

by anyone else it is believed that the baby will become very constipated.

Ukuchasa. Practically all bhaca children have the custom of ukuchasa (slitting of the cheeks) performed on them and, indeed, the scars form the tribal marking of the Bhaca by which they can be immediately recognized. The custom is analogous with the Xhosa amputation of the top joint of the little finger - and for much the same reason. It is done to prevent the child from getting sick and is performed by both pagans and Christians. If a child who is not ukuchasa cries a lot for no apparent reason it is said that it "is crying for the custom" and also if it does unnatural things such as eating excreta or relieving itself in the hut, it is said to need the custom. If it is not done the amathfongo will complain and the child will get sick and die. "It is letting out the blood of childhood". Magxobole's eldest daughter had to be done twice as she kept on getting ill. After the second time there was no more trouble. Cuts are usually made on the cheeks lengthwise and there are no special number although there must be one between the brows on the bridge of the nose.

When a child has to be cut it is placed, lying, on a goatskin. A dish of cold water is placed next to it and the operator, usually an old woman of the kraal, takes up the water in her fingers and smears it over the child's face. The cuts are then made with a sharpened piece of iron called igcaguba. A razor is never used. After each cut water is smeared over the wound and, if the child cries, its fingers are dipped in the water and it is allowed to suck them. Cuts are not made very deep and, after the operation is over, the face is smeared with red clay (libomvu) the same type as is smeared on the faces and hair of married women. The following day the clay is washed off and some pig's fat is smeared on to promote healing. Despite this wounds sometimes take a long time to heal, and, although informants said that they knew of no cases of the wounds not healing, infection often spreads and individuals are seen with wide unsightly scars. One informant, on the other hand, was asked why she had no cuts. She said that she had been done twice but "they had not come out". The igcaguba is never thrown away.

Some time after birth children are given names - they are invested with a social personality given concrete existence by a term of reference, the name. The giving of a name is an important step to status but there is no special ceremony attached to naming the child. Informants say that parents are superstitious about giving good names to children as there is a general superstition that anything that is greatly prized will be taken away or lost. Children who are given good names do not live; "umntfwana ototoswayo akahlali" (the child who is well cared for does not stay).. The following are some Bhaca names that bear this out.

Mbonyana	- small mealie cob
Mavumbuka	- to sprout
Smakamaka	- to be full
Mazubale	- one who faints (ukuzhuba - to faint)
Falinzima	- scarce inheritance
Msebenzi	- work
Maphucu	- to look for
Dingilizwe	* one who has no country
Skhuni	- log, block of wood
Mathebe	- tray, from <u>isithebe</u> , a tray
Ngxiwa	- bag
Ntafa	- mountain
Mayika	- to be afraid
Pehlela	- toiling for,

and, out of sixteen names investigated, only two could be definitely said to be non-derogatory in meaning. A name may be given by father, mother or other relative, but the naming of children after a relative is very rare. The name given at birth forms what is analagous to the Christian name among ourselves, and, as we have seen, the name of the grandfather or lineage founder is usually used as a surname (ifani). Christians usually have a "School" (European) name in addition to their native name, and Johns, Hoopers, James' and Simons as well as Ethels, Marys and Miriams are met with everywhere.

Childhood. When Bhaca children are still quite small they spend most of the time in close contact with the mother either tied to her back, even while she works, or lying asleep on the floor of the hut. Bhaca babies are spoilt. Their every whim is attended to and, at the slightest whimper, they are given the breast. Generally speaking they are happy and

contented and a European is struck by the philosophic attitude to the discomforts of jogging on the backs of their mothers. A large part of the day is spent in sleep, deep and untroubled, although flies which thrive in the manure of the isi6aya (cattle kraal) crawl, unnoticed over faces. I have seen babies wide awake but apparently oblivious to the flies walking over eyes and mouth. After a few months babies are put into the care of an elder sister or other little girl of the umti who acts as nurse maid and is responsible to the mother. Quite young girls are often seen with a baby tied to their backs. Clothing is of the scantiest, baby girls wearing a tiny bead isikhakha while boys wear nothing at all. Bhaca men are very fond of children and can often be seen fondling and nursing them. Weaning (ukulumla) takes place after about eighteen months to two years and during the time of suckling, conception must not take place "or the child will sicken and die".⁽¹⁾ Husbands resort to coitus interruptus or the custom of ukut/hina (Xh. ukumet/ha) external intercourse, see Chap. 5) during this period, and the custom of polygamy among pagans eases the difficulties of this period.

From about five or six years young boys go out to herd cattle with the other youngsters of the cluster, first being entrusted with sheep, goats and calves, and then cattle. In many respects they act as the fags of their elder brothers who are responsible for the stock but who spend most of the day lying in the shade or amusing themselves playing games. The life of little girls is not quite so carefree, and, at a very early age they are made to look after younger brothers and sisters, help in the household tasks by sweeping the huts with a switch, collecting fire wood and herbs and, as they get older, in fetching water from the stream, grinding and cooking. Children, of both sexes are sent on errands and quite small children can be seen at the store, clutching a few shillings tied up in an old rag, asking for "Iswekheli esikspeni" (a sixpence worth of sugar) or "Amagqabi etiki" (a threepence worth (tickey) of tea), and one often sees them on the paths from the kraals to the store heavily laden with a basket in which are sugar, meal, tea and other groceries. After the age of fifteen or sixteen girls work in the fields

(1) Babies are weaned by rubbing the juice of the aloe (intlaba) or pipe juice on the nipples.

with their mothers or other neighbours, although, here, the responsibility lies on the wife and other married women of the umti. Traders find that it is almost impossible to get young Bhaca girls into domestic service as it is considered infra dig. for them to work before marriage. The trader at Glen Holey, who prefers young girls for service, was forced to get Hlu6i girls from the Hlu6i location at Liyengweni as only Bhaca married women would work for her. Some unpleasantness was caused during my stay at Glen Holey when these girls were insulted by local women for going out to work. A stigma attaches to it; it is "not quite nice".

It will be seen from the above that the activities of childhood play a large part in educating the child for living. From an early age Bhaca girls take an active part in the housework of the kraal and learn the essential feminine techniques of grinding, cooking and the care of babies. A sense of responsibility and a good deal of competence is attained at a very early age compared with European standards. Even young boys, although their work is easier, learn how to handle stock, to treat them in sickness and assist them in calving. Then, too, life in the veld all day, leads to the acquiring of a wealth of veld lore. Edible plants and birds are known and much time is spent in hunting. A favourite pastime is ukubulisa imbi6a - the hunting of mice. As winter approaches boys go to the forests that clothe the kloofs and cut sticks about three feet long. A piece of sharpened wire is used for a point. Soot mixed with water is taken and pushed into the end of the stick (sometimes a stout reed) which has been hollowed out, filling it and the wire is heated in the fire until red hot and pushed into the end of the stick. It is left for a couple of days and is called an inzungu or ingqanda. After reaping the boys gather to hunt. The favourite places for field mice are the strips of long grass (iminyele) dividing the fields and the small boys are told off by the bigger ones to form a line and beat the grass with their inzungu, singing all the time, to drive the mice towards them:- "He, li, ho, si6ona unombityana" (He, li, ho, we see the little field mice), the others chorusing "He, li, ho, thatna 'manti uhlambe" (He, li, ho, take water and wash), and other songs. The tracks of the mice are known as imingqha and the little boys go down on their haunches to peer into the long grass. As soon as one is seen

the finder shouts "Here it is" and all rush up to kill it. It sometimes happens that a mouse is all the time under the boy and thus escapes. If this happens the big boys will laugh at him and say "Uyinyile" - you have defecated, and he will be thrashed. After the mice have been pierced through by the iinzungu they are given to a small boy to carry and are no more known as iimbi6a but uchonco. A cord of plaited grass with a small twig tied at the end crosswise is threaded through the gullet of each mouse to facilitate carrying. In the afternoon the ama6uzi (rats that live by the river) are often hunted by both men and boys. The victims are either taken home and eaten or a fire is made in the ~~v~~ald and they are roasted especially by the small boys. The mice are put into the fire skin and all and when the outside is slightly burnt the intestines are removed. The mouse is replaced in the fire and, when done, taken out and the skin stripped off. The skin is never removed from the head as it is believed that, if this is done, one will never be able to kill a mouse again. The catch is shared out among all those who hunted and the one who carried the dead mice is given a special share. The head of the mouse is eaten by the boys, including the fur, but men do not do this. They hang the mice and rats up after ~~roasting~~ (they are then called umqwayito) and they are eaten cold as a great delicacy.

mouse-hunting usually takes place in June and later on in the year, in July, when the mice become scarce, traps are set for them by the young boys. Sometimes European manufactured traps, bought at the store are used, but more often an indigenous type of trap is used. It is extremely simple, consisting of a stone set up on its end and supported by a stick. The grub of the maize stalk borer (umnyiki) is used as bait and tied to the stick, and when the grub is pulled by the mouse the stick is pulled away and the stone falls, killing the mouse. This type of trap is called isigu (from the ideophone ukuthsi gu, to hide) and ~~is~~^{is} used when the grass is withered and the stock no longer graze.

Boys are adept, too, in throwing sticks and can bring down birds at considerable distances. I have seen a large stork, a bird that arrives from the north every summer and is often seen alone or in pairs on the uplands of East Griqualand, lying with a broken neck from a throwing stick. boys wrestle, race each other and swim, and fighting with sticks is a favourite pastime. After school boys of the

various clusters often have mock battles with mealie stalks in lieu of sticks, and, in certain cases, fights take on quite a serious character. On one particular occasion the young herd boys of Mhlot/heni fought those of Rode, on the Mount Ayliff bank of the Umzimvu6u, and the chanting of the massed forces on either bank as they challenged each other to battle could be heard for a considerable distance. All these activities develop the young shaca physically and fitted him in former days for his life of hunting and warfare. There are other games that cater for innate boyishness - practical jokes and competitions. One called inkonjane (the swallow) is played by the bigger boys against the smaller "to make them bright". A part of a river bank is chosen which is very muddy and six small twigs are stuck in the form of a circle in the mud with one in the centre. The boy is told to go down on his hands and knees and pick the sticks out one by one with his mouth and when he comes to the centre one he is told that, when it is removed a swallow will fly out. To add verisimilitude the boys get ready to beat it. As soon as the ^victims' face is well down to the mud he is vigorously pushed from behind with his face in the mud to the great delight of those present. Another similar prank, called after the Cape wagtail, umcelu, is also played by the bigger boys on the younger. A hole is dug and one of the boys defecates into it. It is then lightly filled up with soil and grass and a young boy is called from herding and told that an umcelu has been caught and buried at that place. He is exhorted to be quick and dig it up before anyone else comes - with imaginable results. Other games are more organized. Uggozi is played by six or more boys, each supplying a button. A small hole about two inches in diameter and half an inch deep is made in a smooth piece of ground. Before they start one calls out "ggozi", another "sekeni" (second), "thedi" (third) and so on, thus determining the order of play. The one who has called first stands on a line drawn on the ground about ten feet away and tries to throw his button into the hole. The dropping of the button into the hole is called ukucwika. If he fails the one who called sekeni will try, but if he gets his button in he takes sekeni's button and tries again. It is seldom that, he will get this in too but, if he does, he will take the third boy's button, and so on. If he misses with sekeni's button the latter will take the third player's

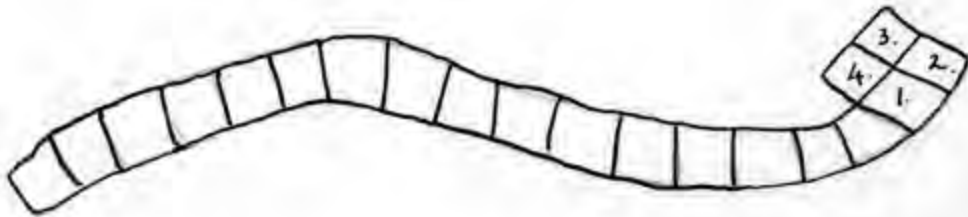
button. Thus the last in the line often does not have a throw, but he usually calls "gqozi", so that he will be the first next time. The one who has got his button into the hole now tries to flick the buttons of his opponents into the hole and if he succeeds he keeps them. If he misses the next has a try and so on. Uthinti is another game of skill for which boys who can throw straight and run fast are much in demand. It is played between two sides, each with an equal number. Two sticks about a foot high are stuck lightly in the ground about the length of a cricket pitch apart. Each side consists of about six boys and stands behind its particular stick. The best thrower is chosen to throw at the upright stick of the opposing side and for the purpose of throwing all the sticks of both sides are pooled. Each participant contributes a stick. The aim is either to touch, or, preferably, knock down the stick. If the stick is touched and knocked slanting the thrower cries "Chiki!" and tries, with successive throws, to knock the stick completely down. When one side has thrown all the sticks, the other side takes those sticks that touched the upright, and, with another stick to "accompany" each, throw back and try and touch or knock down the upright of the other side. When all the sticks are thrown a rush is made by the whole side to retrieve them, the opponents trying to stop them by touching them on the head. If one manages to get a stick he calls out and his side can start again.

As among European games some form of counting out is often necessary and this, among Bhaca youths, is called ungcaka. When boys are playing ⁱⁿ the veld and the cattle wander away a long distance they often play ungcaka to see who will go and fetch them. A stick is taken and held upright by one boy, both hands close together and gripping the stick firmly. The other boy grasps the stick immediately above the hands of the first boy, who moves his grip above that of the second. This goes on until the top of the stick is reached and there is just enough room for a couple of fingers. The stick is then gripped at the top by one, two, three or four fingers and the one who has lost tries to hit it out of the other's hand. If it is held by one finger he is allowed one blow, if by two, two, and so on. If it is hit out of his hand he must be the one who goes to fetch the cattle. He can refuse on the payment of a penalty. This

usually takes the form of an older boy squeezing his shin between two sticks and even if he offers to go during "treatment" his punishment will go on ("up to fifteen times"). He will not be sent after being punished. If the other boys are near the same age he might fight and so retain his independence. A variation of this type of lot-casting (ungcaka) is played when two boys stand opposite each other with their hands behind their backs. One is called intlanga, the instigator, the other impamba who "must do the opposite". At a sign they bring both hands from behind the back, one closed and one extended. The impamba must do the opposite. They do this 15 times, counting by two's, and the one who gets the most points wins. The penalty attached to not submitting to this (ukugxiza) consists of having long fingernails dug into the calves until the blood flows. Of course he may fight his opponents.

Other boys' games are played with clay horses (umdyaro) on squares marked on a smooth, flat piece of earth:-

FIGURE V.



- (1) For eating.
- (2) For drinking.
- (3) For eating green stuffs.
- (4) For taking to stable and grooming.

All horses are placed on the front line and precedence goes by ungcaka (see above). The first horse to reach (4) wins. If delayed at (1) or (2) they say "Your horse is eating a lot". The winner usually gets a prize of peaches, mealies or tobacco and others get smaller prizes e.g. one peach, half a peach or "just a small bit". (For 2nd, 3rd and 4th prizes.)

As we should expect, having regard to their usefulness about the home, girls' games are not as well-developed as boys. Dolls are made from mealie cobs dressed up in pieces of cloth left over from their mothers' dresses. Dolls are sometimes dressed as men, women and children and "daughters" and "sons" are given in marriage. "Parent" owners of the dolls call themselves abakhozi and ikhazi (lobola cattle) is represented by some type of food -

usually umkhupha (kaffir bread). Even small huts are made, smeared with cowdung and invitations sometimes sent to the children of neighbouring locations. Another game resembling hop scotch played with 5 stones called umondalini is also played by girls.

Both boys and girls make models from clay - oxen huts and, today, motor cars and lorries. During harvest time miniature sledges are made from pieces of aloe, wood or mealie stalks. Sticks are used for the uprights and the sledge is attached to a long strip of aloe about an inch thick through which sticks are pushed at intervals. Oonoghum or oojodo (round, green, tasteless melon about 6" in diameter, not used for food) have holes made in them and are fitted in pairs on both sides of the strip, functioning as wheels, or "oxen". The whole is drawn by means of a plaited grass rope. These toy sledges are seen especially at the end of May and just before the reaping season when sledges are being made in many imiti in readiness for bringing home the harvest. As among all Bantu, dancing and singing play an important part in the social life. We have already discussed the dancing of women at the ceremony to thank the amathfongo for the birth of a child. The young men have a special type of dance called indlam which is performed at weddings and at initiation ceremonies; at the ingcube the women ukut/ekisa, a slow, stately stamping dance accompanied by clapping and the rattling of pouches full of pebbles tied to the ankles; the warriors at ingcube have their special dances and the doctors' (itangoma) ritual dance is called ukuxhentsa. Other dances, difficult for an ethnographer untrained in choreography to describe accurately, are performed by the girls at wedding ceremonies and, among the more sophisticated "school people", jiving and jitterbug to the music of an harmonium or gramophone is very popular. Children are taught to dance at a very early age and I have seen little girls of two and three ukusina (dance) with all the galvanic action and abandon of their mothers. At an isit/hongo (work party) at Mhlot/heni at which children from the neighbourhood were invited to come and collect firewood and then have food and tea, the little children sat in the hut and danced just as their mother did at an ukudlala kwaafati. The syncopated rhythm of many Bhaba dances is often very complicated and proficiency comes from the early training children receive. At the iintlombi (seances) of the

diviners their dances are accompanied by the beating with sticks of a cowhide called ikhawu, and this is usually done by the young people present.

Education for status among the Bhaca is thus very informal. The child learns the various techniques of living by watching and doing. Little girls learn the duties of housekeeping and baby-care at a very early age and the games and occupations of children of both sexes all have educative value. More complicated techniques such as pottery, thatching, weaving and sledgemaking are learnt by watching and instruction. The tribal mores and every day etiquette are learnt by listening to the talk of elders around the cattle kraal or at the headman's court and in the home. Little children are often spoilt and allowed much latitude, but as they grow older they are told what to do and what not to do, and, if necessary, the lesson is emphasised physically by an, often heavy-handed father. It is only with the coming of Christianity and the schools that formalized education as we know it was introduced. Among the Bhaca there are no initiation schools, as among the Xhosa, vanda, and nearby Hlubi, for instance, where definite instruction in the tribal mores and in sex life is given, and Bhaca males are not circumcised. A certain amount of instruction in sex is given to a girl on her seclusion at her first menstruation but this is usually confined to a caution to "be careful of playing with boys" and to avoid contact with men and cattle during her periods. Education is, to a large extent, casual in character: an exception is in the education for what we have called individual status, although this is not always the case, as, for instance, where status is solely due to personality. The individually attained statuses of the diviner (isangoma) and herbalist (inyanga) are preceded by a long period of training under a master during which the novice is instructed in the materials and methods of the profession⁽¹⁾, and, to a lesser extent, craftsmen such as thatchers, potters and bead workers have to receive definite instruction. Through contact with other members of the tribe, through experience, discussion and through seeing and doing, the young bhaca grows up with a

(1) See Chapter VII. The place he will eventually fill in the Society.

particular attitude towards life, with particular values, interests and techniques which together fit him for his place in the community.

We have seen how the Bhaca child progresses from the time of its birth, through the years before weaning when it is largely dependent on its mother, to childhood. During this time it comes into social relations with an increasing number of people. First of these are the members of the home umti, its parents, brothers and sisters and near-[^]relatives, and will learn the appropriate patterns of behaviour associated with the kinship terms he uses towards them. As he grows older his social contacts widen and the immediate ones of the home circle intensify as he learns to know and feel affection for the individuals concerned. He associates his mother with warmth, comfort, repletion and kindness, his father must be respected, yet is kind and plays with him, he spends most of his time in the care of an elder sister and with his sisters and brothers. When he goes out for the first time to herd sheep and goats he comes into contact with the young boys of the neighbouring imiti and new friendships and relations spring up, the [^]egocentricism of the home circle has a counterpull in the attraction of roaming the hills with the cattle, riding bareback with his friends after stray calves and playing games or hunting and [^]skimming. He becomes conscious of a wider field of relations which do not necessarily depend on kinship, he becomes aware of the tribe as an entity demanding wider loyalties than the local group and he finds his place (status) with reference to the other statuses in the society. In a small tribal society like the Bhaca, and, indeed, in all primitive societies in which lack of transport tends to isolate local groups, the actual spatial extent of relations is small and therefore more intense than in more complex society, and a man will know most of the other members of the community fairly intimately. This is especially so at the headman's court where local cases are heard, litigants, witnesses and audience know each other well and the exact position each occupies in the society.

We have been discussing the relationships and activities of childhood; there is another form of relationship between young girls which merits treatment here. This type of relationship ~~also~~ [^] appears to correspond to the grande passion frequently found among European girls approaching the age of puberty,

but differs in that it is the elder girl, not the younger, that instigates the relationship. It sometimes happens that girls of from about 14 to 18, or even older, approach younger girls to whom they have taken a fancy and ask them to become their "children" (U6ani yi6a ngumntfwana wam). Often the younger girl refuses at first but eventually consents. If she does so she calls the elder girl "Mhana" (mother) or "Mama" and the latter's lover "Tata" (father) and the relationship is marked by the giving of sweets, trinkets and even pinafores and dresses. There does not appear to be any erotic aspect to this particular relationship as there is in a similar custom among the Fingo⁽¹⁾ where two girls, in addition to having "children" may call themselves "father" and "mother" and simulate intercourse. In this case a stick is taken by the "father", covered with soft cloth and the action of copulating made between the thighs of the "mother". No penetration takes place and the custom closely conforms with the rules of ukut/hina (socially recognized external intercourse - see Chap. 5). In the Bhaca custom, called intsikazi, this does not take place as far as I could ascertain and, in any event it seems unlikely. The terminology of kinship is a good indication of behaviour and the very fact that the elder girl calls the younger "child" seems to rule out the possibility of eroticism. A girl's lover, if denied intercourse, will say to her, "I am not your intsikazi". A "mother" may have more than one "child" and there is often much vying between adolescent girls as to who has the most "children" and at school they will all sit together at lunch time. Maria, a girl of about 20, asked her lover to buy a petticoat for a young girl - her "child" - but he refused. According to some informants a girl may take another as "father" (also apparently called intsikazi) as among the Fingo, but I have no evidence on this point. The "mother/child" relationship seems to have all the emotional content of the similar

(1) I have it on good evidence that this form of masturbatory relationship is extremely common among Fingo girls, especially in the schools.

phenomenon among European schoolgirls and great heartburning may be caused by "children" leaving a "Mother". There are cases of homosexuality and young boys are sometimes caught on the *veld* by men. These, however, are deviate forms of expression of the sex-instinct and are atypical of, and are frowned on by, the society.

Initiation into full tribal membership.

As young people approach adolescence the time draws near for them to become full members of the tribe with all the attendant rights and privileges. Among many Bantu tribes the attainment of adulthood is marked by special ceremonies, usually including seclusion and circumcision for boys and a similar rite for girls. These ceremonies are of two kinds. Either all young people in the same age group (or 'set') are initiated together or they can be done individually as each reaches the age of puberty.

To-day the Bhaca do not have circumcision, although there is evidence that it was done formerly. Informants say that it fell into disuse during the troubled period of Bhaca history when Madzikane led his warriors out of Zululand and this is borne out by Kohler⁽¹⁾ who, writing of the Bhaca in the Bulwer district of Southern Natal, says that, although not practised to-day, circumcision was a feature of early Bhaca culture. On the other hand it must be remembered that T/haka himself abolished circumcision among the Zulu, and this may or may not have affected the Bhaca, but this is unlikely as ~~as~~ T/haka never actually had control over the Zelemu. Kohler has the following to say about the former practice (p. 10):-

"When boys have arrived at the age of ukutomba (commencement of puberty) they go out into the hills and stay there, their food being brought out to their hut by their respective mothers. Then they cut off the skin that envelopes the glans penis so that the latter becomes visible and makes an incision thereon (uhlanga). The mother of each lad takes food to her son until their ukusoka period is over. It is on account of this (circumcision) that the Amabhaca wear a penis-box (iqoyi) to cover the glans because the prepuce is no longer there".

(1) Kohler, M., Marriage Customs in Southern Natal
Ethnological Publications, U.G. IV.

The related Khuze tribe are not reported to have circumcision and a boy on the morning after his first nocturnal emission merely goes to the river and washes himself downstream from his father's cattle. Although there is no circumcision to-day among the Bhaca of Pulwer, Kohler states that men do still slit the frenulum or cut it off with a horse hair as an hygienic measure. Men still wear a penis-box, either carved out of wood or from the cocoon of the bagworm (Acanthopsyche junodi) called umahambanendlwane.

Although to-day among East Griqualand Bhaca one occasionally meets informants who state that boys are circumcised, on investigation, one finds that these are instances where either the boy's mother was a Hlu6i or where there is Hlu6i influence. The Hlu6i of the Kinira and Ncome locations hold elaborate initiation ceremonies annually at which all the boys in the same age group are circumcised, involving a lengthy seclusion period "up the mountain", the killing of many cattle and attendant food taboos and sex instruction. The operations are performed by experts (iinchi6i) whose office is apparently hereditary and the whole ceremony is an important and still vigorous part of tribal life. When the Hlu6i boys come down from the mountain all their clothes are thrown away and they wash and are given lustre rugs (an expensive type of trade blanket) to mark their attainment of manhood and the casting off of the defilement of childhood. The influence of these Hlu6i puberty rites seems to be extending among the Bhaca and every year an increasing number of youths join with the Hlu6i in going "up the mountain". This is particularly so in the areas close to Hlu6i locations. In 1948 twenty Bhaca boys went from Rockford on the Kinira river to Liyengweni to be circumcised and a fair number go yearly from the Mandeleni district. The reason for this does not seem to be, as some informants suggest, that Hlu6i girls despise and refuse to marry Bhaca men, considering them as "boys". To ascertain this point I investigated some seventy marriages and found that of these 25% were contracted with Hlu6i women. Discussion with the women themselves failed to elicit any evidence of this attitude. Where circumcision exists it appears to be performed in the Hlu6i manner by Hlu6i experts (the Miya family, for instance, specialising as operators) and after the operation the penis is encased in a soft goat skin sheath

and bound round with medicines (izicwe) to promote healing. It sometimes happens that boys get sick and their wounds refuse to heal. This is accounted for by the fact that the mother of one of the boys is a witch (umthakathi) and a witch doctor is sent for and preventative medicines used. To-day many people go to the European doctor to be circumcised. Some informants describe a washing ceremony similar to that described by Kohler for the Khuze, but evidence is conflicting on this point. (1)

Generally speaking, however, the only thing that marks the transition from boyhood to manhood among the Bhaca is the going to the mines of the Witwatersrand or Natal (coal), or to an urban centre to work, and this is closely linked with the institution of the iindlavini. Bhaca young men over the age of eighteen are organized into gangs, each gang composed of the young men (abafana) of a location. Bhaca terminology here differs from that of the Xhosa and Zulu where an umfana means an uncircumcised boy: among them it is used of a young man who has been to the mines. As Mfa6a put it, "When a boy gets tired of school he will tell his parents that he is going to Johannesburg to the mines to work. When he comes back he will put on a pair of trousers, white shirt and a pair of long underpants and will call himself an umfana". From that time he will join the iindlavini. The institution of the iindlavini seems confined to the tribes of East Griqualand, the Xesi6e, Hlu6i and Bhaca - but especially the latter. Among the Hlu6i, for instance, it is not so strictly organized, there is no killing of an animal bought with the gang's funds and there is no fining for non-attendance at meetings. The institution as described here, appears to be peculiarly Bhaca.

(1) Although not circumcised Bhaca men, especially the older generation, wear a penis sheath (incit/o) to cover the glans, for without it "it is as if you are naked". It appears to be still worn by many who have adopted European trousers. It is made, variously, from goatskin from which all the hair has been removed and which is worked until very soft, from the cocoon of a certain worm, carved from the hollow fruit of the umthombothi tree (a tree with highly scented wood and a corn-like fruit, much used for charms and necklaces), or from woven grass. I possess a beautiful example of the latter type made by the yard boy at Glen Holey.

The name iindlavini means "worthless ones" and entrance to the gang is usually preceded by a trip to the Rand as, in the absence of circumcision or any initiation rites, this is the only way in which a young man can show his manhood. Not all iindlavini have been out to work, however, and Phiwu and Mandla, both youngsters of about seventeen and newly joined had never been out of the reserve, they were exceptions; in any case they would soon go. The uniform of the iindlavini differs with the area and ranges from the well-creased trousers and silk shirts of the Njijini, Mvuzi and Lugangeni abafana to the fantastically flared and patched trousers and animal-skin bags of those across the Kinira. All iindlavini carry two or three sticks - their distinctive badge - and roam the country in groups of two or more. The avowed aims of the gangs are, firstly to find and make love to girls and, secondly, the fellowship and satisfaction to be found in all gang life. The iindlavini organize the ukubita (Xh. ukubiza, to call) - the calling out of the girls for love-making (see below) at marriages and initiation - and occasionally fight with the gangs of surrounding locations. They appear to be the counterpart of the young warriors that formerly formed the basis of the tribal army. iindlavini are nominally Christian; the pagan young men are also organized into gangs but are not called iindlavini but iintsizwa (young men), and dress in the pagan dress of unontswintswintwi or loin cloth, and singlet. iindlavini always wear trousers, usually bought in the urban areas. The iintsizwa are found to-day in pockets of conservatism in such places as Mabobo, Cabazi, Lutateni, Njijini and Mvuzi and may be regarded as less sophisticated groups which have not been to the mines and become Westernized. Actually the differentiation between those who have been out to work and those who have not is not always valid as if the predominant group in an area is pagan a man will usually belong to them, and vice versa. Samente, the store boy at Buffalo Neck was a pagan and dressed as such but belonged to the iindlavini group of Mvuzi.

At the head of each group of iindlavini is a leader (inkosi, chief, or umpathi, controller) elected for his forceful personality and courage in fighting. Apparently the position is not very popular as "the leader gets into trouble and must bear the blame", but if a youth is elected

by his fellows he is expected, and indeed forced, to take on the job. It is said that if a man, wishing to avoid the office makes the excuse, for instance, that he is just going off to Johannesburg, they will inform him that they will elect a substitute until he gets back. In any event the life of a Bhaca young man is punctuated at intervals with trips to the gold mines of the Rand in order to earn the money necessary for the payment of tax and of the necessities that have been introduced by the White trader, and when the leader of a gang has to go, his place is taken by a substitute - usually the "driver". The duty of the driver (udrayiva) is to act as an assistant to the leader, maintain order, direct people to their places at the ikhandela or ukubita (see below) and blow the horn to call them together. These horns are bought on the Rand. A very large one is used to call the gang out to fights, and a smaller one is used to call the group together. Sometimes the driver is called "policeman" (ipolisa) and ~~they~~^{he} often carries an imvu6u (sjambok) with which to maintain order.

Meetings are held periodically which all members are expected to attend (they are fined if they do not) and at which the iindlavini songs are sung, matters concerning the group discussed and plans made for dancing and ukubita at marriages and girls' initiation ceremonies. The aim of each member is, frankly, ukut/hina (external sex intercourse) with the girls, and if he fails to do this he is likely to be fined. Revenue from this source is utilized to buy sweets, sugar and tobacco for members, each getting a share, or if considerable, a pig might be bought and roasted for a feast. Iindlavini gangs have special girls with whom they consort, usually the "intermediate" type of dressed pagan. They tend to leave the real pagan girl in her bead isikhakha to the iintsizwa and, on the other hand, affect to despise the school people calling them "tunes", because of the school choir, or "round-heads" (imiqalintloko). The high school boys, especially those from institutions, retaliate by calling the iindlavini type of girl "scrubs". Membership of a gang secures access to the girls; although a non-member can make love to girls ordinarily, he cannot do so at the iin khandela held at feasts, a time when the iindlavini really come into their own. Absolute loyalty to the gang

is required of ^amembers and if there is a fight he must defend the group to the death. There must be no "chasing the wind" i.e. running away. Cowardice is punished drastically by being thrashed with sticks and cases have been known of boys being beaten to death. Boasting and dagga-smoking form part of the iindlavini's facade of bravado and, at feasts, they drink ijiki (beer) after the old men have been served. Despite their horse-play and high spirits it is note-worthy with what respect they treat people older than themselves and I have seen grown men come away from the dance and listen quietly to the admonition of an older man. At weddings one of the number is chosen as umculisi or song leader who holds his office temporarily. If, at the calling of the girls, a member is unsuccessful at love-making he will have to pay a fine or have his clothes confiscated. On the last day of the love-making at a wedding (see below) the chief of the iindlavini wants to know which girls have allowed sexual intercourse during the preceding night. He thrusts a stick (isigwebe) into the thatch above the door of the hut in which the young people have spent the night and each girl must take hold of it and say whether she allowed intercourse to take place or not. As it is known who slept with whom the man who is unsuccessful must forfeit some article of clothing, usually a shirt or pair of trousers, to the leader which can only be redeemed on payment of a fine of 2/6. To avoid this a man may resort to duplicity. He will wait until the girl is asleep and then cause an ejaculation of semen by manual masturbation (ukut/haya intlukuhla). If a girl denies intercourse it is usual for her thighs to be ^{forceably} examined by the leader for traces of semen and the man will insist that he was successful. Only external intercourse is permitted.

Discipline in the gang is strict and unruly members are liable to receive a cut with the sjambok carried by the ipolisa. If he persists with his insubordination he will be called before one of the meetings (called ikhongo, liganda or izita/i i.e. "station") and reprimanded and fined, and, if incorrigible, dispelled. The Lugangeni gang does not dismiss members but subjects them to severe thrashing. Gangs of the different locations fight each other at marriages and conflicts sometimes spread to assume proportions of faction fights, and gangs sometimes combine against ~~one~~ another. There is an alliance, for instance, between Njijini and Lugangeni, and an hereditary feud between Njijini

and Maboba. We have already discussed the antagonism between Lutateni and the Mhlot/heni and Lut/hikini combination. If two gangs combine in an alliance one of the chiefs is elected to command both: the Lugangeni chief automatically took precedence as he belonged to the royal house.

The age when a youth leaves the iindlavini is not fixed and the inkosi of the Mhlot/heni gang was a married man with a child. Among its members were at least two men in the late forties, one a widower. A married man can bita (call) the girls just as in his bachelor days as the Bhaca standard of morality allows a man to have more than one wife - but not vice versa. Mfaba summed up the qualities of an iindlavini-- "His aim is to get girls and when there is a marriage he must force the girl's parents to let her attend the inkhandela. When a marriage is at a member's home and his father refuses with the girls he must agree to his father being thrashed. (Apparently this sometimes happens but is distinctly unusual). He must always defend the group in a fight and must be a liar, never speaking the truth, especially if he happens to impregnate a girl". In the latter case the gang does not help pay the fine: this is done by the father. (See Chap. 5). There are various badges of office. The chief usually wears a white arm band with his initials embroidered thereon in red, usually by a girl friend, and the driver has the same but with a long woollen tassle attached. In some gangs one of the members is chosen as a headman (isibondza) whose job is to settle disputes and hear cases. He has no special uniform. We shall now describe the custom of ukubita which plays such a big part in the life of the iindlavini.

Ukubita. From the Friday before a marriage to the following Friday the young men bita (call) the girls. Weddings usually start on a Monday evening and continue to the Friday morning (this will be discussed in detail later) but every night from the preceding Friday the young people meet, first in a hut at the bride's home and then at the groom's for the purpose of love-making. The actual love-making is preceded by singing and dancing and at weddings certain special songs are sung which are known by all. They usually consist of a line chanted over and over again, the men putting in the tenor and bass and accompanied by clapping

and dancing. The young men sit round the hut while the girls stand in two or more rows singing and swaying their bodies to the music. Many times I have sat against the wall of a packed hut, stiflingly hot, and lustily sung bass to the dancing of the girls.

After an hour or so of this, grass mats are brought in and the girls sit on them in the centre of the hut, while the young men stand round or sit. Then the calling of the girls commences. A man will get up and go to a girl that attracts him, bending over and whispering into her ear or pointing at her. Usually the girl at first refuses and wears an expression of studied indifference. Some yawn and look bored, others stare fixedly in front of them, their faces entirely devoid of expression, others cover themselves with blankets or lie down and feign sleep. One and all appear entirely disinterested. One by one the iindlavini get up and go to their girls until as many as ten young men are standing next to or bending over the girls, each one pleading his cause. He is either ignored or the girl shakes her head in refusal. This is the recognized technique and a man does not give up merely because he is rebuffed at first. Those not calling amuse themselves by singing and passing remarks on the others. Often the udrayiva stands at the doorway of the hut with a sjambok and keeps those in place with it who tend to get too unruly or ardent. Eventually the girls give in, one by one, to the man that attracts them most and are dragged away (still feigning reluctance) by them to their place against the wall. The girl is made to sit in the man's place and he ~~squats~~^{squats} in front of her, talking to her. This talking to a man is called ukuchopa and does not necessarily mean that the couple will sleep together. "The girl goes to the man just to hear what he is calling her for". The ukubita of the girls may take place in the day or evening and the man may try and make an assignation for that night. A girl may be shopa'd by a number of men during the same night, talking for about ten minutes with each: Gudana promised each one that she would sleep with him but in the end chose one. If the calling has taken place in the evening the girls will return to the middle of the hut on the command of the leader of the iindlavini and the calling for sleeping takes place. The girls each pick a partner, the unsuccessful iindlavini either

leave the hut or try, by using medicines, to wean the affections of the girl he loves. There are always many more girls than men and iindlavini say that the former must have a large choice. All the lamps save one are removed from the hut - hence the name of the custom, izkhandela (c.f. "candle").

The leader must see that no girl is molested against her will and that medicines are not used. On one occasion Mazabulini was ordered out of the hut as he had put some medicine in his mouth, rubbed the spittle between his hands and started touching a girl and spitting lightly on her head. He was severely reprimanded by the driver. Most iindlavini carry towels when going to an inkhandela. These they wind round their heads turbanwise and use for covering the heads of the girl and themselves when sleeping together. Even after the pairing off there is still danger that a rival will spit medicine on the head of the girl and cause her to cease loving her partner, making her leave him, or on the man's head, "giving him a bad smell". During ukubita, ukuchopa and ukut/hina (external intercourse) even if a girl has already chosen a man, it does not mean that no one else may propose her and I have seen girls, sitting next to their callers, being pestered with the attentions of 4 or 5 others.

At weddings the ukubita is associated with the umbolora^o custom (stamping mealies for the feast) to be described later. It will be seen that the custom is regulated fairly strictly and a definite technique is utilized in the socially-recognized phenomenon of external intercourse. Iindlavini at weddings prefer making love to girls of other clusters than their own and at a marriage girls of the other group are proposed. Iindlavini of other, but friendly, areas, are allowed the privilege of making love to the girls of the gang in whose territory the feast is being held.

The initiation of girls.

All Bhaca girls at the time of their first menstruation should go through a special ceremony which marks their transition from girlhood to womanhood. There seems to be two main terms used in this connection - umgu6o and umngquzo. It seems probable that the original word was umngquzo (c.f. Zulu, ingquzo - the vagina, and the Mpondo

umngquzo or ritual dance performed at the ukuthombisa rites), the word umgu6o, really meaning the feasting and dancing at the end of the seclusion period, being used by Christians who wished to make a distinction between the pagan rites and the modified form of the ceremony practised by them. The usage later spread to the pagans. To-day, with the majority of Bhasa nominal Christians, the original ceremony has undergone extensive modification and the common term in use is ipati (party) - clearly showing the break with heathendom! As informants say, "They call it ipati because they are no longer doing it as they used to. They just buy bread, make ijiki (beer) and kill an ox". In reality what has happened is that there has been a synthesis of Christian and pagan ideas, some practices being dropped and others arising from the impact of the new ethic. As one put it, "The ipati to-day is like the European's twenty-first birthday"; it resembles a coming of age. Not all girls to-day go through the ceremony, but it is believed that a girl who does not might become thin, weak and sickly. Samente, an intelligent young man employed at the store, said that he could prove it from his own family as his sister had never gone through the ceremony and she was very thin and often sickly. On one occasion I went to the ipati of Sinet's sister who had a small child. She was about 22 years of age and had never passed through the ceremony before.

Originally the umngquzo seems to have consisted of the following essentials:-

- (1) The seclusion of the girl for a week,
- (2) The killing of the umhlonyane goat,
- (3) The stamping of mealies for the final feast, accompanied by ukubita, and,
- (4) Washing at the river on the last day and feast.

Actually the above sequence seems relatively unchanged to-day, the main differences being in the strictness of the seclusion and the omission of certain details of the ceremony.

"When she begins to menstruate a girl keeps quiet, and, when asked the reason for this, she begins to cry". By this the mother knows that the girl has menstruated and immediately those people present at the time start singing". Or "Sometimes when girls go out together to gather firewood, one of the girls begins to menstruate. She will say 'What has happened?', and an older one will say 'Uthfombile' i.e. you have reached womanhood". The word ukuthfomba means "to bud, to sprout", to menstruate. Hlonipha words are ukuya ix/eni

and ukuya enyangeni, 'to visit the moon'. "When they arrive home the girl will take the bundle from her head and run into her hut where she will begin crying, for when you have got that thing you must cry". "When her mother asks the reason for her tears she refuses to tell her and just cries". "The mother will go to the girls with whom she has been and they will tell her what has occurred. Then her friends go into her hut and start singing:- "Yihoyehi! ye kunomangakhe na; uya hoya ubelilela a^fant^fku 6ethu!" Everyone is very glad". As soon as the father hears the singing (this is an indirect way of letting him know what has happened) he will send a small boy into the veld to drive in the goats to their kraal. Apparently there was formerly a rush on the part of the boys to get the goats: they should correctly be fetched by a uterine brother of the girl, preferably a "linked" brother, for if a brother by another mother drove in the goats he would receive the ikhazi cattle given when the girl was married.

From the time the girl enters the hut she is known as umulakhu6e or umthfombi and, while the goats are being fetched, she sits with her back to the door and does not speak. Formerly she was placed behind a screen of mats made from incembe grass, called isikhuselo, forming a small room at the back of the hut called umgongo, but this is seldom done to-day. In this she remained throughout the seclusion period with one or two chosen friends to accompany her. She was not supposed to be seen by anyone, particularly males, but, in practice, this was not always rigidly adhered to. Young men laughingly said that attempts were sometimes made to lift the screen and ukubita the girls, but Makabikit/i, an elderly woman, was horrified at the idea and said that if any young man approached her when she was going through the ceremony she hit at them with a switch, she carried. There appears to be a distinct relaxing of the strictness of the seclusion and at the ceremonies I attended, it was practically not enforced at all. At the beginning of the seclusion period word is sent to the girls of the location who come each day to help grind mealies for the final feast and who cut grass with which to strew the floor of the girl's hut.

When the goats arrive they are driven into their kraal and one is selected by the girl's father and brought into her hut. He addresses his daughter with the words,

"Here is your umhlonyane". The special goat killed is known as umhlonyane and is straightway returned to the kraal and stabbed by the father with a spear. The blood (u6u6endze) is collected in a basin and eaten as a great delicacy. All this time the umalukhu6e remains in the hut covered with a blanket. The imbethu (part behind the shoulder and ritually important) is cut off, roasted lightly and given to the girl. It is then given the name umvundla. She receives it with her arms crossed (umomulo), nibbles it and spits it out. Some informants say that she does not eat any more of the goat but others deny this saying, "It is impossible not to enjoy things on your special day". No one is allowed to eat of the meat of the umhlonyane until the umalukhu6e has ritually tasted the imbethu, but after that the feast proper commences, meat is roasted, or more often eaten raw, beer is drunk and the whole neighbourhood is merry. In the more primitive areas the girl is enveloped in a blanket throughout the seclusion, but, for the great majority, this is relaxed. The gall of the slaughtered goat is then taken and is given to the girl to sip, after which some is taken by the paternal grandmother, or any old woman of the kraal standing in that classificatory relationship to the girl, and smeared over her body. While secluded in the hut the girl is accompanied by a friend and throughout the period her name must not be mentioned. She is referred to, ^{all the time} as umalukhu6e.

The following days are spent in preparing for the feast to be held on the last day of the ceremony. Each afternoon the youths of the location gather and, after the stamping blocks have been removed from the hut, the calling of the girls begins. During this time dancing also takes place among the young people and the girls make small cakes of umkhupha (kaffir bread) which are eaten by all except the girl being initiated. If it is late summer the girls go into the fields and gather bundles of imfe (sweet reed) and there is always plenty of marewu and beer. During the time she is in the hut the umalukhu6e is fed as "she must have a good complexion when she comes out", but she must not touch amasi (sour milk). If she does so it is believed that "her blood will get thick". Others say that the cattle, too, will get sick and die. Instead she eats a dish called umcuku consisting of cooked mealies, ground between two stones

and mixed with beer. Dancing and singing continue for the whole week and on the sixth or seventh day the girl rises early and, with her girl friends, rushes down to the river, all clad only in itikhakha. There they wash and return, wearing blankets, to dress in all the finery of their beadwork. They are now said to be ukuvut/hiwa (ripe) and to be looking at their best. The long grass (ulude) which was strewn on the floor of the girl's hut is taken out by the girls and burnt - a final break with the seclusion period and with the old life of childhood. Informants describe a ceremony which seems to have died out within recent years where the girl comes out of the hut dressed in the long goatskin skirt of a married woman and holding a spear in front of her. "Her companion also carries a spear while the other girls wear the fat of a goat round their necks". The gall bladder of the umhlonwane is fastened to the girl's arm and the girls dance with the spears. This custom seems to have lapsed to-day but the wearing of the woman's skirt seems to emphasise the physical maturity and therefore, marriageable quality of the girl. Theoretically the initiation ceremony marks the physical maturity of the girl, but, as we have seen, it may take place months, and even years after the attainment of puberty. Theoretically, too, no girl should be married unless she has passed through initiation but I have known instances where women were initiated after bearing one or more children. It appears to be, therefore, a purely social recognition of a change of status, although the physiological change is of greater importance, and the two do not ^{necessarily} coincide. During the calling of the girls the sweetheart of the girl ukuthfombisa is said to have to pay 10/- to bita her. If she is menstruating at the time he does not sleep with her "until afterwards". During the seven days the young men give presents to the girls (ukurema); when the umgu6o is over these presents are given to the girl, who is being initiated.

On the final day the umgu6o proper starts, often known as an umjadu or feast. After the return of the girls from the river, the father of the umalukhu6e kills three or four head of cattle and usually his brother also contributes a beast, but this is not obligatory - "it is just to support the brother". All the neighbours and relatives are invited to the feast and altogether it is a great day. Meat

is a great luxury and, for that alone, a girl's father is assured of a large gathering. The umalukhuḁe formerly shaved her head except for a tuft in front, her face was smeared with ochre and the gall bladders of the beasts killed for the feast were tied to her arms; "if four beasts are killed, two on each arm, if five killed, two on one arm and three on the other", and so on. A certain plant called umkhanzi,⁽¹⁾ apparently a grass, was plaited and tied round the umalukhuḁe's and to this an inyongo (gall bladder) was tied. Her friends had the same grass plaited and tied across the breasts. They did not wear the inyongo: "By having the inyongo the girl is called intonjane or umalukhuḁe." Many of the guests bring presents for the girl, and, to-day informants stated, it was like a twenty-first birthday. I attended several ceremonies, in one case where twins were being initiated, and in no case was there complete seclusion. Nothakatha wandered round all day with her young baby on her back speaking to everyone and helping with the cooking.

As after all milk taboos, e.g. after a miscarriage, premature childbirth, etc., a special goat must be slaughtered by the father of the girl marking the cessation of the taboo and the return to normal life. The East Griqualand Bhaca call this goat the udliswa'intusi, 'the eating of milk', and this seems to be analogous with the ukwemula custom of the Bhaca of Natal (described by Kohler, op. cit. page 14). He points out that ukwemula appears to be essentially the celebration of a female's return from a state of taboo to normal life, and, in general, there seems to be, as one should expect, considerable resemblance between the puberty customs of these two branches of the Bhaca. An ipati is an important social occasion in Bhaca life and I have been to some where there have been from 200 to 300 people present.

Initiation is a preparation of the girl for marriage, an indication to the society that she has become a woman and an adult member of the tribe, but there is no

(1) c.f. the skirt (umkhanzi) of incema rush mentioned of the Natal Bhaca by Kohler.

organized sex teaching apart from injunctions to be careful in playing with boys. Although the Church frowns on the custom many Christians have their daughters pass through the ceremony although in a modified form. Beer drinking and the eating of meat raw (ukufukuthsa) are avoided as well as the ceremonial dancing. The umhlonyane is killed, however, but generally speaking the ipati emerges with its feasting and merrymaking.

As among the Mpondo, boys are given names at the time of puberty (igama laba6im), an indication of the new status they have attained in society. They have now ceased to be children and are fully-fledged members of society, capable of marrying and taking full part in tribal life.

Schools and education.

To-day, with the increasing incidence of Christianity and the impingement of Western Civilization with its emphasis on the cash nexus and the resultant necessity of education for living, schooling is playing a more and more important part in the training of young people for status in the society. Gone are the days when birth was the sole criterion of accession to office. The new values have given rise to new statuses, new positions of authority in the web of relations invested with new emotions of social regard and approval. Christianity, the schools and the administration, have all made available positions of social importance, and the attainment of these positions lies through one door only - education. I remember well how keen Mfa6a was to get back to school as he wished to be honoured as an educated man. He had failed J.C. at a large institution in Southern Natal and he was always planning to save up enough money to go back, and this thirst for knowledge (or perhaps position) is an increasingly common phenomenon among Shaca youth. One of the reasons for this is the peculiarly high place ministers, teachers and, to a slightly lesser extent, clerks in the administration, hold in the society. The influence of native ministers is often greater than that of the chief himself, and there is a distinct tendency for the Christian community to form an exclusive group on their own and become disinterested and unco-operative in tribal matters. Very often the chief, as high priest of the tribe, has to perform ceremonies for the

tribe's well-being that bring him into conflict with the Church, although there are cases where a Christian chief has successfully synthesised the two. Kut/hiwa, the Mpoza regent, was a Christian yet took an active part in the ingcube (first fruits ceremony): the mission-trained Wabane was not interested, even actively opposed to it, and in his tribe the custom was fast dying out. In this case there was a difference in the extent of education. Wabane had had a high school education at a missionary institution near Qumbu, where he had spent most of his childhood as a boarder and at Healdtown, while Kut/hiwa could speak no English, and had probably not gone further than standard five. Teachers and clerks, by their sophistication and knowledge, stand out from among their fellows, and enjoy a high status in the society. Many become impatient of the control of uneducated chiefs or headmen, and education is one of the greatest causes of social change. Bhaca society is organized on a patrilineal basis with a strict primogeniture regulating accession to office, a conservative system which places ^{high} importance on personal drive and initiative. It is irksome to the educated Bhaca that he should have to be subject to an uneducated and perhaps pagan headman with no wider knowledge of the world or of modern thought. With the rise of such "intellectuals" there emerges a new social class, an educated middle-class, a significant development in social change that will be dealt with again later.

The attitude towards education differs. Some say that, "An umti is never built with education", and the important thing is to learn to read and write. A surprisingly large number have a smattering of education and I have seen pagan women complete with goatskins and ochred head-dress, reading the names on their letters when the bi-weekly post arrived at the store. Especially when a man goes to the gold mines of Johannesburg to work does he realize the need for education and the volume of letters handled weekly by the Mount Frere Post Office is an illuminating indication of the, at least, semi-literacy of the people. Those who cannot read usually have a son or daughter who attends the local school and who can decipher the simple English or Xhosa of a letter. Occasionally the traders' services are employed. Children of headmen are expected to go to school preferably boarding school. "They should become like Europeans and should not be involved in internal quarrels (as they would

be if kept at home). He should not know how to use sticks". The widow of the late district head of M. would not let her son, Dumiso, get involved in the quarrel when his uncle, who was regent, was threatened with deposition because of drunkenness and incompetence. Whereas the administration sent Wabane, as the son of a chief and heir to the chieftainship, to Shawbury and Healdtown, Dumiso went to the local school at Rode.

The Bhaca are well off for schools. During 1949 one secondary school was opened during the year at Mbonda bringing the number of secondary schools to three - one at Osborn Mission with approximately 100 pupils, and two unaided by the Government with 40 and 45 pupils respectively. There are also 76 primary schools in the Mount Frere district and one Industrial school for girls giving domestic science training to about 90 pupils⁽¹⁾. This gives one school (of any type) for every 8.65 Square miles and to every 632.3 units of population⁽²⁾. When it is remembered that almost $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population are adults it will be seen that the ratio between schools and children is even higher. This high incidence of schools is bound to have far-reaching effects on the Westernization of the Bhaca⁽³⁾. Primary schools go from the Sub-standards

(1) Annual Report of the Resident Magistrate, Mount Frere, 1949.

(2) c.f. The Mpondo (1933) One school for every 16 square miles - Hunter op. cit. Page 174.

(3) In the Mount Frere district (1947) there were 112 male teachers with a teaching certificate and 106 female. Of teachers without the certificate, there were 5 females and no males.

During the same year the number on the rolls were:-

boys	-	3943	
girls	-	<u>5184</u>	
Total		9127	or 18.2 of the total population.

The average attendance was 7754 or 85% of the total ^{registration} population. In all there are 106 at boarding school. New regulations (1st July, 1948) lay down that no class may have more than 45-48 pupils and it seems certain that the number at school will drop if this is enforced. Some schools have four different classes in Sub.A - and there is a shortage of teachers. Schools are supposed to be situated not less than 5 miles apart but in some areas they are only 2 or 3 miles away from one another. Actually a very high proportion of children is enrolled in schools at some time or another, but whether they stay for any length of time depends on circumstances. The majority probably do not go further than Standard I.

The Inspector of Native Education for the area was greatly impressed with the keenness and relative intelligence of the ^{majority} native school children - specially girls. He said they compared favourably with European children of the same age.

to Standard VI. Schools are usually very poorly built and furnished, often a hut or plain square thatched building is used and occasionally the local church also accommodates classes. Practically all primary schools are attached to and run by the various churches in the district. The standard of education is often very low and many teachers have only passed Standard VI themselves, followed by three years training at a teachers' training school. Each school is under the control of a manager, usually the local missionary or native minister. Teachers are appointed by the manager but their appointment must be approved of by the Government who controls native education through Inspectors who advise teachers and act as examiners to the children. Music and choir-work play an important part in school activities and special Inspectors of Native Music are employed to organize this side of the work. The size of schools differs greatly in different areas. Toleni, Mbonda and Mount White schools employed 6 teachers each, while those at Engfundeni and Mhlot/heni had two. Handwork as well as book work is stressed; grasswork is done by the girls who make trays, baskets and mats while the boys manufacture brushes of horse-hair, skeis and walking sticks of wood and snuff spoons of horn. Clay modelling is done in the Sub-standards. A garden is usually attached to each school where vegetables are grown, mainly by the boys, while the girls learn sewing and house craft, learning how to cook fowls, bake scones, cook vegetables, etc.

Schools differ greatly in comfort and modern educational amenities. Some are dingy, dirty and dark, while others, like that at Mhlot/heni, though small, are bright and clean. The children have desks and a blackboard is used. Much depends on the teacher in charge. Books are supposed to be taken home each day but slates, used for economy instead of books in the lower standards, because of their fragility, are left at school. The usual curriculum is as follows:-

Sub A (Xhosa medium) handwork, rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic.

Sub B (English begun) Xhosa, the three R's, games and singing and handwork.

Standard I The same more advanced.

Standards II and III English, Xhosa, arithmetic, handwork, singing, composition (Eng. and Xh.).

Standard IV to VI Scripture, English, Xhosa, Geography, history, Hygiene and drill.

English is used as a medium of instruction from about Standard III onwards, a fact which is bound to have a retarding effect on the rate of progress of the child. Children learn under extraordinary difficulties. Often they have no place to study at night; much of their time out of school is taken up with house chores and often parents keep their children out of school during reaping time. Teaching is often incompetent⁽¹⁾ and the children are made to learn by repeating after the teacher over and over again. Teachers are often isolated with little if any intellectual stimulus and the infrequent nature of supervision and the sometimes tedious routine tend to make them disinterested and slack. Although there is considerable apathy towards schooling among the majority of the people there are signs that interest is increasing. At one time the teacher at Mbonda school complained that not enough children were attending and the administration informed the headman that he must see that all the children of suitable age went to school. Those who wish to further their education often go to institutions outside the Mount Frere district, such as Shawbury, on the Tsitsa, Clarkbury, Mariezell near Matatiele, and even as far as Healdtown in the Cape and Polela in Southern Natal. Generally speaking, there is a higher attendance of girls than boys. Boys are needed for herding and, as Hunter states⁽²⁾, more women are Christian and therefore willing to send their daughters to school even if it means dispensing with their services in the home. Old people complain that education tends to make children "cheeky" and impatient of parental control, but this is inextricably linked with economic changes that force the young Bhaca to leave home in order to earn money. Education plays an important part in increasing the extent of the social relations of the modern Bhaca and fostering the concept of the wider group. It is from the educated that the leaders of the increasing Nationalist movement are drawn, with its concept of

- (1) A distressing feature of educational life in the reserves is the incidence of drunkenness among teachers. They are able to secure permits for brandy and the deleterious effect on the children of their coming home drunk at the week-ends can be imagined.
- (2) For a more detailed treatment of this whole subject see Hunter, op. cit. Pages 174-179.

the Bantu African as opposed to the previous tribalism; on the other hand not all school people scorn tribal life. To-day a chief has a secretary to deal with correspondence and the secretaries of both Bhaca chiefs were educated men. At Lugangeni there was a colony of educated Fingo who played an important part in tribal affairs. It is true to say, however, that education with its attendant Christianity is one of the most disruptive forces in the old Bhaca society. To-day there is a tendency for educated people to show a real interest in tribal affairs but, again, their influences seems, among the Bhaca at any rate, to be exercised mainly within their own community - that of the 'school people'.

Concerts play an important part in the life of school children. They are intended primarily to raise funds and are organized by the controlling school or church. If money is needed for building or to pay off a debt a concert is organized and influential friends are invited to attend. Chief Wabane was asked to patronize a concert at Rode in the district of Mount Ayliff, while Dr. J. was a welcome visitor to concerts in the district. On the 6th of May a concert (umgco6e wobusuku) was held at the Rode school as there was a debt of £12 on the windows and the object was to pay this off. It raised £15, although average takings at affairs of this sort usually range between £8 to £12. Concerts are arranged by a prominent man, often a teacher, who need not necessarily be a member of the particular school at which it is to be held. The proceedings take place in the main building of the school, or, if this is not large enough, in the church. There are no floral decorations and if, as is usually the case, there is nothing but an earth floor, the dust rising from the dancing makes the atmosphere choking and unbearable. Concerts usually start between 7 and 8 p.m., although starting an hour late is not uncommon, and the entrance fee for adults is 6d or 1/- depending on the size of the affair, 6d for students and 3d for pupils. Fees are collected at the door by the principal. Seats for the adults are placed in front and it is interesting to note that there is no segregation of the sexes so prominent a feature in other spheres of Bhaca social life. In this can be seen the increasing sophistication and adoption of Western ideas by the more educated school people arising

almost to a cult of Europeanism. Ladies and gentlemen should sit alternately, next to one another, i.e. there should be "grammar" a slang term used by 'school people' to express this. In front and facing them sit the various choirs that have been invited from the schools in the district and from surrounding districts, while the pupils and younger children sit behind the adults.

Proceedings open with a hymn and the benediction given by the chairman or the local minister (umfundisi) or evangelist, if present. The school in whose buildings the concert is being held is the first to sing and songs by Majola, Myathaza and other African composers are popular. After the first song is sung anyone can "buy it", i.e. have an encore on the payment of a small sum, usually 1d or 3d. On the other hand someone else may get up and bid, say 6d, for it not to be sung, the higher bidder getting his way unless outbid again. A man called isputsu, who acts in an honorary capacity, collects the money from the bidders and takes it up to the chairman's table. Bidding is brisk and a man's friends will often form a group to second him with money. A request must be backed with money and if a man gets up and asks for a song he will be asked "With what are you talking". He will say "Ndithetha ngemali" ("I talk with money") and will state the amount he is willing to pay. The atmosphere gets very informal and wits break in with "Uthetha ngomlomo" ("He speaks with his mouth"). The increase in the salaries of native teachers has led to a marked increase in drinking among some of them and intoxicated teachers and their jokes keep the evening lively. Occasionally proceedings become quite hilarious. A European stock inspector described to me how he had once attended a concert. After an hour or two the atmosphere got so stifling that he was forced to leave. Immediately a teacher stood up and moved (with 12/6) that he should stay. It cost him £2 before he was allowed to go home.

Concerts go on to all hours. The servants at Glen Holey attended one and returned home at 6.30 the following morning. The concerts are the social function, par excellence, of the school people of the reserves and take the place, to some extent, of the indlam and other dances and modes of entertainment of the pagans. Singing

plays an extremely important part in the life of school children, being considered in some schools as more important than handwork. The school at Mbonda is considered to have one of the best choirs in the Transkei (this view is borne out by the Inspector of Native Singing), and, indeed, parents complain that too much time is given up to choir work to the detriment of handcrafts at the school. At concerts the home choir starts singing and choirs from a distance perform last as a sign of respect. The home choir should "sweep for the others". Choirs also can be 'bought' and the choir which is the most popular wins. There appears to be a growing appreciation of the more subtle points of the rendering of a song and choirs are increasingly judged on musical merit, voice production, tone and expression. First and second soprano, alto, tenor and bass are arranged in rows, those at the back standing on forms and action songs^{etc} especially popular among girls. Conducting should be unobtrusive and, apparently, to-day it is unusual to acclaim a winner. This used to be done but many schools have stopped it "because people will start fighting". "They will say 'I will not come to your concert again'". Much of this is due to the widespread introduction of brandy-drinking to these concerts⁽¹⁾. Teachers carry brandy with them in their cases and go out to drink after each song; as the night progresses the horse-play increases and there is plenty of banter, some bordering on the ribald. Some recklessly give money, even though they do not ask for a song. A woman may also take part but must be represented by her husband. "It shows honour if you say 'Mrs. So-and-so wants this or that song'", a naive expression of the effort to be like Europeans and the satisfaction of calling one another Mr. and Mrs. Refreshments are served and women teachers take round tea,

(1) There is quite a lucrative trade in illicit liquor between certain unscrupulous Europeans in the reserves and the native population. A common method is the retailing of a 10/- bottle of brandy to Africans for 30/-. Brandy cannot be bought without a permit; higher salaries make it possible for many to obtain liquor in this way.

cold drinks and buns. Each song must be accompanied by a "sound" (int/ayelelo) or preliminary piece or song that "clears the childrens' throats". The whole question of Christian festivals and entertainment as opposed to pagans will be taken up in a later chapter.

(c) BIRTH
The attainment of status by birth.

We have described the way in which individuals in Bhaca society occupy certain positions in that society because of their sex and their development from birth through childhood till they attain adulthood and full participation in tribal life - always subject to the limits, or role, of their position in the social structure. With the advance of age a man is accorded greater respect, his advice is held in esteem and, as we have seen, very old people are sometimes referred to as amathfongo (ancestral spirits). Here again much depends on personality. Some old men are garrulous and foolish: an old woman may be hated and feared as a witch. There are two other main steps in the attainment of status through age, the social approval and personal fulfilment that comes through marriage, and the change of social personality on death. As marriage is bound up with another factor of social stability, the perpetuation of the society by auto-generation, and the phenomenon of death opens up the whole question of Bhaca indigenous religion, these aspects will be treated in greater detail in the relevant chapters. It is sufficient here to point out their importance as steps in the development of personality within the field of relations of which status is the pole, with widening social relations within the tribe and even without (as in the case of a chief, well-known teacher or minister, for instance) on the one hand, and increasing social value on the other. There appears to be a definite correlation between the extent of relations of a person in society and social value, i.e. the esteem he enjoys and the place he occupies in the emotional hierarchy of such positions in the minds of the fellow members of his society. This correlation is tentative and may not be valid in all cases: "a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country".

There is one other determinant of structural status - birth and biological relationships control at least some statuses in the synthesised whole status of every individual in the society. Birth brings him into certain relationship

with his father and mother (as a son) with his father's brothers (as a nephew) with members with the same isiBongo,^(osakan member) and so on. To a certain extent marriage comes under this category of determinants as it brings a man into a special relationship with a whole new category of individuals and gives rise to new sets of behaviour patterns. Perhaps the strongest manifestation of birth among the Bhaca, however, is the institution of rank with its controlling mechanism of primogeniture. We have already discussed the importance attached to order of birth and the respect due to an elder brother. The eldest born usually inherits his father's umti, and, in the case of a number of brothers living together in a localized neighbourhood unit (cluster), the eldest takes place of precedence, is consulted in matters economic and legal, and sacrifices on behalf of the family (usapho lineage) to the amathfongo. The senior head of the royal clan (among the Bhaca called Zulu) holds a particularly important place in the tribe. He is the chief and father of his people and his brothers are often heads of districts or important councillors. The chief's son, too, holds an important place because of the fact that he is the heir of the chieftainship. As we have seen, the late chief's younger son (Chief WaGane's brother) was the head of the Lugangeni iindlavini. He was later made headman of Lutateni. Among the Bhaca, as among all Bantu tribes, succession to office is hereditary and stems from the accident of birth. A man is chief because he is born to it and no commoner may hold office. In the sphere of individual status birth is also sometimes important as in the case of ^aherbalist (inyanga) who learns his techniques from his father and perhaps of a skilful craftsman, whose son might follow his profession and benefit from his knowledge or practice.

In the above chapter we have not dealt in detail with what we have called individual status, but this will be discussed in greater length in the sections on economic pursuits and the practice of magic, spheres in which the attainment of this type of status through birth, skill and personality has most scope. We will now deal with the material sub-strata in which Bhaca society has its roots.

CHAPTER IV.THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE SOCIETY.The bases of subsistence.

The web of intangible and reciprocal relations that, as we have seen, go to form the fabric of Bhaca society does not exist and function in a vacuum; it is rooted in the complex field of interacting natural phenomena which is the environment. Environment is not merely a material base from which rises the ramifying superstructure of social relations. It is a motivating and permeating factor that impinges on every aspect of man's social life; it forms the medium within which social relations function; it is the source of well-being, sexual and social satisfaction (stemming mainly from the possession of cattle which in turn are a product of the environment), shelter, and, indeed, life itself. It is the resources of the environment that make society possible. On the other hand this benevolent world of soil, vegetation and climate presents problems and challenges to the ingenuity and skill of man. The mists and rain that water the uplands of East Griqualand make adequate clothing and shelter imperative; the changing rhythm of the seasons, bringing the long dry winters, necessitates techniques for food-storing and the feeding of stock; and the fertility of the soil, hail and droughts materially affect the crops upon which the existence of the Bhaca depends. For it is upon agriculture and the vegetable products of the environment that the Bhaca depends for by far the larger part of his food. This we have seen in a previous chapter when the diet of a typical kraal was analysed and the rarity of meat noticed. [In spite of this the Bhaca are a pastoral as well as an agricultural people, and, indeed, paradoxically, cattle loom far larger in importance in their minds than does agriculture, despite the latter's importance from a nutritional point of view. For the Bhaca have a cattle-cult; the herds grazing on the hills and on the mountains bear witness to their pride in cattle, and a man's wealth is gauged, not by land or the magnificence of his kraal, but by the number of his stock. Little value is placed on the quality of the cattle, it is the quantity that

matters, and cattle are the door to sexual satisfaction (in lobola), social standing, and as an approach to the ancestors. Both pastoralism and agriculture are fundamental to Bhaca life: we must, however, distinguish between the nutritional importance of agriculture and vegetable foods and the ritual and social importance of cattle and goats. There is a certain amount of overlapping as meat feasts are occasionally held and milk is an important part of diet, but, in practically every case, feasts are associated either with a ritual sacrifice or with some important festival or other social gathering. To the Bhaca mind, meat, of any kind, is associated with feasting and the temporary heightening of the intensity of social relations arising from the concentration of social units for a social purpose. In the same way food of vegetable origin may have a social function as well as nutritional, the outstanding example of this being beer (Bh. ijiki, Xh. utywala). Generally speaking, however, the distinction between these different types of food is valid. This does not mean that the social value of agriculture is less than that of pastoralism; the motivating forces are different. On the one hand is the fear of starvation, on the other the desire for social position - for status, and the appeasement of the ancestral spirits. Connected with this, through marriage and the bride-wealth transactions, is the desire for self-perpetuation in descendants and support in old age, so that it will be seen that, even here, attitudes and motives are complex.

We will now describe in more detail the techniques used by the Bhaca to wrest a living from their environment. I shall first discuss the bases of subsistence - agricultural, pastoral, etc. and the arts and crafts deriving from the natural products of the habitat, and then their effect on, and interaction with, social relations.

the rhythm of the seasons and the agricultural complex of activities.

East Griqualand enjoys the typical South African climate of a cold, dry winter during which very little rain falls, and a hot, wet summer, during which the precipitation is considerable, usually accompanied by severe electric storms and, occasionally, hail. Thus the year can be divided into a dry season and a wet season and this dichotomy has a far reaching effect on field activities. During the wet summer months agricultural work reaches its peak. crops are planted,

fields hoed and weeded, and, at the end of summer, the crops harvested and stored. During this period there is little time for feasts and ceremonies as the people are fully occupied in ensuring their food supply for the year. It is during the winter months, with the temporary cessation of agricultural work, that social life reaches its highest tempo, an instance of how the social activities are geared to the determining force of environment. The agricultural year starts with the first rains, usually in September, and the fields are planted in turn. The heavy rains and warmth favour the quick growth of, not only the grain, but weeds, and much time is spent in keeping the fields free of them. From about December onwards imfe (sweet reed), first-pumpkins and early maize ripen and are picked. As soon as planting begins, strict herding of cattle, who through the winter months have been allowed to roam over the fields, is commenced, and from now on the young herd boys have to be careful to prevent crops being damaged. Weeding continues until about February by which time the maize is getting high, and early potatoes (among school people), beans (unokhahla), ligalonci (a type of marrow) and pumpkins become ripe and are picked. It is at this time, too, that the ingcube or sacred feast of the first fruits is celebrated, and no one is allowed to eat of the ripening green mealies until it has been performed (See Chap. VI~~II~~). During April, May and June the harvest of the dry maize, grain and kaffir corn continues, the grain being threshed and stored in July and August. It is during July and August, too, that the repairing of huts after the heavy summer rains and the building of new huts is carried out, and, harvest is the signal for a spate of sledge building after the permission of the headman has been given. Ploughing in readiness for the new crop is begun in July and continues to September.

The following is a seasonal calendar with the names of the months and the corresponding seasonal activities. It was exceptionally difficult to get the true Bhaca terms for the months of the year, and the use of the following terms has practically died out except among the old people. The tendency among the younger generation is to use the Xhosa terminology - strangely enough, not Mpondo. It will be noted that they are very similar to the Mpondo terms.

SEASONAL CALENDAR. (Mount Frere).

Rainfall (1)

<u>Month.</u>	<u>Bhaca Name.</u>	<u>1947-8</u>	<u>1948-9</u>	<u>Activities.</u>
Jan.	Ntlolanja, "When the dogs look at the pumpkins"	12.41	10.13	hoeing, weeding, early potatoes, beans, pumpkins and <u>igalonci</u> (marrows)
Feb.	Ndzata, "month of <u>igcube</u> "	10.80	9.49	Hoeing, weeding ends; maize and millet ripen, some hut repairs.
Mar.	Nbasa, "the roasting of mealies" (<u>ukubasa</u> , to kindle a fire)	11.43	4.67	Harvesting beans, green mealies eaten, field-work over. basket work.
Apr.	<u>Mgudlulwa</u> , (from <u>ukudlulwa</u> , to be pushed) "The sun is being pushed towards the north".	2.43	3.41	Harvest: mostly beans, making of sledges.
May	Ntlangula, "husks are blown by the wind" (<u>ukuhlangula</u> to extract.)	0.18	1.83	harvest: millet and mealies reaped. festivals and social life begin. woodwork.
June	Ntulikati, "the great wind" (<u>uthuli</u> , dust)	0.11	nil	Harvest: last of millet and maize, beer drinks, marriages. basketwork and woodwork.
July	NcwaBa "everything brown"	0.39	1.58	Threshing begins, grain stored. Cattle allowed into fields. Fields cleared for potatoes and grain among Christians.
Aug.	Mphandula, (<u>ukuphanda</u> , to scratch with a hoe)	0.10	3.09	Ploughing begun, threshing, storing, planting of early potatoes, festivals.
Sept.	Mfumfu, "the cattle eat dew" (<u>ukumfumu</u> , to eat dew.)	3.51	1.64	Grass burning, early mealies planted, herding begins.
Oct.	Nzibandlela, "when the long grass obstructs the paths" (<u>ukunziBa</u> , to close, <u>indlela</u> , a path).	4.40	9.68	Strict herding begins, hoeing, planting.

(1) Rainfall figures from the Mount Frere gaol. The 1949 figures are atypical because of serious drought conditions during that year.

Nov.	Lweti, "when the cicada sings" (<u>ulweti</u> , the cicada)	18.77	6.75	Weeding and planting.
Dec.	Ntsinga, "when the pumpkins start flowering"	10.04	5.56	Weeding, early grain ripening. Planting stops. (1)

The rainfall figures given above, especially those for 1949, are not typical because of the severe drought in that year but some indication of the high precipitation between November to March and the sudden drop as winter approaches is indicated.

To-day the main crops of the Bhaca are maize and kaffir corn, beans, various types of pumpkin, millet and, among the more educated, potatoes, cabbages and other vegetables. The number who grow the latter, however, is still very small. The following is an example of a garden of a school person showing the type of food grown: it must be remembered, however, that the vast majority to-day still cultivate only the staple crops of maize, kaffir corn, beans and pumpkin. Gardening is one of the subjects taught in school and the future will probably see a greater incidence of homes where a more varied form of diet is found.

Mfaba's garden.

Summer: Spinach, beetroot, carrots, potatoes, cabbage and radish.

Winter: The whole garden planted with beans.

Next Summer: Potatoes, cabbage, radish, onion.

It will be seen that, in certain cases, quite a large variety of foods is grown. In the more low-lying river valleys both pagans and Christians grow tobacco, and a surprisingly large number of gardens boast an apricot tree. It is difficult to discover what crops were grown by the Bhaca before contact with Europeans. Bryant (op. cit. p.377) says that maize was unknown among the Zelemu (Bhaca) the principal cereal crop being upoko (Eleusine caracana); the only vegetables cultivated, pumpkins and gourds. In later

(1) The names of months were obtained from Elias Milandu, an old man renowned for his knowledge of tradition and checked by information from ancients. The significance of the names is from Milandu.

years, probably about the beginning of the nineteenth century, a short variety of kaffir corn (*Sorghum cafrorum*) and later a type of maize, called by the Zulu, ungoye, was introduced. Everywhere maize has replaced millet as it is easier to grow and generally more satisfactory.

In their approach to the problems of agriculture the Bhaca are essentially empirical and logical. Gardens are not made anywhere. Humid valleys where the rainfall is high, river banks and bush country are selected, and river silt is well known for its fertility. If bush grows well, argues the cultivator, the ground must be fertile and large areas of shrub and even forest are cleared to make room for fields. This has become quite a problem in the reserves as the denuded country becomes a prey to soil erosion. Indeed exploitation of forest land is strictly controlled and full-time, armed European forest guards are employed to prevent the removal of anything other than dead wood. In former times the Bhaca had no knowledge of fertilizer and, after a few years of cultivation, the land was left fallow and a new piece cultivated. It was usual for the members of an umti to take a piece of new ground into cultivation each year and, to some extent, this shifting method of agriculture is still practised by the Bhaca. There is a growing realization, however, of the importance of fertilizer and an increasing number of people are obtaining fertilizer, mainly of the phosphate type, from traders. In fact the Resident Magistrate in his Report for the year 1949, stated that the demand for fertilizer far exceeded the amount available for distribution. Very little use, however, is made of kraal manure, which, with the successive destruction of the local bush for agriculture, is practically the only form of fuel available. During 1949 a meeting of all traders of the district was convened by the Magistrate to discuss the problems of distributing fertilizer to the people. Bush is cleared by chopping it out with an axe and men and women co-operate in this. Clearing of the new fields is done just before planting at the end of the winter (July, August, September). Planting takes place after the first spring rains. Each umti has, in addition to its fields (which are almost invariably situated some distance away ^{from} with the fields of other imiti of the cluster (isixeko), a garden, usually next to the cattle kraal, where the first planting is done so that the family will have early green mealies for

roasting. [Nowadays there is no public ceremony before planting, but formerly no one could begin to plant until the chief had used his magic to ensure a good crop. Word was sent by the chief to the various district headmen (itibondza) that, on a certain day, the representatives of each umti should assemble at the Great Place carrying small baskets called iingcekance containing the seeds of kaffir corn and maize that had been set aside the previous year for planting. When they arrived all the grain was put into large baskets which contained seed from the fields of the Great Place, previously doctored with special medicines to ensure fertility. It is said that the seed of the people "would get blessing from that of the Chief", and the magical "essence" would spread through all, very much in the manner of leaven. After the seed had been thoroughly mixed, the small baskets from each umti were again filled and taken back home. Here the same process was repeated. The rest of the seed was mixed with the doctored seed from the Great Place and was, in its turn, doctored. Thus the seed of all the Bhaca received blessing and owed its well-being and fertility to the medicines of the chief, symbolic of the way the welfare of the tribe stemmed from the chief. The whole question of the chieftainship and the chief's place (formerly and to-day) in agricultural ritual will be described in a later chapter. Formerly, too, no one might plough until the fields of the chief were done first. The doctoring of the seed appears to have been performed last in the time of Chief Rolobile (d. 1925) and informants say that even headmen from the Lugangeni section of the tribe, to-day antagonistic, attended the ceremony. It will be appreciated that exact dates are extremely difficult to determine. [It has been stated earlier that the Bhaca have an essentially scientific attitude towards nature: the above seems to contradict this. It will be shown later, in the chapter on Bhaca magic, that it is only when no techniques are possessed to control certain aspects of nature such as hail, blight and drought, that the Bhaca resorts to magic. Indeed it can be argued that the use of magic itself is pragmatic; in numbers of cases the desired effect is obtained and the cases of failure, very humanly forgotten, taken as proof of the efficacy of the technique.

Formerly implements used for cultivation were crude in the extreme, consisting mainly of a digging stick sharpened at both ends. Since contact with Europeans the

iron hoe was adopted, greatly facilitating work, and of later years the use of the plough has become universal. Not every umti, by any means, owns a plough, and there is often co-operation between members of a cluster, one man supplying the oxen, another the yoke and so on, particularly if they are relatives. Harrowers and planting machines are found among the more wealthy, and the fact that most traders stock these implements is an indication of their growing importance. The introduction of the plough has made possible the cultivation of a much greater area of land than formerly with a resultant increase in productivity. Ploughs and other agricultural implements are ox-drawn and although contour-ploughing is not, as yet, widely practised, the work of demonstrators employed by the administration is causing knowledge of its importance to spread.

The introduction of the plough has caused an interesting social problem among the Bhaca. We have seen in a previous chapter the many taboos relating to cattle and their contact with women arising from the concept of ritual impurity or umlaza. Planting has always been done by both men and women, women predominating in most other field activities, but the umlaza taboo has prevented their assistance in ploughing, and this is to-day exclusively regarded as the sphere of men and boys. If an umti has more than one field the men of the kraal will plough the field of each wife in turn; two or three imiti may combine to plough one another's fields and work parties for planting and hoeing are made. Planting is either done by the man ploughing, the seed being scattered before or after the ploughing, or by the women. People prefer to have a number of small fields in different localities rather than one large field as there is a greater chance of striking fertile soil in at least one of the places, and to minimize the danger of crop destruction because of hail. Fields quite close together can be influenced by very different climatic and ecological conditions. In a limited area around Mbonda, for instance, planting can only take place up to eight days after Christmas to be successful, stunted crops with small cobs resulting if planted later, while, at Marwaqa, about two miles away crops can be

planted up to the end of February. People living round the Great Place at Lugangeni like to have fields in both areas. On the other hand, scattered fields necessitate much travelling to and fro between them, and the individual is divided between two choices, caution and convenience. I could find no evidence of the frog called Nomadyetyana (Breviceps) reported for the Mpondo (Hunter p. 75) but there is a certain large frog called Nomanemfu which is often uncovered by the women when hoeing. It is then said that the strip being hoed will take a long time to be completed. Another large frog lives in the rivers, and when it comes out of the water it is said that it will rain. Another sign of rain is a frog entering a hut.

Hoeing is arduous work in the sweltering Transkeian sun, and its tedium is lightened by the singing of various hoeing songs that make the work go with a swing. There is one which is especially sung towards ingcube time when the crops are ripening:

"Umantaša uyandeya, Umantaša uyandeya; uyandeya wen'umfana,

"Umantaša despises me, Umantaša despises me; you despise
me, you young man,

"Ukuzokhawuzela"

"You are afraid to walk".

Another is:

"Indzaša kammangwana. Hayi, sakhwelela entsabeni;
sagquša emvenyana

"The news of Mmangwana. No, we climbed the mountain;
We swam in the Mvenyana (a tributary of the Kinira,
much featured in the ingcube legends and ceremonies).

The different parts of these songs are sung as a round and their rhythm and swing are well described by Hunter.

Various charms (ikhushalo) are used to ensure a good crop. One, called isisukulo (C.F. ukusukulo, to fertilize) is made from sea sand mixed with water and the seed. Leaves of the intolwana plant are burnt to keep birds away from the

fields, as does isiqungwa made from the ear of a certain grass mixed with dried melon and a piece of a ram's horn. The whole subject of the field magic that plays such a large part in agricultural ritual is discussed in greater detail in the chapter on magic. Unlike the Mpondo and other Cape tribes, the Bheca do not plant sweet potato ⁱⁿ winter, or indeed any other type of crop, apart from the school people who have been taught crop rotation in the schools.

In the low-lying river valleys tobacco is grown but is not an important crop. Climate is a determining feature. The cold up-lands of Buffalo Neck make it impossible to grow, but in the bushy kranzes near Glen Holey on the Umzimvuša it does extremely well. A favourite place for tobacco culture is the site of an old cattle kraal where the ground is fertile from the manure; in any event the plants are fertilized with kraal manure or ash. The ground is first well dug over with a spade, raked and the seeds planted. Plants are well watered - one man I knew used a watering can - and are carefully protected from fowls by a fence of brushwood or aloe. When the shoots appear above the ground they are separated and transplanted in rows, and when they begin to flower the buds are picked off, as if this is not done "the leaves become bitter". When the leaves are big enough they are picked, rolled in a sack and put in a warm place to dry until they turn brown. Then the wings are pulled off the stalk and spread in the sun to dry, to be later put into bags and sold to the local trader. Informants say that they get as much as £5 a bag and a field may yield as much as fifteen bags. Tobacco is also retailed locally at 6d a saucerful and is known by the Bheca as undanya-ndanya (ukunya, to excrete) or usinemfu, (ukumfu, to puff). Tobacco is smoked in pipes, or, much more commonly, used as snuff by both men and women, when it is called injadu or ugwayi. A certain type of tobacco plant is used for the making of snuff and the widespread incidence of the tobacco habit, especially

among women, is an outstanding feature of Bhaça life. Tobacco is taken and ground between two special stones. The bottom stone is known as the "stone of injadu", while the upper is called imbokodo - the same term as that for the stone used to grind mealies. After it is ground the white ash (umhlaša) of the aloe called ikhala is taken and added to the mixture with a drop of water and grinding continues until there is a black paste. This is dried and passed through a sieve (isisefo) made from a tin in which small holes are punctured with a nail, and stored in a small tin (or hollow horn with a stopper) called inguzo. Beautifully made snuffspoons (int/engula), usually carved from goats horn, ^{are} ~~and~~ stuck in the huge ochre-smeared headdresses of the women, and are sometimes, with the inguzo, decorated with beads in very attractive colours and designs. Often men do not take snuff nasally but orally, placing it in front of the lower incisors, a custom that blackens the teeth. Snuff must never be taken with the right hand. If this is done the person will be told "You are from the Colony. You know nothing".

As the crops ripen the work of weeding goes on, at first the women of the umti doing their own fields, later, as the weeds grow ranker, itit/hongo (work parties) being arranged at which neighbours come to work and exchange their labour for beer and meat. Pumpkins, gourds and beans are planted in the same fields as the maize and kaffir corn, and care must be taken not to uproot these while hoeing. Kaffir corn and millet ~~are~~ a constant prey to birds and young boys; women and children have to be perpetually in the fields warding them off with stones, sticks and shouts. Others burn medicines in the field or tie a rag or sack to a pole.

Planting is usually begun about September continuing to November, and about March the crops are beginning to ripen. Formerly, no green thing could be eaten until the ingcube

ceremony had been performed but, after that, marrow (iigalonci, Xa. usenza), green mealies, imfe (sweet cane) and, at the end of May, beans, are eaten. Thus for the two or three months between the ripening of the crops and the harvest of the dry grain proper the people live on green foods. Each day women may be seen returning from the fields with a basket full of green stuffs on their heads. The actual harvesting of the dry grain for winter storage begins in June, called ukuvuna, to reap. Usually permission for harvesting to begin is given by the headman of the district at a special imbuto (meeting, from ukubita, to call) at which all adult men of the area attend, but sometimes people start reaping before this permission is given. One man began harvesting "because cattle were getting into the fields". The method of harvesting mealies is to form a line and work up the field, picking the cobs from the stalks, stripping them of their paper-like sheaths and throwing them into heaps (imilu). A woman goes round collecting these cobs into a basket and emptying them onto a large pile in the centre of the field (isitha), with any marrows or pumpkins that may be lying among the maize. At the end of the day these cobs and green stuffs are loaded onto a sledge and dragged away by a team of oxen, unless it is too late, when they are covered over with mealie stalks so that the stock will not get at them during the night. Certain very fine specimens of cobs are not thrown on the pile, the leaves being folded back and tied, either being kept for immediate eating or tied together (ukuswenya) for seeding. The actual reaping takes place in the morning, while the early afternoon is spent in collecting the heaps and piling them on the sledges for transport home. The Bhaca are very early risers, much earlier than the comparatively more advanced Hlu6i, for instance, and prefer to get the work of the day done before noon.

Reaping, despite the hard work involved, has its compensations in the good-natured banter, gossip and fellow-feeling of social intercourse which even the winter sun, still hot in the low-lying areas where most of the fields lie, cannot abate. Then, too, the mechanical operation of de-cobbing the mealie stalks develops a rhythm and swing that carries one forward and is not without its fascination - as I have personally experienced. Both men and women help with the harvesting although the proportion of women is very

much higher, probably due to the disproportion between men and women due to labour migration out of the reserve. Basically it is the family group of the umti that harvests its own fields, but sometimes neighbours and relatives who do not live at too great a distance may help. This is particularly so if the owner of the field is popular. Matilda Sontsi, the widow of the late headman at Mhlot/heni and mother of the future heir, had a very large mealie field on the banks of the Umzimvu^{bu}, and, as a popular and respected woman and president of the local Women's Association, many women arrived to help her on the day she reaped. "Many people go to help her because she is kind". The sanction that ensures help in reaping is mainly that of reciprocity. The neighbour who ~~does~~ not assist another in field work may find that he may be refused help when his turn comes to reap. This is reinforced, for reciprocity itself is not sufficient to secure co-operation, by material benefit. It is seldom that an isit/hongo (work party, see below) is made at which beer is drunk, but each woman helping is allowed a small basket of cobs to take home and cook. The basket is known as unyazi (the general name for a basket), and the cobs iinko⁶e (lit. mealies cooked in a pot), and the custom is ruled by rigid standards. A woman is expected to be honest and only take the smaller mealies as iinko⁶e. Kaffir corn is not grown much by Christians as kaffir beer (ijiki) is prohibited by the church, although a certain amount is used for bread (umkhupha) and marewu (unfermented beer).

Mealies, kaffir corn and pumpkins are stored in special store huts (iminyango), usually slightly smaller than a dwelling hut. The first crop of the year is ~~early~~ ^{beans} that are brought from the fields in great tangled bundles and stored here. The maize cobs are piled on the floor in great heaps as they are already yellow and dried by the sun, and their sheaths stripped off for cattle fodder. Sometimes this stripping is done as they are picked and the dried leaves left in the fields for the cattle. Particularly fine cobs are tied together by their sheaths in pairs and hung over grass ropes in the store hut so that children cannot reach them and so that they dry out thoroughly. It is from these cobs that the seed for the following year will be obtained. The Bhaca realize that healthy seed is more likely to produce healthy crops. The heaped cobs are

placed scientifically point downwards so that air circulates between them freely and facilitates drying. Great care is taken to prevent moisture getting at the grain, and before it is stored women examine the walls very carefully, especially near the floor level, for signs of seepage - or rats and mice. Any holes are blocked by stones packed in and sealed off with cow dung. In many store huts the cobs are prevented from spreading all over the floor by thick stakes driven into the hut floor marking off an area, and held back by cross pieces.

The greater part of the grain is removed from the cob and stored for the winter. This is done by placing it in grain pits, (itisele), bell-like chambers dug under the cattle kraal, usually about 4 foot high and 6 foot in diameter. The pit is sealed off with a large flat stone and the whole covered with the soil of the cattle kraal so that only a mound is visible. Each umti has at least one isisele and the majority have three or four. To get at the grain the earth covering is shovelled away until the flat stone is brought to light. The ground round the stone is carefully scooped away and made smooth, and finally the cow dung sealing the space between the stone and the ground broken away. On removing the stone a circular hole about 1' 6" wide and 2' deep leads into the circular chamber proper. The grain in these pits often begins to germinate and the air becomes foetid in the extreme, so much so that grain can only be taken in the afternoon from a pit that has been opened in the morning. Mealies that have begun to swell are called isangcuzi and are considered a great delicacy, when ground between two stones, and cooked with melon or pumpkins. Children are sometimes let down into the pit with a bowl to scoop mealies out but are often overcome by the lack of oxygen. One little girl, I remember, had to be pulled out quickly by the arm before she fainted. The walls of the "funnel" leading into the pit proper is often covered with white mould. The sites of old cattle kraals can always be located by deep circular holes in a flat area of often green turf where these pits have fallen in the process of time. The nearby Hlubi do not use grain pits saying "We bury our dead, not our food". They keep their grain in large thatched baskets while the Xhosa use wickerwork tanks. It is possible that the Bhaca adopted this custom of grain pits from the Mpondo.

The grain is removed from¹the cob by standing the cob point down on a block of wood or stone and striking off the grains with a piece of iron made from the hoop of a barrel (ukucuba ukubula). Occasionally grain is removed from the cobs by hand but it is a painful and lengthy process. Alternatively the mealies may be threshed. The cobs are piled in a heap in a hut cleared and swept clean and stuck with long poles, usually by the men, the dry grains dropping off easily. All other forms of grain removal are done by the women. Kaffir corn is threshed in the same way but outside the hut and with lighter poles. Boys are sometimes called in to help the women in shelling the cobs and a pig is slaughtered to repay them. "Whenever you want help you just call the boys; they are not busy". This killing is not called an isit/hongo.

Grain pits are dug and cleaned by the men of the umti. They should be made, if possible, in gravelly soil with preferably red pot clay underneath, and pits are cleaned out and re-smearred with dung when the grain is finished. As a pit becomes empty a new one is opened until all the grain has been used up. A few school people use iron tanks for grain storage but this is extremely rare among the Bhaca generally. The only case I know of is among the influential Fingo family of Giwu at Lugangeni. If the store hut leaks and the cobs get wet they are spread outside the hut in the sun to dry: they are not, apparently, dried over a fire as among the Mpondo. Kaffircorn is reaped in¹the same way as maize but with a sickle and a certain amount is cut before the reaping proper for beer and marewu.

As the well-being of the crops is so important to life, great care must be taken not to endanger them in any way. A woman must not walk in the fields of strangers when the young plants are just beginning to sprout as she has an umlaza which will stop the young shoots from prospering; she may walk in her own fields though. If she wishes to cross a zone in which there are fields she must circumvent them or walk along the strips of veld left between them to form boundaries (iminyele Xh. imilimand/ela, "field paths"). Also when the pumpkins are beginning to flower no one may walk in any fields but his own. The buds are called "amehlo", "eyes", and are supposed to see people. This makes them "ashamed" and stops them developing properly. It is also believed that a fowl should not be carried uncovered

through the field in the autumn when the mealies begin to ripen, for if this is done it will bring hail. On one occasion Mfafa was chased by some men when doing this and told that he was "calling the hail". A similar belief is that trees should not be cut down and dragged away on the same day, as the sound of a dragging tree is similar to that of hail. Trees should be left until they are dry and are "dumb". One should not enter a field after a heavy rain or thunderstorm as it will cause heavy rains and floods at that place. Fully realizing the importance of the crops the Bhaca husbandman takes great care that nothing that he does will prejudice their health and fertility; on the positive side he employs the techniques of seasonal planting, weeding and hoeing, and, as we shall see later, magic, in his struggle to preserve himself and his society.

In addition to the crops that are planted and harvested each year, the Bhaca utilize to a greater or lesser extent the vegetable products of their environment. All wild flora are known, their uses, properties and value as food, and even a young child will have an extraordinarily large vocabulary of plant names. Wild spinach is widely used for relishes; wild berries, roots and bulbs are dug and picked for food and medicine. Exploitation of wild fruits is perhaps not as great as among some tribes of the Northern Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa and other subtropical areas where the range of fruits such as bananas, pawpaws, groundnuts, etc., that form a part of the natural environment, is much wider than in the rolling uplands of East Griqualand, consisting mainly of grassland, but it still contributes an important part to Bhaca diet. Not all of the vegetation is directed to nutritional ends, and fuel, thatching grass, wood for building and carving, rushes for mats, etc., are all extremely important as media of material culture. The inorganic materials of water and soil (for plastering and building) need no emphasis and their uses go far beyond mere fertilisation and nutriment of the crops.

We have seen, then, how important agriculture is in the life of the Bhaca and as a basis of society; we must now discuss the cattle cult and the social and ritual importance of stock.

Animal husbandry and the cattle cult.

Originally, before contact with Europeans, the sole stock of the Bhaca seem to have been cattle and goats, but to-day sheep, horses, pigs, hens, turkeys, ducks and

geese are all found. Attached to practically every umti is a square enclosure made of growing aloes, stone or brushwood called an isi6aya (cattle kraal) in which the stock is herded at night. Two kraals are usually made, one for the cattle and the other for the small stock of sheep and goats. Occasionally calves are also kept in the kraal, but one often sees them tethered in a ruined hut or even brought into the great hut at night for warmth while they are still young. Horses, if owned, are placed in a separate enclosure and at least one kraal I investigated had a stone stable. Pigs and hens are allowed to roam about the umti but many kraals have a small enclosure for hens if there is danger of an attack from hawks. Milking takes place in the early morning and then the cattle are taken out to graze by the young boys of the kraal who act as herds. Calves are allowed to suckle before and after milking but are always shut up separately from the cows. Bull calves are castrated at about eight months. A very fine specimen of a bull may be kept for breeding, but an increasing number are to-day using stud animals specially supplied by the Bunga (United Transkeian Territories General Council). In any event not more than one bull is kept in each herd: the majority of cattle are still of the poor scrub variety, but there is an encouraging increase in the numbers of Afrikander, or at least part Afrikander, animals. Bull calves are castrated with a sharp knife. An incision is made in the scrotum and the testicles pulled through and severed. Crystals of permanganate of potash or common salt are then rubbed into the wound. Male sheep, goats, pigs and horses are all castrated as are some cocks to make them fat. When calves are about to horn they are given a rich compound called umkhumisa, and oxen are trained to take the yoke at about the age of three or four. The lambing season takes place in winter and in some areas oats are planted to provide food for the lambs. Fowls are ubiquitous. Every umti has a few, and conversation is often made difficult by the clucking of hens and the chirping of chickens. Frantic cluckings tell one that an exploring and inquisitive hen has been "shoed" out of a hut. Fowls live on anything they can pick up and the mealie grains given to fatten them for killing. There is always the danger of hawks, and the best time for chickens to hatch is during the flowering of the green mealies among which the chickens can hide from them. Sometimes a run is made for them of mud walls about 2 feet

high and covered over with wood or reeds. The wicker-work type of shelter found among the Thembu (ingqoloba) is not often come across.

The Bhaca tribal territory is roughly divided into three types of area, that for the building of huts, (the residential area), that used for fields because of its fertility, and that used for grazing. During the summer months when the crops are ripening great care must be exercised to ensure that cattle do not stray into the fields. Each group of imiti, which I have called a "cluster", has its own area in which grazing is permitted, and the herd-boys must take care that cattle do not stray into neighbouring areas. To provide new grass in the spring the Bhaca burn the dry grass round the imiti, and occasionally in the fields, but this custom appears to be falling into disuse as it is prohibited by the Administration. The headmen of Xameni and Nkungwini prohibit it, but the patches of bright emerald green round many huts in spring shows that the old custom dies hard. People who own many cattle often have cattle posts called iithaanga, sometimes at a considerable distance away from home. The members of Mhlot/heni cluster send their cattle during the winter months to the mountain top of Intsizwa about six miles away in the district of Mount Ayliff. Similarly Njijini cattle are sent to Cancele, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles away, while Mvuzi and Lugangeni make use of the three large farms in the area belonging to Chief Wabane, Mnini and Pama. All the other iithaanga mentioned are on mountain tops. Mhlot/heni is interesting as it sends its cattle (apart from a small number sent to Ngqumane near Mkemani - about 9 miles) into Xesi6e territory in Mount Ayliff - a case of the extension of social relations beyond the tribe to interact with other tribal groups. The question of the relationship between cattle owner and the possessor of the grazing round the iithaanga will be discussed later. Cattle are usually taken up to the posts after ploughing when their presence near the fields would be a source of danger to the crops, and they are returned just before reaping to assist in the transport of the harvest and in ploughing for the new season.

As we should expect from our study of umlaza, the care of cattle and other stock is the work of the men, the ritual impurity of women making them dangerous to all stock except pigs and poultry. They are not allowed to milk or herd cattle and a newly married woman is particularly

distrusted as the member of an alien group who might do great harm. That the umlaza taboo is closely associated with the reproductive function of woman is seen by the fact that females before and after the age of child-bearing may enter the cattle kraal without causing any ill effects. If the men of the kraal are away the milking may be done by a young boy, or, more rarely, a young daughter of the umti before puberty, or if not menstruating. The most dangerous umlaza to the cattle of the umti is that of a wife, married into the tight knot of family relations, highly charged with genocentric force, from an alien group, and there is a considerable relaxing of the taboo among the bona fide female members of the family. With the spread of Christianity many women to-day enter the cattle kraal without any qualms and I remember standing in Sontsi's isi6ayi, while his wife uncovered a grain pit, listening to a heated argument between several women (all standing in the kraal) as to whether the old taboos applied any more. Formerly, if a woman needed grain she would send a small child or young boy into the kraal to get it for her, and never dare to enter it herself. To-day this appears to be the case only among pagans. [As for crops, the Bhaca employ medicines to protect the herds from harm. A certain type of medicine is given to calves "to prevent them having too much bile". It is dried and ground and when mixed with the saliva it has a red colour. Medicines are often burnt in the entrance of the cattle kraal, the smoke drifting over the cattle and inhaled by them "so that they should have pure blood and look fine". Certain medicines are used to make the cattle increase. The fat of the hippopotamus is taken (obtainable from the Rand or supplied by the trader; several European firms cater for the trade) and smeared on the vulva of the cow. This is said to attract the bull and thus increase the herds. It is rumoured also that some people have a medicine for bewitching bulls so that they will only cover the cows of the owner and "Even when finished with those cows it will remain dull; it will not go to other cows". Then, too, certain medicines are burnt to protect cattle from umlaza: the skin of the eel (umyegane) is used as is also that of the impaka (fabulous wild cat) that is brought back by mine boys from Johannesburg. Medicines used are usually handed down from father to son and different families tend to have their own remedies. Sometimes medicines are brought back from the Rand or obtained from a herbalist (inyanga).

Charms are buried in the threshold of the cattle kraal to protect the cattle from being harmed by the magic of neighbours or enemies. At an initiation ceremony I attended at Sinet's before the beast for the feast could be killed, the charm (ikhu6alo) which had been buried in the gateway had to be dug up first or else the beast would not have died.

Some people send thikilo/e to harm the cattle and baboons are said to sometimes milk the cattle at night. Scratches on the udders of cows are attributed to them. Bhaca love their cattle and they are the dominant interest in a man's life. They provided formerly the only means of acquiring wealth in a society in which a cash economy was unknown or wide range of material objects that constitutes personal property among us. They are the door to sexual satisfaction. Quantity is of much greater importance than quality although a fat ox is greatly admired. The interest in cattle is reflected in the names for the different types of cattle based primarily on the criteria of colour distribution and shape of horn. The following are a very few examples of a list that numbers well over fifty.

uRaskoti	red all over
uVetlisi	black with white belts across body
uA6antrokhwé	mixed black and white
uSenkwazi	black cow
uPalafini	red with white blaze on forehead
uNdancama	white with black back
uSeyidukhwé	Brown cow
(black headcloth)	
uKuyi	cow with short horns
u@ukuva	hornless cow
uKostawuli	red and white ox
uVetfuti	black with white belly and feet
uLheyilani	very wide-spread horns
untsundu	dark brown

Cows are prized because of their reproductive qualities and beasts should be fat and young, but, generally speaking, all cattle are desired and no colour is admired above the others. Speed is also looked for in cattle, for while cattle racing is not a usual feature of Bhaca life, the annual ingcube ceremony is begun with the racing of cattle over a distance of about three miles, the owner of the winning beast being awarded an inchaza of beer by the chief at the end of the race which finishes up at the Great Place. This custom will be described in greater detail later when we consider the role of the chieftainship in the social structure. Apart from this any full-grown beast is just as good as any

other as far as the sacrifices to the amathfongo are concerned, and no animal, no matter how fine, can count as more than one in the ikhazi in the bride-wealth transactions. There is thus little incentive to limit the number of cattle in the Bhaca reserve, and overstocking is becoming a grave menace to the well-being and productivity of the land. Paths, worn by cattle going down to the river, fill with storm water during the violent electric storms of the East Griqualand summer, causing erosion of the soil and the creation of deep dongas. The grassy uplands, well watered because of their altitude, have not been affected as greatly as some other parts of the Transkei, but nevertheless there are signs, especially along the hill-slopes and sides of mountains, that soil erosion is on the increase. Cattle are studied and intimately known by their owners. The number of offspring, characteristics, and pedigrees of various beasts are constant topics of conversation, and cattle are even bonga'd just as people are, for their outstanding qualities. (1) "U6uhle Gendvodza tinkomo", say the Bhaca, "The beauty of the man is the cattle". That is, no matter how old and ugly he is, he is considered handsome because of his cattle.

The Bhaca interest in cattle is extended to goats which are also used as a means of approach to the ancestral spirits, as food and clothing and as bride wealth. Although they are not as prized as cattle their importance looms large in Bhaca eyes. They are particularly important in the ritual associated with the worship of the ancestors. The Bhaca are very perturbed by the proposal of the Administration to limit the number of goats in the area, and, indeed, eradicate them altogether. Twice while attending ingcube, where qaba women were dancing in their skin skirts and ostrich feather and bead decorations, men came to me and said "You see our wives depend on goats for their clothing". Again, on leaving a tribal meeting one of the chief's councillors in an impromptu speech of thanks to me spoke of

(1) A more detailed and fuller account of the Bantu attitude towards cattle will be found in Hunter, pages 65-71.

how worried the people were that their goats would be taken away. The attitude of the Administration is that the goat is a most destructive animal and that where it grazes it destroys the grass completely. The impoverished state, amounting in some places to almost desert conditions, of the southern portions of the Transkei and the Ciskei, make it understandable that some drastic action should be taken. On the other hand, we have seen, and will see, what an extremely important part the goat plays in the ritual life of the Bhaba; in the worship of the ancestral spirits, the killing of goats at such times as a birth (imbeleko), initiation (inhlonyane), marriage and death and in the ceremonies of the witchdoctors - a part in the latter respect even greater than that of cattle. A possible solution would be the transference of the ritual value of goats to sheep but it is doubtful whether this would meet with approval as sheep do not cry out on being killed. Thus they have little value in sacrifice where the attraction ^{the attraction of} of the amathfongo is of paramount importance. This is an extremely difficult question, and I feel that any attempt to interfere with their goats would be deeply resented by the Bhaba and it will have far-reaching effects on their social and ritual life. The welfare and health of a child, for instance, is often thought to depend on the killing of a goat. Apart from their ritual significance, the skin of goats is extremely tough - much stronger than sheep skin - and has been used since earliest times for the skirts of the women. Then, too, goat's meat is considered a great delicacy, being preferred to beef or mutton.

Horses are becoming increasingly important. Like cattle they are also given names but not according to their colour or other physical criteria. Typical names are Gayi Foks (Guy Fawkes), Mazabulani and Jinja.

Horses are bred for riding and racing. Racing horses are seldom ridden except at races which are becoming very popular among the Bhaba. Great pride is taken in a good horse, although they have not the ritual and social significance of cattle, and horses are often used as part of the ikhazi, being equal to a beast (see chapter 5). There are two or three "race courses" in the Mount Frere district, one in the Lubacweni location near the village of Mount Frere, at Cabazi, and formerly at Buffalo Neck. Of course cattle racing, especially at ingcube, has been a feature of the culture for a very long time and has been

revived in the more sophisticated and Europeanized form of horse racing. Large crowds gather on Friday or Saturday afternoons, and race horses, which have been carefully looked after and groomed, are raced against each other. Fancy names, reminiscent of the European turf, are fashionable such as Dandilayon, Bride and Beauty, and betting is brisk. Horses are graded according to age from three years old and upwards and apparently there is a lot of unethical conduct. "There is much cheating". Often a man enters a six or seven year old horse among the three year olds insisting that his age is correct. Of late the practice of examining a horse's teeth to ascertain age is being insisted upon and the organization brought into line with the best turf standards. There is, of course, no class of professional bookies or tote system. Horses are ridden by small boys using ordinary saddles, and sometimes an outstanding horse is raced as far afield as Qumbu, twenty-five miles south of Mount Erere. First prize is usually about fifteen shillings with smaller amounts for second and third prizes. An especially galling race, "to see which is the strongest horse", is a three mile one in which the horses wear four blankets as well as the heavy saddle. Although the races are usually organized entirely by Africans, Europeans of the district take a keen interest, and at one period the trader at Buffalo Neck sponsored races which were held on a half mile strip of veld and were very popular. A course was marked out with white flags and an entrance fee for competitors of two or three shillings levied, this fee being the main source of revenue. Prizes of blankets worth about 15/- were given and the whole event indirectly helped trade. Races for different aged horses were run and owners were beginning to adopt their own colours; apparently, though, the appearance of a horse known to be fast on the course was the signal for the other horses to be withdrawn! Races always take place in summer when the ground is soft and damp so that the horses will not sprain their legs on the iron-hard ground of winter and the boy riding, called idjoki (jockey), will not seriously hurt himself in the event of a fall.

The hazards of racing bring the ever-present magic into play and medicines are used extensively to ensure the success of the day or perhaps, more important, prevent the magic of others taking effect. Medicines are tied to the legs of a horse and the boy that rides it is likewise charmed.

Sometimes a certain medicine is put on the course so that all the horses save that of the user of the medicine will swerve violently off the course at that point and run off the field. Informants could not say what would happen if all the competitors doctored the course in this way. More often medicine is used to protect the horse from possible harmful medicine that might be used against it by rivals. A widespread practice, apparently resorted to by everyone, is the use of intsangu (dagga, Indian hemp) to stimulate the horse to its best efforts. The drug is rolled in brown paper, in cigarette form, and the smoke blown into the nostrils of the horse, which are then closed. Others mix intsangu with the horse's fodder. But owners do not rely solely on medicines to win, and horses are trained to run in various ways in the practice gallops; one may be taught to run slowly until the corner is reached and then to put on a spurt, and similar tactics. The finishing line is a shallow furrow dug across the course with a spade. I have diverged rather at length on this topic of horse-racing as the information has not been before presented, to my knowledge. The space I have devoted to it is not proportionate to its importance on Bhaca life, and the possession of race horses is confined to a relatively few rich men. Chief Waḡane is a keen race-horse owner. Where a good horse is owned considerably more care is taken of it than of cattle; stables are built and the horse fed with lucerne, fodder and maize.

The main stock kept by the Bhaca, then, are cattle, sheep and goats. Horses are valued by those who possess them, mainly for riding and occasionally for racing. Pigs are used solely for eating and are in this respect like fowls. It is only cattle and goats that are vested with a social value that extends to religion and thus with the well being of the tribe.

Hunting and fishing.

Apart from the exploitation of the plant wealth of the environment, the utilization of the soil for crops and the pasturage for stock, the Bhaca, to a limited extent to-day, but much more extensively formerly, utilize the skin and meat of wild animals. Before contact with Europeans the whole country abounded in wild game and hunting must have been an important occupation of the young men. The name of the main river flowing through Bhaca territory is

the Umzimvu6u, the Home of the Hippopotamus, and even to-day leopards are occasionally found in the fastnesses of the East Griqualand mountains. To-day, however, the main game to be found is bush buck, wild cats (iimbodla), hares, dassies (rock rabbits), porcupines (especially in the forests), jackals and various wild birds. Baboons are found in some of the mountain ranges, e.g. Intsizwa, but generally speaking, hunting is no longer an important socio-economic activity. Boys hunt birds and hares with throwing sticks and catch small animals like mice and rats in traps, and occasionally men, after obtaining permission from their headmen, organize hunting parties called lingqina. Hunts are only arranged for sport; they are no longer important economically. The usual method is for the men participating in the hunt to form a long line, and, with the dogs in front, walk slowly across the veld until some animal is started. The dogs immediately go after it and when it is caught it is thrashed to death with knobbed sticks called izagweba. Dogs are trained not to eat an animal that is caught, and the catch belongs to the man whose dog caught it. Chief Wabane stopped the use of guns on these hunts and only allows lingqina every second year so that the game may have a chance to increase. Men of different districts hunt in their own areas and those of Lugangeni operate along the whole of the Umgano range as far as Cancel^e, a distance of about ten miles. The following is a hunting song (in Xhosa) sung at Lugangeni:

"Yaphum'ingqina ahlasele amadoda, kwakuyoku zingelwa ingwe."
 "The hunt went out, the men attacked, they were going to kill a leopard."

"Yawabona ingwe amadoda, yakhwela emthini, yazimela, yavakala."
 "The leopard saw the men, it climbed a tree, it hid itself, it was heard."

"Igquma ingwe isemthini, Naantsi 'nto yakho!"
 "The leopard roared in the tree. 'There is your thing!'"

"Sayigamba ngendevu, sayikahlele phantsi, sayigulala."
 "We caught it by the beard, we threw it down, we killed it."

"Savuya, savuya, lit/honilanga"
 "We returned, we rejoiced, the sun set."

"Zaphala iinka6i."
 "The castrated dogs galloped."

(Castrated dogs are considered better for hunting as they are not likely to be distracted by the presence of bitches among the pack).

All Bhaca territory lies at least 30 miles from the sea so that fishing is not an important aspect of economic

life. A few who live on the banks of the two main rivers, the Kinira and the Umzimvu6u, catch fish and eels (umyegane) from the fat of which the herbalists make medicine. After the summer rains the rivers are full of carp, but the Bhaca are not interested, calling them snakes. Where fishing is carried on it is done by spearing the fish with a piece of sharpened wire fixed into a long wooden shaft.

The effect of diet on health.

From the above we can see that, despite the use of wild plant and herbs, Bhaca diet is very monotonous consisting mainly of starch and containing very little protein. The changes are rung on various preparations of maize and sorghum, and it is only when a sacrifice or ritual killing is made, or a beast dies, that any meat is eaten. A meat feast is the occasion of great rejoicing and a tacit invitation for all in the district to attend. At feasts social recognition is given to this fact, and, as the beast is cut up, a man appointed by the giver of the feast called umlawuli calls out the name of each cluster in the location in which the feast is being held and the names of each neighbouring location from which representatives might be present.⁽¹⁾ As the name of each area is called out (ukulawula) a representative of that place will come forward and receive the meat which will be divided among the rest of his party. Among the pagans all meat is eaten raw including the stomach lining (tripe - considered a great delicacy), liver and kidneys, and the green, half digested grass of the stomach is much favoured as a relish, as is the gall which is poured over the meat to give it flavour. The blood is cooked and eaten by the women, not the men. Although a limited range of tinned foods such as pressed beef, jam and fish are available at the trading stores, very few as yet buy much of it and, for the vast majority, the diet detailed in chapter 2 is typical. Beans provide practically the only other source of protein.

(1) The Mount Frere district is, for administrative purposes, divided into 36 locations, each under a headman. I sometimes use the term "district" for this unit - hence "district headman".

As we should expect, then, there is a very high percentage of diseases that have their origin in nutritional deficiencies. Chief of these is tuberculosis which has reached alarming proportions and which, according to the Resident Magistrate, appears to be on the increase. Ignorance of the disease and the non-segregation of infected persons, combined with the lowered resistance caused by mal-nutrition are responsible for this. Heart and vascular diseases rank perhaps second, mainly due to the lack of sufficient protein in the diet. The intake of meat is very low and peas and beans are not sufficient to remedy this defect fully. In the case of women the very heavy loads carried from childhood up and the strenuous household chores of stamping and grinding take toll of this weakness. The incidence of infant mortality is extremely high, the majority of deaths being due to gastro-enteritis with malnutrition as a contributory cause, and others succumb to bronchial pneumonia and other diseases stemming from neglect and insufficient care. The Bhaca do not seem to have built up an immunization against T.B. as Europeans have over a period of hundreds of years, or against such diseases as measles which wipe out large numbers in epidemic form. On the other hand cancer and appendicitis are very rare among them - although while I was at Glen Holey Phiwu's brother, a youngish man of about thirty eight died of cancer of the stomach. This is distinctly rare. Even the high incidence of blindness among the Bhaca, as among all African tribes, is attributed by some dieticians to diet; it is caused by the very high intake of salt. Owing to the paucity of meat as a flavouring agent, recourse is made to salt to make food more palatable. The large amount of salt sold at trading stores reflects this fact. Not all of the salt can be absorbed by the metabolism and deposits are formed in the tissues and under the rims of the eyes forming cataracts and eventual blindness. Most cases of blindness among Africans are curable. Another effect of the preponderance of salt is obesity as the salt retains a large proportion of the water drunk to dilute it.⁽¹⁾ The balance of diet is

(1) As a mere ethnographer, I am not competent to comment on this topic. The facts presented here were obtained from a research dietician who has done considerable research into native diet, especially on the mines of the Witwatersrand and who practises in the reserve.

slightly restored by the fairly high consumption of kaffir beer. DR. F. W. FOX¹, who has analysed the nutritional value of kaffir beer, states that the vitamin content is greater than the original amount of cereal present, and that it contributes a valuable part to African diet. Generally speaking, however, Bhaca diet is inadequate and poor and deficient in the vitamins that ensure health and resistance to disease. As we shall see later practically all sickness is attributed by the Bhaca to witchcraft and sorcery and the machinations of anti-social maladjusted individuals that are a menace to society. (1)

Arts and crafts.

The environment that supplies the wherewithal for subsistence is also utilized and fashioned by the ingenuity of man to manufacture implements, utensils, clothes and shelter, in fact the whole range of material culture, that, in turn, assists man in his exploitation of nature. Deriving^{ed} from nature, nature plays a determining part in the exact content of the material culture. Pottery can only be carried on in areas where there ~~is~~^{are} suitable clay deposits, wood-carving, where there is an abundance of forest, and suitable timber, and so on. Living in a country consisting mainly of rolling upland with forest confined to the kloofs in the mountain ranges and thorn bush in the river valleys, the material culture of the Bhaca is not highly developed. Arts and crafts are simple and relatively universal, although there is the beginning of specialization in the more esoteric techniques of the potter, wood and iron workers. With the contact with Europeans and the introduction of elements of Western material culture via the trading store, many of the older crafts, formerly known by all, are falling into disuse and are now practised only by a few. An example of this development is the art of the thatcher. Previously thatching was the work of women, those in each umti cutting the grass, tying it into bundles and fixing it to the frame

(1)

There is one mission hospital in Mount Frere village catering mainly for the native population. The average number of patients a day is between 25 and 30. There is also one clinic in the district.

work of the roof. To-day men specialists, trained in the art of the sewn technique, travel from district to district and are employed by those who do not know how to thatch. The making of grass mats and bowls is also not as widespread as formerly. Despite this many of the old arts and crafts are still practised. The fact that certain members of society have the secret of certain industrial techniques, or are at least experts and master craftsmen, makes trade possible, non-specialists bartering produce, skins and other produce for the necessary articles they do not, now, know how to make.

One of the basic requirements of human life is shelter, and the erection of suitable dwellings is the primary concern of the Bhaca tribesman. Each wife must have a hut of her own, and store and kitchen huts are essential adjuncts of the umti. The earliest type of Bhaca hut was probably similar to the Mpondo indlu yempuku, a bee-hive shaped structure of saplings thatched with grass. The bee-hive shape is typically north Nguni and was probably brought down from Zululand when the Bhaca fled from T/haka, a convenient type of shelter for people harassed by enemies and continually on the move. All this, though, is mere conjecture, and the most primitive type of hut found to-day is called ingugwala, of wattle-and-daub construction, although even these are very rare. Saplings are taken and driven into the ground in a circle and branches inter-twined (uku-phingela) ⁽¹⁾ to form a wicker-work structure. The postholes dug to receive the uprights are first filled with cow dung "to prevent the poles getting rotten". Poles should be of tough wood, preferably wattle, although umnga (mimosa) wood is also used. Soil and cowdung are thoroughly mixed with a hoe and packed tightly between the interstices, the walls afterwards being plastered inside and out with the same material. The thatching of this type of hut is usually done by women and in general is frequently not as symmetrical and neat as those roofs done by professional thatchers, the grass ropes being often visible through the thatch. The building of this type of hut has practically ceased and to-day

(1) Basket work, on the other hand is known as udladla.

one only becomes aware of their construction when one is pulled down to make room for a new umti. Generally speaking the Bhaca are not good plasterers and the trader at Glen Holey makes a practice of getting those who are experts in the technique from the Hlu6i locations of Kinira and Ncome to do the plastering of outbuildings and the huts of the domestic servants employed at the store. The quality of the soil used for plastering is also extremely important, (it must not be too clayey) and has a far-reaching effect on the quality of the work done.

to-day at least 80% of the huts of the Bhaca are of the Kimberley (sun dried) brick variety. The work of making the bricks is usually done by women. Earth is mixed by means of a hoe with water to form a stiff mud, and then mixed with cow-dung. It is then cut into rectangular blocks and left in the sun to dry until the bricks are hard. Some use a wooden frame for shaping the bricks. In building a hut, first a circular trench, about eight inches deep is dug and (in the better built huts) lined with stones and the bricks laid end to end in it, the spaces being filled by a mortar of mud and cow dung. All spaces caused by the irregularity of the bricks are filled with stones to make it waterproof. The next row is laid so that the joint between two bottom bricks occurs in the middle of the brick above again so that water will not easily seep through. A rectangular space about five foot high is left for the door, universally to-day of European pattern of the half door variety, and two small openings serve as windows. The walls are continued until they are about eight foot high when the roofing (upahla) is commenced. Four main rafters (imigadi) form the basis of the cone-shaped structure, called lipali. The imigadi are fixed to the mud walls by wire or merely rest on the top of the wall relying on the weight of the roof to keep it stable. Long, thin, saplings, about an inch thick, are tied to the supports by means of grass ropes and circle the roof a hand's breadth apart. These saplings are called ama6ala, from the verb uku6ala, to count. (It is to these ama6ala that the thatch is attached and the men count them as they progress with the thatching. "You cannot say you have finished the hut until all are counted".) Thatching is increasingly done by specialists and the European sewn technique is becoming universal.

Grass is cut by the women at the rivers, and itit/hongo are often made for this purpose as considerable grass is needed. For a normal hut between 50 and 100 large bundles of grass (itithungu) are necessary if the roof is to be thatched at all adequately. Thatchers gain access to the roof by means of wooden ladders, the bundles are passed up to them and one man undoes the grass rope with which the bundles are tied and spreads the grass evenly out over the area to be thatched. His assistant stands inside the hut and passes a long wooden "needle" through the thatch and sews it onto the ibalo with plaited grass or strong twine. Thatchers usually work in twos, the craftsman and his assistant, and the usual fee is £1. for the master and five to ten shillings for the latter. Repairs to the thatch are frequently done by the owner.

itit/hongo are not usually made for a hut building, for, say the Bhaca, if a man is drunk he will not do the work properly. Neighbours usually help, though, in the making of bricks and in the collecting of thatching grass. Floors are made of soil stamped down with a block of wood, then smeared with dung and mud, and more soil added. Pagans often organize iinkhandela at which the peculiar stamping dance called indlam is performed by the young men and girls. This packs the earth tight and gives a hard surface. Among Christians, for whom dances of this type are forbidden, the whole floor is laboriously beaten flat with a stone by the women of the umti. Before a new hut is occupied the whole floor is smeared with a medicine called intseleti to keep out thikolo/e and other familiars that might harm the inmates. For two consecutive days at twilight a herb called impepho is burnt inside the hut as is another medicine ^{called} isighumiso. The root of the latter is taken, burnt and ground with a special stone (ilit/e lomthsi) (the stone of medicine) which is specially used for medicines. The isighumiso is placed on the fire burning in the middle of the hut, and the whole family stand in front of it with blankets held over their heads so that they will be thoroughly smoked. After this the soot is taken and smeared on the eyebrows and upper lip of each member of the family "so that they will not smell good to the evil spirits". This is sometimes done as a preventative measure even if the hut is not new.

Every autumn, after the heavy summer rains, the outside of each hut should be plastered by the women of the

umti, although a hut may be left for two or three years without being repaired. After this time even a lazy woman would be forced to the repairs as the mud and dung plaster begins to flake off and crack, especially on the side exposed to the weather. After the hut is plastered the distinguishing white band is applied with lime, and, if necessary, the roof thatch is repaired. Huts which are kept in good order may last from fifteen to twenty years. Formerly huts were burned on the death of the owner of the umti and a new kraal built some distance away, but this custom is no longer practised by the Bhaca, and imiti are relatively stable, although kraals are occasionally moved after a quarrel with clansmen or for some other reason. Huts are very smoky and, as the small openings that serve as windows are usually shut, the atmosphere inside them is often unbearable. I have been to iintlombi (seances of the itangoma) at which eighty persons sat crowded for four or five hours in a hut, only the door being open. [In addition to the need for shelter, there is the necessity for nutrition. The Bhaca do not resort directly to nature to fulfil this need, but have built up a complex of attitudes and activities in relation to it. Meals are partaken with others, at certain times, food is prepared in various traditionally determined ways, and a physical apparatus of implements and utensils is brought into being to assist with the business of nutrition. All this has a direct bearing on the content of material culture and on arts and crafts. Household utensils include sleeping mats (iticamba), grass plates (itithsebe), brooms (imit/hanyelo), baskets (qonyati), pots (iimbata),⁽¹⁾ beer strainers (iivovo, iintluto), calabashes (iit/alo) and spoons (iincephe). Practically all grass work (mats, baskets, plates, brooms and strainers) are made by the women, the techniques being handed down from mother to daughter or being learned in the hand-work classes at school. Mats

(1)

Beer is drunk from clay pots or trade tins. I have never come across a bucket for carrying beer as among the Mpondo.

are made of reeds (imizi) or the fibre of cooked aloe leaves washed in the river and with the pith scraped away with a piece of metal. The fibres form long bundles of threads which are bound together like reeds and made into mats. Stamping blocks are made from tree trunks with a hole hollowed at the top end. Often the bottom of the hole is lined with stones to prevent wear. Not all women, however, know how to make these things, especially among the younger generation, and to-day most of the work is done by the old people. [Unlike the Mpondo, men do not make beer strainers and concentrate rather on wood and leather work, but even here there is the tendency for specialization. Wooden buckets are not made for milk, pots, calabashes and tin trade buckets being preferred, but the wooden spoons, woven meat trays, yokes and knobkerries (amagakatha) are manufactured by those men who know how. It is said that each man makes his own spoon out of wood and that spoons made out of wood are especially good to eat amasi (sour milk) with and to make people fat. Only a few men know how to make the yokes which are sold for about 6/- each. The Bhaca are primarily snuff-takers and one does not find the long pipes so characteristic of the Mpondo and Xhosa, but there are one or two specialists in the Mount Frere district who carve ornamental pipes, each having his own distinctive pattern. One craftsman at Lubacweni made beautiful specimens with an openwork wheel carved between stem and bowl. Generally speaking, however, Bhaca men smoke European-type pipes obtained at the store: snuffspoons (iint/engula) made from goats horn are universally used by both men and women and are made by the men. Iron ore is not dug or smelted by the Bhaca and the very occasional ironworker uses old pieces of iron and metal and hammers them into shape to make spear-heads and formerly hoes and axes. The latter are to-day usually obtained from the store. Carpentry is practised by a few Griqua, especially round Buffalo Neck, but most furniture is purchased in Mount Frere from traders. Beadwork done by the women, is still fairly widely practised and most girls make the many-coloured dansothando or lovetokens for their lovers. Beadwork flourishes particularly among the pagans, the beadwork apron or isikhakha being the main item of dress of the unmarried girls. At ingcube the pagans deck themselves out in all the finery of their beads and the effect is often extremely striking and beautiful.

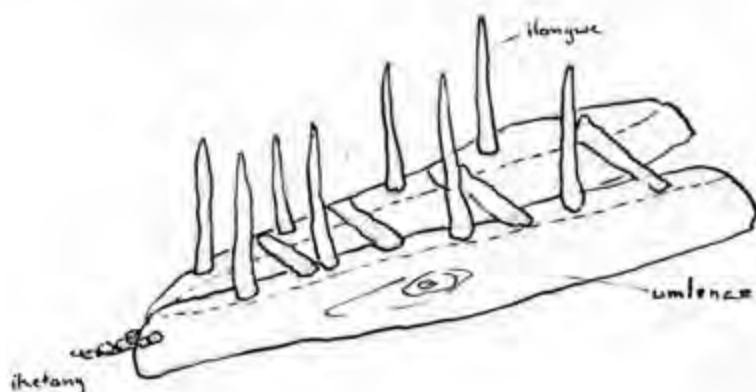
Mothers may be seen laboriously threading beads on a tiny isikhakha for their baby daughters. The closeness to the village of Mount Frere has developed a new industry among the women of Lufacweni who make small cakes and sell them to a native clientele that come into Mount Frere every day by bus and who throng the little village on Saturdays. Bottles of dubious-looking cold drinks are also sold. There is also a trade in basketwork and there seems to be a growing tendency for baskets to be sold outside the district in which they are made to people in other districts or in Mount Frere.

Each year, just before harvest, the headmen^a in each district calls together all the owners of imiti in that district at a special imbizo (gathering) at which permission is given for the building of sledges to begin.⁽¹⁾ Each umti makes its own sledge with wood specially got from the forests or bush nearby, and neighbours invariably come and help in the somewhat exacting task. Sometimes two or three neighbouring imiti build a sledge in common and use it in turn to bring the harvested crops from the fields. Sledge-making is quite a social occasion and, in June, one passes many kraals where they are being manufactured. They are made either from a heavy forked log or two logs called imilenze (legs) or imikhono, joined together by a chain (iketang, Afr. ketting) at one end to form the impumlo (nose). Holes are bored with a European-type wood bore (ibolo) and cross pieces fixed. These are called amathantselo. Uprights (amalongwe) are added and wickerwork "walls" added. The whole is dragged over the ground by a team of native oxen and contributes largely to the execrable state of the majority of Transkeian roads.

(1)

Another imbizo must be called before brushwood can be cut.

FIGURE VI.



Pottery is a specialized art and is comparatively rare among the Bhaca being carried on mainly in the Njijini, Mandeleni and Maboba areas where suitable clay deposits are found. (An account of the potters art will be found in Hunter op. cit. p. 100). In an earlier chapter we have already discussed the dress of the Bhaca. Formerly skins and bead-work were extensively used and the preparation and tanning of skins, the work of the men, were important industries. To-day with the almost universal adoption of European clothing ⁽¹⁾ this is falling into disuse, and women are now becoming wellknown for their skill in dressmaking. Some women are specialists, and I knew of one case where a woman made children's clothes and sold them to others. Wives of ministers and teachers sometimes possess sewing machines and are asked by others to make clothes for them. Payment may be in cash or kind, the latter category including presents of

- (1) On an average of about two a month the trader at Glen Holey gets orders for a complete change over from the primitive form of dress to European-type clothes. The pagan usually comes with a "dressed" friend as adviser and a complete outfit (the cheapest at 1949 price costs about £2-5-0) made up as follows:-

2 pieces german print (5 yds. each)	£1- 0- 0
1 blouse of 2½ yds. (print or german print preferred)	5- 0
1½ yds. plain sheeting (for petticoat)	6- 0
1 yd. sheeting (for bodice)	2- 0
1 black cashmere headsquare	4- 0
1 print pinafore	8- 0
	<hr/>
<u>Total</u>	<u>£2- 5- 0</u>

grain, firewood, etc. and labour. A bundle of firewood is considered as being worth 6d. Men still tan skins for karosses and (pagans) for their wives, while untanned hides are used for the shields that are paraded prominently at ingcube. Although the old days of intertribal warfare have passed away, the shield still evokes the old values and attitudes. It must be made of the skin of an ox but "one cannot take the skin of an ox that is a coward"; the warrior will be cowardly too. A few men have been trained as shoemakers and make a living in an itinerant capacity, repairing shoes in the locations.

We can see from the above that the materials of Bhaca arts and crafts derive directly from the environment, and, although the great majority are simple to the point of being well within the skill of ordinary people, there is a marked tendency to-day for the techniques to be confined to specialists. The following is a list of arts and crafts classified under the headings, "specialist" and "universal", although there is some overlapping, some specialist crafts being more widely known and practised than others.

Specialist.

Pottery
Pipe-making
woodcarving (yokes, yokepins
and kerries).
ironwork
carpentry
cake-making
preparation of skins
basketwork
thatching
shoemaking
dressmaking.

Universal.

Certain types of carving
(wooden spoons, etc.)
beadwork
grasswork
sledgemaking
hutbuilding
plastering

The presence of specialists makes trade possible and there is a limited amount of internal trade between areas. Thatching grass is only found in certain areas and is bought from those who have access to it, and the products of all the specialist activities listed above are exchanged for either goods or cash. The trader supplies a market for the unspecialized products of hides and skins, wool, grain and occasionally tobacco, and Bhaca are directly affected by the fluctuations of the world market - a further example of how social relations have ceased to be limited to the tribe and how Bhaca society has become a part of world society. But the imports of non-indigenous Westernized goods into the

economy of the Bhaca is far in excess of the limited export of raw materials. For nearly a hundred years the network of trading stores (1) has poured goods into the area, simultaneously creating and supplying new needs. We have already discussed the position tea-drinking has attained in the Bhaca social economy, an example of many other goods ranging from pins to ploughs. With the introduction of better articles, especially in clothing, knives, axes, ploughs, etc., and a wide range of foodstuffs, the old techniques and industries are falling into disuse. Clay pots are giving way to the popular trade tin (ibekile), grasswork to tin plate and china cups and saucers, skin clothing to prints and other cloths. On the other hand Western culture has been the means of introducing new crafts, those of carpentry, shoemaking and repairing and dressmaking, and new forms of trade, in cakes and cold drinks. In Mount Frere a native photographer does quite a brisk trade especially on Saturday mornings when the buses from the outlying districts are full of excited shoppers. To illustrate the degree of sophistication in culture I have listed the ~~articles of~~ European articles in the umti of a teacher of Mhlot/heni.

- Hut 1. Bedstead with mattress, blankets, sheets, pillows and coverlet.
 Large wooden box containing European-type clothes.
 Large mirror.
 Washstand.
 Pair of hairbrushes, clothesbrush, toothbrush.
 Large cupboard containing 2 glass tumblers, glass jug, sugar basin, flower vase, 2 torches with their batteries, tea set with matching plates, teapot, milk jug, some books and writing materials.
- Hut 2. Another washstand
 Small suitcase
 Rough wooden table
 Large square wooden box
 Saw
 Large pair shearing scissors.
 2 sickles

(1)

There are 22 trading stores in the Mount Frere district, approximately one every 5 miles.

pots
hoe
axe
table knives and forks
screw driver
pair of pliers
basins and spoons
iron bucket
2 candlesticks.

Hut 3. (store hut) yokes and a cultivator.

Hut 4. (store hut) Plough, plank bed, box,
old sacks, saddle, planter.

While not all the Bhaca by any means have reached this degree of Europeanization in material culture, the above analysis shows clearly the trend: in it there is hardly one article of native manufacture. In the majority of imiti one finds modern articles side by side with grass sleeping mats, clay pots and wooden headblocks used by those who do not possess a bedstead with mattress and pillows. A list of the goods kept by a typical trader gives some idea of the range of articles bought by modern Bhaca; many of those listed such as tea, sugar, salt, flour, meal, tea sets, trays and various types of cloth, have become virtual necessities. The type of goods sold differs from area to area, between districts in the Bhaca territory, and between bhaca and other tribal groups. Not nearly so many blankets are sold, for instance, as in Pondoland, as neither men nor women, whether Christian or pagan, wear them as an article of dress. All bhaca men wear European clothes as do the majority of women. The real "raw" pagan prefers goatskin smeared with fat to the Pondo blanket. On the other hand dress materials have a much greater sale, although the Bhaca are not so discriminating in this respect as the Hlu6i of Kinira and Ncome, and tend to go for goods that are cheap with not much thought for quality. The dark blue german print is so popular as to be almost the uniform of Christian married women, and it is strange that Bantu women's fashions, both modern and primitive, should be so stereotyped, when that of their European sisters is so varied. It is difficult to get accurate data, but one gets the impression that practically all the primitively dressed pagans are found to-day south of the Kinira in the Lugangeni, Maboba, Njijini and Mendeleni areas, with a few at Lutateni. The nearby Hlu6i are all "dressed people". Then, too, different

brands of tea sell better in different areas even within the tribal territory itself - but the following list (from Lugangeni) is typical. (1)

Various types of cloth e.g. print, cotton, cottonade, shirting, khaki, salempore, Pondosheeting, calico, plain and raised sheeting, etc.	Babies' bottle teats shawl pins cashmere shawls ribbon towels (bought by pagans for breastcloths)
blankets	stockings
handbags	ladies' shoes
ready-made clothing	teapots
tin dishes	patent medicine
slippers (not many sold)	paint
travelling rugs (mainly bought by children going to school)	groceries
ladies' $\frac{3}{4}$ length coats	cigarettes and tobacco
enamel basins	sweets
slates and pencils	soap
cotton blankets	tinned stuff (mainly meat)
iron pots (Three legged)	buckets
sickles	insect powder (2)
babies' dummies	matches
buttons	paraffin
underwear	candles
dye	handkerchiefs
hoes	hairnets
planters	beads
harrows	ploughs
iron bedsteads	cultivators
yokes	bolts and plough parts
trek chains	spades
windows and doors	saddles and bridles
rope	coffins
nails, screws, miscellan- eous tools.	barbed wire (for fencing)
	dip

- (1) It is interesting to compare this list with that of the articles kept by Pondoland traders c. 1931, Hunter p. 140.
- (2) The increasing use of insect powders shows an interesting development in the attitude of the Bhaca towards vermin. "School people" are beginning to become fastidious about personal cleanliness and I remember Mfaša's disgust when a louse fell off my jacket after I had attended an intlombi (séance) ceremony of the local witchdoctor~~s~~ held in a packed hut. Among the pagans delousing is a recognised social pastime, especially after meals. Little children will say impatiently, "Mhanha, sitawochoba nini" (Mother, when shall we kill lice). A wife will delouse a sleeping husband, and the coiffures of the women are a good breeding place. Cockroaches are not killed as they eat bed bugs!

A well known brand of baby food is ^{much} prized as a substitute for milk at Mhlot/heni. Some traders keep what is known as a "coffee shop" on their premises. Coffee, tea and cool drinks are served at tables, and meat, both cooked and uncooked, is sold under a licence of 10/- per annum. Meat may not be weighed, however, as weighing leaves the trader open to a licence of £10. for trading as a butcher. Coffee houses must be inspected at intervals by the police and are a fair source of revenue. Unlike those in Pondoland, traders in the Mount Frere district generally do not sell goods on credit except in very exceptional cases to a trusted customer and therefore book-debts are practically unknown. We shall return to this question of trade later when we discuss the effect of economic activity and material values on social relations generally.

Improvements in agriculture.

The primitive methods of cultivation used by the Bhaca since time immemorial, with no system of crop rotation necessitating a shifting economy as new fields are brought under cultivation and old ones left to recover, creates grave problems when this economy has to function within the organism of a modern, highly organized society like that of South Africa. Such a primitive system has one basic requisite, unlimited land, both for fields and stock, and this becomes impossible in a country where industrialization and farming interests limit the amount of land available. The position has been aggravated by the reserve system of allocating certain areas for the exclusive settlement of natives. This system may be traced back to an early stage of Cape history when dispossessed Hottentots were established in small settlements at the missionary centres of ^{Bethelsdorp} Bethlehem and elsewhere, ⁽¹⁾ and later certain locations in the Ciskei were recognised as exclusively native areas. In 1864 it was decided to treat the Transkeian Territories as semi-independent states in which no European could acquire land, and the lands annexed to the area later were similarly regarded: it will be remembered that Makaula approached the Cape Government in 1872 to be taken over as a British

(1) W.M. Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, 1927. Pages 148, 271.

subject. The report of the 1903 Native Affairs Commission proved to be a turning point in South African reserve policy. Up to this time the reserves' *raison d'etre* had been to protect native interests; now its policy was more concerned with restricting native purchases within the demarcated areas. Trends culminated in the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 which provides for the acquisition, by or on behalf of natives, of a maximum of 15,344,000 acres in addition to the areas scheduled under the Act, to be negotiated for by the Central Land Board. The proposed allocation of land to the Cape Province is (scheduled and released areas) 16,346,000 acres or 9.2 per cent of the total area of the Province (1). It will be seen that the area, actual and potential, for native settlement is severely limited, and this, with the primitive methods of agriculture referred to above, makes improvements in agriculture a vital necessity.

The Administration has realised that the area allotted to the Bhaca (684 square miles) is insufficient for their needs under their present agricultural techniques, and the related problems of overstocking and overpopulation, with their accompanying evil of soil erosion, has made it inevitable that agricultural improvements should loom large in the Department of Native Affairs programme. In the Mount Frere district there are six agricultural demonstrators under an Assistant Agricultural Officer who is a native. There are thirty-six locations in the area and each demonstrator has thus six locations under his control, demonstrating in each in rotation. The modus operandi is to get some progressive owner, interested in improvements, to lend a plot to be worked for two years by scientific methods. The area worked is usually about 2 acres and the demonstrator either stays at the kraal of the owner of the plot, or more often, at the umti of the district headman. If possible a headman is persuaded to allow the experiment in his fields as the added prestige is valuable. The demonstrator, apart

(1) Hailey, *An African Survey*, pp. 719-723

from working the demonstration plot, instructs the people in contour ploughing, winter fallowing, ploughing twice, growing vegetables, poultry keeping, utilisation of manure and other subjects. The nearest Agricultural School is at Tsolo and most of the demonstrators working among the Bhaca were trained there. The minimum educational qualification is Standard VI, although some have higher, and two years are spent either at Tsolo or Thekwa, near Butterworth, with a final year on probation. The Administration also employs a certain number of dipping supervisors and dipping foremen (1) and every beast killed must be reported to the nearest supervisor and the spleen taken for examination for anthrax. Where a beast dies of anthrax wholesale inoculations are enforced by law. Then, too, any owner or occupier of land in the Territories must keep the land free of the noxious weeds, spear thistle (*Cnicus lanceolatus*), mexican poppy (*Argemone mexicana*), burr weed, devil's thorn (*Emex australis*) and dagga (*canabis sativa*). The penalty for failure to do this is a fine not exceeding £5. or imprisonment of one month. Headmen are responsible for seeing that this law is observed.

It is difficult to assess just what effect all this education has on the native population. One gets the impression that very few natives apply the new methods on their own initiative, very few grow vegetables as yet, and in certain areas, soil erosion is bad. The Magistrate reports that progress is slow. On the other hand we have seen that there is a steady demand for fertiliser among the Bhaca. Kraal manure is not much used for this purpose, being utilised mainly for fuel and building, but chemical fertilisers (superphosphates) are in big demand. For the quarter August to November 1949 the traders' estimates for fertiliser were 3,800 bags but owing to control only about 1,800 bags were available. If the needs of the Farmers' Associations were included the combined need would be for about 4,500 bags. The crops from demonstration plots are much larger than those grown under the old system; the

(1)

There are 30 dipping tanks in the district.

latter average about 3 to 4 bags per acre whereas the former yield 5 to 8 bags. There has also been an increase in the number of planters purchased through the traders, and planting in rows is taking the place of the indiscriminate scattering formerly practised. Fortunately there has been a stimulus to these improvements by the interest of the chiefs. Chief Waḡane Makaula has donated a floating trophy (1946) for the greatest yield of maize and there appears to be a good deal of competition among certain sections. The most progressive areas seem to be in the Cancele, Mandeleni, Kinira and Ncome locations. The latter two are inhabited almost exclusively by hluḡi who are generally very much more progressive than the Bhaca, a fact that is mirrored in trade where a more expensive line of goods can be offered than among the Bhaca, and in 1949, after the severest drought South Africa has seen for years, 18% of the land had been ploughed by September.

The Native Farmers' Association is very popular among many more progressive Bhaca. In the Mount Frere district there are 27 branches for men with 400 members and 31 for women with 483 members. It will be seen from these figures that the actual number of members in each branch is small, averaging about 15, and, when compared with the total population figures, the actual number interested in improvement, other than fertiliser, is not very great. These different branches are amalgamated into a District Association under a chairman who is himself a Bhaca. In the year 1948-9 seventeen competitions were held in the district in the Maize section for which 239 competitors entered, and nineteen in the Vegetable section with 238 competitors.⁽¹⁾ Quite a large number of kraals have fruit trees, mainly peach and quince, and most school people have a small plantation of wattle next to the umti to supply firewood and building material. Generally speaking it is the school people who are most progressive and some subscribe to the monthly magazine "Umceḡisi", ("The Councillor"), financed by the Bunga and containing articles and advice on the various aspects of scientific farming. In spite of all this, the Administration has to contend with a conservatism which is very deep-seated.

(1)

Figures from the Magistrate's Office, Mount Frere.

The anti-social stigma attached to fencing fields during winter when the lands are open for grazing to the cattle of the community, the cattle-cult, which is hostile to the culling of surplus cattle, the reliance on magical rather than scientific techniques in certain socio-economic contexts, and the absence of nearly half the able-bodied men from the reserve (the effect of migrant labour) are all serious hindrances to agricultural development. Five locations have been declared Betterment Areas under the new rehabilitation policy of the Administration but no operations have yet been undertaken in the district.

Employment in the reserve.

The question of employment by Europeans and the increasing part it is playing in Bhaba economy, especially work on the mines of Natal and the Witwatersrand, with its effect on status and the widening of social relations, will be discussed more fully in the second section of this chapter, - that on the interaction and relation of economy to social relations. We are here concerned only with those who work for Europeans in the reserve, a class consisting almost exclusively of Government and Missionary Societies' employees such as teachers, ministers, interpreters, demonstrators, dipping foremen, and headmen, Bunga employees and domestic servants, including those employed by traders as assistants and yardboys. Most of these, especially in the category of employees of Government and Missions, enjoy an enhanced status in the community because of education and higher wages, and all are also occupied as peasant farmers. Even the local minister has his fields and stock. Teachers have recently had an extensive salary increase and are to-day the wealthiest members of the community. The scale of pay for some of the above categories is appended:-

Ministers and evangelists	£30 - £160 p.a.
Demonstrators	£84 x 12 - 156 p.a.
Dipping supervisors	£120 x 12 - 228 p.a.
Assistant supervisors	£90 x 10 - 180 p.a.
Headmen	£24 - 42 p.a. (depending on length of service)
Chiefs	(Makaula £280 p.a.) (Nomt/heket/he £50 p.a.)
Dipping foremen	£48 x 6 - 84 p.a.
Interpreter (Grade II)	£120 x 12 - £204 p.a.
Clerk (N.A.D.)	£150 x 15 - 180 x 20 - 300
Domestic servant	£1 10s (average)
Post Office Clerk	£30 x 3 - 60 p.a.

We have now completed our study of the bases of

subsistence and economic activities of the Bhaca. We must now investigate the effect of these pursuits on social relations and social values.

Economic Activities and Social Relations.

Division of labour.

Forming as they do such a large part of bhaca thought and energies, we should expect that economic activities would have a far-reaching effect on the patterns of behaviour between individuals, on social groupings, status and other aspects of social life. This, investigation reveals, to be correct. The various types of activity tend to fall either in the sphere of women or of men giving rise to what is known as the division of labour by sex. The determination is not always physiological: it may have a magical or ritual origin, as in the case of the umlaza taboo discussed earlier, defining that pastoral activity be confined to the men because of the ritual impurity of women towards cattle. Division of labour may also be regulated by tradition, (there is no reason why men should not do field work and indeed there is considerable overlapping in this sphere), and indeed, the physiological differences between men and women seem to play a very minor part. One cannot say, then, that the division of labour itself derives from the exact form of economic activities, but rather from tradition, based originally on the physiological and psychological differences between men and women. But even if originally the determination was non-economic it is arguable that to-day the wheel has taken the full turn, and certain forms of activity and grouping are influenced by the traditionally sanctified fait accompli, the economic division of labour between the sexes. The division has become inseparably linked emotively with certain activities and values and any break in custom may arouse responses of opposition taking the form of censure or mockery. Thus a man seen hoeing may be mocked and laughed at, and men would be indignant if a woman assisted in ploughing or joined in an ingqina (hunt). The dichotomy of work is buttressed by strict patterns of behaviour, in this case negative and censorious, towards any individual who transgresses the custom. Likewise the economic activity often determines

the social content of any group of people engaged in that occupation. A hoeing isit/hongo (work party) will nearly always consist of women, usually near relatives or neighbours: a group of herds^{or} will almost invariably be male as will the group responsible for killing and cutting up a beast at a feast. There is, however, no hard and fast rule here and men can occasionally be seen helping in the hoeing, clearing of fields, building of huts, etc. It is in regard to cattle and housekeeping that the sex composition of the groups or persons involved is most stable. The following is a rough division of work according to sex, a division that is not always strictly adhered to in practice.

<u>Men's activities.</u>	<u>Women's activities.</u>
Cattle keeping	housekeeping
hunting	hoeing
woodwork	weeding
thatching	weaving
cutting bush	grasswork
iron work	pottery
sledgemaking	grass cutting
ploughing	plastering
digging and cleaning grain pits	fetching water
leather work	stamping
	grinding

Combined.

reaping
clearing bush
threshing

It will be seen that in the few cases in which men and women combine there is always some urgency, or the work is arduous, necessitating co-operation. This is especially so in reaping when it is imperative that the crops be brought in as soon as possible. In clearing the fields the work is heavy and the women assist the men who cut out the bush by collecting and dragging away the branches. The fetching of water is always the work of the women, often from great distances in buckets or ^{cl} day pots morning and evening, or when it is used up. Bhaca are not very particular where they get water, and I have seen women drawing it from a spring in which cattle were standing drinking. Water is never bored for and there are no regulations for the conserving of water and preventing cattle drinking it. Each wife in a polygamous household gets her own water, or sends a young girl of the umti to get it. Boys are never sent. A new bride must go and get water every day. "There must be nothing lacking in the umti".

As we have seen, the greater part of economic activity takes place within the units of settlement which we have called homesteads (imiti) and clusters (iticeko), the larger neighbourhood units which possess an organic social life based on proximity, and, to a lesser extent, the sense of kin. The fields of the local group are usually situated in the same river valley or on the same hillside, the stock graze on the same pastures and the members of the group know intimately the topography and utilise the natural resources of the same environment. All this has the effect of increasing the genocentricity of the group, the sense of oneness, and, more germane to the present discussion, the necessity of co-operation in the essential economic activities. At reaping the various wives in a polygamous unti combine to help each other, friends in a cluster will get together, one lending a plough, the other oxen, another trek chains, to facilitate the work of ploughing; people will join in an isit/hongo for field work, and so on. The sanction for much of this work is the ⁱundefinable quality of neighbourliness which is generated in such contexts of close cohabitation; but, human nature being the incalculable thing it is, this is reinforced by the added sanctions of reciprocity and reward. In some cases, such as sledgemaking and ploughing, a man knows that, if he does not assist his neighbour (who in addition might be a clansman), he himself might be refused help when he is in need of it. In other instances, e.g. when an isit/hongo is made, helpers are rewarded for their services with meat and beer. In both cases help is given in the knowledge of either immediate or eventual repayment. Whatever the sanctions, however, proximity in economic activities is invariably associated with co-operation.

Apart from co-operation, which may be defined as the economic form of the social relation, there is the economic influence on status which emerges as the institution of ownership. The possession of articles of material culture and stock plays an important part in the determining of the status of the individual; status, on the other hand, affects ownership. This is ^aaffected mainly through inheritance. Ownership, in its turn, affects behaviour patterns as possession always imposes obligations on the owner towards dependants and others. I have called the above social phenomena localised socio-economic relations as they occur more especially within the circumscribed area of the local group.

The great majority of economic interactions occur within the limited boundaries of the primary structural unit, but there are others - increasing in number to-day with the widening of social relations by contact with Western Civilization. I have called this category, extended socio-economic relations and they include economic co-operation outside the local group but within the geographical extent of the tribe (in trade and exchange with fellow Bhaca and European traders within the reserve), and with economic relations outside the tribe especially due to the system of migrant labour and the linking up of Bhaca economy with the World market. In this section of the chapter, then, we will deal with the effect of economic activity upon social relations under the following schedule:-

1) Localised socio-economic relations.

- (a) Co-operation in tillage; fieldwork, itit/hongo, etc.
- (b) Social status and ownership; inheritance, allocation of land, etc.
- (c) Behaviour patterns determined by ownership; obligations.

2) Extended socio-economic relations.

- (a) Trade and exchange.
- (b) Migrant labour and working for Europeans.

Co-operation and labour combinations for tillage.

As we have seen every married woman has her own field or fields - as the Bhaca say, "That is where she is going to eat", - the produce of which belongs solely to her house. Each house in a polygamous umti has its own storehut which is utilised exclusively for the cobs, kaffir corn, beans and other produce of the fields. A husband cannot sell or give away the produce from a wife's field without her consent, although he has a controlling interest over all the fields of his kraal. If a wife is extravagant and her grain pits become empty long before those of the other wives she might be scolded by her husband: if she is on good terms with the other wives they may agree to help her with grain from their pits, but if bad relations exist between co-wives a husband may be forced to buy food for the erring wife. On the other hand, if a wife's field is infertile or her crops are destroyed by blight or frost (or in fact anything that is not due to any fault or negligence on her part), the other wives will rally round and supply her house with the necessary food from their own fields. In addition to this a woman and her husband seldom work a field alone. The most

common arrangement is for the fields of the different wives to be worked in turn by all the active members of the umti, as often as not with the help of neighbours.

This is outstandingly so in time of reaping or ploughing where the use of capital goods for ploughing and cartage is imperative. The sledges used for transporting the mealies and pumpkins from the fields require heavy labour to make, and not every umti possesses one or the necessary number of oxen to drag the heavy structure over the uneven ground. Neighbours will thus combine in bringing home the harvest. In the same way one man might supply a plough, another trek chains and a third the oxen, and the three combine in ploughing one another's fields in turn. If close relatives live close together in the same cluster there is a greater tendency for them to help one another but all depends on the good feeling existing between them. The sanction for this type of co-operation is reciprocity, the mutual benefit derives^d from pooling resources and the knowledge that time and labour spent on another man's field will be repaid in due course with assistance in one's own field. As among the Mpondo at the end of ploughing and harvest, special beer called ijiki lenka6i, the beer of the oxen, is made by the imiti who have combined for the work, and a feast is held to which the public are free to come, although the members of the combine are accorded a more important place and assist the owner of the umti in giving out (ukulawula) the beer.

A wiser group of co-operators is the isit/hongo (Xh. ilima) or work party. Work parties are usually organised in contexts where the work is monotonous or arduous and the social intercourse and fellowship, always generated at itit/hongo, are considered more important than the value of the beer and meat that is always provided. Work parties are organised for all types of economic activity. Hoeing, clearing fields, shelling mealies, collecting firewood, cutting thatching grass and weeding are all occasions for an isit/hongo, although strangely enough, not usually for reaping. The people who usually assist in the harvesting of the crops are ~~usually~~ relatives, although close neighbours may come and help, and the reward for assistance is permission for each worker to take home the small baskets of cobs and pumpkins called ingcekance. itit/hongo are

rarely made for harvesting. The reason for this appears to be the more personal nature of the harvest. Each umti has its own storehut or huts reserved exclusively for the use of the members, ^{harvest is his own private affair. The Shaca do not display their} and the extent of a man's ^{own} crops as to do the Trobrian islanders described by Malanowski and other Melanesian societies. Permission to give an isit/hongo must first be obtained by the woman from her husband, and some days beforehand beer is brewed in readiness for the feast. The women of the kraal will go out early to the fields with the nearest neighbours and begin work. Not all the members of the cluster, by any means, will attend, and it must be remembered that the cluster itself is quite a large unit containing up to 100 families. The usual number would appear to be round about twenty. As the morning draws on they will be joined by others, for the news of any type of feast, whether beer or meat, for a wedding or a funeral, travels fast in a district, and little groups of chatting men and women may often be seen, hoes over their shoulders, going to an isit/hongo at a distant umti. Each one attending brings his own hoe. If the reward is going to be meat, a goat or pig will be slaughtered, but, unlike the Mpondo, this is never done in the field itself but at home, the meat being carried by the young men to the workers, or the party may return at midday to the kraal of the giver of the isit/hongo and the meat eaten there. Field work begins early and work is seldom carried on after midday. Beer is always drunk in the fields being carried there in large beakers and pots, or even ubojani (large casks used for storing beer. Xh. ifatyi). Attendance at an isit/hongo is not compulsory and no stigma is attached to a person who does not go, but, generally speaking, all those who can will try to go as it is considered a friendly and neighbourly gesture, and (although not consciously in such terms) a socially valuable act.

Itit/hongo are attended by both men and women and occasionally one is made for children, especially when firewood is to be collected. On one occasion Makhinzi's wife arranged one for this purpose. Invitations were sent out to various people in the location, mainly young girls, asking them to come with any young children of the neighbourhood to collect firewood. They arrived at Makhinzi's kraal in the morning, and, after being divided into groups, went into the bush that clothes the slopes of the Umzimvu6u valley to collect wood - only dry wood, it was stipulated. The

dry sticks and branches were collected into bundles and then taken to the children's own homes. As nearly all the children came from the same location this did not mean a long journey. The children were then washed and put into their best shorts and frocks and in the early afternoon each group arrived at Makhinzi's umti with the wood they had collected. No prize is given for the biggest bundle but the group responsible might be praised. As they arrived they all went into the great hut and sat down on the floor. During the morning tea, stamped mealies and bread had been prepared. Occasionally at such parties, meat is also provided. The children sat on grass mats and the food was handed round by the women and young girls of the umti who appeared to enjoy it just as much as the children. After everyone had been refreshed the children divided into two groups in the hut with a space between them and the sides took turns in dancing and singing (ukugaja) in exactly the same way as their mothers do at the ukudlala kwaafati mentioned earlier. It is amusing to see small girls of about four years performing the galvanic foot-stamping dances with all the aplomb and abandon of their mothers. Only the girls dance and the side that lasts the longest wins. This dancing appears to be a variation on the ordinary work party introduced for the entertainment of the children.

Itit/hongo are popular breaks in the monotony of the daily round. The routine, often strenuous work, is transformed by beer and sociability into a pleasant function where people gossip and pass the news of day, sing and make love. Even the hardest work, that of hoeing, seems a pleasure under such conditions. Even the Christians have itit/hongo although this is not done as often as among the pagans. Tea, stamped mealies, bread and perhaps meat is substituted for the beer which is forbidden to the Christians by the church. The main sanction for itit/hongo, however, is beer, and the tendency is for school people to do more of the work themselves (a more efficient method in reality), and it is only when the weeds get too rank and the work too heavy, as in clearing a field from the bush, that a work party is organized. The increase in Christianity over the last two decades has meant a decline in the number

and frequency of this type of co-operation⁽¹⁾.

Ownership and Status.

Land. In approaching the question of land among the Bhaca we must first of all distinguish between two types of control, the possession of political control over land and that which more closely resembles the Western concept of individual ownership. The land of the Bhaca, the Ilizwe lamaBhaca, is that over which the chief has political control. To-day the Bhaca are confined to the Mount Frere district of East Griqualand but a large number, over 1000, are found in the adjoining district of Mount Ayliff and come under the control of the Xesi6e chief. It appears that the political overlordship coincides with the territorial area and the power of the chief ends with the tribal boundary. This appears to be a recent development with the imposition of European control and the demarcation of boundaries, as formerly the chief's jurisdiction was over his people and followed the movement of tribesmen even outside the boundaries of the tribe - as long as they moved into unoccupied territory. This latter qualification is important as the chiefs had a very definite right over land as well as people and if emigrants moved into land occupied by another chief they automatically came under his jurisdiction. Where large groups are settled they frequently give their name to the area. This has happened among the Bhaca. In Maboba there is a large community of Xesi6e under their own headman, and the area they occupy is known as eMaxesi6eni and there are many groups of foreign immigrants such as the Fingo at Lugangeni and isolated families of Mpondomise, Mpondo, Hlu6i and others scattered over the territory. In the analysis of clan distribution at Mhlot/heni (Chapter II) we came across the two Mpondomise families of Msaseni. The fact that they live in the tribal area brings them de facto under the authority of the Bhaca chief. The chief's jurisdiction is, therefore, over land and people.

(1) A very detailed description of the ilima among the Mpondo will be found in Hunter pp. 89-93.

The fact that the chief has authority over all tribal land is recognised by the people - although answers to the question to whom a certain area belongs differ considerably. The name of the chief (inkosi) may be given or the name of the district (location), headman (isibondza), or, if a clan predominates in an area, it may be called after it, e.g. ilizwe likaLuthuli, after the isibongo of the Vukuthu lineage. There are two politically independent tribes of Bhaca occupying the district but there is no special name distinguishing one tribe or tribal area from the other. All call themselves "Bhaca" and inhabit "the country of the Bhaca". "We are from one man, Madzikane"; "We are just like fingers that come from the same hand. Wabane's great grandfather called Kut/hiwa's great grandfather, brother", are comments of intelligent tribesmen. This sense of common origin does not prevent the two tribes from fighting each other on occasion, however. Chiefs exercise through their headmen the right of allocation of land but there is no private ownership inherent in this function.

The European conception of land ownership, or at least the nearest Bhaca practice approximating to it, is only found in the limited private rights over arable land. Generally speaking the country is held in trust by the chief for the tribe, and the greater percentage of natural resources, - grazing, water, hunting, fuel, etc., - is common property and may be used by any member of the tribe; it is only in connection with ownership of fields that anything like our conception of ownership has developed. Furthermore this right to exclusive exploitation of certain areas finds enforcement in the courts, and rights to fields are inherited. As we have seen in the section on social structure, there is a marked tendency for people to settle in certain areas rather than others, giving rise to the social groups which we have termed "clusters". The district of Mount Frere is mountainous, the rolling hills of Pondoland building up into the foothills and tributary ranges of the Drakensburg, and one finds steep-sided valleys against which the kraals hang precariously or nestle picturesquely in the kloofs, or are strung out along the tops of escarpments. Each cluster has its own fields, usually along the river banks or on the lower slopes of hills, and each umti in the cluster will have its field in this area. The fields of a cluster might be near the huts of the members as at Mhlot/heni where the

fields of the iticeko, Kwantsana, Mlot/heni, Luqolweni and Emfundeni were all situated in the Gugwini valley or along the Umzimvuḅu bank (see sketch map Chapter I). On the other hand, as at Buffalo Neck they might be a couple of miles away.

Bhaca tribal land, subject to the overall authority of the chief, was, and is to-day, divided into a number of areas of differing size each under the control of a headman. Formerly there was no allocation of land by the headman of the district and each woman was entitled to cultivate any piece of arable land she wished as long as it did not encroach on anyone else's claims. Rights of cultivation were obtained merely by turning over the ground with a hoe and there was no limit to the number of fields a woman might cultivate. The wife of Elias's elder brother had seven fields. He was a monogamist and the fields had to be cultivated by means of itit/hongo, although each year some of the fields were allowed to lie fallow. This system could function only in a situation where there was unlimited land, but despite the lower density of population the Bhaca state that much less grain was eaten than to-day, meat and milk being the main foods. Also "much beer was drunk" - a reminder of the social importance of this beverage. It is difficult to establish the correctness of this - "the good old days" often seem Utopian - but it is interesting to note that the Mpondo make the same statement.

To-day the old system has been modified. With the stabilisation of tribal and location boundaries, and the increase in population causing pressure on the land, the right to grant the exclusive right to cultivate certain areas is given through the magistrates, as with annexation all land became the property of the Crown. As in Pondoland rights of cultivation are inalienable, and, on the removal or death of the holder, the land reverts to the Crown, but a widow has the right to cultivate the fields she cultivated as a wife, and in reallocating land the eldest son of the deceased is given preference, if he has not already got his full share of land. There is an exception to this system in the three native owned farms in the Mount Frere district. Chief Wabane possesses a farm of 1424 morgen, inherited from his grandfather Makaula who was originally granted it on the 12th May, 1905. Another farm at Buffalo Neck belonging to an

influential Bhaca called Pama has been subdivided on his death between his two daughters, one consisting of 401.9311 morgen, the other 401.1606. The South African Native Trust has acquired the farm Essik of 804 morgen, 113 square roods. The total area of land is divided roughly as follows:-

FIGURE VII.

(N.A.D. Quarterly Report, June, 1949).

<u>Type of land.</u>	<u>Native Population</u>	<u>Area (in morgen)</u>
Reserves and locations	50,008	193,741
Land otherwise native owned	10	2,227
Land acquired by Trust	2	804
<u>Total</u>	<u>50,020</u>	<u>196,772</u>

New fields are apportioned by the magistrate on the advice and recommendation of the headman of the location, a system that is liable to abuse. If a man wants to move or wants a new field he will approach his headman and make known his request. He may take with him money or even a beast, and it is regarded as encouraging if the headman says, "I will see you later". In the interim other gifts may be sent to press the suit. A goat, sheep or even a beast might be sent, always by a messenger, perhaps the man's son, and the gift is euphemistically called "inkukhu" i.e. fowl. A suppliant will say to his son, "Khamba, uya kupha inkosi lenkukhu uthi ndithi kuye makakhe enzele abantfwana bakhe umhlozi" ("Go and give the chief this fowl and tell him to make some gravy for his children"). This appears to be the almost invariable formula. After a few days the headman will call the man and ask him where he would like the field; they then go to the magistrate and a native constable accompanies them to the place to record the transaction. It is said that the policeman is often bribed with hospitality or money to increase the size of the field. In cases where a man moves completely from one area to another there appears to be a growing tendency for a "sale" of the improvements on the site to be affected. According to the number of huts and their state of repair, prices may range from about £20. upward, and Sidlo, at Njijini, sold his kraal which was very well built with four huts, a large rectangular building, cattle kraal and a newly fenced garden, for £80. This, however, appears to be a relatively new development in Shaca economics brought about by the infiltration of the Western concept of immovable personal property. When a man asks permission to acquire land he uses the word "ukunxusa" to express the wish. This

means "to use something to one's own advantage" but without complete possession expressed in the right to alienate it. In discussing this point with Bhaca the example was given me of the Giwu family of Lugangeni, originally Mfengu, who approached Chief Makaula with the words, "Ndifuna ukunxusa lendzawo", ("I wish to inhabit this place as one of your people").

Each man who has paid the 30/- annual tax is entitled to a piece of land which must not exceed two acres and is cultivated by his wife. For each new wife married he is allowed another field on the payment of a supertax in the form of a hut tax of 10/- per year for each wife. If a woman does not cultivate her piece of land well and it does not prosper, the headman has the right, in certain circumstances, to give it to someone else. On the other hand, if a woman shows great diligence and her field is particularly fine she may be given another field. At Maxeni, Mamaqhina was very lazy and frequented beer drinks. Nohi, who was headman at that time, took it away from her and it is still lying fallow to-day. One year one of the Giwu's borrows it for a season in order to grow additional mealies, but since then it has never been used. On the same ridge at Maxeni, another woman, Mamt/hawè, was given an extra field for her hard work - but it all depends on the headman and his keenness in encouraging agriculture in his area. The different fields are demarcated by strips of long grass (iminyele) left between the fields, and aloes are also sometimes planted in rows for this purpose. When a field is being allocated the headman marks the boundaries with cairns of stones or by knotting the grass at the corners. We have already discussed the preference of some for two or three small plots in place of one large one because of the greater chance of striking fertile soil or avoiding hail or blight. This is not always so, however. At Mhlot/heni all the fields are concentrated along the river bank, or in a valley, and here the fertility of the alluvial is uniformly spread over a wide area. M/holwana's grandfather had had two large fields but had decided to give one up. Apart from crops little is done to improve the aesthetic and utilitarian value of the land by planting trees, although the school people are planting small plantations of wattle near the unti in increasing numbers. Mfa6a commented, "The maqa6a (pagans) are not lazy to go

to the forest and collect bundles of firewood (iinyanda) even although they may be arrested if the wood is not dry. They say the gaol is a store" - an interesting comment on our penal system.

It will be seen from the above that the area of the Bhaca is divided, very roughly, into three types of country, viz., pastures for grazing, residential sites and arable land, the latter areas being further sub-divided into small sections (fields) over which the cultivator has the permanent rights of working and enjoying the produce. At certain times of the year, however, this pattern changes. After reaping, the exclusive rights to land lapse temporarily, and all the fields of an area are thrown open to the cattle of the cluster who feed on the maize stalks and stubble. There are no stipulations and everyone's cattle may feed on anyone else's field. No rotation of crops is practised by the Bhaca during the winter months - unlike the Mpondo and other Cape tribes who cultivate sweet potatoes and other root crops then - apart from the few school people such as teachers and evangelists who have vegetable gardens. Fields are never fenced, the only fencing one sees is occasionally round the umti of an educated school person. This, with the custom of throwing open the reaped fields to the stock, is a grave obstacle to the development of Bhaca agriculture as it makes rotation of crops difficult, and, indeed, it is impossible for a progressive man to keep the cattle of his less progressive neighbours from his winter crops. When this was pointed out to them informants said that if a man fenced his lands he would become unpopular and, "The African people do not like that". The custom is enshrined in tradition, and it would be unneighbourly and anti-social for selfish, individual interests to prevail. It must be admitted, though, that here lies one of the main obstacles in the way of introducing modern and progressive agricultural techniques to the Bhaca.

The country not under cultivation is open for all to graze their stock. Within the location, or area of a district (location) headman (isibondza), the cattle may graze anywhere and there are no special areas set aside for grazing. The cattle of each cluster within the location, however, tend to have their own grazing grounds. At Lugangeni, cattle of the Centule cluster would not graze with those of Sirudlwini nor with those of Hagwini. Fights often occur between the herdboys of the various clusters - although not always for the infringement of grazing rights.

The rule of grazing within the area of the cluster is broken by the institution of the cattle post (ithaanga). People who own large numbers of cattle often have cattle posts in other districts, some situated as far as eleven miles away. We have already discussed these ithaanga earlier in the chapter; we have now to investigate the social relations they bring about.

The method of obtaining a cattle post in another district is to approach the headman of that district, or more often a friend, and arrange for your cattle to be kept at his kraal and looked after and taken to grazing by his herds. Sometimes a special kraal is built next to his, or his kraal enlarged to accommodate the extra cattle. Apparently no payment is necessary from the owner of the cattle to his friend - "It depends on friendship". If he feels so inclined an ox or sheep may be given but it seems that this is unusual. Neither does the owner of the ithaanga get any of the increase; that would be ukunqoma custom described below. Cattle are usually taken up to the posts after ploughing and remain there during the summer months. In the winter they are brought down for reaping, ploughing and transport. Sometimes a man gets permission to make his own ithaanga, an umti being built next to the cattle kraal to accommodate a married son, or often a man and his wife who have no home and whom he supplies with food and clothing, in return for which they look after his cattle. Skankanka had three elderly men, Xhosas from Willowvale, to look after his cattle at Njijini, about two miles from his kraal. In some places, as on the farms of Mnini, Rama and Wabane, round the imiti, and where young grass is needed early for grazing, grass is burnt at the end of winter to provide the young shoots. Aloes and wet sacks are used by the men to prevent the fire spreading unduly, and the young children, who really enjoy the process of grass burning, are warned not to shout or make a noise as it will cause a strong wind to blow. Like sailors the Bhaca believe that whistling will call up a wind: on the other hand, whistling at night will call up the thikolo/e and isithfuntela (spectre Xh. isithunzela). The grass round the patches of indigenous forest ~~are~~^{are} annually burnt by the forest guard.

Waterholes and streams, thatching grass, rushes, and the berries and wildplants much used for cooking, and by herbalists, are common property. When I asked Mfa6a to get

me specimens of plants used in magic all he had to do was to go down to the river and dig them up. Wood is also free but there are strict regulations governing its use in some areas, especially in the forested kloofs of the Mgano range, where a European forest guard and his native assistant (both armed) are responsible for the beautiful indigenous forests of sneeze wood, yellowwood and other types of tree. Only dead wood may be taken away and this is brought back on the ox-drawn sledges or carried in large bundles on the heads of girls. In the past there cannot have been much scarcity of wood and water, especially in the highlands where the heavy summer mists are a very frequent occurrence. Apart from the smaller forests in the kloofs there are two large forest areas in the Mount Frere district - manyano, near Buffalo Neck, and T/hat/eni, near Nkungwini. Here poles for building are made available, as is also firewood: the local trader provides transport to the various areas on his lorry.

The Administration has recently introduced a new system of land demarcation under the Rehabilitation Scheme. Briefly the plan is to demarcate special sites for residential areas, others for grazing and the arable land for agriculture. This envisages a departure from the typical Nguni pattern of scattered settlements and introduces a form of village life nearer to that of the Sotho, for instance. Up to now, the experiment has been confined to the southern Transkei, but the Bhaca are very strongly opposed to any change in their traditional method of agriculture and social organisation, and this will meet with strenuous opposition.

Ownership of stock. The polygamist household among the Bhaca can be defined as a number of separate units each composed of a mother and her children, united into a social group by the fact that each wife is married to a common husband. Each wife, too, has her hut, and, usually, a storehut, and we thus find the umti divided into a number of "houses" called itindlu. Unlike the Zulu, Mpondo and Xhosa, for instance, who all have variations on the principle of Righthand and Lefthand wife, the Bhaca merely have a Great-wife (Indlunkulu), each wife married thereafter being numbered in order of the marriage. The second wife married is sometimes called the indlu encane, the "little house", and the third indlu ekekhathsi (or phakathsi) - the "middle house"

Each house has certain stock allotted (ukwa6a - to divide), which becomes the legal property of that house and which is inherited by the eldest son of that house on the death of the father, when the extended family dissolves itself and the various houses emerge ^{as} separate entities. If the wife of the house is still alive she must be consulted on the disposal of property, and, indeed, even during the life of her husband, no house property can be disposed of by the husband without the consent of the wife of that house and the eldest son or heir. If a beast is to be killed it must be done at the krasl of the wife who owns it: "If he does not do this the woman will complain saying, 'We want to smell blood'". "If a man slaughters a lot at one wife's undlu the others will grouse and will use 'inside spread'" (umanda ngaphakathi: a red medicine ground to powder and put into the husband's food to make him love them). Another medicine called intsula6use (to rub the face) is used in such situations. Absolute impartiality in the treatment of wives is the socially approved norm, and the allocation of house property is enforceable in the tribal courts. S. neglected his second wife who had borne him three sons, as she was no longer attractive to him. The sons went to work on the mines of the Witwatersrand and when the eldest wanted to get married he asked for some of the stock from his mother's house to use as ikhazi (bride wealth). S. refused and the case was brought before wa6ane. It was decided in favour of the son, and not only had S. to hand over all the stock originally allocated to the house with the increase, but he was also ordered to buy the house a plough as he had neglected the wife.

Cattle are earmarked and, among some educated people, are branded. Sheep are also marked, usually with various designs in red ochre just after shearing. Unlike the Mpondo, different ear-marks are often used to distinguish between stock of the different houses. Often a notch is cut from the top of the ear for a beast of the first wife, one on the side might be cut for the indlu encane, and a slit in the ear itself for the third. As we have seen, though, the great majority of Bhaca have only one wife so these distinctions are seldom necessary. As among the Mpondo, stock can also be owned by a woman in her own right and certain women who have attained individual status as a doctor, potter or specialist accumulate large numbers of stock in this way.

Ownership of produce, personal belongings, etc.

Milk, wool, eggs, skins and grain are all the

property of the house in which they are produced. Grain is usually stored in grainpits in the cattle kraal - usually one pit to each house. When the crop is large, however, a house may have more than one pit, but informants stated that the grain from the two houses would never be mixed. "They can't be mixed: one wife may be extravagant and use more than her share." As grainpits are usually dug in the cattle kraal taboo to women, a wife must get permission from her husband to get grain, although this taboo is fast falling into disuse with the spread of education and Christianity. If grain is sold or a beast slaughtered and the skin sold at the trading store the money is usually taken by the husband, as is that from any wood sold, but he might give ^{the wife} one or two pounds. "Everything to do with money goes to the man". "The only thing a Bhaca man has nothing to do with is cooking". A woman cannot sell grain without the man's knowledge: these points of view were vehemently expressed.

During winter, when many beasts are killed for weddings and feasts, people arrive at the store all through the day with hides and goatskins to sell. A woman may sell eggs, fowls, pigs and small mealies (imbukhwe), however, but the tobacco garden, if there is one, (isiqwayi) - the same word can be applied to an early mealie field) belongs to the great house, all proceeds from the sale of tobacco going to it, "Although a man may give some of the money to the other house if he so wishes." It will be seen that this pattern is almost identical with that obtaining in Pondoland. Each married woman has also her own hut, built for her by her father-in-law on her marriage to his son. This is to accommodate the furniture, and, at the same time, a store hut is built. If she is a second wife, married after the first has died, a new sleeping hut and living hut will be built for her, but she will use the first wife's store room. The deceased wife's hut will be used by her children. A husband is responsible for building the hut of a new wife, helped, if on good terms, by the other wives. A husband has the right to the hut of any of his wives at any time - "A woman cannot keep her husband out of her hut". This differs from the Mpondo custom of a woman waiting a year before her own hut is built and having to sleep in the storehut with her husband in the

interim. Even if the stock of the various houses is kept in the same cattle kraal, each wife sends her own pail to be filled by the milk from her own cows, and grain is stored in separate storehuts (iminyango) attached to each house. (The Bhaca version of the 'stall' in which Jesus was born is unyango, storehut: "Hosana, enyangweni, Unyana ufikile")

Certain objects are considered the personal belongings of people, and although formerly these were few and simple, the introduction of articles of European material culture is making this class of goods increasingly important and invested with a greater socio-economic value. To-day not only is a man's status enhanced by his stock, but also by his clothes, his furniture and even his harmonium, typewriter and motor car. Formerly personal belongings included clothing, pipes, ~~stocks~~, weapons, axes, hoes, ornaments, mats and household utensils. Most of these articles he made himself or obtained from specialists - nowadays the great majority of necessities are bought at the store, and a complete change over to a cash economy has been affected. It is amusing to see with what alacrity even the youngest child has grasped the rudiments of arithmetic and is able to calculate change. Every bride brings sleeping mats for her and her husband as well as her own utensils as part of her equipment and, if any wear out, or break, she must return home and get new ones from her father or brother. Beadwork is a favourite pastime of the young girls and the many coloured dansothando (love tokens) are much prized by their lovers. To-day, to the above list of personal belongings of a man, must be added ploughs, saddles, bridles, planters, ^{yotheo} ~~hoes~~, furniture and guns - for large numbers of tribesmen, specially those living on the borders between the two tribes, possess rifles and revolvers smuggled in, it is said, from Pondoland. Every man must have at least one spear for sacrificial killing, and, on his death, a man divides his spears among his sons. The eldest son in particular must receive the spear which is used for ritual killings. Spears are made by specialists. Itibuku (logs of wood cut out slightly to fit the head) are made by the pagans - each man making his own - and, although some to-day are using pillows with the sleeping mat, the great majority still use the itibuku.

Inheritance.

The ownership of these various types of goods imposes problems of possession when the owner dies. This is handled by the culture through the institution of inheritance. Among the Bhaqa it is the recognised thing for the eldest son to set up a new umti either nearby or at a distance from that of his father, depending on the geocentric forces of affection and mutual compatibility that exist between them. Thus on the death of the father the paternal umti usually reverts to the youngest son who has not yet set up his own kraal and who is staying with his parents. "As he is the youngest the parents must die with him". This is the statement of some informants. On the other hand a more usual practice appears to be for the eldest son of an eldest son to go and live at the paternal umti, being brought up there by his grandparents, inheriting the kraal on his grandfather's death, with all the stock. M.'s father provided lobola for his wife, and built him a kraal, telling him that his (the father's) own umti would not go to M., but to M.'s eldest son. He educated his grandson at Umthatha, but M., who was a powerful herbalist, became jealous, "and used terrible medicines which made his son ill". It is said that the young man's grandfather taught him medicines to counteract those of his father. He has now left for Cape Town and will have nothing to do with his father. In the same way a son may be sent to live with his maternal grandparents and inherit there. Sandla was sent up from Idutywa to be the "son" in the kraal of his widowed grandmother. She had no sons and approached Sandla's father, her son-in-law, for a grandson to live with her and inherit her husband's property. The parents did not want to part with the eldest son, so Sandla, the fourth son, was taken. He will inherit his grandfather's property, and the eldest son, that of his father. If the grandfather dies before the grandson is old enough to take over, his father will manage the affairs of the kraal in the interim, either coming to stay at the paternal kraal himself, or taking his son to live with him and accommodating the cattle in his own kraal. Sivesa was too young to administer the affairs of his grandfather's kraal when the latter died, and his father, Paul, had to leave his kraal

for a few years and live in the old kraal.

Formerly the youngest son inherited the right to cultivate the fields of his mother, and elder sons had to obtain permission for fields for their wives from the headman. To-day all arable land reverts to the Crown and must be re-allotted, and preference is given to the eldest son of the late holder. It appears to-day almost as if the Bhaca conceive of the field as belonging to the husband, an attitude brought about through this change in transfer, and a radical departure from former practice. Nowadays the personal articles of possession such as clothing, ornaments, sleeping mats, etc., are not destroyed, as formerly, on the death of the owner, but are inherited by the heir. The effects of the parental umti, especially implements and cooking and household utensils, are inherited by the younger son of that umti, but, of course, all house stock goes to the eldest son. As we have seen, in the great house it often goes to the eldest son, of the eldest son. Inheritance is patrilineal and women cannot inherit any property: thus, if there is no heir in a house, all property, including stock, goes to some other house. The laws of succession are not as complicated as among Mpondo, Xhosa and Zulu, for instance. If there is no heir in the great house, the property of that house is inherited by the second house, the indlu encane. Failing an heir in either of these two houses, the heir of the indlu ekekhatshi inherits the stock and other property. Similarly, if there is no heir in the encane house, all stock will be inherited by the indlunkulu; if none in the third house, the greathouse will get the stock, not the indlu encane. In certain circumstances, such as the death or barrenness of a great wife (or for that matter, any wife), another woman may be married to raise up an heir in that house. Children born of this union will be considered those of the deceased wife, and the eldest son born will inherit the house property. If a man dies without any sons, his property will be inherited by his father, if still alive, or, failing that, by his eldest brother, to be inherited in turn by his eldest brother's son. If a Bhaca is asked, however, who will get his property when he dies, he will almost invariably say, his wife. As long as the wife of a house is alive she retains a controlling interest over the property and stock of that house,

and it is only after she dies that the son takes over complete control. T/holwane, a man of about forty and the eldest son of the great house, still consults his mother in house matters, and Nomazala, aged sixty, engaged a man to cut earmarks on her stock, although her son Mahleka lives at the kraal. She did not consult anybody. The relationship between widowed mother and son is expressed by the phrase "kangenxa yemvano", i.e. "because of agreement", or "because of getting on well together". It must be remembered that these laws of inheritance are falling into disuse because of the marked decrease in polygamy due to the spread of the Christian ethic, and the pressure of economic developments and the introduction of a cash economy.

It will be seen that the Bhaca laws of inheritance differ from Western concept mainly in the absence of the right of the head to bequeath property at will, and are related to the structure of the umti. The various houses composing the polygamous household can be likened to cells, not completely independent, but united by their allegiance to a common husband and kraal head. The kraal head does not own everything in the kraal, as we understand the concept of ownership, and the legal position can only be described as a series of relationships between the kraal head and the constituent houses. In a certain sense all property coming into the house is pooled and administered by the head for the benefit of the umti as a whole, but the situation does not consist of an amorphous mass of rights, and ownership and inheritance are strictly controlled through the institution of "houses" (itindlu).

Disinheritance.

In certain circumstances a man may legally alter these rules of succession but this can only be done in one way - by disinheritance. If a man's son is incorrigible and persists in misbehaving, he may be disinherited. This must be done publicly and not by the arbitrary will of the father. He must call his male relatives together and explain to them what he is doing, giving the reason for his action. It may be that the son has repeatedly defied his father's authority; he might be the illegitimate son of a wife whom the father wishes to repudiate, or "the young man may be constantly getting into trouble over girls." Formerly a goat was slaughtered after the declaration was

made, called imbuti yokuncola ('goat of washing' from the Bhaqa word ukuncola, to wash, Xh. ukuhlamba), and eaten by all present, including the son being disinherited, although, informants said, he was usually too ashamed to eat. In the case of disinheritance the next son in that house succeeds.

On the other hand, if a man is childless by his wife but has a son by an icuphathi (prostitute, mp. idikazi) he may instate the illegitimate child as his legal heir. Again a public declaration must be made and a beast slaughtered called inkomo yoku6onisa, "because this is to show that he now has a son". Apparently this beast is also killed when a disinherited son is reinstated. In both these cases, that of disinheritance and instating, the facts must be made public at a ceremony and the headman notified. The son may appeal to the headman against the decision.

Other obligations imposed by ownership.

We have already discussed one form of obligation imposed by ownership, the legally-defined disposal of property. These are inherited with the property, but there are others. We have already seen that cattle and grain cannot be disposed of without first consulting others of the family. A wife must ask her husband's permission before disposing of surplus grain, a man is supposed to consult his younger brothers before allocating cattle for slaughtering or ikhazi. Even women must be consulted in the disposal of house property. Ownership also entails the duty of looking after the interests of dependants. Thus a man is responsible for the maintenance of his children, for helping them to marry with ikhazi cattle, and for ensuring the good relations of the umti with the ancestral spirits by periodic sacrifices, for which he provides the beasts. He is responsible for assisting his sons to obtain their first wives by providing at least part of the lo6ola cattle for them. The usual practice is to try and provide each son with cattle obtained as ikhazi at the marriage of a daughter, and to this end a man will pair off or "link" his sons and daughters so that the lo6ola cattle of the one will help to provide a wife for the other. This custom is called ukufaka. Usually the elder daughter of the great house goes to the great son, the second daughter to the second son, and so on. This responsibility to provide for the younger sons and daughters of a kraal devolves on the eldest son who, in addition to inheriting the main property, inherits the obligations of his father. Informants

stated that there was no question of the cattle given for ikhazi being returned to the father or elder brother. - "When the daughter of the wife so obtained is married, "It is a gift" - although cattle given by a stranger or even a brother of the father must be returned. An analysis of the sources of ikhazi cattle will be found in the following chapter (on marriage). A brother to whom a girl is linked is particularly responsible to her for clothing and other necessities just as a father is responsible for providing the wedding clothes and new household utensils for his daughter when she is married. As we have seen earlier, if a bride breaks anything at her husband's home she must return to her father's home and replace it.

The obligations between father and sons is reciprocal. We have already discussed patterns of behaviour between them in some detail (Chapter 2), and in the economic sphere these are also important. The socially approved ideal is that a man should work for his father and we have seen the social stigma that attaches to a son that does not conform to these mores. Despite this there is an increasing tendency, with the introduction of the European concept of individual property, and the lessening of the genocentric ties brought about by frequent and lengthy absences from home to the labour centres of the Rand at a comparatively early age, for a son to set up his own umti at an earlier age than formerly, and to feel more independent and self-sufficient. The whole institution of labour migration from the reserves is a comparatively new development, and thus, in any event, the idea that a man should hand over his earnings to his father is new. Old men, however, do not seem to appreciate this, and may often be heard lamenting the "good old days", when their sons dutifully handed over all their earnings to them.

Extended socio-economic relations.

There are other economic relations between people who do not, as in the above instances, belong to the local group. In them relations are extended to embrace other non-relatives, and, in each case, the form of the relation is determined by economic co-operation. One type of this relationship includes relations with other tribal members in the economic field, the other embraces extra-tribal units

mainly in the form of co-workers in industry, or on the mines of the Witwatersrand and elsewhere. We will deal with the former type first. Formerly, if cattle strayed into the fields of a neighbour in the cluster, or those of another cluster, and destroyed part of the crops there was no redress. The offending cattle would immediately be driven out, and the herdboys, if caught, severely reprimanded and perhaps thrashed. If the two people concerned, the owner of the field and the owner of the cattle, were on good terms, the latter might try and make amends by giving the former a basket or two of mealies after harvest - but, generally speaking, there was no redress in the chief's or headman's court. Nowadays, however, under the influence of Common Law, an action can lie against the owner of the cattle for damages and is upheld in tribal courts, as well as in the magistrate's court at Mount Frere. Nowadays the owner of the damaged field might accompany the cattle back to their kraal and explain what has happened to the headman. An apology might end the matter there and then, or a nominal fine of 9d or 1/- per head of cattle might be asked. If this is refused the matter will be taken before the headman's court and the fine considerably increased. There is no redress, however, in the case of cattle straying into the grazing land of another cluster. Wabane regularly fined the owners of stock straying on his farm at about 1d per head.

Another form of extended relation is exchange and internal and external trade. We have already discussed how specialists trade their wares, or women their thatching grass, to others. Trading takes place individually and there are no markets for barter. The trading store plays an extremely important part not only as distributor of European material culture and the creator of new wants, but as the social centre of a district where news and gossip is exchanged, notice of weddings and other ceremonies affecting the community life given, and an opportunity created for the re-establishment and re-emphasis of social relations whether between kin or non-kin. Trade and exchange causes mobility of the human units within the culture and is a valuable means ^{of} maintaining social relations at the requisite tension: as we shall see in a later chapter it also has the effect of extending social relations without the tribe.

The two other forms of relation we have to study

are the customs of ukunqoma and isondlo. As Hunter has pointed out (op. cit. Page 135) it is in no way degrading, in Bantu social economics to ask a gift of another, "that to dispense gifts is the mark of a chief, and that he who is given gifts becomes the giver's 'man'. Every chief, and every wealthy man has linduna; men come to ask gifts and are prepared in return to perform services". Many rich men among the Bhaca ukunqoma (lend) cattle. A poor man goes to a prominent man in the district, not necessarily a relative, who has large numbers of cattle, and asks him if he will ngoma him a beast. A female beast is usually given and any increase is returned to the lender or else is left after being ear-marked or branded (ukuphawula). Informants say that the second born belongs to the man who has been loaned the cattle, the third to the owner, and so on, the former receiving every alternate calf as his own, although looking after all the offspring. "In this way people can get cattle without buying them". During the time, the man has the use of the milk and the beasts for ploughing. Beasts must be returned whenever the owner wishes, but the person looking after the stock is not responsible for any deaths so long as he reports all cases of death or sickness and has taken reasonable precautions. "If a cow gets sick the owner will be called. He will tell them to kill it and take some of the meat". If an animal dies it must be reported immediately to the owner (umngomi) and the skin produced as proof. This custom only applies to cattle, sheep, goats and horses. Sometimes quarrels arise between the two parties which might end in the chief's court. Sometimes the umngomi will leave the cattle to increase until a number have been born and then take the best irrespective of birth. In a legitimate case where it so happens that one receives all the bull calves and the other all the heifers, they will usually make some adjustment so that the progeny are fairly apportioned. A case at Wabane's court illuminates the attitude of the society to this custom. S., a very wealthy man, ngoma'd some cattle to a man and demanded all the female progeny. The other did not agree and the case came before the chief, who ruled that the man must be given a female beast so that he could get the offspring. "He is not dependent on ploughing. What are his children going to eat?", was the comment. The whole concept is foreign to Western ideas of ownership and economic relations. This seems different to the similar

custom among the Mpondo where a share in the increase is not enforceable by law. A person who is lent cattle must usually perform services for the umnqomi such as hut building, clearing bush for fields, and generally assisting him.

"They are done ngembeko - by respect". The contract covers only the usufruct and not the disposal of the cattle and they cannot be alienated without the umnqomi's authority. Kinsmen have a special responsibility towards their relatives, and this relationship is commonest among them although not by any means confined to them.

The other custom, called isondlo, forms, with that of ukunqoma, the only instances of contract in Bhaca society, except that of ukulo6ola. It appears that it is essentially round cattle that the idea of contract has developed and the concept is closely linked with status. We see here, too, the incipient emergence of a dichotomy of society into rich and poor. In all three cases a contract is entered into by two parties (or in the case of marriage, two families) the observance of which is enforceable in the courts.

We have discussed ukunqoma; marriage will be treated in the following chapter; we must now study the custom of isondlo.

If, for some reason or other, e.g., if the parents are dead, a child is brought up by a non-relative, a special beast called inkomo yesondlo is paid to the latter before it leaves as compensation for all the trouble taken in feeding and rearing the child. Mot/hezi's husband^{died} and her young daughter ~~was~~^{was} brought up by Sityebi. Her son was grown up, and when the daughter was old enough to marry, the son asked Mot/hezi to fetch the girl home "so that she would know her place". A fat heifer had to be paid before the girl could return. If this inkomo yesondlo had not been paid an action would have lain at the chief's court.

But the most outstanding feature of present-day Bhaca economic life is the institution of migrant labour and the absence of a very high percentage of males from the area for long periods of time. With the imposition of political control over the Bhaca and the accompanying taxation of all men over the age of eighteen to provide revenue⁽¹⁾, Bhaca

(1) Figures and information from the office of the N.R.C., Mount Frere.

young men have been forced to leave home and seek employment outside the reserves. This is the only way in which they can obtain the necessary money - although, as we have seen, a small number are employed within the reserve as storeboys and odd job men with traders, dipping foremen, domestic servants, etc. - and the very great majority leave the reserve at some time of their life for a greater or lesser period. Formerly the main destinations of this migrant stream of potential labour were the Witwatersrand, where they were employed on the gold mines, or Natal, where they worked on the sugar plantations, or in the coal mines, but since the World War of 1939-45, which saw a great increase in industrialisation, and a resulting increase in scope for unskilled and semi-skilled labour, an increasing number are going to the large urban areas of Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, East London and Pietermaritzburg, where they are employed in industry, commerce and domestic employment. This development is causing concern in mining circles and difficulty has been experienced in maintaining the quota of labour necessary to keep the mining industry going. Recourse is made to the recruiting system for this purpose.

The labour organisation operating among the Bhaca in the Mount Frere district is the Native Recruiting Corporation which is the main body of this type in South Africa, south of Lat. 22 degrees South. North of this line, in the Rhodesias and Portuguese East Africa, the affiliated body, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, taps the labour resources in those territories. The headquarters of the Native Recruiting Corporation is in Johannesburg and each district has an office through which the recruiting is effected. Traders are also appointed as recruiting agents for a small remuneration. In the Mount Frere district, however, this is an unimportant method of recruitment and, in 1948, out of 2,472 men handled by the offices of the Native Recruiting Corporation, only 270 were recruited by traders. This is in sharp contrast to certain other areas, particularly some districts in Pondoland, where the great bulk of the recruiting is done by this means. In dealing with the figures for the Bhaca I take those for the Mount Frere district as a whole, as, although there are a small number of non-Bhaca in the area, for practical purposes they correspond with the figures for the Bhaca⁽¹⁾.

(1) Figures and information from the office of the N.R.C., Mount Frere.

It is calculated that there are 16,881 registered male tax-payers in the district, and it is from this group that recruits to the mines are drawn. Once a boy turns eighteen he is eligible for a poll tax of £1, and, although all males should register on attaining that age, in practice only those who go out to work and apply for a pass are registered. As we have seen, in the absence of specific puberty ceremonies to mark the attainment of manhood among the Bhaca, the going out to work is the sign of manhood, and the great majority leave home as soon after reaching the age limit as possible. The only other exceptions are students, but when they apply for a pass they must produce proof that they have been at school in the intervening years since turning eighteen, or else they must pay back tax.

Of this 16,881 potential labour force, ~~at~~ⁱⁿ certain proportion (no figures available) are not eligible because of age ~~and~~^{as} the mines only take men between the ages of 18 and 45. The following are the figures for the years, 1947, 1948, to August 1949:- *

FIGURE VIII

Year	Number Proceeding to Mines.	Percentage of Total Tax-payers.
1947	2,891	17.12
1948	2,472	14.64
1949 (to August)	2,250	?

* I was unable to get detailed figures prior to 1947.

It will be noticed that there has been a drop from 1947 to 1948, but from the figures available in 1949, it appears that the number leaving for the mines will be slightly higher in that year. I could not get figures for the years previous to 1947, but was informed that the figures had dropped considerably, mainly due to the aforementioned toward movement for employment in wartime industry.

It is interesting to compare the percentage of tax-payers proceeding to the mines from Mount Erere with those for the neighbouring districts of Pondoland. The relevant percentages are:-

Flagstaff	13.9%
Tabankulu	23.24%
Lusikisiki	15.0%

Of these three districts Tabankulu is the most backward

educationally, and it is significant that here we find the highest percentage of emigrants to the mines. It is an established fact that the more advanced a people are, the ^{less} ~~more~~ attracted they are to mine work. The Bhaca are relatively advanced educationally (there are three secondary schools, with approximately 185 pupils, 76 primary schools and one industrial school for girls, thus giving approximately one school, of any type, to every 624.4 units of population) and it is possible that this drop in numbers is due to the spreading of education.

Two systems of recruitment are employed by the Native Recruiting Corporation, one by contract in which the organisation undertakes to pay the railfare of the recruit. An advance of £3 is also made, if required, and this and the railfare is deducted from the first month's wages. The other method is the voluntary service system, whereby a man agrees to go to the Rand on his own and engage himself to a mine. The minimum period of work under this system is 120 shifts or 4 months. The recruit is allowed to choose the mine at which he wishes to work, whereas under the contract system a man is delegated to a mine and must work 270 shifts (10½ months). On the mines, wages vary from a basic wage of £3-12-6 per month up to £10 or £12 per month for highly skilled workers. A bonus of 5/- per month is paid to those who work longer than the stipulated 270 shifts or who return within six months, an indication of the importance attached to experience and the necessity of building up a skilled labour force - extremely difficult under the present system of migrant labour. One of the recognised drawbacks to the migrant labour system is that the labour force is continually changing, and there is little opportunity of working up a stabilised supply of labour. It is generally agreed that the 270 shift system is the most unpopular among the natives, and in 1948, of 2,472 natives proceeding to the mines, only 260 (11%) went under the contract system. On the mines the labour force is well housed and fed under scientific supervision, a necessary provision as malnutrition and disease make the majority of recruits initially incapable of strenuous labour.

It is extremely difficult to assess the amount of money brought into the Mount Frere district by mine labourers as techniques are limited: an approximate figure only can be arrived at. In calculating this I have used the

following sources:-

- (1) Per Native Recruiting Corporation system of remittances - 1948-1949.
- (2) Number of registered letters taken at £5 per letter (average) passing through the Mount Frere Post Office during the year, May 1948 - June, 1949.
- (3) Per Post Office Telegram Money Orders, (almost exclusively native) 1948-1949.

In 1947 the sum of £29,997, of which £17,733 was by 4,717 remittances, was paid through the Mount Frere office of the organisation under the system of remitting part of the wage to dependants and payable in the reserves - the labourer's wages being debited with the account. The balance of £12,264 was brought back into the reserve by 1323 mine labourers.

In the following year (1948) £17,163 was remitted by 4,268 remittances, and an almost equal sum of £17,478 brought in by 1,919 boys. In addition to this we must add the £3 contract allowance payable before leaving, and, as this is usually given to the wife, approximately an additional £8,673 enters the territory (working on the 1947 figures). It is impossible to assess accurately the total revenue of the district as there are no figures for urban and other mine workers - these figures only apply to the gold mines.

I calculate the (very approximate) income of the district as follows:-

FIGURE IX.

(Figures relate to the year 1948-49)

Mount Frere Post Office (Registered letters - at £5)	£366,350
Mount Frere Post Office (Telegram Money Orders)	4,000 (approx.)
Per Native Recruiting Corporation	<u>34,642</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>£404,992</u>

therefore about £8 per year per head of the population. Most of this is spent in the reserves although some goes out of the district in school fees - a very small proportion. Generally speaking, the Bhaca does not like a mine job.

An interesting fact is that they are the only South African Bantu tribe who will do sanitary work and night soil removal. The Municipal sanitary compound at Orlando, Native Township, Johannesburg is almost entirely staffed by Bhaca who form almost a closed society in this work. Apart from natural distaste for the work, members of other tribes say that if they did sanitary work the Bhaca would thakatha (bewitch) them. The Bhaca themselves say that the work is easy and the pay good - but this still does not explain their strange preference. The Bhaca, too, do not seem to take kindly to urbanisation and very few are met with in the townships round Johannesburg. (1)

Much has been said by writers on African social change of the far-reaching effects of migratory labour on tribal life. The fact that large numbers of young men leave their homes at an impressionable age and come into contact with Western Civilisation in its most highly developed form is said to have the effect of making the labourer dissatisfied with tribal life - a powerful agent for change. My impression is, however, that the labourer is not greatly affected in his attitude to the major tribal institutions of the authority of the chiefs and headmen, the sacred ingcube ceremony, customs of marriage and initiation, etc., by his periodic sojourns in the city. Young men freshly back from the mines slip effortlessly back into the life of the iindlavini gangs, and I have seen young men, just back from Johannesburg in all the sophistication of European dress:- the next day, I have met the same young men in the ragged trousers, and carrying the two sticks, of the indlavini. Most of the advisers and prominent men at the headman's court have been labourers at some time. Rather is it the small coterie of educated people who are the main instigators of change in Bhaca society (2).

- (1) From personal observation during welfare and administrative work with the Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Dept. and from conversations with Africans in the townships.
- (2) This does not, of course, minimise the sociological importance on family and economic life of migrant labour discussed elsewhere, but rather refers to the attitude of the migrant labourer to tribal institutions. The fact that a large proportion of males is away at any one time has far-reaching effects on the efficacy of agriculture, on the parental authority, on the incidence of adultery and prostitution and on the health, and spreading of disease of the migrants. (For a more detailed treatment of these points, see I. Schapera: Migrant Labour and Tribal Life.)

In the above chapter we have discussed in some detail the manner in which the society of the Bhaca is rooted in the environment, and the effect economic organisation has on social relations. Thus are the human units maintained and the wellbeing of the community assured. We must now discuss the renewal of these units, and the perpetuation of the social structure by marriage.

CHAPTER V.THE PERPETUATION OF BHACA SOCIETY: MARRIAGE.

The structure which we have described in Chapter II, with its network of relations operating between the 'fixed points' of biologically and sociologically determined statuses, may be considered for all practical purposes as being static. This concept must not leave out of account the slow and gradual changes that develop internally, proceeding from the society itself, and even more so, the vast changes resulting from contact with the virile and dominant Western Civilization which will be discussed in a later chapter. For the purpose of this study, however, we shall speak of the skeletal form or structure of society as constant. Without the human units that go to make up the society, social structure is an abstraction - it does not exist: it is only in the human factor that it finds reality. This being so the various positions (statuses) of the society must constantly be filled as they become vacant through the death of their holders, and this is effected through the universal institution of marriage. It will be noted that statuses are not necessarily filled directly through marriage. There is a definite change of status for those who enter the marriage contract - in Bhaca society the attainment of full adulthood and tribal membership - but, as we have seen (Chap. III), the majority of positions in society are reached only through a lengthy period of education, growth and development of personality. The new-born baby starts life without status - it has not yet been endowed with a social personality: it is only when the developing mind and personality of the child makes an impact on the emotions of those around, and it is given a name, that the baby attains a status, one that can be regarded as the lowest in the social scale. From then on the attainment of status comes with age, intelligence and personality, with the exception of birth. Birth determines status irrespective of the latter two criteria mentioned above. An eldest son holds his favourable position by right of birth alone and birth determines political authority, as in the case of chiefs and headmen. A large and important category of statuses thus stems from birth. It appears, then, that both in its biological origins and sociologically, the function of marriage is to ensure the continuity of society.

Marriage, therefore, is fundamental to society, and, apart from its effect on status, has a far-reaching influence on social relations generally. The rule of exogamy dictates that a man may not marry into his father's clan, mother's clan or the clans of his maternal or paternal grandmothers. This necessitates marriage outside the primary and secondary structural units with their strong genocentricity and the introduction of a stranger from some other group, either from within or without the tribe. This latter position is quite common among the Bhaca. To ascertain the incidence of marriage with non-Bhaca I investigated 78 marriages in the Mhlot/heni location.

FIGURE X.

Analysis of Bhaca Marriage
(Mhlot/heni, August, 1949)

<u>Type.</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
With Bhaca	46	59.4
With Hlu6i	19	24.3
With Mpondo	3	3.8
With Mpondomise	3	3.8
With Zulu	1	1.2
With Xesibe	4	5.1
With Sotho	1	1.2
With mfengu (Fingo)	<u>1</u>	<u>1.2</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>100</u>

It will be seen that there is considerable inter-marriage with Hlu6i, despite the fact that the Hlu6i circumcise and the Bhaca do not, and, to a much lesser extent, with other groups. The low incidence of marriage with the Mpondo is interesting as Mhlot/heni lies on the border of Pondoland (Tabankulu district), and we have noted the extensive historical contacts with the Mpondo of Faku's time. Marriage outside the family group constitutes an attack on the genocentricity, the solidarity, of the group and arouses conflicting emotions in the minds of the members. On the one hand the bride's family is losing a member, an important loss to a small group which is its own economic and producing unit: on the other, the groom's family has to assimilate a stranger, and we shall note how these problems are handled by the culture in our description of the betrothal, marriage and other ceremonies. It is obvious that the conflicts are heightened when the

marriage is between people of different tribes: where the bride's family is well-known to the groom's, with possible already-existing patterns of friendship, the stresses will not be so keenly felt by the families concerned. For it is between families, rather than individuals, that the contract of marriage takes place. Before analysis of the social changes brought about by marriage we must translate the concept into factual and descriptive terms.

Premarital sexual experience.

Children early become acquainted with the facts of sex. One of the first games played by young children is called indize, a type of hide-and-seek, in which the girls hide themselves and the boys look for them. Frequently opportunity is taken on these occasions for sexual play between boy and girl, - usually when the children are between the ages of five to ten. Although children do not sleep in the same hut as their parents - usually sleeping in the kitchen hut with a widowed grandmother - they learn much from the talk of adults who discuss sexual matters frequently in their presence. After about the age of eight, young boys and girls meet together at night, "especially if the moon is shining", and dance and sing, afterwards sleeping together in each other's arms. Parents know about this but do not seem to mind "as long as their children are happy." Often these youngsters play at being married and a boy, calling himself the 'father', will take a 'wife' from among the girls. The younger ones are called 'sons' and 'daughters'. This type of erotic play tends to stop at about the age of eleven. At the age of puberty, when the girl's breasts begin to develop and the pubic hair to grow, the young people consider themselves grown up. This seems a difficult period, as it is among ourselves, when the young people are not of an age yet to be allowed complete liberty and are under the surveillance of parental eyes.

Girls after the age of about 12, and boys from about fifteen, attend the gatherings of young people for singing and dancing, called iindlam⁽¹⁾. Iindlam are often organized when a new hut has been built and the owner wants the earthen floor to be tramped hard. Young people are invited from the surrounding locations, singing and dancing continue far into the

(1)

Iindlam is, more specifically, the name of the stamping dance very popular among Bhaca young people.

night, and after the ukubita ('calling out' - described earlier) the boys and girls pair off and sleep together. Iindlam are usually organized by an older youth called inkosi (chief) who acts as compère and sees that everyone has a partner. The next morning the inkosi thrusts a short kerrie called isigweba into the thatch above the door and each girl who has allowed intercourse to take place must go up and touch it. If a girl does so, her partner is 'safe'; if not he must forfeit some article of clothing and may have to pay up to 10/-, (usually 2/6) to the inkosi to get it back. The money is used to buy something for all the young people present, e.g. sweets or tobacco, and the forfeiter himself will get a share of these.

These customs bring us to the consideration of the institution called by the Bhaca ukut/hina (Xh. ukumet/ha, Zulu, ukuhlobonga). This has been defined by van Tromp⁽¹⁾ as "an external sexual play between the thighs of the girl who is not supposed to lie on her back but on her side while the young man has his penis between her thighs", and is thus a type of external intercourse. Ukut/hina is a socially approved custom, and young people at the age of puberty are instructed in its techniques. The mothers of young girls, particularly, stress the dangers of uncontrolled sexual intercourse, and for a girl to become pregnant by a lover is considered a very deep disgrace. The Bantu conception is that sex is natural and good, and it is only when it creates problems in the society - problems of illegitimacy, inheritance and paternity - that it becomes anti-social and therefore wrong. Morality tends to be identified with the social good. To facilitate intercourse the Bhaca remove the pubic hair, either by means of a razor blade or a pair of scissors, and boys are enjoined to sleep on their right side, the girls on their left. The original technique seems to have been for the girl to draw the beadwork apron (isikhakha) between her legs to prevent penetration. Some wear a cloth loincloth called isi/u6a or ingcubala (worn by men and girls when performing the iindlam which involves the lifting of the leg to above shoulder height and stamping hard on the ground) when going to their lovers for the same purpose, but to-day this method is falling into disuse, the isikhakha being discarded, and the man merely being careful that there is no

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Van Tromp: The Xhosa Law of Persons - Page 20.

penetration. From investigations among "school people" there appears to be a breakdown of even these controls, complete intercourse being practised, with a resulting increase of illegitimacy (no figures available). Sexual laxity appears to be fairly widespread among young people proceeding to and from school by bus and train, and, generally speaking, the strict regulations formerly attendant on premarital intercourse are disappearing. Ukut/hina is also practised between spouses during the weaning period when it is considered a great disgrace to conceive.

Formerly, and still to-day among most pagans, girls are periodically examined by their mothers to ascertain whether they are still virgin⁽¹⁾. If a girl is found to be deflowered, she is mocked by her girl friends who will say "Uliholoholo" (you are hollow) or "Uyimbo6o", from imbo6o, a hole). She might even be thrashed by her mother and clan sisters, but, apparently, no special mocking songs are sung as among the Kgatla. If a girl has lost her virginity the man responsible will be forced to pay an ox (called inkomo yestawangu). Actually the wearing of the isikhakha by a girl is, in itself, a sign of virginity, - or at least that she has not born a child, for if she has done so she is not allowed by custom to wear it. Considerable difficulty can be caused by the neglect of this custom. Samente, a local boy, went to the Rand to work and while there wrote to his father to get him a wife. This was done and the first instalments of the ikhazi cattle paid over, but when Samente returned home he found his wife without her isikhakha. By custom the bead apron may only be removed by the husband on the wedding night, and then permanently, and Samente suspected that his father had had relations with the girl. The case came before Wabane at Lugangeni where the father of the girl pleaded that he did not know the custom. He was fined a beast called inkomo yokugcwalisa intfombi, that is, 'the

(1)

See Kohler, M., Marriage Customs in S. Natal (N.A.D. Ethnol. Public., Vol. 4), 1933, for a discussion whether this is possible by the means at the disposal of native midwives. He comes to the conclusion that it is not.

beast to make the girl whole'. A deflowered girl is said to be 'not full', and the beast was given to remedy this. Samente's father was also fined another beast 'for telling lies and saying that he did not know the custom!' - an indication of its continued virility in the culture. Most Christian girls still wear the isikhakha; if a girl is seen without it, even for one day, her friends will tease her saying that she is not a virgin, but some of the more educated have adopted European knickers. Lovers exchange gifts. The girl gives the man tobacco and matches and makes the bead squares called udansothando of patterned red, green, black, white and blue beads which are pinned to the shirts and trousers. The money for the beads (expensive at the present time) is begged from parents who invariably give it to her. Among 'school people' an apron embroidered with the name of the girl is sometimes given to a lover and worn by him at weddings and dances. Men give their sweethearts sweets, sugar and clothes, especially at ingcube time. Informants say that ukut/hina is also common among 'school people' despite the opposition of the churches, but it is not done publicly as at the pagan iindlam, and "it couldn't be known by the parents". Daughters are punished severely if caught with a young man, warned on a first offence, and thrashed if they do not heed. Chastity is emphasised at church meetings of girls, and members are asked individually if they have stopped going to boys. In most churches the work among the girls is supervised by a woman called umgcinisihlalo ('one who keeps the place' i.e. of the minister's wife). She is selected from among the members of the manyano (Women's Association) and must be a faithful, intelligent and keen church worker. If it comes to the ears of a minister that a girl is t/hina'ing he will usually wait and see whether the umgcinisihlalo has noticed it and is doing her work properly. She should report the matter to the minister's wife and ask leave to scold the girl at the next girl's meeting. If the girl is caught again she might be struck off the register and prohibited from taking communion. Despite the consequences "the church girls do not go without ukut/hina".

Sometimes a young man has intercourse with more than one girl at a time, and frequently at a wedding a popular youth might be chosen by two or three girls. In that case, according to Mfa6a, he ukut/hina's with all, telling them to decide which one is to receive his favours first. Gqwira was said

to have fifteen lovers in various locations. This is quite in order to the Bhaca mind. A man is allowed to have more than one wife through the institution of polygamy, what more natural than that he should have a plurality of lovers. This does not apply to girls, and, although a girl may sometimes have many lovers, if she favours more than one at a time she lays herself open to being called unondindwa (prostitute) by her companions. Parents do not like their daughter to have too many lovers at one time, for if the girl does become pregnant great difficulty is experienced in finding who is the father. One girl, who had four known lovers, became pregnant and it was decided to wait and see whom the baby resembled most. Special medicines are used to cause love; others to prevent the alienation of the loved one's affections by rivals. In some cases medicine is smeared on the hands, so that when the girl is caressed she will 'absorb' the magical essence and be unable to prevent herself from falling in love with the youth. Another method (among many others) is to grind the leaves of a certain plant, mix it with saliva and the blood from scratches made on the chest, and smear it on a sweet to be given to the girl to eat. If a man is in love with a girl known to be a flirt, he will use a special class of medicine called uthintela (prevention) directed against the rival. (High school boys use the English word 'submarine' for a person who steals another's girl: a stout, well-built pagan girl is contemptuously known as a 'studebaker', a more Europeanized and slender type of beauty being now preferred by the sophisticated!). This type of medicine operates in various ways. Some, when surreptitiously smeared on the girl, will prevent the rival from getting an erection, others cause paralysing pain after intercourse with her, the man being easily caught by the girl's father "as he will sit groaning in her hut and will not go away at dawn". To all these medicines there are other counter measures, and we have noted the precautions taken by iindlavini against hostile magic when we discussed the ukubita and inkhandela customs. (Chap. III).

Far from being disapproved of, the custom of love-making is actively encouraged by parents - always with the proviso, however, that pregnancy does not take place. When a girl has a lover she usually tells her mother, as she has been previously advised that if she gets a lover she must report it to her parents "that they might get something out of the man." The father is notified, and the mother tells

the girl to inform the man that "she is no longer sleeping outside", and that she has been given a special hut (intsanga) which is so situated that proximity to the father's hut will not constitute too much of a deterrent to the ardent lover. The girl is also enjoined to take the necessary precautions against conception. After the man has arrived the father will lock the door of his daughter's hut to prevent escape, and will wait until morning, and, armed with sticks and perhaps an assegai (for he may have to protect himself), will enter the girl's hut before dawn. If he catches the man with his daughter he will confiscate his clothes and will give him a blanket with which to cover his nakedness. A fine of £5 must be paid before the clothes can be redeemed, but after this has been given the man is entitled to visit the girl in her hut as often as he likes. In no way, however, does this constitute a promise or even offer of marriage. The fine paid is called umnyobo and is really an exchange of gifts. The whole thing savours of an elaborate joke. The young man goes to the girl in the knowledge that he may be caught, and often, as we have seen, the daughter and parents are in connivance. Young men boast of their escapades and are proud of being called iisoka (bachelors loved by many girls). An accredited lover is a frequent visitor at the girl's hut where he is given food and hospitality, and the girl's father must buy her beads (u6uhlalu) so that she may make the multi-coloured beadwork squares or love-tokens, (udansothando). Sometimes a lover escapes, (Mfa6a often related his narrow escapes from irate fathers), but if a girl's father or brother recognises him, the girl will be sent the next morning to the kraal of the youth (ukunyo6isa). When she arrives at his kraal she will tell them that she has been sent by her father. No mention will be made of what has happened; merely that So-and-so has escaped. The youth's father will immediately question his son and the money for the clothes (from £1 to £5 usually - £6 often at Mhlot/heni) is sent. It is believed that the girl must not eat anything which has been bought with this money, for if she does so she will be an isi/umani or u6ulu - a girl who is not loved. Makhosonke, a youth from Rode, was recognised by the father of Faniswa as he left her hut at sunrise. Faniswa was forced to go to her lover's umti accompanied by another girl and ask for the umnyobo. She refused tea and coffee as one is not supposed to eat at the home of one's lover. During my stay at Glen Holey, Phiwu came to the store one morning to sell a

sheep. He had been caught with a girl, and, because he was the first man she had had intercourse with, the umnyobo was £9 - unusually high. The passing of the umnyobo does not constitute a permanent right to the girl, and a father may allow a man free access to his daughter for a few weeks or months, and then demand fresh payment if the relationship is to continue. Informants, commenting on this, stated that "men regard their daughters as banks", and the local evangelist constantly inveighed against the custom in his sermons, particularly attacking the custom of building the girl's hut a little way apart from the others. Opinion is not always lenient. Nomaqha/u, the daughter of M/iya, was found with a lover. M/iya, a staunch church-goer, set on him with a sjambok, while the women folk of the kraal joined in, scratching and biting the youth. Neighbours eventually fetched M/iya's brother who stopped the fight. When asked why he had beaten the boy so severely, M/iya said that he wanted payment, and was told that he should have merely locked the hut, as is the custom. £5 had to be paid as umnyobo. At Mhlot/heni the custom is that if a girl has been found with a man she must no longer go to school, but this seems to be observed only by those who are not particularly interested in education. After the affair just related Nomaqha/u did not attend school for some days, but was seen in a school gym dress about a week after. Sometimes a beast is given in place of money for the umnyobo. The umnyobo beast or money can be sued for in the courts. After inkhandela girls are still often examined by their mothers to ascertain whether they are still virgins.⁽¹⁾ After a marriage at Skuni's umti Noyekela was found deflowered and was asked who was her lover. She refused to say, and was thrashed and told to go and ukunyo6isa at his kraal. Later, she confessed that Jabulane has phosa'd (used love magic, see Chap. on magic) her, and a case demanding the umnyobo beast was brought before the headman. Jabulane had to pay the beast. Later it was revealed by a friend of Noyekela that when visiting Pondoland she had

(1) Girls are becoming increasingly opposed to this physical examination - especially the more educated 'school people'.

been friendly with a man there, and it was possible that it was he who had deflowered her. The last I heard of the matter was that Jabulane wanted the case tried again to get his beast back.

Pregnancy, however, is not countenanced. Informants say that if a girl is found, on examination, to have lost her virginity, the mother and her friends would take sticks and go to the kraal of the man responsible, threatening to thrash him if he did not give them a beast as a fine. The name of this beast is variously given as inkomo yethuli ('ox of the dust', they have been travelling), inkomo kanina ('beast of the mother', whose care in preserving the virginity of the girl intact had been set at naught), or inkomo yesidwangu. The women refuse to depart until the beast is given; it is thereupon taken home and eaten. Although men might eat of the meat it belongs to the women. Others say that if a girl is impregnated a fine of five head of cattle is levied, "two for the seduction and three for the child", and, if a girl is deflowered, the beast called inkomo yesidwangu is given to the girl's mother as compensation. If an icuphathi (Xh. idikazi, prostitute) is made pregnant, the baby will be brought up at the home of the maternal grandfather, and the man responsible might be sued for 2 head of cattle - one for isondlo, or maintenance (to repay the grandfather for expenses in bringing up the child), and the other to compensate the father or brother of the girl. "The father or brother may need one." In cases of seduction the damage is not conceived as to the girl concerned, but rather to her guardian, whether father, grandfather or elder brother. It is he who suffers from the reduced marriageable quality of the girl, and it is he who must be compensated in the courts. It will be seen later that this right is transferred to the husband of a woman on marriage, and that fines for adultery are payable to him.

The introduction of Christianity has, as we have seen, effected a change in the attitude to extra-marital sex relations. Sex tends to be equated with sin, and the ukut/hina and umnyobo customs described above are strenuously opposed ~~and~~ ^{and} preached against by all the churches in the district. The fundamental character of the sex urge, however, has been an almost insuperable obstacle. Also, even if they could prevent their children from indulging in premarital intercourse, it is certain that many parents themselves do not think that it is intrinsically wrong. The influence of the

surrounding paganism, too, although it is fast disappearing, nominally at least, tends to keep alive these indigenous concepts of morality. Christians forbid their children to attend pagan marriages and ceremonies, but other activities are growing up to fill this gap. Young people, especially those who have been to school, gather periodically in huts for dances, usually in the European manner, to the music of a gramophone or harmonium, and jive and jitterbug are very popular. The influence of modern swing and syncopation is beginning to appear in the indigenous music, and the verb ukujiwa (to jive) is an accepted addition to the vocabulary of the sophisticated. A popular song at Mhlot/heni was 'UJoni ujiva' i.e. 'John is jiving !' Pairing off for sexual intercourse almost invariably follows these functions which thus differ little in fact from the iinkhandela of the pagans. Nevertheless Christians pay lip service to the ideal of premarital chastity, and some churches insist that a girl who has been deflowered may not wear a veil or be married in a church, but in the minister's study. Wedding-cakes are usually made by the trader's wife, and it is believed that if the cake breaks while being removed from the baking-tin, the bride is not a virgin. An instance of this arose while I was staying at Glen Holey. A cake had been ordered for a wedding and broke in the making. The trader's wife immediately started to make another but was asked by the young house girls why she went to the trouble of doing so. The bride was obviously not a virgin.

Taboos of incest and exogamy.

As we have seen, sexual relations are strictly excluded between certain relatives, notably those belonging to the same clan, mother's clan and clans of both grandmothers. This prohibition does not confine itself to marriage only but to any form of sexual connection, including ukut/hina, and any breach is known by the name umbulo (incest) and regarded by the society with horror. These patterns, while common to all the Nguni, are in contrast to the tribes of the Sotho group, particularly, where clan exogamy does not exist, and there is, indeed, preferential mating between cross-cousins. There are many theories to account for the universality of incest prohibitions, the most attractive probably being Malinowski's contention that their function

is to exclude the disruptive influence of sex from the local group in which co-operation and harmonious relations are imperative. This does not, however, hold true for clan exogamy where the group is not a local unit, and, while not necessarily the only or even main function, as we have seen in our study of social structure (Chap. II), an important duty of exogamy is to underline and stress in conjunction with the isiBongo, the fact of relationship in the absence of other forces such as locality. One gets the impression that the rules of exogamy are strictly adhered to in the society, and we have noticed Dingana's reaction to the suggestion that it would be safe to t/hina a girl with the same isiBongo in Johannesburg where no one would know. Christians appear to observe the rules as scrupulously as pagans. Occasionally there are lapses; I have only heard of three cases where the rule was broken, and each case with a member of the mother's clan. (a) A girl called Sent/hombi of the Gqwaru clan, whose mother's isiBongo was Zulu, married Mogole of the latter clan at Lutateni. (b) A girl of the Zulu clan married a Bele of Umzinto (Mount Ayliff), although her mother was a Bele. (c) Nkomeni of Lugangani ~~of Lugangani~~ wanted to marry his mother's brother's daughter.

In cases like the above, formerly, and apparently still occasionally to-day, the disgrace can be 'wiped away' by a special ceremony. If a couple were caught in the act of incest, or "if a couple wished to marry very badly although related", the man went to the girl's home with a white cow which was killed and eaten "so that the relationship will be spoilt" "it will be overlooked". Old men speak as if the giving of this inkomo emhlophe (white beast) was a fairly common occurrence in the old days, but, from the present-day examples quoted, it seems that, even then, it was only permitted with the mother's clan. It cannot be too often stressed, however, that violation of the incest, ^{rules} is a very rare occurrence and is bolstered up by supernatural sanctions. It is believed that, if a man or woman has committed incest, his or her child will not suckle until they confess. Other informants speak of a ceremony in which the couple caught in incest were made to sit naked on both sides of a wall, through a hole in which a strip of lightly roasted meat was passed. Each then had to nibble from either end of the strip until their faces were pressed against the wall. This custom

bears a striking resemblance to a similar one reported from among the Mpondo (Hunter op. cit. page 186). Information is meagre but it seems likely that the customs were similar and accompanied by public abuse and exhortation. It is only on the rare occasions of a clan splitting and becoming a new entity that the incest rules are relaxed. Most informants say that only a chief can cause a split, others, "~~if the two sections of a clan are on bad terms, they may split, others,~~ "if the two sections of a clan are on bad terms, they may split and intermarry". "When the generations increase they divide themselves". Theoretically it would appear that as a clan continues, in time, it will continuously increase in size, new lineages coming into existence and settling away from the original centre of settlement. As we have previously noticed, the increase in spatial distribution is correlated with a decrease in the intensity of social relations, and it is easy to envisage a stage when the sentiments aroused by the fact of relationship diminish to vanishing point. It is said that splits are caused by chiefs intermarrying with girls of the same clan, but remote branch, their subjects taking this as the cue for following suit, the Zulu kwaDidi clan genesis instanced earlier being an example. I have regrettably no detailed information on this point.

Preliminaries to marriage.

Marriage, among the Bhaca, is not surrounded with the romantic aura of the Western concept with its near-identification with the sex act and exclusive sexual possession. Sex, as we have seen, occurs outside marriage. Nevertheless the Bhaca enter into the more or less permanent relation of marriage for specific purposes which are either non-sexual, or only of a secondary sexual character. Chief of these is the procreation of children and the desire for companionship and the comforts that only a home can bring. Children are greatly desired, not only for themselves but to fulfil the universal desire for the extension of the personality after death. A man must have sons to carry on his name and to offer sacrifices to his spirit after his demise. Women, too, consider child-bearing as the ultimate fulfilment of life, and we have noted the stigma attaching to barrenness. Thus is the renewal of the human units making up the society

encouraged and endowed with high social value by the culture. The person who has not married is exceptional, and practically everyone marries once. Marriage brings with it an important change in status, for only if a man is married is he considered a full member of the tribe and to have attained complete adulthood. Children may be legally born only within the marriage bond and the passage of cattle is the sole way in which a man can obtain the legal ownership of his children. Even physical unattractiveness is not a bar to marriage. Intlantsana, a hunch-back, at Lugangeni, married an attractive girl and had two children by her, one a hunchback (ilunda). Another cripple, Nozirudu, was married during the year at Mandeleni. A man with a clubbed foot has a reputed wife. Even mentally deranged people may marry, psycho-pathic symptoms being regarded as being sent by the amathfongo. Many end up as itangoma diviners. The father of the herd-boy at Glen Holey was mentally deficient and the latter himself was backward, yet was reputed to have lovers. Occasionally one meets a person who has never married, but this does not mean that they have no sex life. Lizzie, an alert, humorous woman of about forty-five had never married and lived with her brother but had had three children by the same man. She belonged to the class of licuphathi (Xh. amadikazi - loose women). I only came across one case of a man not married. This was Buyani who was very ugly. When questioned he commented, "Oh, I am still enjoying the amadikazi." The sons of district headmen can only succeed their father if they are married. During my stay in the district, Dudumana Makaula, aged 26, got married. Although his father had been dead some years, the district had been ruled by his uncle: a few months after the wedding I heard news of his installation as headman.

Girls usually marry between the ages of sixteen and twenty, although the educated 'school people' favour later marriages. Bhaca men often marry young, from about 19 onwards, although Mzumba was 17 when he married and had paid, to date, two head of cattle for his wife. Marriages can be arranged in two ways. Sometimes it happens that the father of a youth sees a girl who attracts him, and suggests to his son that he should marry her. Occasionally a strict parent will insist on the union, but generally speaking a reluctant son will not be pressed. Occasionally, too, the father of a girl may take the initiative, if he sees a young man of an umti with whom he would like to be on terms

of friendship, but even in this case it would be tacitly indicated during the negotiations that it is really the groom's family who wanted the marriage. Magic is sometimes resorted to in such cases. "When the young man is visiting the girl's home, but shows no sign of interest in the girl, her mother will put some medicine into the tea or food, called unandanga phakathsi, ('something that expands itself inside') which will cause love to be aroused". It is considered a great disgrace for a girl to directly approach a man on marriage. If she did so he would say, "Ufuna ukundzigaaba ngantfo ni?" ("What do you want to smear me with" (i.e. medicine): do you want to kill me?"). As among the Mpondo, it is only for the daughter of a chief that advances may be made, for the honour of aspiring to her hand is severely counter-balanced by the number of ikhazi cattle which would be demanded.

The most usual method, however, is for the two young people directly concerned to agree to marriage. In the olden days, it is said that if a man fell in love with a girl he would indicate to her parents that he was a prospective suitor by merely standing in front of her hut. The father, knowing his mission, would tell his daughter to open the door to him and they will both go into the hut and talk, getting to know one another. Informants said that it was regarded as a serious breach of etiquette if the young man thereafter met the girl clandestinely, at the river for example. The whole affair had to be overt and above-board. The next day the man would come again and the girl had to be there to receive him and talk to him to his satisfaction. If the girl decided to agree to marriage, the parents were informed and from then on the young man could visit the girl at her home and ukut/hina with her. It will be noted that in this case the confiscation of clothes for the umnyobo was not resorted to. The suitor was given food and hospitality, and the girl's brothers pestered him for tobacco. After a few days, however, a lump of cow dung was brought from the cattle kraal and placed in the doorway of the girl's hut (intsanga). "It is speaking and saying it is time that you paid the umnyobo of a beast or five goats." After the young man had paid this the girl would make the bead ornaments and love tokens referred to previously. The custom was known as utikili, from the verb ukutika, "to be free to visit", and was a form of social control, ensuring that if the girl was deflowered her parents would know who had done it. The term

is seldom heard to-day, but is still occasionally used for the umnyobo custom. If, for any reason, the girl wished to leave the man she had to inform her parents. To-day, the decision to marry usually comes when, after years of love-making with many girls, a young man eventually decides to settle down with a girl who, he believes, will make him a good wife. Every Bhaca wants, above all else, to have a son to carry on his name; through his progeny he attains immortality. This being so he talks to the girl, and, if she is willing, she will tell him to speak to her parents about the matter. From this point onwards the affair is, so to speak, taken out of the hands of the two young people concerned and becomes the affair of their respective families. As we have noticed, there do not seem to be many cases of girls being forced to marry. This seems to be due to the fact that most marriages are first arranged between the young couple concerned, and only then are the parents informed. "A man goes to the girl first, not her parents; if he does so the father will say, 'Am I a girl, go and speak to my daughter'. As we shall see, the marriage negotiations are never conducted vis-à-vis between the people most directly concerned, the givers of the lobolo cattle (the groom and his father), and their receiver (the bride's father).

Apart from the formal type of marriage introduced above (umt/hato wesicelo, umt/hato webozo), there are two other variant forms, the abduction (ukuthwala), and the elopement (ukugcagcisa). To-day, and possibly formerly, these forms of marriage appear even more common than the full-dress variety. School people, when asked, will say of the amaqaba (pagan) marriages, "Oh, they just take the girl and live together". The elopement seems by far the most common, and the main difference between it and the abduction is that in the latter case the girl is taken against her will. "A man speaks to a girl and she agrees that they should marry. The man takes her to his home and they sleep together, the man trying to deflower the girl so that he will 'spoil her'". Unlike the Ixopo Bhaca (see Kohler, - Marriage Customs of Southern Natal), the man does not usually tell his father about it until all is over. Mamakhubalo met her future husband at a wedding. It was a love match and they t/hina'd for some time before they decided to marry. The same day the man, Ungaphi, took her to his home and hid her. They had intercourse and the next morning he left her in his hut and went to the kitchen hut and asked for food for "someone in my hut". The father

was then informed and a goat slaughtered 'to welcome the girl'. Mamakhubalo was then sent back home with some of her husband's people (abayeni) taking with them four head of cattle as the first instalment of the ikhazi. When they arrived they explained what had happened and were told to continue with the lobolo. As 'they wanted the girl soon' six more head of cattle were sent to make up the requisite ten (see below). When the abayeni report at the girl's kraal they may be told to pay the seduction beast (inkomo yethuli, yesidwangu) as well as the ikhazi. If they refuse they may be warned that it will be taken from among the ikhazi cattle, and an extra one will have to be paid. This beast will belong to the girl's mother.

The defloration is resorted to in case the girl's father opposes the match; he is hardly likely to do so if his daughter has been 'spoilt' and her potential marriageability lowered. From other information this appears to be a typical case. If the father does disapprove of the marriage, the girl will have to be returned with a beast as a fine for the defloration. It is called inkomo yesidwangu⁽¹⁾, and is regarded as an 'evil' beast, being slaughtered below the cattle kraal, not inside it as is usual. Informants say that fathers in this predicament are often very angry and may forbid the marriage altogether, but if a girl is very much in love with a man she may marry him without the father's consent. Kinsmen are usually consulted by the father, the points at issue being mainly the wealth of the groom's people and their ability to pay the ikhazi cattle. Other important considerations are social position, and whether there has been any accusations of witchcraft against either family. The girl too must be well-behaved and industrious. Kinship ties are gone into so that the rules of exogamy are not infringed. It does not seem that foreign clans are looked down upon and we have seen the comparatively high incidence of intermarriage with other tribes. Generally speaking the choice of a mate seems fairly wide.

The main difference between the ukugcagcisa and the

(1) Other names appear to be inkomo kanima, and inkomo yethuli (See above)

and the abduction proper is the absence in the latter of the consent of the girl, although this is often more apparent than real. Sometimes, instead of approaching her father, a young man will arrange with his friends to carry off the girl when the opportunity arises, often when she has gone down to the stream for water, or to the store. The operation of the thwala technique is an extremely dramatic and noisy business. The girl is dragged along screaming, often encouraged with blows and threats, and, from experience, the impression is one of murder and sudden death. Not all of this, however, must be taken on its face value. It is considered unseemly that a girl should show undue enthusiasm for marriage (this is coupled, as we shall see, with the reaction of the local group to disruption), and much of the screaming and struggling is done for effect. On one occasion the trader at Buffalo Neck stopped a thwala party. The men made off, but the girl turned on the trader and swore at him for interfering. A moment before she had been screaming and sobbing hysterically. There are, however, genuine cases where a girl is abducted against her will. When they reach the man's kraal the girl is forceably deflowered, and the abayeni sent to negotiate as before, after the man's father has conferred with his closest clan relations and they are satisfied that the union with the girl's family is suitable. If so, the marriage will be permitted to take its course. Occasionally some time elapses before the final consummation of the marriage. A young girl with the goatskin of a newly-married bride came to the store with a female relation to buy the materials for her wedding. She had been gcagcisa'd by a man a few months before and the final ceremony was only now taking place. Both the elopement and the abduction are variants of the same form of marriage, and there does not appear to be a very clear-cut distinction in the Bhaca mind between the two. The usual term used for any non-arranged match is ukugcagcisa, and no stigma or disgrace attaches to couples married in this manner. I have very little information on the relative incidences of the various types of marriage but the great majority appear to be of the ukugcagcisa variety. Engaged girls among the pagans allow their hair to grow preparatory to smearing it with clay and ochre and twisting into the ringlets for the distinctive

coiffure, and can thus be distinguished by the bushy appearance of their hair.

We must now describe the details of the marriage ceremonial. The dichotomy between Christian and non-Christian has brought about extensive changes in this, as in so many other spheres, so it seems more logical to treat the two types of marriage separately.

Pagan marriage ceremonial (umt/hato webozo, wesicelo)⁽¹⁾

The following description relates to an arranged match. When a young couple agree to marry, the girl will tell her lover to speak to her parents about the matter. They decide on a day on which the representatives of the man's family will be sent to discuss the marriage, and she is told to warn her parents* ^{in order} ~~mother~~ that beer may be ready to welcome them. The girl will then return home and tell her parents that on such and such a day 'certain people' will arrive. By this it is understood that a marriage is being arranged, and the people of the umti will begin preparing for the guests. The young man, on his part, goes home and informs his father. Discrete enquiries will immediately be made regarding the family of the girl, if they are not already known to the man's family, - their status, wealth, whether they are easy to get on with and would make good relatives-in-laws, and whether the girl has a reputation for hard work, and is good-natured and diligent. More emphasis is placed on congeniality than on wealth in a society in which co-operation is a necessity of existence, and where differences in wealth (especially formerly) were confined practically to the possession of herds. Neither the father nor the son plays any personal part in the negotiations for the wedding. Two men of his group are selected. One should be a kinsman, "so that if the ikhazi cattle are not paid satisfactorily he can stand for it", and is frequently an elder or younger brother - the 6awomkhulu or 6awomncane of the groom; the other can be any close friend and is usually an old and trusted friend of the family. They represent the groom's father and take his place as principals in the lobola transactions which are the main object of the

(1) Pagan weddings occur very rarely among the Bhaca to-day. The following account was pieced together and checked from a number of informants.

following negotiations. These go-betweeners are called abayeni or abakwenyana. They take two or three beasts with them with which to open the negotiations. Apparently these are not the true imvula' mlomo which is paid later to 'open the mouth' of the father and are merely called iinkomo yekhazi (the cattle of the ikhazi). One, however, is the engagement (isinyaniso) beast or iinkomo yekhazi, which marks the formal betrothal of the couple (see below).

They arrive at the girl's umti with the cattle and wait with them in front of the cattle kraal until someone comes out and greets them. It will be remembered that the girl's people have been informed by her of their coming and all is in readiness. The abayeni are directed to a certain hut prepared for them, and the cattle are driven into the cattle kraal with the rest of the stock. After a time word is sent inviting the strangers to come to the great hut where they are greeted, asked where they have come from, and the local gossip exchanged. Great care is taken not to mention the reason for the visit, although it is tacitly known, - it would not be etiquette. Beer is given to them to drink and the girl's people are at pains to create as good an impression as possible, especially if they favour the young man as a suitor for their daughter's hand. Sometimes a sheep is killed if the girl's people are wealthy, or otherwise a fowl or two. Eventually discussion comes round to the reason for the presence of the abayeni, and they reveal that they have been sent by the man's father to ask for the girl. On this the girl is called into the hut and, in front of the strangers, is asked if she knows anything about it. "Nguwena ozise ababantfu aph' ekhaya?". She will confess that she does and ^{she} straightway leaves the hut. Sometimes she is told to wash the clay beer pots so that the strangers may drink, but during this time she must keep herself hidden and not appear before the guests. That is she must hlonipha (respect) these members of the group of her future in-laws who are actually, in this case, representing her father-in-law-to-be. During all this time the girl's father himself does not speak and the conversation is carried on by his brothers and other near male relatives who have been especially invited to attend the meeting. Even if the near kin of the girl are not present at the negotiations they are informed about the possible marriage. As one informant put it, "It sounds bad if people have been

doing things together and then take a big step without consulting others of the clan". The mother may be present but also takes no part in the discussion. Only when the special beast to 'open the mouth' is paid, will the girl's father take an active part in the negotiations. After the abayeni have stated their case they ask for a decision but are told, via the relatives present, that the parents cannot speak until their mouths are opened. Upon this a special beast is given, or to-day, more commonly, £5. This is known as invula' mlomo (the opener of the mouth), or also as the 'fourth beast' - over and above the three already paid. Once this has been handed over, the girl's father will state how much ikhazi will have to be paid. They are first told, though, that they must 'finish the girl's head'⁽¹⁾ i.e. a further six beasts must be paid to bring the number up to ten. The rest of the lobola, the exact number decided on by the parents, will then be in addition to these. The abayeni then return to the home of the groom.

After this the groom-to-be visits the home of the girl. He usually stays three days on end, and, during that time, avoids the parents of the girl under the hlonipha system of avoidance patterns. These include the stricture that he must not drink amasi (sour milk), because he is said to be -zilile (from ukuzila, to mourn; to abstain from food). During his stay umkhupha (native bread) is made for him by his betrothed. The loaves are made small and round and stuck on a pointed stick and are held to his mouth by the girl. He takes two bites from each, one in front and one behind, and the rest is thrown away. This is called ukufola, the significance of which I could not ascertain. During the duration of these ritual visits of the man all his food is cooked for him by his fiancée, so that he might see what a good housewife and cook he is getting. When he leaves to return home he leaves word for the girl's parents that on a certain day his father will pay the next instalment of ikhazi cattle agreed upon. Preparations are then made for the wedding proper - the umt/hato. An outstanding feature of this, as of all pagan Bhaba ceremonies, is the brewing of copious supplies of beer (ijiki), in which the girl is helped by her mother and girl friends of the same age group⁽²⁾

(1) "Ukugqibisa inhloko yentfombi".

(2) The term 'age group' does not refer to a rigid group of girls born between certain dates, possessing a definite objective, but rather to all girls of approximately the same age living in the neighbourhood.

[A few weeks later (possibly even months in some cases) the abayeni will again visit the girl's kraal with the other six head of cattle to bring the number up to ten, and so 'finish the girl's head'. Again they will stand at the entrance to the cattle kraal on arrival, but this time the women of the kraal and neighbours will welcome them with singing and dancing in the inkundla (space between the huts and the cattle kraal). "It is a great day; the girl has brought cattle to her place", "It is a happy day": they sing. The father of the girl will himself welcome the emissaries, and will conduct them to the guest hut where they will be given beer and be otherwise entertained. The girl's 'head' is now 'finished', and the exact amount of the next instalment of ikhazi cattle is now decided upon. A goat is brought in and formally offered to the abayeni, and then taken to the kraal and slaughtered. It is called the ḡanyathsiswa amanti (the goat of the drinking of the water), and the inyḡngo (gall bladder) is emptied, filled with air, and fixed to the head of the umyeni who is directly related to the groom. "It means that he is welcomed". The goat is cut up and the abayeni are given the gall, liver and ribs (all great delicacies), the girl is given one of the front legs (umkhono), while the rest of the meat is distributed among those present and eaten, either raw (ukufukuthsa) or lightly roasted. The bride now prepares herself to go back with the abayeni to her new home for the first part of the marriage ceremony. While the guests are eating her father has sent young boys to the neighbouring imiti, that young girls may be sent to accompany the bride. During this time also the girl's brother, or some other young male relative, is sent to dig up a certain medicine called uḡulawo, a plant which is rubbed and crushed between two stones and then whisked in water in a clay pot until there is a froth. When the froth flows over the lip of the pot it is said that it "sees that the cattle have arrived". People also say it is good when they see the froth running white "for white is good and good things are expected." The pot is now taken to the gate of the cattle kraal and, naked except for the beadapron, the bride washes with the foam. She may wash in the cattle kraal "because it is her own home", and a relative washes her back for her. She then returns to

her hut and arrays herself in all the finery of her beadwork, in addition putting on brass bangles (amathfusi), four on each upper arm⁽¹⁾. She then covers herself with a blanket and leaves with the girls, who have assembled, young men and abayeni for the groom's home. This procession is called the icece, and corresponds to the uduli of the Mpondo and Xhosa.

On arrival at the groom's kraal the bride and her girl attendants are shown to a special hut, where they all sit in a circle against the wall. They are offered mats on which to sit, but will refuse them and sit down on the floor. A special goat called ubokh'ukajili (the naked goat), or umathul'enta'beni is now driven in with the words, "there is your mat", and it is only after this that the mats will be accepted. The groom's father orders the goat to be taken outside and killed; the girls, on their part, accept the mats and sit down on them. The cooking of the meat of the goat, and indeed all the cooking relating to the bride's party, is in the hands of an elderly friend of the bride who has accompanied her from her home, called the umhlomli, and is usually a relative. She is given facilities to cook by the women of the groom's umti. The umhlomli takes the raw liver of the goat with the rectum (injeka) to the bride on a grass mat (isithsebe) as well as the gall bladder with its contents, and the bride is told to drink part of the gall but not all of it. The umhlomli herself takes the liver and roasts it, sharing it with her closest friends, while

(1)

Description of dress of umakhoti.

Ingxe/a: or isikhakha of beads, coloured white, red, blue, green and black.

ibayi: long skirt of goatskin smeared with fat and open in front showing ingxe/a.

isitat/i: another goatskin skirt over this.

Her legs are decorated with beadwork, rubber rings (obtained from motor tyres or ~~that~~ used for sealing jam jars), and bells (ulongolongo), tied to the ankles, which make a noise as she walks:

amathfusi (brass bangles) are worn on the arms.

After the marriage the distinctive goatskin headdress (isikhakha) is donned but during pregnancy it is removed by the father-in-law himself (other informants say by the mother-in-law).

The act of putting on long skirts, the sign of a married woman, is called ukuruqisa.

such of the meat which is not eaten raw is cooked and divided as follows:-

- (1) Two legs are given, one to the men and the other to the women present.
- (2) A front leg is given to the people of the bride's group.
- (3) The umhlomli cuts the meat from the chest in strips and gives it to the girls of the bridal party. They are ritually supposed to refuse the meat and it is given to any young men who are present. That evening at dusk the bride and young girls go out into the veld and eat it there. Great care must be taken that they are not seen.

When darkness has fallen, and the older people have retired for the night, the young people present congregate in the bride's hut and spend the night singing, dancing and love-making. All the time the meat is being cooked and eaten the young people are gathered in their own hut and spend the day in gossiping, flirting, singing and dancing.

On the following day the girls rise early, cover themselves with blankets and stand outside the hut, which has been allotted to them with downcast eyes, the sign of modesty. An ox is driven towards them by the young men on the orders of the groom's father. If they do not like the beast which has been chosen for them, e.g. if it is too thin or small, they will refuse to accept it, indicating this by retreating quickly back into the hut. Another beast is brought and they are implored to come out again and agree to this new one. This is repeated until a beast to their satisfaction is presented. "They will say, 'We accept that red one'". During all this the bride (called umakhoti) does not herself come out of the hut and the choice is made by her friends. The girls go back into their hut and the beast chosen is driven into the cattle kraal where the rest of the cattle are standing, and there caught and thrown without the aid of ropes by the young men. Whenever there is a killing it is done in the cattle kraal with all the other cattle owned by the man present. The medicines which have been planted in the gate-way of the cattle kraal to prevent wizards killing the cattle are dug up by the owner of the umti, and, the spell being thus lifted, the ox is stabbed in the chest by the owner or a near male relative. [As soon as it is dead one of the young men is dispatched to the door of the girl's hut to tell them to go and wash. They tie headcloths on their heads in a distinctive fashion and also

cover themselves with blankets. They also, apparently, "wear a belt of safety pins decorated with beads". They do not spend much time at the river and soon return, still wearing blankets but without the headsquares. When they get back to the hut they redecorate themselves in their beadwork and coloured cloth, and, while they are doing this, the young men drive all the cattle out of the kraal towards the girl's hut (intsanga). All this time the women of the kraal are dancing and singing and rejoicing, and the spectators throng round the hut of the girl forming a space in front of it in which the cattle stand, milling and lowing with fright at the noise and shouts. Informants, amid much laughter, graphically portrayed the ukusina (dancing) of the women, and I noted that the older women seemed to dance with more abandon than the younger. The following song, sung in parts, was popular at some weddings:-

(High voices) "Iph 'inkondlo yetinkabi?, (repeat low voices) "Iph' etc."
 (Where is the inkondlo (plant used by women for making rope) of these oxen?)

"O, thsina si6itiwe komkhulu, thsina maKafula: Komkhulu ekhohlombeni !"

(Oh, we are called to the Great Place, we Kaffirs: to the Great Place⁽¹⁾.)

Then the young girls come out of the hut with the umakhoti^{all} with their eyes downcast, upon which any of the young men will start a song. The umhlomli will now go to the bride and make her stand with a girl on either side holding her by the arms, and facing the crowd round the hut. She then removes the blankets from all three so that they stand naked to the waist, the beauty of their bodies being commented on by those present. There is no difference in treatment between the umakhoti and her attendants, and all three are dressed alike. The girls are then led by the umhlomli to the cattle kraal where the groom's father is standing, but they quickly turn their backs, "for the father-in-law must not see the breasts of his son's wife". It seems probable that this little vignette is to impress upon the bride the respect that she will have to show to her

(1)

I could not obtain a satisfactory translation of ekhohlombeni. Literally it means a 'quiver for assegais', or an assistant or right hand man.

father-in-law, especially in the first few years of married life (see below) and the importance of the hlonipha observances. The bridal trio walk slowly back to their hut around which the women are milling, but, whereas before their eyes were downcast, now they must look up 'to show their beauty.'

When the umakhoti and her two attendants have re-entered the hut, the young men of the groom's place form a line outside the hut. A man with a long sjambok will go up to the knot of girls that came with the bride's party and give it to one. She will walk slowly down the line of young men and suddenly, without warning, lash out at one of them, throw away the sjambok and run back to her friends. The young man who has been struck will pick it up and take it back to another girl, who, in her turn, will walk down the line and repeat the performance, and so on, until all the girls have had the chance to hit a young man. It is difficult to explain adequately this custom. One is tempted to suggest some sort of cultural variation on the universal phenomenon of sex-antagonism. All her life the Bhaca woman comes under the authority of her husband - it is possible that this might be a compensatory mechanism. Alternatively, and possibly more probably, this might be a reaction of the girl's group, allowed social recognition and demonstration of the antagonism it feels against the man's group for depriving it of a valued member. The complex of affectionate emotions that are centred round the bride have been shattered, and some overt and active expression of this acts as a safety valve on individual feelings as well as re-emphasises the solidarity of the group. The custom is known by the term, ukuchopa.

The umakhoti now goes into a hut with a ridge-pole (intsika, not every hut by any means has one) and sits against it on the women's (left-hand) side, by herself. "She separates herself". The umhlomli will bring her meat there consisting of liver and the rectum of a goat which has been killed, the gall being poured over the bride's head and rubbed down over her shoulders, arms and legs.

During this time beer is being prepared at the home of the bride, and a message is formally sent to the man's umti that they are invited. (It will be noticed that neither the father of the girl nor any of his men relatives or friends

go to the part of the marriage ceremony held at the groom's home: the groom's father and his friends likewise will not attend the celebrations at the bride's home. It is only the womenfolk^K that go.) It is now that the rest of the lobolo agreed upon should be handed over, unless, as is almost invariably the case, agreement has been reached between the two parties to pay it later by instalments. In addition, a properly dressed horse with saddle and bridle must be taken. We shall see later that this last has become an important part of the ikhazi but appears to be a fairly recent development, as both horse and bridle are comparatively new elements in Bhaca culture. At the groom's home the girls of the bride's party sweep the hut which they have occupied, and, with the umakhoti, leave for her home accompanied by the abayeni, womenfolk of the groom's umti and the young people of both sexes. The iindlavini usually attend these occasions in gangs. The groom, however, does not go with them. As the procession (icece) approaches the bride's home they start singing, dancing and rejoicing, but stop before they reach the cattle kraal. The time of their arrival is always at sunset, or after dark. Immediately they are heard the women of the neighbourhood rush out with sticks and pretend to thrash the members of the groom's group who are present, scolding them and asking 'why they are coming at night'. This can again be explained as the collective expression of the group of its opposition to the loss of a daughter⁽¹⁾. The genocentric force centering round the family with all its emotional content is being subjected to the centrifugal pull, generated in this case by the basic sex-drive working through the institution of exogamy, and some form of socially overt reaction is imperative. We have already noted that it is considered unseemly for a bride to appear too eager to leave her home for that of the groom.

(1)

For an elaboration of this point see, Hoernle, A.W.
"The Importance of the Sib in the marriage ceremonies
of the South Eastern Bantu." S. African J. Sc. 22
Pp. 481-92.

Soon after, however, those of the icece who belong to the groom's party will be given a hut in which to sleep, - a hut which has been specially prepared for them, and the umakhoti is led to a hut which has been newly smeared with dung. Here the whole ceremony of presenting the bride and her attendants with mats, and the refusal until the ubokh'ujajile goat is presented, is gone through again. The meat of it is eaten and the beer handed round to the guests. Now an old woman of the girl's group cooks the meat and undertakes the office of the umhlomli, being also called by this name. By this time it is late and the old people retire leaving the young people to sing, dance and make love in the hut appointed for the purpose. The bride does not sleep with the others as the groom is at his own home, and she is given another hut where she sleeps with her close friends and one of the abayeni. The fact that no intercourse may take place between them is emphasised by the convention that the bride may call him intfombi, i.e. 'girl'. His position is sexless and he "watches" over the bride". (1)

The next morning a large ox called imvumo (agreement) is killed by the bride's father "to show that he accepts the groom's people". A special piece of meat, consisting of the foreleg and shoulder blade, is given to the umyeni who is directly related to the groom. A special piece of meat is given to the umakhoti with the words, "this is for the girls" - in reality to be eaten by the bride herself. This is the second time, as we have seen, this fiction is kept up. The first was when the bride and her attendants refused to eat the choice pieces of the ubokh'ujajile, but later went into the veld after dark to eat it. Again this might find an explanation in the ritual non-co-operation of the bride in the admittedly ambivalent attitude to marriage, the conflicting love of home and love of husband. The head, legs, saddle and the intestines of the imvumo beast are kept for the members of the girl's group, while the chest and ribs are given to those of the

(1) I have not been able to check this statement to my satisfaction so that it must be accepted with caution. Hunter states, however (P.50) that it is a recognised thing among the Mpondo for men and women who have no sexual connection to sleep in the same hut, on different sides.

groom's group who are present. All this time the young people of the neighbourhood have been dancing in the inkundla "until they are sweating". [After midday the abayeni stop the dancing and the sticks of the young men are collected by a specially appointed man called ipoyisa (from 'police'), and the young men and girls from the various areas compete with one another in dancing and singing in the veld around the umti. There is much good-natured competition, and an outstanding dancer may be given money ('even a penny') by gratified onlookers. After some time the person responsible for the smooth running of his part of the marriage (usually a close relative of the bride's father) blows a whistle, the dancing stops and the name of the group which has won is announced. This competition (ikut/hiswana) apparently does not take place at the man's place. The sister of the groom and the sister of the bride have a special part to play in these ceremonies. Each wears an inflated inyongo (gall bladder) and acts "just like witnesses in a church marriage", as one informant put it. They are also called abahlomli. After these celebrations the injadu at the girl's home is over, and again the young people spend the night together, the umakhoti sleeping in the separate hut.

Before they leave for home the next day the abayeni will formally ask the girl's father to give them the umakhoti. This is mere form as the bride will not go yet and the father answers evasively "We have heard". "The bride cannot go yet because the things are not yet prepared". These are things for her new home such as pots, blankets, mats, spoons, etc., which are given to her by her father as a type of dowry. There must also be gifts to the groom's father and mother. These gifts are reciprocal, for after a girl has lived at her husband's kraal for a few months she "ukuphindza umkhondvo" (repeat the road) i.e. returns to her home for a short visit. Before she goes she is given sugar, bread, shirts, mats, trousers and other presents for her parents "and a bag half full of fermented mealies" from which beer will be made. A tin basin, soap and towel are apparently always given nowadays. "It is a custom". "If they were not given it would be said that her parents-in-law are poor". Another name for this visit is amagina enkomo ('the feet of the cattle').

A few weeks after the ceremonies detailed above beer is again prepared at the bride's home, and a message

sent to the groom's umti that all is now ready for the bride to be taken to her new home. Again the two abayeni undertake the office of escorting the bride, but now they are called oonozakhuzakhu. They come alone to fetch the girl. When they arrive at the girl's home yet another animal is killed for them, this time called the umngcemisa (farewell). This can be either a goat or a sheep and is killed 'because the girl is leaving her home'. The gall-bladder is emptied, filled with air and tied to her head "to show that it is a good farewell". The meat is cooked or eaten raw but apparently no special part is given to the bride. "The gall bladder shows that she has had the goat killed, and people who see it will know that she has been farewelled" (1) Four or five girls, close friends of the bride, are invited to accompany her and the oonozakhuzakhu to the groom's kraal, and they leave so as to arrive just before sunset. They are shown a hut in which they spend the night. [The next morning the groom's father brings out another goat called the umquubuthselo ('the goat of covering'), and it is the skin of this goat which is used for the headcovering so distinctive of the young Bhaca bride. Actually the exact skin is not used immediately, as it is still wet, but the tanned skin of another goat is substituted temporarily. It is bound over the makhoti's head, coming low over the eyes as a sign of respect to her parents-in-law. She is, in addition, given two blankets by the umhlomli of the groom's place. Thereafter accompanied by the umhlomli and the four or five friends who acted as companions, the new bride takes one of the new buckets she has brought with her as gifts from her parents, and goes down to the stream to draw water. When they return the girls go into the kitchen hut and squat on their haunches: they are then given another bucket by a woman of the kraal, and again go for water. The girls will not go straight to the river, however, for they must hlonipha, and will start off first in the opposite direction from the stream, reaching it

(1) Compare this custom with the wearing of gall bladders by the itangoma (doctors) where the ancestral spirit ^{vii} is said to reside within the bladder. (Chapter on magic).

by a circuitous route. All the girls behave as if they too were brides. With the umakhoti they must not approach the groom's father or speak to him. If he is standing at the doorway of a hut they may not enter, and if their skirts so much as touch him they will have to forfeit a beast. When the bride and her attendants return from the river with the water they place the buckets of water outside the Great Hut and ask for mealies to grind to make umkhupha (native bread) for the whole family. Finally, another goat is slaughtered called the ukucola, and the girls who accompanied the bride go home, leaving her a bride in her new home.

On any day after this the women from the bride's home will come to get the first of the two ngqutu beasts. The word 'ingqutu' means 'vagina', and the Bhasa are very chary about using the word, the hlonipha term ingezo being preferred. Other names are inkomo yamabhele (the beast of the breasts) or inkomo kanina (the beast of the mother). "They are given because the young man is going to sleep with his bride". This beast belongs to the girl's mother, but is killed and eaten by all at the bride's home. Only, apparently, no old person may eat of it. Later another ox, 'a very large one', is sent to the bride's mother together with a large knife called ibozo. The fact that the ox must be large is stressed; "If a fat ox is not given, two must be given". This ox also is an inkomo yengqutu, and, as such, belongs to the mother. The knife must be used to cut the meat of the ox. Thus two beasts are given to the girl's mother "to thank her for looking after the girl". In the hlonipha terminology they are called inkatye enkulu and inkatye encane and are definitely correlated with the virginity of the girl, thus appearing to be cognate with the isidwangu seduction beast (vide supra) which also goes to the mother. All informants state that if a girl is not a virgin on marriage the mother would not receive these beasts. Formerly, the girl was examined by the old women of the kraal to ascertain this point, and the husband, too, will be questioned. When asked whether a husband would not perhaps deny his wife's virginity to avoid paying the ngqutu beasts, informants said that this was prevented by the fact that the old women could tell. "They will say to him, 'mt/ha umt/hithi' (the spoor is still new). If it is 'new' he will have to pay. If the girl has been deflowered, a male goat is slaughtered called uyivalile, 'to close' (the girl), or ukugcwalisa,

'to make full' (See account of Samente above). Formerly, the custom (isiko) was that a makhoti "should never move in the courtyard (inkundla) if deflowered", i.e. she should avoid a full-dress wedding - a great disgrace.

The new bride has to observe certain taboos, all emphasising the fact that she is a stranger in her husband's group. At first she cannot eat isigwamba, a dish made from a plant called umhlomboyi, cooked with mealie meal and salt, umcuku (umkhupha i.e. native bread, crumbled and mixed with beer, and amalaxa, i.e. cooked umhlomboyi, a type of spinach), and "food that is left over". Also no sour milk (amasi) may be drunk. To overcome the first category of taboos a goat is slaughtered. It has no special name, and "all these things are collected together, and the goat is said to combine them all." After it has been killed the taboo is lifted. The ban on eating amasi, however, is only ^{relaxed} ~~lifted~~ later.

We have now discussed the marriage ceremony of the pagans. It cannot be too often stressed that this account is a very generalised one, and that there are many variations in detail and in the order of some of the ceremonies described above. Some people omit certain sections altogether. The structural form, though, has been laid bare; the ceremonies at the man's home followed by the (almost identical) ritual at the bride's, the non-participation of the groom and his male relatives in those parts of the ceremony which take place at the bride's home, the antagonism of the girl's group to her loss given overt recognition, and, above all, the passing of the lobola cattle, these may be considered the fundamentals of Bhaca marriage. It is the passage of cattle, however, that alone makes a union legal in Bhaca law, and legitimizes any children who may be born of the union. It is perhaps this last function of lobola which is the most important, and, as we shall see later, the passing of the ikhazi cattle can be regarded, not, as it is so often, as 'bride wealth' or 'bride price', but rather as 'child price'. We shall return to the question of the ukulo6ola later; we must now follow up the marriage ceremony and examine the position of the newly-married bride and her relations with the people of her new home.

The behaviour of the umakhoti.

The introduction into the family and clan group, a very close-knit unit in Bhaca society possessing,

as we have seen, considerable solidarity, of an individual from a group foreign to it, presents various problems for the overcoming of which several techniques have been devised. Suspicion of an outsider present in the group stems from exactly the same source as does the collective reactions to a loss due to marriage or death - the strong genocentricity of the local kin unit. It is the antipathy which psychology recognises as the antagonism between the 'in-group' and the 'out-group', and, as such, is a familiar feature of the modern world, particularly in race conflict situations. It is significant that a large number of accusations of witchcraft among the Bhaca are levelled at wives - particularly young wives, comparative strangers who have not yet been fully assimilated into the group. Also, as we have seen, the rules of exogamy ensure that the bride is never a near relative, and, in quite a high percentage of cases, comes from another tribe altogether, so that here again we can expect tension and suspicion to be increased. It would be very interesting, in this context, to compare the reaction of the Bhaca family with that of a Sotho family group to this type of situation. Marriage with close relatives among the latter is not only acquiesced in, but, in certain cases, preferred. Attitudes show a "complex mixture of friendliness and reserve on the part of the receptor group. On the one hand, the umakhoti is made to feel that she has completely broken away from her old family and is a part of the new. On the other, she is made to feel that she is still under suspicion as an 'outsider' and must prove her good faith and loyalty to the group before she can be fully incorporated and 'accepted'. These antithetic attitudes find expression in behaviour patterns towards the young bride, and we can thus expect to find two types of relations and activities corresponding to the categories of attitudes. For the want of a better terms I call these two types of attitudes towards the umakhoti, assimilation-orientated attitudes and hostility-orientated attitudes. The derivative behaviour patterns must now be described in factual terms.

Relations deriving from assimilation-orientated attitudes.

Relations under this heading are organized so that they stress to the umakhoti that she is no longer a member of her father's group, but of that of her husband. To emphasise further this fact she is given a new name which must

be used exclusively from now on. Gancu's father was old by the time she was born, and she was called Gancu, i.e. - the egg of the clutch which has been left unhatched after the other chickens have emerged. When she married she was given the name Rosina. At Lut/hikini the headman's wife was given the name Nomfati. The young bride may also be called inkosikati (female chief), often in the form of Inkosikatika-(the wife of So-and-So). "Only the chief's great wife is called Indlunkulu" (the Great House). The giving of the name stresses linguistically the break with the old life. An umakhoti may also be called by her clan name with the prefix Ma- attached, e.g. Ma_Bele, Ma_Luthuli, Ma_Siwela, etc., or by the name of her father preceded by the same prefix, e.g. Mandzodza.

Then, too, the umakhoti must assist her mother-in-law with the work of the umti. We have already seen that in the final stages of the marriage ceremonial, in the fetching of water for the parents-in-law and the cooking of umkhupha these values are symbolically represented, and adumbrate their importance in the early years of married life of the newly-married bride. As soon as the umakhoti comes to live finally at her husband's kraal she is made to realise that she is now a daughter of the umti, and, as such, has definite duties and obligations towards her new kin. A transfer of allegiance must be effected as soon as possible from the behaviour patterns of her home to that of her husband: she comes into a new set of social relations with an entirely different group of people who now assume legal guardianship over her. As attitudes must have their counterpart in actions this is made effective through the institution of working for the mother-in-law.

A young bride at her father-in-law's kraal must be "eager", pleasant, diligent and willing to work. She must rise early in the morning, before the rest of the umti is awake, and go down to the stream for water; she is responsible for keeping a supply of wood sufficient for the family's needs, and is relegated all the heavy work of the household. One sees young married women doing the chores of grinding, stamping, plastering and making bread: household tasks involve really hard work, and doctors in the district commented on the high incidence of heart disease caused by them coupled with the debilitating effects of inadequate diet. (See also Chapter IV). Stamping, in particular,

is extremely strenuous work, as the sweat which streams off the faces of those engaged in it testifies. The young bride is also expected to look after the comfort of her husband and be attentive and loving to him. "If she does these things she will be said to be a good wife and not lazy". These co-operative relations are reciprocal; the parents-in-law, too, must treat her as a daughter so that she will feel at home in their umti. In fact, a mother-in-law may, in certain circumstances, act as a mediator between her son and her daughter-in-law, the common factor of sex overriding other emotions. In the words of informants:- "The umakhoti must be treated as a child by her parents-in-law", "Even if she makes a mistake her mother-in-law will take her part", "If she is being thrashed by her husband her mother-in-law will catch hold of her son and say, 'Kill me instead'". Informants say that often a mother-in-law will take the bride's part, even if she is in the wrong, against her husband, "but afterwards she will talk to her privately and tell her where she was wrong". There thus seems considerable solidarity between females in the umti; we have already noticed this in the co-operation of co-wives in certain contexts. It should be realized, however, that the above statements refer to things as they should be. In practice there are cases where the bride and husband's mother do not get on well together. What we are concerned with here are the norms of conduct expected and sanctioned by custom, and not the details of individual family relations. If the bride is ill-treated by her husband, she can find refuge in her mother-in-law's hut: if so badly treated that she runs away from his umti, she will usually return to her own home and find refuge with her father. He will attempt to persuade the girl to return to her husband, but, if the latter has really treated her brutally, he will thseleka the girl (see below). Unlike the Mpondo among whom the young married couple are made to sleep in a storehut for about a year before a separate hut is built for the wife, (usually after the first child is born), the Bhaca prepare a hut for the new bride before marriage, and it would thus seem that she enjoys a little more freedom than her Mpondo sister. To-day, also, young men tend to set up their own homes at an earlier age than formerly, so that in these cases the newly-married bride is not so directly under the authority of her mother-in-law. In the majority of instances,

however, the relations discussed above still obtain.

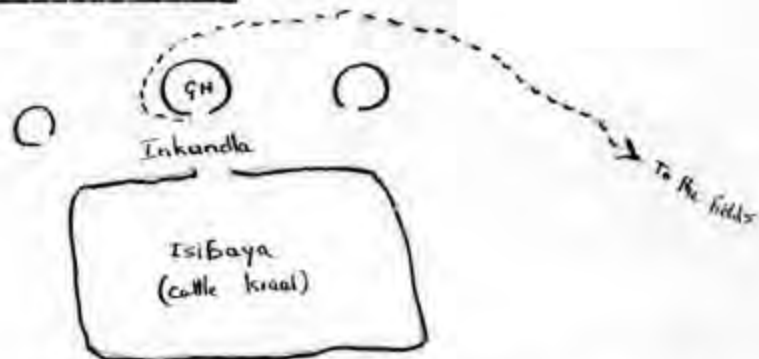
Relations deriving from hostility-orientated attitudes.

A young umakhoti at her husband's kraal must be -ozole (quiet) i.e. she must be respectful to her parents-in-law; "She must honour them and show good behaviour to them". In particular she must show respect (ukuhlonipha) to all senior relatives of her husband's group, especially the men and particularly her father-in-law. She knows to whom certain behaviour patterns are appropriate by the isiBongo (clan name) of that person, that is, if he is not a resident or frequent visitor to her husband's home, and thus well known. These behaviour patterns observed towards classificatory relatives are not nearly so greatly emphasised as those obtaining between the umakhoti and actual father-in-law, - the person to whom the hlonipha avoidances are mainly directed. The main elements of the hlonipha are a linguistic avoidance of any word which contains syllables common to the name of her father-in-law, or the names of senior male relatives, the avoidance of certain areas which are peculiar to men, such as the cattle kraal (isiBaya), and the right hand side of the great hut, certain food taboos and any objects, such as yokes and milk calabashes, associated with the cattle. She must also respect the spears (kept for sacrificial purposes) of the unti. Apart from these avoidances she must be quiet and submissive to the point of helplessness. "She must behave well to everyone, even a dog. If a dog is eating meat she must not shout at it, she must beckon to a child and ask ham to stop the dog". "She must speak nicely to everyone". "If there is something on the man's side she wants, such as a broom, she must ask a child to get it for her. If the child refuses she cannot scold it but must call another one". Even when plastering the hut floor she is not allowed to cross to the man's side, and it is done by her sister-in-law - the daughter of the unti. Generally speaking she must be submissive to everyone in the unti, especially to people older than herself - but, apparently, even to a sister-in-law of the same age. This latter rule was insisted upon by an intelligent old woman who had herself observed it - even when doubtfully questioned on the point by her son. It seems that, to a large extent, these customs are not so rigidly observed as formerly, a fact which may

be attributed to the widespread acceptance of Christianity among the Bhaca. Here again the absence of quantitative evidence makes a dogmatic statement difficult.

The cattle kraal, as we should expect from the important ritual part cattle play in Bhaca life, is especially taboo to the umakhoti. Cattle are particularly vulnerable to female pollution, particularly in the form of umlaza (ritual impurity) deriving from the menstrual flow, and, as harm to the cattle also has repercussions on the men of the umti, it must be rigorously avoided. The bride must not cross the inkundla (space between the cattle kraal and the huts of the umti) or even go near it. As the cattle kraal usually lies facing the huts this entails much inconvenience, as it necessitates a detour round the back of the great hut, and thence round the umti.

FIGURE XI.



If the storehut is near the cattle kraal she must not go near it, and if she wants anything from it, or grain from the pits in the kraal, she must send someone to get it for her. Unlike the Mpondo, where the newly-married couple sleep in a store hut until the child is born, the Bhaca bride always has a special hut built for her at a distance from the cattle kraal, called intsanga kamakhoti, where she sleeps with her husband. Milk in any form must not be touched. Even if a calabash of sour milk is full and ferments so that the milk flows over the rim, she cannot do anything about it, but must call some other resident of the umti to help her. It is obvious that these avoidances tend to become irksome, and, after a short period, a special killing is made to end them.

The ukuhlonipha of the father-in-law and his male relatives lasts longer; indeed a married woman of about 45 with grown-up children refused to mention the name of her father-in-law to me when I was making a census of clan distribution. It should be noted, however, that hlonipha

is not observed towards younger brothers of her husband's father. A umakhoti may not cross over to the right hand side of the great hut, sacred to the owner and men of the umti, and, when entering this hut, she must keep as close as possible to the left hand side of the hut.⁽¹⁾ The circumvention of a taboo'd place, whether hut or cattle kraal, is called ukuceza. The Bhaca are, or, more correctly, were formerly, very strict about the adherence to these customs. "Wherever the umakhoti goes the young children follow her around, and report her if she does not ukuhlonipha". "There should be a footpath made behind the huts in the grass to show where the umakhoti has walked." This is called the indlela kamakhoti, 'the path of the bride'. It is reported from among the Mpondo that these bans were lifted to a certain extent at night, but all my informants strenuously denied this for the Bhaca. Then, too, every young Bhaca bride must wear a piece of tanned goatskin bound low over her forehead as a sign of respect to her father-in-law. It is a distinctive sign of her position but has no special name, being merely called isikhakha sebokhwe. The term isikhakha, used, as we have seen, for the bead apron worn by unmarried girls, means a covering, and the same word is used for both these types of clothing. After the first baby is born the isikhakha is removed from the bride's head by the father-in-law himself, but before that time no one may see her forehead uncovered. "If it is uncovered people will say, 'We saw her when she was uncovered', and she will be laughed at". Apart from this she must take care never to bare her head or breasts before her father-in-law, or any of his senior male relatives, or, conversely, cover her shoulders in his presence, 'even if it is cold'. If her father-in-law is sitting in the doorway of a hut the umakhoti may not enter unless he makes way for her, and, if he is sitting near the fire, in the time-honoured place of the owner of the umti with his back against the intsika or ridgepole near the hearth, she may not approach, even to

(1)

The division of the Bhaca hut follows the Mpondo, not the Xhosa pattern.

put fresh fuel on the fire until he moves away. Formerly, when men wore only a piece of cloth or skin round the waist, the young bride had to be very circumspect, for it was believed that, if she by chance saw her father-in-law's penis, she would become blind. In these ways, therefore, the necessary respect for the chief person in her new group, her father-in-law, was inculcated.

Apart from the above avoidances, the umakhoti must observe certain food taboos. She may not eat the liver, stomach, tongue, head, udder and intestines of cattle, pork or chicken. One old woman of about 68 still would not eat the meat of poultry. Pagan women in general will not eat eggs believing that to do so would make them lascivious. Apparently the young bride does not avoid the chest of beasts as among the Mpondo. She may not eat inchula, i.e. the meat of an animal which has died and not been killed. Often during winter the cattle get so weak and thin from starvation that they stick fast in the river mud, and either die or have to be killed; even the meat of these cattle is called inchula; the umakhoti may only eat the meat of cattle specially killed to provide meat (inyama). We have already noted (see above) the various types of vegetable foods that a bride must avoid. All these avoidances and taboos are directed towards one end, the emphasising that the bride is a stranger to her husband's group, an outsider inculcated with other loyalties than those which motivate that of her new in-laws, and whose sympathies are, initially at least, with her old home with all its associations and emotional ties.

The relaxation of restrictions.

As the umakhoti begins to work with her new relatives, enters into the new life that marriage has brought her, and takes her place in the activities and shares in the intimate affairs and secrets of her new home, the restrictions that mark her as an outsider and intruder are gradually relaxed. As the old bonds and allegiances to her family become attenuated she finds new interests and enters into fresh friendships in her new life. Her fortunes and very existence are from now on bound up largely with those of her husband's group, and she is gradually incorporated into it - never wholly so, however. The various steps in assimilation

are ritually marked by a succession of killings or socialized gestures. On the Saturday after the marriage, or at least very soon after it, the new bride gives a present of a shilling to her mother-in-law. This allows her to eat with her. The bride's new duties involve cooking and serving food to her parents-in-law, and it is obvious that, if the hlonipha system was rigidly observed in this respect, it would cause great inconvenience in the home. The particular restrictions against going near a father-in-law and handing him his food are soon terminated. Very soon after marriage (some say the next day) the umakhoti brings food to the father-in-law and puts down a shilling with it, thus allowing her to approach him thereafter for such purposes. This does not mean a lifting of the taboo against crossing to the man's side, or entering the cattle kraal, but does eliminate the more irksome and inconvenient restrictions in the ordinary give and take of family life. Bhaca say that the rule against going to the men's side is never completely relaxed, ("From her wedding to her death the bride never goes to the men's side"), but, in practice, this is often infringed. Among Christians, especially, this is no longer observed.

Among Christians, after the wife has borne two or three children, she is told by her mother-in-law to go to the cattle kraal - hitherto taboo - for dung to smear the great hut. After smearing she must put a shilling in the doorway which the mother-in-law or children of the umti will take and place at the back of the hut, or 'in a safe place', until the father-in-law comes back at night, when it will be given to him. It is called u6ulida (to smear). Among pagans, as we have noticed, no woman of the age of child-bearing is allowed in the cattle kraal. At first the umakhoti cannot work in the fields or, indeed, eat of the maize grown there. After some time this restriction is removed by the killing of a goat or sheep called umgqu6uthelo (to cover), and later, at a special ceremony to which people are invited and gifts of beer and stock are brought, a goat called ukudlis'intusi or adle'amasi (to eat milk) is killed to enable the bride to drink of the milk of the cattle of the umti, unless ritually impure. The exact time for the killing of the ukudlis'intusi is difficult to ascertain. Some informants say that it is done soon after the marriage, others that children must be born first, some even insisting that there must be four or five children first, but, with regard to the inconvenience it must cause, and comparing this

custom with Mpondo practice (Hunter Page 200), it would seem that the former opinion is the more likely. Formerly, this rule against drinking milk was very rigidly adhered to, but to-day the 'school people' no longer observe it, and even among pagans it is falling into disuse. Informants say that "To-day a umakhoti may drink milk if there is no one about to see her." After about five or six months the restrictions upon eating certain parts of a beast are relaxed by the killing of a goat or sheep, called ingwema, by her father-in-law, "but if they bring a male one with testicles she cannot eat it". Informants can give no reason for this; "it is a custom." Apparently it is not supposed to make her lascivious - although women do not eat fowls, eggs, pigs or 'animals with testicles', as these are supposed to have this effect.⁽¹⁾ She may also not eat any of the meat killed ritually for her husband's father.

A young bride is debarred from attending beer drinks, feasts or marriages until she has three or more children, and the sexual licence often obtaining at such places makes this understandable, but after some years her mother-in-law will say to her "Yaluk'ijiki", i.e. "Seek for beer", and she is then allowed to go to all functions which may be held. She may not spend the night at these feasts though, and one old grandmother of about sixty-six said that she still did not sleep at these feasts unless it was at the kraal of a relative. Naturally there is considerable variation in the extent to which these rules are kept, headstrong wives, especially if their husbands are away on the Rand, having considerably more freedom.

Eventually, after years of residence in her husband's umti, the wife becomes to all intents and purposes assimilated into his group, although this is not entirely so, however, and there is always the link with the amathfongo of the maternal home who might cause sickness and even death

(1) In the case of a bull, however, she is allowed to eat the meat, unless it has been in her husband's kraal for a long time. "If she does so, people will say, 'You are having intercourse with your father-in-law'".

to her children. Eventually, on her death, she is finally incorporated into the group, although on another, invisible plane, and becomes, in her turn, an ithfongo to the children of the umti. One old woman said that when she died she would become an ancestral spirit to both her father's and husband's clan, but that the latter was more important. It seems more likely, however, that the link with the parental home is completely broken on death and full assimilation with the new group realized at last.

Soon after the marriage, perhaps when four or five months have elapsed, the young wife goes home to pay a ritual visit to her parents. This is called ukulanda umkhondvo (to follow the spoor), and is marked by an exchange of gifts between the two families. She is accompanied by a small girl and usually stays for about a month. When she returns she is accompanied by the women folk of her father's kraal and bears gifts to her parents-in-law, such as axes, sickles, bags of mealies, material for making beer, mats, etc. In theory she should leave home so that her arrival coincides with dusk, in the same way that, at the marriage, the icece (bridal party) arrived at sunset. "It shows to everyone that she is a bride". The bride also returns home at intervals for clothing and to replace anything she might have broken in her mother-in-law's household. This is often used by homesick brides as a pretext for returning home for a time. It will be seen that this custom tends to act in an opposite direction to those we have discussed above which all go to impress upon the umakhoti her severance with the old life, and tend to reinforce the genocentric pull of home. After the marriage, periodic visits between the two families serve to build up friendship and good-feeling between them, at least overtly, as it is well recognized by the society that these attitudes are valuable to it. Visits such as these are known by the generic term of itit/hongo. We have already noticed this word in connection with work parties in bhaca agriculture. It seems probable that the use of the term in this context is a logical extension of its primary meaning of the reciprocal exchange of meat and beer for labour performed to the reciprocal exchange of gifts, in this sense an exchange effected between the families of the bride and groom respectively. Chief of these is the visit known as the uku6ona umti (to see the umti). After the marriage there is a ritual exchange of gifts between the bride's family and

that of the groom; informants say that it takes place whether the bride has been ukugcagcisa, or been married with the full ceremonial. It is also done by Christians, and Bhaca believe that if the visits are not made the bride will have difficulty in childbirth. The custom takes the form of the womenfolk of the bride's umti visiting her at her new home and bringing her parents-in-law presents. A few weeks or months later the man's female relations will return the visit, also taking presents. A beast is slaughtered to welcome the guests, and there is much vying between the two families to see who bring the most gifts. It seems that the presents on the side of the bride's father bear some relation to the number of lobola cattle which have been handed over, or at least agreed upon. Much depends on the wealth of the family. At a small uku6ona (from the wife's home) the following were taken:-

- 4 large loaves of bread (circular, about 12" in diameter)
- 1 large basin of kaffir corn (for beer)
- 1 tin tray
- 1 large bag of beans
- 2 large bags of samp
- 3/- worth of sugar, 2/- worth of tea
- 1 large basket of maize.

In other cases gifts of clothing, such as pinafores and head-squares, are given to members of the family. Only the married women of the bride's umti go, and, at one I attended, the goods were taken by:-

- (a) the mother of the bride,
- (b) the bride's father's sister,
- (c) the father's sister's daughter,
- (d) the wives of the father's two brothers, and,
- (e) a woman friend of the party, (six in all).

The women were all dressed in their very best attire and assembled first at the home of the girl's father before setting out. The gifts were tied up in cloths to facilitate carrying, and, after washing in soap and water, and putting on their shawls, the party set off. The bride's father and his friends (mostly the husbands of the women) sat in the great hut drinking beer. The bride's father never goes on these occasions (c.f. the marriage ceremony). When they arrived at the groom's kraal they re-arranged their clothes, relieved themselves by the side of the road and approached the umti in single file, where the mother-in-law met them with singing and dancing, and escorted them into the hut. At these gatherings the visitors are given tea, stamped

mealies and bread, and a goat or sheep will be slaughtered, or perhaps an ox (no name) if there is a large number of them. The afternoon is spent in the usual way, (described above) with competitive singing and dancing between the two groups of women - for the female relatives and friends of the man's family are all invited to welcome the guests. The only one who may not dance on these occasions is the bride's mother: in one instance she was a famous dancer, much admired for her technique and abandon, but sat the whole afternoon without taking part. I could not ascertain the reason for this restriction, but it probably reflects the sadness of the mother on the loss of her daughter. [After the first child is born another visit is paid to the groom's home to 'see' the baby - the ukutisa umntfwana - or, if the child, for some reason, has been born at, or is at the home of its maternal grandparents, for the groom's people to see it. This was so at Nxesi's when all friends in the location were invited. Presents were again brought, and the women danced through the whole afternoon. Informants say, however, that not everyone performs this ceremony, and that 'it is just an excuse to eat meat'.

Relations between husband and wife and with relatives-in-law.

It is now pertinent to discuss the intimate relations which come into being through the act of marriage - those obtaining between husband and wife, and, later, those between the two families concerned. We have noticed the conflicting attitudes that characterize the reception and assimilation of the bride into the new group, but, despite this, husband and wife are closely bound together by mutual obligations and interests which are mainly economic. A wife is expected to look after the comfort of her husband and cook for him (in addition to the all-important business of raising children), and the man, in his turn, must help his wife in the clearing of fields, ploughing, hut building and providing cattle, and must be responsible for keeping her well-clothed and adequately provided for with money for the household necessities. The husband may not dispose of house property without the consent of his wife, and we have seen the increasing importance of the widowed mother of an umti in this respect. To the bhaca mind marriage is seldom surrounded with the romantic aura which seems an integral part of the Western concept, but, in many cases, there exists a very real attachment between

husband and wife, an emotion reinforced by years of living together and sharing in the troubles and happinesses that occur throughout a life-time. The precariousness of existence under primitive methods of agriculture, when the little group may be overwhelmed by famine or disease, makes the ~~value~~ component members rely more than ever on one another, and ~~value~~ co-operation and mutual goodwill. Despite this husband and wife seldom go about together, and the sexes are practically invariably segregated at feasts and in church, the men and women preferring to congregate together by themselves, but at home relations are often intimate and affectionate.

Relations between a man and his wife's people are formal and hedged about with the hlonipha restrictions. We have seen how the lobola negotiations are conducted by go-betweens. The man visits the home of the girl during the betrothal period, but these visits are of a very formal character and there is mutual respect and avoidance between son-in-law-to-be and prospective mother-in-law. He must also avoid her husband and is forbidden to drink amasi (sour milk) at the kraal. The avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law is not strict, however. They must avoid one another's names, the mother of the girl must keep her head and breasts covered in the man's presence, they may not touch one another or give one another gifts directly, nor may they eat the meat of beasts killed ritually for one another. It will be noted that the patterns obtaining between mother-in-law and son-in-law are reciprocal, but the relations between daughter-in-law and parents-in-law are not. The respect (ukuhlonipha) in this case emanates only from the girl who must defer continually to both father and mother-in-law. Gifts between son-in-law and mother-in-law tend to be continued throughout life, but the giving of gifts by an umakhoti has the function of relaxing the restrictions of the hlonipha taboos, and facilitates assimilation into the group of the husband.

A man has no sexual rights over his wife's sisters whom he calls oodzadzewethfu (sisters) or posibati, or by their names. He may marry a sister of his wife, but he will have to pay the full ikhazi cattle. A man is also on friendly terms with his wife's brothers and calls them by name.

Christian marriage ceremonial.

The introduction of Christianity has necessitated,

among its adherents, a modification of the traditional form of the marriage ceremony to conform with the tenets and prohibitions of the new faith. Most prominent and far-reaching of these changes has been the introduction of the ideal of monogamy in the marriage relationship and the invoking of religious sanctions, operating through the established church, to strengthen and make the bond more permanent. The Bhaca have been reluctant to make a clean break with traditional forms, and the synthesis of the two ceremonies, the pagan on the one hand and the Christian on the other, to form a new entity differing in many respects from both, is an interesting study.

When a couple have decided to get married, after a period of courting, the man is told by the girl to 'see her parents'. As among the pagans, this does not mean that the man himself must go, but rather his father with his male relatives. The two groups make enquiries about one another's families to ascertain whether the union will be a suitable one from a social point of view, whether the girl is hardworking and pleasant, and if a friendship between the prospective in-laws is possible. Before the representatives of the man's group arrive a note will be sent to the girl by her lover telling her of the arrangements, so that her parents will be ready for the visitors. She will tell her parents. "The girl will say, 'There are people coming tomorrow' - or whatever the day is. She will be asked, 'What people?', but will reply, 'Andasti' (I don't know)". This appears to be the usual formula. mfa6a stated that "only silly girls say that they are getting engaged", and it is expected that the girl should be demure and appear to know nothing and care less about the whole affair. It is essential that the proposal should appear to come entirely from the man's group; many wives I spoke to were in ignorance as to the amount of ikhazi that was paid for them.

On the appointed day the groom's parents arrive. It will be noted that the prohibition against the father taking part in the negotiations is not so rigorously enforced, although often he is represented by his immediate male relatives as among the pagans. They are received courteously by the girl's people. The visit may take place in the morning, in which case they will leave again in the afternoon, or they may come in the afternoon and the

discussion will go on right into the night. The visitors are entertained in the main hut - or in the sitting room of those who are wealthier and have square-built houses of European style - and the girl's parents will pretend to know nothing of the purpose of their visit; even if asked they will deny all knowledge of the note sent to their daughter. After the usual polite, circumlocutory conversation which precedes all statement of business among the Bhaca, the man's father, or representative, will state that their son has chosen their daughter to be his wife, and that they are satisfied and pleased with the choice. In these negotiations the groom's people are known as oonozakuzakhu (from ukuza (Xh.), to come or abayeni), while the girl's people are known as abakhoti. The girl's people will immediately reply with variations on the phrase:- "Siya kukindela kuni ukuḁa nisivule imilomo" ("We will wait expectantly for you to open our mouths"), the signal for the umvula'mlomo to be given. This is usually, to-day, £5 in cash, although "if a person is rich up to £10 might be given; it is always in money". 'They cannot talk if the imvula'mlomo is given in stock' If the girl's people are favourably disposed towards the match they will say that they cannot make a definite decision yet as their near relatives must be consulted as this is not a 'small matter'. If, on the other hand, the man is not acceptable, the imvula will not be asked for and the money not be tendered. The acceptance of the imvula'mlomo is the crucial part of the whole affair, and the first thing the young man will ask when his representatives return home is whether it has been left or not. The object of referring to the relations is to allow the terms of the lobola transactions to be discussed, but even if the relatives subsequently disapprove of the match, the parents cannot go back on their word as long as the money 'to open their mouths' has been accepted. If they tell the abayeni that they must first speak to their relatives it is tantamount to a rejection, and it is said 'Baliwe' (they are rejected). The man will be mocked at by the other young fellows who will say to him "Usisi/umane" (old bachelor), or "ubulu" (dwarf), and will have to endure the teasing of his girl friends.

If the girl's people are in favour of the marriage they will get in touch with the relatives and decide with them on the exact amount of the lobola cattle. Cattle, sheep and goats are the usual media for this purpose, but

some of the more educated are beginning to prefer money to stock. Nzamala asked £60 in addition to the imvula 'mlomo and no stock at all. He is a teacher. Another teacher at Monda had to pay £90 as ikhazi, and this he sent in a lump sum "to show that he was a rich man". In addition he had to pay an imvula of £12. Generally all the ikhazi should be paid before the marriage is allowed to take place, but often, as among the pagans, arrangements are made for a deposit and subsequent instalments. If it so happens that the parents of the girl object to the match, the man's father might advise him that, if he really wants the girl, he should take her to live in some other area so that he can say that he knows nothing of their whereabouts. Informants say that this is the cause of many couples going to live permanently in the large urban areas of Johannesburg, Durban, etc.

When the ikhazi is handed over, or when the amount agreed upon as the first instalment is paid, the engagement takes place. The man sends a note to the girl's parents asking them whether they would mind him engaging the girl. If they reply in the affirmative, arrangements will be made for the couple to meet in town or at the store for the engagement ring to be bought. The man usually takes along with him three girl friends (who may be sisters) and a couple of men; the girl also takes her friends and the two parties meet at an appointed time at the nearest store, or go into Mount Erere on the buses, usually operated by Griqua, that ply between the village and the various locations of the district. Sometimes a car is hired and the party travel the sixty odd miles to Umtata or Kokstad. The purpose of the expedition is to buy gifts for the bride-to-be, and, as she must be given everything she asks for, the man often has no idea how much money he will have to spend; he should, however, be prepared for every contingency. The most important purchase is the ring, and often a preliminary visit is paid to the store to inspect and try on the trader's stock, so that, if necessary, a properly-fitting size may be ordered. Three rings are necessary for a Bhaca wedding, the 'engage', the 'keeper' and the wedding ring proper, and most traders keep a scale of brass shaped like a finger so that the correct size may be ordered. Rings are often sold in sets of 'engage', 'keeper' and wedding ring. After the 'engage' and 'keeper' are put on the girl's hand, she may ask for anything she likes and her fiancé cannot refuse her.

She must be measured for a long dress which must reach to her ankles "to show that she is engaged and that no other man may in future make love to her". Sometimes a handbag is bought, dress lengths, headsquares, sweets and handkerchiefs. The girls of the bride's group are also supposed to buy things for the men of the groom's, such as sweets, tobacco and cigarettes. Stwanana, an engaged girl, was asked in the store for 10/- worth of sweets -she got them. After the things have been bought the whole party will return to the girl's home for dancing and merry-making. If they have had a long way to go, for example, if they have been to Umtata for the ring, they will usually not return to the girl's home immediately, but will go home first and come together on the following week. Normally, however, a party is held on the day of engagement (almost invariably a Saturday) at the home of the girl. Food is provided and the young people dance to the music of a gramophone or harmonium, afterwards pairing off and sleeping together in the hut of the engaged girl. After the engagement the man is allowed to sleep with his fiancée with no fear of retribution, and here it seems that the engagement ring has much the same function as the umnyobo, discussed earlier, or the isinyaniso beast (see below). On the Saturday evening the groom and his friends sleep in the girl's hut, his men friends being supplied with partners with whom to sleep. At one engagement at Lugangeni ('school people'), the girl's hut on the night of the engagement was occupied by the engaged couple, two male friends of the man (his elder brother and an acquaintance who happened to have the same isibongo and who hailed from the man's home at Mandeleni), two Lugangeni girls to partner these men, and two girls, friends of the engaged man, also from Mandeleni.

On the following day, Sunday, the men and girls of this group go to church. The girl who is being engaged must put on her long frock and headsquare newly bought for her by her fiancé, and wear the 'engage' and 'keeper' on the third finger of her left hand. In church the girl will sit in front with the other young girls on the righthand side (reserved for men, c.f. the division of the hut) in front of the men. She will not sit on the left side with the women as she is not yet married. Her betrothed sits among the men. The minister (umfundisi) may, or may not, make any reference to the engagement, depending on how

well he knows the parties concerned, and after the service the young people leave for the girl's home again where food will be eaten, and the afternoon spent in singing and dancing. On the following morning (Monday) the man and his party will return home. During the whole period the girl being engaged is not supposed to speak to any male other than those comprising the party of her betrothed; apparently this is to make certain that her affections are not alienated by any other man and to demonstrate to those around, in this rather negative way, that this is so.

During the interval between the engagement and the marriage the man may visit the girl as often as he wishes. This is done publicly, and the girl is given a separate hut as it is understood that the man may presume on his conjugal rights during this period, only, of course, in the form of ukut/hina. At times when he is not visiting her the girl will sleep in the same hut as her mother, "but even if he arrives at midnight he will knock on the door of the mother's hut and the girl will come to him". On his visits the girl's bed will be moved into her own hut again. The mother of a man's betrothed is referred to by him as umkhwekati, her father as umkhwe. A girl refers to her father-in-law as uḡawokati, and his wife as umakati or ninatala (reference). The man must hlonipha the parents of his affianced. During the period of the engagement he must not uncover his head by removing his hat when he visits the girl's umti; he must not enter any hut except that of the girl and the dining hut; the hut of his future parents-in-law as well as the kitchen hut being taboo to him. A peculiar form of relationship exists between the man and the girl's parents. When he arrives on a visit he might wear his hat back to front, or roll up one leg of his trousers, while the girl's mother ties a headcloth low over her eyes "to show to the girl how she must behave when she becomes a bride". - also he is called by his betrothed's parents, Umkhwenyana. On each visit both the man and his future mother-in-law hlonipha one another by lowering the eyes, but this does not apply to the father of the girl. After the first visit the mother actively avoids the man, and, even if a fowl is killed, this will not be eaten with the parents. Presents of tea, sugar and other foodstuffs are given to the girl's mother, and, immediately after the engagement, a present to both parents called 'tobacco'. The girl, in her turn, will send gifts to the man's people, but she will

never actually visit their umti herself. During the period of the engagement the ikhazi cattle are driven over in instalments by representatives of the man's group called a6ayeni who are always welcomed by the slaughtering of a sheep or goat. No special visit is paid by the man after these instalments.

When the man decides that the wedding should now take place he goes himself to the girl's people, having previously sent a note warning them of the formal visit. It is said of him "Uye kucela igama" (He has gone to ask for the banns), and he asks the parents if he may "borrow the girl from them". If the father is satisfied that enough cattle have been handed over, or the man promises to pay more when he goes to the mines to work, they both go to the minister and arrange for the banns to be called on the following three Sundays. Sometimes a statement is written and signed by both parties as to the amount of ikhazi cattle paid and still owing, and I have been at one wedding where the proceedings were held up for a considerable time because not all the cattle agreed upon were paid. The minister refused to go on with the service. During the time that they are being called the girl must not attend church and must spend her time at home in semi-seclusion beautifying herself with creams and beauty preparations bought at the store. During the first week the women of the kraal plaster and whitewash the huts of the kraal in readiness for the wedding and the girl remains most of the time in a separate hut behind a screen and covered with a blanket, or, if educated, may spend her time reading and talking to her close friends, "who are not wizards". She is conceived to be in a state of danger from witchcraft during this period for people might be jealous of her. On the second week of the calling of the banns, usually on the Monday, a young man is dispatched early in the morning to the nearest forest officer to buy firewood, and the young men of the neighbourhood are invited to come and help bring it in to the kraal on sledges. Beer is carried in beakers to the forest to make the work more pleasant.

For some time before the actual wedding day, invitations are sent to the girls of the various neighbouring locations to "come and sing for the girl". This entails a ^{combination} mixture of stamping mealies and singing and dancing called umboloro. Usually for a week before the wedding takes place the young men and girls of the location are invited to

the homes of the bride and the groom respectively, and the hard, laborious work of stamping for umngqu/o to be cooked on the day of the wedding is lightened by communal singing and dancing. the umbona (mealie grains) are supplied by the owner of the umti, and three or four stamping blocks are borrowed from neighbouring kraals and placed in a hut. The girls usually arrive in the mid-afternoon of the appointed day and start stamping, soon being joined by the iindlavini dressed up for the occasion. At an umboloro at Mhlot/heni iindlavini came from Kode (5 miles away), Lut/hikini (2 miles) and even greater distances. The young men, as they arrive, go into the hut and sit around the walls gossiping to the girls as they stamp. These iindlavini come individually; it is not until the following Tuesday, when the wedding starts in earnest, that they will come in their gangs under a leader. A certain amount of umbona is put out each day, and only when it is finished may the singing start. The girls take turns with one another in stamping, and may be assisted by an iindlavini who knows how to do it. After the stamping is finished, the stamping blocks are removed from the hut or turned over to provide seats for the young men sitting round the walls. The girls go out of the hut to put on clean pinafores, and then re-enter to stand in a horse-shoe in the middle of the hut, looking very self-conscious. At one umboloro I attended, Nobelungu tried to escape after the stamping, but was caught by the umculisi, who threatened her in front of the young people that if it happened again she would have to go home minus her clothes. The girls were also warned that they should do everything that was told them. Said the leader: "We are not foolish. What we are now doing is known and your parents know what is being done". He was referring to the ukubita (calling of the girls, described earlier) that is held after the umboloro. On the Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday the young people return home after sundown, but on the Friday the ukubita (inkhandela) takes place. There are usually many more girls than men at these gatherings of the young people, and iindlavini say that this is as it should be, so that the girls may have a big choice. Before the calling proper the various wedding songs are

sung and the girls dance to the music. (1)

On the **Sunday** of the third week of the seclusion period all the people of the girl's place, except the bride herself, go to the local church, and after the service the young people go to their homes to fetch their presents for the bride. Presents usually include mats, brooms, tin buckets, cups, trays, glass tumblers, and, if the girl is a teacher or well educated, even books. During the three weeks when the banns are being called, the young man is also secluded, although naturally not as strictly as his future bride, and he is also given presents by his friends. In his case they usually take the form of money, sometimes amounting to four or five pounds. 'Something moving', a cow or a sheep, is usually bought with the money. During all this time he is not supposed to do any work, but if he is the only male in the umti he may not be able to refrain from the various household tasks that are necessary. When the guests arrive at the two kraals with their presents they are given food and tea, the feast being called umgidzo (from isigidzo - a present), and there is much rejoicing for on the following Tuesday the wedding proper begins. (Bhaca weddings are practically always held on the same days of the week).

The next day (Monday) the groom leaves home, and, with the young men and women and a few elderly relatives to represent his mother and a father at the bride's home, goes to the umti of the bride with, some informants say,

(1) There is a dichotomy recognized by 'school people' between two types of girls - those who have only attended the local mission school (up to Standard IV) and students of the large boarding institutions such as Osborn, Shawbury, Polela (Natal), Healdtown, Lovedale, etc. The former are called by the latter, 'iziklabu', or 'scrubs', because they seldom wear shoes, while the latter are known as izichwichwichi (from ukuthi cwi, to be proud, opinionated, fastidious), ungalintloko ("to cut round the head", from the mode of hair dressing), or ityhumi (from 'tuning fork', which they confuse with the humazoo, popular among those in high school). An interesting emergence of 'class' based on education.

a fat ox as their contribution to the feast. They arrive in the late afternoon, but not before sunset, as if they do this the women of the bride's group will rush out with sticks and pretend to beat them. We have already discussed the significance of this. (see above). Only after the sun has set are they allowed to enter the umti which they do singing. At one wedding I attended at Skhuni's kraal it was ten o'clock before the bride arrived - by the light of a hurricane lamp. They are conducted to a couple of huts specially reserved for their use, and coffee, sugar, bread, tea and stamped mealies are sent in to them. A goat or sheep called umathul' entabeni is brought down from the mountain, "to show that they are welcome". It must be a male and "if it is not given it shows that there is something wrong". At the wedding of Zavela, who had not satisfied the girl's father with lobola, the goat was not given and his party had to return home. They went knowing that they might not be welcomed, but evidently relied on the bride's people relenting. It is killed and eaten by the visitors, the horns, legs and intestines being sent to the bride's people. The night is spent in love-making.

On the following day (Tuesday) the father of the girl sometimes sends four oxen to the groom's party and tells them to choose two to be slaughtered for meat by one of themselves. The girls of the party are those who actually do the choosing, although they are advised by the older members, and it is said that if none of the cattle suit them the wedding will not take place. The cattle are called inkomo yokuvunywa (the cattle of welcoming). While the older women remain to cook and prepare amarewu and beer (despite the church's ban on the latter), the younger women and men go to the church for the wedding proper. I describe a ceremony as it took place at Njijini, February, 1949 in Appendix A.

It is considered correct for people to be at the church well before the wedding which is almost invariably held at 11 o'clock. Women will say "Wo, ndat/hata ngoleveni" (I was married at eleven), being proud of the fact. Ministers are paid a fee which varies with the denomination (Methodist, £1-10-0; Presbyterian, £1-8-0). At the reception the dresses of the bride are shown off at the ceremonial walk in the kraal (See Appendix A) and more than one change "shows that the people are rich". That evening

the young men ukubita the girls. On the following day (Wednesday) the representatives of the girl's group accompany those of the groom back to the latter's kraal where they are given huts to accommodate them, and a goat called umathulentabeni is ritually slaughtered to welcome them. If the goat they gave to the groom's people was thin, the one given to them will also be thin. Then, too, the bride must arrive after dark "to show that she is ashamed to arrive at the groom's home in the daytime". Informants say that the groom does not sleep with his bride that night. Apparently it is not that it is not allowed, but it does not seem to be ever done; as one man put it, "Why should I trouble her to-night; she has come for good". On the Thursday morning oxen are sent to the bride's people who choose one or two. The day is spent in singing, dancing and feasting. On the Friday, before the bride's people return home, leaving her with her new parents-in-law, the wedding presents, such as mats, blankets, shawls and other articles, are distributed among the members of the groom's immediate family, his mother, father, brothers, sisters, grandparents, etc. Lastly comes the imali yentombi (the money of the girl) and imali yenkundla (the money of the courtyard). "If these are not paid the bride will not be treated right. If she breaks a cup everyone will be entitled to scold her". The imali yentombi is given "to show that a woman is ukulo6ola and has been married in church, and should be treated as such". "Everything has been paid". The yentombi is £3 if up to 15 head of cattle have been paid, up to £5 if over 20. "The yenkundla shows that a new child has come to the unti". It is usually £10. This is interesting as it shows the introduction of customs based on a money economy, and also the fact that a Bhaca marriage is not merely a 'buying' of the girl by the passage of cattle. Relations are reciprocal between the father of the groom and the father of the bride, and gifts pass in both directions. On the basis of the available data the gifts may be analysed as follows:-

FIGURE XII.

<u>From bride's father to groom's father.</u>	<u>From groom's father to bride's father.</u>
(1) <u>Imali yentombi</u> (£5) <u>Imali yenkundla</u> (£10)	(1) <u>ikhazi</u>
(2) ' <u>umathulentabeni</u> ' (goat or sheep)	(2) <u>umathulentabeni</u>
(3) One or two oxen (<u>iinkomo zokwomakhoti</u>)	(3) one or two oxen (<u>iinkomo zokuvunywa</u>)
(4) Sugar, bread, <u>amarewu</u> , beer, salt, etc.	(4) Sugar, beer, <u>amarewu</u> , beer, etc.
Other gifts of blankets etc.	

After this is done the parents return home amid the tears of the bride, who has put on a long dress made of german print, the sign of a wife. It must come to her ankles and the headcloth must be low over the eyes - the sign of respect (ukuhlonipha). Two or three girls remain behind with her temporarily, and in the afternoon they accompany the new bride when she goes down to the river to wash clothes ceremonially for her husband's parents. They must also grind mealies for umkhupha (native bread). That night the bride sleeps with her husband, and her friends are given their own hut in which to sleep. On the Saturday the bride must get up early and make tea for her parents-in-law, husband and all the people of the umti, and in the afternoon a sheep or goat is slaughtered for the umchulo which will take place on the next day (Sunday). On this day the newly-married couple will go to church together and the sheep will be eaten. The wedding dresses will be worn by the bride. A week later an ox called inkomo yentusi (the beast of the milk) will be killed to allow the new bride to drink milk, as up to now she is not allowed to take it in any form of food, or in tea. Her girl friends spend a week with her and then return home.

Sometimes large sums are spent on Christian marriages and, in addition to the usual feasts, the bride must have three or four changes of new dresses and the more sophisticated hold a party to which special friends and relatives only are invited. At these 'imit/hato yesilungu' ('European weddings') the wedding cake is a prominent feature

of the feast. It is usually made by the wife of the local trader and must be of light colour. This shows that it is expensive and egg has been used; also a dark cake is thought to bring bad luck. Cakes range from 10/- to £1-10-0 each, and are usually of distinctive shape, often a square base with a cylindrical top (baked in a baking powder tin). The cakes of the bride and groom should be of different shapes, and the two families vie with one another to get the biggest. Cakes are iced and usually decorated with coloured paper flowers, and often the bride's name is put on her cake. The top section is known as the 'head of the child', and is eaten by the bridal couple⁽¹⁾, while the bottom section is divided between their parents. At the wedding feast the cake is displayed by a female relative who dances with it, so that everyone may see it.

The introduction of the Christian-type marriage has insisted on the ideal of monogamy, and a man who has been married in a church may not marry another wife by either Christian or civil rites. This latter type of marriage, contracted before a magistrate, is still rare among the Bhaca, who consider a marriage without the pomp and ceremony of the church cannot be a real marriage. Christian marriage has also added another ground for divorce to those allowing for a dissolution of indigenous marriage, viz. adultery, and that not only on the part of the wife but on that of the husband as well. The revolution in Bhaca thought can well be imagined, and the high incidence of adultery illustrates the difficulties due to this change of ethic.

Ukulo6ola - nature and significance.

From the above analyses of the marriage ceremonies of the Bhaca the important part played by the handing over of cattle (ukulo6ola) will be noticed. The verb ukulo6ola is used to express this action; the cattle which are handed over are known collectively as ikhazi, although they include

(1) It is said that the top piece (intloko yosana) ('the head of the baby') is kept and eaten by the couple only after the first baby is born; others maintain that it is eaten by them on the day of the wedding.

special beasts with special names which are important individually. This custom has furnished perhaps the most controversial topic in the whole field of South African ethnography and few have given rise to so many misconceptions in missionary, administrative and lay circles. The following observations are, or were until recently, common:-

"The individual woman is less than a human being, she is merely a channel through which the children are delivered to the purchaser (sic.). It is truly not woman purchase, it is a wholesale transaction in child-life"⁽¹⁾; also that the transactions constitute a 'sale' of the woman by her father, and she thus becomes a chattel and has no status except as a bearer of children.

It should be noted that the passage of cattle is the most important feature of the whole marriage ceremony and without it there is, in *Bhaca* law, no marriage. In fact all the ceremonies might be rigorously observed and a couple live together for many years and children be born, but without the giving of the *ikhazi* there is no marriage. The giving of *ikhazi* also legalizes in retrospect an illegal union, and transfers the children of a couple married without it from the possession of the wife's father to that of the husband. It will be seen that, unless cattle have been given as *ikhazi*, the children are considered to be still under the guardianship of the woman's father, and this will be upheld in a court of law. It thus seems more accurate to describe the *ukulobola* custom as the exchange of cattle by the man's group in return for the possession of the children almost more than for the wife. While this is undoubtedly true and is perhaps the main aspect of the transactions, there is also the element of exchange for the wife as will be seen in the *ukuthseleka* custom, whereby a father detains a daughter at his home, if the husband has not satisfied him in paying *lobola* cattle. [The *Bhaca* hotly refute any suggestion that the giving of *ikhazi* is a 'sale' of the girl. The term *ukuthsenga* (to sell) is never used in this context, and the custom of *ukulobola* has sociological

(1) Jennings, A.E: *Bogadi: a study in the marriage laws and customs of the Bechuana tribes of South Africa*, L.M.S. Bookroom, P. 21.

as well as ritual aspects which far outweigh the economic. The giving of ikhazi cattle may chiefly be regarded as a compensation to the bride's group for the loss of a member and the provision of the means to remedy that loss, i.e. cattle, which in their turn can be used to ukulobola a wife for a son of the group, thereby restoring the balance. As we shall see later, a man often 'links', or pairs, sons and daughters, so that the ikhazi obtained at the marriage of a daughter may go to ukulobola a wife for a son. Cattle are, as we have seen, also closely associated with the ancestral spirits. In case of sickness a beast is driven towards the hut of the sick person with the words, "Leave the person: take the beast". We have noted the killings at crucial points in the various ceremonies, and we shall see in a later chapter the strong association of cattle with the intermediaries with the ancestral spirits - the itangoma diviners. The passage of cattle brings the children, and to a lesser extent the wife of a man into a new relationship with the amathfongo of his group. Above all the Bhaca wife herself does not feel humiliated by the fact of the lobola transactions. To be ukulobola with many cattle is a great honour and a wife who has not had cattle given for her is mocked and laughed at by her co-wives.

ikhazi may consist of cattle, sheep, goats, horses, or, increasingly to-day cash, and the amount given is correlated with the wealth and importance of the families concerned, or the attractiveness of the girl. We have noticed that sometimes the family of a chief or headman have to make the first move in arranging a match for their daughter owing to the reluctance of commoners to pay the high number of ikhazi required (as much as a hundred cattle). I was fortunate enough to obtain an exact record of ikhazi given during part of the period 1914-1915 from records at the magistrate's court, Mount Frere. Under Proclamation 142 of 1910 all lobola transactions had to be registered at the magistrate's office indicating the numbers promised and paid. A list of 90 cases are appended (Appendix C). It will be noticed that there has emerged a set of equivalents in reckoning the amount of ikhazi, so that even cash and sheep can be translated into their value in cattle. Some of the principles of reckoning which emerged from my

study of the records and of modern Bhaca marriages are as follows:- (I had considerable difficulty in obtaining present day amounts of ikhazi as most of my informants, in a society in which large numbers of men are away for considerable periods, were women and did not know how much had been given for them.)

- (1) For purposes of ikhazi one cow is as good as another - a calf is counted as a beast as much as a bull and a thin animal as much as a fat.
- (2) 1 Horse = 1 head of cattle.
- (3) saddle and bridle = 1 head of cattle.
- (4) 1 horse plus saddle and bridle = 2 head of cattle.
- (5) 10 sheep equal 1 head of cattle.
- (6) 10 goats equal 1 head of cattle.
- (7) 1 beast = £5.
- (8) 15 sheep (or goats) = a cow and a calf.

These values are not always constant and I have come across cases where two calves were equal to £4, where one horse equalled £12, and where "one red and white ox was the same as two head of cattle.", but, generally speaking, they are recognized as equivalents throughout the Bhaca area. That the transfer of cattle to the bride's group is not merely a sale is shown by the fact that there is also a transfer of gifts from them to the man's family, and these gifts, their number ^{and} of quality, bear a distinct correlation to the number given as ikhazi. The number of cattle to be given is decided on by the abayeni or go-betweenes of the man's family, and the Bhaca haggle unashamedly as to the exact amount, each side trying to get the best of the bargain. This is contrary to the practice of some Sotho tribes, for instance, who consider it bad form. The first beast paid is the one given during the engagement, the isinyaniso (inyaniso, truth) which is sent by the man's father with the abayeni as a surety. Another name is the inkomo-yokuqala (the first beast) and it is counted as the first beast of the ikhazi. It can be considered as an earnest beast, or, as Mfaba put it, "it is given to book the girl", and marks the formal engagement of the girl.⁽¹⁾ It is not necessarily a heifer, as stated by Engelbrecht, but can be any beast. If it gives

(1) Informants say, "If a boy and girl quarrel the isinyaniso will prove that there was an understanding between the two parties.

birth to a calf before it reaches the groom's umti, or, if it has a suckling calf, the calf will be counted as one of the ikhazi cattle, but if the calf is born after delivery only one beast is counted. An engagement does not always end in marriage and may be broken off. In such a contingency it depends on circumstances what happens to the isiyaniso beast. If the young man, for some reason, tires of the girl and breaks off the engagement, and "if the girl still says that she loves him", the beast, but not the increase, must be forfeited. If the engagement is broken off because of some fault of the girl, if she ceases to care for him without good cause, or if she ukut/hina's, or becomes pregnant by another man, the isiyaniso, plus increase must be returned, but, say informants, one ox will be left with the girl's father in payment for all he has done in preparation for the marriage. It is called inkomo yentlawulo (beast of payment). If, on the other hand, a girl breaks off an engagement on the allegation that the man is having relations with other women, the isiyaniso will be returned, as it is not considered a valid ground for objection - a man may have many wives.

It is seldom that all the ikhazi is paid before marriage. Usually a certain number are required before the marriage ceremony is allowed to proceed, and the rest paid over at intervals in the ensuing years, enforced, if necessary, by the ukuthseleka custom. The usual system seems to be to pay the isiyaniso (or 'first' beast), then two others at the time of the first negotiatory visit of the abayeni, together with the 'opener of the mouth', the imvula'mlomo or 'fourth beast'. Before the marriage is allowed to proceed six further beasts should be paid to bring the number up to ten and so 'finish the girl's head' (ukugqiba inhloko yentfombi). Thus, theoretically, ten beasts are the minimum number required before a marriage may proceed. After marriage, to a greater or lesser extent, further instalments are paid. In actual practice there is considerable variation in the amount of ikhazi given and the time of delivery. From the 90 cases of 1914-1915 the average number given (translated from the various types of tender into number of cattle) was 8.93 and from my (smaller) sample of present day ikhazi, 10.8. As among the Mpondo, women take no part in the discussions,

and it was an exceptional woman who could tell me exactly the number of ikhazi cattle given for her. The cattle given to the bride's mother in repayment are over and above the cattle given for the ikhazi, and belong to her mother.

We must now discuss the sources and allocation of the ikhazi. A detailed analysis of this will be found in the Appendix B. The main method is the linking by a father of his sons and daughters so that the ikhazi obtained on the marriage of the latter will go to provide cattle for the wife of the former. Cattle may also be obtained from the father, or may be worked for by the youth himself. There is no difference between cattle obtained in this latter way and that got through linking. It will be seen from the Appendix that in no case was ikhazi received from relatives outside the immediate family group, despite the fact that informants say that ikhazi is sometimes contributed to by paternal uncles. Another interesting fact which emerges is that cattle is not always used only by the house (indlu) which owns it. Sometimes the ikhazi cattle of a girl in the second house will go to assist a half brother in the first house, and vice versa. Cases of this will be found in Appendix B, (V, VI, VII, X, XI and XVII.) Originally ikhazi always consisted of cattle but, as we have seen, goats, sheep, horses and cash are becoming increasingly used as substitutes. They possess, however, values in terms of cattle, although the whole concept is taking on a more commercial aspect, especially with the introduction of money into the transactions. The educated, especially teachers and ministers, are beginning to prefer their ikhazi in money, and it seems that this is leading inevitably to a more materialistic attitude to the function of ukulo6ola: this reflects on the ritualistic and religious content of the custom. Bhaca say that fathers are increasingly resorting to the ukuthseleka custom to extort as much as possible from their sons-in-law - an indication of the modern change in attitude. It is possible, through a civil marriage, to obviate the giving of ikhazi and for the man to gain possession of the children of the union without it, but to-day still, cases of this type of marriage are practically non-existent.

It will be seen from the above that the custom of ukulo6ola, with the passing of the ikhazi cattle from the groom's family to that of the bride, plays an important part in stabilizing the marital union. A man knows that if

he ill-treats his wife too badly, deserts her, or sends her away from his umti without good reason, he will have to forfeit his cattle. Similarly, if a woman leaves her husband and refuses to return to him, some, if not all, of the ikhazi cattle will have to be returned by her father, brother or perhaps some other male relative who has received a beast or two from her ikhazi. Both groups are thus interested, from an economic as well as a social point of view, in the success of the union, and will usually do all in their power to ensure its continuance. The girl will be talked to and, if possible, persuaded to return to her husband. The ikhazi also has the important function of legitimizing any children of a union; indeed one may almost say that this is its main function from a legal point of view. Without the passage of cattle the children belong legally to the woman's father. Ukulobola also has the very practical function of translating the woman's value into material terms understood and appreciated by the society - that of cattle. As we have seen, the amount of cattle given is definitely correlated with the desirability of the girl, her social position and the wealth of her father. In a very definite sense, ukulobola is Bhaca marriage.

The dissolution and modification of the marital relationship.
Divorce.

Under certain circumstances the marriage union can be dissolved. This is done when, for some reason, a wife leaves her husband's umti permanently, or is sent away by him and forbidden to return. This raises the question of what happens to the ikhazi cattle which were handed over to the wife's father at the marriage, and since. Whether or not it is returned in whole or part depends on the circumstances of the case and which party is responsible for the failure of the union.

The only ground on which a man can sue his father-in-law for the ikhazi cattle is the desertion of the woman. Not all the cattle can be recovered and one beast is left for each child of the union and one 'for the services of the woman'. Informants say that, if a wife dies, all the ikhazi cattle must be returned, but, where there are children, only half is returned irrespective of the number of children born. A more common arrangement, however, is the custom of the levirate (ukungena, to go in) described below. As

among the Mpondo, barrenness in a wife is no ground for the return of the ikhazi cattle, or the provision of another wife by her family. Another common cause of separation is accusations of witchcraft against a wife, but here again the ikhazi is not returnable; as one informant put it, "The man has no proof that his wife has really bewitched him, and her father will not believe it." Ikhazi must be forfeited if the wife leaves her husband for any reason and he does not take any steps to secure her return within a certain period. The cattle are also forfeited if the desertion of the woman is caused by cruelty (proved at a chief's court) inflicted by the husband. As a Bhaca man is allowed, and expected, to chastise his wife, if necessary, the borderline between correction and ill-treatment is often difficult to discover. To sum up, the only grounds on which the ikhazi cattle may be returned on the separation of man and wife is malicious desertion of the woman without good cause. Even then not all of the cattle are returned, depending on the number of children born.

ukungena - the levirate.

A Bhaca marriage is not necessarily terminated by the death of the male partner. The widow has been ukulo6ola'd with cattle contributed, not only by the husband himself, but also largely by the father and perhaps an elder brother. (See Appendix B). She has become a member of a new group, a group interested in retaining her help and in her welfare, and particularly her reproductive potential. Her labour and reproductive functions have been obtained in exchange for the ikhazi cattle of the group, and unless these are returned the widow remains at her late husband's umti after his death. This does not mean that her reproductive powers will remain dormant. Her potentials for increasing the size of the group must be exploited to the full, and it is here that the custom of the levirate comes into operation. The widow is taken over by a male relative, and children are 'raised up' to her dead husband. It should be noted that for social purposes the children are classed, not as the offspring of the physical father, but of the dead man. A special ceremony marks this. After a year (the recognized mourning period), the senior males in the family call the members together, kaffir corn for beer is ground and a feast made, and a beast is killed called inkomo yokuhlamba umhlolokati

(the beast for the washing of the widow). The mourning clothes are ceremonially removed and burnt to destroy all contamination. A goat may be substituted for the beast but apparently nothing is believed to happen to the widow, if the ceremony is not carried out. "It is a custom". The men eligible to take over the widow are the younger brothers of the dead man of the same house, sons of junior houses of his father, and sons of the father's younger brothers. Formerly an elder brother of the deceased could not take over his younger brother's widow, as he is ukuhlonipha'd like a father by her (he inherits his father's position when the latter dies), but to-day it is done in certain cases, even although the elder brother is ukuhlonipha'd by the widow almost as strictly as his father. As one informant commented, "Then he will inherit everything - even the widow." It is doubtful whether this is common, however. Formerly the widow could not choose which of her husband's eligible relatives should ngena her but was relegated one by the old men of the family. To-day, however, a widow may refuse to have anything to do with any of her husband's relatives, and there seems to be an increasing tendency for women to know their own minds and refuse to be forced into an uncongenial union. A widow may decide to take a lover, and it seems that the husband's family usually approve. It does not really make much difference, who succeeds the dead man, as any children born of the union will belong to his group. In any event no cattle are returned. At the ukungena ceremony a goat is slaughtered. It has no special name and no special part is eaten by the widow.

The taking over of a widow, although any issue are conceived to belong to the dead man, gives the relative who ukungena's her the right to sue any man, caught sleeping with her, for adultery. On the other hand, if a widow refuses all of her husband's relatives and lives with a stranger - a situation which is becoming increasingly common - he cannot sue anyone for adultery. It seems that formerly this situation seldom arose. If none of the immediate relatives of the deceased were suitable, another man from a different place but of the same clan of the husband was obtained. If no son has been born to the deceased his property is inherited by the eldest son of the ukungena union, provided that the male partner in such union is a relative of the dead man. If the widow goes to a stranger, however, the son will not inherit, and the house property will

go to the heir next in succession. If the widow decides to return home after the death of her husband, the ikhazi must be returned unless there are any children of the union - when only half is returned. This often happens when a widow has been married only a short time and has perhaps only one child, and there has not been sufficient time for the building up of affectionate attitudes and emotions round the husband's home and her new environment. Maafile withu has three children. The youngest, a boy named Sipho (gift) is of an ukungena union. Maafile's husband was killed by a Pondo while working and she was ukungena'd by a male relative of her husband, a cousin, as the husband Mcithwa, had no brothers.

Extra-marital relations.

Apart from the phenomena of the modification and dissolution of marriage mentioned above, both of which are given overt and socially recognized expression by means of the return of ikhazi or ritual killing, there are other lapses from the approved principle of exclusive sexual possession which are covert, and, even if known of by society, are usually tacitly ignored by it as such. Chief of these is adultery. Although a man, after marriage, is not expected to remain faithful to his wife (he may have more than one) this does not apply to his wife who may not have connexion with any other man but her husband. The amount of freedom possessed by a married woman depends to a large degree on the personality of her husband. A jealous husband may be constantly on guard for any sign of his wife's infidelity; a more easy-going type will turn an indulgent eye on his wife's lapses. Generally speaking, however, society frowns on these aberrations - although it is left to the injured husband to take steps if his wife is caught in adultery. Adultery is not a ground of divorce, but a husband may sue the male partner in the chief's court, when the fine is usually three head of cattle. Formerly, Bhaca say that if a man caught his wife in flagrante delicto with another man he could kill the latter - an action which was held as quite legitimate. To-day, however, with the imposition of European political control and the introduction of Common Law in criminal cases, this expedient is no longer resorted to. As among the Mpondo chief's wives are more jealously guarded than those of commoners. It seems from all accounts that the

great majority of Bhaca women have lovers, and the position is aggravated by the fact that large numbers of husbands are away from home for extensive periods (usually about nine months) on the mines of the Witwatersrand or Natal, or working in one of the larger urban centres. Hunter (Page 205) mentions the concern of young, often newly married, men proceeding to the mines, as to the fidelity of their wives at home, and adultery cases were frequent at Wabane's court. Adultery has always been common among the Bhaca, but the introduction of the Christian ethic with its insistence on monogamy has stiffened public opinion against it - at least overtly. The majority of Bhaca, especially women, belong to some church or Christian sect, in which such an accusation might mean discipline and perhaps expulsion, and to say of someone that she is an icuphathi (Xh. idikazi, prostitute, loose woman) will often lay one open to a charge of libel. At a case at the headman's court at Mhlot/heni, Mamhelo was made to appear as she had threatened Mamsezi with a knife one Sunday after church. It had come to her ears that the latter had said that she was an idikazi. I could not go very deeply into this topic, but it seems evident that the epithet is greatly resented by the majority of Bhaca women to-day. This is interesting as it differs from the Mpondo among whom, to quote Hunter, "Any woman is flattered if you greet her as idikazi". It seems that this change in attitude can be directly attributed to Christianity. Despite this there are women, even church members, who have never married, or who have left their husbands, but who have borne children and who live at their father's umti. These form the class of icuphathi (amadikazi), fair game to any man. Many Bhaca men have lovers among this category, but the class is not as well-marked socially as among the Mpondo. Practically all Bhaca women are to-day 'dressed' and there is thus no differentiation in costume; and we have seen the effect of ecclesiastical disapproval - the virtual driving underground of this class. It does exist, however. Any children of an idikazi belong to her father unless the damages of five head of cattle are paid, when ownership is transferred to the man. Illegitimate children of a married woman belong to her husband, whether the damages are paid or not. If a man has an illegitimate son by an

unmarried girl, pays the damages but does not marry her, the boy will be taken into the great house where he will rank as a junior son. As in all contexts of Bhaca life, men resort to medicines to ensure their wives' fidelity. The most common type is that which, when administered to the wife, has the effect of harming the next person having sexual intercourse with her. We have already discussed this question in an earlier chapter, and will return to it when discussing Bhaca magic.

We have now discussed in fair detail the way in which Bhaca society is perpetuated. This, with the chapters on the social structure and its integral statuses, with their foundations in the environment, have formed what I have called the morphology, the structural form, of the society. The next section deals with the way in which the component human units are conditioned and compelled (if necessary) to co-operate in the well-being and perpetuation of the society.

APPENDIX A.Description of Wedding at Njijini, (February, 1949).

(Richard Zembe and Rebecca Sighiya).

When they arrived at the church (at about 10.30 a.m.) the young people of both bride and groom's groups sat on opposite sides of the aisle and amused themselves in the interim before the bride arrived by singing hymns. The church was Methodist and consisted of a rectangular mud building with rafters and a thatched roof. At the top end there was a low platform on which stood a table covered with a white cloth, at which the umfundisi, dressed in riding breeches and a graduate gown, wrote unconcernedly as the singing continued. The pulpit, made of wood and covered with a faded red cloth, was pushed back against the wall, out of the way.

The singing increased in volume as the bridal pair approached and entered the church, followed by a crowd of young people who took their places on the right and left of the aisle, and halted in front of the minister. The bride was dressed in white but carried a black umbrella. A hymn was sung and a short portion of scripture read, while the bride and groom stood woodenly, with absolutely expressionless faces, the bride with downcast eyes. This attitude was maintained throughout the day. When the time came for the ring to be put on there was much fumbling and tittering from the onlookers, while the white gloves of the bride were removed. A close friend of the bride usually performs this office, but, on this occasion, the minister assisted. The ring was put on with the words (translated), "By this ring it is to show that I, _____, in front of these people, take you to be my married wife. And I will look after you in happiness and sorrow until separated by death. I will leave all other women and have you alone". The bride repeated the same formula with appropriate changes in the wording and the minister offered up an impromptu prayer. The couple now sat down on a bench placed for them in front of the pews, and the groom walked slowly and stiffly to the platform, sat down at the table and signed the register laboriously while a hymn was sung by the young people of his party. Then the groom returned slowly to his seat, and the bride, in her turn, was led, with eyes closed, and leaving the black umbrella, to the platform where, after having her veil put back by

the minister, she signed her name, all the while sitting bolt upright and keeping her eyes downcast. While this was being done her friends in the congregation sang a hymn in their turn. Informants say that the downcast eyes are a sign that "she is going to behave: she is ashamed of what she is doing. Everyone is looking at her and saying that she is beautiful." After the signing of the register had been completed the groom returned to the platform and led his bride to her seat, while the best man (a cousin of the groom) and one of two young girls in white (called abakhapi i.e. witnesses) signed the book. The minister completed the certificate while the congregation continued to sing. The singing appeared to be spontaneous. Anyone would start up with a favourite hymn, the others joining in. Sometimes the effort was not very successful and there was stifled laughter. The church choir under their leader also gave a solo during the rather long period in which the umfundisi took to fill up the record.

The minister now gave a few words of exhortation. Apparently a humourist, he caused much laughter by telling those present that marriage was a serious business and that all parties to it, including himself, would land in gaol if anything was wrong. Inter alia he told the girl that she would have to be patient and tolerant, and twitted the groom on the love letters he wrote to her from East London where he had been working. He advised love and tolerance in the years ahead, especially when the woman was old and had lost her teeth, and loyalty to the marriage by both parties with no thought of divorce. After the talk he announced that all those who had brought gifts to the church for the bridal couple should now bring them up to the platform. The ethnographer's present was taken up in its turn, opened by the minister and words of appreciation delivered. The service then closed with the benediction and the minister shook hands with the couple, giving the certificate to the bride for safe keeping. The bestman put the white gloves on the bride and mopped the face of the impassive groom with a silk handkerchief, the groom's hat was put on, and, very slowly, the couple walked down the aisle to the church door. The bride wore a white, high-necked dress with a veil, white shoes, white cotton gloves, and carried a black umbrella, while the groom was

resplendent in black evening dress, black bow tie and white gloves. The bow tie is not a necessary part of a groom's attire, but he should wear a dark suit, white shirt, and if possible, carry a cane. After the service the bride and groom change in separate kraals, and the bride, accompanied by most of the congregation, walked the two or three miles to her uncle's umti where the reception was being held, while the groom made his way on horseback to the kraal by a different route. On arrival they were given separate huts in the kraal. As we rode towards the kraal we met groups of people converging on it, carrying mats, beer, amarewu, baskets, brooms, etc., and driving sheep and goats as wedding presents.

During this time an ox had been slaughtered in the cattle kraal, while the men sat round the outside gossiping and smoking until the meat had been cut up and banded round on pieces of aloe leaf. Groups of iindlavini from the various surrounding locations roamed the hillside brandishing their sticks and singing and dancing, while a group of women sat round a fire cooking part of the meat, for it was a christian wedding and the eating of raw meat (ukufukuthsa) theoretically taboo. All this time the groom and best man and bride and attendants were secluded in huts especially reserved for them in different parts of the umti.

At about three o'clock in the afternoon the groom, again clad in his evening dress and carrying a walking stick, came out of his hut, and, with the bestman, walked slowly to the hut of the girl followed by a crowd of singing people. A number of girls entered the bridal hut, while the crowd sang and clapped and two or three elderly women danced in the space immediately before the door. Suddenly it half opened and a smiling woman threw on the ground sugar from a cup, finally throwing the cup itself violently upon the ground. This is to show that "it is a day of gladness" and expense does not enter into the scheme of things. The bride then appeared in her wedding dress followed by a crowd of singing girls and the uncle of the bride carrying a gun. A shot was fired and he ran away. This is often done at weddings and is "just to show that it is a great day". The bride and groom stood stolidly with downcast eyes while the crowd laughed and sang, and the women danced and postured before them. Now and again the best man took a brush from his pocket and brushed the groom's coat or mopped his face with his handkerchief. Once a young girl darted forward and put perfume on the lapels of his coat. Followed by the crowd the couple walked slowly down the slope of the hill on which the umti was built to the end of the line of huts and then back again

until they stood opposite the entrance to the cattle kraal where the old men were seated. They sat down on a bench and were addressed again by the minister, and a prayer was offered up by an old man, and elder of the church. All the time, however, the women sang and the young men danced, and everyone's attention was diverted. After the benediction the young couple went for a walk into the veld by themselves. Gradually most of the guests returned home and the young people spent the night love-making. On the following day the bride's people went to the man's kraal where the same ceremony was held, without the church service.

APPENDIX B.SOURCES OF IKHAZI CATTLE : ANALYSIS OF CASES.

In the following cases the houses (itindlu) of a kraal are lettered in Capitals, thus, A, B, C, etc. Sons in each house are numbered, thus A1, A2, B3, etc.; daughters in small letters, thus, a3, a4, c1, etc. In the analysis the 'linking' of brothers and sisters in certain cases will be illustrated. (Adapted from Hunter). Cases of unallocated ikhazi (ikhazi not marked) means that that particular daughter has not yet married.

Case I.

<u>House.</u>	<u>Sons .</u>	<u>Daughters.</u>
A	A1, A2, A3.	a1

A1 got ikhazi from his father
 A2 got ikhazi from his father
 A3 got ikhazi from a1

The rest of the cattle from the ikhazi of a1 went to the father and were inherited, on his death, by A1.

Case II

A	A1, A2, A3, A4	a1, a2
B		b1

A1 got ikhazi ^{from} a1
 A2 got ikhazi by working (father died) but helped by two head from him.
 A3 worked for his own ikhazi.
 A4 worked for his own ikhazi.

The ikhazi of a2 went to her mother on the death of her father, as did that of b2. Her brothers acquiesced.

Case III.

A	A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6.	a1, a2, a3, a4, a5
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A1 got ikhazi from father (a1 still young)
 A2 got ikhazi from a1
 A3 got ikhazi from father and a1
 A4 got ikhazi from father and a1
 A5 got ikhazi from a2
 A6 got ikhazi from a3

Ikhazi of a4 went to her parents: a5 died while still young.

<u>House</u>	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>
<u>Case IV</u>		
A	A1, A2, A3	a1, a2
	A1 got <u>ikhazi</u> from father	
	A2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a1	
	A3 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a2	

<u>Case V</u>		
A	A1, A2, A3, A4, A5.	a1, a2, a3, a4, a5, a6.
B	B1, B2, B3, B4	b1
	A1 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a1	
	A2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a2	
	A3 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a3	
	A4 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a4	
	B1 got <u>ikhazi</u> from b1	
	B2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a5	
	B3 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a6	

It will be seen here that cattle from house A is sometimes used to lobola wives for house B.

<u>Case VI</u>		
A	A1, A2.	a1, a2, a3, a4, a5
B	B1, B2, B3	
	A1 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a1	
	A2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a2	
	B1 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a3	
	B2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a4	
	B3 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a5	

<u>Case VII</u>		
A	A1, A2	a1, a2, a3.
B	B1, B2, B3	
C	C1, C2, C3, C4.	c1, c2, c3, c4, c5
	A1 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a1	
	A2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a2 and father	
	B1 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a3	
	B2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from father	
	B3 got <u>ikhazi</u> from c1	
	C1 got <u>ikhazi</u> from c2	
	C2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from c3	
	C3 got <u>ikhazi</u> from c4	
	C4 got <u>ikhazi</u> from c5	

<u>House</u>	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>
<u>Case VIII</u>		
A	Al.	a1, a2
B	(10 children of this house, boys and girls, all died before puberty).	

Al got ikhazi from a1

The ikhazi cattle from a2 went to father and was inherited by Al on his death.

Case IX

A	Al, A2.	a1, a2, a3, a4.
Al got <u>ikhazi</u> from a1		
A2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a2		

The ikhazi of a3 (to be married soon) will go to her father and, with that of a4, will eventually be inherited by Al.

Case X

A	Al, A2, A3	a1, a2.
B	B1, B2.	b1, b2, b3, b4
Al got <u>ikhazi</u> from a1		
A2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a2		
A3 got <u>ikhazi</u> from b1		
B1 got <u>ikhazi</u> from b2		
B2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from b3		

Case XI

A	Al	a1, a2, a3, a4
B	B1, B2, B3	
C	C1	c1, c2, c3
Al got <u>ikhazi</u> from a1		
B1 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a2		
B2 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a3		
B3 got <u>ikhazi</u> from a4		

C1 got ikhazi from all three (c1, c2, c3) but the details are not known. The balance was kept by the father.

<u>House</u>	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>
<u>Case XII</u>		
A	A1	
B	B1, B2	b1, b2, b3.
C	C1, C2	c1, c2, c3
D	D1, D2, D3	d1, d2, d3, d4, d5.

A1 got ikhazi from his father
 B1 got ikhazi partly from b1 and partly from b2
 B2 got ikhazi partly from b3 and partly from b2
 C1 got ikhazi from c1
 C2 got ikhazi from c2
 D1 got ikhazi from d1
 D2 got ikhazi from d2
 D3 got ikhazi from d3

Ikhazi of d4 and d5 kept by father and eventually divided between A1 and some of the other sons.

Case XIII

A	A1	a1
B	B1	b1, b2.

A1 worked for part of the ikhazi; helped with cattle from a1.

B1 got ikhazi from b1 and b2.

Case XIV

A	A1, A2, A3	a1, a2
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A1 got ikhazi from a1

A2 worked for ikhazi because father died; helped by a2

A3 unmarried.

Case XV

A	A1, A2, A3, A4	a1, a2, a3
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A1 worked at Kimberley for ikhazi as father died young.

A2 lives permanently in Johannesburg

A3)
 A4) died young

Case XVI.

A	A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6, A7	a1, a2, a3, a4
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A1 helped with cattle from a1; also worked

A2 helped with cattle from a1; got 6 by working

A3 helped with increase from a1's cattle; also worked

A4 got ikhazi from a2; also worked.

A5 got ikhazi from a3; also worked

A6)
 A7) died

HouseSonsDaughtersCase XVII

A	A1, A2.	al
B	B1, B2, B3.	bl

A1 helped by father and ikhazi of al
 A2 helped by father and ikhazi of al
 B1 helped by father and two beasts from al
 B2 got ikhazi from bl
 B3 got ikhazi from B1, B2 and A1.

APPENDIX C.AMOUNTS OF IKHAZI.

The following amounts relate to marriages occurring in the Mount Frere district over a period ^{of} months during the period 1914 to 1915. Under Proclamation 142 of 1910 the exact amount of ikhazi paid at a marriage, and promised after the marriage, had to be registered at the office of the Magistrate. This was discontinued about 1919, but the records give an interesting and full description of a large number of ikhazi transactions, much fuller than I was able to obtain from the present-day Bhaca. For comparison I also append my rather abbreviated list of ikhazi payments. Many are obviously incomplete. (Appendix D.) The figures in brackets refer to values when translated into cattle. Thus, (3) = 3 beasts; S.B. = Saddle and bridle.

<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Sheep or Goats</u>	<u>Horse</u>	<u>Cash</u>
5	-	-	£5 (1 beast)
4	-	1 Bay gelding	£10
4	-	-	£10 (3 head)
	(promise of 19 head and 1 horse later)		
8	10 goats = 8 beasts	1 bay mare	-
8	10 goats = 8 beasts	2 horses	-
	(promise of further 19 head)		
5	10 goats	1 grey filly	-
	(promise of further 3 head)		
3	-	horse with S.B.	£10
7	10 sheep	1 horse	£5
5	-	-	£5
10	10 sheep	1 horse	£6 (2 head) ^{of cattle}
7	10 sheep	1 horse	£5
	(promise of 20 sheep and horse)		
4	20 sheep (2 head)	1 mare	£5
	(promise of 8 head)		
6	10 goats	-	£10 (3 head)
7	20 sheep	-	-
6	10 sheep, 10 goats	horse & saddle	-
	(2 head)		
9	-	-	Promise of 7 head and horse
5	8 goats & £1	1 mare	£3 (1 beast)
	(1 beast)		
7	-	1 filly	-
1	-	1 filly	£20 = (3 beasts)
8	10 sheep	1 stallion	-
10	12 goats (2 beasts)	-	£8-10-0 (4 beasts)
6	10 sheep, 10 goats	1 gelding	£8 (1 beast)
9	20 goats, 10 sheep	1 stallion	£5
7	20 sheep (2 beasts)	5 horses	-
	10 goats		
6	5 goats	1 gelding	£10

<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Sheep or Goats</u>	<u>Horse</u>	<u>Cash</u>
4	10 sheep, 10 goats	1 gelding	-
10	-	-	£6 (2 beasts)
2	9 goats, 21 sheep	-	£5 (1); £2 (1)
-	-	1 filly	£10 (1); £8 (2)
7	10 goats (1)	-	£10 (2)
5	10 goats (1), 6 goats (1)	1 mare	-
2	27 goats (4)	-	-
6	10 goats	2 horses & 1 saddle	-
5	20 sheep (2)	-	-
10	-	-	£3-10-0 (1)
-	10 sheep (1)	1 stallion	£5 (1)
1	18 sheep (3), 8 goats (1)	1 mare	-
16	-	1 horse	-
12	18 goats (3)	-	-
12	18 goats (3)	-	-
7	10 goats (1)	2 horses	£5 (1)
6	-	-	£5 (1)
6	-	-	£10 (1 horse)
5	-	-	£5
1	2 goats (2)	1 stallion	£16 (4)
9	2 goats (2), 10 sheep (1)	3 horses	£4-10-0 (1); £5 (1)
7	10 goats (1)	1 mare & S.B. (1)	£10 (2)
3	30 goats (3), 10 sheep (1)	1 horse	£10 (2)
3	20 goats (2)	-	£10 (2); £3 (1)
3	-	-	£5 (2)
5	20 sheep (2)	Saddle (1)	-
9	10 sheep (1)	-	-
8	10 sheep (1), 10 goats (1)	2 horses	£2 (1)
1	10 goats	4 horses	£5 (1); £4 (1)
9	10 goats	-	-
6	-	1 filly	-
5	15 sheep, 5 goats (2)	bay stal- lion	£15 (3)
8	20 goats (2), 10 sheep (1)	2 horses	-
-	10 goats (1)	1 horse	£6 (2)
2	10 sheep, 10 goats (2)	2 horses	£5 (1)
7	10 goats (1), 10 sheep (1)	-	£6 (1)
4	10 goats (1), 20 sheep (2)	2 horses & S.B. (3)	£13 (3)
12	-	1 horse	Promise of further 14 head.
4	20 goats (2)	1 horse	£10 (3) Promise of (20)
2	30 goats (3), 5 goats (1)	-	£9 (3); £2 (1)
1	30 sheep	1 horse	£15
6	10 sheep (1)	1 horse & S.B.	£5
3	-	1 horse	£5 (1); £5 (1); £4 (1)
7	-	1 horse	-
3	6 goats (1)	-	£4 (2)
4	-	-	£6 (1); Pro- mise of (5) & 1 horse.

<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Sheep or Goats</u>	<u>Horse</u>	<u>Cash</u>
6	-	-	£14 (3)
15	-	-	-
7	-	1 horse	Promise of £3
13	-	-	Promise of (7) & horse
4	20 sheep (2)	-	£5 (1)
11	-	1 horse	-
1	20 goats (2)	1 horse & S.B. (2)	£10 (2)
8	10 sheep (1)	1 horse	-
5	-	-	£4 (2), Promise of (15) & 1 horse
5	10 goats (1), 10 sheep (1)	1 horse & S.B. (2)	£2 (1)
5	-	-	£4 (2 calves) £3 (1); £4 (1)
5	9 small stock (1)	1 horse	£12
1	-	1 horse	£5 (1); £3 (1) £2 (1)
3	10 sheep	1 horse & S.B.	£27 (5)

APPENDIX D.AMOUNT OF IKHAZI(1949)

<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Sheep and Goats.</u>	<u>Horse</u>	<u>Cash</u>
12	10 goats (1)	-	£3 (1)
8	-	-	£5 (1)
11	10 sheep (1), 10 goats (1)	-	-
9	10 goats	-	-
6	-	1 horse	-
9	-	1 horse	£10 (2)
5	-	-	-
15	10 goats (1)	1 stallion	£25 (5)
2	-	-	Still to pay
9	-	-	-
1	-	-	-
8	-	-	-
13	12 goats (1)	-	£5 (1)
10	£5 goats	-	-
11	£10 goats	-	-
10	-	-	£35 (teacher)
11	5	-	-
11	-	-	£5 (Still talking about a horse)

CHAPTER VI.

S O C I A L C O N T R O L

THE THREAT OF FORCE : POLITICAL CONTROL.

The regulation and control of society. As we have seen in the previous section, the complex fabric of custom, structural organizations, values, material culture, etc., which together go to form that entity, which we call "Bhaca society", cannot exist without its constituent human units. It is in the human element that it finds reality, and only through the perpetuation of the society's members can the society itself continue in time. Social organization is without meaning if we eliminate the people who are organized into the various structural groups of umti, cluster, clan and tribe; ceremonies and customs find their only reality in practice; values, attitudes and ethics do not exist outside the minds of those who hold them, and only reach overt expression in social relations or in socialized contexts; and the elements of material culture can only be reproduced in perpetuity if the possessors of the various techniques pass on their skills to others. Although, all these elements of culture are initially dependent on the human factor, society, the human beings involved are in turn dependent on them. It is essential that men live together in groups (usually based on kin), co-operate in economic pursuits, and emphasise the crucial stages in attainment of status and socially important events by complicated ritual and custom. Even the common daily activities of preparing and consuming the products of the environment, and relations with others in the business of daily intercourse, must be regulated so that life in the community runs smoothly, and in every society we find rules regulating etiquette, manners, sexual relations, land tenure, and a host of others. Adherence to these rules is essential if the society is to be saved from disruptive influences and is to maintain its integration and solidarity. We are concerned in this section with the mechanisms used to attain this object.

In any human society the individual organisms making up that society, differing widely in temperament and character from one another, must be conditioned, or if necessary forced to co-operate and work together smoothly and in harmony with one another with the minimum amount of friction. Society would cease to exist if every member did exactly as he pleased and the individuality of each member must be moulded to conform to a norm - the minimum obedience necessary for peaceful co-operation.

It is only within this framework that the personality can be given free play and society has developed various techniques to ensure conformity. Chief of these is education - the suppression and inhibition of selfish and anti-social behaviour in the young child, and the inculcation of tribal mores and socially valuable attitudes. This conditioning is carried out mainly by the parents who admonish and teach the child by conscious and unconscious example and by precept. In the absence of formalized education parental influences are very important, and we have discussed the growth of a child and the education for life and status afforded by the activities and life of the young child. (Chapter III.). Further teaching, mainly sexual, is given at the girl's puberty ceremonies, although, among the Bhaca, there are no indigenous analogous ceremonies for boys but the young indlavini attends the chief's or headman's court and there, as well as in discussions with his elder male relatives, gains a wide knowledge of custom and law. Many of these rules are observed purely by habit. Conditioned from childhood, the Bhaca performs his ceremonies, keeps the law, addresses certain relatives in certain ways without objective questioning. Any divergence from custom is avoided largely because it never enters into the tribesman's head to revolt. Human beings, however, do not always slavishly follow custom, and every now and then individuals, more intelligent, individualistic, or merely less well-adjusted, break away from the accepted norms. Such men are innovators, rebels against authority, or criminals, and all must be punished so that the institutions valued by the society may continue. Violation is not always punished to the same extent, depending on the severity of the crime. Divergences from everyday custom and etiquette are laughed at and the perpetrator might be mocked and scorned. Public opinion has always been an important agent of social control. Reciprocity is also a potent securer of co-operation where a man helps his neighbour in the fear that if he does not, he himself will not be helped when his turn comes to need assistance. The majority of these rules depend on the sanctions of public opinion and reciprocity, but there are others, such as manslaughter and theft, which are punishable by force in the Bhaca tribal courts. Some of these have been discussed in previous chapters, e.g. the laws of property and marriage. The function of courts will be studied below.

Apart from these educationally motivated sanctions, however, we are concerned in this study with three major institutional agents of social control, integral parts of Bhaca culture fulfilling important and probably basic needs in the life of the

people. The separation of these agents under this heading is somewhat artificial as they are, to a greater or lesser extent, bound up with social organization and status, economics and other aspects of culture, and cannot be considered in a vacuum, but in this study, in which we are taking the social structure of the Bhaca as our focal point and are trying to show how all other aspects of culture are orientated towards its support, we shall stress the regulative functions of these cultural elements.

First of all we are concerned with the regulation of the society by the use, or threat of use, of physical force as applied through the administrative system and hierarchy of courts. Through the political organization the various disparate structural systems, divided from each other by genocentric force and other criteria are welded together to form one organic whole - the tribe. Wielding judicial powers, this administrative machine is in a position to punish offenders and perpetrators of anti-social actions, and, generally speaking, this is the most powerful and effective mechanism employed to ensure the smooth running of the society. [There is another agent which, although fulfilling other roles in the society, is also an important means of control - and here, too, the sanction employed is fear, although not fear of a temporal power. This force may be termed "spiritual" and owes its efficacy to the fear of the dead, the amathfongo, the ancestral spirits, who although dead, and passed to another plane, ^{are yet intensely interested in the welfare of their descendants} become angry and revengeful at any departure from custom and tradition. The Bhaca are very conscious of the presence of the amathfongo, most misfortune is attributed to them, and they are a potent force for conservatism. To offend the ancestors might mean misfortune and possibly sickness and death. We thus find religion as an agent of social control. (1) Closely linked with religion is magic. Magic, as a control mechanism, acts in a slightly different way from political organization and religion; its part is more positive. Whereas the first two are fundamentally negative and restrictive, magic takes a more constructive role. By its techniques man has learnt to control the many forces that threaten to disrupt society. Hail, frost, lightning, drought, disease, blight, all are potential destroyers of the wellbeing of society, and it is only through the use of magic

(1)

I am aware that religion has other functions in society and fulfils an important human need, but we are here chiefly interested in its sociological role.

that they can be controlled. We thus find the peasant farmer doctoring his herds and crops, the herbalist (inyanga) treating disease, and the annual doctoring of the land against hail and lightning by the tribal magician. Medicines are also used to strengthen the chief and tribe at the sacred ingcube ceremony of the first fruits, and, in practically all social contexts, magic is extensively used. It is true that magic can often also be used anti-socially, but it seems that this is a pathological aberration from its primary function, ~~and~~ which, in its turn, is regulated and controlled by protective magic aimed against the machination of sorcerers and wizards who seek to harm society.

We are, therefore, concerned in this section with three factors controlling the relations of men in the society and directing their conduct:-

- (a) Political organization - the fear of physical sanctions.
- (b) Religion - the fear of supernatural sanctions.
- (c) Magic.

To these must be added the conformative influence of education which acts in the same direction as these forces in the conditioning of personalities to adhere to tribal mores. Magic and education differ slightly in kind from (a) and (b). The latter two base their efficacy on fear; the former on the acquisition of techniques and knowledge, either that of the tribal laws and customs or of the necessary materials of controlling magic.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

The dynamics of cultural and tribal solidarity. In our analysis of social structure we noticed how Bhaca society is organized, on the criteria of kin and locality, into what we have called structural units. Families, clusters, clans, all possess considerable solidarity and form distinct social groups, conscious of their own unity and opposing disruption and absorption by other groups. The whole society, therefore, is divided on the basis of social organization. This gives rise to the problem of how these strongly individualistic elements are bound together within one organization - the tribe. The question is complicated by the fact that we are here dealing with two tribes existing side by side within a single culture area, forming, from many points of view, a single society. We shall, therefore, first discuss the integrative mechanisms binding together and defining Bhaca society, and then those making for

tribal solidarity.⁽¹⁾

One of the most important unifying factors of Bhaca society is the possession of a common name. We have seen from the history detailed in Chapter I that the vicissitudes passed through by the Bhaca during their emigration from Zululand in the middle of last century, and the constant fear of attack from other tribes, was calculated to foster a more than usually strong Tribal spirit, and the exploits of the Tribe, sung in legend and tradition, are indicative of the social value of their past. (see the Tribal songs, Chapter II). The great magician-chief Madzikane and the redoubtable Ncaphayi are culture-heroes whose exploits and renown are still eagerly related and discussed wherever men get together. Often at a ceremony, a question regarding Tribal history, asked while sitting among the men in the cattle kraal, would provoke a heated discussion lasting for hours. Even present-day political arguments as to the relative seniority of the two tribes are forgotten in the enthusiasm for the deeds of the early chiefs Kalim/e and Madzikane. It must be remembered that the two tribes are descended from Sonyangwe and Ncaphayi, the two sons of Madzikane, and thus have a fairly recent common origin. Despite local politics the Bhaca are conscious that, above all, they are Bhaca, the children and inheritors of the fame of Madzikane.⁽²⁾ Added to this is the fact that the Bhaca are not a numerous people. The population figure for the Mount Frere district (natives only) for the year 1949 is 49,953 and the area occupied only 684 square miles, giving a density of 73.03 persons. This should be compared with the figures for the Mpondo⁽³⁾ which give a population of 260,000 with a density of 66.6 persons to the square mile. It is not suggested that there is always a significant correlation between density and

(1)

I use the term "Tribe" (with a capital) to denote the Bhaca political entity before the split and the adjective "Tribal" to express cultural elements common to all Bhaca, e.g. Tribal history. The present-day political groups are called "tribes" (with a small letter).

(2)

~~See Appendix B for typical tradition of Madzikane's powers.~~

(3)

Hunter op. cit. Page 15 (1936)

political and social solidarity but it does seem that the smallness of the Tribal area has fostered a considerable spirit of unity among Bhaca which tends to override local quarrels, especially when Bhaca meet outside their territory at such places as the Witwatersrand and the larger industrial towns. Apart from the possession of common history, traditions, songs, name and all the associations that arise from living in the same stretch of country, there are two other criteria which mark off the Bhaca from the surrounding East Griqualand tribes. These are the peculiar Tribal markings (ukuchaza), and the distinctive Bhaca dialect. We have already discussed these two topics in some detail in previous chapters⁽¹⁾, and it is certain that they, especially the latter, play an important part in tribal determination. Added to this is the fact that East Griqualand has a diversity of tribes which completely surround the Bhaca. These include Hlu6i, Xesibe, Mpondomise, Zizi and some Sotho groups, the presence of which tend to emphasise to the Bhaca their distinctiveness - although as we have seen, there has been a considerable intermarriage with certain of these tribes. Then, too, the Bhaca are regarded by many tribes as being a peculiar people and great users of medicines, indeed their reputation for sorcery and magic is usually the first thing mentioned when members of other tribes are questioned about them. As we have seen, they are the only South African Bantu tribe who will do sanitary work and night soil removal and, on the Rand, this work is tending to become an exclusive occupation which members of other tribes dare not enter for fear of being ukuthakatha (bewitched) by Bhaca medicines⁽²⁾. All these factors, then, serve to unite the Bhaca into one homogeneous group with a strong self-consciousness. At one time cultural, territorial, linguistic and political areas were co-terminous - the nucleus of the Tribe consisted of the remnants of the Zelemu and Wu/e welded together by Madzikane - but subsequent history has seen the division of the Bhaca politically into three groups, viz.,

(1) See pp. 36-40, 133.

(2) From investigations in Rand urban locations.

- (a) Those in the Ixopo and Bulwer districts of southern Natal and in Umziakhulu under their chief Kumkani. They are, in reality, the senior section, being descended from Cijisiwe, the eldest son of Mduityana, son of Sonyangwe (see genealogy), and number about 10,000. Relations with East Griqualand Bhaca are tenuous and occasional and they do not form a part of this study.
- (b) The descendants of Mduityana's younger (and favourite) son Nomt/heket/he, now settled in five locations in the Mvenyane valley, Mount Frere. Regent: Kut/hiwa Nomt/heket/he.
- (c) The descendants of Mduityana's younger brother, Ncaphayi. The junior, but most numerous section under Chief Wabane Makaula occupying twenty-nine locations including practically the whole of the Mount Frere district. (The other two locations are occupied practically exclusively by Hlu6i).

In this study we are concerned only with the two latter sections.

The pattern now emerges of a culturally and linguistically homogenous people, bearing a common name and with common history, territory and traditions, divided on the criterion of allegiance to an independent chief into two politically independent tribes. Each tribe has its own chief and tribal area, and these are the only features that mark it off as a distinct unit. There are no linguistic or cultural differences between the two tribes, which are contiguous, and neither of them possesses a special name. The term "Bhaca" is used by all. The identity of the two tribes is based solely on the institution of the chieftainship, and it is through this that the network of relations and the various structural units are knit together into a unified system. Social relations do not end with the tribe and there is considerable intermarriage and social intercourse between the two sections. It appears that the differentiation is, to a large extent, artificial and fortuitous, and is based on the historical accident of temporary separation in the past. Subsequent arguments as to the paramountcy of the two tribes has led to considerable ill-feeling and even blood-shed, but it seems certain that, in the event of an attack from outside, tribal differences would be merged and a united front presented. One cannot help the impression that differences are superficial in the face of cultural uniformity.

The reason for the split, and therefore the origins of the two tribes, is to be found in the history of the Bhaca subsequent to their sojourn in Pondoland under chief Faku, (c. 1837-57?), when, after a quarrel with the Mpondo, Mduityana

led his section out of Pondoland and trekked north to Umzimkhulu where he came under the protection of the Griqua chief, Adam Kok⁽¹⁾. Ncaphayi and his section were left behind in Pondoland. As we have seen, it was Ncaphayi's son, Makaula, who first settled in the Mount Frere district, and it was not until about 1880 that Nomt/heket/e was invited by him to leave the Bizana district, where he had taken refuge with a small following from the Griquas, and to settle in Mount Frere. Nomt/heket/he and his followers were settled along the Mvenyane River and it appears that Makaula publically recognized him as being head of the senior section and thus leader in all ritual affairs. Makaula made it clear, however, that he was politically independent and his tribe territorially distinct in all other matters. Matters ritual refer particularly to the annual first fruits ceremony (ingcube) which is traditionally initiated each year by the chief of the senior tribe and then performed by minor chiefs. At first the Mvenyane Bhacas' ritual position was undisputed, but, on the death of Makaula, his son Mgqisana claimed the Bhaca paramountcy on the ground that his tribe had settled in the district first and were by far the larger and more important numerically. After some vacillation the Administration has decided not to recognize the chief of either section as paramount and, at one time, rebuked the present Makaula chief for using the words "Bacas Paramount Chief", on his official note-paper, pointing out that if the term was used at all it should be applied to the chief of the section in Natal. There is thus no official paramount chief.

We have now discussed the genesis of the division of Bhaca society into two tribes and the criterion on which the division is based - political allegiance to an independent chief. We must now investigate more fully the nature and function of the pivotal institution of the chieftainship and the administrative structure of the tribe.

The tribe.

The office of chieftainship is the apex of the administrative and social structure of the tribe. We are here dealing with a political organization which (the time lapse since its inception is relatively so short) can almost be regarded as nuclear; which has reached a stage of development attained by the larger and "older" Cape tribes such as Mpondo, Thembu and Xhosa even before contact with the White Man. Territorially, Bhaca administrative and political organization dates only from about the late '60's of last century with the settling of Sontsi, Chitha and finally Makaula himself, in the Mount Frere district, and it was not

(1) See page 24.

and finally Makuale himself, in the Mount Frere district, and it was not ^{until} the seventies that Nomt/heket/he settled with his following at Mvenyane. It was only then that the Bhaca found a permanent home, and the administrative organization, as we know it today, developed. The development of administrative institutions was not allowed to proceed normally even then. It was modified and controlled by the fact that, shortly after the settlement, Makuale made representations to the Cape Government to be taken under its protection, in return relinquishing certain powers. Almost immediately, in 1872, the boundaries of the Mount Frere district were demarcated by the Griffith-Ayliff-Grant Commission, defining permanently the territorial limits of the tribe, and the area was divided into thirty-six wards or locations (iilali) by Mr. R.W. Stanford, the Assistant Chief Magistrate of East Griqualand at the time, each under a headman. The history of the Bhaca can be thus divided into three stages:-

- (a) an early migrant period under Madzikane when the Tribe was independent politically, but had no permanent territorial home. The chief's jurisdiction was essentially over people and not over land, and foreign accretions to the tribe were admitted only on the grounds of allegiance to the chief (c. 1815-1837);
- (b) a period (1837-1869?) under the protection, and political sovereignty of Faku, the Mpondo chief. During this time the two sons of Madzikane, Sonyangwe and Ncaphayi, were subject chiefs. Later Sonyangwe's son, Mdutyana, moved to the Umzimkulu where he became subject to the Griqua authorities. At no time during this period were the Bhaca politically independent;
- (c) the period since about 1870 to the present day which has seen the establishment of the Bhaca as an independent Tribe with its own territory. The jurisdiction of the chief is now territorial, and all groups settling in his area automatically come under his control. On the other hand, this independence is more apparent than real, and functions under the over-riding authority of the European political machine.

We have no record of the pattern of political organization during periods (a) and (b). In any event it seems improbable that it had a stable territorial framework, whilst (c) has developed during a period of political and cultural interaction with the European administration. This, coupled with the comparatively recent origin of the Bhaca and their numerical weakness, has resulted in a relatively uncomplicated administrative hierarchy. There is no system of powerful district chiefs under a paramount, as is found among Mpondo and Xhosa, or petty headmen over sub-districts. (The thirty-six

locations in the Mount Frere district are each under the control of a location headman, usually a member of the Bhaca royal house, whose appointment must be confirmed by the Administration. Of the thirty-six location headmen twenty-nine belong directly to the royal house and bear the isiBongo "Zulu", two are Hlu6i, related to the Hlu6i paramount at Matatiele, one is a Xesi6e, two (Cembi (isiBongo:Dlomo) at T/hungwana, and Gweva (Dlamini) at Cancele), are of Mfengu (Zizi) origin, and two, Bhaca, probably belonging to off-shoot clans of the royal lineage (Σhu/hu and Mjoli).⁽¹⁾ Each location consists of a tract of country containing arable and grazing land and the imiti of the people under the headman's jurisdiction. These imiti are not uniformly scattered over the country but are concentrated into groups which I have called "Clusters" (analysed in Chapter II) and often forming pockets of clansmen. The senior representative of such a clan in a cluster has no judicial or administrative powers over the members of a cluster, and the smallest political unit is thus the location (district). All minor cases are taken to the headman's court, and appeals are heard at the court of the chief (inkosi). Although both chiefs are recognized by the Administration and receive salaries⁽²⁾, only the Makaula chiefs, as controlling the largest number of people, possess civil jurisdiction, but this is a later development due to contact with European government. We get, therefore, the hierarchy of Chief-headman. It is probable that if the Bhaca had been free to develop away from European influence in an undefined, more or less elastic, territorial medium, the familiar pattern of district-or sub-chiefs would have arisen with brothers and near relatives of the chief (paramount) possessing jurisdiction over large tracts, but subject to the overriding authority of the latter. As it is, the various headmen under the chief are responsible for areas greatly varying in size and which range from the 144 taxpayers of Lut/hikini to the 1146 of Mandeleni. In the eyes of the Administration, however, they all rank as of equal importance. The individual umti, too, is linked to this administrative hierarchy. The head of each household is responsible to the location headman for the actions of all members of his homestead, and represents the group in law and in

(1) For a more detailed analysis see Appendix A.

(2) Chief Wabane Makaula, £280 p.a.; Acting Chief Kut/hiwa Nomt/heket/he, £50 p.a.

all dealings with the outside world. All petty quarrels affecting the family are brought to him and, indeed, he functions as the lowest administrative unit, as arbitrator between the members of his family. The most effective political unit, however, is the location, and the headman's court functions as a court of appeal to which all problems unsolved by the various kraal heads are brought. The whole system of local administration will be described more fully later; we can, however, expand our hierarchy to include kraalhead - headman - chief. Today the Magistrate's Court at Mount Frere exists as a court of appeal from that of the headman. Although criminal cases are tried under European Common Law, civil cases are still determined under Bhaca law and custom and the magistrate has become an integral part of tribal life⁽¹⁾.

The Chieftainship.

The complex network of social relations which we have described in Chapter II, and the pervasive hierarchy of the political system, are brought together into a single unified, coherent structure by the institution of the chieftainship. Each kraalhead is responsible to his immediate district (location) headman who is, in turn, responsible to the chief, and thus the whole government of the tribe is finally concentrated into the hands of the latter. There is, however, a delegation of authority in matters of local importance to the relevant local authorities, always subject, though to the overriding jurisdiction of that immediately superior. The position of the chief is at the apex of this administrative structure, but it would be incorrect to assume that this is his only, or even main, function. As the (often theoretical) senior representative of the senior lineage of the tribe he stands in a special relationship towards the ancestral spirits, and is thus responsible for sacrifices to the tribal ancestors; he is at the head of the tribal army, and is thus responsible for its strengthening at the ingcube, whilst formerly he led it in war; he is the maker and interpreter of the law; the regulator of the economic life of his people, and represents the tribe in its dealings with other tribes.

One of the most important aspects of the chieftainship is its mystical attribute. The chief is not merely the most important and most powerful member of the tribe. he is the tribe,

(1) See below for a discussion of the sociological role of the magistrate in tribal offices. At one period the Natal Bhaca recognized the magistrate, Mr. Donald Strachan as chief. (Brownlee: Transkei Historical Records,)

the embodiment of all the attitudes, emotions and values that go to make its solidarity. He is the symbol of tribal unity. Fortes and Evans Pritchard⁽¹⁾ have pointed out the importance of the mystical values associated with political office. The chief is more than a person to his people. "He is the axis of their political relations, the symbol of their unity and exclusiveness, and the embodiment of their essential values." He is one of the main forces for tribal solidarity, and, in the case of the Bhaca, adherence to a chief is the only criterion that determines the existence of the tribe (as opposed to the Tribe). From the sociological point of view it is the ritual and mystical aspect of the chieftainship that is perhaps the most important in the dynamics of integration, and we shall begin our analysis of this nodal institution with a description of the ritual and magical functions of the chief.

Ritual chieftainship and tribal solidarity.

Ever since the days of the great chief Madzikane the Bhaca chiefs have been noted for their magical powers. One of the chief sources of this power is the special position of the chief as head of the senior clan in relation to the ancestors. Whereas the family head acts as mediator and priest between his immediate family group and the spiritual members of that group, and the clan head between his clan and the clan ancestors, the chief sacrifices to the most powerful and august of the tribal amathfongo, the spirits of the dead chiefs Zulu, Kalime/e, Ve6i, Madzikane and others. The wellbeing of the whole tribe depends on the continued goodwill of its founders, and, as the securer of this goodwill through sacrifices and propitiation, the chief holds a particularly important position. His magical functions stem from this. The most powerful tribal medicines, those of ingcube, are handed down by a chief to his heir, and are reputed to have been originated by Madzikane. It is probable, however, that they go back much further into the past, if we compare the analogous ceremonies in other Nguni tribes, e.g. the incwala of the Swazi⁽²⁾, the intende and ingxwala of the Mpondo⁽³⁾ and the umkosi of the Zulu⁽⁴⁾. Annual first fruit ceremonies

(1) African Political Systems: 1940 pp. 16,17.

(2) Marwick B: The Swazi.

(3) Hunter, op. cit. pp. 404, 405.

(4) Gluckmann.

have always been perhaps the most magnificent piece of ritual in Nguni culture. Be this as it may, the possession of the ingcube medicines contributes greatly to the power and prestige of the Bhaca chief. The reverence accorded a chief stems from three main sources: his ritual position; his status in the social structure, with its emphasis on primogeniture; and his symbolic quality, the fact that he is the embodiment and centre of all those values and attitudes with which the Bhaca imbue their tribe. He alone is entitled to the royal salute Bayethe! and each chief has a court praiser (um6ongi) who sings the achievements and dignities of his overlord at all public functions. There are also special iti6ongo, or praise songs, which are sung by men when approaching the Great Place. In addition to the royal salute each chief is given a personal salutation, usually in his youth, by the members of the iindlavini gang of which he is the leader, called the isi6uliso. Chief Kut/hiwa's isi6uliso is "Da6ul 'amanti", "The crosser of the water", while Chief Wabane is greeted by "Ngangomhla6a", "As Great as the Earth". Apart from these special phrases, the chief is correctly referred to by his clan name, Zulu.

The magical functions of the chief may be listed as follows:-

- (1) The imparting of fertility to the tribal crops,
- (2) the making of rain,
- (3) the protection of the crops,
- (4) the protection of the country from hailstorms, and
- (5) the strengthening of the tribe and the army.

It will be seen that the whole of the agricultural cycle and the welfare of not only the tribe itself, but also the basis of its existence, the crops, is ensured by the medicines of the chief. As we shall see in a later chapter, the tribesman in his personal capacity also possesses magical techniques to obtain these ends, but the above ceremonies are performed on a tribal scale: ~~and~~ all the potency of the traditional tribal medicines^{and} directed to obtaining the desired end, and the consciousness of tribal unity, co-operation, and the interdependence of the various parts, is heightened. Apart from their supposed pragmatic function these ceremonies have considerable social value. We shall now describe more fully the ritual functions of the chief.

The chief in agricultural magic.

Although a detailed discussion of Bantu magic and the part it plays in Bhaca life is presented in a later chapter, it is necessary at this point to indicate in a short introductory statement the nature of magical techniques. In practically

all aspects of Bhaca life there is a solid residuum of what can be called science, i.e. a body of knowledge based on the observation of cause and effect, and thus truly empirical. Crops are planted in river valleys so that they derive the benefit of the alluvial soil, certain crops are planted at special times of the year, and so on. There is, however, a vast field of phenomena outside the orbit of man's control. Hailstorms flatten the ripening crops, blight and drought endanger the harvest, while sickness and death are an ever-present threat to the life of man and beast. Then, too, there are supernatural enemies, products of man's mind, that are believed to be constantly on the watch to destroy the members of society. In an endeavour to control these phenomena, man has invented magic. The main feature in Bhaca magic is the use of medicines, (imithsi). The term is derived from the word umthsi (Xh. umthi) meaning "a tree" and stems from the fact that most medicines are made from herbs, roots, leaves and other vegetable substances. Occasionally a set phrase is used in conjunction with the material itself, but more often any verbal formula is informal, and consists mainly of an exhortation to the medicine to achieve its ends. In addition to their inherent potency the chief's medicines are hallowed and reinforced by tradition and the aura of association with the tribal ancestors. Many of the customs described below have disappeared with contact with western civilization and the introduction of Christianity, but this is a fairly recent development, within the last thirty years.

Formerly, none could begin to plant until the chief had ceremonially used his medicines to secure a good crop. At the end of winter (about August) the chief sent word to the various headmen that on a certain day, representatives of all the families in their area should gather at the Great Place. Each had to bring with him a small basket called ingcekance containing the choice seeds of kaffir corn and maize grains set aside for planting after the harvest of the preceding year. On arrival all the grain was put into large baskets with grain from the Great Place, and the whole doctored with medicines by the chief to ensure fertility. Informants stated that the grain of the people would "get blessing from that of the Great Place", and that the magical "essence" would spread through the whole like leaven. After the seed had been thoroughly mixed, the small baskets were again filled and carried home to the various kraals where the same rite was repeated, and the rest of the seed of each umti mixed with the

"blessed seed of the Great Place"⁽¹⁾.

To ensure the fertility of the doctored seed good rains had to be ensured, and the chief acted as the tribal rainmaker. The rainmaking rite was called umkhongo and had to be performed by the chief alone. Apparently no doctor or herbalist (inyanga) could substitute for this office. Details are difficult to discover as the custom fell into disuse a considerable time ago. "When there was no rain the men from the various districts would come to the Great Place and tell the chief that their crops and stock were dying". A day was appointed and on it the people flocked to the capital. A special goat was taken into the great hut and tethered to the intsika (supporting pole) while the chief prepared special medicines at the back of the hut. That night the chief and his warriors slept in the great hut, and the following morning the goat was killed. The cattle were not taken out to graze as usual but were confined to the cattle kraal. Eventually "an old beast would leave the herd and come in front of the great hut where it passed water". Immediately it was thrown by the young men, killed and eaten: the beast was called intsikelelo (blessing). I was unfortunately unable to elicit any more detail of this ceremony and old men stated that it was ^{last} performed in the days when Mamzamane, the great wife of Madzikane, was still alive. Mamzamane has been called the "mother of the Bhaca" and, as the men of Kut/hiwa's section say, "the mother of Sonyangwe, the father of Mpoza"⁽²⁾. In any event the efficacy of the rain magic is without doubt - "Even if the sky was clear it would rain before you reached home". The intsikelelo was killed as a propitiation to the amathfongo: today in time of drought the chief requests the church to pray for rain.

But the magic of the chief is not only utilized for the attainment of certain tangible results. It is also used for protection. Perhaps the most important example of this type is the ingcube ceremony, when the army and tribe are strengthened and protected, but it is also used in the protection of the crops, from hail and blight. Hail,

(1) Members of the Mpoza iSandla state that the ceremony was last performed by Molobile and that ~~the~~ headman from the other tribe attended, thereby acknowledging the ritual supremacy of his section. This statement may be biased.

(2) The capital of the Makaula section of The Bhaca is at Lugangeni; that of the small Nomt/heket/he section in the Mvenyane valley, Mpoza.

accompanying the violent electric storms that are a frequent feature of the East Griqualand summer, is greatly feared by the Bhaca, and the fact that crops are destroyed, and stock and even people killed, makes this understandable. To protect the country from the destructive effects of hailstorms the chief appointed a special herbalist to doctor the country with his medicines. Informants stressed that medicines of the chief were used, not those of the herbalist. The doctoring started on the mountains that guard the territory of the Bhaca. viz., Intsizwa, mgano, munge, mpamba and sit/hasa, and naked except for a penis sheath, the inyanga went alone into the mountains and drove pegs smeared with "dark medicine" called umnyenya (the name of a certain tree) into the ground. (Note the use of doctored pegs in protecting an umti from lightning (see Chapter on Magic)). After all approaches had been protected he came down from the mountains and ran through the fields waving two sticks smeared with umnyenya. This was done every spring, before the heavy rains commenced.

A further ceremony initiated by the chief was the abagijimisi bokudla (the runners of the food). It is apparently analogous with the Mpondo rite called ixo/om6o ⁽¹⁾ and was performed, like it, to protect the maize crop from blight. Every season when the plants were about three feet high, the unmarried girls of the various districts gathered on a certain day at the Great Place. On arrival they stripped, and clad only in the bead isikhakha, ran through the fields of maize picking the dwarfed cobs rotten with blight. The girls first smeared their bodies with red ochre and left their clothes at the Great Place at Mpoza. As they left the capital a special song was sung:-

"Au! Oya! Oyeyi! Yelobolo ingungumela! Au! Au! Living' intombi
 (" Au ... etc. That rotten swollen thing! It protects the
ka6awo onyani imikhfontfo yavingwa"
 daughter of the father, and yet the spears are protected").

The girls then proceeded to the bank of the Mvenyane River and left the rotten cobs they had collected on the river bank, returning to the Great Place with bushes tied round their waists as a sign of hlonipha to the chief. That night they slept at the chief's umti, and the following day returned to the river and ceremonially threw the cobs into the river, thereby symbolizing the total eradication of the maize blight. During this time the chief remained in the great hut and washed ritually with

(1)

Hunter, op. cit. P. 78.

medicines. Immediately after the ceremony anyone could go into the fields and pick the green leaves of the ripening mealies which were then plaited into ropes "as long as an arm" - but only after this had been done first by the chief. These ropes were hung up in a hut of the kraal, usually the kitchen hut, but any hut where a fire was often kindled *would do*. This was said to ensure the speedy ripening of the maize and its healthy development. Ploughing was forbidden until the chief had first ploughed his lands and given permission for the tribe to do likewise.

It will be seen from the above that the whole agricultural cycle, and the welfare of the crops, was regulated by, and dependent upon, the chief. Ploughing, planting, protection, all were in his hands, and the life and welfare of the tribe depended upon him. Reaping was also controlled by the chief, and no one could, nor (theoretically) can today, partake of the new green foods until the complicated ritual of the ingcube ceremony of the first fruits had been performed. This major event of the Bhaca year must now be described.

The ingcube.

Whereas the above ceremonies ceased to be performed some decades ago, the ingcube is still a vigorous part of tribal life, at least in the small senior section located in the Mvenyane valley with its Great Place at Mpeza. In the following section I present a description of the ingcube in as great detail as possible, followed by an analysis of its main functions and meaning in the society.

The nature of ingcube.

It is extremely difficult at the present day to obtain a clear and connected account of the ingcube ceremony, as it was originally performed, in the detail considered essential for sociological analysis. With the introduction of Christianity and the imposition of European political control, important modifications have been imposed on the cycle of rites, and some of the most impressive ceremonies, with their important symbolism, are today omitted. Thus no longer is the black bull killed by the gashing of its chest with an axe and the severance of the wind-pipe by hand; no longer is the skull of a slain enemy necessary at the installation of a chief. Both have been condemned by the Administration and European opinion and strictly forbidden. It seems that the ceremonial was last performed in its entirety by Mngcisana in 1926, just before his death, while, in 1910, celebrations were so widespread, with accompanying beer drinks and faction

fights, that at one time it was feared that the village of Mount Frere would be over-run and wiped out. Matters appeared so serious that the Cape Mounted Rifles reserves were called out to stand by. The last few decades, however, have seen a marked change in the attitude of many of the people towards ingcube and an increasing slackness in the detailed observance of the custom. This is mainly due to the extensive acceptance of Christianity by the Bhaca. Christians are forbidden to attend so-called heathen ceremonies, or join in the invariable beer drinks which accompany them, so that although many of the less strict take part, the majority confine themselves to the role of spectators.

There is a difference, however, between the two tribes, in the extent of their apathy towards the celebrations, depending mainly on the attitude of the chief. Chief Waḡane Makaula was taken as a young boy and brought up by missionaries, the Rev. and Mrs. Mears of Shawbury Institute, Qumbu, later attending school at Healdtown, during the regency of his uncle Nkevulane, and has thus had little opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of the customs and traditions of his people. Then, too, his mission-outlook has made him impatient and unsympathetic towards the ceremony. After his installation to the chieftainship in 1937 Waḡane conformed to tribal wishes and the ingcube continued more or less unchanged for several years. Since about 1945, however, it has tended to die out in his section. In 1948 it did not take place at the capital owing to the death of the Njijini headman, a member of the Royal House, and, in 1949, Waḡane refused to take any part in the celebrations, the non-magical parts of which, however, (the cattle race and the beer drinks), were carried out by some of the die-hards, and young men. His attitude caused much criticism, as the chief is all-important to the ceremony, and the whole ritual revolves about his person⁽¹⁾. Among the Mpoza section, however, the feast of the first fruits still appears to possess considerable vitality and remains the pivotal function of the tribal year. At present (1949) the tribe is ruled by a regent, Kut/hiwa Nomt/heket/he, brother of the late Chief Sikhande, during the minority of the latter's son, Ngayiḡekhi, and the ingcube could not be completely performed as the bull may only be killed by a "great chief" (inkosi enkulu). All informants were emphatic,

(1) An account of the decaying ingcube at Lugangeni will be found in Appendix B.

however, that as soon as Ngayisekhi was installed as chief the ingcube would be performed in all its detail: in fact, if he refused, he would be directed and forced to do so by his councillors and headmen. Christian or not, the health and wellbeing of the tribe depended on the performance of the ceremony, and the chief must conform.

In preparing this description, therefore, recourse has had to be made to the accounts of those who remember the ingcube as it used to be enacted before 1926, of those who saw it performed within recent years, and to what I myself have witnessed in the rather attenuated form of today⁽¹⁾. Considerable difficulty has been experienced in sifting the often contradictory accounts taken from two rival tribes, but, as far as I can ascertain, the following is a fairly accurate, composite account of the ceremony.

no one knows who instituted the ceremony. Sages suggest that it originated with the great magician-chief, Madzikane, but this seems unlikely, as first fruit ceremonies are a general feature of Nguni culture with roots deep in the past. Thus it would seem that ingcube has been practised since time immemorial, first among the Lala clans of Zelemu and Wu/e, and later by their "legal heirs", the Bhaca, under Madzikane. It is probable that celebration was suspended during the years of trekking, during which period the Bhaca had no settled home, especially as the custom is dependent on the presence of crops and geared to the agricultural cycle. Informants state that ingcube was abandoned by Makaula on his becoming a Christian, but was revived by his son, Mngcisana, who made no pretensions to Christianity. Traditionally ingcube should always be initiated by the senior house, and only then may minor chiefs celebrate it in their respective districts. When, therefore, Nomt/heket/he came out of exile and settled in the Mount Frere district, Makaula automatically acknowledged his right to begin the ritual. This arrangement continued until his death when Mngcisana decided to refer no longer to Nomt/heket/he's descendants.

Ingcube always takes place at the end of summer when

(1) I am greatly indebted to Chief Kut/hiwa and his headmen for their kindness in staging for my benefit various episodes of the ingcube cycle, omitting, however, the actual use of the sacred medicines and formulae, thus providing an insight into the social context and "atmosphere", unattainable from mere second-hand descriptions.

the maize, kaffircorn and pumpkins are ripening - usually during February or early March⁽¹⁾. Unlike the incwala ceremony among the Swazi⁽²⁾ where the date of the celebrations is related to the phases of the moon, this does not seem to be the case today among the Bhaca, the date for ingcube being decided upon by the chief in consultation with the tribal magician (inyanga yempi, the herbalist of the army). It is possible that this was so formerly, however, as certain old informants maintained that ingcube should take place correctly at the new moon. It was also stated that it should rain at ingcube time - "it is better if it rains" - and it is possible, as Marwick suggests⁽³⁾, that the usual black colour of the bull is associated with rain making. Before the ceremony is performed no one may eat of the green stuffs from the fields; if this is done it is said that the army will become weak and easily overcome by enemies. The extent to which this taboo is observed today differs markedly between one tribesman and another. Particularly in the Makaula section has the observance become very lax - but apparently only within recent years. Mfa6a, who lives at Lugangeni, the Great Place, clearly remembers that as late as 1938, anyone caught eating the first fruits before the chief had ritually partaken was called before the chief and severely reprimanded. In 1940, however, there was a severe drought and social opinion became lax; "everyone was starving and it did not matter". Mfa6a related to me graphically the first hint of the changing attitude as it appeared to him. "One day I was returning through the fields with some friends from hunting birds. Feeling hungry we decided to pick some imfe (sweet reed). One boy objected and said that ingcube had not yet been performed. But another said, 'that's nothing; we have been eating isidudu (a mixture of pumpkin and mealies) in our umti already'. Since then more and more people have been eating before ingcube". Actually much

(1) Some dates of ingcube I was able to obtain are:-
 24th February, 1925
 16th March, 1926
 4th " " 1927
 7th " " 1929
 14th " " 1930

(2) Marwick B.A. 1940. pp. 182-195

(3) Op. cit. p194

depends upon individuals, and, especially at Mpoza and environs, among some, the taboo is still rigorously adhered to. Dingane and Hooper, young iindlavini, both refused to eat of the green mealies, giving as their respective reasons - "I wish to keep the old customs", and "To eat makes men weak and unable to fight". It seems that the taboo applies particularly to men, women and children being allowed to eat⁽¹⁾. This seems to bear out the theory that the ingcube is primarily a socio-political ritual closely associated with the well-being of the tribe and army.

Some time before ingcube the tribal herbalist (inyanga yempi) goes into the forests that clothe the mountain kloofs with his assistant to collect the different medicines necessary for the ceremony. These medicines belong to the species itihlambeto and "are a very strong kind used only by specialists". They are brought back and stored at the back of a special hut in the royal kraal called nondlu ayivalwa (the hut that is open). The name is derived from the fact that this hut is never shut during the reign of a "great" chief, i.e. one who is not a regent. In this hut, too, are kept the horns of medicine and special magical paraphernalia handed down from former chiefs. The nondlu ayivalwa at Mpoza has recently collapsed, destroying the ancient medicines, and the herbalist is busy (1949) replenishing them: ("The record is still kept"); at Lugangeni the huge smoke-blackened antelope horns, spears and ingcube headdress of Mngcisan~~a~~ can still be seen at the back of the hut, but, today, no one knows their function and significance. Although the back of the hut, where the medicines are kept, is sacred and must not be approached, the hut is otherwise freely used by the people of the umti. Preparations are also made by the common people. Cattle and goats are slaughtered to provide the skin skirts of the women, and men and boys practise racing the cattle in readiness for the great cattle race which forms a prominent part of the ceremonies. A short time before ingcube men are sent by the chief to the forests to cut bush for a special cattle kraal to be erected near the Great Place. It is circular in shape, is constructed entirely of brushwood and is called isi6aya sengcube (the cattle kraal of ingcube). It is round this kraal that the pageant of the first fruit ceremony is centred.

(1)

If, however, a woman was seen carrying green stuff from the fields, she could be brought before the chief for a serious offence - "She would be weakening the knees of the impi".

Practising for the cattle race continues for about a week before the commencement of ingcube. In the Mpoza section the course is from the Sighingeni, a tributary of the Mvenyane, to the Great Place, while the Lugangeni section race their cattle from Cancele, a distance of about three miles. The practising ends on the Saturday before ingcube week. On the following Tuesday certain men are called to the Great Place and instructed by the chief to go secretly into the surrounding tribal areas, viz., Mpondo, Xesi6e and Hlu6i, and each bring back two cobs of green maize, two roots of the sweet cane (imfe) and green calabash (iselwa). This is called ukudwa6a, and it is said that formerly an enemy tribesman also had to be killed and his flesh used with the medicines. The ingcube after the installation of a chief was always of especial importance, and the ritual dictated that the skull of a slain enemy be used as a receptacle by the new chief when washing with the tribal medicines. A fresh skull had to be secured at each chief's installation, and would then serve for all the ingcube of his reign⁽¹⁾. "The green foods are then placed separately in the Great Hut", (possibly the nondlu ayivalwa: I was unable to ascertain this point).

The next morning (Wednesday) the chief goes to the newly-built cattle kraal wearing a special blanket called isabalala. Since the practising for the cattle race he has been washing himself with strengthening medicines in preparation for the coming ceremonies, when he must take upon his humanity the identity of the tribe and approach the spirits of his fathers, manipulating their medicines against the dark forces which oppose and strive to disrupt the tribe. It is a time of strain, when every fibre and nerve is taut, and fraught with danger from the "dark" medicines that are in conflict, invisibly, all around. Since the preceding evening warriors from the various districts of the tribal area have been arriving. They sleep in the isi6aya sengcube, and during the night special herbs are burnt there so that the smoke passes over the warriors, protecting them from harmful influences, and giving them strength for the part they have to play on the morrow. During the morning more men arrive from the outlying areas. They come on horseback and on foot in groups of about 30 to 40 under their headmen, dressed in full regalia and singing the songs of ingcube. Most discard European trousers and wear the traditional

(1) One informant stated that the skull was not of a human being, but of a baboon, but this is patently a rationalization in the face of possible European disapproval.

unontswintswintswi, or salampore loincloth, and have circlets of hair or cloth tied to their shins. Many wear caps of animal skin. All carry sticks or (formerly) spears, those on horseback carrying them in a skin scabbard behind the saddle, while many of those on foot carry large shields of cow-hide, running round the horsemen of their group and brandishing their sticks in mock combat with one another. The chief receives them at the gate of the isiḡaya, sitting with his councillors and herbalist. The phalanx of horse and footmen stops before the chief and greets him with shouts of:

"Daḡul'amanti' Daḡul'amanti! Aḡaah! Daḡul'amanti!
(the chief's isiḡuliso)

"Siya khulela!" (We have come to beg!)

Now and then a warrior dashes out from the group brandishing his sticks and shield and pretends to manoeuvre up to an enemy, stabbing the ground and shouting war cries, advancing until right in front of the chief, encouraged by the shouts of his fellows, and finally returning to the main body. All this time the men who arrived on the previous night are formed in a wide semi-circle facing the ingcube cattle kraal, stamping and singing the ingcube war songs. Suddenly the newly-arrived group wheels round and gallops out of the circle followed by the men on foot at a run. They dismount on the hillside above the Great Place, and, leaving their horses to graze, the group reforms into a close phalanx and slowly approaches the kraal, joining in the song which is being sung by the circle of warriors:-

"Woyi! Woyi! Woyi! Wat/h'umḡamḡezi, Ha! Ha! Wat/h' umḡamḡezi"

They then merge with the circle. This song is sung over and over again with stamping of feet and sticks held stiffly vertically in front of the body. During the morning groups of women have also arrived clad in the ingcube attire of beadwork, dyed ostrich plumes, and with large leather rattles filled with pebbles tied to their ankles. While the men are singing, the women slowly ukut/hekisa (to perform a heavy-footed, shuffling dance peculiar to women) across the area formed by the cattle kraal and circle of warriors, shouting:

"Hiiiiii! Kwepe! Kwepe! Kwepe! Kwepe!"

and slapping small round leather shields against their thighs to accentuate the rhythm.

Then the semi-circle of warriors slowly closes in on the chief, who is still sitting at the gate of the isiḡaya with the tribal magician and his assistant (uhlakane). They advance slowly, stamping and singing, until almost touching the chief and then turn and shuffle back. This closely resembles the

counter-marching at a British army review. Every now and then individuals rush out from the formations, wildly stabbing the ground and beating their shields with their sticks and spears. Suddenly the song changes:-

"O uyingonyama!
(O, You are a lion!)

"Haha! Haha!
(Haha! Haha!)

"Siya kwahlul'amakhosi amahlophe!
(We will defeat the white chiefs!)

"Siya kut/hona kwašumbe!
(We will disappear at Bumbe!)

"Ho simenzinje omngcangce!
(Ho, we do it like this!)

"Iya hlašana Iya hlašana!
(It (the impi) pierces another)

Early on the Wednesday morning the inyanga yempi kindles the sacred fire. This must not be lit with matches but in the traditional manner by using fire sticks called uvatsi⁽¹⁾. A piece of the very hard black wood of the uvatsi tree with a conically rounded base is swiftly rotated between the hands in a hole bored in a piece of soft wood⁽²⁾ which has been placed on a bed of dried grass, mixed with ~~soot~~ (umle) and other tinder. Twirling the uvatsi is a very laborious operation, as a steady pressure must be kept on the apparatus, and the inyanga is relieved by his assistant and other helpers who take turns⁽³⁾. As the stick rotates backwards and forwards the soot in the hole begins to glow and is forced out, grass and dry tinder is carefully added and the fire kindled. This fire should not go out until the Friday. Special clay pots (imithila) are fetched from the Great Hut by the herbalist's assistant and filled with

(1) C.f. the similar method reported from among the Swazi (Marwick op. cit. pp. 13, 77-78). The operation is called ukuphehla uvatsi (Bh. ukuphemba uvatsi). The Swazi use of fire sticks is practically confined to ritual occasions e.g. the burning of the grass round the royal graves, and the cooking of a doctor's medicines. It is interesting that the terms in the two dialects are identical. The concord of the Bhaça word is lu-.

(2) Usually imiti reed, used for making sleeping mats.

(3) When this method of making fire was demonstrated to me the wood smoked, but the tinder would not catch alight. Onlookers explained that the reason was that it was not being done at the right time of the year (this was August). The incube fire should be made in February or March.

water, Green pumpkin (iiphuti), brought back from the fields of surrounding tribes ukudwa6a expedition are placed in one of these pots and the cobs of green mealies in another, after which they are sealed and placed on the uvatsi fire to cook. During the whole of the morning the chief sits in the cattle kraal with his men.

In the afternoon the chief and his impi go to the forest (the Mpoza Bhaca go to that at Sighingeni, where they are doctored with medicines by the inyanga yempi⁽¹⁾). When they return they all crowd into the ingcube cattle kraal and remain for a time singing the sacred songs, while the chief sits in state immediately inside the gate. The magician now takes a clay pot containing certain intseleti medicines and twirls (ukuphehla) a stick in the mixture until it is churned into a foam that spills over the lip of the receptacle. On this the chief removes his blanket, and, clad only in a penis sheath (incit/ho), walks slowly out of the isi6aya, accompanied by the tribal magician carrying the pot, and followed by his warriors in a solid phalanx. Slowly the procession moves out of the kraal and out into the veld to the left of the Great Place. This time the men do not sing and the whole ceremony is conducted in complete silence. Even the women looking on, who have kept up their singing and dancing all day, are quiet, over-awed by the solemnity of the occasion. After about a hundred yards the procession halts, the chief receives the inchaza of medicine from the herbalist, and takes some of the froth into his mouth. He then executes a little jump, into the air accompanied by a pawing movement in front of him with his hands, and spits the intseleti into the air. The whole army then wheels round and, with the chief and magician at the head, walks slowly back, again in complete silence, across the inkundla of the Great Place until level with the gate of the cattle kraal. Here the chief again spits into the air and the body of men passes on to the right of the royal umti, where the process is repeated. The chief then returns to the cattle kraal and the army fans out to form the great semi-circle before it. At a sign from the chief they disperse, and the rest of the day is spent in beer drinking. That night the army again sleeps in the ingcube cattle kraal. The above ritual is called (ukukhafula) which McLaren⁽²⁾ gives

(1) Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain details of this episode in the cycle. The herbalist's office is held by a family of the Zulu Royal clan, and is hereditary in the male line.

(2) J. McLaren; A Concise Xhosa-English Dictionary, (1936) p. 71.

as meaning, "To render invulnerable by charms", and is thus part of the magical technique used to strengthen the tribe against its enemies. The medicines are spat on both sides of the royal kraal and are aimed at the surrounding, possibly hostile tribes. The pawing motion described above can be probably construed as an act of repudiation and scorn. Marwick⁽¹⁾ quoting Cook, reports for the Swazi that the chief spits out some of the gourd (ukukafula luselwa) to the east and to the west, but in the analogous Bhaca ritual this is confined to the medicines⁽²⁾.

The Review of the Army. On the Thursday morning early the chief, with the tribal magician and his assistant, enters the isi6aya sengcube and washes himself with medicines preparatory to the day's events. At a sign the warriors again form the great semi-circle in front of the kraal and dance and sing as on the preceding day. Suddenly, at a command from the chief, the formation breaks up, and the men who own them run for their horses grazing on the hillside. As soon as they are mounted they form up in a solid phalanx, those on foot falling in behind, and, led by the headman of the district in which the capital is situated, (usually a brother of the chief), they move down to the river to wash⁽³⁾. The women follow the men singing and shouting, and, in a solid mass, the company moves down towards the river. On arrival the men strip and enter the water while the inyanga goes a short way upstream and pours a clay pot of the medicine called u6ulawo into the river, so that it will be carried down to the warriors who will be washed and strengthened by it. The chief does not attend during this operation and remains sitting just inside the gate of the isi6aya, awaiting their return.

After the ceremony at the river the impi returns to the Great Place. Every now and then the horsemen in the lead pause to allow those on foot to catch up, so that the formation is kept close, and, at intervals, exuberant warriors gallop

(1) op. cit. P. 184. See Cook, P.A.W., Bantu Studies, vol. IV (1930), pp. 205-210.

(2) For a diagram of this part of the ceremony see Appendix C.A.

(3) The Mpoza impi washes in the Mvenyane River or its tributary, the Sihingeni.

out of the group at full speed, circle, and rejoin the formation, while footmen engage in mock battles. As they approach the capital they do not enter immediately, but, as they come parallel to it, turn sharply at right angles to the group of huts and move into the veld for a few hundred yards. They then make a sharp right about turn and march past behind the huts of the capital singing the ingcube song. During all this the chief is sitting in the gateway of the isi6aya and is, in fact, reviewing his troops. The 'march past' is slow, with frequent pauses so that the footmen and the straggling groups of women following the procession may catch up and the royal headman of the Great Place rides backwards and forwards along the flanks to regulate the speed. The impi moves right across behind the Great Place into the veld on the opposite side, again turning sharply and coming back, this time between the huts of the royal umti and the isi6aya. As they come level with the sacred cattle kraal they suddenly halt and stand motionless before their chief. As can be imagined this is an extremely impressive ^{moment} sight. Then, with a shout, the ranks break, and the galloping horsemen fan out round the cluster of huts, yelling and brandishing their sticks, (See plan, Appendix D).

During the expedition to the river the cattle, which have been previously brought to the Great Place from the surrounding districts by their owners in preparation for the great cattle race, are herded by boys nearby the river in readiness for the event which takes place in the afternoon. After midday the young men mount and drive the cattle at full speed from the river to the capital, urging them on with blows and shouts. The race, which takes place over a distance of two to three miles, causes great excitement as the owner of the beast which comes first will be presented by the chief with an inchaga of beer. The cattle, gasping, hollow-flanked and utterly exhausted, are met by the chief in front of the isi6aya, clad in a loin covering made from long-haired angora skin, and wearing brass bangles on arms and legs. The cattle are surrounded by the impi who sing a special song, viz.,

"Hayii! Sawugqo6'umvenyane: Hayii! Sakhwel'entabeni: Zhii!
Zhii! Zhii!"

"Hayii! We crossed the Mvenyane: Hayi! We climbed the
mountain: Zhii! Zhii! Zhii!"

Then the cattle are led away by their owners, and the rest of the afternoon is spent in beer drinking, singing and dancing. Thursday is sometimes called 'the day of the women and girls', and groups from the various locations vie with one another in

dancing and singing. The women, dressed in new skin skirts and multi-coloured beadwork, perform the special ukut/hekisa dance described above, while the girls' dance is called ukuchiza. Each girl carries a tin beaker (ibekile) full of brown sugar given to her by her lover - for ingcube is the time of ukundanda, i.e. the exchange of gifts between lovers. Girls give their sweethearts cigarettes and tobacco and receive handkerchiefs, sweets and lengths of salampore cloth in exchange. A youth's love and regard for his girl friend is measured by the length of cloth he gives her, and some have been seen as much as 15 yards long. When not exhibited, trailing from the shoulders in a train to its full length, the salampore is wound round and round the body, across the shoulders and between the legs, until it resembles the carapace of a tortoise. Often considerable money is spent on ukundanda⁽¹⁾, it not being unusual for a youth just back from the mines to spend £6 on his lover. If a girl is not ukundanda she is laughed at by her girl friends and called an isi/umani (a person who is not loved). The element of reciprocity is in evidence in these gift-exchanges; "sometimes a fellow will buy things for a girl who, when asked what she is going to give him in return, says, 'I have nothing'.

(1) The actual articles bought show remarkable similarity throughout the area. A typical rig-out is as follows;

<u>The girl receives</u>	£	s	d.
6 - 10 yds. salempore	1-15-	0	
5 coloured headsquares (red, yellow, green)	10-	0	
4 coloured handkerchiefs @ 1/3 each	5-	0	
†10 bangles @ 6d each (taking 10)	5-	0	
1 towel	2-	6	
safety pins (large)			3
2-4 brooches	4-	0	
1 tin beaker (this is filled with 9d worth of yellow sugar and 3d sweets)	2-	0	
2 belts @ 2/6	5-	0	
1 umbrella (if man means to marry the girl)	7-	6	
2 yds. ribbon @ 9d per yd. possibly a snuffspoon (European manufacture)	2-	3	
			6
	£	3-	1-0
<u>Man gets</u>	£	s	d.
1 waist coat	10-	0	
1 white shirt	10-	0	
2 kashmere headsquares	10-	0	
tobacco			1-3
	£1-	11-	3

The man will probably say to the trader, "Take it all back!" Traders do a thriving business at ingcube time, but, with the introduction of buses, operated mainly by Griqua, between Mount Krere village and the locations of the district, many Bhaca appear to prefer buying in the village where there is a greater variety of choice. Married women are often ukundanda by husbands on the mines who send the money for the beads and the dyed ostrich feathers. The dancing of the girls gives rise to much interest on the part of the men who beat time with their sticks and spears on their shields.

That evening the men again sleep in the isibaya sengcube, where the uvatsi fire is still burning with its sealed pots of gourds and mealie. Before retiring for the night the chief sprinkles the isibaya and its environs with the froth obtained by twirling (ukuphehla) a stick in a pot of medicine, to protect it from enemies and from harmful magic.

Early on the Friday a bull is driven, with other cattle of the herd to make it tractable, from the royal cattle kraal into the isibaya sengcube. It is called ulwathasabathsele and is usually black or of a dark colour - although informants state that this is not necessarily so. It must be a bull, however. It is immediately seized by the young men and thrown to the ground. No ropes may be used, the whole operation being performed with the bare hands. This feat is not without its hazards to life and limb as the bull struggles powerfully, but at length it is thrown onto its side. The details of the ceremony have changed slightly within recent years. Formerly a sharp spear was taken and one of the forelegs of the bull cut off at the knee. As the mutilated animal staggered, bellowing, to its feet, the warriors set up a shout of, "Daful'izulu!" (lit. 'to cross the heavens' fig., "to break bravely through the enemy'.) The skin was then removed from the severed foreleg and the muscle and bone separated; the chief passed his hand through the gap thus formed and pushed the leg up his arm to just below the elbow. Then, as the stricken beast wandered hobbling about the kraal, the chief took an assegai and, after calling on the spirits of the tribal ancestors, approached it, manoeuvring up to it as to an enemy. The symbolism of the above seems fairly patent. The bull is ritually identified with the enemies of the tribe, and the severing of the foreleg, accompanied by the warcry, implies the defeat and crippling of the foe. Just as the crippled bull staggers and falls so will the enemy falter and be defeated. The psychological basis of this ritual will be discussed in a

following chapter when the concept of sympathetic magic is described⁽¹⁾. It is significant that the young men, ~~the young men~~, the warriors who form the basis of the tribal impi combine to overcome the ulwathsabathsela, and the fact that no weapons are used seems to indicate their immeasurable superiority over the enemy. At a further sign from the chief the young men again seize the bull, now much weakened by loss of blood, and throw it⁽²⁾. The chief takes an axe and with it gashes the chest of the prostrate beast, inserts his arm up to the elbow and breaks the animal's windpipe (umbinzo)⁽³⁾ causing it to die in a few seconds. The carcass is immediately skinned by the warriors and cut up. All the flesh is removed, including the ribs and limbs, the backbone being left with the head attached. The legs are sent to a hut while the intestines are given to the old women who eat them either roasted or raw (a great delicacy).

Then follows another vignette, which again symbolizes the conflict between the tribe, embodied in the chief, and the enemy represented by the bull. The grotesque head of the bull, with the bloodstained backbone and tail still attached, is lifted up bodily by four or five young men and carried before the chief who grips it by the distended nostrils and leads it out of the isigaya, the procession eventually halting in front of the Great Hut. Another version states that the young men pretend to gore the chief with the head of the slain bull; in either case the symbolism is obvious. Just so, will the chief lead the defeated impis of the enemy and remain himself unscathed. The bones of the ulwathsabathsela are then burnt and thrown away. After this episode the chief re-enters the Great Hut, and the warriors once more return to the river, where they wash after smearing themselves on the forehead, chin, cheeks, thighs and shins with white ochre (umagabo) to fortify them against the dangers inherent in the approaching ritual.

(1) Chapter VII.

(2) I use the present tense. Today the bull is killed by stabbing it over the heart with an assegai - the usual method of killing. It is still thrown without ropes, however.

(3) c.f. Marwick, op. cit. p. 189.

On their return they are met at the gate of the isi6aya sengcuba by the chief and the tribal magician. Those on horseback dismount and join the warriors on foot in a great semicircle before the ingcuba cattle kraal, swaying to a ^hrythmical stamping, dancing and chanting the repetitive phrases of the ingcuba songs. At an order from the chief the assemblage closes in on the kraal, and enters the brushwood circle in single file. By this time the meat of the slaughtered bull has been cut up and lightly roasted with medicines "ground fine and spread over it like salt" on the sacred uvatsi fire, and then piled at the gate of the kraal. When all are inside the chief takes a collop of meat (umbengo) "black with medicines", bites a piece off and throws it to the man nearest him, who takes a bite, rubs it quickly on his joints, and throws it to his neighbour in his turn. If a piece falls to the ground it is left, for, it is said, an enemy has fallen, and to pick it up would be to revive him. Some say, however, that the young boys are allowed to pick up the fallen pieces. No woman may take part in this ritual. Similarly the green stuffs which have been simmering since the Wednesday on the uvatsi fire are ritually tasted and spat out (ukucela) by the chief, followed by the rest of the men of the tribe. The whole of the above ritual is orientated towards the repudiation of the enemy identified with the bull and the green stuffs stolen from alien fields.

The cycle of ingcuba rites culminates in a specific doctoring of the army by the tribal magician who is paid for his services with a beast (at the last Mpoza ingcuba, a horse). The whole impi again forms in a great semicircle facing the entrance of the isi6aya. The chief sits inside the doorway on the left with the tribal herbalist and his assistant. A pot of specially potent medicines has been prepared and, with this carried by the assistant, the herbalist walks swiftly round the semicircle of warriors, standing in complete silence, and sprinkles each man and his weapons with a bunch of dry grass dipped in the pot. Coming to the end of the circle he repeats the operation in the opposite direction and re-enters the kraal. (See Appendix C).

The rest of the day is spent in feasting and dancing, and the following morning the people drift back to their homes from the Great Place. Although the bones of the ulwathsabathsela are destroyed by burning, the brushwood isi6aya sengcuba is left until the following year when it will be pulled down and another erected. Unlike the Mpondo, medicated first fruits are not eaten in the private homes of the tribesmen, the ceremony being confined to the tribal celebrations. Although ingcuba is a time of beerdrinks, dancing and feasting, its deep importance for the tribal

weal is emphasised by the total prohibition of sexual intercourse during the week of ceremonies. This seems to be linked to two different cultural elements - the belief that sexual connexion negatives the power of medicines, and the abstention from intercourse during times of national danger when the army is mobilized and away from home.

The significance of ingcobe in the social structure.

The meaning of annual firstfruit ceremonies has engaged the attention of several writers who have sought to elicit its function in society. There are two main views, viz. that the ceremonies are a first fruit sacrifice orientated primarily towards the new crops, and that they are a magico-religious cycle of rites aimed at the protection and maintenance of the social and political structure. Malinowski⁽¹⁾ points out that "food has also a conspicuous role in ceremonies of a distinctly religious character. First fruit offerings of a ritual nature, harvest ceremonies, big seasonal feasts in which the crops are accumulated, displayed and, in one way or another, sacrilized, play an important part among agricultural peoples. All such acts express the joy of the community, their sense of the great value of food, and religion through them consecrates the reverent attitude of man towards his daily bread". He traces the development from the fear of starvation to the rise of a feeling of dependence on Providence, and of gratitude and confidence in it. "We have seen that food is the primary link between the primitive and providence".⁽²⁾

Gluckman~~x~~ agrees with this view. In an analysis of the analogous umkosi ceremony of the Zulu⁽³⁾ he describes the ceremonies as a first fruit sacrifice directed towards the ripening crops, a protection of the people against the strange vitalizing power of the green shoots, the former being themselves purified lest they "spoil" the all-important food supply. The purification is effected through the chief or king who is heavily medicated before approaching the food. He suggests that the politico-military aspect of the ceremony so prominent among both Zulu and Bhaca today is a secondary accretion to the original purpose of the ceremony, probably introduced by warrior chiefs such as T/haka and Madzikane. Gluckman~~x~~ considers the

(1) "Magic, Science and Religion" (1948) Free Press, p.24

(2) "Magic, Science and Religion" (1948) Free Press, p. 26.

(3) Gluckman~~x~~ M., 1938. Social aspects of first fruits ceremonies among the South-Eastern Bantu, AFRICA 11, 25-41.

economic and nutritional aspects of the ceremony as fundamental - a control of the energies developed from the new food (which often lead to drunkenness and quarrels, especially if crops of neighbours ripen at different times⁽¹⁾), the canalization of the pulsing life, both mental and physical, that comes with the end of dearth, and the marked increase in the food supply, and the control of thriftlessness. The ceremonies also have a religious aspect as the tribal ancestors are called to share in the feasting and the rite is in part a thanksgiving to them for the safe arrival of the harvest. Following van Gennep we can again consider the ingcube as a rite de passage, the transition from the old to the new year. As the Bhaca themselves say, "We are letting the year pass" and, (from the more sophisticated) "The ingcube is the Bhaca New Year", "It is like Christmas".

"The real meaning of ingcube is the crown of the chief"; "It is to show that the chief is great by the calling of men together"; "It protects the people from being weak, especially during war"; these are the statements of chief's councillors and old men, and it seems certain that, today at least, the main purpose of the Bhaca first fruit ritual is the strengthening of the office of chieftainship, and, through it, the tribe and the tribal army. In the foregoing description of the ceremonies we have all along noted the symbolism of the ritual, and its constant play on the antagonism of the tribe against its enemies. In certain contexts the army itself, in song, dance and mock battle, demonstrates its solidarity and power, in others it and the tribe are identified in the person of the chief as in the actual killing of the bull and in the ukukhafula with its gestures of disdain and antagonism towards the surrounding lands of the enemy.

It appears that the original character of the festival among the Bhaca has been modified throughout the years of wandering through a northern Cape, convulsed with intertribal wars and migrations of fleeing tribal fragments, the essentially agriculturally-orientated ritual being superseded in importance by the military aspect with its accompanying consolidation of tribal sentiments and solidarity. It is

(1) He quotes Ashton as saying that the Southern Sotho, who do not have first fruit ceremonies, always hide green crops from their neighbours when they ripen.

interesting to note that Hunter⁽¹⁾ comes to the same conclusions in her study of the Mpondo among whom the ceremony appears to have ceased to be a vital part of tribal life. She states "I am aware that first-fruits ceremonies have other aspects in other Bantu communities, and that this view of them will be queried; but with such information as is now obtainable in Pondoland it is impossible to regard the first-fruit ceremonies otherwise than as one in the series of army treatments." The only feature of the Bhaca ceremonies which today reflects the original nature of the ingcube is the fact that it is geared to the agricultural cycle, also acting as a form of economic control, but, even here, the breaking of the taboos against eating the new crops is stated to "make the knees of the army weak", and to undermine the fabric of the society from a military point of view. Every statement made by present-day Bhaca refers to the importance of keeping the tribe "strong". All the main features in the ritual bear this out. In the first place the taboos against the eating of green stuffs apply only to men, the mainstay of the tribal army. "It makes men weak and unable to fight". Then the stealing of green maize cobs, calabash and sweetreed from the surrounding fields of strange tribes is an obvious display of tribal prowess, spiced with the possibility of capture, while the killing of a man on the occasions of a chief's first ingcube, after his accession, again illustrates this point. It is significant that the warriors come to the Great Place fully armed, indulge in mock battles with one another and sing martial songs, and that the doctoring of the army includes the sprinkling of their weapons by the inyanga yempi. Then, too, two of the most important episodes are the march past of the army before the chief, who sits and reviews the long phalanx of horse and footmen in the gate of the cattle kraal, and the washing of the impi with medicines in the Mvenyane. The ritual of the Friday with the killing of the bull further illustrates this. The bull must be thrown by the young warriors without ropes, a demonstration of their strength and bravery, and, as we have seen, the bull can only be understood as the representation of the enemy.

Apart from the obviously militaristic character of

(1)

Op. cit. Page 404.

the role of the army in the ingcube cycle, there is a perhaps more important and significant feature, the identification of the chief with the tribe. All the complex emotions and values are concentrated in the person of the chief who thus becomes the visible symbol of these attitudes. It is not only the chief, in his private capacity, who is strengthened with the medicines of ingcube: it is the tribe which is objectified, "made flesh" and visibly reinvigorated. It is also significant that the army, the material evidence of the tribe's physical strength and virility, plays such a prominent part in the series of rites. "Ingcube is done properly when the country is at war" (ilizwe lifile, lit. 'the country is dead'). For the above reasons I consider that the main function of ingcube today is a socio-political one - the consolidation of the tribe, the raising of the self-consciousness of the tribal entity. In former days the ceremony was particularly associated with the installation of a new chief, and it was then that the supreme act of danger, the killing of an enemy and the utilization of part of the skull as a waspot for the chief's medicines, was performed.

There are other secondary, but important, aspects. During the performance of the ritual the spirits of the great chiefs of yore, who themselves performed the ceremonies are evoked, and informants say that the 'dark' medicines used by the chief represent the amathfongo - a purely religious aspect of the rites. By it, also, an important tool is forged whereby the chief can regulate the harvest, the central point in the agricultural cycle, in the same way as he influences the ploughing, sowing and planting, and the fertility cults of rain-making and the blessing of the seed (see above).

Surrounded throughout the dangerous marginal period of the rites by his army, the chief re-lives in symbolic ritual the vigour and power of the tribe, and demonstrates its overwhelming superiority over other tribal groups.

The secular functions of the chieftainship.

We have discussed in some detail the mystical character of Bhaca chieftainship; - the supernatural qualities of the chief that owe their force to tradition, and which are the embodiment of the whole nexus of tribal sentiments and ingroup values. We have seen how he occupies an outstanding position in the ritual life of the tribe, ensuring its continued wellbeing and vitality by the manipulation of

appropriate 'dark' medicines, and acting as its representative vis-à-vis the ancestral spirits, and, through the offices of ingcibe, regulating the economic calendar. But by far the greater part of the chief's life is made up of a vast number of secular duties which often throw a great burden on his time and energies; his is a life of great responsibilities as well as great privilege.

Among the Bhaca the office of chieftainship is associated with great wealth, particularly formerly when death dues, usually a beast or a goat (isizi), were levied, and when the large-scale raiding of surrounding tribes was a frequent diversion in the national life. Mpondo, Hlubi, Xesi6e, all were periodically attacked by the impis of the redoubtable Ncaphayi, until the name Bhaca came to be feared by all the peoples of the East Griqualand uplands. As the chief received a share of all cattle captured by his war-parties, frequent skirmishes were a lucrative undertaking and swelled the royal herds. Formerly, too, part of all fines levied in the tribal courts, both chief's and headman's, accrued to the chief. The offences for which fines were imposed were similar to those found in the Mpondo courts.⁽¹⁾ In cases between private persons and offences against the chief - resisting the chief's messenger, ~~breaking the chief's messenger~~, breaking the chief's mourning, failing to observe the ingcibe taboos (though not the failure to fulfil labour dues), - all were punished by fines, as were also cases of manslaughter, witchcraft and slander. In private cases a portion of the fines accrued to the chief; in the others the whole fine went to him, or was shared with the district headman against whom the offence was committed. After a series of cases all cattle and stock collected as fines was brought together at the Great Place and formerly divided by the chief, who apportioned a certain number to each headman and added the balance to his own herds. This is never done nowadays. In return each district head was obliged to supply men for the chief's army on cattle-stealing raids and in times of national emergency. A further source of revenue was the tribute paid to the chief by aliens wishing to come under his protection, either individually, in families, or in tribal segments. Even Sodladla, the headman of the Xesi6e community at Maboba, had to pay seven head of cattle when he moved from the Tshangwane district to Mount Frere, although he had married one of the daughters of Chief

(1) Hunter, op. cit. p. 385.

Makaula. Apart from these spasmodic accretions to his herds a chief inherits considerable property in stock from the late chief, and, when he marries, the cattle for the ikhazi of his great wife are contributed by the whole tribe. Gifts of cattle, while travelling through the country and visiting the imiti of his often numerous wives, were frequently made to the chief, as well as presents of beer and other gifts. The wealth of the chief, particularly in cattle, the index pre-eminent of Bhaca wealth, was greatly treasured by the chief, and formed an essential part of his prestige and it is said that any commoner purporting to have more cattle than the chief was liable to be 'eaten up' and his herds confiscated.

Apart from cattle the fields of a chief are usually larger than those of commoners, and as, in the olden days, he usually had more than one wife building their kraals in various districts, his fields were scattered over the tribal territory, usually occupying the most fertile stretches. One of the main differences between Bhaca and Mpondo is the fact that among the former, apparently, the chief can not levy forced labour to work his fields or build his kraal; if he wishes to get help in these matters he must organize an isit/hongo (ilima, work party); although if he needed anything or asked for a particular beast or horse, it would be given - an isipho sebandla (a gift of the people).

As among other Nguni tribes, in the days when hunting was still a major economic pursuit, the skins and tusks of all big game such as lion, elephant, leopard, rhinoceros, hippopotamus and jackal, were given to the chief as tribute, as were all skins of animals killed in the great tribal hunts organized at the Great Place in which the whole army participated after being doctored with the chief's medicines. [The possession of so much wealth and privilege gives rise to complementary duties and obligations. The chief as father of his people must at all times be ready to listen to the requests and grievances of the humblest subject, his umti is always open to strangers and visitors, and his fields of kaffir corn and his herds must be utilized to provide hospitality

* "... and the business of his court, in time of famine, to which appeals lie from the verdicts of the lower courts. He is responsible for the details of administration for anything of any importance that occurs in the tribe, represents his people in dealings with the European administration"

and, through the use of his magic, regulates the agricultural cycle. Apart from his judicial and executive powers he may, in consultation with his councillors and the tribe

as a whole, change laws and customs that have become obsolete and unnecessary, and, on the other hand institute new laws which may be considered to promote the tribal wellbeing. He is the head of the tribal army and the high priest who alone can propitiate the spirits. He possesses the sacred medicines of his fathers against which no enemy may stand.

In spite of his outstanding position in the social structure the chief lives very much like a commoner. His umti may be bigger and better built than those of his subjects but not necessarily so. The royal kraal of the Mpoza chiefs consisted of three huts perched on the side of a hill in front of a stone cattle kraal with absolutely nothing to indicate that this was the home of a chief. Wabane has built a square house of mud bricks at Lugangeni among the huts built by his father Mngcisana and a rectangular courthouse, so that the Great Place here is more imposing than any of the homes of his subjects. Generally speaking, however, he eats the same food, may be less educated than some of his subjects, and is not always better dressed than they. In spite of this his power and prestige are very real and he is respected and revered by the great majority for his traditional status.

Succession.

The political mechanism outlined above with its pivotal status roles is subject to disruption. Conservative and static as the structural form is in the primitive organization of Bhaca society, this is not due to any change in the character of the structural system, but rather to the removal by death of the human incumbents of cardinal political and social positions. The culture handles this problem of the smooth transference of function through well-defined rules of succession. At all costs schism and forceful usurpation of position must be prevented; such a contingency would negative the all-important principle of harmonious continuity, and threaten the solidarity of the group. Rival claimants to the chieftainship seriously split the tribe into opposing factions, at least temporarily, disrupting social life and leaving the country open to alien attack.

We have noted the identification of the chief with the tribe. On his death the country is said to die, and national life momentarily stops in a paroxysm of grief and mourning. The death of a chief is immediately broadcast throughout the country, and he is buried on the slope below the tribal cattle kraal "where the rain washes the manure down".

The head must face up the slope towards the huts of the Great Place, intimate with associations of his earthly life. Below the line of huts of the Lugangeni Great Place lay the graves, concrete-covered, of the great Makaula and his son Mngcisana; here, too, would their descendants be buried. The body of a chief is buried by his nearest relatives and a period of mourning lasting over a year is proclaimed, during which no festivals or marriages are allowed in the vicinity of the Great Place, although, informants said, this is not strictly enforced in the more outlying districts. All dancing and feasts are prohibited throughout the tribe. As among the Mpondo (op. cit. p. 340) the mourning period is often the occasion for the dropping of customs and the adoption of new ones. No Bhaca woman nowadays smears her goatskin skirts with red ochre; the custom is said to have been dropped during the mourning for Chief Makaula and never resumed.

The death of a chief ushers in a period of stress and tension. The country has lost its symbol of unity; it is as if it itself had died. There follows a marginal period when the country is laid open, naked and defenceless, to the disintegrating forces of witchcraft and destructive magic. It is interesting to note an extreme portrayal of this marginal period reported for the Yao of southern Nyasaland⁽¹⁾. "..... the chief became the symbol of unity of his tribal group. The symbolism was clearly noticeable on the death of a chief when a short period of social disorganization called cipinimbe followed. The members of the chief's village were allowed to pilage and commit rape and other criminal acts without suffering legal action. The demise of the symbol of unity was followed by a period of disunity before the appointment of a successor restored the status quo." Although this extreme form of social breakdown is not found among the Bhaca there is a period of disturbed equilibrium which must be resolved as soon as possible. A new chief must be appointed.

A chief is always succeeded by the eldest son of his great wife, who, unlike the Swazi and the Qawukeni Mpondo, is invariably the first wife married. The cattle for her ikhazi are contributed to in theory by the whole tribe; in practice

(1)

Mitchel, Clyde, The Political Organization of the Yao of S. Nyasaland, AFRICAN STUDIES, Sept. 1949. vol. 8, no. 3, page 142.

only the various district headmen and wealthy tribesmen give the great majority. It is difficult to refuse. The amount of ikhazi for a chief's wife is usually well over a hundred head of cattle, and she is very often the daughter of the chief of another tribe, although a chief may marry the daughter of a headman (unusual because of the rule of clan exogamy), or of a prominent and wealthy tribesman. Mngcिसana's great wife, Maqumbelo, was of the Mpondo royal house, while Chief Waḡane is married to the daughter of the Xesiḡe chief. If the great wife has no son, cattle are taken from the herds of the Great House, and another woman is lobola'd to become the 'stomach' (isisu) of the barren wife and to raise up an heir. All informants stated that the marriage of the isisu is confined to chiefs. A chief may not take a son from any other house and make him heir in the event of the great wife being barren; the heir must be the son of the woman whose ikhazi has been paid by the whole tribe; in the case of an isisu wife the children of the union are regarded for social purposes as the natural children of the barren wife. If the chief dies without male issue (a contingency which occasionally happens, particularly if the chief is Christian and monogamous), the regent - usually the younger brother - will not take the great wife in the ukungena system and raise up an heir, as among commoners, but will take cattle from the Great House and lobola an isisu with whom he will cohabit. This statement is endorsed by councillors at Mpoza. The acceptance of Christianity has introduced problems into these mechanisms for ensuring succession. Both ~~monogamy~~^{polygamy} and the levirate are prohibited to church members, and the failure of an heir is a serious constitutional crisis affecting the wellbeing of the tribe. Waḡane's wife was childless and a Christian; she was sent by the tribe to Johannesburg to consult a well-known doctor in the hope that he could effect a cure.

All the property of chieftainship, the ingcibe medicines, tribal cattle and coronation regalia, are inherited by the heir. The house of the second wife married, as a house founded on privately contributed ikhazi, cannot inherit the offices and property of the Great House which owes its existence to the cattle donated by the tribe as a whole: apart from this the usual laws of inheritance obtain, and, if there is no heir to the second house, its property will go to the Great House. If the heir is physically or mentally totally unfit for the high position he has inherited, he may, at a meeting of the tribal councillors, be supplanted in favour of another considered more suitable. The office never passes out of the ruling clan though, and the choice is invariably a younger brother of the chief or an adult son.

Bhaca stated that it was a recognized principle that when a chief got old and infirm he would relinquish his office in favour of the heir. When Nomt/hekete/he became old he built a new kraal at Mdlaza, the present site of the Mpoza Great Place, for his eldest son Rolobile and his mother, and retired from active public life. Similarly Mngcisana relinquished the chieftainship in favour of Mziwamandla, the son of the Great House. Soon after Mziwamandla died without male issue. Maqumbelo, Mngcisana's second wife, was barren, and Matholi, also a Mpondo, was lo6ola'd as isisu wife to that house. On Mziwamandla's death, Wa6ane, the son of this union was a minor, so Nkevelane, the eldest son of the third house, acted as regent until his succession to the chieftainship. It will be seen that this is a departure from the rule that the heir must come from the Great House, and is recognized as irregular by the experts on constitutional law. Mziwamandla had a daughter who is reputed to have said to Mngcisana, "Why do you not renew my mother's house (the Great House) as you have Maqumbelo's". Nkevelane was instructed to take cattle from the Great House and lo6ola an isisu wife for Maqwa6a, the Great Wife; this he did and the son of the marriage is a youth of about fourteen. There is a minority in the tribe who consider that he is the rightful heir, although discussion is kept from the chief's ears. It is rumoured that Wa6ane's mother plotted with Nohi, the influential brother of Mngcisana, to influence the chief in the nomination of the young Wa6ane as the future chief. A genealogy illustrating the relationships of the Lugangeni royal house will be found in Appendix E.

After a chief dies his son immediately succeeds to office; there is no hiatus and the constitutional position is similar to that in England, where the death of a monarch ushers in the reign of his heir. "The king is dead, long live the king". This is a distinct ^{departure} ~~distinction~~ from Yao practice. (see above). There is no special coronation ceremony on accession, but the incube immediately following is of particular significance. It is then that, formerly, a member of some enemy tribe would be secretly murdered and his skull used to form a basin in which the medicines, used by the chief to wash and strengthen himself, are placed. Only when the true chief reigns can the full ritual be performed.

When the heir is a minor on the death of the chief a regent is appointed by the chief's family and councillors. He is usually a younger brother or father's brother's son of the late chief, and holds office only until such time as the chief attains his majority. When Sikhanda died, Jikumnyango, the next eldest, was not made regent, as he had been installed as the headman of mpoza, and the third brother, Kut/hiwa, was made regent during the

minority of Ngayibelchi. "Jikumnyango had his own place but Kut/hiwa was nothing and was made regent". Similarly during the minority of Makaula, Diko of the second house acted as regent, as did Nkevelane for Mngcisaba. No woman may be a regent; the idea was greeted with laughter and there has been no case in Bhasa history. Sometimes a regent is tempted by the fruits of office to usurp the chieftainship: if this happens there is the danger of the tribe being split into two factions, and the possibility of civil war. Nkevelane was notoriously touchy about his position, and would not allow the fact that he was deputizing for Wabane to be mentioned in his presence: on the other hand Kut/hiwa constantly emphasised the fact that he was merely in locum tenens until his nephew came of age.

The balance of power in the political structure.

Despite his supreme position in the political system the chief is nevertheless never a complete despot - although it is conceivable that a man, by sheer ruthlessness and force of personality, could so impose his will on his subjects that his desires would become law. The reign of the Zulu chief Uhaka is an example of such a development. Generally speaking, however, the functions and statuses of the political structure are synthesised in a delicately poised balance of opposing forces, nicely articulated to eliminate the sociological and political consequences of unlimited concentration of power. Paradoxically the harmonious continuity of the social fabric is ensured by conflict: the path of political expediency and practical administration is trodden between the often divergent opinions and interests of the chief on the one hand and his councillors and people on the other, and the actual direction of tribal policy, both in broad outline or in details, is the product of continual interaction and compromise between these elements. This system not only acts as a check on the power of the central authority, but also has the extremely important function of directly representing the interests of the humblest tribesman through the delegated local authorities. Justice is distributed throughout the tribal area, and, to a limited extent, the wishes of the people are impressed on the policy of the chief - although here the mechanism fits loosely. It is difficult to determine just to what extent the desires of the people generally affect the actions of the chief: it seems probable that the district headmen usually his relatives, are the main points of criticism. Further research is needed on the representation of the common will through the headmen and its effect on tribal policy.

There are two main limitations to the power of a chief, viz., (a) the traditionally determined duties and

privileges of his office couched in law and custom, and (b) the possible opposition of councillors, often near relatives, and perhaps the people in general. As in all political positions much depends on the personality of the chief: a popular chief may be backed by the great majority of his subjects even if the measure he proposes is detrimental to their personal interests, while an unpopular, incompetent man will be opposed on the slightest pretext. Occasionally, too, brothers or uncles may covet the chieftainship and assemble a rival faction to oppose an unpopular chief.

A good deal of outward respect is accorded to the chief. His arrival at a gathering is heralded by the royal salute "Bayethe!" and he is addressed by the honorific titles mhlekati (beautiful one), by his isiSuliso and his isiSongo "Zulu". As among the Mpondo only relatives of the chief will use his personal name when addressing him. If the chief enters a hut or joins a gathering of men all will rise and salute him with raised hands. In spite of this the chief is on familiar terms with all his people; he is always pre-eminently approachable. Men discuss matters freely with him, and his appearance at a beer drink or imbizo (gathering) does not prevent jokes and goodnatured banter being exchanged. As we shall see the chief may be criticized and even reprimanded, and tribal courts are characterized by pleasant informality.

The chief does not rule on his own. He is advised by and expected to consult his immediate relatives, many older and more experienced in tribal matters than he, and by the old men of the tribe who have distinguished themselves as shrewd and wise councillors. These men form a close body or inner council, experts on law and tribal custom, and are called amalunga or amaphakathi (from phakathi, 'inside' - those inside). They play an important part in ensuring the continuity of tradition and instruct the often young and inexperienced chief in precedent and policy. Their influence is not merely conservative, and they also suggest lines of possible improvement in law and administration. The amaphakathi do not necessarily live near the capital, though many build their imizi in the neighbourhood for convenience, and some have to travel long distances to attend cases. They are a fairly wide body, as any tribesman may distinguish himself in debate and come to play a prominent part in discussion, while a close relative of the chief, of much higher status in the social structure, may be an unimpressive personality and his views treated with good-natured intolerance. The importance of this group of councillors must not be underes-

timated; they are a most powerful force in shaping tribal policy. They may criticize and even scold the chief and, as they represent tribal opinion, a wise chief will seldom go against their wishes. It is largely through the district headmen, prominent members of the inner council by virtue of blood relationship, that a chief depends on the loyalty and co-operation of the out-lying districts, and their local influence is buttressed by the fact that they too are of the royal clan, descendants of the revered Madzikane. Although under the jurisdiction of Chief Wabane, the districts of Lut/hikini and Ahlot/heni were strongly antagonistic to the Lugangeni administration, and a standing feud existed between them and other districts under Wabane's control. Tribesmen preferred to take appeals from their headmen's courts straight to the magistrate in Mount Frere rather than submit to the jurisdiction of the Makaula chiefs.

Although composed mainly of headmen and old men, the structurally undefined group of amaphakathi is extremely elastic, and includes any man who takes the trouble to attend the tribal courts. In this way the tribesman, no matter what his place in the structure, or his origin (he may even be a foreigner - immigrant mfengu hold important positions at Lugangeni), can help to shape tribal policy, particularly if he is eloquent and persuasive. The members of the chief's family, particularly his paternal uncles and brothers, as well as the district heads, compose the core of the council, an extension of the part played by the immediate relatives of the district head, and is the small family council, centred round the umti and structurally based on the lineage, writ large. The pattern of reciprocal forces in administration, both central and local, is identical in form and function; the main difference is in scale.

Apart from the council of amaphakathi there are two other important status positions in the central authority - the isandla senkosi (the chief's hand) and the induna⁽¹⁾.

The isandla senkosi is a man of outstanding personality appointed by the chief to keep his property. All gifts and fines accruing to the chief are placed in his charge and "in matters of war and disturbances the Government first gets in touch with the isandla and through him the chief". He was formerly also responsible for loans in time of war. Informants say that the isandla was

(1) Bhaca practice appears to differ from Mpondo in this respect.

always an old trusted councillor, but today "young chiefs want young men". The isandla receives no payment for his services and always builds his umti near the capital. Nohi Makuale was isandla to Kingcizana.

The induna also holds a key position in tribal affairs. He must be a man of "good logic" and commanding presence, as he deputizes for the chief when the latter is away from home. He is not necessarily a member of the royal clan, and is appointed by the chief on the advice of his councillors. It sometimes happens that the induna is succeeded in office by his son, if the latter is competent, but this is unusual, and the chief almost invariably appoints his own induna on accession. At present Cekiso, a commoner, holds the office at Lugangeni - a position he did not inherit. The induna must attend all cases at the tribal court, and should be an expert on tribal law and custom; he presides over the court in the absence of the chief, and represents him in dealings with the outside world, if the chief cannot attend. He is responsible for giving judgment on the finer points of law and quotes precedent. Like the isandla, the induna has no special privileges, but, of course, the chief may grant him many favours, and the position is one of high status.

Always round the Great Place are people who attend cases and who assist the chief, in a voluntary capacity, as helpers and servants. Usually they live in their own kraals, probably some distance away from the capital, but every day sees them at the chief's kraal. Usually they are the men of the isixeko (cluster), contemporaries of the chief, and are known by the term 'the chief's dogs'. If the chief is presented with a beast or sheep they are the ones who kill it and cut it up and assist in the distribution of beer at a beer drink, as well as helping in the various jobs to be done round the capital. During my stay at Buffalo Neck a new rectangular building was being constructed for Wabane's use, and work of cutting the sods for the walls was being carried out by these men. Even foreigners can become dogs of the chief, and the little community of Mfengu at Lugangeni played an important part in tribal life. The chief's secretary was a Mfengu. For the imposition of political control now necessitates continual co-operation and interaction with the European administration, and the chiefs, often poorly educated, and some knowing no English, find it necessary to employ secretaries to handle official correspondence and to act as interpreters, if necessary. Wabane and Kut/hiwe employed secretaries, both of whom were ex-schoolteachers. Their relative sophistication and knowledge of European methods and outlook make them valuable councillors and guides,

and their position is fast becoming more important and vital than that of the old iphakathsi - particularly in matters in which the tribe's relationship with the outside world is concerned. A more worldly-wise outlook is **essential** in dealing with the confusing problems and changing relationships brought about by social change.

In certain matters such as war, or questions of national importance the chief consults a wider group, the gathering of all the adult male members of the tribe. This is the imbizo when district headmen and their subjects assemble at the capital. An imbizo was called when I visited the Mpoza chief to discuss ingcube and witness the enactment of certain ceremonies of the cycle, and we have noticed how local district imbizo are called by headmen to discuss the making of sledges or matters of local moment. Formerly when a chief wished to call the tribe together he sent out a special messenger called isithunywa to the kraals of the various district heads, who, in turn, would notify the kraalheads living in their district. Men would meet at the kraal of their headman and proceed together to the capital. This method of assembly was also utilized when the tribe collected for the first fruit ceremonies.

The above describes the interacting forces that acted against the uncontrolled despotism of a chief. Today the whole political system is subject to the overriding authority of the Union Government, acting through its Department of Native Affairs, more directly the Native Commissioner or Magistrate, centred in the main town of the district. All criminal cases are tried by him under Common Law, and appeals in civil offences are heard under Bheca Law. He is responsible for the peace and welfare of the district, invalid and old age pensions are paid through his office, he controls agriculture, and, to a lesser extent, education. In fact many of the functions of the chief have been usurped by him. The whole question of the changes brought about in Bheca political life, through Western control will be more fully discussed in a final chapter.

The chieftainship and judicial and administrative integration.

The chief is at the head of the judicial and administrative system of the tribe. The political system does not exist apart from the social structure, but is inherent in it, and owes its efficacy to its essential qualities - the territorial organization, the principle of primogeniture and patrilineal succession, the clan and lineage systems, and the historical continuity with the past with its concept of royalty. The main feature of Bheca political organization is the system of district headmen, holding their position by hereditary right, but confirmed by the chief,

who are responsible to him for the administration of the districts under their charge. Each headman with his ibandla (assembly of adult men of a district) forms a court of first instance from which there is an appeal to the court of the chief, who is thus the supreme arbitrator in all tribal matters. The headman is also responsible to the chief for the peaceful administration of his district. We must notice here how the system of local administration, with associated juridical functions, permeates through the structure, and gathers up the divers social elements and disparate territorial groups, binding them together in the knot, which is the chieftainship. Even alien communities, such as the Xesibe of Maboba under their own headman, and the Hlu6i groups of the Matatiele border are incorporated into the tribal structure by the genius of the political system. In most cases, however, the links between the district heads and the chief are reinforced by blood ties and 29 of the 36 headmen of the Mount Frere district are of the Zulu (royal) clan. (1)

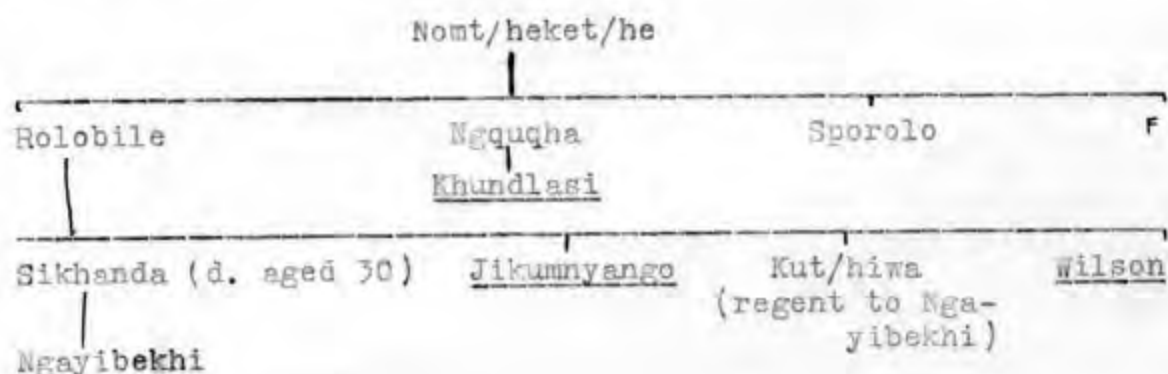
Although the office of district headman is typically hereditary, being inherited from the incumbent by his eldest son, this is not always the case, particularly if the man is considered unsuitable by the chief. Indeed, some informants go so far as to say "A headman never fathers a headman; only the chief fathers a chief". When the Lutateni headman died his heir was considered unsuitable and a younger brother of Chief Wa6ane was installed. Sometimes the people of the district particularly want the son to be appointed, and it is said that Dudumane's mother, widow of Sikhali, the late headman of Njijini, begged Wa6ane to appoint her son - her husband had been Wa6ane's uncle, brother to Mngcisana. Changes in appointment are not as drastic as they seem at first sight when it is remembered that the great majority of district headmen are related to one another and are conscious of the common origin. An analysis of the district organization of the Mpoza Bhaca will illustrate this point. The tribal territory is divided into six districts or locations each under the jurisdiction of a headman, who is appointed or confirmed in office by the chief. All the councillors at the Great Place denied that a son must inevitably follow his father. The distribution of headman is as follows:-

<u>district</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Isi6ongo</u>
Mpoza	Jikumnyango	Zulu
Siqhingeni	Khundlasi	Zulu
Nomkolokoto	Wilson	Zulu

(1)

<u>District</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Isibongo</u>
Colana	Magoba	Zulu
Ntsimangweni	Khongolo (regent)	Siwela
Umzimvu6u	Madula	Xa6a

Of these six headmen four are directly related to the royal house and the first three are close relatives of the chief who were placed over the areas by royal appointment. Khundlasi is the son of Chief Rolobile's younger brother while both Jikumnyango and Wilson are sons of nomt/heket/he by different wives. Magoba is a more distant connection whose exact relationship to the others I was unable to ascertain. The following genealogical scheme shows this more clearly:-



Through the system of royal headmen the various districts are interlocked round the matrix of the great place; the chief's influence ramifies down through the system of minor courts, so that, in judicial decisions and administrative details, it impinges on the lives of each one of his subjects. The headmen are his representatives and husbandmen, they keep him informed of all matters of importance in the district, they commanded formerly the territorially-based regiments of his army, and, as his closest relations, act as advisors on his inner council as amaphakathi. The bonds of political allegiance and responsibility are inextricably interwoven with ties of blood and kin; members of the royal family are found in every district, and, in a sense, extend the chief's personality and being to every corner of his territory. Blood ties were formerly reinforced economically. The stock accruing from fines in the various courts were apportioned out by the chief between the various headmen and himself. The district itself is subdivided into smaller areas - or 'clusters', as we have called them - in each of which is a man, appointed by the isibondza to be his eye (iliso). The office is not hereditary and a district head appoints a man, usually a contemporary, whom he thinks is loyal and reliable. The iliso has no court or special privileges, but brings to the notice of the chief any disputes or disturbances, and is responsible for the appearance of disputants in the district headman's court.

Throughout the chief's territory his representatives occupy cardinal positions in the social structure and carry his authority to the humblest of his subjects.

Like that of chief, the position of district headman carries both prerogatives and obligations, the latter overshadowing the former. He has the first choice of a situation for his kraal and fields, and can commandeer members of his iḡandla for help in public duties, such as carrying messages and enforcing court verdicts. The amount of help he receives depends largely on his personality and influence with his people. If he and his wife are popular they will be helped by most of their more immediate neighbours in the weeding, ploughing and, especially, reaping of their fields. As a member of the royal clan, the headman is accorded a great deal of, at least, outward respect, being greeted by men with a resounding "Zulu!", but, again, much depends on personalities. Thebeni Sontsi, the deaf headman of Mhlot/heni, was a proverbial drunkard and ne'er-do-well, and was laughed at and criticized, not only covertly, but even at court meetings, where advantage was taken of his deafness for good-natured abuse. A good deal of outward respect is accorded even in these cases, however, and the socially approved behaviour patterns honoured. (1)

Apart from his judicial function, the headman regulates the economic life of his district (we have seen how a meeting (imbizo) must be called by the head before sledges can be made and his function in allotting land); he is the representative of the senior clan in his district, and thus sacrifices to the spirits of his ancestors, the original settlers in the district, although this function is falling into disuse with the widespread acceptance of Christianity.

Law as a mechanism of social control - the courts

We have seen that society, to function smoothly, has developed certain mechanisms of social control, guiding the

(1)

An example of criticism levelled against a headman occurred during my stay at Mhlot/heni. Mhlot/heni shares a dipping tank with Lutatani who are protagonists of the Makaula chiefs. On Monday, 11th April, 1949, a fight began at the tank. Two young boys started fighting, the iindlavini from both locations were drawn into the fray, and the fight spread until the dipping foreman was threatened and fled. On the following day the headman went to the office of the magistrate to report that the cattle had not been dipped. He was apparently very drunk and was said to have reported a number of people who had had nothing whatsoever to do with the fighting. He was severely criticized by his men, and a meeting was held to discuss the possibility of deposing him. The real headman is a minor, and he was requested to come to the meeting and appoint another regent. Eventually the feeling died down.

behaviour of its members along well-defined lines, and keeping strong conflicting interests and anti-social tendencies in check. Human beings do not follow laws and customs slavishly, and certain mechanisms are essential to ensure conformity and the elimination of conflict. In preceding chapters we have studied the ways in which custom and etiquette are internalized during childhood through the admonition and example of parents; how attainment of new status roles at initiation and marriage are associated with formal and informal teaching and ritual. As he grows towards adulthood the child is subjected to a thorough conditioning, which tends to make him so sensitive and responsive to the norms of society that he obeys them practically unconsciously, the use of external force becoming unnecessary. Complete conditioning is rare, however. Individuals are continually being stimulated through particular social contexts of conflict, ~~or through particular social contexts of conflict~~, or through the interplay of personalities to break away from the prescribed norm and violate the promptings of the inner force of conditioned attitudes (or conscience, as we may call it). In such cases the society imposes what may be called external sanctions to ensure conformity. It should be noted here that an external sanction is not necessarily the grounds for obedience; people keep the law for other reasons than because it is the law. e.g. because they consider it morally right.

External sanctions may be organized or unorganized⁽¹⁾. In the latter case they are a spontaneous expression of disapproval by members of the group acting as individuals. We shall deal with this type of sanction more fully in the discussion of the social roles of religion and magic. Organized external sanctions are those which operate through the organized procedure of courts. The Shaca, through their political hierarchy of chief's and headmen's courts, have this principle developed to a high degree, and in this they conform to the general pattern of Nguni culture. As Krige has pointed out, in no society do the legal sanctions constitute more than a small part of the total mechanism of social control, educative conditioning reinforced by public opinion ensuring the observance of by far the greater

(1) I borrow these theoretical concepts from a paper by Prof. J.D. Krige, "Some Aspects of Social Control Among Primitive People". He defines a sanction as a mechanism - "operating within the individual, or exerting pressure on him from the outside - whereby conformity is obtained, approved behaviour is induced or encouraged, and disapproved behaviour is checked or discouraged".

number of rules and customs. In economic life the principle of reciprocity ensures co-operation, we have noted how ownership imposes obligations, and we shall consider the role of supernatural sanctions in a later chapter. There is a linguistic distinction made between rules or customs enforceable by the courts and those relying on less organized sanctions. The former are called imithetho (from ukuthetha to speak) and refer more specifically to judgments of the courts and commandments of the chief; the latter are distinguished by the generic term amasiko (customs).

An important feature of Bhaca law is that in character it is essentially restitutive and compensatory. The efforts of the judiciary are primarily orientated towards effecting a restoration of the status quo, if necessary by the compulsion of force. These court-enforced sanctions, or laws as we may call them, ~~the customs~~, do not exist in a vacuum, but are inherent in the social system. Rules of marriage and divorce, inheritance and succession, are rooted in the primary structural unit of the family; the reciprocal relation in agricultural activities give rise to rules of ownership and the concept of contract, while the phenomena of social relations introduce a vast field of law regulating behaviour and suppressing wrongs against the person such as seduction, rape, assault and murder. The rules enforced by the Bhaca courts are identical with those recorded for the Mpondo by Hunter:-

"Rules enforced by the courts deal with property, regulating its transfer at marriage and at death, and defining the return to be made for certain services (e.g. regulations regarding maintenance). They secure ownership, making provision for the punishment of one who infringes the right of an owner, by thieving or damaging property. They regulate the relations of the sexes, proscribing intercourse between certain persons, or under certain circumstances, and determine under what circumstances a child shall belong to the group of its father, and under what circumstances to that of its mother. They secure life and reputation, making provision for the punishment of those who imperil either by witchcraft, murder, assault or slander, and regulate behaviour towards a chief."⁽¹⁾

It should be noted that the internal and external ~~sanctions~~ ~~sometimes~~ interact and bolster one another. Without the compelling force of educative conditioning it is doubtful whether even physical force would be sufficient to secure conformity:

(1)

Op. cit. 414.

internal sanctions, although so deeply rooted, are in danger of being overborne by opposing interests.

organized external sanctions operate through the system of courts. We have already discussed their nodal positions in the social structure, concentrated round the important status roles of chief and district headmen. It is to the headman's court that the Bhaca tribesman brings his quarrels with his neighbour; it is here that disputes are resolved and offences against society and individuals are tried and punished. The procedure of the court is the mechanism whereby disrupted social relations are restored, and social integration effected. To understand the framework in which these conflicting interests are synthesized, and disputes compounded, we must see the courts at work in their social context.

The most outstanding feature of Bhaca court procedure is its informality; in fact the general impression is almost one of nonchalance and, occasionally, chaos. This is superficial, however, and stems largely from our own preoccupation with the niceties of legal procedure. Local cases are heard at the kraal of the district head, one of a number of other kraals of a cluster, perhaps dotting the side of a hill, and indistinguishable from them as to size or magnificence. The court is held preferably in the shade of an overhanging tree. There is no dock or witness box, and the vast body of legal technicalities, so prominent a feature of Western courts, is entirely lacking. Cases are usually heard in the late morning, and from about ten o'clock men begin arriving on horseback and on foot, sitting on the grass in front of the cattle kraal in a large semi-circle. When the headman appears all rise to their feet and greet him by his praisename, and remain standing until he takes his seat opposite them, either sitting, like them, on the ground, or on a chair or log. Late comers, as they arrive, salute the headman and the court ("Zulu! Nefandla") before sitting down.

After greetings have been exchanged and a short time spent in desultory conversation and laughter, the first plaintiff is called. He comes into the space in front of the court and states his complaint which is heard in silence. Now and then someone may chip in with a question, or ask the speaker to speak louder, or repeat a sentence he had not heard properly. Questions asked are often very much to the point, e.g. at Mhlot/heni a young girl in a case of attempted rape was asked whether she had cried out or not, but, on the other hand, there is ^{usually} ~~really~~ a great amount of irrelevancy. The reason for this is apparent when one remembers that the genius of Bhaca juridical mechanisms is one of restitution and a recovery of

the social equilibrium rather than the polemics of legal casuistries. In a small community personality conflicts, and jealousies are wellknown as well as the personal characteristics of the litigents, and much information, considered irrelevant in our impersonal objectivized courts, has a most practical bearing on the point at issue. If a member of the court, by his questions, shows that he has not grasped the significance of a point, he is enlightened by his neighbours, and it sometimes happens that a heated argument is carried on by two men, perhaps at opposite ends of the semi-circle, even while evidence is being led. A general shout for them to keep quiet is not an unusual occurrence. After the plaintiff has stated his case the defendant presents his defence, and any witnesses are called. After all the evidence has been heard conversation becomes general, all features of the case are thoroughly discussed, and witnesses are asked on any point which may need clarifying. No written evidence is taken and no woman may be a member of the court, although they may give evidence and obtain justice through it, in the latter case they must be assisted by a male relative. Members of the court come and go as they please, late arrivals unselfconsciously interrupt proceedings by going up to the headman and kissing his hand in salute; now and then a man will get up from his place and go across to the cattle kraal to relieve himself. In questioning the witnesses and accused, some stand, the better to be heard, but the majority remain seated and shout their observations to the court in general - although ostensibly to the headman. If the noise is too great for the witnesses to be heard he will warn them to be quiet.

The social composition of the court is very flexible. Theoretically all adult members of the district may attend and take part in the discussions: even young men of 23 or 24 attend and sometimes play a prominent part, but much depends on a man's personality or eloquence as to the extent of his influence in discussion and the weight of his opinion. After a lengthy, and often discursive, discussion the headman sums up the general feeling of the court and, if necessary, quotes precedent in support of the findings. Sometimes indeed no formal verdict is given, particularly if a verdict is not accepted by one of the parties and the court is divided on the issue. This is distinctly rare, and the parties usually know who is morally in the wrong and public opinion forces eventual submissiveness. In clear-cut issues the headman's decision is final. To a large extent justice depends on the character of the presiding headman -

although he may be forced by the weight of the court's opinion. In one case heard at the court of a district head, the head refused to call witnesses against the accused who was a close relative, while on another occasion he tried to postpone a case against a favourite which had hung fire for a year. In the latter case an acrimonious argument lasting quite twenty minutes ensued, ending in the case being heard. It seems that this type of behaviour is unusual; the headman in question was deaf and a rather disreputable character, and at cases he was occasionally insulted by members of the court.

Evidence is also given in the shape of exhibits - a torn dress, axe, weapons etc, but it is doubtful whether this is not a Western innovation. Procedure is not fixed. At one case, where someone objected to the fact that the principal witness for the defence was not present, another chipped in with, "This is the headman's court, not the office (magistrate's) where there must be a plaintiff, defendant and witnesses".

When satisfaction cannot be obtained at the headman's court, the dissatisfied party has recourse to the court of the chief. At Lugangeni one day a week is set aside for the hearing of appeal cases from the various districts (cases involving members of the immediate district are heard at the court of the Lugangeni district head). Formerly cases were heard in the inkundla (courtyard) of the great Place, but today a rectangular courthouse has been erected. When cases are to be heard, long wooden forms are placed in the court room, a table is placed at the top of the room with a large chair for the chief. His secretary sits on his left, for all evidence is taken down with carbon copies in a note book, although no oath is administered. Here the procedure is more formal, modelled to some degree on the magistrate's court at Mount Frere. An important departure from indigenous custom is the fact that all witnesses in a case are sent out so that they will not be influenced by other evidence. The case is heard from the beginning. The statements of both plaintiff and defendant are taken down by the secretary, while the chief himself makes notes on a pad in front of him. Questions are asked almost exclusively by the chief, or his secretary, and occasionally by the chief's induna - although other members of the court may ask pertinent questions, if authorized to do so by a nod from the chief. Despite this relative sophistication, directly attributable to contact, there is still a far greater degree of informality than is permissible in Western courts; people may come and go as long as they do so quietly; a man may go outside for a stone to

put underneath a rickety bench, and the attempts of an accused, or witnesses, to get out of a scrape is met with laughter. Proceedings are obviously enjoyed by all. Not only old men ask questions and state their views, and there is an increasing tendency for educated young men with the Matriculation or Junior Certificate to take part.

After all the evidence has been heard the chief confers with his secretary and induna as to the appropriate judgment, if the accused is guilty, or whether to acquit him, or call for further witnesses. If guilty, the chief sums up the evidence and gives the reason for his decision, his points being received with affirmatory gestures and nods by the court, or with dissentient voices. If the chief cannot come to a decision himself he thōrws the matter open to the court, while the principals and witnesses go out, in the hope that out of the discussion some agreement might emerge. After a decision has been given, the winner of the case goes up to the chief and kisses his hand back and front, while the loser is formally asked whether he wishes to give notice of appeal to the magistrate. For the magistrate has become an integral part of the Bhaca juridical system, whose authority permeates throughout the society, and impinges on practically every facet of social life. His place in society will be discussed more fully in the chapter on social change. It should be noticed, however, that the court of the chief, which we have just been discussing, is a new development, showing the strong influence of the court of the European magistrate on indigenous institutions. Formerly it seems certain that the chief's court was identical in character with that of the district head, and possessing its informal quality. The magistrate's court also acts as a court of appeal from that of the chief. The court of the district head is a court of first instance for the people of that district, and disputes between people of the various clusters are brought to him for settlement. If the case is too "heavy" or complicated to be satisfactorily settled at the headman's court, or concerns homicide or treason, it will be taken to that of the chief, and, if necessary, to the magistrate's⁽¹⁾. Under the present system of administration it is possible completely to sidestep both the minor courts and go straight to the magistrate, a course increasingly taken by the more sophisticated school people. The two disaffected districts of Mhlot/heni and Lutateni refused to take cases from their district heads to Chief Makuula, and took appeals straight to Mount Frere. Thus is the authority of the chief undermined,

(1) The form of appeal will be found in Appendix F.

and the pattern of political power inexorably changed.

A factor making for the settlement of disputes outside the courts is the levying of court fees. Today a fee of £1 (formerly a goat or sheep) is charged to open a case at the chief's court; informants stated that it was never paid in kind nowadays. Fees at headmen's courts seem to vary from between 5/- to 10/-. In a case in which a man drove his cows through the ~~the~~ lands of a neighbour with intent to do malicious damage, the parties agreed on ten shillings as payment for damages. The culprit refused to pay, however, and the dispute came before the district head, who upheld the decision. The court fee was five shillings bringing the fine to fifteen shillings. Again the man refused to pay and was fined a further ten shillings making one pound five shillings in all. All damages must be paid at the great place of the district, or, if imposed by the chief, at the capital, and, if paid in cattle, one is retained by the court as a fee comparable to the Mpondo umthethelelo, or beast given to a chief as a thankoffering for giving a favourable judgment. Informants stated that there was often much difficulty in enforcing decisions. Today the chief cannot enforce his decisions in the majority of cases, and at no time was self-help permitted among the Bhaca (1). Generally, enforcement of a decision is left to the parties concerned, and the withdrawal of the use of force since annexation has led to a serious diminution of the prestige of the tribal courts.

Formerly the penalty in civil cases was always a fine in cattle, sheep or goats which were seized, if necessary, by a special messenger of the chief. This was the umsila who carried as a badge of office the tail of a leopard, from which fact he derived his name (umsila, a tail). It was a serious offence to resist, or obstruct, the umsila in the execution of his duty, and was punishable by the payment of a fine of a goat. Nowadays the chief has no power to enforce his decisions and much must be left to public opinion and the compulsion of internalized attitudes of respect and obedience to the traditional head of the tribe.

Cases in which the restitutive mechanism operated between two parties, and damages were accorded, approximate roughly with the Western Concept of civil law. In certain other cases the fine went to the chief. In these cases

(1) The institution of self-help appears to belong to a more primitive form of political system than the S. Nguni.

prosecution was in the hands of the chief, and the offence could not be compounded outside the courts. It is in this category of offence that the political system acted directly in ensuring the continuance of the social equilibrium and solidarity, whereas in "civil" cases this operation is less direct. The motivating spring for "criminal" proceedings are offences conceived to have been aimed at the solidarity of the tribe, as such, against its component human units and the authority of the embodiment of the tribe - the chief. In cases of murder, assault, witchcraft, incest and slander (particularly against the virginity of an unmarried girl) it was conceived that the chief, and therefore the tribe, had been injured through the death of, or injury to, one of his subjects. The great importance of even the lowliest member of a primitive community in which the struggle for existence against famine and human enemies is much more fundamental than in a highly organized society such as ours, is explanatory. In these cases the whole of the fine went to the chief and not to the injured person, or his relatives. The attitude to murder was interesting, as it was essentially restitutive and not necessarily punishable by death. This is readily understandable when we take into account the logical premises from which these rules proceed. To punish a murder, or homicide, by death would inflict a further loss on the community, and increase the gap in society made by the death of the victim. No society can afford to jeopardize its solidarity by implying, howbeit tacitly, that the life of each member is not of the utmost importance. Rather was a fee imposed, payable in cattle (usually about ten head), which went to the chief, although, if he so wished, he could give some to the relatives of the murdered man. As among the Mpondo, no distinction seems to have been made between murder and manslaughter, a fairly common occurrence in fights between two districts and at beerdrinks, although the fine imposed was slightly less. The social reaction to witchcraft will be discussed in a later chapter.

Other prosecutions, in which the fine went to the chief, were those following treason ("speaking against the chief"), obstructing the chief's messenger, and breaking the taboos imposed during the period of mourning after the death of a chief.

Extra-tribal relations.

In the above sections we have analysed the political system of the phaca and noted how the members of the society, differentiated as to status on the criteria of sex and age, and divided into structural groups by the operation of genocentric force, are united into a well-integrated organism through the

chieftainship and the ramifying structure of local administration. This society, or extended field of social relations, forms a determinable entity existing in space and time. Bhaca society (as opposed to the two independent tribes) today exists as a dichotomy of relations, ^{as two fields of relations} of greater intensity (the tribe) within a larger field (the 'society') each having a hypothetical centre at the capitals of the two tribes - Lugangeni and Mgoza. The field of tribal relations, however, is not ~~coterminous~~ with territorial boundaries. There is intermarriage between members of the two tribes and considerable social intercourse, as well as a limited trade in thatching grass and other localized natural products, between contiguous districts. Many witch-doctors have a clientele embracing both tribes; there is the binding force of common blood and tradition, and all headmen are of the royal house and closely related. There is one Tribal name and a community of custom.

Apart from this, social relations extend beyond the bounds of Bhaca society. We have noted intermarriage with Hlubi, Xesibe and other tribal groups, and the unifying effect of education and Christianity (see Chapter II). Political alliances were, and are, contracted with other tribes through intermarriage of royal families and Bhaca society is connected by numerous ties, political, economic and, increasingly, intellectual, with "World Society". Through the schools and churches Western ethics and theology, as well as scientific attitudes, are very gradually reaching the Bhaca. During the war with Hitler's Germany, Bhaca joined the Native Military Corps, a labour force which operated with the South African ^{Army} in the field, although the response to a recruiting campaign was not great, attributed mainly, by the Administration, to the apathy of the chiefs. World fluctuations in food prices, and particularly in the price of wool, which is sold to traders by the majority of tribesmen directly, affect the economic life of the Bhaca peasant farmer, while the economic structure of the Union is directly based on a large force of cheap labour, all of which react on tribal life.

What particularly interests us here is the utilization of the physical force inherent in the political system, not as a regulating force directed inwards towards ensuring peaceful co-operation within the boundaries of the tribe itself, but directed outwards in the form of aggressive and defensive warfare. It is not the place here to discuss the psychological basis of war. It seems probable, however, that the latter phenomenon is stimulated by an intensification of relations within the tribal organism, resultant from the threat to the solidarity of the

group, while the former is a hypertrophy of the socially-valuable sentiments of in-group solidarity heightened by history and tradition.

It is difficult at the present day to elicit details of the Bhaca military organization. We know that for many years the fugitive clans under Madzikane led a life of almost continual fighting, but, since the annexation, intertribal warfare has been prohibited. As we have seen, fighting sometimes breaks out between districts, particularly today between Lutateni on the one hand and Mhlot/heni and Lut/hikini on the other. This occurs usually at Christmas time when guns are brought out of the kraals and the opposing factions open fire on one another.⁽¹⁾ In December 1948, after days of rumours, the trader at Glen Holey found the yard of the store filled with women and children seeking refuge, as it was rumoured that the 'enemy' had broken through. The police had to be called from Mount Frere, but the fighting had stopped before they arrived. These are merely local quarrels, however, (in this case about the chieftainship), a fairly common occurrence in the reserves. During my stay at Mount Frere about fifty young men were brought before the magistrate at one time for faction fighting. The court room was unable to house them, and the magistrate decided to hold the court outside, sitting on the verandah of the courthouse. From a very early age the young herdboys of a district will fight those of other districts and I have seen a yelling crowd gathered on the slopes above the Umzimvuŋu, brandishing sticks and shouting battle cries to a similar group of another district on the other slope. Fighting with sticks (more often dried mealie stalks), is a favourite sport among young boys.

It appears that, after the tribe had found a permanent home the Bhaca army was organized on a territorial basis. It was composed of all the able-bodied men of the tribe, who, on mobilization, gathered at the kraal of the district head, and marched with him to the capital. The men of a district fought together under the command of the district headman, and a member of the royal house, usually a brother of the chief, and probably the headman of the district in which the capital lies, acted as general over the whole army, although the chief himself accompanied his regiments into battle and gave the orders for the army to go out against the enemy. It should be noted that the Bhaca have never had a system of regiments based on age groups, as did

(1) The boundary ridge where the fighting takes place is called Cunundwana - "The place where people get angry" (See sketch map, Appendix Chan. II.

the Zulu and Swazi.

As among the Wondo, the success of the army in battle depended largely on its doctoring with medicines (intseleti) by the tribal magician (inyanga yempi). As we have seen, the doctoring was an annual rite performed at ingcuba, but in times of war a special treatment was deemed necessary before the start of a campaign, or an expected attack. It is extremely difficult today to get reliable information in any detail of these tribal administrations of army medicines. When the impi were assembled at the Great Place, after being summoned by the chief, they were sprinkled (ukucela) with intseleti medicines by the tribal magician and bewitched in the same way as was done during the ingcuba ceremonies. A specially potent medicine was the intsizi, a concoction of burnt herbs smeared on the backs of the hands and on the spears and said to impart to both such cunning that they would be invulnerable. Then, before the regiments left for the field, the chief ritually called upon the tribal spirits, reciting the names of his illustrious ancestors and imploring their aid in the coming conflict. Then the order was given by the chief, and the regiments moved off in the direction of the enemy. The army travelled light and lived off the land, and in the past Bhaca armies were greatly feared throughout the length and breadth of East Griqualand and the Transkei as ruthless plunderers of crops and stock, as well as redoubtable fighters. Informants stated that, in the field, the regiment composed of warriors from the district of ^{the} capital were expected to find and give battle to men from the enemy's Great Place. Before the departure of the impi, the inyanga yempi consulted omens to ascertain the probable outcome of the fight. Isihlabeto medicines were placed in a clay pot and twirled with a stick until they foamed over the lip of the pot. Informants stated that the inyanga could see in the foam a picture of the opposing sides fighting and the outcome of the struggle. Sometimes medicine (uGulawu) was shaken by the magician, and a certain bird called indlazonyani (the jackal buzzard) came into his hut. It is said that he used this bird magically and sent it to the enemy to blind them; others say that by its behaviour after its return he could tell what the outcome of the fight would be.

Almost as important as the treatment of the army before battle was its purification after battle. This stems from the belief in iqungu, a disease characterized by swelling of the body and possible madness, which threatened, not only the warrior, but also his family, after he had killed an enemy. Informants said that this would happen "on account of the wind

that causes the dead man's stomach to swell out", and the form the disease takes is obviously related to this⁽¹⁾. To prevent igungu the Bhaca ripped open the stomachs of the enemy slain. On the army's return from battle the regiments slept at the Great Place, and on the following morning were given special medicines for vomiting (ukugaba) and sent to a river near the Great Place whose water was not used for drinking". Here medicines were mixed with the running water (c.f. ingcube ritual) and the whole army washed themselves, those who had killed a man in battle taking special care. It seems that, if a chief killed a man in battle, the pollution was considered particularly serious. On its return the whole army went to a lonely spot at a great distance from the capital where councillors built a temporary hut for the chief. Here the chief and his warriors took vomiting medicines and washed themselves in the purification ritual. An interesting aspect is that during this time all the chief's wives slept together in one of the huts of the capital "mourning for the chief's igungu".⁽²⁾ After the igungu was considered to have been satisfactorily removed, the iinduna went to the Great Place to inform the wives of the chief and to ask for one to volunteer to return and sleep with the chief "to wipe away the umnyama (blackness) from the chief after his igungu". Informants state that she would remain with the chief at the temporary hut, which would eventually form the site of a new Great Place; I was unable to obtain confirmatory evidence on this point, but it is said that Makaula's capital was established in this way. It is also affirmed that, if all the chief's wives refused to go to him after the cleansing ceremony to wipe away the umnyama, a young girl would be taken and made the Great Wife amid great feasting and rejoicing, and her first-born son would become heir to the chieftainship on the chief's death. I consider that statement should be accepted with caution, as, on the face of it, it seems unlikely that the Great Wife, ukulobola with the tribal cattle, could be so easily deposed - but further research may reveal an underlying logical pattern.

This chapter has dealt with the penal sanctions that control Bhaca society. We shall now turn our attention to the less organized, but none the less powerful, regulating force of the fear of the supernatural.

(1) For a more detailed description of the identical custom among the Moondo see Hunter, op. cit pp. 408-9.

(2) The collection of the wives in one hut is characteristic of the mourning period.

APPENDIX ADISTRIBUTION OF ROYAL AND COMMONER HEADMEN.

Name of Location	Surname of Headman	IsiSongo
Mhlot/heni	Sontsi	Zulu
Lut/hikini	Chitha	Zulu
Lutateni	Makaula	Zulu
Mposa	Nomt/heket/he	Zulu
Mvenyane	Nomt/heket/he	Zulu
Ntsimangweni	Majayi	Zulu
Colana	Pikwa	Zulu
Nkungwini	Makaula	Zulu
Ngungundhlovu	Makaula	Zulu
Nqumane	Lutaka	Zulu
Mkemane	Makaula	Zulu
Sihlahleni	Makaula	Zulu
Ca6azi	Makaula	Zulu
Mpendla	Dabula	Zulu
Lu6acweni	Diko	Zulu
Ntlabeni	Dabula	Zulu
Ngwet/heni	Huku	Zulu
Mandeleni	Huku	Zulu
Kinira)		
Ncome) (Hlu6i)		
Njijini	Makaula	Zulu
Cancele	Gweva (Zizi)	Dlamini
Qwidlana	Mbedu	Mjoli
Maboba	Sodladla (Xesi6e)	Nonz6a
Umzimvu6u	?	Zulu
Lugangeni	Makaula	Zulu
Mt/hazi	Makaula	Zulu
T/hungwana	Cembi (Mfengu)	Dlomo
Mhlangala	Makaula	Zulu
Mpemba	Makaula	Zulu
Ngxa6axa	Diko	Zulu
Lwandlana	Mkilwa	Zulu
Dangwana	Makaula	Zulu
Toleni	Ntula	hu/hu
Mvuzi	Makaula	Zulu
Nomkolokoto	Nomt/heket/he	Zulu

APPENDIX B.ACCOUNT OF INGCUBE, LUGANGENI, APRIL 1949.

The following brief account of the celebrations at Lugangeni, the Great Place of the Makaula chiefs, illustrates the moribund state of the ritual at the present day, and reflects a once vigorous institution in decay. Lack of sympathy of the chief and the influence of Christianity seem to be the main causes for the breakdown.

In 1949 the Mpoza Bhaca held the ingcube about a week before those at Lugangeni, and appear to have observed all the ritual details, except the killing of the bull, as a regent is not a "great chief". On Saturday 2nd a group of about six women, dressed in ingcube finery danced in the streets of mount Brere and begged at the various stores for sugar and sweets. On Monday 4th a large number of unmarried girls from Mvuzi also came into the village and delighted the European inhabitants who took photographs and gave them money.

Originally Chief Wabane had fixed ingcube for the Wednesday to the Friday of the previous week, but, as the Headman of Mjijini was being married, it was postponed. Much confusion existed among the tribesmen as to when the celebrations were to take place. The practising for the cattle race from Cancele had taken place about three weeks before, and on April 7th mounted young men could be seen driving cattle along the road to Cancele. Nobody appeared to know whether the chief was at the Great Place or not. (It was later discovered that he had been attending a wedding at a neighbouring cluster). There was little excitement, and one old man compared it to ingcube of former years; "one does not sleep at ingcube - the noise goes on the whole night". Instead an oppressive heat hung over the Great Place, children were reciting their lessons and singing at the nearby Mbonda primary school, and there was no sign of life on the rolling hills that swept up to Mgano and Buffalo Neck.

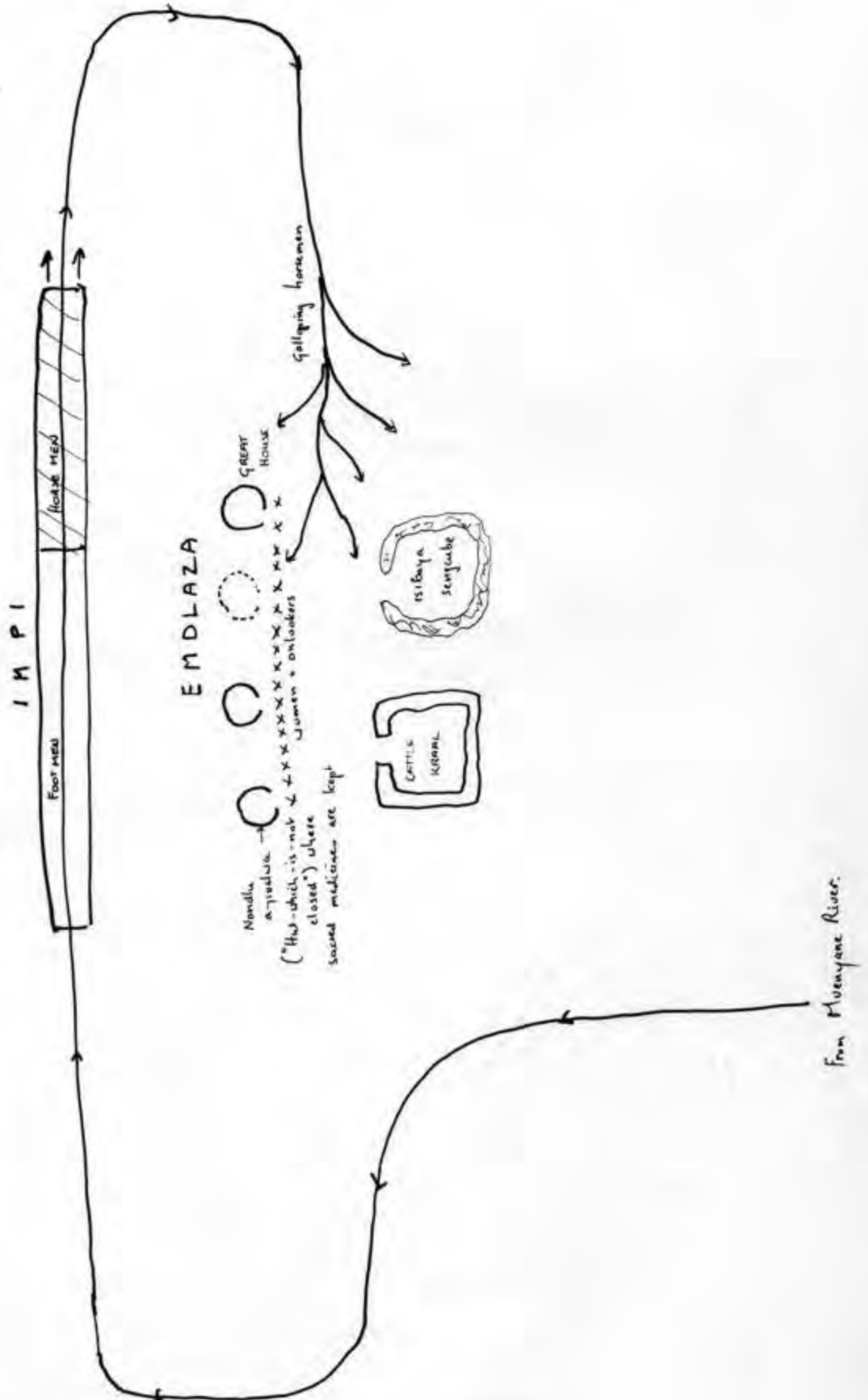
At about 2.45 in the afternoon the first oxen appeared over the sky-line, crossing the ridge that marked the road ~~and cars~~ passed the store at Buffalo Neck, and cantering down the three-mile descent to the cluster of huts at the Great Place. At their flanks rode men on horseback, clad in fur caps and brandishing sticks, and urging them on with shouts. At first the cattle appeared as specks, but after about half an hour they neared us and finally galloped through the opening in the fence and into the Great Place, hollow-flanked and gasping.

They were met by about thirty pagan women in ingcube dress and a group of young girls, who had spent that morning in Buffalo Neck store dancing for sugar and sweets. None of the school people was present and very few men, and from no point of view could it be called a tribal, or even a district, gathering. The men, dismounted now, stood disconsolately round; there was no beer to welcome them and no chief to praise their efforts. One man, indeed, suggested driving the oxen to the chief at his wedding, but others dissuaded him saying that the chief might think that they were mocking him and punish them. After desultory conversation and some dancing on the part of the women and girls, everyone wandered back to their kraals, and by four o'clock the Great Place was deserted. It was obvious that everyone was disappointed, and some threatened to hold the celebrations of ingcube next year whether the chief was interested or not. Usually the school children are let out early to see the cattle ^{race} and the school people attend.

APPENDIX D.

INGCUBE: THE MARCH PAST OF THE ARMY - MPOZA.

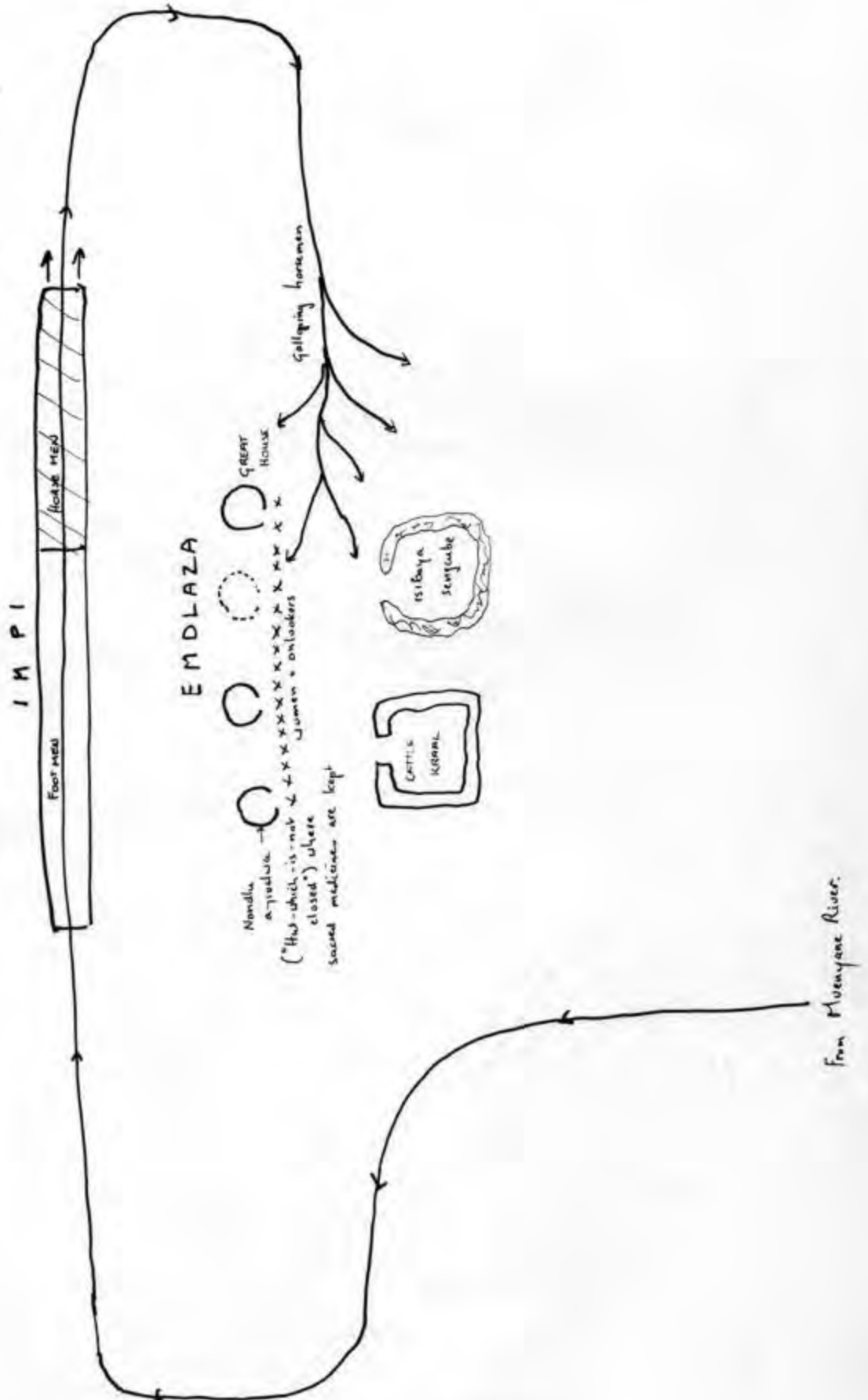
Plan of the review by the chief of the tribal army after their return from ritual washing in the Mvenyane River. The chief does not accompany them and waits for them in the gate of the ingcube cattle kraal.

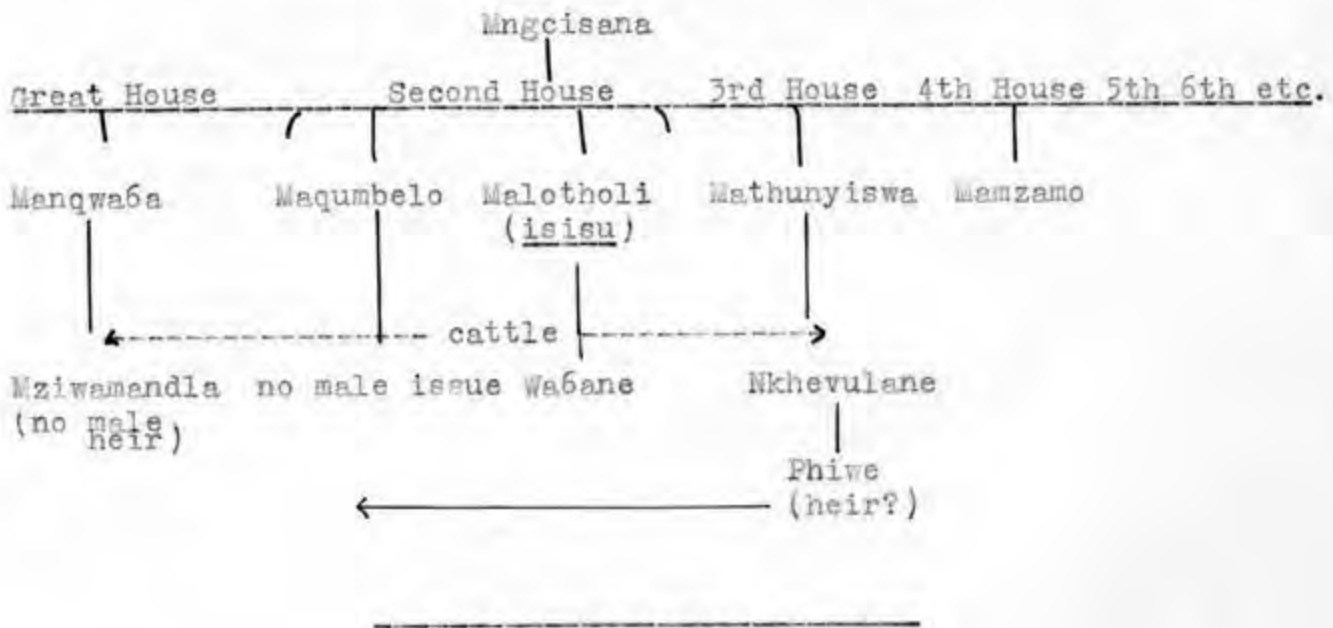
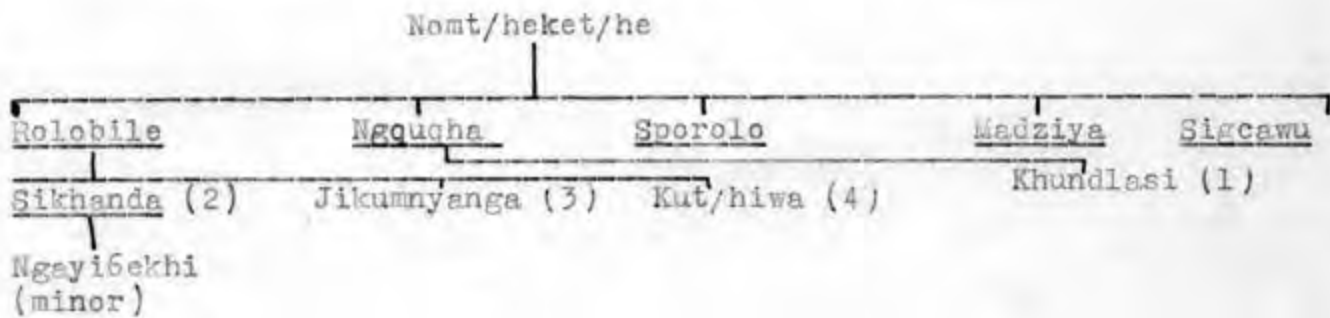


APPENDIX D.

INGCUBE: THE MARCH PAST OF THE ARMY - MPOZA.

Plan of the review by the chief of the tribal army after their return from ritual washing in the Mvenyane River. The chief does not accompany them and waits for them in the gate of the ingcube cattle kraal.



APPENDIX E.GENEALOGY OF LUGANGENI ROYAL FAMILY
ILLUSTRATING SUCCESSIONGENEALOGY OF THE MPOZA ROYAL FAMILY
(ILLUSTRATING RELATIONSHIP OF HEADMEN)

- (1) Headman of Sighingeni
 (2) Late chief - died 1946
 (3) Headman of Mpoza
 (4) Regent during minority of Ngayisekhi

Names underlined thus: Rolobile indicate 'deceased'.

THE FEAR OF THE DEAD: BHACA RELIGION.Some sociological aspects of Bhaca religion.

Bhaca religion is an ethic of primitive type, i.e. the intellectual expression of religious experience framed in cosmology and doctrine (or the theoretical field of belief and dogma) is not as highly developed as in some higher types. The Bhaca tribesman has not created a logical, systematized body of eschatological beliefs about the nature of existence, the abode of the dead, or the relation of man to a creative first principle; it is doubtful whether he ever speculates on these matters. Rather is the complementary side of religious experience, the practical aspect of ritual or cultus, stressed, 'theology' being inherent in, and lived through, ritual. As Wach⁽¹⁾ has pointed out, a minimum theoretical expression is always present in religious experience (a basic motivating force without which ritual loses meaning), but in more primitive cultures, the often incoherent and half-enunciated beliefs are reformulated through the medium of the cultus. Radcliffe-Brown, too, has stressed the importance of ritual in the crises in the social life of the community.⁽²⁾ It follows from this that the role of religion is not, among the Bhaca, confined to specifically religious spheres, but impinges on secular life at all crises which bear directly on the relation of the individual to the society. Birth, initiation, marriage and death are marked by elaborate ceremonial all of which are directed, at least in part, towards the spirits. It seems that any attainment of status, with its peculiarly intense individual-society relationship, is an important generating point for religious expression. Apart from any theological considerations (which do not essentially concern us here), religion has an important sociological part to play in society.

The most important aspect of Bhaca religion from a sociological point of view is the predominance of ritual. Theory (dogma, belief) is an intensely individual phenomenon which only has sociological significance when it operates in affecting the quality of social relations, or individual ethical conduct, or through its practical manifestation, ritual. Religion only becomes important socially when working through voluntary associations (as among us), or when related to social groups; it is

(1) Wach, Joachim; The Sociology of Religion 1947 p. 26.

(2) Radcliffe-Brown, AR., The Andaman Islanders.

essentially a group matter. This statement is not meant to detract from its importance in regulating personal conduct and outlook, and, indeed, the two correlates, theory and practice, are inextricably interwoven. We are stressing here the importance of belief, as acted through group behaviour, from our general sociological viewpoint of control. The emergence of voluntary associations based on religion is a feature of more advanced societies in which there is a tendency for religion to cut across social boundaries, and even spread beyond the confines of the originating society (e.g. Christianity, Mahomedanism). Bantu religion, however, belongs to a type of primitive ethic which is rooted in the social structure, more especially the basic structural units of biological origin, and derives its form and essential genius from that fact. Bhaca religion is fundamentally an ancestor cult; the worship of the spirits of deceased members of the family. Each umti is the centre of a hearth-cult directed towards the immediate ancestors; on a wider scale all clan members have ancestors, of greater status, in common, and the ancestral spirits of the chiefs are regarded as the founders and guardians of the tribe itself.

All this has a direct bearing on social integration. The worship of family and lineage founders creates even greater bounds of solidarity within the close circle, supplementing those formed by ties of blood, and this applies, to a lesser degree, to the more loosely integrated grouping of the clan. Religion on a tribal scale is particularly related to the great tribal ceremonies of ingcube, rainmaking, and in time of war the powerful founding ancestors are invoked by their living representative, the chief.

We shall see later in our discussion of the theory of the ancestor cult that it has rather vague intellectual formulations; the outstanding expression in society is through ritual, (or worship). Worship is a much more integral part of religion than theory, and the fact of common religious experience within a group acts as a powerful cohesive force. Participation in worship, no matter how restricted in extent, tends to check individualism, the enemy of conservatism and solidarity. Then, too, much of the ritual is directed towards the protection and continuity of the society in time, and, in this sphere, is closely connected with magical techniques.

We have noted in previous chapters the important ceremonies at birth, initiation and marriage with their central invocation of the spirits; we shall begin our study of Bhaca religion by analysing the attitudes to the inevitable fact of death.

The sociological role of the dead.

To the Bhaca death does not necessarily mean the complete annihilation of the personality. Like all primitive peoples they greatly fear death - although it is remarkable with what fortitude they face the inevitable, the death rate being high, especially among young children. Tuberculosis and other pulmonary diseases are common, as are nutritional complaints, such as gastro-enteritis, heart disease, etc. In a later chapter we shall discuss the Bhaca attitude towards illness and death. It is sufficient to point out here that death in a small community is catastrophic. The kraal head no longer sits in the great hut in the evenings smoking his pipe or goes out with his neighbours to plough; men come home to the emptiness and inconvenience of a wifeless home; children are deprived of the love and care of parents and the ibandla or chief's court loses a forceful speaker or humorous interupter. The whole intimate community is disrupted.

But that is not all. Although there is one less mouth to feed there is also one less person to help the members of the umti in the eternal struggle of wresting a living from the earth - the labour force of the little community has been depleted and the solidarity of the group disrupted. We have already discussed the importance of this principle of social solidarity in Bhaca society, especially as it is portrayed in the ceremonial of marriage, ingcube, and in time of war. In a society in which community life is carried on in a much greater intimacy than with us it is inconceivable that the personality, known, respected and loved in life, should suffer disintegration on death - a psychological attitude which is common to all primitive peoples. Then, too, from a sociological point of view, no society can afford to admit, even tacitly, that death is the end of all existence; some form of belief is necessary to combat the demoralizing and devitalizing hopelessness of the prospect of complete oblivion and stress the inevitable continuance of the society in the time sequence - particularly from the human point of view. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the origin and psychological basis of religion, but, however, the belief arose, the Bhaca believe in the survival of the personality after death, a philosophy arising from the resistance of the mind to admit that life, and the existence of society, is transient and meaningless.

It is conceived that after the decease of an individual an intangible, shadowy substance emerges from the body and continues to exist as a separate entity and personality. Bhaca appear to be vague as to the exact nature of this entity - or 'soul'. Some identify it with the breath (umphefumlo), or use the word

umoya (wind, spirit) to express the idea of the intangible element that co-exists with the material body and is expressed through a man's personality. There is less doubt about the nature of its extra-corporeal manifestation. After death the soul emerges in the shape of a spirit (ithfongo), and, of great importance, it is believed that this spirit takes an interest in the actions and wellbeing of its living descendants. It is this appreciation of and interest in the living members of society that transforms the vague belief in spirits into a vital and practical cult - the worship of the ancestral dead. In effect, the dead still belong to the community and still fall within the field of social relations, that is the tribe, but on a different and invisible plane. Despite this difference in quality, social relations between the living and dead are frequent, occurring particularly at important crises in individual and social life. At birth, initiation and death, and in times of sickness, the amathfongo are consulted, and if necessary, propitiated, while at crucial passages in the corporate life of the local group or tribe, the tribal ancestors, the spirits of long-dead chiefs, are invoked. Although the majority of Bhaca today are nominal Christians and church members, the belief in the amathfongo is still a vital part of individual personal life, if not so important as formerly in the life of the tribe, and interesting syntheses between the old and the new ethic have been achieved.

From a regulatory point of view, the ancestor cult is extremely important as it introduces a powerful sanction controlling conduct. In this chapter we shall describe fairly fully the details of this influence on behaviour, but it should be noted here that the possibility of offending the amathfongo by offences of omission and commission is very real to the Bhaca mind, ~~and~~ this fact acting as a strong force for conservatism (culturally important), and conformity of custom. The power of the supernatural sanction should not be underestimated.

The reason that the universal belief in spirits takes, among the Bantu generally, the form of ancestor worship can perhaps be found in the importance of the principle of primogeniture (see Chap. III). We have noted the great respect accorded to persons on the ground of seniority, even among siblings, and it seems that the reverence and honour accorded to a family head, or district headman, is carried over beyond death, and is transferred to his spirit. Here we come into line with Radcliffe-Brown's concept of 'social personality' and its extension to the soul after death. By social personality Radcliffe-Brown means the sum of those qualities that determine a person's place in

the society, and by which he affects the society, and which, he maintains, is the reality at the basis of all views of the soul, in all societies. From our study of status (Chapter III) we have seen that this 'personality' depends on a number of factors among which are age, sex, rank, innate endowments, etc., but it should be noted that these factors are, after all, merely determinants, and 'social personality' can only be conferred by the society, being acquired gradually as the individual progresses through life. According to Radcliffe-Brown the primitive knows (sic.) that the death of the body does not mean the annihilation of the social personality, and points out that this can be seen in the amount of fear or respect accorded to the dead. The spirit of a dead chief is revered more than that of a commoner: in this chapter we shall observe further instances in which status in life governs importance in the spirit world.

After these few introductory remarks we must study in greater detail the religion of the Bhaca.

Burial of the dead.

The transition from the status of living tribesman to ancestral spirit is accorded social recognition through the ritual of the burial ceremony. Just as the attainment of other status positions in the society, such as birth and marriage (in the case of girls, initiation) are marked by ritualized rites de passage, so the most far-reaching and drastic change in the life of the individual is ritualized by the culture, and afforded social recognition. For the society is forced to recognize the disruptive character of death and dare not let it pass unnoticed. The reason for this has been exhaustively treated by a number of writers, notably Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, the former drawing attention to the essentially ambivalent attitude of human beings towards the corpse (a fear of the body coupled with a love and affection for the personality it represents) while the latter stresses the sociological importance of mourning rites. Society cannot conceive of death as something natural, but rather as a hostile attack against its solidarity by some anti-social agency. Social cohesion is bolstered by the socially-valuable belief that the group as such is permanent and unending, and any threat to its continuity calls forth violent reactions in the form of socialized mourning ceremonies.

Among the Bhaca, as soon as a person dies, all those in the hut begin to wail and sob. "Neighbours run in and tell them to stop, but they will not". This, is the custom of isililo, or ritual keeping, and does not necessarily bear any relation to the real feelings of relatives and friends. Some informants state that the weeping is spontaneous and "just natural",

but the more usual explanation is "You must cry or people will think that you have caused the death". It seems correct to look on the isililo, with Radcliffe-Brown, as the reaction of society to the death of a member. It is always obligatory. The corpse is laid out on the appropriate side of the hut according to its sex, and a screen made from a mat of blanket (called ikhusi or ikhuselo) is placed in front of it. Nowadays most of these duties are done by women, who tie up the mouth with a headcloth and close the eyes. Death brings contamination and uncleanness, and the body is washed with water and sprinkled with a disinfectant, called unadugula sold at the store - formerly a medicine made from a plant crushed in water and called ibota was used. Immediately all relatives, as those most affected by the death with its pollution, go into mourning. Young men and girls remove any ornaments or bangles (if this is impossible cloth must be wrapped round them), engaged girls braid their hair, and men, widows and children shave their heads.

The source of pollution and danger, the corpse, is disposed of as quickly as possible. A grave is dug until chest deep with a ledge at one side, the corpse is placed on it in a recumbent position wrapped in blankets, and flat stones are placed against it to prevent the earth touching the body. If the deceased is a woman, informants stated that the heavy greased headdress is cut off, wrapped in a cloth, and buried with the body next to the head. Today wooden coffins, bought in varying sizes at the local store, are used universally by Christian and pagan alike. Formerly all blankets, sticks, pipes and spears of the dead man were buried with him and grains of maize and kaffir corn were placed in his hands, but no food. There does not seem to be any belief that these possessions would accompany the spirit to the other world; rather was it a means of removing from sight objects belonging to the deceased, inevitably surrounded by associations with his personality and life. As one informant put it: "People are afraid of his belongings". The custom of placing corn in the hands is more difficult to understand, but is apparently believed to have a fructifying effect on the harvest. Actually there seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether all the possessions were buried, or merely some of them. It seems that only the oldest blankets were buried, and the rest of a man's possessions were kept by his wife, or went to his eldest son "who keeps what he wants and sells the rest". Today, among the Christians, a man is buried in his oldest clothes, and, if a church member,

his membership card is buried with him in the coffin - a form of passport to paradise !

Today all members of the community are buried in one place specially set aside for the purpose. At Mhlot/heni the burial ground was situated in a stony valley called Sinyameni, but this seems a new development and formerly individuals were buried near the umti, the kraal head being buried near the entrance of the cattle kraal with his wives near him. Formerly the umti was not pulled down or burnt after a death, as among the Mpondo, but, if the head had died, the centre supporting pole of the great hut (intsika) would be taken down and renewed, for, say the Bhaca, "He was the intsika of his kraal ". Chiefs are also buried near the cattle kraal, and in all cases the ground is filled in with stones and soil to prevent the depredations of wild animals.

All wives were buried together at a spot near the cattle kraal. Even a wife accused of witchcraft was so buried, for, said informants, "if the man believed that his wife really was a witch he would divorce her. The accusations usually come from other people ". Not all could be buried within the confines of the family umti, however. If a man were killed in a fight, or murdered, or struck by lightning, he had to be buried at the place where he was killed ("No spear should be brought home": "The lightning might strike the umti"). A drowned man is buried on the bank of the river where the tragedy occurred.

The responsibility of burying a corpse varies in different circumstances. An eldest son is responsible for the burial of a father, and, where there are two brothers, and the second dies, the eldest must bury him, and vice versa. If a man dies leaving no sons he will be buried by his brothers, while a widow will be buried by her late husband's brother at whose kraal she is probably residing. A man is responsible for burying his wife and children, but not for a still birth which is disposed of by the midwife in attendance at the confinement. The body of a young child is washed and laid out by the mother, and handed to the father to bury. A pregnant woman may not touch a corpse as a general rule because of the resultant uncleanness, but apparently this does not apply to the body of her husband. Women never assist at a burial, their function being to cook the stamped mealies and make marewu (today also bread, tea and coffee) for the guests, for death calls for the condolences not only of relatives but of the whole district, and all have to be made welcome with food.

When the corpse is removed from the hut in which it

has lain the women break out into renewed ullulations, and cover their heads with blankets or skins. Before this, stamped mealies and marewu are handed round, but no beer is touched "even if there is some in the umti". "They can only drink beer after the burying". When asked the reason, informants stated that mourners might become drunk and quarrelsome. On the day the relatives of the deceased arrive a beast or goat is killed at dawn for their enjoyment; it is called umngcwabo (burying). The corpse is carried to the grave by the men of the cluster. Today practically all use coffins which are strapped to cross-poles to facilitate the work of the bearers: if a coffin is used the grave is dug straight down and no ledge is made. The Christian custom of each person present taking a handful of earth and dropping it into the open grave appears to have been adopted by most pagans today and all school people. Sages affirm that formerly there were no prayers to the amathfongo to receive the departed spirit, and today most of the missions in the district are Protestant and frown on prayers for the dead.

The corpse is regarded as a source of pollution, and all attending the funeral are conceived to be contaminated from contact with it, no matter how indirectly. After the burial, all present at the funeral go down to the river and wash; this washing is obligatory, and is also performed at Christian funerals, where there seems to be the idea that it is a European custom introduced through the churches. More often today the water is provided in enamel basins and merely the hands are washed. An ox called inkomo yokuhlamba (the beast of washing) is killed at the kraal of the deceased, and neighbours are invited to join the family in the feast of purification. Usually all work in the district stops on the day of a funeral, and at all funerals which I attended practically every adult member of the district was present. The headman of Mhlot/heni issued an order that no-one was to work on the day of a death, and an imbizo for sledgemaking was postponed because of the death of a child in the district.

The mourning period for a widow is one year during which time she shaves her head and washes the fat out of her skin skirt. Christians have adopted a mourning uniform of black dress and headcloth; at the end of the period this is burnt, and the widow is given a complete new costume by the heir. The mourning period is brought to a close by the slaughtering of a goat (or beast, if the man is rich) called intlambo. No special parts are eaten.

With the contact with Christian missions, extending

well over half a century, the pattern of Bhaca funerals, whether pagan or Christian, has reached a certain conformity. The main difference is the presence of a minister or evangelist, and the religious service at the graveside in the latter. A composite account of the various funerals I attended during my stay among the Bhaca will make the details of this important social ceremony clearer.

On the 7th of May the husband of M--- died. From the store we could hear the tolling of the church bell, always rung on the death of a Christian no matter what time of day or night. It was a Saturday night, and, the next day being Sunday, when the store at Glen Holey was closed, the male relatives of the deceased asked the trader to open the shop so that they could buy black and white cloth for the coffin. The coffin itself was not bought as there were no women to carry it, and, according to traders, no Bhaca man will carry an empty coffin. On Monday morning early the coffin was fetched, and relatives and friends began arriving at the umti: women of the Manyana (Women's Association) in their black skirts, red blouses and white caps were also present, as the widow was a staunch church supporter. A beast was killed and the flesh cooked in large pots by the women, while the men sat near the cattle kraal in a little group laughing and talking, but in a restrained manner, in deference to the presence of the dead. Tea was brought round on a tin tray. The close female relatives of the deceased, together with his widow, kept to themselves in a separate hut in which some had spent most of Sunday making the shroud for the corpse from white cloth. Both men and women are buried with a shroud which fits round the body and is gathered at the neck and wrists. The men had carefully covered the rough wooden coffin with black cloth tacked to the wood, and a small cross of white material was fixed to the lid, for the deceased had been a Christian and faithful member of the church. Every now and then a group of women would come in from the district and enter the great hut to view the corpse behind its screen of blankets, while a few remained in the hut singing hymns and frequently breaking into loud wailing. All those who had entered the hut or had been near the body washed their hands carefully with soap and water.

After two or three hours spent in talking and tea-drinking the evangelist gave the signal and the female relatives came out of the hut with the widow, completely enveloped in a blanket, and entered the deceased's hut in a renewed outbreak of wailing taken up by all the women present. At the same

time the manyana women began to sing a hymn. After the lid had been hammered down to the accompaniment of loud wailing, the coffin was brought out by four or five men, close relatives of the deceased, and placed in the inkundla in front of the hut on two poles to which it was securely lashed with pieces of grass rope. One woman became hysterical and had to be led away. The widow sat down in the hut doorway with all the women present massed on both sides of the hut, sitting down, while the men stood behind the evangelist facing them, with the coffin in between. Stray dogs were chased away while a hymn was sung and, after a prayer, the evangelist addressed the gathering, and the deceased's brother made a short speech, eulogizing the life and character of the dead man. The coffin was then picked up by twelve men of the cluster (three at each pole) and, led by the evangelist reading prayers from a Prayer Book, they proceeded to the burial ground, followed by practically all the adult residents of the location. The graveyard at Sinyameni is on the slope of a hill, and the graves are marked by mounds of stones almost indistinguishable from the surrounding country. This mound of loose stones is the only material sign of the last resting place of a tribesman and the grave is often referred to as the ilitya lika - "the stone of So-and-so".

A grave had already been dug and the coffin was laid across the mouth, resting on its supports, while the people present stood, or sat round, the men with their hats removed. After the service for the burial of the dead had been read by the evangelist and a hymn sung, the coffin was lowered into the grave with ropes, and the mourners filed past, each dropping a handful of sand into it, the grave finally being filled in by the men responsible for the funeral. Prayers were offered up by a few prominent church members, all men, and everyone returned to the kraal of the deceased to wash ritually before returning home.

Mortuary rites emphasise dramatically the relationship between the living and dead members of society, dogma, ritual and ethic (always closely interrelated) uniting in them. The exact form of the burial custom is determined by the dogmatic beliefs in the nature of the soul and after-life; this gives rise to appropriate ritual, and the ethical content is found in the concept of supernatural punishment for the neglect of filial duties. In so far as Christian and pagan theories of religion are similar (in the belief in the soul, for instance), so are their ritual manifestations similar; where different, their exact form differs. Specific customs illustrating this are

the Christian burial service with all its theological implications and the pagan insistence on ceremonial cleansing and ritual keeping, while basically the rites are essentially similar. With reference to the ethical aspect of burial Malinowski has stated⁽¹⁾ that "the essence of these (funerary) duties, from the sociological point of view, is that they reaffirm the bonds of marriage and the duties of children towards parents. In short, in its moral aspect, mortuary ritual is the religious extension of the ethical rules of conduct as between the members of the family, of the wider kindred group, and of the clan". Mortuary rites can be looked at, from the sociological point of view, as the last and most fundamental of a series of ceremonies marking an individual's progress in the social scale, one, however, which is far more far-reaching in its implications, and on which all the hopes, aspirations and fears of society are based.

The theory of Bhaca religion; the amathfongo

The key to the understanding of Bhaca religion is the belief (or dogma) of the ancestral spirit. All moral and ritual forms stem from this concept which colours emotional attitudes to them, and determines their exact nature. In subsequent sections we shall discuss the correlated ritual and the ethical implications of ancestor worship; here we must examine the nature of the motivating beliefs that play such a large part in Bhaca spiritual life - in accordance with Wach's axiom, "a minimum theoretical expression is always present". We shall not find a highly developed body of beliefs about the nature of the soul and after-life, nor a systematized theology. Ideas about the nature of the spirit world are often individual and half-formulated - differences in detail appearing even within a localized area. Differentiation does not seem to be local, or territorially determined, but rather on the criterion of social grouping. Christians have developed a modified form of the indigenous pagan belief; there is a difference in the concepts held by ancients and young people.

If a Bhaca is asked the question, "Who are the amathfongo?" the most usual reply is, "They are the old people (a6antfu a6adzala) who have died". "The actual amathfongo are the people of the umti who have died". The emphasis is on age and, the concept not being formulated to any degree, there is doubt whether people who die young become spirits.

(1) Malinowski, B., The Foundations of Faith and Morals, Riddell Memorial Lecture, Oxford University Press 1936, p. 26.

Indeed the correlation with age is so close that very old people are referred to as ithfongo even during their life time. As one old man stated, "Old people are almost amathfongo, and if one disobeys them or is cheeky or stubborn they may curse one". Although age tends to be a sine qua non and is extremely important it is not the only determinant, and much depends on personality. The spirit of a chief or prominent tribesman, deceased in his prime, is a much more powerful ghost than that of a senile old man. Much depends on the impression of personality left on the minds of the surviving members of the family or clan. Some go so far as to maintain that only married people become amathfongo ("You only become an ithfongo to your children") but, generally there is not much agreement, or uniformity of belief, and in the final outcome, much depends on a man's social personality on death. As one informant stated, "Even a child who has died sometimes visits you in a dream and speaks to you - but in reality it is sent to you by the old people (spirits)".

The stress on marriage is understandable when it is remembered that ancestor worship is essentially a hearth-cult. The object of family worship is the spirits of the deceased immediate relatives in the male line, and the majority of amathfongo only have power over their own children - real or classificatory. A man is an ithfongo to his own and brother's children, but not to his sisters', who come under the influence of the spirits of their father's ancestors. A woman, if she marries, is influenced by two sets of spirits - those of her own umti and those of her husband's. "If my mother is sick the sickness might be sent from two places: either from her own umti or from her husband's place". Spiritual influence is confined to members of the clan, and, as children take the clan of their father, a man's grandchildren, children of his daughters, are not affected by him. As we should expect from our study of the principle of primogeniture, a person cannot become an ithfongo of another senior to him. Generally, only the father's ancestors have power over children, the most notable exception to this rule being the occasional influence exerted by maternal ancestors in the initiation of an isangoma diviner. The belief in spirits affects relations even between the living: "If I trouble my elder brother I am inviting misfortune to come to me as he is just like my father" i.e. he will take the father's place in the umti on the latter's death.

Spiritual manifestation to the living is pre-eminently through dreams. One old woman - a Christian of a few years' standing - stated, "An ithfongo lives in the brain and appears in dreams. It tells a person to do something, and, if he

does not do it, it will make him sick". Another: "They come to people through dreams; you sometimes see them when you are asleep and they come and speak to you". "They always appear in a peculiar form (ngendlela engaghelekanga) wearing white, and tell you what to do"⁽¹⁾. Often they herald their presence by whistling and it is a grave offence for a spectator to whistle at a séance - the diviners might be confused. "Sometimes you do not recognize them, never having seen them before, but, when you wake up and describe them to the old people, they will tell you that it was your grandfather, or great uncle". Others sum up with, "They are just like the itilwana (familiar spirits) - seldom seen"; "They are like the wind". No clearer conception of the spirit world appears to exist. We shall see later that, even to the professional religious practitioners, the itangoma, the recognized method of communion with the spirits, is through dreams. Some say, however, that voices are sometimes heard to those awake, usually emanating from above the doorway of a hut, but others maintain that it is only the diviner who can detect the presence of the amathfongo in this way. Formerly, if someone in the kraal dreamt of the amathfongo, the owner slaughtered a white goat: "the spirits are asking for a killing". Apart from this the exact location of the spirit world is vague. Diviners speak of meeting spirits in a world "under the river bank", where there are herds and imiti (see Appendix A), but it seems that the concept is generalized, only becoming local in specific contexts of family propitiation and worship centred round the umti: - but even here there is doubt about the exact location of the

- (1) Informants gave examples of spirit messages:-
- (a) Before Maggie's father died during the time when the Mpondo and Bhele were fighting at Mzinto, his elder brother, who had died long before, said to him in a dream "Come up here, brother". He told his family before he died - "I saw my brother. He came to me just like Moses who came to earth to see Jesus".
- (b) One night in 1948 when Msebenzi was asleep, his grandfather, Josiah, came to him in a dream and said "Msebenzi, wake and fight the impi". "The next day Mhlot/heni and Lutateni were fighting".

object of worship. During an intlombi (séance) the isangoma faces the back of the hut where the entrails of the sacrificial goat are hung, so there seems to be a tendency to associate the back of the hut with the presence.

Christians have achieved an interesting synthesis between the two ethics. In the words of an evangelist at Mhlot/heni; "The amathfongo go along with God; they are there to speak to God on our behalf" (this from a Protestant) "When we sacrifice, we sacrifice to both God and the spirits; in the Old Testament we read of sacrifices". "They ask permission from God to come to us in dreams." "The amathfongo are the spirit of God (angumoya ka Thixo) because they live in Heaven." I met no church member who was at all embarrassed by any possible incongruity, or incompatibility, in this juxtaposition of the two forms of belief.

A further anthropomorphic characteristic of the cult is the belief that the amathfongo eat, although even the less sophisticated today appear to doubt that the food is actually taken physically. At ritual sacrifices parts of the meat ("those parts that people like best") and blood are set aside over night for the delectation of the spirits - but naturally no material change is discernible. "We think that they eat because we put down meat and milk for them, but eventually it will be eaten by ourselves". "Amathfongo live in the kraals; they also eat; sometimes milk is spilt by mistake and we say that the ancestral spirits have come for it. Then if the owner of the umti does not give more milk they will spill it again and may send sickness." "We believe that the amathfongo have eaten, because we suppose that they have eaten in Heaven". "The amathfongo live in Heaven. They get hungry but do not eat earthly things. It is like communion when people take wine and say that it is the blood of Jesus". These statements are important as today by far the greater proportion of Bhaca are members of one or other of the many missions in the area, and this synthesized outlook is typical of most. It is admitted that the sacrificial meat at an intlombi is eaten, not by the spirits, but by the attending diviners themselves.

The importance of the amathfongo from a sociological point of view is their interest in the lives and actions of their living descendants. It seems that, on the whole, they are benevolent and propitious towards mortals, but there is always the danger that they might be offended in some way, being, as they are, omnipresent and conscious of the inmost secrets of the heart. "If you do not please them they will cause the stock

to die". "They tell you what to do through dreams and if you do not obey them they will make you sick". "They should be respected so that they will not get angry and make people and stock ill". Often they appear to be malicious:- "If you do not please them they will take the thing you value most", and it is said that parents will never give their children complimentary names for this reason (see page 134). References to the amathfongo are often heard in daily life, and, if a man has been injured, he will say "Ithfongo lika6awo lindilahlile" ("The spirit of my father has forsaken me"): if an indlavini is successful with the girl of his choice, he says "The amathfongo love me". We shall notice later the important bearing this belief in ancestral vindictiveness has on primitive ethics. Influence is not always bad, however, and "if the amathfongo are pleased with you, they can bring you good fortune (ithamsanga). " They are the protectors of society, and even sorcerers and witches cannot harm if they do not permit it. In time of war and at ingcube they are present and watch over the interests of their children.

The amathfongo are the gods of the Bhaca. There is no belief in local nature-gods, nor are the culture-heroes of the past deified. As among most Bantu tribes, there is a vague belief in a creator who fashioned all things (umdzali), - but the indigenous belief has been so over-clouded with Christian concepts that it no longer exists as a separate identifiable culture element. The general word used by Christians and pagans alike to translate the word 'God' is uThixo, and all informants stated that this term had always been used even before contact with the white Man. Callaway⁽¹⁾ has shown, however, that the word is an introduction into Xhosa from Hottentot of fairly recent origin. Today all Bhaca believe in the High God, uThixo; we have noticed the association of this Being with the ancestral spirits. There is no system of beliefs, other than those of obvious Christian origin, associated with a supreme being, nor any associated ritual. Thixo is a rather vague abstraction, and, except among church members, does not impinge to any large extent on the lives of the people.

Its objectivization through ritual.

Bhaca religious theory is given cultural and behavioural overt expression through ritual. The beliefs that are internalized from childhood are the motivating and regulating force for individual behaviour, and, more important, social

(1) Callaway: Religious System of the Amazulu, p. 105.
See also Hunter, op.cit. pp. 269-270 on this point.

behaviour. At the various crises in the life of the individual sacrifices are made to propitiate the amathfongo and ensure their goodwill and co-operation. We have already noted the slaughtering of stock in a number of these contexts. At birth the imbeleko goat is killed as a thanksgiving to the spirits for the safe delivery of the child⁽¹⁾, the ukuchaza custom of slitting of the face, neglect to do which may bring down the displeasure of the ancestors, the umhlonnyane at the initiation of girls, and the various sacrifices at marriage, are all customs (amasiko), neglect of which might entail the wrath of the ancestral spirits, possibly resulting in sickness, or perhaps death. There are several other ways, however, of influencing the spirits.

First of all it should be stated that the Bhaca do not have the Mpondo custom of the inkomo yo6uluunga described by Hunter⁽²⁾. The majority of informants have never heard of this ritual beast, believed to have a peculiarly close association with the spirits, nor of the thong made from the hairs of its tail, although a few, mainly on the Pondoland border (Tabankulu district) know of the custom as foreign. A typical and intelligent bhaca woman said that she had never seen an inkomo yo6uluunga, but that her grandmother had told her that "when someone in the umti was sick the cattle were driven into the inkundla (courtyard), and a hair was plucked from the tail of the first one to pass water by an old grandmother of the kraal". There seems to be some confusion here with the ritual of the idzini (to be discussed below) - and Bhaca were alike generally in their ignorance of the custom. At the dipping tank, and when cattle are inoculated against anthrax by Government stock inspectors, the brushes are clipped to indicate that the operation has been performed, and there does not appear to be any opposition as one would expect where the tail hairs had any ritual significance.

Perhaps the most spectacular and important of all ritual killings are those made at the initiation of a diviner. These will be discussed separately in a later section of this chapter. The three other main rituals of propitiation and worship are the killings at the idzini ceremony, killings in certain contexts of thanksgiving, and beer offerings.

The form the Bhaca idzini takes appears to differ to some extent from the Mpondo idini recorded by Hunter⁽³⁾. All

(1) Page 128

(2) op. cit. pp. 236-240

(3) op. cit. p.241.

sickness is conceived to have been sent by some anti-social agency, and no disease is ever considered to have been contracted by natural causes. The most usual cause is the machinations of some enemy using medicines to cause sickness and death. Sickness may also be sent by the ancestors to punish some neglect of custom or inadvertent annoyance. When a person is ill, he may dream constantly of a particular beast, and this is regarded as proof that the spirits wish the beast to be sacrificed. Another way is to consult a diviner to ascertain the cause of the affliction. In all these cases a beast, goat or sheep is sacrificed in propitiation, for, say the Bhaca, the amathfongo are hungry for meat. The most common form of idzini made for a sick person is for all the cattle of the herd to be brought in from the fields and herded into the cattle kraal. They are then suddenly driven into the inkundla right up to the door of the hut in which the sick person is lying. It is said that the cattle must be driven by an old woman of the kraalhead's family - "an old grandmother, almost an ithfongo herself, and pasted childbearing" (thus not subject to umlaza taboos.) The first beast to pass water or sniff at the thatch above the door is said to be the beast chosen by the amathfongo and is called inkomo yethfongo. As it sniffs the old woman addresses the troubling spirits by name and adds "Yek' umtfo lo; tshathf' inkomo le" ("Leave this person; take this beast"). Apparently no hair is plucked from the tail of this beast, and it is immediately killed in the cattle kraal with the sacrificial spear kept in all imiti and handed down from father to son. After skinning the imbethfu (the part behind the shoulder blade - of special ritual significance: Xh. intsonyama) is cut off and lightly roasted, to be tasted by the patient before the rest of the meat is divided. This tasting bears the same name as the similar rite at the ingcube when medicine is tasted by the chief and spat out, viz., uku/wamisa. The piece of imbethfu is handed to the patient by the old woman mentioned above and informants stated that she must eat the whole piece, or else the appeal to the ancestors will have no effect, and the rest of the meat must be thrown away.

After the imbethfu has been ritually tasted, the rest of the carcass is cut up by the young men of the kraal. The sick person is given the liver, a special delicacy, and his body is smeared with gall. The gall-bladder (inyongo), particularly associated with the ancestors (see below), is dried and fastened with strips of hide to both wrists. The patient receives the meat with crossed arms, like a novice at

the initiation of a diviner, and first sucks the meat before eating it. The wind-pipe, lungs and heart, together with the injeke (second stomach), are hung up at the back of the hut as an offering to the amathfongo, who are thought to partake of it during the night. This ritual is almost identical with that of an intlombi (séance) (Appendix B). The rest of the meat is divided among the people present. Occasions for ritual killings are known throughout the district and all those who possibly can, attend the ceremony, attracted by the possibility of meat. No beer is made at an idzini "because it is there for making people happy, and people are sorry when a person is sick". A similar ceremony is observed when a woman has difficulty in labour. According to the Bhaca a common reason for such difficulty is that "the woman has not been well lofolala'd", and the ancestors are complaining. The same procedure is adopted, and it is believed that the birth should occur at the moment the beast passes water. In this case it is conceived that the woman's ancestors are causing the trouble, and, in severe cases, a goat from the husband's kraal must also be sacrificed. It is said that if the sick person will not take of the imbethfu, or if he dies, all the meat will be thrown away; "If people ate it, it would show disrespect to the dead person."

It will be seen that the form of the Bhaca idzini differs from the analogous Mpondo rite⁽¹⁾. The similar custom of the Bhaca is called isipho (gift), i.e. an offering to the spirits. M., the wife of Sontsi, had been ill for some time with pains in her body. Her husband had died some years before, and her sons and daughters had settled away from Mhlot/heni, so she lived at the kraal of a non-relative. She dreamed of meat, but was not told from whose herd the beast was to be taken. The next day she dreamed again, and was told to go to Ndumiso, a young lad of seventeen, but heir to the headmanship and the senior representative of her clan in the district who would kill for her. The spirit had told her that if the beast were killed she would immediately recover. The essential difference between an idzini and an isipho is that in the former the entrails of the sacrifice are always hung at the back of the hut; "where there is no hanging there is no idzini". The missions in the district object strongly to the idzini as a pagan sacrifice, and all informants say that

(1) Hunter, op. cit., pp. 240-254.

the custom is dying out. One church elder spoke strongly against the ceremony supporting his argument with the words "People say that an idzini was made for the Prodigal Son, but we do not read of any hanging" (referring to the hanging of the entrails). A woman of forty had never seen the custom, and all agree that, when done, it is performed secretly. It would be announced that a beast is being killed "just for meat" but "all the time it is for the ancestors". The influence of the Christian missions in the area is very strong, making the study of religious ritual extremely difficult. very few informants would admit actually slaughtering for the ancestors, or making beer offerings, so that I had no opportunity of studying this important aspect of indigenous religion. All admitted the theory of the ancestor cult as it was possible to reconcile this belief with the tenets of Christianity, but the overt, ritual expression, frowned on by the churches, is seldom given overt expression. Unfortunately, therefore, my information on much of the detail is lacking. It is possible by comparing the neighbouring Mpondo, to arrive at some idea of the detailed nature of these ceremonies which, the two cultures being so similar, must be almost identical in content. Finally, a beast is often slaughtered as a special thanksgiving (umbuliso) on the return of a person from a long journey, as when a young man returns safely from the mines "to thank the amathfongo for keeping him safe". It is usual to kill a beast on the return for the first time from a trip to the mines; on subsequent trips a goat is killed.

I have indicated briefly the main occasions of religious and quasi-religious ceremonial. Christianity has driven many of the public ceremonies underground and made it impossible for me, in the time at my disposal, to get detailed material on some of the ritual, notably on beer offerings. It can be seen, however, that all the main crises in the life of the individual and in the life of the society are characterized by some appeal to the spirit world and descriptions of many of these ceremonies will be found in the relevant parts of this study. Through ritual is Bhaca religious theory made manifest. Some ethical implications of the ancestor cult.

Bhaca theology does not necessarily carry the ethical implications inherent in our concept of religion. The more developed religious systems of the world are characterized by

a more or less rigid body of systematized taboos and precepts aimed at some type of goal - usually the attainment of the 'good life'. Ethical principles, internalized by teaching and subtle conditioning from childhood, are often reinforced by a concept of reward and punishment to be administered in some type of after life in which the good will be justified and the bad punished. Then, too, in many religions the implicit aim is to provide a means of harmonizing individual behaviour and, through the individual, to ensure the smooth functioning of the society.

The whole question of Bantu morality and, more particularly, its relation to Bantu religion, is a vast one outside the scope of this work. It is pertinent, however, from our general sociologically-orientated viewpoint, to study some aspects of Bhaca morality as it is manifest through religion, and acts as a force of social control.

From our examination of the ancestor cult it is evident that the Bhaca have a belief in the existence of an after life. The main difference between this concept and that taught by the great world religions is that it is attainable to all - no matter what the quality of their life on earth. It is, therefore, not an agent for the attainment of morality. There is no system of rewards and punishments for the 'moral man' in a subsequent spiritual existence. This brings us to the problem of whether the Bhaca have a system of ethics, and, if so, what are the mechanisms operating to ensure its observance.

As to the first question we may quote Willoughby writing on Bantu morality generally⁽¹⁾; "... the danger of taking the name of a god in vain is generally acknowledged; reverence for parents and those in authority is commonly inculcated, and disobedience punished; self-control is cultivated; men of probity are respected; brotherliness, courtesy and hospitality are common virtues; a high respect for property prevails; mercy is highly esteemed and justice praised; murder, witchcraft, stealing, adultery, bearing false witness against one's neighbour, hatred, and arrogance are all condemned; and there is such a sense of family responsibility that orphans and destitute people are provided for." Thus the Bhaca condemn many of the things condemned by the higher religions. These

(1) Willoughby, W.C. 1932: Nature-worship and Taboo 36-40, 74-77.

ethical principles are not pursued for their own ends, however; the body of moral rules is closely correlated with social life and the social structure. Bhaca have no speculative philosophy as to the nature of good or evil as an intellectual abstraction; it is the empirical determination of the good or bad in the details of everyday relations and attitudes that forms the corpus of moral rules. Morality is essentially utilitarian. Thus sexual intercourse before marriage is not condemned, and, if it conforms to the rigid rules of the ukut/hina custom, is socially approved. It is only when the custom is rejected and full intercourse results with accompanying pregnancy that the act becomes morally bad:- it has given rise to a social problem, in the form of an illegitimate child, difficult to assimilate into the social structure. Then, too, truth for its own sake is not necessarily valued, and lying not condemned, if it harmonizes social relations and prevents disruptions and antagonisms. There is a strong correlation of morality with culture. On analysis it would seem that Bhaca ethics, the criterion of good and evil, is derived from two main considerations, viz.,

- (1) Whether an action operates towards the observation of custom, towards conservatism. Conservatism is an important agent ensuring cultural continuity and its correlate, social solidarity. Neglect of custom is bad and lowers the resistance of the group to possibly harmful change. The operation is mainly through ritual.
- (2) Whether an action is harmful to the smoothworking or solidarity of the society and eliminates conflict in social relations.

It is suggested that the application of these criteria provides the yardstick of Bhaca morality.

The question arises as to what, in the absence of the belief in a system of rewards and punishments, in an after life, are the sanctions ensuring moral conduct. Educative conditioning is, of course, an important aspect. People observe the tribal customs and enter into harmonious social relations because they are brought up to do so. The ultimate sanction, however, is the fear of the displeasure of the amathfongo. Omnipresent and omniscient, they are always on the look out for breaches of custom. Bhaca constantly stress the danger of annoying the spirits through failing to sacrifice the beast seen in a dream or a goat for an imbeleko. Thus the sanction for religious conformity is fear - fear of retaliation. The amathfongo are not always thought to be malicious, but it is their anger which has sociological significance. It is important to note here that this fear does not necessarily

entail an attitude of humility or adoration towards the ancestral spirits. We have seen how the transformation from living tribesman to ithfongo tends to be merged in the case of very old people. The fact that the spirits have often been intimately known in life, with all their faults and weaknesses, lends a strong anthropomorphic flavour to worship. In ritual the spirits are often addressed conversationally, and, on occasions, are scolded for the harsh treatment of their children.

It will be seen from the above description of the ancestor cult that it is a form of primitive religion, rooted in the social structure and biologically organized around the extended family. It is non-speculative and manifest largely through ritual. It has no body of generalized ethical rules, but morality is lived out in social relations in social contexts. And, unless one includes the tribal ceremonies of ingcube and fertility, there is no church on a tribal scale.

Individual religious authority - the isangoma diviner.

It was stated above that Bhaca religion is not connected with anything analogous to an established church with a hierarchy of priests and public ceremonies of worship. Rather is it a strongly family matter, centred round the hearth, and its leadership is related to structural status roles. Thus the umti-head, by virtue of his position, is the leader in the ancestor ritual of all members of the kraal and responsible for maintaining the necessary liaison between them and the spirits of departed forbears. Similarly the head of a clan (the senior representative in the male line) is the religious head for all members of the clan. Religious authority is socially determined by the virtue of birth and primogeniture and, in general, no one but the occupiers of the relevant status roles may attain to it. There is in the society, however, one religious or quasi-religious role unconnected with structural status, that of diviner (more popularly known as 'witchdoctor') which is open to anyone, irrespective of birth, provided they pass through the necessary spiritual experience and training, and thus provides a means whereby intelligent, or ambitious individuals, can attain status and power in the community. It is here, too, that the related culture elements of religion and magic overlap and interplay.

Initially it is necessary to distinguish two types of 'doctor', viz., the herbalist (inyanga, sh. ixhwele), and

the diviner (isangoma, Xh. igqira)⁽¹⁾. Both are practitioners in the art of healing and both manipulate relevant medicines to that end. The main difference is in training and in details of function. The herbalist is a specialist in medicines. Although every tribesman has some knowledge of magical materials and technique, that of the herbalist is extensive, and I propose to treat that of the inyanga more fully in the next chapter (on witchcraft and magic), as he has no specific religious function. He does not commune with the spirits at the séance, nor can he divine, - although in other respects their functions overlap.

Not everyone can become a diviner. Initiation is prefaced by a definite 'call' from the ancestral spirits sent in the form of a sickness called ukuthwasa. It is characterized by severe pains in the head and body accompanied by vivid dreams thought to be sent by the spirits⁽²⁾. On becoming ill with symptoms that suggest ukuthwasa the subject will usually go to a practising diviner, who will indicate which ancestor is troubling, and arrange the period of training and the initiation which will cure the sickness. The diviner has himself been through the ukuthwasa and knows the ritual and techniques necessary to cure the patient. A person ill with ukuthwasa is thought to be possessed by the spirit of an ancestor and a lengthy period of training consisting mainly of dancing (ukuxhentsa), through which the spirit can be made manifest and operate through the human vehicle without causing sickness, is necessary before the subject, whom we shall call the novice, is completely initiated.

It is interesting that by far the great majority of diviners among the Bhaca are women. This is possibly due to the fact that the calling necessitates a highly emotional, semi-hysterical state in the practitioner when attempting to contact the amathfongo, and, as we shall see, the ukuthwasa illness itself is a highly subjective, emotionally disturbing experience. It is impossible without psycho-analytical study to decide whether the inkathaza (trouble), which indicates the beginning

(1) It will be noted that, in contrast to the neighbouring Mpondo dialect, Bhaca uses the Zulu terminology.

(2) An account of a typical dream will be found in Appendix A. See also Hunter op. cit. Chap. VII for a very detailed account of Mpondo diviners.

of possession, is caused by the mental state of a neurotic individual, or whether it is caused by ordinary functional disturbances and interpreted, by traditional concepts, to mean ukuthwasa with attendant nervous pains and nausea. The fact that most are women tempts one to postulate a correlation between ukuthwasa and the emotional disturbances brought about by such purely feminine functions as menstruation, pregnancy and the menopause. The Bhaca themselves say that a pregnant woman is slightly mad, and a number of itangoma I knew were nursing mothers with young children. Then, from another point of view, the calling of diviner gives a strong-minded and intelligent woman an opportunity of raising herself above the common level of wife and motherhood, and^{to} become a respected and influential member of society. Many husbands resent their wives' activities, as they mean considerable freedom in travelling from place to place to see patients and meet with other members of the cult: if he objects it is always possible to dream that the ancestors have directed one, on the pain of sickness, to do something. Then, too, the enforced abstinence from sexual intercourse during the period of the novitiate and during séances proves irksome.

I was impressed, however, by the characters of most of the diviners I knew. Unfortunately I was unable to make a complete study of all the home conditions and private life so the following impressions must be treated with caution. It was found that the majority of women diviners, on casual acquaintance and when not actually divining, gave little or no impression of eccentricity or peculiarity of temperament. On the other hand, they seemed to be well-integrated individuals, often with a keen intelligence and a well-developed sense of humour. Sinet's mother was very popular at ceremonies and weddings because of her clowning and imitation of the young mens' indlam dance (she was very fat), and generally I found them friendly and co-operative. Those who did appear to me as psycho-pathic were the men. I knew three or four and all were distinctly neurotic and 'moody' with sudden fluctuations between extreme exaltation and depression. One or two appeared homosexual. Generally their speech was rapid and excited interposed with a nervous giggle; probably what Kretschmer⁽¹⁾ would describe as schizothymic. I present these subjective

(1) Kretschmer, E. Physique and Character 1936 pp. 282.

impressions for what they are worth. It is obvious that they are, to a certain extent conflicting, and the whole question is one for detailed psychological study.

Generally my impression was that, when not actually divining, the itangoma are treated by society as normal members of the community. After a séance the diviner (if a man) would sit among the young men and boys and joke and sing with them. One in particular was extremely popular with the children who treated him very much as a European child would treat a favourite uncle, clinging to his hands and climbing on his knees whenever he paid a visit. A woman diviner, when not on professional duties, runs her home and brings up her children in the same way as a normal mother would. The whole problem of the social position and function of the diviner will be discussed more fully later.

Initiation.

The pre-initiatory experiences of most diviners follow a clearly defined traditional pattern. After the onset of the ukuthwasa illness the subject goes to a well-known diviner and asks to be cured. The isangoma will indicate which ancestor is troubling the subject and whether it is of the father's or mother's side of the family. For either may be responsible. The amathfongo of a man's father, or a woman's father or husband, are always mainly responsible, however⁽²⁾.

The usual method of spirit communication is through dreams. Dream contents are traditionally determined and follow stereotyped patterns. Always the novice dreams of a beast which may or may not be in the herd of a relative, a white stone (u6alo) the possession of which is necessary to complete recovery, and a spear. The u6alo stone's whereabouts is revealed in a vivid dream, usually associated with a river bank (see Appendix A), while both the spear and beast must be obtained from the owner, or else the novice would become sick and perhaps die. "Often she runs mad and eventually the man gives in": if he remains adamant her family will have to buy the object. Many people resist the call to become diviners, but this is a dangerous attitude and may bring on more acute pains and nausea possibly resulting in death, although one informant, when asked why there was a preponderance of female diviners stated, "The men refuse".

The initiatory period is one of danger and stress. The novice is as far as possible secluded and spends the greater part of her time in her hut, or at the home of the diviner who

(2) Hunter, *op cit* page 324.

is treating her. She is in constant danger of ritual impurity and may not attend beerdrinks, weddings and other social functions. While walking she takes pains to avoid meeting people who, if they meet her, greet her with the words "Camagu!" ("Blessing, propitiation"). This elusiveness applies also to fully-fledged doctors: "Sometimes if you meet an isangoma in the veld he will branch off your path. If you ask him why he will tell you that his ithfongo told him not to meet people at that particular time." A novice must observe rigid food taboos and eats and drinks alone from special utensils set aside for her use. Dietary prohibitions differ between individuals being indicated through dreams. One novice I knew could not eat beans, tea, pork, mutton or pumpkin (the mutton and bean taboo continued even after she had been finally initiated), while the other was forbidden kaffircorn, beans, entrails, tea, salt and sugar. The regulation of a novice's life is closely correlated with the wishes of the spirits: the itangoma walk with the gods.

Throughout the seclusion period a novice is expected to abstain from sexual intercourse, even with her husband, if married, for fear of the umlaza pollution inherent in sexual connection. Even after she has become a diviner intercourse must not take place on the night before a séance (intlombi) or smelling out. The ancestors are said to 'run away from' umlaza, and coition will keep them away. "I6ang' umnyama" (It causes darkness). The danger is conceived to be not to the partner but to the novice herself; "The man will leave an umlaza in her and she will not become clear" (i.e. become a successful diviner). In practice, however, this taboo can be obviated by the payment of ten shillings (ukunyo6a) to the doctor in charge of the novice's training. A goat called incamazana yamhlangano (beast of the meeting) is killed and a strip of meat about a foot long is cut off and lightly roasted with medicines. Both husband and wife take an end of the collop in their mouths and nibble at it until their faces touch. It will be noted that this custom bears a strong resemblance to the one to obviate the evil results of breaking the incest taboos. (pp. 256). Some diviners will not allow anyone to smoke in their presence, but others are told in dreams that smoking has no harmful effect on their powers. To prevent umlaza contamination female novices smear a medicine called isiqungwa on face and body.

Both male and female novices wear a short white skirt in the latter case the breasts being covered by a breast cloth

of white material; they must never be exposed in public. The hair is shaved, and, for ceremonial occasions, a square of untanned cowhide is fixed to the head to which is attached three or more goat gallbladders⁽¹⁾ - believed to harbour the ithfongo. For everyday wear a female novice binds a white cloth, or handkerchief, low over the forehead in the ukuhlonipha custom just like a young bride. We shall notice later the similarity in some respects of a novice's initiation and the marriage of a bride. The only ornament worn is a necklace of medicinal roots threaded on a cord.

A feature of Bhaca, as compared with Mpondo, diviners is the apparent absence of the concept of the ityala, and animal-form, in which the troubling spirit is said to appear (see Hunter, pp. 321). I met only one diviner who referred to such a manifestation. She had dreamt of an ingwe (lit. a leopard) which was "like a cat with red and black spots and fiery eyes". The presence of an ingwe in a forest is always heralded by the smell of fresh milk or of a pipe and it is believed that, if a woman is pregnant with a man-child and an ingwe sees her, it is liable to kill her: "The boy is the enemy of the leopard". It appears, however, that this should rather be considered as an animal familiar of a type to be considered in the following chapter, and not correctly as an ancestor manifestation.

Dancing is the central feature of the diviners' cult. As one put it, "We are danced for until we are in the coffin". The typical dance is called ukuxhentsa, a peculiar stamping in which the ball of the foot is placed sharply on the ground, followed immediately afterwards by the heel. It is accompanied by clapping, or, more usually, by the beating of a rolled cowhide. The ancestors are said to enjoy this 'playing' (ukudlala), and it appears to be a requisite of their appearance at a séance. Frequent dancing is a necessary feature in the curing of ukuthwasa during the initiatory period, and a novice's doctor will arrange frequent intlombi which have a therapeutic value, as well as instructing the novice in the technique of

(1) The gallbladders of goats are worn by all diviners. The bladder is emptied of its contents, the blade of a certain type of grass inserted, and inflated, being tied tightly to prevent the air escaping. It is then allowed to dry out thoroughly.

her profession. More detailed descriptions, illustrating the method of the intlombi will be found in the Appendices.⁽¹⁾

There is often considerable rivalry between diviners and various medicines are used to attract clients. One, called ibekamnodwe ("to look at me alone") is a bulb which is chewed and rubbed on the hands and face, while uvuma (cf. ukuvuma to agree) is a root much used also by young men to attract girls. Informants often remarked on rivalry between diviners. To clarify the above remarks and place them in their social context it is intended to describe the initiation of a novice as this will entail a description of the intlombi (séance) and other typical activities.

Rosina, a woman of about forty, had been employed in domestic service in Kokstad, about fifty miles north of Mhlot/heni, and first became sick in 1945 with pains in the whole body - "head, chest and even the fingers." At first she did not understand that it was the ancestors who had sent the sickness, but matters eventually became so bad that she asked permission to return to her home in Mount Frere to consult a doctor there. She dreamed continually about the 'old people' (abantfu abadzala) and that they gave her a beast. At Mount Frere she met Mamjoli, wife of the brother of the district head, who told her that she had an inkathazo, and that her 'head should be white' (referring to the white bead headdress (isiyaca) worn by all Bhaca diviners.) Fortunately Rosina had relatives living in the same district as Mamjoli, the family of Bontjie, her father's sister's husband, and she stayed with them. Her husband was dead and her son was at a missionary institution, attending school. Most of the time, however, she lived at Mamjoli's kraal in a special hut set aside for her, and accompanied her on her professional visits to kraals in the surrounding districts, observing the technique of the ukuxhentsa dance and the correct organization of the séance. Early in her sickness she dreamt of a particular goat in her relatives' kraal which was slaughtered for her without question. It was described as a goat for 'yeyokungenisa umtfu onenhloko emhlope' ('to bring in a person with a white head')⁽²⁾. Bracelets were made of the skin (ingqwambi).

(1) See also Hunter pp. 325.

(2) Itangoma use an extensive hlonipha vocabulary. Thus a spear is never umkhonto but always umwa/o. Stock are called incamazana, goats being called iincamazana ethi mhe (animals who say mhe) and cattle iincamazana ethi mho (those who say mho).

and placed on wrists and ankles to alleviate the pains. For a year Rosina remained under Mamjoli's care and, apart from divining, acquired an extensive knowledge of the various plants used in medicines.

During the seclusion period Rosina dreamed about a certain beast. It was at a kraal about five miles away owned by a non-relative, and Rosina had never been there before. This beast was given to her, again without question, but kept at the owner's kraal until just before the final initiation, when it would be ritually slaughtered. Also during the ukuthwasa period she dreamed about a spear, this time at a kraal situated some ten miles away. All novices dream about a spear, and it is thought that if it is refused them, the ancestor will trouble them, so that they might even die. She obtained the spear and carried it with her whenever she went out with Mamjoli.

Later her husband's grandfather, whom she had never seen, appeared to her in a dream, and showed her a white stone (ikhubalo), which he told her where to find. Immediately she awoke she got up and went to the place indicated in her dream, which lay about fifteen miles away on the Umzimvu6u River near Siquhingeni. The white stone was under a rock above a pool and she prized it up with her spear. She stated that, if she had used her hands she would have died. At the pool she met an old man who smeared her face with the white clayey stone.⁽¹⁾ She returned to Mamjoli's kraal at sunrise and waited in the cattle kraal until Mamjoli came out ("You must stay in the cattle kraal until the doctor sees you"). This, in itself, is significant, as normally no woman is allowed to enter a cattle kraal because of the umlaza taboo. Mamjoli gave her a clay pot of u6ulawo medicine with which to remove the white clay. That evening a white fowl was killed; it is a law (umthetho) that a fowl should be killed when the stone is found. Two days later a goat was slaughtered and the blood smeared on the white stone "so that the amathfongo would be ukuchola ('honoured'); the word 'Chola' is used when something is killed for a guest. The goat (called incamazana yobala) was cut up and eaten, and the stomach fat (umhlehlo) was

(1) The remarkable similarity between this dream and the one related in Appendix A is interesting as it illustrates the traditional stereotyping of the religious experience among diviners.

twisted into ropes and placed round Rosina's neck. The gall bladder (inyongo) was attached to a small square of hide and worn on the head as the distinctive insignia of the novice. Gall bladders of goats are of particular ritual significance, as they are thought to be a residing place for the spirits.

During the period, before the initiation, Rosina observed rigid food taboos. She abstained from kaffircorn, beans, intestines, tea and salt. Also during the whole period a novice is expected to refrain from sexual intercourse with her husband (see above).

After about a year of training the time came for Rosina's initiation into the cult. The commencement of the ceremony was scheduled to start on a Tuesday, but, from the previous Friday Bontjie's kraal was a hive of activity as the women prepared the beer for the umjadu (festival). Soon four large tubs of beer stood at the cool back of the store hut, and mealies were stamped for umnggu/u. Beer was also prepared at Mamjoli's kraal, for it was here that the visiting itangoma would gather with Rosina before proceeding on the Tuesday evening to her home for the ceremony. For some weeks before the actual umjadu word had got round the district, and expectancy grew as the time approached. About a week before, Rosina came to the trading store and bought yards of white calico for her diviner's costume.

On Monday Rosina left home to spend the night at Mamjoli's umti, and on Tuesday I spent the afternoon with the young men of her kraal on a small hill looking out for the arrival of the itangoma. At dusk we heard their monotonous chant, and word was sent to the kraal so that the young makhoti (newly married bride) would be ready to set out to meet them with the welcoming pot of beer⁽¹⁾. A message was also sent to the kraal of Sidalo, 6awomncane, to the owner of the umti, for the cattle to be driven out, for it was one of his herd about which Rosina had dreamt in the early days of her novice-hood, and now had to be killed for the

(1) Beer must always be given at an initiation ceremony. Apart from its association with hospitality it has definite magical and therapeutic value - "It is for sickness" - and, if it is not given, it is thought that the novice might fall ill. Diviners state that no beer can be drunk before they have first partaken - "Even the chief himself cannot drink."

'coming out' ceremony. It was a bright moonlit night, and I waited with the group of men for the herdboys to drive up the cattle. Soon we heard the sound of hooves, and dark shapes passed us; we followed to where the line of white-clad diviners waited us, stamping their xhentsa dance and singing their weird, haunting chant:

"Thsiná maBhaca, sise sebumnyameni; Sifun' ukhanyo kuni
"mathfongo!"

("We Bhaca are still in darkness; We want a light from
"you, ancestral spirits").

We found them next to the line of aloes marking a cattle kraal. As the cattle approached the swaying line, the leader, an old woman of about sixty and a diviner with a wide reputation, darted forward and brandished her cow-tail switch under the nose of the first beast, causing the beasts to mill round and round in their fright. The itangoma sang louder and the men joined in the song. The line of diviners advanced, dancing, towards the by now thoroughly frightened cattle, while the men surrounded them and kept them in one place by shouting and waving sticks. Suddenly, at an order from their leader, the dancing stopped and the itangoma clustered round the pot of beer, the men squatting down in a group by themselves.

* They were stopped from drinking, however, by mamjoli who suggested that they should 'play' (dhlala) first before drinking. The men thereupon rose and, with the itangoma, advanced towards the cattle, again chanting the incube song. Suddenly the song stopped and the men rushed towards the cattle, brandishing their sticks and shouting "Khwel'imfene" ("Ride a baboon") "Khwel'imfene!" causing the cattle to rear and plunge wildly. Unfortunately I was unable to ascertain the symbolic meaning of this verbal formula. As suddenly as it had begun the shouting stopped, and the men and diviners squatted down in their respective groups, and amid much gossiping and laughing, passed round the inchaza of beer. Before drinking Mamjoli addressed the amathfongo with the words "Come, ancestral spirits, so that the way will be white"⁽¹⁾

After the beer had been finished the itangoma re-formed their line and proceeded towards Rosina's kraal, singing and driving the cattle before them. Rosina walked

(1) Note the ritual importance of white in the cult e.g. a diviner is one whose 'head is white', the white stone (ikhubalo), headdress, dress and sacrificial goat.

in the centre of the group, silent and demure, while the excited onlookers followed shouting remarks interspersed with exuberant yells of "Hola! Hola! Hola!" The umti reached, the cattle were driven into the kraal, again with shouts of "Khwel' imfene!" and the diviners manoeuvred up to them, as if attacking an enemy. A white goat was fetched by Bontjie, and, first the diviners, accompanied by two young children with baskets, and then the onlookers, following in single file, were led into the hut which was to accommodate the itangoma during their stay. The diviners both male and female sat down on the women's (left-hand) side of the hut, against the wall after thrusting their spears into the thatch, while the onlookers occupied the right, and the goat (called umthul' entabeni⁽¹⁾) was held by Bontjie in the centre. Two large tubs of beer stood at the back of the hut. Relinquishing the goat to the care of a male relative Bontjie stood up and made a short speech of welcome to the visiting diviners, to which all replied with the ritual greeting, "Camagu!" ("Blessing"), and the goat was taken out and killed by the young men of the umti. Usually the goat is killed inside the hut⁽²⁾, but Mamjoli, in charge of proceedings, said that the spirits wished it performed outside. She also stated that there was an 'old woman' present who must not be in the light. By this she was referring to the ithfongo and immediately a diviner removed the lamp from its peg at the back of the hut (the place sacred to the spirits) and held it so that her body cut off the light from the rest of the hut, while pegs were driven into the wall near the door on which to hang it. The meat of the umthula'ntabeni was lightly roasted and eaten by the diviners after Rosina had ritually tasted of the imbethfu. → In this case it was performed to kupha (take out) the novice from her seclusion and taboos. The diviners then commenced to dance⁽³⁾ and

(1) c.f. marriage ceremony. This goat must be white and is one dreamt about by the novice during her training period. Like a bride the novice arrives at dusk and the name of the goat killed is similar.

(2) See Appendix B.

(3) An account of a typical intlombi will be found in Appendix B.

the intlombi continued long into the night. There were about eighty people in the hut, including young men and girls and a few children. Five young people sat in front of the rolled-up hide (ikhawu), and emphasised the rhythm of the dance by beating it with sticks. The noise was deafening and the dust rose chokingly from the feet of the dancing diviners. A number of novices (abakhwetha) were attending Rosina's initiation as part of their training and they were encouraged by the more experienced diviners to perform⁽¹⁾. A diviner would stand up facing the back of the hut and begin to speak in a low, tense voice. Every now and then she would break off and address the audience "yumani!" ("Agree!"), whereupon the ikhawu would be thumped and the onlookers chorus "Siya vuma!" ("We agree!"), the conventional response. A novice, a young boy of about seventeen, dressed in the short white skirt of a learner, got to his feet and began speaking:

Novice: "It is hoped that the novice (Rosina) will sleep well and have good dreams and also that she does her work successfully. Agree!"

Chorus: "Siya vuma!"

Novice: "There is a girl here who is sick on one side of her body. There is a certain pain (inthungu^w ethile) which goes up the whole body to her right arm and then to the fingers. Agree!"

Chorus: "Siya vuma!" (Beating of hide)

Then, pointing to a girl in the audience:

Novice: "Yuma mtfa nam ukuBa kunjalo" (Agree my child if it is like that").

The girl nodded and the novice sat down.

Another novice arose and began the line of a chant. It was taken up by those present and sung over and over, the novice breaking into the peculiar stamping xhentsa dance. Faster and faster went the dance, and faster beat the sticks on the cow hide until the novice held up her hand and the dancing stopped. Then, in a tense husky voice, rapidly:

"I thank you, people of God and you, ancestral spirits of Siwela (the isiBongo of Rosina's clan), hoping that this work will succeed. Gweje oBomvu (? is red) like the itolwane (a plant). Beautiful amathfongo complete this work so that it will be good - that it will be successful. Yithi ni? ("What do you say?")

(1) One of the abakhwetha had come all the way from Peddie, an extremely sick-looking man who spoke intelligently in fluent English. He had worked in a factory in Port Elizabeth before becoming ukuthwasa. He had been treated for a year and was much better. He was to be initiated within a few months.

Chant: "Camagu! camagu! camagu!" ("Blessing")

She sat down. A diviner got up and started a new song (ihlabelo).

Diviner: "Umthsi awuvumanga, umthsi awuvumanga!" (The medicine has not agreed)

Chant: "The medicine has not agreed!"

The diviner danced to the clapping of the crowd.

She stopped and said (addressing the onlookers):

Diviner: "Just agree".

Chant: "Siya vuma! Siya vuma!"

Diviner: "Just agree a little"

Chant: "Siya vuma!"

Diviner: "Just beating the hide softly does not give us any encouragement (khuthalo). Therefore people, please beat well if you wish us to xhentsa and we will 'smell out' your difficulties! "

She sat down, and another diviner arose and ordered a group chatting in a corner to keep quiet. The attitude of the onlookers was a mixture of reverence and informality; some laughed and joked with one another, while others watched the performance with rapt attention. As the evening wore on people began to leave for their kraals, and after midnight the itangoma retired for the night. Both male and female doctors slept in the same hut but on opposite sides.

At about eight o'clock the following morning the diviners gathered in the hut set aside for them and discussed the events of the previous night and the important ritual that was to follow. There were about twenty present, including eight novices wearing the square of hide with attached gall bladders on their heads, and, during the morning, two more diviners, sisters of Mamjoli, arrived. All but five were women. At about ten o'clock they dressed themselves in their bead headdresses and other regalia and, led by Rosina, walked slowly in single file to the cattle kraal of the umti, chanting their song. The cattle had not been sent out to graze, and became restive as the long line of diviners filed through the entrance and formed a line facing them, still stamping and singing. The umlaza taboo appeared to be lifted, and both men and women diviners entered the cattle kraal freely. Four or five young men of the Bele (Rosina's) clan entered, and threw the beast which had appeared in Rosina's dream, struggling, to the ground, securing it with ropes round the legs and horns. Bontjie handed Rosina the sacrificial spear, and she approached the beast and pricked it over the heart with it. This action was entirely symbolical as no

women, among the Bhaca, may slaughter a beast. Informants stated that this action represented the amathfongo who were, in reality, killing the beast. Bontjie's u6awomncane then took the spear from her and stabbed the beast over the aorta muscle. The spear struck a rib and broke, and another was fetched. This time the blade went home and the horns and legs of the beast were loosened. It scrambled to its feet bellowing, and there was a concerted rush of doctors and spectators to the gate of the cattle kraal, the women, particularly, being frightened. When they saw the stricken beast stagger against the further wall of the isi6aya, the line was reformed amid much laughter and good-natured chaffing, and the line of itangoma xhentsa'd slowly towards the wounded animal chanting a triumphant song. Slowly the line advanced, and then, as slowly, retreated. It became evident that the beast had not received its death wound, and it was again thrown and stabbed⁽¹⁾. Finally it crumpled up and lay on the ground breathing heavily, while the chanting doctors and excited spectators gathered round in a circle, singing. Rosina, as it was obvious that the beast was dying rapidly, was directed by Mamjoli to kneel down and sniff in the breath as it left the nostrils "so that she should be clear". She was then made to sit down with legs apart, in front of the dead animal, while Mamjoli thrust her hand into its mouth removing from it some of the stomach contents (umswane) forced up into it in the beast's death struggles. This was mixed with the blood from the stab wound and applied with the forefinger in lines down Rosina's forehead and nose, both cheeks and back of the neck - also down both legs and arms. All the while the itangoma chanted and greeted the performance of the ceremony with cries of "Camagu!" This part of the ceremony over, the diviners filed out and re-entered their hut, while the spectators dispersed into groups, sitting and standing in the environs of the umti.

The beast (called inkomo yokuphuma - the beast of coming out) was then skinned by the men of the Bele clan (clan relatives of Rosina). The skin above the hoof of the right

(1)

Informants stated that the beast should be a long time in dying "So that the itangoma may sing for it". The words of the chant address the beast tauntingly, saying that the diviners want the tail to brush for dancing. It should bellow on being stabbed - but this is not essential.

foreleg was allowed to remain, as from it would be made the skin bracelet to be worn on Rosina's right wrist. The imbethfu was carefully cut off and sent up to the doctors' hut, where it was mixed with medicines, lightly roasted and eaten by Rosina. It was said that until she had eaten ritually of it none else could partake of the meat. The gallbladder, of particular ritual importance was also sent to the novice. In a killing of this type the carcass is divided into two sections down the line of the backbone, half going to the diviners present and half to those attending the ceremony, whether related to the novice or not. Bontjie ordered that the whole of the right foreleg, from shoulder to hoof (uxhono) should be presented to the diviners. The rest of the meat was divided among the guests, and lightly roasted, or eaten raw (ukufukuthsa), the tripe being regarded by the men as a special delicacy.

The diviners' share was taken to them in the fresh hide, and this was laid on the floor in the middle of their hut. Mamjoli, as mistress of ceremony, and another diviner, removed the fat from the stomach and carefully rolled it into seven long ropes, three of which they fastened round Rosina's neck, the rest being bound cross-wise across the breasts, after all had been first smeared with gall. Informants stated that this was done, "so that the amathfongo may come". During this operation Rosina sat at the back of the hut on the women's side, while the rest of the diviners conversed and joked, paying little, if any attention, to what was going on. A few male and female friends of Rosina sat on the men's side, and beer was passed round; outside people sat in little groups and talked, the young men superintended the cutting up and distribution of the meat, while their elders discussed politics in the cattle kraal. A knot of women was grouped round a fire on which meat was being boiled.

At about three o'clock in the afternoon Mamjoli gave the order and the itangoma began to don their regalia, adjusting their bead iziyaca in preparation for the intlombi to follow. When all were ready four young men entered their hut and rolled up the still-wet cowhide lying on the floor. Two then picked it up and, with the other two beating it with sticks, marched out towards the cattle kraal, followed by the line of singing itangoma. This time the abakhwethsa (novices) remained in the hut and did not accompany them. Rosina walked with downcast eyes in the centre of the line. Now she was dressed in the complete regalia of an initiated isangoma, but on her forehead, to the bridge of her nose and on both cheeks, lines

of a white ochre called isigqabo, had been painted. She was accompanied by two colleagues with faces marked in exactly the same way. They are called abantwana (children) for, say the Bhaca, she is still a child and fears, and are there to guard her. The cowhide was placed on the green grass of the inkundla, and three or four men of the Bele clan began beating it as the diviners began their wild chanting. A full-dress intlombi followed - the only time that a séance is conducted in the open air and in broad daylight. Four diviners took turns in coming forward and speaking to the spirits; during the whole time Rosina and her two companions kneeled in the background, taking no active part.

After about a quarter of an hour the dancing stopped, and a new grass mat was brought out and spread on the ground. Rosina and her abantwana were escorted to it by Mamjoli, and all three sat down on it. Malimini, Mamjoli's husband produced a small tobacco bag filled with half-crown pieces ^{and emptied it} on to the mat. This represented the fees paid (ukuromo) to Rosina for professional services performed while accompanying Mamjoli on her visits during the time of her seclusion. The fees are known as imali yokuxilongo (money of sounding, examining). Everyone gathered round as the money was counted, the amount being £6-7-6.

After general congratulations the diviners returned to their hut, where meat and beer were taken to them. As they left the scene of the dancing, and the grass mat was rolled up and removed, a woman dashed out of the crowd carrying a small baby, and swiftly rubbed its buttocks on the ground where it had been. This custom is called ukuleketa (to rub), and is believed to prevent illness - 'the amathfongo have been at the place'. That night another intlombi was held in the diviners' hut, and the following day they returned home.

The social function of the diviner.

The religious activities of the diviner are seldom, if ever, performed solely for purely religious ends; there is always the pragmatic context, the orientation towards practical ends. Functions are mainly directed towards healing sickness, and its diagnosis through the techniques of divination. It is this latter function that differentiates between the diviner and the herbalist proper, who, although he may diagnose sickness through its symptoms, and prescribe accordingly, does not perform this through supernatural means. Within the general framework of the cult there are various techniques of divination: some diviners specialize in finding lost articles, some remove the

trouble by pretending to suck it from the body (this form is called isidlanga, and some say that European poisons, such as loro (caustic soda), cannot be removed by this means), while others, ventriloquists, imitate the voices of the spirits, creating the impression of direct contact and help. The Sotho system of divination by bone-throwing is unknown among the Bhaca, except where it has been learnt from Sotho doctors on the Rand.

Belief in the power of the diviner still appears to be general, although there is a growing body of sceptical opinion, particularly among the Christianized school people, who are forming an increasingly large proportion of the population. "We believe that the itangoma are met by the amathfongo, because they tell us things of which we were ignorant, and warn us what will happen if we don't hurry up (kauleza)" "They speak with the spirits", and the intlombi are always popular occasions, when most of the district endeavours to be present. There are many, however, who criticize. "The isangoma is very important in his own place, because he does two things - divining and curing people from sickness. But the bad thing is that he makes people quarrel by smelling out people (ukunuka), and saying that So-and-So is killing someone." "Formerly people used to be burnt in their huts because they were wizards. This was due to the great number of itangoma".⁽¹⁾ This refers to the fact that all sickness is believed to be caused by the machinations of men or women using anti-social medicines.

Itangoma are not considered to be omnipotent. "There are certain diseases that cannot be cured by the diviners and must be treated by a herbalist". Chief of these is madness which, informants stated, could only be cured by the herbalist. It is recognized that to get a true diagnosis it is advisable to consult more than one doctor. One sceptic stated: "Some of the itangoma tell lies, because one will say that a certain person is killing you with medicines, but, when you go to another, he will name someone else. This shows that they are liars and only want money". Despite this growing sophistication, there appears to be still a fairly firm belief in the pronouncements of the diviner, which the atmosphere and activity of the séance do much to strengthen. People go to an intlombi, not only for the aesthetic pleasure admittedly derived from watching the dancing and participation in the clapping and singing, but because

(1) Nowadays diviners are chary about divulging names: "The ancestors will not let us tell, as it might start fighting in the ilali."

there is always the chance of a diagnosis without the payment of a fee. Informants confessed that, if they went to a diviner privately, they would have to pay the uksuroma fees, while at a séance the doctor often pointed to one of the audience and told him what was wrong with him.⁽¹⁾ The daughter of Sidalo, a church member with a primary school education, attended an intlombi in her district. During the Xhentsa a doctor suddenly paused, pointed at her, and stated that she was suffering from pains in the head, rumblings in the stomach, and had difficulty in passing water because of menstrual pains. She agreed. People often interrupt the dance to enquire about lost articles. Itangoma are consulted mainly to discover the cause (always human or supernatural in origin) of sickness and death in man and beast, of accidents, and to ascertain the wishes of the ancestral spirits. A detailed account of a consultation, substantially similar to Bhaca practice will be found in Hunter op. cit. p. 335-341.

The problem of possession is one for detailed psychological investigation orientated from a general cultural point of view. Psychological attitudes are largely shaped by traditional concepts, and ethnocentric interpretation based on Western^{Standard} is dangerous. It may be pertinent here to present certain subjective impressions as to the Bhaca cult. Writers have stressed the fact that, in séances, diviners work themselves into a frenzy which is communicated to the audience and ensures belief by the sheer impact of emotion and mass hysteria. It is true that during an intlombi considerable 'atmosphere' is created by the husky whispers of the diviners and the correlated agreement of the onlookers, given direction and point by the singing of set phrases, clapping and the beating of the cow-hide. While it is true that all these conditions operate towards the stimulation of faith and the heightening of religious feeling, in all the intlombi, I witnessed it would definitely be an exaggeration to say that performers and onlookers were completely transported by emotion. One reason for this is that, while the tension perceptibly increases during the ukuxhentsa, the actual dancing does not last for more than a few moments at a time (depending on the energy of the diviners and beaters), and, when it stops, the tension is lowered. The audience turn to one another, joke and comment

(1) For an example of this see description of Rosina's initiation, above.

on the dancing and a diviner might go over to the beaters and scold them for slackness in keeping up the rhythm. Often the dust rising from the dancing is so great that everyone starts coughing. If a doctor fails to strike the right note in pitching a chant there are titters and suppressed laughter. Western concepts of the reverence due to the supernatural do not obtain; the amathfongo are the erstwhile elders of the community, and their humanity is still very much with them. At one dance the kraal-head was very drunk, and told the doctors in a ^{loud} ~~bold~~ voice what he thought of their efforts. The evening consists of a succession of tense episodes, none ever very long, during which everyone concentrates on the movements and voice of the diviner, with periods of emotional relaxation and conversation in between. Sometimes, during an interval of rest, the young children come into the centre of the hut and emulate the xhentsa of the doctors, a competition ensuing between the boys and girls. It is certain that everyone gets much pleasure out of the singing.

The preceding impressions should be treated with great caution. It is extremely difficult to make evaluations in a relatively unfamiliar social context, where reactions are traditionally determined, and where the psychological premises are so different from our own. It seems certain that the ceremony heightens faith in the onlookers and the sweating faces and breathlessness of the performers are testimony to their physical and mental excitement. Novices appear to be more affected than experienced itangoma and tend to get overwrought and hysterical. One appeared to be speechless from emotion. Much depends on the co-operation of the audience for the success of a dance. They are exhorted to greater efforts if their interest seems to be flagging, and they are usually thanked by the diviner at the end of the evening.

As Hunter has pointed out, the isangoma is not regarded as being superior to the inyanga herbalist, or vice versa. Their functions differ. His main function is as diviner of sickness and wizards and interpreter of the wishes of the ancestral spirits, and, as such, he plays an important part in the religious life of the Bhaca. The whole question of the place of the diviner in the community has been exhaustively treated by Hunter⁽¹⁾ and reference is made to her work. Her findings are substantially true for the Bhaca, and reduplication is felt to be superfluous.

(1) *op. cit.* pp. 344-348

Some effects of Christianity.

We have discussed in an earlier chapter the social dichotomy based on religion and its division of society into two, often antagonistic, sections. New forms of social groupings, voluntary associations based on church membership, have arisen with related ceremonies in place of the prohibited pagan ritual and dances, and, generally speaking, attitudes and interests tend to diverge, splitting loyalties and operating against social solidarity.

The disruptive effects of Christianity must not be over-emphasised unduly, however. There is a solid basis of common interest and co-operation. Both Christians and pagans are peasant farmers, depending for their livelihood on their cattle and crops of maize or kaffir corn, and are alike affected by the vagaries of the seasons. Both groups have been drawn into the world-wide links of international trade and sell the wool from the flocks for prices which fluctuate with world demand. They both fall under the European Administrative system, the Common Law in criminal cases, pay taxes, and on occasion, are drawn into international conflicts when they are recruited for Labour Corps in time of war. The social organization is common to both groups; they both inhabit the same territory.

Yet the introduction of a foreign ethic, with different standards of morality and belief, has had far-reaching effects on Bhaba social life. Naturally the main impact has been on the ancestor cult, but its influence has not ended there, and today there is hardly an aspect of life which has not at least been modified. This we have noted throughout the present study, the synthesis which has produced the Christian marriage ceremonial differing from both the European, and pagan originals, but retaining elements of both, the new types of burial, the modification of the girl's initiation ceremony, the juxtaposition of Christian and pagan concepts regarding the ancestors, all being due to the introduction of Christianity.

Mission influence began in 1839, eleven years after ~~the~~^{its} introduction to the mpondo, with the establishment of a Methodist station at Dumsi by the Rev. W.H. Garner. Since then the number of mission stations has greatly increased, and today there are representatives of Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Church of the Province of South Africa, Seventh Day Adventist, Pilgrim Holiness and Salvation Army missions, while the separatist churches

(e.g. Church of Zion, Topiya, Ethiopian) are active, though with a smaller following.⁽¹⁾ The main European-supervised missions are controlled by a European superintendent with a number of outstations under Native ministers or evangelists. All outstations are visited periodically by the superintendent, but in practice, the control of the more outlying congregations appears to be inadequate owing to the long distances between them and their inaccessibility. Some superintendents cannot speak Xhosa fluently, and one gets the impression that much occurs without their knowledge. Evangelists are occasionally seen at pagan beer drinks and festivals. This is not meant to impute the zeal and good faith of the great majority of European missionaries, but rather to indicate the ^{difficult} definite problem of control, and the almost impossible conditions under which they work. In practice the Christian doctrine and life is communicated to Bhaba by often uneducated evangelists, who themselves are not fully conscious of its theological and ethical implications. The trader at Buffalo Neck was once asked by the local evangelist to take him in his car to see a well-known diviner. The reservoir of paganism is ever present and exerts a powerful pull on converts, young and old. We have noticed the often successful synthesis of sometimes inconsistent concepts, and members frequently fall short of the standards of the Church. Christians often find it difficult to reconcile the profession of European Christians, who fail to observe the Sabbath, and the sexual taboos of their faith - although this is not so pronounced as in the towns where one evangelist remarked: "How can we get the young people to the church when they see Europeans on the golf-courses and flocking to the sea like rats, on Sunday?"⁽²⁾ Contact with Europeans is not extensive and confined to the trader and population of the nearest seats of magistracy - Mount Frere, Mount Ayliff, Qumbu and Tabankulu.

The Christians are, because of their intimate contact with the missions, the main agents for social change. Nearly all the mission stations have schools attached, originally intended to teach converts to read the Bible, and Christian parents are usually keen to send their children to them.

(1) I was unfortunately unable to obtain figures for all the churches so that the actual number of members and adherents is not known.

(2) Langa location, Cape Town.

European dress is worn and European furniture adopted so that 'school people' are the largest buyers from European stores. At school boys learn agriculture and are usually the first to put the new techniques into operation. Sunday is widely observed by Christians and pagans alike, and we have seen how the concept of a High God (Uthixo) is now universal. In the Lugangeni section the ingcube is falling into disuse because of the mission-outlook of Chief Wabane. The Roman Catholic church has established a hospital in Mount Frere, and this too, operates against the indigenous beliefs in the cause and treatment of illness.

From a sociological point of view it is certain that Christianity is a powerful disintegrating influence. It attacks the mystical attributes of the nexus of tribal relations, the chieftainships, and, particularly, the important first fruits ceremony, when tribal sentiments are heightened and the power of the society in relation to other neighbouring societies is stressed. Voluntary associations such as congregations are tending to supplant the more fundamental kin groups. Traditional customs, the cement of a vigorous social life, are frowned upon, and, to the pagan, the wellbeing and health of society are threatened through the neglect of essential ceremonies at the various crises of birth, initiation, marriage and death. There is a division of loyalty between "Church and State", and Christians tend to neglect their obligations to serve on the chief and headman's courts. Polygamy has been attacked and the traditional structure of the umti modified.

The above is a description of the state of Bhaca culture today. Christianity has won an almost general acceptance of its tenets, and the great majority appears to be at least professing Christians. Polygamy has become almost non-existent in the last twenty years and most polygamists belong to the last generation. Ingcube is fast dying out; the Christianized ipati has taken the place almost everywhere of the girls' initiation ceremony, and the pagan wedding ceremonial (umt/hato webo²zo) is seldom met with. These, however, are all overt expressions of belief which have been driven underground. As we have seen, the theoretical concepts and dogma of the ancestor cult are still practically unchanged except where synthesized with Christian ideas, the itangoma are still a powerful force, and the notions of magic and sickness are still vigorous - as will appear in the following chapter. The haggling

and preliminaries of a wedding, and the giving of lobola cattle are retained in the new synthesis. The main attack has been on social life, the ritual of the ancestor cult, and on the attitudes to sexual morality.

Bhaca society cannot be adequately described as a static organization; change is differential but rapid; and it is in its religious aspect that this change has perhaps been greatest.

Religion as an agent of social control.

It will be seen from the above that religion is a powerful sanction for social control. The ancestor cult is based primarily on the family group and its related kin organizations, which are the basis on which the society is built. Religion can thus be said to be organic and rooted in the fundamental institutions of society. It is not an exotic superstructure with voluntary participation; rather is it governed by blood-ties and affiliations. In so far as it concerns the individual family it tends to be territorially organized as a local unit, but this is not so on the clan scale. The socio-political structure of the tribe is based on the important principle of primogeniture and respect for seniors. This the cult takes and reinforces through its dogma. The wellbeing and prosperity of the living depend on the continued goodwill of the dead, the seniors who have passed on. Fear of annoying the amathfongo is a powerful sanction against neglect and disobedience, not only of the dead, but of one's elders. Disobedience towards a father, or elder relative, may be punished by sickness and, perhaps death to man and beast.

The ritual of the cult is a further force consolidating family ties. At ritual killings, and at the various crises of life - particularly birth, marriage and death, - sacrifices are made to the spirits, and on these occasions brothers and sisters of the kraalhead are summoned to take part and share in the special meat eaten only by family members. These ritual occasions serve to re-emphasize family ties and the dependence on one another for spiritual welfare. The sociologically valuable factor of conservatism is also emphasized, and the performance of rites ensured.

In the political sphere the role of the ancestors is particularly important especially in the great tribal ceremonies of rainmaking, fertilizing of the seed, hail protection and the first fruits festival. These have already been discussed in a previous chapter. Much of the chief's authority stems

from his intimate contact with the spiritual guardians of the tribe, his ancestors, and his mystical position in society is based on the tenets of Bhaca religion.

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APPENDIX A.MAMJOLI'S ACCOUNT OF UKUTHWASA DREAMS.

Mamjoli, wife of malimini, the brother of the district head, had been a church member, but later became a well-known diviner in the district with a record of having trained eighteen novices during their ukuthwasa period. She was an intelligent, friendly woman of about forty-five with two young children under five years and a son of eighteen. It is interesting that in her account of her dreams she described them as being sent by demons (iindemoni), probably a concession to her mission training and a European investigator.

She was sick with pains in the body and dreamed about the deceased chief Mngcisana; her husband was a member of the royal (Zulu) clan and a close relative. In one hand Mngcisana held an isiyaca, the fringed bead headdress worn by diviners, and in the other the white stone (ikhubalo) also associated with the cult. In her dream he placed the isiyaca on her head, but told her that she would have to find the stone herself. All this happened in "a very difficult and dangerous place in a pool in the river". She then awoke.

Early the next morning she went to the pool indicated in her dream. She had wound a white towel round her head in which was an iguza (snuff tin) and, still fully clothed, went into the water. She sank down and down until she reached the bed of the river where she saw an old woman with one leg. The water above was making a noise, but the old woman said, "Don't look up, look down." The old woman shuffled forward with Mamjoli following, and presently she found herself in a room (indlu) under the river bank. "It seemed just like a kraal". Spoons were hanging on the wall, and she was told not to touch them. Just then she saw a small wizened little man carrying a pail and riems "just as if he were going milking", but he went out without talking. The old woman beckoned to her, and showed her a speckled black and white snake, coiled up in a corner of the hut, and underneath it was a white stone. The old woman warned Mamjoli that the snake would spit and asked for the snuff box concealed in the towel on her head. She put some snuff on her palm and threw it into the eyes of the snake, blinding it. Quickly the old woman darted forward and retrieved the stone.

The woman clasped the stone in Mamjoli's hand and with it smeared Mamjoli's face so that it was covered with a chalky whiteness. This indicated that she was now a novice (umkhwetsa) and would eventually become a fully-fledged diviner. The name umkhwetsa applies also to the Hlubi boys at circumcision, when their faces are smeared with white clay. After that the old man with the pail returned, but still said no word. The old woman explained that he was dumb. By this time the snake had recovered and Mamjoli came out of the pool.

When she gained the bank she found herself in the midst of a large herd of cattle. She learnt later that they had been driven to the river by her husband who thought that she had been taken by mamlambo (a river spirit believed to claim victims who can only be saved by driving cattle into the river. (See Chap. VIII)) When the first beast entered the water it micturated, and "after that all the cattle were forced to do so, so that the water was dirty and the snake could not see me". The men with the cattle threw stones into

the water to drive away the snake and the women put a black, shiny stone called inyangani on her head to protect her. She walked away from the river among the cattle and entered the cattle kraal with them. The stone is said to protect her, a woman, from the cattle. The beast that first passed water was killed for the ancestral spirit, and its skin was used as a drum at her subsequent séances. It is called inkomo yekhawu - the beast of the shield. As it died she sniffed up the dying breath "so that she should succeed", and the fat was made into a rope (c.f. the account of initiation above.).

She now knew that she had been called to be a diviner by the spirit of her ancestor, angcisana, and went to live with a local diviner who taught her the medicines and arranged the iintlombi (séances) for her.

APPENDIX B.DESCRIPTION OF INTLOMBE: LUGANGENI.

On Tuesday, 28th March, 1949, a dance was held at Khaminga's kraal, Ngcwengo's cluster, near Lugangeni. Khaminga's wife's, Mamjucu, had been sick ("she was about to run mad"), and had been told in a dream by her ithfongo that she would be cured if she were slaughtered and xhentsa'd for at the kraal of her sister who was herself a diviner. The ancestors of her mother's family were responsible for the sickness (inkathazo) and had shown her a pipe in a dream, not indicating, however, where this pipe would be found. She would not get completely better until she found the pipe (cf. white stone, spear) and the dance at her brother-in-law's umti was to help her ascertain its whereabouts. Mamjucu had been initiated as a diviner recently but had not yet completely recovered from the ukuthwasa illness.

That evening the family supper was prepared as usual and at dusk two other diviners arrived, both women. These two were older than Mamjucu and her sister, being diviners who had initiated them when they were novices, and had come from Mandeleni, a distance of about three miles. On arrival they entered the great hut and the time passed pleasantly in conversation and beer drinking. Mamjucu prepared a clay pot of ufulawa medicines from a certain root, as they talked.

After about an hour a white goat of the umti, previously shown to Mamjucu in a dream, was led into the hut by Khaminga and held facing the back of the hut by one of the young men. The four diviners sat on the women's side while the men's side was occupied by neighbours and relatives who had come to assist at the dancing. Mamjucu placed the clay pot in the centre of the hut and proceeded to twirl a split stick in the medicine, producing a white froth that foamed over the lip of the vessel. This was 'to make the sickness better'. Mamjucu said:

"As this medicine is white I wish all sickness to be white too, as all these people have been brought here by my ancestors".

She also thanked people of the Dlangisa (isiBongo of the kraal owner) for being present.

After this Khaminga formally presented the goat to the itangoma, saying "People of Dlangisa, you diviners, and also you people of Wa6ane (the chief), we give this child this goat hoping that it will make her well from her sickness; and (to the diviners) we rejoice that you are here and wish you success."

The elder of the two visitors replied: "We thank you. It is true that we have been troubled with her sickness and think that we will be successful". The spectators remained respectfully silent. Then Mamjucu arose and addressed the spirits, thanking them for 'putting it into people's minds to wish me well.' She stopped talking and sneezed "Hiikii!" - the ritual sneeze that indicates the presence of the amathfongo. The diviners then rose and, assisted by Khaminga, dragged the goat across the floor of the hut and thrust its nose into the frothing medicine. It sneezed. Again its head was pushed into the medicine until it had swallowed some. All this time the itangoma kept silent, but the spectators made comments and conversed in low tones. Mamjucu then took the froth and with it smeared the back,

belly, legs and head of the goat. She sat down and the doctor who had attended her at her initiation took some of the froth and smeared it on her head and inside her bodice, while she took four sips of the uGulawu.

The goat was then taken to the men's side and thrown, while a spear was taken from the thatch and given to Mamjucu: just before she pierced it, however, one of the diviners sneezed and stopped her. She said that her ithfongo had just told her that he forbade the woman to kill it and that Khaminga's brother must do it (cf. Rosina's initiation pp. 421-430). Generally a goat is never slaughtered with a spear, the throat being cut. The goat was stabbed in the hut and, as it expired, Mamjucu was made to kneel down and sniff the breath. Onlookers stated that the breath (umphefumlo) was the 'soul' which was now the ancestor.

The entrails, including the stomach fat (umhleho) was removed and one of the doctors twisted it into a roll and placed it round Mamjucu's neck. Fire was brought into the hut and the imbethfu lightly roasted and given to her to suck. The tripe was handed round and eaten raw as a great delicacy and some of the meat lightly roasted. The meat was eaten with beer and stamped mealies, forming, for most of those present, the main meal of the day. Supper continued for about an hour and a half.

At about 9-30 the real business of dancing commenced. A very large dried cowhide (ikhawu) made from the skin of the beast slaughtered at the initiation of Khaminga's wife, was dragged in by the young people and placed on the men's side, but towards the centre of the hut. The liver, lungs and other entrails of the goat were hung up at the back of the hut in the place sacred to the amathfongo⁽¹⁾. Two of the visiting diviners got up and, facing the back of the hut, one began to speak in a low, husky stocatto voice. She stopped and sang the line of a chant. This was taken up by the audience, the young people beating the time with sticks on the cowhide. Then the diviners began to dance the peculiar galvanic xhentsa step. Faster and faster went the rhythm, and faster stamped the isangoma, holding her cowtail switch stiffly in front of her. Sweat poured down her face and the hut became full of fine dust from her dancing feet. Suddenly, without warning, the dance came to an end, and the panting diviner sat down. A hum of conversation broke out as the spectators commented on the dance and made admiring remarks about the dancing. Then another diviner arose and the dancing was repeated. Now and then a doctor would stop and exhort the audience to clap and sing louder, to give her greater support.

Dancing continued until about 2 o'clock that night with one break for refreshments.

(1) This meat (uganga, isifu6a) is said to be eaten by the amathfongo. In reality it is eventually eaten by the diviners, no one else being permitted to partake of it. The slaughtering is described as honouring to the amathfongo - the 'great people'.

CHAPTER VIIISOCIAL AND ANTI-SOCIAL MAGIC.The sociological significance of the belief in magic.

We have noted in preceding chapters how the persistence in time of the socio-economic structure, which is society, and the solidarity and smooth functioning of its component parts, are ensured by the mechanisms of political control and the supernatural sanctions of religion. Both these controls operate on the members of society through fear - the fear of punishment in the courts and the dread of supernatural vengeance. Anti-social behaviour and the neglect of custom, detrimental to social cohesion⁽¹⁾, is discouraged and actively prevented by organized force and the invisible compulsion of the dead. The above mechanisms operate mainly through the regulation of social behaviour in individuals and relations between individuals.

Man has developed, however, a further powerful tool, based on culture and the structure of language, to bolster the foundations of his society and ensure its persistence and wellbeing. This is the belief in magic, in the ability of man to control the powerful forces of nature and the environment, and the ravages of sickness and death. It will be seen that the belief in magic, analysed more fully below, plays an important integrating role by inculcating confidence in the society's ability to overcome destructive agencies, by bolstering the authority of the chief and the tribal administration (e.g. through the ingcube and rainmaking ceremonies) and by ensuring the bases of subsistence - agriculture, cattle keeping and, formerly, hunting.

But magic, the product of man's mind, has developed a pathology, a perversion of its techniques and aims, into anti-social channels directed against society; and this, in its turn, has reacted in the utilization of magic to protect society against these misuses. In this chapter we shall discuss the nature and functions of this important mechanism and its aberration in the activities of the witch and sorcerer. We are interested, for the purposes of this study, primarily in the sociological role of magic: in its part in conveying authority and supporting the political structure of the tribe

(1) There is a firm belief in the amasiko (customs) of a people, regulating the health and wellbeing of their society; "God follows the beliefs of a people."

and the mystical attributes of the chieftainship, its importance in the economic sphere, in the individual life cycle (birth, initiation, marriage and death), and in intimate human relations (e.g. love magic). Then, too, the forces of the elements are often dangerous to man and magical techniques are adopted to protect man and beast against the devastation of lightning and hail. All these may be listed as the social uses of magic.

In dealing with its anti-social manifestations we shall note its misuse by members of society against their fellow members, directed by jealousies, anger and malice, and its interesting offshoot in the belief in familiar spirits, possessed by individuals and sent to harm the enemy. Although a certain knowledge of magic is possessed by the humblest tribesman, there are individuals who make of it a specialism. These are the iinyanga herbalists and we shall compare their function with that of the spiritually-assisted healer - the diviner (isangoma).

The nature of magical beliefs and techniques.

Much has been written on the psychological basis of the belief in magic; it is not intended here to recapitulate the theories which are accessible in the literature on the subject⁽¹⁾. It is sufficient to say that man has created a vast structure of beliefs and practices which supply him with techniques for mastering the forces of nature and controlling human destinies.

There is a considerable body of knowledge which can be called scientific. The Bhaca peasant plants his crops preferably in bushy country where the luxuriance of the vegetation is proof of fertile soil, he observes the seasons and gears his agricultural cycle to them, he has perfected his hut-building techniques and is a skilful animal husbandman. But there is a stage where his knowledge

- (1) The following are some works bearing on the problem:-
 Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., The Andaman Islanders (Cambridge, 1933)
 " " Totemism Frazer Lecture.
 Durkheim, E., Elementary forms of the Religious Life
 (Allen & Unwin 1926)
 Malinowski, B., Myth in Primitive Psychology.
 Evans-Pritchard, E.E., Witchcraft, Oracles & Magic Among
 the Azande (Oxford 1937)
 Willoughby, W.C., The Soul of the Bantu, 1928.
 Lowie, R.H., Primitive Religion, 1925.
 Reyburn, The Nature of Magic in The Critic IV.
 Firth, R.W., Human Types, 1938.

ends and the vagaries of the weather, pestilence and death steps in. Hail, disease and insect pests attack his crops and herds, lightning may strike the huts of his umti and cause death to stock and man. The most feared enemy is sickness and death. Death in almost all its forms is the result of human agency operating through anti-social magic. Chronic ill-health and acute sickness, in fact all types of disease except easily-explainable ailments such as slight colds, strain and the disabilities attendant on extreme old age, are attributed to magic. Practically no-one dies of natural causes.

As mentioned above, not all sickness is maliciously communicated. "If a person has stomach ache and lies on his stomach in a path, the next person who passes along that path will get it." It is also recognized that influenza (umkhuhlane), originally introduced by the Europeans, is infectious and caught by being in proximity to a sick person. Tuberculosis, on the other hand, is not thought to be contagious. People living in the same umti as a sufferer eat the same food from the same utensils and there is no effort at isolation. The condition of a person suffering from tuberculosis is considered to be hopeless and beyond the skill even of European doctors. Its hereditary nature is recognized: "If a man has it, his son might get it. If he has intercourse with his wife he will leave the sickness in the woman and it will be passed on to his children." The incidence of tuberculosis among the native population was described by one informant as being due to the "meeting of different tribes and nationalities". "A cold is got when a person has been out in the rain or sat in wet clothes." On one occasion I consulted an isangoma with mfaaba, who had been suffering from headaches. After dealing with him she turned to me and said that I had been ill (I had been laid up with influenza; my absence from ceremonies had been noted in the district), the reason being that I had been to a wedding and had sat in a hut in which young men were using 'strong medicines' to attract the girls. As I had not taken the precaution of using protective medicines I had become ill. "But", with a smile, "also because you were sitting in a warm hut and went out into the cold night air!" Some illness is caused by ill-considered diet. Eating bad food causes stomach ache, and what is known as usasa is caused by drinking too much beer.

whether or not illness is caused by natural or human agencies it has an everready antidote in the use of

magic. In the main, this consists of the manipulation of various vegetable or other substances in a more or less stereotyped rite to the accompaniment of a verbal formula. Among the South African *santu* this latter element is relatively unimportant (in contrast, for example, with Polynesian magic in which the spell is all-important), and often consists merely of a conversational address to the medicine, exhorting it to be efficacious. The vegetable nature of the great majority of native medicines is indicated by the word for medicine (umthsi) which is the same as that for a tree.

The great majority of cases of sickness and death are believed to be the work of sorcerers, or witches known by the generic term abathsakathsi, although, as Hunter points out⁽¹⁾, the dividing line between illnesses believed to have been 'sent' by an enemy, or ancestral spirit, and those due to natural causes, is not rational but effective. I propose to use the term 'sorcerer' to designate the manipulator of medicines for anti-social ends; the magical umthsi becomes in the terminology the more sinister substance, u6uthsi. Certain men and women are believed to possess 'familiars' in the shape of animals who are sent to do harm. Such a person I call a 'witch' (male or female). Linguistically both these categories are labelled abathsakathsi with the possible denotive ukuthsakathsa ngetilwana (to bewitch with animals) and ukuthsakathsa ngo6uthsi (to bewitch with medicines). Both are anti-social and illegal, although, while u6uthsi may contain poisons and other harmful substances, and, in certain cases, achieves its ends, witchcraft and its effects appear to exist solely in the minds of its users, and, in many cases, the victims'. Both these practices will be discussed more fully later.

The specialist in magic: the inyanga.

A distinction must be drawn between the isangoma diviner and the herbalist (inyanga, Xh. ixhwele) who treats illness by means of medicines, but who cannot divine. Not only do their methods of treatment diverge, but their initiation and training differ. The diviner's cult is esoteric and open only to the few, who have received the 'call' and become sick with ukuthwasa; the herbalist's calling is open to all who have the necessary diligence to learn the many medicines, and who apprentice themselves to a

(1) Op. cit. pp. 274.

master (inkunti, i.e. bull). The majority of herbalists pass their knowledge on to their sons so that the profession tends to become hereditary in certain families. This is not always so, however, and, if a man's sons do not prove themselves apt, he may teach someone else. Unlike the training of a diviner there is no special period of training and no ceremonies through which the embryo herbalist must pass. His professional status rests on his knowledge of medicines rather than on any ceremonially acquired position. As among the Mpondo the apprentice hands over the first beast earned by his practice to his inkunti in payment for his tuition.

Among herbalists the knowledge of medicines is regarded in the light of material wealth, and a man may sell the secrets of his medicines for a cash or kind consideration. Medicines can be bought separately, and most traders stock a varied collection supplied by a firm with a Johannesburg box number, which has thus capitalized on native belief. Stock includes the fat of the hippopotamus and ostrich, intelezi, amakhubalo, Thikolo/e fat and other exotic substances.

Herbalists tend to specialize. We have noted in the description of the ingcube how the tribal herbalist, the inyanga yempi, specializes in the 'dark' medicines of the chieftainship which serve to protect the tribe against the ravages of the enemy. Others specialize in the cure of particular diseases, while others are experts in the protection of huts against lightning (see below).

Much of a herbalist's success depends on his personality; age appears to be a minor factor and a young man may reach the pinnacle of his career while in his thirties. Mahleka Sontsi, the most successful herbalist in the district, was a young man of about thirty, and was respected and consulted over a wide area. An interesting point is the apparent widespread preference for the services of the inyanga rather than those of the isangoma. One informant explained this as follows: "The best person is the herbalist because he does not accuse people of killing others. The itangoma only cause trouble." As his function is non-diagnostic, except in simple cases of minor indispositions, a herbalist will often refer a patient to a diviner, and prescribe the necessary medicines on diagnosis.

The fees charged by herbalists vary with the status of the doctor and the seriousness of the illness, or value of the property recovered. Five to ten shillings is the

usual charge for the recovery of small objects and the treatment of minor ailments, while a beast at least is demanded in a case of serious illness.

The social position of the isangoma and inyanga has undergone modification since contact with Europeans. Both missions and the Administration attacked the institution, and now the accusation of witchcraft is a punishable offence. This attitude in itself is inconsistent, for while, on the one hand, it is stated that magic and witchcraft have no objective existence, and therefore can have no effect on the health and wellbeing of individuals or society; on the other hand, it is made a criminal offence to accuse another of its practice. Also, in the Cape Province, it is an offence to practise as a doctor without being registered as a qualified surgeon or physician, and until a system of licensing native practitioners is introduced, as in Natal, they will be forced to operate surreptitiously. It seems that a more realistic approach is necessary as there appears to be no diminution in the influence and activities of these categories, even among the Christian community.

The social use of magic.

The generalizations advanced on the nature and techniques of magic are given form and specificness in the actual social contexts in which they occur. In some instances a healing rite may have obvious therapeutic value, while others, particularly protective rites, may be purely magical. It is not intended to distinguish them, as in the Bhaca mind they form one indissoluble whole, but, in the main, it appears that it is only in the administration of certain plant substances that a therapeutic effect may be obtained.

The use of magic for socially approved purposes falls roughly into three categories, viz. that used on a tribal scale to promote the solidarity and wellbeing of the tribe, that for the protection of huts, stock, crops and other personal property, and thus centred round the extended family unit, and that used in personal relations and for the wellbeing of the individual. In this latter category we find the various forms of love magic, birth medicines and remedies for sickness. In the chapter on political organization we discussed fairly fully the magical techniques used to safeguard and promote the prosperity of the tribe. With the chief, assisted by

the inyanga yempi, as the initiator of proceedings, the fertility of the crops of the tribe was ensured at the great ceremony before planting, the tribal lands were protected against lightning and hail by the lightning doctor, the life-giving rain was wooed by the chief in the former rainmaking ceremonies, and the knees of the warriors are still today strengthened, and the tribe bastioned against the attacks of hostile tribes at the spectacular ingcube festival. Sometimes semi-religious in character, these ceremonies rest on a solid foundation of magic.

But the individual umti also is open to the attacks of malignant forces, and the vagaries of the elements and magic is used to safeguard it. Most vulnerable are the sources of subsistence - crops and cattle. Despite the care in selecting suitable ground for the crops and their planting at the right time of the year, a considerable hazard exists in the depredations of bird and insect pests, and the ravages of hail and drought. A common method of protection against birds is to burn medicines (amayeza) in the fields of kaffir corn (this method is not used for maize). The Mpondo medicines of isivilane, omkhulu and ithodlane⁽¹⁾ are known, the latter being called isiphephetho. To prevent maize stalk borer in mealie lands isiphephetho⁽²⁾ is burnt in fires made in the four corners of the field, so that the smoke drifts across the crops and thoroughly permeates them. Isiphephetho is sometimes also ground and mixed with the seed before planting to prevent it from rotting and to ensure healthy growth. In making fires for burning medicines dried horse manure is used as a base. The smoking of kaffir corn is done when the plants are ripe and must be performed in the early morning, or late at night.

Another method of stimulating healthy plant growth is to take a piece of whale bone (umkhoma), isiphephetho, excreta of the elephant, ostrich bone and a type of succulent plant called umavumbuka, grind them and

(1) Hunter, op. cit. pp. 76.

(2) The isiphephetho is also used against hailstorms. It is made into lumps and placed in the four corners of the field. When the hail comes, the surrounding fields will be destroyed, but the doctored one will not be touched.

mix with water and sprinkle the seeds. The more exotic substances are obtained from trading stores. The first mealie cob to ripen is hung from the roof to dry and used, mixed with medicines, for planting the following year. The horn of a dark coloured sheep is sometimes dug into the corners of gardens, but not fields, to promote fertility, but the Bhaca today do not know of the Mpondo preference for a dark person doctoring the crops, although this may have been so formerly. Actually, as the majority of Bhaca are nominal Christians, most of the doctoring is done in secret, and thus, tribesmen do not warn their neighbours when they are going to use medicines. It appears that the services of herbalists are not much employed in field protection, but rather for protection against lightning. The bones of the shark are sometimes bought at the store and used for fattening mealies and keeping Thikolo/e away from imiti. Apparently Thikolo/e are not sent by their owners against fields and gardens, but only attack human beings and stock.

Medicines are also used against human thieves. During the autumn people at Mhlot/heni were much troubled by the stealing of their crops by the iindlavini gangs. The women warned the youths that they would ukukhuhlela (or uku6okela) them, i.e., the chewed pith of the imfe reed, found on the paths, would be taken and mixed with medicines so that the thief would become sick, the symptoms being an itching under the chin which later turns into an open sore which will not heal. Swelling occurs and, although in winter the sore heals "because there is nothing that is green", as soon as the imfe is ripe it will reappear. Mfaba stated that he had been ukukhulela'd when he ate imfe which had been stolen, and his grandmother, with whom he was living, had to get special medicines to cure him. If the thief takes the precaution of removing the plant and leaving no trace, the owner will take some of the soil of his footprint and mix it with the same medicines. The Mhlot/heni women referred to above practically all members of the Women's manyano, took pains to explain that they did not intend actually to use the medicines, but had threatened "just to frighten the iindlavini". The story was told of a woman of the district who had used umthsi to punish thieves who stole imfe, and cattle that had strayed into her fields. She had poisoned the leaves, and on her deathbed confessed to having killed men and animals by means of magic.

Informants stated that on the day she was buried cattle and stock followed the body lowing and bellowing, and at the graveside tried to break open the coffin. On the next day it was found that the grave had been disturbed as if some animal had tried to reach the body. "Since that day the women of Mhlot/heni have been afraid of using medicines". It seems that even when medicines are used in a fundamentally socially-approved way, but are thereby the cause of harm to human beings and animals, there is some doubt as to the propriety of their use. (See also the discussion of ukuphosela, below).

Some people use a different method to prevent stealing. Medicines called intiyelo (trap) are buried in the field so that when the thief tries to uproot a plant he will be transfixed to the ground and cannot move until the owner comes.

The rite, reported from among the Mpondo, of blessing a new plough apparently used to be found among the Bhaca, but has long since died out, although informants stated that a few old men still performed it in the more remote districts. This is interesting, as the custom is comparatively new and only developed since contact with the European. I have never seen or heard of it performed in the Mount Frere district, and it is possible that where it does occur, it is a Mpondo importation. "A sheep, goat, or beast was killed and the blood and stomach contents (umswane) left in the field. The amathfongo would come and sit on the blood." The gall was poured over the handle of the plough to prevent it breaking and to make the ground rich and fertile.

If birds are worrying the crops some people take the skin of the uxam (leguaan) and of the puffadder, and burn them with old rags in the centre of the field so that the smoke drifts over the plants and contaminates them; others burn a certain type of grass with the impepho plant to achieve the same effect, although in this case it is believed that the medicine also has fertilizing properties. Smoking of fields is done preferably in the evenings when the wind has dropped and the smoke drifts low over the whole field. To promote fertility ivimbela fat is mixed with the skin of the ingwenya and buried in the centre of the field.

Drought is an ever-present menace to the peasant farmer and rain-making was always the prerogative of the chief. In times of drought the people were called by the chief to the Great Place, each carrying a small bundle of

kaffir corn (isiduli samabele). Large quantities of beer were made, and the ceremony described in the chapter on political organization observed.

Stock and cattle are also protected against sickness and accident. In the early spring cattle often get sick and purge freely. The Bhaca know that this is caused by the eating of a certain plant called isilevu and treat it by means of medicines. A plant called umaluleka is ground and mixed with the herb itolwane and salt, and given to the beasts to eat. This is used also as a prophylactic. Cattle also suffer from umkhondo and become weak and thin. This is cured by a mixture of umvati, umqogago and beeswax burnt in the centre of the cattle kraal. When these remedies are being used it is most important that no woman of childbearing age should approach or be in the vicinity of the cattle kraal, for, if she is, it is believed that she will have difficulty in giving birth and will haemorrhage badly. There is also the belief that the umlaza of the woman will have the effect of neutralizing the medicines. Some wizards send familiars, particularly Thikolo/e, to harm cattle and informants say that men have actually seen the udders of cows scratched by their endeavours to milk them. Special medicines, mainly intseleti and isiphephetho, are used against them. The techniques of simple stock doctoring are often known by the owner of the umti himself, but if not and in difficult cases, the services of an inyanga are engaged. Not everyone uses the same medicines to achieve the same results, some being taught one medicine and others another. To protect sheep from the depredations of jackals, a pregnant jackal is killed, the foetus removed, cooked, dried, ground and mixed with medicines. This mixture is burnt in the sheep fold so that the stock are well smoked; it is thought that jackals will not touch sheep so doctored. This method was used by the inyanga at Lut/hikini who stressed the fact that not all doctors knew it.

Not only are the herds protected by magic; they are also increased by the same means. For this a very powerful medicine called isidawana (root knots of the Cyprus reed) is mixed with hippopotamus fat and smeared on the vulva of a cow to attract the bull. "Isidawana is dangerous. If you carry it with you all the cattle will flock after you and you might be injured. Even if you bury it the cattle will not rest until they have dug it up. You must first mix it (ukuthaka) with other medicines." Burying a tortoise

is a method used to prevent lightning striking the kraal. Part of the shell is taken and dug into the ground in the gateway, while the rest is burnt and the smoke allowed to waft over the cattle. Uvalo lwebu6esi (the lower cartilaginous part of the breastbone of the lion) is burnt in the fold to protect goats and sheep from umkhondo, while u6ane is used for the same purpose, but administered orally with a spoon.

Paratyphoid in fowls is treated with the roots of a type of aloe (intla6a) mixed with those of the ikh6la species. An infusion in cold water is given to the fowls to drink and is said to be very effective. If a horse becomes restive and highly strung, or has tapeworm, a mixture of dagga, salt and a herb called incamu is cooked in water, and, after being left to stand over night, is given to the horse to drink. If a dog loses condition and becomes thin, the root incwayi6a is put in milk and given to it until it vomits.

Much use of magic is made in horse racing (see also pp. 192). Isiphephetho and isizilayi are ground and put into the drinking water, while the switch of the boy riding the horse is smeared with tortoise fat, as are the face, knees and joints of the horse. "The horse will win then". If not, inkwili (water spiders) are ground and mixed with the isiphephetho, dagga and water. The analogy is apparently with the swiftness with which the inkwili darts across the surface of the water.

Enough has been said to indicate the vast scope of magic in Bhaca agriculture and animal husbandry. Wherever the knowledge and ingenuity of man fails, magic steps in and restores man's confidence in himself and in his powers of survival. But not only the crops and stock of the peasant are in danger; he himself and his home are at the mercy of the elements - particularly lightning.

The protection of huts is conducted during the summer months beginning in October when the violent electric storms break over the East Griqualand hills. The rites, known as ukulungisa umti (lit. to make the umti right), are always performed by a professional herbalist and are done at night. The use of anti-lightning medicines is known as ukubetela. The inyanga, on arrival, asks for a pig from the owner of the umti who slaughters it.⁽¹⁾ The liver and gall

(1) The fat of a pig is regarded as having great protective properties ("It does not allow anything to pass." "It prevents") probably due to the belief that a pig will not die of snake bite and pigs eat snakes. Boys smear it on the knees and ankle joints to prevent strain and injury.

bladder are removed and put on one side with the fat, while small pieces of liver and fat are placed on the upturned lid of a pot, and gall poured over them. Some of the blood is also mixed with it and the whole added to a herb called idafulitulu ('To cross the heavens'). The mixture is placed on stones in the fire and pieces of the liver are fried in it and eaten by the whole family. Certain other medicines are also placed in the fire until they are black; they are then ground and mixed with fat.

These preliminaries over, the inyanga takes a sharpened iron (igcaku6a) and makes nicks on the scalp, hair ridge, base of throat, back of neck ('so that the intsaka yetulu will not kick you') and on both shoulders of each member of the umti, those particularly nervous being cut also on the solar plexus⁽¹⁾ and wrists. The inyanga then takes a tortoise ("because of its toughness"), and laboriously removes the shell. A portion of the white flesh is bruised with a stone and an infusion made in warm water. This is placed in a basin and given to a small boy or girl of the kraal ("it must be an intelligent one") to take outside. Intseleti is then taken by two boys of the umti who go round the boundaries dipping a hand broom into the liquid and flicking it into the air (ukuchila). This is to drive away the imi/ologu evil influences, including the lightning, that encompass the kraal. While these medicines are being used no one may speak, for "if anything is said they will be spoiled". It is said that, even if a relative, or a great friend arrives, he will be ignored until the proceedings are over. As the one boy ukuchila's the other helping him, he says "Imihlola mavimke kulomti" ("Let the bad things (misfortune) go away from this kraal"). They are instructed to do this by the inyanga.

While the boys are doing this, the inyanga has been burning medicines. The root isi6ethelo is mixed with pig's fat and, after counting the corners of the kraal⁽²⁾, he cuts wooden pegs, one for each corner, with one extra. All the pegs are now smeared with the black medicine, a ladder is put against the side of a hut, one of the boys climbs up under direction of the herbalist, and a peg is driven into the mud

(1) "This is the part that trembles when a person is afraid".

(2) A kraal boundary may have more than four corners owing to irregular shape.

cap on top of the roof. The boy must remain completely silent during this operation. The herbalist then goes to each hut and makes a cross with his finger dipped in the isi6ethelo on the top of the doorways, both inside and out⁽¹⁾. Pegs are also driven into the boundaries of the umti.

On the following day the inyanga tells one of the boys to take an iron bar (ulugxa) and the extra medicated peg and go to a far place, in the direction from which the storms come, and there to bury it, covering it over with earth and grass. He is also told to fling the ulugxa from him; if it sticks in the ground like a spear it is believed that the medicines will be effective. The scarified members of the umti are warned on no account to wash until the cuts on the body have healed: if healing is retarded in a person, it shows that he or she is bewitched, or in poor health. The rest of the intseleti medicine is left by the inyanga with instructions to use it as long as it lasts, and the kraal owner is also given a horn of powdered medicines. When a storm approaches, two sticks about a yard long are rubbed with the medicine and put under the armpits as protection, and the man runs out to meet the lightning, pointing with the horn towards it and directing it where to go. He shouts aloud to it telling it to go away and pass away from his umti. Some people use bewitched spears instead of sticks, and stab towards the lightning as it approaches. Skenkanka, a renowned and powerful herbalist living at Malongwe, places a splinter of glowing wood in the doorway, as the lightning is afraid of fire. It is believed that the 'lightning bird' (see below) lays an egg which hatches the following summer, and during a storm the calabashes of milk must be hidden, and milk, water and mirrors ("anything with a shiny surface") must be covered over. There is apparently no belief that the lightning doctor digs up the egg and uses it against the 'bird'.⁽²⁾

Medicines are also used to protect the cattle kraal. Isikhuselo is buried in the threshold of the kraal, and the isiquhumiso herb is burnt, and the smoke allowed to drift over the cattle until they choke. Some herbalists are not only capable of protecting imiti against lightning; they can also send lightning to harm an enemy. Sahlula had a brother who quarrelled with him, struck his eye out, and then went to

(1) This shows possible Christian influence.

(2) Cf. Hunter op. cit pp 295-300

work on the mines. Sahlula went to a very powerful doctor who sent lightning to kill the brother. He was struck and died. The social use of medicines is believed, in many cases, to be more powerful than its malicious use, and it is said that, if some one sends lightning to a protected hut, it will revert to its sender and kill the wizard. Lightning is greatly feared and often referred to by hlonipha as Inkosi (Chief). When a hut is struck, the Bhaca say "Inkosi ihambele kwaḡani" ("The chief has visited So-and-So"). Lightning, because of its danger to society, is thought to convey impurity (ingcolile) to anything it strikes, and a person killed by it is never buried near the kraal in the normal way, but in the veld, so that there will be no incentive for the intsaka to return.

Protection against hail, as we have seen, was the prerogative of the chief, and no rites to achieve this end were performed by doctors or commoners. The missions have consistently attacked both rain and hail magic, and it is said that when, before he died, chief Mncisana used magic to prevent hail, he was rewarded with a particularly bad storm. "He had annoyed God". In December 1948 there was a series of violent hail storms, and, although the chief refused to take part in any ritual, herbalists all over the country doctored the imiti against the lightning. The following year there was a severe drought, directly attributed by the Christians to the pagan practice. Thus is the practice of even social magic driven underground.

Apart from its use in agriculture, animal husbandry, and the protection of home and possessions, magic is also used for personal protection. We have seen in the various crises and danger periods of life, in pregnancy, childbirth, initiation, war, etc., medicines are employed, and certain rites performed. These are described in their appropriate chapters. Magic in these contexts has obvious social value in preserving the human elements of society, but what I have called personal magic has more subtle implications through the use of love philtres and the techniques for enhancing personal attraction. For it is through the securing of sexual satisfaction that the fabric of society is perpetuated, and wastage through death of the human factor made good.

In cases of sickness it depends on the source of the trouble whether curative medicines are used or not. If a man falls ill, a diviner is usually consulted. If the illness is diagnosed as having been sent by the ancestral spirits in a fit of anger or malice, no medicines are used

except the special umthsi associated with each kraal, the iveza lasekhaya, and a beast or goat is killed ritually in propitiation. Sometimes a member of the umti dreams of an ancestor who is thus believed to be troubling the sick person. On the other hand the isangoma may state that the illness is due to witchcraft or sorcery, and indicate, usually obliquely, the person who is responsible. Steps are immediately taken to make the culprit remove the spell, formerly the huts of his umti being set alight and he himself being burnt alive. This has been stopped by the Administration, and it is today left to the powerful forces of public opinion to make the sorcerer desist. That public opinion is not always very efficacious is indicated by the fact that Martha, a member of the local church at Mhlot/heni, and of the Women's Association, was a reputed witch, and stories of her activities were current throughout the district. She was, however, treated normally to her face by the great majority of people, and she worked for the trader as a washerwoman.

Medicines are used in all cases of minor ailments, usually in the form of infusions to be taken orally, or with which to wash the body. Other methods are by scarifying the face (ukuchaza), (if this has not been done in childhood, and the person gets ill- \leftarrow "the ancestors are asking for the custom"), and by inhaling the smoke from medicines burnt in the fire.

For a cold, an infusion of umhlonnyane is heated on a fire and the fumes inhaled by covering the head with a cloth, or a cloth soaked in the liquid is used for a poultice for the chest. Leaves of the gum tree are used in the same way, making use of the obvious therapeutic properties of eucalyptus. A certain plant called amant'amnyama, so called because it turns water, in which it is boiled, black, is used as an emetic, while to inhale the vapour of icimamlilo will prevent hot water scalding the body. There are various remedies for coughs and sore throats. Umhlonnyane roots and leaves are cooked in an infusion and given to the patient, or the iqwili root is dug up and chewed, the juice being swallowed and the pith spat out. It is said to leave a strong bitter taste at the back of the throat. For mumps (makitiya) the child is taken to the holes made in the earth by the grubbing of the long snouted pigs, and the following formula pronounced: "Mumps, mumps, leave me! Go to So-and-So". Pimples are treated with an infusion of ikhambi which is inhaled (ukufuthsa), or by

smearing the face with a yellow clay called umkhomanti. Ikhanti is used to stimulate the flow of mucous from the nose.

It is believed that if a person is bitten by a water adder the poison will have no effect if the person drinks water before the snake dies. I heard of a case in which a boy was dead in a short time, even although he had drunk water, and another in which the man had recovered, and the snake died although it had not been attacked with sticks.

Medicines tend to fall into distinct categories according to their function. ⁽¹⁾ Isihlambeto (ukuhlamba - to wash) is used for children and by pregnant women to purify and protect, while intseleti, 'slippery medicines' are those used by the chiefs in the ingcubo rituals and against familiars, particularly Thikolo/e. Umsizi are 'black medicines' burnt and ground and used as a protection against intsaka yetulu (impundulu, see below) while uBulawo 'brings good luck' and is used particularly by itangoma and the iindlavini gangs.

Apart from the medicines used to ensure health, the problems of sexual attraction are handled by a vast body of love potions, philtres and charms to obtain and retain affection, which are widely used by all sections of the community, including members of the various missions in the district. Ubulawo medicines, mainly roots of various plants, are used by the young men to attract girls. Sometimes they are made into an infusion, and the face and body are washed; other medicines are chewed, and the juice spat out in the direction of the loved one. In one type, called ibekamnedwa ('look-at-me-alone'), a root, is bitten and rubbed on the hands and face so that the girl will be attracted. Informants stated that this charm was used also by girls to attract men, and even women members of the church

(1) The following is a list of some of the commoner plants used as medicines among the Bhaqa. They formed the contents of a bundle of medicines, gathered in the veld by Skankanka's wife to be sent to her herbalist son in Cape Town:

Noxegane: the long, thin roots of a plant; cooked in water and used either orally or as an enema for purging. Particularly good for sharp pains in the body;

Mabodlane: white bulbs used as a laxative in an infusion;

Iqwili: the root of the kalmus; crushed and used for colds;

Amakahlahlane: root cooked in water and used to cure nightmares;

Isiqungu: bulb used to cure indigestion;

Umkhwenkwe: bark of tree of the pittosporum family; pulped and boiled in water; stored in bottle and used for colds. The leathery leaves are also used.

"So that the umfundisi will be pleased with her and ask her to cook and iron for him". It is considered quite legitimate to use magic to secure the favour of the minister, to the Christian the most important member of the community, and there is sometimes much vying between the members of the Manyana to ingratiate themselves. This medicine must be used with an 'attracter' (umsa), i.e. a root placed under the tongue. ichanti fat rubbed on the face is also used by girls to attract sweethearts, particularly in stubborn cases of indifference. This is also used by Christians and its wide use has become reflected in the language. Of a beautiful girl people comment; "Ow! Intle intfombi kaSani ngokungathi ikhothwa lichanti" (Oh, the daughter of So-and-So is so beautiful that it seems that she has been licked by an ichanti). mfa6a explained that girls who mince their speech and behave coyly can be known to have used ichanti fat. There appears to be some danger attendant on the use of this medicine, for, if it is not ^{washed} worked off by the next day, the girl will become repulsive again and, if used too much she might even become permanently unattractive. "It is for a special thing".

Medicines may also be smeared on the palm of the hand and communicated by shaking hands, or touching the body. To this group belongs igwili which is rubbed on the palm if one suspects that one's lover is being unfaithful. On meeting she will confess everything. Hippopotamus fat is used in much the same way, being rubbed between the fingers, so that, when the girl is caught round the waist, she will desire the man and come to him at night "even if at first she did not want him". ama6ophe is a portion of a root ground and placed in food, or, more usually, sweets. If the girl eats it she will always remain faithful; "It ties two people (uku6opha)". It is said that a girl will also use ama6ophe if her lover is rather susceptible to other girls.

The variations of function are almost unlimited, and include an infusion made from a herb in hot water and given to a girl to drink if the suitor is disliked by her parents. She will then despise her parents who will be afraid of her, and frightened to object when she goes to her lover. Personal attractions are enhanced by various means. Imlomomnandi, a root, is kept under the tongue so that everything said is enjoyed by the hearer, anpropos and fortunate. In love affairs it is even considered to convey oracular powers.

If all these methods fail to attract the girl, and she remains cold and indifferent, the man may resort to ukuphosela. "Amayeza medicines are placed in a pot and stirred while the man calls the girl's name". She will begin to sob hysterically and run to him no matter where she is; she may even lose consciousness. Another method is to procure some article of clothing, nailparings, or hair, and bury them with medicines, all the while calling the girl's name. Mfa6a related cases in which this had been effective, and, although educated, he believed implicitly in the possibility of ukuphosela. To test his belief I offered him ten shillings if he would try to bewitch a girl; he refused saying that he dare not take the chance, it might work! Often girls throw hysterical fits, symptoms of the difficult adjustments and frustrations of adolescents, and all such cases are interpreted by the Bhaca as ukuphosela. The psychological basis of the phenomenon seems obvious; a girl will often get to hear, directly or indirectly, that a man is attempting to ukuphosela her, and this in itself would be sufficient to produce hysterical symptoms. (see also Hunter, pp 225-6).

Ukuphosela has been known to cause death, and thus changes from a legitimate magical technique to attract love to a danger to society. Although not classed as sorcery proper, it comes dangerously near to it, and formerly if a girl became seriously ill after being ukuphosela the youth responsible could be summoned before the chief's court and a fine of small stock imposed. The usual cure for hysterical cases is to burn a cloth or some other substance and let the patient inhale the smoke.

Enough has been said to indicate the extensive use of magic in protective contexts of Bhaca life. We must now turn to its pathology; its use to harm and destroy the life and possessions of fellow tribesmen

The pathology of magic - witchcraft and sorcery.

The motive spring of this type of activity appears to be the complex of jealousies and emotional friction, often unconscious, that occurs between people who live a large part of their lives in close proximity to one another, and who can be expected to find their interests occasionally conflicting in such fields as the productivity of crops, the acquisition of wealth in the form of cattle and stock, and in the varied contexts of sexual attraction. It is significant that most allegations of witchcraft and sorcery are against those living in the same locality, usually in the same umti, and a high proportion of accusations are against a co-wife, neighbour or

sexual rival. The polygamous marriage situation is a fertile field for accusation and counter-accusation, the psychological bases for which are readily understandable.

We have distinguished two forms of anti-social magic which can be called respectively, withcraft and sorcery. Witchcraft (ukuthsakathsa ngetilwane) can be defined as the belief in familiars, often in animal form, possessed by the witch or wizard, and sent by their owners to work mischief on an enemy, destroying, or harming, life and property. Familiars are possessed by both men and women, are believed to have sexual connection with their owners, and are often hereditary, being handed down usually from a mother to her daughter or son⁽¹⁾. The following is a description of the main types of familiar found among the Bhaca. It will be noted that there is almost an exact correspondence with the Mpondo familiars described by Hunter, and it appears that they are an integral part of the Southern Nguni culture complex and common to all the tribes of the Cape.

Perhaps the most commonly encountered familiar among the Bhaca is thikolo/e or itilwane. "He is a short, hairy man with only one buttock who plays with children and lives in the reeds and in the rivers and dongas". Both male and female Thikolo/e are similar in height and hairiness, but the penis of the male is so long that he wears it tied round his waist. "Itilwane are reared by their owners and sent, to an enemy to squeeze (ukukhama) his throat". "They are the short fellows who travel by air". Whirlwinds are a frequent feature of the East Griqualand winter, and, when one occurs, people say that it is caused by Thikolo/e, and shout at it to drive the itilwane away. All Thikolo/e speak with a lisp, a fact borne out by Mfaḁa who described to me his encounter with one. He insisted that he had seen a Thikolo/e when he was about ten years old and herding cattle with other boys on the hills near Buffalo Neck. One of the boys boasted that he knew a thikolo/e and used to get food from his home by sending it to fetch it - although he had often been beaten by his parents for this. One summer afternoon they were driving the cattle through the mist when they saw a small figure about 2½ feet high. It looked like an old man with a long beard and grey hair, and was naked with the penis wrapped round the waist. It approached through the mist without seeing them. Suddenly it saw them and said; "Thyin! Thico! Ndilahlekile" ("Oh, God! I'm

(1) It appears to be unusual for a man to pass on a familiar spirit to his offspring.

lost" (1). Mafa and his friends started shouting, and it disappeared into the mist towards some dongas. The boys followed but when they reached the donga both the Thikolo/e and the boy who owned it had disappeared. They went home. The following morning they heard that some food on a dish had vanished from the boy's home. Later in the morning the boy's mother went to the stream to draw water and went into a donga to relieve herself. There she saw the missing dish in a corner and took it home to show her husband. He resolved to make a trap. Medicines were mixed with food and placed in the dish so that, when it was touched, the Thikolo/e would stick to it. "That day was a wonderful one as usually a person cannot see a Thikolo/e, for it disappears when approached - but we saw it". The Thikolo/e came for the food, touched the dish and remained rooted to the spot. The boy's parents did not speak to the itilwane, as they knew that it would only reply to its owner, but they knew that, if they removed the spell, it would harm their son by squeezing his throat and beating him for not warning it of the trap. Eventually they released it and it disappeared. The next day their son came home with his throat swollen and scratched, and said that the Thikolo/e had attacked him. His father washed him with protective intseleti medicines and scarified his forehead with a sharp piece of iron, rubbing in medicines afterwards (ukugat/hulwa).

Thikolo/e are very fond of children and, as in the above account, often play with them when they are out in the veld. They are considered a bad influence, however, as they teach children to steal. "When Thikolo/e comes to children he says to them: 'Friends, go and steal something for us to eat' - but it is said that he will not make friends with children who have been baptized "because they have the mark of God (uphawa lwakwaThixo). " When asked why, on the other hand, there were cases of church members possessing Thikolo/e, informants explained that adults could pray for protection for themselves, but small children were defenceless and God looked after them. Children who have played with Thikolo/e get a peculiar dryness of the skin (umthuku) accompanied by a paleness which makes it look as if it had been smeared with ash.

Both men and women have Thikolo/e, women particularly being thought to have sexual relations with them; it seems doubtful whether men do so. One woman was reputed to have had intercourse with her Thikolo/e while her husband was away on the mines. One day he returned without informing her. He arrived at night and heard his wife talking to her Thikolo/e.

He had heard rumours to this effect in Johannesburg and later

(1) The word for God is 'Thixo' with a lateral click. The Thikolo/e used the dental g click, the nearest it could get to the pronunciation owing to its lisp.

divorced her. A witch keeps her Thikolo/e in a store hut and sends it out at night to harm her enemies. "When Thikolo/e arrives at an umti at night it sits on the feet of a sleeping person to keep him down and squeezes the throat, choking him so that he cannot cry out." They have the power of making themselves invisible, and are thus sent sometimes to administer iloro (caustic soda) to an enemy, putting it in the food, or, according to some informants, if the person is already eating, putting it inside the body. People say that, if you find that food has been kept for you, you must take your spoon and dig a lump out of the middle and throw it away. Often when medicine, or beer, is to be drunk, a little will be spilt with the words "utilwane uxabele" ("Thikolo/e has vomited".)

Male and female Thikolo/e have sexual connection with one another and give birth to others. Bhaca say that a woman may have more than one and send them both to do her bidding. Thikolo/e may be met with both at night and in the day, but always in remote places. There are methods of counteracting the attacks of the familiar chief of which being the class of 'slippery medicines' called intseleti. One form, the iyeza lenyoka or 'snake medicine', is mixed with cow dung and smeared on the floor of the hut. It is believed that the smell is so repulsive to the Thikolo/e that it will keep at a distance. If a witch sends a Thikolo/e to a doctored hut it is liable, in its frustrated fury, to return and fall upon its owner. Being able to turn themselves into various shapes they often creep into cattle kraals and, in the shape of calves, suck the milk from the udders. It is said that Thikolo/e can also whisk a person away (ukuthwebula) in a whirlwind, so that he will find himself in a different place altogether.

The spectacular and dangerous properties of lightning have formed the basis of another Bhaca belief, that in the intsaka yetulu, the 'bird of heaven', called in Xhosa, impundulu. The impundulu is indentified with the lightning; thunder is the beating of its wings, while the flash indicates the laying of its eggs that will hatch the following summer. It is said that, if one digs in the place where lightning has struck, one will find the egg.⁽¹⁾ The bird may also be possessed

- (1) One afternoon Mfa6a was going to a party at Toleni. At Mvuzi a thunderstorm came on and they took shelter at a homestead. The owner was an inyanga who specialized in lightning medicines. Suddenly there was a crash of thunder and "lightning entered through the door, red and green like fire." The inyanga rushed forward with a spoon and picked up the 'egg' before it sank into the ground. He told them that the lightning bird had laid an egg, but refused to show it to them.

by women in the shape of a familiar. "It is a greyish white bird with long thin red legs just like a European". "It has blue eyes and on its head is hair like a European's". "This bird is very proud of itself". The intsaka also comes to its mistress in the form of a beautiful young man, often a European, dressed in a grey suit, who has sexual connection with her. An intsaka is handed on by a mother to her daughter, and it is said that, if a mother refuses to do so, the bird might kill her. Like the Thikolo/e the bird is sent to cause trouble and sickness, but, whereas the activities of the former tend to be merely mischievous, those of the latter are sinister and fraught with danger.

"The itulu appears to a person in the form of a young man in a grey suit who asks him why he is annoying its owner. There and then it turns into that old bird and kicks him till he dies". Another informant volunteered: "It makes a man dream horribly, and if it comes several times he will become thin and lean." The intsaka always attacks its victims by kicking them, and, although the kicks are slight, both animals and humans will die in a few minutes. Charms and medicines are used against the impundulu, and it is said that, if one is driven away by charms, it goes about crying like a child, and calling the name of its owner. "If no one comes for it it will go to the river bank and turn itself into a beautiful girl, or some other object". In one instance at omzimvu6u it changed itself into a handkerchief so that the next person to come along and pick it up would become possessed. Stories are told of its malignity. An intsaka went to an umti where the young wife of the owner was in labour, and when the baby was born took away the umbilical cord so that the baby died.

Intsaka may be sent by letter. Nothing is seen when the letter is opened, and it is believed that the familiar will only attack when the letter is actually read. "The safest thing to do is not to read a letter from a person you suspect, but to burn it." One woman's husband was away working on the mines, but did not remit home any money. She decided to send an intsaka to him by letter. He opened the letter joyously, knowing that it was from his wife, but that afternoon a 'tall strange European' came to him and enquired where he was working and sleeping, writing down the answers to the questions in a book. The man was puzzled as no one had seen the European before. That night he was homesick and went to a beerdrink. When he returned home he dreamed that he saw a tall man in a grey suit who came to him and said: "Why have you been neglecting your wife?" The intsaka said that he was his wife's

familiar and had been sent to kill him. Thereupon he turned himself into a bird and kicked the man. Later the man died.

The functions of Thikolo/e and intsaka yetulu differ, and a witch may possess both. "Impundulu and Thikolo/e may be reared (ukufuywa) by the same person" because they do not pierce one another ('azihlabani) i.e. quarrel." The trader at Liyengweni kept a couple of peacocks who were looked on by the Bhaca as intsaka (1).

The Mpondo belief in the inyoka ya6afazi, the 'snake of the women', is not found among the Bhaca.

As the intsaka yetulu is possessed exclusively by women, so is the familiar called imfene (baboon) peculiar to men. An imfene is identical in appearance to a real baboon, and people say that it is caught in the mountains while still young and tamed. Some informants maintain that the imfene is taught to kill people, but others say that they do not endanger human life, but only harm cattle, being sent to milk them at night. People relate coming into the cattle kraal in the morning to find that the cows are dry and their udders scratched - a sure sign that an imfene or Thikolo/e is about. A wizard keeps his baboon in the storehut by day and rides it at night, with, say the Bhaca, one foot on its back and facing the tail (2). "When an imfene comes to a rough place its owner says: "6ophala kuhle, indaw'iyehlika, woqakatha! qakatha! qakatha!" ("Gallop carefully, the place is slippery, qakatha! qakatha! qakatha!") (an ideophone expressing the galloping of a horse.)

If an imfene is attacked by dogs it will not bark, but gnashes its teeth and snarls so that the dog will run away. It is said that, if one is attacked by a baboon, one should take a belt and hold it up to it; it will immediately run away thinking that it is a snake. Baboons are notoriously afraid of snakes, and Mfa6a described how children at Magxeni placed a dead snake next to a tame baboon tethered to a tree; it died of fright. The owner had said that, if anything

(1) Further examples of the activities of the impundulu may be found in Hunter, pp. 284-5. The Bhaca believe that electricity is the excreta of the lightning bird and that Europeans chase the bird until it excretes an oil-like fat. This is electricity. The excreta is very fluid and everything it touches is burnt.

(2) Wizards always approach a kraal backwards so that they can get away quickly if necessary.

happened to the baboon, he himself would die, and he indeed died soon afterward, the presumption being that the baboon had been his familiar.

Special charms (amakhubalo) are used to protect an umti from imfene; they are burnt or sprinkled round the cattle kraal, and have the effect of preventing the familiar from moving. Elijah who lived at Mpindweni had an imfene which he sent to a doctored kraal where it was trapped. The baboon failed to return, and Elijah became uneasy. Many people came to see the captive and eventually the owner of the umti decided to set it free so that it would fall upon its sender. This was done by walking round it to break the spell. With many spectators following, it went straight to Elijah's kraal and everyone expected it to fall upon him. Elijah, however, had safeguarded himself with medicines, and the baboon merely jumped on to him, scratched his face and returned quietly to the store hut. "Elijah threw a stone at it and it just looked at him". He was ultimately killed by a baboon. "Baboons can bear a grudge for many years".

Another familiar possessed mainly by men, who obtain it "so that they may become rich," is the intlathu or Mamlambo.⁽¹⁾ It is a snake which can turn itself into various forms and is used to increase stock, although Bhaca are vague as to how this is done. It is obtained from Europeans at the goldfields, and it is said that two men, one at Durban and the other at Kokstad, are famous as sellers of intlathu. The snake is perhaps the most sinister of all the familiars, for, when it is obtained, something must be slaughtered for it - "but not a beast or a goat". This is said to mean that the owner of a Mamlambo must kill his father or mother, and sometimes "if one of the parents dies it will be found that the blood has been sucked out." "The snake sucks while the victim is asleep and he dies without being sick". Bhaca say that, even if the man does not himself send the Mamlambo to kill his parents, if one is brought home, there is sure to be a death in the family.

An intlathu is usually encountered near a path, and, if anyone approaches, it begins to change into different colours (imi6alo yonke). This is to attract the person, but, if it turns a red colour, the finder will die. intlathu is kept by its owner in a secret place, often in an old clay pot. The story is told of a young man who obtained an intlathu. ne

(1) Both terms are used. intlathu is also used to describe the similar ichenti (see below)

bought from a trader in Durban a "short, red medicine", about 3" long and was told that, when he arrived home, he should slaughter an 'old cow' for it. He paid £8 for the charm, but was promised that it would give him everything he wished. He was warned not to cut the medicine else it would not work, and to lock it away securely in his suit case. When he returned home he was to give it sheep's blood to drink.

On his journey home to the Qumbu district the young man found himself in the same railway compartment as an inyanga. On arriving at Kokstad they found that all the buses had left, and that they were stranded with their luggage. The inyanga suggested walking along the main road leading to Mount Frere in the hope of being picked up by a bus the following morning. After a few miles the young man's case began to get heavy and his companion asked him what he had bought at Durban. At first the man was loath to tell, but the inyanga hinted that 'it shouldn't be cut' and the youth told him about the medicine. The herbalist explained that it was Mamlambo and that the 'old cow' the young man had to kill referred to his mother. The boy was so frightened that he wanted to throw away the case without opening it, but the inyanga insisted on their doing so. When they opened it they found that the ikhu6alo had turned itself into a large snake of many colours "with eyes shining like a motor car", which coiled itself on the clothes in the case and reared its head as if to strike. Quickly the inyanga burnt a special medicine which pacified it, for it is death to be bitten by Mamlambo, and suggested that they should go to a nearby kraal where neither of them was known, and buy a sheep. This they did and killed the sheep secretly in the veld and let its blood drop into a hole which they dug. A trail of blood was laid to the hut in which they were to spend the night. That night they opened the suitcase carefully, and, as soon as the snake smelt the blood, it started following the trail. The people of the umti were roasting meat for a feast, and the inyanga had to walk between them and the Mamlambo so that the light from its shining eyes would not be seen. When the snake reached the dead sheep it drank the blood and returned to the cattle kraal where it dug a hole for itself and disappeared into the ground. The young man and the herbalist left early the next morning without arousing any suspicion. Stories of the strange occurrences at that kraal came to the inyanga's ears later. Three oxen were found lying dead, stiff and bloodless, as if sucked - for it is said that the snake approaches its victim quietly, first blowing gently and then introducing its fangs to suck the blood. An inyanga was called in to drive it away and medicines were burnt. It was seen in full daylight "coming out of the cattle

kraal and crying just like a person". It was later killed with medicines at another kraal.

It is said that sometimes the snake may appear in the form of a beautiful woman, and one man refused to marry despite the chaffing of his friends. One night he was seen with a beautiful girl who disappeared when people approached. "This was his Mamlembo".

A familiar very similar to intlathu, but peculiar to women is the ichanti, a snake which lives in rivers or caves and has the power to transform itself into a multitude of different forms. Its visitation means death to the victim, for informants say that it can eat a person without their knowing it until it is too late. "A person may find holes appearing in his throat, and from there it goes on to bore holes in his back, waist and internal organs. When he realizes what is happening it is too late."

An ichanti, although destructive if sent to harm an enemy, has the power to make its owner beautiful. It does this by licking her so that she becomes attractive to everyone, but it is stressed that this beauty does not last, and is reserved for special occasions such as weddings and beerdrinks. An ichanti is handed down from mother to daughter, and use is made of it even before the mother dies. "If a mother wants her daughter to look beautiful she gets the ichanti to lick the girl with its tongue". It is dangerous to walk along river banks, for, if an ichanti sees a person he will become ill, while if he looks it in the face, his face will become covered with scales.⁽¹⁾ The remedy is to hurry home and procure a black goat to be slaughtered at the scene of the meeting. There appears to be some connection of ichanti with the ancestral spirits, as the Bhaca say that a person who sees an ichanti will probably become a witchdoctor (isangoma), and, rather paradoxically, the amathfongo show the ichanti to those whom they love". Concepts seem vague and incompatible here, but unfortunately I did not have the opportunity for further investigation on this point.

Bhaca say that Christian women are particularly liable to have ichanti. The story is told of a member of the church who instructed her children to cook some sour porridge and, when cool, to place it in a clay pot. While she was at church the children unthinkingly put the hot porridge into the pot. Immediately a snake appeared and entered the pot, but the heat was so great that it came out quickly and died. The children were frightened and ran to the church to tell their mother, who, when she heard of the death of the ichanti became permanently mentally unbalanced.

Some women also possess a cat-like animal called impaka which they tame and rub with medicines, and wear round the waist.

(1) Leprosy? See Hunter, p. 286.

"The only thing an impaka kills is a baby; it sniffs at the baby and it dies."

Apart from the familiars described above, sent by witches to harm man and beast, there are other supernatural manifestations that appear to people. The fundamental human fear of the living dead is given form in the isithuntela (umkhova), and, a more recent importation from European mythology, the isiporo ('spook'). The first of these is always sent by witches and is the disinterred corpse of a victim enslaved by them to do their bidding. The witch is said to raise the corpse to life, cut out the tongue, and drive wooden pegs through the brain, so that the dead person 'will become stupid'. Itithuntela are extremely tall and black and have the power of hypnotizing a person (ukuthwe6ula) so that he will be drawn towards them like its victim is attracted by a snake. Their appearance is so ghastly that people who see them become mad; some informants say that itithuntela attack their victims by driving a steel nail (isikhonkwane) through the brain and pushing earth into the ears and nostrils, 'so making the person dull'. Dize, who was mad, was supposed to have been ukuthwe6ula'd by them. Some people say that they have seen itithuntela. A woman teacher at Mhlot/heni was very friendly with two of her girl pupils and bought one, Nomaladi, dresses at the store. The mother of the other was jealous of the presents and sent Thikolo/e to make her daughter's friend sick. Nomaladi died and was buried at Siqangeni. The mother raised her up and made her an isithuntela. This came out when the daughter boasted that Nomaladi was still alive to a friend. She was seen by people sitting naked in the storehut with deep cuts on her body. When spoken to she did not reply, but showed that her tongue had been cut out.

Mazwe, when a youth of nineteen, was returning from school one afternoon when he saw two itithuntela. One asked him where he was going, but he couldn't reply "as their magic makes a person tongue-tied." "They talked with a lisp like Thikolo/e". (because of the maimed tongues) and led him into a deep forest. He had to follow them because of their compelling power, and found himself in a dark cave in the Mgano mountains⁽¹⁾. An old man was huddled in a corner of the cave and said, "Where is he? Make him stand near me." Mazwe saw that the cave was full of people he knew, since dead, each one with

(1) Probably the workings of an old coal mine, abandoned years ago.

his tongue cut out. The old man said that he did not want him as "his complexion was too dark", and, after giving him some black food, let him go. When he reached home he couldn't talk, but gesticulated wildly, and it was surmised that he had met itithuntela. An inyanga was hurriedly sent for to administer medicines to cure him.

Itithuntela may be met in the forest, and, as in the case related above, may not always be malicious. If they are not specifically sent to harm you, they will not molest you, and "will protect you by talking to the others (itithuntela)." In the case of Mazwe (above) his escape was attributed to the ithfongo of an ancestor who had watched over him.

The European concept of a ghost has been incorporated into Bhaca belief as the isiporo, a skeleton that clatters (ukukhaxakhaxaxaxa) as it walks and through whose ribs a green fire glows. It haunts various localities at night. The non-indigenous origin of itipero may be seen by the belief that they are the manifestations of people who have been cruel and wicked on earth, so that "when they reach the River Jordan they are unable to cross and go to Satan's place (indzawo kaSathana)." They are said to dislike light and, at night, cast a greenish glow about them. [In addition to the above body of superstition, the Bhaca share in the widespread human belief in evil omens. It is interesting that the concept regards omens, not only as the harbingers of unavoidable misfortune, but having in their own right some causal connection with the event. Thus if the uthekwane (hammerkop) or indlazanyoni (red faced coly; urocolius indicus indicus) flies over a kraal or alights on it, it is said that lightning will strike the homestead, but if the bird is killed or driven away, the evil will be averted. If a person is constantly followed by one of these birds his eyes will fall out. A man so followed is said to be ukulunjwa (ukulumba, to injure by means of strong medicines), which seems to indicate that witches send evil omens expressly to cause misfortune. It would thus appear that the omen is not specifically a warning of ill, but a malicious agent that calls that ill into being. Omens of evil are numerous. If a hen crows like a cock it is always followed by the news that someone has been killed on the mines in Johannesburg, or that a relative has died. When the ingududu (ground hornbill) alights on a kraal bad luck will dog that umti, while "bees are sent by witches to cause madness (ukuchwentsa)". The owl (isikhova) is also considered a bird of ill omen, for if it hoots round a kraal someone will become sick, or lightning will strike the stock. "If it is 'sent' it visits the home of a person and he becomes mad." Even to

imitate an owl is fraught with danger, as it is believed that the blankets of a person who does this will catch alight. Mfa6a related how he had once imitated an owl at Lugangeni, and the next day a glowing coal shot out of the fire and burnt his blankets. It seems that the belief in evil omens is based on the fear of the unusual, the dislike of non-conformity, particularly in the laws of nature. All the birds of ill omen are veld birds, shy of human habitation, and it is thought strange, and somehow unholy, for them to alight on the huts of men. Hunter (p. 288) gives instances of other uncanny events e.g. a rock rabbit or jackal buzzard coming into a hut, or ant's nests, or mushrooms, appearing on a hut floor, which, in the same way, are interpreted as evil.

Sorcery.

It has been shown that a very large proportion of Bhaca destructive magic is based on the belief in certain fabulous beings and animals which are sent by their owners to do harm. It is obvious that any effects achieved by this means must be purely fortuitous or caused by the reaction of fear on the mind of the victim. The other form of anti-social magic (ukuthsakathsa ngobuthsi), as a manipulation of vegetable and other substances, approximates more nearly to an empirical approach and might, in the case of poisons, actually achieve the desired effect. U6uthsi, the material of destructive magic, may either be used in infusions and drunk, in which case the generic term is amayeza, or worn or chewed as a charm (ikhubelo). These medicines are used against an enemy in various ways. The commonest is to procure some possession or part of the person to be harmed, such as nail parings, hair, sweat or excrement, and mix them in a pot with medicines, usually calling the name of the victim and exhorting the u6uthsi to work satisfactorily. Because of this people take great care to dispose of finger nails or excreta, either by burying or burning them, so that they cannot be found and worked on by sorcerers. The use of earth from the victim's footprint is another means of bewitching him: it will be noted that the law of contagious magic operates here. A more direct method of sorcery is the placing of medicine, especially caustic soda (iloro), in food or snuff. This method is often used in conjunction with witchcraft proper, as in cases where Thikolo/e, or some other familiar, is sent to place the substance for its owner. Informants also described how medicines were placed on the point of a spear, so that when it was thrust into the ground a stabbing pain passed through the body of the victim, with the result that he fell ill and died.

Both witches and sorcerers are known to the Bhaca as

abathsakathsi and are said to go about at night naked, the women being clad only in a skirt of a grass plate (isithebe). They are believed to be able to fly, for which purpose they use the dried chest of a human being. "When they fly it opens out like an umbrella." Mfa6a stated emphatically that he had seen seven women with grass plates suspended from their loins in a cattle kraal one night. They disappeared when he approached. M- was seen one night in a sheep-fold by the owner, naked but for the isithebe. He suspected that she was a witch and made a trap. Early the next morning his dogs cornered her, and she was asked what she was doing. She confessed that she had come to bewitch the umti. She was taken before the minister of the local church who said that the matter was too serious for him to deal with and that she should be sent before the district headman. She pleaded with him and on her promise to cease her activities he let her go.

Formerly witches were burnt. Old people describe how, if a person was 'smelt out' by a diviner, the door of his hut was barricaded and the thatch set alight so that he was burnt to death. As a umthsakathsi he would not be accorded a ritual burial, but the walls of the hut would be pushed over so that he would be buried under the ruins. This has since been stopped by the Administration and an accusation of witchcraft is a punishable offence. Cases of witchcraft and sorcery, however, in a society like that of the Bhaca in which Christian influences are strong, are difficult to investigate adequately, particularly in the short time at my disposal. Reference is made to the detailed treatment of the subject by Hunter (pp. 306-319). The cultures of the two tribes being so similar, it would appear redundant to recapitulate. In the light of our structurally-orientated study, however, it is pertinent to summarize the part magic, both social and malignant, plays in conditioning social relations, and in supporting the socio-physical structure.

Summary.

From a relations point of view, in the detailed reactions and interactions between individual tribesmen, magic operates in all contexts where the fundamental human passions, such as hate, anger, jealousy and love are the dominating influences. Sexual attraction, with its strong possessive element, has given rise to the varied forms of love magic with their techniques for obtaining and retaining love. Its correlate, jealousy, is a fertile motive force for the use of malignant powers for harming rivals. Chagrin and envy also occur where a rival's herds and crops are more prolific or better than one's own, and soured social relations are

sweetened by the revenge accorded by supernatural actions. In this connection the severe spatial limitations of this type of magic must be noted. Magic used for the purpose of strengthening the structure of society may be found on a tribal scale, as in the national rain-making ceremonies; what I shall call 'anti-personnel magic' is confined, in practice if not in theory, to persons living in close proximity to one another, on the same escarpment or in the same river valley, and having the same social and economic interests. This in effect, is identical with the group of imiti which I have called the 'cluster' and includes a high proportion of blood relatives. As we have seen, by far the greater incidence of cases of witchcraft and sorcery are found between members of this group. The greater the intensity of social relations, the greater the tension generated between the human 'knots' in the network. The centripetal force, inherent in the blood-local group, the heightening of the emotions and sense of belonging to a corporate community life with common aims and interests, seem to have a complementary action, an increased tautening of the nervous fibres which may break, giving rise to open hostility. On the one hand there is a tendency for the synthesis of interest and activity for a community end; on the other, proximity may cause a divergence of interest and a competitive struggle in sexual, social and economic spheres. It seems that in these contexts must be sought the motivating springs of magical activity between individuals and the reason for the strong spatial limitations of its influence. One does not have to fear the stranger from another tribe, or a distant district; it is the co-wife, daughter-in-law and neighbour who may wish you evil. In effect practically all forms of destructive magic fall into this category.

Anti-social techniques are ^{seldom} used to damage wider organizations on a clan or tribal scale. Exceptions to this are the medicines used in war against an enemy, and the unusual use of substances to cause drought and hail storms. These attacks are always dealt with on a community basis, counter magic being used by the senior representative of the group (the chief, in cases of national danger) to repulse them. Magic used for structural purposes is nearly always social, either for the protection of the human members of the tribe, or of their property in crops, stock and huts, and what is mainly feared is not the depredations of human ^{enemies} ~~ceremonies~~ but rather the incalculable vagaries of climate, elements and pests. An exception to this is physical death which, although it attacks the structural organization in general, operates against

individuals, and is motivated by individuals, in detail. The differentiation between 'black' and 'white' magic is plain. All techniques directed against the maintenance and well-being of the social structure are endowed with the ethical label, good; debilitating and destructive influences are morally bad and dealt with thus in the tribal courts and in the less organized, but perhaps, more effective, sphere of public censure⁽¹⁾.

Under the European administration persons accused of witchcraft or sorcery are no longer killed as formerly, and thus the former expedient is no longer resorted to. This has not, however, meant the elimination of the problem, and the culture has adopted new means of handling an untenable situation. The usual method is for an accused person to leave the neighbourhood particularly in the case of a wife who will return to her own home, where either her own people will take her part, or, if convinced of her guilt, will send her to a doctor to be cured. Often, however, an accused person will ignore public opinion, and in most circumstances will be accepted tacitly as if nothing had happened, attending weddings, beer drinks and other public ceremonies. We have noted how Martha, the washer-woman at the store, although a reputed witch, was accepted normally by the members of the cluster.

As in all societies, social practice falls short of the social and ethical norm. [The sociological function of the belief in magic is patent - but it is only in its pro-social aspect that it has structurally-affirmative value⁽²⁾. Its social use must be regarded as fundamental; its misuse as a perversion which itself has given rise to magical techniques for the purpose of combatting it. It would appear that the basic function of the belief is to inculcate faith, the sociologically valuable belief in the ability of the culture

(1) It is true that in certain special cases e.g. in magic used to safeguard property, magic is used for destructive purposes, but here the evaluation is based on the ultimate results - the end justified the means.

(2) It can be argued, however, that even its anti-social use has an indirect effect on solidarity - The fear of maliciousness directed against the tribe will have the effect of consolidating efforts against it into a united front.

to survive, even against attacks from forces which superficially seem all-powerful, and, in the case of death, ultimately victorious. Both religion and magic join forces in the attack on death, and, in certain contexts, both techniques mingle indissolubly in approaching the problem. This strong inter-relation between magic and religion has been noted by other writers, particularly G. & M. Wilson⁽¹⁾. Indeed they differentiate between transcendental dogma (i.e. that referring to supernatural beings - ancestral spirits, gods, demons and including the familiars of witchcraft) and magical dogma, the former deriving its force and authority from supernatural sources, while the latter denotes the strictly materialistic manipulation of words and material, by individuals, in particular social contexts for magical ends. While it has been thought advisable in this study to analyse religion and magic as separate^c cultural elements having slightly different regulative functions with regard to the social structure, the overlapping of these two mechanisms must be borne in mind.

It would seem that the difference in social function between magic and religion is this, that religion insists on the socially-valuable observance of custom and tradition: it is a force for conservatism and regulated community behaviour⁽²⁾, while magic, and here their functions overlap, provides the essential feeling of confidence and optimism in the face of danger and possible disintegration. Religion, too, induces this feeling of confidence but derives its power from a supernatural source, the protection of the amathfango - and here it is fear of retribution which is the predominant motive force. I feel that witchcraft, although deriving from a transcendental dogma, is so different in its objectives from religion and legitimate magic, that it cannot be classed in the same category. I prefer to treat it as a pathological excrement, the origins of which are obscure, that attacks, rather than supports, the social fabric and healthy social life.

(1) The Analysis of Social Change; Cambridge 1945 pp. 72
 "... Magic for us, though it may not postulate any transcendent reality, is an integral part of primitive religion."

(2) Magic, too, acts as a stabilizer of human behaviour, setting store by conformity. Peculiar or eccentric behaviour may lay one open to a charge of witchcraft.

The closest correlation between magic and religion appears in ceremonies on a tribal, or at least community scale, such as ingcube and war doctorings, where there is direct or indirect communication with the ancestors, and in the various crises in the life of the individual. It is difficult to analyse and disentangle the elements and pigeon-hole them back, but, in the life of the Bhaca peasant, the action inherent in supplication or the manipulation of medicines, resolves the inarticulate agonies of fear and apprehension, and brings peace.

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PART THREE

SOCIAL CHANGE

CHAPTER IX

LINES OF CHANGE AND SYNTHESIS.

G. and M. Wilson, on page 23 of their study of social change in Central Africa, state that "All objective analysis of social relations rests on the assumption that they form coherent systems, that within any one field they support and determine one another inexorably". In the preceding pages we have sought to show how this is true for Bhaca society; how the social relations involved in the kinship bond and reinforced by local concentration are organized into the structural systems of the family and clan; how these disparate groups are fused into the tribal structure; how the human units of the society co-operate and organize themselves for economic pursuits, and the often antagonistic in-group sentiments in the primary structural unit are broken down and resolved, to an extent, in the far-reaching links of the marriage bond. We have noted, too, how law and order, enforced by the courts, stabilizes and conditions these systems, and religion and magic provide ethical and teleological sanctions regulating individual and group behaviour.

Approximately seventy years ago this structure came into conflict with the dominant culture of the West (1) and inevitably began to disintegrate under its pressure, a process which has continued unabated to the present day. As stated in the Introduction, the society of the Bhaca is at no time static, and the above study misrepresents the true position in so far as it tacitly assumes that it is. All along, however, we have noted change, not only in the structural systems themselves, but in attitudes and

(1) Chap.1.

values, and it is now our duty to trace them and try and determine their cause and direction. In the relevant chapters the effects of the contact with Western Civilization on the various cultural elements has been discussed in detail; to recapitulate here would be redundant. In this chapter an attempt is being made to describe and analyse the effect of forces operating on a society in a contact situation while not forcing the facts and drawing on the material already presented. It is hoped that a limited number of hypotheses will emerge which will be applicable to other societies in a similar position. It cannot be too strongly stressed, however, that the following analysis of forces applies only to Bhabha society and, possibly, to Nguni or Southern Bantu areas. It is possible that these isolates have a wider application to other societies but it would be presumptuous to claim it in the absence of further research.

Change has proceeded on two main fronts, political and religious, and I consider these agents, political and religious domination, as fundamental. They, in turn, incorporate elements, which although secondary, also exert powerful pressure on the weaker culture. Political domination has progressed hand in hand with trade, on the one hand creating the stable conditions under which trade can flourish by establishing the Pax Britannica, and, on the other, introducing, via the taxation system, the concept of an economy based on the cash nexus in which money must be obtained to pay levies. Every male over the age of eighteen becomes eligible for a poll tax of £1 and, on marriage, to a hut tax of 10/- for every wife of his household. This has brought into being the whole system of migratory labour and the tradition of working for Europeans

on farms and in industry, which, in turn, has made possible the extension of the trading store and the incorporation of Bhaca society into the world economy.

Religion, too, has introduced a secondary element with an effect on structure and social attitudes. A fundamental necessity for the spread of Christianity was that its converts could obtain instruction and comfort through the reading of its Scriptures, and educational work was a feature of the earliest days of mission activity. Today, as we have seen, all the schools in the tribal area are run by mission societies, with state subsidization to a greater or lesser extent. With education we must class medical work, formerly entirely confined to the missions, while today the hospital at Mount Frere, catering almost exclusively for the Native population, is administered by a Roman Catholic religious order and staffed by nuns.

I call the two main factors of change, Primary Agents, and their associated elements, Secondary Agents, thus:-

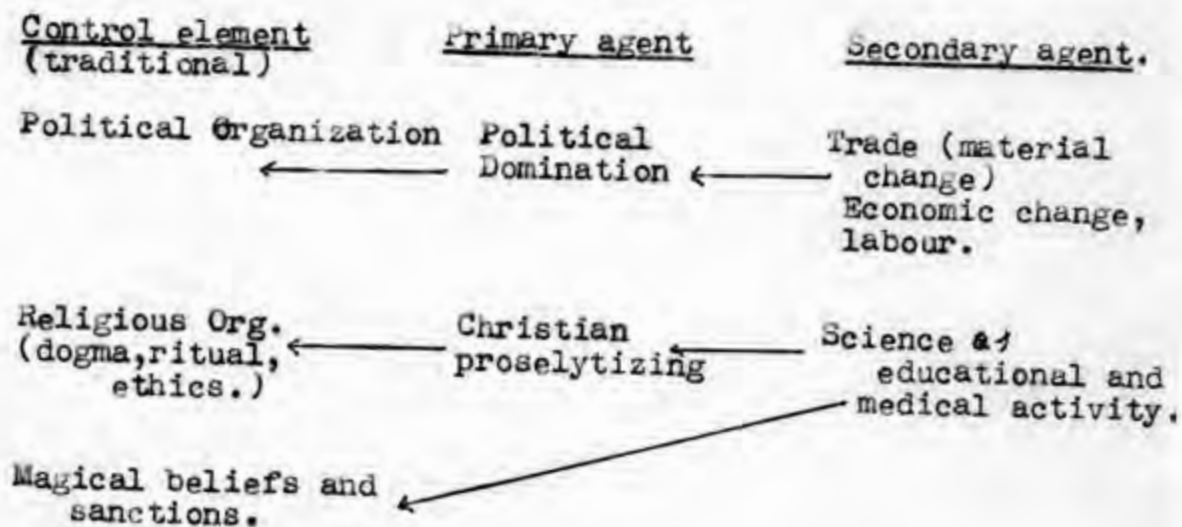
<u>Primary Agent</u>	<u>Associated Secondary Agent.</u>
Political domination	Economic change e.g. trade, activities rising out of a cash economy - migrant labour, agricultural improvements, etc.
Religious domination	Educational activities, medical work.

To some extent this classification is artificial and there is overlapping in function between these categories. Thus both political and religious activities have attacked the ritual position of the chief and practically sounded the death knell of the incube cycle of ceremonies.

It is suggested that, in the contact situation, it is the mechanisms of social control that first undergo extensive modification; the morphological elements being, perhaps, more fundamental, take longer to react and disintegrate. It is submitted that there is a distinct tendency for the primary agents of change, mentioned above, to oppose and operate against their analogous elements in the weaker culture, the effect spreading, but later in time, to the morphological elements, to a greater or lesser degree. In this latter process there appear to be variations in the strength of the resistance to change and selective differential disintegration. Thus the contact process can be conceived broadly in two stages, viz., 1) the initial attack on the control mechanisms, and 2) the eventual modification of the structure itself.

Stage 1.

The effects of the first stages of the change process can be illustrated roughly by a diagram:-



It will be seen that the main opposition is between the analogous elements of the two cultures with secondary penetration of the correlated elements (1)

- (1) Among some peoples, however, e.g. the Masai, economic changes are strongly resisted and do not inevitably follow political domination.

The imposition of political control in the 1890's immediately attacked the status of the chief and the independent political existence of the tribe. The spatial extent of the tribal territory was demarcated by the Griffith-Ayliff-Grant Commission, the authority of the chief became subordinate to the sovereignty of the British Crown, and he surrendered the status of highest judicial officer, appeals now lying to the court of the magistrate. In all criminal cases European Common Law was recognized, administered by European officials, and, although indigenous 'civil' law was overtly invested in and dispensed by the chief, there is an increasing tendency for even these cases to be handled by the magistrate. The demarcation of land changed the character of the chief's authority over his subjects. Formerly the tribe comprised all people owing allegiance to a common chief, irrespective of their territorial distribution; today all people settling in the tribal area automatically come under the chief of that area and submit to his authority. Thus the community of Xesi6e at Maboba, under their hereditary headman, consider themselves subjects of Wa6ane and serious disputes are heard at the Great Place, Lugangeni. The Mfengu community at Lugangeni and the Hlu6i and Mpondomise settlements at Mhlot/heni are also elements which have been completely absorbed into Bhaca society.

The magistrate has thus been inevitably drawn into the political structure of the tribe and functions as the highest judicial authority whose court is the highest court of appeal. The status of the chief has suffered in consequence and his position, between tribe and Administration, has implicated him in conflicting loyalties. As agent of the Administration he is sometimes accused of anti-tribal sympathies, while, to Departmental officials, he may appear unprogressive.

Actually the Department of Native Affairs has not, up to now, concerned itself with modifying social life, apart from economic improvements, nor has there been legislation to any extent against indigenous custom, except that which has been deemed repugnant to civilized standards and 'the principles of natural justice.' - the most prominent being the eradication of warfare and the suppression of faction fights and the forbidding of the former method of killing the bull at ingcube. In this it differs markedly from the policy of the Christian missions which has always been the antithesis of laissez-faire. The most contentious matters introduced by the Administration have been the alteration in the status of the chief, the demarcation of territorial political control and measures to protect national interests such as the culling of stock, dipping, inoculation and the various quarantine measures, all of which are regarded with a combination of suspicion and resentment as attacks against individual and tribal interests and wealth. As has been recorded, the Bhaca view with acute apprehension the extension of the Rehabilitation ~~scheme~~ Scheme north to their tribal lands, with its fencing of land allocated for agriculture and diminution in the number of cattle and stock. In all these matters the chief has to play a tactful role in an endeavour to resolve conflicting interests.

The policy of the Government has been to foster and consolidate the position of the chief in the tribal structure - that of development along indigenous lines - and all matters that affect the tribe are discussed ^{with} ~~by~~ the tribal authorities. In practice their role is an advisory one, however, and there appears to be an increasing frustration and lessening of initiative

among men who know that their advice will not necessarily be acted upon. The status positions in the administrative structure have also been attacked with the possibility of a headman, or even the chief himself, being supplanted by the Department if it is considered that he is incompetent. It is true that cases have happened in the past of men being superceded for various reasons - but only on the directive of the people themselves. Autonomy in diplomatic relations with other tribes and in waging aggressive warfare has also been withheld, with a distinct modification in initiative and responsibility now that tribal policy and destiny are no longer in tribal hands. As we shall see, education, not political or administrative activity (except in agricultural rehabilitation), attacks the roots of religious and magical beliefs, but difficulties arise in the legal recognition of offences of anti-social magic, particularly witchcraft, causing dissatisfaction and bewilderment.

Administrative control has introduced far-reaching economic changes. The imposition of taxation to pay for the cost of administration, roadbuilding, betterment schemes, etc., has made it necessary for Bhaca to sell their labour to find money, and migrant labour is today an integral part of tribal life, embued with emotional as well as economic sanctions (pp 238 - 243). The absence at any one time of between 15% to 20% of the able-bodied males from the territory is a severe strain on an already inadequate agricultural system, slightly counterbalanced, however, by the flow into the reserve of money earned at the mines and other labour centres. There is no doubt that their absence increases the incidence of immorality and strains marital fidelity, while there is a probable

increase of tuberculosis and venereal disease contracted in the towns, although I have no figures to support this statement.

The increase in trade has initiated the development of new types of economic activity, e.g. the production of skins and wool for sale to the trading store, and new jobs have opened up as store assistant and domestic servants. During the wool shearing season many traders employ old women to sort and ~~grows~~ clean the wool, providing a means whereby even the oldest member of an umti can contribute to the income of the group. The Department's efforts at rehabilitation have also made available positions as agricultural demonstrators and dipping foremen, while a limited number of interpreters and clerks are employed at the Magistrate's office (see pp 208 -213). Perhaps more than any other factor external trade has widened the scale of Bhaca relations and made them dependent on world-wide economic connections and trends.

In previous chapters we have noted the split in the society caused by the impact of Christianity and traced some of the effects the new ethic has had on indigenous beliefs and values (pp 434 - 437; 90-93). The main attack here is against the dogma and ritual of the ancestor cult and against the amorality of its ethical code. The amathfongo have been castigated as demons and converts forbidden to have any traffic with them: the select priesthood of the diviners is denounced as an association of false prophets, and, in fact, every aspect of indigenous belief unequivocally opposed. The main attack has had secondary implications. The denunciation of the spirits has reflected on the ritual position of the chief and tended to undermine respect for elders and parental authority. No longer is the chief the rain-maker

of the tribe - the Christians are taught to pray for rain - and the ingcube ceremony is falling into disuse. In the time sequence, however, as far as Stage I of our analysis is concerned, it is the beliefs and practices of Bhaca religion that Christianity first attacks.

Coincidental with religion - initially hardly consciously - education and the slow growth of literacy make the first inroads on the belief in magic. Their function and that of evangelism proper are a mixture of often conflicting tendencies, some opposing and some supporting indigenous belief. Education, as the inculcation of a body of verifiable facts and intellectual attitudes, cuts at the roots of the belief in magic, particularly when later allied to scientific education. Religion, on the other hand, while condemning the practice of magic and particularly the belief in sorcery, is itself based on objectively unverifiable beliefs and capitalizes, rather than denies, the existence of the supernatural. The metamorphosis of the Mosaic ~~rod~~ rod into a serpent is readily understandable and perfectly logical to the Bhaca mind. It is perhaps because, in the religio-educational environment of most 'school people' there are these conflicting beliefs and values, that the belief in magic still maintains such a tenacious hold on popular thought. We have already noted the unembarrassed co-existence of conflicting beliefs ^{among} and even relatively sophisticated 'aḡaphakathi' (see p 92). As education frees itself from mission influences and becomes more technical and secularized, it is tempting to foresee a lessening of the hold of magical beliefs on the Bhaca mind. It is only through the right type of education that magic will be stamped out and a firmer basis provided for development and progress.

The above indicates briefly the main lines on which the control mechanisms have been weakened and begun to disintegrate. We must now examine the second stage of change, how the fundamental structure is affected, and then attempt to ascertain to what extent new syntheses have been achieved, new controls developed and the structure modified to meet new strains and stresses.

Some changes in the morphological structure.

Our hypothesis has been that there is differentiation in the rate of change in the contact situation between the control mechanisms and the structure of society itself. It is impossible with the data at our disposal to arrange the stages in chronological sequence, or to say, for instance, that one control element changes faster than another. All that is suggested is that there is a tendency for structural systems to be more resistant to change (1) and for the control mechanisms to be primarily affected by their counterparts in the dominant culture, with related other changes due to the secondary agents. In dealing with structural changes, trends and reactions are so complex that it is doubtful whether they can be fitted into any systematic scheme: all we shall do is to list some significant developments and try to trace cause and effect.

Perhaps most significant is the reduction in size of the primary structural unit. The probable reasons for this have already been discussed (p 61) listing the relaxing of parental control, migrant labour with its added freedom and sophistication and the decline in polygamy. The latter is mainly attributable to Christianity but also to far-reaching economic changes which have limited land and increased the price of cattle, a mixture of causes showing the ramifications of both religious and economic agents. The reduction in

(1) E.g. the vitality of the rules of incest and exogamy p.86

the size of the family has also meant the emergence of the lineage (usapho) as a non-local group, no longer, as formerly, tending to coincide with the extended family (pp 79 - 80). The setting up of individual imiti at an earlier age has meant a contraction of the orbit of genocentricism; an increasing number of members are tending to live away with a reduction in intensity of social relations and a growing individualism both in social and economic spheres. This, in turn, weakens the ancestral hearth-cult, always dependent on locality to supplement its biological organization, and here again Christianity cuts across traditional systems creating voluntary associations with ^{lo}lyalties and authorities other than those of kin (see pp 90- 93).

As far as the secondary structural unit, the clan, is concerned there does not as yet appear to be any extensive modifications due to contact either in social composition or in a reduction in the importance of the exogamy rules, although the growing individualism, mentioned above, has made it less probable that a clansman will consult a clan head on economic or religious matters. Religion, too, by attacking the position of the ancestors, would seem to eventually to weaken its vitality.

The social composition of the tribe has not changed to any marked degree. The main change has been the splitting of the field of social relations into certain well-marked cleavages. Taking our criterion of allegiance to a common chief as a yardstick for tribal membership it would not seem permissible to include the European settler in the district as an integral part of

the tribe. It is incontestable, however, that Europeans are today part of the social system and enter into relations, mainly economic, and always dominated by the master-servant, Black-White asymmetry, with the Native population. The magistrate, particularly, is an important pivot in the modern judicial set-up and it is justifiable to state that the dominant cleavage is a Black-White one (1). The colour-bar situation is too well-known to be re-emphasised here, but there is a distinct social cleavage on colour lines, and the culture, values and social activities of the two groups exist on two widely different planes. This cleavage is the generator of well-defined oppositions and antagonisms (2).

The most significant secondary cleavage, and one which has radically altered the Bhaba social scheme, is the division between Christians and pagans. We have already described it, but its importance cannot be over-emphasised, for it has, to some extent, meant the existence of two societies within the social field with differing, and often antagonistic attitudes, values and activities. On the other hand it must be remembered that the social system is common to both groups who have the same political allegiances and territory, speak the same language and have the same economic interests (p 434).

The introduction of Christianity and European administrative machinery has had an effect on certain status roles in the society. Formerly status was mainly determined by age, birth and sex (see Chapt. III), but today there is increasing freedom and mobility in the

(1) Gluckman, M., Some processes of social change illustrated from Zululand. "AFRICAN STUDIES", 4, p 250.

(2) Gluckman (ibid). Kuper, H., Uniform of Colour.

attainment of status. Women, particularly, are gaining greater freedom, not only from taboos stemming specifically from sex (umlaza), but also in the administration of the home and property and in the Church. Whereas in the past the profession of diviner was the only means whereby a woman could escape from the dead-level of wife- and motherhood, today the Church, through the Women's' Associations, and the Department of Native Affairs, through the women's' branches of the Native Farmers' Associations, have made possible the satisfaction derived from the interplay of personality with others for community ends. The last two decades have seen a growing emancipation of women. Education has opened up positions for large numbers of women teachers and there is a limited demand for Native nurses. All this has increased the number of status roles in the society and tended to divorce status from purely hereditary or biological determinations. As far as men are concerned the Church has made possible the statuses of umfundisi and evangelist, of high social standing in the Christian community, and, indeed, the Native minister enjoys great influence among the 'school people' - in some respects greater than that of the chief himself, the Christian community tending to look rather to him in matters secular as well as spiritual (p 159). As before noted educated Bhaca are employed as clerks, interpreters, demonstrators, etc., all new status positions, based on education, that cut across older organizations.

This increased variation in status and the greater mobility of individuals between them has had an undermining effect on traditional structural positions.

Today the educated young clerk tends to despise the often uneducated chief as backward and unprogressive, and education is taking the place of birth and seniority in tribal councils. Wa6ane's secretary and many of his councillors were young educated men whose more Westernized outlook were of greater value in his eyes than the venerable, though unworldlywise, elders.

In as far as the attainment of traditional status positions is concerned the part played by visits to the mines in the initiation into manhood has been noted, as has been the modification of the girls' initiation ceremony to the ipati (pp 153 - 159), due mainly to Christian influence.

Marriage has been modified by religious, economic and political agents. Religion has attacked polygamy and the traditional umt/hato webogo and achieved the interesting synthesis of the Christian marriage ceremonial (pp 289 - 301); economic change has introduced cash into the lo6ola transactions and tended to change its character; while the Administration has attempted to make the registration of births and deaths and marriages compulsory (1). The breakdown of the system of ikhazi would appear to weaken the marriage bond, and, if ikhazi is completely dropped, it seems certain that the stability of unions would be weakened.

Synthesis and the re-establishment of equilibrium.

The above traces some of the most important lines along which Bhaca society has tended to change and disintegrate in contact with Western Civilization. It is noticeable that disintegrative reaction is differential

and some cultural elements have resisted change to a greater extent than others, some suffering only a limited modification while others have been completely superseded. Of these latter perhaps the most striking is material culture with the practically universal adoption of European clothing and the increasing incidence of articles and foods of Western manufacture. It seems a valid inference that material culture is the element most vulnerable to change.

The greater proportion of culture, however, lies between these two extremes. Although undergoing considerable modification through contact, cultural elements and institutional forms possess a dynamic quality which prevents their complete breakdown, and a synthesis results incorporating elements from both cultures but fused into a new entity, differing significantly from either of its source materials. A and B are synthesised to form C. It is possible that the emergent C may, at a later period in time, be acted upon by yet other contact influences and be further modified, removing yet further from the original format.

Cases of this synthesis have been described in the preceding pages. The taking of evidence in the form of exhibits at headman's and chief's courts and the reduction of the main points of evidence in writing at the latter; the present day position of the chief, absorbed, as he is, into the European administrative structure; the application of indigenous law to contexts in a changing society; all these are syntheses in the political sphere which either are the product of, or have had to adapt themselves to, change. In the field of religion the synthesis of indigenous and Christian

beliefs has been noted and their incorporation into an unformulated whole containing conflicting elements. This is made possible by the fact that there is no insoluble antagonism between the vague concepts of Bhaca spirit-worship and the spirit-orientated theology of the West. In the realm of ritual and ethics, however, the conflict is more pronounced and practically no harmonious synthesis has been achieved in this field, pagan ritual and standards of morality continuing to be castigated by the church. One seldom finds a church-goer, no matter whether he believes in the amathongo or not, going to or taking part in pagan ceremonies, and MfaGa's guilt feelings in this respect have already been described. A synthesis is being achieved in the ritual of some of the Separatist Churches, but, as they do not occur to any extent among the Bhaca, it is proposed to ignore these rather exotic extremes for the purposes of this study.

Education, as stated above, has not yet achieved the divorce from magical beliefs. They are today adapted to modern contexts, and techniques are directed along new channels. Thus the primary school teacher will use medicines to secure him a coveted job, while members of the Women's* Association vie with one another ~~in~~ in making themselves attractive to the minister, even resorting to the dangerous ichanti to achieve this end. Instances of the use of magic in the contact situation could be multiplied indefinitely.

From a structural point of view syntheses have been attained in the initiation to status and in the marriage ceremony, in both cases in reaction to the dictation and criticism of Christianity, Thus we have the emergence

of the ipati from the girls' initiation ceremony and the Christianized marriage ceremonial in the place of the traditional umt/hato webogo.

Contact has caused economic adjustments. Among others, the introduction of the plough has necessitated a relaxation of the taboos on women dealing with cattle and precipitated a minor social revolution by which men have willy-nilly been drawn into agricultural work (formerly it was confined to clearing away bush and perhaps assisting in the harvest). The umti has ceased to be an economic unit, sufficient to itself for its needs. New wants have arisen and members are often away for long periods at the labour centres, while even in the reserve itself, new economic activities have arisen, e.g. the sale of wool and other products, mentioned above.

The importance of personalities should not be overlooked in the study of change influences. A progressive chief might welcome innovations and have a progressive, Westernized outlook, or he may be conservative and suppress all new ideas. We have noted earlier the discouragement of the ingcube ceremony by Chief WaGane, but it must be remembered that this type of change has not been confined to modern contact situations. The reason why Bhaca women no longer smear their skin skirts with ochre is because it was forbidden by the chief at the ~~morning~~ mourning for ^{Mahaula} ~~Magciana~~.

It should be obvious that the effect of the above influences is to readjust the disequilibrium caused by the operation of the forces of change. The Wilsons (op.cit. pp 125 et sequ.) have sought to refine the concept of

disequilibrium and, *en passant*, state "Radical opposition (i.e. opposition in the social structure itself - disturbance of equilibrium) is even less tolerable than ordinary opposition (that occurring in certain indigenous social contexts) and social change always does and always must follow its occurrence..... Disequilibrium is both a state of society and a force of change. As a force of change disequilibrium must always press towards its own resolution, towards equilibrium. Disequilibrium is an intolerable state of society that carries in itself the necessity of its own resolution (p 134)"

Taking this view it is possible to regard syntheses and adjustments as the working out of the resolving tendency, as a reaction against the force of disequilibrium, either by the complete supersession of one element by another or by synthesis and adaptation. To take one example, Bhaca society will either reconstruct new ethical codes and sanctions from the material of both Christianity and paganism or, as seems more probable, Christian morality and values will become the accepted norm. Similarly in other spheres disequilibrium will tend to be resolved by change.

The extension of social relations.

In the discussion of social relations and forces we noted the phenomenon of genocentricism in all three of the primary structural units. The processes of change, however, have introduced a tendency for the tribe to break up in so far as wider loyalties have set up a centripetal pull that opposes the forces of integration. This tendency is identical with the Wilsons' concept of 'increase in scale' - an extension of the field of relations.

beyond the tribe. In the preceding pages many of the manifestations of this extension have been noted, e.g. the increase in trade, increased mobility due to better transport (Native busses, taxis, etc.), education at institutions outside the tribal area and the experiences and new adjustments and horizons attained in going out to work for the European. Then, too, there is the increased incidence of marriage outside the tribe and wider political bonds through the activities of the Bunga (United Transkeian Territories General Council).

But increase in scale is not confined to mere physical contacts and the relations emanating from them. Social relations are not confined to contemporaries, and, through the media of literature and science, modern Bhaba are being drawn into relations with the great minds of the past - those of Shakespeare, St Paul, Kelvin and St Francis of Assisi. (1)

For it is in the field of ideas that tribal boundaries are being superseded to the greatest extent. Christianity, with its teaching of the brotherhood of believers has, to some extent, bound Christians of different tribes closer to one another than to pagan fellow tribesmen (although there are separatist churches with a purely tribal flavour); education and common intellectual and social interests have their own free-masonry, and reaction and resentment against European domination is giving rise, as yet faintly, to a mounting Nationalism that tends to merge tribal differences and unite Bhaba in a common Bantu front against exploitation and underprivilege (2).

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(1) For greater elaboration see G. and M. Wilson, op. cit. Chap II.

(2) de Villiers, R.M. Chapt. XXI, 'Politics', in Handbook of Race Relations in S. Africa.

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