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THE RE-EMERGENCE OF AMAHUBO SONG STYLES
AND IDEAS IN SOME MODERN ZULU MUSICAL STYLES

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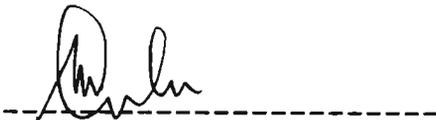
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DATE: 15 DECEMBER 1992

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DECLARATION

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



M.K. XULU

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This thesis would not have been successful without the co-operation received from my many research informants in the Melmoth, Nkandla, Mahlabathini and Nongoma districts as well as the Durban area.

My informants are too numerous, some of them I could not get space to cite their exact words in the thesis, but their information is nevertheless invaluable. Others, I could cite, thank you all.

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UNWELE OLUDE! (Long Live!)

Dedicated to my Teacher and Mentor

BONGANI MTHETHWA

MAY HIS SOUL REST IN PEACE

PREFACE

Conducting research for this thesis has been a real challenge for me. Firstly as a person accorded an insider status, I was expected by my field acquaintances all the time to demonstrate a deep respect for the Zulu social system and social values. Many people who I met in the field felt that I was doing a 'good' job, documenting Zulu traditional values. As I became more and more familiar with the people in the field, I recognized that most of them were worried about the possible extinction of some Zulu cultural values, and as such saw me as a 'God-send' who would save Zulu cultural values from possible extinct. Probably, the fact that I was an educated insider gave them some assurances and, with the passage of time, their confidence in me grew. At the same I became more and more involved formally and informally in understanding the dynamics of Zulu music and society.

With the passage of time many people, musicians and informants were gradually making it clear to me that their perception of my role was that of somebody who must defend the cultural values, from the 'imaginary' enemy, which hated Zulus and everything about them. At the same time I had to explain Zulu music to those who did not understand its meaning and dynamics. I realized that rather than being a pupil, unless I somehow resisted, I would soon be placed in the forefront, in defence of Zulu cultural and social values. I do not know whether I have accepted this challenge. If not I probably owe my informants and field acquaintances an apology and explanation.

I have conducted fieldwork at the time of major socio-political changes in South Africa. Somehow, any thing that one says or does tends to be contested in many ways, sometimes in disguised forms. On the field, this is more evi-

dent, as what one says or does may be taken for a political statement. I hope I have not politically offended any people through my research, and I can add that I now probably understand the problems of culture and ethnicity in South Africa more than I did five or six years ago, because of my field experience. I doubt, though, whether I would have reached this stage without ethnomusicological training.

This work raises many possibilities for further research.

ABSTRACT

Amahubo songs are at the centre of the traditional Zulu cultural, religious and political lives. Their age is often associated with the very "beginning" of things, when the very first Zulu people emerged from the bed of reeds.

As musical items amahubo tend to be easily associated with the old, pre-colonial era when Zulus were in charge of their lives and their destinies. The performance contexts of amahubo songs are the wedding, the funeral of a King, Chief, induna, umnumzane, war and other commemorative ceremonies. Amahubo are also called ceremonial music because of their association with the ceremonial. Ritual and symbolism dominate amahubo performance contexts, amahubo themselves being symbols that stand for other ideas.

It is noteworthy that despite missionary and colonial propaganda against traditional Zulu music and culture, amahubo continue to survive and are still performed at clan, regional and Zulu 'national' levels. In addition, there has emerged new syncretic styles which demonstrate the fusion of Zulu and Western (hymnal) musical ideas.

From time to time the new musical styles emphasize a Zulu identity which makes them to be mostly symbolically associated with or related to amahubo songs. Today, amahubo and seven modern Zulu musical style can easily express a broad statement of the Zulu ethnic entity of some seven to eight million individuals. All these musical styles, when claimed by Zulus draw "imaginary borders" between Zulus and non-Zulus and get referred to as Zulu (ethnic or 'national') music. Such references, however, are situational. The period 1988 - 1992 in which research was conducted culminating in this thesis has been marked by Zulu ethnic resurgence

characterized by the performance of amahubo songs and other modern styles of religious, choral, wedding, mbhaganga, mas-kanda and isicathamiya, all of which, through manipulation of text and musical sounds, get situationally claimed for the Zulu ethnic (national) identity.

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C H A P T E R 1

INTRODUCTION

The meaning of Zulu amahubo songs can be derived from the nature of the contexts within which they are performed. Amahubo songs are performed in a traditional Zulu wedding, in war, in funerals of homestead heads and chiefs, as well as in other major traditional ceremonies involving a clan, a region and sometimes the whole Zulu 'nation'¹.

Informants refer to amahubo songs as 'amagama abadala', that is, the songs of the old people or 'amagama amadlozi', that is the songs of the ancestors. When we look at the nature of the contexts within which amahubo songs are performed we note that the involvement of the ancestors is sought by the performers. We also note that the performers are old people of a clan, a region or the 'nation'. The ancestors, who are perceived to be present during such performances, are also referred to as abantu abadala, that is old people, and the living old people are, sometimes, referred to as the ancestors. This underlines the nearness of the status of being old and that of being an ancestor.

Amahubo songs are, therefore, associated with oldness and ancestors. Because of the centrality of the ancestors in traditional Zulu religion (Berglund, 1976), it can be in-

ferred that amahubo songs are religious music. Each clan has its own ihubo song through which it defines its ancestor-living relationship. In addition each region or chiefdom may also have its ihubo song with a similar function. There are also amahubo songs which are regarded as 'national' amahubo songs. When the latter are performed, the King or his representative has to be present.

Amahubo songs are also associated with the ceremonial (Rycroft, 1971, 1980, 1982) and ritual (Berglund (1976) and their performance contexts share in the general characteristics of ceremony and ritual discussed in chapter two below.

An analysis of the word huba or ukuhuba may give us some ideas about the attitude of the performers towards this genre of songs. Ukuhuba means to sing with a deep roaring sound, resembling a flooding river, a thunderstorm, a waterfall, or a roaring lion. All the things metaphorically associated with ukuhuba are also symbols of power. Amahubo songs function within the confines of traditional Zulu symbolism (Berglund, 1976).

Rycroft (1971) refers to amahubo songs as 'archaic' and acknowledges that they are of the pre-Shakan era. This is the view of most of our informants. Berglund (1976) notes that Shaka during his consolidation years assigned at least one ihubo song to each regiment. Each regiment would subsequently be identified by its ihubo song, in addition to

the colours of its shields and amabheshu, that is, skin-buttock coverings. Infact, this knowledge of Shaka's and subsequent Zulu kings' usage of amahubo songs is alive among some traditionalist informants, like uMntwana Makhukhuza Zulu of Dubeni near Melmoth, who is a descendent of King Mpande.

The Zulu myth of origin, alive in the oral knowledge, also refers to amahubo songs as the music that the very first Zulu people who emerged from the reeds were singing². So, there are more than one way in which amahubo songs become associated with the distant past. Knowledge and performance of amahubo songs forms an integral part of traditional Zulu culture.

Amahubo songs are also catalysts of certain social ideas. An example is their musical structure which, as a result of the nature of ukuhuba which demands the participation of many people, as well as the call-and-response, makes it virtually impossible for one person to sing an ihubo song meaningfully (Rycroft, 1982). Through the performance of amahubo songs the idea of group solidarity is reinforced³. We can infer that in this regard amahubo songs promote social awareness, at least within the limitations of their performance context.

Studies of and references to amahubo songs have been carried out by Rycroft (1971, 1980, 1982), Berglund (1976), Krige (1950) among others, and their symbolic nature has also been referred to by Erlmann (1991). Xulu (1989) has carried out a study on the ritual significance of the ihubo song in a traditional Zulu wedding. We note that each clan, as stated earlier, has its own clan song which is referred to as ihubo, the plural of which is amahubo. As we will note below, however, the other meaning of amahubo is a collective one, referring to the sum total of all performances that are rendered in a typical traditional Zulu musical event, including ihubo in the above sense. While the former meaning of the plural of ihubo is a simplistic one the latter collective meaning is a compound one, which also underlines the complex nature of the whole genre.

The discussion of amahubo songs and their social meaning as well as their re-emergence in new music will include a variety of key-terms which will need definition and contextualization within the limits of the present work. These key-terms include: tradition, modernity, ritual, symbolism, power, Zulu nation or ethnic entity, Zulu music and performance context as well as others which will become associated with our key-terms.

1.1 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.1.1 Tradition

The term tradition lends itself to many interpretations by scholars, ordinary people and even politicians. Spiegel and Boonzaier (1988) note that because of its vagueness the term tradition becomes easily manipulated. As a result what may be termed tradition by opinion makers in a culture may have been imposed or 'invented' as an ideological strategy (Coplan 1991, Ranger 1983, Mare 1992).

Bruno Nettl [1975 : 3] defines tradition as :

The term most used to lump together all the various processes that may be found in the history of a musical repertory ... a concept that combines the stable nature of a culture's way of life with the implication that by its very existence over long periods of time this way of life is subject to change.

This view discounts the stereotype view which associates tradition with non-change. Coplan (1991) also discounts the idea of the timelessness and uncorruptedness of tradition and blames earlier anthropologists for creating this view on African traditions.

Shorupski [1976 : 190-191] cautions against associating anything 'traditional' with the pre-scientific and in his study of traditional and modern religions he suggests: features of the society in which a belief system is held, the attitudes with which it is held or the manner in which it is held and its content, as main factors characterizing a belief system on modern and traditional lines.

We can transfer Shorupski's views to the study of amahubo songs because, as we saw earlier, amahubo songs form part of a religious system. We note that people who mostly perform amahubo songs or who are interested in the knowledge that supports them are doing so as part of the act of continuing with what they believe has always been there and amahubo songs carry a religious content which is associated with the distant past. We can also link tradition to the characteristics of a traditional thinker. Shorupski [1976 : 204] defines a traditional thinker as someone not willing to reject what has been handed down from generation to generation. Amahubo carry the characters which make the traditional thinker to easily associate with them.

Philip V. Bohlman [1988 : 13] asserts the characteristics of tradition :

Tradition is fashioned from both an authenticity that clings to the past and a process of change that continuously reshapes the present.

This view corresponds with others cited above. Amahubo songs take on a traditional image through association and signification (Meyer, 1960) because in them the wisdom of the Zulu past is believed by the performers to be embedded (Mare 1992). This, however, does not mean that amahubo are in the opposite of change, as they are opposed to alienation (Rabinow, 1975).

In Zulu culture that which is seen to be traditional tends to be associated with the pre-colonial era which in turn evokes other ideas further associated with that era. Our view of tradition, therefore, is that it is associated with the past while at the same time it relates to the present and may form a part of the modernizing process (Giddens, 1992). We also take into account Qureshi's (1991) view of that "the inquiry into a people's musical past" may be "predicated on understanding of their present engagement with the past" (p103). This is more represented in Chapter two below. Identifying traditionalists on the field was not a big problem because people mostly come forward to say: "Impela, siyawagcina amasiko awokhokho bethu" (definitely we honour all the customs of our ancestors), a statement easily associable with Zulu traditionalism.

1.1.2 Modernity

Inkeles (1983) associates modernity with modernizing institutions such as schools and churches, and further states that people become modernized once they relate to them. To these can further be added technology, industrialization and access to scientific knowledge as further factors relating to modernity.

Inkeles' view can also be related to Bruno Nettl's (1978, 1985) account of modernization as it takes place in non-Western music. When related to Zulu music and society we will note that what we refer to as modern Zulu music is that which is associated with and performed by people who have some access to the institutions of modernity referred to above. Thus, all seven Zulu musical styles which we refer to as modern become in one way or another associated with these institutions: Zionist music and 'amakhorasi' - the church; written choral music - the schools; the wedding songs - mission stations, schooling, townships; isicathamiya - industrial hostels; mbhaqanga - technology, industrialisation and urbanization; maskanda - technology, the hostels (industry).

Our view of modernity and modern Zulu music will take into account the performance contexts of these styles as well as the fact that Zulus refer to them as amagama esimanje that

is songs of the modern times. We, however, take into account Erlmann's (1991) view that their foundation was evident already by 1911 and the 1920's, which view will be discussed in chapter four below. We also take into account Giddens' (1992) view that modernity may also be expressed through the revitalization of traditional symbols.

1.1.3 Ritual

In most existing literature ritual is discussed as an integral part of symbolism, as ritual depends on the interpretation of its symbols for its effectiveness (Turner 1969, Bloch 1974, 1977, Hammond-Tooke 1989, inter-alia).

In his discussion of the Ndembu ritual process, Turner (1969) notes : condensation, unification of disparate referents and polarization of meaning as the basic properties of ritual symbols. Hammond-Tooke [1989:64] notes that :

Rituals are performed typically on three types of occasions : (1) at the life cycle rituals of birth, initiation, marriage and death; (2) to thank the ancestors for the successful accomplishment of a task, especially a long journey; and (3) when illness strikes.

We will note Hammond-Tooke's contextualization of ritual in chapter two below, when among others Bloch's (1974) and Moore and Myerhoff's (1977) views on the characteristics of ritual are expanded.

In Zulu, a ritual (umsebenzi) strengthens the bond between the ancestors and the living. A typical Zulu ritual act includes : the slaughtering of a goat or beast, addressing of the ancestors, drinking of traditional beer brewed in the

home where the function is held and music-making. In its very nature a Zulu ritual event draws on a large statement of Zulu symbolism as discussed in Berglund (1976), Krige (1950) and Callaway (1870) among others and implied in Mare (1992). In the ritual process the symbolic power of institutions is transformed into a reality, ordering the pattern of things in society. The significance of ritual lies in the fact that it forms a basis for the meaningfulness of life processes for those concerned, as Marja-Liisa Swantz [1970:33] puts it :

Ritual is basically a way of acting out and experiencing the symbolic understanding of reality. Man perceives his place in reality by being able to place himself in the symbolic system. Through ritual it becomes reality to him. Through interpreted ritual, an individual shares in the corporate perception of his society.

Ritual, thus, has the potential to expand an individual or a group's horizon's for its own inner understanding. Shorupski (1976) notes that ritual does have a standard meaning among those who share it within a culture. We will also note in chapter two below that ritual in its prescriptive nature limits choices of those who go through it and thus standardizes life processes. In this way ritual, tradition and ceremony become related terms as each is perceived to give an image of how things have always been because it is how

they should be (Shorupski, 1976).

Amahubo become definable in ritual terms because the very contexts within which they are performed are ritual events.

1.1.4 Symbolism

Dan Sperber (1974) defines symbolism as a system of signs which "uses, as signals, elements acts or utterances that exist, and are also interpreted independent of it" (p5). Symbolic phenomena always have a variety of meanings, sometimes deliberately hidden by those involved. For its effectiveness a symbolic act needs an interpretation which may not necessarily be stereotypical. According to Sperber (1974) the symbolic value of an act or item is determined by the underlying knowledge, conscious or subconscious which the interpreter of the symbol may have about it.

Shorupski (1976) relates ritual directly to symbolic action and defines symbols as things that stand for something else. According to Shorupski [1976 : 119] :

In a symbolic performance an action with respect to something which serves as a symbol represents an analogous action with respect to the thing symbolized.

In other words, visualizing or pictorializing forms part of the symbolic performance, so that what is sought in such a performance is attained in relation to assumed previous knowledge. According to Rabinow (1975) symbols are also

'ambiguous, inherently susceptible to many interpretations' (p3). Sperber (1974) defines symbolic knowledge as being potentially infinite and as having underlying tacit knowledge.

Symbols and metaphor are related, for this is how symbols become interpreted. According to Hammond-Tooke (1989) the power of symbols resides in their ability to tap unconscious memories (also Sperber, 1974).

Although the above relate to the discussion of symbols in general, it relates to our basic assumption that amahubo songs are symbols or symbolic and get interpreted in symbolic terms. This means that in a typical amahubo performance, which is a ritual or symbolic performance, there are many possible meanings that may be attained by the listeners and performers, depending on their understanding of the event and their pre-conceived idea of amahubo songs. It also means that amahubo are more than musical sounds; they are items standing for other ideas, which may be situational.

Nattiez (1977) defines music as a symbolic fact and as having symbolic associations. Drawing on semiotics in general, which he says should not be paralleled blindly in music semiotics, Nattiez [1977 : 227] says :

musical semiotics gives an account of any type of symbolic association that takes place with the musical material.

Nattiez further draws on the issue of musicological reconstruction which he defines as :

the construction of the relations between the meaning induced from the texts or situations in vocal or dramatic music, and the musical forms chosen (p.227)

There will thus be a relation between the structure of the music and its intended message, imagery or symbolism.

In their discussion of power and meaning in the Javanese Gamelan Becker and Becker (1981) identify iconicity or naturalness of the system which informs the music, and assert that metaphors gain power and even cease being taken as metaphors as they gain naturalness or iconicity. According to Behague (1984) the views of the participants are important in order to interpret the meaning of a given musical performance.

In amahubo songs the meaning of the event lies in what the participants seek to achieve. What the participants seek to achieve in a wedding, in war and in any other ceremonies is more than just pure musical satisfaction. Their interpretation of the event is informed by their historical knowledge and their understanding of the symbolism that informs it. If unity, or solidarity or patriotism or even power and iden-

tity are sought through the performance of amahubo songs, then it means that within amahubo musical utterances there are embedded symbolic patterns which make the attainment of these ideals a reality.

It is when we look at the etymology of words used by the performers to define amahubo performance that we are able to see that there is more than meets the eye or the ear in an amahubo performance event. Taking into account Marja-Liisa Swantz's (1970) view on ritual act cited above, amahubo songs as ritual music attain whatever is associated with them in symbolic terms. This makes their interpretation to be infinite, although always suggesting stability and continuity with the past.

Meyer's (1960) discussion on universalism and relativism in the study of ethnic music is of some relevance to the study of symbolism in amahubo songs. Meyer distinguishes the connotative and the kinetic or syntactic association as two basic modes of signification (p.51). He distinguishes association by contiguity and association by similarity as two basic mechanisms of association.

According to Meyer [1960:51]

In the case of contiguity, some aspect of the musical organization - an instrumental timbre, a mode, a melody, etc - becomes linked by dint of repetition with a concept, quality, activity or mood.

Association by contiguity and similarity is basically an insider's business. We can, however, infer that certain basic and central ideas in amahubo songs make their very performance to be associated with certain extra-musical issues. It is in this regard that the identification of central concepts in amahubo songs becomes necessary in order for us to be informed about their value and why even if they re-emerge in new styles they gain recognition and association with specific life processes.

It is in this regard that the retention of traditional knowledge becomes important in the association of aspects of modern musical styles with amahubo songs. The performers may perceive the attainment of non-musical goals through the performance of certain types of music as a possibility. Thus, unity or patriotism or loyalty or power or identity and many other non-musical emotions which are often defined by informants as being attainable through the performance of amahubo songs may be attainable possibilities through the kinetic-syntactic mode of signification, which is in essence an exercise in symbolic interpretation.

Sperber (1974) notes again, that symbolic relations may even be drawn from contrasting acts or phenomena. This means that one should not be looking for similarities only in order to interpret symbols but rather a whole culture and the ordering of its symbolism should be viewed in ethnosimiotic terms (McCannell, 1979). This should more be the method of interpreting amahubo songs.

1.1.5 Power

Concerns with power within the ritual context forms one of the basic issues in amahubo performance. In her study of ritual performance in Zaramo society, Swantz (1970) notes that essentially the power derived from ritual is necessary for those concerned to manage their given situation so that the rites of passage "are performed for the purpose of acquiring power and not for communicating existing values" (p.18).

In Zulu culture all rituals are performed for the acquisition of power, "bafuna amandla okuphila", as they say, without which life becomes an impossibility. Power attained within the context of Zulu ritual should be understood in relation to Zulu symbolism (Berglund, 1976).

Becker and Becker's (1981) study of power and meaning in the Javanese Gamelan music, already cited above, also bears some relation to the nature of power within amahubo performance. Power referred to in amahubo song performances is in essence, symbolic power. It also can be transformed to function even in non-ritual and non-musical situations, but its ritual source must always be apparent in order for it to be effective (Coplan 1991) or non-ritual situations may be ritualized in order to avail them to the ambit of ritual power.

Through the manipulation of symbols associated with the traditional system, individuals and groups are able to acquire for themselves positions of power within society. A Zulu man who always performs rituals is surrounded by many people. Being surrounded by many people is symbolic of power, as informants like to point out. In amahubo performance participation by many people is the basic ideal, which is how those concerned attain power, whether in real or symbolic terms.

A singing group of Zulu warriors attains power to face its enemy and a singing clan in a wedding attains power to carry out the task of getting one of its members married, which in turn bestows power on that individual to carry on with his/her daily activities within the newly attained role.

1.1.6 Zulu "Nation", Society or Ethnic Entity

In a study of Ashanti ethnicity which bears some resemblance to our understanding of Zulu ethnicity, Morrison (1982) identifies Ashanti ethnicity as embodying past cultural, linguistic and physical patterns which differentiate the Ashanti from other people within the Ghana state. Mare (1992) has similar ideas about Zulu ethnicity, and adds on the idea of Zulu military powers of the past as one of the definitive factors of Zulu ethnicity.

The Zulu word for nation is isizwe. However, the word can also mean an ethnic group or a tribe and sometimes even a clan. It should be acknowledged that Zulus today live in what is called the Republic of South Africa and history has made them to share geographical boundaries with many others who do not necessarily share their past cultural, linguistic, military and other patterns of life. This is what makes them an ethnic rather than a national group, at the moment.

The Zulu nation today is hardly homogenous. Divisions can be seen in relation to political ideology, educational and economic situation as well as social factors. Culturally, we can note the existence of the traditional cultural core consisting mostly of people related to or associated with the King. Most of these are traditionalists. Secondly, there is abaphakathi or amagxagxa who are situationally

traditionalist and situationally modernist, and thirdly there is the educated elite who mostly identify with Western culture. The ethnic statement appeals mostly to the traditionalists and situationally among the other groups. However, the lines themselves which divide these groups are not rigid. Moreover, people perform amahubo songs at clan and regional level, without necessarily being directly and immediately associable to the King. This makes the boundaries of who performs and who does not to be even more relative and fluid. Potentially every Zulu person is a performer of amahubo songs and although some may not do so today the conception of the music is such that it is for all.

The greatest point of reference for Zulu ethnicity is the pre-1879 era, specifically from the rise of King Shaka to the demise of the King Cetshwayo Kingdom, after the Anglo-Zulu war in 1879 (Mare 1992). This is evident in the centrality of Kings Shaka, Mpande, Dingane and Cetshwayo in Zulu cultural issues, especially in traditional music. It is most probably, because this is the era in which an independent Zulu Kingdom came into existence. The era is thus symbolically representative of a powerful Zulu past, a stereotypical Zulu perfection, perhaps, which contrasts with the present where Zulus are under Afrikaner rule and general white domination, while their continued existence may be under further threat (perceived or real) from some black

political groupings (see Gs and Bs speeches in Mare 1992).

Marks (1989) notes that Zulu ethnic consciousness has always been evident at different times and was, in most of this century, a product of intense ideological labour by the black intelligentsia of Natal and the white ideologues of South Africa. Mare (1992) identifies Inkatha (Inkatha Freedom Party) as being responsible for the revival of a Zulu ethnic consciousness in the 1980's and early 1990's. What is evident from Marks's and Mare's discussions is that the intelligentsia was and are able to select what was suitable from pre-colonial or tribal life to evoke ethnic-cultural sentiments. One item which is representative of the pre-colonial era is amahubo songs, although no mention of such is found in either Marks or Mare. It is logical, therefore, for amahubo to be used in the maintenance of a Zulu ethnic consciousness within contemporary South Africa, characterized by a polarized political situation.

Discussing ethnic identity Morrison [1982:123] says:

... perceptions of ethnic identity may be formed on basis other than objective truth, but with the same import for situational ethnicity as if they amounted to truth. The ethnic dimension of this phenomenon is simply the identity of the group which is felt to be affected by some external action. Frequently in these particular circumstances elements of the ethnic "past" are invoked to gain support and visibility.

Morrison further states that among the Ashanti ethnic identity becomes situational and to some, it is a means towards achieving something else (also Mare, 1992). In as much as we cannot within the confines of the present work categorically say what Zulu ethnicity, situational or otherwise, is likely to achieve, it is apparent that political claims may be at issue, a point which will be taken further in chapter four below.

As with the Ashanti, among the Zulu, too, not all people sharing the Zulu language spontaneously identify with the ethnic identity. We can point out that the cultural core referred to earlier as well as sections from the amagxagxa, and the illiterates are usually available to align themselves with the Zulu ethnic identity. The presence of the cultural core draws such an identity towards having the King as the centre. This also becomes demonstrable in some cultural and political utterances made by the King (Mare, 1992).

The re-emergence of the Zulu ethnic consciousness is not an isolated phenomenon in Southern Africa. Leroy (1989) notes the phenomenon in other parts of the sub-continent. Morrison (1982) also notes that ethnic resurgence is on the increase in Africa. We will note in chapter four below that the Zulu ethnic consciousness in contemporary South Africa becomes expressed in many forms, most of which draw some musical

resources from the warehouse of amahubo songs.

Our usage of the term Zulu "nation", or Zulu society will, in fact, be derived from inside reference, but in essence it means Zulu ethnic consciousness. For its existence, Zulu ethnicity depends on evoking cultural symbols associated with the 'great' pre-colonial past, and shaping them to meet with the demands of contemporary society (Mare, 1992). In short, it depends on linking that present with the past in which Zulus wielded power. Because ethnicity is a major issue in the South African socio-political and economic situation of today, it becomes easy for those seeking maximum participation to draw on the statement of the traditional past. Cohen (1982), for example notes that cultural awareness goes hand in hand with marginalization. An uncertain South African political situation in the late 1980's to early 1990's may be lending credence to Zulu perceptions of being alienated or marginalized.

In our usage of Zulu ethnic references no assumption is made of the existence of a 'pure' Zulu nation today, although of course some people within the Zulu cultural core like to point out at the existence of isiZulu phaqa, that is, pure Zulu. We note that the present Zulu ethnic entity may be maintained through the fusion of the old and the new and some of the new comes from outside.

claim its status on the basis of language, or some historical claim (see also Mare 1992). "UbuZulu" is a complex phenomenon drawing on a number of themes, sometimes stereotypical (Mare, 1992). However, due to the fact that those who claim it are not categorically definitive and articulate about it, the components of "ubuZulu" will not be pursued further within the confines of this thesis. We will thus mention it within the broad statement of Zulu ethnicity as Mare (1992) does. Amahubo songs, or traits thereof become identified as an integral part of Zulu ethnicity.

1.1.7 Zulu Music

The concept of Zulu music has been discussed by among others David Rycroft (1971, 1980, 1982), Rosemary Joseph (1983) and Veit Erlmann (1991). In essence it is a reference to the music which is claimed by the Zulu ethnic and cultural entity as being its own. During fieldwork and in some literature it became apparent that apart from amahubo songs in their collective nature, the other modern styles of Zionist and 'amakhorasi', written choral music, wedding songs, isicathamiya, mbhaganga, and maskanda are identified as Zulu music. The term used to define these styles is the categorical isiZulu⁴ (Erlmann, 1991).

Identifying markers of Zulu music seem to be : language, although not always, as well as sound patterns and basic concepts discussed in chapter two below and also by Rycroft (1980, 1982) and Joseph (1983). Once a musical style or genre becomes identifiable by the insiders as Zulu music it functions in the ordering of society.

As we will see in chapter four below Zulu music functions as an identity marker for the Zulu ethnic entity.

1.1.8 Performance Context

Even before defining and contextualizing performance context, it is necessary for us to define musical performance. Behague (1984) defines musical performance as 'an event and a process' (p.7). Kapferer (1986) defines performance as the enactment of the text. In other words, our concept of performance, in line with Behague's and Kapferers' views concentrates on the things that go on during the actual event, bearing in mind that the event is, in turn, ordered by conceptualizations that happen before and after it, which however, are its integral parts. Behague further identifies the significance of the views and definitions of the performers as forming a major part of what must be defined by the ethnomusicologist as a musical performance. Linked to performance is performance context.

Remarking about performance context Charles Seeger [1980 : 11] says :

The nature of context is a little more difficult to define. Context is to be found in the answers to the ethnographic questions of What, Where, How, When, By Whom, To Whom and Why Context is not merely what is produced. It is defined by a combination of factors, time, place, performers, audience and intention.

Seeger goes on to demonstrate how each of the listed ethnographic questions may be addressed in field study. Seeger's views are in concert with Behague's discussed earlier. There is no better source of establishing the performance contexts than engaging the insiders and even participating in at least some of the performances in their contexts. What needs to be followed and attempted to answer is Seeger's ethnographic questions listed above, and answers must reflect inside views. The present writer has attempted to do this.

1.2 ANALYSIS AND CONTEXTUALIZATION OF TOPIC

There are five studies of musical change through revitalization of traditional symbols which can be used as models for our present study. These are : C. Waterman's (1990, 1991) study of juju music among the Yoruba, David Coplan's (1991) study of Sotho sefela songs, Bruner's (1986) study of ethnic resurgence among the American Indians, Morrison's (1982) study of Ashanti ethnicity, already cited above, and Kaemmer's (1989) study of Shona music, which will receive further attention in chapters two and four below. The first three will receive further attention in chapter four below.

What is significant, is that in each of the models, traditional symbols associated with the distant and 'powerful' past are revitalized for contemporary use. However, to make old symbols relevant, they are revitalized in such a way that they look modern and definitive of modern circumstances. Their effectiveness depends on their being perceived as non-arbitrarily rooted in the past, as well as being able to link the past with the present.

In our present study amahubo songs, through being associated with the pre-colonial past, serve as a cultural warehouse from where the ideas for re-emergence or revitalization are derived. The new musical product is a combination of the new and the old.

To further contextualize the present work, we will discuss research method and transcription and analysis, which are some of the ethnomusicological issues related to this work.

In chapter two we will discuss the meaning, socio-ritual significance and performance contexts of amahubo songs. In chapter three we will discuss the missionary and colonial impact on Zulu music, while chapter four offers the discussion of the process and meaning of the re-emergence of amahubo song styles and ideas in some modern Zulu musical styles. The conclusion is drawn on chapter five.

1.3 RESEARCH METHOD

Ethnomusicology, since its inception in the modern sense in the 1880's, has been characterised by extensive research involving, among others, fieldwork, laboratory work and publication. Over the years published material dealing with ethnomusicology and trying to assert the independence of the field as a separate academic discipline, has increased dramatically. Among the publications that have gained wide acclaim and usage can be enumerated, *inter alia*, Merriam (1964), Nettl (1964), and Hood (1971). What generally characterises the earlier publications is the emphasis on suitable research techniques, especially field research methods.

The emphasis on field research methods, as well as on desk work and transcription has made ethnomusicology to be a generally field-research-oriented discipline. Over the years field techniques have been debated in relation to how ethnomusicologists wanted to see the future directions of their discipline (Nettl, 1964 and Merriam 1964, for example). Internal debates have led to the increase in the number of publications which the student can consult before going to the field.

The role of the ethnomusicologist in research in society has also changed over the years. While earlier he was more of a

field collector of musical items from any music outside Western music, usually collecting for somebody else who would do the transcriptions, he has lately become more of a field worker, a writer and a theorist (Nettl 1964, Gourlay 1978).

1.3.1 Definition and scope of ethnomusicology

Definitions of ethnomusicology as a discipline are also offered, widely. With regards to the definitions Nettl [1988 : 1-2] notes:

It is evident that there is no completely acceptable definition of ethnomusicology. It is equally uncertain whether ethnomusicology is a separate discipline, requiring its own rationale, methodology, apparatus, courses, curricula, and learned societies, or whether it is indeed simply a field of interest and an activity that draws its adherents from a number of recognised disciplines - musicology, anthropology, folklore, linguistics, psychology and others. Or yet, whether it is a subdivision of musicology or of anthropology.

In as much as Nettl does not think that the problem of the identity of ethnomusicology can be solved (ibid, p2) there seems to be consensus among ethnomusicologists of recent times that the definition of ethnomusicology as the study of music in culture offered by Merriam (1964) is a more appropriate one. In discussing Merriam's definition, however, Nettl (1985) extends it to be the study of music as culture.

The bringing in of culture leads to another debate, that concerning the extent to which anthropology, which deals basically with culture, can play a decisive role in the development of ethnomusicology as a discipline. Publications

with an anthropological bias (Merriam 1964, Nettl 1983, 1985, Feld 1984 among others, for example) have increased in the ethnomusicological literature in recent years. The idea of studying music in its cultural context (Nettl, 1985) seems to have fascinated ethnomusicologists in the past two to three decades. This contrasts with earlier trends of studying music of non-Western cultures from a narrow Western perspective (Hood, 1971). Ethnomusicology tends then to be defined as the study of music in culture or as culture, a view which the present writer supports. Ethnomusicology, in its very nature, shares with a variety of disciplines.

In the quoted statement Bruno Nettl (1983 : 1) lists, among others: "musicology, anthropology, folklore, linguistics, psychology and others", as some of the disciplines that invariably share with ethnomusicology in a variety of ways. In fact, although at some stage a great divide existed between musicology and ethnomusicology, with the former being confined to the systematic study of Western music, and the latter, all other music; folk and traditional, the two fields are now gradually coming together.

Other published issues may be of some interest. Apart from writing about research techniques (Mantle Hood, 1971) and the scope of ethnomusicology (Nettl, 1964 and 1983) four other major issues which relate to this thesis have dominated the discipline of ethnomusicology. These are: the definition of music, fieldwork, music and culture change as well as transcription. The present writer would like to deal with fieldwork and transcription in a separate sub-chapter, because of the number of ideas surrounding these issues, as

well as their generally contentious nature, especially in ethnomusicological trends prior to the 1980's.

1.3.2 Definition and scope of music

Ethnomusicologists have, over the years been engaged in the attempts to widen the scope of the definition of music. The definition of music in the Western culture of which most early ethnomusicologists were products, could not suit adventure into the study of non-Western music, where the concepts, rules and principles, were different in many ways. The definition of music by Seeger [1987 : XIV] is a classic example of how ethnomusicologists attempt to broaden the definition of music.

A.P. Merriam (1964) advocates the necessity of the definition and the study of music in any culture to include the musical concepts held by the insiders of the culture, the behaviour, of the performers and insiders of the musical culture being studied, as well as the sounds, ultimately produced by the insiders of the culture. This view seems to have a strong acceptance by ethnomusicologists of recent years, and music comes about to be defined not only in terms of sounds, but also in terms of underlying ideas circulating in a culture, behaviour patterns observable from members of a culture and music-makers, as well as the sounds ultimately produced by the music-makers.

The broadening of the definition of music leads to the expediency of understanding the patterns of the culture one is

studying so that even if a culture, like the traditional Zulu, does not have a specific all-embracing term for music [Joseph, 1983:60], cultural concepts may necessarily have to be studied so that whatever concepts the culture has about music, they may be brought forward. To take this point further, among the traditionalist Zulu, specific culture-defined practices, to be discussed later, are clear indicators of the existence of a concept of music there. Such practices may go beyond mere sound patterns, and tap on the issues of social organization, patterns of social relations (for example, kinship and the significance of ritual) as well as concepts of power, symbolism and a variety of inter-related concepts which may seem, from a distance and especially when viewed differently, to be totally unrelated to music.

The need to broaden the horizons of the definition of music in relation to culture has also led to the need to define the paradigms of the cultures being studied and to establish a cultural core or centre (Nettl, 1985) which determines all the domains of life, including music.

Bruno Nettl (1983) discusses four models for the study of music in or as culture, namely :

- . The enumerative approach - which is based on the proposition that culture consists of a large number of

1.3.3 Musical change

Bruno Nettl (1964) notes that the issue of the theory of musical change has not been developed to the level of scientific predictability. However, it is worth noting that ethnomusicology publications of recent years have dedicated lot of space to the issue of music and social change.

Nettl (1983) lists four types of change common in all cultures. These are :

- . Complete abandonment by a society of its own musical system in preference for another;
- . Radical change in a system of music whose new form can definitely still be traced in some way to the old. In this instance a stable element is identifiable in the culture's original music;
- . Change from within, which in turn is necessary for stability in a culture, and
- . Change which comes as a result of innovation and gradual motion away from the established past. The unit of musical thought is not necessarily changed.

The above paragraph is, of course, a summary of a lengthy discussion which Nettl puts forward on the issues of change. When related to change within Zulu music it can be observed that there has not been a complete abandonment of traditional Zulu musical styles. Traditional musical styles, some very old, amahubo for example, continue to be performed side by side with modern styles. Even in modern styles, although the use of Western musical instruments and ideas may be evident, they do not, in any way, imitate any of the musical styles presently being made in Europe and America, at least in terms of underlying concepts. Instead, there seems to be a stable element in the music, the conceptual core, which gives the music a direct linkage with its traditional past. Moreover, even in the styles where there has been a significant shift from the tradition, especially in terms of sound, it is in the present writer's observation that basic concepts of music and music-making have mostly been maintained, or they re-emerge in varying degrees from time to time in the modern styles. This will be expanded in chapters two and four below.

In ethnomusicological literature the study of musical change has gained momentum in the second half of the twentieth century (Nettl : 1985). Tracing this development of the subject in ethnomusicology documentation Nettl [ibid : 19] says :

Once a people had its own music, more recently it might "have" or participate in many musics, but perhaps only one with which it truly identifies itself. And from this also stems the strong interest of ethnomusicologists in the emblematic function of music, the emphasis of music as closely related to ethnicity, is immediately recognisable sound one of the most powerful symbols of the groups. While earlier ethnomusicologists emphasised the undeniable fact that in most societies many activities cannot be properly carried out without the correct performance of accompanying music, more recent scholarship has added a concentration on the importance of a particular kind of music to the group's identity.

What transpires from this statement is that ethnomusicologists have been and continue to be concerned with trying to find out why certain elements or whole styles would not change even when a culture's musical face seems to be changing. The study of musical change, and non-change, subsequently has been linked to the study of the underlying ideas of a culture's identity. Philip V. Bohlman (1988) notes that the issue of traditional music and cultural identity has been consistent in ethnomusicological studies, and this has shaped the history of ethnomusicology. (Also Marcia Herndon, 1988 and John Miller Chernoff, 1979).

The biggest challenge facing a thesis of this nature is firstly the establishment of central traits characterizing traditional music, possible forces of change and influence, resultant styles, as well as what survives or re-emerges from the old practice. This calls for the study of the past,

with its problems of relative inaccessibility in an oral tradition.

1.3.4 Oral Tradition

Studies involving the past of a culture where music is not notated are often complicated. However, the advent of field recording as a research device in ethnomusicology has helped in the preservation of music from the past. In Zulu music the recordings and documentations of collectors like Kirby and Hugh Tracey in the first half of the twentieth century and Rycroft later cannot be underestimated. At least music as sound can be accessed. However, most of the songs they recorded had not been composed on the day of recording. Rather, most music, especially amahubo songs, had been composed in the distant past. In-as-much as the sounds are accessible, therefore, what cannot be reconstructed, to use A.P. Merriam's model (1964) is the concepts that existed at the time of first performance as inspired and guided by the cultural context and practice of the time. To draw an example, we could record an abadlokwe player in 1935 and describe this sound and instrument as courting music, but we cannot when listening to the recording in 1992 recapture the spirit in which courting in that particular context in 1935 occurred. Thus, where traditional music continues to be played alongside modern music, the traces of the past may be more inferred from the music of the past being played in the present alongside the new music.

Paul Thompson [1988:5] describes the existence of oral tradition as evidence of value rather than of the facts. In other words, the kind of things and practices which people in a culture hold in value and consider vital to the definition of their very existence as a people, will, in an oral tradition, be passed from one generation to another, and irrespective of internal changes that may occur in the process, cultural insiders may argue vigorously and adamantly that their cultural values remain intact and untouched (note also Shorupski [1976:189-204]). In Zulu culture, for example, the usual expression in ritual contexts, "Ngesi Zulu kwenziwa kanje", meaning, in Zulu tradition this is how things are done, reflects, at times, the general belief that oral knowledge has remained undisturbed by outside influences. Another expression which has an equal value is : "Selokhu kwathi nhlo", meaning since the beginning of time.

In conducting field interviews among informants in the Melmoth, Nkandla, Mahlabathini and Nongoma districts, which informants regard as the traditional core of Zuluness, the present writer has had to rely very much on the informants' ideas of traditional music, even though some of them do not necessarily perform all the styles today. It is the view of the present writer, based on field experience, that such interviews and discussions do add humanness to the musical body of amahubo songs which has a large historical past, maintained through the present. This by far, surpasses the value of recorded material done by somebody else in the past⁵.

In short, a thesis of this nature needs to investigate the belief systems, the historical development of the society and the music and where possible, speculations about the past (Thompson, 1988). What is more, the link between the issues of sound and the social relations (Feld, 1984) must also be established. This will be attempted in subsequent chapters.

1.4 FIELDWORK

The historical development of the discipline of ethnomusicology has been marked by changes in field research techniques, methods and objectives. Relating these changes Nettl [1983 : 3-4] says :

Field research has changed a great deal in the last half century. It began essentially as a gathering of raw material, with concentration on the music - songs, instruments, and instrumental pieces - with secondary attention to the cultural context. For example, a researcher would ask an informant to sing a number of songs. He would record them and ask, for each song, a number of questions about its origin, function means of transmission, and other pertinent matters. From this technique ethnomusicologists moved on to more sophisticated approaches - the practical study of an instrument, development of questionnaires, enquiries about attitudes toward music, investigation of taxonomies in the culture, and so on. These inevitably necessitated spending much longer periods in the field. Today most ethnomusicologists spend at least a year carrying out any kind of major field project

These developments can equally be traced in Zulu music and society. Research into Zulu music can be traced from earlier reports by missionaries like Bryant, to the works of field collectors like Rycroft, Kirby and Hugh Tracey and further to current research involving the study of the meaning of Zulu music in its specific contexts and mostly from the insider perspective (B. Mthethwa, K. Mngoma, V. Erlmann, for

example). While field collections done earlier were done from the perspective of research theories dominant at the time, they continue to be invaluable as a starting point for researchers into Zulu music today. However, they cannot substitute for the significance of one's own field work for any scholar wanting to venture into any meaningful study of Zulu music.

Developments in field techniques in ethnomusicology have been very much linked to developments in the field of technology. The advancement of recording devices invariably led to the advancement of field research in ethnomusicology (Nettl 1964, Kunst 1974).

Emphasised in current ethnomusicology literature is also the significance of first-hand experience (Nettl, 1964, for example), a research technique which cannot be replaced in any way at the moment. The advantage of first-hand experience is that the researcher is able to draw conclusions based on his own experiences and observations. Such first-hand experience may or may not be preceded by preparatory reading.

In the case of the present thesis fieldwork has been divided into observation, participation, interviewing and recording. The field experiences and observations of the researcher will be related on subsequent pages. The present writer,

brought up at Melmoth, and having spent most of his early life in that area and having participated in the making of traditional and modern music earlier in life, does have an insider status to the music being studied.

This is significant in as far as it has to do with trends in ethnomusicology where researchers have emerged from non-Western nations to conduct ethnomusicological fieldwork among their own people, as Nettl (1983) notes.

In the present case, it has been more of studying one's personal tradition. This new development, noted by Bruno Nettl, has led to the significance of the definition of the insider. Should inside be defined in terms of geographical locality of knowledgeability on the subject? Although it is not easy to give decisive answers to this question, we note that, in some instances, insider status is claimed on the basis of either belonging to the group being investigated or sharing political borders with such a group. Bruno Nettl notes that the development of the world as a "global village" may make everyone potentially an insider to all societies" [1983:263].

An insider status, however, may be attainable in many forms. In her research on gospel music Burnim [1985:437] notes that her insider status was allocated on two accounts : a shared ethnic identity which was un verbalized and sub-conscious and her ability to perform in the gospel medium which was ver-

bally sanctioned. She notes, however, that the two were not separable. Her ethnic identity was further complimented by being seen to be actively involved in the actual making of the music.

In the case of the present writer it was observed that an ethnic identity as well as the ability to sing amahubo songs and some modern styles, combined with the readiness to plough back knowledge, especially when people were confronted with the inside question, "konje kwenziwanjani lapha?" (in chapter two below) were all advantageous factors. The two accounts listed by Burnim were actually experienced by the present writer. Research into Zulu music was often seen by the informants and some insiders who commented on the role of the present writer in the field, as a sign from the present writer of his respect for the Zulu traditional value system.

Thus Joseph Shabalala could remark : "You, Xulu, your research shows that you know why you went to school. We need more people like you, who, although they are educated, display respect towards our Zulu heritage" and the King remarked : "Xulu, you are a real Zulu man for doing these things" and Chief Buthelezi could remark : "It is a good assurance to us when we see someone of young blood like you, showing so much interest in our own Zulu tradition" and Delisa Sibiya remarked : "IsiZulu is going to build you into

a real man, Xulu".

There were other remarks by informants, which all showed their perception of the present writer as a culture-bearer.

If one follows the argument of knowledgeability one can argue that not all Zulu-speaking persons are automatically informative cultural insiders. Not all, too, are potential informants knowledgeable in all musical styles and practices. The selection of informants and interviewees cannot, therefore, be done at random. Mostly informants were established after long informal conversations with members of communities in beer parties and other ritual events where the present writer first attended as an ordinary man, and not as a researcher.

In the experience of the present writer, there were three types of informants. The first type were the practitioners of the various styles, the music-makers who mostly spoke and acted from the perspectives of their respective styles and sub-styles. To this group belong people like Sipho Mchunu, Joseph Shabalala and Bishop Makhaza. The second type of the people are not necessarily performers of any specific styles, but have a deep understanding of the dynamics of Zulu music, Zulu history and Zulu society in general. Some of them may or may not necessarily be occasional musicians

or performers, like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the present monarch, King Zwelithini, Umntwana Makhukhuza, and many others. The third type consists of people who have themselves at some stage conducted academic research into Zulu music. These are people who have an academic understanding of the music. Among these can be listed Professor Khabi Mngoma as an example. The views presented in this thesis are a synthesis and interpretation of the views expressed by these types of informants, field observation preparatory theoretical readings, as well as the present writer's own observation.

Through interacting with these various types of informants it has been possible to delve into the deeper levels of relating the dynamics of Zulu music.

In the field it was not always easy, however, to decide on what should be recorded. Thus, a holistic approach was applied. A. Seeger [1987:25] notes the significance of a holistic approach in field research :

Any ethnomusicological study of music should begin by examining music in relationship to other art forms, because nothing simply exists by itself. Everything is partly defined by what it is not by the other members of a set which usually are systematically related among themselves.

This is especially relevant to the study of amahubo songs, where the dynamics of the whole social system may not be excluded if amahubo themselves are to be understood, because these are intertwined and among themselves, define each other. It takes several trips to a traditional Zulu wedding to see the relationships between the various traditional Zulu song styles and genres within their social context. It is also in such a context that the idea of the Zulu cosmology may be clearly defined.

A.P. Merriam (1969) and Bruno Nettl (1983) note the existence of musicologist- and anthropologist- ethnomusicologists and the effect the approach of each can have in the eventual results of the field project. These differences are important in as far as they may relate to the general problems and strategies of fieldwork. The nature of the project and the background training of the researcher are important factors which may determine the nature of field research.

One of the main advantages of engaging in fieldwork is that it leads to a holistic understanding of the dynamics of the culture one is studying.

According to A.P. Merriam [1964:44] :

What the ethnomusicologist does in the field is determined by his own formulation of method taken in its broadest sense.

It is these scholarly views which have formed guiding principles for field research for this thesis. The present writer has noted, below, specific field experiences and observations which are necessary to give a comprehensive picture of how field research was conducted.

In addition to the contact between the present researcher and the informant the communities indirectly had a decisive influence on who should be an informant. Establishing contacts with informants was, on its own, a difficult task. Ultimately, the present researcher had to be introduced into the community, at which point he could participate in public ceremonies as well as freely make recordings.

It was observed by the present writer that the Zulu people are very positive towards researchers who show a deep interest in the body of traditional Zulu knowledge and perceptions. A researcher is seen as making a very valuable contribution by documenting social values, something which is believed to be positive in that it makes the knowledge available to the future generations. The Zulu people are very much concerned about the storage of traditional values for future generations to have something to refer to. In

this way, even performance is sometimes conceived as revival and preservation. It is this Zulu concern which renders the researcher, if accepted in the community, a social asset. The researcher may, as a result, be quickly admitted as one of the community members, depending on how he conducts himself.

Ultimately the success of a research project depends very much on the researcher's adaptability, alertness, as well as ability to extract necessary information without disturbing the course of events. In fact, most information in Zulu culture may only be communicated in a two-way conversation. Questions are always welcome, but as part of conversations. The issue is that questioning a person to quickly extract information may, for many reasons, be suspicious. The researcher, therefore, has a task to collect enough background knowledge before he even goes out in search of new knowledge. Usually, the bottom line is the ability to speak and understand the language and its dynamics.

Knowledge of the language is only the first step which may help the researcher to communicate and relate to people. Talking about the significance of language Jaap Kunst [1974 : 15] says :

A most important factor for the success of musicological expedition is some knowledge of the

language current in the territory of your investigation.

One should add that a great advantage lies in the understanding of speech mannerisms, figurative and literal meanings, codifications, as well as the dynamics of the language.

Language is also significant because it sometimes relates directly to the music being studied. Merriam (1964) notes the significance of song texts as one of the six areas of enquiry which must be attended to in any standard ethnomusicological study. The other five are : "musical material culture"; "categories of music envisaged lesser from the investigators' viewpoint but more by the people (being investigated) themselves"; "the musician and the learning process within the culture being studied"; "the functions of music in relation to other aspects of culture"; and "the study of music as a creative cultural activity" (ibid : 45). Ability to communicate in the Zulu language proved a great advantage for the present writer.

It is the present writer's observation that the Zulu people are very particular on the issue of social relations and kinship. One establishes good relations on the very first utterances, that is, greeting. If this fails usually it becomes difficult for working relationships to be established

later. It is also important to note that the researcher has to establish good relations not only with his own informants, but also with their friends, relatives and neighbours while avoiding being drawn into their personal private issues. For this matter, it is not a duty of a researcher to settle local disputes, unless he has been asked to do so by parties involved because they trust him. A researcher, who, because of a slight error of judgement, loses favour with any one group in a given community stands to lose favour with all.

Further, most traditionalist Zulu people in the districts where fieldwork was conducted for this thesis are extremely proud of their Zulu heritage. In conversation, therefore, the Zulu heritage has always to be referred to as - isi Zulu, and positive references to recognised leaders like the King and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are factors which add to the authenticity of the research project and general flow of the conversation. Knowledge of Zulu history and the ability to demonstrate genuine concern for the Zulu as a people and as a nation, are usually appreciated as positive signs of involvement with Zulu affairs. However, the unavailability of informants ready to discuss phenomena in Zulu music at a high-level theoretical perspective and the scarcity of literature at this level, makes drawing parallels from similar phenomena in other African cultures an unavoidable option, especially where similarities are obvious.

It is generally accepted in ethnomusicology that the field worker has an obligation to the people whom he is studying (Nettl, 1983 p4).

It is in relation to these facts that the real sentiments of the group being researched must be sought and understood. The establishment of a working bond between the researcher and the people being studied, should be of primary importance. It is the nature of this bond, which may, to a large extent, determine the results of field work. Field research itself has to be humanised because the field worker is dealing with a human process (Blacking, 1970; Elliott, 1989). In fact, the extent of co-operation from the informants depends very much on the researcher's perceived attitude towards the music and the people he is researching.

Because music is conceived as a historical, social and cultural asset it, normally, may only be discussed within the context of the general discussion of the Zulu history. Social system or cultural issues. These, however, are also perceived within the context of a huge body of knowledge with strings of relations.

Recording instruments may only be used once good social relations have been established. It is common knowledge that being tape-recorded is taboo among some traditionalist Zulus as this carries some witchcraft undertones. Fieldwork must, therefore, be viewed and carried out as an exercise in human relations and Zulu conceptualization and symbolism on these issues must be understood as a pre-requisite to meaningful exercise in field research. The issue is that any behaviour

which may be associated with colonization, either as an imposition or in the form of ubufundiswa - that is, mission station-educated, elitist behaviour will be dismissed and is likely to spoil one's field prospects.

Interpretation of data, in order to be precise should involve an understanding of the codes involved. Talking about the dynamics required in dealing with such a situation Steven Feld [1984:11] says :

Interpretive moves involve certain dimensions of communicative action. Recognition of certain features of code, genre, stylization, and performance instantly identify boundaries of the musical object that exist in a tension of ideational and material structure, of musical and extra-musical features. What the code articulates through - acoustic pattern - is part of what it can potentially communicate about - sound as structured and performed with organized patterns of anticipation. ... a range of social and personal backgrounds - shared, complementary - stratified knowledge and experience, and attitudes, ... enters into a social construction of meaningful listening by interpretive moves, establishing a sense of what the sound object/event is, and what one feels, groups who knows about it. At the same time some very specific decisions ... can also be plausibly surmised by the listener drawing on interpretive moves and other kinds of social knowledge.

Thus, information extending beyond the mere surface level of musical sounds could be interpreted through delving into the underlying world of social ideas and ideas about music,

which is evident in chapter four of this thesis.

1.5 TRANSCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

Ethnomusicological literature shows that until about thirty years ago, it was often taken for granted that transcription of as many sound examples recorded in the field should be done for analysis, and for as an end in itself.

1.5.1 The 1963 Symposium

However, although Merriam and McAllister were already having some objections to routine transcription (England, 1964) it was not until the "Symposium on Transcription and Analysis" held at Wesleyan University in 1963, (ibid.) that more ethnomusicologists seem to have started to express their reservations about the validity of routine transcription as a necessary and major part of ethnomusicology research.

The significance of the 1963 Symposium is that all four ethnomusicologists, namely, Robert Garfias, Mieczyslaw Kolinski, George List and Willard Rhodes who had been given a Hukwe (Bushman) song with musical bow produced altogether different transcriptions. Each ethnomusicologist offered his own reasons for transcribing the way he did.

Robert Garfias [1964:233], who had resorted to graphs to transcribe the voice parts remarked :

This transcription of the Hukwe melody shows some departures from standard transcription techniques. It is not, however, designed as a universally applicable method. In fact, it might be better argued that each genre or tradition be transcribed according to a special system devised to illustrate best those aspects of the performance on which the analyst wishes to concentrate. No system of transcription, mechanical or otherwise, can preserve all of a musical example accurately and it is up to the transcriber to select or emphasize pertinent parts of the entire configuration. The

standard Western notation system tends to reinforce those aspects of the sound pattern which are compatible with our own notation traditions and in varying degrees to distort or omit others.

Two important points can be deduced from Garfias' statement. The first one is the subjectivity of transcription, later elaborated by Jairazbhoy (1977), among others. The fact that Garfias advocates a special system for each genre and the selection of certain aspects which the analyst wishes to emphasise indicates his conscious admission of the subjectivity of transcription. The second point which comes out is the ethnocentric (Eurocentric) nature of transcription when done through "the standard Western notation" (ibid.).

Mieczyslaw Kolinski [ibid : 241] while relating reasons for his transcription said :

The question whether a piece like the present one should be transcribed in extenso or whether it suffices to select a representative portion of it might be answered as follows : In many instances it seems admissible (and, for practical reasons, even necessary) to present only a characteristic section of a piece; however, in order to determine which part is to be considered as particularly representative, it is unavoidable to transcribe and to analyze, at least in a more or less summary way, the whole piece involved.

Kolinski's assessment of the piece and what was required of it does not differ drastically from Garfias'. Both advocate partial transcription, concentrating on those aspects which the analyst deems central and representative. However in terms of what each of them presented on paper, which, one would assume, they deemed central, their transcriptions differed drastically (Garfias' pages 234-238 and Kolinski's pages 242-245 and melodic structure on page 246).

George List's transcription differed quite drastically from those of the above two and his reasons for that were different, too [ibid : 252] :

Transcription of one musical event only, no matter if made by a dozen scholars, are insufficient in themselves to produce valid data concerning a particular musical style and are certainly an insufficient basis for comparative studies.

The above statement is indicative of the fact that transcription cannot be given a status of absolute reliability. It is also an admission of its subjectivity and its individualistic nature as Kolinski suggests surprise at the possibility of any two similar transcriptions of that same work (ibid. : 253). However Kolinski is quick to point out the validity of transcription (ibid.). So, transcription has its weakness but is nevertheless widely used in ethnomusicology.

Willard Rhodes attempted to notate only those features which he considered "essential to an understanding of the form and style of the piece" (ibid : page 271).

Among the four ethnomusicologists there seems to be consensus on two fundamental issues. The first one is that transcription need not be detailed, although what is transcribed must of necessity reflect the central characteristics of the music being transcribed. The second issue is that the transcriber has a human and musicological right to determine which sections to transcribe because of their relative centrality and his understanding of the style he is studying. This last point relates to Kolinski's statement that there could not be produced two similar transcriptions of any one piece by two different scholars.

1.5.2 Solutions

Once the inadequacy of notation was discussed the trend in ethnomusicology has been to re-evaluate the emphasis that should be placed on transcription, and its previously relatively central position was checked. Nettl was advocating it as routine procedure in 1964. However, Merriam (1964) does not discuss it in any detail. It is probably because Merriam's main concern seems to be a broad definition of music and its place in its various social and cultural settings.

Ethnomusicologists have gradually been achieving awareness of the shortcomings of Western notation when it comes to notating non-Western music. Describing the effects of Western notation on non-Western music, Mantle Hood [1971 : 85] says :

... most non-Western musics have been subjected to the process of fitting square pegs into the round holes of Western notation.

He subsequently discusses the shortcomings of the Western symbols of notation. Hood's concern seems to be not whether transcription should be done at all, but rather the extent to which standard Western notation, with which most ethnomusicologists are familiar, is capable of representing the

musical style being studied.

1.5.2.1 The Hipkin's Solution

Hood (ibid.) discusses the Hipkins solution in which Japanese notation may be used for the study of Japanese music, Chinese notation for the study of Chinese music, and Zulu notation for the study of Zulu music? A question mark for Zulu music and indeed almost all sub-Saharan African music because it is not notated in its traditional setting. The Hipkin's solution does not offer any solutions for musical traditions which have never used notation systems or seem to be eager to develop them. Moreover, Western notation seems to be almost always used, especially for the latter type of traditions, as Hood [ibid : 92] puts it :

The usage of some form of modified Western notation for transcription purposes, in spite of the fact that its limitations are generally understood, tends to be self-perpetuating. Most scholars are critical of the problem. But when the chips are down and that postponed deadline for the press can be postponed no longer, Western notation, with all its faults for the purpose at hand, is usually selected as the medium of representation for musical examples and illustrations.

The present writer has not tried other notation systems in view of the fact that most people who are likely to read this work will be familiar with the standard Western notation, no matter how inadequate. The transcriptions on chapters two and four, therefore, are void of any perfection. It is because the symbols are foreign to Zulu music that some may seem to another ear and eye as being faulty and misplaced, but this would be routinely ethnomusicological. Furthermore the transcriptions are based on the present writer's familiarity with the music.

1.5.2.2 The Seeger Solution

Another solution which Mantle Hood discusses is the Seeger Solution where Charles Seeger, one of the leading ethnomusicologists advocated the use of an automatic music writer, the Melograph Model C, which does not seem to have been used extensively since its inception.

It does not seem like the Seeger Solution has enjoyed wide acceptance in ethnomusicology. George List's [1974:365] comparison of hand and machine transcriptions seems to favour hand transcription :

The hand notation is a product of the human mind which attempts to synthesize the data heard and to offer an intelligible description of the whole in symbolic guise. The electronic device, on the other hand, makes no judgement.

The criticism of the electronic device here seem to be its lack of the human mind and its inability to hear what is more appropriate apart from what is not. The electronic device (which includes Seeger's Melograph Model C) lacks subjectivity which is essential if transcription is to be meaningful. Further objections to electronic devices have been offered by Jairazbhoy (1977). Hood also suggests

Labanotation, but as it turns out, this is more for transcribing dance, and the extent to which it can apply in music has not been further explored. It does not mean, however, that all ethnomusicologists criticized the use of electronic instruments all the time (Oskar Elschek, 1966). A major problem of the melograph and computer 'graphing' is the difficulty of distinguishing different voices.

1.5.3 Recording

The other issue, of course, has been the questioning of the accuracy of recording itself. For example, the extent to which the positioning of microphones and the acoustics of the room (Jairazbhoy (ibid.)) suggests continuity between preparations to go to the field, assessment of one's field and informants, recording, transcribing and analysing. In fact, the next question may be; do ethnomusicologists hear from their recordings only that which they, through their subjectivity want to hear and eventually transcribe that which they want to transcribe? To what extent do personal, situational and universal constraints discussed by K.A. Gourlay (1978) for example, affect each ethnomusicologist's transcription and analysis? It may not be easy to give an answer, at the moment, to these questions. But what it means is that the general orientation of the ethnomusicologist and his kind of background are important factors which guide his research methodology and eventual results.

Our approach was to record firstly everything, that is, whole events and later review them with informants, while noting those aspects which they identify as central. Recording, of course, was done once good relations had been established through informal conversations sometimes over a traditional Zulu beer pot, a litre of cool drink or even amahewu.

1.5.4 Notation of Zulu Music

There seems to be a consensus among ethnomusicologists on the subject of descriptive notation as against a prescriptive one. In short, the transcriber is largely expected to transcribe those traits which he deems central to the description of the musical style, at least in terms of the sound. Moreover, the use of Western symbols with some adaptations seems to continue as an acceptable practice, sometimes with some reservations.

The relative centrality of transcription has gradually shifted through the years. This has much to do with the evolution of ethnomusicological research methodology, which lately tends to give lesser prominence than was the case before, to the sound. Sound is no longer the sole and decisive factor in the definition of music by ethnomusicologists. Merriam's (1964) model for the definition of music seems to have had a wide impact on the status of transcription.

Current publications in ethnomusicological literature tend to reflect this non-centrality of transcription. Noting this trend James Porter [1988 : vi] says :

The transcription and analysis of music for their own sake, or for the mere purpose of describing stylistic profiles, is less central than it was. Interest in problems such as that of music's meaning or how it operates within a system of social value, has grown correspondingly, and scholars have come to recognize that "music" or "musical activity", however these are perceived or defined, are inseparable from other cultural, behavioural, aesthetic and cognitive realities, all co-existing as complex and interacting networks.

There are many implications in relation to the discussions offered above and the present thesis. Firstly, Zulu music is not a written tradition although many who have attempted transcriptions of Zulu songs have done so through the standard Western notation. Moreover, at least one style, notably written choral music employs largely tonic solfa, which is a Western notation. Tonic solfa was introduced by the missionaries. Transcription from tonic solfa to staff notation is relatively easy and simple.

The second difficulty with the employment of transcription is that the traits which are central to Zulu music are conceptual rather than sounded (see chapter 2 below). This means that issues pertaining to the actual sound would not be given the first priority as insiders do not conceive it as such.

Another more important point is that because of the inside definition and categorization of Zulu music, which tends to emphasize context, the present writer has not seen a need to include large numbers of transcribed examples in the main body of the thesis, because that would not serve any purpose on its own. The central view is that only descriptive sec-

tions of songs, that is, partial transcription, have been offered. To illustrate this point by drawing on the example of amahubo songs, there are no sound differences between ihubo elikhulu (the major ihubo of a clan) and ihubo elincane (the minor ihubo of a clan). In other words there are no characteristic sound patterns which differentiate items of ihubo elincane from all items of ihubo elikhulu generally. But what differentiates them is the performance contexts and the approach of the present thesis will concentrate on that rather than structural details.

There is one commendable way of defining conceptual relations, that is, through the insider's eyes. We can, of course, not deny that individual songs do differ in terms of sound among themselves, but it does not mean that the conceptualization which leads to the creation of each is different, it is a matter of insider categorization and differentiation (McCannell, 1979:150). Our transcriptions in chapter four below are mere approximations in terms of pitch and meter and do not in any way represent absolutes. Extensive detailing has also been avoided.

The foregoing is meant to define the relative status of transcription in this thesis based on current trends in ethnomusicological research. The descriptive type of transcription utilized in this thesis is suitable to descriptive analysis of data offered in its main chapter. This is more so because the nature of the thesis is such that the content is culture-specific, internal and native-intuitive.

It thus seems logical that culture-specific analysis based on the insider's cognitive domains should be a conceptual analysis. In a musical culture where the most central elements are conceptual - behavioural, as is the case with Zulu music, it is appropriate that a descriptive analytical approach extending beyond mere recognition of sound patterns and penetrating the conceptual world of the informants insiders is applied. Synthesis of data and relating certain behavioural patterns to cultural patterns has been utilized.

FOOTNOTES

1. The word nation carries some ambiguity when applied to Zulus within contemporary South Africa. However, insiders and those interested in the Zulu ethnic entity like to refer to the Zulu nation - isizwe samaZulu or uZulu. Within the contemporary South African context, however, we can refer to the Zulu nation as essentially the Zulu ethnic group. Note Morrison's (1982) discussion of Ashanti ethnicity.
2. Feld (1982, 1984), Seeger (1987) and Bohlman (1988) among others demonstrate that myth contains a variety of possible explanations about the origins and meaning of music. As such through the myth music may be linked to the supernatural world.
3. Note also Blacking's study of Venda music, which he used as a reference for his theories.
4. This includes a variety of traditional dances, the attire and weaponry which form part of the traditional musical performance. Also note Erlmann's [1991 : 5] definition of musical style.
5. Erlmann (1991 - p13) notes the non-objectivity and general colonial bias of early recordings done on Zulu music, which makes them unreliable as a point of departure in the study of Zulu music.

C H A P T E R 2THE SOCIAL AND RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ZULU AMAHUBO SONGS

The information in this chapter is based on fieldwork conducted among the Zulu traditionalists in the Nkandla, Melmoth, Mahlabathini and Nongoma districts of Zululand. These districts were chosen because most people who live in them are, even today, very much concerned with observing traditional cultural practices, and are wary to any external influences. Moreover, there is general consensus among Zulu folk traditional and modern that if one is looking for isiZulu phaqa, that is, proper Zulu pattern of things, one must go to these areas. There may be many factors which have brought about this situation. One of them is that the present Zulu nation was founded around these areas and secondly the proximity of these areas to the Zulu Kings' headquarters have rendered them the nucleus of isiZulu and ubuZulu. This does not mean that they are not open to influences by other cultures, but such influence, if any, is minimal. What is also significant is that the people themselves seem to be opposed to such influences.

Categorization of amahubo songs can be done in one of two ways. The first one is the one which Rycroft [1982:316] follows.

There are three varieties: (1) principally, ihubo lesizwe (or merely ihubo) a solemn ceremonial anthem pertaining to the nation, or to an individual tribe, clan or sib, each of which has their own and hold it in great respect ... (2) ihubo lempi, a war song or chant; (3) ihubo lamabutho, a regimental song pertaining to a particular regiment.

This categorization is acceptable to the insiders and in my interviews with many informants, including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (1988, interview) there was consensus that it is a correct categorization. However, we can further define the role and status of the ihubo song within the social structure of Zulu society. Further, during my time of conducting field work which was between 1988 and 1992, there were no wars which merited the singing of ihubo lempi. Ultimately besides accepting the categorization as such, there was nothing I could do to experience ihubo lempi and confirm it in its rightful context.

The other definition which I collected from informants was that of defining amahubo along the lines of their function within traditional Zulu society. This definition associates amahubo with the ceremony, which is a ritual event. Amahubo are ceremonial music. Such a definition which is structuralist- functionalist, automatically includes within it Rycroft's categorization although the latter does not tell us about the role and status of amahubo songs in the nation, the war or the clan. A functionalist definition, therefore, takes Rycroft's further and gives more light as to when, why and how amahubo come to be performed in terms of their performance contexts.

In line with the A.P. Merriam (1964) model of defining music in terms of concepts, behaviour and sound, a definition which relates to the performance context and thus prompts the investigation and explanation of the context itself, would probably be more appropriate for a conceptual work like the present one, not because it suits the writer, but because it gives us more scope to explore and define amahubo in terms of their inside meaning (Blacking 1985, Bruner 1986).

A ceremony in traditional Zulu society is a religious event, as shall be seen in the coming chapters. Characterizing it are, therefore, all elements that can be found in the performance of any ritual. It is also against this background that the Zulu religious system (see Krige 1950, Bryant 1949, Callaway 1870, Berglund 1976 and Vilakazi 1964, among others) and its dynamics play a very important role in defining the role and status of amahubo songs in traditional Zulu society. The system provides us with information as to why in certain ceremonies amahubo songs are performed while in others they are not.

In trying to understand speech patterns and music within the context of ritual, Bloch (1974) draws on linguistic theories and parallels that with music. It was in the present writer's observation that language within traditional Zulu society is a bearer of ritual standards. Moore and Myerhoff (1977) list repetition, acting, special behaviour or

stylization, order, evocative presentational style and the "collective" dimension as some of the formal properties of ceremony. In other words in a ceremony people are conscious of what they are doing (ibid.) and they try as much as they can to do it in a particular way. Taken further, this means that the music and speech mannerisms found in a ritual are chosen probably out of a variety, and our concern is why specifically that which is being chosen and not any other? Why perform amahubo songs in a wedding, war, commemorative events like Shaka's Day, and even funeral of a prominent man or chief? Answers to these, our concerns, come only when we define the performance contexts themselves.

As stated earlier, events in which amahubo songs are performed are religious in nature. This is more so in the sense that in them the participation of the living and ancestors together, which is a fundamental traditional Zulu religious principle (Berglund, 1976), is sought. According to informants, some of whose statements are quoted later in this

chapter there can be no meaning in a wedding, a war, a funeral or a commemorative event without the full participation of ancestors. Such a participation leads to the fullness and definition of life. Statements like, "umakoti kumele aziwe yidlozi", meaning - the bride must be known to the ancestor and "impi iliwa abaphansi", meaning - war is fought by the ancestors are quite common as justifications for the performance of amahubo songs in a wedding and in war. Full definition of the context in which the ancestors participate and amahubo are performed must be given in order for amahubo to be understood. This is coming later in this thesis (see also Xulu, 1989).

Amahubo songs, as ritual or ceremonial music, may be fully understood if defined and assessed within the confines of the ritual or ceremony. According to Bloch (1974) ritual symbols should, in all probability not be explained in terms of everyday speech and the use of logical symbols to define ritual symbols should be avoided.

Most of the statements which appear in this thesis attributed to the interpretation of aspects of amahubo by informants may not be all that meaningful when viewed objectively and logically out of context. But as statements pertaining to ritual they do not belong to the realm of everyday objectivity and logic. Talking about an appropriate

approach to ritual study Maurice Bloch [1974:76] says :

Such a study must simply treat the fantastic statements of the ritual as such and accept them willingly, since the way they are put makes their probability or improbability irrelevant. There is no hidden code to crack, only the examination of the given code in which communication takes place. One problem is that the units of the ritual have to be treated with extra care, since they are, in a way, in a process of "drifting out of meaning" as a result of their isolation from normal communication. In historical terms this drifting of religious symbols is a dialectic since the process is regularly reversed as new units are re-introduced from outside by revivalist movements.

From the aforesaid it is obvious that in order to understand the statements made by informants about amahubo we have to engage the informants at their own level of understanding ritual and music. There is no way we as researchers can impose our ideals. The statements and assessments made by the insiders are more important than ours. The ability of ritual to traditionalize new material as well as perpetuate old traditions (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977) actually means that in ritual we are not dealing with the rigid and static. What, however, to me, standardizes ritual is what the tradition prescribes. This traditional prescription becomes more obvious in intense rituals such as weddings and funerals in traditional Zulu society as people, usually key people ask loudly, "Konje Kwenziwanjani lapha?" meaning, 'What does tradition prescribe here?' or 'how is this traditionally

done?' This statement, usually flowing out of pretended ignorance, calculated to draw everyone's attention to the event, underlines the actors' esteem for tradition and what it says.

In fact, in almost all the traditionalist Zulu funerals which the present writer has attended, this statement has been made repeatedly at certain points; revealing doubt, a desire to achieve consensus and a belief that ritual has the answer because it links the past with the present and assures the future. It is significant that the statement itself does not touch on why certain things are done, rather on how and what.

We also note that the language people use when addressing each other or the ancestors in these ceremonies is formalized. Thus, clan izithakazelo, that is, clan praise-names and a general spirit of mutual respect, characterize interaction in the contexts in which amahubo songs are performed. The employment of the formal and ritual codes of communica-

tion tends to restrict what can be said or done, so that, in essence, people act and behave in an introspective manner, ever conscious not to go out of the acceptable boundaries. Thus, unlike in everyday situations, in ritual contexts people are behaving in a manner which can be checked against the established past as Maurice Bloch [1974:62] puts it :

.... the ability of the particular units of speech act to relate closely to the experiential world, and the sequencing of speech units to relate closely to a particular experiential process is greatly reduced, as the number of words, illustrations and grammatical sequencies that can be chosen to fit reality is reduced. The individuality and historicity of event disappear since irrespective of minor differences these events are all like the scriptural examples.

The scriptural, to me, can be glossed as what tradition prescribes. It becomes necessary to engage in generalisations when discussing ritual processes, because without such generalisations, and without making ritual seem like it has always been like what it is, or it is like it is everywhere, ritual loses its value. In this case the generalized becomes the particularized. Problems of understanding arise when ritual is taken for the secular objective and logical analysis, but this would not be necessary.

Discussing the effect of ceremony and ritual Moore and Myerhoff [1977:24] say :

Ceremony can make it appear that there is no conflict, only harmony, no disorder, only order, that if danger threatens, safe solutions are at hand, that political unity is immediate and real because it is celebrated, and so on. Ritual can assert that what is culturally created and man-made is as undoubtable as physical reality.

From the aforesaid then ceremony concretizes the symbolic and 'achieves' unity, solidarity, power and loyalty, which, as stated in chapter one of this thesis (also see Xulu, 1989) are all ideas which are sought in amahubo performance, as informants tended to say.

It is the nature of amahubo songs and the general ideas surrounding them that make their performance appropriate in ritual contexts. This is more the case when we consider that in these ceremonies the socio-religious value system is being communicated, passed from one generation to the next. People may also be reminding themselves about the fundamental ideas which pertain to their society. In a ceremony such as that which involves amahubo people are interpreting themselves (Bruner, 1986).

Music, and specifically amahubo songs, as a medium of expression, communicates values known or that should be known to the participants or insiders of the culture. Ceremonies thus become, as Bruner [1986:9] puts it :

... periods of heightened activity when a society's presuppositions are most exposed, when core values are expressed and when the symbolism is apparent.

Ceremonies in which amahubo songs are performed become educative. The core values of society are exposed and those who are not yet aware but should be aware of the value system are made to look at it in a particular way, hence the question "Konje kwenziwanjani lapha?" Discussing the ability of ritual to structure society Moore and Myerhoff [1977:4] say :

Ritual not only belongs to the more structured side of social behaviour, it can also be construed as an attempt to structure the way people think about social life.

In traditional Zulu society, although individuals, clans and regions are given a latitude of privacy, the ritualisation of many aspects of public and private life, including the ritualisation of the right for individuals, clans and regions to differ, (see Berglund, 1976 for example), leads to reciprocal respect. It is this ritualisation, for example, which makes informants speak with authority when they give an outline of standard Zulu behaviour as if it were universal. What tradition prescribes, what the scripture says is what is always communicated as the "standard Zulu" way of life. This is also the tone one gets when reading literature on Zulu religion (Krige, 1950, for example). Clan

and regional differences, where they occur, are always regarded to be internal differences, except for specific moments when they must be pointed out by the informants themselves.

The very nature of ceremonies in which amahubo songs are performed is such that argument has to be minimized, hence the formalisation of language and performance of music. Ancestors hate conflict, informants say, and cannot function properly in situations where members of the clan or group are not united in purpose. The very purpose of heightened music-making, therefore, is to minimize the chances for argument, so that what is communicated in ritual or ceremony can be accepted as a whole, a package, in order for it to be effective. In a traditional Zulu wedding, for example, music, rather than informal speech set the pace for the order of events, thus minimizing any chances of argument.

Discussing the nature of song and its uses in ritual and traditional systems Maurice Bloch [1974:71] says :

In song no argument or reasoning can be communicated, no adaptation to the reality of the situation is possible. You cannot argue with a song. It is because religion uses forms of communication which do not have propositional force, where the relations between the parts cannot be those of the logic of thought, that to extract an argument from what is being said and what is being done in ritual is, in a sense, a denial of the nature of religion ...

However, it is also significant to note that, in order to achieve such a level of unity, of conformity and a general flow of information in one direction, participants need to be generally transformed from their daily situations to the situation of ritual (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977). Behaviour in ritual contexts in which amahubo songs are performed for example, tends to be extraordinary and may even contradict behaviour in daily circumstances (Note Berglund's picture of a traditional funeral, for example, 1976). Thus, in a funeral, people point with a fist, instead of an index finger, women leave the hut facing backwards, and so on.

What makes it even more difficult to interpret symbols communicated in ritual is that they are always stated as facts, not as probabilities. Because informants experience society mostly through the ritual situations, generalisations as facts tend to be treated as the norm, and this has some implications for a researcher's version as it should reflect this authoritative nature of statements made in a ritual conscious society like the traditional Zulu. Discussing the nature of ritual in similar conditions Moore and Myerhoff [1977 : 18] say :

Ritual discourages inquiry, not only because it presents its material authoritatively, as axiomatic. It is itself a message stated in a form to render it unverifiable, separate from standards of truth and falsity.

It is the present writer's experience that during fieldwork informants discouraged the asking of questions. Statements like : "Uvelaphi wena ongakwazi lokhu", meaning - where do you come from you who do not know this - were frequent. (See also Ngubane, 1977). In brief, within ceremonial contexts one is expected to know everything. This is more the case, I suppose, if informants or performants accept the researcher as an insider, because once this status has been allocated, then the researcher is expected to know. In order to achieve such a level, therefore, a great amount of standardization is always sought, hence, the earlier quoted "Konje Kwenziwanjani lapha?"

It is also in the present writer's observation that statements like the two quoted above take into account the individual, clan and regional differences. However, there seem to be clear-cut bounds within which such differences may be accepted as normal, and within Zulu norms. In fact, from inside, ritual is not exercised with extreme rigidity and, as long as one operates within the code, many possibilities within ritual become available. What, in essence, people say or do is not always uniform but, through ritual, it can only be interpreted in one way. In most cases the best research technique, for me, is to get personally and subjectively involved in ritual experience, and in the performance of the music.

Amahubo songs are central to traditional Zulu society in the sense that the contexts in which they are performed are regarded as the most essential if society is to go on (see Gluckman 1950, for example, also Xulu 1989). But even those lesser rituals in which amahubo songs are not necessarily performed have equal significance because the larger rituals in which amahubo are performed are, in essence produced by these smaller ones.

In a study of tshikona, which seems to be a Venda equivalent of amahubo, John Blacking (1970) notes the centrality of tshikona in Venda society. Remarking on this John Blacking [1970:17] says :

Tshikona - moves all Venda people and symbolizes the largest society known to them. It does this both by the fact that everyone attends tshikona and by the very structure of the music, which epitomizes the principle of individuality in community.

In other words in tshikona people get an opportunity to come together, to mirror themselves and to put themselves on display (Chernoff, 1979). Tshikona thus becomes essential if traditional Venda society is to fully understand itself.

A parallel, in this regard, can be drawn between tshikona and amahubo. Firstly amahubo and the ideas that call for

their performance, like tshikona, require large numbers of people to attend them. In such contexts people are put at a level where they can best look at themselves, and be looked at. Ikhetho, that is, the groom's party's performance in a wedding provides an example (Xulu, 1989). In essence, where a clan is to engage in amahubo performances, all members of the clan are expected to be present; where the region is to engage in amahubo performance, every adult from that region is expected to attend (at least every clan must be properly represented), and when the whole nation is to engage in amahubo performance every national must attend or, at least every region must be properly represented.

The issue of whether all people do, in practice, attend such ceremonies becomes irrelevant as it pushes an otherwise religious issue to the secular level of reasoning and debate.

John Blacking [1970:17] also notes that :

Other styles of Venda music are universal or parochial according to their structural relationship to tshikona. Although the music of children's songs is sung only by children, it is sung by Venda children, and is consequently universal as far as the Venda are concerned. Thus it is not surprising to find thematic relationships between the children's songs and tshikona.

This centrality of tshikona and its relationship with all Venda music can also be paralleled in Zulu music, especially in the relationship between amahubo (plural of ihubo) and other traditional styles.

Firstly in ceremonies where amahubo songs are performed a specific order of events exists which, once the ritual stream has been entered into determines which other styles, depending on the nature of ceremony, may be performed alongside amahubo songs. Thus, although, as argued in chapter one of this thesis, the dance series of inkondlo, umqigqo, umphendu and isigekle are not ihubo song themselves, they may not be dismissed as irrelevant to the discussion of ihubo song because they lead to the wholeness of the wedding which is one of the major performance contexts of ihubo song. Ihubo does not cause people to marry, inkondlo does, although ihubo precedes inkondlo in the order of events in a wedding (See Xulu 1989). We can also not dismiss Zulu children's music or puberty music as being totally irrelevant in the discussion of amahubo songs because in essence such music marks the starting point of amahubo.

Further there are structural relations between ihubo song and other traditional Zulu musical styles, so that while a clan's ihubo forms a musical semantic core, as informants indicate in their discussion of ihubo, other styles rally around it. Informants like to say: "Ihubo liyisizinda noma umqogodla wesizulu," (Ihubo is the root or backbone of isiZulu). Definition of contexts and giving of ihubo a full contextual meaning would be incomplete and unrealistic if

these styles were to be excluded. Further, treating them as if they are distant from ihubo song would be to cause unnecessary and unreal complications because in essence, in the the performance context, ihubo song and related song styles are one thing, each leading to the other in the unfolding of events during ritual. While ihubo activates ancestors, hence it is called music of the ancestors, the other related styles activate the living to action and celebration in the presence and with the approval of the ancestors (see Xulu, 1989).

Amahubo, because of their ritual content, are music of order and authority which regulates society in a variety of forms. The term used to refer to the collective nature of ceremony in traditional Zulu society is ukubusa, a term which is loaded with concepts of orderliness, tranquility, gover-

nance, power, authority, unity, loyalty and clarity of the past, the present and destiny - among others. It is a pregnant term which can be used to define any situation which concretizes any one or all of the ideas listed above.

Amahubo (sum total of performances in a traditional musical event) may not be dismissed as music of the past, although they have been around since time immemorial or since the beginning of time, as informants like to point out. The Zulu phrase - "selokhu kwathi nhlo" - meaning ever since the beginning of time is often used to describe the age of amahubo songs. This is the oldest, the ultimate limit of age that can be attributed to anything in Zulu thought.

Often the phrase given to describe the large number of people who attend ceremonies is "Bangango Zulu eya emakheni" - 'they are as many as the legendary Zulu who went to fetch scent in the olden days'. This is the largest imagined number of people that ever came together and anything that is compared with that event is really big. This proverb, of course, does not take into account the fact that physically there have probably been much larger gatherings of people in recent years. But tradition holds, and this would be irrelevant in any event.

From the foregoing we can infer that amahubo are associated with the oldest, the largest and probably the extraordinary.

But those are signs of ukubusa. The performance, therefore, symbolises this ideal, where 'everything' is well, is normal.

Commemorative ceremonies like Shaka Day become religious ceremonies because religious music is performed. It is significant, as we will note later when we relate our own field experiences, that in such ceremonies the general characteristics of ritual are present.

Because of their being associated with largeness and age, amahubo are capable of mobilising society for religious purpose, but also sometimes in order to turn socio-political events into religious events (Bloch, 1974).

We will now examine traditional Zulu rituals where performance and of amahubo songs takes place.

2.1 THE ZULU CEREMONY AS A MUSICAL EVENT :
THE PERFORMANCE CONTEXTS OF AMAHUBO SONGS TODAY¹

Ceremonies discussed in this chapter are traditionalist Zulu ceremonies as performed today. We note that some Zulu speakers may not necessarily perform these but informants like to point out that they are ubuZulu identity markers. These ceremonies have been mostly observed in the districts of Melmoth, Nkandla, Mahlabathini and Nongoma.

Informants also like to point out that these ceremonies are supposed to be for every Zulu and only the wayward dislike performing them. In our writing we have engaged a style of writing best representing the way informants talk about these ceremonies, which tends to be generalistic and all-embracing. However, strictly speaking, only the people who identify themselves as traditionalists (as pointed out in chapter one above) perform these ceremonies and they are the people we are referring to and it does not mean that people who do not perform these ceremonies are not Zulus.

Doke and Vilakazi's (1958) definition of amahubo songs, as 'ceremonial music', defines the nature of amahubo songs. It is interesting to note that in the definition, they emphasize the performance context. They render the ceremony as the performance context of amahubo songs. By implication, the question of meaning in amahubo performance is directly associated with the ceremony. At a surface level, however, the ceremony may not on its own present an opportunity for meaningful comprehension of amahubo songs, unless we try to

answer the question, what constitutes a traditional Zulu ceremony?

We are not likely to get a direct answer to this question. However, in trying to find answers we have to go back to the nature of Zulu society. Because of the fact that a ceremony attracts many people, it is a social enterprise aiming at fulfilling particular social requirements. The Zulu concept of being originates and centres around the Zulu myth of origin. The most important assertion here is that in the origin of things the Zulu people originated as a group of men, women and children, with their cattle and goats. To add to this, they were singing the same songs, amahubo songs, which Doke and Vilakazi describe as ceremonial music. This description is, the most appropriate one except that it does not go far enough to say Zulu ceremony incorporates ritual. Zulu ceremony incorporates ideas about origin, the present, and projects into the future. The traditional Zulu ceremony, which is the performance context of amahubo songs, is an event at which those concerned come together to look at themselves as individuals and as a group, in relation to their origin, their present and their future. It is a moment of sharing experiences (Kapferer 1986). It is a point at which they order and re-order their world in such a way that it continuously remains meaningful to them as a people.

It is vital for good relationship between the ancestors and survivors to be maintained. It is this bond that traditional Zulu ceremonies are aimed at maintaining. Music becomes a vital medium for celebrating this relationship. At the same time the ceremony becomes a central point of existence be-

cause through it people are able to adjust their ordering of the world in relation to their everyday experiences.

It is as a result of this centrality of the ceremony then that even when pressures from outside are being imposed on the traditionalist Zulu people, the ceremony still becomes a focal point for relating to life. Pressure is met with a ceremonial performance which relates the realistic problems that it imposes to the symbolic world which serves to decode their implications and interpret them accordingly. Some Zulu ceremonies are today being performed as they always have been. Informants say other ceremonies have been slightly changed to meet the demands of the new world dominated by the thinking of the white man which he wants to impose on everybody. A few have been abandoned because they no longer relate to the realistic contemporary world while a few more have been introduced or re-introduced.

Amahubo, as ceremonial music, have persisted with their power, ordering the world of the traditionalist Zulu people according to various demands. They are the music of resistance and continuity.

Talking about amahubo and power in traditional Zulu society, it is significant to note that amahubo performance contexts are events where power is to be bestowed upon an individual, a community, ancestors or the whole nation. This power is derived through the communion of the living and ancestors. Thus, in a wedding, for example, the bride and groom are given power through ritual to face the new challenges of married people, and amahubo are performed. In war, another

example, amahubo are performed because the power derived from the ancestor-living communion is sought.

It is significant to note that not all traditional Zulu ceremonies render suitable performance contexts for amahubo. It is when the individual has been vested with a certain amount of power through the smaller ritual, that amahubo are performed in ceremonies performed for him or her. We note also that amahubo proper are not performed in birth rites, puberty rites, goma ceremonies or lobolo ceremonies. Amahubo are also not performed for ceremonies aimed at normalizing the lives of individuals outside the life cycle. For example, no amahubo are performed in aggregation ceremonies for diviners or medicine man, because, vital as these institutions are, they fall outside the life cycle consisting of birth, puberty, marriage, death and succession rites of passage.

Most traditional Zulu ceremonies are characterized by the large numbers of people attending them. In fact the more ritualistic a ceremony is, the more people attend as a show of solidarity with the people who are central to the ceremony. This is also to give those people a feeling of protection because, in Zulu society, one gets shielded through inter-action with other people. As a result, most people who attend a ceremony are not directly invited. It is "humane" and in good taste to attend and celebrate with the hosts without being invited. Seeing many people entering a homestead, even if you are a stranger in that area, or overhearing talk about a ceremony is enough reason to attend. In most cases there is no need to know the host personally, as

attending itself is an opportunity to meet the host. The Zulu people say, "Akudlulwa ngendlu yakhiwa", (literally meaning, one does not bypass people busy building a hut), because a hut is where community begins. It may be a literal hut or it may be any coming together of people, because this act is considered to be important for the individual, community and nation. People in a ceremony are fortifying their relationship with each other and with their ancestors. Ancestors are believed to rejoice when people come together and rejoice.

Most people become active participants in ceremonies without any prior arrangements for their roles. According to Umntwana Makhukhuza :

Zulu strangers can come to homesteads with ceremonies and decide to stay permanently because they feel welcome if they identify for themselves specific roles, like moving beer pots. (Interview 22 April 1989)

When a traditionalist Zulu individual attends a ceremony he does not necessarily expect to be entertained by the host. But people mostly attend because it is an opportunity to see others in their best mood, spirit and often dress and also, because out of the atmosphere people tend to behave freely in a ceremony.

One of the reasons for musicians' attendance of ceremonies is to observe the behaviour of people and identify specific tendencies and characteristics of individuals which are a

rich source of material for composition. The idea is that since in a ceremony people act freely musicians and poets can view the symbolic significance of certain outstanding behavioural patterns, which make each individual a unique personality. Musicians and poets in Zulu society understand deeply that although people depend so much on one another for existence, each individual is a unique Zulu person. Delisa Sibiya says "Emcimbini babona izici"² meaning in a ceremony certain specific behavioural tendencies can be identified. "Izici" here is the key-word that describes that each Zulu individual is unique. Praise-poetry is mostly inspired by izici, specific behavioural tendencies. Musical composition is also inspired by izici.

A traditional Zulu ceremony offers an opportunity for people to come together and reinforce their bond of existence. It offers people an opportunity to strengthen their unity. It is never thought of as a waste of time. Zulu people value unity very much and understand well that they derive their strength as a nation from their unity. Districts or regions where there are many ceremonies become very popular, because that is where life is.

In traditional Zulu culture a person grows up because of all the relatives who may directly discipline him/her in any way if he/she goes astray, as informants are quick to say - "bonke bafuna akhule egonde ethe nje thwi, njengothi lomkhonto"; that is, "they all want to see him/her growing

straight as the handle of the spear", meaning, they all want to see their off-spring growing up conforming to the authority of their seniors. In a ceremony this is made apparent, as authority demonstrably remains in the hands of the seniors.

We will now observe some traditional Zulu ceremonies, according to what tradition prescribes and according to our own field experiences.

2.1.1 Childbirth - Imbeleko

In the case of Bhekizitha Ngema of Ngwegweni, Nkandla, an imbeleko for his son Ntuthuko was performed exactly when the boy was one year old. A goat was slaughtered, after being announced to "abanikazi bomuzi", that is, the owners of the homestead, a respectful reference to the ancestors. The goat was slaughtered on a Saturday afternoon and allowed to "sleep". The meat was eaten on the next day, Sunday. Bhekizitha Ngema said it is important that the meat "sleeps", so the owners of the homestead can taste it at night³ and give the son blessings.

Reporting the function to the "owners of the homestead" Mr Ngema said: "So this is for you, you the elderly people. Through this little animal we say, 'Look after the little boy, until he becomes a real man, and make his life simple'.

After that speech there was a lot of feasting, although not many people attended and music was scarce. According to Ngema, problems usually arise later on in life if imbeleko is not performed. Imbeleko incorporates the individual into his/her clan. Without it he is an ivezandlebe, literally an outcast or an illegitimate child. Ancestors may refuse to make his life meaningful on the pretext that they do not know him. Until this ritual is performed, the individual exists outside any Zulu clan and, therefore, the Zulu nation

itself. This threatens the individual's state of being. His claims to Zulu nationality, even though he speaks the language may always be questionable. As a result, a person is Zulu not only because he speaks the Zulu language, but because he has been correctly initiated into the mainstream of Zulu society, by being initiated into his own clan through the performance, of certain specific rites by one of the senior people in his own clan (who himself was rightly initiated as a baby by a senior in the clan who had also been rightly initiated and so on, right back to creation).

This further explains the fact that, traditionally, Zulu nationality is a reality which starts with the individual and expands to smaller groups and eventually the whole nation, with the King at the head. The ritualised code of ukuhlonipha, (respect and discipline), characterised by formalized speech patterns, is the cornerstone of this nationalism. If an individual has not been rightly initiated he is likely not to operate within this code and may put himself in a dubious position. He may need proper discipline by the seniors, but if he does not respect them, then nobody will discipline him. He will, therefore, be rejected by his own people and have no status in society. Even his claims to be Zulu may be refuted.

2.1.2 Music in Early Childhood

As children grow up grandparents relate folk tales to them in the evenings. These are sometimes narratives accompanied by music, or consist entirely of music. This is early initiation into the ultimate amahubo singing tradition. This case is made much clearer when we consider the educational value of folktales and the fact that they are meant to build children towards being complete humans. Amahubo are music for complete humans. The music is, however, simplified for the children to comprehend. The music exists at the level of the children. It is significant also to note that one of the songs sung at this early stage becomes an inkondlo, a wedding song and dance item for the girl when she gets married (Interview, Umntwana Makhukhuza, 1990). In this instance, the mother composes a song for her little girl, which she learns very well as a child, and performs when, through it, she enters udwendwe, the wedding. This, again, signifies the direct link that Zulu society strives to maintain between the newly-born and the very beginning of things.

Considering the significance of marriage in traditional Zulu society, music in early childhood is never taught to while away time, it is actually taught in preparation for adulthood, which is reached after marriage and reaches its highest level after death. Through the folk tales, izinganekwane, the grandparents relate to the children the world

as it was in the beginning, as well as how the children are expected to understand it. There is to be found in the Zulu society, therefore, a cycle of direct teaching of the national value systems through song.

However, we should also note that traditionally Zuluness is instilled in people at a very early age. The young boy learns it as a herd-boy in the veld. He learns the names of various birds which later helps him master izaga which are related to amahubo (See also Mare, 1992). The days a boy spends in the veld, therefore, are actually a preparation for him to play a meaningful role later on in life. They are educative. His world is ordered in this way.

Attendance at an umemulo is a first challenge for a young man to show that he learned anything from pastoral life. Another test is ukuvikiswa - where other young men challenge him to stick fighting. He is not expected to learn stick fighting in an umemulo. He learns it in the veld together with other boys. The umgangela where ukuvikiswa and mock-fighting is an important platform for young men to prove their manhood (Klopper, 1991).

In preparation for this test boys are constantly instigated to fight: first by boxing, especially when they are still young, then by using branches, (amahlamvu) and later real sticks. A young boy first proves his leadership qualities

here by defeating all his opponents, who are usually of his age-set. They then become his true friends, knowing that he fights well. It is at this point that they are in a position to accept him as a leader. They allow him to eat the tip of the heart of a slaughtered beast, ubhedu, if there is a ceremony in one of the homesteads, although not without further challenges upon his leadership. Ubhedu, that is, the tip of the heart of a slaughtered beast, is highly esteemed by the herdboys. Anyone who eats it gets challenged in many ways. It forms the stake of herdboy leadership. It is really after all the tricks of the other boys have failed that a leader's position is strengthened. The leader, therefore, wins respect in that way. In addition to being able to fight he is expected to know songs and to be able to dance. These, taken together, place his position as a leader beyond doubt.

Such a boy is well-known in his area and, when he grows, it is this leadership ability which places him in a favourable position with girls. On the other hand, old men keep a vigilant eye on a boy with these qualities, because they see in him a possible future leader. A leader in Zulu society works his way up from within, through a series of tests. He does not impose himself from outside.

A girl also establishes her leadership qualities very early in life. In most cases she will gain due respect for her respectful conduct towards, respect for everybody because

they say "ihlonipha nalapho ingeyikwendela khona" (meaning, a girl is expected to respect everybody because she does not know who she will eventually marry). Both hlonipha and marriage form the basis of Zulu thought on community. Thus women should show respect to other people because, in traditional Zulu thought, women are the foundation of society (also Mare 1992). Willingness to perform a set routine of home duties like fetching water, fetching firewood, planting and attending to the fields, as well as cooking and attending to all people who visit her homestead are manifestations of this hlonipha proverb. However, the final test for establishing her position in community is through her musicality. They say "kumele abe yigagu ukuze abe wumuntu ophelele", meaning, in order for her to be completely human she must be musical.

From very early in life, a young girl is geared to marriage by being taught songs which she will sing on her wedding day. She is also frequently referred to as umakoti - bride by her grandfather or uzakwethu (co-wife) by her grandmother and her co-wives, thus preparing her for the fact that she will marry into a situation of polygamy. This kind of initiation is further strengthened by ritual. As a result, even if a Zulu child goes to school and receives a Western type of education, at home and in the community he receives a second education which re-orientates him towards the core practices of Zulu society.

Children are not expected to become active participants in large ceremonies. However, they are often encouraged to learn some of the ceremonial songs, which at that level they may hardly understand.

2.1.3 Puberty Rite - Umemulo

Puberty is regarded as a very significant stage in the life of the individual and of the society as a whole. The individual reaches a stage where he is likely to reproduce and perpetuate the continuity of the species. It is, therefore, important that specific rites aimed at maintaining stability and making the individual ready for his/her new status are performed. The individual ceases to be a child and becomes a young man or young woman. He/she no longer listens to musical folktales, but spends most of his time making music himself/herself. It is then in this context that he begins to shape himself/herself as full member of society and a potential leader of his/her group or peers.

In an umemulo, which is a special ritual related to maturity of a girl, the music that is performed by the girls is not amahubo songs but is a build-up towards the eventual performance of amahubo songs, later in life. Other participants may huba, but this is not central to the whole event. The individual is initiated into her new status through music. One striking feature of umemulo songs is the text which explicitly states issues which would otherwise be considered to be impolite for public statement. References to sex, actual sexual acts, sperm, adultery, the vagina and penis actually form a rich part of umemulo songs. An example is this song text recorded at an umemulo at Mfanefile, Melmoth.

Golo, Golo, Sawubona

Golo Golo

Meaning

Vagina, Vagina, Hello

Vagina, Vagina

The songs are performed in public without anybody raising an eyebrow. This would partly be attributed to the fact that in appropriate contexts, especially if they are ritualized, utterances and performances of certain musical types are tolerable. It is only when the music is taken out of its social and ritual context that problems may arise. Further, this is supported by the fact that in traditional Zulu society, music is a vehicle for expressing views which may otherwise not be expressed for fear of reprisals.

However, what is more important is that at this stage the person for whom the umemulo is being performed needs to be guided and taught about the dynamics of her new status. An emphasis on sex education here, therefore, is understandable as she is then likely to be involved in intimate relations where she is expected to behave properly. In this way sexual behaviour is standardized, locally and even nationally. This is again, significantly, done through music. The songs are called amagama omemulo or amagama okumekeza, that is songs

of puberty and sexual preparation.

This transfer of status through music makes music an indispensable part of traditional Zulu life. It also signifies the ritualized nature of traditional Zulu life. In an umemulo, for example, a beast has to be slaughtered. This forms a direct link with the origins, some kind of re-orientation, if one considers the fact that upon creation, men, women and children originated from the reed together with cattle. The act of slaughtering a beast ritualizes the event, as especially the blood of such an animal is sacred. This makes cattle an indispensable part of the performance of any major ritual because of their direct link with creation or origin, ukudabuka.

Details of an umemulo ritual vary from area to area. In the case of Ntombizethu Zulu of Dubeni, Melmoth, whose puberty rite, umemulo, was held on 28 June 1990, preparations started after her father had announced, in a homestead convention, that he saw it fit that such a function be held. Ntombizethu was immediately told to stop working at Mtshikiza, a local farm owned by a White man. She was taken to Esikhawini near Richards Bay, where her father stays as he works at Richards Bay. The purpose was to take her to an environment where she would not do much physical work and would be deliberately fattened. This was some two months before the actual ceremony.

Ntombizethu returned two weeks before the ceremony and the rehearsal of puberty songs started on the day she arrived. She was joined by young maidens from the neighbourhood who would, from then onwards, act as the izimpelesi, that is, maiden attendants.

Every morning, in the last seven or eight days before the umemulo, Ntombizethu and her maidens moved from homestead to homestead singing the same songs they rehearsed during the evenings. In each homestead, without a single word being uttered, they were given a stick or an assegaai, which was to be claimed by its owners at the ceremony after the owner had contributed some money to help Ntombizethu build her future by buying the kind of things and attire which would help her achieve her new status as an intombi.

Ntombizethu herself could not be easily seen or spoken to during the days leading to the umemulo ceremony day. She spent most of her time confined to an umqongo hut, where she would mostly be rehearsing songs and dance steps in preparation for the umemulo day. The Zulu (Ntombizethu's surname) homestead was also frequented by many people, mostly locals, which activity created the spirit of ceremony, even days before the function.

The umemulo day itself saw a lot of activity including singing and dancing, especially by Ntombizethu and the maidens,

as well as many other people who participated in the activities of the day (see also Xulu, 1989). It is significant to note that during the umemulo ceremony, Ntombizethu and her attendants were all wearing loin skirts, (izidwaba) and many people who attended were dressed in traditional Zulu attire. The singing and dancing, starting about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, became a series of song performances, the passing of gifts to the girl by members of the audience, giya, qgashiya and izibongo recital. Males played a very minimal musical role. They were mostly in the audience which also consisted of older women.

At the end of the ceremony, about five o'clock in the evening, Ntombizethu's father remarked to the present writer that the function had been a success because there had been many people who all looked happy and actually had helped Ntombizethu achieve her goals. He said: "I know now all our ancestors are happy, and Ntombizethu is liked by them. It seems like all her ways in life are going to be successful".

A similar procedure was witnessed by the present writer in the case of the Ngcobo umemulo at Thalaneni, Nkandla.

The actual behaviour of participants in an umemulo ceremony is a culmination of all early education and a proof of its success. Spontaneity is a result of careful orientation of the young by the old.

It is significant to note that a beast is always slaughtered and that a layer of fat, umhlwehlwe, is placed on the shoulders of the girl for whom the umemulo ceremony is being performed. This act symbolizes fertility. This further strengthens the position of the girl in society, as an insider, or a national. She is then firmly established as an intombi, a girl of marriageable status.

The umemulo ceremony is, more than anything else, a musical event. Everybody in the district is expected to attend. Young men get an opportunity to assess the girl as a possible future lover. She may, in the days that follow, be inundated with young men courting her. She may then goma, that is, accept love proposals from the suitor of her choice. A symbol of success of the umemulo ceremony is when young men start courting the girl. The idea is that courting somebody is recognizing and respecting her as a human being. A girl for whom no umemulo has been performed is, according to tradition, not respectable.

A girl's ability to sing and dance breeds more success for her in life. To achieve this, the songs are thoroughly rehearsed before the actual ceremony. On the actual umemulo day the finesse of performance reflects the ability of the girl to think things through deeply in private before taking them to the public. The performance reflects her personality. Music is, therefore, a vehicle or a medium for ex-

pressing a person's sentiments and personality. An ability to sing and dance is also a reflection of good up-bringing.

One striking feature of an umemulo ceremony is its resemblance to an udwendwe, the wedding. Not only are all the members of the concerned girl's clan involved, but other people without direct links to the clan are also involved. Through iminjonjo, (beer presents) love-ties are strengthened and new bonds are established or firmly cemented. In this way members of a wide community are involved in an enterprise which would otherwise be carried out by only one clan or even a single homestead. They are all involved not merely as spectators but with each one having a meaningful role to play in making the ceremony a successful event, and also to make future ceremonies possible. Iminjonjo beer presents establish a sense of community, and give guarantees that in future there will be more imemulo (plural of umemulo) and more weddings, as people come together to drink beer prepared by their lovers, in-laws and relatives. Beer-drinking on its own becomes a medium for establishing new relations and cementing old ones for the perpetuation of society. Traditional Zulu society, therefore, depends very much on the performance of ceremonies for its survival. The more ceremonies are performed the more life becomes meaningful as people get to interact with one another.

An umemulo is not given the status of a wedding. Participants always seem to be conscious of this. To take this further, except for regimental or war-songs, very little ukuhuba is done in an umemulo. Regimental songs are characterized by a fast and aggressive tempo, as they are sung by walking regiments. They are also referred to as war-songs, "amagama empi" or "amahubo empi". These songs may actually incite war due to their aggressive nature. The Zulu refer to the effect of these songs as "agubula uhlevane", meaning they raise goose pimples in the whole body, or inspire or excite the whole body. These days young men sing them to establish their regional identities. These songs are part of the amahubo song repertoire. The song included in the appendix "Sidedele We Nduna", is a typical war-song of today (also on audio-tape).

It is important to note that the people who lead in the singing of amagama empi are young men who have established themselves as leaders in the various sections of society and in the various districts where they come from. They are being accepted as leaders and through music their peers pledge their support to them. It is also in these performances that this leadership is brought to the attention of the elders and of the community as a whole. This is a preparation for eventual leadership of clans and whole communities in which people will demonstrate their support for a leader by participating with him in the singing of amahubo

songs. In a ceremony like umemulo, large-scale mobilization of the community takes place. All the structures of society are represented. The umemulo ceremony is a platform for the overall purpose of music-making, which is singing and dancing in a ceremony, although at a lesser scale than in a wedding.

In such a ceremony all active participants are re-orientated towards the basics of understanding life and humanity. People interact as equals, each striving to make meaning out of the ceremony. They are all united by a common purpose. The idea is that the meaningfulness of life is only actualized when one individual considers himself in relation to others. Communal life, as demonstrated in ceremony, is the basis for meaning of life among the traditionalist Zulu. The ceremonies are rallying points for social organisation. Ceremonies also perpetuate tradition.

The fact that a girl can goma, that is, choose a lover after the umemulo ceremony underlines its significance. If this procedure is not followed it is considered to be breaking away from tradition. The significance of this ceremony is that it is a rite of passage, which introduces the girl into the next stage in life. She can then accept love proposals from any young man of her choice, in preparation to reproduce and perpetuate the species. She is about to play a very significant and more sacred role as a mother, hence the

intense ritualisation of the umemulo and advice from helpers and her elder sisters. Umemulo also renders women in traditional Zulu society sacred.

We note that as the individual grows, the number of people involved in his/her rituals also grows and becomes more complex. In the celebrations for a newly born baby, it is mostly the concern of the members of his or her homestead. When she reaches puberty, her umemulo, involves the whole community and even people from far away places. In both ceremonies music is performed. We can refer to such performances as a preparation for the ultimate ceremony, the wedding, where amahubo are performed. However, the music performed in birth and puberty rites is not totally unrelated to amahubo songs. In the wedding, inkondlo is sung alongside ihubo song, sharing the performance context and thus being inseparable from it in function and symbolic status.

2.1.4 Courtship

Courtship is a logical step after the umemulo ceremony⁴. However, this also does not happen overnight, except in exceptional instances. Courting itself is a process which may take up to two or three years, depending on individual cases.

It is however, an important process because it links two very important ceremonies, the puberty rite and the wedding while within it, there are sporadic musical contexts. What is of significance, however, is to note that traditionally no girl will accept any love proposals within a short period of courtship. This tactic of delay becomes a significant action which demonstrates that the individual has reached an age where she understands life. Delay symbolizes dignity in traditional Zulu culture⁵. It manifests itself in different ways, one of them being tactical delay in accepting a young man's love proposals. This is important because it is also a method in which the girl can assess whether the boy understands life or not.

An impatient suitor is not able to wait for a long time, especially when it becomes obvious that there is nothing that prevents the girl from accepting the proposal except respect for tradition. By being impatient and even terminating his courtship, he is not only demonstrating his im-

patience, but he is also demonstrating that he would make a useless husband. In the noble world of the senior people delay is a gospel that underlines almost all activities sometimes becoming even ritually significant. Courtship is in this way a preparation for the ultimate world of seniority where people assume the role of leadership and decide the fate of other people. If a young man or woman fails here, then he is a failure in life.

To take this point further, courtship itself is a totally symbolic world, enriched with the use of figurative speech and a complicated degree of language usage totally unparalleled in earlier life. It is also characterized by unique symbolic behaviour by both parties where each body movement symbolizes a related social idea. This is a demonstration of maturity on the part of both parties involved as well as a preparation for the tools - language and symbolic behaviours - which are a necessary part of the life thereafter. It is also a test of strength of all education received from birth up to this point, which is also necessary for any person who intends to be a mother or a father in future, on its own, an inevitable logical step. As a result, when a young traditional Zulu man starts courting a girl, he is also telling the world that he is ready to face life because he has received an adequate education which allows him to do so. This is a good reflection on the institutions that gave him education, which are the home and the community, including

his life as a herd-body and the influences of his peers. Courting, therefore, is a public statement, thanking all the people who were ever involved in one's life, and for good upbringing.

Whether the girl acknowledges the contributions of others in her life is clearly demonstrated in the way she handles her suitors, izesheli. Usually there are many suitors at any one time and the more well-brought up and musical the girl is, the more suitors she can expect. They will, in most cases, come from different areas and each one presents his own set of jargon and complexity of style, often expressed in poetic gomisa, that is, courting language and even music. He also comes to the girl as a representative of his district. This type of compulsive competition indirectly, and sometimes directly, involves whole communities or areas. Firstly, eventual acceptance of his proposal by the girl means an acknowledgement that the young man is well-brought up by the people of his area. Non-acceptance means the direct opposite. As a result, the peers of all the suitors involved directly make themselves available to assist their brothers, through solidarity and linguistic and music empowerment, especially if the competition is tough. Peers may be both boys and girls.

Whole districts, or izigodi, may be temporarily held in suspense, not knowing whether the girl will eventually

choose the appropriate suitor, as they say, 'Kungaziwa ukuthi iyogoma kwabani'. Accepting one usually covertly socially sanctioned and suitable lover out of many suitors is indeed a difficult task. But it is more than anything, a test of whether the girl was well-brought up by her people, including members of her homestead, peers and everybody else in the district. If she makes a wrong decision which may require her to change later, it is a bad reflection on the ability of the community to bring people up as individuals. Delay in this case establishes dignity around the issue. The Zulu proverb, "iqoma kanye" meaning she must choose one lover in her whole life, is here vigilantly observed. The whole exercise is always undertaken with a degree of tension. Faction fights may even break out if the matter is not handled with ultimate caution⁶.

To safeguard herself the girl maintains close contact with the senior girls (amaqhikiza) of her district. She also communicates her feelings to other senior people including her "mothers" and grandmothers⁷. It is this kind of communication which removes the stress which may be caused by the amount of pressure that she gets from her suitors. It also guarantees that the final decision that she takes reflects the feelings of all other people who are concerned with her future. Making a decision which will determine one's future is a delicate matter. Thus, the nature of the choice that has to be made justifies all delays which may occur.

Music often becomes another channel through which the girl is able to communicate her feelings. The umakhweyana, (that is, musical bow) player, for instance, gets most of her inspiration from this world of courtship (Interview with Delisa Sibiya, 1990). The poetry of her music is directed by the wealth of knowledge she gains by undergoing the experience of arguing in courtship. The way different suitors express themselves is, on its own, an enriching experience. It is actually a well expounded summary of all life before, put together and made meaningful by being symbolized and communicated in symbolic form.

The period of courting is a vital time for establishing new relations and thus expanding the scope for community building, which is based on kinship, the basis of which is marriage⁸. The individual, therefore, becomes a community asset and ambassador if he can fruitfully engage in courtship activities. This is the reason why, for example, a man may establish new love relations until he becomes too old to move around, which may be around seventy years old. The idea is that by continuing to engage in courtship activities he is expanding the scope for community interaction. Sometimes it does not matter even if he does not marry all the girls, but the fact that he proposes love to them and that they accept him symbolizes that both he and the girls have a sense of community and of belonging and that they understand the fundamental issues in life very deeply.

Even a man who is married may quite often be expected to propose love to girls, an act which shows that he is not distancing himself from the community. Girls may also be expected to accept such proposals and may even marry such a man. This is more so to build society than mere lust. This is one reason why polygamy is valued in traditional Zulu society. The idea is that a relationship established through marriage is a solid relationship which can never be disbanded. It also forms the basis of social organisation. The more such relations there are, the more well-cemented society becomes and thus ultimately the whole nation. This is the surest way of establishing national unity.

Even after the girl has accepted one of the suitors as a lover and a prospective husband, it normally takes a number of years before the actual wedding takes place. Qoma ceremonies, that is, those ceremonies connected to this actual acceptance, are performed. Here gumushela songs are performed. This is to announce in public that the two are in love and that she is to be known as intombi ka (the suitor's name) and he is to be known as isoka lika (the girl's name). Qoma relations form social reference. In this way the mere existence of the lovers becomes a part of one another. This is an important step in the lives of both of them as it signifies that each shares his or her life with another, which is one of the fundamental issues in the actual purpose of existence among the traditionalist Zulu. This qoma world is

ordered accordingly in preparation for the final performance of amahubo songs.

The stage of courtship is, therefore, very important in traditional Zulu thinking. It is vital for the survival of the society and therefore of the whole nation. The success of early education is put to test. This is the type of education which is vital for power and control in adult life. It lays the foundation for all subsequent activities. A Zulu individual who grows up traditionally, therefore, has his life ordered according to principles which are tested in his ability to engage actively and successfully in courtship. It is also the period at which he is likely to compose most of his music, because of the amount of exposure to a situation which makes his world.

2.1.5 Lobolo

Lobolo⁹ negotiations begin after goma ceremonies have been concluded, or as soon as both parties deem fit. At this stage most of the activities concerning the wedding are placed in the hands of old people. An umkhongi, a go-between in lobolo negotiations should, for this reason, ideally not be an unmarried person. He must also be a man of some standing in relation to the boy. An uncle (his mother's brother) or his father's brother, therefore, is very suitable. He must be in a position where he understands all issues pertaining to marriage, and also must be quite versed with how lobolo negotiations are conducted and understand key issues in lobolo negotiations like delay, a tactic for reinforcing dignity and ritualizing the lobolo deliberations. An impatient person cannot successfully be involved in such delicate issues which involve the ancestors of two clans. The negotiator must be a diplomat. This is another platform where individuals demonstrate their leadership abilities. A good negotiator is an asset not only in the affairs of a single homestead, but in the affairs of the whole nation.

Most great traditional Zulu leaders have at some stage, in most cases played significant roles as abakhongi¹⁰ for somebody. The issue is that not anybody can be an umkhongi, but one who has been given the gifts of leadership, or has inherited such gifts. One is born with these qualities. The

same boy who usually advises others in the veld as they herd cattle, is the same boy who later on in life becomes a successful suitor, marries and later becomes a good umkhongi. To khonga is to diplomatically ask for something valuable. Leadership qualities in traditional Zulu society are, therefore, identified and cultivated in different ways, all of which are strategically vital for the survival of the Zulu as people. One can imagine the failure of lobolo negotiations because of bad negotiators, which can lead to failure of marriage and ultimately of an important organ of social life. Marriage is a very important and vital institution which forms the foundation of society. If it fails to take place, then society fails.

The first test of the umkhongi's ability to negotiate and, therefore, to build society is usually on the first day where he may find himself standing and shouting at the gate of the girl's homestead for even up to two hours or more, pleading for his case to be given a hearing by the girl's father. He may be ignored or be further tested by a demand that he pays small penalties for traditionally symbolic offences. Such penalties include a fee, usually ten rands, without which the girl's father may not answer or even consider participating in the negotiations. This is called ingqagamazinyo or imvulamlomo. No negotiations can go on without the father of the girl who is, in effect, the key partner in the whole issue.

Other fees are symbolic, such as when an umkhongi may be told that the girl's father is in a tree and wants to climb down. This may be a symbolic or literal tree. This is called isikhwelamthini, tree-climbing fee. According to Umntwana Makhukhuza the tree stands for the mother of the girl. By climbing the tree the father is showing that he is the father; he got on her mother and she was born. He demands respect for that (Interview 22 April 1990). Again, without this fee, no negotiations may go on. The umkhongi may also be penalised from time to time if he fails to comply with traditional standards to which everybody is expected to adhere. He may also be penalised for misbehaviour like coming to the girl's homestead drunk, shouting too loudly, and showing signs of being impatient. In fact, he is penalised for anything that shows him to be a bad negotiator and, therefore, a bad leader.

It is significant to note that behaviour of an umkhongi is described in musical terms. If he cannot negotiate they say uyibhimbi (literally, he is unmusical). If he succeeds they say uyigagu (literally, he is musical). This clearly demonstrates how vital music is for rendering life meaningful to the Zulu people. This underlines the idea of music as a part of life which cannot be separated or isolated from daily activities. In fact, music permeates all sections of Zulu life and exercises coherence between the various stages and the very dynamic levels of an individual's life. It also

brings people from different walks of life together. If the Zulu people, therefore, state that there is nothing that unites like music, the statement underlines the fact that music permeates all levels of life, from the newly-born baby to the herd-boy, and to the King. As a common denominator it establishes a direct link between all levels of human existence and, at some stage, its very nature of performance symbolically, and even practically, removes all social barriers that may exist between people at various levels of life. In amahubo songs, for example, the King may sing with a commoner with a common purpose: to excel in music making and to assess the meaning of life in relation to the singers' roles as determined by their social status.

Lobolo negotiations, if successful, culminate in the actual submission of lobolo cattle¹¹ and the exchange of gifts, izibizo. These gifts which conceptually fall slightly outside the lobolo package, are vital as visual symbols which extend the spirit of friendship between the young man and individuals in the girl's homestead. Key members of the girl's homestead are given gifts by the young man through the umkhongi negotiator. The young man, then known as umkhwenyana, thus wins the hearts of the girl's people and symbolically pledges his relation with them as a clan, laying the foundations for marriage. This establishment of social relations at personal level makes traditional Zulu society to be a chain of personal relations established

through inter-marriage (Gluckman, 1950). Such a passing of gifts is symbolically significant in demonstrating that life is a shared experience. John Miller Chernoff [1979 : 161] relates the social significance of similar gifts in Ghana:

For example, in many African societies, a gift is obligatory as just such a visible token of recognition that people have become involved or have done something together, a display that acknowledges one person's participation in another's life and often initiates reciprocal responsibilities.

In fact among the traditionalist Zulu the giving of gifts dates to the girl's gift of ucu, a love token, to the boy, which signifies that a shared relationship has been established. The reciprocal nature of the gifts is further underlined by izibizo and later, in the actual wedding, the ukwaba (giving of presents to the grooms relatives by the bride) ritual. All these are exchanges of gifts. The gift giving is also dominated by music-making and a general spirit of celebration, which further enhances the bond that is established by the resumption of lobolo negotiations, by involving whole communities or areas in the issue which would otherwise involve the two clans or the two people. The spirit of sharing is extended.

On the day when izibizo are submitted women from the neighbourhood, most of whom may not have any kinship relationship with the girl's homestead, assemble there so that they wel-

come the presentation of gifts by ululating and, usually, commenting on the beauty of the gifts, which should be the best the umkhwenyana can offer. Later all the people may make music together to celebrate the occasion.

This account clearly demonstrates the reciprocity in the life of the traditional Zulu. It is, again, this reciprocity that inspires the composer. His world is ordered according to the sentiments of his people as expressed by the daily activities of his people. When he composes, because of his direct involvement and his frequent assumption of leadership roles, he best expresses the sentiments of his people so that his music is viewed as an orderly remaking of the same world which his audience knows. An individual maskanda, for example, if he is traditionalist sufficiently, derives his compositional resources from the qoma ceremonies which he is obliged to attend, as an insizwa¹². He also draws inspiration from all events that he observes as he interacts with people¹³. This will not only be reflected in the lyrics of the music that he composes, but also in the way in which he orders his style of playing. Competence in such music is derived directly from the fact that its resources are with the people who later consume it. In fact all genres of traditional Zulu music are composed in this way.

2.1.6 The Wedding

The wedding festivities are directly linked to the birth rites, puberty rites, goma ceremonies and lobolo negotiations. In an insider's conception there is no break between these ceremonies. Each stage prepares for the next.

After the day of the actual wedding has been agreed upon, it is made public and preparations, not only by the two clans involved but by all clans and homesteads in the neighbourhood, begin. These include ukucwilisa, which is soaking corn for brewing beer. This soaked corn is usually ready for brewing after a few weeks, no more than six. The soaking, therefore, is done after careful calculation that it will be ready for brewing at the time when the wedding takes place. Once soaking begins, a point of no return is reached.

To take the issue of points of no return further, in fact, the performance of each ritual in the life of an individual marks just these points. By initiation an individual resumes new responsibilities and roles in life. Oral tradition has it, for example, that one of the ways the war generals encouraged warriors in the battles of resistance at Ncome (Blood River) and Isandlwana in the last century, was by shouting, "Niyo buyelaphi Na?" (meaning: 'Where will you set your foot if you come back, defeated)?' This statement had extreme implications in that after the performance of all

war rituals, including the singing of amahubo songs, the warriors were expected to have been transformed into a state of mind dominated by war, whereby death would rather be chosen than life under domination by a foreign power. Such a statement, therefore, expressed more patriotic ideas than can be comprehended at surface level. It carried weight and meaning for the warriors who had been raised in a system which, through a series of ritualisation by initiation at specific points like birth, puberty, marriage, and death, taught ideas of patriotism and placing the interests of the state and the land before those of the individual. Points of no return are present in all spheres of the life of a traditional Zulu individual.

When the wedding day eventually comes, it is a culmination of all the events that have taken place earlier and directly influenced the life of the two individuals that are getting married.

In the days leading to the actual wedding a spirit of ceremony is created. People start assembling in the two concerned homesteads and the evenings in these homesteads are characterized by ukufundela,¹⁴ learning of dance songs (except for the ihubo belonging to the clan which is never rehearsed), courting and a generally light and lively atmosphere. This creation of a ceremonial spirit is significant in that it builds the wedding celebrations into an emotional

on. The issue of a river, a mountain or a forest is very important because it is the idea around which Zulu nationalism and patriotism are built. The world is ordered in such a way that the mountain, river or forest and the induna are symbols of pride. A maskanda musician, for example, in order to reflect his local patriotism pride always announces the signifiers somewhere in the middle of his song (see chapter 4 of this thesis). These local signifiers are important as they form a springboard for 'national' patriotism.

The logistical problem in a wedding is that spectators may comprise more than ten units, all eager to state publicly that they are proud of their own locality and that they have come as a unit to represent the sentiments of their locality at the wedding. The success of the wedding lies in the ability of all these units to establish a common point and to know each other very well, even if this is achieved through fighting. If two units fight, such fighting is of significance in the sense that it promotes social interaction. The idea is to know a person well, you must know his power or his defensive potential. After the two units have fought, it is not unusual that they establish a string of individual and collective friendships. In fact, some of the best friends in Zulu society are those people who fight in a wedding. If people fight, then the wedding will be regarded as a great wedding which will be remembered each time the people meet, because the fighting becomes a major event

experience which culminates in the actual marriage (ukugcagca) which is when the bride performs her inkondlo song in the wedding arena (isigcawu). Such a performance is a climactic point, crystallizing all the stages through which the bride has gone and demonstrating the extent of the success of her upbringing. How she dances reflects this.

The nature of the Zulu wedding is reflected by the involvement of all the clans and homesteads in the neighbourhood. Neighbourhood here may mean a radius of more than fifty kilometres. The complexity of the wedding arises from the fact that each locality organizes itself into a specific unit, reflecting all the dynamic levels and organisation structure of the national whole. This means that boys born around the same time in a specific locality form units which later in life may form courting units, hunting units, regimental units of the area, and regimental units which later merge with other units from different parts of the Zulu kingdom and eventually reflect the national leadership hierarchy¹⁵. This becomes apparent when statements like "Ngakithi Kwenziwa nje" (meaning where I come from this same thing is done like this). In a wedding this pattern and these statements are apparent.

A locality, for example, may be a few homesteads fetching water from one point in the river, or a few homesteads built below a specific mountain or near a specific forest, and so

which may never be forgotten in a lifetime. Thus, fighting in this context is viewed as a form of recording events

Each unit that comes to the wedding chooses a specific point where, after they have witnessed the wedding proceedings, they sit and drink iminjonjo. A mere suggestion that they move away from such a point may result in a fight because it is equivalent to removing them from their home. This base is the one from which they do all their operations in the wedding. It is also this base from which they, as a unit, participate with others in the wedding celebrations without losing their identity as a unit from around a particular river or mountain.

A traditional Zulu wedding is not a mass of homogenous people. It is a conglomeration of specific independent units who come to participate as such, announcing their independence, identity and unity by singing their specific war songs, known by everybody to belong to their locality and having been transmitted from generation to generation in the area.

When the bride's clan performs its ihubo song, for example, just before the bride leaves her maiden home, it invites the participation of the whole clan, including the ancestors, in the enterprise, to guarantee that no person is left out in the institutionalization of the marriage. They do this

through song. This, again, takes us back to the Zulu myth of origin, that in the beginning men, women, children, cattle and goats, all domestic animals, emerged from the reeds singing amahubo songs. In fact, if the father of the bride intends giving her any cattle as inkomo yesigodo, or even goats, these are placed in front of the udwendwe (wedding procession) as it sets out for the homestead of the groom (see Xulu, 1989). This moment is a solemn one as it symbolically re-lives the origins of people. Conflict should, as much as possible, be avoided. The bride as a person is being re-created in order to be born into the new clan in the same fashion as the myth of origin says people originated.

All the wedding festivities are characterized by deliberate delay on both sides, which underlines the significance of delay as dignity. There may be delays before the wedding procession (udwendwe) finally sets out. Even when it moves, if the distance from the bride's to the groom's homestead can be covered on foot, progress is usually very slow. They may walk a couple of hours and sit down and talk about common issues while drinking beer. Meanwhile young men may rush forward as amahalanjonjo, (those who rush forward), singing war songs and thus announcing that the wedding procession, udwendwe, is on its way. If the distance is long and a bus or lorry is required, the driver may be asked to stop a few kilometres before they reach the groom's homestead, so that

the whole bridal wedding procession may walk to the groom's homestead. They may only enter the homestead after a series of rites have been performed.

The first night at the groom's homestead is characterized by a general spirit of celebration with high-pitched conversation and music dominating. It is also a night of courting, establishing new relations and fortifying old ones. It is an inspiring situation where most composers make a point of being present so they can collect resources for further new compositions. The bride behaves with the utmost dignity, whispering each time she talks. Bridesmaids, izimpelesi, do most of the talking for her. She has to save her voice, partly for the musical performance on the following day through which she finally marries the groom, and also to maintain her dignity.

So, ritually, ihubo performed at the bride's homestead before the wedding proceeding sets out creates the right climate for the wedding to be carried on and concluded. As a ceremonial song it realizes the grand situation where the living and the ancestors symbolically intermingle and share in common purpose, which is the ultimate religious experience. On the actual wedding day, the bridal party again sings their ihubo song in the wedding arena to invite the ancestors and directly involve them in effecting the marriage. It is often asserted by informants that after each

performance of ihubo song, the ancestors are guaranteed to be present and happy. Through the performance of umphendu and isigekle by the bridal party, the wedding is placed in direct relationship to other weddings because these are performed in a similar way for all weddings.

The bridal party also performs umphendu and isigekle of the bride's maiden clan's invention.

The biggest test of strength and purpose, however, comes when the bride performs her inkondlo wedding song. Men do not participate. She renders it with girls and bridesmaids from her own locality and clan. Such a performance, therefore, symbolizes the significance of women as a unit without which important events may fail to materialize. When the bride dances, she does so with a clear understanding that if the singing and dancing are not of an acceptable standard, she jeopardizes the communal standing of her locality unit. The other girls and bridesmaids also understand this very well. As a result, inkondlo is one of the most carefully rehearsed and finest rendered performances in a Zulu wedding. Performing an inkondlo in a wedding arena is the ultimate dream of any traditionalist Zulu girl. For her whole life before this moment, she prepares for this occasion (see accompanying video).

Getting married is linked to the time of birth through inkondlo song. There is no other time in the life of a Zulu female person in which she is expected to be at her best and represent in public the sentiments of a whole clan and even a whole region such as at her wedding. Whatever she does is, in the minds of the spectators, a "replay" of her upbringing and bears testimony to the ability of her parents, members of her homestead, her clan and her whole region to instil values and discipline in their offspring. She also establishes herself as an individual and as a person through her singing and dance. Her inkondlo song remains historical testimony to her personality. She may, as a married mother, sing it with other women as they drink beer, to relive the moment when she married and share her personal experience with other women, but it may never be the same. If some reasons or circumstances arise which force the woman, later in life, to re-marry, she does not perform the inkondlo song again. Once performed it may never be repeated in a similar context. This actually is the general practice with ritual music performed in a traditional Zulu wedding. No item is rendered twice unless if the proceedings have reached the next stage. In the bride's maiden homestead, for example, once ihubo has been performed, the wedding procession has to set out.

It is significant to note that the whole presentation of the bridal party, except for ukuthetha ubulandu, is musical,

from ihubo to isigekle and umphendu, other songs and inkondlo which finally confirms the marriage. The musical performance causes the marriage contract to be smooth and to be guaranteed.

When the groom's clan perform their own set of amahubo songs, which usually happens towards the end of the activities of the day, it marks a final communion of all the ancestors, from bride's and groom's clans and all others who have come together with the spectators, as each Zulu person has a specific shade who guides and guards him or her wherever he/she goes (Berglund, 1976). This specific ancestor is always present and participates in all the individual's activities.

As a result of its conglomerate nature, the Zulu wedding is an important event through which social bonds are cemented and ideas of local patriotism and national unity are exchanged. This is achieved through, among others, the performance of amahubo songs.

The first day of wedding festivities is concluded by the ukwaba ceremony, where the bride presents key members of the groom's clan, including the groom, with gifts ranging from shawls to beds and mats. An ukwaba may also be carried out on the second day, in which case the first day is concluded by the groom's party's performance. In this reciprocal way

the bride is finally accepted by the groom's clan as part of them. However, her importance also lies in the fact that she plays a pivotal role in maintaining a social relationship between two clans, which is the basis for Zulu ideas about society.

To relate one field experience, in the case of Thileyi Ngubane of Dubeni, Melmoth who married on 30 April 1990, she started visiting her relatives in a custom called ukucimela, that is a ritual asking for gifts and advices. The gifts are, in turn, presented by the girl to members of her husband's clan. Thileyi embarked on cimela visits soon after the day for actual marriage had been agreed upon by the bridal and groom's parties during the lobolo negotiations. This was partly to inform her relatives about the wedding, but also it was meant to thank all of them for any contributions they had made in bringing her up.

Ukucimela is considered to be a very important point in the development of lobolo negotiations.

The girl is given advice because she leaves her relatives and goes to start a new life elsewhere. Ukucimela is not performed by the young man or prospective groom.

In the case of Thileyi, ukucimela, was followed by umncamo, (which literally means the last meal). An umncamo ritual is

intended to effect the transition of the girl from being a member of her maiden homestead to being a member of her husband's clan (Gluckman, 1950). This is performed two days before the wedding day. It is also intended to report to the ancestors that the girl is leaving home to get married and to prepare them for their role of looking after her in her new homestead. Masongena Biyela of Thalaneni, Nkandla, remarks that

ancestors are usually very slow to respond and they have to be given time and urged through the performance of the rituals. (Interview, 15 September 1990)

At Melmoth, during umncamo, it is customary that the girl is emphatically referred to as intombazane ('the girl') by her people, who avoid calling her by her first name as a sign of respect. The groom's people refer to her as umakoti ('the bride'). This was the case with Thileyi Ngubane.

The day before the wedding, as is customary practice at Dubeni, Melmoth, Thileyi was confined to one house, the main hut (indlu engenhla) which is regarded as the 'temple' of the ancestors. She remained there with all her belongings and umabo (gifts) until she was led out by her father when udwendwe set out the following morning.

The following morning, as she moved out of her maiden home, to embark on the journey of udwendwe her father held her by the right hand, walking up and down while addressing the ancestors, telling them that "the girl" was leaving the homestead to join another clan. He asked the ancestors to look after the girl in her new life.

Addressing the ancestors he said,

We ask from you, Mbovu, Somhashi and all of you, to look after the girl and give her power to give the Biyela (groom's clan) fire and life, and to represent all of us in good manner.

After the speech he giya and the clan elders started singing their ihubo, with a little dancing, which mostly consisted of pointing sideways with sticks and raising shields.

According to Ngubane, this was ihubo performance at its ultimate, as a prayer. The raising of shields symbolizes peace, and the Ngubane were pleading for peace from the ancestors.

The wedding procession then set out, at 4.55 in the morning. As the wedding procession proceeded towards the groom's homestead, amahubo and ordinary dance songs mingled to create the spirit of the ceremony. There were also war-cries

and praise-singing by young men who formed a determined front, as well as ggiza and ggashiya by the girls who played a very instigative and highly supportive role in creating and sustaining the spirit of the ceremony.

The situation above typifies the Zulu concept of participation, at its best. John Miller Chernoff [1979 : 162] generalises about this type of participation as conceived in a study carried out in Ghana :

They regard participation as an effort to contribute because they believe that involvement will lead to caring and that a participant will find a way to complement a situation.

Although this relates to a study made in Ghana, it nevertheless is true of the traditionalist Zulu concepts in which it is thought that people participate in order to give meaning to a situation and order it in a way which will fully relate to the way their world - as individuals and as collective units - is ordered.

To explore this point further, participation is exercised within the scope of specific behavioural codes, understandable and acceptable to all participants. People do not act at random; they are guided by ideas which have been passed down from generation to generation. A misinformed or unin-

formed person is very likely to record chaos in Zulu ceremonial mobilization.

In Zulu social thinking the past, present and future all form one continuum. Without the past, the present is meaningless, but the meaningfulness of the present is in actual fact a construction for a meaningful future. That one was present at someone's wedding or in a ceremony, may, on its own be a very significant historical point of reference in future, when the person is old and reflects on earlier experiences.

At Thileyi's wedding, music was basically used both to signal a movement towards a new event and the continuity of the event itself. The wedding became a series of related ritual events, which were intended assure the cooperation of the ancestors, the final authority in marital affairs. Very little material related to the unfolding of the series of events was communicated verbally.

As is customary practice at Dubeni, the girls at Thileyi's wedding approached the groom's homestead early on the morning of the second wedding day (which was their first morning there) singing songs in which they "demanded" to be respected by being offered a goat or a cow. The text of the song is : "Wemkhwenyana sesifikile sicela indlela", (Oh groom we have come, show us the way).

It is also important that the bridal party, through a series of performances and the groom's party responds. So, every musical initiative by the bridal party is promptly met by a response by the groom's party.

After the bridal party had arrived at the groom's homestead, there was a series of interactions initiated by musical performance. Activities ranged from slaughtering of a cow, aimed at effecting the union, and ukuhlabisa izintombi (the slaughter of a goat) aimed at welcoming the girls from the bride's locality and re-establishing their unity, compensating them for their loss of the bride. These interactions were characterized by the ritual and further reciprocity. The umqholiso cow, slaughtered by the people of the groom's homestead, was a present from the groom himself. This is also referred to as inkomo kaMakoti, symbolizing her being accepted by the groom into her new clan. Its gall was used to sprinkle the bride, a ritual which further strengthens her as a new member of the groom's clan.

The most outstanding term that describes the role and effect of the bridal party is the epithet, bayaganisa, (they cause the marriage). To ganisa is a verb describing the process of effecting the marriage. This means that the occurrence of the traditional marriage depends less on the bride and the groom, and more on the people present. This is a further reference to the importance of dependance on the will of

others to carry out one's wishes in life. Zulu social understanding rallies around this very broad concept. Ukuganisa is effected through the various musical performances initiated by the bridal party and answered by the groom's party. Ukuganisa depends on the co-operation between these two parties. Ukuganisa is a community effort depending for its success on achieving oneness of community spirit. Tradition and skill are major requirements to effect ukuganisa.

At Thileyi Ngubane's wedding the bridal party was singing their ihubo song as they were entering the dance arena, isigcawu. According to Umtwana Makhukhuza Zulu

It is also ritually important for the bridal party to be singing their ihubo song as they enter the dance arena. This maintains continuity in that the whole wealth of the body of experiences is past directly made relevant and linked to the present. This is achieved by ihubo song. It is also the surest way of involving ancestors in these crucial stages of the wedding. Ancestors are best invited with the performance of amahubo songs, because amahubo are songs of the ancestors (Interview, 23 July 1988).

This means that in a wedding arena, isigcawu, the bridal party is a party of the living; and the ancestors, those that we could not see, but whose presence could be felt by those concerned, through the performance of their ihubo song.

The presence of the ancestors was thus guaranteed. Describing ancestral participation in a wedding Mamzane Xulu, a well known sangoma of Makhosini, Mahlabathini says :

Ancestors may participate as spectators or as singers and dancers, especially when the major and minor amahubo songs are being performed. The ancestors get so involved and, in this physical world, meet with those of the groom's clan and together with their living celebrate the establishment of the new relationship and the flourishing of their community and national lives (Interview, 23 July 1988).

According to this description it means that the symbolic abstract world of ancestral religion is perfectly merged with the physical world of the living, thus making ancestral power a physical rather than symbolic enterprise. This direct link between the symbolic and physical religious worlds forms the basis of Zulu religion.

The music and dance series of inkondlo, umqigqo, umphendu and isigekle marked the actual formal celebrations of the wedding. The series was introduced after ihubo had been sung.

Thileyi Ngubane's inkondlo was :

Solo

Ngazilaya mina

Ngazithela embangweni

Chorus

Kuye kwamazam'izwe lonke
Ngazithele mbanqweni

(Oh! I blundered
 I threw myself into dispute
 The whole country was shaken by this
 As I threw myself into dispute)

These song and dance sequences were the actual wedding. People referred to them as ukugcagca, to get married. To dance, especially by the bride is also sometimes referred to as to get married. People ask : "Konje uMantombi wasinela kwabani?" meaning, "For whom did Mantombi dance", which literally means, "whom did she marry?" One informant remarked: "Phela umakoti kumele agcagce, abonwe yizwe lonke" meaning, "Indeed the bride must dance in public for all to see, then she is married."

As the bride was dancing, males from the bridal party, except for singing of ihubo and umphendu and isigekle, played very peripheral roles in music making in the wedding arena. With regard to inkondlo, males were mostly completely silent.

Umgcagco remains one of the few rites of passage in the life of a Zulu individual whereby music becomes a focal point, and people are conscious and vociferous about its crucial role. How the bride dances is very important in determining new trends in her life. If she dances badly, for example, it may reveal a personality who shows no commitment to important activities in life. Umgcagco is, therefore, a crucial moment.

Throughout the musical performances by Thileyi, the groom and his party, the ikhetho, (the groom's party), and locals formed the audience. An occasional giya by a member of the audience towards the bridal party which would be commended as a sign of appreciation sometimes took place. Induna Magwaza who was seated next to the present writer, in the Ngubane and Mpungose wedding, remarked

the young people are thoroughly enjoying themselves, Xabhashe. Look at the way they sing and dance and giya. It means that they like the bride and groom. Hence their participation.

From the foregoing observation it can be argued that one shows appreciation of an event by being involved in it, playing one's expected role and enhancing the performance of the central figures. The Zulu wedding as a musical event, is a pluralistic occurrence where all present are charged with

giving full meaning and stretching the potential scope of the event to the ultimate possible. John Miller Chernoff [1979 : 164] remarks about audience participation in an African musical event that :

... people are constantly alert and ready to recognize each other, and they become extremely sensitive to the way they participate. Their presence at an event, in faith and gesture, implies an engagement of minds and bodies to endow their social forms with life. Dynamic power is present in the cosmos, but as at a musical event, it is shaped and given form, incorporated into effective communication, and made wilfully present where there was only potential by the power of human understanding, and it is not revealed but directed.

This probably relates to and explains the significance of spectators in a traditionalist Zulu musical event, like a wedding. The success of such an event is defined in terms of the fact that spectators are there to play a crucial role in the overall performance, that of decorating it and witnessing it¹⁶. Spectators are not expected to be passive observers, but to be actively involved. Passive spectators may spoil a performance. The individual display of physical and vocal potential through giya, qgiza and qgashiya, especially by members of the audience, is common and acceptable in a Zulu wedding. These enhance rather than disturb the performance. These reactions are vital in urging the performers to dance on. They are in themselves a form of performance.

In fact, we can analyse a Zulu musical performance as existing at three levels. Firstly, there are performers who are central, like the bride in a wedding. Secondly, there is subsidiary performance by the spectators which is meant to interact with the central performance and enhance it. We can say that the central performance enhances the subsidiary performances, because, in most cases, spectators derive their inspiration and will to giya or qgiza from the central performance. In other words, the two performances are reciprocal. Thirdly, there is the totality performance, the combination of the central and the subsidiary performance.

In the case of Ngubane to Mpungose wedding, after the bridal party had finished its performance, they then formed an audience, while the groom's party took the stage. The Zulu proverb: "Kusinwa kudedelwana", meaning one dances and leaves the stage for others, was fulfilled here. This tallies with the Zulu view that a complete musical event or musical performance depends on the availability of many performers and reciprocity. It is never only one performance. Two and more make a complete picture. Perhaps this is also reflected in the fact that one as a number is not favoured in Zulu culture. The language is enriched with proverbs advising people on the importance of two as a favourite number and one as incomplete. Some of those are :

"Zimnandi ngokuphindwa"

The beauty is in repetition.

"Ubucwibi obuhle obuhamba ngabubili"

There is beauty in two birds that fly together.

According to Induna Magwaza of Dubeni, Melmoth :

the groom's performance is a reply to the bride's. They perform to show the bridal party that they are also alive. It is a way to welcome the bride through song (Interview, 30 July 1990).

Induna Magwaza further described this performance as "an act whereby the groom's party publicly open their arms to welcome the bride". (Ibid)

The performance by the groom's party was a very spectacular event. They generally sang amahubo, rendering items from other clans together with those from their own clan repertoire. They started with their ihubo as a way to guarantee the presence of their ancestors as well. The groom's party invited the bride to sing and dance with them while they rendered one ihubo of the Mpungose, which had no direct ritual effect on their ancestral relations. In this way she became symbolically totally interwoven into the overall life pattern of her new clan, through musical performance.

At all the weddings the present writer has attended the singers of amahubo were generally old men and women of the clan. This is because amahubo are religious items and music of the old.

Thileyi Ngubane's wedding concluded on the third day, a Sunday, after the ubulandu and ukwaba rituals. When I later reviewed Thileyi's wedding with Induna Magwaza over a traditional Zulu beer pot, he said there were five important secrets that must be understood and which make a traditional Zulu wedding. Firstly, the bride must be properly removed from her own maiden clan. Secondly there must be ibhokisi (the kist) which symbolically stands for her. Thirdly she must perform inkondlo song, in an isigcawu. Fourthly she must be welcomed by the groom's people through their ihubo and fifthly, she must be sprinkled with gall from the umgholiso beast.

This is the only way a traditional Zulu wedding takes place. Everything else you see is part of this. If you do not see this order then the marriage has not taken place. (Interview, 27 April 1990)

In our discussion I noted that in a traditional Zulu wedding, which is an amahubo performance context, the use of symbols is heightened.

2.1.7 Death

When a Zulu person, who is in a leadership position, like a homestead head, induna, chief or even the King dies, amahubo songs are performed because these people have power, and are in a position to become more powerful ancestors, continuing with their leadership roles even in the world of the ancestors. Other individuals may be buried in complete solemnity and silence but specific rituals aimed at vesting power in them are also performed prior to and after the burial. These may take the form of ukuginisa isidumbu, which is fortifying the corpse, ukugandaya, which is a specific ritual underlying actual burial and ukubuyisa, relating to the bringing back of an individual from the dead so that he performs his duties as an ancestor. All these are characterized by a degree of solemn music-making.

This, to some extent, concludes the social and ritual significance of amahubo songs in the life of a Zulu individual. However, there is another belief that with the passage of time, say after one or two generations, some ancestors are believed to restart the cycle of life by being born again as babies and undergoing the whole cycle again. What is significant, though, is that institutions exist as part of a whole. Although most rituals are performed for specific individuals, Zulu individuals themselves are never viewed in isolation. The performance of rituals symbolizes the sig-

nificance of individuals within the whole Zulu society. It also explains the reason why the Zulu people always view the significance of unity as a strategy for exercising power. The idea is that power, according to Zulu thinking rests with the individual, as a result of ritual; but the individual himself is not in a position to utilize power unless he combines his power with that of others in a common purpose. However, people like diviners, may as individuals, exercise power to some extent, because they live with the ancestors inside them, so that their power is multiple.

What one is in life, determines what one becomes as an ancestor. It is never the opposite. The more powerful the living are, the more need there is for amahubo songs to be performed when they die. The years of one's life are very important.

As an ancestor, a person continues to exert influence on the order of things. The more powerful ancestors live for a long time while the less powerful fade easily in the memory of the living as John Miller Chernoff [1979 : 165] puts it :

In African religious belief, the departed continue to watch over the community, and the departed themselves are judged and their lives are expanded by those who remember them and continue to live in the world of meaning. A person truly dies when his influence on the living ends, when he is forgotten. One's relation to the ancestors is, like music, a vehicle for character and an indication of parity

of heart, but it is not often that an African will refer to the ancestors in a discussion of morality or character.

This can also be noted in Berglund (1976). Becoming an ancestor on its own is a long process starting from birth. Being an ancestor is the ultimate status a Zulu individual aspires to attain. This, however, has to be prepared for, including the performance of all rituals and rites of passage, marriage, giving birth and general social interaction. Therefore, not all people who die really become ancestors even if they do go to the land of the ancestors. Ancestors are leaders, influential people who assume their role in this very real and physical world.

According to Induna Magwaza of Dubeni, Melmoth :

becoming an ancestor also involves the issues of burial, specific details have got to be followed here; for example, the body must face the east, where man is believed to have come from, the body must be buried with all the deceased's valuables, especially regalia and weaponry, for use in the ancestral land, if he is a senior person, amahubo must be performed, so that he is received by the ancestors in ceremony, an umqandayo beast must be slaughtered, a goat must be slaughtered for the living to cleanse themselves, and about one or two years later the ukubuyisa ritual must be performed to give him full status as ancestor (Interview, 9 September 1990).

So, as a result, ancestors still depend on the living for the attainment of power and status, in the same way as the King depends on his people for his power. It is something that is determined by the Zulu system of devolution of power.

Induna Bhubhoni Ngema of Mfanefile, Melmoth died in December 1989. At his funeral, held the day after his death was announced, the Ngema clan ihubo song was performed. On the day of the funeral itself, men started singing the ihubo song as they entered the main hut, indlu engenhla, to carry the corpse to its grave at the upper end of the cattle enclosure. As they were proceeding towards the grave they continued singing the ihubo song. Only men participated in the singing which was very solemn. No dancing took place. A few men who carried their traditional weaponry had their shields raised most of the time. When I interviewed them later, informants insisted that the singing of the clan ihubo song was real "isiZulu" as Ngema was an umnumzane (a remarkable homestead head). The singing continued until the corpse, wrapped in ox-hide, was completely buried. The mourners then filed to a nearby river to wash and cleanse themselves, the men separately from the women.

Amahubo were also performed in the ukubuyisa ritual of Ngema which occurred in June 1991. The ritual, which carried on for two days was marked by lots of dance and music-making

and a general spirit of happiness which contrasted sharply with the funeral. Even the singing of amahubo songs was 'gay' and accompanied by dancing. Speaking after the ukubuyisa ritual, Nogada Bhubhoni's eldest son said :

We have done all that was necessary to give our father the dignity of umnumzane. He is now with all our ancestors and the type of things that are happening in our homestead these days, show that he is alive and with us (Interview, 23 June 1991).

Nogada would not explain what was happening but one informant a Ngema relative said to me that no less than five cows had given birth to lively calves in the previous two months and that this could be attributed to the power of the late Bhubhani Ngema's ancestor. When I asked Nogada about performance of amahubo songs in a funeral, he said

This is one of the major things that should happen in the funeral of umnumzane. He must be buried in unity, and our own amahubo unite us. Thus, our ancestors recognize the man as he comes, through amahubo, which we perform, and they say 'here he comes, one of us', and show him his seat. He is at peace, and gives us all peace. (Ibid)

An ancestor is a responsible being who understands the needs of his or her people. Male ancestors are very influential, simply because Zulu males are public figure, whereas female ancestors are only related to individuals in their small

problems because of the private role of women in Zulu society.

2.1.8 Amahubo Performance in War

War, sanctioned by the King, has not taken place among the Zulu in the present century. However, informants insist that no war sanctioned by the King would take place without amahubo being performed. These would be performed for similar reasons as a wedding and death, that is, the involvement of the ancestors, thus rendering the whole event a religious, sacred one. The idea is that ancestral involvement multiplies military power, and that only amahubo can invite ancestors.

In the case of war, the singing of amahubo songs prepares the regiments to face the enemy, by invoking the ideas of land and social order and the cause to defend these. Amahubo are loaded with the ideas of land, society, the state, loyalty and human relations. Thus, war should not be feared if amahubo are involved in it.

Although no formal Zulu wars are fought these days, the military culture instilled by the likes of King Shaka, King Dingane and King Cetshwayo still lives among the traditionalist Zulus. These Zulu people are proud of their military heritage, which even today continues to influence their total outlook towards life. In recent clashes with the Xhosas on the Rand, the young Zulu warriors were singing many amahubo songs, although this was never an official

war, as such a war can only be sanctioned by the King.

However, since no national wars are being fought these days, the details of war as a performance context of amahubo songs could not be expanded in this thesis. Sporadic political clashes as happened on the Rand may need a separate study (see also Mare, 1992).

2.1.9 Commemorative Events

Amahubo songs in commemorative events like King Shaka's day are a symbolic and physical linkage of Shaka's glory and modern suffering and oppression by apartheid rulers. They are music of hope and determination to eventually overthrow apartheid by combining modern power with the Shaka's glory. In ever-changing challenges of apartheid South Africa, the glory of Shaka's and Cetshwayo's days is seen as the symbolic hope for victory.

In all Shaka Day celebrations at Stanger, which the present writer has attended from 1988, amahubo songs were performed towards the end of the celebrations, probably rendering the ceremony more of a religious event than anything else (Bloch, 1974). Earlier, political speeches by King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the offering of gifts from various constituencies, usually to the King, and general policy-making give the event its political-ceremonial dimension.

The traditional Zulu ceremony remains a great event, bringing together ideas and people, and acting as a locus for assessment of the relevance of commonly held ideas. In fact, continued performance of amahubo songs, even in modern South Africa, bears testimony to the relevance of the ideas inherent in them to modern South Africa.

2.2 SOME BASIC SOCIO-MUSICAL CONCEPTS AND PRINCIPLES IN AMAHUBO SONGS

It is significant to note the fact that the view of amahubo as song artefacts has a smaller and static scope as compared to the view of amahubo as a concept. The view of amahubo as a concept extends to include all issues and ideas which combine to form the world of amahubo of which the amahubo as ceremonial songs are the surface.

In establishing key concepts in amahubo songs or any music for that matter, methodological description and analysis of musical sound alone may be grossly insufficient (Blacking, 1971). In fact, if we follow A.P. Merriam's (1964) model of viewing and defining music in terms of concepts, behaviour and sound, it becomes clear that sound is one of the many features that constitute the conceptualisation of music in some cultures; and it may not always occupy the centre stage.

Emphasising the significance of the study of sound in its cultural context John Blacking [1971:186] says :

Music-making is not simply an exercise in the organization of sound, it is a symbolic expression of social and cultural organization, which reflects the values and the past and present ways of life of

the human beings who create it. Thus the logic and meaning of musical patterns can never be understood fully without reference to other phenomena in the culture of which they are a part.

The relation of the patterns of sound in amahubo songs may be definable in relation to other aspects of culture which determine the role and status of amahubo songs and, thus, the manner in which sound patterns have to be organized in order to fulfill a specific role within the cultural system.

As the myth of origin referred to earlier points out, there is no evidence that amahubo were ever performed independently of their social function. In discussing the subject of amahubo songs with informants, the present writer noted the centrality of social function in the conceptualisation of music in traditional Zulu society. A song is defined in relation to its social function; for example, igama lamadlozi, (the song of the ancestors), amagama okwemula, meaning, (songs of emula or puberty rites). It did not become evident to the present writer that a song, igama, in traditional Zulu society can be divided into smaller units like scales, pitch relations, tonality and so on (as Rycroft 1971, 1980, 1982 tends to do). Melody, (indlela) rhythm (isigqi) and harmony (isigubudu) become widely discussed especially within a performance context. However, these were never, in the presence of the present writer, discussed as

separate and independent entities. A discussion which emphasizes on issues like scales may be overlooking inside view. It became evident that igama, the song, which may synonymously mean "the word", or "the opinion", is the basic unit of music conceptualisation in traditional Zulu society.

Further, in discussing amahubo songs themselves, the performance context and the role and status of the songs referred to earlier seemed to be emphasized. Thus, the shape that the songs took was that of conceptualisation much broader than artefact, meaning that amahubo are much more than mere sound units. Thus, a broader definition of amahubo song styles and amahubo song ideas is necessary in order to comprehend what is meant by amahubo songs. This has been done in chapter one above.

The conceptualisation of basic ideas in amahubo songs arrived at when the music is viewed from an inside perspective reflects the place and meaning of the music within the overall social structure. It is in this respect that a clan's ihubo elikhulu, ihubo elincane, umphendu, isigekle, izibongo, izaga, umgqigqo and inkondlo, all become part of the total performance, because when performed in context, they are conceived as forming one continuum and creating the broad world of amahubo. To discuss one to the total exclusion of the other, or to discuss each as if they were totally separate entities would be a gross misrepresentation

of the pattern of things. It is only when one takes them out of context (which would be unnecessary), and treats them separately that one may see differences, although the extent to which the differences perceived through such a study may tally with those perceived by the makers of the music themselves may be in doubt as John Blacking [1971 : 187] puts it:

... without adequate study of the cultural background and of techniques of performance, an ethnomusicologist can therefore attach importance in observed differences in, say, patterns of melody, while the creators of the music are concerned primarily with a pattern of "chords" of which several different melodies are merely partial expressions.

The performance contexts and cultural background of amahubo songs have been discussed earlier. What is significant is that the evaluation of music and musical performance is an established practice in traditional Zulu society, so that the researcher is never the only one who is giving an evaluation of the music. This means that in giving key and basic concepts in amahubo songs the view of the insider, which we have referred to several times earlier, is of much significance.

Ukuhlabelela is the Zulu word for singing (Rycroft, 1980, 1982). But it also means saying something repeatedly, but

slowly. To hlabelela is, therefore, more than merely to sing; it deals also with how one does the singing. This means that ukuhlabelela may only refer to a specific type of song-making, characterized by slow tempo, delayed entries, repetition and, probably, an open voice technique. Such singing corresponds to the form and structure of amahubo songs. However, ukuhlabelela is a generic term for all Zulu singing and when it comes to the singing of amahubo songs, the term ukuhuba is often preferred, to define a style of singing that equally characterizes the whole musical style.

The concept most central to the singing of amahubo songs is ukuhuba. As discussed earlier ukuhuba also means the roaring of a lion; or the sound made by a huge waterfall, a flooding river or the sea. With particular reference to the latter a wavelike movement of the sound as the leader interacts with the chorus in call-and-response is evident in a typical amahubo performance. Judging by the nature of the sound made by a roaring lion, a huge waterfall, a flooding river, or the sea, it can be established that amahubo songs, if not a manifestation, are at least a symbol of power. One way or another the concept of power as related to these symbols, namely, a lion, a waterfall, a flooding river or the sea, can be connected and is indeed connected by insiders with the performance of amahubo songs.

An isaga : "Wathint'amabhubesi, umlil'o vuthayo, ovuthel'izigaba zizonke," which people recite to assert their power, is an example. This connection is further supported by the Zulu myth of origin which establishes amahubo songs as a fundamental part of creation¹⁷. As discussed earlier, the fact that the first people who came out of the bed of reeds did so as a group and that they were singing amahubo songs, establishes the belief that the making of a huge sound symbolizing powerfulness has always been a key concept in amahubo singing.

It is this huge sound which similarly underlines solidarity discussed earlier, which can be derived from amahubo singing. A characteristic large sound can be produced by many people singing together and united in purpose and effect. Although we cannot make sweeping claims about how performers experience the effect of amahubo songs as individuals, the insight by performers as to what effect amahubo songs should broadly have on the individual, the sub-groups, the community, the region and the nation, often acts as a binding force which underlines solidarity and makes possible the production of the characteristic ukuhuba sound. Thus, ukuhuba cannot be separated from solidarity which forms a part of its production technique.

In addition to solidarity, the concept of ukuhuba also depends on unity and a sense of identity for its effective-

ness, as one informant, Induna Magwaza put it :

As we sing amahubo songs, it is all going very well because we are all here, we are united and doing one thing being the Yengwayo.

Yengwayo is the clan praise-name for Magwaza. In short the idea of re-establishing the clan identity was achievable through the singing of clan amahubo songs which have a history extending several years back. Thus as a clan, a unit, they establish their sense of self, of identity. Identity is another key concept in amahubo song performance. In essence, the kind of experiences that are brought about by amahubo performance are more typical, thus rendering themselves attainable to any Zulu person finding himself in a similar situation. In as much as the key concepts of power, solidarity, unity and identity may seem somehow more cultural than musical, they are significant in shaping the eventual sound patterns of amahubo songs as John Blacking [1971:193] puts it :

Cultural factors are no less important than accoustic in determining a society's selection of intervals and scales.

Although, to me, scales and intervals are fluid and always subject to change as other factors may so demand, cultural factors often display a certain amount of stability and may equally be sustained even when scales and intervals have shifted. In a situation where musical performance becomes a crucial factor in the balance of power (Blacking, 1971, Kaemmer, 1989) the emphasis falls more on the cultural concepts that can be achieved through such a performance. In amahubo song performances, which are also by and large a cultural event, both cultural and purely sound factors occupy a central position.

Rycroft (1971) notes an "open" voice quality in ceremonial music and communal dance songs. Ceremonial music and communal dance songs are amahubo songs and related styles like isigekle. The open voice quality is a fore requisite to the production of ukuhuba sound and is a basic principle without which ukuhuba would not be achieved. In addition Rycroft notes an explosive fortissimo in Zulu regimental chants and war cries, as well as portamento. These concepts are basic musical techniques which are meant for the production of the sound.

On the issue of tonality Rycroft [1971:218] notes that :

Within the Zulu repertoire of reputedly archaic amahubo anthems and ceremonial dance-songs, some

employ a rudimentary three-note "scale" comprising two conjunct fourths. But others, also of great age, contain chromaticism, though the fourth is still an important structural interval.

In my discussion of the subject of amahubo with Zulu informants the idea of a succession of notes, as it were, never pitched up. The concept of scale was not there and there was not even a Zulu word for it.

However, using this essentially Eurocentric approach, it is important to note that amahubo with note succession involving up to six notes within a Western diatonic major scale including chromatics can be heard. Rycroft (1982) notes this for "Uhawu" victory song, which is very old. Chromaticism especially with a lowered seventh and third, are quite frequent in amahubo. However, as indicated above, the usage of certain terminologies may bring about conceptual inaccuracies especially if the insiders do not have equivalents. In my mind chromaticism as a term may be used in Zulu music if the music is viewed from a Western perspective of tonality, since it has no equivalent term in Zulu culture. However, such type of singing especially in descending passages as would merit association with chromaticism if such a Western approach would be used, is abundant in amahubo songs.

Underlying the relation between melody and the words is what Rycroft [1971:198] terms "the pitch-lowering effect" of voiced consonants". The pitch-lowering effect is what characteristically and among others gives Zulu music and especially amahubo songs a somewhat heavy tone-colour. In discussing the issue of the pitch-lowering effect with my informants, although it could not be put clearly by the informants, it became clear that it was viewed as part of ukuhuba technique. For example, Induna Magwaza of Dubeni, Melmoth in a discussion between him and the present writer about the ihubo song "Wayihlaba Wema Nayo," said :

Xulu : I think ukuhuba is great and powerful, but why do they always lower and stress on Yi and Zu in Yith' uZulu?

Magwaza : Cha, yikho - ke ukuhuba phela, Bayakhombisa ukuthi lento inamandla, idinga ukukhombisa ubudoda.

which means

No, this is real ukuhuba. They show that this thing has power, it needs to show manhood.

Xulu : So, is that how they show power?

Magwaza : Yebo, ngoba phela bayahuba, bayagcizelela, yikho nje behlisa amazwi.

which means

Yes, because they huba, they stress, so they lower their voices.

Although the discussion became somewhat diverted when somebody else entered the hut where we were, I noted, even in subsequent discussions with other informants, that ukuhuba is interpreted in many ways.

Another interesting concept of performance central to amahubo songs is that of ukuhela. An ihubo song is often started by one person who may immediately be supported by another or a few others within the group, usually singing the response. If there is no response forthcoming, due to the song being unknown, then the person who starts the song has responsibility to sing the call and leave it in time to enter at the right moment for the response, so that others may join accordingly. Ukuhela implies that the number of people who join each time the call is made keeps growing until everyone present joins in. At that point, after a few repetitions, they say, "Selivuthiwe", (meaning, it is now "ripe") at which point dancing and pointing with sticks may

start. When the song is "ripe" then it is possible to elaborate further with it, including improvising and dancing.

Surrounding the performance of amahubo songs and central to their existence is socialisation. If one looks at the nature of all the ceremonies where amahubo songs are performed, the maintenance, and sometimes the establishment, of a lively 'community' where individuals 'understand' their roles and status as well as the general pattern of things within society seem to be one of the specific aims. We note that a wedding, for example, becomes an essential event for the institution of marriage which is one of the most fundamental in Zulu society. Normalisation of society is central to a wedding and thus to the performance of amahubo songs. Amahubo are equally essential for individuals and groups to meet and interact (Rycroft, 1980).

Because of the cosmopolitan nature of amahubo songs and the fact that they require a coming together of many people, any occasion where the songs are performed is known as em-sindweni, literally at the place of noise. Noise-making is a deliberate and essential part of amahubo performance. To a large extent this explains the need for a loud voice and communication in high pitched voices in amahubo performance contexts, except for the funeral, where, for religious reasons, most of the concepts basic to amahubo and to life

in general are reversed.

When I interviewed Umntwana Makhukhuza on the subject of noise - umsindo, he said :

Ancestors rejoice when their people make noise, because it means that they are happy and everything goes well. But it must not be bad noise like quarelling. Only good noise. That is why you are happy when you go to emsindweni (Interview, 23 July 1988).

In amahubo songs, dance and singing are always intertwined and inseparable concepts. People at Dubeni, Melmoth, literally refer to "dancing amahubo songs" - "bayalisina ihubo" - a phrase which underlines the significance of movement in amahubo song performances. Pointing with sticks and raising of shields, symbolizing peace, are all variations of dance. Although Rycroft¹⁸ (1980, 1982) differentiates dance from pointing with sticks, during my own field work and interviews it was established that these were mere variants of the same, as was the case in this interview on 18 June 1992.

Xulu : So, sometimes they dance and other times they do not - why?

Magwaza : Hayi, Bayasina njalo nje, uma behuba.

meaning

No, they always dance when they sing amahubo songs.

Xulu : But what is pointing with sticks?

Magwaza : Wukusina lokho, Wukusina kwamahubo.

meaning

That is to dance, to dance for amahubo.

Xulu : Even though they do not stamp on the ground.

Magwaza : Cha, phela amahubo ehlukenene, nokusina kwawo akufani.

meaning

No, amahubo are not the same and dancing for them is not the same.

Xulu : And why do they raise shields sometimes.

Magwaza : Wukuthula, basuke behlompha abanikazi babo

meaning

That is peace. They are respecting their superiors.

Xulu : Who are those?

Magwaza : Abaphansi

meaning

The ancestors

It could further be established in subsequent interviews with more informants that there is no large-scale inside view which separates dance from singing in amahubo songs. Each complements the other.

Discussing the relation of music and dance Annette Sanger [1989:57] notes that :

... in many cultures music is so closely intertwined with dance (and drama) that it is appropriate to consider them together. Music and dance may be likened to separate strands which are part of one thread, the performing arts, in the complex fabric of culture.

It is the nature of amahubo song performance, combining song, dance, costume, weaponry, drama and the key concepts discussed above, which places them at the centre of traditional Zulu cultural expression.

In establishing the central and key concepts in amahubo performances we have referred to indigenous terminology as well as the patterns of culture in order to arrive at how the culture-bearers view what they are doing (Sanger, 1989). This is in addition to the fact that the present writer has also participated extensively in amahubo performances an exercise much emphasized in ethnomusicological research (Mantle Hood 1971, for example).

In addition, the general and central features of ritual discussed earlier in this chapter are also central to the conception of amahubo songs (See also More and Myerhoff, 1977).

2.3 CULTURAL AND MUSICAL RELATIONS AMONG TRADITIONAL ZULU MUSICAL STYLES : SOME PERFORMANCE PATTERNS

In his study of Venda music, Blacking (1970) notes the centrality of tshikona and its relation to other Venda musical styles. According to him as quoted earlier "tshikona moves all Venda people and symbolizes the largest society known to them" and "other styles of Venda music are universal or parochial according to their structural relationship to tshikona" [1970:17]. This study of Venda music is significant in the sense that it reveals internal patterns and power and structural relations, as reflected in music in traditional Venda society.

Parallels, as pointed out earlier, can be drawn between Venda music and the relation between various musical styles in traditional Zulu society. We have, thus far, noted the significance and centrality of amahubo songs (plural of ihubo) in traditional Zulu musical thought. However, amahubo do not stand alone in Zulu society. Further, they do not achieve meaning when isolated and treated separately from the other traditional musical styles. In short, amahubo need the existence and continuity of all the other major traditional styles which are, in many respects, related to them in order to exist and be meaningful.

It is also equally important to differentiate between non-musical performances which enhance a musical performance and actual musical performances. Although it is not always easy to draw a line between these categories it is possible because insiders do draw distinctions. The lines themselves are, however, not dividing lines, but just points marking movement from one mode of performance to another. This means that in the actual performance act very little separates the performance categories of isaga, (war-cry), izibongo, (praise-poetry); giya, (war-like dancing by men resembling fighting which is done out of momentary inspiration); ggashiya, (which is a movement similar to giya, but done by unmarried maidens); ululating; ggisha, (which is a deliberate crowding by warriors even when there is enough space for relaxation) and the musical performances of amahubo, inkondlo, isigekle, umggigqo, umphendu, in a typical Zulu musical event. The interaction between these performances always forms one continuum aimed at effecting a total experience.

Considering all these performance experiences as centering around amahubo has the advantage of reflecting the specific world which characterises a typical, traditional Zulu performance.

The principal performance media in a typical traditional Zulu musical event, which may almost always turn out to be a

ritual event, are voice, dance, drama and percussion. What, however, binds these media together is that they may all combine in any one item. A table, as an example, can be drawn showing each of the styles and the performance medium.

TABLE 1

STYLE/CATEGORY	PERFORMANCE MEDIA
Isaga	Voice, Dance, Percussion
Izibongo	Voice, Dance
Giya	Voice, Dance
Gqashiya	Voice, Dance, Percussion
Gqisha	Voice, Dance
Amahubo	Voice, Dance
Inkondlo	Voice, Dance
Isigekle	Voice, Dance, Drama
Umgqigqo	Voice, Dance, Percussion
Umphendu	Voice, Dance, Percussion, Drama
Ululating	Voice, Dance

It is clear from the foregoing that voice is the principal performance medium in traditional Zulu music. However, it is almost always accompanied by one or more of the other media.

A line can be drawn also, using the Rycroft (1980, 1982) approach to separate those styles in which voice means singing from those vocal styles where no singing takes place.

Isaga, a war-cry, is not sung. As one informant insisted "Isaga asihlatshelwa, Siyashiwo noma sikhuzwe" meaning 'A war-cry is not sung it is said or shouted'. So "ukusho" (to say) and "ukukhuza" (to shout) are key-terms defining the performance of isaga. The extent to which it can be classified under song - igama - is very doubtful, because it is not song. Rycroft's (1982) discussion of isaga as if it were song is neither accurate nor in line with the general pattern of things in traditional Zulu musical thought. However, in broader terms isaga almost always forms part of musical performance. This can also equally be said of izibongo, that is, praise-poetry which are not sung. An imbongi can hardly be interpreted to be a praise-singer. Rather recitation seems to be the English word that equals ukusho izibongo.

Giya and gqashiya are more or less complementary performances which are meant to display the physical poise of the performers. Giya is a result of inspiration brought about by another performance (See accompanying video for giya technique). It usually occurs after an inspiring ihubo performance, and sometimes as part of the build-up to such a performance. Gqashiya, done by young unmarried maidens, is both a display of physical poise and a technique of urging

the performers to continue. It complements and gives inspiration to a good ihubo performance. So, while giya is a consequence of inspiration and heightened experience, ggashiya is a source of such an inspiration and experience. The same can also be said about ululating, which is normally done by married women, to either complement a good performance or to urge the performers to display a good performance. In a wedding, ululating women may carry brooms, which symbolically stand for peace and prosperity. However, in a typical Zulu performance, 'giya-ing' men, 'ggashiya-ing' maidens and ululating women may all intermingle in momentary inspiration, making the whole event a dramatic one. Singers do not stop singing because somebody wants to giya or ggashiya or ululate; rather these all go on at the same time.

The relation between the various Zulu traditional performance styles listed in our earlier table becomes clearer in a typical musical or ritual event. A classic example of this is the wedding, because in it almost all these styles are performed. The series of events that take place in a typical traditional Zulu wedding has already been discussed above (See also Xulu, 1989). What however, binds all the performance styles is the ritual nature of the event within which they take place. For marriage to take place a 'fixed' pattern must be followed.

The underlying meaning of the order of events is that as ihubo is meant to invite and accommodate the participation of the ancestors in a wedding, the other musical styles are performed in front of the audience and with the participation of the ancestors. Consequently, within the performance context, all the musical items bear equal ritual significance and are all equally necessary if the marriage is to be confirmed as having taken place. If one considers the statement by informants : "Until she performs inkondlo song she is not married" (also Xulu, 1989), then it becomes obvious that each item is equally important and vital if any other is to be rendered meaningful.

Isigekle takes on a variety of forms. What is sometimes termed isigekle in the Mahlabathini and Nongoma districts (interview with Chief Buthelezi; Rycroft 1980) very closely corresponds to an umphendu in the Melmoth and Nkandla districts (see accompanying video). Likewise, in the Melmoth areas the ihubo, "Esentini", (accompanying audio-recording) qualifies very much as an isigekle. This means that while in the Mahlabathini-Nongoma districts isigekle is recited, in the Melmoth areas it is sung. The emphasis seems to be on the dance style and the term isigekle refers to a specific dance style (interview with Khabi Mngoma). The relevant Zulu phrase is "ukusina isigekle", meaning to dance isigekle. However, dance is almost always accompanied by a suitable

form of singing or recitation.

As pointed out earlier, the music and dance series of inkondlo, umqigqo, umphendu, and isigekle marks the actual formal celebrations of the wedding, and the confirmation of marriage.

Such rites de passage dramatized in inkondlo performance are very important in Zulu life. The basic belief is that an event where transition in the life of an individual or a group takes place must be a moment where the old is thoroughly dealt with and undesirable elements of the old life are discarded. The musical performance of inkondlo resembles ukuhlambulula, to cleanse, a practice whereby one opens one's heart to one's enemies and friends who also do the same, so that new relations are free of old grudges. The bride dances her heart out and through her singing and dancing puts herself on display for all people present to assess her closely. It is significant to note that, in this regard, it is only during a musical and dance performance that the public can assess the personality of a specific individual. This is simply because music performance in traditional Zulu culture is viewed as an outward expression of inner feelings. These qualities are not borne in the text but in the actual singing and dancing itself. The energy spent on singing and dancing is related to each individual's desire to assert his or her personality. How this should happen is defined within the community or nation.

Umqigqo is a visual physical elaboration of Zulu ideas of marriage, through dance and oral recitation. An umqigqo is usually performed by an entire bridal party. One striking characteristic of umqigqo performance is backwards and forward movement, coupled with rising and falling and dramatic changes of the moods. A Zulu proverb that is used to describe how one should face a difficult task is: "Akubuyelwa emuva kungemqigqo", meaning it is only in umqigqo performance where one has a licence to retreat. Such an attitude, as demonstrated in umqigqo performance, offers the bride the advice that she may face difficult tasks in married life, but unlike in this performance she is not expected to retreat. The performance symbolically expresses the direct opposite. This view is held by many informants consulted. In umqigqo performance, therefore, the whole bridal party collectively offers advice to the bride, through performance.

Isigekle and umphendu are humorous dances. Isigekle forms the basis of all Zulu dancing outside ihubo performance. We can point out that isigekle is lighter than ihubo. An isigekle unlike the ihubo is less rigid and provides a clear platform for improvisation and creativity. Whereas the ihubo dance steps, for example, are formalised and may not be changed, in isigekle performance the basic steps are main-

tained, but improvisation is encouraged.

Umqagco remains one of the few rites of passage in the life of a Zulu individual in which music becomes a focal point. How the bride dances is very important in determining new trends in future life. If she dances badly, for example, it may reveal a personality which shows no commitment to important activities in life. Umqagco is, therefore, a very crucial moment.

Dancing in an ihubo rendition begins a few moments after singing has started, that is, when singing gets "warm". After that, dancing accompanies singing and the two complement each other. Dancing itself involves the whole body, so that a musical performance is an avenue where the physical and the vocal faculties, in fact all the senses, are activated. The success of the performance depends very much on the co-ordination of all the human faculties. All the stages that the individual has to go through are measures of the ability to co-ordinate all the faculties of the body.

Amahubo dance steps (as some informants indicated during fieldwork) are radically diverse and determined by the rhythmic flow of the music. Stamping the right foot or pointing in the right direction at the correct time is not only a demonstration of musical ability, but also shows a deeper understanding of society and how society functions and co-ordinates its structures through music. The fact that

a shared rhythmic sensibility forms the basis for physical performance, complicates amahubo performance even further. The amahubo performance style is a physical demonstration of symbolic and abstract Zulu thinking. John Miller Chernoff [1979 : 155] remarks on the social effect of similar performances in Africa, generally :

In an African musical event we are concerned with sound and movement, space and time, the deepest modalities of perception. Foremost is the dynamic tension of the multiple rhythms and the cohesive power of their relationship. Founded on a sense of time and presence, the art of improvisation involves the subtle perfection of this rhythmic form through precision of performance, complexity of organisation, and control of gestural timing. The act of creation is above all purposeful, never random, and the goal is balance and a fulfilling interdependence. As they display style and involvement, people make their music socially effective, transforming the dynamic power of the rhythms into a focus for character and community.

When this is related to amahubo songs, it means that the ability to perform amahubo and the beauty of the performance itself, depend very much on the performer's understanding of society and how it works. As a generative force for traditional Zulu social network, amahubo songs and ideas remain flexible and open to transformation as circumstances may demand, so that they remain relevant in all situations. In their purest form they form a rallying point for social meaningfulness, and may penetrate different sections of

and with specified limits fill them, by actually adding on new ideas and building the song up until it becomes a complete whole. This is the time when they may end it. The more interesting songs last longer, because performers create more gaps and have more gaps to fill. Individual amahubo song performances last for as long as possible, which may be anything from a couple of minutes to probably an hour and sometimes even more. (Interview, 23 July 1988)

The impossibility of solo amahubo performance is partly explained in the above reference (also Rycroft, 1982). The idea is that the very nature of amahubo demands the involvement of many people. However, it is not only because many people will make the idealized ukuhuba sound possible by their participation; but it is also because each one of them comes with his own expertise and contributes towards the building of a musical whole. The type of sound, therefore, that an individual amahubo performance may render depends on the number of people involved, the amount of interest that performers have and the general mood of the performers. Each performance, therefore, mostly remains characteristically unique, and thus new. Singing stops when all musical possibilities have been exhausted.

Performers are usually at their best physically, mentally and spiritually. A man puts on his best traditional wear and, to complete his attire, take upon his weaponry. Through the wedding the whole community enters a new phase. Umngangela, an institution where young men are temporarily allowed

society. Amahubo remain a central idea, a way of life.

According to Khabi Mngoma :

It is also important for everybody to show a beaming face during the performance of amahubo by the groom's party. At this moment, in addition to enjoying the beauty of singing and dancing, the performers actually put themselves in the position of children and children are expected to smile in front of their parents, who in this case are the ancestors. No individual may at this moment see himself as superior. All are equal. (Interview, 23 July 1988)

This assertion forms the basis of traditional Zulu religion, which is also well expounded in the hlonipha custom. In this custom the behavioural code is well elaborated. People are expected to value human life, to respect each other, and value each others' roles in life, irrespective of age. However, the younger ones are expected to value and respect the older ones even more, because the older ones are the wealth of national wisdom.

Describing the performance of amahubo songs Khabi Mngoma asserts :

an ihubo song at the beginning has gaps which may be felt by the performers. The actual purpose of performances is to collectively identify such gaps

to physically test each other through stick-fighting, is set aside to bring community anger to a climate conducive to resolution of conflict. To fail to resolve differences here is to fail in life. Fighting in a wedding is sanctioned in this way because this not only records the wedding event, especially if some of the fighters are left with scars but also because it is the ultimate physical way of purifying people, bakhipha igazi elibi, that is letting out the bad blood. In an umgangela people fight in public and the winner is known to all. The loser may not be expected to cause further trouble. So the story ends and the two fighters are then expected to become friends again.

Thus, the traditional Zulu wedding offers the ultimate opportunity for music-making. The music maintains continuity and it is a neutral medium which has power to co-ordinate the different facets of a Zulu wedding. Musical performances again, here, form a ritualized transition and transformation of role and status of the many people involved, but mainly the bride.

According to Khabi Mngoma :

Competitiveness is a major idea surrounding the performance of amahubo in a Zulu wedding. Competition is basically a result of the division of Zulu society or a given Zulu community into small units. The two clans involved in the form of ikhetho, groom's party and umthimba, bridal party, are a

comes a noble idea: it is always there, and basically shapes traditional Zulu thinking. In addition, underlying competition is the idea of value for the other person (Blacking, 1982).

Competition also offers people an opportunity to judge and evaluate themselves against others. The idea of "umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu", discussed earlier, also refers to the value of competition in Zulu society; thus, it has some competitive undertones. This is another way through which a Zulu person can judge his potential and limitations. This springs from the fact that the Zulu individual shapes his own self-image against the background of his whole community or society.

In traditional Zulu society it is not uncommon for individuals to use a communal setting to demonstrate their individuality.

There is never an individual on his own. An individual is always a part of the whole. The whole, therefore, is a mirror for individuals to evaluate their achievements, abilities and potentials. An opportunity where all people are together is, therefore, an opportunity for people to really dig deeply into their innerselves and re-discover themselves, hence the apparent competitive spirit. The individuality of individuals is re-duplicated in units,

major factor. Each wants to excel, as a demonstration of understanding of basic human ideas. If, for example, one of the two clans does not know its amahubo songs very well, it does not only reflect musical failure, it also reflects failure to honour the basic values of Zulu life. Therefore, such a failure is shameful. (Interview, 30 April 1990)

Musical performance is, in this way, a real test for their understanding of social ideas. They compete because each wants to prove that they value life. Such a competition is, therefore, inherent in musical performance and musical success depends on the competition which, on the other hand, is caused by issues broader than mere musical performance.

Competition is further evident among the young men in the umgangel. It is also caused by the fact that in a wedding they all represent their different units and each wants to achieve a certain amount of recognition and respectability. This is a positive and innocent idea which enhances the beauty of the wedding. It is also an incentive which leads to excellence of achievement in life. It, therefore, keeps everybody alert, as each step may enhance or jeopardize one as an individual as well as the whole area from which he comes. The idea of competition is regarded as positive in traditional Zulu thinking. It is not only isolated to a wedding, but expresses itself in courting, stick-fighting, bull-fighting and all related spheres of life. Among the young it is overtly evident, whereas among the old it be-

regions, clans and the whole nation. The Zulu people, therefore, enjoy opportunities to mix with other people and even with other races and ethnic groups, as these, naturally, give them opportunities to re-assess themselves as people. On the whole they remain distinctly Zulu. No platform offers a better opportunity for this display than the musical event.

We can go on to discuss the insider conceptualisations of the basic elements: melody, (indlela); harmony, (isigubudu) and rhythm (isigqi) and relate these to other aspects of culture.

Amahubo are symbolically music for power. They create within their contexts an image of the world where everything is in its place (Bloch, 1987). They symbolically perpetuate the ideology that the Zulu as a nation are powerful in unity. They also explicitly state ideas about land, which, to the traditional Zulu, is the core of religion. Most of the texts of amahubo songs, for example, relate ideas of how land was defended, thus recording valuable history. It is apparently for this reason, for example, that most traditionalist Zulu people the present writer has spoken to do not differentiate between amahubo songs and history. Talk about history inevitably embraces talk about amahubo songs. It also embraces talk about power and glory and land. All institutions, including medicine men, diviners, and other specific groups

are operating to reinforce and perpetuate life on the land. Land incorporates that occupied by the ancestors, which is underground, izwe labaphansi. Land is the most valued entity in Zulu religion and amahubo as religious music are also the most valued song species. Zulu people have, for a long time been dying in defence of the land. The idea is that it is land which keeps the Zulu people together, as people, and as human beings. Without it, life loses its meaning.

Amahubo song ideas in their different styles, permeate all sections of traditional Zulu society from the very young children who are taught folk tales and history by their grandparents, to the herd-boys who learn war songs while tending to their father's cattle, to the young men who attend umemulo and weddings, singing war songs as units and amahubo songs together with others; to the groom who performs them; to the homestead head who drinks with others and sings amahubo songs, to the headmen, the chiefs and the King; from the young girl who is taught her inkondlo song by her mother, which she later sings as an important wedding item to the girl who learns love songs, to the makhweyana bow player, to the girl for whom an umemulo ritual is performed, to the young bride who sings and dances in the wedding arena, to the married woman who sings amahubo songs of her maiden clan and her husband's clan, to the old woman who teaches folk tales to young children and to the ancestors.

All these people experience amahubo song ideas in their different versions.

In this way it is always taken for granted that there is hardly a traditional Zulu individual who has not experienced amahubo. There is also hardly a Zulu individual who cannot sing and dance, for this is the major way he can meet and understand himself as a person in relation to others, which is the fundamental principle of life. It is the multifacetedness of amahubo songs, which make them inseparable from the Zulu history which the Zulu value as a mirror of their own humanness. Life loses meaning if amahubo songs are removed from it, or if earlier rituals are performed and not subsequently followed by others. The issue is that all the rituals point in the direction in which the Zulu individual must go in his journey of life. The traditionalist Zulu people, however, do not isolate any of the dynamics of life. They view life in totality. Music forms part of this totality.

John Miller Chernoff [1979:36] asserts the role of music in traditional African community :

The fact that most people in Africa do not conceive of music apart from its community setting and cultural context means that the aesthetics of the music, the way it works to establish a framework for communal integrity, offers a superb approach to understanding Africans' attitudes about what their relationship to each other should be. The judgments of competence which people make and the standards of quality of which a musician is aware are elaborations of their own conceptions about the

nature of their social life, elaborations which are particularly more evident in musical activity than in many other institutionalized relationships because these artistic standards involve explicit judgements on the potential of the communities within which people live.

Chernoff's assertion probably best relates to the very purpose of amahubo singing, which is to outwardly communicate the values that people share, the performers' own understanding of the values and of themselves in relation to one another, as well as to maintain a state of equilibrium through shared beliefs and purpose. This is the view of Induna Magwazwa at Dubeni, Melmoth.

If we follow Sperber's (1974) translation of symbols and give motivation for the translation we can note that the musical qualities of amahubo are such that amahubo directly reflect social values. If we take the idea of melody singing for example, we find that in amahubo, as a musical style, there is no single melody that exists without the support of another melody. A melody, once started, suggests even further possibilities and renders itself open to interaction. This is totally in line with Zulu social thinking that there is no human being who is human without others. So, because music is made by humans who understand these social principles very well, they actually transform these principles to music, a medium through which covert ideas are explicitly elaborated.

A melody is called indlela, a path, and what is significant is that the song leader deliberately sings "incomplete" melodies, leaving gaps for the chorus to fill in their response. This makes music-making a puzzle in which the leader constantly challenges the wisdom of the musicians by leaving gaps where they would least expect them and by keeping on singing his melody at different pitch levels. He is in this way, creating arenas where they all can meet and interact in music-making. The absence of such gaps would otherwise make traditional Zulu music an unexciting venture. A good melody singer must "dig musical trenches", as they say (umba izisele), and a good chorus must identify these "trenches" and fill them up accordingly.

This explicitly explains why an ihubo song and almost all its different versions, cannot be performed by any single person without the aid of a chorus. The song leader will always be the most musical person in a group. Even in call and response, which is a very explicit characteristic of Zulu music referred to earlier, the song leader is a social leader who has identified himself as a leader, a person who people trust. Khabi Mngoma takes this point further and says

song leaders actually control the destinies of the people who are their choruses (Interview 30 April 1990).

People, therefore, must be able to trust the person who is a song leader, before they can participate in a call and response singing. That is why in amahubo singing song leadership is reserved for the most senior members, the traditional leaders, of the clan or nation. By responding, the chorus is actually accepting the role of the leader, and there is no better way of accepting it in this context, than to respond positively when he calls. The alternative, which would be impolite, is to keep quiet.

The construction of melody is related to the idea of text, because in Zulu a song is almost always conceived with a related text. Noting the treatment of the words in a melody Rycroft [1982:311] says :

Considerable mutilation of words seems to be tolerated in many Zulu communal songs and dance-songs. Vowels, or even whole syllables may be elided, to a greater extent than is usual in speech; or several syllables may be "run together" on an off-beat, while others are unnaturally prolonged, whether or not they are prominent in speech. By this means, a particular word can be twisted to fit a number of different melodic and rhythmic configurations yet despite such treatment "essential tone" patterns are nevertheless quite often still dimly recognized.

This becomes evident in most Zulu music but particularly in amahubo where, because of the specific adjustments of language usages, people are usually not always able to recite

the text outside singing. Even in singing it is not unusual for people to sing different, linguistically unrelated texts. A good example is the following ihubo song, where the chorus may either sing :

SAZE SANGENA KOBHEVULA ihubo

♩ - 69 Ad Libitum, Pitch is relative

Handwritten musical notation for the song. It consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb) and a time signature of 16/8. The bottom staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first part of the song is 'Sange - na ko Bhe vula' with a star symbol under 'vula'. The second part is 'Baleka Mgwaguyesab-' with a star symbol under 'Baleka'. Below the second staff, there are handwritten notes: 'od', 'or', 'yi', 'Zshi', and 'xx' with arrows pointing to specific notes. The word 'th'u Zulu' is written below the second staff.

OR

SAZE SANGENA KOBHEVULA

♩ - 69

Handwritten musical notation for the song, identical to the first example. It consists of two staves in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of two flats and a time signature of 16/8. The lyrics are 'Sange - na ko Bhe vula Baleka Mgwaguyesab-' and 'th'u Zulu'. A star symbol is under 'vula' and another under 'Baleka'. Below the second staff, there are handwritten notes: '(b)', 'od', 'or', 'yi', 'Zshi', and 'xx' with arrows pointing to specific notes.

Example 1

Rycroft (1982) cites "uHawu" - an ancient Zulu victory song as an example (also cited by Prince Gideon Zulu, 24 July 1992).

The usage of the penta and hexatonic scales in some ancient amahubo songs is noted in Rycroft (1982).

Melody in amahubo songs tends to start from high registers and gradually descend in steps, to lower registers, and only to rise again. However, almost always, a melodic phrase will end on a low register, such as in this example.

SAZE SANGENA KOBHEVULA

♩ - 69

melody Sa nge - na ko Bhe vula Ba le ka Mgwaguyesab-
 *
 Zshi
 xx

No - ngo ma

Example 2

The fact that Zulu is a tone language has a great influence on the nature of the melody (Rycroft, 1982). However, it does not necessarily mean that the rise and fall of tonal inflections in speech will be lavishly followed in song. Special adjustments are made, often determined by the order of syllables in a musical sentence.

The idea of harmony symbolically relates to traditional Zulu ideas about life, which are that life becomes meaningful when people do things together, but without any domination from any angle. The polyphonic texture (Rycroft 1980, 1982) relates to the multi-facetedness of Zulu life, its division into specific units performing specific roles, but with each unit carrying no meaning on its own, unless it is related to others. Again, harmony occurs because of a shared and ritualized principle that a person may not imitate his leader, as this would reflect bad manners and carelessness. When somebody starts a song others are expected to respond by harmonizing the melody around a fifth, fourth or third below and above. This is not incidental harmony because it is premeditated and well-guided by a set of principles and concepts which directly relate to other issues in social life. It is this line of thinking which links music directly to other social issues.

Discussing the issue of harmony and polyrhythm and relating these to its social function in African music, John Blacking

[1980:297] says :

the addition of a second part in counterpoint emphasizes the presence of a second person, and hence of a larger group of people and of potentially greater social solidarity. Thus polyrhythm expresses in sound what is desired in every ritual and social gathering - the presence of a larger number of people co-operating harmoniously.

To take this point further and relate it to our discussion, harmonisation is in line with the Zulu conception of ukuhuba sound.

Harmonizing also renders an opportunity for collective music-making which directly relates to the principle of co-existence. Collective music-making forms the basis of community organisation among the traditionalist Zulu people. People can harmonize a song by adding parts that they think are relevant in developing it into a real song. All that a song leader does here is to come with the basic idea, which the other people expand by adding ideas reflecting their feelings. The basic idea which the song leader introduces becomes a pivotal point around which all elaborations take place. The inspiration to expand the horizons of an individual song comes directly from the shared life experiences that people have. As a result the participants know very well the extent to which an individual musical

idea can be elaborated, and once that level has been reached, a song usually ends. This explains why in most cases Zulu performers end their songs when the song is at the hottest and most developed point.

John Blacking, then [1980:295-296] discusses in some detail, the inside conceptualisation and technique of harmonisation in African music in general.

Much Black African music seems to be derived from a conceptual framework of chords rather single tones. Evidence of this is provided by the principle of "harmonic equivalence", if alterations in melody are precipitated by changes in speech-tone or if other singers are "filling out" a song with extra lines of melody, the tones must be systematically selected from tones which occur in the "chords" that implicitly accompany each shift of tone in basic melodic pattern.

According to Blacking (ibid) in Venda music it is harmony which gives the music movement. This means that through harmony or polyphony, the music becomes less repetitive or monotonous from inside. Blacking also notes the use of "companion tones", usually a fifth below the established tonal centre. This becomes even more significant and relevant to explain call-and-response in traditional Zulu music where parallel fifths may be frequent.

Harmony becomes a channel where the ideas about community life are symbolically experienced. It is when people sing

and dance with others that they learn to understand and respect each other. During the performance of amahubo songs, social barriers are removed so that the concept of rigid class formations among the traditional Zulu is constantly being suppressed through the performance of amahubo songs. As a result of their understanding of life and the deeper significance of harmony as it occurs in music, the Zulu people harmonize very easily and naturally.

Harmony, then, in most traditional Zulu music and indeed in amahubo is also underlined by vocal polyphony and non-simultaneous entry of parts.

Discussing the technique of harmonisation in Nguni choral music which includes amahubo songs Rycroft [1982:324] says:

In any choral song there is at least two voice parts, singing non-identical words. These parts never begin together. In some items, the relation between leader and chorus is one of simple antiphonal alteration - first one, then the other. But overlapping phrases are more common, where the leaders part re-enters before the completion of the chorus. Often this re-entry takes place very soon after the chorus starts, so that the overlap is almost total. Or the overlap may be "double-ended" : the solo part may commence midway through one chorus phrase, and end and restart midway through the next one, so that the phrases are completely interlinked. These techniques give rise to some fairly complex polyphony.

These harmonic techniques may be demonstrated in the following examples from amahubo songs :

a)

Wayihlaba Wema Nayo (Ihubo song)

(Call) Way' hla — ba we — ma na go Way'

(Response) yi — th'u

call-and-response

Example 3

(b)

WAY' HLABA WEMA NAYO ihubo

The image shows a musical score for a song. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in the treble staff, and the accompaniment is in the bass staff. The lyrics are written below the notes. There are some annotations: a '3' above the second measure of the treble staff, and 'Zulu' written below the first measure of the bass staff. The lyrics are: 'hla - ba we - ma na yo ke la - ma' on the treble staff, and 'Zulu Aw' si ni - ke la ma' on the bass staff. The piece ends with a double bar line and a '4' above the final measure of the treble staff.

overlapping - entry and re-entry

Example 4

It is evident from the foregoing discussions that the concept of harmony is inherent in traditional Zulu music, indeed in amahubo songs.

Rhythm in Zulu is referred to as isigqi, a term which summarizes the Zulu thought pattern about music and life. The same term, isigqi, also means dignity without a shift of

conceptual meaning from musical rhythm. A Zulu person has to be dignified and one achieves dignity through consistency of rhythm in life, that is, by being able to make decisions and being reliable, through not changing one's opinions and ideas too often. Delay, for example, as a tactic for reinforcing the idea of dignity is directly related to this. The issue is that a Zulu person who is dignified must give private thoughts a high priority especially in delicate issues and only make public utterances when one is convinced that he will stoically stand by his words. Constant and rapid public changing of thoughts and ideas leads to a loss of dignity and reliability, which is actually to lose face and leadership. A song without a steady rhythmic pattern is not respected as a song and a community vehicle of expression. Rhythmic education and knowledge forms part of upbringing and forms a large part of unconscious learning.

In rhythm, again, to emphasize the significance of co-existence each song must have at least two rhythms going on simultaneously. There is usually rhythm which occurs in singing caused by linguistic demands; rhythm which occurs as a result of non-simultaneous entry of parts whereby different parts sing similar things at different times; the rhythm which each musician hears in the head as a result of the two rhythms put together; the rhythm which is elaborated by dance and the overall resultant rhythmic pattern which is a combination of all the above rhythms. Although these

rhythms may, at some level, seem to contrast, it is their multiple nature which gives them their significance.

The occurrence of many rhythms is referred to as polyrhythm. Discussing the occurrence of polyrhythm in African music in general John Blacking [1980:297] says :

Polyrhythm may be envisaged as a horizontal, linear embellishment of sound, in much the same way that harmony is a vertical elaboration. It expresses symbolically the principles of movement and process, and of individuality in community which underlie much Black African music.

In amahubo songs, rhythmic elaboration may be overt, especially where a lot of physical movement takes place. In this case the individuality amidst the group may be expressed in many forms, including stepping forward in front of the singing group to register one's presence by stamping on the ground, in a near-improvised manner. However, rhythmic elaboration may also be subtle, especially where self-control is needed and, therefore, movement is limited. This becomes more the case in the ihubo, when it is sung as a prayer, usually a clan's own ihubo (Rycroft, 1971, 1980, 1982).

Rhythm, as a result becomes the most elaborated and most interesting element of Zulu music. It is also in rhythm that the musicality of different individuals is displayed. It is, in actual fact, the ability to recognize the different rhythmic patterns which leads to musical comprehension. Rhythm or rhythm-making is described idiomatically by the Zulu people as 'ukubasa umlilo', that is, making fire; which can be interpreted as heightening physical and emotional experience. Rhythm should be felt inside the body and explicitly articulated in dance. The main idea about rhythmic intensification is that it inspires people to dance and through dance they communicate their sentiments (Erlmann, 1991). Judith Hanna [1975:216] defines dance as an important vehicle for expressing the sentiments of a group :

Dance is part of the cultural system in which adaptively valuable information is communicated to oneself and to others. Communication includes both the performer's intentional communication and the inadvertent transfer of information. Dance can communicate information purposefully and provide an open channel that could be used. Like other cultural codes and patterned interaction, it is a way of ordering and categorizing.

When this is related to traditional Zulu music we can note that the significance of rhythm in Zulu music, is that without it dance cannot take place, and therefore meaning cannot be communicated and a performance remains incomplete. The idea of music as a collective enterprise would lose its meaning in terms of promoting inter-personal communication.

If music loses its meaning then this is a reflection of the meaninglessness of life.

Amahubo songs, as they have always been performed, reflect the way in which the traditional world of the Zulu person is ordered. It is from this world that he moves out to meet others from different backgrounds, and it is this world which constantly supplies him with resources as he orders meaning in his new life. The centrality of amahubo songs is expressed by the fact that they are still being performed today, despite concerted efforts by the missionaries, the colonialists, the Western-type educators, the neo-colonists, the apartheid and many other ruthless groupings to crush them (Erlmann 1991, Marks 1989). However, in some cases the performance contexts have changed completely, while the most religious contexts continue to exist.

These concepts discussed above which are central to amahubo and characterizing them, are inherently distinctive of Zulu music. However, ultimately, it is inside cultural categorization which identifies each style and gives it its place, role and meaning in society. Some of the concepts may not necessarily be exclusively applicable to amahubo songs, especially when viewed in isolation. We should, however, not lose sight of the fact that the culture-bearers are not seeing them as segments, they are applying a holistic approach in viewing their own culture.

FOOTNOTES

1. For more information on pre-colonial ceremonies, please read among others Krige (1950) under Ritual, and Princess Magogo's treatise in D. Rycroft's "A Royal Account of Music in Zulu Life, with Translation, Annotation and Musical Transcription" Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 38/2, 1975 pp 351-402.
2. In an interview the present writer held with Delisa Sibiya on 14 May 1990, the issue of the source of inspiration for composition of most Zulu music she was familiar with, was discussed. In Delisa's view, the people and what they do in a ceremonial situation, or in a musical event when they are on display are a major source of inspiration.
3. The ancestors are believed to be most active during the night, which is why it is believed that they may then taste the meat. In some homesteads, seniors make it a rule that all women married to the homestead should cover their heads when they go to sleep, to respect the ancestors who are believed to visit then. It is also a practice at Nkandla and Melmoth districts that on the wedding day the bride leaves her maiden home at night and arrive at the groom's home while it is still dark, so that she can receive the blessings of the ancestors from both sides.
4. At the Melmoth, Nkandla, Mahlabathini and Nongoma districts it is believed that after an umemulo, the girl has been cleansed by her ancestors and that she is ready to engage in goma (courtship). A girl who has not undergone this ritual is said to be having isigcwagcwa, (she is unlikeable). Even if such a girl can get a lover, she may find herself quarrelling with her lover with no clear reason. Umemulo is, therefore, a cleansing ritual.

5. Delay as symbol of dignity becomes expressed in many forms. The King, as the most dignified Zulu person, is always the last one to arrive at a ceremony. Sometimes he may be 'late' by even two hours from the appointed time, but this is taken to be normal. All other people must wait. Delay too is evident in lobolo negotiations. The belief is that for anything to be dignified it must take time to happen. This is also to accommodate the ancestors who are believed to be generally slow. Time must be taken before love proposals are accepted; before an umkhongi is listened at, before lobolo negotiations are finalized, and even in the actual wedding day, there is bound to be some delay before the wedding procession leaves the bridal home. There are many other instances where delay symbolizes dignity and assures ancestral.
6. Love-relations are believed to be one of the major causes of faction fights in rural areas, especially where a girl decides to change lovers without a clear reason.
7. "Mothers" and "grandmothers", because in traditional Zulu social system every woman one's mother or grandmother's age is allocated this status.
8. Marriage is valued as a way of establishing new relations and expanding one's social scope. All relatives of the bride automatically become relatives of the groom and vice-versa. So, if a marriage occurs it is an opportunity for more people other than the bride and the groom to know each other.
9. ILobolo in Zulu, and ilobola in Xhosa. Lobola in Zulu is a verb. Existing literature tends to talk about Zulu ilobolo as ilobola which is not correct. Lobolo and not lobola, is an acceptable noun.

10. Abakhongi are chosen on the basis of their diplomacy and also on their blood relationship to the groom. To khonga is crucial because if it fails, then the whole marriage process has failed. To be an umkhongi (singular - plural abakhongi) is also an honourable office.
11. Lobolo is not paid. Preferably it is submitted. Cattle are always preferred, but even money, then symbolically referred to as cattle, is equally acceptable.
12. Insizwa is both a generic term referring to a Zulu young man of note, and a particularising one. It mostly depends on the speech content. If somebody says 'so and so is an insizwa' with some emphasis, then he is particularizing. In other words there are specific characteristics through which a person may be described as insizwa with some emphasis. One of these is musicality and attending ceremonies, ability to engage in stick-fighting and to win many girls. This description transcends the biological one.
13. Note also earlier cited interview with Delisa Sibiya. A maskanda, for example, is not just making musical sounds, he is making the statement of ubunsizwa.
14. Ukufundela means to learn for something else. Here people are learning amahubo songs and dances for the wedding. To fundela is to rehearse, but the purpose of the rehearsal, or the something else for which rehearsal is done must always be clear as a target.
15. In traditional Zulu culture one is born, grows lives and dies with a peer group, with whom they are buthwa'd, by the King at five year intervals.

16. It is not unusual for performers who feel that their performance was not good, to blame the spectators for not cheering up or encouraging the performers. Again, to attend as a spectator gives one the status of a witness, especially in a wedding.

17. It is believed that the very first Zulu people who emerged from the bed of reeds in the beginning of things were singing amahubo songs.

18. In a correspondence between the present writer and Rycroft, the latter points out that he does so with the authority of M.M. Fuze, Princess Magogo and Chief M.G. Buthelezi.

C H A P T E R 3**MISSIONARY AND COLONIAL INFLUENCES ON INDIGENOUS ZULU MUSIC**

The arrival of missionaries and colonialists from Europe greatly influenced the new directions of Zulu music. The missionary era saw a cultural revolutionary change in Zulu society. However, the Zulu with their own social system were not a passive people, only waiting to receive instructions and directions from the Europeans.

When the missionaries first came to Zululand their main aim was to Christianize and 'civilize' the Zulu people. Norman Etherington [1971:76-77] describes the missionary grand dream :

Settling among the Zulu people well beyond areas of white settlement, the missionaries would convert whole tribal groups, which would then be reformed into evangelical communities of monogamous and industrious families. Each community would be guided in spiritual matters by an African pastor, liberally educated by the missionaries, but supported by the contributions of his congregation. Once established, the evangelical communities would turn to organized benevolence in the form of temperance, tract, and mission societies. A central body would co-ordinate the missionary activities of the evangelical communities, and send teams of African missionaries to the north, where the whole process would begin again with a new people.

Although this grand dream belonged to the American Board, it shared a common weakness which all missionaries had; that of disregarding the Zulu as a people with religious, social, economical and political ideas and structures¹. It was a grand plan drawn by liberal Europeans and Americans who were eager to patronize the Zulu by reinforcing their own ideas.

The missionaries soon identified certain specific traditional institutions and practices which they concluded should be destroyed before any meaningful conversion of the Zulu people could take place. One of these was lobolo, (bride-price) (Etherington, 1971). The missionary approach to lobolo was to a large extent misguided. They saw it as an economic enterprise, a kind of trade fee, whereby fathers sold their daughters to lusty young men who needed women for sex and to work on the fields. Thus, missionaries liked to think that a man with many daughters stood a chance to become wealthy by selling them (Plant 1905). Nothing could be further from the truth. Lobolo is the cement of traditional Zulu society. Social bonds are ritualized and strengthened through the settlement of lobolo (Gluckman, 1950).

As indicated in the previous chapter, cattle are sacred beings in traditional Zulu society. They are used especially in instances where an established relationship, to last for ever, has to be dignified with some religious cement. When a man settles lobolo, he is at once expressing his deepest un-

derstanding of life and the nature of the established relationship and at the same time rendering the relationship a real and visual affair. According to Khabi Mngoma

to understand the nature of lobolo one has to understand Zulu life in totality, a kind of holistic approach. (Interview, 23 July 1988)

The traditionalist Zulu people view life as continual conflict and resolution, tension and relaxation as well as an unbroken chain of interactions between the world of reality and that of symbolism. Passionate issues like love, sorrow, and joy are good on their own, but to the traditionalist Zulu they only complete their meaningfulness once they have been symbolically brought to the realistic world of existence.

Thus, lobolo is a visual presentation of the meaningfulness of love and life. It is a symbolic action loaded with a host of meanings (Gluckman 1950). Cattle and goats do not replace humans, unlike in barter or trade system where an item is visually replaced by another or by money.

Cattle, therefore, because of their ritual nature, are visible symbols which are able to perform this special function of effectively founding a relationship. They cannot be

replaced, although nowadays money may be used instead. Such money is, however, referred to as "cattle", without rousing any complications. This is a direct consequence of the strength of the Zulu ancestor religion which missionaries did not care to evaluate. In fact, cattle together with amahubo songs form a major part of the visual and symbolic aspects of traditional Zulu religious practices. In addition, the whole structure of Zulu life is a process of chains of reactions.

Lobolo is not an independent institution. It is ritually linked to all other aspects of traditional Zulu life. As a result the missionary desire to terminate lobolo was a misguided and a potentially destructive endeavour which met with resistance.

Another Zulu institution which the missionaries sought to terminate is polygamy. Again here, as Norman Etherington (1971) Plant (1905) and Guy (1979) indicate, the missionary view of polygamy was calculated from the European economic perspective². The missionaries liked to argue that Zulu men needed more wives in order to become rich, because the more wives a man had the larger and more numerous his fields would be or even, the more daughters he would have available for sale. In fact, in some cases, missionaries bluntly blamed Zulu polygamists for the failure of their missionization processes (Etherington, 1971).

What the missionaries did not care to understand was that even if a Zulu homestead head could have surplus food in his fields, he had no reason to sell that food and make profit, because the Zulu economic system did not operate within the principles of buying and selling. Instead, the surplus would be freely given to the less fortunate whose harvest had not been successful, so that there could always be food for all. So, even economically, from the Zulu perspective polygamy was meant to effect specific ideas of traditional Zulu social organisation and relations. It could not be viewed in isolation, and worse if foreign principles are applied in its evaluation.

There are other interesting socio-religious points which supported polygamy. According to Zulu religion, which is transmitted orally, a menstruating woman, for example, may not serve food to her husband nor to anybody in the homestead, especially to visitors; but food must be prepared and served by a woman, and by one's wife if that person is married. It, therefore, mars social relations if a man has one wife because, if she is menstruating, then visitors who are an essential part of any Zulu homestead, may not be served accordingly. Her husband as well and all the members of her homestead may then be uncomfortable for the whole period of her menstruation. This would affect the traditional Zulu social cycle and destroy the foundations of social reality. As a result, a man with more than one wife

will always have a comfortable and warm homestead, taking into account that in traditional Zulu society co-wives are supposed to be greatest friends and help each other. They should refer to each other as uzakwethu, one of one's own house.

One has to understand the nature of taboos and prohibitions that a menstruating Zulu woman may not transgress in order to understand the need for a second wife. According to traditional Zulu religion, a menstruating woman may not make fire, including for her husband; she may not milk cattle or even handle milk, which is the most nourishing and sacred of all traditional Zulu food items; she may not go to a public gathering, which means that the husband must go there alone, a total violation of an important traditional Zulu social principle - which is that a married man must always be accompanied by his wife or wives if he attends a public gathering or a beer session; she may not talk to strangers, which leaves visitors unattended; she may not handle medicines, the list is endless. With these taken into consideration, plus the fact that daughters have their own special duties and may not do duties of married women, or if they are married they attend to the well-being of their own homestead, means that in a traditional homestead where a man has one wife, life comes to a standstill if she is menstruating. It also means that visitors are reluctant to come because they do not know when she menstruates. It is a

known religious belief that ancestors do not rejoice at a homestead where visitors are not welcome. A homestead must, from time to time and as a result of visitors, have noise, umsindo, so that ancestors rejoice.

Nomashizolo Mdlalose, a polygamist at Mkhindini Melmoth, argues that :

many wives bring a man nearer to his ancestors and make the ancestors act favourably whenever they consider his case. (Interview, 22 June 1991)

Monogamy in traditional Zulu culture was, therefore, anti-social, anti-religious and impractical. Missionaries were to meet with resistance against the destruction of this institution. A few missionaries like Bishop Colenso, however, realized the complicatedness of the institution of polygamy and argued that it should be maintained³. This generally led to an outcry from the other missionaries. At the same time Zulus could argue that there is no biblical text whereby God prescribes monogamy and denounces polygamy and, in fact sections of the first testament well support polygamy.

The missionaries also indentified chiefdom as another hindrance to Christian advancement among the Zulu⁴. The issue of chiefdom was, again, based on the misunderstanding

of the nature of Zulu society. However, as indicated in chapter two of this thesis, a Zulu King is referred to as "Umlomo ongathethi manga", the mouth that never lies, because he is a true spokesman for his people. He only says the things that his people have told him through the councillors, the chiefs, the local induna, the girls' brigades, the young mens' brigades and all visible and felt structures of society, which all serve the King to serve his people⁵. Etherington (1971), however, indicates that Zulu resistance to Christianity came from all sections of society. This should have been so because Christianity was attacking the Zulu nation as a whole. There are, as a result, instances where chiefs as individuals tried to draw closer to missionaries but were severely prohibited by their own people⁶.

To understand how Zulu chiefs and Kings function in Zulu society one has to imagine Zulu society as a moving wheel of chains placed flat on the ground so that no chain is above others, or no point stands above others. Kings and Chiefs form part of such chains, but they by no means are in reality above any. However, the position which they occupy in the wheel is intensified with sacredness, which implies a stronger concentration of power (Gilbert, 1987). But at the same time, that particular point is useless without the help of all other points in the chain, which are also all interdependent while focussing on the King's point as the rallying point. None can be meaningfully divorced from the other.

The missionaries were barred by their own prejudice from understanding this vital structure of the society they hoped to work with.

The missionaries also denounced the performance of indigenous Zulu music (Weman, 1960). This meant that true amahubo and their subsidiary styles were not to be performed by converted Zulu, that is, in the mission stations. The missionaries tried to convince the Zulu that performance of traditional Zulu music was a real passport to hell (Rycroft 1991, Mthethwa 1987). Instead they prescribed the performance of the missionary Christian hymn and tried to limit performance contexts to worship and to funerals. Weddings and other social gatherings could go on without music⁷. Obviously missionaries underrated the role of music in traditional Zulu society.

Remarking on the role of music in its traditional African context, which invariably includes music in traditional Zulu society May and Stapleton [1989:5] say :

In its traditional context, African music covers every aspect of life, from recreation and work to religious ceremonies associated with birth, the naming of children, initiation into adulthood, marriage and death. Each occasion has its appropriate music, rhythm and dance.

In fact, this tallies very well with our discussion of traditional Zulu rituals and music in chapter two of this thesis. It is doubtful that the hymn would conveniently replace this order.

The removal of music and the termination of polygamy, and lobolo, were in actual fact real distortions no self-respecting Zulus could accept. This situation left a real socio-cultural vacuum in the life of the converted Zulu. Of course the removal of traditional music was coupled with the termination of observation of all rituals like birth rites, puberty rites, umemulo rites, marriage rites, death rites, ritual sacrifice, rites connected with harvest, and many others, all of which are performed through music (Etherington 1971: Mthethwa, 1987).

However, the biggest problem is that the Zulu rituals form a chain of reactions. Ritual institutions are supported and sustained by others which are also supported by others, and so on to infinity. The performance of one calls for the performance of another in a traditionally presented order. This is further complicated by the fact that this chain itself is directly and strongly linked to other chains which are also determined by the overall social and religious structure. Thus Zulu music does not exist in isolation. It permeates all spheres of life and acts as a rallying point for social organisation. Zulu music, in structure and con-

tent, is naturally organized according to principles which effect this social reality. Issues of social stratification, social leadership, religious reality, social norms and in fact all social realities are all embedded and interwoven in musical ideas. In short, traditional Zulu music, in its context, is loaded with a variety of ideas which when performed, become automatically activated and related.

These missionary desires and their implementation of Christianity and the Christian hymn, added a new chapter in Zulu society and directly affected the patterns of musical performance both for the converted and for those resisting. Through missionary activities Western values, education and culture were channelled into Zulu society. For the first time Zulu society was, within one state, divided into two groups: the Christian and the traditional Zulu. This division was coupled with the role of colonial officials who, in most cases, were seen to be working hand-in-hand with the missionaries in reinforcing the missionary and imperialist desires of the West.

The missionaries seemingly were concentrating on destroying the cultural and religious side while the colonial officials were bent on destroying the political system of the Zulus, with the well-defined aim of conquest of the Zulu mind, leading it to self-destruction and reconstruction of a new domesticated and manageable African society from the rem-

nants of the destroyed Zulu mind (Ranger, 1983). What they hoped to achieve with this was total subjugation and domination of the Zulu people, something which, to a large extent, tallied very well with British imperialistic politics of the day (Plant, 1905:84).

As a result of the resistance that the traditionalist Zulu mounted against the missionaries, mission stations attracted people whose backgrounds were in most cases questionable. As Norman Etherington [1971:170] puts it :

If a missionary managed to win any converts from the tribes in the immediate vicinity of his station, he generally acquired the unstable, the rebellious, or the rejected. Most mission stations gained further converts of this sort by accepting individuals who came from faraway places seeking security and acceptance which they could not find at home. Additional station residents and converts were drawn from the ranks of people who had no homes - individuals whose tribes lived hundreds of miles away or had virtually ceased to exist, whose long association with Whites obliterated family ties, whose need for land and employment overcame old loyalties, or whose mixed parentage deprived them of a place in the Black or White society.

These people, as described by Etherington, lacked, if they had been Zulu, the dignity of Zuluness. Non-Zulus forfeited a similar dignity if, upon arrival, they were not introduced to the local chiefs and indunas. They were de-ritualized non-sacred beings who had neither a past nor a future which completed the Zulu person and Zulu thought on humanity. They

were outcasts of Zulu society because they had been unable to observe the specific behavioural codes. They lacked discipline and humanity and possibly belonged to the vultures. Out of step with the traditional pattern of things, they could not look forward to a death that would transform them into ancestors. However, the missionaries embraced them and hoped to give them power to rule the resisting Zulu traditionalists in future. Those people in turn co-operated with the missionaries and colonialists in strategizing the destruction of the Zulu Kingdom in 1879⁸. David Coplan [1985 : 46] remarks about the complacency of the missionized Zulu or the Kholwa as they were called :

Many ... applauded the destruction of traditional political structures and the abandonment of traditional culture. They had thought that conversion and Westernisation would bring them power over their own people and acceptance into mainstream of (colonial) political and economic life.

Zulu resistance to Christianity was a reaction to missionary violation of fundamental principles as expressed and represented in amahubo performances. This active resistance was meant to defeat intended missionary and colonial domination.

The Kholwa formed themselves into an African elite, probably continually striving for a place in the mainstream of British colonial structures (Ranger 1983). They despised their own fellow non-Christian Zulu, shied away from mixing with them in social and political events and spent their time copying the British lifestyle from the missionaries and colonialists (Mthethwa 1987, Coplan 1985). The extent to which the missionized Zulu, however, regarded themselves as part of the British Empire is summarised in these words iterated by a Johannes Khumalo, as quoted in Etherington [1971:323]

We have left the race of our forefathers; we have left the black race and have clung to the White. We imitate them in everything we can. We feel we are in the midst of a civilized people, and that when we became converts to their faith we belonged to them. It was as a stone thrown into the water, impossible to return. You have all left different savage races to come to Natal. We have all been well-received - not as dogs, but as people. We have been protected since, and are happy. One thing along detracts from our security. The law by which our cases are decided is only fit to be eaten by the vultures We have left the black race it is impossible to return. We are under the wing of the queen, let us ask her for her law.

What is apparently clear is that the Kholwa regarded themselves as distinct from the Zulu and as worthy of exemption from Native Law. To the kholwa it was not important that Native Law was not good for all humans. These were people who

had forfeited the rich tradition of Zulu life, people who were no longer performing amahubo songs, who rather looked down upon everything traditional because the missionaries had told them that these were Satanic. The reward was the reality of the White man, who was not only unwilling to welcome them in his ranks, but unwilling to recognize them as a special group apart from other Zulu except probably in situations where he could use them to his advantage (Erlmann, 1991). They were to meet with this disappointing situation and desperate words like those of Khumalo quoted above were indicative of the extent of both the desire to be part of the White race, which they admired, and the frustration of being rejected by the White race and the Black race, which they despised (Erlmann, 1991). These problems explain the nature of Christianity as presented in this country by the missionaries.

In addition to missionization, the processes of colonization and industrialization leading to urbanization were strong factors which influenced the directions of Zulu music. The discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in the 1860s and gold in Johannesburg in the 1880s also greatly affected the patterns of social organisation among the Zulu. This was coupled with the introduction of taxes by the Secretary of Native Affairs to force the Zulu to join the labour force. However, this was also thoroughly resisted by the Zulu. It took more than ten years after the discovery of diamonds before the first

Zulu men availed themselves for the labour force (Guy, 1979). Working in sugar cane plantations was also effectively resisted, an act which led to the importation of the Indian indentured labourers by the Natal colonial officers. However, when the Zulu were eventually forced by circumstances to join the labour force it meant that a lot of young men were away from home for long periods, which tended to affect patterns of music-making and social organisation (Mthethwa, 1987).

The Kholwa, however, were more than willing to participate in economic and political structures created by the white man. However, their unacceptability in the White community meant that they were a society in between. Culturally they were neither traditional Zulu nor White (Erlmann, 1991). Probably this was to lead to the birth of new type of missionized Zulus whose mission station roots meant that they could only look beyond the borders of their traditional Zulu past for future directions.

They were, however, mostly participating in White run economy in the sense that they started planting crops for selling and most of them became drivers, shop assistants and belonged to other manageable labour categories (Ranger, 1983). In the Kholwa communities men would be seen attending to the fields, (Comaroff, 1991) a role which in traditional society was assigned to the women, but, as indicated ear-

lier, this could probably be the birth of a new society or sub-group within broad Zulu society (Erlmann, 1991).

At the same time we can infer that the Kholwa were in a way much nearer to the White settlers than to the traditionalists, because they mixed with the Whites on a day-to-day basis, especially the missionaries. They, as a result, copied some of the White man's customs and somehow adapted them for their own use. Remarking about missionary pressures on weddings, Bhekani Ndebele, (78 years old) of Ekuthuleni Mission, Melmoth says :

ceremonies like weddings here in our mission were modified, mostly to comply with the wishes of the White missionaries. (Interview, 15 December 1988)

A new life-style was cultivated in this way. This, with all its flaws, was to partly influence the cultural trends of subsequent Zulu generations.

The migration of men to the new mining and industrial centers, the education of traditionalist Zulu and the termination of social and political institutions like war and certain rituals, led to the lessening of performance of some Zulu musical genres that related to these institutions.

Ali Mazrui [1990:5] notes that in the Third World generally, transformation of indigenous societies, such as happened among the Zulus leads to anomalies.

There are anomalies arising out of the nature of colonial development in much third world. These distortions include (1) urbanization without industrialization; (2) verbal education without productive training; (3) secularization without scientification (decline of religion without the rise of science); capitalist greed without capitalist discipline.

In fact among the Zulus, although people moved to the new urban centres very few Zulus, if any, became industrialists themselves, very few Zulus, if any, became actively engaged in the core of the productive market systems, many people especially those referred to as amagxaqxa by Vilakazi (1965) were pushed into the secular ways of life, without being adequately educated in the sciences and although capitalism arose in some quarters, the extent to which its discipline infiltrated remains debatable.

In addition, there were changes in the directions of music and music-making, so that the missionary and colonial era acted as a period of heightened musical change.

Bruno Nettl's (1978) typification of the responses of traditional non-Western societies' responses to Western music is of some interest here. He lists abandonment, impoverishment, preservation, diversification, consolidation, re-introduction, exaggeration, satire, syncretism, Westernisation and modernization as the most common reactions. We note, however, that some of these may happen simultaneously in any one musical system or a few of them may take place without the others.

The destruction of the traditional Zulu political system, especially after 1879 and the propaganda against Zulu traditionalism, spear-headed by the missionaries, missionized Zulus and the colonial authorities had drastic effects on Zulu music, which may be studied from the perspectives of Nettl's account.

Other factors which had a strong effect on the state of Zulu music were the institutionalization and nationalization of colonial domination in the form of apartheid; the emergence of African nationalism, spearheaded by missionized Africans and the reemergence of Zulu nationalism. The latter sought to dominate African nationalism to some extent, while advocating new trends to modern cultural expression.

It is however, important to note that there was never at any stage a wholesale abandonment of traditional Zulu music. The

Zulu traditionalists continued to perform their music, and to lead a traditional life, a practice which was later to form a strong pool or warehouse of ideas and cultural heritage, especially with the re-emergence of Zulu nationalism and Pan-Africanism as weapons of fighting apartheid and general colonial domination. However, the upsurge in the resumption of the performance of traditional music or the re-incorporation of traits thereof in mission station musical cultures constituted re-introduction, modernization and syncretism.

The desire to resist also led to the institutionalization of independent churches as a vigorous attempt to 'Africanize' Christianity and to make it compatible with the traditional Zulu religious expectations. This on its own led to some modification of musical performance practices.

May and Stapleton [1989:11] note that the emergence of new towns and urbanization as a result of colonization led, basically to three African musical styles :

Traditional, that remained untouched by Western contact, and continued with the flow of village people to the urban areas; the music of the small, mission-educated elite; and the new fusions of foreign and local forms that appealed to a wider, less exclusive audience. The second group, the wealthy and well-to-do, tended to have European tastes, and their musical leisure activities reflected this, revolving around ragtime, vaudeville and choral music.

These were more the consequences of colonization and the attempt to adapt to the new emerging order. We should also note that the new order was to equally affect Africans from all ethnic and national extractions, including Zulus.

Veit Erlmann [1991:59] writes about the Zulu Kholwa performance culture :

For the Zulu speakers, up until the turn of the century, the prevailing category of music that symbolized the identification with English values, was imusic. It was the least politically overt musical category and as such included predominantly Western classical music, hymns, English ballads and part songs such as "The Lass of Richmond Hill", as well as Anglo-American ballads such as "They Grew in Beauty side by side ..." I music constituted the bulk of the repertoire of most mission-based Durban choirs ...

Thus, Kholwa elitism included acceptance of Western musical values.

When the Nationalist Party government came to power and instituted apartheid in 1948, the state took control of all education in the country. This included cultural affairs. Because of government policy which then sought to divide all African people according to their ethnic origins in a political order in which only the state had control, the

performance of traditional Zulu music suffered even further (Coplan, 1985).

Ali Mazrui [1990 : 146] discusses apartheid's definition of culture and nationalism, which was to have drastic effect on attitudes towards the continued performance of traditional Zulu (African) music :

It is important to remember that apartheid as an ideology is another word for 'racism'. It is a philosophy which defines nationality in terms of cultural homogeneity and racial distinctiveness. As a policy, apartheid is committed to the separate development of different ethnic groups. It conceives of citizenship not as a legal contract between the individual and his state, but ultimately as a cultural bond between the individual and his community.

Under these conditions the performance of traditional music was viewed, partly legitimately, by some anti-apartheid African nationalists as a promotion of the apartheid policies. This view is to some extent one-sided, however, because it does not take into account the fact that traditional music is not a product of apartheid, or colonialism or even missionization, but it can, in fact be, one of the major tools which defeats these impositions.

Zulu music was also, to some extent, influenced by Afro-American importation, especially in the mission schools, like Adams Mission, where identity with the African American culture was encouraged (Coplan 1985, Erlmann 1991). Talking about cultural life at Adams College in the 1940s, Khabi Mngoma says :

Yes, we sang a lot of American stuff; blues, jazz and all that stuff. We really felt we were into it, we were part of the emerging new culture. Some of the music was given to us by our White teachers. (Interview, 30 April 1990)

This was accompanied by the adaptation of some Western ideas like concerts and institutionalization of performance as part of schooling. Moreover, one has to understand this from the perspectives of the whole thinking prevalent among missionized Zulus. The performance of music in concerts was viewed by missionized Zulu people as a kind of status (Erlmann, 1991).

The state introduced its own Radio Bantu stations which had a special Zulu service aimed specifically at the Zulus. This, in addition to the reading of state-controlled news, played a lot of traditional Zulu and Euro-American music. This also had an effect on the new directions of Zulu music. Radio, generally has the ability to disseminate more music

to more people than other media (Manuel, 1988). Zulu musicians, as a result of the emergence of the new colonial technology, increased purchase of Western instruments like guitars and concertinas, as they heard them over the radio and tried out their own music on these instruments, This was also coupled with a strong desire to maintain traditional Zulu music in its purest state, as a source of pride and for resisting colonial domination. Bruno Nettl [1978:133] asserts this trend among various world musical systems :

Many societies are torn musically, between attempts to maintain their tradition in a modern environment compatible with Western-derived political, social, and economic institutions, and the desire to enter the Western cultural system without completely changing the traditional music

Most modern Zulu music, as a result, although influenced by Western music, also strongly maintains a continuity of the traditional culture. It keeps on showing a tendency to emphasize the traditional perspectives.

The musical nature of the missionary Christian hymn posed serious problems for Zulu converts. The problem was compounded by the fact that the missionaries prescribed hymn singing as the only acceptable form of music-making in the mission stations. Although Zulu and Western music to some

extent shared in structural traits, in most cases the cultural differences make it difficult for the uninitiated Zulu person to participate in Western music making. Traditional Zulu music and Western music share in basic elements of form in that each has distinct melody, distinct harmony and distinct rhythm, but the concentration level of each of these elements is different.

The music of the missionary Christian hymn, to a large degree, does not meet the musical expectations of a traditionalist Zulu person. The lead melody in the hymn is a literally dominating feature, governed by a strict block harmonic progression. The melody is, again, sung by female voices, which contradicts with traditional Zulu musical and social norms. In traditional Zulu culture women or young boys do not dominate in public life, as worship is a form of public communication.

The problem with singing Western hymnal melodies is that in most hymns melodies begin at low registers and gradually ascend, reaching climactic points in high registers, before gradually descending to the lower registers and usually ending on the tonic, as can be seen in this transcribed example of a hymn melody.

HYMN 115 ICILONGO LEVANGELI

A ba mswa na a se Nko si ka oa na zo zi
 ngo zi Ba nie zo kwe ngo ne nelli ni, Ne nka nye zi ezu wi ni

Example 5

This, actually, means that in the hymn melodies are aesthetically and culturally ordered differently and the principles applied in assessing melodic meaning in a hymn are different from those applied in a Zulu *ihubo*. They are actually the opposite. The biggest problem here is that of establishing the exact meaning of a given melody in terms which would be acceptable to both the missionary and the convert. There is no evidence that the missionaries were skilled in theory of music to be able to disseminate this information and relate it to religious worship, as would be the case in traditional Zulu society. The meaningfulness of the hymns in this regard, therefore, remains in doubt, in a Zulu context.

Hymns, which used the Western systems of the minor and major modes suffered because of the differences of approach between the two cultures. This probably explains the tendency in some established mission churches today, like the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa at Umlazi, to ignore most of the hymns with minor modes⁹ in the hymn books and prefer hymns in major mode throughout the year because this is compatible with the expectations of the Zulu ear, more so because most people who go to church are not trained in Western music, but have had a natural exposure to Zulu music.

Further, as indicated in chapter two of this thesis, a melody in Zulu culture is called an indlela, a path, and according to Joseph Shabalala, leader of Ladysmith Black Mambazo : "the person who sings it is leading the way". (Interview, 4 May 1991)

From this statement we can read that a melody in traditional Zulu society becomes loaded with a host of cultural meanings. The Christian hymn, in its original form, is part of a foreign culture whose social and religious values differ considerably from the traditional Zulu. It, therefore, required a considerable amount of force to introduce and maintain the singing of the Christian hymn among the Zulu. In that way the hymn became part of an enforced, oppressive culture as it was inseparable from the colonial, missionary

and apartheid thinking and practice¹⁰. When viewed from a traditional Zulu musical perspective, the missionary Christian hymn lacks the freedom of musical thought and improvisation, so vital in traditional Zulu musical concepts.

Rhythm, the major feature of Zulu music, is minimal in Christian hymn singing. Considering the purpose and effect of rhythm in Zulu music, as indicated in chapter two of this thesis, the hymn undermines the major purpose of music-making in traditional Zulu culture. In the hymn the metre is mostly divided into equal bars of three or four beats each. This has a grossly limiting effect when transferred to a culture where each musical rendition is viewed as a holistic creative experience.

The minimisation of rhythm in the hymns, again, prompts suppression of bodily movement while singing. To the Zulu people, singing without movement is totally unimaginable. Such a practice does not form part of the Zulu musical thought patterns. The very purpose of rhythm is that it leads to movement and dance which is the ultimate expression in Zulu worship.

It was these incompatibilities which probably led to the secularization of the hymn.

According to Khabi Mngoma :

the hymn was subsequently secularized mostly by those marginal in mission station culture, the amagxagxa, that is, taken away from its religious shield and rendered open to being influenced by original Zulu musical ideas, as expressed in amahubo songs. This led to the birth of new syncretic musical styles carrying the fusion of musical traits found in amahubo and those found in the Christian hymn. (Interview, 20 April 1991)

Mthethwa [1987:28] remarks about circumstances surrounding the secularization of the missionary Christian hymn :

The repression of musical activity in mission stations, leaving the people with the hymn as the only choice for all their musical activities, consequently led to the modification of the hymn. The hymn, therefore, had to become a work song, a love song, wedding song and many other ceremonial situations including sheer performance of music for pleasure as one would find in bow songs.

From the foregoing, it is apparently clear that the hymn was secularized because of its meaninglessness when taken to the Zulu cultural context within its original form, coupled with missionary repression. It was not an act in isolation, but simply a case of one culture being unwilling to accept the psychological pressure exerted by another, alien culture. Together with it comes the constant re-emergence of Zulu

nationalism as a force to counter colonization and socio-political domination, as well as the search for an authentic Zulu identity. However, the Christian hymn did leave its mark on the Zulu musical thought patterns, at least in terms of sound patterns.

May and Stapleton [1989:10] note Weman's discussion of the musical consequences of missionization and colonization on African music. According to Weman these were :

- the replacement of African parallel melodies by a single European melody, plus rudimentary harmony;
- the introduction of four part harmonies and standard four-bar phrases in place of Africa's freer musical phraseology;
- the substitution of the basic Western tonalities, major and minor, for the traditional African tones;
- plus perhaps most importantly, the introduction of a limited harmonic range, giving African choirs three basic chords, the tonic, dominant and subdominant.

Thus, in essence, the introduction of Western music mostly through the Christian hymn, was to have a vital effect on the new directions of African music and this applies to Zulu

music, bringing it even closer to Western music as May and Stapleton [1989:10] note :

Church-flavoured harmonies and melodies would go on to play an important part in many of the styles that developed in the colonial times ... while the missions biggest legacy, the tonic - dominant - subdominant chord pattern, would become as vital to modern African music as it has been to Western pop.

However, it is important to note that among the Zulus the new styles have always demonstrated part of the total traditional Zulu experience. At the time when being colonized was an honour to the Kholwa, their music displayed docility and in most cases resembled the Christian hymn (Mthethwa, 1987).

As noted earlier the hymn was not the only Western source for the syncretism that took place. According to Manuel [1988:107] :

European musics brought by settlers and missionaries, together with minstrel songs introduced by American white and black prospectors, generated transculturated hybrids in the hands of resident Africans whose own socio-cultural traditions were rapidly being disrupted by forces beyond their control.

Thus, the introduction of Western music to the Africans, and to the Zulus for that matter, was a complex and multi-

faceted enterprise, which was to meet with resistance of some, like missionary hymnody in its purest Western form; and acceptance of others, like musical instruments and compatible ideas. In favourable situations, as we saw in the discussion of reactions to Christianization, certain aspects of Western music which could conveniently be identified with "progress, technology, modernity and power" were accepted (Manuel 1988:22).

In addition, Veit Erlmann (1988, 1991) notes minstrelsy and influences from McAdoo and his Jubilee Singers, who toured South Africa towards the end of the last century, coon songs and black American spirituals as some of the musical forms that were embraced during the missionary and colonial era.

I would like at this stage to go back to John E. Kaemmer's discussion of musical change among the Shona. Among the Shona, as also among the Zulu, people were "encouraged to give up traditional so-called 'heathenish', Shona music and take up European music" and "music in this case served to symbolize the change in religion" [1989:35]. It is again significant to note that the Rhodesian colonial machinery was in a way indirectly being helped by elitist Africans to maintain itself, as Kaemmer [ibid] puts it :

A basic feature in maintaining the power of the colonial socio-cultural system was the ideology of

white superiority. The Europeans considered their superiority to be both cultural and racial, Africans saw it as cultural. Thus many Africans were eager to learn European ways as a means of overcoming the disadvantages of their subordinate situation

Different features of European musical style were adopted. Songs of church and school were usually strophic or through composed, while traditional Shona songs were in leader-response form. European harmonies were adopted as tonic-subdominant - dominant or tonic-subdominant - tonic-dominant sequences.

Many parallels can, as we saw earlier, be drawn between Shona and Zulu music and the resultant musical styles of I, IV, V, I chord patterns as well as choral singing resembling hymnal harmonies.

Ultimately, the Zulu musical historical evolution has naturally borrowed from Western music which was availed here by the missionaries and colonialists. However, very little was borrowed in its original form. Converts and the elite tried to borrow Western music as it was, while amagxagxa saw its potential for incorporation into their own music. The music has mostly been modified and made compatible with Zulu musical thought by being fused with the strong traditional amahubo ideas. This process presents the cultural neutralization of the intruding stranger by the owners of the land.

All new styles of written choral music, wedding songs, sicathamiya, maskanda, amakhorasi, Zionist music and mbhaqanga today have a binding characteristic of moving emotions, and as Khabi Mngoma puts it :

Zonke lezizinhlobo ezintsha uma zinobuhubo phakathi ziqubula uhlevane

Meaning

all these new styles, when they bear amahubo ideas are characteristically charging to one's emotions. .
(Interview, 30 April 1990)

This is what marks the re-emergence of amahubo song styles and ideas in modern Zulu music, which we will discuss in the next chapter.

NOTES

- 1 This prejudiced missionary attitude laid the first stone that was eventually to crush missionary work among the Zulu. By ignoring the Zulu social power, the missionaries were building forces that were going to defeat their endeavour to Christianize the Zulu.
- 2 Missionaries tended to overlook the religious aspect of polygamy and tried to interpret it as an egocentric exercise which Zulu men enjoyed for its economic viability. In his article "The destruction and reconstruction of Zulu society" Jeff Guy consistently repeats the flaw of thinking that cattle were being turned into human beings through lobolo, who could subsequently increase the productive potential of a Zulu homestead. This does not help if it does not reveal the Zulu side of the story.
- 3 Norman Etherington argues that Bishop Colenso accepted lobolo for his own selfish reasons, not really because he acknowledged that it forms part of the Zulu religious and socio-political thought system.
- 4 Etherington asserts that this misguided view led to Sir Theophilus Shepstone at some stage considering himself to be the great chief, which only had disappointing results for him. He was not accepted by anybody because dictatorships are unacceptable in Zulu society.
- 5 The two-way flow of Zulu power between the King and his subjects is perfectly reflected in the Zulu traditional social system and in the related music.

- 6 The oral tradition states that Maqhamusela Khanyile, a petty chief near Eshowe, was killed by his own people after announcing his intention to be baptized,
- 7 Mthethwa asserts that this led to a social and cultural vacuum and resulted in the modification of the hymn in order to fill the vacuum [1987:28].
- 8 Etherington asserts that Edendale alone made available some sixty men to help the British Imperialistic forces destroy the Zulu Kingdom.
- 9 To sing the minor mode is referred to as ukubhimba, that is, bad singing, by traditionalist Zulus.
- 10 To date, Zulu traditionalists argue that there is no difference between Christianity as presented by the missionaries and colonization.

C H A P T E R 4THE RE-EMERGENCE OF AMAHUBO SONG STYLES AND IDEAS IN SOME
MODERN ZULU MUSICAL STYLES: A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS4.1 BACKGROUND

Up to this point in our thesis we have been able to give two faces of Zulu music; the traditional which continues along the path of traditional development and marks the continuity of old practice (Merriam 1982), and the new styles which were brought about by the main agents of change, namely the missionaries, urbanization and modernization. The first type, marking the continuity of the old practice was presented in chapter two of this thesis. It manifests itself mainly in the continued performance of amahubo songs, which today are probably the most 'authentic' of all Zulu musical styles. The second type, which came about as a consequence of, inter alia, missionization, urbanization and modernization was suggested in chapter three of this thesis and needs further expansion now.

However, as seen in earlier chapters, especially in our introductory chapter, our present discussion is going to suggest another type of change, marking the resurgence of old ideas in modern Zulu musical practice.

The study of the resurgence of old ideas in modern practices as part of the process of musical change has become one of the prevailing issues in current ethnomusicology. It has most probably been borrowed or copied from the fields of social anthropology and sociology which have for some time concerned themselves with studies involving, among others, ethnic resurgences in different parts of the world, as well as the compatibility or non-compatibility between traditionalism and modernity (Giddens 1992).

In South African musicology and ethnomusicology there has, however, been some reluctance in engaging in the study of, especially, the latter type of change, namely ethnic resurgence, because of, inter alia the government policy of apartheid which would, most probably, have benefitted from such studies (Erlmann, 1991:14). The reluctance on the part of musicologists becomes understandable in that regard.

The revitalization of traditional ideas in modern music-making, as in other aspects of culture, manifests itself in a variety of forms. Mostly this becomes the work of revitalization movements, cultural brokers and other agents concerned with the use of traditional symbols in the reconstruction of symbolic wholes (Fernandez, 1986).

Remarking on the reconstruction of the whole Fernandez [1986:159] says:

The conviction of wholeness is the product of certain kinds of imaginative - that is, visualizing or pictorializing - activity.

We can deduce from this statement that the attempt at revitalization is a consequence of a deep insight into the aspects that are being revitalized, as well as the ability to relate them to a working framework. However, in no way does re-emergence manifest itself as a direct replication of a past era, as old practices have to be consolidated with prevailing socio-cultural conditions of the time. Fernandez (ibid) notes that ritual performance and religious movements particularly lend themselves to revitalization in many forms. Thus, retention of ritual knowledge may be a strong factor which makes the re-emergence of old ideas in new practice a possibility.

Edward Bruner (1986) notes that the story of ethnic resurgence which has become almost the focal point of current anthropology, marks the transition from the old story of acculturation, when it was taken for granted that the latter would be an automatic consequence of the coming together of different races and nations. In South Africa, history has made the Zulus to mix with many other nations, races and ethnic groups, but the idea of "ubu Zulu" which is loaded in the performance of amahubo songs, inter alia, has shown no

signs of disappearance. In fact, it has, from time to time since the disintegration of the Zulu Kingdom in 1879, reappeared in many forms in periodic intervals (Klopper 1991, Erlmann 1991).

Discussing the theoretical concepts that accompany the story of ethnic resurgence Edward Bruner [1986:139-140] says:

The theoretical concepts associated with the out-moded story, such as acculturation and assimilation, are used less frequently and another set of terms has become prominent: exploitation, oppression, colonialism, resistance, liberation, independence, nationalism, tribalism, identity, tradition, and ethnicity - the code words of the 1970's.

Bruner draws on the reconstruction of the Indian cultures in America which was brought about by imagined or claimed disappearance of these cultures as well as a desire on the part of these cultures to reconstruct a sense of own identity as part of the resistance strategy. In many forms, the reconstruction story bears some covert and even sometimes overt political overtones as Bruner [ibid : 144] relates the American Indian story:

The reasoning in the assimilation narrative is that if Indians are going to disappear anyway, then their land can be leased or sold to whites; in the ethnic resurgence narrative we are told that if Indians are here to stay, tribal resources must be

built up. Assimilation is a program for redemption; resistance, for self- and ethnic fulfillment.

Parallels can be drawn between this kind of reasoning and possible reasoning behind the periodical resurgence of Zulu ethnicity or nationalism which in performance manifests itself in amahubo songs or traits thereof, and the American Indian resistance story. Wider issues of a national nature may be at play here and claims to the restoration of the pre-colonial Zulu territory may be an underlying issue as Coplan (1991) has clearly demonstrated with Sotho Sefela songs. The rationale may also be to recognize the existence of Zulus as a separate entity and to grant appropriate rights to the Zulus (or those who are interested in the exclusive Zulu ethnic entity) including claims of full representation in the current national settlement negotiations and re-installation of the pre-colonial status of certain key institutions, including the monarchy. As we have already noted earlier we cannot conclude that all Zulus are necessarily for the same ideas, as political divisions can always be noted.

4.1.1 Analytical Models

A.P. Merriam's (1982) discussion of musical change in a Basongye village in Zaire over a thirteen-year period becomes of particular significance to our study of musical change among the Zulus.

Although our period of study concentrates on the present writer's field period of 1988 to 1992, occasional venturing into the historical past should give our work a complete contextual framework.

A.P. Merriam (ibid) lists; "substitutive change", that is, changes that take place within the tradition as it progresses into the historical future in time and space; "quantitative change", that is, changes which occur in the amount of music-making for example, and through agencies like Christianity, "qualitative change", that is changes taking place as a result of new ideas coming from outside as observable changes that have taken place in Basongye music.

These types of changes are each observable in Zulu music, although sometimes because of the complexity of the factors involved it is not always easy to draw distinct dividing lines and boundaries.

A considerable amount of "substitutive change" is taking place in traditional Zulu music, especially, in order to make it relevant to the modern situation and even 'to give definition to the inchoate' (Fernandez, 1986). In other words such changes are deliberate changes aimed at assuring the continuity of tradition in its imagined "pure" form, to save it from possible extinction. Among these can be listed the selective performance of only those amahubo songs which are singable by even the most western-educated of traditional enthusiasts, including primary, high school and university students and graduates; the performance of certain newly 'invented' 'traditional' song items in the place where an old ihubo would otherwise be sung. This becomes more the case where the ihubo itself is no longer known; and the replacement of ukuhuba by related ritual speeches which invariably invoke the climate of ihubo without ihubo itself being presented.

To expand on each of these points, because of the urgency of reviving and mounting interest of singing amahubo songs in sections of contemporary Zulu society, a narrow variety of many of the old song items are sung today in most national ceremonies. In fact, in the period between 1988 and 1992 where a variety of national ceremonies including two weddings for the Zulu King took place, a variety of no more than ten amahubo song items was performed. At least three identical items featured in every ceremony, the most popular

ones being "Wayihlaba Wema Nayo" and "Sangena ko Bhevula". Our argument is that, whereas in precolonial times a distinction in every performance would probably be made which would categorically follow Rycroft's (1982) classification in detail, because of the limited number of items available and performable today, the emphasis has shifted to conscientization about the genre rather than adhering to original categories. Prince Gideon, one of the most prolific exponents of the amahubo songs among the Zulu remarks that:

'uHawu', the old song of King Shaka is today not performable, because its music is difficult. People simple cannot follow it. (Interview, 23 July, 1992).

This statement, has far-reaching implication for the whole amahubo singing practice in that, within it there is a continuous internal 'trimming' which amounts to substitutive change.

This has a direct consequence for our second type of substitutive change in which, because of limited resources, items are now being performed at certain points in a ritual where they would not be in precolonial times when particularity of categorization was also being maintained. It

is not unusual these days for an 'up-tempo' warrior song, ihubo lezinsizwa to be performed at a point in a wedding ritual where a clan ihubo would be appropriate. This is because warrior songs are in abundance even today, whereas clan songs are becoming lesser and lesser known. This is caused by a number of factors, among which is the disintegration of the clan as a unit of interaction as a result of colonization and that apartheid industrialization which has forced many young men to the cities, and especially to the hostels, where they live together and have increased their amount of warrior-song music-making.

As a result of this disintegration, it is also not unusual where young men are not even available, especially in some township weddings, for tradition-conscious adults to engage in formalized ritual speeches even where, in the precolonial traditional setting, an ihubo would embrace all within it because of its loaded nature. This deliberate creation of an ukuhuba atmosphere, leading to giya and claim of appropriate ancestral involvement marks another form of internal substitute change in the amahubo movement.

On "quantitative change" we can note that there is also a change in the amount of music-making, and this point is related to some that we have discussed above. The number of musical styles claiming a Zulu identity has increased over the years. Besides the traditional styles discussed in chapter two above, each one of the seven modern Zulu musical

styles, namely: Zionist music, amakhorasi, written choral music, wedding songs, mbhaganga, isicathamiya and maskanda, gets involved in the claim for a Zulu identity in several ways. This is done sometimes by the music-makers or by the recipients of the music, although it is not always easy to draw a dividing line between music-makers and music's recipients in Zulu society.

As part of "quantitative change", there have also emerged new categories, like wedding songs, for example, and new 'traditions' have been 'invented' (Ranger, 1983) and which, although claiming continuity with the distant past, have their roots in the more recent past. The whole category of umbholoho which gave birth to, inter alia, wedding songs, amakhorasi, umbhaganga and isicathamiya, for example was only 'invented' around the 1920's (Erlmann, 1991).

"Qualitative change" overlaps with the other two types of changes in many ways. The category of umbholoho and its substyles owes its existence largely to the introduction of the Christian hymn to Zulu music, its assimilation with Zulu music and rejection of the original form of the hymn as being incompatible with Zulu thought on music discussed in chapter three above. Like in the case of the Basongye, among the Zulus Christianity has attempted to replace the old pre-colonial Zulu religion and this is reflected in the new music. The resistance mounted by the Zulus against this

total replacement and preference for syncretic ordering of 'Zulu Christianity' is also reflected in the same music.

The re-emergence story, however, marks a close alignment of "substitutive", "quantitative" and "qualitative" changes and their re-definition in terms of current issues which calls for the maintenance of a distinct sense of identity as can be reflected in music performance. It marks the resurgence of traditional or ethnic traits in the characterization of these changes.

A.P. Merriam (1982) also lists five analytical models for musical change among the Basongye, which may also be of some significance and relevance in our attempt to give an analytical framework for the process of musical change among the Zulu. These are:

- the acculturation model - which emphasizes on the introduction of music from the West and possible adaptation of Basongye music to the new order.

Among the Zulu, acculturation has taken place in the past especially at the height of the colonial era and has characterized most of the public life then until probably after the 1970's (Coplan 1985, Erlmann 1991). Some of the external material for acculturation has been brought from the Black American culture (Coplan 1985, Erlmann, 1991).

- the cultural drift model - which marks a continuity of the event with gradual changes.

Certain traditional musical instruments have disappeared and in some cases have been replaced by new ones originating from the West which have since been 'traditionalized' or 'indigenized'. An example is the use of guitar in and concertina in maskanda. In the acculturation process some original 'deep-structured' Zulu melodies were forced to disappear as we saw with Prince Gideon's account of 'uHawu' song.

- the historic accident model - which on the role of culture brokers from outside.

Anthropologists and ethnomusicologists have played a minimal direct role as culture brokers in Zulu music. The roles of P. Kirby, H. Tracey, D. Rycroft and V. Erlmann however, can be noted. However, there have been insider culture brokers who worked and continue to work in many ways in Zulu society. These include organizers of various music competitions including choral music competitions in schools and elsewhere, isicathamiya competitions, maskanda competitions, ingoma dance competitions, traditional music performances such as happen in the KwaZulu schools as part of their "Ubuntu/Botho" programme; the cultural wings of political, church and community organizations, as well as a variety of

individuals, groups and performers who from time to time, engage in arousing interest in music and music-making as part of wider programmes. The effect of this historic accident model and its practice is that it leads to revitalization of traditional and other ideas, and has played a major role in keeping interest and knowledge of amahubo songs alive in many sectors of Zulu society.

- the cyclical model - which suggests the existence of a pool of traits. The traits may gain ascendancy at periodic intervals.

This includes the retention of traditional ritual symbolic knowledge in the minds of the ordinary contemporary Zulu folk. With the activation and manipulation of appropriate symbols, traditionalist ideas may re-emerge and may, further, be manipulated in specific forms, especially taking into account the potential power of traditional symbols. Erlmann (1991), for example, notes the retention of pre-colonial dance forms in the minds of the dockyard and other Zulu workers in Durban early this century, as one of the basic frameworks for the development of the modern version of ingoma dances. The continuity and retention of the Zulu heritage which manifests itself in amahubo performance, among others, forms a working framework for the cyclical model in Zulu society.

Another factor is that in the minds of some Zulu people, especially the tradition-conscious, the disintegration of white domination or its challenge, should be paralleled by the rise of a working, indigenous, alternative worldview which may equally disorientate the whites, making it difficult for them to re-gain access to power. The resurgence of the traditional worldview and the revival of amahubo songs or their traits provide just this because amahubo, for many, remain the only authentically precolonial Zulu cultural artefact which may be used to reconstruct a positive own identity modelled on a powerful past. Thus, at some level the re-emergence story ceases to be an 'innocent' cultural engagement and adopts a political character with an ultimate political purpose as stated earlier. Those who engage in it may be making a political statement. As a result, it keeps showing up not only in the late 1980's and early 1990's, as also in other historical periods in the past (Klopper 1991, Erlmann 1991).

- the personality model - which involves individual interest and disinterest in the performance of certain traditional styles.

This interest or disinterest may or may not be revived according to situations. An example here is people who know amahubo songs but have decided not to continue with their performance, until there were incentives, like prizes

in competitions.

Using A.P. Merriam's models, we have been able to engage in the analytical dialectic of how musical change takes place in Zulu society. Although each of the models has a specific use and relevance to our present study, the re-emergence of amahubo song styles and ideas, judging from our field experience and a review of related literature, lends itself more to the cyclical and historical accident models. This requires a brief review of the historical reference and framework for the study of the re-emergence, which will come later in this chapter.

4.1.2 Manifestations and Context of Re-emergence

As suggested before, the idea of re-emergence of amahubo song styles and ideas in some modern Zulu musical styles, cannot be interpreted as meaning that the new styles are a direct and indisputable replication of amahubo songs. They would then be called amahubo songs. But this is hardly the case. Amahubo traits are juxtaposed with others from non-Zulu sources in the characterization of the new Zulu musical styles. However, where there is an increase in the incorporation of amahubo song ideas in modern styles, there is also a complementary arousal of interest in amahubo themselves (Erlmann, 1991). Of interest here is the ukuthaka process, which means mixing your own herbs (ideas) with those of somebody else in order to produce a more dynamic mixture which, however, is yours. As a result, the pool of amahubo musical resources becomes readily available to those who want to use them in modern practices. In that way the whole story of re-emergence lends itself to the ideas of traditionality and modernity (Giddens, 1992) as two sides of the same coin.

At the same time the new Zulu musical styles, because of their modern outlook, are able to escape traditional ritual constraints as the situation demands and facilitate such mobility as amahubo songs, in their original form could not (Coplan, 1991). They are thus more flexible and can be used

in different contexts. The continued conscious engagement of traits from amahubo songs ensures their 'uncontaminatedness' and authority as a generating source of power. The new styles themselves become judged in relation to amahubo when the situation so demands and, from time to time, familiarity with 'Zulu wisdom' on the part of the musicians becomes a requirement for the authenticity of the new products.

Remarking on the value of traditional knowledge in the execution of sefela among the Sotho migrants, David Coplan [1991:42] says:

When a singer borrows metaphors, symbols, proverbial usages, characters, or incidentals from another genre, he at once revitalizes and transforms tradition and clothes himself in its authority. This ability to manipulate as well as display cultural knowledge establishes his right to his audience's attention, and sustains his moral imagination. Bringing past and present into the same rhetorical frame, the experience of the latter can be assessed in terms of the idealized cultural values of the former.

The practice is that engaging in activities which lead to the revitalization of traditional or cultural knowledge, makes it possible for the musician of sefela to manipulate traditional symbols and appeal to the emotions of his sefela audiences.

Parallels can be drawn between sefela and certain modern Zulu musical styles, especially maskanda, which although using Western instruments, draws heavily on the traditional worldview and shapes itself accordingly. These styles create and re-create a Zulu identity irrespective of whether they reach all Zulu individuals. They appeal to the traditional emotions while at the same time bringing a sense of modernity to those who perform and listen to them. By having a direct relation to the cultural symbols these modern styles maintain continuity between the new and the old.

Remarking on the ability of music displaying traditional cultural symbolism to appeal to the emotions David Coplan [1991:45] says:

Music itself ... is crucial to the reapplication of memory and the creation and re-creation of the emotional qualities of experience in the maintenance of a living tradition. Interpretive analysis of oral genres most often focuses on formal structuring and the exegesis of oral images. Yet the ability of oral genres to reverberate between past and present is greatly dependent on their capacity for emotional expression.

By appealing to the emotions the modern Zulu musical styles count themselves flexibly in and out of the exclusively secular nature of the day-to-day interpretation and lend

themselves available for incorporation into the mainstream of the ritualized body of knowledge in Zulu society when the situation so demands. They can be available for situational traditional ritual and ethnic uses. Thus, it becomes possible for them to function as identity markers (Sanger, 1989) within society as they increasingly share the general characteristics of ritual bearing a Zulu identity (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977).

This is even more the case in circumstances where social changes are often generated by situations beyond the individual's control, as is the case in South African society. The emergence of an industrial white society and the consequent participation by Africans, and, in our case Zulus, in an industrial economy in which they play no decisive role, means that, basically, the Zulu are on the receiving end of industrial frustration. This can equally be said of Zulu experiences of other nineteenth and twentieth century agents of change like missionisation, urbanisation and modernisation.

In a discussion of the history of juju, the modern popular music of Nigeria, C. Waterman (1990, 1991) notes the use of the appeal to a common Yoruba identity as a framework for sustaining juju. The musician is faced with a variety of possibilities and choices which he manipulates as the situation demands, but also according to their varied appeals to

his target groups of listeners. The emergent musical product thus reflects these performer's options.

According to Waterman [1991:52-53]:

The implicit theories guiding performance are encoded and represented in musical forms, and not necessarily in discourse about such forms. Such techniques or "conceptual tools" guide the selection and deployment of alternative resources in performance.

Musicians engaged in manipulating those musical traits which mark the re-emergence of amahubo song ideas in modern Zulu music are not acting at random, but are guided by a set of working principles and ideas which may transcend the verbal domain as Veit Erlmann [1991:12] remarks about isicathamiya performances:

Nonverbal forms of communication such as dance are useful as sources of popular consciousness because they transmit images of social self-orientation and identity that are not translatable into a literary mode. It is the density of symbolic enciphering in performance, the autonomy of art forms as means of communicating popular consciousness, that illuminate the ambiguities and "dead angles" of popular consciousness and that work against the grain of pure class consciousness.

In most modern Zulu musical styles the basic amahubo principle of combining song and movement is retained so that the original potential of the song and dance (as Erlmann, above, states) (also Judith Hanna, 1977 below) continues to give meaning to the new forms.

The continued retention of amahubo and ritual knowledge in broad perspectives in Zulu society serves as a facilitator which makes the re-emergence story a real and natural one. Remarking on the complex nature of processes surrounding similar situations in juju music Waterman [1991:53] says:

Musical structures - defined as learned configurations of habit, knowledge, and value predicating a range of performance - the contingent, dialectical realization of musical structure in social action - are interdependent aspects of a more inclusive system, animated by the flow of perception and memory. Put simply, musical styles ignore when performers and other competent listeners reproduce through practice the understandings that guide their conventional expressive behaviour. When confronted with contradictions generated by the unintended consequences of their actions or changes beyond their control in the material and social world, people may come to re-interpret traditional musical symbols and values.

Thus, among some Zulus the interest in traditional symbols may be a direct consequence of the socio-economic and political situation in the country and attempts to furnish life in South Africa with meaning and relevance.

The existence of new musical styles in Zulu society is mediated by a variety of extramusical factors. Because of the relative fluidity between the urban and rural settings in Zulu society, there is a continuous transportation of musical ideas between town and countryside as each enriches the other, mutually (Erlmann, 1990).

Waterman [1990:376] notes the power of syncretic styles to unify and expand the horizons of a peoples' social world:

Simultaneously articulating communality and an urbane sense of historical perspective, syncretic musical styles such as juju and fuji embody in sound, proxemics, and behaviour the image of a deeply grounded yet modern society, a kind of cosmopolitan electronic kingdom. Yoruba popular music portrays an imagined community of some 30 million people - a sodality that no individual could know in entirety through first-hand experience and embodies the ideal effective texture of social life and the melting of new and old, exotic and indigenous within a unifying syncretic framework.

It is significant to note that while we can discuss traditional music, conveniently marking the imaginary dividing lines between those whom it directly affects and those it does not, when it comes to modern music and resurgence of ethnic identity a distinction between those it affects and those it does not becomes meaningless. This is more the case because in its very nature modern music reaches its listeners in a variety of forms, some of which make choice

an unattainable privilege.

Remarking on this ability of ethnic culture to transcend imaginary barriers Winner and Umiker-Sebeok [1979:133-134] say:

An ethnic unit is distinguished from the larger culture of which it is a part by cultural or sub-cultural variations ... Ethnic culture, however, is not reducible to a particular and fixed group of culture carriers, but demarks a cultural level of relative autonomy over and above social groups. Thus, while ethnic culture is expressed, created, and changed by culture bearers, ethnic boundaries are affected by the most various criteria and may be retained and altered independently of changing participation and membership of individuals in ethnic groups. Consequently, the communication of ethnic identity cannot be reduced to readily identifiable standards.

Zulu ethnicity or nationality as reflected in musical performance, when related to the above statement, is not dependent on whether individuals change allegiance within the system; for example, whether they get so Western educated that they distance themselves from it. There are always available people who are executing and "universalising" it. Individuals may come and go but the system lives on.

Veit Erlmann (1991) notes that in South Africa the terms tradition and community are often discussed interchangeably. According to A.P. Cohen (1987) community and, thus, tradi-

tional boundaries are often symbolic in character and lend themselves to the interpretation of symbolic issues. Discussing how communities shape their collective identities through symbolic orientation Cohen [ibid:15] says:

Members of a community ... orient to its symbolic boundaries in two distinct ways. First, like participants in great social movements, they gather behind a highly generalized statement of the community's character, in order to advocate the distinctive interests of the community or to promulgate its collective identity. This does not necessarily entail their subordination by a collective ideology because, secondly, in their 'private' internal discourse they render this generalized statement meaningful in terms of their particular interests, experience and identities. Their own interests are refracted through the collective statement of identity.

As we saw in chapter one above Zulu society today becomes identifiable into a variety of internal groups and sub-groups and a generalized framework of ubuZulu exists as Veit Erlmann [1991:15] re-iterates:

In Natal, for instance, at least three different sectors of colonial society - the colonial state, the Zulu monarchy and its allies of wealthy black landowners and merchants, and the mass of laboring poor - have been at work to formulate a "Zulu-ness". It would be misleading, therefore, to argue that the local bourgeoisie's use of "Zulu-ness" was false whereas that of the oppositional classes was genuine.

The ethnic culture text is embedded in what makes the body of Zulu music today, which has a clear identifiable structure. Remarking on the ability of well-manipulated music to mediate between groups and sub-groups, as happens among the Slovenians re-enacting an ethnic culture in America, Winner and Umiker-Sebeok [1979:135] say:

... the harmonica player, in traditional costume, playing old and new songs, becomes a mediator, his music creating a modality which unites, by underlying implicit similarities, all the surrounding objects and activities. The catalyst effect of the music becomes a liberating force, providing a setting for the general breakdown of restraints of social barriers, which are a part of the ethnic culture, between old and young, men and women, suburbanites representing modernism and the inhabitants of traditional ethnic neighbourhoods, workers and middle class members, ethnic language speakers and English speakers, church-goers and secular leaders, and so on.

In other words the manipulation of traditional symbols, which can be paralleled with those found in amahubo songs in Zulu culture, has the potential to bring all people together, irrespective of their 'private' backgrounds, as long as they can fall within the broad and generalized statement of Zulu community, ethnic or national character.

Among some Zulu the symbolic significance of King Shaka remains central to many. In modern music, this becomes

expressed in song texts and through the creation of images which display positive sentiments about the 'good old days'. The centrality of King Shaka in song texts has been manifesting itself in different times, among others, in choral music, in the Nazareth Church music, in sicathamiya, in mbhaqanga and maskanda (Erlmann, 1991).

The expression of traditional symbols manifests itself in specific sound patterns which almost invariably invoke the spirit of continuity with the past. Periods of revitalization become periods when musical inspiration is derived from within rather than from without. People and musicians look to the Zulu cultural core (refer chapter one of this thesis) for musical inspiration.

4.1.3 A Historical Framework for Re-emergence

A historical framework tracing the periodic re-emergence of amahubo song ideas can be reconstructed, especially in relation to existing literature (Erlmann 1991, Klopper 1991, Coplan, 1985, 1991 inter alia).

Erlmann (1991) notes that Isaiah Shembe's revitalization activities were evident by 1911 when he founded the church of Nazareth "and composed an extensive body of liturgical songs, in part based on traditional genres such as isigekle" (p.70). In fact, with amahubo as part of their wide-ranging repertoire, the Nazareth Baptist (Shembe) church has formed one of the leading religious revitalization movements in Southern Africa. Some of their song texts have a direct appeal to the return and maintenance of the 'natural dignity of the Zulu' (Erlmann, 1991). In addition, the church encourages the wearing of complete sets of traditional Zulu attire and the observation of traditional Zulu customs by its members. Erlmann [1991:70] also notes that:

To complement the notion of a truly African form of Christian worship, Shembe also created a new type of ritual dress combining traditional Zulu regalia with white colonial uniform called ama Scotch, and a religious choreography (ukusina) that drew extensively on traditional dance patterns.

There is a direct link between Zulu traditionalism and the Nazareth Baptist Church. A study focussing exclusively on amahubo songs and how they are revitalized in this church can form an interesting field of further study, probably beyond and outside the scope of this thesis.

In addition to the Nazareth Baptist, the whole Independent Church Movement of which the Zionists are one was already in motion before the turn of this century (Sundkler 1961).

Among the Zulu Christians of the 'mainline churches', already early this century there was a definition of Christianity known as 'Zulu Christianity' which was, however, based on elite notions of a purified Zulu cultural heritage (Erlmann, 1991). This was, of course, more of a reaction to white racism which was manifesting itself in the mainline churches and with the legislation of the discriminatory Land Acts (Erlmann 1991). To return to the ranks of the Zulu masses, which they had rejected earlier (Etherington 1971) it was imperative for the educated Zulu Christian elite like John Dube, to appeal to the traditional symbols and encourage, among others, although selectively, the performance of traditional song styles as Erlmann [1991:74] says:

Already prior to the first World War, ... for more conservative nationalist leaders such as Dube, Zulu ethnic consciousness and traditionalism had served as a base for broadening their ideological hegemony and for buttressing their class position, and had

found expression in the performance of traditional music belonging to the isiZulu category ... Among rural Africans, the loss of independent African power, the destruction of gender relations, and the patriarchal structures of the Zulu kingdom nurtured a strong and genuine anti-capitalist ideology tempered by traditionalist sentiments, the focus of which was the Zulu king. The affairs of the Zulu royalty therefore resonated deeply with rural Africans, and the fact that royal political maneuvers became topics of songs is more than the result of some ideological strategy from above.

Although Erlmann notes also an active interest by the colonial white government to revive Zulu traditionalism as a strategy of social control, it is doubtful whether this inside revitalization was inspired by the government's activities. The government did not compose amahubo songs such as 'Inkosi Bayibiz'e Showe' (Erlmann, 1991:74-75) which was composed in 1925 and defiantly disapproves of King Solomon being summoned to the colonial headquarters of Eshowe to meet the Prince of Wales who was visiting from England (also interview with Umntwana Makhukhuza, 10 April, 1991).

Sandra Klopper (1991) also notes the significance of the Inkatha movement founded in the 1920's as a revitalization movement. According to Klopper [1991:167].

A concern with preserving Zulu 'tradition' is certainly not a phenomenon of the 1970's and 1980's nor is Zulu ethnic consciousness simply a grass-roots movement ... the first Inkatha movement - forged in the 1920's through an alliance between

the Zulu royal family and the amakholwa (Christian) intelligentsia to gain state recognition for the Zulu monarchy, often appropriated 'traditional' symbols in an attempt to mobilize the support of ordinary Zulu.

The fact that ordinary Zulu people could be mobilized through an appeal to traditional symbols shows that the retention of traditional knowledge and interpretation of these traditional symbols was there, only needing activation (also Marks, 1989). We do not learn that these symbols had only been invented by the Christian elite and the Zulu royalty in the 1920's.

It is worth noting that these attempts at revitalization paralleled the early development of modern musical styles which are, however, very much attached to tradition. Examples are the emergence of guitar styles which were later to become maskanda as well as early isicathamiya (Erlmann 1991). Although these styles themselves were not initiated by the educated elite, it is notable that through collaboration between the Zulu royalty and the educated elite, a climate conducive to the 'traditionalization' and 'indigenization' of some foreign instruments and ideas was created. Following these developments was also the institutionalization of ingoma dancing, which had linkages with the traditional pre-colonial warrior past (Erlmann 1991).

Commenting about warrior dances and the idea of liberation

Judith Hanna [1977:128] says:

Warrior dances rise phoenix-like with nationalism and independence when their symbolic value becomes apparent. There are transformation in style and structure or continuities in different contexts ... Warrior dances as a vehicle of display of strength and self affirmation, as a status marker, and as political and symbolic behaviour are pervasive structures ... The power of dance lies in its multi-media thought, emotion, motor, and aesthetic capability to create moods and a sense of situation for performer and spectator alike. The manipulation of the body through movement and gesture in purposeful, intentionally rhythmical, attention riveting discrete cultural patterns, presents a dramatic, powerful statement which can influence predispositions, attitudes, beliefs and actions.

Although ingoma was not a warrior dance, per se, in symbolic terms it served the very aims of warrior dances and which are aimed at reviving the warrior spirit of discipline and strong physical poise. Erlmann (1991) notes the re-emergence of umgangela ideas in ingoma dances, for example. It was probably this conviction of ingoma's ability to appeal to pre-colonial traditional symbols which led political and trade union leaders like A.W.G. Champion to encourage it (Erlmann, 1991).

4.1.4 The Role of Inkatha, Founded in 1975

(Inkatha Freedom Party, 1990)

Klopper (1991) notes the wearing of forms of dresses associated with traditionalists by Zulu royal women at the King Shaka celebration in 1954. This was probably another concerted effort, or a continuation thereof, at revitalizing traditional ideas, especially in association with King Shaka whose symbolic power has been noted.

Inkatha founded in 1975 (presently Inkatha Freedom Party or IFP) has taken a keen interest in the revitalization of traditional symbols, sometimes using them as a political mobilization strategy (Klopper, 1991, de Haas and Zulu 1991 and Mare 1992). The role of the IFP in this regard should not be over- nor under-estimated and may form an interesting field of further study, especially when paralleled with M.K.C. Morrison's (1982) study of the National Liberation Movement of Ghana and its manipulation of traditional Ashanti symbols.

However, Chief Buthelezi, the IFP president, is a prolific singer of amahubo songs whose knowledge of traditional music and symbols is well-known and needs no further re-statement here. His mother, Princess Magogo, was a leading Zulu royal musician and teacher of such musicologists as Hugh Tracey and David Rycroft, among others. There is also a special

and keen interest taken especially by top and 'grassroots' IFP leaders in the subject of amahubo songs and Zulu traditional symbols. These songs have come to be performed in some IFP rallies and more especially in Zulu national ceremonies where the King is involved. In addition, ordinary IFP supporters as well as the top leadership are, observably, taking a keen interest in celebrating the institution of the King, so that in commemorative events like King Shaka Day, the IFP colours are observably almost dominant. Organizers of King Shaka Day like to stress that other political organizations are also welcome.

It is in this regard that opposition groups like the African National Congress (ANC) are sometimes unable to differentiate between Zuluness and the Zulu monarchy on one hand and the IFP on the other (Klopper, 1991). This they sometimes do at their own possible political peril because like John Dube and A.W.G. Champion of old (Erlmann, 1991), modern IFP leaders are able to gain support on the basis of their ability to appeal to traditional symbols. This, as Coplan (1991) notes in discussing Sotho sefela songs, needs the ability on the part of the leadership to display a deep knowledge and respect of Zulu national or ethnic symbols.

Noting the role of Inkatha (IFP) in appealing to and promoting traditional symbols Sandra Klopper [1991:168] says:

In the rural areas ... Inkatha is a household word, and its repeated appeals to women to observe Zulu custom, although met with fear and suspicion by Christians, is generally acknowledged with pride by traditionalists. Regardless of the origins of this ethnic consciousness, it has therefore filtered down to every rural homestead, providing authoritative affirmation to those who still observe tradition.

It can be added that, observably the IFP does not appeal to women only by tradition. It appeals to men as well, as can be observed through the keen interest taken by its men in traditional regalia, weapons and music. As Sandra Klopper (1991) notes, Inkatha also has a special appeal to Zulu hostel dwellers in Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Its appeal to the ordinary township folk remains a highly debatable issue (de Haas and Zulu, 1991).

4.1.5 "Fertile" Grounds for Re-emergence

There are other factors which create the right climate for the revitalization of amahubo song styles and ideas and their incorporation into some modern Zulu musical styles in the late 1980's and early 1990's. The political climate continues to be oppressive and hopeless for most Africans, including the Zulu, in South Africa. As part of challenging the political and cultural order in the country there has been an upsurge among Zulu traditionalists in the actual performance of amahubo songs in the said period, as noted earlier.

There has also surfaced an observable retention of ritual and symbolic knowledge, especially in rituals like marriages and deaths, even among urban Zulus. This is observable in cultural discourse in a non-formal environment. As we will note with our field observation of modern weddings and deaths, certain key ritual aspects traceable only to the precolonial past and associated with traditionalist practices have been retained or get revived. The present writer has observed many second weddings by the same people who formerly married in church and received a marriage certificate, but did not proceed with the observation of traditional aspects of the wedding. Such people have almost invariably experienced emotional problems in their marriages before they observe the traditional aspects. The diviners

and Zionists, who are guardians of traditional ritual have in those cases always observed the fact that there was no ancestral involvement in the marriages. Problems have been eliminated after re-marriages where traditional ritual is observed. In at least two cases at Melmoth and Nkandla the couple had died a long time ago and it was their children performing the traditional ritual aspects on behalf of their dead parents.

Retention of ritual knowledge is also observable in interpersonal relations, the formalization of speech patterns, the resurgence of interest in the dynamics of the Zulu language (especially its proverbs, poetry and figurative speech), and the general desire to maintain the age gradations and the hlonipha code of conduct (Klopper, 1991).

In the schools, there has been an upsurge in the actual performance of traditional music. Since the 1970's, with the emergence of Black Consciousness, there has been an increasing interest for even choral music composers to look for from within for musical resource materials and inspiration. Thus, songs like J.S.M. Khumalo's "Izibongo Zikashaka" and M.L. Chonco's "Ekhaya Afrika" among others, have, according to the composers, been the product of this renewed interest in the traditional music.

In addition, amahubo songs themselves have made their way to (especially KwaZulu) schools in the late 1980's and early 1990's. It has become not an unusual feature for a school choir to sing, in addition to written choral music and wedding songs, a whole range of amahubo songs, "Inkosi Bayibize Showe" and "Bamqal' oka Ndaba" being probably the most popular (See accompanying video recording). Ingoma and isicathamiya have similarly made their way into the schools. It has also become normal practice for school and adult choirs rendering choral songs which they feel have a traditional Zulu basis to wear traditional regalia and even carry traditional weaponry.

The Zulu monarchy has, since 1985 (Klopper, 1991) revived some of the key traditional ritual ceremonies for the youth at Zulu national level. These are the 'Reed Ceremony, (Umhlanga) which Klopper argues rather inaccurately as being an exclusively Swazi ceremony, despite the insistence of the King and almost all her informants, that it is an old, pre-colonial Zulu ceremony, (ibid:168). Klopper also, mistakenly, attributes the 'Reed Ceremony' to Inkatha's initiatives, an assertion which may very much be calculated to undermine the role, initiative and command of the King in Zulu traditional affairs. The other ceremony is the "First Fruit", Ukweshwama ceremony. Umhlanga is meant for young girls between the ages of 15 and 25, several thousands of whom attend. Ukweshwama² today is basically a young man's

affair, including the killing of a bull by hand by the young men. It is also an occasion for the King to name a new regiment, as he did with Udakwakusutha in 1990, for example. There is little doubt that each of these ceremonies is meant to instill a feminine and masculine pride respectively and to entrench socio-cultural values through song and dance. In addition both the girls and young men get socially and culturally empowered in these ceremonies and are taught not only to know about themselves and their Zulu culture, but also to value it (Cohen 1982).

Announcing Umhlanga for 1992 Ilanga, (3-5 September 1992) says:

... the aim of this ceremony is to encourage the girls to grow up and be morally proud of themselves and their bodies, so that they do not subject themselves to physical abuse.

There may be many other aims but, judging from the speeches of the King and others who attend this ceremony, this seems to be the main aim. The ceremonies are meant to improve the social and cultural positions and awareness for those who attend, which is what we mean by empowerment in this regard. Klopper's [1991:170] assertion that the girls are subjecting themselves to male oppression and abuse is debatable and may be based on emotional charges and misinterpretation of the

whole traditional Zulu social system. However, its further debate falls slightly outside the scope of this thesis, although it may form an interesting point for further research. Such a further debate should centre on the representation of the views of the cultural insiders discussed in chapter one of this thesis as against the personal views of the researcher.

There are also a lot of internal agents who concern themselves with the maintenance of traditional Zulu 'standards'. These have been referred to earlier in this chapter.

The extent to which the debate pointing to the possibilities that some of what is being revitalized may be unconnected to the pre-colonial past, as it has only been 'invented' during the colonial era, may form an interesting subject worth extensive reviewing in a separate but related study. It is worth noting that there is growing interest among, especially, some anthropologists in and around Durban universities on this subject (Zulu, de Haas, Spiegel and Boonzaier among others).

4.1.6 "Invented" Traditions

Defining invented traditions Hobsbawm [1983:1] says:

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

The idea of the Zulu King being turned into a ceremonial or cultural figure than a political one, as was the case in pre-colonial Zulu society comes to mind here. However, in-as-much as the whole idea of the re-institutionalisation of the seat of the King may have been a predictable move as part of the movement back to liberation defined through symbolism, the new role of confinement of the King to ceremoniousness contrasts sharply with the pre-colonial political one. In reviewing whether a tradition is a colonial or pre-colonial invention we may have to look further than the overt practices themselves and look at the underlying principles governing the existence of the tradition in the pre-colonial era and compare those with circumstances in the new colonial era.

The role of the educated Zulu elite in the invention of some of the traditions may not be underestimated (Ranger 1983, Erlmann 1991, Klopper 1991, Marks 1989).

However, on the subject of amahubo songs care should be taken because the genre itself is religious and pre-colonial and thus authentically at the centre of the Zulu identity (Erlmann, 1991). Amahubo songs are strategically positioned because of their musical inaccessibility to the colonial masters. They probably remain a mystery and a menace to the masters. Both pre-apartheid and apartheid governments, no matter how much interest they took in Zulu ethnicity, could not invent or re-invent amahubo and the symbolism that goes with them. (Amahubo could not have been copied from colonial officers). In fact, because of their anti-colonialist posture, amahubo songs were banned by the colonialists from the streets of Durban early this century (Erlmann, 1991). Their revitalization and re-emergence in modern Zulu musical styles, therefore, is a statement of rejection of colonialism and hailing of the pre-colonial past as part of the post-colonial future. Giddens (1992) notes for example that revival of old symbols may be part of the modernizing process, in which the reconstruction of the past may count for a quest to maintain continuity and the mere existence and acknowledgement of the past may be evidence of a positive self-identity.

4.1.7 Some Re-emerging Musical Concepts: A General View

It is significant, therefore, to note that, although the idea of what re-emerges may differ from style to style as the re-emergence may be subtle, certain concepts central to amahubo songs as discussed in chapter two above show themselves in varying degrees in the various styles.

Principal among these is the idea of a loud sound, resembling ukhuba. This characterizes all the modern styles in varying degrees and remains the most sought after singing technique, as we will see in the brief discussion of individual styles later in this chapter. The whole idea of the centrality of a loud voice as a basic instrument of music-making persists.

Ukhlabelela, as a way of singing is maintained and re-emerges in a variety of forms distinct from its new colonial counterpart, ukucula. The usage of ukhlabelela, remains a generic reference to the Zulu style of singing.

Another re-emerging principle is that of social function of music. New categories like amagama omshado, (wedding songs), for example, have been invented, specifically in line with this amahubo principle. The association with a social function guides the naming of styles after the function or people associated with such activity.

The relations of music to body movement or dance discussed earlier in this chapter continues to be a persistent amahubo idea in modern Zulu music. This, in turn, gives a ceremonial outlook to even the most modern of Zulu musical styles. In addition, traditional regalia worn as part of the performance of these styles, gives them a mediating role of linking amahubo with the present in a similar manner as we observed in Winner and Umiker-Sebeok's (1979) discussion of Slovenic ethnic expression in America.

The socialization effect of music, noted as central to amahubo songs continues and the whole idea of belonging may be underlined in musical performance. The modern musical styles thus play a conscientizing and educational role, drawing attention to aspects of cultural expression which may otherwise be difficult to show (Erlmann, 1991). Although it is not always easy and possible to make watertight categorization of what re-emerges and what does not, individual styles may display aspects of these tenets in various degrees, as we shall see later in the chapter. The symbolism surrounding the re-emergence story makes it, to some extent, probably more of an ethnographic claim rather than something which may be proved scientifically without doubt as "boundaries perceived by some may be utterly imperceptible to others" (Cohen 1987:14) and may thus form a basic framework for further debate. We have already referred to the dynamics of contemporary Zulu society.

In the revitalization and re-emergence story no absolutes may be claimed and similarities remain relative as Michael Herzfeld [1986:3] says:

No culture remains totally unaltered with the passage of time, as generation succeeds generation, all kinds of change occur, some abruptly, others imperceptibly but nevertheless with equal persistence. Thus, sameness must in reality be a matter of cultural similarity or continuity. These kinds of connection are unlike the absolute notion of sameness, however, in that they depend on the observer's criteria of relevance - on a whole set of presuppositions in other words, about what traits really constitute acceptable or interesting evidence of link. Clearly, then, a premise of cultural continuity cannot usefully be regarded as a question of pure fact.

The above statement supports ours that in-as-much as the re-emergence of amahubo song ideas remains a claim until proved, we re-iterate that the modern Zulu musical styles should not be seen as duplications of amahubo but rather as syncretic entities bearing amahubo and alien song ideas. Our concern is the amahubo source.

As we have seen in most of this chapter the re-emergence of amahubo song styles and ideas in modern Zulu music story is multi-layered, and takes place in a socio-musical atmosphere where, although the pool of ideas remains evident, the techniques required to manipulate it remain embedded in the

symbolic world. A number of orchestrating factors amounting to 'tuning in' and characterized by the use of key words, signals and loaded statements and behaviours (Fernandez, 1986) has created a climate conducive to the re-emergence of amahubo song ideas especially in the fieldwork period: 1988 to 1992.

Another source of the re-emergence idea are the statements made by the musicians and audiences of modern Zulu music, as we will see when we look at individual styles. Underlying these utterances is the greatness associated with antiquity and the 'unlimited' imaginary expansion of the universe that can be achieved through claiming association with its continuity.

When the Greeks claimed independence in 1821 (Herzfeld, 1986) they appealed to old Greek folklore, and tried to reconstitute the image of the Greeks of old, looking more inside to re-create a universal image of superior Greeks who thus deserved independence and self-determination. Paralleled with our present story it can be noted that the idea of the mighty Zulu nation continues to live and manifests itself in culture and the revival of the great past. In modern South Africa the revitalization remains a statement probably demanding the right to rule rather than be ruled.

We will at this stage attend to the individual new styles for analytical purposes.

4.2 AMAHUBO IDEAS IN MODERN ZULU ZIONIST AND "AMAKHORASI" RELIGIOUS MUSIC

Amahubo song concepts are incorporated into contemporary Zulu religious music, especially where a syncretic combination of Christian and Zulu religious principles is carried out. This is usually in Zionist and other independent Zulu churches like the Nazareth Baptist Church (Shembe) as noted earlier. Du Toit (1971) also discusses the Emakhehleni Zulu church which uses amahubo songs in their pure form. In short, it is when the Zulu bring their own social experiences and symbolism into Christianity or when Christianity is re-interpreted in relation to traditional Zulu symbolism that the amahubo song concepts re-emerge. The underlying Zulu exclamation for the re-emergence of amahubo ideas is "Ekhaya"! meaning "back home" or "ziyabuya emasisweni", meaning they (the musical ideas) are coming back from straying. In the Easter Service at Umlazi in 1991, the Archbishop Makhaza could be heard making this shout while the young male members of the church were singing and moving around a circle, holding sticks, which they said were meant to defeat the devil. This "ekhaya" is also noted by Erlmann (1991) in his discussion of isicathamiya.

David Dargie [1987:17] comments on the factors that distinguish Zionist music:

It is more than theology behind the songs - which is perhaps not an issue to many. It is not simply the songs themselves. In fact, the Zionists use songs from many sources, not only their own compositions, but hymns, "Methodist" song, Pentecostal choruses. One is forced to the conclusion that the distinguishing feature is the way the songs are performed: the sounds of instruments - drums, rattles, shakers, bells, the use of movement, especially the so-called "merry-go-round" techniques; the role music plays in healings, blessings and so on. It is undoubtedly the association of these things with the songs that make them "Zionist".

David Dargie's assertion brings us nearer home in that he tells us about the things that the Zionists do or some behavioural patterns which can be associated with the Zionist churches. However, we would like to disagree with his assertion which discounts theological concepts as basic ideas that inform Zionist behaviours: "it is more than theology behind the songs - which is not an issue to many". In fact, more than any other factor, it is Zionist theology which is able to clarify the meaning of Zionist musical sounds and behaviour, as Zionists conceive them. It is only when we consider the Zionist approach to Christianity, which is a combination of Zulu religious principles and Christianity, that we are nearer to understanding their music.

4.2.1 Zionist Church Singing

An outstanding feature of Zionist worship is music-making. The individual song items may, to some extent, differ in terms of sound, from amahubo song items Zionists refer to their singing as ukuhuba. When I asked the Archbishop Makhaza on their use of ukuhuba he referred me to "Ukuhuba kwesiZulu" which he described as the "most powerful singing, which Zionists do in order to be heard by God" (Interview 29 March 1991). Thus, Zionists are conscious of amahubo ideas and emulate them in their music. The ideas which call for ascendancy of music-making in Zionist churches are similar to those of indigenous Zulu religion (Du Toit, 1971). Music is conceived as a medium for the transmission and distribution of ritual power. Because of the Zionists' particularity with traditional Zulu ritual, symbolism and tradition, this ritual power is seen by them as a continuation of the contents of our discussion in chapter two above. The manifestation of Zionist power is in umoya, which enables them to conduct ritual. It has an electrifying and moving effect. Whether power is symbolically derived from Jesus or ancestors or the combination of these and God, Zulu people, and Zionists in particular, conceive of music-making as a part of worship, as acquisition of the power that goes with worship; at the least music and power cannot be separated (Kriel, 1984). The idea is that music itself is believed to be a special gift from the ancestors or God

which is given to the living as a medium of transmission of power. Music forms the linkage between the different worlds of Zulu existence. Those who excel in music confirm their nearness to God.

Through music, power is symbolically acquired and life is experienced in its "correct" perspective. As discussed in chapter two above, it is believed that a Zulu person needs power which he derives from ritual in order to live. Music forms an integral part of Zionist healing as the priest himself derives his power from music performance. Talking about music Archbishop Makhaza says: "We must have more music in our church so we can get more power to heal the weak". (Interview, 29 March 1991).

Consequently, music becomes an integral part of worship, because it is capable of communicating the innermost feelings of individuals. Oneness is achieved by communicating feelings.

Bruce Kapferer's (1986) discussion of the performance of Sinhalese exorcisms becomes of particular relevance here as it demonstrates how a religious performance may reflect the wider cosmology within which it exists. Through understanding of the hierarchical order of the forces at work in the cosmic order exorcists are able to apply music, song, dance and drama and through their combined power, remove the pol-

luting effect of the demons.

To take the idea of Zionist Church music as a re-emergence of amahubo song ideas further, Zionists in their services carry sticks, which they refer to as izikhali, weapons. The Zionist concept of worship, is basically that of being at war. This creates a warrior image (Fernandez, 1986). Remarking about the sticks, Archbishop Makhaza says:

Our forefathers carried weapons to war, to fight the enemy, and we carry our weapons to fight our enemy, the devil. Hence we use our sticks to remove any evil that may be on our way. We are at war with the devil and with all evil. (Interview, 29 March 1991).

This is a re-emergence of the idea that, traditionally, wherever amahubo are performed each minute presents a potential conflict situation. During war a man puts on his best attire and has to be good and ready in spirit. Field examples of the Zionists researched for this thesis provide evidence that, like in traditional amahubo singing, which dramatically conceives of each religious conception as a situation of near-death and ancestor experiences, Zionists conceive each service as a dramatic representation of the near-death and heaven. The idea is that music must work the individual up to a point where he no longer fears the consequences of death and they have confidence to face any situation that may arise. This applies to both Zionists and

traditional Zulu religious practice.

In Zionist worship singing unites; it drives off evil forces because, as long as people sing, they are united and evil forces are shy to interfere in such a situation. This is the effect of amahubo songs too. Abraham Kriel [1984:70] remarks about the effect of music-making in most African worship experiences:

Wherever people speak, they also sing. Few stimuli have such a powerful effect on the emotions, even if it should be admitted that what soothes often drives the other to fury. In line with the extension of other actions, whatever is experienced as moving the emotions is soon credited with the ability to move unseen forces as well.

This view probably best relates to the purpose and effect of music-making in Zionist worship. In fact, more than spoken preaching and bible reading, any given Zionist congregation sings. It is the form of the music which avails the average Zionist congregation to ritual power by moving the emotions and evoking feelings no other force may evoke.

Zionist church choirs and congregations have established a syncretic style of Christian singing which is underlined by this church's tendency to incorporate Christianity into the mainstream of Zulu thought patterns. Ultimately, when the style of singing re-emerges in other churches, including the

"mainline" churches of American and European origin, it is referred to as Zionist. Zionist singing is related to the "amakhorasi" style but while "amakhorasi" are not far-removed from the original Christian hymn, Zionist singing takes the "amakhorasi" further away from the original Christian hymn and relate them more to amahubo. Further "amakhorasi" are prevalent in the mainline churches where they are mostly regarded as belonging to children. A Lutheran priest at Umlazi remarked that: "amakhorasi are not good for grown ups, because they lack dignity. We do not want movement in our church" (Interview, 10 May 1992). In Zionist churches "amakhorasi" are regarded as being very "mild". The Reverend Mfeka of Zion City Church of Christ remarked that: "amakhorasi are not hot. We sing them for warm up" (Interview, 29 March 1991).

Like amahubo, a Zionist song item plays around a single idea which is the creation of symbols and images from short, repetitive biblical texts, as this text example shows:

Wozani nonke nina enikhatheleyo
Nenisindwayo Wozani KuJesu

English

Come, all you who are tired and

carry a heavy load

Come to Jesus.

In some cases Zionists sing hymns from mainline Euro-American churches, especially the Methodist church. These, when sung by Zionists, are 'indigenized' by being given the Zionist sound structure. The Zionist sound structure is characterized by non-simultaneous entry of parts, crossing of parts, melodic plurality, a loud voice quality and a slow tempo. These characteristics are also found in amahubo songs.

Thus, by including principles of traditional Zulu religion in Christian worship, Zionists have been able to find a religious system characterized by a related musical practice.

4.2.2 Zionist Dance

Dancing as a form of participation confirms the Zulu concept of worship (Coplan, 1985). This concept upholds the belief that dancing is a cleansing and refreshing experience (Hanna, 1977). It is through participating in dance that worship as an emotional, mental and physical experience is completed. To feel physically tired and to have an exhausted and hoarse voice after a Zionist service, are viewed by Zionists as positive signs of the effectiveness of the power of music and dance in worship. Talking about music and dance in the Zionist Church the Reverend Mfeka of the Zion City Church says :

When we sing and dance, we are with the Lord, and when we get exhausted from dancing, the Lord is working us out, we like it. (Interview, 29 March 1991).

The idea is that after a spell of worship each member must, as a result of physical exhaustion, feel relieved of the pressures of life.

It is also during dance that prophecy, healing and speaking in tongues takes place. So, involvement in movement is aimed

at reaching a climatic point where the very purpose of becoming Zionist, namely to heal and be healed, is realized.

In this instance dance transforms the individual into a trance state.

At the height of the religious experience, Zionists wrestle with one another and may cry or just lie down as physical and spiritual emotions are activated inside their bodies - this action is a manifestation of umoya, the holy spirit. It is the same as the ancestors, the source of inspiration in amahubo performance, where people may giya, or fight or just cry out of joy of singing. It is a real life situation of the ultimate acquisition of ritual power where power comes in such abundant quantities that the individual who has received it may be capable of doing anything including healing, diagnosing, prophesying, fighting or even mere sitting down to cry. In the Zionist Churches when healing is possible it marks the descent of the holy spirit, a necessary part of every Zionist worship. The Reverend Biyela of the Zion City Church of Christ, Kwa-Mashu branch, says :

When the spirit comes it comes in many forms. You may easily think that we are mad as we fight and wrestle and cry and see visions. At that point we can tear any evil man apart, if he walks into our congregation. We feel we are part of a living church. We pledge our support for Christ. (Interview, 30 March 1991).

4.2.3 Becoming an Isiyoni

If we look at people who call themselves Zionists today, in most cases we note that they are not drawn from the type who were largely subjected to missionization. They are not products of mission station Christianization.

In conversation they are always critical of the missionaries and main-line Euro-American churches. Thus, to them, missionary ideas are not a "guiding light". They received evangelization outside mission stations (Sundkler, 1960). In most cases it is their social problems which have drawn them to evangelization. Thus statements like "I was sick, and decided to come here for help" or "I was troubled by dreams, and came here" or "my shoulders were too heavy and I was always tired, so I decided to come here," are common in almost all the Zionist churches which the present writer has visited. It is an illness which leads to Zionist conversion.

To be an iSiyoni (Zionist) implies a specific life pattern. Because of their ability to relate daily experiences with Christian worship, Zionists have rendered their religion one of the most formidable revitalizationist movements in South Africa.

4.2.4 Ritual and Symbolism in the Zionist Churches

Zionists are very particular and highly knowledgeable about the details of ritual and symbolism (Sundkler, 1960). As a matter of fact they have to know these details to demonstrate their authenticity (Coplan 1991). Their ability to fuse these details with the framework of Christianity reflects a degree of modernity. Thus, through their syncretic knowledge, they are able to perform healing, which is absent in the mainline pro-European churches. It is not unusual for Zionists to be called to "bethela", that is, to strengthen and protect a homestead against evil from outside. The Reverend Mvelase of Dubeni Melmoth, for example, is well known for his mixture of bethela herbs and "purified" water. Most homesteads in townships and rural areas who have been bethela'd by the Zionists will be marked by blue, white and green flags.

When A (who may not be identified for political reasons) of "Z" section, Umlazi died in the current spate of political violence between members of political groupings, a buyisa ceremony was performed for him by Archbishop Makhaza, a Zionist priest from "P" section, Umlazi. The Archbishop Makhaza described the ceremony as necessary to give the deceased power (amandla) so he could be incorporated into his family in the land of the ancestors. During the service that accompanied the ceremony, the Archbishop Makhaza

demanded more and more singing from his congregation, which he said would give both the living and the dead the power to unite. Throughout the singing, the candles acted as a guiding light for the powerfulness of the singing. When the candles were bright Archbishop Makhaza said they confirmed the unity and success of the function; when they were weak, he kept saying that the singing was poor and the spirit was not there.

Zionists work with ancestors in the form of shades, izithunzi, which underlines a religious practice associated with amahubo. Whether the Zionists derive inspiration from drum rhythms or just from silent diagnosis of the patient, their main line of communication and diagnosis of diseases is communion with the ancestors. They use different names for ancestors like izithunywa, izithunzi, abaphansi and abalele, all of which are relates to traditional Zulu symbolism (Berglund 1976). This is confirmed by Archbishop Makhaza of Zion City, Umlazi. According to Archbishop Makhaza:

ancestral spirits dwell upon the shoulders of the individuals, unless these are minimized through ritualization, they may "grow" in the person, resulting in continuous stress, and thus an ineffective life. This may easily lead to death. If, on the other hand this is positive, such a person may become a diviner or a Zionist, which is aimed at giving direction to the "pressure" on the shoulders". (Interview, 29 March 1991).

Being chosen by the ancestors as their dwelling may also be partly inherited, so that if there is a diviner in the clan in any one generation, there is a great likelihood that future generations will have this kind of person.

Another striking feature of Zionist worship is almost total reliance on dreaming and its symbolism as a medium of communication (Berglund, 1976). In fact, becoming a member or a priest of the church itself entails a considerable amount of dreaming (Sundkler, 1960). Archbishop Makhaza of Umlazi described dreaming as being essential:

because that is where one communicates with one's ancestors, God and izithunywa. (Interview, 29 March 1991).

The Reverend Mfeka who is in the same congregation of the Zion City Church of Christ under Archbishop Makhaza says that before he became Zionist he was troubled by dreams of women, led by a man, in white gowns and singing songs of the Zionist type. This dream would come each night and he could not sleep properly. It was not until he was introduced to Archbishop Makhaza, that the dream stopped troubling him.

4.2.5 Zionists and Other Congregations

When Zionists are not welcome in some 'mainline' churches, it is because of their incorporation of Zulu religious practices in Christian worship, traditionally opposed by missionaries and their offspring (Mair, 1963). If, again, they are not welcome in traditional Zulu circles, it is because of their incorporation of Christianity in an otherwise perceptibly traditional Zulu religious practice. Thus, they are not comfortable in either camp and draw their members largely from amaqxaqxa, those in the middle of the socio-religious spectrum in Zulu society. However, ultimately Zionists project a very traditionalist image and to some degree attract the admiration of some traditionalists and some mission oriented elite. It is this traditionalism which accounts for the Zionists' ever-increasing church membership. Archbishop Makhaza remarks on Zionist social images:

We are hated because we are bearers of real ubuZulu. People do not like ubuZulu because it demands discipline. Young people, especially, will even want to kill us because our religion, unlike theirs (the mainline churches) is based on sound principles of Zulu discipline. God likes the Zulu. Christ likes the Zulu and few can dispute that Christ was Jewish Zulu. We are firm in our belief, and for us there is no religion that should be against the Zulu principles of life and discipline.

Thus, by drawing on amahubo musical ideas and symbolism Zionist churches bring into their congregations all social concepts, particularly those concerned with leadership roles, concepts of God in relation to man and all other philosophical and theological issues found in amahubo. Consequently, Zionist churches are unique in their synchronization of diverse theological issues which mainline church leaders usually consider to be irreconcilable.

4.3 AMAHUBO IDEAS IN WRITTEN ZULU CHORAL MUSIC

4.3.1 Mission station roots

Formally written Zulu choral music is, to some extent, a descendant of the mission station culture. Earlier composers tended to imitate the Christian hymn (Mthethwa 1987, Rycroft 1991, Erlmann 1991). As discussed in chapter three above, this was caused by the missionary prescription of the hymn and probably for some, Western instrumental music as the only music that could be performed in the mission stations and the subsequent embracement of some Western values by the Kholwa (Etherington 1971, Ranger 1983). This imposition of the hymn as the only musical alternative minimized musical alternatives for mission station residents. When they tried their hand at formal written composition it was mostly to write hymns or songs with the musical structure of the hymn incorporating secular texts (Erlmann, 1991).

It was in the mission schools that the use of tonic solfa to notate vocal music was cultivated (Erlmann, 1991). This led to the formation of school choirs learning their repertoire in tonic solfa.

These school and community choirs later became major vehicles in promoting the little Western music that Zulu converts were exposed to (Erlmann 1991). Choral music became

a thing of the mission school culture. Today choral music is mostly referred to as "umculo wezikole", school music or "umyuziki", by its practitioners. The word "umyuziki" itself, to ordinary semi-literate and non-literate Zulu people, strikes the vibrations of the whole schooling tradition. It is inseparable from the schools.

Although the mission station people were left with few musical alternatives and through anti-Zulu propaganda, they were left with the Zulu text to express a Zulu sentiment in their music. However, this advantage was seldom exploited. Instead, texts were either biblical or original, but with Christian religious undertones, while the music was strictly hymnal, with its melodic line being carried by the soprano voice, homophonic harmonic texture, restriction on rhythm and metre, use of major and minor modes, chromatic notes and rising and falling progressions.

4.3.2 Early composers - A.A. Kumalo (1879 - 1966)

The song "Wayaphi uThandiwe" written in the 1920's (Huskisson, 1969) by A.A. Kumalo was probably the first attempt at exploiting the rich Zulu musical resources and creating images through the choice of words and the choice of the music. Rycroft (1991) has made an analysis of this song which needs no further rehearsal here.

Kumalo juxtaposes hymnal and indigenous Zulu musical concepts. The text itself is conceived in a traditional Zulu setting. The text is composed to effect a dialogue between a man and his gossiping wife (Mthethwa, 1987). Commenting about the song Kumalo says: "I was trying to recapture the Zulu idiom and rhythm and modernise it into a Western musical form" (Interview with Rycroft, 1991 : 17).

Talk of witchcraft and rejoicing at a person going to see a traditional Zulu medicine man were definitely not familiar in public life in the mission stations. In this song Kumalo breaks new ground and defies the mission station restrictions. It is significant to note that in so doing he finds suitable tools in amahubo concepts (Mthethwa, 1987).

Commenting on this song B. Mthethwa [1988:30] says :

Rhythm is in three-four metric measures. This very typical hymnal rhythm helps to portray the intended mockery, to me. The sopranos ask a question the answer to which is known through gossip circles. Their question is supposedly innocent and hence in a typically church rhythm and in Western type of melody, harmonized by alto and tenor. The basses answer in pentatonic melody. The juxtaposing of Christianity and witchcraft is achieved by the use of conventions in Western and African Music. When the truth about the girl comes out, it is revealed in the bass melody using the lower range of voice which is also typical of Zulu cryptic songs.

Probably one of the most significant factors in this song is the respect for the linguistic speech tones and metaphor and symbolism. This serves a good purpose in Zulu musical conception as symbolism, in most cases, leaves the meaning open-ended and offers room for further discussion and debate on the song.

4.3.3 R.T. Caluza (1895 - 1969)

Another notable composer, is Reuben Tholakele Caluza³, also of Edendale mission near Pietermaritzburg. Caluza himself had earlier in his life been exposed to Zulu folk music outside the confines of the mission station and this was to shape his future musical career (Erlmann, 1991). Although one does not see in Caluza a composer consciously employing traits from indigenous isiZulu music, his music was shaped by factors outside the domain of mission station influence, such as iraqtime and texts derived from secular experiences which created images of secularity (Erlmann, 1991). In addition Caluza was very conscious of the prosodic demands of the Zulu language which had hitherto been a problem to composers as Veit Erlmann [1991 : 123] puts it :

The distortion of normal speech rhythm in Xhosa and Zulu had been tolerated in most nineteenth-century choir music (Makwaya) of the mission-educated elite. For these converts had accepted the supposed superiority of the symbols of Western civilization such as four-part choral harmony over autochthonous forms of cultural expression such as Zulu prosody. In vernacular compositions by elite composers until at least the publication of John Dube's collection Amagama Abantu in 1911, the integrity of Zulu speech modes was secondary to Western sound structure.

Such early attempts by a composer like R.T. Caluza to consolidate and honour the demands of the language were to form a working basis for factors which would later orchestrate the re-emergence of amahubo ideas in written Zulu choral music in the post 1970's era.

Caluza was probably one of the earliest pioneers instrumental in demonstrating to the missionized Zulu that the only way to avoid a cultural 'cul-du-sac' situation was to, once again, look at musical traditions outside the mission station as a source of inspiration. Consequently he was also instrumental in influencing many subsequent syncretic Zulu musical styles like isicathamiya, wedding songs and mbhaganga which were on the whole more liberated from missionary embargo (Erlmann 1990, 1991).

Caluza assumed the role of a 'traditional' musician, which is that of recording significant events and relating experiences of different people, a strategy for promoting social unity (Interview with Khabi Mngoma, 30 April 1990). He was, in addition, a real revolutionary who shook the shackles of missionary imprisonment and captivity, identifying with the Zulu both inside and outside the mission station. In his life, he composed many songs covering a diverse assortment of topics from those relating to the commoners to those relating to the Zulu Kings and South African national issues (Erlmann, 1991). He defied the elitist Zulu image

which the missionaries envisaged for the missionized Zulu.

4.3.4 The New Generation

Modern Zulu choral music composers often tend to emphasize the poetry of their lyrics, creating images which establish a link with the distant past. Poetry on these new songs is related to amahubo in the form of izibongo. Amahubo song items themselves have texts whose poetry is restricted by the religious context.

When interviewed by the present writer, Z.M. Chonco, a twenty-eight-year old renowned Zulu choral composer at Umlazi, pointed out that as a boy he sang many war songs in his territory near Empangeni, Zululand. He said he also participated in the rendition of amahubo by his own clan at Empangeni, and he can dance ndlamu and knows giya techniques, which he said, have had a very strong influence on his choral compositional style. However, he said, he has to conform to choral standards which include the use of simple and compound times as well as four-part harmony, bar-lines, diatonic major scales and allow for the conductor to conduct while addressing the expectations of choral music audiences.

Professor J.S.M. Khumalo, a Professor of African languages at Wits University, one of the leading Zulu choral composers, stated when interviewed by the present writer : "choirs complain if the music is more traditional as the notated score becomes too complicated for them to sing".

SONG TITLE : "IZIBONGO ZIKA SHAKA"

COMPOSER : MZILIKAZI KHUMALO

TEXT - ZULU

Ndabezitha! Ndabezitha!
 UDLungwane kaNdaba, woMbelebele
 Odlung'emanxulumeni
 Kwaze kwasamanxulum'esibikelana
 UMjokwana ka Ndaba
 USala kutshelwa, uSalakunyene zelwa
 Usishaka kasishayeki
 UNodumehlezi kaMenzi

UShaka ngiyesaba ukuthi nguShaka
 UShaka kwakuyinkosi yase Mashobeni

Uteku Iwabafazi bakwa Nomgabhi
 Betekula behlezi emlovini
 Beth'UShaka kay'kubusa
 Kant'uzakunethezeka
 Beth'uShaka Kayikuba nkosi
 Kant'uzakunethezeka
 UShaka! UShaka!

I lemb'elegamanyamalemba ngokukhalipha
 Waqedaged'i zizw'uyakuhlaselaphi na
 He, He, He uyakuhlaselaphi na
 Umlilo wothathe kaMjokwane
 Umlilo wothathe Wubuhanguhangu
 Oshik'izikhova zase Dlebe
 Kwaye Kwasha nezase Mabedlane
 Uyakuhlaselaphi na?
 Usifuba singangenqaba
 UBayede ka Ndaba
 UNdaba ngiyameba ngimuka naye
 Ngimbuka kwehle nezinyembezi
 Umoy'omzansi womngenelo
 Ohlez'ubangenela nangomnyango
 Othesadlezinye wadlezinye
 Wathesadlezinye wadl'ezinye
 Ndabezitha!

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Salute to the King!
 The wild person of Ndaba, of Mbelebele
 Who troubled the homesteads
 Until morning the homesteads
 were talking to each other
 Mjokwana of Ndaba
 The one who refuses to be told
 Shaka the unbeatable
 The famous son of Menzi
 Shaka I fear to call him Shaka
 Shaka was King of Mashobeni

Joking talks of the Nongabhi's wives
 Who joked around the fireplace
 Saying Shaka will not rule
 Whereas he has lived comfortably
 Saying Shaka shall not be King
 Whereas he has lived comfortably
 Shaka! Shaka!

The hero who excels all other heroes
 because of his cleverness
 You finish all the tribes
 Where are you attacking?
 He! He! He! where are you attacking
 The fire of dry tinder of Mjokwane
 The fire of dry tinder is of intense heat
 Which burnt owls at Dlebe, and those at
 Mabelane burnt automatically
 Where are you attacking?
 The one whose chest is like a fort
 Bayede of Ndaba
 Ndaba, I am stilling him
 I am running away with him
 I look at him and cry
 South wind which is persistent
 Which keeps troubling them through the door
 The one who has defeated all his opponents!
 Ndabezitha!

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

Cope (1968) has made an analysis and interpretation of King Shaka's praises. The language is highly poetic and no word-

to-word translation of this text can be done without the text losing its original meaning.

It is the praise-singer's impression of King Shaka, based on the King's achievements as the person who united most of the tribes found in Natal and beyond prior to 1816 into unified Zulu nation (Cope, 1968). King Shaka is regarded as the ultimate ancestor King by the Zulu.

The praise-poet starts in the first stanza by saluting the King, Ndabezitha! Ndabezitha!, after which he showers him with descriptive praises.

The history of King Shaka is related from "Uteku Iwabafazi Ndabezitha!" Here some of his expeditions and exploits are figuratively and dramatically presented.

Remarking about this composition, Prof. Khumalo says:

This is an attempt to re-discover ourselves. Our whole identity is embedded in amahubo songs. In this case I am taking the whole idiom of amahubo, combining it with orchestras and making it available for choirs. Amahubo, I must say, are the future of all our music. (Interview 19 October 1991)

The choral work "Izibongo zikaShaka" is a significant shift towards the eventual incorporation of amahubo song styles

and ideas in written Zulu choral music. Obviously, there are constraints imposed by the limitations of Western notation system on a musical idiom which was never designed for notation. In fact, Khumalo himself is very worried about the absence of an appropriate notation system for his compositions. Remarking about notation, Prof. J.S.M. Khumalo says :

I do not know Xabhashe, we will definitely need our own notation in future. We need a notation system which best expresses our musical idiom. (Interview, 19 October 1991).

In "Izibongo zikaShaka" Khumalo has significantly taken Zulu written choral music away from domination by mission station ideology. The work marks a turn of written choral music to mainstream of Zulu music. With J.S.M. Khumalo's latest work, the indigenization process of Zulu choral music has gained momentum. Remarking about Khumalo's "UShaka kaSenzangakhona" which is Khumalo's elaboration on his choral work "Izibongo zikaShaka". Prof. A.J. Thembela says :

We need more talented people like Mzilikazi Khumalo to create and compose operas as he has composed "UShaka ka Senzangakhona". Mzilikazi's works are what I mean by expressing our authentic selves. If you listen with a polished ear to Khumalo's music set in an African idiom, written in Western notation and performed in African rhythm, then you understand what is meant by authentic. Khumalo uses Vilakazi's poetry and puts melody, harmony, rhythm that penetrate the spirit and make us truly human. ("Discovering our authentic selves" = speech

delivered at the launch of the Khabi Mngoma Foundation, Durban, 25 October 1991).

J.S.M. Khumalo is, in fact, a major inspiration for many young choral composers, like Z.M. Chonco. Chonco commenting on Khumalo's songs says :

He really inspires me. He makes me great. He reminds me of the good old days in Zululand. When I compose, I always have him and our own amahubo heritage in mind. It is amazing how it inspires me. (Interview, 21 July 1992)

A deep understanding of amahubo in their religious context added to an understanding that Western musical principles are not necessarily universal helps the process of activation of amahubo songs in written Zulu choral music.

The mode of musical expression and the text that Khumalo has chosen creates association by contiguity (Meyer 1960) which makes the song evoke, at least symbolically, images of amahubo and ukuhuba practice as this extract shows :

Izibongo zikaShaka

7 8 9

u — Dlungwane. wo mbe — le be le O dlungema nxulume ni
 Nda ba — wo mbe — le be le O dlungema nxulume ni
 Nda ba — wo mbe — le be le O dlungema nxulume ni
 Nda ba — wo mbe — le be le O dlungema nxulume ni

10 12

O — dlungema nxulume ni — Kwaze kwasama nxulume sibike la — na
 O — dlungema nxulume ni — Kwaze kwasama nxulume sibike la — na
 O — dlungema nxulume ni — Kwaze kwasama nxulume sibike la — na
 O — dlungema nxulume ni — Kwaze kwasama nxulume sibike la — na

EXAMPLE 7

SONG TITLE : "EKHAYA AFRIKA"

COMPOSER : MFANUFIKILE CHONCO

TEXT - ZULU

Hheshe! nsizwa sithi Hheshe!
 We mame kwakusadliwa ngoludala
 Ho! he libusa izwe lakithi
 Kwakungenjenganamhlanje

Emadilini KaMkhipheni Kubuswa
 Kudliwa, izinsizwa zigxumagxuma
 Zingcweka zizwana namandla

Kantike izintombi zincokoliswa
 Kuvel'elomhlathi

Bashonaphi na oS'bindi gidi
 Bashonaphi O Mphikeleli
 Onkunzikayihlehli
 Omanqanda lingophi

Base Mvutshini eGingindlovu
 Bakwa Dlamahlahla
 EBhanganoma, Elandiskopo
 EMgungundlovu
 Na bakwa Thoyana, Bevum'izingoma
 Kugidwa, kusuk'usinga
 Kusiphuk'unwele
 Kuvukamadlingozi, kuhutshwa,

Ayahho, ho lala hhoya
 Kwakumnandi bevum'ingoma

Bayalilizela omame mabe nanela
 Bejika jika beshonale nale

Masibuye le khaya Afrika
 Masibambane sonke njalo njalo
 Isizwe sakithi sikhumulemandulo
 Sishiye phans'ubululwane, siye phambili
 Ize ibuye i Afrika
 Ay'giye, mayigiye iyagiya i-Afrika

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Hello! Young man we say! Hello!
 That was in good old days
 Our country was at peace
 We were ruling
 Unlike today

In the feasts of Mkhipheni
 Where they enjoyed
 And ate, young people jumped from spot to spot
 Mock-fighting with sticks
 And testing each others' strength

Young maidens were always comforted
 And people laughed and joked

Where are Mrs Courage?
 Where are Mrs Mphikeleli?
 Mr Bull who never retreats?
 The one whose head never bleeds?

They are at Mvutshini, at Gingindlovu
 They are at Dlamahlahla, Banganoma,
 at Elandskop, at Pietermaritzburg

And at Thoyana, where they sing, and dance
 and get inspiration
 And more inspiration

Until they huba, and haya-ho!

Ayaho, ho holala hhoya

It was nice as they were singing
 Women are ululating as they appreciate
 They walk up and down in appreciation

Let us go back home, Afrika
 Let us hold hands together
 Forever and ever,
 Our nation remembers good old days
 Let us discard double standards and go forward
 Until Afrika comes back
 Let is giya, let Afrika giya

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

A contextual analysis, follows. It is not a line by line analysis because the text is poetic and may lose its meaning.

Hheshe! is Zulu greeting done by young men. It symbolizes the power of youth and reinforces Zulu identity. Hheshe! nsizwa! is hallo! fellow young man! Usually it is young people who have entered a stage of courting and attending ceremonies who use this greeting. The composer expresses sentiments of the olden days, during the heydays of the Zulu kingdom, which was disturbed by the Western settlers. He says those days were quite unlike today.

The next stanza is a presentation of a typical Zulu ceremony, where young men were happy and new relations initiated.

Everybody was happy. This is presented in "Emadilini OMangandalingophi". Chonco also comments about the loyalty and courage of the young men of the olden days, asking where have they all gone - "Bashonaphi ...?"

In "Base Mvutshini Nabakwa Thoyana", Chonco is enumerating places where people are, even today, proud of traditional life. These are places like Mvutshini near Gin-

gindlovu, Dlamahlahla near Nongoma, Elandskop near Pietermaritzburg. These places, and many others, are full of inspiring events, as people sing and dance amahubo "Kusiphuk'unwele, Kuvukamadlingozi, Kuhutshwa kuhaywa bo!"

In the next two stanzas he presents a typical reaction of women participants in a ceremony as they ululate and move about encouraging the men to sing and dance on.

In "Masibuye le khaya Ize i buye i Afrika" he is pleading with Africans, in this case the Zulu people, to re-establish their true identity as this will enhance unity. He urges people to take their cue from the Zulu of the past and reject distorted identity - "ubululwane" "llulwane" is a bat.

As Chonco says, it is with a reinforced identity that the Zulu people can hope to regain their land.

"Siyeke phansi ubululwane" - and stop doubting our true identity
"... Si'ye phambili - Let us progress
Ize ibuye i-Afrika" - Until our land is regained

In the last stanza Chonco re-iterates that a true Zulu (African) identity will be accompanied by the performance of Zulu music and dance.

Chonco creates amahubo images through words like "Hheshe!" "Kusiphukunwele", "Kuhutshwa", "Kuhaywa" which all relate to the performance of amahubo songs. In addition he employs an amahubo musical idiom in most parts of the song to make his images effective.

The Zulu exclamation for the re-emergence of amahubo ideas, "Ekhaya!" meaning "Back home" and ululating by audiences always underlines events where the songs of J.S.M. Khumalo and those of Z.M. Chonco are performed. This was especially the case at the high school choir competitions on 9 May 1991, at University of Durban-Westville, where most of L.Z.M. Chonco's compositions were performed, and at the University of Zululand, 19 October 1991, where J.S.M. Khumalo's "Ushaka ka Senzangakhona" was performed, by two choirs from Durban.

4.3.5 Performance of choral music - competitions

Another interesting point relating to the re-emergence of amahubo ideas in Zulu choral music is the centrality of competition which, although probably earlier copied from Western colonialists has very much come to be interpreted along traditional lines. The issue is that modern choral competitions have a precedent in amahubo songs and when symbols are deployed which evoke upon the world of traditionalism, the whole amahubo idiom is activated.

Besides the musical structure is songs such as those quoted above issues like conductors yearning for large choirs which can produce the loudest sound possible, the wearing of traditional attire by choristers when rendering items such as those discussed above, as well as the usage of bull-fighting and warrior-related language when discussing choral competitions, all contribute towards creating images of the traditional amahubo world of perfect order.

It is also not unusual for all the performance media of amahubo songs discussed in chapter two, to be embraced in any one choral music event. Winning conductors may giya, and their supporters ululate as part of the proceedings. Some composers are also prescribing dance associated with amahubo as part of the performance procedure for their songs.

Although, basically, four-part harmony is employed, an ihubo image may be created through melody, such as in this example:

Cheerfully 36 8: 88

Gi ya Afrika i ya gi ya i a fri ka
 Gi ya Afrika i ya gi ya i Afri ka
 Ayi -ye mayi gi ye ya gi ya i Afri ka
 Ya gi ya i Afrika i ya gi ya gi ya -ke Afri -ke

or through the rhythmic pattern, such as in this example.

Traditional Zulu Dance Rhythm

A ya hho ya hho lala hho ya kwa ku
 mna - ndi bevu ni ngo - ma A ya hho ya hho la la

EXAMPLE 8

This is in addition to images created by the choice of words, music and prosodic effect. In other words because some composers are conscious of creating amahubo images, they choose words and music which will ensure their effect, as we saw in earlier discussions of Chonco's and Khumalo's compositions.

4.4 AMAHUBO IDEAS IN MODERN ZULU WEDDING SONGS

Modern wedding songs are popularly known as Izingoma zemishado among the Zulu. They are mostly performed in township and mission station-type of weddings. In fact, it is difficult to draw strict dividing lines as to where any Zulu musical style may be performed as there are no cultural divisions based on geographical areas. Usually in the same area where one wedding is carried out in a strictly traditional manner with singing of ihubo, inkondlo, umggiggo, and umphendu (as discussed in chapter two above) another wedding may be carried out in a completely different manner, with the singing of wedding songs or a mixture of amahubo and wedding songs. The extent of Christianization and the formal education of the family concerned may also be factors determining the choice of music performed at weddings.

4.4.1 Umbholoho

Wedding songs are indirect descendants of the mission station tradition, as they started as a reaction to the missionary embargo on traditional Zulu music (Erlmann, 1991). The whole umbholoho style of which wedding songs are a part, was institutionalized by the 1920's (Erlmann, 1991) and may very much fall into the category of 'invented traditions' (Hobsbawm, 1983). However, unlike choral music they are strictly unwritten. They are, however, regarded as being sacred if they are performed in their original context, the wedding, especially because their texts are meant to give guidance to the newlyweds and draw on relevant marriage symbolism related to the world of amahubo songs. Their performance, per se, may be a confirmation of the re-emergence of transformed amahubo song ideas. However, the musical sounds do not at first-or even after a few hearings resemble amahubo songs.

4.4.2 Ritual and Symbolism in a Christian Zulu wedding

It is probably the broad perspective of the Zulu wedding as a ritual event and the symbolism embedded in it, which calls for the incorporation of amahubo ideas through the creation of relevant images in wedding songs. As a result, although the musical sounds may not bear much resemblance to amahubo themselves, the underlying ideas in wedding songs are derived from the store of amahubo ideas and worldview. Remarking about traditional ideas, Joseph Shabalala, leader of Ladysmith Black Mambazo says :

Yes, they give us our true identity, our authentic self. When we think about what we do, we are reflecting on ourselves. All Zulu musicians do this because we need it for more creativity. (Interview, 22 April 1990)

Amahubo concepts are, therefore, mostly not incorporated as musical sounds, but may be found in the world of underlying ideas which, once discovered, give an interpretation to the wedding songs which emphasizes the significance of their relationship with their contextual background and social function.

In a modern Zulu Christian wedding, concerned people pay particular attention to the ideas of maintaining tradition. There is an extreme sense of awareness of the power and

relevance of the ancestors and the retention of relevant knowledge is always evident. In the case of Nontombi Biyela, a nurse of "C" section, Umlazi, who got married to Sipho Makhoba, a school teacher of "B" section, Kwa Mashu, Nontombi's father held her by the hand in front of the Biyela house while reciting the names of all the clan ancestors and asking them to look after the girl in her new life, before they left for church. While talking, Mr Biyela and Nontombi were walking slowly up and down. Nontombi was also doing ritual weeping. After finishing the address to the ancestors Mr Biyela giya'd, and the wedding proceeding left for the church. Many people remarked that Mr Biyela was a real man for doing isiZulu in its proper way. According to observers although no actual ukuhuba could be done, the formal ritual speeches ensured the participation of the ancestors in the wedding proceedings. This behaviour of addressing the ancestors and making formal speeches borrows from the warehouse of amahubo performance.

Wedding songs are not necessarily performed only in the townships, nor can one draw a straight and definite geographical line of their confinement, as stated earlier. However, we can point out that they are more evident among the people with little educational background, that is amagxagxa (Vilakazi 1965, Mthethwa 1987). Wedding songs are not elitist and the Zulu elite hardly participate in their performance. In this regard they differ from the amahubo in

general because amahubo in their traditional context are meant to be for everybody within a clan, region or nation and it is actually compulsory that everybody performs them at some stage. Social constraints, usually outside the performers' thought patterns, regulate who can or cannot perform. Performance is of a much lesser choice than per social circumstances. The extent of education of the couple, their friends, the clan and their community determines whether indigenous sounds in amahubo or modern sounds in the wedding songs are heard.

Adherence to the traditional Zulu ritual code in issues pertaining to marriage renders the marriage a ritual event. Elderly people become very valuable in marriage-related negotiations because of their assumed wisdom and understanding of the Zulu religious patterns. They are, as a result, involved mostly in serving in the capacity of advisers. In most marriage negotiations, which the present writer has attended, a general feeling has been evident that, even if aspects of Western thinking are adopted, these must adapt to the mainstream of Zulu life. Arguments are made that if tradition is not observed then the clan or even nation will suffer in its value system. In this respect there is a belief that children born out of a non-ritual marriage may become criminals. Once the ritual and traditional symbolic practices are brought into a marriage a pattern of proceedings similar to that discussed in chapter two results as the

HYMN 115 ICILONGO LEVANGELI

1 2 3
 A ba nwa na a be Nko si ka ba na zo i zi
 4 5 6 7 8
 ngo zi Be ne zo kwe nyo ne ndli ni, Ne nka nye zi ezu lwini

Example 5

This, actually, means that in the hymn melodies are aesthetically and culturally ordered differently and the principles applied in assessing melodic meaning in a hymn are different from those applied in a Zulu *ihubo*. They are actually the opposite. The biggest problem here is that of establishing the exact meaning of a given melody in terms which would be acceptable to both the missionary and the convert. There is no evidence that the missionaries were skilled in theory of music to be able to disseminate this information and relate it to religious worship, as would be the case in traditional Zulu society. The meaningfulness of the hymns in this regard, therefore, remains in doubt, in a Zulu context.

whole marriage is assessed through the people's knowledge and understanding of the present against tradition (Coplan, 1991).

A wedding in Zulu society is a community event because it involves everybody in a community or region. It can also draw on the broad statement of community and relate to issues of identity (Cohen, 1987).

Usually, on the Monday before the weekend of the wedding, young people - especially teenagers from the neighbourhood assemble at the bride's and groom's homesteads respectively to rehearse wedding songs. In rural areas rehearsals take weeks, because they are also viewed as social entertainment. Sometimes efforts are made to link one wedding to another by prolonging rehearsals. If there are three different weddings in an area, for example, one in April, another in June and another in August young people may try to start their rehearsals, in March, and continue rehearsing for the second wedding, immediately after which they rehearse for the third. So, for six months they may be kept busy every evening rehearsing for weddings. In the townships rehearsal periods are short, probably because there are many other forms of social entertainment.

4.4.3 Procedure in a Modern Zulu Wedding

Usually a modern Zulu Christian wedding starts at church, where the bride and the groom get advice from different people especially the priest. This adds to other advice which they receive from family members, neighbours, relatives and friends. These may be people known to the couple or they may not even be known to them. The church session provides an opportunity for the couple to be advised jointly. Otherwise, before that each receives advices independently from their own social circle.

Wedding songs are not performed at church. In most cases amakhorasi, the choruses, may be sung. Otherwise the hymn dominates. Sometimes people complain that hymns related to the wedding are dull and lack the spirit of celebration. They thus do not differentiate between a wedding at church and a funeral. However, in a church especially among the 'mainline' Western churches, which hymns may be performed at a wedding was decided a long time ago and mostly in Europe. Independent churches are flexible and songs which prompt movement are encouraged, as they tend to enhance the spirit of celebration and worship.

In the case of Nonhlanhla Sibiya and Bongani Mzolo's wedding advice offered by various speakers usually related to the behaviour expected of married couples and also explained the

institution of marriage. The couple was urged to establish meaningful relations and exercise respect and dignity in their marriage. As married people they were urged to select their friends from among other married couples, to be cautious in their dealings with neighbours and to honour marriage obligations. Issues related to sexual behaviour were also dealt with.

Wedding songs may be performed outside the church building, although the popular song item when the wedding procession moves out of the church building is the "igrand mashi" usually to a sung tune "Sengizobheka e Zulwini", which is a Zulu adaptation of Mendelssohn's "Wedding March" (Pewa, 1984). In the case of Sibiya and Mzolo's wedding, women started ululating outside the church. To ululate at a wedding is to congratulate the newlyweds and to announce to the community that a wedding is taking place. To ululate is also to participate. If, however, the proceedings are stopped at this point then other members of the community can nullify the wedding. According to Khabi Mngoma :

the most important phase which confirms the wedding is when the wedding songs are performed at the home of the bridegroom. (Interview, 21 May 1991)

This means that the proceedings have to follow a set pattern until wedding songs are performed in the home of the bridegroom. The bride is always "reported" to the ancestors of her maiden home. This is done when the "wedding" moves out, "uma umshado usuphuma" as the Zulu people say. The bridal party is called "umshado" which is a synonym of "udwendwe", "Umshado", however, implies church involvement and modernity, as it is a term which originated in mission stations. "Udwendwe" excludes the church and implies traditionalism because it is the original Zulu reference term, referring to the wedding.

Sometimes people refer to the Christian wedding as umshado wesikholwa and udwendwe as umshado wesizulu. It, however, does not necessarily mean that people who perform isizulu think differently from those who perform isikholwa. Often they are the same people. The isizulu and isikholwa may just be situational choices.

The act of addressing the ancestors and inviting them to join in the wedding proceedings as happened in the case of Biyela and Makhoba's wedding renders the wedding celebrations Zulu traditional ritual events. Thus wedding songs performed in such a wedding context are part of a traditional Zulu ritual process or may mark its re-emergence.

In the wedding of X (who is a university lecturer while his wife is a teacher) at Dubeni, Melmoth, in June 1991 the following procedure was followed in the rendition of wedding songs by the bridal and groom's party.

Seven o'clock in the morning: Bridal party arrives and sings a wedding song which they call greeting song, Igama lokubin-gelela.

BABA MNUMZANE

The musical score is written in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It consists of two systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The lyrics are written below the notes.

System 1 lyrics: Ba be Mnu mZane U ye he Svu le le si nge Yo

System 2 lyrics: Sa nge na sa nge na na yo sa nge na sa nge na na na Sa nge na sa nge na Sa nge na pa ka

Below the second system, it is noted: "May be repeated many times &"

EXAMPLE 9

Translation of Text : Man, Mr, Ye ye, open for us
 We want to enter
 Here we enter, Here we enter

As can be seen the text clearly state the purpose of their presence there, and probably the song is directed at the groom's ancestors. As they sing they march around the groom's homestead, with the umkhongi carrying the kist in front⁸. They then retreat to esihlalweni, that is, resting place some distance of about 100 metres from the groom's homestead. There they are served with tea, coffee and bread by members of the groom's family and relatives.

Ten o'clock in the morning: Young maidens approach the groom's homestead to 'slaughter' the umqholiso (marriage) cow. No singing except for the "Ayilale-Ayivuke" ritual game. They then retreat to esihlalweni.

Eleven o'clock in the morning: Young maidens return to present specific parts of the umqholiso meat to the groom's mother. They sing a wedding song:

front. The bride herself is in the middle of the procession. They sing wedding songs.

HAMBA

Ha — mba Ni ni (so mba Ni ni (bride)) Ha mba Ni ni (bride)

and

MAYE

Ma ye — Ma ye Ma Zulu Ma — ye An' bo s'phathe la
Oh! — Oh! Zulus! Oh! Please handle

ka hle le nta nda ne ka Ba bn
our father's ophan with care! etc.

EXAMPLE 12 .

At esigcawini, the wedding arena, the bride's uncle makes formal speeches and leads a Christian prayer. He then addresses the bride's ancestors. After that is a giya session for the bridal party.

The bridal party then sings their repertoire of wedding songs, starting with one whose text is :

Maye! Maye MaZulu
Anosiphathela Kahle
Lentandane KaBaba

Maye! Maye! Zulu (reference to X's clan)
Please handle this
Our father's orphan with care (is a reference
to the bride)

At the same time the groom's party approaches, singing their own 'greeting' wedding song.

After entering the wedding arena, they stand facing the bridal party which continues singing their own wedding songs. The bridal party is, throughout, facing in the direction of the main houses of the homestead. For the next hour, both choirs render their items simultaneously without either becoming silent as this can mean defeat. A spirit of competition is evident.

At half-past two in the afternoon: A senior member of X's clan and a local induna order the singing to stop so that members of X's clan can convey their thanks. Two senior members of X's clan then address their clan's ancestors. This is followed by a giya session by X's clan and the ukwaba ceremony (in which the bride distributes gifts to senior members of the grooms clan), which concludes the main proceedings of the day.

At night there is a reception consisting of a braai and recorded popular dance music at the Melmoth Town Hall.

This brief account of a typical modern wedding shows that performers are very much concerned about both tradition and modernity. This concern consequently gives a background to the meaning of modern wedding songs and their relation to traditional symbolism.

It is also important to note that during the proceedings very little talking takes place, but everyone seems to know exactly what must be done, a knowledge supplied by the retention of traditional knowledge about ritual and symbolism, the warehouse of which is constituted of amahubo ideas.

A combination of orderliness, loud singing, interaction between occasional giya, ululating and general complementing

of the performers all create a typical ceremonial atmosphere reminiscent of amahubo performance in any performance context of wedding songs.

4.4.4 Performance of Wedding Songs

In the case of Biyela and to Makhoba's wedding which was in isiKholwa wedding the bridal and the groom's choir performed simultaneously at the groom's residence standing about three metres apart. Each choir rendered its own items and a loud volume for both choirs was inevitably essential (see also accompanying video for a typical modern wedding performance).

The performance of wedding songs in context is, like amahubo, both a ritual and spectacular event. The distinction between spectator and performer is obliterated, in fact all the people present are performers. The idea is that it is through participation that ultimate involvement is guaranteed.

The performance takes the form of a competition. The two choirs compete for excellence and no time limit is given for them to display their skills. Only when their creative capacity is deemed to have reached its limit do the spectators then decide that the performance has come to an end. This competitiveness has a precedent in amahubo (Rycroft, 1991). There is always a general consensus as to which is the winning choir. In the case of Biyela and Makhoba's wedding the winning choir was proclaimed by the spectators and it was the bridal choir. The umbhidi (the choir leader) was

then lifted by the spectators. A draw is also possible, as happened at the Bhengu wedding in Umlazi, 2 July 1991. In such a case people say "Zishayane zaze zabukana, ingekho egoba uphondo" meaning that neither wanted to give in. Such figurative language metaphorically equating wedding song performance to bull-fighting draws on a symbolic statement which creates a sense of continuity between the present and the past.

The performance of many items, complicated dance-steps, the ability of the umbhidi to improvise and synchronize complicated dance-steps with smooth movements and stylized giya, a large volume and general charisma of umbhidi are usually the criteria used by the audience to assess each performance. The regulating principles are that choirs perform simultaneously, no item may be repeated and that no time lapse between items is allowed. Like in inkondlo, which is an ihubo subsidiary, female performers of wedding songs kneel between items, as a symbol of respect. Both the bride and the groom join in their respective choirs. Towards the end the umkhongi (the negotiator) and the groom may go and "fetch" the bride from her choir as happened in Ndlovu and Hlatshwayo's wedding at Pietermaritzburg, 4 June 1988. This "fetching" is tactically done because if they fail to locate the bride in time she may perform a formalised disappearance and they are then liable to a penalty. This sometimes takes the form of a game.

At Biyela and Makhoba's wedding, formalised speeches were also done after this performance. This speech-making is called ukuthetha ubulandu. To thetha in Zulu has two meanings; firstly it is to talk with anger, and secondly, it implies ritual speech. To address the ancestors, for example, is referred to as ukuthetha amadlozi. In the isigcawu, as the wedding arena is called, the ancestors are guaranteed to be present. Ubulandu is the history of the bride. The bride's father, Mr Biyela said everything he knew about his daughter, including circumstances surrounding her birth, her youthful years, education and general behaviour. Ukuthetha ubulandu marks the honouring of traditional Zulu symbols in a modern Zulu wedding.

The fact that people cannot imagine a modern Zulu wedding without the performance of wedding songs, explains the significance of wedding songs in making the wedding possible. Because of the ritual nature of the Zulu wedding, modern wedding songs are ritualistic when performed in context. They, thus, remain custodians of amahubo concepts. Amahubo ideas, in given circumstances re-emerge symbolically as modern wedding songs.

Themes in the wedding songs, especially as reflected in the text, also has much to do with Zulu traditionalism. "Bagwaze Mkhonto ka Shaka" meaning "stab them Shaka's spear"; or "Inkomo kababa uGwayimani" meaning "my father's bull

Gwayimani", are some of the most common and popular sung in most weddings this present writer has attended. Some themes are explicit about the purpose of the wedding and explain each step to be followed.

Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) discussion of inventing traditions becomes of particular relevance here. The musical structure of the wedding songs, four-part harmony, I, IV, V chord patterns, duple and quadruple time patterns have evolved around the mbholoho idiom.

However, the songs are performed in a traditional function, the wedding, and become inseparable from its ritual nature and relate to the past. Basic formalised ritual procedures discussed in chapter two mark the subtle religious base of Zulu marriage. While in a traditional wedding the whole procedure is defined within amahubo performance, in a modern wedding, the wedding songs do the definition so that, while the musical structure may be new, its being inseparable from the formalised ritual custom gives it a similar ritual power as the old music. As a result of this, and because wedding songs have been indigenized, they symbolically invoke amahubo traditional ideas. In fact, some modern township weddings involving wedding songs are referred to as "traditional weddings" by the township folk.

Wedding songs, through the choice of words and music and the use of metaphor, create images of continuity with tradition. This confirms that certain words set to specific sound patterns create images which when evaluated through tradition confirm its continuity.

Another illustration of the intertwined nature of the wedding songs with their performance context, besides the explicit nature of their texts, is that they are performed exactly at those points where amahubo would be performed in a traditional wedding. At some level the texts of the wedding songs clarify what amahubo performance symbolically embed.

An example is the earlier cited 'Maye Mazulu' which clarify the concerns of the bridal party. Although in an ihubo the text would not be so explicit, the concerns of the bridal party would be assumed to be a part of the ihubo performed at that point. Because of the ideas discussed above, a ceremonial spirit similar to that in a traditional wedding is evident even in a modern wedding.

4.5 AMAHUBO IDEAS IN ZULU MBHAQANGA

Performance of the music of the Soul Brothers or of Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens, both of them renowned mbhaqanga groups are always punctuated by exclamations of "Ekhaya!" meaning ("Back home") or "Ziyabuya emasisweni", ("they come back from temporary straying"), by admirers who see the mbhaqanga of these groups as marking a return to musical originality. The historical development of mbhaqanga as popular music may be linked to the historical development of related musical styles elsewhere in Africa (Waterman 1990, 1991; Graham, 1988).

Mbhaqanga is both an offspring of the elitist big jazz bands of early Johannesburg, marabi and kwela, as well as an attempt by Zulu musicians to modernize indigenous music. Graham (1988) defines it as a blend of traditional and urban music. Some Western instruments used in the music had already been introduced by 1900 (ibid).

The mbhaqanga popularized in the 1960's (Graham, 1988) by the likes of Simon "Mahlathini" Nkabinde and Sannah Mnguni Namagugu marks a process in which mbholoho is commercialized by addition of instrumental backing and electrical amplification.

Remarking on the relationship between wedding songs and mbhaqanga Sipho Ndlovu, a mbhaqanga guitarist at Umlazi says:

There is no difference. Just look at the chords. We take them and give instrumental backing to them, for the studio, and the audience. Everyone does it. Look at the Soul Brothers, or walk around at night and listen for these real wedding songs. You will not believe it. (Interview, 15 March 1991).

Mbhaqanga musicians thrive on taking musical and social ideas from among their own people, preparing them in a rehearsal studio for reproduction as a commercial product with a timbre and textural quality different, but not removed, from the original material.

Cassette Recording Number BC 665

ARTIST: MAHLATHINI AND THE MAHOTELLA QUEENS

ALBUM TITLE: "RHYTHM AND ART"

Track number one, side one - "I-Rastaman"

The title of the album is in Jamaican English with a Zulu prefix - I. Some of the lyrics of the song are also in English. The song however does not lose sight of its ihubo identity.

TEXT - ZULU

Noyishayile akakayosi
 Noyosile akakayidli
 Noseyidlile udl'icala
 Ngifung'amaChus'ephelele (x2)

Ha - Ha - eyi ye
 Wesesheli sami
 Dudlu ntombi, Kusho mina
 Imbodlomane eyabhodla kuqala kunezinye
 Ingulube yehlathi
 Ngimbhath'isaka
 Ngicamela ngendololwane
 Ngihamba nebhojwana ngiyaziphekela
 Hu, hu, hu

Ngavelelwa mina, ngavelelwa yiseseli

Sithini na dadewethu
 Sithini na isesheli sakho
 Gegela gege ntombi
 Kwash'isesheli
 He - akukho ntombi yaqom'inyamazane
 Whistle

Hawu wadla we Flolense
 Esakuphi lesisangoma esikushelayo
 Ayi akusona isangoma yi lasta,
 lithi livela ngaleya eJamayika
 Awu mngane wami ngiwazelaphi ama lasta mina

I'm in love, love with a Rastaman,
 Reggae man, Reggae man, Rastaman

Gegela gege ntombi, Kwash'isesheli
 Ha - Ha - akukho ntombi yaqom'inyamazane

Ha - ha - eyi - ye
 Wesesheli sami

Ngavelelwa mina, Ngavelelwa yisesheli
 Sithini na dadewethu
 Sithini na isesheli sakho
 Gegela gege ntombi
 Kwash'sesheli
 Ha - ha - ha lala, akukho ntombi ygom'inyamazane

I'm in love, love with a Rastaman
 Reggae man, reggae man, Rastaman

TRANSLATION

- A The one who has beaten it has not roasted it
 The one who has roasted it, has not eaten it
 A And the one who has eaten it has swallowed a dispute
 I swear all the Chuse (x2)
- B Ha - Ha - eyi ye
 Somebody is courting me
 Dudlu, young maiden, so I say,
 I am the groaner who groaned first, before others
 I am the wild pig
 I sleep on a stick like a bird
 I wear a sack
 I walk around with my own little pot, I
 do my own cooking
 Hu! Hu! Hu!
- C O! I am being persisted by somebody
 who courts me
 What does he say oh! sister?
 What does he say?
 Gegela Gege young maiden
 Says the one who courts
 He - no lady shall fall in love with an animal
- D Wow! You got it Florence
 Where does this diviner who courts you come from
 Hey! this is not a diviner
 It is a Rasta
 He says he comes from Jamaica
 Wow! my friend
 Do you think I know Rastas?

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

It is not possible to give a word-for-word translation of this text without distorting its meaning. On the whole, the text comprises Zulu courting jargon, which is highly poetic. The Zulu poetic presentation of the fact that a girl can reject one person and love another is presented in the first three lines. "Ngifung'aMachus' ephelele" is a manifestation of collective identity. A traditionalist Zulu person derives meaning in life by identifying with many groups, amongst which is his clan. The clan praise-name of the Nkabinde people, which is Mahlathini's surname, is Mchuse. The Nkabinde people identify themselves as AmaChuse, (singular - Mchuse). This identification is vital in courting, because pride in one's clan is a symbol of being grateful for one's upbringing, belonging to a clan and the dignity this affords. It serves as a pledge of support for its hierarchy. It gives the impression that the relations between members of the clan are healthy and that the young woman, if she accepts the love proposal and marries the young man, will be received warmly by the members of his clan. The Zulu idea of identity and unity is that these must begin at the smallest group levels.

Isesheli (the suitor), is the person proposing love in Zulu culture. "Dudlu Ngiyaziphekela". This is what a young Zulu man normally says to express his despair and his

hope that the girl accepts his proposal. It may be exaggerated, but it is a figurative expression which vividly demonstrates the extent of the young man's desperate situation, and that the girl is the only person who can save him.

"Gegela gege inyamazane". This is figurative courting jargon. As stated the whole scenario of traditional Zulu courting situation is presented in this song.

Mahlathini creates images from words used in the courting language as well as through the use of a typical maskanda introduction on guitar which locates this particular song nearer the amahubo idiom, as the images created activate the symbolism that relates to the amahubo idiom.

Because mbhaganga comes from society, many mbhaganga enthusiasts feel that they contribute to the making of mbhaganga songs because they easily identify with the musical sounds and the texts of the completed products. Their experience to some extent contradicts Manuel's (1989) generalised criticism of popular music as being produced by specialists and consumed passively by audiences. Although this statement may be true of popular music elsewhere in Africa the idea of social function (Graham, 1988) still plays a major role in the production of popular music. Specific items in mbhaganga may be re-activated in other musical styles. An example is the Soul Brothers' "Inhlawulo"

(on audio-tape) which is also sung by a choir as a wedding song (also on audio-tape).

As a result, ordinary people like mbhaqanga musicians because they are seen as enriching the folk musical genres especially wedding songs. This is brought about by the social interaction between the recording artist and the audience, the society. According to David Masondo, leader of Soul Brothers :

musicians are also dependent on the ordinary people for inspiration and musical resource material. (Interview by W. Nzimande, 19 October 1989, Radio Zulu studios, Durban)

It is this reciprocity which sustains mbhaqanga.

With simple instrumental backing most mbhaqanga songs emphasize topical texts, usually life as experienced by mbhaqanga consumers, and this is not without its own power, as P. Manuel [1988:12] says :

Everywhere popular music texts seem to dwell predominantly on sentimental love; while this aspect of popular music contrasts with the wide range of social commentary, political satire, and alternative world views often expressed in traditional folk music, it is generally taken for granted. But an ideology - such as the

depoliticized passivity promoted by so much popular music - is most powerful when it is taken for granted and appears as the only natural way.

Mbhaganga is loaded with ideas which makes it a potential unifying force for Africans. Africans in South Africa identify with mbhaganga because it is their own product (Coplan 1985) and avails itself for the expression of their identity, which may turn out to be a Zulu identity when claimed by Zulus.

An approach suitable for understanding the role of mbhaganga in Zulu society should allow for social change. Discussing the relevance of social change to the music scene, David Coplan (1985) notes that change in the material and social conditions under which musical genres arise and crystallize leads to change in the styles themselves.

Mbhaganga musicians depend very much on being able to manipulate cultural symbols and display a degree of traditional knowledge. This becomes evident in their dress, loud voice quality and the high level of rhythmic stage activity as part of the characterization of their music. At the same time its syncretic nature marks its modernity.

In as much as mbhaqanga musicians are creative individuals, they become so within the confines of tradition. Discussing creativity within tradition Bohlman [1988:80] says :

Creativity depends on tradition to give it direction, tradition becomes feaccid and moribund without creativity to animate it. Maintaining this balance is the musician.

The Soul Brothers have been an outstandingly commercially successful group for the last fifteen years because they sing about issues affecting society and create positive images through the combination of song and elaborate dances whose effect has been discussed earlier. Mbhaqanga is thus never abstract and in fact it is called mbhaqanga because it addresses daily issues (May and Stapleton, 1989). It thus reflects the state of being of its audiences. Relying on the text has its own demands. According to Khabi Mngoma :

one of these pre-requisites, for example, is that the language used in composition must be the actual language spoken by the intended audience. (Interview, 30 April 1990)

This statement underlines the strong point of mbhaqanga texts.

4.6 AMAHUBO IDEAS IN ZULU MASKANDA

4.6.1 Indigenous Background

Maskanda Zulu guitar style is an old style with its precedent in umakhweyana, isitolotolo, ugubhu, isicelekeshe and abadlokwe styles of playing. The maskanda musicians, as a result, model their music-making on the social issues like like goma (courtship) addressed in these instruments. In maskanda, the guitar, violin and concertina, introduced by colonial settlers, have almost replaced the original Zulu instruments, although some of them are still being widely played even today. However, the musical advantages offered by the guitar, the concertina and the violin have rendered these colonial instruments the most popular with maskanda musicians. In fact they have been domesticated and traditionalized by Zulu musicians.

4.6.2 Colonial and other Western Instruments

When guitars were introduced by the European settlers, it was mostly young men who went for them (Rycroft 1977). This is mostly due to the advantages of sonority brought by these new instruments. Remarking about the new instruments, Khabi Mngoma says: "the guitar, the concertina and the violin have become popular mostly with young men and their music is well-received by the girls". (Interview, 30 April 1990)

At Melmoth, for example, where the present author has conducted most of his field research, for example, most young men who play guitar, violin or concertina are very popular with girls. However, the style played on guitar is very important in determining social perceptions of the guitarist. A guitarist who plays isikholwa, that is straight strumming of the three major triads is often dismissed and despised as an ulwayilwayi, that is a vagabond. On the other hand if he plays isiZulu he is respected and loved. The proverb "Isiginci asiwakhi umuzi," that is no guitarist can settle down with a family is firstly directed at guitarists who play isikholwa, most of whom are also ababhidi of wedding choirs (Erlmann, 1991). An isiZulu player invariably prepares himself for the life of ubumnumzane, that is, homestead head. This entails settling down to perform amahubo as an old man. Nowadays, many married men who played the guitar as young men prefer to play concertina be-

cause they think it is softer and dignified (Interview, Hulethe Mayise, 13 December 1989).

4.6.3 Becoming a Maskanda

There is a positive attitude held by Zulu traditionalists and some modernists towards the Zulu maskanda musicians. Maskanda musicians are also highly valued because they are conservative and, in Zulu society, to be conservative is perceived as being both dignified and futuristic, that is accommodative of the future. Maskanda musicians depend on their affective ability to deploy traditional symbols.

Thus, maskanda musicians, by being creative within the confines of tradition, are actually expanding its horizons. In relation to the South African situation, for example, with apartheid and general domination of the public life by White European settlers, many Zulu people feel they are not in control of their own lives. They thus deprive the Whites of the opportunity to totally dominate them by presenting, in public, a side which the Whites do not understand. Most Whites do not understand ubuZulu. They often took for granted that ubuZulu would be overtaken by Christian subsiveness and colonial ideological domination. However, because of this denial and ignorance, the dynamics of ubuZulu have remained a puzzle to apartheid South African and to most colonial settlers. Both attempts to discredit it through mission station propaganda and to divert it through apartheid as the Whites and apartheid would like, have failed.

Maskanda musicians preach ubuZulu and promote isiZulu. This is based on their advocating the maintenance and sometimes revitalization of traditional institutions as sources of power, honouring of traditional officers and their authority, general negativeness towards Whites and White authority, distaste for the lack of identity and respect among some township youth and mocking of the elite as being unrepresentative of Zulu aspirations. Texts which reinforce this traditionalism like the following by Uthwalofu Namankentshane are not unusual:

Washo uShaka wathi:

"Lonke lelizwe elamaZulu amnyama"

Meaning

King Shaka said: "All this land belongs to the Black Zulu"

OR

Abazali bami

Onkulunkulu bami

Meaning

My parents are my gods (Shiyane Ngcobo)

Like most Zulu musicians, maskanda musicians rely on their knowledge of social affairs to formulate the texts of their

songs. But they go further by setting traditionalist standards which act as social reference points. They thus want to prove that Zulu dignity and Zulu integrity are not issues of the past only, as the elite and Whites always like people to believe, but that these are issues of today and tomorrow. By relating their own experiences in courtship affairs as well as commenting on the experiences of others, relating their own praises as part of the whole process called song, they communicate with and conscientize their listeners to the flaws of the Whites in South Africa.

The side of life presented by the maskanda musicians is absent in the school system and in Christianity. The elite consequently tend to think that maskanda are a product of apartheid (Coplan, 1985). In actual fact, maskanda are fighting apartheid and they use the traditional social and musical resource material to fight and minimize White influence. To them amahubo as the source of ubuZulu form a major resource material for music-making.

Probably the world advocated by the maskanda musicians has to be understood in detail for maskanda music to be understood. In fact maskanda, like most Zulu music, is a way of life. To resist assimilation into an alien White man's culture, maskanda musicians live the traditional life-style discussed in chapter two of this thesis. Thus ritual and symbolism forms a major part of the musicians' lives and

most of them are very particular with regards to the details of the carrying out of ritual functions. According to Siphon Mchunu: "the diviners and medicine men are very important parts of maskanda social existence". (Interview, 15 October 1990, Durban)

Thus, it is not unusual, as is the case with Umfazomnyama, a Nongoma maskanda, for a maskanda to be a diviner or medicine man as well.

According to Hulethe Mayise, a maskanda musician at Ngoqongo, Melmoth: "the stage of courtship and ubunsizwa, that is Zulu young manhood, as part of ubuZulu are important as a source of inspiration". (Interview, 13 December 1989)

Hulethe is concerned about polygamy as a sacred institution, the meaning of lobolo, social age-groups, respect for traditional authority, the status of the Zulu Kingdom, formalization of courtship, ritualization, warfare as a viable form of social discipline, scepticism towards White authority and in fact, the continuation and strengthening of the Zulu identity and nationalism. Thus, he is concerned about the continuity of the same pre-colonial ideas that the missionaries wanted to eradicate. According to Hulethe: "maskanda musicians should actually urge all Zulus to maintain and revitalize these institutions and ideas". And as he says, "these ideas are in actual fact amahubo ideas".

(Interview, 13 December 1989)

It is through the texts of their songs that maskanda are able to communicate their sentiments.

Maskanda musicians do not only rely on the text to spread their message. Their greatest concern is the relationship between the medium of communicating the message and the message itself. The basic criterion of maskanda musicianship is that the songs must fit into the framework of ndlamu and war songs and display the symbols borne there, as well as to honour the musical and social criteria expressed in amahubo. According to Mphiliseni Magubane, a maskanda in Kwa Mashu: "maskanda marks UbuZulu. And as such maskanda must always show the world who the Zulu people are, by playing Zulu music". (Interview, 10 October 1991)

A maskanda musician is an igagu, that is, highly musical individual who is also a social leader. Remarking on the concept of ubugagu Khabi Mngoma says:

ubugagu, is not necessarily confined to musicianship, but in fact it includes the ability to speak, to relate to other people, to be empathetic, to live and record history, to think creatively and independently within recognized social constraints, to behave accordingly, to sing and dance, to recite oral poetry and izibongo, to lead, to listen to good advice, and to understand the dynamics of Zulu religion. (Interview, 11 August 1990)

To be successful, which means social acceptability and respectability, a maskanda musician must understand this meaning of ubugagu. There is also consensus among the many informants interviewed on this subject. This means that not all Zulu young men are maskanda, but also it does not mean that those who are not maskanda are not aware of the social dynamics of ubugagu. Most of them are amagagu (plural of igagu, as well, but to be able to play guitar is a good complement. It also has much to do with issues of asserting public personal and group identity. In a society where all people at the same age group are socially expected to be versatile in issues of social excellence, individual identity can only be expressed in avenues where specialization is regarded as excelling.

A maskanda musician takes up the guitar, not because others cannot play it, but because it is a recognizable symbol of social excellence. Thus, if he dedicates himself to it while honouring social norms through song, which in itself is revered, he is honoured as a real man with an ability to propagate his principles. His music is in turn accepted because the principles expressed in his songs are not his own, but they belong to society. Thus, he takes back to society what belongs to society. In him society's failures and achievements are mirrored, and society can rectify its mistakes and re-access its standards. In this way a maskanda musician is a social asset.

Whether a song is played on guitar, violin, concertina, or umakhweyana, isitolotolo, abadlokwe and ugubhu is not on its own an issue. Few people debate with interest the differences in the timbre of these instruments although preferences themselves reflect an existence of strong socio-musical criteria.

Noting the traditional roots of maskanda, Rycroft [1977:221] says:

... among the Zulu, what is played on some cheap Western instruments is often not an attempted imitation of Western music at all, but rather an expression of indigenous musical principles which in some cases can be more effectively realized through these new media than could be done on the traditional instruments they have replaced.

So, although making use of Western instruments, maskanda are elaborating on indigenous Zulu music.

An instrument is only another medium of communicating human experiences. It, however, by no means replaces the voice which acts as the foundation of all Zulu music. The category of purely instrumental music among Zulu is not present. Even where an instrument is employed, it only supplements the voice. So, a maskanda musician specializes only as far as he is able to supplement the human voice,

through his instrument.

Most maskanda musicians the present writer has interviewed, are conscious of the significance of voice in music-making. This of course incorporates the whole philosophy of ubugagu and maskanda musicians view the ubuZulu social standards as a package. There is, therefore, no maskanda musician who can be accepted as such if he does not honour the social standards imposed by ubuZulu. According to Joseph Shabalala of Ladysmith Black Mambazo:

to sing in Zulu music (including maskanda) is coupled with the ability to dance and to recite the praises which is a manifestation of social identity. It is in song where a Zulu individual is expected to assert his identity and leadership qualities in society. (Interview, 22 April 1990)

Most of the songs sung by maskanda musicians are old ndlamu war-songs, and sometimes even amahubo. The songs of Mqgashiyo Ndlovu, for example, are a case in point. (Available on accompanying audio-tape). Sometimes maskanda compose their own songs based on the framework of the existing songs as well as the different maskanda styles. According to Sipho Mchunu:

a maskanda musician at the Msinga Machunwini area for example, will play isiChunu or uMzantsi, as this is the style of the Zulu language and song sung by the AmaChunu, the dominant group in the

Msinga area; a maskanda musician on the Natal South Coast or even the whole of Southern Natal will play a style called umzansi, which also honours the ndlamu and war-songs sung in this area; a maskanda musician in the Nongoma area plays isiZulu as this is assumed to be the area where standard Zulu customs and songs are performed. Other styles include isipoyinandi and isimanjemanje. (Interview, 26 October 1991)

The different guitar styles are insignificant if they are not related to the different ndlamu, war-songs, and language variants performed in the areas where they have originated or are dominant. However, all of them are also referred to as isiZulu, the Zulu style.

4.6.4 Maskanda Individualistic Musicianship

Some maskanda musicians invent their own styles. Thus Nkindlane Buthelezi of Melmoth, Zululand plays a style called isi'Nkindlane and John "Phuzushukela" Bhengu of Nkandla, played his own style now called isi'Phuz'ushukela. Of course it takes a long time for a musician to invent his own style and in most cases it is when other musicians start to imitate him, that he is given the status of an inventor. But we can point out that it is usually musicians who compose who invent their own styles. The mystery surrounding composing also contributes towards a new style being honoured. Thus, Phuzushukela composed most of his songs which improved his guitar technique. This also applies to Nkindlane Buthelezi who says he presently has composed more than a hundred songs. Isi'Phuzushukla or isi'Nkindlane are mere styles and ultimately they are all isi'Zulu as against isiKholwa, the Christian style, or isi'Ngisi, the English style, or isi'Bhunu, the Boer style.

4.6.5 Mggashiyo Ndlovu

Besides the use of amahubo social ideas as a springboard for maskanda musicianship, well-known old amahubo song items may be sung to guitar and concertina or violin accompaniment. In this case the various guitar strings are perceived as symbolically representing amabutho, the Zulu warriors. A young maskanda musician from Nongoma, Mggashiyo Ndlovu, has recorded two of King Cetshwayo's amahubo songs, one called "Amambuka", that is, The traitors (in 1989), and the other "E. Sandlwane" (in 1991), that is, at Isandlwane Battle Field (available on accompanying audio recording). These have been well-received and at some stage, in 1989, when "Amambuka" was played on Radio Zulu the Zulu King, King Zwelithini, remarked that Radio Zulu was beginning to cater for the real sentiments and aspirations of the Zulu people. Performed and recorded with ululating women, the song portrayed the mood of an amahubo performance.

Cassette Recording Number L4 Eb (EK) 008

ARTIST : MGQASHIYO NDLOVU

ALBUM TITLE : "EMGABABA"

Track number five, side one - "E Sandlwana"

TEXT - ZULU

Akashongo njal' o ka Ndaba
 Sosala nempi (a capella)
 Amathub'e Sandlwana

Awu Nang'u Ndaba
 Bamkhomb'e Siqhingini

Awu sebewele Mbub' enamandla
 Bayindlu ngezikhali zamaZulu
 He - He - He - He Zulu
 Bayindlu ngezikhali zabakwaZulu
 Awu Nang'u Ndaba
 Uthathwe ngaba Mhlophe

Awu Nang'u Ndaba wagwaz' inyathi
 Sebewele Mbub' enamandla
 Bayindlu yesikhali zakwa Zulu

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Son of Ndaba did not say so
 We will remain with war
 Our opportunities at Isandlwana

Wow! Here is Ndaba
 They say he is in an island
 They have crossed the river mighty lion
 They are a house because of the Zulu people
 He - He Zulu people
 They are a house because of the Zulu people's weapons
 Wow! He is Ndaba! he has been captured by the
 Whites

Wow! Here is Ndaba, he stabs a buffalo
 They have crossed the river mighty lion
 They are a house because of the weapons of the Zulu
 people

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

This song is poetic and may not be translated, word-for-word, into another language without losing its meaning. We shall therefore give a contextual explanation of the song.

The first line, "Akashongo njalo oKaNdaba" meaning the King never said so, was widely used as an encouragement during the battle of Isandlwana. Oral history has it that it was

synonymous with the battle theme as mere shouting of the words urged the Zulu warriors to fight, sometimes barehanded, against the guns of the British armies.

The rest of the song is a protest against the British who arrested and exiled King Cetshwayo. The Zulu wanted to fight, to repeat the Isandlwana experience, which up to now is a major source of warrior pride among the Zulu. There is constant reference to the King as 'uNdaba' an abbreviation of Ndabezitha and "Imbub'enamandla", the Mighty Lion.

The Zulu identity is urged and maintained with reference to "izikhali zikaZulu", the weapons of the Zulu people.

This is an old ihubo song. According to Umntwana Makhukhuza Zulu: "The song was first sung around 1880 immediately after the Anglo-Zulu war". (Interview, 10 April 1989)

Mgqashiyo Ndlovu, the maskanda musician, from Nongoma is performing it with guitar accompaniment, in maskanda style.

4.6.6 Competitions

When Bongani Mthethwa, the late Ethnomusicology lecturer at the University of Natal in Durban organized a maskanda competition for non-recording maskanda musicians playing both the traditional and the new instruments in 1988, more than seven hundred items were presented by a large number of musicians who packed the Old Mutual Hall on the University Campus. The competition has now attracted so many candidates that regional venues have been organized at Empanjeni, Newcastle, Port Shepstone and Pietermaritzburg, with Durban as the final venue for the many regional winners. The success of the competition is, of course, a combination of many factors.

Two facts have emerged from the competition: one is that maskanda music played on both traditional and new instruments is alive and respected among the Zulu, the second is that maskanda musicians rely very much on the inspirations of amahubo in order to produce their music, as is evident in many songs sung in these competitions.

Competition is a central issue in maskanda music. In fact, in the whole of Zulu life it is only in competition where people prove their worth and assert their positions as individuals in community.

Most maskanda musicians live with a constant challenge of proving their ubunsizwa. According to Mphiliseni Magubane:

it is not unusual that a maskanda musician is a person who takes up to the guitar because he has defeated many young men in stick-fighting, courting and dancing. He takes up an instrument to expand his horizons after reaching a ceiling in conventional ubugagu. (Interview, 26 October 1991)

So, although he may be an outstanding musician, his excellent skills remain a claim which is subject to challenges in musical expression, stick-fighting and even sometimes his girlfriends may be deliberately abused by other young men to challenge his claim of musicianship, which he must prove in stick-fighting. He takes up an instrument, as a result, to announce his understanding of Zulu society. The ability to fight, to relate to other people, to be empathic, to understand people, to solve other peoples' problems, to win friends, to honour the power of traditional authority and to think positively about isiZulu and ubuZulu all form part of the total package of musicianship.

4.6.7 Metaphors of Ubunsizwa - Praisenames

The praise-names of most maskanda musicians are reflective of the challenge issued to them to prove their worth. These are called "izifeqo" or "amagama obunsizwa" at Melmoth. In other areas like Mahlabathini people call these names izifengo. In addition to the name given to a newly-born baby by the parents, they may give him or her another if he goes to school. However, when he feels that he is an in-sizwa who may challenge other young men to assert his position he must give himself his own name, "isifeqo", "isifengo" or "igama lobunsizwa".

The name given to a child by his or her parents reflects life as the parents see it. It may be a comment on the most recent development of social events which affects the parents. Thus, to give a name to a child is called, ukugopha, meaning, to record. Historical events are recorded in the names of children. A name, in Zulu culture, is not a mere code of reference. It is a live reference and symbolizes one's existence. When a young man or girl gives himself or herself "isifeqo" they are re-naming themselves in relation to life as they experience and conceive it. Sometimes peer groups may give each other "amagama obunsizwa" and "amagama obuntombi". Thus, "Thalalisa", that is "Mr Browse Through", is the one whose eyes move very fast, without concentrating on any object. This would suit

an isoka, with many girlfriends, "Khokhisa", "Mr Retaliate", is the one who makes others pay or, alternatively, the one who makes others take their sticks to fight, but defeats them before they strike a blow. So they end up by lifting their sticks but cannot hit him. To get ready to hit is to Khoka. Also, this means to pay. This name would suit a fighter. Most of izifengo are figurative, as the name implies, and are constructed on the Zulu conceptions of metaphoric representation. Thus "uPhulumende" is named after the Transnet Pullman bus with its power to knock down every smaller object on the road. Such a man has faced and defeated many difficult situations. Some mock the conformity of the elite to the White man's culture. Thus, "uThwalofu", for example, is a Zulu mockery of "twelve", by deliberately corrupting the English number twelve.

Among maskanda musicians "izifego" are public names. Thus, "uThwalofu Namankentshane", (Mr Twelve and the Wolves); "Amankentshane" being his chorus or "abavumi"; "uHullethe neSikhonyane", (Hullett and Locust); "uThalalisa no Khokhisa", "Thalalisa" and "Khokhisa", "uPhuzushukela", (Mr Drink Sugar); "Unkindlane", (Mr Plenty); "Umggashiyo", (Mr Youth Dance); "iHhashi elimhlophe", (The White Horse); "uSomjumase" (Mr Ambush); and "Delisa" (Miss Satisfier) are all common names for maskanda musicians. However, no two musicians can have the same name. If this happens a fight usually breaks out, because such a case may be conceived to

be tantamount to a great insult. It is rare for a maskanda to be named George or Billy or John because these are conceived as names given by the culture of the oppressor, and also because these names can be easily duplicated and lose the component of identity based on personal achievements. If it happens that they have these names in order to be accepted at school, they drop them immediately they leave school. European names are associated with submission to the White man's authority.

4.6.8 Socio-Political Relevance

By switching on the traditionalist Zulu code, maskanda musicians are both defying and fighting the White man's authority. To do this, they are drawing on amahubo social and musical symbolism because amahubo nowadays are viewed as music of fighting, resistance and defiance. They have their inherent ideas about the White man's attempt to dominate public life in South Africa.

Maskanda musicians use their public stature to influence the directions of Zulu social affairs. Thus most of Phuz'ushukela's songs appealed to girls to behave properly, urged wives to respect their husbands, men to honour their wives, urged for the continuation of polygamy, lobolo, and traditional authority while appealing for solidarity and unity. All maskanda musicians the present writer has interviewed for this thesis, expressed their value for the power of traditional authority and traditional institutions.

4.6.9 Symbolism in Maskanda

A typical maskanda song will have an introduction called izihlabo. This takes the form of quick instrumental playing. The term izihlabo is not necessarily applied to all Zulu styles. Through izihlabo a new song is introduced and the style of playing elaborated. This is followed by vocal singing, usually by the lead maskanda who is later joined by abavumi. In the middle of the song he then recites his praises which usually starts with "Zibambe ..." then the isifeqo followed by a list of achievements and encounters all in poetic language and recited fact in typical izibongo tradition. It is in his izibongo, praises that the maskanda tells about his place of origin, his father, his induna, the mountain nearest to his homestead, the river where his family fetches water and all the co-musicians who may be with him, in the band and in his district. The introduction to izibongo may also be "Wadla ..."

Both "Zibambe ..." and "Wadla ..." are symbolic references to music, especially guitar music, as an enemy. "Zibambe" or "Wadla" are war expressions. To be able to render an item is celebrated as to be able to tame the guitar, a symbolic manifestation of power. "Zibambe ..." refers to the mastering of guitar strings and actually means "hold them". "Wadla ..." is an exclamation referring to contemptuous achievement. A maskanda musician, like all Zulu people in

action, uses the second person in praising himself which is again a symbolic reference to the Zulu concept of dual existence. In action one half of the individual's person is distanced to watch and assess the other. It gives each individual the ability to be critical of his own actions.

A maskanda musician celebrates his achievements by including all the issues and people who contribute to his self-image. The idea of a shared identity means each rendition is experienced in totality. It is in fact directly linked to all past experiences and encounters, and gets related to all factors that contribute to an individual's identity. Thus, the father, induna, the river, the mountain, friends, co-musicians within the band from his district are all honoured and incorporated into the total experience. They thus get a share in the maskanda musician's new achievement. Their public esteem may be improved because for an area to produce a maskanda is regarded as a demonstration of their ability to mould a human personality. A maskanda is both a musician in society and a social product. He is also a human manifestation of a combination of a variety of social processes.

A maskanda musician interacts with his instrument in a call-and-response technique. Where the call is made by the voice, the response comes from the strings and where the strings call, the response comes from both the strings and the voice, as this example shows.

ESANDLWANA

MGQASHIYO NDLOVU

Handwritten musical score for "ESANDLWANA" by MGQASHIYO NDLOVU. The score is written on five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "Call mkhomb'e si ghi ngin'" and "Aw' se be we se be we". The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "Response ye — hhe Hey' we". The bottom three staves are for a keyboard instrument, showing a rhythmic accompaniment with many beamed notes. The key signature has three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 4/4. There are some handwritten annotations like "As kibitum" above the first staff and "1" at the end of the first staff.

EXAMPLE 13

The instrument is symbolically given a human soul and because it has a human soul it is sacred because all human beings are regarded as such. It plays the role of abavumi. The instrument is thus a friend and a companion of the mas-kanda musician.

Maskanda musicians have established themselves as bearers of Zulu social 'standards'. Through their incorporation of guitar, violin and concertina and causing them to exist side by side with umakhweyana, ucubhu, isitolotolo and abadlokwe in the mainstream of Zulu music they have proved their identity as advocates of contemporary Zulu nationalism. They are reactivating the whole body of Zulu music and relating it to the modern and future experiences. In maskanda, amahubo re-emerge both as social ideas and as musical sounds. In some cases they have been sung with very little adjustments, except for the instruments adapting to the demands of the ihubo song item. Social ideas expressed in amahubo form the foundations of Zulu society and thus of maskanda. In maskanda the amahubo ideas of identity, unity, solidarity and patriotism are honoured and elaborated, through the creation of images which relate to amahubo symbolism.

4.7 AMAHUBO IDEAS IN ZULU ISICATHAMIYA

The historical development of isicathamiya is complex and may not be credited to any single factor. Erlmann (1990, 1991) has produced classic studies of isicathamiya music which may need no further rehearsal here. However, we can from our point of view, look at isicathamiya and amahubo song ideas. According to Joseph Shabalala: "Isicathamiya is, the lionization of the wedding songs". (Interview with Joseph Shabalala, leader of Ladysmith Black Mambazo, 24 April 1990).

This idea of lionisation has led to the re-incorporation of amahubo song ideas in isicathamiya. Isicathamiya is conceived by its practitioners and audience as music for social power. According to Prof A.J. Thembela:

this social power comes in the sense that through isicathamiya performance the musicians are able to discover their authentic selves. (Interview, 25 October 1991)

In some musical respects isicathamiya does not differ from mbhaganga, maskanda, wedding songs, "amakhorasi" and Zionist church music especially in terms of the melodic, rhythmic and harmonic framework (Blacking, 1985). It is not unusual for items in the said styles to be sung by isicathamiya

groups. What, however, identifies isicathamiya is that it is performed by and associated with males and that terminology used in stick-fighting and in the ubunsizwa period as well as that used in the issues of agriculture, herdboycy, and bull-fighting, is common in isicathamiya. So, although isicathamiya was started around the mining centers (Erlmann, 1991) through honouring the Zulu prosodic and social demands, it quickly adapted itself to the mainstream of Zulu culture.

Isicathamiya maintains a strong choral sound and according to Priscilla A. Clark in May and Stapleton [1989:191], in its development:

... the choral sound kept strong links with the rural past. The power and volume of the singing, the prominent bass and the adaptation of age-old melodies, kept the traditional feeling alive. The harmonic structure with its open fourths and fifths followed traditional patterns, as did the use of 'explosive yells' and accompanying dance steps and gestures.

This description shows the re-emergence of basic amahubo song concepts discussed in chapter two of this thesis.

Remarking on the origins of isicathamiya, Joseph Shabalala, leader of Ladysmith Black Mambazo says:

Many people do not know what gives birth to isicathamiya. Isicathamiya is born out of amahubo and related styles, Ndlamu, wedding songs and war songs. Isicathamiya is a combination of all these styles. Amahubo are a uniting factor. They arouse inspiration usinga or uqgozi and bring the nation together. Through amahubo unity is achieved. (Interview, 14 April 1990)

These are ideas behind the sounds that we hear (also note Erlmann 1991). Isicathamiya is not conceived solely on the basis of sound patterns. Joseph Shabalala further remarks that isicathamiya:

is reflective of a specific lifestyle, philosophy, religion, orientation, identity and economic, political and social perceptions and conceptualizations. (Interview, 14 April 1990)

Ultimately sound patterns may change easily, but these basic ideas live on and it is through these changes in musical sounds that original ideas are forever being incorporated into the challenges of a changing worldview.

4.7.1 Becoming an Isicathamiya Musician

There are social considerations which prompt the singing of isicathamiya. For a person to be an isicathamiya singer, for example, he must subscribe to the code of ubunsizwa but also be prepared to make it relevant to other social challenges. Probably almost all isicathamiya singers found in Durban and Johannesburg today live in the single male hostels as migrant workers. They live without their families although members of the clan may be present in the hostel. The loved ones are left at home usually in the rural areas. This is, however, turned into a musical advantage and acts as a source of inspiration for most isicathamiya compositions. Their knowledge of the details of the traditional Zulu social system, partly prompted by the fact that they are temporarily removed from it and thus are able to reflect meaningfully on it, also gives them a leverage in their compositional exercise. Association with abakhaya, home-boys, forms the basis of isicathamiya group formation and music-making (Erlmann, 1991).

In isicathamiya music-making, the second force is always the terror of the White domination, the loneliness of being without women, which is also turned into a source of pride, and the general fear for extra-human forces like witchcraft and general mysticism surrounding life in the hostels (Graham, 1988). However, because the musicians conceive

their music in a traditional Zulu setting, at least in their minds, isicathamiya cannot be regarded as exclusively urban Zulu music. Isicathamiya is also very much performed in rural areas (Erlmann, 1991).

4.7.2 Social Relevance

Isicathamiya musicians are aware of the social conditions in which they live, as is evident in the text of their songs. They are also aware of the power supplied by the traditional Zulu social order. They thus try to fuse their daily experiences with the whole Zulu social order and conceive of themselves as imaginary conquerors. They conquer because the social situation in which they live, which is mostly imposed on them by foreign agents, is not aware of the power of amahubo song ideas. Isicathamiya musicians draw on amahubo ideas because of the latter's ability to counter the alien opposing forces which make the lives of isicathamiya musicians difficult. Consequently, whether the musicians refer to their style as "i-bombing" or as "cothoza" (May and Stapleton, 1989) and adapt their voices accordingly, the idea of ukuhuba as a powerful force lives on in their minds and musical attitude. It is this idea which characterizes isicathamiya.

A historical overview will prove that isicathamiya has always wanted to address social issues, reflecting itself as a product of society. According to Joseph Shabalala:

"I-bombing", for example, basically refers to the power of the bomb which is thus emulated in voice techniques, so that ultimately the singers are perceived or perceive themselves to have power. Imbube is only a reference to one song item which was

composed by Solomon Linda around 1939 and it in no way characterizes the whole style. (Interview, 14 April 1990)

Shabalala was here expressing an opinion on the issue which is also discussed in Erlmann (1990, 1991). However imbube, being the lion, is preferred by isicathamiya musicians, because of the symbolic power associated with the animal and the imagery it constructs which may be transmitted to the musicians and their music. It is, however, not a generic term referring to the whole style, although it is popular with isicathamiya musicians. Remarking about ingomabusuku as another name for isicathamiya Mr P. Msimang says:

Ingomabusuku is disliked by practising isicathamiya musicians because it is a derogatory and elitist reference to the fact that most isicathamiya concerts and competitions are held at night. This is because most isicathamiya singers work during the day and only get time off during the weekends and at night. (Interview, 24 April 1990)

Most isicathamiya musicians are highly conservative as they are always prepared to interpret their social experiences in relation to the Zulu traditional concepts, which is a source of the isicathamiya worldview. Their conservatism is thus a way of maintaining social power, positioning themselves in society. By conveying a conservative image, isicathamiya

musicians are able to win the respect and support of traditionalists and amagxagxa because they directly relate to both social groups. So, generally, an isicathamiya singer is a respected individual who dispels unbecoming behaviour. It is in this desired ideal to maintain the ideal "clean" behaviour and image that isicathamiya as a musical style is conceived. Remarking on the behaviour of isicathamiya musicians, Alton Ngidi of Dalton Mens Hostel, Durban says:

We like these boys very much. They are always clean and well behaved. No quarrels, no fighting whatsoever. They know the Zulu law very well. We all like them. (Interview, 22 March 1990)

Isicathamiya is conceived in community, and isicathamiya musicians are playing one of the many social roles which other people are playing in other social dimensions. As musicians conceived in society they are a mirror which reflects social aspirations. As they sing they also talk, they are actually communicating social ideas. In this regard they not only speak for themselves but for the many other people who share the same plight, ideas, or experiences. Remarking about isicathamiya musicianship Khabi Mngoma says:

A good isicathamiya musician, especially the group leader is a social mouthpiece and he exploits his

musical gift and mystic power given to excellence in music, to regulate society and social thought patterns. To achieve this he has to display a dignified and non-tokenistic image. (Interview, 11 August 1991)

It is, indeed, significant to note that public life and thus leadership is conceived as a conservative and dignified enterprise among the Zulu. The overall idea is that public office and any form of public performance is an act of ordering meaning in the world. It is in public interaction that the Zulu world is ordered as a meaningful experience. Thus, for isicathamiya to relate to Zulu experiences, it should always reflect a conservative and 'dignified' public image. The ordering source for this is amahubo.

In isicathamiya, amahubo may be transformed and given new meanings not totally divorced from old meanings of amahubo but actually modified to relate to the new social circumstances. Thus, ideas related to amahubo are maintained but musical sounds are deliberately adjusted to act as surface cover for old ideas.

Sicathamiya musicians strive to maintain a balance between old and new ideas without losing the religious image of an ideal Zulu personality which helps them to maintain confidence and a sense of pride and triumph even in difficult times.

4.7.3 Sources of Musical Inspiration

Isicathamiya musicians live in constant challenge from other social forces like tsotsi's and vagabonds to prove their ability to maintain a clean image. They, however, have to keep on demonstrating that although they would like to maintain a clean social image, they are actually men. It is in this regard that apart from rendering socially topical texts, isicathamiya singers sing in texts which are highly reflective of their value for ubunsizwa and their admiration of the symbolic status of the Zulu warrior culture of the past. On the whole they like to demonstrate that they do not admire the mission stations, in which case their credibility would be jeopardized. Consequently texts like: "Sifun'ukugiya thina" meaning we want to giya now, are not uncommon. A good example is "Abafana Benkokhelo" in recorded cassette MCMBT 227. This group comes from Colenso, in rural northern Natal. Remarking about his isicathamiya group Robert Mkhize, leader of Colenso Abafana Benkokhelo says:

When we sing, we really giya, which is our own Zulu custom. We huba and giya and our followers can say, "these are the people who know and respect our Zulu custom'. (Interview, 19 February 1990)

It is the challenges imposed by the image of isicathamiya musicians which renders ihubo a central and attractive ideal in isicathamiya. Remarking about re-emergence of amahubo ideas in isicathamiya Joseph Shabalala says:

Few can deny it. When you make music and you respect Zulu identity, you sleep and dream your ancestors give you all the music. What music? They give you amahubo - the wealth of all Zulu music. When you are in isicathamiya and your ancestors give you amahubo as your base, they have blessed you. Nothing can stop you. Not every isicathamiya singer will have it [amahubo] but those few who have it are great. When you talk about amahubo you talk about the best isicathamiya. (Interview, 14 April 1990)

Isicathamiya musicians through the incorporation of amahubo song styles and ideas symbolically demonstrate that they can giya, qgisha, vika and gomisa, which are all social standards for evaluation of one's humanness. The scene of mock-fighting, umgangela, is presented as the standard in relation to which ideally every Zulu young man can prove his ubunsizwa. Thus umgangela has a highly coded language medium which only people who have been there can understand or sing about (Klopper, 1991).

In most cases, the success of an isicathamiya group relies very much on, among others, its understanding of umgangela challenges. Isicathamiya as a public appearance has many

challenges which mean that a person must be well versed in issues and dynamics of the whole Zulu social system.

Isicathamiya musicians also do not regard themselves as specialists. In ordinary conversations during the present writer's fieldwork most of them easily switch from isicathamiya to amahubo, which they all agree to be the source, isiphethu of Zulu music.

4.7.4 Competitions

In isicathamiya music, competition is a central idea (Erlmann, 1991). Of course, as discussed in relation to the other Zulu musical styles, all music among the Zulu is conceived as a public issue and, thus, is liable to competition. People compete because life is perceived as a constant clash of opposing forces. Conflict is thus enjoyed, if eventually it is going to prove who dominates. But competition does not start when people are old. They grow up with it and it is in fact encouraged in a number of ways.

Competition is perceived as a public platform in which people can establish the concept of personal identity in community. Isicathamiya musicians improve their image and prestige by winning isicathamiya competitions. Ladysmith Black Mambazo's "Homeless", for example, confirms the story in the lyrics:

Yith' omanqoba

Abayibamba phakath'eLandani

We are the winners

Who fought the musical battle

In the centre of London.

Constant challenges imposed by the competition as central ideas combined with the image of the new Zulu warrior image make isicathamiya musicians real winners who face and defeat the challenges of life.

4.7.5 Symbolism in Isicathamiya

The strength of isicathamiya groups lies in their ability to order a good and relevant text, utilizing traditional symbols and creating images, and to set it to music with a related choreography.

Disc Recording number HUL 40157

ARTIST : LADYSMITH BLACK MAMBAZO

ALBUM TITLE : "SHAKA ZULU"

Track number three, side two - "These are the Guys"

TEXT - ZULU

Anibosibheka thina zinsizwa
Anibosibheka usho thina
Singama Black Mambazo

Abanye bathi, thina
Singama Durban choir
Abanye bathi thina
Singaba Qulusi
Abanye bathi thina
SingaMambaz' amnyama
Abanye thina singaba Qulusi

Ubobhasobha wethu
Ungazitheli enkunzini
Qu Galela (Khwela)

Sith'anibosibhasosobha
Yith'ezimnyama
Bhasobh' uzozithel'e Nkunzini

I ya hom iBlack Mambazo,

Ziyemith'emashendeni
 Kodwa kaziboni
 Kokhala abazali
 Emakhaya bafana (Qu Yalela)

Ziyemitha, (hu-i-eshe) Ziyemith'emashendeni
 Kuyo khal'umama
 Ziyemitha, Kuyokhal'umama
 Kodwa kaziboni
 Kuyokhal'umama

Ngiphelezele mama

Ngiphelezele mama
 Ngifun' ukuy'emfuleni
 Amanz'awekho
 Ngisaba lom'nt'omude

Sangena Sangena thina
 Sangena, sangena bonke bayakhala
 Sisho le emakhaya
 Ngob'intomb'ikheth'emthandayo
 Vuma nsizwa, awu intomb'mayiqoma
 La ithanda khona
 Wena musukulwa, ngob'intomb'ikhethemthandayo
 Intombi mayiqoma
 Iqoma la ithanda khona
 Wena musukulwa
 Ngob'intomb'ikheth'emthandayo

Yobo laba
 Yobo labafana
 Bangikhumbuzekhaya
 Yobo, Yibo, Yibo.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

- A Watch us, young men
 Watch, us, we mean us
 We are the Black Mambazo
- B Some call us, Durban Choir
 Others call us, aba Qulusi (Zulu term
 identifying a person from Northern
 Natal midlands)

Others call us
 Black Mambazo
 Others call us, aba Qulusi

C Be careful, peer
 Don't throw yourself in front of a bull
 Qu Galela (attack)

D We say be careful,
 We are the Black Ones
 Watch out you may throw yourself in front of
 a bull
 Iya hom, That's Black Mambazo
 Your mothers (derogatory in Zulu)
 Here, we leave

E They get impregnated by secret lovers
 Boys, but they are not aware
 Their parents will cry
 At home, Boys (Attack)

F They get impregnated by secret lovers
 The mother will cry
 But they are not aware
 The mother will cry

Accompany me, mother

G Accompany me, mother
 I want to go to the river (to fetch water)
 There is no water
 But I fear the tall man

H Here we enter, Here we enter
 They all cry (complain)
 We mean at home
 Because a girl has freedom to choose a lover
 Concede young man,
 When a girl appoints a lover
 She has freedom to do so
 Young man don't fight,
 Because a girl has freedom to choose a lover
 When a girl appoints a lover
 She has freedom to do so
 Young man don't fight,
 Because a girl has freedom to choose a lover

I These are the guys
 Who remind me of my home
 They give me homesickness
 These are the guys

These, These ...

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

The text is conceived to regulate social behaviour, especially on issues associated with identity and dignity in love. Love affairs are considered to be the foundation of Zulu society.

In A and B for example, the group asserts its identity, its place of origin and its name. It emulates the traditional line of greeting.

In C the image of a bull (Klopper, 1991) is created. The group refers to itself as a bull, after which it sings an explosive phrase in D.

In E, the group having asserted itself and drawn on traditional ways of greeting and image-creating, engages in social commentary, rebuking negative behaviour of untrustworthy girls. In F this is continued, and the traditional responsibility of the mother on the life of the girl is referred to. In G they draw on the traditional role of girls - that of fetching water from the river.

In H - the group having asserted its traditional line of presentation even more, regulates social behaviour. They draw on an explosive musical phrase which gives them the image of presenting from a point of strength.

In I the explosive, powerful singing and talk about traditional love issues reminds the group of home - "Ekhaya" (Erlmann, 1991).

Another example is an isicathamiya song which draws on traditional imagery and symbolism is by Colenso Abafana Benkokhelo.

Cassette Recording number MCMBT 227

ARTIST : COLENZO ABAFANA BENKOKHELO

ALBUM TITLE : "USIKO LWESIZULU"

Track number two side two - "Akusenani ubuhle bayo"

TEXT - ZULU

Akusenani ubuhle bayo (x2)
Thina sisho lenkosazana, yakithi
lyogugel'ekhaya, ngob'iyodwa (repeated)

Thina sibona nangu, lomfoka Bhulose
Uyehluyenyuka uyayifuna lengane ka Baba (x 2)

Asazukuth''iyogcinaphi na?

Kodwa mina ngiyayikhalela
Kanti lengane ka Baba,
'Ma ingagana kulo muzi
Umama wakhona unolaka
Kanti yona lengane ka Baba
Ihlala njalo ngokuzithulela

Ingane ka Baba, Ayizwani nokukhuluma njalo
Ingane Ka Baba
Ihlala nje ngokuzithulela
Bhampampa
Lakhal'ekuseni icilongo

Thethelela Nkosi
Kulelizwe lakithi
Yith'abafana bezimanga

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

- A Her beauty means nothing now
We mean our senior sister
She will not marry, because she is the only girl
- B Well, we now see this gentlemen from Bhulose
He is walking up and down, as he tries to woo her
Now, we do not know her final destiny
- C Well, I pity my father's child
Should she marry in that homestead
Because the mother there is irritable
But my father's child is always quiet
She hates gossip
She always keeps quiet
- D Bhampampa
The horn was sounded in the morning
- E Forgive, Lord, in this our land
We are the wonderful boys

In A - the group has adapted an old ndlamu song for isicathamiya use.

In B they portray a picture of a courting young man - in the traditional Zulu way.

In C - traditionally the mother-in-law is pictured as "cruel", while the bride is "innocent", quiet and almost childlike. This is evident also in nkondlo texts.

In D - the sounding of the horn signals a wedding, or a war, and may even announce that two people have fallen in love. The Zulu horn (icilongo) is a symbolic instrument.

In E the group bids farewell.

The choreography, itself miming ndlamu and wedding songs, ukureka or mbholoho steps, is a vital component of the isicathamiya performance. This is further enhanced by uniforms, usually a black or white suit, neck-ties, black shoes and white socks.

Another factor which makes amahubo an inevitable symbolic idea in isicathamiya is the reverence given by most isicathamiya groups to King Shaka. The image of King Shaka forms the central point and a standard of both musical and social achievement in isicathamiya. Remarking about the

image of King Shaka, Joseph Shabalala says:

I spoke about him in Cape Town, I have also spoken about him in London and New York. King Shaka is the greatest Zulu person that ever lived. He formed the Zulu nation by uniting many tribes in present day Natal and South-Eastern Transvaal. (Interview, 24 April 1990)

Isicathamiya musicians, and in fact all Zulu musicians who give their music a Zulu identity, incorporate Shaka's image into their art by singing about him, or by inventing musical compositions from his izibongo, praises. In some competitions these may be recited and, generally, the Zulu people are always addressed as the "abantu be Lembe" meaning the people of "iLembe", and "iLembe", that is hoe or hero, is an affectionate praise reference to King Shaka.

FOOTNOTES

1. In precolonial times an ingoma designated the highly important 'King's dance-song', thought to bring rain. (Krige 1950, pp259-260 and 339).
2. For more information refer to Krige (1950 pp249-260 especially as regards this ceremony in precolonial times.
3. Erlmann (1991) has conducted an extensive study of the musical life of R.T. Caluza.

CHAPTER 5**CONCLUSION**

In this thesis we have noted the continuity and re-emergence of traditionalism amidst large-scale socio-musical change in Zulu society. We noted the role played by music in Zulu society, traditional, changing and modern. The dynamic and heterogenous nature of Zulu society was noted.

In the first chapter we gave a definition of key terms used in the thesis, so as to provide a clear context for our discussion of amahubo song ideas in traditional and modern Zulu societies. In addition we gave an outline of our own, actually the present writer's, personal field experiences, relating these to broader ethnomusicological methodological issues over the years. As a result, it became possible to relate the present work to broad ethnomusicological issues, through a review of relevant literature.

In this connection we also reviewed specific issues in ethnomusicology which relate directly to the present work. Of these transcription is one. There we saw that in current trends transcription is only used to demonstrate specific points, and that it no longer holds the central position which it once held in the earlier years of ethnomusicology.

Other issues reviewed include the amount of emphasis placed on specific issues over the years and the historical development of the field of ethnomusicology. We note that the study of musical change has formed one of the burning issues in ethnomusicology in recent years. The current trend is to look at the insider's categories instead of imposing one's own analytical and other categories on the cultures being studied. This is confirmed by many authors (MacCannell 1979). In fact, Veit Erlmann (1991) notes the destructive potential of imposed analytical categories as these may not be represented in all the cultures being studied.

In chapter two we related the role and meaning of amahubo songs within traditional Zulu society. Here, while looking at earlier publications by among others Rycroft (1971, 1980, 1982) on Zulu music, we have relied very much on ethnographic evidence based on fieldwork in the Melmoth, Nkandla, Mahlabathini and Nongoma districts of Zululand. Amahubo songs are ritual music and thus it was necessary to review literature on the study and meaning of ritual in general. The religious shield of amahubo songs protects them from dying and gives them a direct connection with the distant past. The Zulu myth of origin for example, relates directly to and defines the nature and meaning of amahubo songs, as experienced by the cultural insiders.

Parallels could be drawn between Zulu amahubo songs and Venda tshikona, which "moves Venda society and creates the largest world known to Venda people" (Blacking, 1971). Amahubo songs bear similar qualities and mobilize at clan, regional and national levels. This also means that the principles of performing amahubo songs reflect the structure and relationships between institutions in traditional Zulu society. Other parallels could be drawn in relation to John F. Kaemmer's (1989) study of Shona music.

The nature of amahubo songs also calls for the review of the whole system through which amahubo songs are acquired and categorized. The learning processes are very much linked to the growth processes. Rituals performed at various stations in the life of a traditional Zulu individual are build-ups towards the eventual performance of amahubo songs. To give an adequate representation of the inside view, statements by field informants on the subject have been included in the main text of the thesis.

We also discussed the semantic usages of the terms amahubo and ihubo, and related the latter to other musical styles within the same category which when combined give a semantic meaning to the former. Thus, while one meaning of ihubo is as the singular of amahubo, the other and deeper is a specific one, relating to only one item amidst many in-

terrelated items making up the body of amahubo songs the centre of which is the ihubo. What was also more an attempt to look at key and central concepts in the performance of amahubo songs.

In chapter three we noted that the natural development of traditional Zulu music was interrupted by missionization and colonization which have had a tremendous impact on Zulu music. The patterns of performance were affected and the new patterns emerged which, firstly, reflected a desire to imitate the missionaries and colonialists (Etherington, 1971). This was also marked by a tendency to turn outside for musical inspiration (Erlmann, 1991). Plant (1905) notes the deteriorating standard of the Zulu traditional man who, at the height of the missionary and colonial periods had his public stature diminished especially in the cultural, religious and political fields. At the same time Plant notes the rise in stature of the Kholwa Christian converts.

According to Ranger (1983) the main ambition of the Kholwa elite was to be assimilated into the mainstream of the British Empire. We also note this in Etherington (1971). Reviewing literature related to similar developments elsewhere in Africa became necessary in this chapter, so as to give a broader understanding of the whole problem of change. The rise in stature of the Kholwa Christian converts, most

of whom had come from previously unknown clans, and the fact that, in line with missionary thought, they despised the Zulu traditional values (Coplan 1985; Erlmann 1991) resulted in low esteem for the value and relevance of traditional Zulu music in general. As a result the structure of Zulu music became affected, as we noted in May and Stapleton's (1989) discussion of Weman's (1960) assertions. This resulted in the birth of new musical styles.

In chapter four we discussed the modern Zulu musical styles, relating them to our main topic. We noted in the discussion of related literature that the revitalization of traditional symbols in modern music, where musical inspiration is derived from within, is not unique to Zulu music. We noted parallels for example in Coplan's (1991) discussion of Sotho migrant workers sefela music and Waterman's (1990, 1991) discussion of juju music in West Africa. The revitalization process lends itself also to the discussion of musical semi-otics (Nattiez, 1990).

Amahubo song ideas become revitalized in a variety of forms in modern Zulu music; symbolically, through the creation of images and the use of metaphor, as well as the retention of traditional knowledge, even among modernizing Zulus. The statements made by musicians and those involved in the critical evaluation of Zulu music from inside reveal this

retention and awareness of traditional ideas.

We also noted that there are many factors which orchestrate the creation of a musical and cultural atmosphere conducive to the re-emergence of the amahubo song ideas in modern Zulu music. Among these is the activation of the Zulu cultural core and the occasional rise of situational ethnicity (Morrison, 1982) among the Zulu. In fact, Morrison's discussion of Ashanti ethnicity becomes of some relevance and draws parallels with what is observable among the Zulu. Among the Zulu, ethnic identity, although the Zulu traditionalists call it national identity in line with the perception of the pre-colonial Zulu state, re-emerges and gets emphasised from time to time. It is then reflected in musical performance.

However, the mere existence of syncretic modern styles and their popularity and modernity means that many Zulus are relating to tradition while at the same time relating to the modern world. They even use tradition to achieve the latter. There is a degree of consciousness about traditional values and the activation of amahubo ideas which is reflected in the statements that the field informants make on the subject and the activities of the various cultural brokers within the broad Zulu society.

We also discussed the modern styles individually, bearing in mind that in the actual field situation they are not strictly divisible, as each is perceived as forming part of the whole.

John F. Kaemmer's (1989) discussion of Zimbabwe Shona music is of much significance and relevance to our thesis. We note that historically Zulu music, like Shona music, can be divided into the pre-colonial era, with all its symbolic and ritual significance; the colonial era in which the tendency was to look to the colonialists and missionaries for musical and cultural inspiration in general; and the post-colonial era which in Shona music has been marked by a return to and activation of traditional symbolism, to symbolically reconstruct the pre-colonial state where outside intrusion was minimal and often not perceived. This return to traditional symbols formed part of the construction of a wider Zimbabwean identity, but its preparation started during the years of the liberation war.

Among the Zulu, the post-colonial period has not yet been reached as the apartheid regime and general white domination are still evident. However, preparations for the post-colonial period seem to be already starting and music seems to be pointing the way, in that post-colonialism is, seemingly going to be defined partially through the revitaliza-

tion of pre-colonial symbols and the symbolic creation of the powerful pre-colonial Zulu state in the minds of the Zulus. The issue of ethnic resurgence is not unique to the Zulus. Morrison (1982) records it as becoming a trend in post-colonial Africa. It has also been noted by Sally F. Moore (1986) in her study of customary law where she traces patterns of power over the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods among the Chagga of Kilimanjaro.

Noting this phenomenon Moore [1986:11] says :

Traditional ideas and traditional relationships frequently carry heavy emotional freight, and, as all ethnic revivals have made plain, may have substantial latent momentum which can be mobilized for modern political purposes.

We have suggested earlier, in chapter four, that the revival of amahubo ideas and the tendency to look from within in modern Zulu music may have far-reaching political implications which can affect the political scene in South Africa, at least in the long term. Claims made by American Indians as noted by Fernandez (1986) about their political rights and conclusions drawn by Coplan (1991) on sefela music and Waterman (1990, 1991) on juju music may be of particular relevance here.

The present work cannot claim to be an absolute representation of Zulu music. Besides the ancillary themes which were raised as the work progressed and which we recommended for further research, the story of the re-emergence of amahubo song styles and ideas in modern Zulu music cannot be proved in absolute terms and remains open to further research. In fact we underline this as the main problem in the thesis. This difficulty is noted by Cohen (1982 and 1987) in his study of Whalsay in England.

However, what is represented here, is enough to make a starting point and a contribution to the field of South African ethnomusicology in general. What is even more evident is that the continuity of creativity is guaranteed through the existence of the large warehouse of traditional knowledge, embodied culturally in amahubo songs. Whatever definition may be given to Zulu music by apartheid and other similar institutions, Zulu music is, on its own, defining its boundaries as the Zulus, out of their own initiative, are defining and relating it to their current situations and a general quest for identity as Coplan [1985 : 232-233] notes :

In situations of change, identity is dynamic, and people manipulate its symbols in order to define who they are, who they are not, and who they wish to be.

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APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF ZULU TERMSB

- Basa (uku -) to make fire, to bring heat. A dance may use the term.
- Bethela (uku -) to fortify, to make strong, to protect one's house with a medicine-man's herbs - Zionists also perform this.
- Bheshu (i -) piece of animal - usually ox or cow - skin worn by Zulu men to cover their buttochs. Traditional Zulu attire of pre-colonial times.
- Bhidi (um -) a wedding choir conductor. (aba - plural) bhidi started as mockery of the mission station choir conductors (Khabi Mngoma)
- Bhimba (uku -) to sing badly, out of tune. To do something badly. To talk badly and out of point.
- Bhokisi (i -) the kist. Always has to be bought for the bride by her father or his representative. Symbolically represents the bride and must always be in her house in her new home.
- Bholoho (um -) a new type of Zulu singing characterized by I, IV, V chord progression.
- Bika (uku -) to report. A bride is reported to the ancestors. A new-born baby is also reported through imbeleko ritual.
- Busa (uku -) to enjoy life. To live without problems. Also to rule like in the case of Kings. Ukubusa is the most sought-after traditional way of living especially among Zulu men.

- Butho (i - plural, ama -) a warrior; also a regimental age-group. In traditional Zulu all men born around the same time belong to the same ibutho
- Buyisa (uku -) to bring back. A dead person is 'brought back' a year after his death, so that he/she can function as an ancestor.

C

- Cathamiya (isi -) Zulu male music associated with migrant workers characterized by soft cat-like movement. Derived from cathama, meaning to walk softly.
- Celekeshe (isi -) a traditional Zulu stringed musical instrument played by men.
- Chunu (isi -) a style of playing maskanda familiar with ama Chunu people from Umsinga area. Also isiChunu dance or umzansi.
- Cimela (uku -) two or three weeks before the wedding day, the bride pays a special visit to all her relatives, to receive advices and presents.
- Cwilisa (uku -) to soak malt. Six or seven weeks before the wedding day this is done so that after those six weeks the malt will be ready for brewing.

D

- Dala (aba -) the old people; reference to the ancestors. Other names are abaphansi, abalele, izithunzi izithutha.
- Dlokwe (aba -) traditional Zulu single-stringed bowed musical instrument played by men.

- Dlozi (i - plural, ama -) ancestors
- Dwendwe (u -) traditional wedding. Also long file of people walking or standing in lines.

F

- Fengqo or Feqo (isi -, plural izi -) Upon reaching maturity a traditional Zulu young man is expected to give himself a figurative name reflecting his perception of himself. Young women may also do the same.
- Fundela (uku -) to learn something for something else. Refers especially to learning songs and dances for a wedding or any other musical event.
- Fundiswa (isi -, izi -) western-educated elitist. African generally looking down upon traditional way of life. Behaviour is known as ubufundiswa.

G

- Gagu (i -, ama -) a musical person. Somebody who can express himself/herself verbally. A good singer, dancer, speaker, doer.
- Gama (i -, ama -) word, name, opinion, song.
- Gana (uku -) to marry a husband. Ganwa (passive) get married to a wife.
- Gandaya (uku -) to prepare the floor of a house. To bury a homestead head.

- Gangela (um - plural, imi -) place where young men engage in mock-fighting, especially in a wedding. Mock-fighting usually takes place while the wedding proceedings continue or immediately thereafter. It is where young men improve or assert their social status, by displaying stick-fighting skills.
- Gcagca (uku -) to get married through song and dance. Reference to bridal performance. Noun is umgcagco
- Gcawu (isi -) open arena where wedding dances take place. Usually within the yard of the groom's residence.
- Gekle (isi -) humorous song and dance item related to hubo. Each clan usually has its own isigekle.
- Giya (uku -) War-like movement flowing from inspiration after or before the rendition of an ihubo song. Done by men out of momentary inspiration. Associated with warrior tradition.
- Gqashiya (uku -) Warrior-like movement done by young unmarried women. Proof of physical strength symbolizing pride in one's status of being a young woman.
- Gqisha (uku -) Deliberate warrior crowding performed by mobilizing warriors. They may do the crowding and cramming despite the fact that there may be plenty of unoccupied space near them. A show of strength and solidarity.
- Gubudu (isi -) Harmony; also cow with horns which almost meet in the forehead.
- Gubhu (u -) Gourd-resonated unbraced musical bow used for solo song self-accompaniment, but rarely found today.
- Gxagxa (i -, plural ama -) somebody who is neither a traditionalist nor an educated elitist.

H

- Halanjonjo (i -, plural ama -) somebody walking in front. In a wedding, those who leave the party behind and walk up front - because of their physical strength.
- Hela (uku -) to spread, especially fire. To spread a song in call-and-response until everyone in a group participates in the singing.
- Hlaba (uku -) to slaughter an animal; to stab, to dance.
- Hlabisa (uku -) to slaughter an animal for someone as a gift, usually for one's visitor.
- Hlabo (izi -) introductory passage in Maskanda music. Introduces style and technique.
- Hlabelela (uku -) to sing loudly and slowly. To say something repeatedly, slowly.
- Hlalo (isi -) chair, stool. Place of rest, saddle.
- Hlalweni (esi -) Place of rest for the bridal party, about one hundred metres away from the groom's home.
- Hlambulula (uku -) To cleanse, to talk without hiding anything.
- Hlamvu (ama -) Leaves. Boys use them to do mock-fighting while tending cattle.
- Hlawula (uku -) To pay a penalty for transgressing a law, a rule , a protocol.
- Hlevane (u -) Goose-pimples. Associated with inspiration from traditional performance.

- Hlonipha (uku -) To respect. A code of respect for women married to a clan or a region. For example they may avoid any word which related to the name of the groom's father or the local chief. Thus instead of inkomo for cow they say imeshe, for example.
- Huba (uku -) To sing in a loud voice. To make a sound resembling a river, a roaring lion, a waterfall, a flooding river. Show of force and strength. Warrior singing especially involving many people.
- Hubo (i -) A religious song of precolonial times belonging to a clan, a region, the nation or a regiment. Song at the centre of a clan's, a region's, the nation's or a regiment's identity. Singing in ukhuba style. One item among many forming (ama -) Hubo world. Plural (ama -) may refer to many of these items or sum total of performances in a wedding or war where ihubo is central.

I

- Impi (izi - plural) Warfare, battle, army.
- Induna (izi -) Somebody (usually a male) in charge of a ward especially in the rural areas. Induna may be elected or appointed by a chief.
- Isangoma diviner
- Isigodi A large area usually under a chief. Boundaries may be marked by rivers or mountains.
- Isigqi Dignity, rhythm
- Isesheli suitor
- Isilo lion, King
- Isiyoni A member of a Zionist church

- Isoka A young man liked by girls. An able speaker.
- Izibongo Upon reaching maturity a traditionalist Zulu young man gives himself or is given by his peers a set of short praises reflecting his life experiences. Also praise poetry or praise poems.
- Izici Characteristics, usually identify individuals from others. These may be behavioural or characteristic.

K

- Khali (isi - plural, izi -) weaponry.
- Khaya (i - plural, ama -) home, associated with warmth and comfort.
- Khetho (i - plural, ama -) groom's party
- Kholwa (i -plural, ama -) A christian believer.
- Khonga (uku -) to tactically, ask for something. Needs patience.
- Khorasi (i - plural, ama -) religious songs in the mbholoho idiom.
- Khosi (um - plural imi -) alternative name for ukweshwama.
- Khuza (uku -) to stop somebody from doing or saying something. To shout an isaga
- Khwela (i -) Urban dance music popular in the 1950's. Originated around Johannesburg.
- Khwelamthini (isi -) a symbolic penalty paid by umkhongi to the father of the bride in the beginning of lobolo negotiations.

L

- Lobolo (i - plural, ama -) cattle or money submitted by the groom to the bride's parents. Symbolic in nature.

M

- Makhweyana (u -) Zulu musical bow played by young women of goma age.
- Makoti (u -) the bride. Somebody new in an area or place.
- Mandla (a -) power to do something
- Manje (isi -) Modern, new; of modern times
- Marabi Popular urban music of the 1940's. Started around Johannesburg.
- Maskanda (u -) Derived from Afrikaans 'Musikant' Neo-traditional Zulu musician making music on guitar and concertina.
- Mbeleko (i -) rite performed for a newly-born child.
- Mbube (i -) Lion, King, another name for isicathamiya original from Solomon Linda's composition in the 1930's with the same name.
- Memulo (u -) Upon reaching marriageable age or a Zulu girl undergoes a special rite of passage. This is initiated by her father and gives her the right to talk to suitors. The rite is called umemulo.
- Mgonqo (u -) To live in seclusion. This is done by a young woman on the eve of her umemulo. Starts two weeks before umemulo. She may not be seen or spoken to by anybody.
- Mnikazi (u - plural, aba -) Owner of something.

- Mnumzane (u - plural, abanumzane -) A homestead head. Somebody-(a man)-of note.
- Mncamo (u -) the last meal. Ritual performed for the bride by her father on the eve -(two days before) of her wedding day.
- Moya (u -) Spirit, air, wind.
- Mpelesi (i -) Young women who attend to the bride or the young girl for whom an umemulo is being performed.
- Muzi (u -) A house, a home, connotates warmth and comfort.
- Myuziki (u -) derived from English, meaning music. Carries some mission station undertones and excludes pre-colonial styles.

N

- Ndlamu (i -) Traditional Zulu dance performed by young men. Also called inqoma.
- Ndlela (i - plural, izi -) A path. A part in harmonized music.
- Nganekwane (i - plural, izi -) Fairy tale.
- Ngoma (i -, plural, izi -) Formerly King's dance-song (for the ukweshwama first fruits ceremony, thought to bring rain). Now a vigorous young men's dance (= indlamu).
- Ngqagamazinyo (i -) penalty paid by umkhongi to the bride's father begging him to talk.
- Njonja (uku -) to give a present, usually a food present. Umnjonjo is a beer present given to relatives, usually of the male lover by his girlfriend. Umnjonjo is given in a wedding or umemulo not belonging to one of the lovers themselves.

- Nkondlo (i -) A wedding song performed by the bride. Symbolizes her acceptance of her new status of a married woman.
- Ntombazane (i - plural, ama -) young girl. Name used by the relatives of her bride symbolizing her assumed 'innocence'.
- Ntombi (i - plural, izi -) A Zulu young woman of marriageable age.
- Nsizwa (i - plural, izi -) Zulu young man of marriageable age.

P

Phaqa Proper. Indisputable. Not mixed with anything else.

Q

- Qholisa (uku -) To spray with perfume. To slaughter a cow through which the bride is accepted as a new member of the groom's clan. The bride is sprayed with its gall.
- Qhikiza (i -) A young woman who is senior to the other girls in the clan.
- Qinisa (uku -) To strengthen. To fortify.
- Qoma (uku -) To accept love proposals. Normally in Zulu culture it is a young woman who accepts love proposals from the young man who is her suitor.
- Qubula (uku -) To arouse out of inspiration. Example Ukuqubula uhlevane.
- Qumushela (uku -) To sing and dance in celebration of qoma. Done by young man and his friends after his love proposals have been accepted by the young woman.

S

- Saga (i - plural, izaga) A war-cry done by young men and warriors. Example: caller: Hebe! Response: Usuthu! Also proverb or saying.
- Shado (um -) Modern wedding with mission station or Christian undertones.
- Sho (uku -) to shout a war-cry. Also, say, mean, think.
- Sina (uku -) Traditional dance. Not the same as English-derived Uku-dansa referring to modern type of popular dances.

Sizwe (i - plural, Izizwe) Nation, kingdom or chieftaincy. May be used to refer to the Zulu ethnic entity.

T

- Thakazelo (isi - plural, izi -) Clan praise-name. Each Zulu clan has its surname and a number of praisenames. The Xulu clan for example have Makhathini, Xabhashe, Donda as its main praise-names.
- Thetha (uku -) to speak with anger. To perform a ritual speech aimed at the ancestors.
- Thimba (um -) Bridal party
- Tolotolo (isi -) Jew's harp traditionally played by Zulu men.

U

Ubhedu Trip of a beast's heart. Eaten by young man or boy who is a good stick-fighter, an achiever and potential leader.

- Ubulandu Ritual speeches about the history of the bride and the groom. Done by members of both clan's on the second day of the wedding.
- Ukwaba To give presents to the relatives of the groom. Done by the bride on the wedding day. Worn by the young woman at her umemulo. Symbolizes fertility.
- Ukweshwama also umkhosi ancient annual ceremony for which there were special songs. It involved the whole Zulu nation in precolonial times. Today it is basically a young man affair.
- Umsindo Noise made by happy people usually in a ceremony.
- Y**
- Vezandlebe (i - plural, ama -) An illegitimate child. Has no full status wherever he/she may be.
- Vika (uku -) To defend or protect oneself from potential danger. To demonstrate ability to do this in stick-fighting. Traditionally young Zulu men who walk around carrying sticks may be tested by others. This is called ukuvikisa.
- Vulamlomo (im -) Penalty paid by umkhongi to the bride's father begging him to engage in lobolo negotiations.
- Vuma (uku -) To agree. A person who agrees is um-yumi (plural abavumi). In music this refers to the chorus in call and response.
- Vuthwa (uku -) To get ripe.

Z

- Zakwethu (u -) Name used by co-wives to refer to one another in polygamy.
- Zansi (um -) From the South. Reference to the music and dance of the Msinga areas.
- Zulu (ubu -) Zuluness. Essence of the Zulu ethnic entity.

APPENDIX B
VIDEO-RECORDED EXAMPLES

- | | | |
|----|--|-------|
| 1. | An <u>Ihubo</u> Song "Sangena KoBhevula ",
Recorded in 1988, Mahlabathini.
Note the combination of pointing with
sticks and stamping on the ground.
This is <u>amahubo</u> dancing. | 0.00 |
| 2. | An <u>Ihubo</u> Song "Wayihlaba Wema Nayo"
Recorded in 1988, Mahlabathini.
Note the young maidens sitting down
on the left. This is a male item. | 1.52 |
| 3. | An <u>Ihubo</u> elincane of the Xulu Clan at
Melmoth, recorded in 1991 "Yash'
Inkunzi, Eya, E!" | 5.00 |
| 4. | An <u>Isegekle</u> of the Xulu Clan,
Recorded in 1991, Melmoth. | 6.45 |
| 5. | <u>Umphendu</u> of the Xulu Clan,
Recorded in 1991, Melmoth
"Isiqili SamaNgisi, Isiqili samaBhunu" | 7.18 |
| 6. | <u>Isigekle</u> Recorded at Mahlabathini, 1988
Note that it is recited while that of the
Xulu Clan is sung. We pointed out in our
main text that what is called <u>isigekle</u> at
Mahlabathini equals <u>umphendu</u> at Melmoth. | 9.15 |
| 7. | <u>Inkondlo</u> performed by educated people.
The bride in red head-gear is a school
teacher. Recorded in 1991 at Melmoth.
When I enquired about the participation
of the males at the back, Induna Magwaza
said they were insignificant as <u>inkondlo</u>
was a female item. | 10.52 |

- | | | |
|----|--|-------|
| 8. | The present writer (in animal skins) participation in an <u>Ihubo</u> performance, 1991 at eDubeni, Melmoth. Such participation was seen by informants as a confirmation of the present writer's insider status. | 15.50 |
| 9. | The present writer engaging in <u>giya</u> techniques, or further confirmation of the insider status. | 17.44 |
| 10 | A <u>giya</u> session in a wedding. Dubeni Melmoth, 1991. Some participants are teachers and clerks, while others are semi-literate traditionalists. In <u>giya</u> each individual puts himself on display and asserts his individuality. | 18.50 |
| 11 | <u>Ihubo</u> "Inkosi Bayibiz Showe" performed by a college of education choir, 1989. The participants were learning to become teachers. | 21.24 |
| 12 | A choir from Umlazi, Durban, performs Chonco's "Ekhaya Afrika" Note "traditional" attire. | 22.52 |
| 13 | The present writer performing a wedding song with a University of Durban-Westville choir, Durban, 1992. | 28.35 |

- | | | |
|------------|--|-------|
| 14 | A typical modern rural wedding performance. Note both choirs rendering their items at the same time. In the beginning the bridal choir (on the right) is quiet. But fearing defeat they later start their next item. Note <u>umbhidi</u> in a red shirt. An <u>umbhidi</u> is a choir director". | 31.12 |
| 15 | A <u>maskanda</u> recorded in a studio, Durban, 1990. His name is Shiyane Ngcobo. Note the call by the musician and the response from the strings. | 34.50 |
| 16 | An <u>isicathamiya</u> groups, Colenso Abafana Benkokhelo, recorded in Durban, 1990. Note diviners' headgear and traditional warrior gear on the right legs. | 36.02 |
| TOTAL TIME | | 38.20 |

APPENDIX C
TAPE - RECORDED EXAMPLES

COUNT
(on technics)

1.	Sangena ko Bhevula (ihubo)	0.00
2.	Wayihlaba Wema Nayo (ihubo)	0.60
3.	Lashona Ndabezitha (ihubo)	0.91
4.	Sidedele We Nduna (regimental song)	1.34
5.	Ngaze Ngazilaya (inkondlo)	1.55
6.	Xulu Clan, Melmoth (ihubo)	1.98
7.	Xulu Clan, Melmoth (isigekle)	2.44
8.	Xulu Clan, Melmoth (umphendu)	2.64
9.	Inhliziyo Yam (Zionist, Umlazi)	3.06
10	Wozani Nonke (Zionist)	3.36
11	Simtholile (ikhorasi)	3.45
12	Izibongo ZikaShaka (choral)	3.82
13	Ekhaya Africa (choral)	4.55
14	Baba Mnumzane (Wedding)	5.20
15	Simlethile (Wedding)	5.37
16	Maye MaZulu (Wedding)	6.19
17	Rastaman (Mahlatini BC 665) (Mbhaqanga)	6.78
18	Umama NoBaba (Soul Brothers PRYB 4006) (Mbhaqanga)	8.04
19	Esandlwana (Mgqashiyo Ndlovu L4 Eb (Ek) 008) (Maskanda)	8.62
20	UDlomo (Sipho Mchunu TWH 1003 008) (Maskanda)	9.14

21	These Are the Guys (Ladysmith Black Mambazo HUL 40157) (Isicathamiya)	9.70
22	Akusenani Ubuhle Bayo Colenso Abafana Benkokhelo MCMBT 227 (Isicathamiya)	10.30
23	Inhlawulo (Soul Brothers) (mbhaqanga)	10.72
24	Inhlawulo (wedding)	11.06
25	Shembe	11.30
26	Esentini <u>ihubo</u> recorded at Mahlabathini	

Technics counts in units of 10

APPENDIX D
HAND TRANSCRIPTIONS

SIZE SANGENA KOBHEVULA

(Ihubo)
recorded 23.07.88

♩ - 69 Ad Libitum, Pitch is Relative

Sa nge - na ko Bhe vu - la Ba le ka mgywagn yesa
th'u zulu

zShi
XX

l nka ni l nka ni 3 ye zi nsi zwa 4
bek' Aw' si de - de le si nge ne kwa

5
No - ngo ma

Repeated many times with
melodic variations as text changes

x stamp with feet
xx point with sticks

NGAZITHELE MBANGWENI

anKondlo song

Recorded as Melmoth, 1989

$\text{♩} = 72$

1 2 3

Reader
 Nga ze ngas' la ya mina ngay' the le mba ngwe ni Kwa zamaza ni zwe

Chorus
 ni } not first time
 Ku ye — kwa zamaza ni zwe

4 5

To beginning
 lo — nke ye bu ya si su-sa Ngazeng Repeat many times

lo — nke ye bu ya si su-sa ngazithele mbandwe — } to beginning

WAY' HLABA WEMA NAYO

Ihubo Song

Recorded at Ndogoma 1988

$\pm J = 69$

Ad libitum, Pitch is Relative

Leader

Way' hla — ba we — ma na yo ke la — ma

Way' yi — this

Chorus

hla — ba we — ma na yo ke la — ma

Zulu Aw' si ni — ke la ma

5 6

Bhunu We nza ka hle Nda be

Bhunu a si go ndi (le)

7 8

zi tha We nza ka hle Nda be

Yi thi zu lu Aw' si

9 10

zi tha ke la ma Bhunu wa

ni ke la ma Bhunu a si go

NB $\frac{16}{16}$ time perceivable in performance

To beg
Rep
ma
tin

"SIDEDELE WE'NDUNNA"

War song - Recorded at Mahlabathini, 1988

Leader

Chorus

na

Si de de le we ndunna

Si

Si Shaywa zi - nsi - zuru

second time after

de de le we ndunna

U ba'no be nga thinta thi -

To beginning

Repeat many times. leader sings variation and improvisation

"MOZANI NONKE" (Zionist)

Recorded at Umlazi
1990

$\text{♩} = 72$

Solo Reader

Wo zani no nke ke

Wo

zani no

Wo zani no nke ke

no nke ke

4 5 6

Handwritten musical score for measures 4, 5, and 6. It features a grand staff with four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand). The key signature is one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "e ni khathe — le o - e ni si ndwayo no — nke nisi".

7 8 9

Handwritten musical score for measures 7, 8, and 9. It features a grand staff with four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand). The key signature is one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "ndwa — yo — wo — za ni ku Jes' ne ni si ndwa yo —".

10 11 12

Na — né n'isi ndwa — yo Wo — za ni no

Na — né n'isi ndwa — yo Wo — za ni no

Na — né n'isi ndwa — yo Wo — za ni no

13

nke

nke-nisi ndwayo-

nke

- nke nisi ndwayo-

To bar nine or beginning. Repeat many times

INHLEZIYO YAM' (ZIONIST)

Recorded at
Umlazi, 1990

♩ = 72

1 2 3

Ngi zo ye — nzi be msu — lwa Yo

Ngi zo ye — nzi be msu — lwa Yo

Ngi zo ye — nzi be msu — lwa Yo

Inhliziyo yam' Yo —

Ngi zo ye — nzi be msu — lwa Yo

4 5 6

na Ngi zo ye — nzi be msu lwa — Yo —

na Ngi zo ye — nzi be msu lwa — Yo —

na Ngi zo ye — nzi be msu lwa Yo

Inhliziyo yam' Yo — na

na Ngi zo ye — nzi be msu lwa Yo

Innuziyoyam

7

The musical score consists of five staves. The first four staves are in treble clef, and the fifth is in bass clef. The notation includes notes, rests, and lyrics. A double bar line is present after the first two bars. The lyrics are: 'Innuziyoyam' (written above the first staff), 'na' (written below the first, second, and fifth staves), and 'nhli ziyoyam' (written below the fourth staff). A handwritten instruction in the fourth staff reads: 'To beginning choras start at bar 2 second time Repeat many times'. The instruction 'Repeat many times' is underlined.

SIMTROLIKE UJESU

"Khorasi"

Recorded at
Kura Mashu,
1990

$\text{♩} = 110$

1
Si mtho - li - le

2
O no - ku bongga

3
Si mtholi - l'ono - ku bo nga

Si mtholi - l'ono - ku bongga

4 5 6

Si mtholi - le O no - ku bonga mtho - li - le Si

Si mtholi - Pono - ku bonga Si mtholi

Si mtholi - Pono - ku bonga Si mtholi

Si mtholi - Pono - ku bonga - Si mtholi

7 8 9

Si mtholi - le Si - mtho - li - le O no - ku bo - nga

Pono - ku bonga Simtholi Pono - ku bonga

Pono - ku bonga Simtholi - Pono - ku bonga

Pono - ku bonga Simtholi - Pono - ku bonga

To beginning - Repea many times

EKHAYA AFRIKA

ngu L. CHONCO

1 2 3

H^he she Hhe she nsi-zwa wema

Hhe-she Hhe she nsi zwa

Hheshe nsi zwa sithi Hhe-she sithi Hheshe nsi zwa

Hheshe nsi zwa sithi Hhe-she nsi zwa Wema me!

4 5 6

me! Kusa dli wa ngo lu da la Ho! Libu sai zwe la

wema me kwaku sa dli wa ngo lu da la Hhohhel! Libu sai zwe la

wema me ku sa dli wa ngo lu da la Lali sabu sai zwe la

YeKa kwela kithi kwaku dliwaka mna ndi Lali sa bu sai zwe la

7 8 9

Ki - thi Ku ngenje nga na mhla —

Ki thi Kwa ku nge nje nga na mhla nje —

Ki - thi Ku ngenje nga na mhla —

Ki thi Kunge nje nje nje —

10 11 12

E ma di li ni Ka MKhiphe ni Ku dli wa ghu ma

E ma di li ni Ka MKhiphe ni Ku bu swa Ku ghu ma

E ma di li ni Ka MKhiphe ni Ku buswa Kudli - wa Ku ghu ma

E ma di li ni Ka MKhi phe ni kudli wa Ku ghu - ma

13 14 15

manco ko u bone i' nsi zwa zi gxuma gxu - ma na
 Manco ko Nazi zi nsizwa zi gxuma gxu - ma - ma
 manco ko Izi nsizwa zi gxuma gxu - ma - ma
 Manco ko Izi nsizwa zi gxuma gxu ma ma

16 17 18

Zingwe ka zizwana nama ndla I nto mbi zi
 Zingwe ka zizwana nama ndla kantike Izi nto mbi zi
 Zingwe ka zizwana nama - ndla Izi nto mbi zi
 Zingwe ka zizwana nama - ndla Izi nto mbi zi

19

20

21

ncoko li swa ku vele lo mbla - thi

ncoko li - swa ku vele lo mbla thi Basho na phina?

ncoko li - swa ku vele lo mbla - thi

ncoko li swa ku vele lo mbla - thi

22

23

24

s'bindi gi di ba - phi

Mphike le li

s'bindi gi - di Basho na phi

Mphike le - li

s'bindi gi di Ba - phi?

Mphike le li

s'bindi gi di

Mphike le li

25 26

NKunzi Kay'hle hli NKunzi Kay'hle hli oma nganda lingo - phi

NKunzi Kay'hle hli NKunzi Kay'hle hli nganda lingo - phi

NKunzi Kay'hle - hli NKunzi Kay'hle hli oma nganda lingo - phi

NKunzi Kay'hle - hli NKunzi Kay'hle hli Oma nganda lingo - phi

rall 28 29 pp

O ma nganda lingo phi li ngo phi

O ma nganda li ngo phi li ngo phi

O ma nganda lingo phi li ngo phi

O ma nganda lingo phi li ngo phi li

Traditional Zulu Dance Rhythm

49 §

A ya hho ya hho lala hho ya Kwa k

52 53

mna - ndi bevu mi ngo - ma A ya hho ya hho la

43 44 45

Ku su ku si nga ku si phu ku nwe - le ku vuka madlingozi

Ku su — ku si nga ku si phu ku nwe - le ku vuka madlingozi

Ku su — ku si nga ku si phu ku nwe - le ku vuka madlingozi

Ku su — ku si nga ku si phu ku nwe - le ku vuka madlingozi

46 47 48

kuku — tshwa ku ha — ywa — bo

ku hu — tshwa ku ha — ywa — bo

Kuhu — tshwa ku ha — ywa — bo

ku ha — ywa — bo

mf moderato 37 38 39

E la ndi skapu e Mgungu ndlo-vu

e Mgungu ndlo-vu

Na bakwa Tho ya-na e Mgungu ndlo-vu

e Mgungu ndlo-vu

40 41 42

Be vu mi zi ngoma ku gi dwa ku gi dwa ku gi dwa

Be vu mi zi ngoma ku gi dwa ku gi dwa ku gi dwa

Be vu mi zi ngoma ku gi dwa ku gi dwa ku gi dwa

Be vu mi zi ngoma ku gi dwa ku gi dwa ku gi dwa

31 32 33

ngo phi lingo phi
ngo phi lingo phi
ngo phi lingo phi Base Mvu thini
ngo phi lingo phi

Detailed description: This block contains a musical score for measures 31, 32, and 33. It is written for four staves: two vocal staves (soprano and alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (treble and bass). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are: 'ngo phi lingo phi' for measures 31 and 32, and 'Base Mvu thini' for measure 33. The piano accompaniment features a steady bass line and a treble line with eighth and sixteenth notes.

34 35 36

e gi ngi ndlo vu e Bhangano ma
e gi ngi ndlo -vu e Bhangano -ma
e gi ngi ndlo -vu Bakweta - mahlala e Bhangano ma
e gi ngi ndlo -vu e Bhangano ma

Detailed description: This block contains a musical score for measures 34, 35, and 36. It is written for four staves: two vocal staves (soprano and alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (treble and bass). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are: 'e gi ngi ndlo vu' for measure 34, 'e Bhangano ma' for measure 35, and 'e gi ngi ndlo -vu Bakweta - mahlala e Bhangano ma' for measure 36. The piano accompaniment continues with a consistent rhythmic pattern.

55 56 57

hho ya Kwaku mna ndi be vumi ngo ma Aya

hho ya Kwaku mna ndi be vumi ngo ma Aya

58 59 60

hho ya hho lala hho ya Kwaku mna ndi be vumi

hho ya hho lala hho ya Kwaku mna ndi be vumi

hho ya hho lala hho ya Kwaku mna ndi be vumi

61 Baya lili zela 62 o mamema be na ne - la be

ngo ma a ya hho ya hho la-la hho ya kwa

ngo ma a ya hho ya hho la-la hho ya kwa

ngo ma a ya hho ya hho la-la hho ya kwa

ngo ma a ya hho ya hho la-la hho ya kwa

64 65 66

S Ka ji ka be shonale na le Baya lili ze la o mamema

S mna ndi be vu mi ngo ma Aya hho ya hho la-la

A Ka ji ka be shonale na le Hho la-la baya lili ze - lo ma ne ben

A mna ndi be vu mi ngo ma a ya hho ya hho la-la

T mna ndi be vu mi ngo ma Aya hho ya hho la-la

B mna ndi be vu mi ngo ma Aya hho ya hho la-la

67 68 69

S be nane la beji ka jika beshonale na le

S hho ya kwaku mna ndi be vumi ngo ma

A nela beji ka jika be shonale na le

A hho ya kwaku mna ndi be vumizi ngoma

T hho ya kwaku mna ndi be vumizi ngoma

B hho ya kwaku mna ndi be vumi ngo ma

S.A.T.B pleadingly 70 71 72 *Cresc.*

S Masi buye —lé Khaya Afri ka Masi ba mba

A Masi buye —lé Khaya Afri — ka Masi ba — mba

T Masi buye —lé Kha ya Afri —ka Masi ba — mba

B Masi ba — mba

73 74 75

ne so nke nja lo nja — lo

ne so nke nja lo nja lo

ne so nke nja lo nja — lo

ne so nke nja lo nja — lo

p Lamentoso 76 77 *mf* 78

I si zwe sa ki — thi si Khu — mbu

I si — zwe Sa ki — thi si Khumbu —

I si — zwe sa ki — thi si Khumbu —

si Khumbu —

85 Cheerfully 86 87

I A frika Gi ya A frika i ya gi

I A frika Gi ya Afrika i ya gi

I A frika Aygi -ye mayigi ye I ya gi

I A frika Ya giya i Afrika iya giya gi

88 89 90

Ya i Afri ka Aygi -ye Aygi je Aygi ye i yagi

Ya i Afri ka Iya gi ya iya giya Aygiyeiya

Ya i Afri ka Aygi ye mayigi ye Aygi ye Iya gi

Ya -ke Afri -ka Iya gi ya Iya gi ya aygiye gi

7 8 9

U — Dlungwane, wo mBe — le be le O dlungema nxulume ni

Nda ba — wo mBe — le be le O dlungema nxulume ni

Nda ba — wo mBe — le be le O dlungema nxulume ni

Nda ba — wo mBe — le be le O dlungema nxulume ni

10 11 12

O — dlungema nxulume ni — Kwaze kwasa ma nxulumé sibi ke la — na

O — dlungema nxulume ni — Kwaze kwasa ma nxulumé sibi ke la — na

O — dlungema nxulume ni — Kwaze kwasa ma nxulumé sibi ke la — na

O — dlungema nxulume ni — Kwaze kwasa ma nxulumé sibi ke la — na

Handwritten musical score for measures 13 and 14. The score is written on four staves (treble, two middle, and bass clefs) in a key signature of one sharp (F#). Measure 13 features the lyrics "U Mjo kwaneka Nda ba" with a triplet of eighth notes. Measure 14 features the lyrics "U Salaku tshelwa U" with a triplet of eighth notes. The bottom two staves provide a piano accompaniment for the lyrics "U mjo kwaneka Nda ba" and "U Mjo kwaneka Nda ba".

Handwritten musical score for measures 16, 17, and 18. The score is written on four staves (treble, two middle, and bass clefs) in a key signature of one sharp (F#). Measure 16 features the lyrics "Salaku nye-nye ze-lwa" with a triplet of eighth notes. Measure 17 features the lyrics "U Si Shaka kasisha ye Ki" with a triplet of eighth notes. Measure 18 features the lyrics "U Si shaka kasisha ye" with a triplet of eighth notes. The bottom two staves provide a piano accompaniment for the lyrics "tshelwa U Salaku nye-nye ze-lwa" and "U Si shaka kasisha ye".

19. 20 21

U - No du me hlezika Me - nzi U Shaka ngiye sa ba u

U - No du me hlezika Me - nzi U Shaka ngiye sa ba u

U - No du me hlezika Me - nzi U Shaka ngiye sa ba u

U - No du me hlezika Me - nzi U Shaka ngiye sa ba u

22 23 24

Ku thi ngu Shaka u Shaka kwakuyi nko si ya se Masho be ni u

Ku thi ngu Shaka u Shaka kwakuyi nko si ya se Masho be ni u

Ku thi ngu Shaka u Shaka kwakuyi nko si ya se Masho be ni u

Ku thi ngu Shaka u Shaka kwakuyi nko si ya se Masho be ni u

31 32 33

kula - be hlezi emlo vini Be - thi u Shaka kayku
 kula - be hlezi emlo vini Be - thi u Shaka kayku
 kula - be hlezi emlo vini Be - thi u Shaka kayku
 kula - be hlezi emlo vini Be - thi u Shaka kayku

34 35 36

bu sa ka - nt'u zaku nethe ze - ka
 bu sa ka - nt'u zaku nethe ze - ka
 bu - sa ka - nt'u zaku nethe ze - ka
 bu sa - kanti yi la phé zaku nethe ze ka Be -

43 44

Sha-ka u sha-ka u Sha — ka u Shaka ngiye

Sha-ka - u Sha-ka u Sha — ka *near solo* u Shaka ngiye

Shaka u Shaka u Sha — ka u Sha-ka ngiye

Shaka u Shaka u Sha — ka

46 47 48

sa ba Ah Ah

Sab'u kuthingu Sha ka kwa- kuyi nkosi yase Masho be ni u

49 50 51

r.
U Shaka ngiye sa ba Ah

U Shaka ngiye sa ba Ah

Sha-ka ngiye sa b'u kuti ngu Shaka kwa- kuyi nko si

52 53 54

Ah

Ah

jase Masho be- ni

Beribone Solo

U tekubaba jazi bakwato Mgabhi

Bebete

55 56 57

Ah

Ah

ku-la be hle zi emlo vi ni Be th'zi Shaka Kay'ku

58 59 60

Kay'ku busa Kay'kuba nkosi Ah

Kay'ku busa Kay'kuba nkosi Ah

bu-sa Kay'kuba nkosi kantiyi la — phézaku ne the

61 62 63

ze ze

Kay'ku bu-sa

kay'ku bu-sa

ze

Ka Beth'u Sha ke Kay'ku bu sa

Kay'kuba

64 65 66

Kay'ku ba

nkosi

Ah

Ah

nkosi

nkosi

nkosi

nkosi

nkosi - kantiyi la - pheza ku ne the ze - ka kantiyi

67 68 69

Ah

la - pheza ku ne the ze — ka | lembela mangoma lembe ngokukha

70 71 72

le mbele ga manya lembe ngokukha li pha —

li pha I le mbele ga manya lembe ngokukha li pha

Ndlamu Dance Rhythm

73 74 7

ge da ge d'i zizw'u yaku hla se la phi na He He He uya

76 77 7

hla se la phi na? Wa ge da ge di zi zw'u yaku hla se la phi na

79 80

He He uya ku hla se la phi na Wa

He He u ya ku hla se la phi na wa

81 82 83

geda ged'i zizw'u yaku hla se la phi na He He He u ya ku

geda ged'i zizw'u ya ku He He He u ya ku

geda ged'i zizw'u yaku He He He u ya ku

geda ged'i zizw'u yaku hla se la phi na He He He u ya ku

90 91 92

Dle - be kwaye kwa sha nezase Mabe dla — ne
 Dle - be kwaye kwa sha nezase Mabe dla — ne
 hlase la phi na? He He He uya ku hlase la phi na? Wa
 hlase la phi na? He He He u ya ku hlase la phi na? wa

Soprano Solo

93 94 95

U mlilowo thathe kampo kwa — ne U mlilowo thathe wu
 qe da qe d'i zi zw'u ya ku hlase la phi na He He He u ya ku
 qe da qe d'i zi zw'u ya ku hlase la phi na He He He u ya ku

84 85 86

hlase la phi na U mlilowo thathe ka mjo kwa ne

hlase la phi na U mlilowo thathe ka mjo kwa ne

hlase la phi na? Wa geda ged'i zizw'u yaku hlase la phi na? He

hlase la phi na? Wa geda ged'i zizw'u yaku hlase la phi na? He

He
Full
tone

87 88 89

U mlilowo thathe wu bu hangu hangu Shi s'i zi khova za se

U mlilowo thathe wu bu hangu hangu Shi s'i zi khova zase

He He u yaku hlase la phi na? Wa geda ged'i zizw'u yaku

He He u yaku hlase la phi na? Wa geda ged'i zizw'u yaku

96 97 98

bu hangu hangu Shi si z'i Khova zase Dle be kwa ye

hlase la phi na? Wa qeda ged'i zi zw'u yaku hlase la phi na? He

hlase la phi na? Wa qeda ged'i zi zw'u yaku hlase la phi na? He

99 100 101

Kwa sha nezase Mabe dla — na U ya ku hlase la phi

U ya ku hlase la phi

He He U ya ku hlase la phi na? U ya ku hlase la phi

He He U ya ku hlase la phi na? U ya ku hlase la phi

102 103 104

na? u ya ku hase laphi na?

na? u ya ku hase laphi na?

na? u ya ku hase laphi na

na? u ya ku hase laphi na?

105 106 107

u - si fu ba sine nga — ba u Ba yedeka Nda ba

u - si fu ba sine nga — ba u Ba yedeka Nda ba

u - si fu ba sine nga — ba u Ba yedeka Nda ba

u - si fu ba sine nga — ba u Ba yedeka Nda ba

108 109 110

U Ba yedeka Nda ba U Ndabangiya me ba ngi muka na ye

U Ba yedeka Nda ba U Ndabangiya me ba ngi muka na ye

U Ba yedeka Nda ba U Ndabangiya me ba ngi muka na ye

U Ba yedeka Nda ba U Ndabangiya me ba ngi muka na ye

111 112 113

Ngi mbuka kwe hle i zi nye mbe zi

Ngi mbuka kwe hle i zi nye mbe zi

Ngi mbuka kwe hle i zi nye mbe zi u -

Ngi mbuka kwe hle i zi nye mbe zi u -

114 115 116

mo yo mza asi wo mage ne lo O - hiezuba ngene la na

O - hiezuba ngene la na

117 118 119

Othe saddle zinge wa dlezinge watho saddle zingema dlezinge othe saddle

Nda be zi tha Nda be zi -tha

ngo mmya ngo Nda be zi -tha Nda be zi -tha

ngo mmya ngo Nda be zi -tha Nda be zi -tha

UBULELE PH'IZOLO (Wedding song.) Recorded in Durban, 1990

1. Ka - du le le - phi zo lo yoyo yoyo be ngi
 2. U - bu fu na - ni khona yoyo yoyo be ngi
 3. Wi yoyo yoyo be ngi
 yoyo yoyo be ngi

4 le le Kwama lu - me
 fu na mathamsa - nga
 le le Kwama lu - me
 fu na mathamsa - nga
 le le Kwama lu - me
 fu na mathamsa - nga
 Kwama lu - me
 mathamsa - nga
 Kwama lu me -
 mathamsa - nga
 le le Kwama lu - me
 fu na mathamsa - nga

7 8

yo yo yo yo be ngi le-le kwa ma lu - me
yo yo yo yo be ngi fu-na ma thamsa - nga

yo yo yo yo be ngi le-le kwa ma lu - me
yo yo yo yo be ngi fu-na ma thamsa - nga

yo yo yo yo be ngi le-le kwa ma lu - me
yo yo yo yo be ngi fu-na ma thamsa - nga

yo yo yo yo be ngi le-le kwa ma lu - me
yo yo yo yo be ngi fu-na ma thamsa - nga

Repeat many times

SIMLETHILE, UMAKOTI

Si - m le
We have brought the bride - thile - - y ma ko ti etc.

"ILOBOLO" (Wedding Song) Recorded in D... 1990

1 2 3

I mali Yam' ne nkomo zam' za lobo

I mali Yam' ne nkomo zam' za lobo

I mali Yam' ne nkomo zam' za lobo

I ma li Yam' ne' nkomo zam' za lo bo la

4 5 6

u mfana wam' Hla lala pho u hle z'kho

u mfana wam' Hla lala pho u hle z'kho

u mfana wam' Hla lala pho u hle z'kho

u mfana wam' Hla lala pho u hlez' kho

NB. ¹⁶/₁₆ perceivable in actual performance

7 8

na a wu ngi fane la nga

Repeat many times

na a wu ngi fane la nga

Start ^{to beginning} keeps shifting

na a wu ngi fane la nga

The image shows a handwritten musical score on four staves. The first two staves are in treble clef, and the last two are in bass clef. The music is written in a simple, rhythmic style. The lyrics 'na a wu ngi fane la nga' are written below the notes. Above the first staff, the numbers '7' and '8' are written above the first and second measures respectively. To the right of the first staff, the text 'Repeat many times' is written. To the right of the second staff, the text 'Start ^{to beginning} keeps shifting' is written. The score is enclosed in a large bracket on the left side.

