THE SACRED AND THE PROFANE: THE RELIGIOUS AND COMMERCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CHURCH ADORNMENT IN THE NAZARETH BAPTIST CHURCH OF AMOS SHEMBE.

by

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between sacred (communal, public) and profane (individual, private) activities, reflected in the making, sale and use of beadwork and adornment in the Nazareth Baptist Church of Amos Shembe, is examined. During the annual July Festival of the Church, held in the village of Ebuhleni, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, prescribed uniforms are worn on particular ritual occasions. These uniforms, drawing on recognised cultural symbols and tenets of the Church, emphasise social divisions based on gender, age, marital and hierarchical status. These social divisions reflect patterns of living at Ebuhleni.

It is the female members, in particular the unmarried girls, who have the most elaborate uniforms consisting of intricate beadwork and adornment. Women and girls, who form the majority of Church membership, are also the prime producers of sacred uniform. Beadwork and adornment worn on ritual occasions is usually made for sale to fellow members. Women and girls also produce beadwork of a different nature for sale to a predominantly tourist market. Differences in beadwork styles communicate statements of identity and exclusivity.

Women and girls are not discouraged in these economic pursuits. On the contrary, all members are encouraged in Church doctrine to engage in the profane realm by using their hands to make items to sell. At the same time, their productivity, particularly in the case of women and girls, is harnessed to the Church in various

ways. Firstly, members are required to wear ritual uniform on sacred occasions. Secondly, members who worship well (this includes the correct use of uniform during worship) receive sacred empowerment which will assist in their financial success in the future. Thirdly, some of the money earned during economic activity is redirected back to the Church in the form of offerings.

Any potentially negative aspects of buying and selling (profane) activity are transformed by the Church in such a way as to create a situation of complementarity between the potentially opposed sacred and profane spheres.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work unless indicated to the contrary in the text.

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CHAPTER 1

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL APPROACH

1.1. OBJECTIVES

The overall objective of this study is an analysis of the relationship between the ceremonial and commercial activities in the Nazareth Baptist Church of Amos Shembe, reflected in the making, selling and wearing of beadwork and Church adornment during the July Festival held in the village of Ebuhleni, Matabetule, Natal (See Fig. 1)[1].

This will entail an investigation of five related aspects. Firstly, the way in which beadwork is produced and used to complement uniforms used in the Church. Secondly, the symbolism encoded in bead adornment, particularly, the symbolic use of colour to communicate states of ritual purity. Thirdly, the use of beadwork with Church uniforms to demonstrate social divisions based on age, gender and leadership status at Ebuhleni. Fourthly, the production of articles, particularly beadwork and adornment, for commercial gain. This includes commercial activities by women at Ebuhleni and at beachfront areas, in particular Durban beachfront. Fifthly, the extent to which the religious philosophy of the Church not only encourages members, particularly women, to engage in the commercial side of beadworking and the manufacture of adornment, but also provides them with a support network which facilitates their economic success in the marketplace.

1.2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

An introduction into the Church was provided by co-supervisor, the late Mr Bongani Mthethwa, also a member of the Church. He,

too, introduced me to fellow member, Ms Sbonisile Zibani, who assisted in my integration into the religious community, in fieldwork and as an interpreter. Although Zulu is her home language, Ms Zibane has a good command of the English language. She matriculated and started studying Social Work at the University of Zululand during the course of this study.

Most of the fieldwork at Ebuhleni, the headquarters of the current leader Amos Shembe, was completed in June/July 1989, July 1991 and June/July 1992, at the time of the annual July Festival of the Church. A short visit was also made to Ebuhleni in July 1993. The July Festival was held at Nongoma in 1990 owing to political instability in the area surrounding Ebuhleni. I did not attend this meeting.

During June and July of 1989, numerous visits were made to Ebuhleni with Ms Zibane who also spent 13 days at Ebuhleni when I was not present. Respondents were randomly selected from those at Ebuhleni, and respondents who were recommended by previous respondents were also interviewed. I interviewed 76 married women, 34 unmarried girls, 27 men and boys, two female members whose marital status was not known and two female non-members in June and July 1989. Ms Zibane interviewed an additional 16 women, 7 girls and 1 female non-member.

I returned to Ebuhleni for 7 days in July 1991 whereupon return visits were made to some respondents and contact was made with

others whom I had not previously interviewed. 23 women, 13 girls, 14 men and boys, 3 females whose marital status was not known, as well as 2 female non-members were interviewed. Repeat visits were made to 3 women and 2 girls in July 1991. During July 1991 my assistant made one visit to Ebuhleni without me. She interviewed an additional girl, 3 men and boys, and 1 female whose marital status was not known.

I made visits to Ebuhleni over a two week period towards the end of June and a week during July of 1992. 63 women, 12 girls and 4 men and boys were interviewed during this time. Only one visit was made to Ebuhleni in 1993 when 3 married women were interviewed and repeat visits were made to 2 women (see Table 1 for a summary of respondents interviewed at Ebuhleni).

I also made visits to the female beadmakers who produce and sell for the tourist trade on Durban beachfront. Visits were made in December 1989, January 1990 and again in January 1991, 2 days each time. These times were chosen as they coincide with peak summer holiday season in Durban and more women are likely to be making and selling at this time than in winter. One visit was made in July 1992 and another in July 1993. 54 female members and 5 female non-members were interviewed at the beachfront over the entire period. Repeat visits were made to 9 female members. My assistant made one visit without me to the Durban beachfront during December 1989. She interviewed an additional 9 females on this occasion.

Contact was made with Nazareth Baptist Church members, Mr Ephraim

Ngcobo and Mr Patrick Ngubane, in January 1992, at the Killie Campbell Africana Library and Museum, where they are both currently employed. Mr Ngcobo gave me a description of his wedding held in 1989. This was illustrated with photographic material housed in the Museum. I also interviewed a married woman during a visit to Mount Nhlangakazi in January 1991.

The approach taken in carrying out research was of a largely qualitative nature, involving the use of in-depth interviews and participant observation. The types of questions asked during the interviews were largely open-ended and obviously differed according to the subject being discussed and the responses of the respondent.

Regarding the use of in-depth interviews, although a few male Church members were interviewed, including a personal interview with the Leader - Amos Shembe - in July 1989, much time was spent interviewing female Church members, namely, the women and unmarried girls. This is clearly evident in the number of respondents interviewed during the course of this study. Altogether, 368 Shembeites were interviewed, of which 318 were females and 50 were males. The latter constituted approximately 14% of all members interviewed.

There are numerous reasons for the research emphasis on women and girls. The women and girls living at Ebuhleni greatly outnumber the men and boys. In spite of this, in all the literature

concerning the Nazareth Baptist Church, there is little written that specifically concerns females and their role in the Church. Women and girls are also the primary producers and consumers of beadwork in the Church. In addition, it is the unmarried girls who wear the widest range of adornment and who, at the same time, appear to have the greatest number of restrictions applied to their daily lifestyle at Ebuhleni. Finally, as a female myself, it was easier for me to be accepted by and to communicate with other females. As a woman, I was more likely to be informed of "women's matters" by women than of "men's matters" by men. This was evident in the reluctance on the part of many men to enter into a discussion of circumcision with me.

Participant observation occurred at two levels, namely, the group level and the individual level. With regard to the group level, a Church Service, a ceremony for unmarried girls, and weekly Sunday dances were attended at Ebuhleni in July 1989. In July 1991 a visit was made to the grave sites of Nazareth Baptist Church members at Ekuphakameni, and the final Sunday dance held at Ebuhleni was attended. A Sunday dance was also attended at Nhlangakazi in January 1991, while two dances held during the week were attended at Ebuhleni during July 1992. In the above circumstances, it was possible to see how individuals were publicly and religiously invested with Church regalia, that is, how the items and their wearers were transformed into religious objects and actors. Regarding the individual level, I carefully observed, step-by-step, how individual women each designed and

reproduced beadwork and adornment. These garments were modelled for me by women and girls of the appropriate status.

Data recording in the field was largely by means of pencil and notebook. I was able to note down questions and the replies of respondents which could be easily checked by Ms Zibane, particularly with regard to spelling and linguistic interpretation. The use of this method also meant that I could make rough illustrations, if needed, of styles of adornment and stages in the manufacture of an item.

I made use of a taperecorder on a few occasions, particularly in group situations. I felt that the use of a taperecorder would be a deterrent in close contact or one-to-one communication and it would obstruct mobility when moving about at Ebuhleni. I used a taperecorder in the interview I had with Amos Shembe, at the Church Service, on the visit to the grave sites, at dancing during the ceremony for unmarried girls and at Sunday dances. A small instamatic camera was carried for any photographs that were of importance or were not likely to be easily captured again.

Attendance at the July Festival in 1989, 1991, 1992 and again in 1993, made some sort of diachronic analysis possible. Firstly, changes in styles and designs of beadwork over time were studied. Secondly, while I did not engage in any comprehensive statistical survey of the prices of Church adornment and other items made by Church members, some pricing was completed in 1989 and to a lesser

extent in 1991 and 1992, thereby enabling me to ascertain the degree of "inflation" over the years. Thirdly, an analysis of the human composition at Ebuhleni from one Festival to another was made possible, that is, whether or not the same members attend from year to year, had there been an increase in the numbers of members at Ebuhleni over the years, and the religious and social implications thereof. Fourthly, my personal circumstances changed from one research period to the next. In July 1989 I was an "unmarried girl", thereby probably more easily able to gain access to and acceptability among the unmarried girls at Ebuhleni (although certainly, the married women never refused to speak to me, nor did I have any reason to believe that I was at any time deliberately misled by married women). Between June and July 1989 and July 1991, I had married, which placed me in another age category, that of married woman (although I had not yet had children). I believe that I became more acceptable in the eyes of the married women, and certainly those who remembered me were most interested and showed pleasure at my new status. It is possible that my new status smoothed the path in my discussion of certain subjects, such as "unlawful" sexual relations between Church members, in particular, as regards unmarried girls who had had babies out of marriage and could no longer reside with or take part in the activities of the unmarried girls.

Two days were spent at the Killie Campbell Africana Library and Museum obtaining literature and early photographic material of adornment worn by members of the Nazareth Baptist Church. Time was

also spent at the Durban Local History Museum studying photographs from its Photographic Collection. The latter includes the original photographs taken by Ms E. Roberts, which are presented in her 1936 thesis concerning the Nazareth Baptist Church. Much of the photographic material included in my thesis is the work of professional photographer, the late Ms Jean Morris, while the remainder is from the Collections of the Killie Campbell Aficana Library and Museum, the Durban Local History Museum and my own collection.

A literature survey was completed. Literature concerning the Nazareth Baptist Church and its relation to other African Independent/Indigenous Churches was studied. In addition, relevant literature pertaining to beadwork and adornment, and informal sector activity, was examined. The reviewed literature provides a background against which the results of this study are interpreted.

1.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There have been various approaches and theories postulated in attempts to understand and explain religion.

The earliest theorists were concerned with finding the origins of religion and with the explanation of religion in terms of theories of social evolution. Thus Muller, Spencer, Tylor and Frazer, all worked within an evolutionary and a psychologistic mould. One of the strongest opponents to this type of approach was French

sociologist, Emile Durkheim.

The work of Emile Durkheim, particularly that contained in "The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life" (1915), made considerable impact in the arena of anthropological studies of religion. Writers such as Douglas, Eliade, Fortes, Leach, Levi-Strauss, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown and Turner, to mention but a few, have in one way or another been influenced by Durkheim's contribution to anthropological thinking. So significant was Durkheim's contribution to the anthropology of religion, that even today aspects of his theory are used to provide a background against which the results of studies may be made intelligible (see Renne 1991). This is not to say, however, that all aspects of his theory of religion are sound or useful. A discussion of his theory will follow as, too, will a brief outline of critcisms which have been posed against it by numerous authors. At the same time, to ignore any discussion of the influences he has had on subsequent theorists and ethnographers would be to deny his contribution the credit it deserves.

Durkheim, to some extent, followed Tylor and Frazer in his search for the origins of religion. His major concern, however, was not with religious belief systems <u>per se</u>, but rather the relationship between religious belief systems and social organisation. In this, he had been influenced by theorists such as neo-Kantian writer, Renouvier; historian, Fustel de Coulanges; and Robertson-Smith. Durkheim's view that the whole is more than the sum of its

constituent parts, so evident in his theory of religion, was attributable to Renouvier. Fustel de Coulanges believed that religion and social organisation in ancient Greek and Roman society were closely linked. Any religious development resulted in changes in social organisation. Durkheim was to reverse the relationship in his theory. Robertson-Smith, in his theory of religion, believed there was a close relationship between totemism, which he considered the earliest form of religion, and clan exogamy.

Durkheim believed that by studying the most primitive religious beliefs, it would be possible to discover the components of religion, that is, "essential ideas which dominate all our intellectual life...the categories of understanding: ideas of time, space, class, number, cause, substance, personality, etc" (Durkheim 1976:9).

Durkheim regarded two concepts as very important in his theory of religion. One concept concerned the sacred as opposed to the profane; and the other concerned the church or moral community. These concepts formed the basis of his definition of religion, a definition which he saw as universally applicable to all religions. Durkheim defined religion as:

> **a unified set of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden - beliefs and practices which unite into a single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them** [his emphasis] (1976:47).

Durkheim believed that anything could be sacred, from gods or spirits to rocks or trees. The sacred was distinguished from the profane by means of its absolute heterogeneity:

> In all the history of human thought there exists no other example of two categories of things so profoundly differentiated or so radically opposed to one another...the sacred and profane have always and everywhere been conceived by the human mind as two distinct classes, as two worlds between which there is nothing in common (1976:38-9).

Durkheim related religion to the realm of the sacred and the profane to matters of everyday life. The sacred and profane realms were separate and full membership of one required leaving the other completely. Durkheim wrote:

> In fact, owing to the barrier which separates the sacred from the profane, a man cannot enter into intimate relations with sacred things except after ridding himself of all that is profane in him....no one can engage in a religious ceremony of any importance without first submitting himself to a sort of preliminary initiation which introduces him progressively into the sacred world. (Durkheim 1976:309).

Sacredness, believed Durkheim, was not intrinsic to the objects or emblems considered, rather the sacredness came from elsewhere. Durkheim saw the sacred objects and emblems as symbols. In order to discover the referents of the symbols, Durkheim drew heavily on the work of Spencer and Gillin among the Arunta, a hunter-gatherer society of central Australia with a totemic clan system.

The totem shared by members of a clan is usually a species of animal or plant which is perceived by members as sacred to the clan. This sacred totem may not be eaten or killed by members of

the clan, except on particular ritual occasions when the totem may be eaten in a communal or sacramental meal.

Although the totemic plants and animals are perceived as sacred, they themselves are not worshipped and, in fact, are not regarded as being particularly sacred. Durkheim states that it is actually "the figurative representations of this plant or animal and the totemic emblems and symbols of every sort, which have the greatest sanctity..." (1976:206).

The totemic creatures represented in their emblems are sacred to the clan and so, too, are the members of the clan by association. The respect inspired for the totemic emblems especially, which gives them this sacred nature, does not come from within the object because the totems, totemic emblems and members of the clan all share it. Thus, it must come from some common principle of which all partake. This is the totemic principle. An impersonal force or god is distributed in man and natural phenomena. The totem is the symbol of this impersonal god (MANA). At the same time, the totem is symbolic of the clan. This logically makes society and the impersonal god one and the same thing. Thus:

> The god of the clan, the totemic principle, can therefore be nothing else than the clan itself, personified and represented to the imagination under the visible form of the animal or vegetable which serves as a totem (Durkheim 1976:206).

Thus there is a correspondence between the structure of society

and religion. Souls and spiritual beings, no less than totemic beings, symbolize society. More than this, religion is derived from the social structure. It is in this last view that Durkheim differed greatly from earlier theorists such as Muller, Spencer, Tylor and Frazer, who had seen the source of society as being in sensory experience evoked by natural phenomena. While Durkheim believed that religion may have its origins in society, this is not to say he believed that society is some kind of personal god which worships itself. Men worship God.

These sacred conceptions, that is, totemism, souls and spiritual beings, are shared by all who make up the moral community. It is the church or moral community (corresponding to the clan) which adheres to a set of beliefs (obligatory in nature) and engages in communal ritual activity. Man has both sacred and profane within him, he is both moral and animal. Men are part of the natural world as members of the clan, but also the moral world in the sharing of sacred aspects. Men as members of a moral community is, for Durkheim, a characteristic of religion:

> A society whose members are united by the fact that they think in the same way in regard to the sacred world and its relations with the profane world, and by the fact that they translate these common ideas into common practices, is what is called a Church (1976:43-44).

Durkheim used his concept of the moral community to distinguish religion from magic. Magic, in terms of Durkheim's theory, has no church.

For Durkheim, religion arises out of social action (the ritual

activities of a moral congregation which reinforces social solidarity through the generation of "collective effervescence"), but then attains an existence independent from social life which gave rise to it. Religious forces are:

> only collective forces hypostatized, that is to say, moral forces; they are made up of ideas and sentiments awakened in and by the spectacle of society, and not of sensations coming from the physical world. So they are not homogenous with the visible things among which we place them...**They are added to them** [his emphasis] (Durkheim 1976:322-3).

The collective effervesence aroused in clan rites and partaking of the totem reinforces solidarity among members of the moral community and the obligatory nature of the external sacred forces on the moral community. It is also this collective heightened emotion which facilitates the endowment and re-endowment of the totems with sacred significance as symbols of the social order which gave rise to it. Symbols represent the society to individuals.

One of the basic premises of Durkheim's theory, that is, the distinction between the sacred and the profane, has been the focus of much criticism. Evans-Pritchard (1965), Lukes (1973), Towler (1974) and Wilson (1971) all argue that Durkheim makes too sharp a distinction between the sacred and the profane. It is argued that while certainly there may be a distinction between the sacred and the profane in large-scale societies, as a result of the enormity of the growth of the society and subsequent specialisation within the society, this is not true for small-scale societies. There is usually no rigid separation between the sacred ritual and profane

activity in small societies as has been borne out by fieldwork. Evans-Pritchard, in fact, takes Durkheim to task for not having done fieldwork himself:

> One sometimes sighs - if only Tylor, Marrett, Durkheim and all the rest of them could have spent a few weeks among the peoples about whom they so freely wrote (1965:67).

With regard to the rigid dichotomy between the sacred and the profane, Evans-Pritchard (1965:65) argues that it allows no room for situational flexibility. For example, Zande shrines are used for sacred purposes in some contexts, but not in others. He notes, furthermore, that contrary to Durkheim, prohibitions are not always used to demarcate the sacred, as illustrated by the Nilotic peoples who are not subject to any prohibitions in their elaborate sacrificial rites.

Lukes (1973) takes this further and states that Durkheim's category of sacredness contains ambiguities which do not fit in with the sharp distinction he made between the sacred and the profane. Lukes argues that Durkheim's category of sacred contains the pure and impure and the propitiously and unpropitiously sacred between which there is a close bond, but, at the same time, they are antagonistic toward one another and contact between them would constitute a serious profanation (1973:27). Lukes asks: "How, for instance, is the impurely sacred to be distinguished from the profane, a sacred profanation from a profane profanation ?" (1973:27).

Certainly Durkheim did emphasise the dichotomy between the sacred and profane and, at the same time, attempted to allow for flexibilty or degrees of sacredness or impurity which resulted in ambiguities. I do believe, however, that the distinction between the sacred and the profane is not a completely erroneous one and has its merits as an analytical tool. This I aim to show in my analysis of a small-scale society, that is, at the Nazareth Baptist Church meeting in July at Ebuhleni.

Scharf (1970) and Evans-Pritchard (1965) dispute Durkheim's evolutionary-type supposition that to know the origins of religion is to gain full comprehension of religion universally. Evans-Pritchard rejects Durkheim's assumption that totemism is the simplest form of religion, on the grounds that there is just no evidence to support it (1965:52).

Evans-Pritchard (1965), Morris (1987), Scharf (1970) and Towler (1974) among others, have all criticised some aspect of Durkheim's concern with collective effervescence and group solidarity aroused through ritual action of the clan as the moral community.

It cannot be denied that there are problems with Durkheim's theory and the examples he uses to support it, but despite this, there is merit in his contribution. Lukes has summed up Durkheim's position thus:

> Despite the many criticisms that have been justifiably advanced against this work - both ethnographic, methodological, logical and theoretical - it remains a

> major and profound contribution to the sociology of religion, and, more generally, to the sociology of ideas and ideologies (1973:459).

In defence of Durkheim, he did attempt to explain religion in terms of social experience, which was an advance on previous naturalistic, individualistic type theories. In so doing, he recognised the existence of religious symbols and attempted to interpret them in relation to society. This is summed up by Mair:

> What we learn from Durkheim...is that religious symbols are often attached to social groups, so that when one is studying the structure of a society one must ask what groups form ritual units, and when one is studying ritual one must ask in what ways the status of particular persons or groups is reflected in the ritual roles assigned to them (1965:198).

In spite of the criticism of Durkheim's theory, the latter has been influential in much recent work in the field of religion and related disciplines. Beidelman (1981), Eliade (1959), Hertz (1960, 1973) and Leach (1970, 1977) all make use of Durkheim's dualism between the sacred and the profane. Hertz in his essay (1960) concerning the duality of right and left, as represented by hands, relates the right to "sacred power, source of life, truth, beauty, virtue, the rising sun, the male sex ..." (103), and the left to their contraries.

Mircea Eliade in his work, "The Sacred and the Profane" (1959), believes that the sacred is opposed to the profane such that an "abyss" separates the two (14). He relates, as did Durkheim, the sacred to the realm of religion. Myths, for Eliade, provide a

sacred history of the creation of the sacred in the world by divine or semi-divine beings. The sacred is revealed through religious symbols and kept alive through ritual because man is re-enacting divine behaviour set out in myth. In so doing, he is keeping himself close to the gods.

Leach (1970, 1977) has made use of Durkheim's dichotomy of the sacred and the profane, particularly in his 1970 (1954) work on the Kachin and Shan peoples of North East Burma. However, he does state that any rigid distinction between the sacred and profane is "untenable" (Leach 1970:12). He places all actions on a continuum, with one pole being the technically functional which he equates with the profane, and the other the technically non-functional which he equates the sacred and ritual. He believes that ritual symbolises and reminds the participating members of "...the system of socially approved "proper" relations between individuals and groups" (1970:15).

Beidelman (1981) analyses the beliefs and practices of missionaries of the Church Missionary Society (a group of Protestant evangelists in the Church of England) active in Tanzania in the late 1800's and early 1900's. He shows that in striving for a life of spiritual purity, these missionaries were often compelled to draw on aspects of the profane. Beidelman, while using the sacred/profane disinction as an analytical concept, makes no attempt to relate it to the maintenance of social stucture in any significant way.

Douglas (1982), on the other hand, sees peoples' experiences within the social structure as underlying symbolic and religious systems. She relates the degree of social restraint in society to cosmology and the use of the human body. At one extreme, where there are strong social controls, ritual is great, while at the other extreme, little ritualisation and weak social control go hand in hand. Where there is less control in a society, the liklihood of loss of control is greater and so, too, is corresponding bodily abandonment, and visa versa. On the basis of this, Douglas proposes two different types of religion. One is a religion of control, which predominates in societies where there are strong social controls, extreme ritualism and corresponding bodily control. The converse is the second type she proposes, that is, a religion of ecstacy where emphasis is on "effervescence" (73), for example, millenarian movements and spirit-possession groups. Douglas stresses that it is the breakdown of social relationships and control in societies which result in the formation of these types of religious expression, and not oppression as suggested in some theories, for example, Compensation Theory.

Renne (1991) looks at the use of white cloth among the Bunu Yoruba of central Nigeria. Following Durkheim and his concern with the way in which material things symbolise social structure, she "considers both ritual and everyday ways in which white cloth palpably communicates ideas and values" (710).

It is through the use and applicability of aspects of Durkheim's theory to the Nazareth Baptist Church data that I acknowledge his great contribution to the social anthropology of religion. A distinction (in the minds and behaviour of Nazareth Baptist Church members) exists between the sacred and profane spheres. The sacred realm embodies symbolic expression through communal and public activity in the form of church going, dancing and other ritual enactment. The profane realm is concerned with the individual privately engaged in empirical pursuits, most particularly, commerce.

The clothing and adornment worn by members of the Nazareth Baptist Church are religious symbols, obviously not totemic animals which are ritually sacrificed, but symbols which have sacred significance when worn to church, for dancing or any other ritual activity.

Religious symbols reflect the underlying social structure, that is, the different social statuses within the Church community. It is at communal gatherings, when a "collective effervescence" is aroused, that these symbols are recharged with sacred meaning and their use highlights the social structure.

At Ebuhleni, the uniforms worn on ritual occasions, for example, to church and while dancing, unite all participants, but, at the same time, reflect differences between them, that is, they

emphasise communal and collective differentiation. Each age, gender, marriage and leadership grade is distinguished from the other through uniform, thereby emphasising religious ideological requirements (normative behaviour) as espoused by the Church. In this way, social control is attained and maintained by the Church. Simultaneously, all members of each particular grade dressed in like fashion are viewed by spectators as the same and are expected to behave in the same way. The members of each grade are united as is the entire group of all participants, be it at church or when dancing, through a common purpose, a sacred purpose - to worship God. The uniforms embody this sacred allegiance.

Competition between members occupies another sphere of life, that is, the everyday profane life. In this sphere, the emphasis is on individualism and entrepreneurial activity where items are made for sale for individual gain to fellow members, to non-members and to tourists at Durban beachfront. The manufacture of uniforms to be used for church or dancing is a profane activity, because it is only in the ritual sphere that the uniform is imbued with a religious significance. After the church service, dance or any other ritual activity, the uniform may retain some sacred significance for each member, which is reinforced at regular meetings.

One must be completely devoted to the sacred realm and comply with prohibitions when in this realm in order to cope sufficiently when one has left the sacred arena and re-entered the profane life, as

well as to qualify again for full entrance to the sacred realm later.

1.4. LITERATURE SURVEY

This study of the religious and commercial significance of clothing and beadwork in the Nazareth Baptist Church incorporates a few seemingly diverse topics which have been examined in a range of ethnographic and anthropological studies, many of which pertain to the KwaZulu/Natal area.

These topics include the concept of colour symbolism and its relation to cosmology, the use of beadwork and adornment to convey social messages, and informal sector activity. Here they are drawn together within a religious realm, that is, within the context of an African Independent Church, the Nazareth Baptist Church under Amos Shembe in Natal.

Much has been written about IBANDLA LAMANAZARETHA founded in 1911 by Isaiah Shembe. (See Becken 1965, 1967, 1978, 1991; Becken and Zungu n.d.; Fernandez 1973; Gunner 1985, 1988; Kiernan 1992; Mthethwa 1986, 1988; Oosthuizen 1965, 1967, 1968b, 1983; Roberts 1940; Sundkler 1961a+b, 1965, 1976; Vilakazi, Mthethwa and Mpanza 1986). Much of this literature has concentrated on the sacred aspects of the Shembe Church and its counterparts in the African Independent Churches. Less attention has been paid to the profane aspect of Church organisation and Church clothing than has been given to the more religious or ritual aspects. Work concerning the

profane aspects has been done in this study and is discussed in Chapter 7.

Although the Shembe Church is placed with other African Independent Churches, this is not a typical African Independent Church. The points of difference are established in Chapter 1 of this thesis. Some attention, however, should be given here to a discussion of the African Independent Churches (AIC) themselves. Much has been written about AIC, which are numerically very prominent in South Africa. Oosthuizen (1989:18) cites recorded membership of AIC in 1989 at eight million adherents in 4000 denominations, which is approximately four times the membership and twice the number of denominations existing in 1960.

There has been much debate over issues concerning AIC, for example, the definition of AIC, acceptable terminology applicable to AIC, and the worth and reliability of classifying AIC into rigid typologies.

For the purpose of this thesis, AIC will be viewed as black-controlled churches with a predominantly black membership.

There has been, and still is, significant controversy surrounding the best applicable and least offensive terminology by which AIC should be known. Terms such as "separatist", "movement", "sect", "cult" and "syncretist", have all been used at one stage or another to refer to AIC and have, too, been found to be

unacceptable as they are derogatory and suggest an unwillingness to acknowlege these churches as Christian churches (see Makhubu 1988; Turner 1967a).

Turner (1967a), in his work, suggests that the term "independent" is most acceptable because it is "free from some of the derogatory overtones of "separatist", and in Africa is surrounded at present by a certain glory through its use to describe the vast movement of African peoples towards political freedom..." (17). West (1975:3), however, in his work on AIC in Soweto, noted that the term independent "is used by few in describing themselves in an African language". Makhubu (1988) believes that the term indigenous is preferable to that of independent which "is unsatisfactory because there are white churches that have broken away from their mainline families, and these churches are obviously not independent in the sense of African Independent (indigenous) Churches" (2). Turner acknowledges mission-type church breakaways from their parent church, but these churches, he believes, should be seen as autonomous as opposed to independent, as they still retain ties with the parent church.

Turner rejected the use of the term "indigenous" on the basis of Eugene A. Nida's definition of indigenous as "churches that have grown entirely from local leadership and funds, although they often owe much to the mission church from which they broke away or imitate" (14). Turner demonstrates that this definition has wider applicability other than to AIC only. Makhubu, in argument for the

use of the term indigenous, states that:

> The title "indigenous" churches is better, since it tries to demonstrate that these churches originate from the people themselves. They have not been initiated by Europeans or Americans or other outsiders. They were started by African people themselves (1988:1-2).

In terms of historical data concerning the AIC as presented by Sundkler (1961), initial impetus for the development of AIC did indeed seem to come from the work of "outsiders", that is, an American influence. Makhubu provides no evidence to support his somewhat emotional statement, and despite his earlier arguments for the use of the term "indigenous", he continues to use the term "independent" throughout the remainder of his book.

It would appear that there is a sense in which these churches (African Independent) are indigenous and another in which they are independent. There is no real contradiction.

Not only has there been terminological debate concerning AIC, but much discussion has revolved around the most applicable term for mission-type churches. Turner rejects the term "mission" churches, as he states that "there are churches brought not by missions but by settlers, both black and white; nor is it acceptable to the maturing churches of Africa to be labelled permanently in this way" (1967a:19). He believes that the term "historical" is most acceptable. For Turner, the term "indicates those churches in Africa whose history shows a direct connexion with the Christian community of the West, either through their origin or through

later intimate association. In this way they share in the history and traditions of Western Christianity" (1967a:19). Turner argues that these churches are mainly older, larger and more firmly established. However, the term "historical" and the reasons given by Turner for the use of this term are unacceptable. Firstly, it implies that AIC have no history, which is grossly incorrect. Secondly, some other Christian religions which are very close in doctrine and practice to the so called "historical" churches (and are surely sharing in the traditions of these churches) have formed more recently than some AIC. Thirdly, the Nazareth Baptist Church, an AIC, is an established church with an extremely large membership which has progressively grown since the start of the Church in 1910 (Becken 1978:162-163). Other terms, such as "mainline churches", have been applied. This term is also problematic in that the membership of AIC in South Africa is increasing and likely to exceed that of some of the so-called "mainline churches" in the near future (Oosthuizen 1992:1).

In order to avoid confusion and further embroilment in the terminology controversy, I will opt for the use of descriptive rather than definintive terms while acknowledging their limitations. I will refer to the AIC as African Independent/Indigenous Churches (AIC). Those Christian churches having some white control or membership, and having originated from the original "mission" churches, I will refer to as "mission-type churches".

Sundkler in his 1948 work, "Bantu Prophets in South Africa", made a discernable contribution to an understanding of AIC in South Africa, in particular, those AIC with a predominantly Zulu-speaking membership. It is in this work that he made his classic distinction between two types of AIC, the Ethiopian and Zionist types, and traces their respective histories. He reiterates this distinction in his later edition (1961a) of the same work, although he tentatively adds a third category - the "Bantu Messiah" groups (1961a:323). Ethiopian Churches he describes broadly as "a) seceded from White Mission Churches chiefly on racial grounds, or b) other Bantu Churches seceding from the Bantu leaders classified under a)" (1961a:53-4). Zionist Churches, on the other hand, he refers to as "a syncretist Bantu movement with healing, speaking in tongues, purification rites, taboos as the main expressions of their faith" (1961a:55). According to Sundkler (1961a:323), among Bantu Messiah groups it is the Bantu Messiah who stands at the "Gate of Heaven" and not Jesus Christ as known in the Bible.

It is in his 1961b paper, "Concept of Christianity", that Sundkler further develops this third category which he calls Bantu Messianic Movements. In the latter, "the Bantu prophet himself becomes the Messiah and Moses leading his people into the Promised Land" (204). In his later publication, "Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists" (1976), in the light of much criticism received regarding his three-fold typology and his reassessment of AIC, Sundkler states: "I have become even more hesitant now to apply

the term of "Messiah" " (309).

There have been numerous attempts, since Sundkler, to establish typologies of AIC, for example, Turner (1967a). In his paper, Turner, concerned with establishing a typology of what he refers to as "modern African religious movements", proposes a dual classification of AIC (which he refers to as "modern African Christian movements") along much the same lines as Sundkler, that is, Ethiopian churches and Prophet-healing churches (1967a:22-23). In the case of Prophet-healing churches, the term "Zionist" is applicable in the South African context and "Aladura" when referring to West Africa (1967a:28).

This distinction between the Ethiopian and Zionist Churches, originally made by Sundkler in the 1940's and much discussed and elaborated upon, particularly in the 1960's, has been adopted by many writing on AIC, for example, Makhubu (1988) (although he includes three additional types - see Makhubu 1988), Fogelqvist (1986) and so on. Some, however, have criticised attempts to classify AIC into categories, for example, Fernandez (1978). He dismissed the typological fervour particularly evident in the 1960's with such comments as "the rather more flamboyant generalizations of the 60's...are well expressed in its typologies" and "typologies tend by classification to draw boundaries around movements..." (1978:204-205). He believes also that the classification of AIC into typologies was often used as a forum for the debate of theological issues "even though theo-logic

is not a pronounced interest in African movements" (229). For Fernandez, anthropologists need to focus on "approaches that are ontologic...that are grounded first in the acts, images, and embedded concepts of these movements and which move carefully and by rules if possible to the ideas implied in that activity and image" because such approaches "keep us focussed on the African struggle to maintain the integrity of their worlds in transitional circumstances..." (1978:230).

Vilakazi, Mthethwa and Mpanza (1986), while acknowledging Sundkler's great contribution to science, counter that "his division is artificial, and that there are so many things that overlap that it is difficult to say which characteristics are peculiar to one group and absent in the other" (154). Vilakazi et al (1986) argue that Sundkler ignored the black sections of the mission churches which they believe have certain characteristics in common with both the Ethiopian and Zionist Churches, for example, nationalism and speaking in tongues.

Sundkler (1976:304) has admitted to there being problems with his typology which he created in the 40's. He argues that the distinction between the two types, Zionist and Ethiopian, was not only viable then, but the fact that they have survived "seem to indicate that they have remained comparatively useful tools" (306). Sundkler does recognise that "Ethiopian" and "Zionist" are "comprehensive terms" and more specific differences exist within the broad AIC groupings, for example, Apostolic, Gospel and

Pentacostal-type Churches. He concludes by stating:

> With all this in mind we nevertheless do emphasize certain broad features and overriding concerns common to them all (1976:307).

Kiernan (1990b) does not discount Sundkler's distinction. Rather, he believes that it has importance as an analytical tool. Kiernan does, however, suggest a complementary classification of "Book" religion as opposed to "Spirit" religion, which "are to be seen as components of religion rather than as representing separate strands of historical origin as was the case with Ethiopian and Zionist" (Kiernan 1990b:9).

It is not my intention in this thesis, nor would there be any point, to attempt to show how the Shembe data may be fitted into any sort of classification system, rigid or otherwise. I do believe, however, that an awareness of typological issues is required as a background to any full understanding of research data concerning AIC, in this case, the Nazareth Baptist Church.

Another well-debated issue concerns the circumstances surrounding the establishment and growth of AIC, an issue which has some relevance to the interpretation of my research results concerning the Nazareth Baptist Church.

The reasons for the growth and development of AIC are both numerous and complex and have been discussed in detail by writers such as Oosthuizen (1968a) and Makhubu (1988), the latter focusing

particularly on South Africa. A range of reasons from political and economic to social and religious, operating together in varying combinations, are often cited as the causes of AIC.

Sundkler has been taken to task for implying that only two main reasons, racial domination and Protestant denominationalism, exist for the development of AIC (1961a:295). Kiernan (1974), for example, has criticised Sundkler's emphasis on race domination as a prime cause. Kiernan, referring to his own work among Zulu Zionist Churches in Natal, shows that anti-white sentiment is not expressed during ritual and worship, and nor, too, is social separation between black and white espoused. Rather Zionists are concerned with setting up boundaries between themselves and non-members, black and white, during worship and in everyday life in the work situation, particularly on the part of men.

Sundkler, however, defends his position and states that he was accused of mentioning only two causes of AIC when actually: "A large part of my book was in fact devoted to an analysis of the causes of African breakaways from other African leaders..." (1976:305). But this defence only explains why there is more of the same type of church rather than why the AIC's are there in the first instance.

Despite the criticism that Sundkler received for having suggested that AIC arose as a response to race domination, Comaroff (1985) takes a very similar line in her analysis of data obtained from

fieldwork among the Baralong boo Ratshidi (Tshidi) of the South Africa-Botswana borderland. She looks at the development of the Tshidi socio-cultural order from precolonial time to the present day. She focuses particularly on the influence and effects of the South African State on the formation of the modern socio-cultural order. Colonial penetration, to a large extent aided by the ideology and action of missionaries, gave rise to the process of proletarianization. Underdevelopment, rural poverty and labour migration were the result of contact with the South African state, that is, "the Tswana were relegated to the periphery of a new structural field: a field dominated by racially indexed relations of class" (10).

The Tshidi were locked into a contradictory relationship between "a transformed rural domain and the industrial workplace..." (12). Their response to this contradictory involvement was not to openly rebel against the "neocolonial order", but rather "to find expression in resistance at the level of everyday practice, the most cogent form of which occurred within the dissenting course of Zionist Christianity" (12).

Comaroff's approach appears to have merit in aiding understanding of the case of the Tshidi Zionists. However, Comaroff's emphasis on resistance to the "neocolonial order" among Tshidi does not explain the situation found among Zulu Zionists where, for example, members create boundaries between themselves and other non-members (both black and white) (Kiernan 1974). Comaroff's heavy reliance on the role of resistance in explaining each and

every Tshidi Zionist ritual response leads one to wonder whether this is indeed the case, or whether at times she is altogether too intent on selling her argument to the reader (see also Kiernan 1987a).

At this point, I will merely touch on a few causes of AIC which have some relevance to the Nazareth Baptist Church. Some of these will be dealt with in more detail in the body of this thesis. It is my intention to show that the rise of the Shembe Church was not primarily as a means of resistance, whether to apartheid or the colonial order. This is not to say that these factors have never had some role to play in the Church. Gunner (1988), for example, in her work on orality and literacy in the Nazareth Baptist Church, analyses the use of praise poems (IZIBONGO) which reflect themes of domination and opposition gleaned from Isaiah Shembe's, experiences with official authorities such as police, magistrates, location supervisors and missionaries, in the early 1900's just after the establishment of the Church. Missionaries, in particular, wrote of their concern that the Shembe Church was " "under no European control" " (Gunner 1988:214).

I intend to show that membership of the Church provides members with a sense of identity and, in addition, a coping mechanism, both of which may indirectly act as a means of resistance to outside influences be it other blacks, whites or the State, although members themselves are not openly aware of this. Kiernan (1977a), in his work on Zulu Zionist Churches in Natal, shows how

these Churches may act as quasi-welfare organisations which offer members drawn from the poorer sectors of the population a means of support by embracing the "principle of self-help" (40). For example, drinking, gambling, and smoking are prohibited, while thrift and work are all important thereby ensuring a supply of money with which to support one's family; and collective support is provided both financially and socially.

West (1975), too, in his work on AIC in Soweto, finds that the AIC are a type of coping mechanism as opposed to a resistance mechanism, that is, AIC's have "succeeded - where the mission churches have not - in meeting the needs of many of the people of Soweto" (189). This includes the provision of support networks and assistance in dealing with poverty and insecurity.

In the case of the Nazareth Baptist Church, members (women in particular) are provided with a religious, social and economic support network which they themselves acknowledge. Chapters 4 and 7 of this thesis will include a discussion of these aspects and their contribution to the growth of the Church.

One reason often cited in the literature as a considerable contributing factor to the rise and growth of AIC is that of the disturbance of the social and cultural life of the black community (Oosthuizen 1968a:20). Certain ways of doing things were seen by missionaries as heathen and to be eradicated, for example, polygamy, bridewealth transactions, circumcision, ritual

sacrifices to the ancestors and so on, without any understanding of the social function of these practices in the structure of society. Some AIC, while recognising the primacy of Christianity, incorporated elements of traditional society into their religious ideology, a case in point being the Nazareth Baptist Church.

Included in the tenets of the Shembe Church, which are based on Numbers 6 in the Bible, are practices such as circumcision and polygamy. Vilakazi et al (1986:156) note that polygamy distinguishes this Church from other AIC and mission-type churches. Isaiah Shembe recognised a need for social and cultural identity within the disturbed social enviroment and, through the Church, provided the means whereby it could be fulfilled, thereby also contributing to increased Church membership. Shembe also included within the Church ideology other aspects of traditional Zulu culture which were often neglected in mission-type Churches (Oosthuizen 1968a:21-2), for example, use of the vernacular, Zulu, and singing and dancing. The use of particular uniforms for prayer and for dancing, many of the latter having some sort of traditional Zulu basis, are actively encouraged. The use of traditional cultural symbols (even though they may take a slightly altered form), for example, that of Zulu-type clothing for dancing, is surely attractive to some, and as the uniforms are more or less unique to the Church, they help provide a sense of identity and belonging for members. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

1.5. OUTLINE OF PRESENTATION

It is my intention, in the second chapter of this thesis, to explore the history of the Nazareth Baptist Church, its establishment, growth and basic tenets which are intrinsic to any understanding of research data which may be presented concerning the Church. Knowledge of the tenets is crucial for it is these which, to a large extent, determine that which may be considered sacred as opposed to the profane aspects of daily living.

An analysis of power struggles in the history of the Church, subsequent upon the death of the Leader, are important in understanding practices in the Church as it exists today and for providing an understanding of the context in which my research was completed. Not only do leadership struggles have implications for the present context of the Church, but so, too, do leadership styles, which will also be tackled in this chapter. In particular, attention will be given to a hotly debated allegation that Isaiah Shembe was elevated to the status of "Black Christ".

Chapter 3 is concerned with an analysis of the physical layout of the village of Ebuhleni where the majority of fieldwork was conducted. The extent to which people draw on recognised cultural symbols in housing arrangements, and the implications of this, will be discussed. In addition, the relationship between the layout of the village, residence patterns of the inhabitants and ritual activity will be examined.

Chapter 4 is concerned with membership of the Nazareth Baptist Church, the largest AIC in Natal (Becken 1978:10). By far the majority of members are women. Reasons for this are examined in detail in this chapter.

Chapter 5 covers a description of clothing and adornment made and worn by members for Church services, dancing and other related activity.

Chapter 6 is concerned with an analysis of the meaning behind the use of the uniforms. Attempts will be made to assess the extent of a "traditional Zulu" influence, that is, the degree to which traditional meanings have been superimposed upon the Shembe uniforms, and the implications this may have for Shembe daily life. One particular aspect to be tackled is the symbolism of beadwork.

The statements that beadwork and adornment make about the users, that is, messages about group solidarity, identity and control are also taken into consideration. I show that group structures within the Shembe Church are reflected through the sacred use of clothing and adornment. Furthermore, it is through use of symbols in sacred ritual action that the unity of the ritual group is reinforced.

Chapter 7 is about the profane realm, in particular, the manufacture and sale of beadwork and adornment used on ritual occasions. A different style of beadwork is also produced by

members for commercial sale to non-members, particularly white tourists at Durban beachfront. The differences in style and messages communicated in the sale and use of these types of beadwork are examined. The extent to which beadwork manufacture and sale is encouraged and supported by the religious philosophy of the Nazareth Baptist Church is also explored.

The conclusion contains a summary of the potentially opposed sacred and profane realms. This chapter also explores the way in which the sacred and profane realms have been manipulated by the Church to form a relationship which benefits both the individual and the Church.

NOTES

1. In terms of post-election legislation (May 1994), the former separately governed areas of Natal and KwaZulu were combined to form the province of KwaZulu/Natal. For the purposes of geographical specificity, the terms Natal and KwaZulu will be used to refer to their pre-election geographic designations, keeping in mind that their political unity is recognised in this thesis.

TABLE 1

RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED AT EBUHLENI

Year	Interviewer	Married Women	Unmarried Girls	Females	Males	Non-Members
1989	G.Morcom	76	34	2	27	2
	S.Zibane	16	7	-	--	1
1991	G.Morcom	23	13	3	14	2
	S.Zibane	--	1	1	3	-
1992	G.Morcom	63	12	-	4	-
1993	G.Morcom	3	--	-	-	-
TOTAL	SAMPLE	181	67	6	48	5

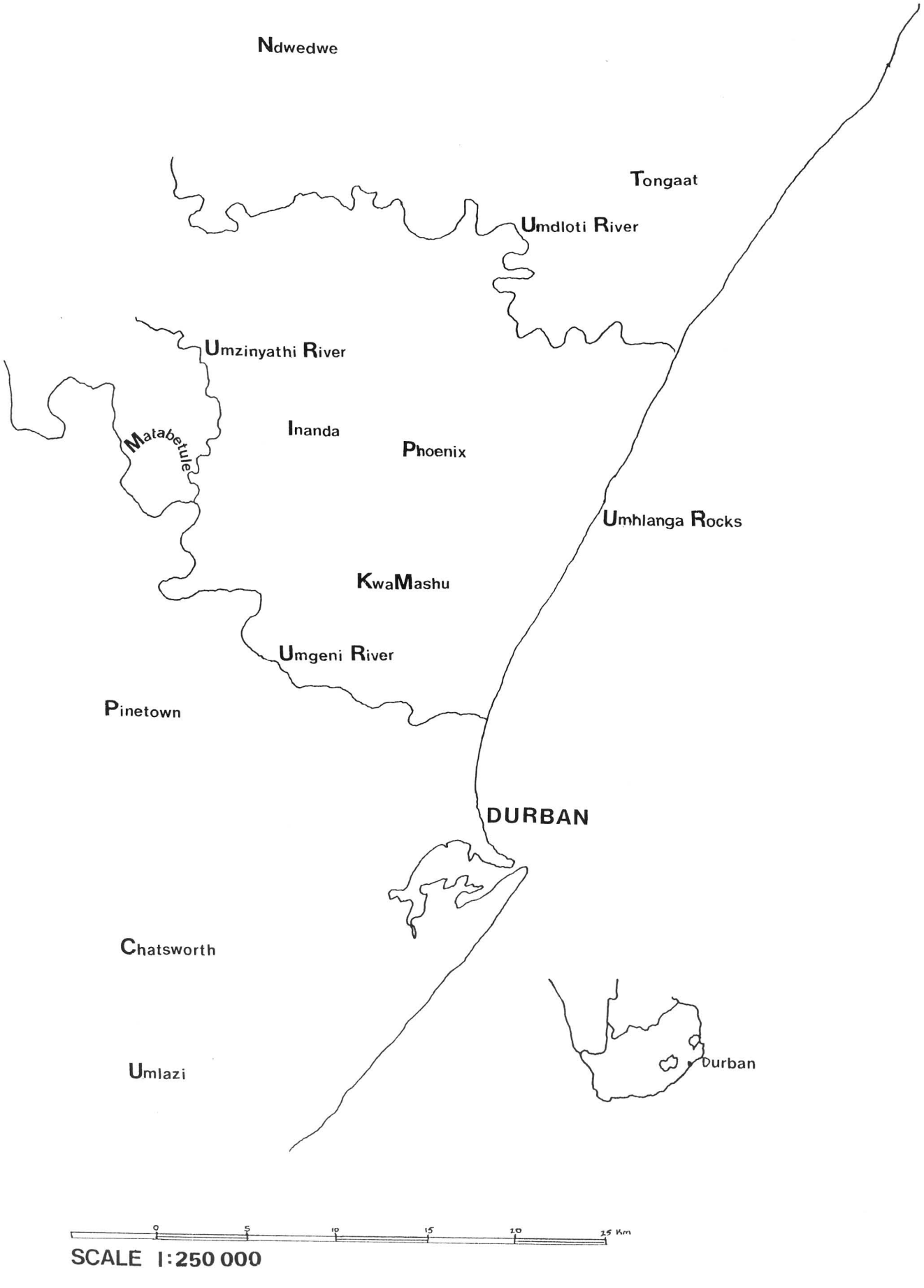


FIGURE 1: Map showing the location of Matabetule, Inanda and Ndwedwe. Kwazulu/Natal. South Africa.

CHAPTER 2

ISSUES SURROUNDING THE ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH OF THE AMANAZARETHA CHURCH

IBANDLA LAMANAZARETHA was founded in the early 1900's by Isaiah Shembe. Many of those who have written about the Church refer to John Dube's biography of Isaiah Shembe, "USHEMBE" (1936), which appeared shortly after the Founder's death. Information for this book came from Shembe himself, from informants and from Dube's own knowledge. Son and successor to Isaiah Shembe, Johannes Galilee Shembe, and older church members, believed the book to contain errors (Gunner 1988:210). It is possible that this may, to some extent, be accountable for some of the inconsistencies evident in the work of later writers who consulted this source. Robert's dissertation (1936) concerning the Founder and his Church was completed at much the same time as Dube's work.

This chapter is a brief synthesis of the writings of Becken 1965, 1967, 1978; Fernandez 1973; Gunner 1985, 1988; Oosthuizen 1965, 1967, 1968, 1983; Roberts 1936; Sundkler 1961a+b, 1965, 1976 and Vilakazi, Mthethwa and Mpanza 1986, which have been concerned with the establishment and growth of the Church from its foundation under Isaiah Shembe to the present day under the leadership of Amos K. Shembe. This material provides the background against which my research data may be understood. Issues such as patterns of leadership, and those tenets of the Church which have a direct bearing on the interpretation of my work, will be highlighted.

2.1. HISTORY

It is not clear when Isaiah Shembe was born. Vilakazi *et al*

(1986:23) unsure of the date, cite Dube who believes it was as early as 1867, while Sundkler mentions 1870 (1961a). Roberts (1936) believes Isaiah Shembe to have been born in 1869 or 1870, while Gunner (1985:180) places the date as late as 1875.

While there is lack of consensus regarding birth dates, there is varying emphasis among authors as regards Shembe's ancestry. Vilakazi et al (1986:23) state that Isaiah Shembe was born into a "Zulu polygamous family" and Oosthuizen (1983:8), in the same vein, writes that Shembe "was a Ntungwa, a pure Nguni, from which race the Zulu nation originated". Sundkler (1976:163), on the other hand, states that while not much is known about Shembe's family background, "that he came from the Harrismith district in the Orange Free State and of an old Hlubi family seems, however, to be an established fact". Roberts (1936) provides one of the fullest biographies of Isaiah Shembe. The latter was born in the Drakensberg to Mayekisa, son of Nhliziyo (son of Mzazela) and Siteya on whose side he could trace descent to the family of Hlubi chief, Langalibalele (Roberts 1936:25). Isaiah Shembe was named, Shembe, by his grandfather after his surname, and Mahlawamafa by his father as prospective inheritor of the latter's possesions. Later in life Shembe was also referred to as Mloyiswa ("the one who is made an expert in witchcraft") (Roberts 1936:26). Vilakazi et al (1986:27) have elaborated on this point, arguing that Shembe's behaviour and physical features were very like that of a diviner, although he became a religious leader rather than a diviner. Vilakazi et al state that they are unable to offer any

explanation for Shembe's chosen role, although they (and other authors such as Sundkler 1961 and Roberts 1936) refer to visions that Shembe was supposed to have had which encouraged him to become a prophet.

As a teenager, Isaiah Shembe was said to have heard voices urging him to reject his immoral lifestyle. Later in life, when he was married with four wives, Shembe received another calling through lightning, while up a mountain. He was reminded to cease immorality when he saw his corpse rotting and was threatened with being unfit to join the heavenly body. During this time he believed that he saw Jehovah. He later heard a voice telling him to leave his four wives. He obeyed even though it was a painful experience for him and almost resulted in suicide. Shembe felt the need to leave his home and went to live in the mountains for a time, after which he worked for a Mr George Curwen (Roberts 1936:27). Very little is known about his contact with Christianity and missionaries, although Roberts states that during his time with Mr Curwen, Shembe had religious contact with members of a "Wesleyan Separatist Church" (1936:27). Sundkler also mentions that Isaiah Shembe was exposed to the influence of Elias Mahlangu, one of the early Zionists (1976:63). Shembe's final calling came when he was burnt by lightning during a thunderstorm. His burns were supposedly healed by his faith in Jehovah.

Isaiah Shembe started travelling about Harrismith and other districts preaching Christianity. According to Sundkler

(1976:164), Shembe travelled with a local Wesleyan preacher, but was not greatly influenced by Wesleyan teachings. Shembe's wish to be baptised by immersion as laid down in the Bible, was not acceded to by the African Wesleyan minister (Becken 1965:2). One day Shembe became intrigued by a group of men from Johannesburg baptizing people in a river. He joined the Baptist preacher, William M. Leshega, of the African Baptist Church. Shembe and some of his followers were baptised in 1906 by Reverend Leshega. Shembe was soon after ordained a minister and started to baptise followers himself (Sundkler 1961a:111). Shembe travelled to Natal and preached and baptised people there and in surrounding areas.

Isaiah Shembe did not force converts to join him. In 1910 at Botha's Hill he tried to hand over a group of about 50 converts to the American Board Mission, but the latter refused them due to their traditional attire (Becken 1965:3). Shembe, as a result, took care of these people, while the converts he made in the Georgedale district were handed over to the Wesleyans (Roberts 1936:29). His concern was not with denominations, but a variety of churches of different denominations and races (Becken 1965:3). Shembe was always concerned about establishing good relations with other churches, for example, he met with Roman Catholic priests at Mtwalume (Becken 1965:3). This is significant in that his philosophy has been passed on to later Leaders of the Church. The latter draw in all interested people, whether or not they are traditionalists, from many parts of South Africa, and even diviners seek help from the present Leader, Amos Shembe. This

suggests that the Nazareth Baptist Church is not concerned specifically with ethnicity, but rather "Africanness", although the majority of converts are Zulu-speaking and the basis of some tenets is in traditional Zulu culture.

A few years later Isaiah Shembe broke away from the African Baptist Church because of doubts he had about the Sabbath observance on a Sunday. Shembe followed the Bible closely where it was implied that the Holy Day was a Saturday and not Sunday. Shembe believed that all Biblical verses should be applied more literally, and claimed that all verses in the Old Testament which referred to Nazarites were to be followed in his Church, IBANDLA LAMANAZARETHA.

Isaiah Shembe (PLATE 1) founded his Church and village, Ekuphakameni ("Elevated" or "High Place"), on a site near Ohlange, Inanda, about 30 kilometres from Durban (Fig. 1). There are inconsistencies between the writings of authors (and even between the writings of the same authors) as to when Shembe set up his village, Ekuphakameni. Becken (1965:5) mentions 1910, although he states that the Church was started in the Orange Free State in 1903. Oosthuizen (1967:3) sets the date at 1914, but in a later paper (1983:9) gives the date as 1911. Sundkler (1961a:111) mentions 1916, while in his 1976 publication he establishes the date as 1911 (167). Roberts (1936:30) sets the date at about 1916, although she states that Shembe had already established the Church in Durban in 1911.

Shembe visited Mount Nhlangakazi, later to become the site of annual pilgrimages, in response to a vision telling him to go to the Mountain. Mount Nhlangakazi is situated at Kranskop in the Ndwedwe district, about 40 kilometres from Ekuphakameni (Fig. 1). It is not clear when Shembe first visited the Mountain because writings are inconsistent. It seems, however, that Shembe received a calling to go to the Mountain either very shortly before he established Ekuphakameni (Oosthuizen 1967:3; Roberts 1936:30) or very soon after (Oosthuizen 1983:9; Sundkler 1976:167).

J.G. Shembe, in an interview with Becken (1967:148-9), related how his father, Isaiah Shembe, selected Mount Nhlangakazi as the Holy Mountain. J.G. Shembe referred to 1913 as the time when Isaiah Shembe had a vision in Umpumulo, telling him to go to the Mountain. Isaiah Shembe, believing that the people living in the vicinity of the Mountain would be hostile toward him, preferred to go to a mountain in his homeland, Harrismith, Orange Free State, where he was better known. While on the train, the call to visit Nhlangakazi came again with the threat of death if he proceeded to Harrismith. Shembe left the train and walked to Nhlangakazi. It was on the Holy Mountain that Shembe prayed to God and was said to have received the sacraments from God (Sundkler 1976:167). From that time, Mount Nhlangakazi has been the site of an annual Festival at which members gather to praise God (PLATE 2).

There was varied response to Isaiah Shembe and his Nazareth

Baptist Church, evident not only in the increase in the number of converts to the Church, but also in terms of negative reaction from a variety of sources. For example, husbands and fathers whose women wished to join the Church felt threatened, while opposition was also received from magistrates, police officials and religious ministers (Gunner 1988:223-224). In 1912, the Commandant of the Natal Police wrote to the Assistant Magistrate at Ndwedwe to report the disturbing influence of Shembe, because he was attracting mission church followers away from their churches (Gunner 1988:214). Ministers of various churches were threatened by Shembe's appeal, emphasizing that the Nazareth Baptist Church was under no European control (Gunner 1988:216). Also, correspondence between the Office of the Secretary for Native Affairs in Pretoria and the Chief Native Commisioner in Pietermaritzburg in the early 1920's commenting on the actions of Shembe, referred to him as "a particularly tiresome and undesirable man" (Gunner 1988:215).

This opposition was not restricted to Isaiah Shembe and his Church, but formed part of a wider reaction by officialdom to AIC's. For example, the Israelite Church, an AIC under Enoch Mgijima, which had settled at the Holy Place, Ntabelanga, 25 kilometres south west of Queenstown in the Eastern Cape for Passover, received opposition from government officials and police. An attack, in 1921, on these Israelites by army troops and police stationed at Bulhoek, resulted in the death of almost 200 Israelites in what has been referred to as the "Bulhoek Massacre"

(Edgar 1988:1) (see also reports in the Daily Dispatch (Anonymous) 1921 and Webb 1993).

Despite the adverse reactions to the Nazareth Baptist Church under the leadership of Isaiah Shembe, church membership grew to about 3 000 to 4 000, with an attendance of about 300 people at the July Festival (Becken 1978:162). The resources of the Church also flourished. All contributions to the Church were voluntary and Shembe in his travels, healing people by touch and prayer, received many gifts, mostly in the form of money. Shembe did not use the money for his own needs, but kept it for the Church. He purchased 43 pieces of land and a trading store which he left to his followers on his death (Vilakazi et al 1986:31).

Isaiah Shembe died on 2 May, 1935 in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu. His death was as a result of fever contracted while standing in a river for some hours baptising converts (Roberts 1936:44).

There followed considerable turmoil over who was to become the next Leader. However, in terms of Isaiah Shembe's will, read at Ekuphakameni on Monday July 1 1935, J.G. Shembe was appointed successor to his father, and 7 members were named to act as council to continue the duties of the Church and to administer the settlement (Roberts 1936:52). Johannes Galilee Shembe was born in 1904 at Ntabazwe, Harrismith. He received a B.A. Degree from Fort Hare University College and, at the time of his father's death, was a school teacher at Adams College (PLATE 3).

J.G. Shembe, believing that he lacked the necessary leadership qualities, was uncertain whether to accept the position of leadership. A dream he had of his father, however, convinced him to accept. It was also as a result of the dream that J.G. Shembe, who had never been an avid prayer, felt compelled to do so (Fernandez 1973:35). From that time, according to lawyer and politician, A.W.G Champion, Isaiah Shembe's followers began to call J.G. Shembe," "Ngewele, nkosi yase ekuphakameni" (Holy, Lord of the Hill)", and J.G. Shembe received the power to heal (Fernandez 1973:35).

J.G. Shembe, however, did not see himself as having powers that his father had. In an interview with Fernandez in 1965, J.G. Shembe said:

> I don't have any personal power, you know, only the power of prayer. I believe I have only the power of God and Christ. To be helped these sufferers must make up their minds that they will be helped. I can help them to make up their minds but I can be of no help to them if they do not (Fernandez 1973:42).

Despite this, J.G. Shembe was aware of the needs of his followers and felt a sense of responsibility for them (Fernandez 1973:34). His success as a leader was evident in increased membership over the years and acts of loyalty by members. For example, as early as 1939, about 1500 Nazarites stoned a man to death, the latter it was said having threatened the new Leader (Sundkler 1961a:111).

Church membership had increased to about 10 000 members by 1965, and there was an attendance of approximately 6 000 at the July

Festival in the same year (Becken 1978:163). The land holdings of the Church also increased. According to J.G. Shembe, in conversation with Fernandez in 1965:

> Our holdings probably amount to 30 000 pounds and about 3 000 acres. We have only 50 acres here at Ekuphakameni. Our acreage has increased considerably since my father's time (Fernandez 1973:40).

Galilee Shembe died on 19 December, 1976, at Eshowe. Galilee's body was taken to Ekuphakameni where the funeral took place on 2 January 1977. He was buried next to the mausoleum of his father. About 60 000 were said to have attended his funeral, and membership at this time was estimated by Becken as in the region of 250 000 (1978:163).

There was uncertainty as to who was to succeed J.G. Shembe as the latter had not written a will. There were two contenders for the position, namely J.G. Shembe's older brother, Amos Khula Shembe (the third son of Isaiah Shembe), and J.G. Shembe's son, Londa Shembe. Amos Shembe studied for a B.A. Degree at Fort Hare University College, but did not complete it. He taught at Adams College and Ohlange Institute. Londa Shembe was born 1 April 1945. He completed a B.Jur. Degree in 1976 and later enrolled for a B.Theol. with UNISA (Becken 1978:164).

At a meeting of ministers and chiefs, Amos K. Shembe was appointed the interim leader of the Church (Becken 1978:164). Nevertheless, the dispute over leadership raged on so, that in January 1978,

representatives of Amos Shembe and Londa Shembe visited King Goodwill Zwelithini Zulu calling on him to assist in reaching a settlement. Despite the King urging the family to meet and resolve the problem, a case was instituted at the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg in May 1978. No judgement was passed, but both parties were encouraged to come to some peaceful solution.

Amos Shembe had the support of the majority of the congregation. He was seen by most as the legitimate leader of the Church. Londa's support base, on the other hand, was smaller and included the widows and close family of J.G.Shembe. Vilakazi et al (1986:129) attempt to offer explanations as to why Amos Shembe had most support. They distinguish three differing viewpoints within the Church regarding succession to leadership, namely, the "constitutionalists", that is, those who espouse a new leader according to "his abilities, spiritual qualities, and general standing in the church" (129); the "traditionalists", who believe that succession to leadership is revealed through revelation and has nothing to do with Zulu succession patterns or loyalty to the Shembe family (131); and finally, the "ethnic chauvenists", who believe that leadership should stay within the Shembe family and patterns of behaviour should be based on traditional Zulu patterns of behaviour and law (131). According to Vilakazi et al, it was Amos Shembe's claim to the position through revelation which found most favour with members, rather than a claim through blood as espoused by Londa Shembe (131-132).

One example of Shembeites referring to visions as proof of Amos' claim to leadership is provided by Vilakazi et al (1986:41). Shembeites said that J.G. Shembe and Amos Shembe were the only two children born to Isaiah Shembe after he had left his wives. On two occasions Isaiah Shembe was commanded by voices to go back to his wives. His wives conceived and two sons, J.G. Shembe and Amos Khula Shembe, were born. Isaiah Shembe referred to his sons as "Amakhosi aseKuphakameni", that is, Leaders of Ekuphakameni (Vilakazi et al 1986:132). This version does not correspond with that of Galilee Shembe (see pg. 48). Further support for Amos' position of leadership provided by Shembeites is outlined by Vilakazi et al (1986:32). After J.G. and Amos Shembe were baptized in 1919, Isaiah took them to Nhlangakazi where they were ordained as ministers with two others, Mzambe and Mnqayi. A church meeting was held where Galilee knelt in front of Mnqayi and Amos in front of Mzambe, facing the congregation (Vilakazi et al 1986:132). Isaiah Shembe is said to have announced that they were the future leaders of the Church. Mzambe and Mnqayi died before the succession dispute arose. Generally, one gets the impression from Vilakazi et al that they are far from neutral, or at least uncritical.

In support of his own claim for leadership, Londa Shembe, in an interview with Becken (1978:167-168), also referred to a series of visions, those he had had after the death and burial of his father, J.G. Shembe. Vilakazi et al seem to believe that these visions are not worthy of mention, or choose to ignore them, when

they state that Londa Shembe did "not have the mystical credentials which derive from revelation" and Londa had "no spiritual spiritual concerns for the church..." (1986:131).

The case was retried at the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg in August 1978. It was decided by the Judge that according to the Church Constitution, the final decision as to who was to assume leadership of the Church should rest with two elected bodies, the Church Council and the Advisory Board of the Chuch (Becken 1978:170). The two elected bodies chose Amos Shembe as the new leader of the Church (PLATE 4). An appeal by Londa Shembe against their decision was rejected by the Court (Becken 1978:171).

Prior to this, neither Isaiah nor J.G. Shembe had registered the Church and disputes resulted over the ownership of properties. The Church was later registered as the "Nazareth Baptist Church" (Vilakazi et al 1986:133). Violence encouraged Amos Shembe to move away from Ekuphakameni. Amos Shembe established his Centre, Ebuhleni, in the area of Matabetule. Shembe was granted permission to settle there by the chief of the area, Chief Mzonjane Ngcobo, himself a member of the Church. Ebuhleni is situated approximately 50 kilometres north of Durban. According to my assistant, Ms Zibane, a woman prophesied that Amos Shembe's footprint was in stone at Ebuhleni. Members propose that the shape of a footprint on rock fits the foot of Amos Shembe (PLATE 5). It is said that this footprint was made by him "long ago when the earth was still

wet". This land is thus viewed as sacred, and the footprint is "proof" of this land being the chosen place for Ebuhleni. When a member arrives at Ebuhleni for the first time in a season, he or she may make their way to the footprint and "ask for God's luck from the footprint" (Ms Zibane).

My assistant related another experience which, for some Shembe members, justified the move from Ekuphakameni to Ebuhleni. Isaiah Shembe was said to have prophesied that Ekuphakameni would not be large enough for the growing membership and people would have to expect to move to another place. Londa's followers, it is said by some members, believed that Amos Shembe's followers were not God's people because they had left the sacred village (Ekuphakameni), the Church burial ground (opposite the residential area of Ekuphakameni), and "Shembe precious things (AMAGUGU), for here and for God". My assistant was not able to throw any light on what these "precious things" are, except that they are purified. The AMAGUGU are said by members to be carried in cloth-covered dishes by Church officients, ABAVANGELI, during the opening ceremony on Mount Nhlangakazi. Ms Zibane stated that the AMAGUGU, previously stored in a "round Zulu hut" at Ekuphakameni, are now kept in a hut at Ebuhleni. The area in which the hut is situated is referred to as ISIGODLO. It is possible that these "precious things" are very like those Oosthuizen (1965) has referred to as "holy vessels..., a holy drum and secret scriptures..." (14). My assistant related that there are many stories shared among members about people who tried to steal the AMAGUGU from Ekuphakameni. No-

one is permitted to know what the AMAGUGU are, and if one sees them it will result in blindness. The AMAGUGU are said to be "glittering", but if one comes too close everything "becomes dark". These stories, which are passed between members, serve to reinforce the sacred character of the Church and to clearly distinguish the sacred from the profane.

Londa Shembe, when only 48 years of age, died after he was shot in the mouth, right shoulder and left arm on Friday 7 April 1989. Members at Ekuphakameni were in turmoil as to what was to happen to them. Some of my respondents at Ebuhleni were of the opinion that the Church would amalgamate again under one Leader, Amos Shembe. As yet two Centres still exist, one at Ebuhleni under Amos Shembe and the other at Ekuphakameni.

2.2. TRADITION

Any discussion concerning the establishment and growth of the Church would be incomplete without some review of the basic practices and tenets of the Church, for most of these espoused today are attributed to the Founder, Isaiah Shembe. All things that Isaiah Shembe did and taught came from the Bible, in particular, the Old Testament. Numbers 6, The Vows of the Nazarites, forms the basis of Shembeite beliefs. These beliefs are, where biblically acceptable, intermingled with Zulu beliefs. The Nazareth Baptist Church is thus a syncretist-type Church.

One of the most important beliefs emphasized is that the Sabbath

is sanctified and falls on a Saturday and not a Sunday, unlike in many AIC and other Christian churches. Mthethwa (1986:6) states that because Isaiah Shembe was more concerned with what was written in the Bible rather than interpreting the scriptures, he changed the day of worship from Sunday to Saturday. Isaiah Shembe was already fostering social differentiation and distance from AIC and other Christian churches. In his insistence on Saturday as the Holy Day, he was emphasising communal bonds between those who shared his beliefs, that is, among members of his Church, as opposed to the non-members who did not. This emphasis on communal bonds and social distance was communicated repeatedly in various ways, from ideology to practice throughout the Church.

Work is prohibited on the Sabbath. This is clearly laid down in the Catechism of the Shembe Church, translated by Becken and Zungu (n.d.). For example:

> 50.5 Observe the Sabbath day. Do not work on this day, neither you nor your children. Teach all the people of your tribe to respect the Sabbath day, because this is the day of the Lord...

No fires are to be lit on the Sabbath in Shembe dwellings, and no cooked food is to be eaten on this day. This, too, is clearly stated in the Shembe Catechism:

> 100.81 Preparations for the Sabbath day must be completed before sunset on Friday, and fire must also be extinguished before sunset (Becken and Zungu n.d.).

Oral evidence was often provided by members in support of this tenet. For example, one particular story concerns a man who was working over a fire on the Sabbath. The fire got out of control,

and his house was burnt to the ground. This, and other related stories, serve as a means of social control within the Church where people are constantly reminded of expected behaviour in keeping with the ideology of the Church. In this way, the sacred aspects of the Church are reinforced.

No bathing is permitted on the Sabbath. In the Catechism of the Church it is written that:

> 100.83 According to the law, a person may not wash either his body or his head on the Sabbath day, nor eat warm food which was prepared on the Sabbath day...(Becken and Zungu n.d.).

No economic activity, buying and selling, is permitted on the Sabbath:

> 100.85 Jehovah's commandment does not permit anyone to take money from his pockets on the Sabbath day [whether it is to] buy something or pay off his debts. Let the Sabbath pass first; then you may buy what you wish. This is a standing rule (Becken and Zungu n.d.).

Despite this, the Church actually encourages buying and selling activity. A somewhat paradoxical situation exists. This paradox, and the resolution thereof, will be discussed in more detail later.

There are numerous meetings held during the year, although four main meetings are held, in the months of January, May, July and October. The January meeting, until the split between Amos and Londa Shembe, always started at Ekuphakameni, but now starts at Ebuhleni. People walk from Ebuhleni to Nhlangakazi Mountain where

they spend about two weeks. Trucks carry housing materials, foodstuffs and other personal belongings. Temporary huts are erected for the duration of the Festival. Prayer, singing of hymns and dancing occurs. Preaching is usually by the Leader himself, originally Isaiah and more recently, Amos Shembe. The emphasis in this Festival is on praise to God, repentance from sin and the request for protection for the year to come.

The May meeting occurs on the 2 May, for it was on this day that Isaiah Shembe died. A commemoration service is held at Empangeni on this day (Vilakazi et al 1986:67).

The largest and, in terms of this thesis, the most important Festival is the July Festival which, until the split between Londa and Amos Shembe, was always held at Ekuphakameni. It now takes place at Ebuhleni. Members gather from all over Southern Africa, in particular, from KwaZulu, for approximately four weeks which are devoted to praise and thanksgiving to God in the form of prayer, singing and dancing. Aspects of the sacred and profane are enacted and experienced during this Festival.

The fourth event is the October meeting held at Judea, a Shembe village at Gingindlovu. This meeting is known as the Ark of the Covenant, the ideology surrounding this meeting having been developed from the Old Testament. The Covenant between God and his people, the Shembeites, is symbolised by the Ark of the Covenant, a sacred drum called umphongolo wesivumelwane (Vilakazi et al

1986:73). Prayer meetings are held at this gathering.

The Festivals provide an arena in which the members are brought together and encouraged to cohere through their mutual adherence to sacred activities and laws of the Church. Other meetings which members attend weekly throughout the year are held at their Temples (a Temple corresponds to a localised Nazareth Baptist Church community or parish) in the areas in which they live. The sacred theology of the Church is reinforced through rites such as baptism, holy communion and healing.

Baptism in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit occurs through immersion in a river. Fasting occurs before holy communion which takes place in the evening because it was at this time that the Last Supper was held (Vilakazi et al 1986:86). A member must be cleansed of all sins before partaking of holy communion. During Isaiah Shembe's time, healing was through the laying on of hands. Galilee Shembe introduced the use of a healing cloth, a long black veil which had belonged to his father, to cope with an increase in the number of afflicted calling for healing (Sundkler 1976:173). This method of healing has been continued by Amos Shembe.

At all Festivals and at all meetings in the Temples, the Hymnal, IZIHLABELELO ZAMANAZARETHA, is used. Of the numerous hymns in the Hymnal, 219 were composed by Isaiah Shembe (Gunner 1985:182) from about 1910 onwards, while some 23 were added by J.G. Shembe in 1938, after the death of Isaiah Shembe (Vilakazi et al 1986:140).

Sundkler (1976:186-7) writes that although Isaiah Shembe had received no formal education, he had taught himself to write. Shembe wrote down the hymns which, according to Vilakazi et al, were brought to him individually by "different heavenly messengers" (1986:140).

The Hymnal includes three different services - the Morning service, the Evening service and the weekly Sabbath service. Morning prayers emphasize work, and caution against being lazy. Work is seen as the mark of a true Shembeite, while begging is seen as the degradation of humankind. The Evening prayers call for protection from God during sleep, and stress the need to prepare one's home in case of an unexpected visit from Him (Sundkler 1976:179). The Sabbath prayers implore members to follow the ways of God and to respect one's parents. The importance of the Sabbath as a day worthy of praise and thanksgiving is also stressed.

People are called to pray by a bell, rung daily at 9.00 am and 6.00 pm, at individual Temples and during Festivals. During Festivals such as those held in January and July, an additional prayer service is held at 12.00 midnight and on the Sabbath at 1.00 pm. Prayer services are held at 9.00 am and 6.00 pm, for it was at these times that Isaiah Shembe died and was buried respectively. According to the Catechism of the Church:

> 98.72 This is the time at which the lord of Ekuphakameni left the earth. Everybody kneels and prays silently. Shembe said: "If you keep this rule I shall remember you and watch over you there, in the place where God will send me" (Becken and Zungu n.d.)

Dancing and praying, as a congregation, takes place in this Church. Congregational dancing is called UKUSINA, while congregational prayer is UKUKHONZA (Mthethwa 1986:5)[1]. Dancing was a late addition to the practices of the Church. According to J.G. Shembe (Fernandez 1973:42), "the dancing only came after 1919. Psalm 150 gave my father the idea of dancing. He was at first against all forms of dancing". Mthethwa (1986:5-6) states that the UKUSINA dance was preceeded by the "European" type of procession, and was changed to a dance in the late 1920's. The use of a white church uniform (UMNAZARETHA) at church services and dancing outfits at dances is encouraged. Both western-style and African-style dancing outfits are used. The use of the latter style dancing outfits distinguishes the Shembe Church from other AIC. Uniforms, be it those used for church or those used for dancing, make statements about the sacred and the profane, and inclusion and separation among others. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

All shoes are to be removed at Holy places like Ebuhleni, Ekuphakameni and Mount Nhlangakazi. This, too, has its basis in Biblical codes, for example, Exodus 3:2-5 and Joshua 5:13-15. This is outlined in the Catechism:

> 99.78 He [I. Shembe] said: "According to God's commandment, a man is not allowed to wear sandals in a holy place. Those who enter Jehovah's home wearing sandals turn it into a play house, and are thereby breaking the commandment. Those who wish to enter a holy place must wear nothing on their feet" (amaNazaretha Hymn 60:6,8) (Becken and Zungu n.d.).

There are numerous taboos on behaviour in the Church, particularly as regards certain consumables. The drinking of beer, for example, is prohibited in the Church. This ethic of sobriety goes hand in hand with that of industry, emphasised in the Morning Prayers. Beer-brewing, for Isaiah Shembe, constituted the abuse of time and food (grain).

What is particularly interesting is that by emphasising the prohibition on beer and the need to work, Shembe was immediately setting Shembeites apart from the traditionalists. Krige (1950:44,192) mentions that among Zulu-speaking peoples, a man would encourage his friends to assist in the weeding of his fields or hut-building by having a beer party. Beer also had great social significance as it was drunk at all major ceremonies, consumed while entertaining friends and used as a means of reconciliation (Krige 1950:58-59) (see also La Hausse 1988:9). The introduction on the prohibition of beer must have had important social effects in its introduction in the early 1900's, serving directly to distinguish the Shembeites from traditionalists. The prohibition was not always easily accepted and often caused conflict between converts and non-converts. For example, Gunner (1988:220) mentions a number of conversions Shembe made, including that of Chief Mpukunyoni Mkhwanazi of the present-day Matubatuba area. There was, however, opposition received from some of his councillors "who, it seems, could not face the thought of a life without Zulu beer (utshwala), a beverage forbidden by Shembe..." (Gunner 1988:220).

Foodstuffs such as pork and fowl's meat, are not permitted for consumption. Pigs and chickens are considered scavengers and unclean. Only unleavened bread is permissible. An animal is only permitted to be sacrificed through cutting its throat, and not stabbing its heart. These taboos, based on teachings in the Old Testament, emphasise differentiation between members and non-members. Similarly, the prohibition of tobacco in the Church must also have contributed to setting the Shembeites apart from traditionalists who considered smoking an important social activity.

The use of medicine is ideally not permitted. Only water and vaseline blessed by Shembe are acceptable. This, however, was not always rigidly adhered to, evident in a statement made by J.G. Shembe in an interview with Fernandez:

> My father, you know, believed in no medicine at all. He only believed in the power of prayer. But if a man has physical injuries or signs of physical disorder we will now send him to a hospital. I do not follow my father absolutely in this matter (1973:44).

Polygamy is acceptable (although not always affordable) in this Church, unlike other African Independent/Indigenous Churches. This belief is consistent with traditional Zulu beliefs (Krige 1950:47). There should, however, be consensus between a man and his first wife over his marrying a second wife (Vilakazi et al 1986:21).

Premarital sex is prohibited. Virginity of unmarried girls is stressed in the Catechism of the Church and through particular ceremonies held in the Church, for example, the UMJAFETE Ceremony which will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6. This had social implications in the 1900's in a traditional social system where contact between the sexes was encouraged, although only intra-crural intercourse was permitted, and where there was potential promiscuity in the urban areas.

Shembe, through fostering the emphasis on social differentiation between Shembeites and other non-members and the sacred sanctioning of new rules of conduct, was not just preaching a religion, but was forging a new kind of community. This community provided an alternative means of coping with a hostile or potentially hostile environment, using those aspects of Christianity and tradition which he considered supportive of his aims. He retained enough of the traditional way of life for the Church to remain appealing to traditionalists.

Menstrual blood and semen are seen to be polluting substances. A menstruating woman is not permitted to shake the hand of male officients/leaders nor touch their clothes or food. During the time of J.G. Shembe, it was believed that his healing power would be seriously affected if touched by a ritually unclean man (Sundkler 1976:170). Those who have had contact with the dead are viewed as polluted, and require ritual purification. These beliefs regarding pollution are similar to traditional beliefs (Krige

1950:82,165), although the process of purification differs.

Men and women are ideally not permitted to cut their hair or shave their beards. This, too, is derived from the Old Testament, and more recently, has led to complications among those, such as schoolchildren, who are required to keep their hair short.

Ancestral shades (AMADLOZI) have a place within Shembe religion. The ancestral shades are concerned with good fortune and adversity. Amos Shembe (and Church Leaders before him) is believed to have contact with these shades. According to Mrs Ndlovu, a beadworker and seller at Durban beachfront, "spiritually, Mr Amos Shembe is living with God and AMADLOZI". When praying one would say "God of my grandfather (AMADLOZI), God of Mr Shembe, God". For Mrs Ndlovu, "God is with all".

My assistant, Ms Zibane, said that it is believed that:

> Mr Shembe is next to AMADLOZI. You can tell Mr Shembe what you want and he goes to AMADLOZI and they will give you that thing. If you don't pray for them, Mr Shembe won't reach them. God is above Mr Shembe and AMADLOZI. Mr Shembe gets permission from God to speak to AMADLOZI. Shembe people believe that people die physically, not spiritually. AMADLOZI are still living and part of our families. So, mostly old people are the ones who die and that means one must continuing to ask from them if he or she wants something, and also it is believed that they got all the spiritual powers to do good or bad because they are either sons of God or of Satan. As people are not sure whether AMADLOZI are Satan or God's sons, they use Mr Shembe to search and talk to them. That's why when a Shembe person is praying she first says: "Mr Shembe's God, my AMADLOZI God, I want this and that".

Animals are slaughtered on various occasions in order to

facilitate communion with the shades. In the words of Ms Zibane, "if one does not do that, his or her AMADLOZI can act badly against that person with devil spirits".

Ms Zibane stated that when a child is born, a goat is slaughtered "to thank God and AMADLOZI for bringing that child safely from Heaven to earth". She referred to this as a "thanking goat", while an "introducing goat" is slaughtered after about a year in order for the child to be "introduced to his or her family. Even if that child died, this is compulsory". Ms Zibane related a personal situation where AMADLOZI drew attention to themselves through her misfortune. She said that her mother had had a miscarriage. The latter was told by Shembe members to give this child a name and introduce it to AMADLOZI. This was not done, and Ms Zibane believes this could be the cause of the painful leg from which she now suffers. She said: "Because the child was unknown to AMADLOZI, it can talk to my mother using me".

Some ritual occasions are completely devoted to the veneration of AMADLOZI, for example, on the final Sunday of the July Festival members gather at Shembe graves and place IMPEPHO flowers[2] and and water there.

Isaiah Shembe combined elements of traditional religion (the belief in AMADLOZI) with Christian doctrine (the belief in God, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit). However, Isaiah Shembe's understanding of the Holy Trinity has contributed to confusion

among some writers in their interpretation of Shembe doctrine and the position of the Leader within the Church (see Oosthuizen 1965, 1967, 1983; Sundkler 1961a+b).

Shembeites do not accept the Holy Trinity where equality exists between Father, Son and the Holy Ghost. This rejection, based on Zulu social values, is expressed by Vilakazi et al:

> For example, the Trinity with the equality of Father and Son does not make sense to a Zulu. Zulu social structure extols old age, and an old person is respected because he is old. To teach that the Son is equal to the Father is to go counter to the accepted principle of seniority in social organization (1986:20).

Shembe, however, did not reject Jesus Christ whom he considered the Son of God (Vilakazi et al 1986:39).

In one of Oosthuizen's earliest papers on the Nazareth Baptist Church (1965), he refers to the Church as a post-Christian religion where: "The pre-Christian Zulu religion forms the basis but it has been quickened, revitalized by Christian concepts" (1). He attempts to show that Isaiah Shembe was a "Black Christ" (1965:13), and relates Shembe's position to that of the "Zulu King" (1965:14) and "isangoma" (1965:15). Oosthuizen repeats much the same argument in his 1967 work, using an analysis of hymns in the Shembe Hymnal as support for his viewpoint, and in his 1983 paper, "The Shembe Movement and the Zulu World View".

Vilakazi, Mthethwa and Mpanza (1986), in their study of the Nazareth Baptist Church, devote almost an entire chapter to the criticism of Oosthuizen's approach. They include such statements

as: "If Oosthuizen is trying in his tortuous way to insinuate that Shembe was the king of the Zulus, he is way off the mark" (1986: 100) and "...that Shembe I projected himself as "God" or "Saviour" or "the Messiah"...is never supported by what Shembe I or Shembe II said; or by evidence from their hymns which are a rich source on Shembe's theology" (1986:115).

Sundkler (1976:190-192) criticises Oosthuizen's handling of the hymns and his understanding of Shembe's position and role in his hymns. He said that Oosthuizen's basic premise, that Isaiah Shembe is "the Messiah, the manifestation of God", led him astray. More severely, Sundkler accuses Oosthuizen of subjecting Shembe hymns to a "brash and blunt onslaught" and having made an "arrogant attempt to coerce these visions into paragraphs of a European catechism" (1976:304). This is a considerable slap in the face to Oosthuizen by the very author who, in his 1961a+b publications, among others, had taken this very position and possibly provided the impetus to Oosthuizen's approach.

In "Bantu Prophets in South Africa" (1961a), Sundkler states that Isaiah Shembe is the "Black Christ". He believes that support for this "Black Christ dogma", as he calls it, is to be found in the Hymnal and in that revealed to people in visions (282). Sundkler argues that Shembe as a "Black Christ", saviour to Zulus, has usurped the position of the "White Jesus Christ", saviour to the Jews (289). Sundkler relates his "Black Christ dogma" to the work of Asmus. The latter suggested that Shaka was becoming deified in

the minds of the Zulus, but this developing "Zulu myth" was destroyed by white conquest of Shaka's kingdom. Sundkler believes that it is at Ekuphakameni that this "Zulu myth is reborn" (1961a:288). He states:

> In the Zionist church, this royal myth is Christianised, and one might say, baptised in the living waters off the Zulu Jordan. As once the deified African King was acclaimed as the saviour of his people, so in certain churches of Zionist type today, the prophet is regarded as Saviour and Christ (288).

In his 1976 paper, Sundkler attempts, somewhat unsuccessfully, to wriggle out of his earlier views regarding his so-called "Black Christ dogma"(193). He concludes that: "Sermons and testimonies underline that Jesus is the Ultimate Authority and Final Judge" (1976:310).

Numerous powers then have been attributed to the Founder, Isaiah Shembe. Despite Vilakazi et al's criticism of Oosthuizen, in particular, in attributing position and power to Isaiah Shembe which he did not have, they must also be taken to task for a somewhat selective use of information to support a viewpoint that they themselves actually espouse regarding the position and healing power of Isaiah Shembe and successive Leaders. They draw upon mythical certainties, for example, visions, generated by followers, while Oosthuizen and Sundkler (particularly in his earlier work) draw upon mythical certainties of their own devising, for example, as regards the Black Christ. In both cases there is no way of validating or refuting such references because

they go beyond history and supplant it. Those authors such as Fernandez (1973) and Gunner (1988) are clear about citing their sources, that is, J.G. Shembe and documentary evidence respectively.

Despite differences in approach in studying and interpreting events in the Church, the brief resume given above is sufficient to provide the reader with some background understanding of the theology and functioning of the Church.

In conclusion: IBANDLA LAMANAZARETHA is a syncretist church combining Zulu cosmological ideas and patterns of thought with aspects of Christianity, the most important perhaps being the Biblical God as the ultimate power. Leaders of the Church have come from within the Shembe family, leadership having passed from the Founder - Isaiah Shembe, to his son - J.G. Shembe and to the latter's brother - Amos Shembe, in the mainline, and to Isaiah Shembe's grandson - Londa Shembe, in the secondary line. The current leader of the mainline, Amos Shembe, has established a village, Ebuhleni, at Matabetule and has continued many of the practices instituted by the Founder, Isaiah Shembe, from dress to the use of the Hymnal and his basic theology.

It is in the following chapter that analysis moves specifically to the village of Ebuhleni, the site of the annual July Festival and the focus of my fieldwork. Tenets of the Church and cultural symbols are drawn upon and reflected in the physical layout of the

village and in patterns of residence. These structural patterns are also translated into the realm of the social, reflected in sacred activity such as dance and prayer.

NOTES

1. The term UKUSINA is translated by Dent and Nyembezi (1969:484) as: "to dance". UKUKHONZA is translated as: "to pay respect to; send regards to; worship; be a tenant" (1969:393).

2. IMPEPHO is translated as: "incense" (Dent and Nyembezi 1969:415). This plant, Helichrysum miconiaefolium (Becken 1967:141), is also used in appealing for ancestral aid when one has problems. According to a member, "if you ask the old, dead people to help, you must light this and pray to it". By so doing, "you are easily connected to God". It seems then that IMPEPHO faciltitates communion with the sacred realm. The use of IMPEPHO, I believe, has some basis in tradition. Krige states that some diviners were so proficient that they were able to divine without the aid of the inquirers. However: "They [diviners] are said to have eaten impepho, the herb used by doctors to help them divine clearly" (Krige 1950:300).

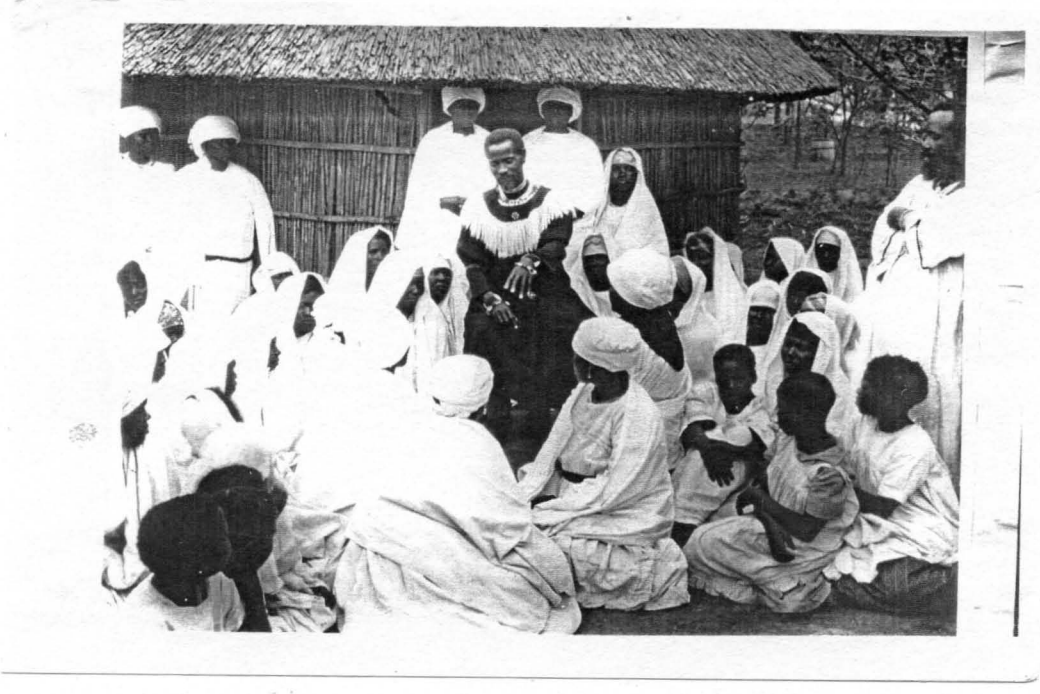


PLATE 1: Isaiah Shembe with female members. Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library and Museum.

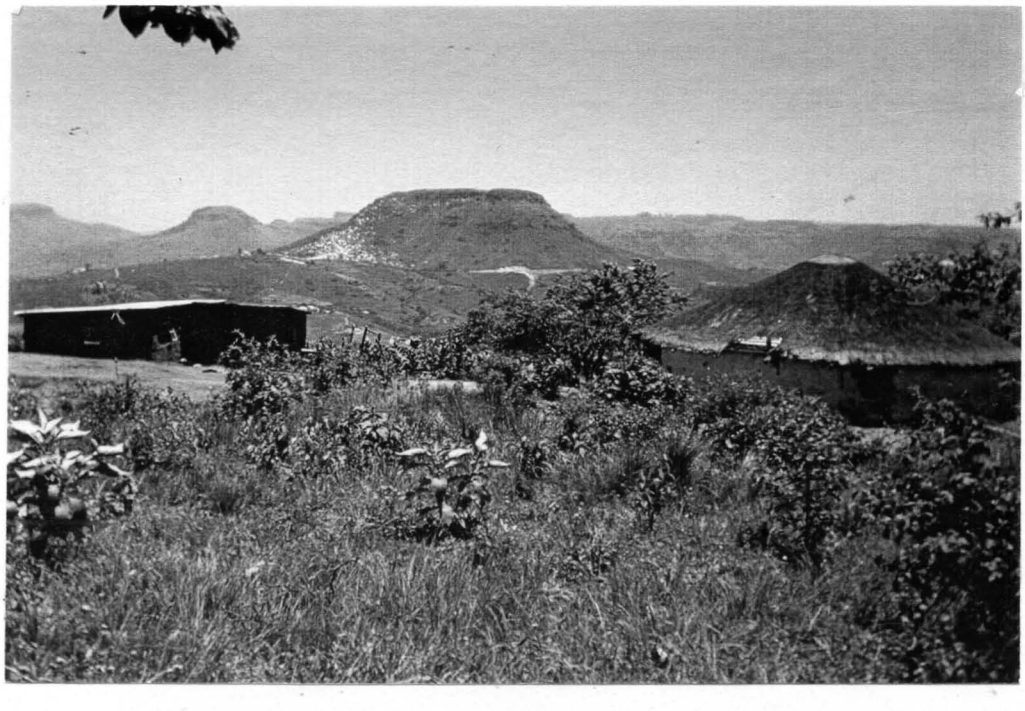


PLATE 2: Mount Nhlangakazi, site of annual pilgrimages, Ndwedwe district. January 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.

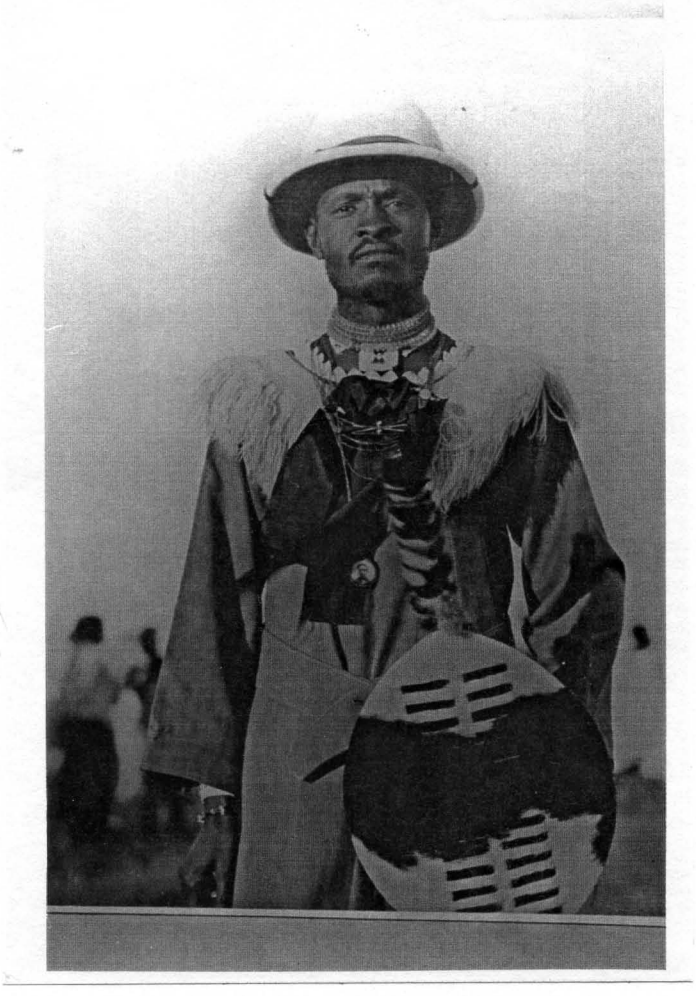


PLATE 3: Johannes Galilee Shembe. Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library and Museum.

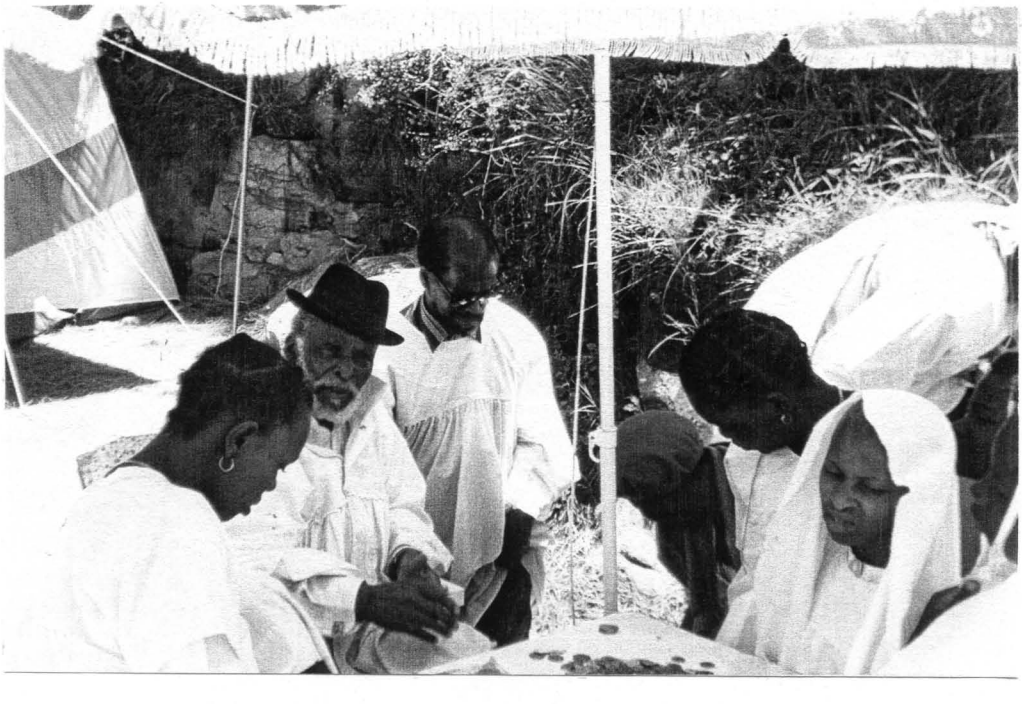


PLATE 4: Amos Khula Shembe. January 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 5: Ms S. Zibane indicates the footprint of Amos Shembe. July 1992. Photographer: G. Morcom.

CHAPTER 3

STRUCTURAL AND HIERARCHICAL ARRANGEMENTS IN AMOS SHEMBE'S VILLAGE OF EBUHLENI

Some of the main tenets of the Nazareth Baptist Church were outlined in the previous chapter. It is my intention, in this chapter, to show how these tenets have been incorporated within residence patterns in the village of Ebuhleni. These residence patterns, in turn, are reflected during sacred activity in the uniforms worn on these occasions.

3.1. PHYSICAL LAYOUT OF THE VILLAGE

Ebuhleni may be described as a small village settlement situated on the side of a hill in the area of Matabetule. After having climbed the hill over a rough, rock-exposed gravel road, the approach to the village is by means of a soft sand road. The latter is often dotted with women and girls from Ebuhleni, carrying bundles of washing in plastic basins, on their way to or from the river. Occasionally, the unsuspecting driver may meet with the herd of Church-owned cattle being driven down to the river by a herdsman.

Looking at the village from a distance, one is met with a view of an expanse of silver which glints in the sun. On closer inspection, the silver mass disintegrates into many specific structures, many of which are constructed of a material resembling tin-foil. These structures, more specifically types of hut, are built close to each other and, on occasion, are interspersed with trees or open patches of ground (PLATE 6).

There are three main styles of hut built at Ebuhleni, namely,

the dome-shaped huts of thin logs, plastic and foil-lined packaging material; huts of plywood crate-packaging; and finally, the mud, rock and log dwellings (PLATES 7, 8, 9). The huts at Ebuhleni are called AMADOKODO.

Most members arrive late in June, and huts are erected in time for the start of the Festival on the 1 July. Latecomers and those who are only able to attend part of the Festival complete their dwellings on arrival.

Amos Shembe usually arrives at Ebuhleni at the end of June, having spent most of the preceding year travelling to visit Church members scattered throughout KwaZulu/Natal and Southern Africa. During the time of fieldwork in 1989, Shembe arrived early at Ebuhleni because he had been too ill to continue his travels, while in 1992 he did not make an appearance at all due to commitments at Nongoma. Many of his KwaZulu adherents went to Nongoma for July instead of Ebuhleni. The latter situation aroused feelings of discontent among members at Ebuhleni and has created the potential for the development of a rift between members in KwaZulu and those in Natal. Some members at Ebuhleni perceived the situation as Shembe favouring the KwaZulu people by staying at Nongoma. The feeling was that the July Festival has traditionally taken place in the Durban area, either at Ekuphakameni or Ebuhleni (except in 1990 when it was moved to Nongoma as a result of violence in the Natal area), and it should continue to take place there. It is possible to suggest that Shembe remained at Nongoma

to attend the wedding of King Goodwill Zweletini. By doing so, he was reaffirming the support of the King and entrenching his, and the Church's, amicable relationship they share with Zweletini and KwaZulu (see Sundkler 1965).

Men are usually responsible for hut-building, but this does not mean that women are excluded from building huts or, at least, providing assistance. A new member who wants a site on which to build, meets with the UMSHUMAYELI (preacher) selected by Amos Shembe to assign sites. The allocated site remains the property of that member until he/she dies or leaves the Church. Most often the dwelling is not used by one person alone and in the case of death, for example, others who have been using the hut, whether family members or not, will continue to do so. Members are not required to pay for the use of a site. Huts are built at a member's own expense. There are men, usually older members, who will build at a price[1]. Hut-building is a means of employment for the aged or for those men who are unable to find employment elsewhere. Men who would usually be considered useless in society are given a sense of purpose and a means of supporting themselves financially while furthering the aims of the Church.

Both Grossert (1978:2) and Krige (1950) note that hut-building was traditionally the duty of men. Krige states that:

> The building of a Zulu hut is work which a man does not undertake alone. He will instruct his wives to brew beer and then inform his neighbours of his intention to build. Many helpers will turn up, knowing that there will be beer, and such work is a pleasant social event. Even passers-by are expected to lend a

hand when a hut is being built (Krige 1950:44-45).

Hut-building is still to some extent based on the division of labour as existed in traditional Zulu society. There are, however, certain differences. Hut building is no longer primarily a matter of mutual reciprocity, but is now mostly a financial transaction for men, although certainly all are working towards the common good of the Church. It is possible also, that more females at Ebuhleni have to undertake the building of huts themselves. This is because there are not as many males as females at Ebuhleni. Furthermore, widows and older unmarried girls have no husbands or fathers to rely on, and financial constraints could restrict the hiring of men to build.

The dome-shaped huts are the most popular type of housing at Ebuhleni. Thin logs of wood, usually saplings, sheets of canvas and plastic, strips of material for securing the saplings and rolls of foil-lined packaging (usually used as storage cartons for "Liquifruit" and milk) are used to construct the huts. The huts are built on a slightly raised area, that is, the ground around the perimeter of the hut is hollowed away to allow for drainage and to prevent flooding in times of heavy rainfall. Canvas or plastic sheets and/or long strips of the foil-lined packaging are laid over the dome-shaped wooden framework. Some of the foil-lined packaging is arranged with the colourful advertising surface facing inwards which creates a very decorative hut interior, while the foil-like surface faces the elements and functions as waterproofing. Many of the huts have extra protection in the form

of a sheet of canvas or thick black plastic over part, or all, of the foil-lined packaging. Wood may also be used as an outer surface. The exterior lining of the hut, be it foil-lined packaging and/or canvas and plastic, is secured by means of rope knotted in criss-cross fashion over the exterior. Doorways in these huts are very low, with access to the hut on haunches or on hands and knees. Some huts have doors of plywood, each with a small clasp and lock, while other huts merely have a plastic sheet as a door.

The dome-shaped housing is constructed in very much the same way as the traditional Zulu huts described by Bryant (1967:78-81)), Grossert (1978:4) and Krige (1950:45). Krige states that:

> The Zulu hut is a round, dome-shaped structure made... [of] saplings... This framework is covered with grass so arranged as to lead off water... Sometimes the thatch is fastened on with grass ropes drawn tightly round and across the building... The doorway is low and small, obliging people to go on their hands and knees to enter, and it is closed at night by means of a wicker door (isicaba) which is fastened by means of a cross stick (unobadula)...(1950:45).

The thatching on traditional Zulu huts has been replaced by canvas, plastic and foil-lined packaging at Ebuhleni, while strips of material are used in place of the sisal string, to tie the saplings together. Plywood doors with commercially-bought clasps and locks supersede the wicker door and fastening sticks. The dome-shaped huts are believed by Shembeites to be the easiest and least time consuming type of construction to build. I was informed by three male members that this particular hut-style originated as

a result of Shembe's advice, because "he always go to different places. This is the easiest way and everyone can get sticks from the forest where Shembe go. Even Israel people doing IDOKODO the same". For these members, Shembe religion "is like Israel". For some, this style is an attempt to recreate the customary Zulu form of construction: "These huts are imitating the AMAQHUGWANE in KwaZulu" (Male member).

Some huts are of a more permanent nature at Ebuhleni. These huts are constructed of plywood crate-packaging nailed onto a square or rectangular wood frame. Wooden hatch windows and a wooden door are common features. These huts have no real basis in tradition unlike those constructed of rocks, thin wood logs and mud. In constructing the latter, the logs are arranged horizontally to form a square or rectangular shape. Rocks and mud are packed between the wood logs. The roof is usually of canvas, with a door and windows of plywood. My assistant said that this type of constuction was an "old Zulu method". In the past people had no cement and "mud and bricks made strong houses". There has been a proliferation of permanent brick and ashbrick dwellings at Ebuhleni since 1991. The construction of permanent-type huts was at first outlawed by Shembe, and all traces of construction were to be removed at the conclusion of the Festival. My assistant said that Shembe, while speaking to Church members, emphasised that they:

> must not build strong houses because people will sit here [at Ebuhleni] and make the place dirty...When people were at Ekuphakameni, the people made strong houses. Then there was war and this made God's Place

> dirty. Mr Shembe said that they must not come here with their families and build strong houses. These people [at Ekuphakameni] were coming from their lands where they were doing bad things and their children still did bad things on God's Place.

More recently this stringency has been relaxed:

> Now Mr Shembe has seen that it is expensive and there are problems when people have to build new houses everytime, so he doesn't say anything about not building strong houses (Ms Zibane).

When people return home after the July Festival, plastic, canvas, wood, foil-lined packaging and hut contents are usually removed, while the wooden frame is left standing as are the more permanent wood, rock and mud, and brick dwellings. By allowing this, it seems that although Shembe may be concerned about the desecration of Ebuhleni, he is also showing awareness of the financial plight of his members. In this way he endears himself to his followers thereby strengthening and, perhaps also, extending his support base. Some members, although very few, do reside permanently at Ebuhleni.

On the wooden doors of many of the huts is printed in white paint (PLATE 7):

DUMISANI UJEHOVA
MA NAZARETHA
A ME NI -¦-

One of the Shembeites translated it as: "Trust God/Pray to God", while a more literal translation is: "Praise Jehova of the Nazarites. Amen." (Sundkler 1976:205). These signs are believed to bestow mystical protection against evil on the dwelling, that is, it is an invocation of divine blessing. A married woman said that

these signs are "for preventing bad things". She referred to it as "UKUBETHELA". This term translated means: "to protect home against lightning" (Dent and Nyembezi 1969:308), and lightning in terms of Zulu belief is a negative force (see Ngubane 1977:25).

Similarities between the interior arrangement of Shembe huts and that of traditional Zulu huts is noticeable. The floors of the huts at Ebuhleni usually consist of a sand surface covered with plastic or rubber sheets. Numerous grass mats are arranged on the plastic or rubber sheets. Some floors are more permanent and are made either of concrete or cow dung (PLATE 10). The use of cow dung at Ebuhleni, I believe, is derived from the traditional use of cow dung in floor construction. This was echoed by my assistant who said that: "Zulu people polish their floors with cow dung". This, too, is supported by Krige (1950:45) and Grossert (1978:5).

Most huts at Ebuhleni serve as both sleeping place and cooking area, although some huts may be used exclusively for either sleeping or cooking. Some huts also incorporate a shop front where a range of goods are on sale to all at Ebuhleni. Where both sleeping and cooking occur in one hut, the sleeping area may be separated from the food preparation area by means of a curtain. In the sleeping area there is usually a thin foam mattress covered with bedding on the floor, together with various other personal items. These may include a suitcase or trunk which often doubles as a bedside table; a portable radio; clothing hanging on a string suspended between two points; mats hanging in string loops against

a wall and perhaps even a "Singer" sewing machine on the floor. Some of the more permanent huts made of plywood have posters of Nhlangakazi or pictures of Shembe hanging on the walls. The cooking area usually consists of some sort of wooden bench/table covered with a cloth on which is placed a primus stove, pots, bowls, other utensils and food. In some huts the cooking utensils and food are merely placed on plastic on the floor.

Similarities are evident in comparing Grossert's discussion of the interior of the traditional Zulu hut with hut interiors at Ebuhleni. He states that while a fireplace used for cooking was built in the centre of the hut, the latter was "primarily a place for sleeping" (1978:5). Sleeping and sitting mats were used, and when not in use, were stored "rolled and placed against the wall in a special pair of wooden frames (amabhaxa) or hung over a cord (umgibe)" (Grossert 1978:6).

Members are exhorted during prayer to keep their dwellings clean. When members first arrive at Ebuhleni for the July Festival, they are encouraged to clean out their dwellings to encourage the ancestral shades (AMADLOZI) to stay. My assistant related:

> We then clean it [IDOKODO] as we are told that when you first arrive at Ebuhleni you must clean your IDOKODO so that AMADLOZI will come and stay in a clean place.

A sacred significance is conferred on the profane dwelling. There is also some similarity between the AMADOKODO as a resting place for AMADLOZI and the traditional Zulu dwelling which acts as a

domocile for the ancestral shades (Berglund 1976:103-109).

Those residing at Ebuhleni are making use of traditional patterns of living reflected in the physical structure of their dwellings. More than this, however, the dwelling becomes imbued with sacred significance through divine blessing conferred firstly, in signs and secondly, in the physical cleaning of the hut which is symbolic of spiritual cleansing to welcome the AMADLOZI. Dwelling places are transformed into sacred spaces.

The houses occupied by Amos Shembe and his immediate family (see c+u - Fig. 2) are situated near the carpark (see b - Fig. 2) at the top end of the entry road (see a - Fig. 2) into Ebuhleni. Numerous vehicles belonging to the Church are parked in the carpark, a large open patch of grass. Opposite the parking area is a cattle enclosure (ISIBAYA) (see d - Fig. 2) where the Church herd is kept at night.

Amos Shembe's home is a single story, elongated, square-shaped building (see c - Fig. 2) (PLATE 11), flanked by smaller square buildings, one of which is a garage. Behind Shembe's home are a few dwellings, one of which externally resembles a traditional-style Zulu hut, possibly the resting place of the AMAGUGU. No-one was able to relate its significance. There is also a porta-home[2] in the area and large red brick building, which resembles a church (see q - Fig. 2). The latter was still under construction at the time of fieldwork.

Near the new church building is a garden area (see r - Fig. 2). This is an orchard where fruit, such as, oranges, pawpaw and avocado pears, are said to be grown. The seed is said to be supplied by Shembe, and the consumption of fruit is reserved for Shembe and older people, particularly those who accompany him on his visits.

Shembe's house faces onto a grass area interspersed with numerous trees (see s - Fig. 2). This area and the houses are fenced off with white concrete and wrought-iron fencing. Access is by means of a large wrought-iron gate at the parking area and a smaller gate near the residential section in which Shembe's relatives reside (see e - Fig. 2). The grass area in front of Shembe's house is used by him in good weather as his meeting place to hear people's problems and to receive gifts from members. The women and girls enter through the gate near Shembe's relatives section, while the men and boys use the gate near the carpark. Exceptions to this are non-members (both male and female) visiting Shembe. They may enter through the carpark entrance as they do not have to abide by sacred rules, that is, they are not yet "controlled". Members - women and girls, and men and boys - will queue outside their respective gates until Shembe is ready to see them. Shembe's attendants (usually men) will inform those waiting when Shembe is ready to see them. Members approach Amos Shembe on their knees. There is much similarity between Shembe's reception area and that where, traditionally, the Zulu king or chief held court

(see Krige 1936:238-239).

The following account is of a meeting between Shembe and some of his followers that I was able to witness. A table, a large cane chair and a beach umbrella, strategically placed to cast shadow over the chair, were placed under a tree. The table was covered with a cloth and a large clock was arranged in one corner, visible to the occupant of the chair, Amos Shembe. The women and girls, dressed in church/prayer uniform (see Chapter 5) and singing, entered through their gate carrying goods to present to Shembe. Goods ranged from basins of fruit to crates of cooldrink and cans of paraffin. The women and girls sat to the left of Shembe's table (PLATE 12 + 13). At the same time, a group of non-members (predominantly males) entered through the gate near the carpark and knelt in a line behind Shembe's table. On reaching the table, each person presented money and then talked about their problems or had water and vaseline blessed by Shembe.

During this time, Shembe raised his hand and the group of women and girls stopped singing. Shembe blessed the gifts of food and commodities they had brought to offer. This is a transformative action where goods are transformed from profane to religious commodities. Goods which were owned privately now become church property. The women and girls then, still kneeling, formed queues to see Shembe. A particular queueing order is always adopted by members when meeting with Shembe. The unmarried girls form their own queue and so, too, do the married women. When men and boys are

present they, together, form their own queue. The Church officients/leaders (to be discussed later) usually precede other members although, an old or very ill person may be permitted to jump the queue.

Several aspects of the above discussion of Shembe's meeting with his members are important. Firstly, what is clearly evident is the division of members according to gender, visible not only in the different gates used, but also in distinct queues formed. It will become evident as this thesis proceeds that gender divisions are a generic feature of church organisation as a whole. The regulation of gender relations is part of a broader hierarchical scheme. Secondly, the importance of authority in the Church is expressed through the position of leaders. The leaders stand at the heads of their relevant queues. Thirdly, a division according to seniority is evident. A distinction is made between the unmarried girls and the married women. I will attempt to show in the remainder of this chapter, and in chapters to come, that these gender differences, age differences and leadership structures, are not only reflected in the entire physical layout of Ebuhleni, but are also important guiding principles entrenched in the philosophy of the AmaNazaretha Church.

3.2. PATTERNS OF RESIDENCE

Ebuhleni is divided into residential sections based on gender and, to some degree, on age. Different sections are allocated for unmarried girls, married women and all males (both men and boys).

Another allocated section is that exclusively for relatives of Shembe, particularly Shembe's brothers' wives (see e - Fig. 2). Here unmarried girls and married women live together. Males, however, do not live in this section.

The section for men and boys (IKAMU) (see g+f - Fig. 2) is found on the outer edge of Ebuhleni, to the left of the cattle enclosure and carpark. There are also some huts for men and boys next to the cattle enclosure (see h - Fig. 2). The outer perimeter of the men's section is enclosed by a barbed wire fence and bush growth. There are numerous dome-shaped AMADOKODO in this section, with many more permanent huts, usually of plywood, facing onto the road. The latter double as shops, often with closable wooden hatches through which buying and selling occurs. There are ablution blocks for men and boys in this section.

The unmarried girls occupy the top end of Ebuhleni (see i - Fig. 2) which is behind Shembe's house, the new church building, the garden area and the residential section for Shembe's relatives. The section for unmarried girls is called INTABAYEPHEZA. Ablution blocks are included in this section. Nearby is a fenced, bushy area called IDLELO (see j - Fig. 2) which, according to my assistant, is "where the animals go", presumably for grazing. Next to the IDLELO is an area which was a rubbish dump in 1989. It was partially cleared in 1992 to enable more dwellings to be built there. The section for unmarried girls was separated from part of the married women's section (see l -

Fig. 2) by means of a road and linked by a path in 1989. On my return in 1991, a wire fence had been erected around the unmarried girl's section.

Argyle and Buthelezi (1992), in their work on right /left symbolism in Zulu society, discuss the seating arrangements during Shembe church services and refer to the unmarried girls as "isigodlo" (17). The use of the term ISIGODLO is interesting. It has been used to refer to the area where the precious AMAGUGU are kept (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, Krige (1950:234) describes the ISIGODLO in traditional society of Zulu-speaking peoples as the "enclosure for the king and his harem". She writes further that: "In the isigodlo of the kings kraal lived the wives and children of the king, together with the umdlunkulu, ie., girls sent to the king by his more important subjects" (234). Some sort of relationship between the structure of Ebuhleni and that of the royal Zulu village appears fairly obvious. At Ebuhleni, the unmarried girls are lodged behind Shembe's house, that is, in his shadow or under his protection. They are considered precious property to be closely guarded, evident in the wire fence erected around their section. Their importance is further reinforced during the girls UMJAFETE Ceremony when Shembe girls are said to be dedicated to the Church (UMJAFETE oath - to be discussed in Chapter 6) just as in traditional Zulu society where girls were dedicated to the king and his kingdom.

By far the largest and most extensive section in Ebuhleni is the

married women's section (see k+1 - Fig. 2) called EJAMENGWENI. In 1991, some married women had begun to construct their huts in the area (see t - Fig. 2) below the dancing ground (see o - Fig. 2). This area (t - Fig. 2) is now being used because there is very little vacant space in the main body of the married women's section. Ablution blocks are also included in the women's section.

As in the men's section, the huts closest to the roads and common places in the women's section, tend to double as shops. Some huts have well-developed shop fronts, with open hatches or walk-in areas with shop counters. While married women are not permitted to live in the unmarried girls' section, it is acceptable (although not encouraged) to have an unmarried girl living with her mother in the married women's section. According to my assistant, Shembe and old unmarried girls (usually leaders, ABAPHATHI, of the unmarried girls) prefer young unmarried girls to stay in their allocated section and not to live with their mothers.

The married women's section is larger than that for men and boys, and unmarried girls. Possible reasons for this, given by a member, were that, firstly, not many men stay at Ebuhleni because they work elsewhere and secondly, unmarried girls may live with their mothers in the married women's section. The member said "we are poor and can't afford to have a set of stoves, food for unmarried girls and married women, so girls stay with mothers". Men and boys either cook for themselves, or wives and mothers provide food for them.

Men then, are separated from the marriageable girls by the twin obstacles of the married women and the Leader, Amos Shembe, himself. These obstacles act as barriers to premarital relations, an aspect stressed in the Catechism of the Church. This may also be construed as the application of control over marriage arrangements by the Leader of the Church and by the claims of mothers and wives, although bearing in mind that polygamous unions are acceptable.

Members are taught that Ebuhleni is "God's Place". Gender segregation of married partners is emphasised. A member stated: "Mr Shembe said we musn't mix together, must keep God's Place clean". Sexual relations between male and female at Ebuhleni are seen as polluting. This is significant as it is a radical departure from tradition and also, it suggests that marriage is not the basis of household/residential units at Ebuhleni. Offenders are required to participate in a "court case" where the outcome will depend on the seriousness of the offence. The offenders may be evicted from the Church or are required to be purified (UKUHLAMBULULA). The latter involves a ritual washing and the payment of money (INHLAMBULUKO), the amount being decided by the ABAFUNDISI (ministers). Religious ideology is thus reinforcing the division of Ebuhleni into sections based on gender.

Generally, residential sections are arranged in such a manner that, taking as one's point of reference the entrance to Ebuhleni

looking towards Shembe's house, the married women's and the unmarried girls' sections are on the left, while the men's and boys' section is on the right hand side of Ebuhleni. The residential arrangement at Ebuhleni, I believe, is an example of the right/left duality which is present in various forms in black societies in Africa (see Wieschhoff 1973). One may question the point of reference and just as easily propose that if one takes Shembe's house as the point of reference, looking down towards the entrance to Ebuhleni, then the male sections lie on the left and the female sections on the right. Argyle and Buthelezi (1992), concerned with the symbolism of right and left in the layout of the Zulu homestead (UMZI), show that the "upward orientation was and still is the "majority one" for the Zulu..." (6) unlike the downward orientation proposed by Kuper (1980). Argyle and Buthelezi (1992) believe that the downward orientation was more prevalent in the northern parts of KwaZulu and argue that it is "a minority one that is a variation on the more common pattern" (6). It is most likely that the Shembe residence patterns have some basis in traditional Zulu residential structure which favours an "upward orientation" and right/left, male/female duality. The latter is even more likely when one considers traditional Zulu hut structure where "custom lays it down that the right side is the men's side (<u>isililo samadoda</u>), while the left side is for women (<u>isililo sesifazana</u>)..." (Krige 1950:46). This, too, is supported by the work of Argyle and Buthelezi (1992:15) (see also Buthelezi 1991). Obviously Zulu hut layout is not directly relevant to the Shembe hut layout, as males and females are required to live

separately at Ebuhleni.

There is another similarity in residential patterns between the traditional Zulu village and Ebuhleni. Ebuhleni is more or less circular and is situated on the side of a hill. This is very like the traditional Zulu village as outlined by Krige:

> The Zulu village, like Zulu architecture, pots and other utensils, is more or less circular in form. It is built on ground sloping towards the main entrance, which usually faces east, so that the chief hut, besides at the top end, is also on the highest ground, overlooking the rest of the kraal (1950:42).

I go further than this and suggest a resemblance between Shembe's position as Leader at Ebuhleni and the position of king or chief in a traditional Zulu village. Shembe, as the "chief" at Ebuhleni, has his house positioned in such a way that it is situated on a higher level than the majority of huts and faces the main entrance to Ebuhleni. Furthermore, people entering through gates manned by attendants, delivering their gifts to Shembe in the area in front of his house and approaching him on their knees, all bear resemblance to the way in which people would have behaved when meeting with the chief in traditional Zulu society (see Krige 1936:236, 238-9).

This is not to suggest, however, as have Oosthuizen (1965, 1967, 1983) and Sundkler (1961a), that Shembe is usurping the position of king or chief. To propose that Shembe is attempting to identify with Zulu king would be extremely tenuous. However, the Church is simply applying the principle inherent in the chiefly model, that physical elevation symbolises superordination and social

ascendancy. It is, after all, a widespread principle upheld in many societies (for example, Catholicism and the Pope) and explains bowing, crouching and kneeling before authority.

3.3. DIVISIONS OF PRAYER (UKUKHONZA)

Until now, only brief mention has been made of the arrangement of the prayer/church ground[3]. This area is important as it is integral to the organisation of life at Ebuhleni.

The church ground (see p - Fig. 2), where church services are held, consists of an open area of ground with numerous tall trees dotted around to provide shade. The church ground is surrounded by stones, painted with white-wash (PLATE 14). Just as Ebuhleni is divided into residential sections based on age and gender so, too, is the church ground. There are sections for unmarried girls, married women and men (and boys) marked off with white-painted stones.

Not only is the church ground demarcated with white-painted stones, but so, too, are the houses established just outside of Ebuhleni. White-painted stones are also used at Ekuphakameni, Nhlangakazi, at Shembe Temples and even around the houses of members living in township areas such as KwaMashu. It is written in the Catechism of the Church:

> 99.66 The white-washed stones in God's village shall be respected. Nobody may jump over them or tread on them, the gates are to be used instead. Whoever jumps over them will have no children (Becken and Zungu n.d.).

This may be viewed as a mystical sanction against the transgression of gender boundaries. This relates to a viewpoint expressed by a female Shembe member. She said: "White stones are always used around Shembe's place". These stones are used to "keep out evil", and people are "safe in stones". It seems, then, that people are safe from mystical attack within boundaries but, more specifically, within their own social enclosures. According to my assistant, only the male leaders and the young children (AMASHESHAKUNGENA) may paint or clean the stones because "Mr Shembe and everybody believe they [children] don't have bad things. Children are more purified [innocent] than everyone".

The church ground is divided into sections based on gender and age. The unmarried girls congregate nearest the married women's residential section (see 1 - Fig. 2), the men and boys gather nearest to Shembe's house and yard (see c+s+u - Fig. 2), and the women meet towards the rear and between both groups. The unmarried girls are separated in a sense from the men by the married women. This is an element of control where the unmarried girls are prevented from physical contact with the men and, at the same time, are under the protective eye of the married women. Particular church uniforms distinctive to each age and gender category are worn. These are to be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

All sections face Shembe or whoever is leading the church service. The person conducting the church service usually stands at the

head of the church ground. He conducts the service using a loudspeaker. He will lead the singing and the members join in. Shembe usually only takes services on the Sabbath. During the service all members either kneel in an upright position or sit, depending on the required action.

Those passing near the church ground stop and go down on their knees when the congregation starts praying. After prayer, they get up and continue on their way. Some women kneel outside the perimeter of the church ground. These women have sinned in some way and are excluded from the sacred ground. In order to be reincorporated into the sacred domain, they have to be purified (UKUHLAMBULULA) by those appointed by Shembe to cleanse members. The amount of money payable (INHLAMBULUKO) for purification corresponds to the degree of infringement.

All church leaders, some of whom are required to wear distinctive clothing indicative of their status, kneel at the heads of their sections in the church ground. Important, before progressing, is some brief discussion of who the church leaders are and their functions in the AmaNazaretha Church.

Leadership in the Nazareth Baptist Church is based on age and gender. There are three different types of church leaders for men, one for married women and one for unmarried girls. The men's leaders are the UMFUNDISI (minister), UMVANGELI (evangelist) and UMSHUMAYELI (preacher). UMSHUMAYELI is always present in a Temple

(a localised congregation of the AmaNazaretha Church), but there could also be an UMFUNDISI and/or UMVANGELI present. A leader of married women is called UMKHOKELI and a leader of girls is known as UMPHATHI. The latter two leaders should always be present in a Temple.

All males have the same church leaders. The UMSHUMAYELI is appointed by each Temple. He leads that Temple and conducts church services. Members of the Temple pay UMNIKELO (offering) to the UMSHUMAYELI who pays it to Amos Shembe. If the UMSHUMAYELI is not present to conduct the church service, the older people in the Temple appoint someone to conduct it. The UMSHUMAYELI also transmits Shembe's wishes to his members, or if members of the Temple wish to present a gift to Shembe, the UMSHUMAYELI determines how much the unmarried girls, married women and men should contribute. The UMVANGELI visits the Temples in his assigned area, for example, KwaMashu, and tells of Amos Shembe's activities. The ministers (ABAFUNDISI) travel with Shembe and are said to be "his messengers". Baptism and marriage ceremonies are performed by them.

When ABAKHOKELI of different Temples meet to give gifts to Shembe at Ebuhleni during July, they do not necessarily have to have the members of their particular Temple with them. At the major Festivals, like that in July, people are not expected to remain within their Temple groups.

The UMPHATHI is usually an older unmarried girl who is well-respected and well-versed in the laws of the Church. All unmarried girls, regardless of their status, that is, whether they are of marriageable age or not, fall under the same ABAPHATHI.

Leadership positions are arranged in a hierarchy of seniority from the most senior to the lowest order, namely, ABAFUNDISI, ABAVANGELI, ABASHUMAYELI, ABAKHOKELI and finally, ABAPHATHI. The ABAPHATHI are seen by members as the "children" of all the others and thus are at the bottom of the ladder. Two ABAPHATHI with whom I spoke, pointed out the similarity between the Shembe hierarchy of leadership and traditional Zulu social structure. In the latter, the chiefs (IZINDUNA) ranked above the married women who, in turn, ranked above the unmarried girls.

The AmaNazaretha Church provides females, both married and unmarried, with the opportunity to become leaders, an opportunity not available in mission-type churches, even though these female leaders are still subordinate to male leaders. Important also is that the unmarried girls, who in traditional society would not have been recognised as full adult members worthy of being entrusted with any type of authority, have the potential for leadership within the Nazareth Baptist Church providing they remain in their unmarried state. They can become quite powerful as noted by Kiernan (1992).

The range of leadership positions, both male and female, is not

unique to the AmaNazaretha Church. Similar types of positions are to be found in other AIC's, for example, Zionist Churches. Kiernan (1982a) discusses leadership patterns in Zionist bands. He writes:

> The offices of minister, deacon, evangelist, preacher and steward were all to be found in these groups and ...all these offices were held by men...To be added to and accomodated somewhere within this heirarchy was the office of umkhokeli or "class leader" (of which there were two or more per band) which could be held by women (1982a:169-170).

3.4. DANCING DIVISIONS (UKUSINA)

Age and gender divisions not only feature in the arrangement of the church ground, in residential organisation and in leadership structures, but also in the way in which members organise themselves when dancing (UKUSINA). Religious dancing is seen by the members as a form of worship or another form of prayer. Mthethwa (1986:9) proposes that just as music and dance were important in the traditional Zulu religious system, so too is the worship of God through music and dance advocated in the Bible. UKUSINA, believes Mthethwa, is a modification of the "old Zulu ritual dance, isigekle" (5). UKUSINA, introduced by Isaiah Shembe in the 1920's, is a dance offered to God which "links people with their dead, with their angels and with God here on earth" (8) and "declares their membership in the heavenly hosts" (9). The dance then sanctifies by uniting the living and the dead. The sacred nature of the dance is also suggested by the fact that dancers gather in the church ground and pray before they dance and are blessed for their good "work" (worship) after the dance.

Church members believed that the dance steps and hymns sung while dancing were received by Isaiah Shembe from God. A male said that the dancing came from dreams Shembe had when he "died" during a storm. Members felt that this Shembe dancing was different from Zulu dancing. One male said: "This [Shembe dancing] is for church dancing". He said that all songs used for dancing among Shembe are different to songs used for "Zulu" dancing.

The dancing ground (ISIGCAWU) (see o - Fig. 2) is situated at the entrance to Ebuhleni. It consists of a wide area of sand and grass with a few trees dotted about. The dancing ground is divided into areas according to occupation by particular groups of dancers. These areas are not physically demarcated by markers or beacons. Movement makes these boundaries not fixed, but relative. Age, gender and origin of the dancers determine the formation of groups. The men and boys dance closest to the men's section (see f - Fig. 2), while the unmarried girls of marriageable age dance between the men and the married women. The girls who have begun menstruation, but are not yet of marriageable age, dance behind the girls of marriageable age. The young girls who have not started menstruation do not dance at Sunday dances. They dance during the week.

Groups of dancers are divided within their sections according to the uniforms they wear. These uniforms make statements about the dancer's social age and place of origin. Two entire

chapters (Chapters 5 and 6) in this thesis are devoted to an analysis of these aspects. What is important to emphasise here is that the dance is another form of worship of God, that is, it has a sacred purpose. In all sacred activites in the Church, that is, in Prayer, Preaching and Dance, the categories of gender, age, and marital and hierarchical status are stressed. In each case these categories are expressed and reinforced through the use of particular types of adornment. Through the imposition of bounded categories of worship, physically marked by clothing, the Church is exercising control over its members, as members are forced to behave in ways consistent with their statuses.

Males are chosen as dance leaders (ABAPHATHI) for their groups by Amos Shembe. The dance leaders for unmarried girls are the same as their church leaders, while dance leaders of married women are different. Dance leaders do not wear distinctive clothing.

In each group there are those who play musical instruments. These musicians stand near the front of the group. The musical instruments they play include drums (IZIGUBU), pipes (IZIMBOMU), and wooden blocks which are struck against each other (PLATE 15). Instrumental accompaniment is provided for hymns which are sung and danced to. The use of musical instruments is said to have some basis in the Bible. Each group of dancers dance to their own musical accompaniment. There is no coordination in music or dance between one group and another.

The men's style of dancing is said to be very different to that of females in the Nazareth Baptist Church. The women and girls move slowly and decorously, while the men move more energetically and assertively. One male member said that the reason the women move more slowly is that "this is from the Zulu nation where women are not allowed to show between their legs but men can lift their legs as much as they like".

People dance at all major Festivals. There is a dance for unmarried girls only, held in September at Ebuhleni. During the year, Church members scattered around Southern Africa dance after church services on Saturday, but do not wear dance dress. These dances are intended as practice sessions to educate those who do not know how to dance. Unmarried girls dance on the 25th of each month (the special meeting day of all unmarried girls of the AmaNazaretha Church), but again not in dance clothes as it is only a practice session. Married women practice on the 14th of every month, that is, on their special meeting day.

In conclusion, then, three key points may be drawn from this analysis of hierarchical and structural arrangements at Ebuhleni. These are tradition, hierarchy and the separation of categories. Firstly, aspects of traditonal Zulu society are being manipulated by the Leader, Amos Shembe. The structure of Ebuhleni bears much resemblance to that of the traditional Zulu village from the left/right and female/male orientation to the patterns of leadership adopted by Shembe. Secondly, a definite hierarchy is

evident in the organisation of leadership and relations of gender within the Church, which bears some relation to traditional Zulu social organisation. Finally, and possibly most importantly, Shembe society at Ebuhleni is divided into separate categories based on gender, age and marital status. This is evident in patterns of living and patterns of worship.

Furthermore, females, more so than males, tend to be subdivided into separate categories based particularly on marriageability. This is of particular note when one takes into consideration that the largest number of recruits in the Church are females. Two related aspects will be dealt with in the following chapter, namely, reasons for joining the Church, particularly as regards females and secondly, the importance of women and girls in providing a support group for the Leader, Amos Shembe.

NOTES

1. At the time of fieldwork in 1991, the charge to build an average dome-shaped hut was about R100 (R50 labour and the remainder for materials). Cost varied according to the size and style of dwelling required. A well-built house with a sturdy frame, packaging box walls, cement, room partition and packaging windows cost R360 in 1986.

2. My assistant explained that at one time Amos Shembe, upon falling ill, received a "prophecy" from AMADLOZI that he had been poisoned and should move until the danger was over. Amos

Shembe lived in the porta-home while he underwent UKUHLAMBULULA (purification) to make him "holy" again.

3. This ground is best translated as "church ground". When people talk of going to pray there, they talk of going "to church" (ISONTWENI). The church ground is said to represent a church building.

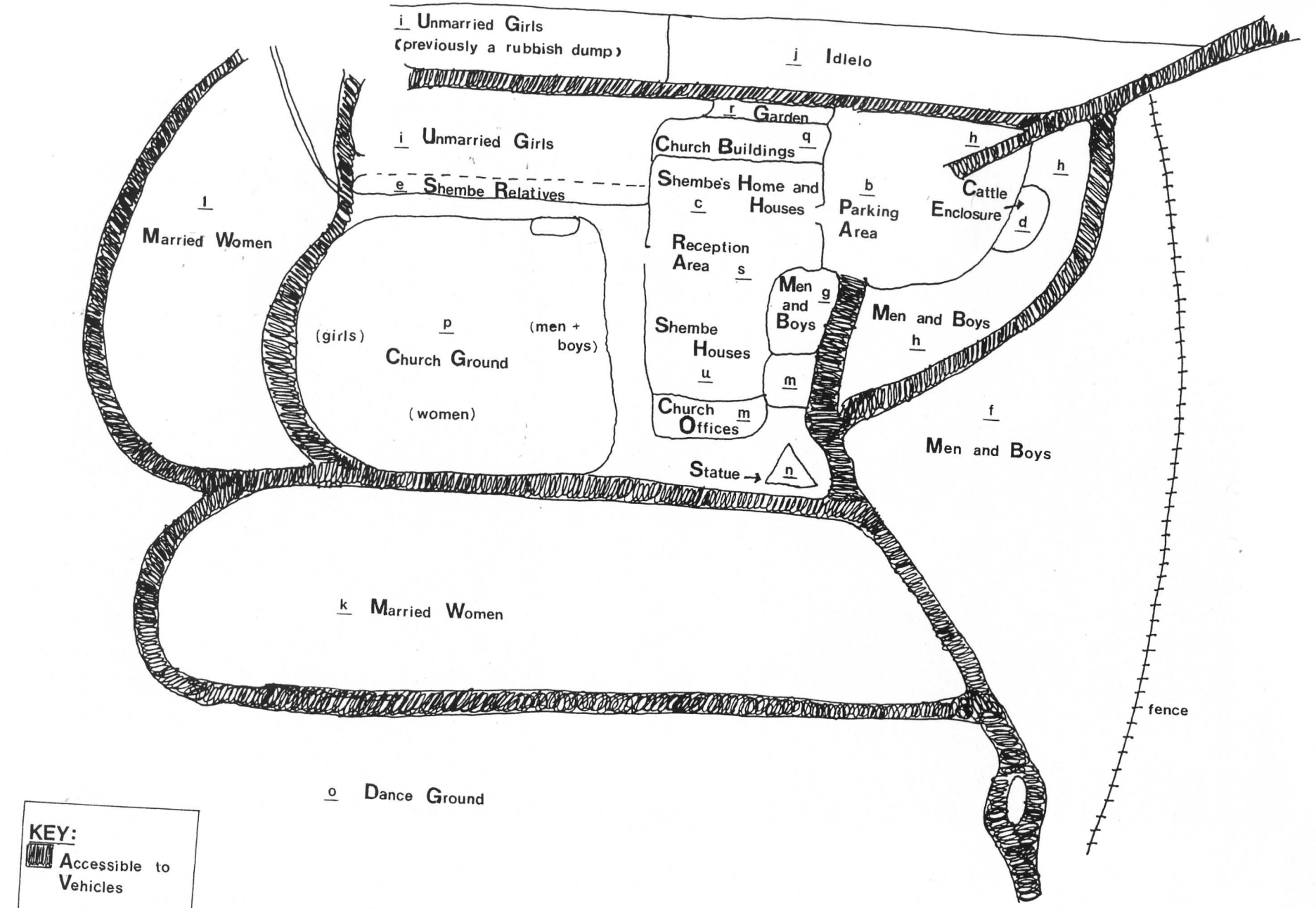


FIGURE 2: Rough plan of Ebuhleni.

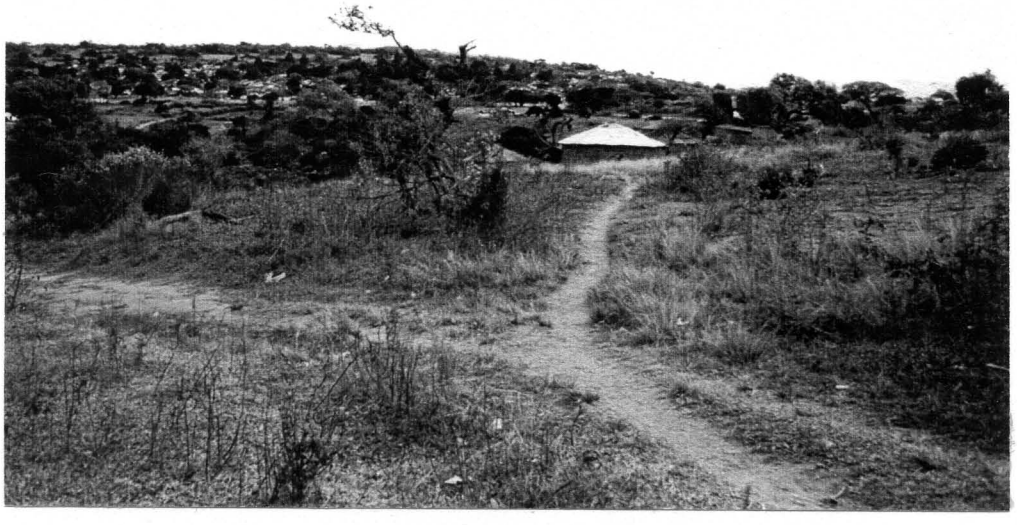


PLATE 6: View of Ebuhleni in the distance. The photograph was taken from the road approaching the village. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

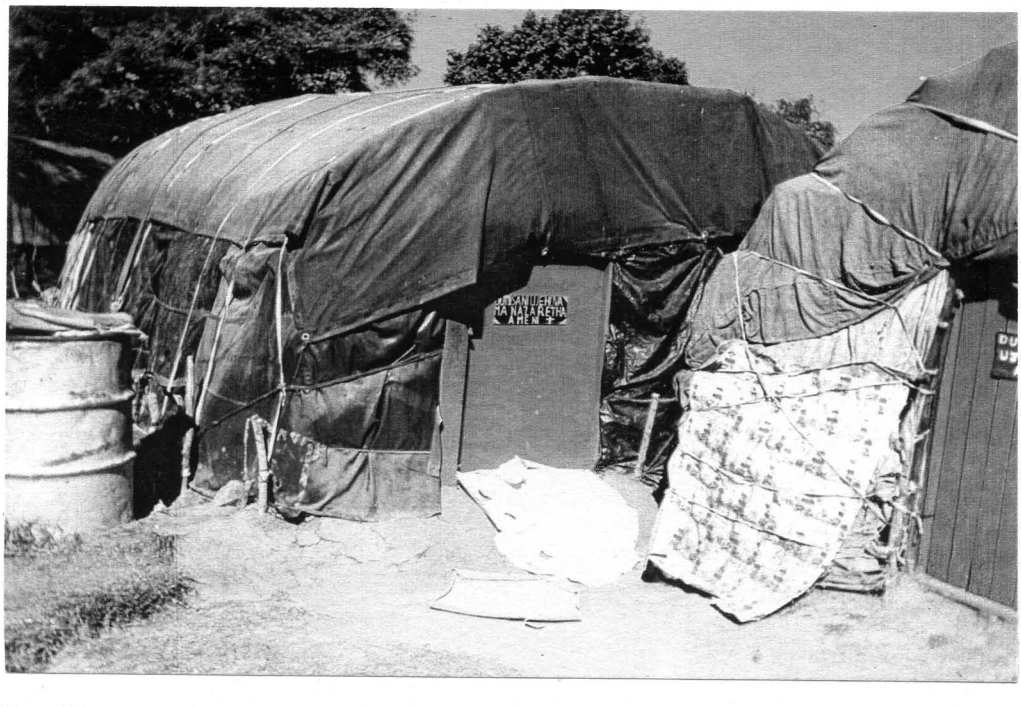


PLATE 7: Dome-shaped hut of thin logs, plastic and foil-lined packaging material. Ebuhleni. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.

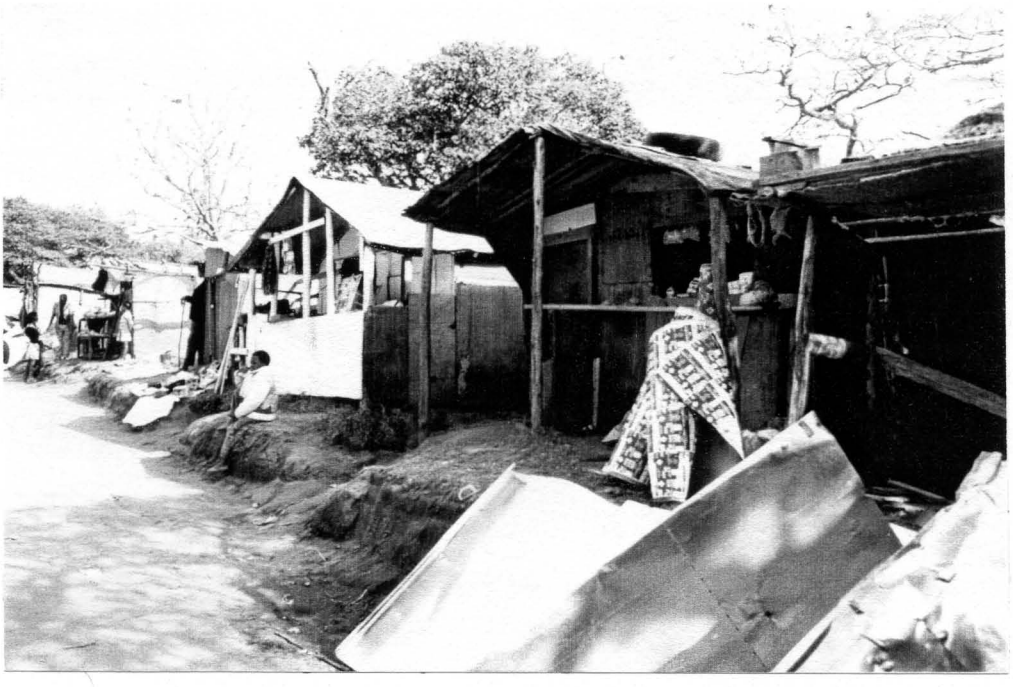


PLATE 8: Dwellings of plywood crate packaging. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

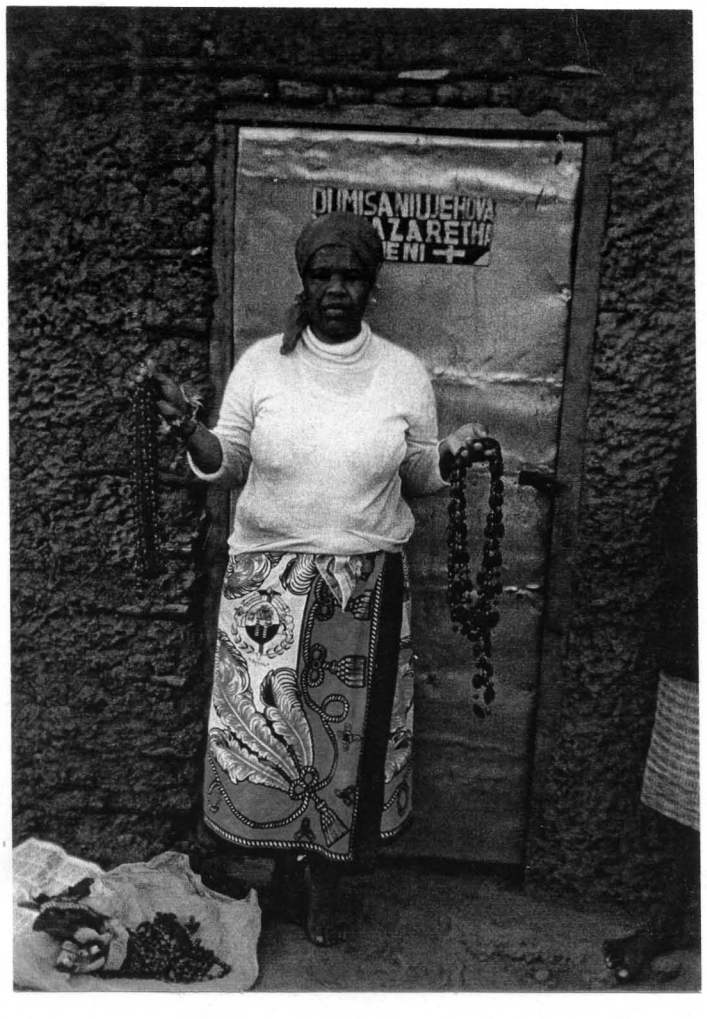


PLATE 9: Mud, rock and log dwelling at Ebuhleni. July 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.

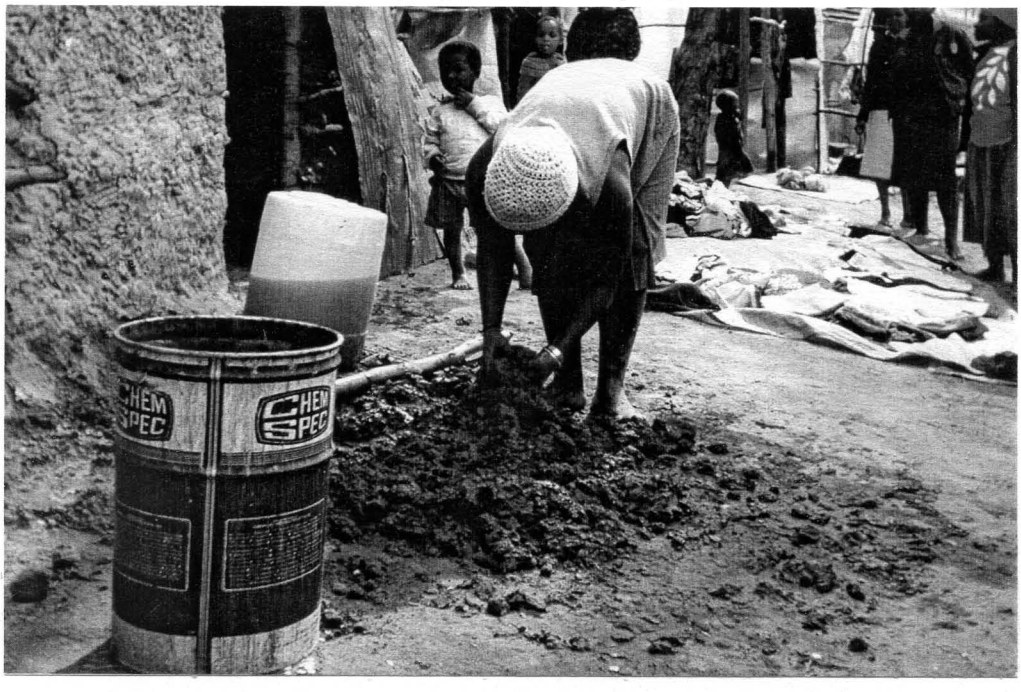


PLATE 10: Married woman mixing mud and dung for her hut floor. Her dwelling is to her right. Ebuhleni. July 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 11: Amos Shembe's house on the far left of the photograph. The house has a concrete balustrade. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.

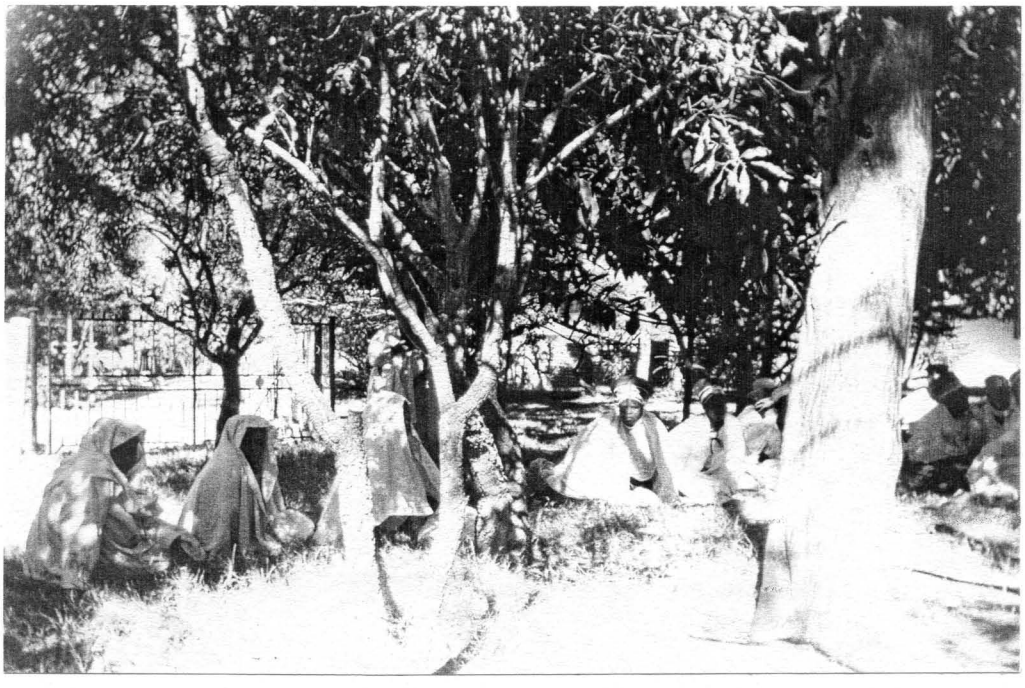


PLATE 12: Unmarried girls (left) and married women (right) sitting in Amos Shembe's enclosure at Ebuhleni after presenting gifts to him. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.

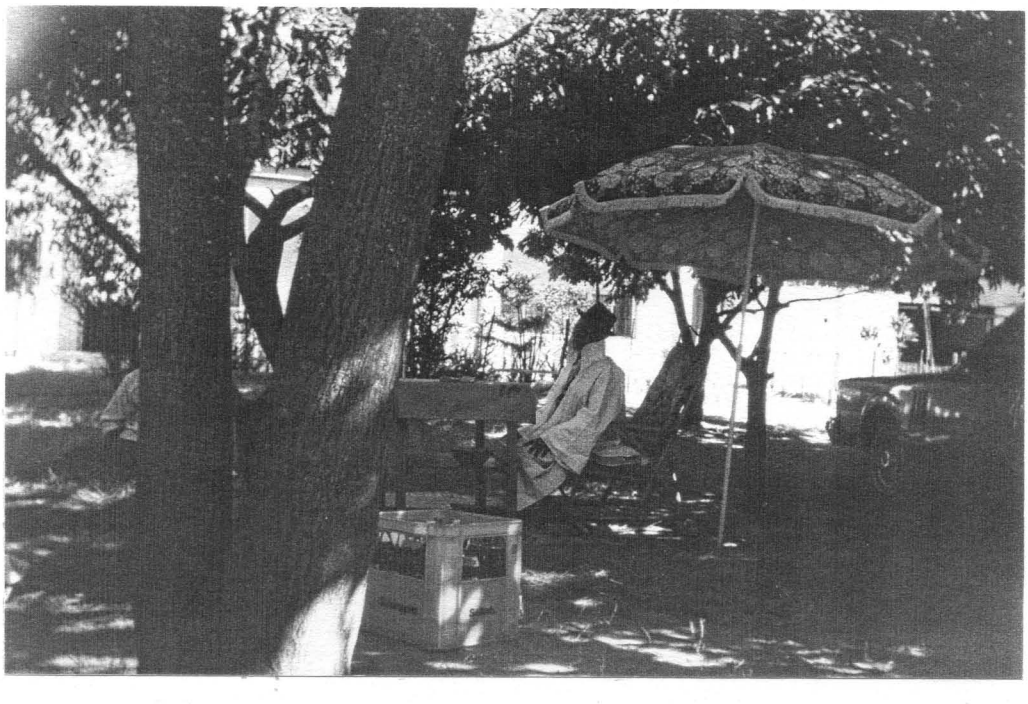


PLATE 13: Amos Shembe seated in his enclosure in front of his house at Ebuhleni. Crates of cooldrinks and other commodities have been received from girls and women. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 14: Women and girls standing in front of the church ground. Ebuhleni. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 15: Unmarried girls in dance formation. Musicians with drums and long pipes stand to the fore of the group. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

CHAPTER 4

RECRUITMENT OF MEMBERS

Followers join the Nazareth Baptist Church for various reasons ranging from the profane, in the form of commercial interests, to the sacred, in the form of a divine calling through Amos Shembe. As noted in the previous chapter, the number of females, particularly married women residing at Ebuhleni, is greater than that of men. This, to a large extent, is explained by demands of work and by other factors, including polygamy, on the side of men, although I wish to show that there is a lot more to be gained by women from Church membership than there is for men. Women are more susceptible to recruitment than men because the former have greater socio-economic burdens to carry. The Church assists in carrying these burdens by offering economic and social support. In so doing, the Church also ensures its own continuity. A discussion of reasons for recruitment, of women in particular, given to a large extent by the people themselves, will go a long way towards providing support for the above propositions.

4.1 PATTERNS OF RECRUITMENT

There are two types of recruitment principle in operation, both seemingly at opposite ends of a spectrum. One principle, ascribed membership, offers little opportunity for choice of membership, while elective membership enables each individual to decide for him or herself whether or not to join the Church.

A fairly common reason given by married women and unmarried girls for membership of the Nazareth Baptist Church, is that they were "born into the Church", that is, one or both of their parents were

members of the Church and the children followed their religion. According to Vilakazi, Mthethwa and Mpanza (1986:58), ninety percent of Shembe members are recruited in this way. One married woman said her "father liked this Church", and when they were small children they "followed their father". An unmarried girl, Ms Na., said her mother, a member of the Church, "got" her from Mr Shembe, so she was "a Shembe" when she "was born". Church membership in these circumstances was ascribed, where the individual had no initial choice of membership. However, as they grow older, some members may choose to leave the Church, although they will be discouraged form doing so.

The principle of elective recruitment also operates among the youth. Some members, when young, were exposed to the Church through other family members or Shembe Church gatherings where they lived. They "liked what they saw" resulting in their recruitment. A married woman said that when she was young, her uncle used to go to Ebuhleni and she would go with him. Although her parents were not Shembeites at the time, they did not mind her attending the Church. Her parents later became members.

In order for an increased membership to result from the inheritance of Shembe religion from one's parents and extended contact with people who follow the religion (thereby liking and accepting the Shembe approach), two factors must be taken into account. Firstly, particularly in the case of ascribed membership of children, the latter must be both tacitly and actively

members of the Church and the children followed their religion. According to Vilakazi, Mthethwa and Mpanza (1986:58), ninety percent of Shembe members are recruited in this way. One married woman said her "father liked this Church", and when they were small children they "followed their father". An unmarried girl, Ms Na., said her mother, a member of the Church, "got" her from Mr Shembe, so she was "a Shembe" when she "was born". Church membership in these circumstances was ascribed, where the individual had no initial choice of membership. However, as they grow older, some members may choose to leave the Church, although they will be discouraged form doing so.

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encouraged to remain within the realm of Shembe religion through Church activity and doctrine. Secondly, the absence of a draining mechanism such as marriage must be presupposed, that is, women should marry Shembe husbands and vice versa.

4.1.1. Recruitment Of Children

With regard to the first point, that is, the involvement of children within the Shembe religion, there are particular sacred rituals and ritual roles directed specifically at children and young adults within the Church. For example, young children (AMASHESHAKUNGENA) carry bottles of water to the graves of Shembe dead on the last Sunday of the July Festival. These children, chosen for their "purity" (innocence), place IMPEPHO plants and water on the graves to "give the dead people something to drink". What is of note here, is the importance of the AMADLOZI (ancestral shades) in this religion and the need to care for them. Similarly, the UMJAFETE Ceremony (to be discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6) is directed towards the unmarried girls. A youth choir, the "KwaMashu Nazareth Temple Choir", started in the 1980's and led by the late Mr Bongani Mthethwa, also presents opportunities for the youth within the Church.

These examples of youth involvement in the Church are not meant to suggest that there is never conflict between the elders and the youth of the Church. Conflict usually arises over aspects of the sacred and the profane. Hair coiffure is one such example. School pupils are required to wear their hair short. According to laws of

the Church, hair should not be cut. An unmarried girl, Ms Zi., said that if they do not cut their hair, they will be isolated at school and "others will undermine you". When she was young she was teased at school and told, "that Church for AMABINCA"[1]. She said: "The world has changed and this must be realised or they [ABAPHATHI] will chase the youth away". Ms Zi. believes that many of the ABAPHATHI wish to get the Church "back to the old time by being so strict" because the Church is "not so much sacred now and much has changed". She also said that despite the conservatism of the ABAPHATHI, Shembe, as an educated man, has emphasised the need for education (see Vilakazi et al 1986:56).

4.1.2. Recruitment Through Marriage

Moving now to a discussion of the second point, that is, marriage as a means of retaining or draining members, Kiernan (1979a) in his work among Zulu Zionists, has noted that while much of the youth leaves Zionist Churches, new members are acquired through the recruiting agency of a man and wife team. Career success is linked to recruitment in these Churches. Movement into positions of leadership by males is dependent on recruitment capabilities, for which the wife is responsible. At the same time, however, an imbalance in numbers of marriageable Zionist males to females requires that some Zionist women have to marry "out", thereby draining members.

There are various "pull" factors which discourage members from leaving the Nazareth Baptist Church. Joining the Church provides

members, both male and female, with opportunities of assuming leadership positions in the Church. Women have the opportunity of becoming ABAKHOKELI, or leaders of the married women, while unmarried girls may become ABAPHATHI, leaders of the unmarried girls. Men who are married may become UMSHUMAYELI, UMFUNDISI, and UMVANGELI. While women do not hold positions of authority over men, they are given the opportunity to assume positions of leadership which are not available to them in the mission-type churches (Oosthuizen 1989:19). A position of leadership in the Shembe Church means an increase in status, in most cases visibly obvious in the different clothing worn, for example, dress of the UMKHOKELI, UMVANGELI and UMFUNDISI. Of particular importance are the leaders of the unmarried girls, the ABAPHATHI. Unmarried girls, the junior members of society, have some means of attaining status by becoming ABAPHATHI, although certainly these positions are limited for occupation by the older unmarried girls. The latter have an important responsibility in looking after the girls, those who are more likely to face the many temptations which exist outside of marriage.

For men to achieve positions of authority, they are required to be older, married and respected members of the Shembe Church. This will obviously encourage those who have aspirations to leadership to take wives. In the case of Zulu Zionist Churches, as studied by Kiernan (1979a:97), bands are often small and there is more opportunity for achieving positions of leadership. On the contrary, the Shembe Church has many members (see Becken 1978:162-

163), and the number of members within each Temple is likely to be greater than that in Zulu Zionist bands. Thus, a career in the Nazareth Baptist Church is only open to a few males. Competition is great and the need to conform to Church requirements is equally as great.

Marriage within the Church is encouraged. Festivals are occasions when males and females of different Temples are able to view each other, and times are allocated for the announcement of engagements and marriages between members. Mrs M. from Nongoma was a member and met her husband at Ekuphakameni. This, of course, does not mean that male members marry only females who are members. A male member is most likely to limit his choice of marriage partner to girls who are still virgins, particularly if he wishes to pursue a career in the Church. A pool of such girls is found within the Church. If a man does marry out of the Church, the new wife is likely to join the new religion.

Females, on the other hand, are most likely to marry within the Church for various reasons. Firstly, women receive social and economic support from the Church. Secondly, polygamy is permitted. Even though there are fewer male members, there is the possibility that a Shembe man may take more than one wife from among members. Thirdly, Shembe girls are not permitted to cohabit with men prior to marriage. This may make them unacceptable to a some non-Shembe men. Fourthly, as already discussed, females have the opportunity to pursue their own leadership careers, although obviously within

limits.

Where a woman does not marry within the Church, the husband may prevent or limit a woman's church activities if he himself does not become a member. In the early years of the Church's existence, much opposition to the conversion of young women was expressed by male guardians (Gunner 1988:223). Despite this, however, not only have women held strong and joined the Church, but, for the most part, husbands appear to support their wives' membership, although often there may be an underlying health or economic motive. For example, a married woman from Maphumulo said that although her husband was not a member of the Church, he allowed her to attend because she was ill. Another example is of Mrs Ng.'s husband who only attends at weekends, even though he does not work. His wife supports him with the sale of beadwork and mats at Ebuhleni.

The latter case relates to profane motives for joining the Church. These incorporate the possibility of achieving economic gains, although this is not likely to be openly admitted.

4.1.3. Membership For Economic Ends

The only prerequisite for opening a shop at Ebuhleni is membership of the Church. It was suggested to me that some persons become members for commercial reasons only, that is, they have no need to buy a traders licence for trade at Ebuhleni, have a secure community in which to live and can make money. I do, however, suggest that great profits are not likely to be made at Ebuhleni,

although some income is guaranteed. It must be stressed also that the Church discourages the pursuit of economic ends as the prime motive for joining the Church.

4.1.4. Health-Related Recruitment

Health matters, in particular, fertility and illness, are often cited as reasons for joining the Church. Typical are the statements of Mrs Mk., a member for 20 years. Mrs Mk. said she joined the Church because she was barren - "wasn't have babies". She has since produced children. Mrs K. said she had a fit in 1975 when still at school near Nhlangakazi. She heard of Shembe and went to him. He prayed for her and she recovered. She now attends every July and January Festival. A male from Qumbu, Transkei, said he became ill and went to Natal to see Shembe. As a result he became a member of the Church in 1972.

Kiernan (1977a) commented upon the concern of Zionists with ill-health, particularly among their female members, since "women, both numerically and in their role of mothers, collectively display a greater range of physical disorders than do men" (36). Problems experienced by Zionist women include " not only barrenness, pregnancy and birth difficulties, but also the illness and even death to which their babies and young children are prone" (Kiernan 1977a:36-7). Kiernan (1977a) also states that the Zionist healing process, which stresses the healing power of UMOYA and the use of blessed salt, water and ashes, is not only a means of coping with ill-health, but is also less expensive than hospital

treatment or the consultation of specialists in Zulu medicine. Similarly, the Shembeites ideally use only prayer or blessed vaseline and water in their healing. Money is saved and the Shembe Church provides a means of dealing with problems. Visiting Ebuhleni may be likened to a visit to a "health farm", or recuperation centre, where the individual is removed from the pressures of everyday life. At Ebuhleni the individual has a ready-made support group around him or her. The latter is in a liminal phase of healing in a sacred place where energies can be devoted to the sacred, notably God, who is ultimately responsible for initiating the healing.

The elective recruitment principle is very clearly in operation in this situation. Choice is available where similar approaches to healing are provided by both the traditional healer and AIC. In the case of the former, the medical practitioner may decide to remove the afflicted to his or her own home to provide "intensive care" (Ngubane 1977:105). The choice of an individual to go either to a traditional healer or to the Shembe Church, will be influenced by other factors such as previous religious experience of the afflicted and his or her immediate family and relatives. This is where miracles of healing within the Shembe Church are so important in recruitment to the Church and may influence those non-members who have problems to seek help within the Church.

These miracles reinforce Shembe's position and act as advertisements for the authenticity of Shembe's power from God and

the power of the Church. The Church Secretary, Mr Dhlomo, told me of a miracle said to have happened in 1927:

> There was a man who lived in Judea, KwaZulu, who did not have any children. He went to Mr Shembe and Mr Shembe [Isaiah] told him to go back and he would find a female baby. The man did this and he found the baby. Meanwhile some doctors, two Indian men and one white man, came to see Mr Shembe to tell him that they were going to inject all the people. If Mr Shembe refused them, then he would be arrested. As the Nazarites take no medicine, he said that he would kill them. Here the man who got the baby came and told the doctors that they must leave. He told them about the miracle Mr Shembe had done and how they should leave him and let him spread the gospel. They left Mr Shembe and his people alone.

Healing miracles concerning cripples who were enabled to stand and the dumb being made to speak through the work of Shembe, were often recounted to me. Thee restoration of faculties is of particular importance here. People are made mobile and are able to communicate orally whereas before they could not. Mobility and communicative ability are religious requirements for dancing and prayer, that is, worship of God. One sacred activity reinforces the other, that is, healing from God through Shembe, enables the healed to pursue sacred activities within the Church. It equips people to act as full and active members.

Ms Mk. related a healing miracle told to her by her mother. She said:

> There was a lady who died. She was dead for two days but Mr Shembe [Amos] prayed for her. He walked around her house praying and before he came inside he prayed at the door. The lady woke up. Mr Shembe told others to boil water and pray to it. My mother knew this dead lady face-to-face. The dead lady was not praying under the Church before Mr Shembe woke her up. After [that] she prayed in this Church.

The repetition of these miracles to others, both members and non-members, reinforces the position of Amos Shembe and the Church community itself in which Shembe is the epitomy of grace and favour. The Church Secretary, Mr Dhlomo said:

> Mr Shembe had done a great thing. A young girl was going overseas to do a diploma. While the plane was going over the Mediterranean, it flew into a cloud. There was also cloud and darkness in the cockpit. The pilot couldn't see. The girl cried out "SHEMBE", while the whites were shouting for Jesus. At some stage, Mr Shembe appeared wearing his hat and his church clothes. The clouds cleared and the pilot could see again. This was a real miracle.

Shembe is not overpowered by the technology of the white man and nor, too, does he succumb to the wiles of the white man. According to my assistant, Ms Zibane:

> A woman [a Shembeite] was working for whites. She took their son to a park. While there, the child disappeared. She couldn't find him. She told the whites. They got sick because they lost their only son. They wanted to go overseas. They took the woman with them when they went overseas. In the plane over the sea, they dropped the woman out into the sea. Mr Isaiah Shembe came out of the sea and saved the woman from drowning. She came back to South Africa and told the police and told people how Mr Shembe had saved her.

Shembe, through God, is shown to have the divine power with which to deal with whites in situations where blacks would usually be oppressed by whites or unsuccessful in dealing them. This suggests that the Nazareth Baptist Church is not a resistance movement. This is unlike the Korekore mediums in Zimbabwe who shun all traces of technology (Lan 1985:144).

Not only does Shembe have power over technology, but he is effective in dealing with nature as well. An unmarried girl said:

> In KwaZulu, people used to swim in the river where there were crocodiles. One day a man was swimming and a crocodile grabbed him and pulled him under. He shouted for Mr Shembe. Mr Amos Shembe came and told the crocodiles to leave the man alone or he would kill them all. The crocodiles did not want to die, so they left the man and he lived.

The ability to control nature, previously the prerogative of the ancestors, serves to reinforce Shembe's link with the power of God. More than this, what is being expressed to members through the miracles are religious and social values. In the above situation, Shembe's great power and the need to obey him (and ultimately God) is emphasised. Non-members, on the other hand, are shown Shembe's power and the possibility of partaking of it.

4.1.5. Recruitment Through Supernatural Calling

Ascriptive recruitment occurs where a person receives a supernatural or divine calling to join the Church which he or she is unable to resist. A case in point is an old unmarried girl, an UMPHATHI, who related a story through my assistant, of how she came to be recruited. She was called to the Church by Isaiah Shembe who was the Leader of the Church at the time of her birth:

> Then Mr Isaiah Shembe came to her land, Gospel. He came and talked to the people that the children/babies which had been born without the mother being married is called a bush child. She asked her parents if they were married. They said yes, they had married. She said that Mr Shembe had a prophecy. He came and asked her how she was born. She said she didn't know. She said Mr Shembe told her that her mother got pregnant before she was married. She asked her parents. Her parents said that was so, but it was a secret and no-one else knew. She said that this means Mr Shembe had a prophecy. Mr Shembe said that the next day he must call her parents. He told them that they must wash with 11 cows. They [cows] must go to the mother's parents. These cows were ILOBOLA - a fresh start. Mr Shembe said that the bush child's father must go and work for the cows. When

> there, Mr Shembe said if her father can't afford to work for 11 cows, he must work for one and Mr Shembe will give 10 to her mother's parents. When her father had worked for one cow, they went to Mr Shembe. Mr Shembe said he was going to take the child [now the UMPHATHI] and she must go with him when he goes. Shembe then gave the 10 cows and said she musn't marry, thus she is not married now. Mr Shembe bought the woman with the 10 cows. Mr Shembe told her that she must tell all unmarried girls that they must not get pregnant before they marry.

This UMPHATHI was the victim of forced recruitment, that is, she was "purchased for service in the Church". However, this is by no means a new situation in Christianity, for some early white missionaries also bought young women, for example, Reverend Callaway (see Etherington 1978). Furthermore, Shembe, through this UMPHATHI and her parents, is emphasising one of the basic tenets of the Church, that girls should not indulge in premarital sex. His ability to detect a lapse such as an unwanted pregnancy, and the need for compensation and purification in order to redeem oneself, is also illustrated. This UMPHATHI is a living example of God's power operating through Shembe, and her situation provides a warning to prospective transgressors of Shembe law.

It is possible that divine calling may be manipulated subconsciously by the afflicted to enable recruitment where it would otherwise not be permitted. For example, a married woman from Nongoma told me that she was not always a member of the Church. She said she became a member when she got married, although her husband is not a member. She said she was asleep and "people" came to tell her to "go to heaven" (Ekuphakameni). Kiernan, in his work on the use of dreams and visions among Zulu

Zionists, points out that:

> The exact dream experience is probably beyond recall. What we are dealing with is a public piece of verbal behaviour, which involves the translation of the experience as recollected into meaningful social actions and the shaping of it to a purpose, declared or undeclared (1985:312).

The member from Nongoma used her dream to justify becoming a member, and at the same time the sacred calling reinforces her becoming a part of the Church.

Members may choose to join or are required to become members through factors beyond their control. Choice and ascription are also operational as regards the establishment and maintenance of a support group of women and girls for Amos Shembe.

4.2. AMOS SHEMBE'S SUPPORT GROUP

Numerous Shembe females, most often married women, accompany Shembe on his travels to his members scattered about Southern Africa. The women, and their belongings, travel to these destinations in buses, cars and on the back of trucks. Some females are "called" to go with Shembe as a result of his direct intervention, while others choose to accompany him of their own free will.

An unmarried girl related that Amos Shembe took her from her home in Matubatuba. He told her parents that he wanted her to "help him in different places". In some cases, the need to assist Shembe is used as the reason for having joined the Church.

Mrs N. from Ndwedwe told me that women go with Shembe for various reasons: "Others go with him because of their problems, others go with him so he won't be alone". When asked why he cannot go alone, she said: "If alone, if he starts a song those who go with him must be background to him. Then people who don't know the song won't sing if they don't know from others". The women, it seems, are required as "teachers" for others, that is, they are "keepers of the hymns" and guardians of ritually correct rendition. Similarly, among the Masowe Apostles the "sacred sisterhood" are the repository of religious orthodoxy (Dillon-Malone 1978:62-9). More significant, I believe, is the importance for all who travel with Shembe of being acquainted with him and the singing of his songs. The latter is reinforced to some extent by Vilakazi et al. They state that:

> Isaiah Shembe did not see himself as a composer but rather pointed out that each hymn was brought to him by different heavenly messengers. A strong belief within the Nazarite Church is that whenever a hymn is sung, the original unseen heavenly messenger who delivered the hymn, becomes pleased. He listens rather intently to the singing, and becomes offended if the singers do not sing all the stanzas, or if they also do not sing the hymn correctly. We think this belief has gone a long way to preserving these hymns (1986:140).

I was informed that if one sings a song incorrectly, one merely starts the song again. There is no formal punishment for mistakes. However, the heavenly messengers are closer to God and are supernatural guardians of orthodoxy. While there may be no formal punishment meted out, the messengers, through their closeness to God, may be perceived as a potential source of misfortune. Fear of

misfortune keeps the members in check and reduces the liklihood of committing any profanities.

Jules-Rosette noted that in the Apostolic Church of John Maranke, "singing constitutes the core of ritual practice and is used to invoke the presence of the Holy Spirit" (1975:150). She also states that: "Through song, Apostles also formulate aspects of doctrine and morality" (1975:150) and "All of the Apostolic songs are thus intelligible to the listener only in terms of participation in a member's world in which such spiritual realities are present and are used to interpret other forms of experience" (1975:165). I believe that the Shembe women are like the "Apostles" of the Maranke Church. By providing musical acompaniment to Shembe and teaching the songs to fellow Shembeites, the women are making statements about Shembe teachings and life. They are also emphasising the distinction between the in-group of Shembeites who can understand and partake of Shembe healing power and support, and the out-group of non-Shembeites who are "missing out" on what Shembe religion has to offer them. Those who travel with Shembe act as recruiting agents.

Two married women, Mrs Mz. and Mrs K., said that they travel with Shembe because "it is like it was with Jesus where he was followed by Peter, Judas - ABAFUNDI BAKAJESU". The women say they are "ABAFUNDI BAKASHEMBE", that is, "disciples of Shembe". Mrs Sphiwe M. said: "He [Amos Shembe] is not a person like you [referring to myself]. He is a person from Heaven. He is like Jesus". She said

that just as Jesus had disciples so, too, are the women Shembe's disciples.

Shembe has a captive cast of supporting actors. Some women are given specific functions by Shembe. A married woman, who had come from KwaMthethwa to Ebuhleni for July, said that she makes beadwork. She used to make pillowcases, but no longer has the time to do the latter because she is now a "prayer", that is, she is required to pray for others who are ill. She said she was appointed by Amos Shembe to do this.

For those females who choose to go with Shembe, there must be some benefits which hold them there. These benefits include spiritual protection, economic sustenance, solace and fulfilment. A married woman, Mrs B., when asked what she got out of going with Shembe, said she had been "sick", but now that she travels with him she is "well, free, happy". She said she was "like a dead person", but when Shembe prayed for her she became "well" again.

Amos Shembe's brother, Galilee Shembe, was of the view that women are protected from sin in the Church, a view which may or may not be in accordance with that held by Amos Shembe himself. In conversation with Fernadez, Galilee Shembe said:

> "They are so important! Why are women more religious than men? Well you take the story of Adam and Eve. It shows that women know sin more than men. I don't mean they sin more. They understand better it's power. Therefore they are more driven to turn towards the light, towards God, than are men! We ministers must guard women more than men! A prosperous community rests upon a happy home. We guard our women by having ministers stay close to them!" (1973:39-40).

Galilee Shembe seems to imply here that women need spiritual protection more than men. This came to the fore in talking to my assistant who said that women take greater responsibility for their families than men and thus face greater problems. This was reinforced by two married women, Mrs J. and Mrs Th. from Richard's Bay, who travel with Shembe. They believe that women require more spiritual protection than men "because women have more problems than men and are also many [women] here [at Ebuhleni]". When asked why women have more problems than men, they said: "Women look after their problems, their children. Problems are theirs. Men don't care for their children". Women see themselves heaped with obligation which they should fulfil. Failure to do so could constitute personal sin for themselves. Also, women feel responsible for their children who have to be directed away from sin or assisted when they have sinned. Thus, women are more likely to be faced with sin than men and require greater access to spiritual protection and sacred redemption. Similarly, Zulu Zionist women are in greater need of spiritual protection than men because they are at the "centre" of "personal and domestic crises" (Kiernan 1979a:107). Zionism provides the means for dealing with their problems (Kiernan 1979a:107).

While Shembeites, particularly women, may receive spiritual protection, I also propose that by performing duties for Shembe and the religious community at large, the women are able to feel useful in their own right. Women may engage in the manufacture of church clothing while travelling with Shembe, thereby supporting

themselves and assisting others. I suggest also that women who are forced to lead an existence independent of their husbands because of female menopause, divorce, loneliness or desire for career freedom, may choose to justify it by following Shembe. Mrs Ch. said that she lives at Ebuhleni all year. She said that her husband lives at Ekuphakameni with another wife. I suggest that living at Ebuhleni or travelling with Shembe is some solace for married middle-aged women at the time of menopause when they may no longer feel "useful", particularly if their husbands take another wife. Such a lifestyle for a married woman can also be a means of relieving loneliness if her husband has work which necessitates his absence from the home for long periods.

A married woman said that when her husband died she came to stay at Ebuhleni because she "was lonely". She was a Shembeite at the time. A related aspect of some importance, particularly in past years, is that a woman had to have some marriage arrangement with a man in order to qualify for a house in a township (Kiernan 1979a:102). A woman, on the passing of her husband, may have been forced to leave her house. An option was to take refuge with the Shembe Church at Ebuhleni and, at the same time, receive religious gratification.

The Shembe Church may offer material benefits for those who travel with Shembe. Mrs Md. of Empangeni, when asked why women travel with Shembe, said:

> Others don't have houses, children; others have many problems, can't stay at home, easiest life to go with him.

> If not rich or not have a lot of money, Mr Shembe can sponsor them money, give them food. Others accompany him when they go to places who don't know him. The women can show uniforms, what they do and that Mr Shembe has members.

At least two additional members mentioned that those who go with Shembe are supplied with some food. What is interesting about this is that Shembe people make offerings to the Leader in the form of money and consummmable goods. Some of these items are redistributed to the "disciples". This system of redistribution may be likened to the Zulu chief redistributing his wealth to retain the support of his followers. Shembe is ensuring that some of his "disciples" can afford to accompany him in his travels, thereby assisting in further recruitment to the Church and bolstering his own position in the Church.

In conclusion, one is recruited into the Church by means of two mechanisms which may, or may not, operate independently of one another. One is ascriptive, offering the individual no choice, while the converse is the elective principle. Most attention has been given to recruitment of women because many more females, particularly women, are members than men. It is mainly from the the women that a support group for the Leader, Amos Shembe, is drawn.

Women join the Church for a variety of reasons, one of which is the opportunity to find companionship and to provide mutual support. In other words, what exists is a support situation with members available to alleviate loneliness, a place to stay if left widowed and without family nearby, a means of coping with feelings

of uselessness, a sacred healing service to assist in coping with illness and barrenness, a means of making money to survive while pursuing religious gratification, and a means of realizing leadership potential. At the same time, the Leader, Amos Shembe, is seen as protecting the women against sin and enabling a community which serves the wider interests of the Shembe Church. A relation of symbiosis exists between church members and Leader, serving to maintain the existence of the Church. Without the support of his members, Shembe would be insignificant. Prophecy must be validated by social approval. Lack of support has led to the downfall of many prophets. Thus, Shembe must work consistently to retain and build up his support base, using women particularly to achieve these ends.

It follows that because females are in the majority in the Church, the demand for uniforms worn on sacred occasions by women and girls is greater than that for men. It is also the females who have the most elaborate uniforms, particularly those used when dancing. The latter is clearly illustrated in the following chapter, which is largely a descriptive account of uniforms worn on sacred occasions in the Nazareth Baptist Church.

NOTES

1. The term, AMABINCA, is used by members of the Nazareth Baptist Church to refer to people who are traditionalists.

CHAPTER 5

ADORNMENT AND ITS USE IN THE NAZARETH BAPTIST CHURCH

Uniforms are an integral part of ritual activity in the Nazareth Baptist Church. Through a descriptive analysis of uniform, attention will be drawn to the fact that social categories of living are reflected through the use of uniform. I will also show that within each category great attention is paid to appearance, uniformity of dress and detail in style, particularly as regards those uniforms worn by females.

Uniforms worn regularly by members of the AmaNazaretha Church at Ebuhleni during the July Festival, can be divided into two broad categories according to type of ritual activity: firstly, those worn for dancing (UKUSINA), called IMVUNULO, and secondly, those worn during communal prayer (UKUKHONZA) and related ritual activities. Within each category further distinctions may be made according to gender, age, marital status and positions of leadership. These sub-categories include: dancing uniforms of unmarried girls which may be further broken down according to age; the church uniform of unmarried girls; the dancing uniform of married women; the church uniform of married women; the dancing uniforms of boys and men which may vary according to age; and the church uniform of boys and men, which too, varies according to age. The church uniforms of Church leaders, both male and female, differ from those whom they lead. Specific ritual occasions demand the use of particlar uniforms. These include the UMJAFETE Ceremony for unmarried girls and the Circumcision Ceremony for males. The categories and various sub-categories are recognised by the members of the Nazareth Baptist Church themselves.

Each of these sub-categories will be examined in turn. Some attention will also be given to clothing worn daily by Shembe people at Ebuhleni, for this provides insight into who the Shembeites are and what they perceive themselves to be. Clothing worn on the occasion of a marriage and during mourning will also be dealt with.

5.1. THE DANCE UNIFORMS OF UNMARRIED GIRLS

There are seven different dancing uniforms which may be worn by the unmarried girls. This is stated as much in the Church Hymnal, Hymn number 226, stanza 4:

> My flesh is dressed up
> until it was seven fold
> even today it dances
> on the green hillocks (Oosthuizen 1967:194).

Three of the uniforms are very alike and are "more African" in style (Vilakazi, Mthethwa and Mpanza 1986:148). The latter are comprised largely of beadwork and a skirt which varies for each uniform.

In each of the three "African-style" uniforms, a short skirt is worn above the knees. The colour and style of the skirts vary according to the particular stage of life through which an unmarried girl is passing. Thus a young girl (ISHESHAKUNGENA) who has not yet begun to menstruate wears a small towel (ITHAWULA) around her waist. A small piece of black material (ISICWAYO) with a design of beads along the hemline is placed over the towel, such that the towel hangs down below it. Any type of towel having any

design and colour may be used, although there is a preference for large flowery designs (PLATE 16) (Figs. 3a+b).

A girl who has reached puberty and menstruation replaces the ITHAWULA and ISICWAYO with a red pleated skirt (UTUBHANE), usually of cotton (PLATE 17) (Figs. 4a+b). When a girl has been menstruating for a period of two years she changes the red skirt for a black skirt (ISIDWABA) made of black cotton-knit fabric (PLATE 18) (Figs. 5a+b). Rows of black wool strands are sewn onto the bottom of the ISIDWABA in ascending levels to form layers of tassels around the skirt. The skirts are all worn above the knees.

All three age grades wear a thick band of predominantly white beadwork over the skirt in the lower buttock region (PLATE 19). The thick band of beadwork (UMBHAMBA) consists of nine (although this may vary) beaded cloth rolls joined together. In making each beaded roll, a long string of beads (size 11/0) is tightly wound round a core of cloth, usually old blankets. The beading on each cloth core is white. The white beading on some cloth rolls (usually, but not always, the second, third and fifth from the top) is interspersed, usually at three equally spaced intervals along its length, by small squares of coloured beads. The coloured beads, usually a combination of green, red, yellow and black, are worked into the long string of white beads so that when the string is coiled around the cloth core the pattern of squares appears perfectly. The size and colour of the squares match on each UMBHAMBA. Attached to the bottom edge of the UMBHAMBA are small

loops of beads, resembling lace, which hang down onto the skirt. The UMBHAMBA is tied around the buttocks by means of string sewn onto the ends of the cloth rolls. The colours and style of this beadwork is prescribed.

Worn directly above the UMBHAMBA, in the region of the buttocks and lower back, is a multi-stranded band (IZINCU) of groups of red, blue and yellow beaded strands (PLATE 19). I was told that the IZINCU should always be worn so that the group of red strands lies at the bottom, followed by the blue, with the yellow at the top, although the reverse was seen. As with the UMBHAMBA, the IZINCU is tied around the lower back and fastened in the front by means of string attached to the ends of the beadwork. The use of the IZINCU and its colours is also prescribed by the Church.

A frontal apron (INEME) is worn in the intestinal area over the UMBHAMBA and IZINCU (PLATE 20). The INEME has a border of white beads with an interior of coloured beads arranged in symmetric patterns. The patterns and colours used vary according to personal taste, while the use of white beads is prescribed. The INEME is fastened in the upper buttock and lower back area using string attached to each corner of the beadwork square.

Another band of beaded cloth rolls, much like the UMBHAMBA but not as wide, is worn around the waist immediately above the IZINCU at the back and the INEME at the front. The waistband, referred to as UMBHAMBA ISISU, consists of three joined beaded cloth rolls (PLATE

19). The middle beaded roll usually carries coloured squares like those worn on the buttock UMBHAMBA.

Yet another set of beaded cloth rolls is worn, this time around the upper back so that it rests just above the breasts. This breastband, UMBHAMBA ISIFUBA, is the same as the UMBHAMBA ISISU except for a small rectangular piece of beadwork (ISIBEBE). The latter is attached to the lower edge of the UMBHAMBA ISIFUBA so that it falls over the cleavage of the breasts which are bare (PLATES 16, 17 and 18). The ISIBEBE consists of a border of white beads with a symmetrically-patterned interior in various coloured beads. The border of white beads is always used, while the patterns and colours used in the ISIBEBE may match those in the frontal apron (INEME), but again this is a matter of personal taste.

The buttock UMBHAMBA, UMBHAMBA ISISU and UMBHAMBA ISIFUBA are bought as a set so that the size, position and colours of the squares match in all.

Whether or not a headdress is worn is determined by the age grade of the girl. Those unmarried girls who have not yet begun menstruation or have been menstruating for less than two years, wear no headdress. Those who have been menstruating for two years or longer, that is, those who wear the black skirts, wear a black hairnet over their hair. A band of beadwork (UMNQWAZI) is worn over the hairnet just above the hairline (PLATES 18 and 19). The

UMNQWAZI consists of two rectangular bead pieces joined together by means of large plastic beads (AMAQANDA). The two rectangular bead pieces are replicas of each other and usually consist of a border of white beads wih an interior of coloured beads in various symmetric patterns. The patterns and colours used may differ in each UMNQWAZI. Red plastic beads (AMAQANDA) tend to be used, although it is believed that any colour is acceptable. The UMNQWAZI is fastened at the back of the head by means of string attached to its corners.

The unmarried girls usually choose the colours and patterns they desire for their headband (UMNQWAZI), frontal cover (INEME) and cleavage flap (ISIBEBE). If the girl wishes, she may have matching colours and patterns for all the items, but this is not essential. It seems, then, that there is much room for individual choice as far as colours and patterns go, but the use of white beads is always prescribed.

The dancing uniform of all age grades is not complete without arm and leg adornment. A wire band (INSENGO) is worn just below each knee. The predominant use of white beads is continued in bead adornment for arms and ankles. Wound around the ankles numerous times are plaited strands of white beads (IZIGQIZO). The same plaited strands, also of white beads, are worn on each upper arm such that a circlet is made above the elbow and another above the bicep. The circlets are joined together by a vertical strand. These arm decorations are also IZIGQIZO (PLATE 18). No shoes are

worn with the dancing uniforms.

All the unmarried girls carry a mock shield (IHAWU) in the left hand and a closed, black umbrella in the right. The shield, made of cowhide, is white with a single row of small stripes (usually brown) down the centre. There may be additional variations in the form of circles or chevrons, also in brown hide, between the stripes (PLATE 18).

The unmarried girls may wear any necklets or earrings they wish with their dancing outfits. One type of necklet worn is the UMGEXO. There are two main types of UMGEXO worn by unmarried girls. One type, consisting of large plastic beads (AMAQANDA) of any colour, is made at Ebuhleni, while the other type is commercially-made and consists of silver or gold-painted plastic beads (PLATE 19). The latter is purchased from sellers near Berea Station, Durban, and resold at Ebuhleni. Both types of UMGEXO are worn to make one "look beautiful".

The discussion of dancing uniforms worn by unmarried girls is by no means complete. There are four additional uniforms which are more "western" in style. A little beadwork only is used with these uniforms which are worn a lot less often than the African-style uniforms. The western-style uniforms are reserved for use by unmarried girls who have been menstruating for longer than two years. The latter are considered to be ready for marriage.

5.1.1. Alternative Dance Uniform Worn Only By Girls Of Marriageable Age.

UVEYILI consists of an almost ankle length skirt of red cotton (PLATE 21). A black band, approximately four centimetres in width, is sewn around the hemline of the skirt. A greenish/blue cap-sleeved cotton shirt is worn over the skirt and extends to just below the hips. A thin band, approximately one centimetre in width and having a flowery design, is sewn around the hemline of the shirt. Around the opening of each sleeve and the rounded neckline, there is a two centimetre wide band of black fabric like that used on the skirt.

The headdress (ISIGQOKO) is made of a piece of cardboard cut so that it has one flat edge, which rests on the head, and a chevroned upper edge. The cardboard is covered with thin purple fabric, much like facing. Around the base of the headdress there is a thin band, approximately one and a half centimetres in width, of white cloth pieces joined together. A small white square of fabric is sewn onto this band. A veil of white net is worn either over the shoulders, or under the ISIGQOKO so that it hangs down over the face and down the front of the shirt. The name of the entire outfit, UVEYILI, probably derives from the use of the veil. No shoes are worn with this outfit. A shield, the same as that used with the dancing outfits already discussed, is carried in the left hand and the umbrella in the right.

The shield and the umbrella are also carried when wearing another

dancing outfit known as IBLACK AND WHITE (PLATE 21). This outfit has a black cotton skirt (ISKIRTI) which falls just above the ankles. A white, long-sleeved cotton shirt (IHEMBE) hangs over the skirt to the area of the hips. A thin, black cotton belt is tied around the waist. A band of black cotton, approximately two centimetres wide, is sewn around the rounded neckline.

A white cotton band, cut to form chevron designs, is sewn onto a black hairnet which is worn on the head. A small blue piece of fabric with a red fabric centrepiece, sewn in such a way as to form a star shape (INKANYEZI), is attached centrally to the white band. The headdress is called UMQHELE. No shoes are worn with this outfit.

The UMQHELE worn with IBLACK AND WHITE is also worn with the dancing outfit referred to as IPINK. The latter consists of a pink fabric skirt and pink fabric shirt with a white fabric belt. The IZIGQIZO are worn on the arms. White gloves and pink woollen earrings (AMACICI) are worn. No shoes are worn. The shield is carried in the left hand and the umbrella in the right.

Finally, an outfit in which more beadwork is used than with the previous three, is the ISIKOTSHI. The ISIKOTSHI consists of a red tartan skirt and a red shirt. Tartan skirts are not made at Ebuhleni, unlike the other clothing, but are bought from shops in Durban. The beaded waistband (UMBHAMBA ISISU) is worn over the tartan skirt. The bead armlets (IZIGQIZO), the headband (UMNQWAZI)

and hairnet are also worn. Around each wrist is worn a rectangular piece of beadwork (ISIHLAKALA) much like the rectangles used in the making of the UMNQWAZI, only smaller. The rectangle has a border of white beads and an interior of beads in a range of colours and symmetric patterns. The ISIHLAKALA is tied around the wrist by four strings attached to each corner of the rectangle. A large plastic bead (IQANDA) may be included at the end of each string. A beaded rectangle (IDAVATHI) is worn around the ankle. The IDAVATHI is much like the ISIHLAKALA, with a border of white beads and an interior of coloured beads arranged in symmetric patterns but, unlike the ISIHLAKALA, having only two string ties without AMAQANDA attached to each upper corner of the rectangle. The IDAVATHI is tied so that the bead rectangle lies around the back of the ankle. A wire armband (INSENGO) is worn beneath each knee. The shield is carried in the left hand and the umbrella in the right. No shoes are worn.

Not only is the ISIKOTSHI seldom worn, but it is worn by very few. There have been difficulties in obtaining the tartan skirt from shops in Durban due to restrictions on the import of the items from overseas.

The ISIKOTSHI, UVEYILI, IBLACK AND WHITE, and IPINK, if worn, are worn only at the July Festival, whereas the more traditional, heavily-beaded dancing outfits are worn at the July Festival and any other major dances which may be held during the year, for example, the January Festival at Nhlangakazi.

The western-style uniforms are never worn on a Sunday. I was informed that in previous years, groups of girls wore the different outfits at a dance. It was, however, decided by Amos Shembe that from 1991, the western-style uniforms would have their own particular days of use. Dancing in these uniforms is not a great public (with non-Shembe spectators) occasion, unlike the Sunday dances. Dancing in these western-style uniforms occurs in the parking area near Shembe's house.

5.2. THE CHURCH UNIFORM OF UNMARRIED GIRLS

The church uniform (UMNAZARETHA) worn by all unmarried girls is worn just above the knee. The UMNAZARETHA, made of white cotton known as "wash and wear", is straight and smock-like with a round neckline and long sleeves which taper to a cuff at the wrists. The UMNAZARETHA is gathered just above the breastline and toward the hem. A long piece of white cotton (UMNANSUKA) is worn low over the head such that only the face is exposed. No shoes or beadwork are worn (PLATE 22). The term UMNANSUKA is derived from the English term NAINSOOK[1]. These headcoverings were originally made of muslin (Roberts 1936:46).

At church services girls should wear an outfit called IHIYA under the UMNAZARETHA (PLATE 23). The IHIYA is said to be derived from clothing worn traditionally. The style of IHIYA worn today, that is, a dress with one shoulder strap, is regarded as "new". It is said to have replaced a small breast covering of beads (ISIBEBE)

and a small frontal covering. Ideally, if an unmarried girl is discovered by the ABAPHATHI not to be wearing the IHIYA under the UMNAZARETHA, she is chased from the church ground. Girls should wear the AMAHIYA at all times at Ebuhleni, but usually they do not.

For Shembe people there is no contradiction between dancing semi-naked in the more traditional outfit and going to church fully clothed with only the face visible. When a person is dressed in uniform, whether it is the dancing uniform or the church uniform, he/she is seen as dressed for God and must act accordingly. It is seen as defiling for people who are dressed in uniform to be touched by those who are not.

An optional extra, which may be worn pinned to the front of the UMNAZARETHA, is a badge (IFOTO) bearing tbe photograph of either Isaiah, Galilee or Amos Shembe or a combination of these. Photographs of Londa are not worn because he is not considered by those at Ebuhleni as a true Leader of the Shembe people. Some badges are suspended on beaded chains and others are pinned to clothing (PLATE 24).

5.3. UMJAFETE CEREMONY FOR UNMARRIED GIRLS

One uniform, the UMJAFETE outfit, is reserved for use by unmarried girls at a ceremony held toward the end of July annually. This ceremony is attended by all girls who have started menstruation. There is no limit on the number of ceremonies which may be

attended. Married women, men, and girls who have not yet started menstruating, are not permitted to attend. The latter are not permitted as they "don't know what it means to be a girl" (Unmarried girl).

The unmarried girls march down to the Umzinyathi River either late in the evening, at about 8.00 pm on the 24 July, or very early the next morning. As they leave Ebuhleni, the girls sing, beat drums and blow trumpets. The music is said to attract those girls living with their mothers. The girls, accompanied by ABAPHATHI, are not dressed in any particular uniform, but carry the church uniform (UMNAZARETHA) and headdress (UMNANSUKA) with them.

At the river, the girls dress in their church uniforms and a church service is held. Thereafter, the headdresses are removed and the girls dance. The girls, dressed in the UMNAZARETHA, sleep at the side of the river. The girls are awoken at about 3.00 am, don their headresses and pray and sing. Songs specific to the ceremony (not taken from the Hymnal) are sung.

While at the river the girls make a headband (ISIBOPHO) of grass which they carry up from the river. The headband forms part of the UMJAFETE uniform. When the girls come up from the river in the morning, they meet their mothers and sisters who bring them their UMJAFETE uniforms.

The UMJAFETE outfit is made of white cotton and is worn over

everyday wear. The UMJAFETE has a high, round neck and long sleeves tapering to a very stiff cuff at the wrist. The dress flares one third from the bottom. The dress is quite long, usually ending at the ankle. Some girls who do not have their own UMJAFETE uniform may wear their mother's UMNAZARETHA, although it differs in style. The UMNAZARETHA worn by women is longer and does not have a high neck. The girls should wear IHIYA under the UMJAFETE, although many do not adhere to this and opt for everyday wear instead. A green ribbon is worn around the waist. The white cloth (UMNANSUKA) is fashioned into a turban-like headcloth which is wrapped around the head and secured, usually with two large safety pins. The grass circlet (ISIBOPHO) is worn over the headdress (PLATE 25).

When the girls arrive back at Ebuhleni, they gather near the dancing ground and are preached to by an UMPHATHI. The girls are then checked to see that they are properly dressed. The girls form themselves into rows with the more mature and experienced girls at the front. Those who provide music accompaniment make their own row on the left of the girls - drums followed by long pipes, while small horns end the procession (PLATE 26). Just prior to proceeding, the dance is demonstrated by an UMPHATHI. A leader of married women (UMKHOKELI) leads the girls. She carries a white flag on a bamboo pole.

The group moves around the grounds of Ebuhleni, to the delight of many onlookers. The movement is very slow and controlled. At the

end of the procession the girls move into the church ground. They fill their section and all kneel. An UMPHATHI addresses the girls. She stresses the need to dress correctly and to pay their membership fees even if they do not dance. All then disperse.

5.4. MARRIAGE IN THE SHEMBE CHURCH

A girl is required to change her dance uniform for that worn by married women following marriage. A marriage proposal/engagement ceremony (IBENCHI) usually occurs on the final Sunday of large Church gatherings, for example, the July Festival. Participants do not dress in any particular uniform because "this proposing is a traditional thing" (Ms Zibane).

The IBENCHI Ceremony I witnessed at Ebuhleni in July 1991 occurred in the unmarried girl's section. The couple sat before an UMPHATHI. The latter proposes marriage to the girl on the man's behalf. The girl will shake the man's hand on acceptance, or if shy, the hand of the UMPHATHI (PLATE 27). The girl is permitted to refuse, but she is then obliged to state the reasons for her refusal. No rings are exchanged. The couple are not usually very well acquainted with each other before the proposal, and certainly no intimacy of any kind should have occurred. Following the successful outcome of the proposal, friends and relatives adjourn to the girl's hut where they partake of snacks and cooldrinks provided by the male. A number of these proposals occur on the same day.

The "first marriage" occurs after the engagement, but only when bridewealth (LOBOLO) has been paid. This is reminiscent of traditional Zulu practice where at least some LOBOLO transactions are made prior to the actual wedding ceremony (Krige 1950:128). LOBOLO in the Nazareth Baptist Church usually consists of cows (4-5) and money, but this depends on the girl's father. In the case of divorce, if the woman was considered responsible for the breakdown of the marriage, the parents return the cows to the husband, and in the case of the husband being at fault, the woman's father keeps the cows. The couple are not permitted to engage in sexual relations prior to the conclusion of the first marriage.

First marriages occur on the final Sunday of any large meeting of the Church. At the Saturday church service the day before, the girls to be married are led to their seats by those already married. A girl who is about to be married wears the UMNAZARETHA without the UMNANSUKA. She wears a cloth (ISIKHAFU) on one shoulder. The cloth is pinned to the UMNAZARETHA with a brooch. After marriage she will wear a blue UMNANSUKA around her shoulders until she has had at least two children[2] (PLATE 28).

The first marriage is viewed by members as the "traditional marriage - one for Mr Shembe". Those about to get married dance near the statue of Isaiah Shembe and then move into the church ground where they are blessed. Further dancing occurs outside the church ground. Food is then consumed.

At the first marriage at Ebuhleni, the bride wears a skin skirt (ISIDWABA) like that worn by married women when dancing. The bride also wears a piece of buckskin which hangs in a v-shape over her chest towards the genital area, and over her back. This is referred to as ISICWAYO (possibly because it is worn like that used by married women when dancing) or AMARANE. The bride also wears the headdress (INHLOKO) and skin headdress (UMQHELE) worn by married women when dancing. Sashes of white beads (UCU) are also worn. The groom (who wears the AMABHESHU dancing outfit of men) and bride each wear two strings of these white beads. The bride gives these to the male in the presence of onlookers. "She is accepting the marriage by giving to him" (Shembe member). The groom also carries a short beaded stick (IWISA).

The bride carries a knife, ISINQINDI, in her right hand. The knife, big in size, is purchased new from a shop. A shield, also new, is carried in the left hand. A girl's mother or father will buy her a new outfit when she marries. Her husband may give her money, the blue UMNANSUKA and the married woman's church uniform (UMNAZARETHA).

According to Vilakazi et al (1986:86), Shembeites are required to marry wearing traditional style dress, that is, "traditional Zulu garb". In Isaiah Shembe's time members were permitted to wear western dress. The latter was prohibited by J.G. Shembe in 1943.

The "second marriage", according to my assistant, "happens like white people's marriage" (Ms Zibane). This takes place in home Temples, usually the home of the groom. It is carried out by the minister (UMFUNDISI) or preacher (UMSHUMAYELI). A reception is held and gifts are given. It is at this time that an animal is slaughtered ("cow is cut") for the woman. It is only after the slaughter of an animal that the woman is considered eligible to dance with other married women [3].

5.5. DANCE UNIFORM WORN BY MARRIED WOMEN

Unlike the unmarried girls, married women have only one dancing uniform (PLATE 29) (Fig. 6).

The married women wear a black skin skirt (ISIDWABA) which extends to below the knees. This skirt is made of cowhide blackened with ash from a fire. Cowhide is used rather than the skin of wild animals such as buck, or sheepskin, as the former is not easy to come by and the latter is too soft and breaks easily when being worked. A large cloth roll (UMQULU), consisting of a cloth-covered core of mattress stuffing, is tied around the waist over the top of the ISIDWABA to hold it in place. A belt may be used in its place.

An IDAVATHI, a beaded rectangle, is worn on each ankle. A plaited strand of white beads (ISIGQIZO) is wound around the ankle above the IDAVATHI. No shoes are worn on the feet.

Two squares of black fabric, attached to which are bands of beadwork (IGXABA), are worn over the ISIDWABA, one at the front and one at the back. The bands of beadwork, one at the back and two at the front (one above the other), are attached along the bottom edge of the fabric squares. The bead bands consist of a border of white beads with three blocks of symmetric patterns in coloured beads at equally spaced intervals along the length of the band. The patterns used are the same for all beaded bands on every IGXABA. Colours used are supposed to be the same, but the degree of translucency, shine of the bead and the order of the colours may differ. Colours used include green, yellow, black, orange, blue and pink, although I did, on occasion, observe red being used instead of pink.

A large square of red cotton with beaded chevron patterns in white along the hemline, is worn over the breasts and ties under the arms behind the back. The red fabric square (ISICWAYO) extends over the front IGXABA such that the bead bands are still visible.

Dividing the ISICWAYO in two is the ISIBHAMBA, a beaded rush belt, worn around the waist. The ISIBHAMBA consists of plaited rush (usually INCEMA) with a mid-section beaded in geometric patterns using coloured plastic beads (AMAQANDA). The ISIBHAMBA is tied around the waist by means of strings attached to each end of the belt. Less often, rectangles of beadwork, like that used in the manufacture of the anklets (AMADAVATHI), will be used in the place of the AMAQANDA.

A black cloak (UMTSHEKO) is worn around the shoulders and fastened over the chest. The UMTSHEKO (also INGUBO YOMSINDO or INGUBO YOMGIDI- cloak of [wedding] festivity/celebration) consists of black fabric with crochetwork in black wool sewn onto the back and black wool tassels attached to the hemline. Pom poms of blue and pink wool are attached to the back of the cloak at various points. The ISICWAYO covers the breast while the cloak covers the shoulders and chest.

A white beaded necklet in lacy style is worn around the neck. The necklet is called UMGEXO and is an integral part of the uniform. This UMGEXO is usually reserved for use by married women.

Red and blue plastic beads (AMAQANDA) are strung on many loops of white string to form a headdress (IKHULU) which is tied onto the head so that it hangs down the back of the neck. According to Vilakazi et al 1986:149, the headdress is called IKHULU, meaning "one hundred" in Zulu, "because there must be a hundred such strings". I never came across this interpretation during my study.

A headdress, known as the INHLOKO, is worn on the top of the head. Other terms used for the headdress are ISICHOLO and INKEHLI. There are two styles of INHLOKO used by Shembe married women. One style is long and straight (to be referred to as the straight INHLOKO) (PLATE 30), while the other mushrooms out at the sides to form a wide top circumference (to be referred to as the round INHLOKO)

(PLATE 31). The round INHLOKO is worn in areas south of the Tugela River, while the straight style is worn north of the Tugela River. The round INHLOKO is often called INHLOKO YESILUNGU because it is said to be worn on the "white man's side" of the Tugela River, that is, closer to Durban and the areas where many whites live. Women wear headdresses of their husband's origin and not of marital residence. Women dance in sections according to the headdresses they wear.

A bead headband (UMNQWAZI) is worn at the base of the INHLOKO. The UMNQWAZI worn by married women is very like that worn by unmarried girls for dancing, although it is usually wider. Futhermore, the UMNQWAZI worn on the straighter INHLOKO is usually wider than that worn on the round INHLOKO. Like the UMNQWAZI used by unmarried girls, the married woman's UMNQWAZI consists of two rectangles of beadwork joined by large plastic beads (AMAQANDA) of any colour. Each rectangle has a border of white beads with an interior in a range of colours and symmetric patterns.

An animal skin and ostrich feather headdress (UMQHELE) is worn around the UMNQWAZI. The UMQHELE consists of a thin strip of hair-covered skin of a buck (IMPUNZI) to which is attached a plume of black ostrich feathers taken from a commercially-made feather duster. The plume is worn at the front of the head.

Small beaded rectangles (IZIPENETU) are often attached to the INHLOKO, particularly the round one, using pins with large pearly

heads. The ISIPENETU has a lacy border of white beads with an interior of coloured beads in a range of symmetric patterns (PLATE 31).

A wristband (IHLANGU), which resembles the ISIHLAKALA, is worn on each wrist, while a wire band (INSENGO) is worn under each knee. Around the ankles are worn anklets (AMADAVATHI), above which are wound the plaited strands of white beads (IZIGQIZO) like those worn by unmarried girls.

Some women are emphatic that when dancing, married women should wear sets of beadwork. It is said to be a law from Isaiah Shembe (UBABA UMKHULU/UMQALIWENDLELA) that the same bead patterns and colours used in the IGXABA should be used in the UMNQWAZI, AMADAVATHI and so on, although different patterned beadwork may be worn if a set is not owned. Other married women dispute this. They believe that while a law exists that all beading in the IGXABA should be the same for all women, other beadwork used for dancing need not match. Many married women when dancing do not, in fact, wear sets.

Married women, like the unmarried girls, carry a shield in the left hand and a closed umbrella in the right. The shield, made of brown cowhide, has a single row of white horizontal stripes down its centre. The umbrella is usually longer than that carried by the unmarried girls.

The IFOTO (badge) is not worn with the dancing uniform. As mentioned earlier, the dancing clothes are only worn at large gatherings, such as the July Festival at Ebuhleni and the January meeting at Nhlangakazi. Dancing clothes are not worn at dancing practices which are held during the year.

5.6. CHURCH UNIFORM WORN BY MARRIED WOMEN

Married women, like the unmarried girls, wear a straight smock-like uniform, also called UMNAZARETHA, but with slight differences in design. The UMNAZARETHA, made of white cotton, has long sleeves which taper in toward the wrists to form cuffs. The neck is round with a small U-shaped loop at the front, although this is sometimes worn at the back. There is braided pleating just above the breast area, one third from the bottom of the robe and near the hemline. The UMNAZARETHA hangs to just below the knees. The UMNAZARETHA should ideally be worn over the IHIYA (prescribed skirt or dress of fabric worn by married women) which, in turn, should be worn over the ISIDWABA. Often, however, the IHIYA is worn without the ISIDWABA.

A length of cotton fabric (UMNANSUKA) is worn around the shoulders, but not over the head as in the case of the unmarried girls. Rectangles of beadwork, AMADAVATHI, are worn around the ankles.

A black belt, approximately five to ten centimetres in width, is worn around the waist. The belt, made of black cotton, is referred

to as U14 because on the fourteenth of every month a meeting of the married women church members occurs.

The IFOTO may be worn pinned to the front of the UMNAZARETHA. The UMNAZARETHA is worn to church, at prayer meetings, at monthly meetings, at presentations to Amos Shembe, and at times during the day when at Ebuhleni.

The headdress, INHLOKO, worn when dancing, is also worn with the church uniform. A bead headband, UMNQWAZI, is worn around the base of the INHLOKO. A thin white band, approximately two millimetres in width and also referred to as U14, is worn around the UMNQWAZI (PLATES 32 and 33).

Sundkler seems to confuse the dancing dress of married women with that of church dress:

> Different groups (old men, young men, married women and girls) dance separately. The old women appear in long white skirts, the girls in short scarlet or black skirts, but are naked from above the waist, except for necklaces, and girdles of beads. The men wear kilts (1961a:197).

5.7. DANCE UNIFORMS WORN BY BOYS AND MEN

Boys and men each have two sets of dancing clothes, one African in style and the other more western in style. Each style of dance uniform is very similar for both boys and men and therefore, will be discussed as for men in general, any variations between men and boys being highlighted. The African-style uniform will be discussed first (PLATES 34, 35 and 36) (Figs. 7a+b)

Men wear a hair-covered skin and fur headddress (UMQHELE) around their heads. A piece of plastic is sewn over a core of skin pieces, either of cattle or sheep. The hair-covered skin of a civet cat (INSIMBA) or a duiker (IMPUNZI), is sewn onto the plastic to form the UMQHELE. Attached to each end of the plastic is a small length of string. Squares of hairy skin are threaded onto the strings at regular intervals. The UMQHELE is fastened around the back of the head with the strings. This type of UMQHELE is also worn by boys.

Another type of headdress often also worn by men, consists of black ostrich feathers with the occasional white feather protruding from the plume. The feathers are attached to a base of goatskin and cloth. The headdress is called ISIDLUKULA. Variations in the type of headdress worn are acceptable providing the headdress consists of some sort of animal skin.

Large pieces of hair-covered skin from either the duiker (IMPUNZI) or civet cat (INSIMBA), are worn by men around the neck, over the shoulders and extending over the chest. This skin piece is called IMBATHU. Another type of neckpiece which may be worn by men is the ISIYAYA. This consists of black ostrich feathers sewn onto skin and pieces of leopard skin attached at various intervals around the neckline of the neckpiece.

Some men, and boys particularly, wear diagonal bands (IMISONTO) of

fur-covered skin over their shoulders and across their chests. The skin used in the manufacture of the bands may be of an animal or it may be synthetic. In one case, a small boy was wearing a band cut from a piece of a synthetic, furry car seat cover (PLATE 36).

An apron-like cover (ISINENE) of animal skin is tied around the waist and hangs over the genital area of the body. The ISINENE consists of pieces of hair-covered skin, closely threaded onto string, and strips of skin which form tassels which hang down the front of the legs. Goatskin is usually used for the ISINENE. A large skin covering (IBHESHU) is tied, hair side outwards, around the waist so that it covers the buttocks. Calfskin is usually used to make the IBHESHU. Some of the AMABHESHU are black in colour, while others are brown. I was told that the colours of the skin used in the making of the ISINENE and IBHESHU should match.

There is another type of apron, the INJOBO. The INJOBO resembles rolls of hair attached to coloured studded leather. Sheepskin is often used in the making of the INJOBO.

Small boys and young men wear the ISINENE and IBHESHU only. Men wear the INJOBO, as well as the ISINENE and IBHESHU, but at the side of the waist. Old men dispense with the ISINENE and wear only the INJOBO at the front of the body.

Old men wear a penis sheath (UMNCEDO/ICOCKBOX!) made of the

hollowed-out seed of the ILALA palm (PLATE 37).

An ornament (UBHESHWANA) of hair-covered skin and squares (made of a plastic-like material) is worn by men over the IBHESHU in the upper buttock region. The UBHESHWANA consists of a plastic-covered core of skin to which are attached the small squares. These squares are decorated with designs in black and white braiding. The squares are edged with hair-covered skin. Very often coloured reflectors are added to the squares. Some of these small squares may also be worn in the chest area in place of the IMBATHU, IMISONTO and ISIYAYA. The squares are also worn by some men around their ankles, while others, both men and boys, choose to wear the beadwork AMADAVATHI or IZIGQIZO, or skin anklets. Bands are worn by men below the knees.

Armbands of some sort are worn by men. Squares, like those used in the manufacture of the UBHESHWANA, may be worn on the upper arm Very often coloured reflectors are added to the squares. This type of armband is called ISICHONO. The IZIHLAKALA, like those worn by the unmarried girls, are worn around the wrists by men.

Men may wear necklets such as IFOTO or UMGEXO if they wish. Small boys may wear pieces of beadwork around their necks or across their chests.

No shoes are worn by men or boys. Men and boys carry a shield (IHAWU) in the left hand. The shield is made of cowhide and has

four sets of horizontal stripes in two vertical rows down its centre. This is unlike the shield used by females, which has only one set of horizontal stripes. The men's shield is usually a combination of white and brown hide, the white forming the body and the dark brown making up the stripes. A stick (UMGOBA) with a spiral of hair-covered skin near the top and skin tassels (IMBABALA skin - bushbuck) attached to the top, is slid through skin loops into the back of the shield. The stick provides a handle for holding. The boys' shield is smaller and has no UMGOBA. Both men and boys carry a stick (ISHOBA) in their right hands. White tail hairs of a cow are attached to the end of the stick.

The other type of dancing uniform worn by boys and men is more western in style. This uniform, called ISIKOTSHI, is worn by a small group only (PLATE 38). Men wear a skirt (ISIKOTSHI) of black cloth which falls just above the knees. Boys wear a red-and-white checked, pleated skirt or, less commonly, a tartan skirt.

A white long-sleeved shirt with cuffs is worn by men. The shirt (IBANTSHI) has a tasselled hemline which hangs out over the top of the skirt. Boys wear a white long-sleeved shirt with no cuffs or tassels. Men wear their shirts buttoned up at the neck with a thin green ribbon as a tie (ITIE). The boys usually wear a black bowtie.

The men wear long black rugby socks with a plain white, or black-and-white striped, turnover at the top and black boots, while boys

wear long black socks and black school shoes. This is the only occasion on which shoes may be worn at Ebuhleni.

White pith helmets (AMAKHONGO) are worn by men. On the other hand, boys wear a black headband with an X-design (INKANYEZI) in white braid and a white pom-pom attached to the front of the headband.

Use of skins and ISIKOTSHI by adults is determined by "age", that is, whether or not a male has been circumcized and marital status. Circumcision (UKUSOKA) in the Nazareth Baptist Church is a departure from Zulu tradition where circumcision was last practiced in the early 19th century. Some Xhosa-speaking people, however, still engage in this rite today. According to Church doctrine, when a male is circumcised and married he is considered a "full" man. If the male has been circumcised and is not yet married, he is seen as having greater status than a boy but not yet that of a full man. Until the male is a full man, that is, circumcised and married, he is not permitted to dance with the men who wear skins. Small boys may wear skins, but this is emulation rather than an indicator of manhood because boys have not yet reached sexual maturity. One does not have to be a full man to wear the ISIKOTSHI uniform. Thus, the use of skins is limited to the older men, while the ISIKOTSHI is restricted to use by the younger men. Old men do not partake of the latter dance. My research findings conflict with statements made by Vilakazi et al (1986:148) who suggest that the "old men ...wear sun helmets".

I was not able to witness a full Circumcision Ceremony, although I was able to view the conclusion of such a ceremony at Ebuhleni on 26 July 1992. Two ABAFUNDISI (ministers) wearing green cloaks were leading 17 men (divided in two rows behind each UMFUNDISI) dressed in church uniform (UMNAZARETHA). All men were carrying sticks (IZIMBHOKO). The men were gathered under a tree at the lower boundary of the men's section. The men were singing. The men had returned from the "forest" (EHLATHINI) where they had been circumcised by an UMFUNDISI. An UMFUNDISI need not perform the operation. Anyone who is considered skilled may perform it. A man may be circumcised at any stage of his life. Men spend seven days in seclusion. The circumcision operation usually occurs on the first day of seclusion, while the remaining days are spent in prayer and cleansing the wounds. My assistant talking of circumcision said:

> You are sacred, you are giving yourself to God. You are circumcised so you can be a fully Nazareth man. I am living for God. In the Bible, in Israel they used to be circumcised. If circumcised they have more powers because God know them well. These men have limited food they eat [prohibitions], being purified (Ms Zibane).

A male who is not yet a full man is not permitted to eat with those who are full men.

On their return to Ebuhleni, the men walked into the church ground, entering between two white stones or "gateways" near the church office. They prayed - "thanking God because circumcision is dangerous, thanking God that they are alive" (Shembe member). The men left the church ground, walking and singing at the same time.

They walked to the church office, then turned and faced it. They were singing words to the effect: "I am now purified". One UMFUNDISI blessed the men, and they responded with "AMENI". The UMFUNDISI talked to the men, after which they walked towards the road near the men's section, singing as they went. One man said: "Circumcision is from Abraham, whites do this [circumcision]. God's sign - circumcision".

In both sets of dancing uniforms used, distinctions are not only being made between the men and boys, but also between the young men and old men.

5.8. CHURCH UNIFORMS WORN BY BOYS AND MEN

All men and boys, like the unmarried and married women, wear a straight, white cotton smock called UMNAZARETHA. However, the men's and boys' UMNAZARETHA has large wide sleeves and there is only braided pleating across the top of the chest and around the rounded neckline. The UMNAZARETHA is worn over everyday clothing such as shirts and trousers. No shoes are worn (PLATE 39). Some of the older "full" men wear the IBHESHU in place of trousers. Mr P. said that when he was at Nhlangakazi he was required to pay 50c (asking forgiveness) to Mr Shembe. Contrary to Church practice, he had worn the IBHESHU under his church uniform while still unmarried.

Men may wear the headdress, UMQHELE, with the church uniform if they wish. Men may carry long pointed sticks (IZIMBHOKO) on

special occasions, more particularly, at certain times during the opening and closing days of the July Festival and when walking to Nhlangakazi for the January Festival. The sticks may also be carried at night.

5.9. CLOTHING WORN BY CHURCH LEADERS

Members assuming recognized positions of leadership in the Church are often, but not always, identifiable by the clothing they wear.

The leaders of the unmarried girls, the ABAPHATHI, do not wear any distinctive clothing to suggest their position of leadership, either when dancing or at church. Rather, they are recognisable by the fact that they stand at the head of the unmarried girls at church and when dancing. Their position is communicated through action rather than dress.

Leaders of the married women, however, are easily recognisable by the church clothing they wear. These leaders, ABAKHOKELI, wear a black fabric habit which covers the chest and upper back area (PLATE 40). The piece of black cotton (ISIPHIKA) has a collar, is sleeveless, and is not joined down the sides. The ISIPHIKA is worn over the UMNANSUKA which is draped around the shoulders. A few of the IFOTO are worn pinned to the front of the ISIPHIKA. I was told that the black frontpiece is worn to distinguish the ABAKHOKELI from the rest so that people can see that they are different, they are leaders. The ABAKHOKELI do not wear any distinguishing clothing when they dance. Dance leaders of married women, who

differ from the church leaders, wear the dance clothing of married women.

There are three types of male church leaders, two of whom are clearly distinguishable by the dress they wear at church. The UMVANGELI (evangelist) always wears a long green cloak (UMJIVA OLUHLAZA) over his UMNAZARETHA (PLATE 41). The UMFUNDISI (minister) wears a long, white open cloak with a stiff upturned collar over the UMNAZARETHA. There are black trims on the cuffs of the sleeves and down the front of the cloak. The UMSHUMAYELI (preacher) wears the UMNAZARETHA. These Church leaders wear no distinctive clothing when dancing. Men have different leaders for dancing, but the latter wear no distinctive clothing. Their leadership abilities are highlighted in dance activities.

There are repeated references to use of blue vestments by Sundkler (1961a:187). Similarly, Roberts 1936:47) mentions that at the funeral of Isaiah Shembe there were three priests dressed in distinctive attire: "The first priest wore a green surplice, the second was in royal blue and the third in yellow". These outfits were not observed during my fieldwork and nor was mention made thereof by members.

Mr Amos Shembe, the Supreme Leader, has many different outfits he wears. When he meets with the people during the week to hear problems and receive offerings, he wears, over the UMNAZARETHA, a long, white open cloak with wide sleeves and a stiff upturned

collar. A brown homburg hat adorns his head. Mr Shembe varies the clothing he wears depending on the occasion and the place he is visiting. For example, when visiting Swaziland, he wore Swazi traditional print over the UMNAZARETHA. I was told that his various outfits, the colours of which range from light blue to green and red, are gifts from people and he is thus obliged to wear them.

5.10. THE OPENING AND CLOSING DAYS OF THE JULY FESTIVAL

There are other ritual occasions, besides church services, when prescribed church dress is worn. These occasions include the Opening Ceremony (UMDEDELE) of the July Festival and the visit to the graves of Shembeites on the final Sunday of the July Festival.

The Opening Ceremony of the July Festival occurs on the afternoon of 1 July. The Opening Ceremony was attended by my assistant in 1992. All at Ebuhleni were called by a messenger to assemble at the "gate"[4] situated below the men's section at the entrance to Ebuhleni. My assistant said:

> Everybody must go to the gate where we can open the gate so that Heaven's People and people of this world could enter at Ebuhleni and praise God.

People gathered at about 3.30 pm. The people who gathered were organised into sections according to their gender and marital status. Men were at the fore, followed by girls, with married women bringing up the rear. Group leaders stood at the head of their respective groups. All members wore the UMNAZARETHA.

ABAPHATHI placed those unmarried girls who were wearing the AMAHIYA under the UMNAZARETHA ahead of those who were not. The latter were severely admonished by the ABAPHATHI and threatened with dismissal if discovered improperly dressed a second time. "They would not be allowed to enter any church service and they will be chased out of the Church till they wear AMAHIYA" (Ms Zibane). Similarly, the leaders of the men and of the married women reminded their charges of the dress code. According to Ms Zibane:

> ABAKHOKELI were telling married ladies that everyone of them must wear INHLOKO and UMNQWAZI and ABAFUNDISI were telling men that everyone of them must wear UMQHELE and that must carry the sticks (UBHOKO).

At about 4.00 pm, an UMFUNDISI shouted words to the effect:

> Today is the opening day for July Meeting. We invite all dead people and all people of this world to come. Gate are widely open for everyone to come to praise God. Mr Shembe said everything is going to take place here, then you must tell everyone that the meeting is at Ebuhleni.

This was followed by the "Opening Song", sung by the congregation as it moved into Ebuhleni towards the church ground. All entered the church ground through the entrance usually reserved for males and split into their allocated sections. The Opening Song was translated by my assistant as:

> Allow Them
> We Were Locked Out
> Today The gates Are Opened
> Make The Way, So We Can Come In
> To Praise The Lord

The opening prayers are usually conducted by Mr Shembe, but in his absence in July 1992, they were conducted by an UMFUNDISI who was responsible for administering the Ndwedwe and Ebuhleni area.

Following the service, the Opening Song was sung again and then the congregation dispersed.

Two notable points may be made. Firstly, members were organised into groups according to gender and marital status and secondly, the situation was very rigidly controlled in dress, movement and the order of the service.

These similar points are evident also in the visit to the graves of Shembeites who have died. This visit occurs on the final Sunday of the July Festival. The gravesites, situated on a hillside opposite the village of Ekuphakameni, are marked by whitened stones arranged in the shape of a star (INKANYEZI) with a circular boundary. A star was said to have guided Isaiah Shembe to this place, where he sat.

The following description is derived from my fieldwork in July 1991. People arrived dressed in the UMNAZARETHA. All the men carried sticks (IZIMBHOKO) and bunches of IMPEPHO flowers, while females carried IMPEPHO only. A table, chair and public address system were arranged on top of the hill. Men, women, girls and children sat in their sections, surrounding this area. Girls and children sat between the men and married women (PLATE 42).

A praise singer, IMBONGI, started the proceedings. He spoke and was answered by those assembled who chorused "AMENI". This was followed a by song from those gathered. According to my assistant,

the song:

> is based on what is happening here...like it is the graves of the holy people [AMADLOZI]. They are going to sing today, and they are going to be happy because we are here also to sing with them. If we are here, we believe that they are with us. They have come up from the graves and they are also with us.

While singing, all were in an upright kneeling position. The leader sang and all followed. A sermon usually follows the song, but on this occasion, the sermon was not completed because Mr Shembe was ill and could not attend the gathering. Instead, all sang again and then prayed. After the prayers, the children carried litre bottles of water down the hillside towards the graves "...to give the dead people something to drink" (Ms Zibane). The children rang small bells which they carried as they walked down the hillside - the "children must wish God to bless them [AMADLOZI]" (Ms Zibane). As the children moved down the hillside other members followed, pausing at the graves to place the IMPEPHO flowers there (PLATE 43). My assistant said that the men were told to carry their sticks upright so as not to "stab people in their graves. They are alive". Furthermore, as people place their flowers, God is said to be blessing them - "INKOSI IKUBUSISE".

A collection was also taken. This is "a donation for the dead so God must bless them. God must wash them" (Ms Zibane). No specific amount had to be paid.

The graveyard is said to be for all Shembe members. There are members at Ekuphakameni who are responsible for the area. They may be approached if one wishes to bury one's dead there.

Important in this ceremony was the emphasis on AMADLOZI, that is, the need to pay one's respects to them and to ask God to bless them. The fact that AMADLOZI are paid attention and need to be appeased, suggests that they are not defunct and are influential in the lives of their descendants. It will be seen in Chapters 7 and 8 that this is so, particularly with regard to coping in the profane sphere.

5.11. DAILY WEAR OF MEMBERS OF THE AMANAZARETHA CHURCH

Clothing worn daily at Ebuhleni should receive some analysis because it embodies aspects of religious importance.

Most people usually wear western-style clothing during the day. Men wear shirts and trousers. Females wear skirts and shirts, or dresses. Some girls and many women wear IHIYA. IFOTO (badges) and UMGEXO (necklets) may also be worn. Married women usually wear a headscarf, or the headdress (INHLOKO) and bead headband (UMNQWAZI). Another type of headdress which may be worn by those married women who do not wish to wear the INHLOKO all day, is a wig of artificial "hair". This wig is made of black wool, resembling braids, wound with red cotton. When wearing this wig, a scarf replaces the bead headband (UMNQWAZI). One woman preferred to wear this wig during the day because the INHLOKO gave her a

and not their daily dress. Nevertheless, with regard to the first point Klopper makes, I do agree that the Shembe women do not cover their shoulders with the shawls as a sign of respect, but I suggest that the bands of beads (UMGEXO) or fabric perform a similar, but slightly altered function. The Shembe bands are worn as a sign of respect not only to affinal ancestors, but most particularly, to Shembe and ultimately God, for Shembe is the vessel through whom God communicates and works. Klopper is also not clear in her understanding of "headdress", that is, is she referring to the bead headband (UMNQWAZI) or the headdress (INHLOKO) itself? If she is referring to the headband, and presumably the "large beads" are the AMAQANDA, it must be stated that the latter are not necessarily usually red. Colour depends on the age and size of the headband. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

5.12. CLOTHING WORN IN MOURNING

A woman whose husband or child dies is required to wear special clothing. On the death of a child, a small cloak (ISIPHIKA) and headcloth (IDUKU) of any cloth is worn for about two months. On the death of a husband, the woman wears an entire outfit (including the ISIPHIKA and IDUKU) of green or blue (PLATE 45). Mourning clothes will be worn for about a year. Mourning outfits are not worn by any other member of the family because "their mourning is in their conscience" (Member). A widow, UMFELOKAZI, is still permitted to dance with the married women.

5.13. BAPTISM AND HOLY COMMUNION

These rituals occur at major Festivals. Members wear the church uniform (UMNAZARETHA) on both occasions.

On the occasion of baptism (in the Umzinyathi River when at Ebuhleni), those to be baptised wear no headcoverings and no bead adornment. One of the statements they are required to make is:

NGIYAYIKETHA INKOSI YASEKUPHAKAMENI
I Choose Ekuphakameni's King

The gathered congregation respond with "AMENI", which is said to welcome those being baptised. One is not permitted to wear the dance uniform prior to baptism, although one is permitted to wear the UMNAZARETHA.

In conclusion: this chapter has been largely descriptive in nature. The social categorisation of members reflected in uniform, the particular styles and colours of uniforms worn on specific occasions, the attention to detail in the uniforms, and uniformity in the use of the uniforms are all aspects which have been highlighted in this chapter. It is in the following chapter, Chapter 6, that an interpretation of these aspects, among others, will be given. In so doing, it will be possible to trace the implications of the use of beadwork and adornment on ritual occasions for the Nazareth Baptist Church as a whole.

NOTES

1. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica NAINSOOK is:

> a light and fine cotton fabric of the plain calico weave, and of texture similar to that of lawn and cambric. It is usually bleached and sometimes striped and checked and finished with a very soft feel for use as lingerie and underwear (1959:61).

2. A woman who is unable to have children must wear the blue UMNANSUKA until the UMKHOKELI decides she may exchange it for a white shoulder wrap (see 5.6. Church Uniform Worn By Married Women). Use of the blue UMNANSUKA has changed from the time of Isaiah Shembe to that of Amos Shembe. For example, Roberts (1936) mentions the use of a blue "veil" given to the bride by the bridegroom after engagement and before marriage. On the day before the marriage, the girl paid money for permission to exchange the blue for the white "veil" (Roberts 1936:136).

3. The marriage ceremony of Shembeites, Ephraim Ngcobo and Ivy Mhlongo, was held in December 1989. The occasion was related to me in an interview with Ephraim Ngcobo in January 1992 (see Appendix 1).

4. A physical gate does not exist.

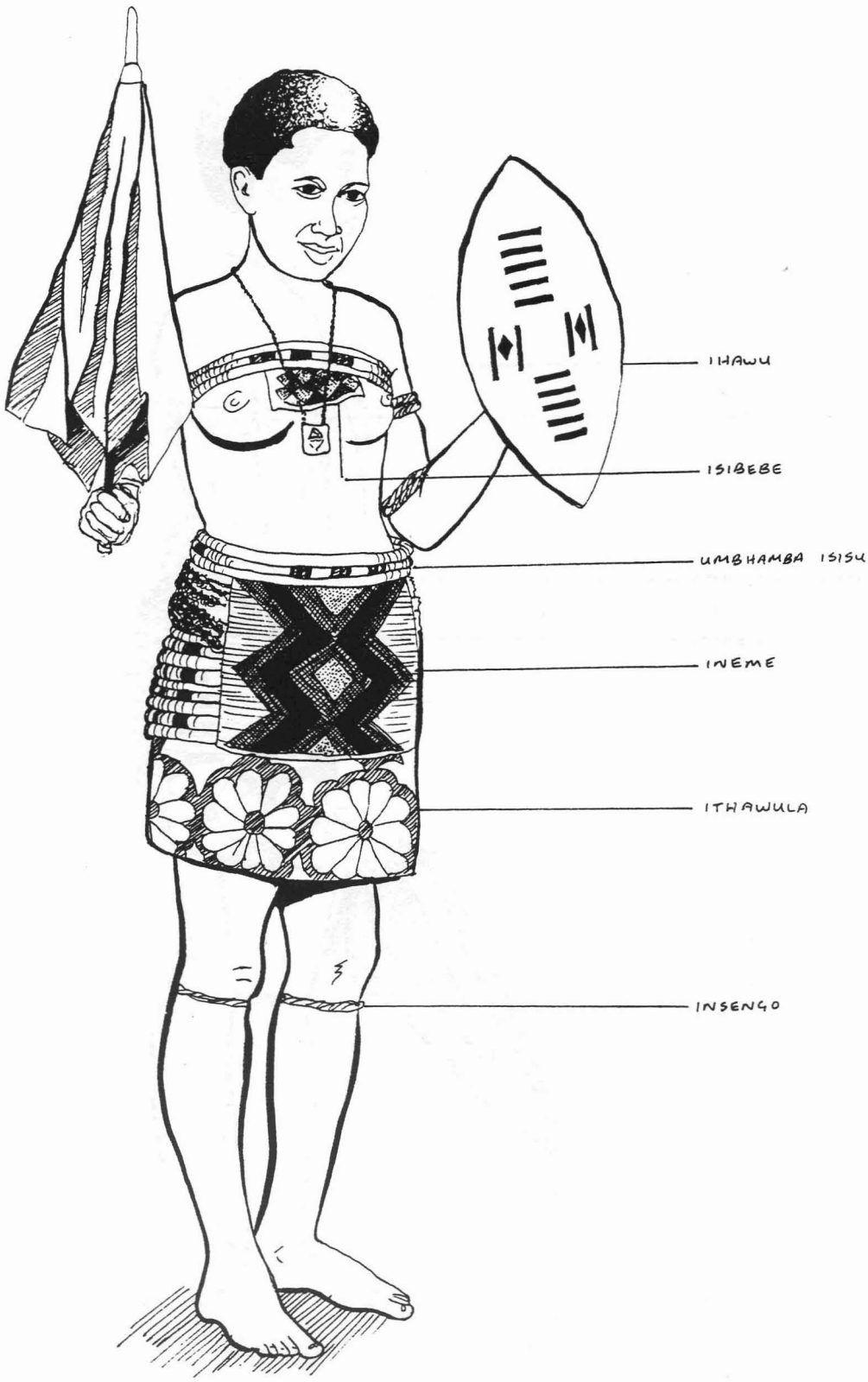


FIGURE 3a: African-style dance dress of a young unmarried girl (front view). Artist: M. Moldenhauer.

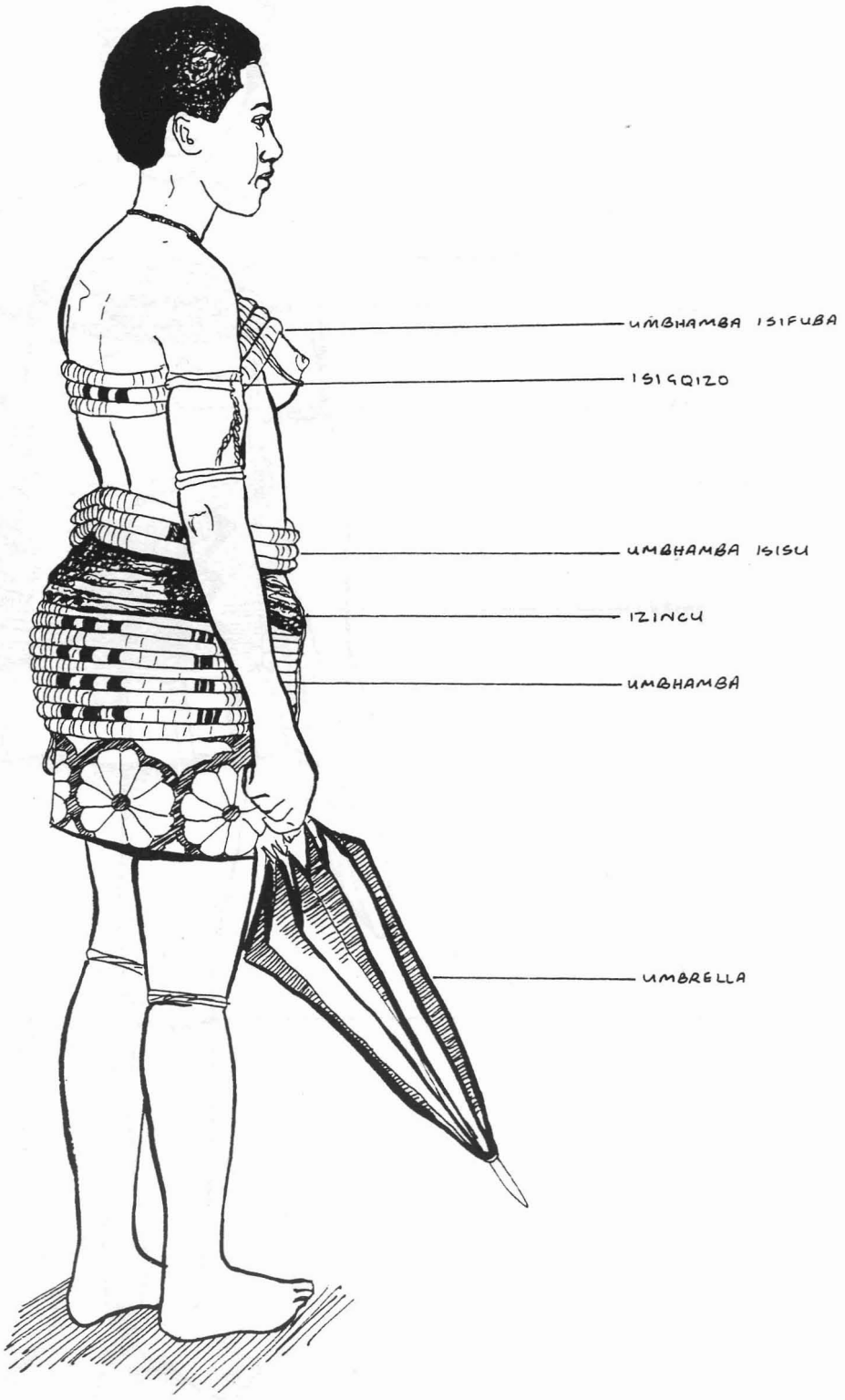


FIGURE 3b: African-style dance dress of a young unmarried girl (side view). Artist: M. Moldenhauer.

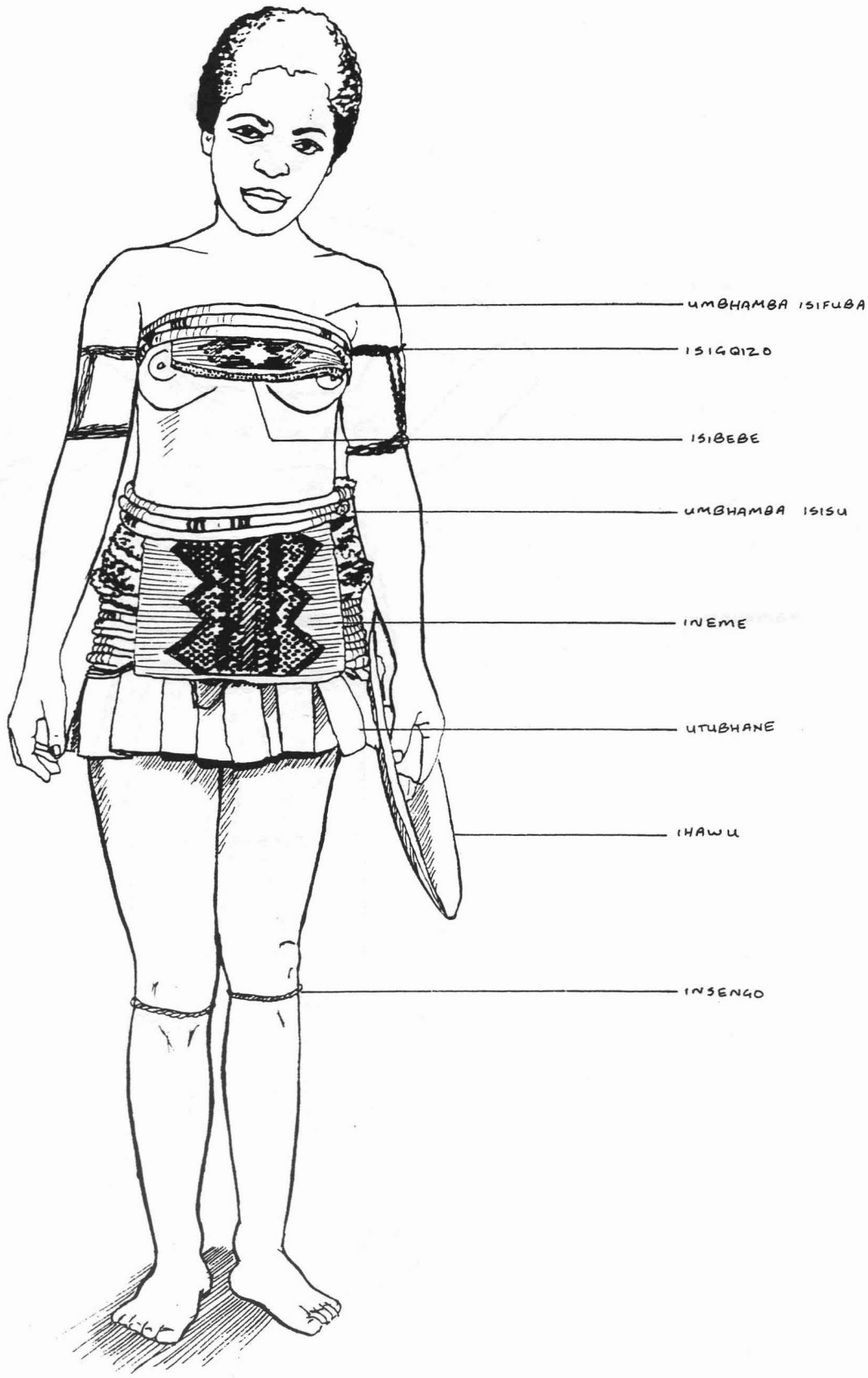


FIGURE 4a: African-style dance dress of a girl who has reached puberty (front view). Artist: M. Moldenhauer.

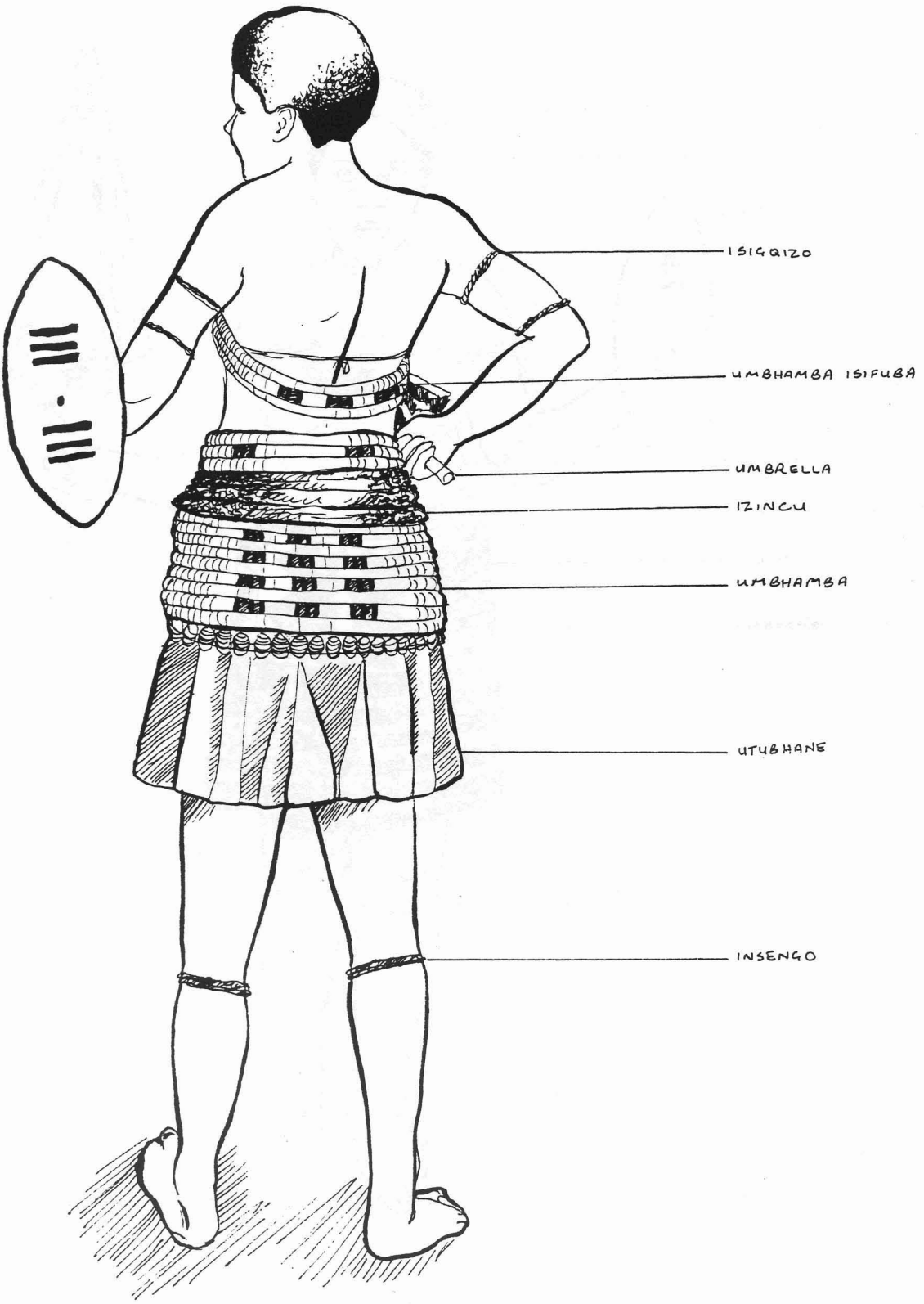


FIGURE 4b: African-style dance dress of a girl who has reached puberty (back view). Artist: M. Moldenhauer.

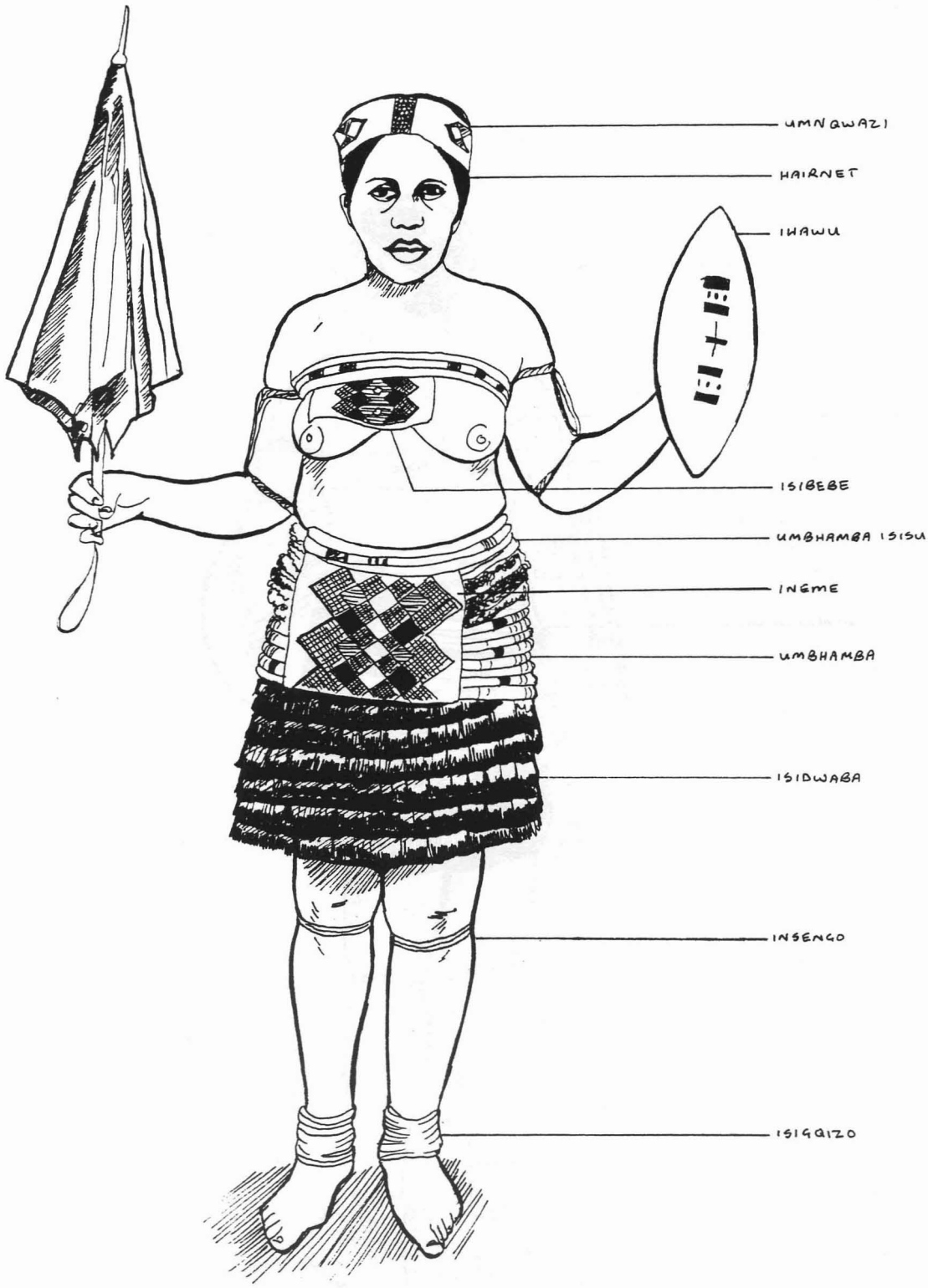


FIGURE 5a: African-style dance dress of a girl of marriageable age (front view). Artist: M. Moldenhauer.

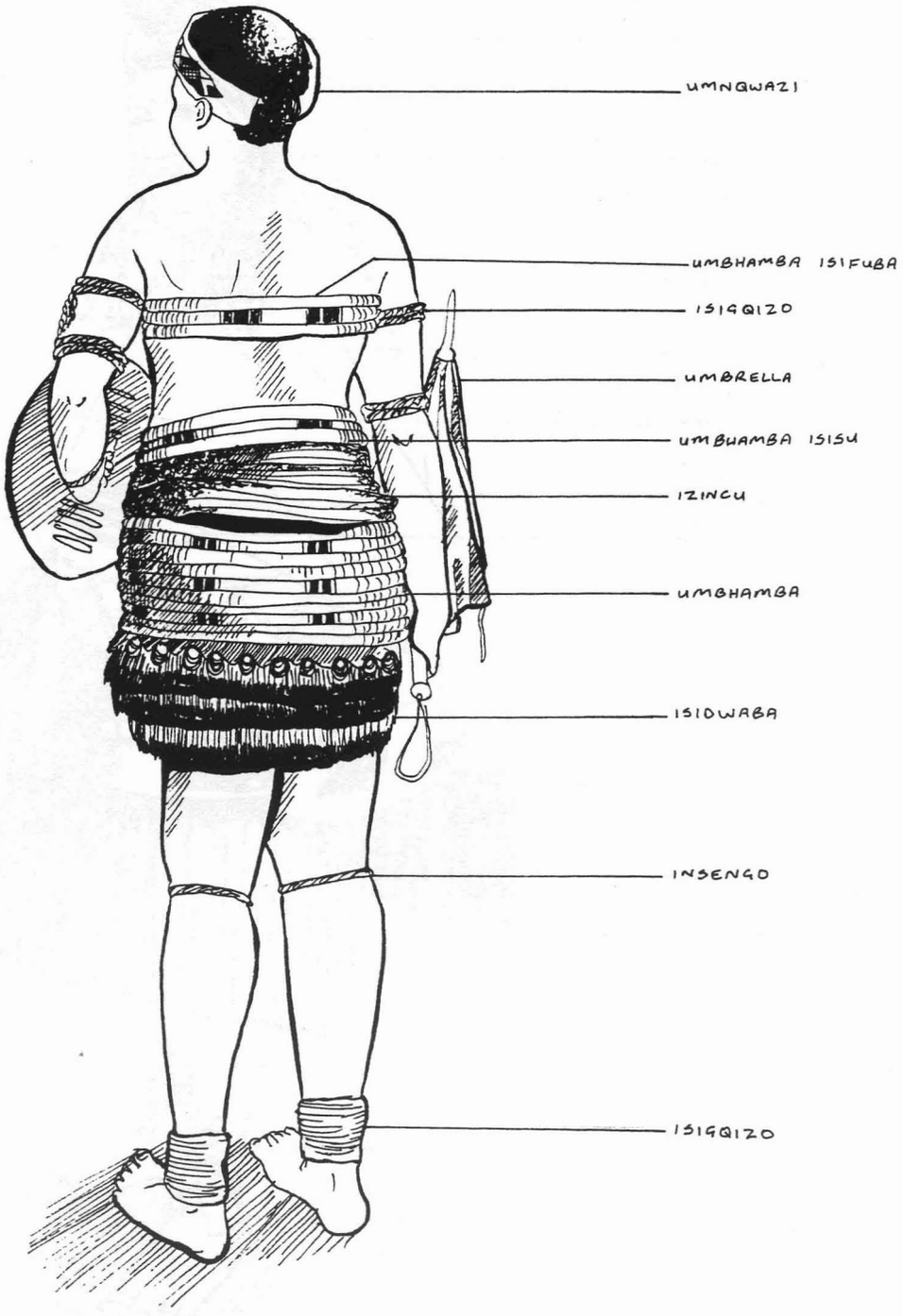


FIGURE 5b: African-style dance dress of a girl of marriageable age (back view). Artist: M. Moldenhauer.

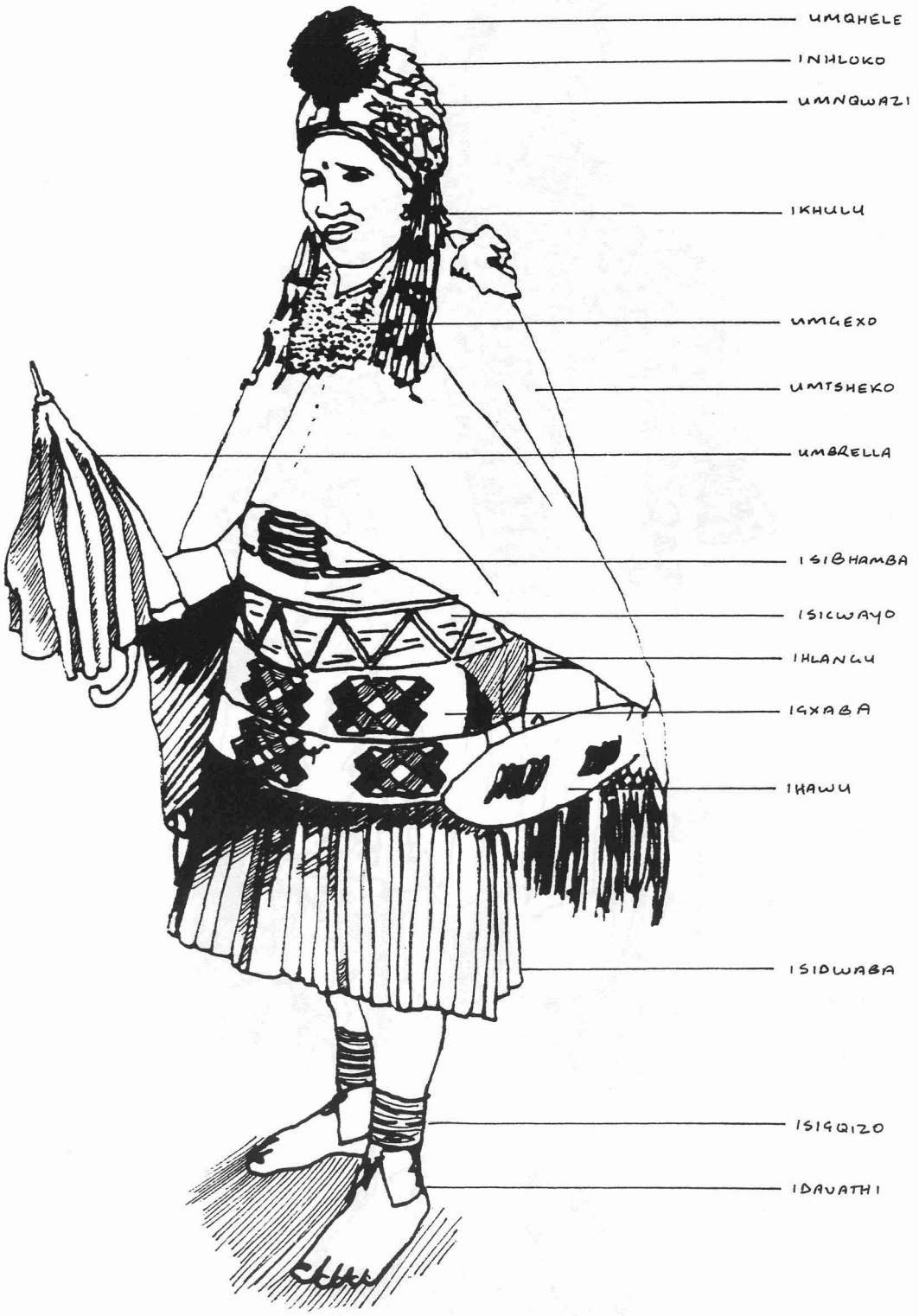


FIGURE 6: Dance dress of a married woman. Artist: M. Moldenhauer.

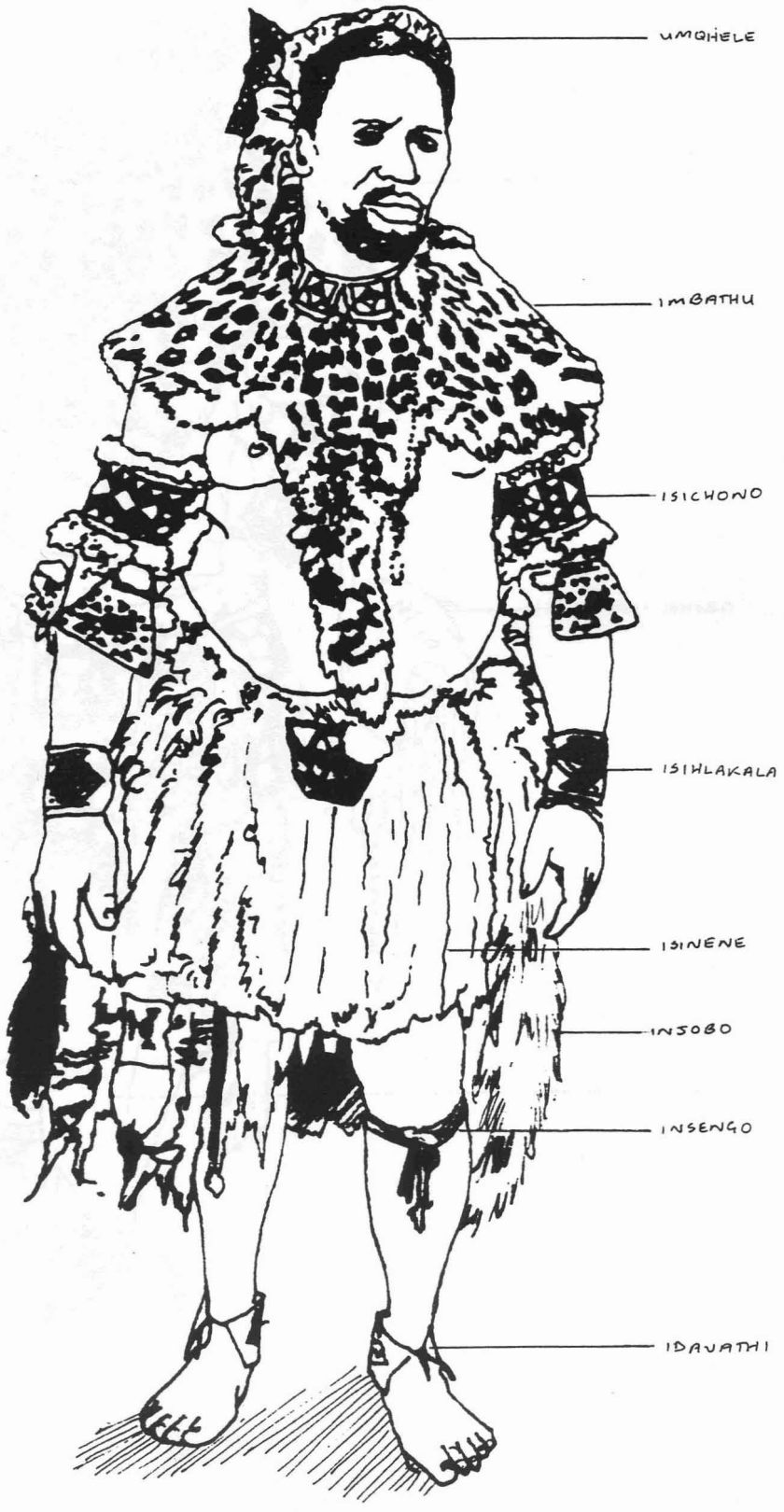


FIGURE 7a: African-style dance dress of a man (front view).
Artist: M. Moldenhauer.

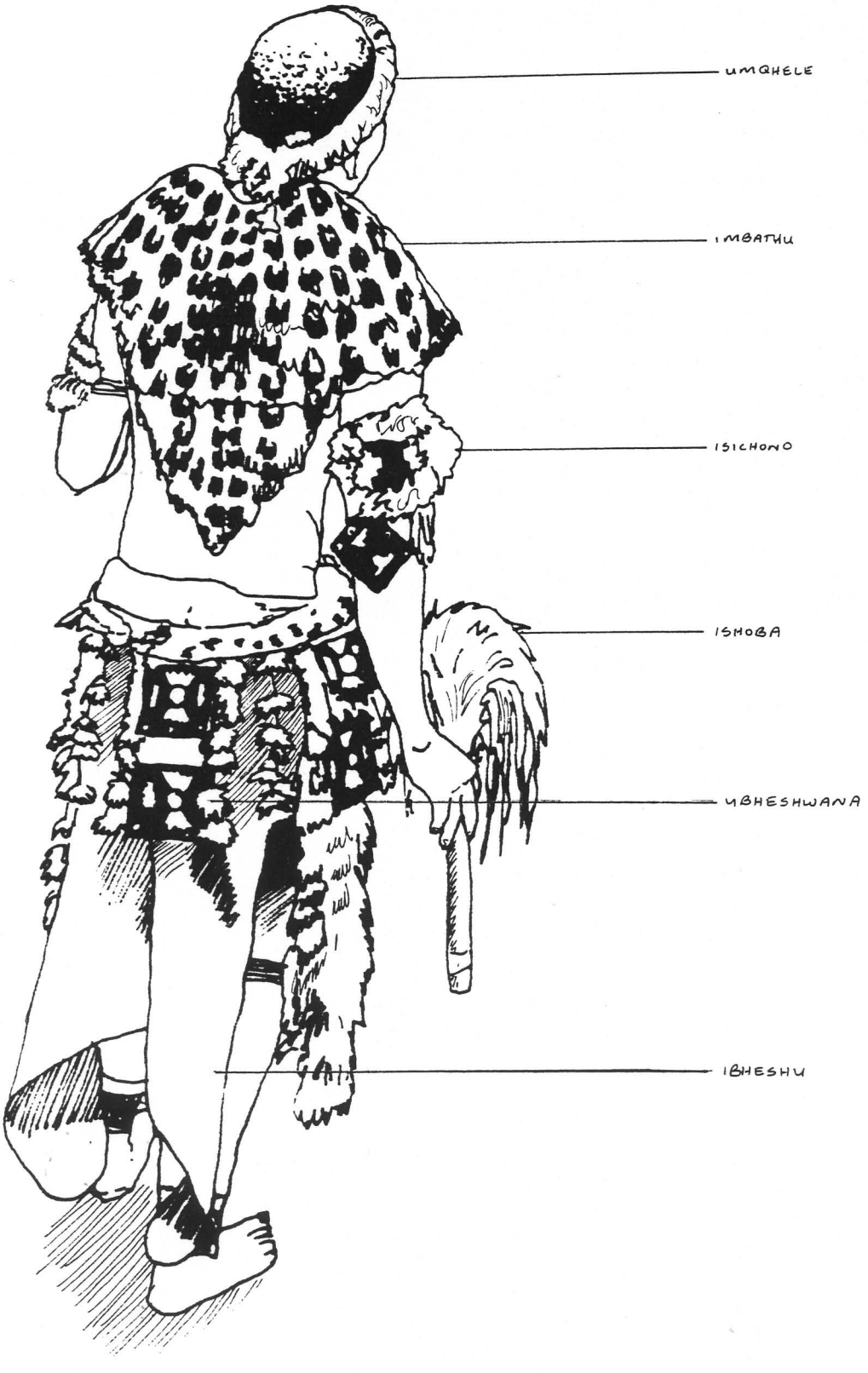


FIGURE 7b: African-style dance dress of a man (back view).
Artist: M. Moldenhauer.

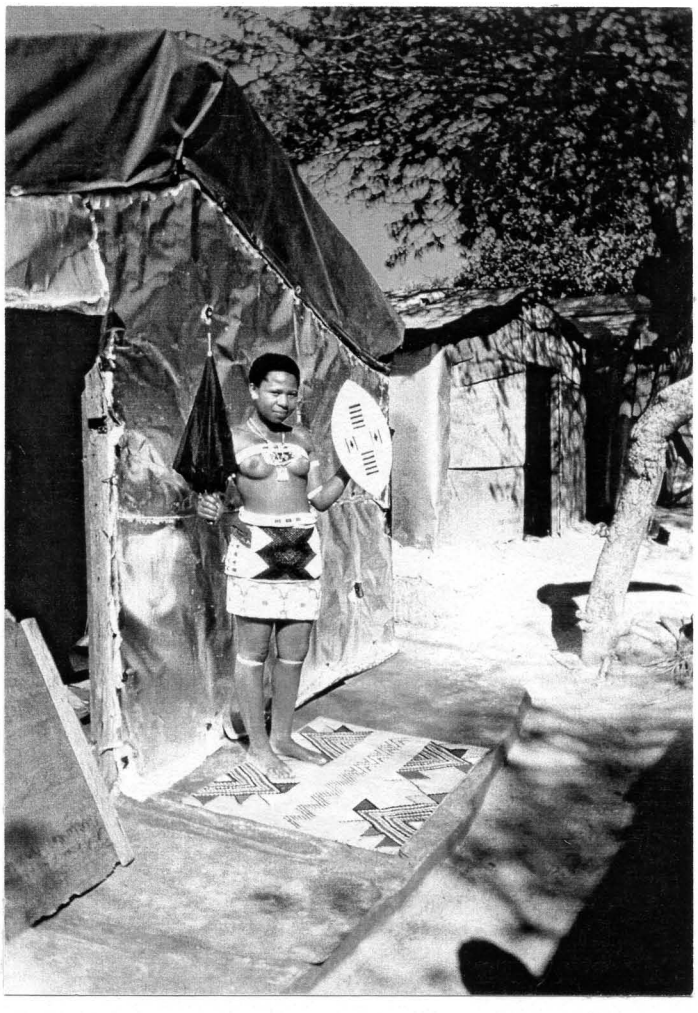


PLATE 16:
Young unmarried girl (ISHESHAKUNGENA) in African-style dancing uniform at Ebuhleni. June 1989.
Photographer: G. Morcom.

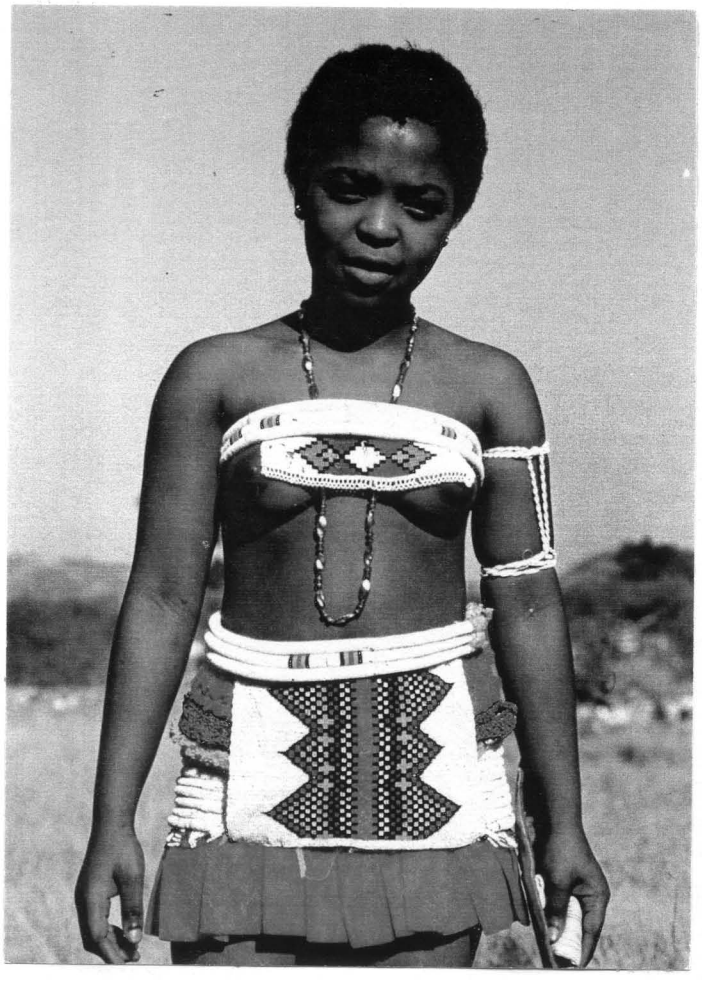


PLATE 17:
Unmarried girl who has reached puberty wears a red skirt (UTUBHANE). Sunday dance at Ebuhleni. July 1989.
Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 18: Unmarried girl of marriageable age wears a black skirt (ISIDWABA) when dancing. Ebuhleni. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 19: Broad bands of white beadwork (UMBHAMBA) and groups of yellow, blue and red strands of beadwork (IZINCU) worn by unmarried girls. Sunday Dance at Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

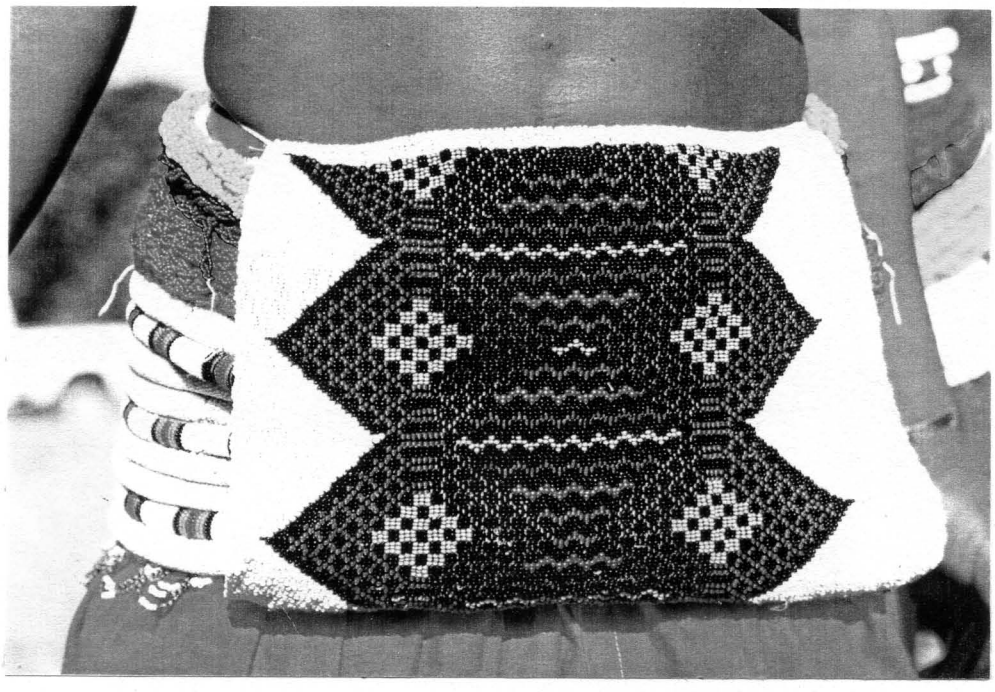


PLATE 20: Frontal apron (INEME) of beads. Sunday Dance. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 21: UVEYILI (right) and IBLACK AND WHITE (left) uniforms worn by unmarried girls of marriageable age when dancing. Ebuhleni. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.

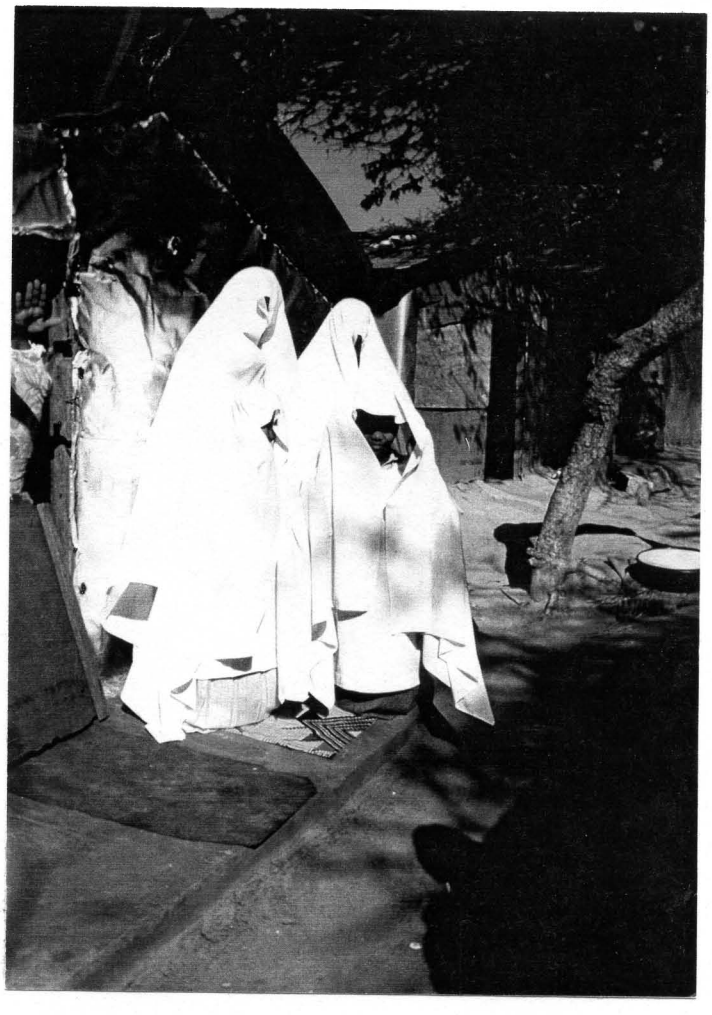


PLATE 22:
Unmarried girls
dressed in church
uniform at Ebuhleni.
June 1989.
Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 23:
Unmarried girl dressed
in IHIYA. Ebuhleni.
July 1991.
Photographer: G. Morcom.

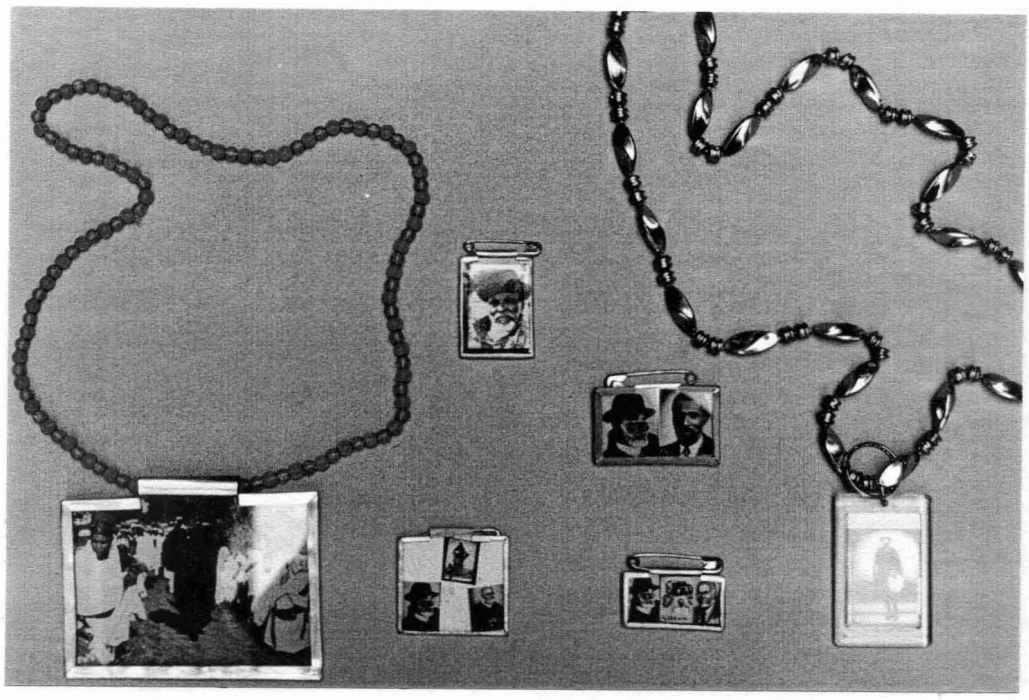


PLATE 24: Different styles of badge (IFOTO) worn by members.
Photographer: M. Moldenhauer.



PLATE 25: Unmarried girls dressed in the UMJAFETE uniform.
Ebuhleni. July 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.

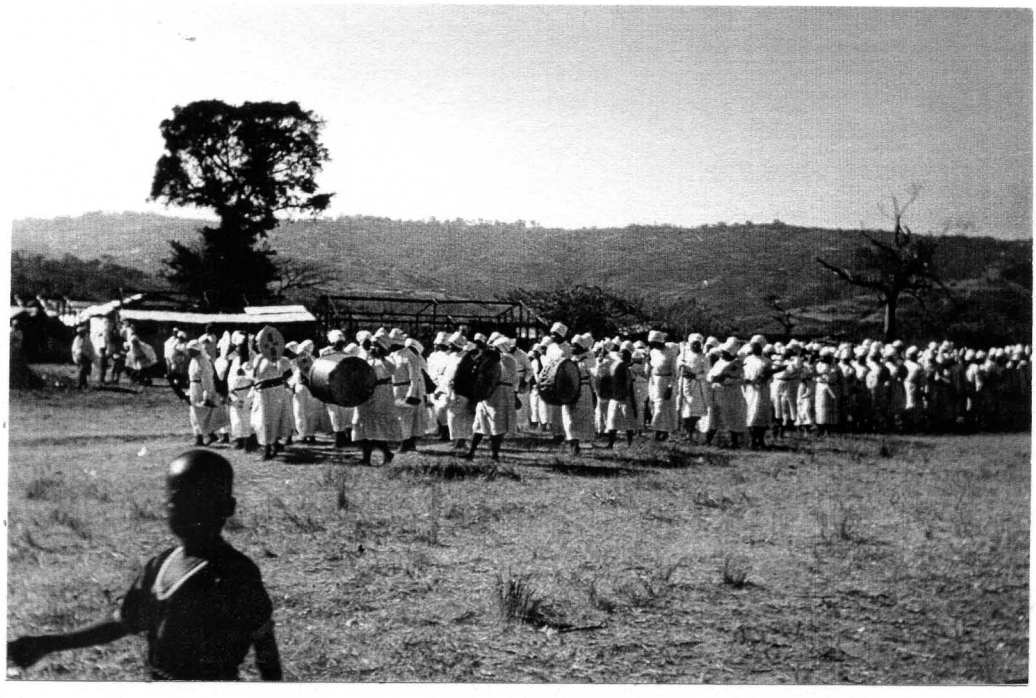


PLATE 26: Unmarried girls partaking in the UMJAFETE Ceremony at Ebuhleni. July 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.

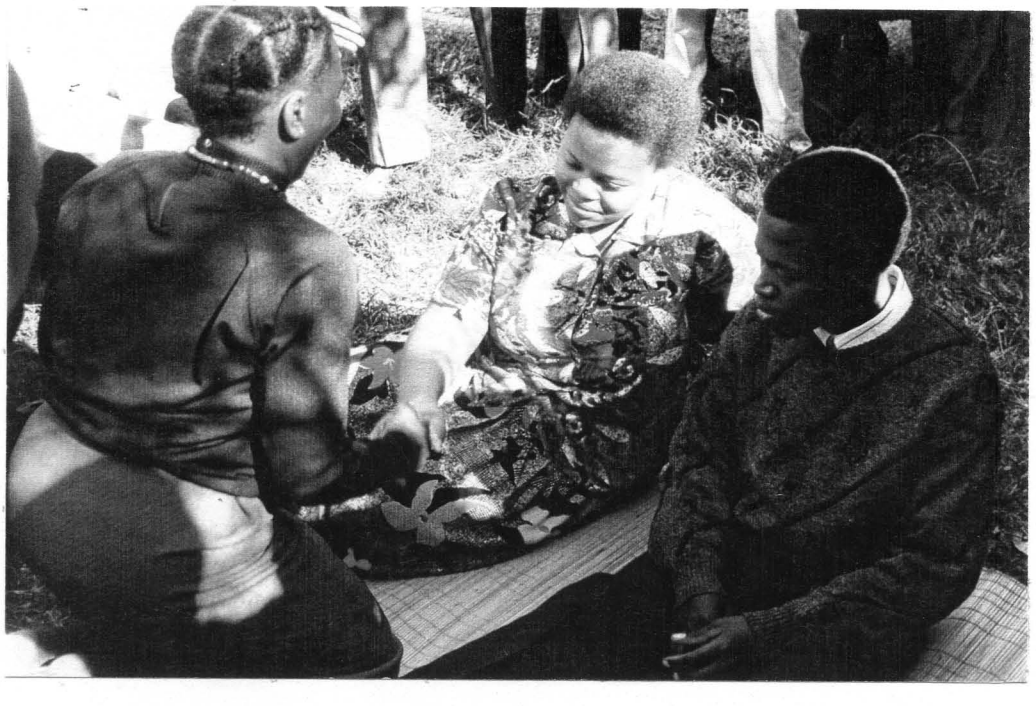


PLATE 27: A girl accepts an engagement/proposal of marriage from the man next to her. Ebuhleni. July 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.

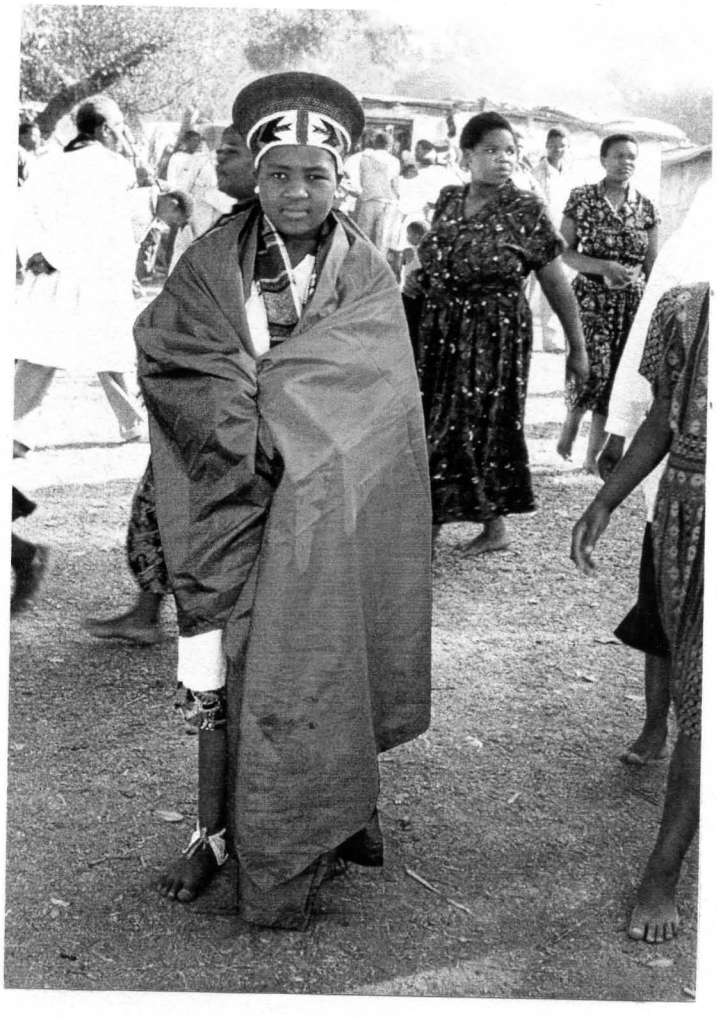


PLATE 28:
The church uniform worn by a newly married woman who has not yet had two children. Ebuhleni.
July 1991.
Photographer: G. Morcom.

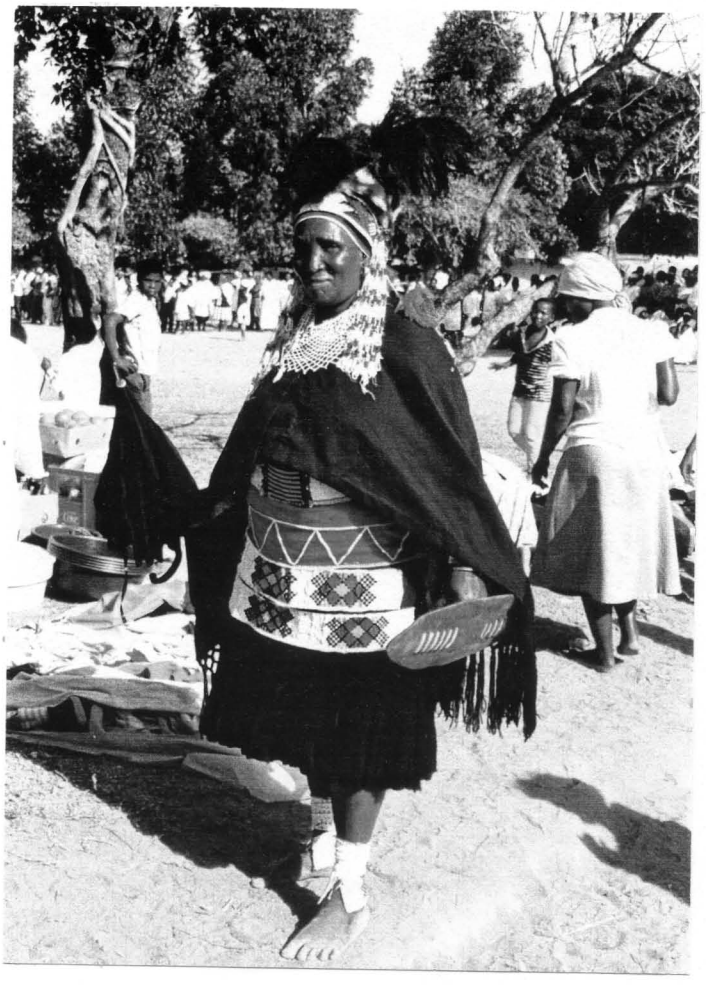


PLATE 29:
Dancing uniform of a married woman.
Ebuhleni.
July 1989.
Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 30: Woman in dancing dress with straight headdress (INHLOKO). Nhlangakazi. January 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 31: Married women wearing the round headdress (INHLOKO) at a Sunday Dance at Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 32:
Church uniform of a married woman. Ebuhleni. July 1989.
Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 33:
Married woman dressed in church attire. Ebuhleni. July 1989.
Photographer: J. Morris.

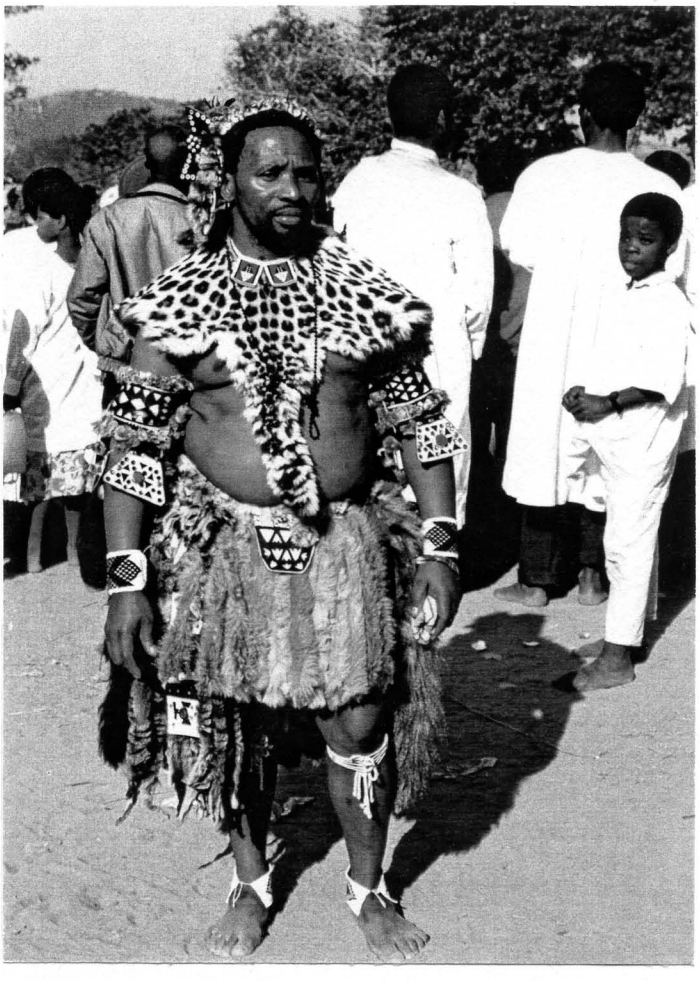


PLATE 34:
Man dressed in dance outfit of skins at Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 35:
Rear view of man in dance dress at Nhlangakazi. January 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 36: Young boy in African-style dance outfit. Ebuhleni. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 37: Penis sheath (ICOCKBOX/UMNCEDO) made from the seed of an ILALA palm. Ebuhleni. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 38: Men and boys dressed in ISIKOTSHI dance outfits at a Sunday Dance at Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 39: Young men dressed in church uniform (UMNAZARETHA). Nhlangakazi. January 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.

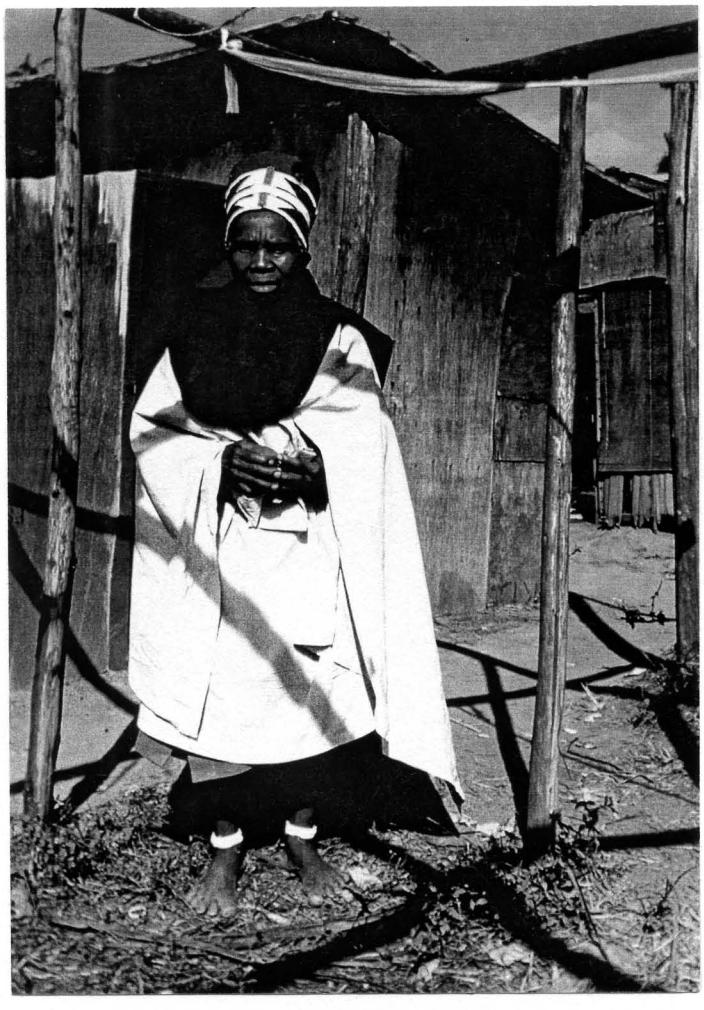


PLATE 40: Leader (UMKHOKELI) of married women at Ebuhleni. July 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.

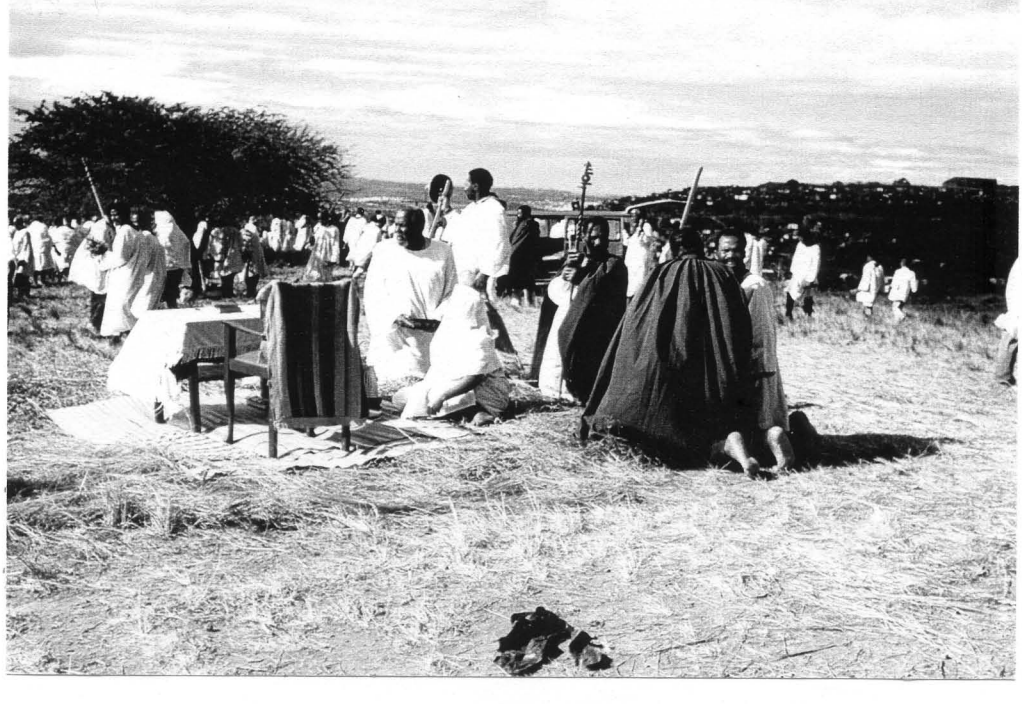


PLATE 41: Evangelists (ABAVANGELI) wear long green cloaks over their church uniforms. Near Ekuphakameni village. July 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 42: Members gathered near the gravesites. Near Ekuphakameni village. July 1992. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 43: Men place flowers (IMPEPHO) on graves of Shembe members. Near Ekhuphakameni village. July 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.

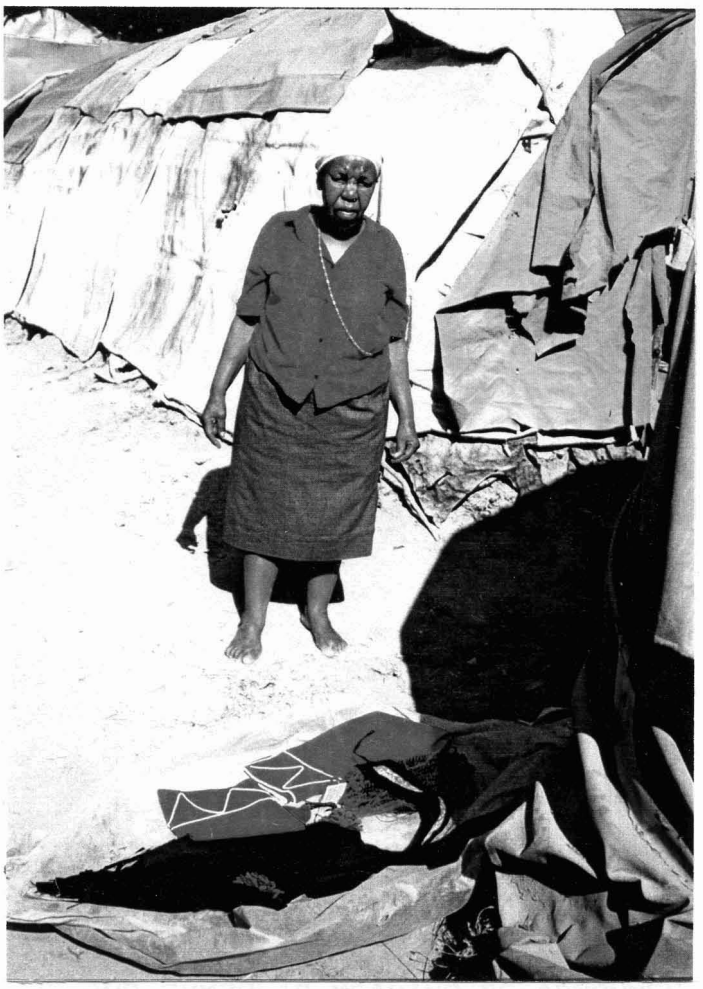


PLATE 44: Woman wearing a "respect" (HLONIPHA) band of beads over her shoulder. Ebuhleni. July 1992. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 45: Woman in mourning after the death of her husband. Ebuhleni. July 1992. Photographer: G. Morcom.

CHAPTER 6

THE RITUAL AND SYMBOLIC MEANING OF ADORNMENT IN THE NAZARETH BAPTIST CHURCH

This chapter is concerned with an interpretation of descriptive material presented in the previous chapter. It will be shown that clothing and adornment, particularly beadwork, worn on ritual occasions are symbols which communicate information about the users and their roles within the wider Church community. At the same time, symbols also communicate information to the users which affects the way in which they act and react. Prior to an analysis of the Shembe data, I include a brief outline of symbolisation in general, as a background against which symbols and symbolisation in the Nazareth Baptist Church may be understood.

> "....symbolization is part of the living stuff of social relationships" (Firth 1973:15).

A symbol stands for something else, there often being very little concrete relationship between the symbol and that which it actually represents.

A symbol is a storehouse of information or meaning about that which it represents, although there may be several layers of meaning involved. The encoded messages are obtained through social experience, that is, the pattern of social interaction between members of a community sharing a common cultural background.

Symbols serve to communicate information which may operate on the receivers and cause effects in them. In order for the information to be received, interpreted, and acted upon as similarly as possible by all involved, the symbol and its meaning needs to be

culturally learnt using the social processes of "imitation" and "participatory experiment" (Firth 1973:81).

In essence then, symbolic systems are a means of organizing and understanding the cultural and social enviroment in which one lives.

There is a virtually unlimited range of forms a symbol can take. Symbols may range from the colour spectrum (see Foqelqvist 1986; Jacobson-Widding 1979; Kiernan 1991; Ngubane 1977) to those such as water, food, pots, flags and parts of the human body (see David et al 1988; Douglas 1982; Firth 1973; Oosthuizen 1979). Then, of course, there are combinations of referents which may provide a loading of meaning (see Turner 1969).

Clothing has long been used as a symbol to communicate messages or statements about the wearers, for example, the red coats worn by British soldiers or "Redcoats" as they were known, became a symbol of British control in the Cape in the eighteenth century. Clothing was traditionally, and to an extent still is today, used by some Xhosa-speaking people in symbolically transmitting important facts about status, age, gender, ritual purity and even social and political aspirations (see Bigalke 1972; Mayer 1980). Clothing, as a symbolic representation, has featured also in the religious sphere, informing about the status of the wearer, his or her relationship to others in the religious enviroment and acceptable behaviour required in interaction. Kiernan (1991),

following Fogelqvist (1986) who analysed colour symbolism in Swazi Zionist Churches, has commented on the meaning and manipulation of colour symbolism in clothing and adornment in Zulu Zionist Churches and on the relationship of colour to healing and purity. Kiernan has revived the interest in the use of Zulu colour symbolism in ritual initiated by Ngubane (1977) over a decade ago.

Work on the use of colour symbolism in ritual has been in evidence for many years, perhaps one of the most famous proponents being Victor Turner (1967, 1968, 1969) in his work on religious processes among the Ndembu of Zambia. Anita Jacobson-Widding (1979), too, has given attention to colour symbolism in ritual and cognitive thought, and that reflected also in adornment among peoples of the Lower Congo. Daneel (1971, 1974) in his work on Shona Independent Churches, West (1975) in his work on Independent Churches in Soweto and more recently, Comaroff (1985) who completed work on African Independent Churches among the Tshidi-Tswana, all provide some analysis of colour symbolism.

It is against this background of writings on symbolism, particulary clothing as symbols, that I wish to tease out the symbolic meaning of the uniforms used in the Nazareth Baptist Church. I wish to investigate the extent to which clothing and adornment worn by members are, in the words of Oosthuizen (1979:3), "a mirror of the theology" of the <u>AmaNazaretha</u> Church, and how they are manipulated to meet the ends of the Church. In so doing, two aspects mut be taken into account, namely, the uniforms

themselves, that is, colour, material, style of wear; and secondly, the use of uniforms within particular sacred contexts.

6.1. THE DANCE UNIFORMS OF UNMARRIED GIRLS

As mentioned in Chapter 5, there are various versions of the African-style uniform worn by unmarried girls. Three age grades are identifiable, namely, the young girl (ISHESHAKUNGENA), the girl who has started menstruating and the girl who has been menstruating longer than two years. The latter is now of marriageable age. A girl's life stage is visibly communicated through her uniform.

Young girls wear towels as skirts. The towels may have any design. At the onset of puberty, the UKUKHULISA Ceremony occurs[1]. Thereafter, the towel is exchanged for a skirt of red material (UTUBHANE). The use of red fabric to replace the towel is significant, for it is related to the colour of menstrual blood. Furthermore, Krige (1950:101), in her description of the girls' puberty ceremony traditionally held among Zulu-speaking people, states that a girl in seclusion is required to wear a grass rope around her waist and "the vaginal belt (umTabane) of iNcema grass" It is possible that the use of the red skirt (UTUBHANE) in the Nazareth Baptist Church was derived from the vaginal belt (UMTABANE).

Not only does the colour of the skirt indicate that the girl is undergoing a process of change, but so, too, does the style of her

skirt which is prescribed. There is a shift from multi-purpotive covering (towel) to specified meaningful dress. The girl is being subjected to control in the form of rules in prescribed clothing.

Girls who have been menstruating longer than two years exchange the red skirt for a black cloth skirt (ISIDWABA). This, too, follows a particular ceremony called UMEMULO[2]. The latter, it seems, is also derived from traditional Zulu practices where, according to Krige (1950:103): "The next step in a girl's life after her puberty ceremony is the ukwomula, a public recognition of her marrigeable state". Marriageability of the girls in the Nazareth Baptist Church is suggested in the name and colour of the skirts worn for dancing. Traditionally, skin skirts called ISIDWABA were worn only by married Zulu women (Schoeman 1968:62, 1971:50), except on the occasion of the girl's puberty ceremony when an ISIDWABA would be worn as a symbol of her coming of age and marriageability (Krige 1950:103). I was informed by an unmarried girl that Shembe people use the term ISIDWABA for the black fabric skirt worn by the unmarried girls because it is an imitation of the skin ISIDWABA. According to an UMPHATHI, "long ago" the unmarried girls wore the same sort of ISIDWABA as the married women, but Isaiah Shembe decided that a distinction should be made between the unmarried girls and married women, thus the introduction of the fabric ISIDWABA. It is not possible to ascertain from early pictorial records whether girls were wearing the skin or fabric ISIDWABA. However, the girls' skirts were worn above the knee and were black in colour.

Significant is that the skirts are prescribed in type and colour. Through this, control is being asserted over the users, the unmarried girls of marriageable age.

Another element of dress which distinguishes particular age grades is the use of the bead headband (UMNQWAZI). The UMNQWAZI is only worn by those who have been menstruating for two years or more. The UMNQWAZI used traditionally among Zulu-speaking peoples is described by Krige (1950:378) as: "Fibre or bead band worn round the top knot by a young married woman for "hlonipha" purposes". (The husband's male relatives were "hlonipha'ed"). In the case of the unmarried Shembe girls, they have not yet married (and are not permitted to wear the girl's uniform if they are married). By wearing the UMNQWAZI, the Shembe girls appear to be turning tradition on its head.

The use of the UMNQWAZI by girls of marriageable age should be seen as a stage in a process. Unmarried girls not yet of marriageable age wear no headdress, while girls of marriageable age wear only the UMNQWAZI. Married women, on the other hand, wear both the INHLOKO headdress and the UMNQWAZI. Traditionally among Zulu-speaking peoples, the INHLOKO or ISICHOLO was the "traditional top-knot of the married Zulu woman" (Schoeman 1968:69). It was a "sign of marriage" (Krige 1950:378). Use only of the UMNQWAZI by girls is communicating that they are available for marriage and to have children, but only when married. Girls of

marriageable age are showing their respect to God and Shembe in this context.

Dancing with naked breasts is seen by some Shembe people as a continuation of traditional Zulu practices. Krige (1968) states that traditionally, hidden breasts were seen as a loss of virtue. She writes:

> firm buttocks and thighs...and, it is said also, firm breasts...are taken as a sign of virginity...A virgin's body is her pride; her exposed body on these occasions [certain ceremonial and ritual occasions] declares her innocence and purity (Krige 1968:174).

Assuming that Shembe people are continuing in traditional ways by dancing with naked breasts, unmarried Shembe girls are making positive statements about their chastity. This serves to reinforce one of the main tenets of the AmaNazaretha Church, that unmarried girls should not engage in premarital sexual relations.

All unmarried girls wear the same beadwork except for the UMNQWAZI which is reserved for use by girls of marriageable age only. The colours and style of certain pieces of beadwork, for example, the broad bands of white beadwork (UMBHAMBA) and strands of red, blue and yellow (IZINCU) beadwork, are prescribed. If one does not use the required colours, one is "breaking the law [Church law]" (Church member). Two ABAPHATHI said that the IZINCU should always be worn with the red beadwork nearest the head because "it is the law of wearing the dance uniform". Girls "also wear it that way so that it can be the same for everybody". The emphasis here, then, is on uniformity.

There is some room for individual choice, but within limits. The unmarried girls may choose the colours and patterns they desire for the headband (UMNQWAZI), frontal apron (INEME) and breast flap (ISIBEBE), although a white border of beads on each item is prescribed, as is the use of each particular item. If a girl wishes, she may have matching colours and patterns for all the items, but this is not essential. Symbolism of colours and patterns will be dealt wih later in this chapter.

The beadwork worn denotes a generic status, that is, of being unmarried as well as attractive and desirable. Beadwork also enhances or heightens this status by drawing the eye (male) to the breast and the buttocks, that is, to the distinctiveness of the female body.

Generally, the use of similar beadwork adornment indicates a state of being. On the other hand, the clothing worn by the unmarried girls denotes and traces a pubertal process, that is, of menstruation from unmarriageable to marriageable. It indicates a state of becoming.

All unmarried girls carry a shield (IHAWU) and umbrella when dancing. For many Shembeites, there is no symbolism attached to use of the shield and umbrella, although some members did give their own interpretations. One unmarried girl said that traditionally, when Zulu people fought they used shields to

protect themselves, and this follows for Shembeites. Protection, however, is provided against evil forces: "We are protect from devils" (Unmarried girl). According to Mrs J. and Mrs Th. from Richards Bay, "the shield is preventing their religious enemies...evils". Mr Ng. said: "The shield is something natural, a cultural thing. The umbrella stands for a stick [spear]". Mrs J. and Mrs Th. stated that "long ago" females were not allowed to carry the shield. Instead, they carried a handkerchief and stick. Today they pay UMNIKELO which permits them to carry the shield.

The preceding interpretations offered by respondents suggest war-like images. However, in the sacred context of the Shembe Church, the shield and umbrella are religious weapons used to fight and fend off evil, profane forces in order to uphold the pure, sacred nature of the Church and its members. The shield, however, is more than a sacred weapon. It is viewed as a "shield of faith" (IZIHLABELELO 189). This implies that if faith is strong, sacred protection from profane forces will be more effective. Similarly Kiernan (1979b), in his work amongst Zulu Zionists, has noted that the use of staffs is an essential feature in healing. He defines healing as "an attempt to neutralise mystical influences..." (Kiernan 1979b:15). Kiernan states that:

> Powers lie dormant in the ISIKHALI [staff - literally "weapon"] and are activated within the ritual situation by the dispositions which its owner brings to it. If he is weak and sickly, the staff will be devoid of power; if he is spiritually strong, his staff will be powerful (1979b:15).

It is not clear when the shield and umbrella were introduced

into the Shembe Church. Roberts (1936:93) mentions the use of shields and umbrellas by girls and women. This is supported by photographic evidence dating from the 1930's. At this time, shields and umbrellas were also carried by men dressed in church uniform (UMNAZARETHA), but today this no longer occurs.

No shoes are worn with the dancing uniforms. Shoes must be removed at Ebuhleni, for it is holy ground. Exodus 3:5 is often quoted as justification for this. In fact, at the entrance to Ekuphakameni inscribed on a white-washed stone, were words to that effect (Becken 1965:1). Sundkler (1961a) argues that the reason believers do not wear shoes in church is because "shoes would hinder the faithful from moving to the dance like rhythm of the drum" (197). It is not clear what Sundkler means here. Possibly he means that their worldly sins which they carry on their feet in the form of shoes, would prevent them from submitting to God. Vilakazi et al give the reason for the removal of shoes:

> The practice comes, evidently, from Moses' experience when he went to the burning bush and God told him to take off his shoes for he was standing on holy ground (1986:82).

This explanation was also repeated by some members. Shembeites are constantly reminded, through the Hymnbook and in sermons, of the importance of the removal of shoes to prevent contamination of a sacred place. By wearing no shoes, people are reminded that they are entering the sacred realm and should behave accordingly. They are also excluding the possible contamination by evil forces which may be introduced on shoes.

Generally, the types of clothes a girl wears for dancing is a reflection of her status. Like-dressed girls dance together. A further distinction is made within groups of like-dressed girls. This distinction is made on the basis of the place of origin of the girls. When there is a large gathering of girls, a distinction is made between those who come from the north of the Tugela River and those from the south (ISILUNGWINI). This distinction is not reflected in clothing. The girls know the groups in which they should dance.

Dance uniforms are not blessed before use, therefore they may be dispensed with as people choose, unlike those worn by members of Zionist Churches (Kiernan 1979a:14). When an unmarried girl passes from one age-grade to the next or gets married, she may pass her uniform to a younger relative or friend, or she may sell it to whomever she pleases (Personal communication - Amos Shembe - see Appendix 4).

While it seems that there is the possibility that the uniform could pass out of the Church, it is unlikely that this would occur because non-Shembe members are not likely to require this type of adornment. Secondly, many women, when discussing the sale of Shembe beadwork to non-Shembe people, were adverse to this because they felt that the latter would not understand the use of the item, that is, they do not share the same sacred context in which the uniform is used. Some unmarried girls were adamant about not selling their uniform to strangers. Ms Mt. and Ms Xu. said that,

on leaving the Church, a person with a "guilty conscience" will take their dancing and church uniforms to Amos Shembe. One member said that if she gets married, she will take her uniform to the UMPHATHI who would sell it and take the money to Shembe. There is no agreement as to norms. Some believe that it is wrong to sell for personal gain, while others believe it is wrong to allow non-members to use the uniform (even if there was no sale). Although many would not sell, there does not seem to be a hard and fast law which has come from the Leader.

In summation, the African-style dance uniform and its variations, worn by girls, makes certain significant statements about Shembe social and religious organisation. Firstly, age grades are distinguishable, and messages are communicated about the marriageability of the unmarried girls. At the same time, some religious ideals of the Church are reinforced. Secondly, these messages are communicated using transformed, traditional "Zulu" symbols within a religious context.

6.1.1. The Western-style Dance Uniforms

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the unmarried girls of marriageable age have four additional dance uniforms. These uniforms, which are more western in style, are worn less often than the African-style uniforms. According to Vilakazi et al (1986), during Isaiah Shembe's time traditional converts to the Church changed to western-style dress, although it was not a precondition for membership as laid down by Shembe. Shembe did not encourage people

to change. This is evident from Roberts' work on the Church. She states:

> Shembe thought it was possible to teach Christianity to the old, uncivilised Natives and to improve their way of life without civilising them and breaking down tribalism. He said "my people must not be ashamed of their past because there is much of which they should be proud. I let the old people in the kraals wear their UMUTSHA and blankets, but their children will wear European dress" (1936:43).

Vilakazi et al (1986) believe that, despite Shembe's acceptability of the traditional, many members preferred to change. In explanation of this, they state:

> it was a prevailing spirit of the trends that conversion into Christianity meant change of dress. This was the regulation in most European guided missions (Vilakazi et al 1986:148).

I would like to take this a step further. I suggest that the current trend today towards the more African-style dress is an assertion of identity and independence.

There are detailed rules of correct dress in the use of western-style uniforms. Firstly, there is emphasis on regulation, order and discipline in the items, colours and way of wearing each outfit. Secondly, there is a time-consuming preoccupation with conformity to detail. Thirdly, there is the inculcation of ideas of correctness and appropriateness, that is, sacred etiquette. All this amounts to an extraordinary manipulation and control of the female body.

The western-style uniforms are worn after the 7th July. This is an

important date in the Church, for it involves the sacred re-enactment of an incident which occurred during the time of the Founder, Isaiah Shembe. This ritual is outlined below.

After the first Sabbath church meeting of the July Festival, the unmarried girls leave for Intanda to attend a meeting called INKHATHA. While at Intanda, the girls collect wattle logs, usually in the early hours of the morning. My assistant said that in the past girls were expected to uproot a tree as "a sign that you really are a girl". Today there is more leniency and only a thin log is required. The logs "are used to make Mr Shembe's hut and cow kraals and goats kraals" (Ms Zibane).

When all the girls have collected their logs, they wash, dress in AMAHIYA and church uniforms, and move to the Temple at Intanda. There they have a church service and are reminded of the reason for being at Intanda. According to my assistant, a white man had agreed to sell Intanda to Isaiah Shembe. Shembe paid a deposit. On hearing about this potential sale to a black man, another white offered to buy the land from the seller. The seller attempted to terminate the sale with Isaiah Shembe, but the latter refused. A court case was opened against Shembe who then prayed to God for assistance. Near the time of the hearing, God told Shembe that on the day of the hearing (7th July), all the girls must go to Intanda and make grass rings (IZINKHATHA) to sit on. The girls must pray and a chosen girl will sing. All must spend the night there and return to Ekhuphakameni the next day. On their return,

the girls must sing the first song, "God Be With Our Father", in their Hymnal. If this was done, Shembe would win the case. Shembe did as he was told and was victorious. According to my assistant:

> From that time, people when they go to Intanda said they go to ENKHATHENI, because Mr Shembe had won the case by girl's INKHATHAS. After that matter, Mr Isaiah said when girls go there, when they come back, they will not carry IZINKHATHA like they had done on the case days because he had already won a case, but now they will carry woods... (Ms Zibane).

On their return to Ebuhleni from Intanda, the girls gather at the entrance to the village and start to sing and dance. The girls move around Ebuhleni to the carpark where they form a circle. Each girl presents her log and 20c (1989) to Amos Shembe or ABAPHATHI. They conclude by singing.

The sacred re-enactment of the Intanda land case is a reminder to the girls of their very salient position in the Church, as a support to the Leader. In addition, the ability of the Leader (with God's aid) to triumph over a racist white man is highlighted. The girls, by engaging in this ritual, are reaffirming their allegiance to the Church and Amos Shembe.

Only after the 7th of July when traditional AMAHIYA are worn, may the western-style dance clothing be worn. The latter uniforms are worn while dancing in the same area (carpark) where the girls dance after Intanda. This dancing, like that of the Intanda dance, is not a great public (including non-Shembe spectators) event, unlike Sunday dances where more African-style uniforms are worn. Two points may be made from the above. Firstly, emphasis is on the

use of traditional clothing as a prerequisite to wearing the western-style clothing. Secondly, use of the western-style uniforms and AMAHIYA are limited to a small, predominantly Shembe audience on few occasions in a compact area near Shembe's home. The African-style uniforms, on the other hand, are used on public occasions and attract a wide audience of both Shembeites and non-members. In the latter situation, a common identity (African) is being proclaimed within a religious context to outsiders ("we are of Shembe"). On the other hand, separate internal identities are declared within the Church, for example, the importance of unmarried girls within the Church.

There are other ritual contexts where the importance of the unmarried girls is highlighted, namely the UMJAFETE Ceremony.

6.2. UMJAFETE CEREMONY FOR UNMARRIED GIRLS

This Ceremony is for those girls who have reached puberty[3]. The girls move down to the Umzinyathi River where they spend the night before their return to Ebuhleni. While at the river there is no ritual cleansing of any kind or smearing of substances. Cleansing is in a different form where girls pay money for cleansing when they pay their Church fees to Shembe. The girls are informed by the ABAPHATHI that, originally, the purpose of the trip to the river was to check the girls to see if "they are really girls". On their return from the river, the girls dress in the UMJAFETE uniform which includes a green belt. In the past, a girl who had lost her virginity would have the green belt taken from her and it

would be replaced with a red/pink one. This would be a public statement of her defilement. Today girls are not checked due to an increase in membership and insufficient time.

Control of the girls is also evident in dress and action. An UMPHATHI preaches to the girls, and the latter are checked for correctness of dress before they embark upon a dance (in a controlled manner) through the streets of Ebuhleni. The girls are led by an UMKHOKELI who carries a white flag on a bamboo pole. The themes of purity and cleanliness, evident throughout the ceremony, are suggested through the use of the white UMJAFETE uniform. My assistant said that white:

> is a symbol for clean in our Church. The white flag is a symbol that the girls are now clean down by the river. By preaching, they are now clean...As girls are walking, they are singing songs, and as they are singing songs, they are fighting Mr Shembe's enemies...girls must always be purified - musn't do wrong things because they are the ones he uses to fight his enemies (Ms Zibane).

Similarly, the girls are wresting with evil forces through the use of shields and umbrellas which they carry when wearing this uniform.

The girls end the UMJAFETE Ceremony in the church ground where they kneel. According to Ms Zibane, in so doing, "you are registering your name to God that you are entering this Church. God can you be with me". Before dispersing, the girls are told by an UMPHATHI to dress correctly and to pay their Church fees.

As in the Zulu Nomkhubulwana Ceremonies (see Kiernan 1992 for a

detailed comparison between the Shembe UMJAFETE Ceremony and the Festival dedicated to Nomkhubulwana), the Shembe girls are also revealing their sexual potential, that is, their fertility, but, at the same time, they are also disguising their sexual potential while stressing their virginity. The girls are on show to the Church community and, of course, potential marriage partners. Hence the strict controls, and discipline of dress and dancing through which one may peep at their sexual potential. This is not blatant or bad, but good and fruitful. This, to some extent, is in contrast to Zulu Nomkhubulwana Ceremonies where there is a blatant expression of sexuality, particularly through the inversion of male and female roles, and sexual obscenities (Berglund 1975:66). Through the UMJAFETE rite, a key point of ideology, the virginity of the unmarried girls, is highlighted and controlled, and girls are reminded of it annually.

The use of the UMJAFETE uniform and the accompanying dance by unmarried girls is a dramatization of the life history of the Biblical character, Jephthah (See Judges 11:1-12). A Shembeite explained it as such:

> There was a king called uJaphetha. This king was going to war, and this man prayed to his God to win the war. Then God said to that man what he was going to give God when he win the war. Then the man said he must give God the first thing he will see if he comes from the war. Then this man, when he was coming from the war, he first saw his first daughter, and he tell his daughter about what he promise God. Then his daughter said, first she is going to sing and dance with other girls before she die.

Through the wearing of the UMJAFETE uniform and the enactment of the Biblical singing and dancing, the unmarried Shembe girls are

identifying with Jephthah's daughter and her willingness to sacrifice herself to God, thereby communicating and reinforcing their own allegiance to God. It is a ritual dedication of themselves to the Church and God.

6.3. DANCE UNIFORM WORN BY MARRIED WOMEN

The control of unmarried girls is highlighted through the dance uniform worn by married women. Married women have only one uniform, an African-style uniform. One explanation I was given for this was that, because the unmarried girls have so many restrictions on their behaviour which they cannot break, they are very important to God and are, therefore, given seven uniforms. Married women, on the other hand, have more freedom and are paid correspondingly less attention. Symbols in the form of clothing are being used as instruments of control and discipline. Unallocated reproductive resources of the girls are "dangerous" and "volatile" and must be controlled. Control passes to the husbands of the married women. The married women to an extent have been "controlled", tamed. They no longer represent disorder (potential), or resources (for whom marriage payments - LOBOLO - can be claimed) to be allocated to men. They are also not revealing their sexuality.

Some items of clothing worn by Zulu-speaking people traditionally, are used in the Nazareth Baptist Church and involve the communication of similar symbolic messages. The black skin skirt (ISIDWABA) was traditionally worn by married women only (Bryant

1967:151), except when worn by an unmarried girl on the day of her puberty rites. I believe that the same statements about a woman's married status are being made when Shembe women wear the skin ISIDWABA. The ISIDWABA is also worn as a sign of respect to God and the Leader, Amos Shembe. This skirt must cover the knees, must not be transparent, and must consist of skin. In the Cathechism of the Church, it is written:

> 107.103 The clothes the young women wear are so indecent, you can see right through them. One can easily see the shape of [a woman's] body from what she is wearing. But, this is not a maiden, this is a woman ! What does the rule stipulate regarding such habits? The skin skirt is there and is intended to give the woman her dignity...
> 108.11 Certain women do not dress in a respectable manner. We plead with them to come under the discipline of God, because their way of dressing is not pleasing. A woman wearing short dresses is shameful for a believer (Becken and Zungu n.d.).

The sexuality of women is not to be revealed. This is evident also in the maxim that married women should cover their shoulders. This is clearly stated in the Catechism:

> 107.104 There is another thing which these same women, who are believers, do. They wear sleeveless dresses [eventhough] the rule says they must cover their shoulders in order to show reverence in the village of God (Becken and Zungu n.d.).

The UMTSHEKO (INGUBO YOMSINDO/INGUBO YOMGIDI) is worn over the shoulders and chest. Wearers are now mature, married women who have possibly borne children and thus, are not required to display their virtue. More than this, respect is being shown to God and the Leader, Amos Shembe. In 1989, the married women were taken to task by Amos Shembe for dressing like girls by exposing their chests and shoulders. He said that the women should be more fully

covered. The women bought him a "Mercedes Benz" car in recompense (Dr H. Becken - personal communication).

The headdress or topknot (INHLOKO) worn by married women was worn traditionally by Zulu-speaking women "to signify marriage" (Krige 1950:378). Similarly, in the Shembe Church, by wearing the INHLOKO, it is possible to distinguish unmarried girls from married Shembe women. Furthermore, statements of identity based on place of origin are made through the use of the INHLOKO. A woman wears the style of INLOKO which relates to her husband's place of origin either north or south of the Tugela River. Unmarried girls wear distinctive clothing relating to the human body, while women wear distinctions of the Church body and its geographical markers.

As already mentioned earlier, the bead headband (UMNQWAZI) was traditionally worn by young married Zulu women "for hlonipha purposes" (Krige 1950:378). Shembe married women, young and old alike, wear the UMNQWAZI. In so doing, they are proclaiming their married status. These women are showing respect to the husband's male relatives (as was the case traditionally), but, most importantly, these women are respecting God and the Leader, Amos Shembe, through whom God works. Even in everyday dress, married women pay their respects by wearing a band of material or beads diagonally across their chests. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Zulu-speaking peoples traditionally wore bands in this fashion as a sign of respect when someone had died, while young brides wore these out of respect for their father-in-laws.

Aspects of sexuality are also revealed in the use of the grass belt (ISIBHAMBA) worn by married women. According to Schoeman (1968:126), traditionally among Zulu-speaking peoples the ISIBHAMBA was used as a "pregnancy belt designed to support the weight of the stomach in the later stages of pregnancy". Krige (1936:377) notes that the ISIBHAMBA is a: "Grass belt worn by all women after the birth of the first child". Despite the differences in interpretation, the belt obviously has to do with fertility. I propose that the Shembe ISIBHAMBA has been adopted from traditional Zulu clothing, but with an adjusted function. Shembe women do not wear the belt during preganancy. Rather, it is said to be worn after having had children "to give a woman a better figure". Through the use of the ISIBHAMBA, the married Shembe women are making a statement about their fertility potential in addition to their status of married women, that is, they are the permitted child-bearers in the Church. This, in turn, is reinforcing the Shembe ideals that sexual relations and procreation out of wedlock are not acceptable.

Women carry a brown cowhide shield with white stripes, while girls carry white shields with brown stripes. The woman's shield is slightly longer than that carried by girls. For many married Shembe women, the different colour and size of shield are little more than a means of distinguishing between the women and the girls, that is, social differences are reflected. Views regarding the use of the umbrella and shield as symbolic weapons with which

to fight off evil were reiterated with regard to married women.

Some women are emphatic that, when dancing, married women should wear sets of beadwork. It is said to be a "law" from UBABA UMKHULU (Isaiah Shembe) that the same bead patterns and colours used in the skirt bands (IGXABA) should be used in the headband (UMNQWAZI), anklets (AMADAVATHI), armbands (IZIHLAKALA) and so on, although different patterned beadwork may be worn if a set is not owned. Other married women dispute this. They believe that while a "law" exists that all beading in the IGXABA should be the same for all women, other beadwork used for dancing need not match. Many married women do not, in fact, wear sets when dancing.

The bead colours and patterns used in the IGXABA are usually always the same. They have a standardising function and hence the identification of a common status - as women. The symbolism of beadwork will be dealt with in greater detail later in the chapter.

In discussion thus far, it has been ascertained that the married woman's uniform distinguishes the married women from the unmarried girls. This end has been achieved, to an extent, through the use of some traditional Zulu symbols. Control is also exerted over the married women, but in a different way to that over unmarried girls. Sexuality is controlled in accordance with the new status of married women, which emphasises fertility and child rearing qualities.

It would be amiss not to discuss those women who are considered neither married women nor unmarried girls. Such women may not wear the dance uniform of either category. There are two occasions when this situation may arise. Firstly, where a woman is not "fully" married and secondly, where a woman is an unmarried mother.

6.4. OCCASIONS WHERE WOMEN ARE NOT PERMITTED TO DANCE

6.4.1. A Woman Who Is Not Fully Married

As mentioned in Chapter 5, a girl who is undergoing her "first marriage" dresses in the skin skirt (ISIDWABA) worn by married women. This is symbolic of her impending change of status. There are other ways in which her change in status is symbolised. The knife (ISINQINDI) carried by the bride, according to a Shembeite, is to "show people you are a real girl, don't have children, didn't mess with a guy". This is an adaptation from tradition where the knife or small assegai carried by the bride "signifies that she is a virgin" (Krige 1950:141). In the case of the Nazareth Baptist Church, the knife is also symbolic of the bride cutting ties with her girlhood as she moves from a status of girl to that of married woman.

The slaughter of the animal at the "second marriage" to signify that she is now a married woman, can be seen to be derived from the slaughter of the UMQHOLISO beast traditionally. This animal was slaughtered in honour of the bride. The slaughter of the animal is described by Krige as "the fixing point in the wedding

ceremony in Zululand" (1950:148). Similarly, in the Nazareth Baptist Church, although wearing the skin skirt (ISIDWABA) and carrying the knife makes statements about a girl's changing status in the Church, it is the slaughter of the beast ("to cut a cow") which fully transforms her status. Only when an animal has been slaughtered for her is she allowed to wear the dance uniform of married women and participate in dances.

This relates to the case of a woman, Ms Ms. (Mrs Mch). She is "married", but she is still called Ms Ms. This is because she she was not "fully married" when her husband died. The man had paid LOBOLO, but before the marriage was complete he died, that is, "my parents had not had a cow cut for me in order to say I am now Mrs Mch".

She is not permitted to dance with the unmarried girls or married women. She is, however, permitted to live with the married women. A similar situation applies where a woman may have died before "a cow was cut for her". My assistant mentioned that, in June 1991, her father's brother:

> cut a cow for his wife who had died long ago. His wife came to him in a dream to tell him that she did not belong anywhere. She was between a married woman and an unmarried girl. She had not had a cow cut for her before she died. When the cow was cut in June, it was like a wedding for a married person (Ms Zibane).

Mrs Md. from Empangeni said that when a cow has not been slaughtered for a woman and her husband dies, it is the

responsibility of his family to slaughter for her to enable her to mix with other married women: "If cow not cut for her, she has not been introduced cultural to the family". She may wear the everyday dress of married women, but she is not permitted to dance because "she is not in the way of the Nazareth married women. The key to join is UKUQHOLISA". A woman in this state is not permitted to "eat ISIDLO" (take communion). She is permitted to pray with the married women, and she pays UMNIKELO for married people, but this is placed separately. It is possible that she is permitted to pray because it is a form of asking or petition, unlike dancing which is an expression of glory. She cannot offer a status which she has not yet got.

6.4.2. Unmarried Mothers

An unmarried mother is neither a girl nor a married woman. She is not permitted to dance in the Church.

The unmarried mothers are called AMAQHASHAMLENZE. This, according to Ms Ma., an unmarried mother, means:

> that girl has do something wrong in a wrong time as Shembe ladies are not allowed to have boyfriends before marriage. ...They are just in between married girls without children and married women. They have no place in the Church. They just mix with married ladies as they cannot mix with IZINTOMBI because they cannot go back to IZINTOMBINI [virginity]. They mix with married women because that is the next and easy step for them.

Mrs Ml. from Mpumalanga said:

> Long time ago [Isaiah's time] they [unmarried mothers] were not allowed to come back to Church unless they get married. They were taken as devils which would spoil other girls. Even in their houses, their fathers were forcing them to marry old people because they have break

the law.

An unmarried mother is permitted to pray in the church ground, but only after she has been purified: "She must be purification or else....she will spoil the other people" (UMPHATHI). This is a relaxation of rules, for, in the past, the unmarried mothers were not permitted to enter the church ground. The unmarried mother wears the church uniform (UMNAZARETHA) without the shoulder wrap (UMNANSUKA). In this way her, status of unmarried mother is visible to all to see. Four unmarried mothers, Ms Mk.,Mh.,Hl., and Nx., said that unmarried mothers cannot dance because "dancing goes with custom. Custom is that an unmarried girl with child cannot dance". An unmarried mother gives her dance uniform to an UMPHATHI who is said to take it to Mr Shembe.

The Nazareth Baptist Church ideal of virginity at marriage is highlighted through the plight of these unmarried mothers who have no established category into which they fall and who are not permitted to dance. Unmarried mothers are precluded from full participation in sacred activity. This is expressed through the church uniform they are required to wear and in the prohibition on the use of the dance uniform. They are permanently in the realm of the profane, being permitted only occasional glimpses of the sacred through the use of only part of their church uniform. They are neither fully dressed for God nor the Church. The public statement of misbehaviour through the prescribed, selective use of uniform is another form of contol in the Church.

6.5. CHURCH UNIFORMS WORN BY UNMARRIED GIRLS AND MARRIED WOMEN

6.5.1. Unmarried Girls

Girls wear a white dress (UMNAZARETHA) and headcovering (UMNANSUKA). There are also some girls who wear a light green UMNAZARETHA and matching UMNANSUKA. The latter are from Mpondoland. It was said by some members that Isaiah Shembe prophesied that those from Mpondoland[4] should wear these uniforms.

The use of white and green is significant. Kiernan (1991) has given much attention to the use of colour in Zionist Churches. He concluded that white and blue-green, examined in use, have two functions. Firstly, they may act as a group indicator and a means of affirmation of group solidarity where boundaries are in danger of weakening and secondly, they make statements about the processes of healing and purification through which each member has progressed (1991:36). Similarly, at Ebuhleni, the green uniform is used as a means of identification within the Nazareth Baptist Church.

In the Church, white and green are used in a sacred situation of worship. A person who is not in a state of purification may not worship with their particular status group in the church ground, although one may worship apart from the populace wearing the UMNAZARETHA. Simply by being apart, however, one is stating one's state of impurity. Thus, in order for one to assert one's purity, one must wear UMNAZARETHA and wear it when one is part of group

worship. One must wear the uniform when one becomes a member. One must be in a state of purity to wear the uniform. One also pays UMNIKELO on joining, and is blessed and purified on entrance. The use of green uniforms is not making statements about degrees of purity (in contrast to Fogelqvist's (1986) findings among Swazi Zionists), but it does say something about identity.

A small badge, IFOTO, may be worn with church uniform. These badges are said to offer divine protection to the wearers. A miracle involving the use of IFOTO was related to me by a married woman member. Mrs Ms. said:

> A girl who bought one of the IFOTO used to make SKOKIAAN [alcoholic beverage] and sell it to people who want to buy. These people thought that this girl was rich from the sale of her beer. One day some men wanted to steal her money. They broke into her room. When they broke in, the glass on the IFOTO broke. Shembe came out of the IFOTO and locked the men in the room. He went to the police and gave them the key and told them the men were trying to steal.

The protection of the faithful is emphasised here.

Girls wear the UMNANSUKA low over the forehead out of respect to the Leader and God. They are also veiling their sexuality. Girls are also required to wear the traditional-type outfit (IHIYA) under the UMNAZARETHA. My assistant said that people who wear western clothes are seen as naked, "not a full person", while those who wear the AMAHIYA are "clothed". This is emphasised at gatherings by the leaders of unmarried girls. For example, at the Opening Ceremony of the July Festival, those girls who were not wearing IHIYA under the UMNAZARETHA stood behind those who were. The former were severely admonished by the ABAPHATHI. A form of

control was being exercised over the girls. This was evident also in the controlled movement of the girls and order of service on this occasion. The girls were also sandwiched between the men and married women on this occasion. This protective barrier symbolically prevented the girls from breaking out beyond the bounds of contol.

6.5.2. Married Women

Married women wear the white smock (UMNAZARETHA) over the IHIYA and ISIDWABA. A white wrap (UMNANSUKA) adorns the shoulders. The headdress (INHLOKO) and bead headband (UMNQWAZI) are worn out of respect to God and the Leader, Amos Shembe. Women also wear a black waistband (U14), and a white strip (U14) lies on the UMNQWAZI. According to Gunner (1988:223), on authority from Londa Shembe, the black U14 was originally used by men, but, because so many early converts were women, this was adopted as part of women's uniform. It was later was referred to as U14 after the women's meeting day held on the 14th of every month. Men are visible wearing what appears to be an U14 in an early photograph of Isaiah Shembe washing his "Disciples" feet (see Sundkler 1961a:271).

At women's meetings, the married women pray, pay tribute (UMNIKELO), practice dancing and are lectured by their leaders (ABAKHOKELI). The use of the black U14 and white U14 is a public statement about the sacred activities of the married women on the 14th day of every month. It is also a constant reminder to married

women to conduct their lives in a manner in accordance with Shembe religious norms.

6.6. SYMBOLISM OF BEADWORK IN THE NAZARETH BAPTIST CHURCH

Very little has been discussed, so far, concerning the meanings associated with colours, patterns and styles of beading. The concern with Zulu colour symbolism in beadwork is evident as early as 1907 in the work of Reverend Franz Mayr. He provided a rather generalised account of the colour meanings of beads. For Twala (1951), in her work on the use of beads among the Swazi of Swaziland (at the time of her writing, the Swaziland Protectorate) and Zulu of eMangwaneni, Bergville, beads have functioned as a "regulating agent in the social life" of youngsters (1951:113). While Twala followed Mayr, more or less, in the colour meanings assigned to beads, Twala noted that colour meanings were not generalisable to all Zulu-speaking peoples. She stated: "Every district had its own special cipher for bead love letters..." (115).

Schoeman (1968a+b, 1971a+b), too, makes this point in his work on traditional beadwork in the Mkwanazi area of Mtunzini District, Zululand. For Schoeman (1968a):

> Colour coding would seem to be the most obvious and generally utilised means of conveying bead messages (60).

Colour combinations are often used which are community and region specific. Coding technique is also important. Coding techniques include the way in which the beads are arranged and positioned,

the use of preferred combinations of colours, and the consistent use of particular colours for particular types of beadwork.

Colour coding and technique also distinguishes groups of users within communities, argues Schoeman. He states:

> There is a definite correlation between beaded ornaments and the groups of individuals who wear them. This is due to the cultural emphasis on the group, a typical feature of Zulu society. In fact, the bead artist is the group rather than the individual, for lacking written records, the knowledge of colour-coding and bead design is more easily extracted from the combined memories of all members of a group. The individual relies upon the help of her own group - these belong, first to the same sex group, second, to the same age group (thus sharing common interest in the opposite sex), and, third, the same local group (1971b:51).

According to Schoeman, there are also particular bead pieces which carry colour messages, for example, the "love-letters" (1968b:107), while other pieces merely indicate the social status or sex of the wearer. The latter pieces themselves carry no colour messages (Schoeman 1968a:67).

More recently, Brottem and Lang (1972), Carey (1986) and Levinsohn (1984) have written about colour coding and messages in the beadwork of Zulu-speaking peoples. However, they provide very little new insight into the debate. One aspect, however, about which Brottem and Lang (1974), Carey (1986) and Levinsohn (1984) agree in their discussions of beadwork of South and Southern Africa is that certain types of beadwork are used to mark life stages, from childhood to adulthood. This conclusion is relevant to the Nazareth Baptist Church where particular social categories are made visible through the clothing and adornment worn on

particular ritual occasions.

Some authors, such as Carey (1986) and Knight and Priedbatsch (1977), have attempted to extend the bead message debate beyond Zulu-speaking peoples. Carey states that among Xhosa-speaking people: "Certain colours have symbolic meanings..." (1986:48). However, not only is her analysis generalised and her references unclear, but her claims also do not find much support in scientific research among the Southern Nguni (see Bigalke 1972; Shaw and van Warmelo 1974). Knight and Priedbatsch (1977), in their work on Ndebele adornment, refer to colour symbolism. They mention the use of colour to form "symbolic motifs", and patterns made as having "symbolic conotations", but take it no further than this (1977:45).

Levy (1989), in her paper on Ndebele beadwork, emphasises the need to seek meaning beyond mere pattern and colour. She states that meaning should also be sought "in terms of the function" of the particular pieces of beadwork (63). Ndebele beadwork communicates meaning at two levels. Levy states that different types of beadwork:

> communicate information relating to social life, particularly that of the women. Secondly, the beadwork as a whole defines Ndebele group identity to outsiders (1989:63).

Three points may be made on the basis of the above theoretical discussion. Firstly, bead colour meanings and patterning are

specific. They may be highly localised or regionalised, and care must be taken not to generalise too widely across Zulu-speaking peoples. Secondly, not all items carry colour messages. Thirdly, usage of particular types of adornment communicates something about the identity of the person or group using them.

All of the above points have some relevance to the use of beadwork in the Nazareth Baptist Church. Mthethwa (1988) has recently revived the debate concerning bead colours and bead messages among Zulu-speaking people. He states that among Zulu traditionalists today, bead messages or "letters" are sent to convey love messages. He relates the reading of a message to the Zulu language: "The theory of Zulu beadwork codes is embedded in the idiomatic expressions of the language" (332). He believes that, even though there is individuality in the "design and execution" of the bead letter and regional diversity of the Zulu people, it is possible for the message to be widely understandable because the basic meanings of the colours" are dependent on the actual Zulu language and the use of idiomatic expressions", and the language is more or less consistent across the wide geographical area occupied by the "Zulu people" (1988:326). Colour meanings of beads, therefore, are more or less generalisable for "Zulu people".

Mthethwa (1988:330) attempts to apply his theory universally. He states that Shembe beadwork "carries biblical... codes". This he attempts to demonstrate in an interpretation of the colour

symbolism of beads used in Shembe beadwork. He states:

> These are white, pink, green and yellow. In secular beads white means love, and in sacred beads it means love for God. Pink refers to material poverty, but in the Christian context this colour endeavours to remind people of the Biblical text found in St. Matthew 5:3 :"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven". The spirit appears in green, which in secular beads means an inner satisfacion. Heaven as a house must appear in yellow, but being a house of God it appears as a yellow cross. In this manner, I think, religious education becomes linked to oral tradition" (330).

Mthethwa's argument does not seem to hold for Shembe beadwork. On two occasions only did I come across any specific reference to colour, and one of those occasions related specifically to wool used in the decoration of mats. There was, however, a generalised distinction made between the use of light colours, especially white, and dark colours, for example, black.

6.6.1. Colour

Mrs D1. gave an interpretation of the colours of wool she used in the decoration of mats. The latter are used when attending church services. She said:

> Red - my heart is red, I have sins.
> Blue - purificationn. I must be purified.
> White - [actually light pink] - I would like my heart to be white - beautiful.
> Black - dark. In that dark I am asking things to be cleansed, to be purified. I am asking Mr Shembe to clean me.
> Green - there is no water now, the trees are no longer green.
> Green, red, black are dark things. Green is also good things that have been taken away.

Mrs D1. did, however, say that this is <u>her</u> understanding of the colours. She said that some members know what the mat colours mean, while others do not know. She said that beadwork colours

"also talk". She interpreted some beadwork patterns depicted in PLATE 46a+b:

> White beads - God have given us light, but dark beads are near light. The light becomes smaller because of the dark colours. Yellow - there is light but it is not clear. Mr Shembe is light but most people don't see him - those who hesitate when they are members or question his laws. Green - other people in the middle see there is light but don't know how to get there. Blue - purification. Red - heart sins.

In her analysis of bead colours, Mrs Dl. emphasised light and dark in terms of bead colours and the degree of enlightenment in one's sacred life.

A beachfront seller, Mrs Bu from Ekuphakameni, also gave me an interpretation of beadwork in PLATE 46a+b. She said:

> White is for beautiful, peace, light. Yellow means the world is wealthy. You can find gold, money, everything. Red - what the colours really mean depend on how they mix it. As red is mixed with these colours [in PLATE 46a+b], it doesn't stand for danger. It stands for "that thing is really going to happen". It is like in court and one says "all I am going to say is the truth". Blue stands for the open heart - good. My heart is open for Mr Shembe to come in. Green - this means I love you, I am now thin because of love.

There is some general correspondence between the views of Mrs Dl. and Mrs Bu. as far as white, blue and yellow and their associations with lightness, purity and beauty are concerned. However, red and green are less clear. It seems that red and green are associated. While these colours are associated with blemishes, red in particular, there is a positive side to them. They hold a promise for the removal of blemishes in the future. Despite this general correspondence in the views, it should be

kept in mind that Mrs Dl. stated that these were her interpretations, while it is possible that Mrs Bu., a curio seller, was influenced by the notorious loveletter explanations given for the benefit of the tourist public.

Other women were not able to give specific meanings for bead colours. Mrs Mt. said: "Old people know just how to make beads, don't know what colours stand for. Educated people came with what colours mean". This view is in contrast to that of three young women who said: "Old people know what the colours stand for". This is an interesting paradox where one respondent is drawing on modern education as explanation, while the others are calling on traditional education to provide the answers. Mrs Bh., a tourist beadseller, said:

> All the Shembe beads mean they are wearing for God, not that colour stands for anything...A person will label colours as she perceive it, but all people are UYAHLOBA - you make yourself beautiful for God.

In the past, some colours provided an indication of the origin of the wearer. For example, early photographs taken by Jean Morris show a woman wearing an headband (UMNQWAZI) with bead colours and brass studs which are characteristic of traditional beadwork from the Msinga area. This, however, was not seen during my fieldwork.

Many beadworkers referred to the use of light colours as opposed to dark colours, rather than specific colours themselves. Seven female respondents, commenting on the beadwork depicted in PLATE

46, said:

> White makes the other colours brighter. Black separates other colours from each other - not looked nice if they are mixed.

Three married women said: "White colour usually goes with church uniform and other colours [primary colours in PLATE 47] use to make it [beadwork piece] beautiful".

What is noticeable is the stress on white as synonymous with brightness and lightness, and dark colours as synonymous with darkness. Important also is the use of white to brighten dark colours. Use of white suggests upliftment and the light of the sacred which surrounds (as in prescribed white bordered beadwork) and lightens the darkness (sin) which is also divisive. White is a purifying source which surrounds and controls the darkness, that is, it keeps it in check and does not allow it to subsume the item. In the same way, Shembe religion is in the light, a source of the sacred which protects its members

Light and dark is relevant when one considers uniforms used during mourning. Only green and navy blue uniforms are used. This is unlike traditional practice where black is used. A Shembe member talking of mourning said:

> If you are wearing black, you are in darkness. But we as religious people don't use black, unlike others. We use navy...Shembe people don't see themselves as in darkness.

Shembe beadwork colours, <u>per se</u>, do not appear to have any particular symbolic meanings as outlined by Mayr (1908) and Twala

(1951). This is reinforced by Amos Shembe who believes that colours have no meaning (personal communication - See Appendix 4). This then is also contrary to Mthethwa's argument related earlier in this chapter (1988). The source of his information is not clear, and I suggest that it is his own personal interpretation rather that that recognised by the makers and wearers themselves. He hints at this in the following statement he makes when discussing the link between language and the use of colour in Shembe religion: "In this manner, I think [my emphasis] religious education becomes linked to the oral tradition" (Mthethwa 1988:330).

6.6.2. Pattern[5]

A discussion of the colour of beadwork is not complete without some discussion of pattern, for use of colour and pattern is linked. Any understanding of one requires some knowledge of the other.

Most Shembe beadwork has at least one feature which is prescribed, while some pieces are required to be uniform in their entirety. The beaded bands (UMBHAMBA), worn by unmarried girls, and strips of beadwork (IGXABA), worn by married women, are always prescribed in colour and pattern usage. The frontal apron (INEME), headband (UMNQWAZI), anklets (AMADAVATHI), armbands (IZIHLAKALA), headdress ornament (ISIPENETU), and breast flap (ISIBEBE) always have a white border of beads which varies in size according to the style of the object. For example, the UMNQWAZI used on a straight

headdress (INHLOKO) has a smaller border than that used on the round headdress. The interior of these pieces varies in colour, pattern and type of beads (shiny, opaque, translucent) according to personal choice.

A definite distinction existed in the minds of many of the respondents regarding the age of the style of the beadwork, that is, between what is regarded as "old" and what is more "current". In both cases, differences in patterning and in colour are evident.

When faced with a set of photographs (PLATES 46 - 52) and asked to place then in some sort of time sequence regarding style, members associated the primary colours and opaque beads with older-style pieces, while the more translucent and shiny beads, in a range of colours from dark green to purple, were associated with the newer styles.

The "oldest" patterns (of those shown to members) were most often said to be those depicted on the headbands (PLATES 47+48). PLATE 48 was, most often, said to be the oldest. Those pieces depicted in PLATES 47+48 have a large white border, opaque beads and predominantly primary colours. Both have cross-like patterns with black beadwork separating the crosses. PLATE 46a+b+c are said to follow PLATES 47+48 in age of style, although many felt that PLATE 46c was older than PLATE 46a+b. Again, opaque, non-shiny beads in primary colours were used. The pieces have wide white borders.

Cross-like patterns and extended cross patterns (which form hexagonal shapes) are predominant.

PLATE 49b is said to follow or to have been introduced at same time as PLATE 46a+b. PLATE 49b also has a cross-like pattern in opaque, non-shiny beads. Black beads form an outline around the blocks of blue, green, yellow and red beads.

A definite distinction was made by respondents between the "old" patterns and colours described above and the so-called "new ones". The latter were identified from the photographs which are replicated in PLATES 49a+d, 50, 51, and 52. In these pieces, the white border is not as wide, and shiny beads in a range of colours are also used. The style of the headband (UMNQWAZI) usually changes according to the patterns used. The new patterns are usually used on a wider UMNQWAZI, although this is not always the case. The "old" patterns are never used on a wide UMNQWAZI.

Age (in terms of style) of the beadwork is not only determined by the patterns and colours of beadwork used. The colours and number of large plastic beads (AMAQANDA) used on the headband (UMNQWAZI) are also indicators of age. The older-style pieces usually have about 10 rows of AMAQANDA (PLATE 48) which link the rectangular pieces, while the newer pieces have between 3 and 5 rows (PLATE 52). In the older-style pieces, the AMAQANDA are often red, while in the newer-style pieces the colours vary from purple to silver. Use of many rows is said by Mrs Mb. to be "old-fashioned". Mrs Gw.

said: "Use of fewer AMAQANDA is the new generation". Members stated that an increase in the size of the design, the wider UMNQWAZI and the reduced white border have resulted in the use of fewer AMAQANDA. The change appears to have been of the members own creation, and not the result of any order or directive from the Leader.

Different dates have been proposed by respondents as to when the patterns, colours and AMAQANDA changed. Mrs Nd. and others, said that Isaiah Shembe instituted the use of many AMAQANDA. Mrs Ma. said the new style of wearing the large plastic beads (AMAQANDA) was introduced in 1980. Mrs Nt. quoted 1985 and four married women gave the date as 1990.

There was variation as to when and whom introduced the old-style patterns. Some believed it was Isaiah Shembe who introduced the old-style beadwork, while others believed that it was introduced in Galilee's time. Less believed that the old-style patterns came in during Amos' time. Despite variation, most respondents agreed that Amos Shembe prefers the old-style beadwork and is encouraging his people to return to this style.

Dates given for the introduction of new patterns ranged from as early as 1979 to as late as 1991. Certainly, these patterns were seen in use in 1989. There was much variation as to whom was responsible for the new beadwork. Many believed that people themselves changed the bead styles. Mrs Gw. believed that the "new

beads came with people from KwaZulu as they use it everyday, and people from here [Ebuhleni] copy it". Similarly, Mrs Mb. said:

> The new came with people from Zululand. People wear different INHLOKO'S in different countries. In Zululand the long, straight INHLOKO is worn. The round INHLOKO is worn in Natal. People come from Zululand with long UMNQWAZI. For Natal people the smaller UMNQWAZI is worn. Natal people copied the UMNQWAZI from the Zululand people.

Others felt that the new patterns came from the newly married women (AMAKOTI). Mrs Dl., Mrs Kh. and Mrs Ce. argued that the "new style is for the new generation, for those who go with styles". Mrs Sh. said that the change from old to new is "like the change in dress fashions".

Some members associate particular pattern styles and colours with particular sacred activities. It was believed that old-style patterns and colours (predominantly primary colours) should be worn when dancing, and the new style should be retained for church going. Mrs Dl. et al said that if they dance, they prefer to wear old-style beadwork because "it is what Mr Shembe [Amos] likes. Mr Shembe likes IBALA [colours used]". Numerous females in a group said:

> Mr Shembe likes the old colours. That is what is important for him. We are sensitive about what we wear for dancing. This is because of what the past Mr Shembe [Isaiah] said. If in dancing ground people must represent what the old Mr Shembe want.

Mrs Kh. said they are still wearing old beadwork because it is "brighter, clearer than the new ones". Mrs Sm. said: "Mr Shembe tried to tell people not to use the dark one [new style], but he failed".

Others believed that while it is preferred that the old-style beadwork should be used, the new style can be used during dancing. Some wear a combination of styles, although most wear sets.

Particular patterns on pieces are given names. Those depicted in PLATE 46a+b were most commonly referred to as CHECKERS, USANDANEZWE (commonly available) or UCIJA (pointed). It is not certain as to the derivation of these names, although it seems that CHECKERS and UCIJA are derived from the patterns themselves. Interestingly, there is a possibility that the CHECKERS may have some relation to the old-style "Checkers" packets supplied by the supermarket chain. The use of the term, USANDANEZWE, suggests that this is a common pattern. Possibly one of the reasons for this is that this pattern is the prescribed pattern worn on the IGXABA (bands of beadwork at the front and back of the skirt) by married women when dancing. The pattern should never change and nor should the colour. Mrs Ph. said that the women use the colours they do on the IGXABA because "these colours differentiate us from other Zulu people". She felt that non-Shembe people use newly available colours and not primary colours.

Patterns shown in PLATES 47+48 have been referred to as CHECKERS and NCIJWANA, while PLATE 47 has also been referred to as IZIPHAMBANO (crosses) as, too, has PLATE 49b+c. The latter have also been referred to as CHECKERS. PLATE 46c has been referred to as BLOCKS. There seems then to be a combination of similar names

for the older patterns. Despite the reference to IZIPHAMBANO (crosses), no Biblical significance was attached to this motif. This seems to dispute Klopper's comments regarding bead patterning in the Shembe Church. Klopper (1988:33) states that:

> ...[a] beadwork style consisting of a series of crosses set in a white ground...developed by members of the Church of the Nazarites...has obvious Christian overtones.

Her sources are not clear. I believe she is placing her own interpretation, based on mission-type church symbolism where the cross assumes great symbolic significance, onto this beadwork much of which, as shown, does not consist of beaded crosses. In support of this, I refer also to Oosthuizen (1979:16) who writes that "the crucifix has found expression in few Afro-Christian religions only".

There are a range of names given for the new patterns. Patterning depicted in PLATE 51c was referred to as UFISH or UNYABA[6]. PLATE 51a was referred to as CURRENT (presumably it is currently in fashion). PLATE 51b was UCIJA (because it has a pointed pattern) or INGOBO (" place for storing maize: one of the sections of stomach of beast", Dent and Nyembei 1969:356). Patterning in PLATE 51d was called a variety of names. These were UFISH, INKONJANE (swallow) and UNYABA. PLATE 50a was IHAWU (shield) or ICIJA. PLATE 50b was called INTOTHOVIYANE which, according to De Lange (1973), is a "type of pied locust" (108). In fact, she refers to beads used by Zulu-speaking people in 1819 as INTOTOVIYANE - "white with blue or black stripes" (1973:97). Patterning in PLATE 50b was also referred to commonly as UFISH. PLATE 50c was referred to as UFISH,

UNYABA, UCIJA, INKANYAMBA ("fabulous large water snake associated with tornadoes", Dent and Nyembezi 1969:432). PLATE 52 was referred to as UFISH, while the patterning on the headband (UMNQWAZI) in PLATE 53 was named IRAZOR.

I was told that a new pattern had been introduced in 1992, that of a "bird", but I did not see it then. On a return visit in 1993, I saw a birdlike pattern which, according to the seller, was a butterfly (UVEMVANE) (PLATE 54c). The other patterns depicted in PLATES 54a+b I had not seen previously. These were referred to as AMACICI (earrings). Naming patterns is a recent development.

What is particularly interesting and noticeable is that there is emphasis in old-style beadwork on geometric patterns and related names, whereas in new-style beadwork emphasis is predominantly on the depiction of natural objects - birds, fish, and animals. It is possible that the latter have been selected as a result of Isaiah Shembe's love of animals. According to J.G. Shembe, in conversation with Fernandez:

> "My father was clear that no birds are to be killed here and only attracted." This prompts me to ask a question about symbolism. "Do birds have any special meaning?". Shembe replies that they do not. His father simply felt that they were close to God" (1973:41).

Birds are of the air (UMOYA), that is, they are of the spiritual dimension. Similarly, according to Esther Roberts (1936):

> Johannes Shembe, who was very much attached to his father, said to me "The Old Man was a compound of gentleness and severity. He loved all living things. There was nothing he did not love - neither people nor animals" (40).

It is possible that while these "new patterns" are not prescribed

patterns, they are still within the bounds of acceptability of the Church.

What is also interesting about the "new" patterns is the combination of traditional motifs, such as the shield, with western material culture, for example, the razor blade. One has not replaced the other. There is some similarity between the Shembe beadwork and that which was produced by traditionalists from about the 1940's in the Msinga and Maphumulo regions of KwaZulu. However, it was with the introduction of graphemes that beadwork styles changed in these areas. Jolles (1991:75-76) proposes that graphemes were introduced to beadwork at the time of the introduction of primary school education to rural areas in the 1970's. He states that "symbols, icons and colour codes" came to be replaced by graphemes which had "no phonetic equivalents" even though they represented words (1991:76). Jolles attributes the use of graphemes partially to the introduction of primary school education (many of the makers were older women who were illiterate), but particularly to the influence of a dominant western culture and the internalisation of western values. In beadwork produced by Shembeites, the usage of graphemes has not been evident. Rather there is an emphasis on the depiction of traditional motifs and nature (animals) over items produced by a dominant western culture. It is possible that this is a conscious attempt to focus on the traditional.

6.7. DANCE UNIFORMS WORN BY BOYS AND MEN

The dancing uniform worn by men bears close resemblance to that worn by Zulu men traditionlly (Grossert 1978:52; Krige 1936:377), although the beadwork worn is in the Shembe style.

As in the outfits worn traditionally, the emphasis in the Shembe uniform is on pastoral and hunting resources, that is, fur, feathers, skin and hide. Hunting and cattle keeping were traditionally the preserve of men, and this traditional role has been extended to the realm of Shembe adornment. This is evident by the response of a male member who said: "We grown men look for cows and women cook food". The shield and ISHOBA, carried by men when dancing, are symbolic weapons used in the fight against evil forces. This military image is also suggested in the name given to the residential section for boys and men, that is, IKAMU which, according to Dent and Nyembezi (1969), is translated as: "...military camp..." (384).

Regarding the use of the ISIKOTSHI uniform, it may be suggested, as in the case of unmarried girls, that there is the possibility of some sort of Presbyterian (Scottish) influence. According to Du Plessis (1911), around the turn of the century Gordon Memorial Mission (under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland), among others, "exercised a beneficial influence over the whole district [Greytown and Natal], and far across the Zululand border as well" (364).

According to Oosthuizen (1979:18), the pith helmet, worn with the ISIKOTSHI uniform, has been adopted from the Bible (Ephesians 6:17) and thus has religious connotations. This may well be so, although I never encountered this explanation during my time at Ebuhleni.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the skin outfits are usually reserved for use by "full" men (circumcised and married), while the ISIKOTSHI are used by young unmarried men. Young boys may wear variations of both because they have not yet been "processed". Through their dance dress, wearers are reminded of a hierarchy of respect. A measure of social control is being imposed and is reinforced every time dancing occurs.

This social hierarchy is also very reminiscent of the traditional age-set organisation that existed among Zulu-speaking peoples (Krige 1950:36), except a Biblical or sacred significance has been imposed. The Shembe dancing groups are sacred groups fighting off evil forces in the service of the Church under Shembe and ultimately, God.

6.8. CHURCH UNIFORMS WORN BY BOYS AND MEN

Men and boys wear the white smock (UMNAZARETHA) and skin headdress (UMQHELE). Full men wear the IBHESHU instead of trousers under the UMNAZARETHA. The UMNAZARETHA is said by some Shembe men to have a Biblical basis, that is, it is adopted from Daniel 7:9. Daniel, in a vision, saw that:

> thrones were placed and one that was ancient of days took his seat; his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool... (The Bible 1975:718).

The headdress (UMQHELE) is like that used traditionally by Zulu-speaking men (Grossert 1978:50). In the Nazareth Baptist Church it is being transformed into a sacred item of adornment.

The sticks (IZIMBHOKO) carried by men on certain ritual occasions may be likened to those "mystical weapons" (umbrellas, shields) carried by girls, married women and men when dancing. These sticks, which are blessed by Amos Shembe, are carried to ward off evil. The use of sticks invested with power is also a characteristic of Zulu Zionist Churches (see Kiernan 1981:17). However, the way in which the stick is invested with power and used in Zulu Zionist Churches differs from the Shembe IMBHOKO.

Roberts (1936:79) mentions that male sinners were required to remove the UMNAZARETHA. The severity of the sin determined the time for which it was not permitted to be worn. She adds:

> The sanction of public opinion plays an important part in their punishment for their surplices are taken from them and given back in public (Roberts 1936:79).

While the latter does not seem to happen today, men are still not permitted to worship until purified which, in itself, still acts as a means of social control.

Boys and men are not permitted to part with their uniforms (Vilakazi <u>et al</u> 1986:150). This suggests that the clothing has some sort of sacred significance for the users.

6.9. ARRANGEMENT OF DANCERS AND CHURCHGOERS

At Sunday dances at the July Festival, the unmarried girls of marriageable age dance in groups (PLATE 55) between the men in skins (PLATE 56) and the married women (PLATE 57). The ISIKOTSHI men (PLATE 38) dance in groups behind the men in skins. The girls in red skirts (PLATE 58) dance behind and between the groups of girls of marriageable age. If there are sufficient numbers of dancers, the categories may sub-divide into smaller groups according to where they come from, that is, either south of the Tugela River (ABASESILUNGWINI) or north thereof. The division of married women into these groups according to locality is evident by their style of headdress (INHLOKO).

A reason I was given by a member for the particular arrangement of dancers was that:

> Men want the unmarried ladies to be their wives. The unmarried ladies are important, not the married ladies. The men can't do any more for the married ladies. They are already married. The men want to see the unmarried ladies (Shembe member).

An unmarried girl said that "during dancing, this is where the girls are chosen by their husbands. People can see you are an unmarried girl". It seems that the unmarried girls of marriageable age are potential candidates for marriage and are on "show" at the dances. The unmarried girls who wear red skirts are not yet ready for marriage and so, dance behind unmarried girls of marriageable age.

The arrangement of dancers and uniforms worn give the impression that marriage (polygamy) is the cornerstone of this religion. Females are either married or marriageable. Men can be both. This explains why women are subdivided and not men. Of the three religious functions, Prayer, Preaching and Dancing, the latter is unambiguously focused on marriage. This focus is sharpened by all other contexts in which the marriageable categories are kept apart. For example, at church services girls stand opposite the men and boys with women towards the rear of both groups. The girls may be seen by the men, but, at the same time, they are under the protective eye of the married women.

Many of the social status distinctions in this Church are aimed at females, particularly, the unmarried girls. The maturation of the female body is marked out through clothing, from childhood until marriage. Particular attention is given to detail and control. This, in a male-dominated Church culture, amounts to the social regulation of the female body and sexuality. Once the Church has control of the young girl's body, it has control of marriage. Through control of marriage, the Church gains control of the productive and reproductive abilities of females, that is, labour and child-producing qualities. It is in the following chapter that the productive abilities of females are given specific attention.

The manipulation of the body by society is by no means unique to the Nazareth Baptist Church, as work by Douglas (1982) and the collection of papers edited by Blacking (1977) concerning the

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The manipulation of the body by society is by no means unique to the Nazareth Baptist Church, as work by Douglas (1982) and the collection of papers edited by Blacking (1977) concerning the

relationship between body and culture show. It is through the use of uniform in ritual contexts in the Nazareth Baptist Church that this relationship is highlighted and the implications thereof (for female Shembeites and the entire Church community) are brought to the fore.

Furthermore, according to my assistant, a good deal of expertise is required in order to dance at the front and in the middle of one's dance group. Good dancers should be seen as forming the core of the group, that is, they do not stand out or dance as individuals. All are part of a group in pursuit of a common sacred goal - to worship God. All dancers will surely attempt to dance better (conform more), thus worship better and so, be worthy of blessings from God. This is obviously also in the Church's favour. The more conformity, the greater the control the Church achieves over its members.

6.10. DERIVATION OF UNIFORMS

The uniforms that are worn by members of the Nazareth Baptist Church are said to have been prescribed by the Founder, Isaiah Shembe, and their use continued by Galilee and Amos Shembe. Many believe that Isaiah Shembe was shown the dancing outfits in a vision from God. A male member said that one day when Isaiah Shembe was looking for his calf in the field, it started raining and lightning. Shembe "choked and died". During this time of death, he "saw" all the dancing outfits. On awakening, Isaiah Shembe was told by God to use the uniforms he had seen.

This view that there is some sort of relationship between the uniforms and God is supported by Galilee Shembe who, when questioned by Fernandez (1973) about the meaning of dance uniforms worn, said:

> "These were visions my father had. Everyone always wants to know the meaning. The simple meaning of all is to be found in God and Christ" (1973:41).

Members have provided various reasons for why they wear the uniforms they do. In so doing, they provide an interpretation of the distinction between the church outfit and the dancing outfit.

Respondents believe that there is no difference between the essence of dancing and churchgoing: "Dancing is another kind of praying". The different outfits used on these occasions are said to have been prescribed by Isaiah Shembe. Some believe that he separated the two activities because of the size of the church ground which could not accomodate both dancers and spectators. Mr Nx. from KwaMashu said:

> In church the place is holy, can't wear shoes and must kneel, but in dancing ground, one can use shoes [ISIKOTSHI] and some spectators [non-members] also wear shoes.

Two women from Richards Bay, Mrs J.Mb. and Mrs T.Mb., said it is written in the Bible that "you must dance and pray for God". In a letter[7] by J.G. Shembe to a woman explaining the Shembe religion, he wrote:

> There are other things which we regard as important and

> worthy of observance, both in the Old and New Testaments; which other denominations do not regard as such. The Church of Nazareth is rich in ceremonial and Religious Festivals, but these do not make a difference. We realise their significance and we give them due place for our worship. For instance we believe that God may be worshipped by song and dance and those who like it do worship God that way.

According to Becken (1965:3), Isaiah Shembe introduced dancing to the Church in 1925 and used Psalm 150 ("Praise him with timbrel and dance...") as justification for this.

Members are also divergent in their interpretation of the bases of the different uniforms used for dancing and churchgoing. Many members believe that there is a Biblical basis for the use of the white UMNAZARETHA. Mr Mk. and Mr Me. said:

> Mr Shembe said we must wear. It is a grave cloth if you die - wear it in Heaven. Must wear it when still alive.

The UMNAZARETHA, for J.G. Shembe, is the "dress of Heaven" (Sundkler 1976:185). He states:

> It is Faith which is the great thing. You don't believe just because you are dressed in white. You say this is the dress of Heaven. Don't think that you will reach Heaven just because you have worshipped many years at Ekuphakameni. A white dress cannot remove sin. We are evil and not worthy of being clothed in white. They are then garments of Heaven. But Jesus lifts off the yoke. Christ was crucified on the cross with our sins. We crucified Christ on the cross with our sins. But he carried us. He was the Son of God and yet could feel the intense pain as they nailed him to the cross (Sundkler 1976:185).

Some members believed that the use of the dance uniform was a "cultural" matter. A married woman said: "It is our Zulu culture". She gave an example of Shaka's Day where all people wear traditional Zulu clothing. Another married woman said that by

insisting on the use of dancing uniforms, "he [Shembe] wants to make us back to our cultures"[8], whereas with the white church uniform, "he wants us back to Israel's Law". For some, culture was derived from the Bible. A male member, a maker of the traditional skin dancing outfit for men, said that he was making "Adam's clothes".

Similarly, Mr Sh. referred to ISIKO ("custom"). He added that:

> By religious, it is taking us back to our cultures - to what God gave Adam and Eva, gave them skins to wear. This Church is taking people back to their traditional cultural things. You will be a full person by wearing Zulu things. By wearing western clothes, you are naked. If you are dead - in Heaven - you must wear ISIDWABA. By slaughter goat or buying it, here is your ISIDWABA.

This relates to a sermon, delivered by J.G. Shembe in 1969, recorded by Sundkler (1976):

> "So now Shembe established his own church, where he was different form all other pastors, white as well as black. So he worked out our way of doing things, we of Ekuphakameni. At that time when people wished to become Christians, they had to put on clothes. But Shembe read about Adam and Eve in the Bible. We shall read now in the book of Genesis, at the beginning of Holy Scriptures Genesis, chapter 3, v.21.
>
> Until that time the pastors had taught that in order to become Christians, people must shed their IBESHU and IZIDWABA and put on clothes. But many of our people refused to accept this, and refused to let their women throw away their IZIDWABA. I do not know from where the pastors and missionaries took their teaching. What I know, I know according to the Bible. When God created our first parents, he made coats of skin and made them put these on. And Shembe said, "Let anybody who so wishes come in IBESHU or ISIDWABA" " (169).

While many members of the Nazareth Baptist Church, both male and female, believe that the more African-style dancing outfits are based on the traditional uniform of Zulu-speaking peoples, many

believe that they are not exactly the same. It is acknowledged that some types of beadwork are worn by both Shembe members and Zulu traditionalists (AMABHINCA), for example, the headband (UMNQWAZI) and anklets (AMADAVATHI), but differences exist in the type of bead and patterns used. The traditionalists today use the large plastic beads (AMAQANDA) in making the UMNQWAZI, whereas the Shembeites mostly use the small glass beads. The rush and bead belt (ISIBAMBA) worn by the Shembe married women is much larger than that used by traditionalists.

A female member said that just as Zulu people wear different beads in different "lands", that is, certain types of beadwork correspond to certain areas, the beadwork that Shembe people wear is the particular style which corresponds to their "land", that is, "they are doing the style for their land". Similarly: "Mr Shembe choose for <u>us</u> [my emphasis] the beadwork <u>we</u> [my emphasis] are going to use" which is "not the same for Zulu people. God showed him the beads that he will use" (Shembe member). Another Shembeite told me that the beads used are not the same because "<u>we</u> [my emphasis] are separate, <u>we</u> [my emphasis] are under Shembe".

My assistant, speaking of traditional influence, said that many years ago members were using their own traditional clothes (PLATE 59). Isaiah Shembe allowed them to use their own clothes, but this has changed and Shembe people have their own uniform. Ms Zibane said that there is a song sung in the Church which talks of this. She added that the Shembe dance uniforms are thought to be more

attractive and are for use by all members. "He wanted us to be unique" (Ms Zibane). She said that Shembeites are "going back to the traditional, but in a Shembe way".

This is also supported by early photographs in the Killie Campbell Africana Library and Museum, and Durban Local History Photograph Collections (see PLATES 59-65). Early photographs (1930's - PLATES 60-62) show the scant use of beadwork and little uniformity in dress within gender and age grades. There is far more uniformity in dress in the 1950's (PLATES 63 - 65), and uniforms are taking on much the same style as that worn today. The increase in uniformity over the years may be associated with a formalising of Church identity.

It may be questioned as to the reason for Amos Shembe accepting and wearing the traditional outfits of members he visits in other localities, for example, Swazi dress, while advocating uniformity of ritual dress. I believe that Amos Shembe, although perhaps not intentionally, is increasing and reinforcing his support base. His followers give him the dress to make claims on him, but, at the same time, by accepting and wearing the dress, he is identifying with them and drawing them closer to him. He is also reflecting the diversity of membership through the diversity of raiment he has been given, and through the use of all, he is expressing a unity, if somewhat tenuous, across such differences. This seems to lend support to Mthethwa's argument that for Shembe: "Christianity is a matter of the heart" and "need not be

culture-specific" (1988:329). Shembe encourages all members to wear the same ritual dress as a statement of their common identity and solidarity across all culture boundaries as members of the Nazareth Baptist Church.

Generally, the wearing of the church and dancing clothing is religiously sanctioned. With particular regard to the more African-style uniform, there appears to be an assertion of an African identity in the form of cultural affiliation which appears largely Zulu. However, I believe that the religious identity takes precedence over the cultural affiliation. Shembe people see themselves, first and foremost, as "Shembeites", a distinct religious group emerging from, but related to the traditional cultural milieu. Isaiah Shembe, and subsequent Leaders, drew on culture, but at the same time transposed it, that is, they moved beyond it.

Members of the Nazareth Baptist Church are actively drawing boundaries between themselves and others non-members. They are expressing a particular identity. This sense of identity is constantly reinforced through the use of the prescribed uniforms, the latter being actively encouraged in the Hymnbook, by leaders at meetings of gender groups, and on ritual occasions.

In summation, certain common themes have emerged out of the symbolic analysis of clothing and adornment in this chapter. Sexuality and purity (particularly among females), in the form of

virginity and marriageability, are stressed and controlled in the Church. Control is exercised by the Church through the emphasis on social categorisation, discipline, order and correctness in the wearing and use of the uniforms. Hierarchy is expressed through leadership and the relationship of social groups to one another. Through this structural hierarchy, a hierarchy of respect is enforced. Finally, traditional symbols are manipulated within a religious context, and a resultant exclusive identity for Church members is created.

According to Kiernan, "we need to know not only what people think or say what their symbols mean but, more crucially, what they employ them to do" (1991:5). In the Nazareth Baptist Church, through the use of various uniforms, Shembe members are declaring their allegiance to God who sanctions the use of uniforms through prophecy recieved by Isaiah Shembe. They are also making statements of their acceptance of Isaiah Shembe, and now Amos Shembe, as their Leader on behalf of God. In return, the people are given a sense of identity and belongingness, which is largely exclusive. Shembe members are pledging their support for the social and religious ideology of the Nazareth Baptist Church. Included in this is an acceptance of the control that the Church holds over them.

In the following chapter, I aim to show that women and girls, the prime consumers of beadwork and adornment, are also the prime producers of religious uniforms which are usually sold to other

members. The making and sale of ritual regalia is supported by the Church. In fact, all Shembeites are encouraged in Church doctrine to enter the commercial or profane sphere. That is, members are exhorted to use their hands to make things to sell. This profane activity will be analysed in detail in Chapter 7. Attention will be given to the ways in which the Church has harnessed the money-making activity of its members to its own advantage.

NOTES

1. Ms Zibane has described the UKUKHULISA Ceremony. See Appendix 2 for the description.

2. Ms Zibane has described the UMEMULO Ceremony. See Appendix 3 for the description.

3. Kiernan (1992) has analysed this Ceremony (as it occurred in Londa Shembe's section) in detail. Kiernan states that the Nazareth Baptist Church took control of separate puberty ceremonies from members and instituted a communal rite where all are secluded together for a week and have a collective coming-out ceremony (UMJAFETE Ceremony). For Kiernan, the puberty rite serves to "sanction a status transition enshrined in Zulu custom from child to marriageable woman" evident in the change of a red skirt for a black one (1992:21). In Amos' section, however, some of the puberty ceremonies (UKUKHULISA and UMEMULO) still occur at some homes. Also, all those who have started menstruating may participate in the UMJAFETE

Ceremony at Ebuhleni and as many times as they wish.

4. There is a large following of the Nazareth Baptist Church in Mpondoland. In conversation with Amos Shembe (Appendix 4), he mentioned one man, Mr Mbele, from Mpondoland. Mbele was having a problem with the productive abilities of his bull. Shembe was able to solve the problem and Mbele was converted. The latter preached in Qawukeni, Great Place, Mpondoland.

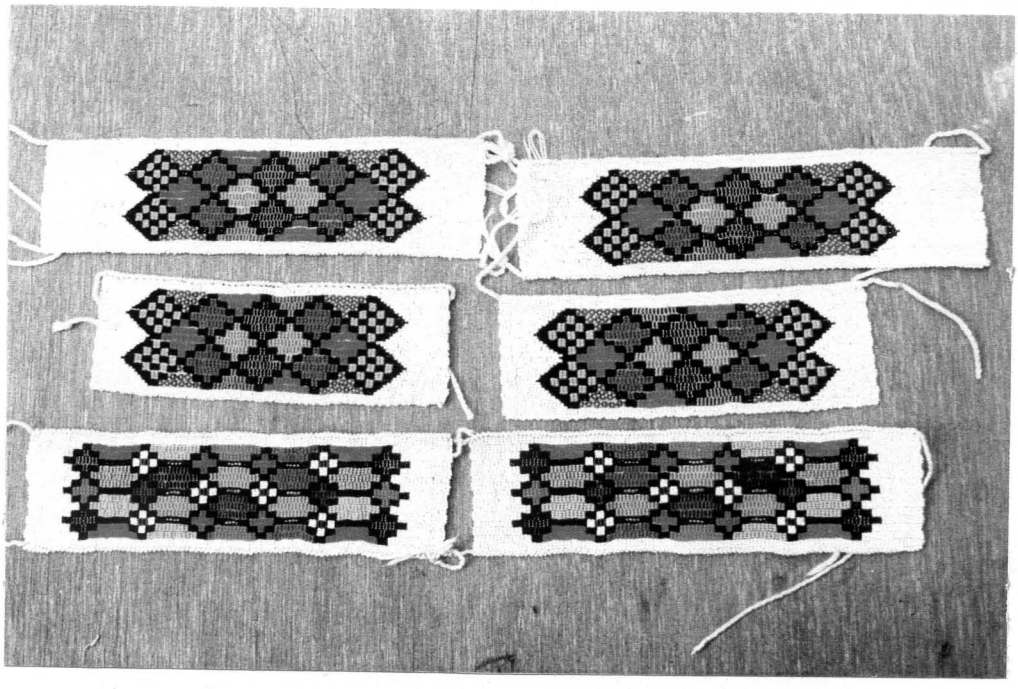
5. For the purpose of this thesis, I refer to pattern as decorative design.

6. According to Dent and Nyembezi (1969), UMNYABA is translated as: "bundle of firewood" (443) and UYABA as: "flock, for example, birds, animals" (513). I have not been able to find a translation of UNYABA, so it is possible that I was given the incorrect spelling such that either UMNYABA or UYABA is correct.

7. This letter, extracted from Dube's book on Shembe, was included in a photograph album housed at the Killie Campbell Africana Library and Museum.

8. Another interpretation of the African-style uniform was given to me. This interpretation was heard only once. According to this explanation, Shembe dancing outfits (African-style) are derived from Mpondo beadwork, in particular, the UMBHAMBA,

worn by unmarried girls. The beadwork is said to come from people on the "south side" (NINGIZIMU), that is, "the side" where the Mpondo people "traditionally" live. If one studies Mpondo beadwork present in the East London Museum beadwork collections, some resemblance in beading style is noticeable. It is possible to suggest that Shembe and members, in their travels, saw and assumed this beadwork. Furthermore, members attending the July Festival also bring beadwork which may be assimilated into the Church over time.



a

b

c

PLATE 46: Beadwork depicting a range of colours and patterns. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

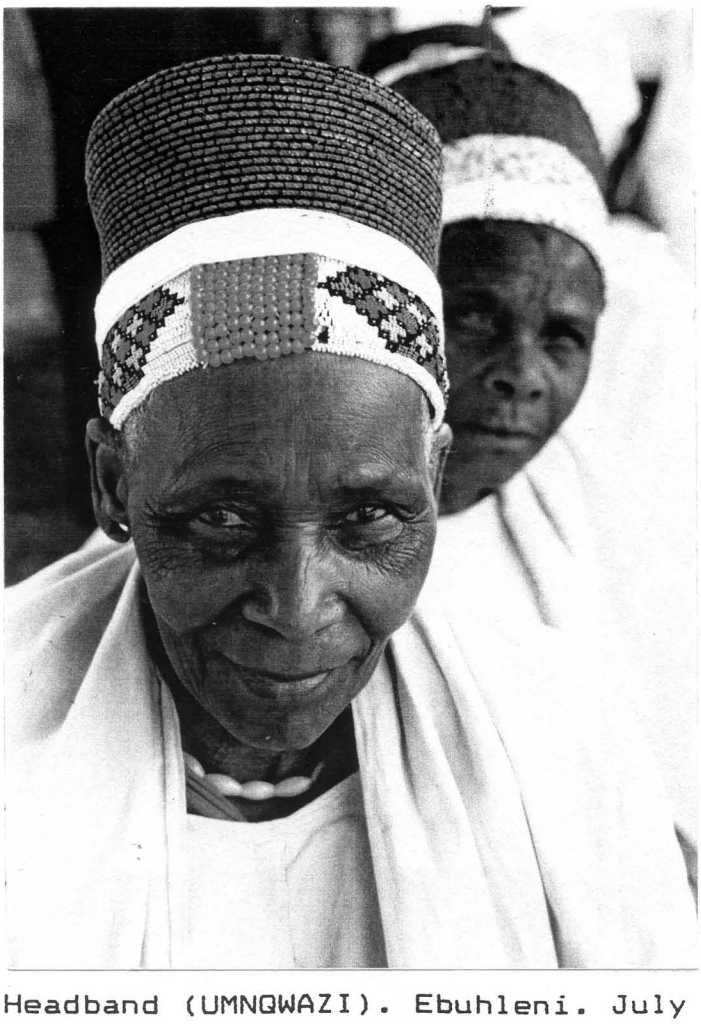


PLATE 47: Headband (UMNQWAZI). Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

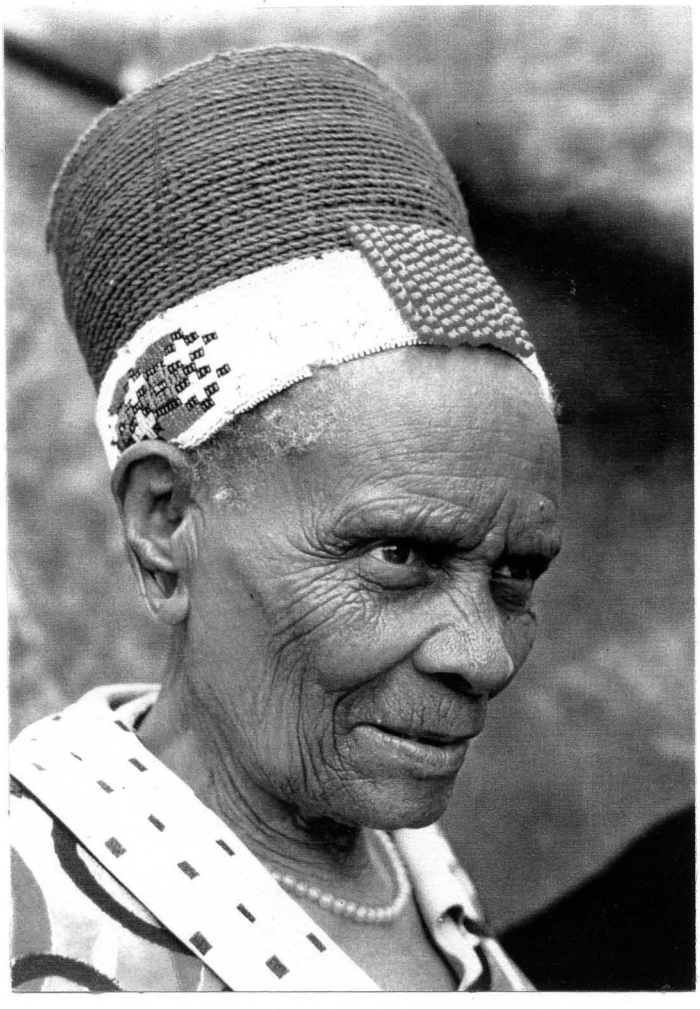


PLATE 48: Headband (UMNQWAZI). Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

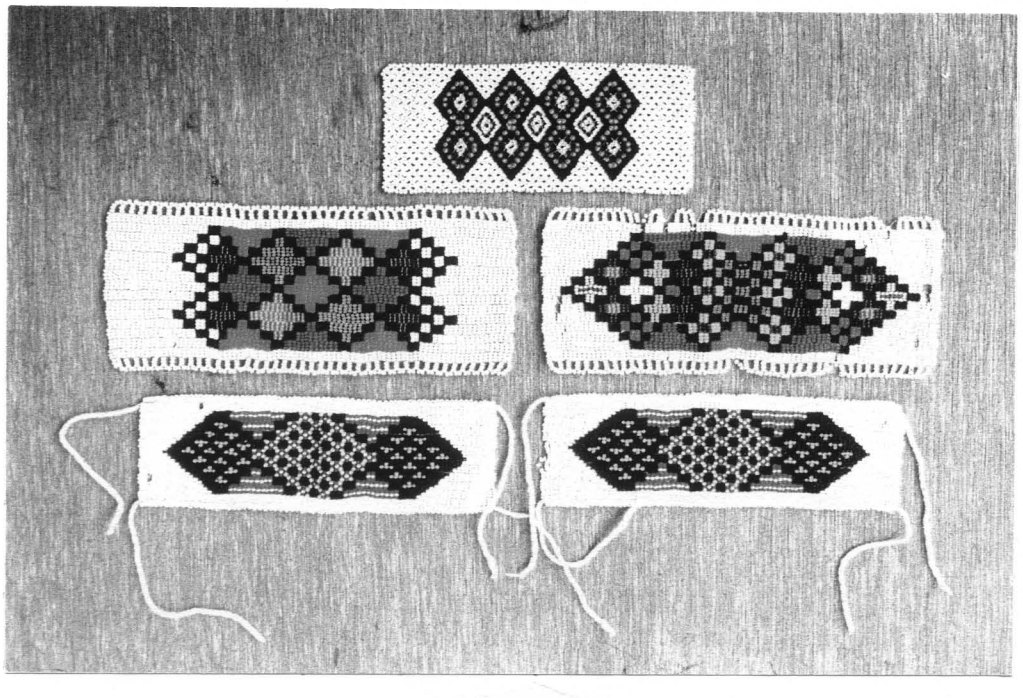


PLATE 49: Beadwork depicting a range of colours and patterns. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

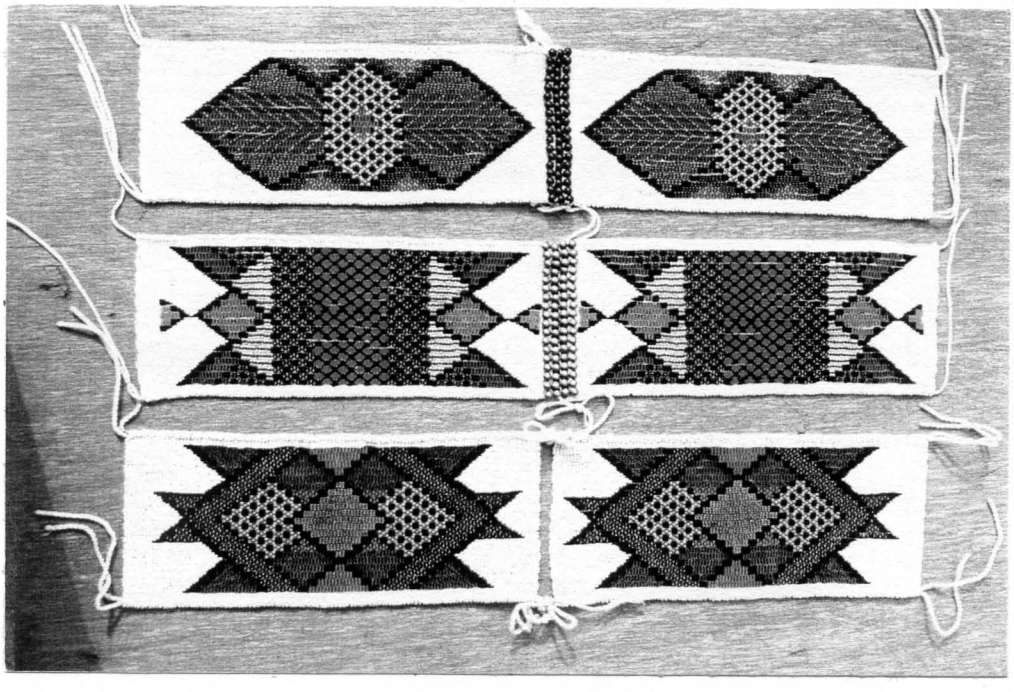


PLATE 50: Beadwork depicting a range of colours and patterns. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

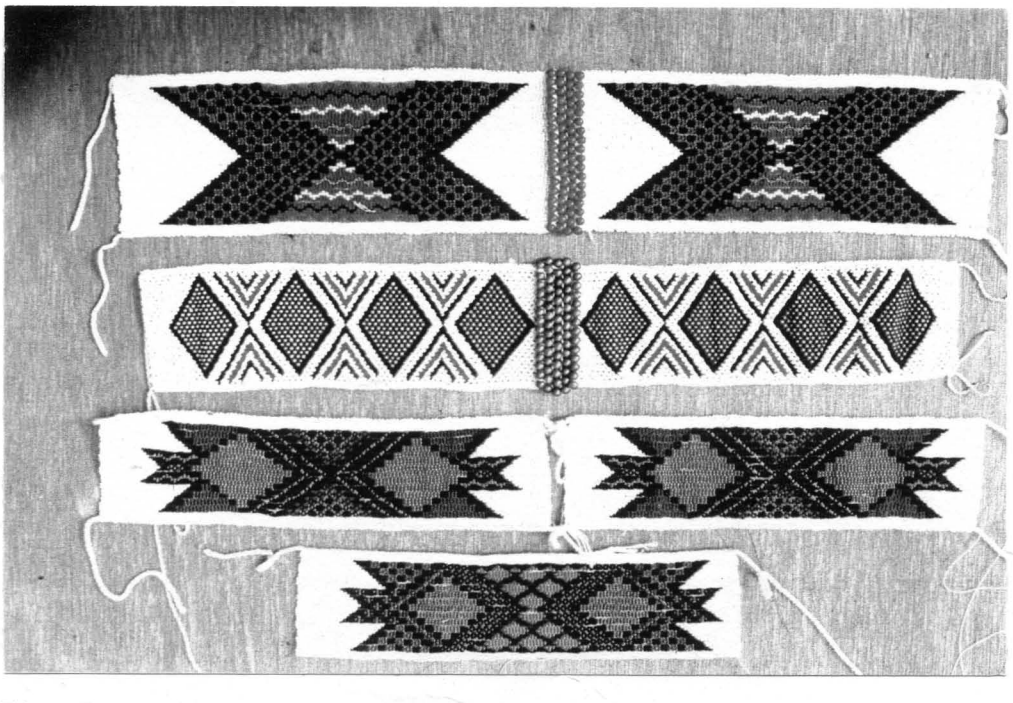


PLATE 51: Beadwork depicting a range of colours and patterns. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 52:
Headband (UMNQWAZI).
Ebuhleni. July 1989.
Photographer: J. Morris.

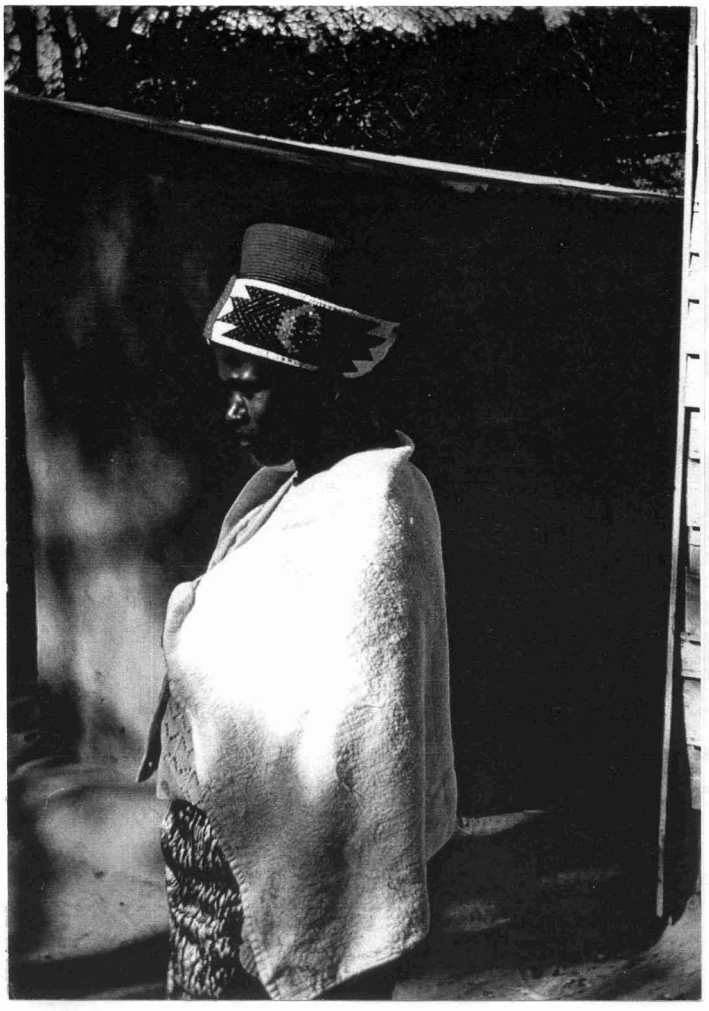


PLATE 53:
Headband (UMNQWAZI).
Ebuhleni. July 1993.
Photographer: G. Morcom.



a

b

c

PLATE 54: Beadwork depicting a range of colours and patterns. Ebuhleni. July 1993. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 55: Unmarried girls of marriageable age dancing at a Sunday Dance. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

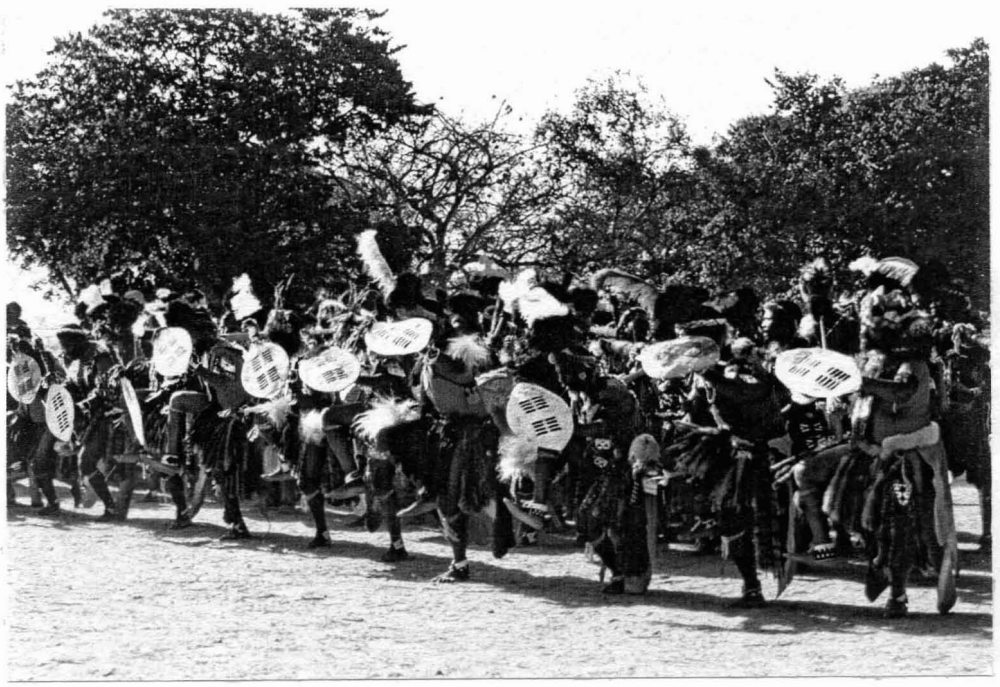


PLATE 56: Men in skins dancing at a Sunday Dance at Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 57: Married women in dance formation. Sunday Dance at Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 60: Unmarried girls dancing at Ekuphakameni c. 1930. Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library and Museum.

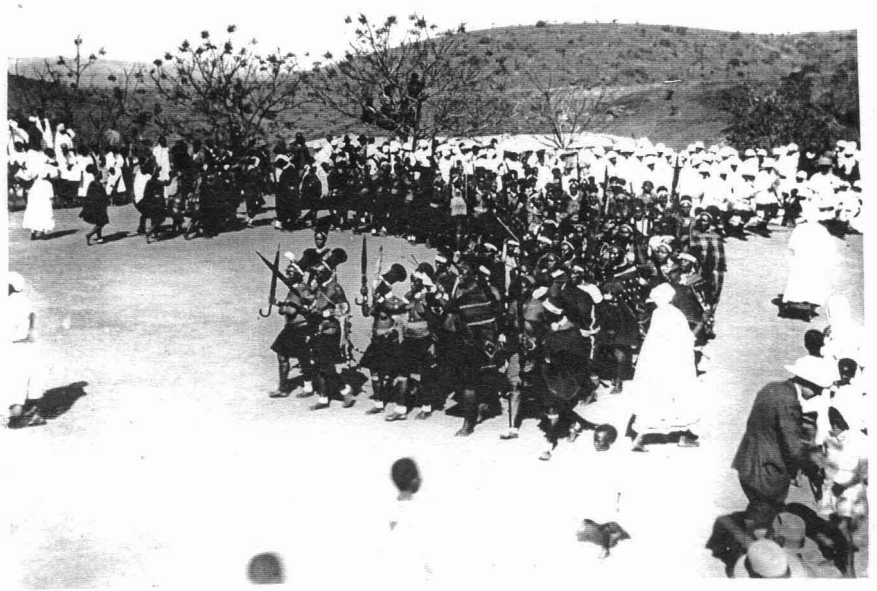


PLATE 61: Married women dancing at Ekhuphakameni c. 1930. Source: Killie Campbell Africana Library and Museum.



PLATE 64: Married women in dance uniform. 1954.
Source: Durban Local History Museum.

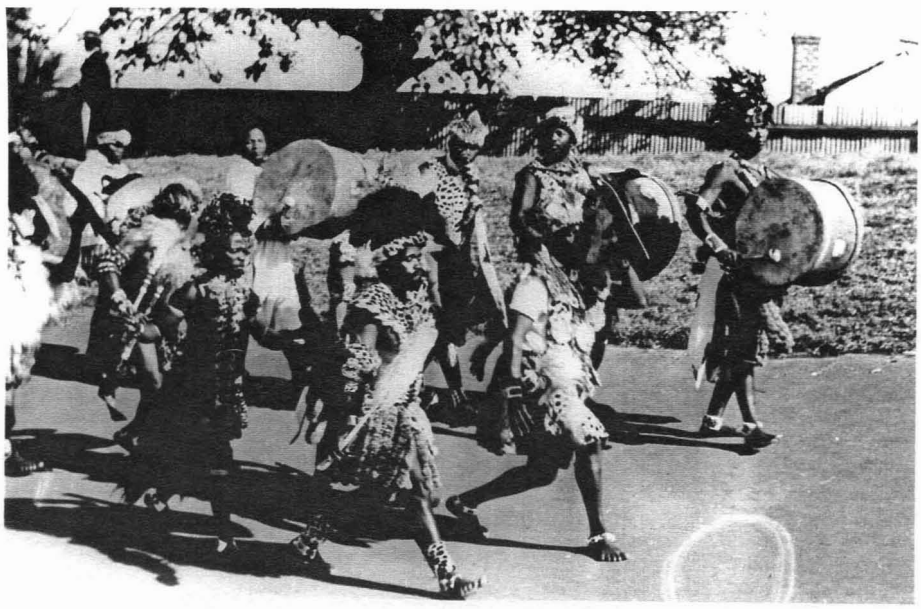


PLATE 65: Men dressed in dance uniform. 1954.
Source: Durban Local History Museum.

CHAPTER 7

WORK ETHIC OF MEMBERS OF THE NAZARETH BAPTIST CHURCH

Church uniforms are not only part of the sacred realm, but also form an integral part of the profane sphere. This sphere is concerned with informal money-making activity. Different goods and services (including ritual regalia) are produced for sale to different markets. In so doing, different statements are being made about the identities of the producers and users in different contexts. These are some of the issues to be disussed in this chapter. In addition, it will be shown that while members receive some sort of benefit, it is the Church which benefits most. The Church has been able to manipulate commercial pursuits to its own advantage.

Prior to this, a brief theoretical outline of the informal sector and related activity will be given in order to contribute to a fuller understanding of the Shembe data.

The "informal sector" concept, established by Hart in a seminar paper in the early 70's, and its acceptance by the International Labour Office, provided significant impetus to much study both abroad and in South Africa (See Dewar and Watson 1981; Rogerson 1985; Rudman 1988; Van der Waal and Sharp 1988). Initial attempts to understand this so-called informal sector were sterile attempts concerned largely with description, statistics and suveys aimed to determine the size of the informal sector and its geographical spread (Preston-Whyte and Rogerson 1991:3). As research work into the informal sector progressed, it became clear that two distinct and largely conflicting approaches to the study of the informal

sector concept had developed, namely the "dualist approach" and "petty commodity production" (Rogerson 1985:10).

The dualist approach emphasises a distinction between a "formal" and an "informal sector", with each sector viewed as completely independent of the other. In the past, the formal sector, often equated with the modern economy, was seen as being dragged down by a traditional or backward economy, or informal sector. More recently, possibly due to work by Hart (1973), the role of the informal sector was reassessed. The informal sector came to be regarded as an area providing employment and income to people considered of little or no use in the formal sector.

The petty commodity production approach, on the other hand, emphasises the relationship between a dominant economy and a subordinate one. The dominant economy is said to have a "controlling influence" over the subordinate one in such a way that the level of capital accumulation by the subordinate sector is minimized, thus perpetuating the subordinate sector dependence on the dominant sector (Rogerson 1985:28).

Wilkinson and Webster (1982) have attempted to move beyond the dualist and petty commodity approaches. In so doing, the focus is shifted from informal sector activity as a purely economic phenomenon to informal sector activity within a wider social and cultural context. Wilkinson and Webster (1982:5) regard petty commodity production as a "transitional form" of what they refer

to as "capitalist reproduction". The informal sector cannot be separated from the capitalist economy. Rather, it is inextricably bound up with it, that is, it occurs within the "interstices of the capitalist economy..." and exists to reproduce the labour force needed by the capitalist economy (Wilkinson and Webster 1982:5). The working class is forced into informal sector activity due to high levels of unemployment and the exclusive political system operational in South Africa. In terms of the latter, little provision is made for social security in the form of health care, education, transport, pensions and other benefits.

These informal activities are bound within a matrix of social relationships, which enables redistribution of income earned in the formal sector to the informal sector. More than this, those in the informal sector provide these goods and services at an affordable rate. This means that wages may be retained at a low level and the working class is providing its own security schemes, thereby relieving the State of any responsibility. In broad terms, the informal sector and its constituent social relationships serve to reproduce the social, political and economic inequalities.

Wilkinson and Webster's (1982) approach has merit in that it draws attention to the social dynamics in operation, but, as Van der Waal and Sharp (1988:146) suggest, the implication of this approach is that if poverty is to be dealt with, a complete annihilation of the existing capitalist order and the instigator of apartheid, the State, is required. Van der Waal and Sharp do

not find favour in a policy of annihilation. They believe that to propose that the informal sector only serves "to lower the costs for both the state and capital of reproducing the labour force and the working class "as a whole"...seems to us to be both a simplification and an unwarranted generalisation" (Van der Waal and Sharp 1988:146). Furthermore, they suggest the adoption of an inductive approach in place of the deductive one proposed by Wilkinson and Webster (1982). Van der Waal and Sharp state:

> The critical discourse tells us that we must consider the informal sector in aggregate in relation to society as a whole; this is clearly a very necessary step, but one needs also to go on from there to examine the particular manifestations of the phenomenon in specific historical contexts (1988:146).

Using the latter's suggestion, it is my intention in this chapter to analyse informal sector activity within the Nazareth Baptist Church. Informal sector activity has not always been a formally accepted practice within the Church. I aim to show that while the informal sector within the Church may have developed primarily as a response to the wider society (particularly as a means of economic relief), this has now been closely linked with the sacred domain and is perpetuated by the exhortations of Church leaders and theology. Economic activity is enmeshed within a web of social relationships which provide limitations and controls. Furthermore, informal sector activity within the Church does not preclude those involved in the formal sector. The latter, depending on their individual circumstances may, too, be involved in informal sector activity or be required to partake of goods produced by those engaged in informal activity. A dynamic relationship of inter-

dependence exists between those Church members in the informal economy and those in the formal economy.

Before looking at the situation that exists at Ebuhleni, it is necessary to supply some sort of outline of what informal sector activity is actually understood to encompass in its operation within the Nazareth Baptist Church context. Gerald Mars (1982), in his publication "Cheats At Work", has classified occupations according to the "way rewards are allocated within them..." (7). He makes a distinction between "official", "unofficial" and "alternative" economic activity (Mars 1982:8). Each category is sub-divided according to whether the rewards are legal or illegal/extra-legal. The unofficial rewards, both legal (informal rewards) and illegal (hidden economy rewards), are derived from official work and thus linked to official legal (formal) rewards. Official illegal (criminal) rewards are found in official statistics. Mars regards rewards from alternative economic activity as "distinct from official rewards, are allocated outside the official system and do not appear in official returns" (1982: 9).

It is with the alternative economic activity that I am most concerned in this thesis. However, this is not to say that those involved in alternative economic activity may not be a part of official work or use official rewards to capitalise or support an alternative economic activity.

7.1. ITEMS MADE AND SOLD BY MEMBERS OF THE NAZARETH BAPTIST CHURCH

Members of the AmaNazaretha Church make and sell a variety of items ranging from clothing and adornment used when dancing and at church, to beadwork items for sale to the tourist market. It is, however, not only items which are produced for sale, but services too.

Goods and services made available by Shembeites can be divided into three categories according to the type of goods or service being made available and the market for which they are intended. The first category consists of those items made specifically for religious use, such as clothing and adornment (particularly beadwork) worn by members of the Shembe Church for dancing and when at church, and musical instruments, hymnbooks etcetera. This category will be referred to as "Religious Regalia and Instruments". The second category consists of those items which are restricted to consumption by Shembe members and the African market only. This category shall be termed "Restricted Commodities", while the third category will be discussed under the heading "Unrestricted Commodities". The latter category comprises goods which are made available to all markets, in particular, the tourist market. These goods are sold primarily at beachfront venues.

The items made and sold by Shembeites at Ebuhleni may be purchased from shops, the styles of which range from serving hatches to small, walk-in superette-type structures (PLATES 66+67).

Alternatively, the goods may merely be arrayed on newspaper on the ground outside a maker's dwelling (PLATE 68). Some may sit and sell their goods along the main thoroughfares, while others leave their goods with shopowners who display them in their shops and sell to any interested parties, giving any proceeds to the makers later in the day (PLATE 69). Some makers make only for orders and have no need to physically go out and sell their goods.

Anyone may open a shop or sell goods at Ebuhleni, provided they are members of the Church. There is no prohibition on women manning shops situated in the men's section, or on unmarried girls setting up shop in the married women's section. One married woman, Mrs Ma., runs a shop for her husband in the married women's section. All proceeds from the sale of the stock owned by the husband accrue to him, while any monies from the sale of the beadwork and church uniforms she makes and sells in the shop are hers.

Men, women and girls who make clothes, beadwork or any other items, may sit with others who are making or may sit individually, as they wish. Some girls and women who own sewing machines, usually the "Singer" handmachine as there is no electricity at Ebuhleni, may sit inside or outside (PLATE 70).

It is against this background that I now enter into a detailed description of each of the categories of items made by those at Ebuhleni, focussing particularly on the manufacture of the goods

and the prices charged for the goods. Following this, I will discuss reasons, many of which are proposed by Shembe people themselves, as to why they make and sell goods and services, and the possible implications this informal sector activity has for Shembe people themselves.

7.1.1. Category 1 : Religious Regalia And Instruments

All items of religious regalia and paraphernalia used during worship within the Nazareth Baptist Church are included in this category. With the exception of a few items, for example, the tartan skirt (ISIKOTSHI), some necklets (UMGEXO), umbrellas, hymnbooks and so on, most items are made by Shembe people themselves.

There tends to be a division of labour on the basis of gender as regards what unifoms and types of adornment are made, although either gender may undertake the making of any uniform or type of adornment if they wish.

Unmarried girls and married women usually concentrate on the making of dancing clothes for all females, and church clothes and beadwork for all males and females. There is no limitation on unmarried girls making married women's clothing, although the unmarried girls tend to make for other unmarried girls, particularly as regards the more western-style dancing uniforms. Even though the headdress (INHLOKO) is worn only by married women, it does not prevent it from being made by unmarried girls. Men are

not precluded from making the church and dancing clothing worn by the unmarried girls and married women. One Shembe male, Mr Mth., told me that his father was a tailor and made church uniforms (UMNAZARETHA). However, these outfits tend to be made mainly by Shembe females.

Beadwork, too, is most often made by the unmarried girls and women. In one case, when talking to a married woman, Mrs Te., about making wristbands (IZIHLAKALA), I asked if men were allowed to make beadwork. She replied in the affirmative, but stated that "it is difficult for them". Mrs Da. said that men do not do beadwork because "they don't know how to make". Mrs Nx. said: "Men fail to do this. It is not their work, they fail to do this". She stated that there is a division of labour and few women will make the skin buttock covering (IBHESHU) because "this is usually man's work". The only type of beading that one may commonly see a man doing is that of threading large plastic beads (AMAQANDA) onto strings. These form neckbands, at the end of which hang framed pictures of Shembe (IFOTO).

There is indeed, then, a division of labour which, to a large extent, replicates that related by Krige (1950) in her compilation concerning the social structure of Zulu society in the 19th and early 20th Century. Krige states: "Nowadays, the beadwork ornaments worn by young men are always presents from the girls, for men do not do beadwork..." (1950:118). Shembe women and unmarried girls, as producers of beadwork, are assuming

traditional roles, although an economic element is introduced as this beadwork is now primarily sold and not given as gifts. The emphasis on "tradition" is also obvious when one analyses the acquisition of beading skills by Shembe beadmakers.

Many unmarried girls and women learn how to do beadwork from their sisters or mothers when young, or from their peers at Ebuhleni. For example, a married woman said she learnt to make beadwork from other married women at KwaMthethwa where she lives. She said that all people of the area are members of the Church. A group of unmarried girls said that they learnt to make beadwork from "churching here" (Ebuhleni). A married woman who makes beadwork and clothing said that she was "a Zulu people" (sic) and learnt her beading skills from other girls who used to wear beadwork. As a result, learning to make Shembe beadwork was easy for her.

Many of the women and girls are using the beading techniques they learnt as youngsters, either as members of the Church or prior to becoming members. They are taught traditional skills which they are able to use in the Church. By applying these techniques to Nazareth Baptist Church beadwork designs, makers are saying something about Church membership, as well as their identity as "African People".

The use of traditional skills and division of labour in the Shembe Church is also evident, I believe, when referring to the making of dancing clothes for men and boys. According to Krige,

traditionally among Zulu-speaking peoples skin dressing "is the province of men, though women appear to help in the rubbing of garments to make them supple" (1950:211). The manufacture of skin clothing, such as the buttock covering (IBHESHU), apron (ISINENE) and headdress (UMQHELE), worn by Shembe men during dancing is usually the work of males. Women can, and do, make clothing of skin for males, although they are in the minority. An item of skin clothing usually made by women is the ISIDWABA, the skirt worn by women for dancing. Shields used by males and females are usually made by men. Skin-working, then, is essentially a male domain. This goes hand-in-hand with traditional roles where there was a male emphasis on hunting and herding, that is, on all those activities involving animals from which skins were obtained for use.

The prices of items of both clothing and beadwork are more or less calculated in the same way. Beadwork prices are determined by adding together the cost of beads, time taken to make the particular article and the "pain" that making causes, that is, the discomfort to the hands and eyes. The cost of the fabric, the number of outfits that can be made from the fabric, and the desired profit are all taken into account in the calculation of the prices of church uniforms and dancing clothes. Similarly, when making skin items, prices are worked out according to the cost price of the skin, the number of skins used in the manufacture of the item, time taken and discomfort to the hands and eyes. A man who makes frontal covers (ISINENE) said that if someone makes

"something beautiful, then the price is high", but if not, then "the price is low". Profit margins differ from maker to maker resulting in different prices. Some makers compared the situation at Ebuhleni to that in Durban where prices also vary from shop to shop. Individual makers usually decide their own prices, although those living together, for example, a group of unmarried girls, may decide their prices together.

There tend to be two main credit systems operating among members. One is a lay-bye system whereby a buyer is required to pay a deposit and takes ownership of the item when the item is fully paid up. Some makers and sellers operate on a "buy now, pay later" scheme, but this is usually only if the buyer is well-known to the seller and is to be trusted. Some operate on a "cash only, one off payment". Mrs Ngc. said: "I don't sell for credit because when I buy, I buy for cash".

As mentioned in Chapter 2, buying and selling at Ebuhleni is not permitted on the Sabbath, although this may occur "illegally". If a Shembe member is in Durban, she/he may buy. Shops close at night at Ebuhleni.

What people decide to make depends a lot on the money they are able to earn from the sale of the item and on the skills they have acquired. One woman said that she makes church uniforms because beadwork is not her "talent". One woman said she would like to make uniforms, but has no money to buy a sewing machine or to pay

for formal sewing lessons, so she makes beadwork and pillowcases instead. There are no formal sewing lessons given at Ebuhleni. Rather, the "lessons are to come with a machine and watch" (UMPATHI). People, therefore, learn how to make these uniforms by copying others. One maker of the straight headdress (INHLOKO) said she learnt her skills from others at Ebuhleni. She said she knows how to make beadwork, but prefers to make the INHLOKO as it takes "too long to make one thing" (referring to beadwork). Another married woman who makes the beaded headband (UMNQWAZI), anklets (AMADAVATHI) and the INHLOKO, said that it is possible to make these things quite quickly, and she gets more money from these items than she would if she had to make sets of beaded rolled bands (UMBHAMBA). She said that beads are expensive and other items are smaller and quicker to make, also "people will buy them everytime". Beads (size 11/0) used in the making of beadwork may be purchased in Durban, but makers usually buy in the areas from which they come.

In Table 2, I include a brief outline of the approximate cost to provision oneself with complete requirements of dress and adornment. This is an approximation, using mean costs for the period 1989 to 1993. Approximate costs for a member purchasing a dance uniform and a church uniform have been given. Allowances have been made for two dance uniforms for the unmarried girls. Estimates for a family of four (man, woman, girl and child) have also been given. An approximation of business generated in the Church is also given. Only a tentative estimate is possible,

because membership of the Church is not known and leaders and members were unable to provide any figures. A membership figure of 250 000 in 1977 was mentioned by Becken (1978:163), but certain factors, for example, the split in the Church in 1978, would have affected this.

In order for a member to dance, he/she must be fully attired in the required regalia. This could take many years if large sums of money are not available and if a family is large. The lay-bye system aids in purchasing. I also suggest that there is incentive to produce clothing to wear and to sell in order to obtain money. Some money will be used to purchase clothing not personally made. As Table 2 shows, the Church is creating a vast amount of business which is supplied by Shembe members, many of whom attend the July Festival at Ebuhleni.

Table 3 contains prices, given to me by different makers, of some religious regalia and instruments. I have included, where available, the highest and the lowest prices in the range. These prices are not meant as a complete, statistically accurate record, but rather an indication of the types of prices charged for each item. Prices given are as they were in 1989. Table 4 shows a comparison of prices charged in 1989 and 1992/3 for some items of religious regalia. It may be deduced from Table 4 that prices at Ebuhleni are inflation-related.

Clothing (fabric) and Adornment (besides beadwork)

Table 3 indicates that items of religious regalia incorporating beadwork and leatherwork are usually more expensive than items made of cloth. This is largely due to the great expenditure of time and effort to produce bead items and skin clothing. For example, the red cloth skirt (UTUBHANE) and western-style clothing (IPINK and IBLACK AND WHITE) take, on average, one day to complete. Most often the UTUBHANE is not made by specialist makers, but by the wearers themselves as it is said to be a simple pleated style requiring little effort. Similarly, wire kneebands (IZINSENGO), simple in design, are made by the wearers.

Mrs Gu. was selling the boy's ISIKOTSHI outfit which she had made. She was charging R27 in 1992 for the headdress, skirt, shirt and bowtie, each of which had taken her about 30 minutes to make. She obtains her fabric from a shop in Durban. Mrs Fa., maker of the UMTSHEKO or INGUBO YOMGIDI, the black cloak worn by married women when dancing, buys her fabric from any shop in Durban. The pompoms she makes herself using wool.

Some outfits, for example, the tartan skirt worn as part of the western-style ISIKOTSHI outfit by girls, is not made by dressmakers at Ebuhleni, but used to be obtainable from Indian-owned shops in Durban. I was informed that these skirts cost in the region of R50,00 each some time ago, but are not easily acquirable today. As a result, dressmakers at Ebuhleni who may have made the shirts worn with the skirts, rarely make the shirts

today.

Some necklets, for example, the commercially-produced UMGEXO, are purchased in Durban, one particular spot being at Berea station near the market, and then resold at Ebuhleni. The badges (IFOTO) worn by Shembe people are usually made from glass and metal. Some makers buy plastic heart-shaped keyrings, plastic pendants on gold-painted metal chains, and metal pendants onto which are pasted photos of Isaiah, Galilee and Amos Shembe. Some makers take their own photographs or purchase them from an Indian-owned studio in Durban.

Beadwork

Beadwork takes a lot longer to produce than items of cloth. For example, the set of beaded rolls (UMBHAMBA) and beaded frontal apron (INEME) may each take up to a month to complete working on and off, while smaller items such as the headband (UMNQWAZI), anklets (AMADAVATHI) and wristlets (IZIHLAKALA) may each take as long as two weeks to complete.

When girls and women are making a piece of beadwork, for example, the UMNQWAZI, a string of beads is held between the lips, and the piece of beadwork on which they are working is held in the hand. A certain number of beads, depending on the pattern being worked on but usually in groups of three at a time, are transferred from the string in the mouth to the needle and threaded onto the cotton attached to the body of beadwork in their hands. The beads are threaded into the body of beadwork. If a maker wishes to stop

beading in mid-course, any loose beads, the bead string from which she is taking beads and the piece of beadwork are placed in a tin, enamel or plastic plate until the work is taken up again. I was told that if a girl "understood early", she could make a good piece of beadwork as young as fourteen years old.

Preston-Whyte (1988) and Preston-Whyte and Thorpe (1989a) have suggested a broad classification of Zulu beaded articles being made at present. Preston-Whyte divides beadwork into two main groups, the first, encompassing those items made for an internal market and the second, concerning beadwork produced for an external market. The beadwork made for the internal market consists largely of beadwork made for "use within the black community" (1988:65). These items of beadwork may be made for personal use, given as gifts or sold. The sale and production of this beadwork is influenced by internal demand. The beadwork produced for the external market usually involves a money transaction. This beadwork comprises three different types, namely, curios and ethnic jewellery aimed at the local and overseas tourist; fashion jewellery produced for local and overseas tourists and the fashion market; and thirdly, objet d'art including bead sculptures produced for art collectors. The production and sale of beadwork for the external market may be influenced by "middlemen" who may be either philanthropically or commercially motivated.

Beadwork, used by Shembe members during church services and

dancing, is produced for personal consumption or for sale. What needs to be considered in attempting to classify this Shembe beadwork is for whom the items are predominantly produced. Some Shembe people are adamant that they would not sell their dancing beadwork or church beadwork to non-Shembe people or "outsiders" (either black or white). Those willing to sell to outsiders do not make a point of doing so, and rather concentrate on selling to Shembeites.

A group of unmarried girls said that they would not sell their beadwork to a non-Shembe person because "Shembe people need these things more" and "people not under Shembe don't want these things because they don't use them". A married woman who makes beadwork said she will not sell the beaded headdress (IKHULU) to non-Shembe people for dancing. She will sell "only to Shembe's people". She refuses to sell to non-Shembe people because "they won't wear it". This viewpoint was reiterated by members on numerous occasions.

The above, to some extent, contradicts the view of the current Leader, Mr Amos Shembe (see Appendix 4):

> GM: Now would they be able to sell their own beadwork ?
> SHEMBE: They can make beadwork for sale.
> GM: And to non-Shembe people, I mean, for example, to whites ?
> SHEMBE: I think so, yes.
> GM: It would be all right, their own stuff ?
> SHEMBE: Ya, they can sell.

Numerous members, too, said that they would sell their beadwork

for dancing and church services to non-Shembeites. A married woman, when asked if she would sell her UMNQWAZI if she was wearing it to town and a white asked to buy it, said she would sell it to anyone. A group of old married women said that they could sell their own beadwork to others in town, be they non-Shembe or white. They then said, however, that they would order the desired items from makers, but would not sell their own as they are not able to make new ones for themselves. I asked a group of married women who make beadwork if they knew of a rule against the sale of beadwork and clothes to non-Shembe people. They said there was no rule because the clothing is "traditional". They said they would sell their things to whites. Another married woman, when asked if there was a law against selling to non-Shembe people, said "no" because people "buy with their money". Another, when asked if she would sell her UMNQWAZI to me, said she would as she wants money to buy things to sell in the shop she tends for her husband. Beadwork used for church services and dancing is thus not blessed or empowered by the Church and so, can be alienated.

Another interesting response I received was from Ms Na. who sells fruit and vegetables at Umgababa. She said she tried to sell the white lacy necklet (UMGEXO) at Umgababa, but tourists "never bought it".

There are three interesting viewpoints being presented here, namely, there are those who will not sell to non-Shembeites; secondly, there are others who are prepared to sell to non-

Shembeites; and thirdly, there is the person who tried to sell to whites, but the latter would not buy. These responses, I believe, can in some way be interpreted and understood by applying a semiotic approach in their analysis.

Preston-Whyte and Thorpe (1989a), using a semiotic approach, analyse the different types of beadwork produced. They argue that producers and consumers are locked into a cycle of communication between themselves which may be influenced by "middlemen". In the cycle of communication, "attention is focused on the messages which have...been encoded in the form and decoration of each item...and which give content to the communication between producer and buyer" (1989a:127). Furthermore: "The communication between producer and consumer is of a symbolic nature and may not be fully recognised by either or both" (Preston-Whyte 1988:62). Beadwork produced for internal consumption may convey "cultural" messages, that is, "one which will pinpoint the social identity of the wearer on some future ceremonial occasion" (Preston-Whyte 1988:63). On the other hand, a white tourist who purchases an ethnic curio may believe it to communicate something of " "Africa's Past" ", or it is seen as "typically Zulu". Purchase of the same item by a black person may make political statements of "identification with national values and identity" (Preston-Whyte and Thorpe 1989a:130-1).

I suggest that those Shembeites who will not sell ritual regalia to non-members are making a statement about who the Shembe people

are and their allegiance to God and the Church expressed through their beadwork. This message of religious identity is understood by the consumers, Shembe people. It is not understood by outsiders, evident in the case of the woman who could not sell her beadwork to whites despite trying. Those who said they would sell to non-Shembeites have not necessarily sold to these people and do not usually sell to them. They can be seen, however, to be keeping all their market options open, and if they do sell, the message of the transaction will be purely economic and aesthetic. That is, Shembeites will sell to obtain money, while the consumers buy because of the aesthetic value of the object and not because it suggests any religious intent. If the message was purely ethnic, for example, one of "Zuluness", then this beadwork should be readily sold to all Zulu-speaking people. It seems then that, on the basis of the above analysis, Shembe beadwork for sacred use is part of the internal market, albeit a specialised internal market limited usually to members of the Shembe Church.

Skin-working

Skin-working is labour intensive because skins require much dressing before use. A male shield maker said that he purchases skins from others at Ebuhleni. The latter buy skins in Durban. One married woman "deals" in skins. She buys her skins from people who are "hunters" and sells to those who make skin outfits.

A married woman, maker of the skin skirt (ISIDWABA) for married women, said Shembe (Isaiah) taught her how to make the ISIDWABA by "pictures" when she was asleep (presumably she was referring to

dreams). She outlined the process of making the ISIDWABA. She said she gets her skins from people "who have had parties". Firstly, she removes the hair from the skin (ISIKHUMBA) using a knife. This she does with the skin lying on the ground (PLATE 71). She then wets the skin and puts it onto pegs (IZIBONDA) which are hammered into the ground. While the skin is stretched out on the pegs she uses an instrument (ISIKHUHLO), made of nails bound to a wooden block using string, to rub the skin. The rubbing is a back and forth motion over the skin (PLATE 72). When the rubbing is complete, the skin is removed from the pegs and a mixture of sunlight soap and cooking oil is poured onto it. The skin is rubbed together in a washing motion. When the skin is dry, it is softened by chewing. The skin is then cut and sewn to form the ISIDWABA (PLATE 73).

After sewing the skin into the desired garment, the maker rubs on charcoal/ashes from a fire to blacken it so that it may be used for dancing. The skin used in making the ISIDWABA for dancing is cowhide. Some of the ISIDWABA are not blackened, but left plain. The plain ones are made of goat-skin.

Woodcarving and Basketwork

Woodcarving and basketwork are skills used in the manufacture of some items of religious importance. Wood, INCEMA (species of short rush - Shaw 1974:156; 1992) and ILALA palm leaf[1] are more easily accessible (especially for those living in rural areas) and cheaper to buy than skins or beads.

The sticks (IZIMBHOKO) that men carry at night, at the opening of the July Festival and when walking to Nhlangakazi, sell for R5,00 each. A craft which is stick-related, but is done by women, again in accordance with the traditional division of labour, is stick beading. A married woman beads IWISA sticks. The IWISA stick, carried by the bridegroom on the day of his wedding, is given to him by the bride. The stick, which is short, is covered with cloth from beneath its head to a quarter of the way down. Beadwork covers the cloth.

The "ICOCKBOX"/UMNCEDO (penis sheath), worn by old men, is made from the seed of the ILALA palm tree. One maker, a male, obtains the seeds at Scottburgh when he visits there, although he himself lives at Tongaat. The seed is hollowed out to form an opening at one end. The UMNCEDO sells for R5,00. Leaf from the ILALA palm is also used in the manufacture of the married woman's headdress (INHLOKO).

One married woman who makes the straight INHLOKO while at Ebuhleni described the process of manufacture. Firstly, she makes a base of ILALA palm. She obtains her ILALA from Hluhluwe, Natal. ILALA is also available for purchase at Ebuhleni. One woman buys the ILALA in KwaZulu and then sells it to others at Ebuhleni for R6,00 a bundle (INYANDA).

The INHLOKO maker cuts the long fronds of ILALA into strips about one millimetre in diameter. The ends of the strips of ILALA, which

are naturally joined, are soaked for a few minutes in a container of water (hot or cold) in order to separate them. Two single strips are taken, one in each hand. One strip is placed over the other to form a 90 degree angle at the point of overlap. The strip that lies underneath is pulled over the other to create a loop through which the latter strip is pulled to form a knot. This procedure is repeated with numerous strips to form many knotted pieces.

When enough knotted pieces have been made, one knotted piece is placed beneath another and the long ends of the strips are weaved together so that the two knotted pieces are now linked (PLATE 74). This is done with many knotted pieces until a long length of joined knotted pieces is formed, that is, it is long enough to fit around the circumference of the head. The ends of the knotted pieces are woven together using an over-under technique (PLATE 75). Every now and then water is splashed onto the ILALA so that it can be easily worked. This style of making is the diagonal twill style, used also in the manufacture of beerstrainers (see Shaw 1992).

The maker then works on weaving the strips together to form the height of the headdress. When the desired height of the INHLOKO is attained, the excess strip is cut off and the remainder is threaded back into the body of the weaving to form a finished edge which will ultimately rest on the head. Any protruding ends are cut off, as are the ends which lie just beneath the original

knots that were made. The area just above the knotted end is splashed with water to make it flexible. It is then bent over so that the knots are on the underside of the INHLOKO and a neat edge is formed. This end now becomes the top of the INHLOKO.

On completion of the ILALA base, a black netting (ULWEMBU or UTSHODO) is placed over the outside of the palm base (PLATE 76). The ULWEMBU is purchased from shops in Durban at R7,00 a metre. The netting has a loose weave so that small gaps in the weave are visible. Thick factory-made string is weaved through the gaps to form a ridged pattern. In place of the thick factory-made string, some makers prefer to use fibre. Fibre strands, taken from the UZI tree, are wet in order to make it easier to work. The strands are rolled together to form a thick string of fibre which is weaved through the netting. Traditionally, string was made by rolling the fibre. Krige (1950:208) states that "a number of single fibres may be rolled together to make string for weaving...".

The weaved netting is then sewn onto the ILALA base using thin string. After the netting is attached to the ILALA base, the maker cuts a round of cardboard, the shape and size to fit into the top of the INHLOKO. The cardboard is then covered with material, usually red or brown in colour, and fitted into the top of the headdress. Hair, from anyone, is placed on the top of the material-covered cardboard so that it lies flush with the top of the ILALA base.

The entire headdress, excluding the area just above where the INHLOKO is placed on the head, is covered with red powder called INTSOYI (ISIBHUDA). The INTSOYI is mixed with Holsum fat and spread evenly over the headdress. INTSOYI may be bought from sellers at Ebuhleni. It costs about 50c a spoonful (1991).

INTSOYI is also used in the making of the round INHLOKO (PLATE 77). The round INHLOKO is made in a slightly different way to that of the straight INHLOKO. INGONGONI grass is arranged in a circle, covered with a cloth (usually red) and bound with string. The size of the circle is measured using a 5 litre paint tin. This grass piece forms the top of the headdress. In order to make the sides of the INHLOKO, banana leaves are used. The banana leaves, which are well dried, are packed into a circular shape and covered with cloth. The entire structure is then covered with the string/fibre-weaved netting and spread with INTSOYI. The round INHLOKO has no crown of hair.

The ISIBHAMBA is made of rush (INCEMA) which is also used in the making of mats. Makers may gather INCEMA in areas in which they live when away from Ebuhleni. Some collect in KwaZulu and sell to those at Ebuhleni. The purchase price of a bundle is about R2,00 (1989), but this varies depending upon the size of the bundle. One Shembeite mentioned to me that she goes by car to Esikhawini and buys her own supply for R100,00.

Mats are used for sitting or kneeling during church services

and for sitting and sleeping in dwellings. A mat used during church services is referred to as ISICEPHU, while that used in dwellings is called ICANSI. As in the manufacture of beadwork, the makers are female and many learnt to make mats when they were young, either from their mothers (some of whom were also Shembeites) or from their peers at Ebuhleni and elsewhere. Some only start making mats when they become aged and fine work required in beading becomes more difficult. One woman said she makes mats instead of beadwork because "she is old".

Three pertinent points can be made concerning the manufacture of mats. Firstly, some provision is made for the aged, that is, they do not become redundant. People who grow old and have difficulty in doing the eyestraining beadwork are offered an alternative in mat-making. Secondly, while some Shembeites learnt their mat-making skills when very young, others are able to learn from those at Ebuhleni. This seems to suggest that Shembeites are not over-protective of their skills. They are prepared to share those skills even though increased competition is imminent. Thirdly, by mat-making, people are making use of a craft or skill used traditionally to support themselves. According to Krige, "mat-making and the plaiting of beersieves and ropes for thatching are done by women" (1950:184).

A loom-type instrument (IPULANGWE) is used in the making of mats. It consists of a large, vertical piece of wood on four small legs. Along the top edge of the wood there are many little grooves. A

piece of white string lies over each groove. Attached to each end of the sections of string are large batteries which hang down the sides of the wood. A piece of rush is placed along the top of the wood over all the strings in the grooves. Each battery is then flipped over the rush so that the battries now lie on opposite sides of the wood and loops of string are formed to hold the rush. Another piece of rush is then placed on top of the previous one and the batteries are flipped again. This continues for every piece of rush until the required length of the mat is reached (PLATE 78).

Some makers decorate the mat by embroidering small square shapes of coloured wool. Mat-making and decoration is not a recent development. Roberts (1936) mentions the mat-making industry as existing during Isaiah and Galilee Shembes' time. She states that she "was shown beautifully woven rush mats with circular designs of deep red, purple and blue" (67).

Many makers use the patterns and colours they do on mats because they "look beautiful". Another said she uses "all colours which are bright for mats because it is beautiful". She said she uses the square shapes because "people buy the mats when she uses these shapes". One maker, Mrs Dla., provided "meanings" of mat colours (see Chapter 6). However, as this was the only case discovered it seems more of an exception than commonly shared. Despite this, the use of mat colours to make statements cannot be disregarded. It seems that the use of colour often distinguishes those mats used

for church services from those used for daily actvity.

A definite difference seems to exist between those mats used for church and those for everyday use. One of the distinguishing features brought to my attention was the use of colour decoration on church mats as opposed to plain mats for profane use. Mrs Dla. said that the church mat is decorated "to be beautiful for the Sabbath". The church mat is used for church only and is usually patterned, although a plain mat may be used. A patterned mat cannot be used for sitting unless it is old and no longer used for church. Ms Sib. said that while the mats are made in the same way, the owner differentiates. A church mat should not be used for daily use because "things for church must always be clean like the UMNAZARETHA which you can't just wear anywhere. The church mat, like the UMNAZARETHA, can't be dirty" (Ms Sib.). This view was echoed by numerous members. Spiritual and physical cleanliness in church is thus linked, emphasised and set apart from profane daily activities. Sacred usage is expressed in terms of outer and inner cleanliness.

It is the decoration and colour on the mats which assists, to some degree, in making the distinction between the two levels, the sacred and profane. Roberts too, alludes to the sacred use of decorated mats. She mentions that:

> Several of these mats [beautifully woven rush mats] are hung on the walls of the buildings used as churches, and are prized as decorations. Each member of the church, including the smallest child, has his own sitting mat which he must take to services and all these mats are made at Ekuphakameni (1936:67).

Mats become part of sacred regalia once possessed and used in the sacred context.

Miscellaneous

Bundles of IMPEPHO plants are also sold at Ebuhleni. Sellers are providing a product which assists in facilitating contact between the individual and the AMADLOZI (see Chapter 2). In return, sellers receive remuneration for their efforts. Contact with the sacred realm is also facilitated through the use of church books which are sold at Ebuhleni.

Blue Seal vaseline is sold at many of the roadside spaza shops in Ebuhleni. Among the Shembe people the use of any medicines or UMUTHI is not permitted. The only medicines to be used are water and vaseline which have been blessed by Shembe. A married woman said that they "can't use UMUTHI, because if Mr Shembe said you are going to be all right then we trust in Mr Shembe because he prays for us".

Musical instruments are also made by those at Ebuhleni for particular use during religious dances. A long pipe of tin (IMBOMU), rather like a hunting horn, usually painted silver or decorated with plastic or coloured insulation tape, takes about a day to make. Makers are usually males.

Some at Ebuhleni also make the ISIGUBU, or drum, which consists of a piece of tin bent in a circular shape, or part of a large 40 gallon drum, with cowhide stretched over each opening. Mrs Ngc.

obtains reject tin drums from Durban. The skin to be used is usually soaked for one week and then measured for size. The skin is dried and all hair removed. The side that is played is completely hairless, while overlapping pieces may still have remnants of hair. The hide is screwed on, or strips of skin are used to tie hide over the tin. The drum is played while in the drummer's arms, resting against the chest, or it may be drummed while on the ground. While any stick may be used, a stick with a tennis ball attached to the end is often preferred. A piece of tyre or rubber may be used instead of a ball. These are only a few of the musical instruments played while dancing. There are others used which are commercially-bought.

According to Ms Zibane, my assistant, the use of many different kinds of musical instruments during dancing is drawn from the Bible, for example, Psalms 149:3;150:3-6. The manufacture, sale and use of horns and drums links the profane economic sphere and sacred religious sphere. The individual, in the profane sphere, makes musical instruments which are sold for his own profit, but it is during communal sacred activities that these musical instruments are used.

7.1.2. Category 2 : Restricted Commodities

The second category consists of all items and services, besides those already discussed, sold to people at Ebuhleni and some items which are made by Shembeites, but are sold on the African market only. The items made and sold are functional-type items which

range from the more traditional-type craftwork to clothing for everyday wear.

Handbrooms are made at Ebuhleni. These brooms, made by women, are composed of INGONGONI grass and wire binding. This type of broom was also made traditionally, although materials used differed, for example, binding was usually done with fibre, grass, or ox-tail hair (Grossert 1978:27). The Shembe-made broom is an adaptation of the traditional item, using the same skills and those materials which may be easily found today. Handbrooms, which are sold to people at Ebuhleni, cost R2,00 in 1993.

Headrings made of grass and used on the head when carrying a load, are also made for sale at Ebuhleni. The headring, called INKHATHA, cost R1,50 (1989).

Another item produced at Ebuhleni is the beerstrainer (IVOVO or IHLUZO). A woman who came to Ebuhleni from Inkandla, KwaZulu because her husband was ill, said she is "learning to do AMAVOVO. AMAVOVO are used when you make Zulu liquor. They used it to remove all dirty things". Another maker, a Shembeite from birth, learnt to make beerstrainers at Ebuhleni. She makes the strainer using ILALA palm and the diagonal twill method used also in the manufacture of the headdress (INHLOKO). Beerstrainers cost from R1-R2 each (1989). The beerstrainers made by those at Ebuhleni are like those made and used by women traditionally (see Krige 1950:58,207). Beerstrainers are restricted for sale on the African

market to those who are not members of this Church. This is because Shembeites are not permitted to partake of beer or any alcoholic beverage. Mrs Mpu. said that "everyone, those not Shembe people, can buy". Numerous Shembe people quoted Biblical verses in support of their views, for example, Numbers 6:2-4 and Judges 13:4. Two points come out of the preceding analysis. Firstly, the traditional division of labour is being adhered to and traditional skills are being made use of, and secondly, the strainer is made for the purpose of straining beer, a substance considered intoxicating and forbidden to Shembe people. Nevertheless, despite not being permitted to use the beerstrainers, Shembeites are still allowed to use the skills that they have acquired, and put them to good use in making objects for sale to obtain money in order to survive. A similar sort of argument pertains to the making of beer pot covers.

Beer pot covers (IZIMBENGE), traditionally made and used "to cover the clay ukhamba when it was filled with beer..." (Grossert 1978:17), are made by Shembe women, but sold to non-Shembeites. The IZIMBENGE cost R25 each (1989), while beerspoons (IZIKHETHO) and beermops (IZISHANGUZO) cost R2,00 each (1991).

Beadwork items used for daily wear at Ebuhleni are produced by female members. Daisy chain anklets, for example, are made using large plastic beads (AMAQANDA) and are called IZIGQIZO, but are not related to the type worn for dancing. These cost R2 a set in 1989. Mrs Khu., from Swaziland makes seed necklets which sold for

R3,50 - R4,00 at Ebuhleni in 1991. She collects the seeds and dyes them using dye purchased from a market in Swaziland.

Balls of clay (IBOMVU) are made by members of the AmaNazaretha Church for use by those at Ebuhleni. The IBOMVU, usually applied to the face, is used instead of cream as a sun protection preparation. It is also used on babies suffering from smallpox. It supposedly has the same properties as calamine lotion. An unmarried girl said she collects the clay from KwaBiyela, KwaZulu, where she lives. She digs it out from under the soil, adds a little water and rolls it into small rounds with her hands. A ball cost 40c (1989) (PLATE 79).

Pillowcases are also made and sold by girls and women at Ebuhleni. Some makers embroider different patterns in coloured cotton onto the pillowcase, while others use "Pencraft" to pen on a design. One maker, who makes for girls who are about to marry, gets ideas for patterns from newspapers and magazines. Makers often learn these skills from others who make at Ebuhleni. Pillowcases cost R7 each (1991).

Women and girls also make tray cloths and beaded food nets which are sold at Ebuhleni. One woman decorates food nets with pieces of fabric. These food nets cost R3,50 (1989). She also crochets sets of cloths which sold for R20 a set (1989). Another type of tray cloth made is that of wool and plastic sacking. Coloured wool is weaved through the warp and weft of the sacking to form patterns.

These tray cloths cost R3 each in 1989. One maker said she learnt to make tray cloths at school.

Jerseys are also made at Ebuhleni. An old married woman said she she used to make jerseys and sell them to people in KwaMashu. She learnt her knitting skills from a white woman for whom she had been working. Another woman was taught by her mother (also a member) to make scarves. She sells them to people at Ebuhleni and at her home in KwaZulu. Women also make money at Ebuhleni by selling second-hand clothing.

Other items, not necessarily made at Ebuhleni but sold there, include postcards, photographs of Shembe and Ebuhleni, and large framed pictures of the Mountain, Nhlangakazi. Postcards and photos cost from between R1,50 and R2 in 1989, while a large framed photo sold for up to R12,50. Posters of Nhlangakazi cost R35 in 1993. The sellers either take their own photographs or buy from photographers (non-members) who visit Ebuhleni in July to take the photographs.

Door signs bearing the DUMISANI UJEHOVA greeting cost R3 in 1991. T-shirts bearing the name of the Church cost R10 (1993), while bumper stickers advertising the Church cost R1,50 each in 1991. Tape recordings of the KwaMashu Nazareth Baptist Church Choir sold for R15 in 1991.

Other items which may be sold at Ebuhleni include foodstuffs, such

as cakes, sweets, chips, colddrinks, tea, sugar, meat, vegetables (onions, tomatoes, potatoes, beans, cabbages) and fruit (apples and bananas). Much of what people sell at Ebuhleni is what they cultivate at their homes. Some who sell fruit and vegetables at Ebuhleni may also sell at markets in their home towns. Paraffin, foam matrasses, cloth bags, plastic utensils, jewellery and commercial cosmetics are also obtainable at Ebuhleni. Disinfectant is sold in small quantities (200ml liquor bottles) which cost R2 each in 1991. Disinfectant is used in washing water. Glycerine, used on the hair, is sold in 200ml liquor bottles. A bottle cost R3 in 1991.

Shembe men make wooden meat dishes in the "traditional shape" (see Grossert 1978:43). Meat dish makers are also working within the traditional division of labour where woodworkers were traditionally men (Krige 1936:209). Large meat dishes sold for R70 and small ones cost R38 in 1989 at Ebuhleni. Other wooden items, for example, sticks for everyday use, are also made by men. These cost R5 in 1989.

Funnels of tin, painted silver, are made by male members and are sold to those living at Ebuhleni. One particular male had established himself as a funnel maker and repairer of primus stoves (PLATE 80). Another male repairs sewing machines and makes tents. Tents varied in price according to the style of manufacture, but cost, on average, R180 in 1991.

A male Shembeite makes straps, used to harness animals during ploughing, and whips. He learnt his skills from "older people". In 1991 straps cost R2,50 and whips, R12 each (PLATE 81).

One important service offered at Ebuhleni, as mentioned in Chapter 3, is that of hut building. This provides job opportunities for the unemployed, particularly males. The logs used in the construction of the hut framework can be bought from a supplier living at Ebuhleni. He buys the logs from farmers in the Greytown area and resells to people at Ebuhleni for R3,50-R4 per log (1989). In 1989 he was the sole supplier of logs at Ebuhleni. The man started to sell the logs because he saw a need for wood for construction at Ebuhleni and he needed the money.

Balls of strips of offcut fabric, used for binding logs together in the construction of the framework of the hut, cost from 50c to R2 per ball (1989) depending on the size of the ball. The fabric is obtained in Durban and rolled into smaller balls at Ebuhleni.

Liquifruit/milk carton packaging is used at Ebuhleni as outer coverings, or walls, on the frame of logs in the construction of huts. One woman buys large rolls of the packaging in Durban for R5 (1989) each and then resells it at Ebuhleni.

In summation, it may be said that Shembe people are using their skills, based to a large extent on a traditional division of labour, to make items which were often made and used

traditionally. Some makers have perceived a need for certain objects and services and have stepped in to provide them. This, too, enables the generation of funds used for survival. There is thus a large degree of self-sufficiency at Ebuhleni.

7.1.3. Category 3 : Unrestricted Commodites

The third category also deals with beadwork, but that made specifically for sale to the external market, in particular, the tourist market. This category fits snugly into Preston-Whyte's (1988) and Preston-Whyte and Thorpe's (1989a) classification and semiotic analysis of beadwork items made for the exogenous market.

There are numerous women at Ebuhleni who make a range of items, including beadwork, which they sell at the beachfront, either Durban or Umhlanga Rocks. All my fieldwork concerning the sale of tourist beadwork by Shembe members was carried out in the region of the Durban Aquarium and Dolphinarium, and immediate adjacent areas on Durban beachfront. After at least a decade of wrangling between the Durban City Council, the beadsellers and concerned parties (Durban Rotary Club and Jo Thorpe of the then, South African Institute of Race Relations), the present site, to be the responsibility of the Durban Rotary Club, was officially allocated to the beadmakers on a permanent basis on 5 July 1983 (Anon. Thesis n.d.).

The items sold at Durban beachfront may be classified according to the materials used in manufacture. These include beaded jewellery

in a range of beads from seed to glass, belts and handbags of leather, basketware, and a selection of carved items (Table 5) (PLATES 82+83).

Beachfront makers and sellers are women. Mrs Hlo., when asked why men do not make and sell there, said that when they were granted their "licence" there was a man selling. However, the "boss chased that man because he is not to sell between women". The "boss", a white man, is said to be part of a "co-operation". Many sellers felt that the manufacture of beadwork was not a man's occupation anyway: "It is not their work, they fail to do this" (Mrs Nxu.). Men tend to operate as rickshaw pullers or walk around hawking goods, such as wirework, rather than having a fixed abode.

Makers and sellers transport their goods to their sites in large plastic sacks. Goods are arranged on rubber mats, black plastic bags or cloth (PLATE 84). By 1992, some sellers had adopted more adventurous marketing strategies, for example, peg boards were being used to display sets of earrings to allow maximum appreciation of the product on sale (PLATE 82).

Not all the items sold on Durban beachfront are manufactured by the sellers. Some items, hand-produced by fellow Shembeites, are purchased from the makers by Shembe beachfront sellers for resale on the beachfront, for example, keyrings, baskets and hats. Mrs Ndl. purchases leather bags and purses from "a boy" at Ekuphakameni. He has a "machine" which he uses to stamp the

leather goods with the name "DURBAN". Some like, Mrs Sha., said she buys leather belts and purses from "others" and resells them at the beachfront. There are suppliers who visit the beachfront sellers. Many of their items are factory-made. These suppliers are not usually church members, but are either self-employed or employees of wholesalers who supply the sellers. The items supplied may include leatherwork (bags and purses), masks (made in Swaziland), plastic items (made in Taiwan) and, more recently, malachite items such as chess boards, carvings and so on (PLATES 85+86).

Prices of beadwork and other manufactured items are calculated by beachfront sellers according to the cost of materials, time taken in producing the item and the addition of a profit margin. A profit margin will merely be added to the cost price of a pre-made/factory-made item. Table 6 contains a list of average prices of some items sold at Durban beachfront in 1992.

A change in the type of good sold at the beachfront was noticed over a four year period of fieldwork from 1989 to 1993. In 1989 more beadwork and hand-produced items were sold, while in 1993 more plastic and factory-produced objects were apparent. The sale of malachite, which was not in evidence in 1989, was rife in 1993. Beadwork was sparse in 1993, with plastic goods, seashells and so on, well in evidence. One reason I was given for the reduction in amounts of beadwork produced was the expense of beads. Mrs Sme. said: "Beads is expensive, if get money we give it to our

children, that why no many beads here". Some makers also felt that beadworking was very time-consuming. Mrs Ce. said that although profit is not that good on things already pre-made, it is "better to sell these things because people don't buy beads everyday but people will buy these other things everyday".

Shembe makers and sellers arrive at the beachfront between 6 and 10 am, and leave between 5 and 12 pm. Most tend to arrive between 7 and 9 am, and leave either at 5 pm or at 11 pm. Some makers stated that if there is "violence" in the home areas, they prefer to leave early (5 pm). A licence is required for each particular allocated site and makers/sellers are required to remain on those sites: "The licence is for sitting here only" (Mrs Hlo.). "All people have their places now" (Mrs Mas. and Mrs Mak.). Makers/sellers are allocated yellow discs, each bearing a site number, which are pinned to their chests (PLATE 87). According to Mrs Da., "they sit by numbers here. My number is in this place". The site may be in the name of one person, but it may be shared by a few people. Most sites are shared between two people. The occupants of the site may contribute to the licence. In one case, however, a woman said that instead of contributing to the licence, she was paid a salary "by the owner" of the site (Mrs Mdl.). Both are Shembe members and sisters.

This is a significant point, for many of the Shembe sellers at the beachfront are involved in some sort of co-operative or support relationship with another or a few women. These

relationships are often between fellow Shembeites (who may also be kin), or if not Shembeites, they are at least likely to be family members. The relationships surround the making of goods and the sale of goods.

Mrs Sh. sells with her sister (non-Shembe) and two others. Her sister said: "Everyone is hungry and the cost of the site is high, so we share sites". Each seller marks their own goods and lays them out on the same mat. The prices charged are the same and they keep the proceeds from the sale of their own goods. Mrs Sha. (non-Shembe) was selling with a Shembe member who was away at Nhlangakazi. The women (both Shembe and non-Shembe women) sitting along the promenade cooperate to some extent in that they agree on standard prices: "It will not be all right to sell different prices because we are in the same place" (Mrs Hlab.).

What is evident here is that there is no religious injunction upon mixing with people outside the Church, although cooperation outside Church parameters tends to be with family members. In fact, cooperation with a non-Shembe member has advantages. A Shembe person is not permitted to work on the Sabbath. This means that a fellow family member (who is possibly more likely to be trusted than a friend) may run the "business" while the other is absent. This means that neither loses out on revenue.

One is permitted to enter the beachfront selling market if one can afford to buy a licence, if a site is available; or if sites are

limited, if one has the correct contacts (a fellow Shembeite, family member or friend). A fellow member may cooperate to the extent that she will share her site, but thereafter the economic element then takes precedence. The individual sells for herself, what she sells she keeps, and an attitude of "everyone for themselves" prevails.

Many Shembe makers/sellers on the beachfront are assisted by fellow members or family in the manufacture of items for which they may receive some form of remuneration. One seller, Mrs Khan., said that her mother, who has cancer and is not well enough to sell on the beachfront, assists her in various ways, for example, buys pre-made leather keyrings for her to resell, buys plastic beads for her, helps to make beadwork, does wirework on sticks and makes bags of imitation leather. A woman, Mrs Ce., said that the earrings of "Fimo" clay which she sells were made by her brother, while Mrs Ntu. was displaying wood pestles and mortars made by "boys at their home".

In my wanderings about the beachfront, on no occasion did I see Shembe ritual beadwork being sold there. There was also a distinct difference between the type of beadwork being sold at the beach and that made, sold and used at Ebuhleni. Differences in size, quality, price, target market and use are evident. Some of these differences are recognised by the makers/sellers themselves.

Mrs Ma. and Mrs Mak. reflected the views of many Shembe

makers/sellers when they said that they do not sell Shembe beadwork at the beach because it is "too expensive and very hard to do", although they did not believe that there was any Shembe law prohibiting the sale thereof. Another married woman makes bangles (AMASONGO) which she sells to sellers who resell at the beach. She said that she does not sell these things on the beachfront because she does not have a licence to sell there. She said that she is able to make "Shembe beadwork [for ritual use]", but the beachfront bangles "are faster". She can make more of the latter and thus make more money. If one looks at the differences in prices between beach beadwork (Table 6) and beadwork sold at Ebuhleni for ritual use (Table 3), one will note that prices for the latter beadwork are far higher.

Some makers/sellers emphasised a difference between the types of beadwork (ritual and beach). Mrs Nxum. said that one can distinguish between the types of beadwork because of the different patterns and colours used. These are different because "Shembe is a uniform. This [beach beadwork] is for the white people. Whites don't buy this [ritual beadwork]. Shembe, they don't use it [beach beadwork]". In the same vein, Mrs La. said there are different colours and patterns used for ritual beadwork as opposed to beach beadwork, so you "can see this is for a Shembe dance and this [beach beadwork] can wear anytime, anyhow". Another said that "some whites don't use the Church things, don't know about these things. The Church beadwork is for church only...They don't know how to wear it. They see it as useless for them. Whites want to

wear things to make them beautiful". Mrs Hlo. said she uses the particular patterns and colours she does in beach beadwork because "whites like these colours and patterns". Mrs Mkw. said: "they make it like this everybody here. Whites like patterns like this". Mrs Mdad. said she "make what I think - what come in my brain and what white like" and also she "copy from other".

The sellers referred to above are making clear statements about the type of market and the type of message which is being communicated by beachfront beadwork as opposed to beadwork used for religious purposes at Ebuhleni.

The type of beadwork sold on the beachfront fits neatly into a category classified by Graburn (1976, 1978) as "tourist arts" or "souvenirs", that is, items which are usually mass-produced, cheap and easily transportable. Makers are often forced to produce items that are acceptable in design and which reinforce preconceived ideas about themselves, in order for their produce to be considered suitable for purchase (Graburn 1976:6-7). For the buyers, the souvenirs carry messages about the "primitive" and the portrayal of usually incorrect stereotypical views about the makers (1976:19). Jules-Rosette (1984) to some extent builds upon and offers a more sophisticated version of Graburn's approach. She states that "tourist art operates as a system of intercultural communication and exchange" (1984:xi). It encompasses a "process of communication involving image creators who attempt to represent aspects of their own cultures to meet the expectations of image

consumers who treat art as an example of the exotic" (1984:1). For Jules-Rosette, it is through the action of "middlemen" that tourist arts have developed as a communicative and commercial commodity. The middleman interprets the messages passed between the makers and buyers such that makers may change what they produce on the basis of what they perceive their audience wants as communicated by the middleman.

Preston-Whyte (1988) and Preston-Whyte and Thorpe (1989a), drawing on the work of Graburn and Jules-Rosette, argue that the production of Zulu beadwork for sale on the external market may be stimulated by the presence of middlemen who have commercial or development motives. This is, indeed, the case with Shembe makers and sellers. Middlemen assume different forms. Makers/sellers are influenced firstly, by hawkers selling items, for example, keyrings, and secondly, by wholesalers who sell goods to them, for example, shields and musical instruments (personal communication - Shewell and Co.) (see also Appendix 5). Makers/sellers are also influenced by each other, that is, they copy from each other. Makers/sellers are also influenced directly by the consumers themselves.

In support of Preston-Whyte and Thorpe's (1989a) view, makers/sellers on Durban beachfront are making beadwork which they believe will appeal to the exogenous market, most often white tourists. Sandelowsky (1976) noted a similar situation regarding tourist art produced along the Okavango River. One carver said:

> "We try to find out what people buy. Those pieces that sell readily are recarved and those that do not sell are not repeated" (354).

One of the main motivating factors for the Shembe makers/sellers to sell on the beachfront is economics, that is, the need to produce what appeals to the tourist so that maximum sales can be made and, as a result, maximum profit gained. This is borne out by some of the most common reasons given for starting to sell on Durban beachfront. Mrs Nxu. said: "I haven't got work, I want money". Mrs Sme. came to the beach to sell in order to get food for her children.

Those Shembe members who make both ritual and beach beadwork said that they sell on the beachfront because they make the most profit there. Mrs Ndl. and Mrs Buth. said that they make more money at the beach because ritual beadwork is "expensive and there are many who make there [Ebuhleni] and here there are a lot of people [buyers]". A Shembeite woman, who sells at the beachfront because there is more money there, said that while more money accrues from the sale of ritual beadwork, those who want it "are not as many". She felt that there are more buyers on the beachfront, and they are there daily.

Obviously what motivates the tourists to buy is not economics. Rather tourists wish to buy because they are led to believe that they are taking home with them a piece of "South African tribal tradition", that is, ideas of bead-bedecked young Zulu maidens and

youths, and "Shaka Zulu" type warriors living in thatched huts unexposed to "industrialisation" and the "West" (Preston-Whyte and Thorpe 1989a:125). It is ironic that the very beadwork which reflects some sort of genuine African influence, that is, Shembe beadwork used on ritual occasions, is not available for tourist consumption. More than this, it is the tourists themselves who have dictated their desire for the cheaper, smaller items.

7.2. REASONS GIVEN BY SHEMBE CHURCH MEMBERS FOR MAKING AND SELLING GOODS AND SERVICES

There are various reasons given by Church members themselves to explain the making and sale of items. Some of the reasons are related. One of the main reasons for making and selling relates to Amos Shembe himself. Shembe people are actively encouraged by Amos Shembe to make things, that is, to work to support themselves.

Buying and selling has not always been an accepted part of Nazareth Baptist Church ideology. It is written in the Catechism of the Church, translated by Becken and Zungu (n.d), that long ago Isaiah Shembe was reported to have had a young girl escorted out of Ekuphakameni for attempting to sell a bundle of wood there. Shembe said to the people with him:

> 95.55..."Did you not read in the Bible about what Jesus did to people who traded in the temple in Jerusalem. He beat them, drove them out, and said: It is written "My house shall be a house of prayer, but you make it into a den of robbers" "
> 56. The lord said: "Similarly, here at Ekuphakameni, nobody is permitted to sell things in this village. When you buy something, do not pay for it anywhere inside this

> place, on this side of the main road. This is a temple, where nothing may be sold. Pay the money outside of this village" (Becken and Zungu n.d.).

Despite this, Isaiah Shembe, obviously accepted that economics was something that could not be ignored, and it was incorporated into church ideology in a manner acceptable to the Church. Roberts (1936) noted the making and sale of items at Ekuphakameni: "There is no barter in the village, everything is bought and sold..." (69).

As discussed in Chapter 2, laziness is not acceptable in the Nazareth Baptist Church. The Sabbath, Saturday, is the day of rest when no work must be done. A person is seen as only deserving the day of rest if he/she has worked well during the week. My supervisor, the late Mr Mthethwa, said: "People in the slums just sit and drink beer and loaf all day...Shembe allows the Sabbath as a rest day, but as long as people work hard on all the other days".

A married woman, a matmaker, said she "got it from here [Ebuhleni] that all people must do something". An unmarried girl told me that "...in Church Books only for Shembe, he said that people must make their handwork. People must not be lazy". My assistant pointed out a passage in the Morning Prayer, contained in the Hymnal (IZIHLABELELO LAMANAZARETHA), and translated it generally as: "You must be shy if you are looking for food from others. God has given you hands to work. Why do you not use hands. If you do not work

God will throw you out" (Ms Zibane). She also translated part of a song (page 8) in the Hymnal: "If we work with our hands, God will give us more and more food".

Makers and sellers believe that they are aided in their work by the AMADLOZI who are assisted by God. Mrs Mdl., a maker and seller at Durban beachfront, said that the AMADLOZI help her to make better: "They give you the mind how to make it spiritually". She said that if she lives well, in a way acceptable to the Shembe Church, she will have success. She said that she has to go to Shembe to ask for "luck". Mr Shembe, with the power of God, asks the AMADLOZI to give her luck. She said that she can go directly to the AMADLOZI, but felt it was more effective to go through Shembe because it is believed that some AMADLOZI are not Shembeites and may be in hell. If so, contact will not be made with them. Shembe, however, has the power from God to see which AMADLOZI are in hell. He can request a member to pay INHLAMBULUKO (cleansing) to remove AMADLOZI from hell. If a member washes away the sins of the IDLOZI, the latter "will be given powers to give you blessings" (Ms Zibane).

Beachfront makers and sellers, Mrs Z. Ngc. and Mrs M. Ngc., said that Mr Shembe has contact with the AMADLOZI. They said: "Mr Shembe's old people (Isaiah Shembe) and God work together all of them. AMADLOZI give us luck so people can buy from us". They believe that if they pray well, they will get more "luck". These women believe that may also appeal to the AMADLOZI for good

fortune by slaughtering a goat.

Mrs Ndl., a beach maker and seller, said: "If you are praying and calling AMADLOZI they will help you". Without prayer she will not "get luck, blessing". She added that if one is a Shembe member and one's lifestyle does not accord with that laid down by the Church, "bad things happen - I am selling here, people won't buy to me".

In a conversation with Amos Shembe (see Appendix 4), I was told the importance of work:

> GM: I notice that a lot if people are making mats and brooms and all sorts of things...Now is it part of the religious ideology to make these things or ...
> SHEMBE: No. It is just that they must work. My father thought the African a lazy type of people, so he wrote in the Prayer Book - in the morning you will read you must work, you must work, a lazy person doesn't go to Heaven and so on...He wanted them to work, and when you work you get money. When you don't work, you don't get any...
> GM: Do you decide what the people should make or can they make what they want to make?
> SHEMBE: No, what they want.
> GM: As long as they are working.
> SHEMBE: Ya, as long as they are working. Mats, everything. Ya, they must use their hands. God wants these hands to be used.

In the preceding conversation with Shembe, two points of note emerge. Firstly, making of things, or work, is important and is seen as a command from God, that is, God sanctions work and the use of hands. One will receive the ultimate sacred reward, a life in Heaven, if one does the will of God. The second important aspect is that people get money when they work. This money is often used for survival purposes. Amos Shembe does not provide all at Ebuhleni with food. This is evident from a conversation I had

with him (Appendix 4):

> GM: How do the ladies here survive? Do you give them food or do they work? Is the money they get from beadmaking what they use to buy food, or do you give them food?
> SHEMBE: No, I don't give them food. Woo! Terrible crowd here. You can't give them food. There are too many.

The need to make money to survive was often given in explanation for having made or sold certain items. An unmarried girl who makes beadwork and pillowcases said: "Mr Shembe told the people that they must learn all handwork so it will be easy for them to live. They need money to live". A married woman said she makes beadwork and the headdress (INHLOKO) because she had to "make things to get money" after the death of her husband. An unmarried girl who makes UMGEXO said she makes these things "because she has no parents now". She makes these things "to get money".

The engagement of Shembe members in making and selling activity on an "informal basis" as a means of survival is by no means novel. In other societies in South Africa, and in fact throughout the world, persons exist on money earned in the informal sector. Hart (1973:83) describing the economic activities of the "sub-proletariat" in Accra, states that "for many urban wage-earners poverty is ever present, and...the informal sector provides opportunities of improving real incomes for this category as well as for the jobless". Davidson and Stacey, in a survey concerning the role of hawkers at pension payout points in various places in Southern Africa, argue for "the role of hawking as a survival strategy" (1988:247). Similarly, Nattrass (1984), in her study on

street traders in the Transkei, said:

> On the whole, street traders are forced into hawking for reasons beyond their control. Their occupation is in short a last ditch attempt to earn a living and ward off starvation (22).

Dewar and Watson (1981) studied the informal sector in Cape Town. They argue that informal sector activity does "hold the potential to alleviate conditions of poverty and unemployment in the short term", although it "cannot be viewed as providing any kind of solution to the problems of unemployment and poverty" (1981:6-7).

Keeping in mind the cases mentioned above, Shembe makers and sellers are black and, as a result, most have been forced to live under an oppressive apartheid system. Many, particularly women, have been severely restricted, not only in the type of formal sector employment they may acquire, but also in the availability of formal employment due to the short supply of jobs in this sector. Church membership gives members, some of whom face the possibility of extreme poverty and starvation, the opportunity to support themselves. Moreover, this opportunity is religiously-sanctioned.

A similar case in point is the African Independent/Indigenous Church, the Masowe Apostles, a Church established by Leader/Prophet, Shoniwa Masedza Thandi Mayo, better known as Johane Masowe or "John the Baptist" (Dillon-Malone 1978:14). Masowe, in the face of government harrassment, moved with his followers from Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) to Korsten, Port Elizabeth in

the 1940's. Masowe emphsised the need for his followers to be financially independent so that they could protect themselves against outside threat to their lifestyle. By 1955, a small furniture factory was in production in Port Elizabeth and people were also engaged in the manufacture of tinware and basketware, the latter activity resulting in them being referred to as the "Korsten Basketmakers" (Dillon-Malone 1978:29). Despite their deportation from South Africa in 1962, economic activity continued such that:

> Whether it be in Zambia or places like Lusaka, Kitwe or Ndola, or whether it be in Rhodesia in a place like Salisbury or Bulawayo, the Apostles can be seen standing at strategic spots selling a wide variety of goods at very reasonable prices (Dillon-Malone 1978:127).

It is perhaps pertinent that one examines here the offerings made to the Shembe Church. The money that Shembe members make from the sale of their goods belongs to them, but some must surely find its way back to the Church in the form of offerings. There are different kinds of offering (UMNIKELO) which may be made by members. The amounts paid are either set or dependent on the individual. The following offerings may all be made during the July Festival. Firstly, a monthly offering is made by each member. This is usually made on meeting days, that is, girls on 25th, males on the 23rd and married women on 14th of each month. Offerings, however, may be paid in installments, for example, six months in advance. Secondly, INHLAMBULUKO is paid when one has been involved in impure activities, for example, the use of traditional medicines (UMUTHI). There are people appointed in the

Church to act as "purifiers". When one requires cleansing, one approaches the purifier (INHLAMBULULI) with water, flowers (IMPEPHO) and money. The purifier prays for the afflicted and sprinkles water over him or her, thereby ritually washing away sin. Thirdly, money is paid at the Sabbath Church Service "for problems and purification". Fourthly, INHLANGABELO is paid when one first arrives at a Festival. According to Ms Zibane, in so doing: "We are greeting Mr Shembe when coming from another country". Fifthly, when a member goes to visit Shembe to discuss his/her problems, money is given. Finally, a montary offering is paid at the church service held at the end of July at the Shembe graves. According to Ms Zibane, this is a "donation for the dead so God must bless them. God must wash them". In discussing offerings, those made specifically as a group cannot be ignored. Members of a particular Temple may choose to make a group offering, for example, women and girls offering goods to Shembe.

What purpose do money offerings have in the Nazareth Baptist Church? Unlike the Tshidi-Tswana Zionists (Comaroff 1985:253), money given to the Nazareth Baptist Church is not redistributed to the entire congregation. Any redistribution is usually limited to those who travel with the Leader. Also Shembeites have the opportunity to accumulate money for themselves outside of the religious sphere, that is, in making and selling.

Kiernan (1988) analyses the use of money within Zulu Zionist Churches. He states: "Zulu Zionists deploy money in ritual

contexts to emphasise and safeguard group boundaries by adopting an item from the surrounding and encroaching industrial society, ie. money, and transforming it into an instrument to serve their own organisational needs (456)". Kiernan identifies three types of money transaction, namely, offerings, collections and tithes. Offerings, usually given in appreciation for healing received, serve to emphasise the individual's dependence on the group. Tithes, paid regularly, are statements made by members of their acceptance of their ministers' right to hold that position. This is made particularly evident in the ministers' presentation of monies to the higher order, the Bishop or President. Hierarchy is stressed through this transaction (Kiernan 1988:461). Collections involve rivalry in the dramatic presentation of contributions by congregations. This serves to emphasise the social wholeness of the congregation.

In the Nazareth Baptist Church, giving occurs on two levels, the individual and the group. On the individual level there is no flourish or dramatisation in presenting one's contribution, while on the group level there is a public show of goods given.

What is evident in giving on both levels, is the transfer of money and goods, which have been accumulated in profane activity, into the sacred realm. This occurs in such a way that dependence on the Church is established. If a member wishes to remain a part of the Shembe Church, he/she is required to pay a monthly amount. This may secure the person a place in the Church, but in order to

guarantee that position and maintain it, one must ensure that one is healed or purified when one has erred. This is made possible through the payment of INHLAMBULUKO. If this is not paid, one is set apart physically from the congregation (one is not permitted to worship with the congregation within the church ground or at dances). Payment of INHLAMBULUKO and offerings at the graveside ensure the support of the AMADLOZI, the Leader and God. Group offerings strengthen the boundaries of individual Temples, but, at the same time, encourage rivalry and thus further offerings to the Church. This serves to strengthen the Shembe Church as a whole.

In essence, the purely profane (economic acquisition through buying and selling) is translated into the sacred (securing and re-emphasising one's place within the congregation of believers, at the same time as reinforcing the ritual strength of the entirety). Any tension between the purely economic (profane) and purely religious (sacred) realms is eased, so much so that the sacred and profane become complementary to each other. The Founder and subsequent Leaders of the Church have manipulated the sacred and profane in such a way that each in its own way supports and promotes the other. The relationship between the sacred and the profane becomes more than a balance. It is a mutual strenthening, a complementary combination of striving for economic independence and spiritual moral purity.

Shembeites are encouraged to make and sell to those who are unable to make due to other employment, education, old age or lack of

skill. For example, Mrs Gum., maker of the boy's dance outfit (ISIKOTSHI) and other clothing, said: "Mr Shembe announced that people must buy machines and make for others, and especially others who can't make for themselves". Commerce is not blessed for itself, but for its results - self-support and support of the religious community.

While Shembe people may not be able to find employment in the formal sector, they may not, in fact, wish to be employed there. Making and selling things allows Shembe members a measure of independence, particularly from white and/or male domination in factories and formal sector employment, although it is certainly acceptable for Shembe people to work for non-Shembe people. This was outlined to me in a conversation with Mr Amos Shembe (Appendix 4):

> GM: What about working for others? I mean, would it be all right for Shembe people to work for whites?
> SHEMBE: They do, they do.
> GM: And that is quite acceptable?
> SHEMBE: Very faithful people they are...
> GM: I just wondered whether there was something that they weren't allowed to work for ...
> SHEMBE: No, no. They work for anyone.

A married woman was employed at a factory in Inanda. She left her formal employment to travel with Amos Shembe. She was not pressured into leaving by Shembe: "Mr Shembe doesn't mind if people work for whites and Indians". She said she wouldn't go back to the factory. She learnt to make beadwork and church uniforms to get money to support herself.

Not only does making and selling by Shembe people allow for independence from domination in factories, but it also allows women, in particular, a degree of independence they would not usually enjoy. For example, the woman who left her employment at the factory was able to pursue her religious calling and go with Shembe, at the same time making some money from the manufacture and sale of church adornment. Women may leave their husbands and join the Church or alternatively, if their husbands leave them, they have the opportunity to travel with Amos Shembe, making and selling to obtain money for themselves and their families. If girls do not choose to get married and be supported by their husbands, or if they wish to devote themselves to the Church and Shembe, they can support themselves by making and selling goods. Some married women may make and sell to support themselves and their husbands. One married woman said her husband does not work and comes to visit her at Ebuhleni over weekends. She gets money to live from the sale of beadwork and mats.

Women who sell at the beachfront, and those who sell at Ebuhleni, are independent in the sense that they are in control of their labour and time. Although the money that they make comes from different sources, it will be used for survival in both cases. Furthermore, through making, women acquire a feeling of usefulness because they are assisting others and making a contribution to the continuation and growth of the AmaNazaretha Church. Similarly, Curling (1989) found that women of the Weya Communal Area in Zimbabwe "are using applique and needlework, traditionally

feminine crafts, to earn for themselves a reasonably good income and also self-confidence in their relationship to society as a whole because of their increased financial independence" (4).

Preston-Whyte and Nene (1984) found that "the informal sector is not the answer" among rural women in KwaZulu. The latter are "confined to making money through small commercial undertakings" with no room for "expansion and movement into new lines of business" (1984:40). Informal sector activity at Ebuhleni and the beachfront may not allow for large scale economic expansion, but it acts firstly, as a buffer against starvation and secondly, enables spiritual development within a religious sphere. Women at Ebuhleni are able to combine production with religion, that is, aspects of the profane become bound up with the sacred, giving to the women the motivation and justification for what they are doing, as well as a sense of identity and religious fulfillment.

Swetnam (1988), however, in a comparative study of women and men among vendors in the Antigua marketplace, claims that: "Even in the absence of overt discrimination, women are trapped in a social and economic pattern of persisting inequality" (334). He argues that demands are made on women in terms of child bearing, domestic responsibilities, travel and competition. In the case of the Nazareth Baptist Church, women who sell at Ebuhleni do not have problems of transport, although this may not always be so for the beachfront sellers. At the beachfront, women are required to have licences, but do not have competition from men as beadsellers.

These women can, and do, experience competition from other women who sell there. It seems, however, that the profits gained at the beachfront outweigh the problems of transport and competition, or else it would be expected that the beach sellers would refrain from going to the beach and would start selling or sell only at Ebuhleni. Secondly, while at Ebuhleni, it is possible for women to look after their children and make to sell at the same time. Sellers at Ebuhleni are not required to travel time consuming distances which gives them more time to make things, to "keep an eye" on their children and do any domestic chores that require doing. Furthermore, their activities, be it making or domestic, can be carried out in their own time, when they choose. At Ebuhleni, people do not have the constraints experienced by other hawkers, that is, being permitted to stay in one place for a certain amount of time only or having to apply for licences (see Dewar and Watson 1981; Rudman 1988). Women at Ebuhleni are free to set up as they wish and have equal opportunity to the male makers and sellers. In some ways, women at Ebuhleni are in a better situation than men as regards the use of certain skills. Many of the items made by women are not made by men, because they are not the types of objects traditionally made by men and the latter do not possess the particular skills needed to make these things. The following statement by Van der Waal and Sharp (1988) seems applicable to the Ebuhleni situation. They state that:

> ...it remains true that activities within the informal sector have a useful supplementary role within the gamut of strategies which people adopt in order to survive. It needs to be stressed that people's access to informal sector activities and the income which can be derived from

them is by no means uniform (1988:152).

Generally then, as Van der Waal and Sharp have stated, there are "many factors which structure such access [to informal sector activities] by different categories of people" (1988:152). The use of traditional skills and the traditional division of labour (which in some cases is being eroded in the favour of women, for example, hut building) to produce goods for sale (which is religiously-sanctioned) has put Shembeites in a more favourable position for access to the informal sector than most.

To state, as did Wilkinson and Webster (1982), that the informal sector merely lowers costs for the state and reproduces the working class, is not taking cognisance of a range of factors at play in informal sector activity, particularly as regards the case at hand, the Nazareth Baptist Church. While certainly the Shembe situation must be seen against the broader background of economics and politics in South Africa, where more jobs should be created within the formal sector and social security benefits should be provided but are not, the relationship established between economics and ritual cannot be brushed aside. Factors such as religion, economics, identity and tradition, are all important in Shembe informal sector activity and vice versa.

In summation, Shembe members are encouraged through Church teaching to produce handcraft and services for economic reward. Some of the items produced, for example, clothing and beadwork,

are made specifically for endogenous use within Church ritual, while other items are made particularly for the exogenous market, for example, tourists. Makers and sellers are being offered a means of self-preservation within a religious realm, a way of life not shared by others outside the Shembe experience. Females, in particular, have the opportunity to gain some degree of independence while obtaining religious support, fulfillment and a sense of worth. At the same time, however, they also become morally obligated to serve the Church. This moral obligation is entrenched by the Church.

By making and selling items of religious regalia to fellow members, people are expressing their acceptance and support of Nazareth Baptist Church religious ideology and identity. Simultaneously, some of the money earned by individuals is directed back to the Church in the form of offerings which permit participation within the sacred community. Individual economic (profane) acquisition is being tempered by tenacious efforts to achieve moral purity (sacred) which, in turn, requires people to work to support themselves and others in the Church community. A complementary relationship exists between the sacred and the profane in the Nazareth Baptist Church of Amos Shembe. The relationship between the sacred and profane is analysed in greater detail in the final chapter, the Conclusion, of this thesis.

NOTES

1. Two species of fan palm (ILALA) most often used are: Hyphaene natalensis Kunze and Hyphaene ventricosa Kirk (Shaw 1992:192).

TABLE 2

APPROXIMATE COST TO PROVISION ONESELF WITH RITUAL REGALIA

MEMBER	DANCE UNIFORM		CHURCH UNIFORM	TOTAL
Man	R439		R84	R523
Woman	R700		R148	R848
Girl	R572	R54	R48	R674
Child	R27		R7	R 34

			(Family of four)	R2079

ESTIMATE OF BUSINESS GENERATED BY THE CHURCH

MEMBER	NO.OF MEMBERS	COST OF UNIFORMS	TOTAL
Men+boys	6250	R523	R 3 268 750
Women	125 000	R848	R106 000 000
Girls	3125	R674	R 2 106 250
Children	3125	R 34	R 106 250

			R111 481 250

TABLE 3

PRICES OF SOME RELIGIOUS REGALIA AND INSTRUMENTS MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE NAZARETH BAPTIST CHURCH - 1989

ITEM	PRICE	ITEM	PRICE
Red pleated skirt (UTUBHANE)	R15	Black cloth skirt (ISIDWABA)	R30
Set of rolled bands (UMBHAMBA)	R100-R200	Lumbar bead band (IZINCU)	R100-R200
Frontal apron (INEME)	R25-R90	Bead headband (UMNQWAZI)	R15-R80
Wire kneebands (IZIGQIZO)	R3	Shield (IHAWU)	R12-R20
IBLACK AND WHITE IPINK	R40	Wristlets (IZIHLAKALA)	R6-20
Anklets (AMADAVATHI)	R10-R40	Girl's puberty uniform (UMJAFETE)	R20-R25
Church uniform (UMNAZARETHA)		Head/shoulder cover (UMNANSUKA)	R15-R20
Children	R5		
Girls	R20		
Women	R30-R35		
Men	R40		
Badges (IFOTO)	R1-R12	Leather skirt (ISIDWABA)	R40-R160
Black cloth and bead aprons (AMAGXABA)	R80-R150	Red cloth square (ISICWAYO)	R8-R15
Rush belt (ISIBHAMBA)	R5-R14	Black cloth cloak (INGUBO YOMGIDI)	R25-R50
Tassled headdress (IKHULU)	R80-R200	Headdress decorations (IZIPENETU)	R6
Headdress (INHLOKO)		Skin headdress (UMQHELE)	
Straight	R10-R12	Women	R15-R20
Round	R20	Men	R20-R25
Headdress (ISIDLUKULA)	R100	Neckpiece (ISIYAYA)	R60
Frontal and buttock aprons (ISINENE and IBHESHU)	R60-R100	Mats Church (ISICEPHU) Home (ICANSI)	R10-R40
Musical pipe (IMBOMU)	R10	Drum (ISIGUBU)	R35

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF AVERAGE PRICES OF SOME RELIGIOUS REGALIA 1989 AND 1992/3

ITEM	AVERAGE PRICE 1989	AVERAGE PRICE 1992/3
Black cloth skirt (ISIDWABA)	R30	R50
Set of rolled bands (UMBHAMBA)	R153	R225
Lumbar bead band (IZINCU)	R155	R183
Frontal apron (INEME)	R69	R110
Wristlets (IZIHLAKALA)	R13	R31
Anklets (AMADAVATHI)	R24	R38
Church uniform (UMNAZARETHA)		
Children	R5	R4
Girls	R16	R45
Women	R31	R70
Men	R37	R50
Black cloth frontal and buttock aprons (AMAGXABA)	R102	R148
Red cloth square (ISICWAYO)	R11	R30
Rush belt (ISIBHAMBA)	R11	R36
Black cloth cloak (INGUBO YOMGIDI)	R38	R55
Tassled headdress (IKHULU)	R145	R163
Headdress decorations (IZIPENETU)	R6	R25
Headdress (INHLOKO)		
Straight	R10	R15
Round	R20	R28
Frontal and buttock aprons (ISINENE and IBHESHU)	R80	R100

TABLE 5

CLASSIFICATION OF ITEMS SOLD ON DURBAN BEACHFRONT ACCORDING TO MATERIALS USED IN MANUFACTURE.

CATEGORY		CATEGORY	
BEAD JEWELLERY	headbands earrings necklets waistbands armbands anklets alice bands brooches spectacles chains headdress ornament	BASKETWARE	hats bags mats (table) curtains bangles paper plate holders
BEADED ITEMS	bottles sticks doilies nets dolls salad servers	CROCHET WORK	doilies jerseys
FABRIC	cloth bags nets doilies purses tablemats wristlets	LEATHERWORK	bags keyrings wallets hats thongs (strips)
MALACHITE		PLASTICWARE	toys
SHELLS		STONEWARE	carving pottery
SKIN	shields	WOODWORK	dishes keyrings masks spears spoons carving (2D and 3D) wood trays (Taiwan) drums sticks covered with copper wire

TABLE 6

CATEGORY THREE: UNRESTRICTED COMMODITIES
SOME ITEMS AND APPROXIMATE PRICES

ITEM	PRICE	ITEM	PRICE
Necklet (lacy) ISIHESHE	R7	Necklet (loops) UMGEXO	R13,50
Necklet(bead roll) UMGUNGQULU	R3	Alice band	R17,50
Earrings (pair)	R6	Necklet(hollow) IVOVO	R10
Job's Tear Necklet UBUCHWABAZI	R2	Brooches Crocodile Butterfly	R1
Armband ISIHLAKALA	R3	Headband ISAMBOZO	R7
Necklet (single string)	R2	Necklet (multi -string) IZIKHIHLI	R6-R20
Anklechain	50c	Bangle (single-string)	R3
Necklet (seeds)	R4	Baskets	R7-R14
Doily (crocheted)	R30	Food nets (beaded)	R4-R20
Bangle (grass) UBHIJO	40c	Beaded bottles (small)	R5
Shoes (tyre)	R15	Wood carving	R3,50-R40
Beaded doll	R10	Friendship bands AMATSATSATSA	R1
Rastafarian necklet	R1	Shambock IMVUBU	R3

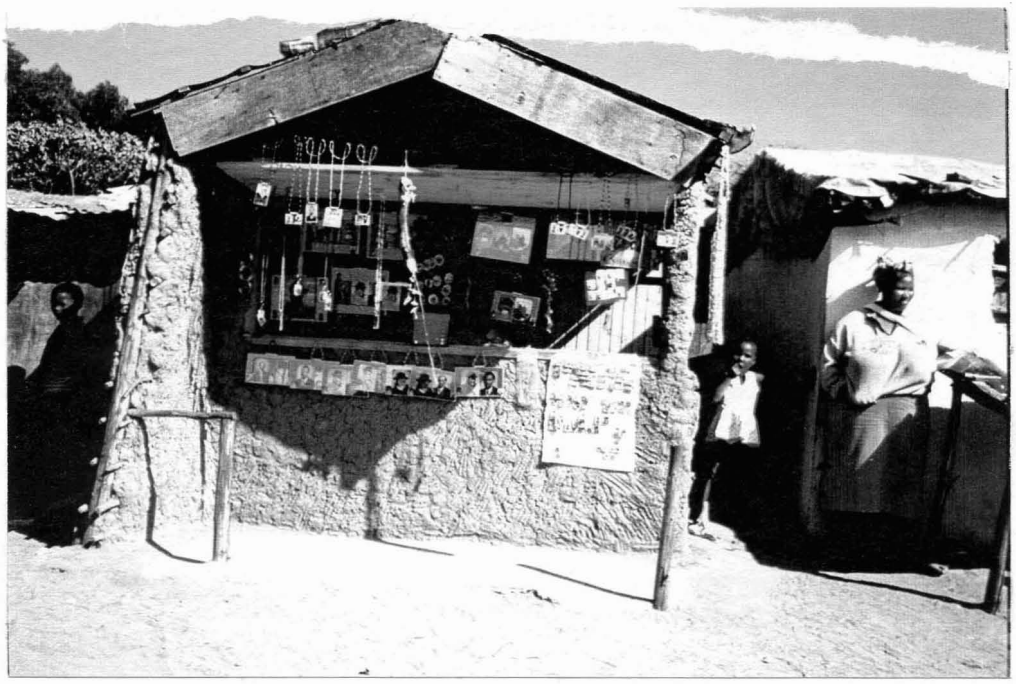


PLATE 66: A range of IFOTO and large framed photographs of Leaders of the Shembe Church are sold in this shop at Ebuhleni. July 1992. Photographer: G. Morcom.

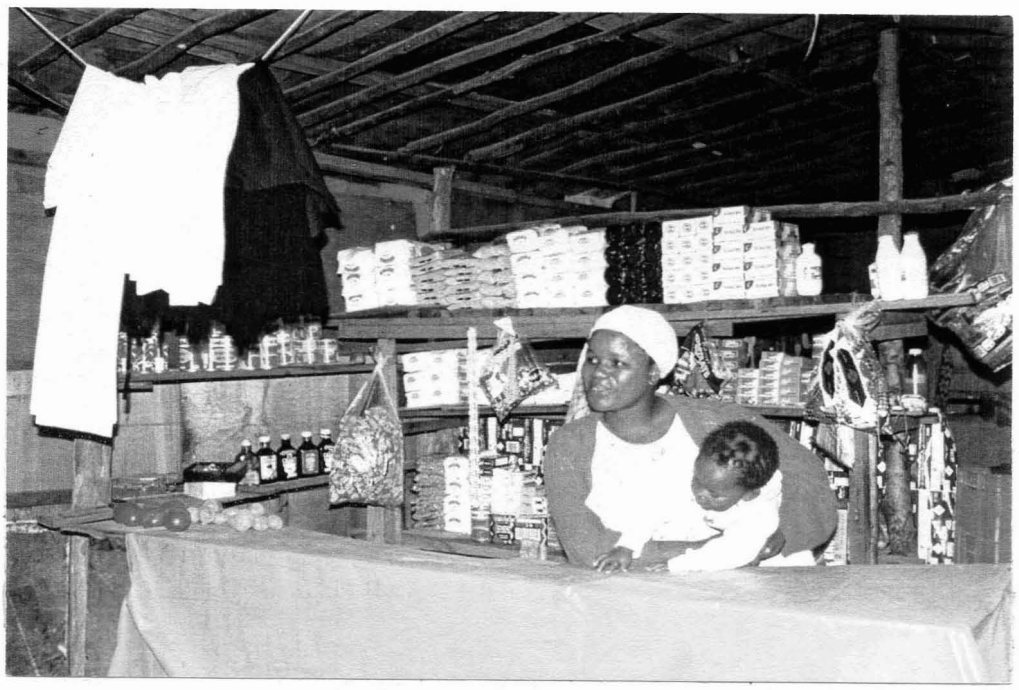


PLATE 67: Interior of a shop at Ebuhleni. The living area is behind the shop front. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 68: Women selling their wares near the dancing ground at Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 69: Beadwork and adornment for sale in a "tree" shop near the church ground at Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

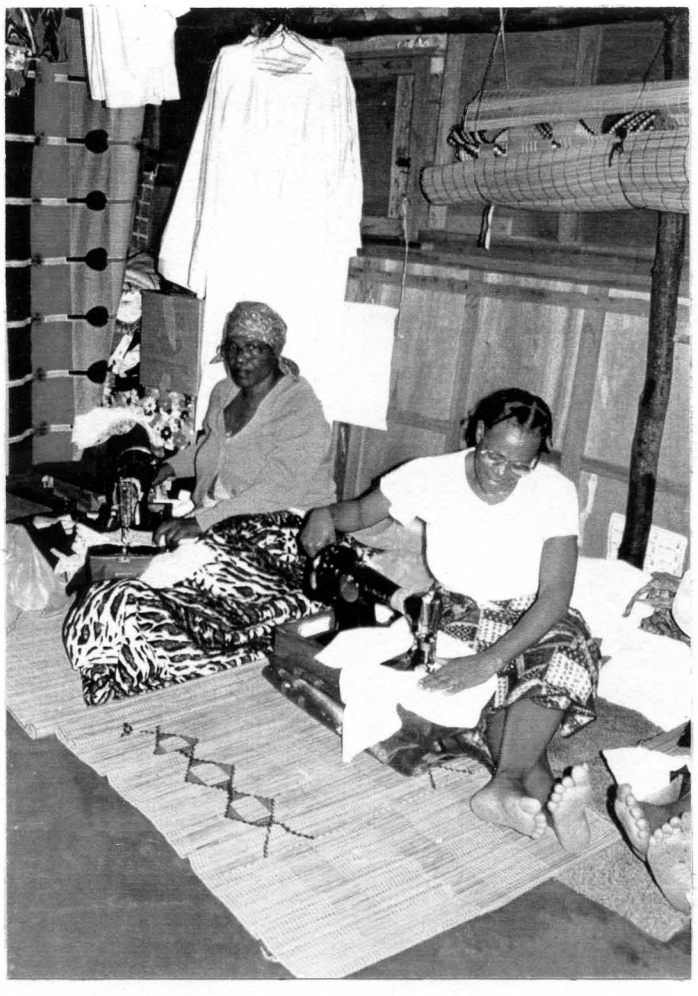


PLATE 70: Unmarried girls making church uniforms to sell. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

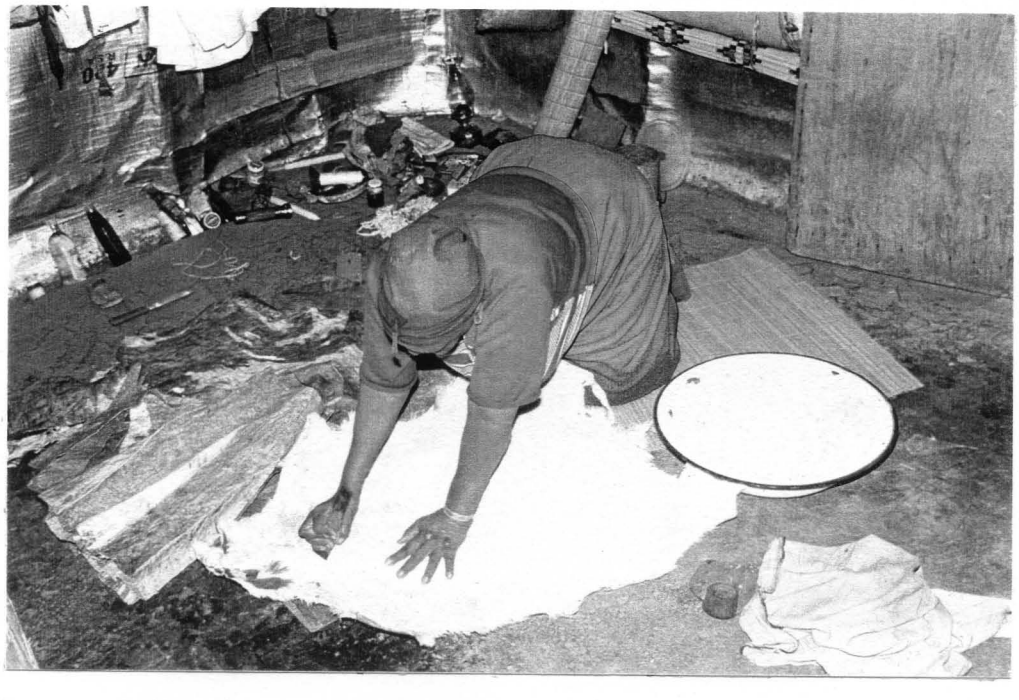


PLATE 71: Removal of hair from skin during the process of manufacture of the skin skirt (ISIDWABA) for married women. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 72: Rubbing the skin after hair removal. Process of manufacture of the skin skirt (ISIDWABA) worn by married women. Ebuhleni. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 73: Pieces of skin have been cut and sewn to form the skin skirt (ISIDWABA) worn by married women. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 74: Married woman linking knotted pieces of ILALA palm together during the manufacture of the straight headdress (INHLOKO) for married women. Ebuhleni. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 75: The manufacture of base of the straight headdress (INHLOKO) for married women is nearing completion. Ebuhleni. June 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.

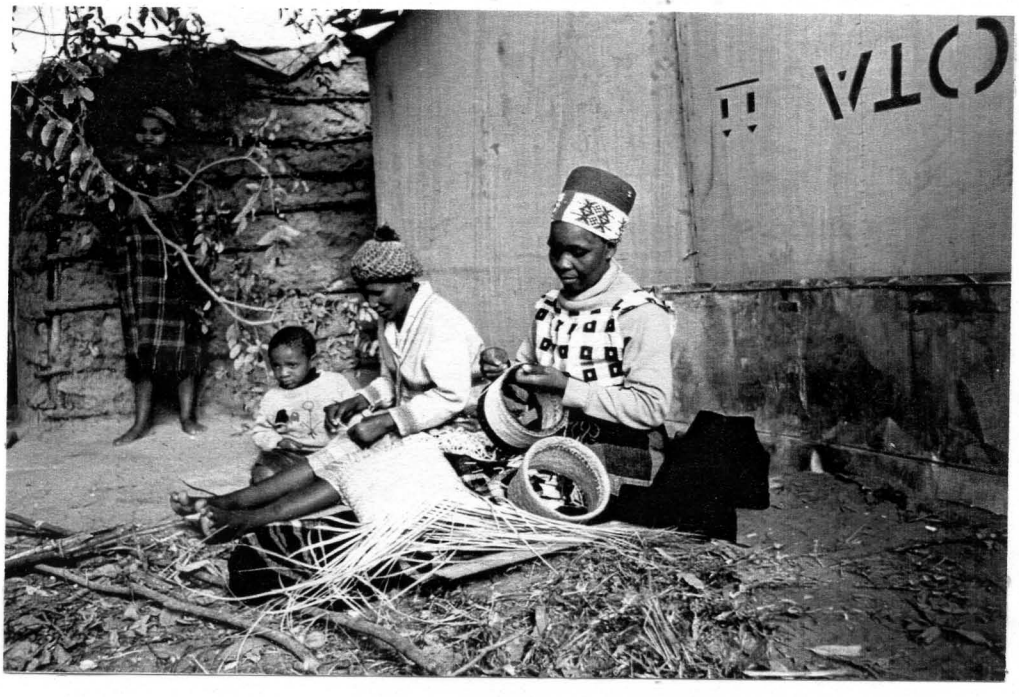


PLATE 76: Maker of the straight headdress (INHLOKO) for women sews black netting onto the completed ILALA palm base. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 77: Maker of the round headdress (INHLOKO) for married women weaves string through the netting. A young girl holds a completed headdress. Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: J. Morris.



PLATE 78: Matmaker with loom-type instrument (IPULANGWE). Ebuhleni. June 1992. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 79: Balls of clay (IBOMVU) for sale at Ebuhleni. The clay is used as a skin preparation. June 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.

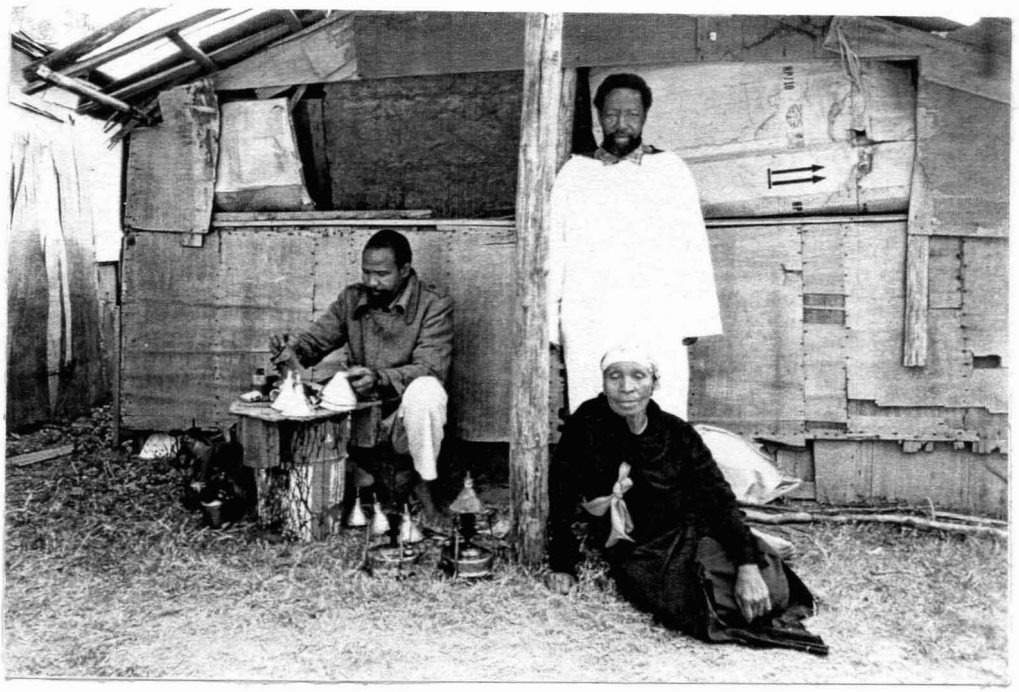


PLATE 80: Repair of primus stoves and manufacture of funnels for sale at Ebuhleni. July 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.

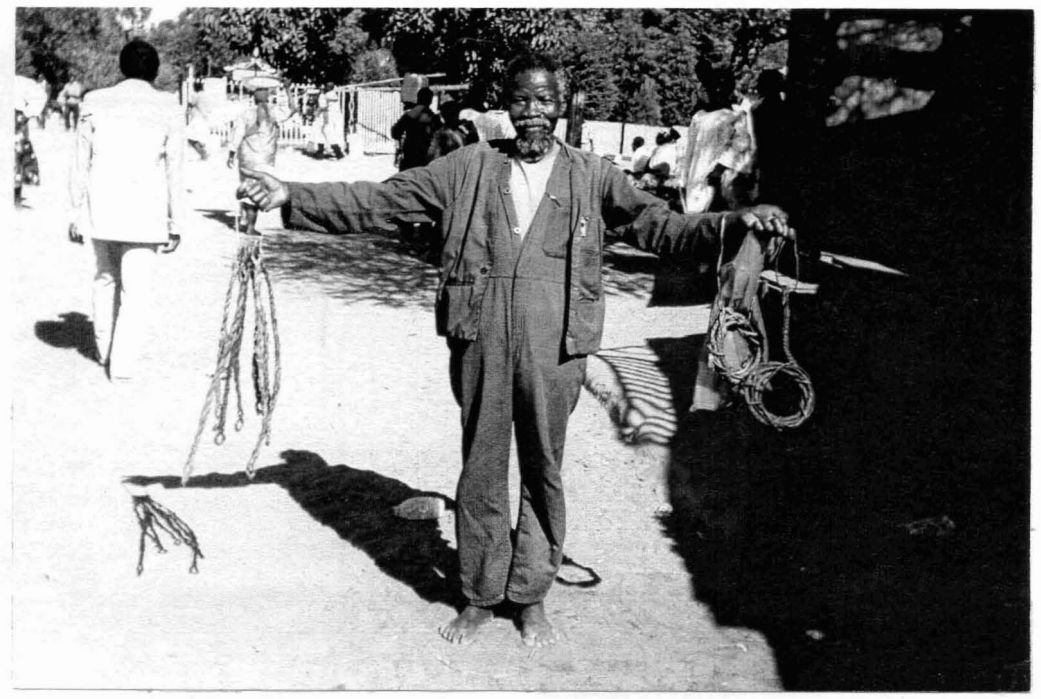


PLATE 81: Strap and whip maker at Ebuhleni. July 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 82: Range of goods for sale at Durban beachfront. July 1989. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 83: Maker/seller with a range of goods from basketware to beadwork at Durban beachfront. January 1990. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 84: Makers/sellers setting up at Durban beachfront. January 1990. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 85: Suppliers and buyers of leather keyrings and purses in negotiation in the background. Durban beachfront. January 1990. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 86: Two men who supply malachite to sellers at Durban beachfront. July 1993. Photographer: G. Morcom.



PLATE 87: Maker/seller with a yellow disc pinned to her chest. Durban beachfront. January 1991. Photographer: G. Morcom.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In this thesis the ritual and commercial roles of beadwork, religious regalia and related activities within the Nazareth Baptist Church during the July Festival at Ebuhleni, have been examined.

Durkheim (1976), in his theory of religion, distinguished between things sacred and things profane. The sacred is the concern of religion, while the profane is concerned with everyday living.

In the Nazareth Baptist Church, sacred and profane activities, reflected particularly in the manufacture, sale and use of ritual uniforms, are potentially in opposition to each other. These activites, however, are bound together in such a way as to create a complementary relationship which enables their co-existence and simultaneous pursuit by Church members.

8.1. THE SACRED REALM

In all ritual activities at Ebuhleni, such as Prayer, Preaching and Dancing, social groupings based on gender, age, marital and hierarchical status are stressed. These divisions are demarcated in the physical arrangement of participants and accentuated through the use of ceremonial regalia and beadwork specific to each social category.

The social groupings reflect the way in which people live at Ebuhleni. Different residential sections are allocated to unmarried girls (INTABAYEPHEZA), married women (EJAMENGWENI),

and men and boys together (IKAMU).

These structural divisions are an expression of Church doctrine. Mixing of genders at Ebuhleni, a holy place, is regarded as defiling. In keeping with this, a ban on pre-marital sex and stress on virginity for the unmarried, in particular girls, explains the need to keep the latter apart from all others, even from married women. The imposition of rules of residence is an exercise of social control.

During collective prayer (UKUKHONZA), which occurs within the church ground, unmarried girls are situated on the left of men and boys as they face the leader of the church service, while married women are placed behind and, to some extent, between the two. In this formation, physical distance between the genders is preserved. Similarly, during religious dancing (UKUSINA), another form of prayer within the Nazareth Baptist Church, participants dance in groups based on gender and marital status. Within their respective social groupings, males and unmarried girls are further divided according to social age.

The unmarried girls are usually divided into two distinct groups according to their state of marriageability. Those who have reached adolescence but are not yet of marriageable age (have been menstruating for less than two years) dance together, while those of marriageable age dance as a unit. Despite dancing near each other, separate group formation is always maintained.

Those males who have been circumcised and who are married are considered to be "full men" and are permitted to dance together, while the remainder dance as a unit. Uncircumcised young boys may attach themselves to either group as they have not yet been "processed". A hierarchy of respect and social control is being imposed here. This is reinforced through the presentation of another hierarchy to members, that of leadership in the Church.

The male leaders (ABAFUNDISI/ABAVANGELI/ABASHUMAYELI) and the leaders of married women (ABAKHOKELI) and of unmarried girls (ABAPHATHI), kneel at the heads of their sections on all ceremonial occasions except dances. At dances, except for the unmarried girls whose group leaders maintained, a different set of leaders, those skilled in dancing, lead their respective sections.

Groups of dancers may be further divided according to their place of origin, that is, whether they originate from beyond the Tugela River to the north, or from Natal and the southern regions.

These statements about Shembe social organisation and expected modes of behaviour at Ebuhleni are communicated in a clear, mutually understandable way by means of symbols. Symbolic systems are a means of organising and understanding the cultural and social environment in which one lives. The uniforms worn on ritual occasions are symbols which reflect differences between all participants but at the same time unite all, that is, they reflect

both communal life and collective differentiation.

All Shembe members wear a white smock, the UMNAZARETHA, to the church ground and on other particular ritual occasions besides dancing. The style of the UMNAZARETHA, and the adornment worn with it, varies between men and women, and between people of different ages.

The uniform worn to church services is steeped in sacred and social symbolism. A white cloth headcovering, called UMNANSUKA, is worn by unmarried girls out of respect to God, the Leader Amos Shembe, and the AMADLOZI (ancestral shades). Married women wear a similar cloth around their shoulders. A woman's married status is indicated by her headcovering (INHLOKO) which is adorned with a beaded headband (UMNQWAZI). The head is covered out of respect to God, the Leader and the AMADLOZI, while the shape of the headdress alludes to the husband's place of origin. This beadwork is complemented by anklets (AMADAVATHI) of beadwork worn above bare feet. The broad black band (U14) worn around the waist and the thin white strip (U14) worn around the headband act as reminders to the married women of the day set aside for them by the Church. On the 14th of every month, married women engage in communal prayer in their Temples. They meet together at Ebuhleni on 14 July.

Both males and females may wear IFOTO with their uniforms. The IFOTO is said to be a source of divine protection for the wearer.

Leaders of married women (ABAKHOKELI) and males, notably the ABAVANGELI and ABAFUNDISI, wear distinctive garb which sets them apart from other members. In this way, members are reminded of their place within the Shembe social hierarchy. The Leader himself, Mr Amos Shembe, wears a white cloak over his UMNAZARETHA, but also dresses in a range of outfits received from different Shembe congregations throughout Southern Africa. On occasion, these garments are in fabrics and designs specific to particular areas, for example, Swaziland. This lends support to the view that the religion of the Nazareth Baptist Church is a broad-based African religion which incorporates a wide range of adherents and is not area or culture specific. The leadership pattern is one which locks Shembe into an exchange relationship with his adherents. He identifies with them to gain their support, while they supply that support in the expectation that he will deliver God-given blessings and benefits.

Many believe that the UMNAZARETHA was prescribed by the Founder, Isaiah Shembe, after he received guidance from God in a vision. The UMNAZARETHA is said to be derived from the Bible. Some members quoted evidence for such attire (Daniel 7:9). J.G. Shembe referred to the UMNAZARETHA as a "garment of Heaven" (Sundkler 1976:185).

Members also own dance uniforms which change as they grow older and marry. The "African-style" dance uniform is used predominantly at Sunday dances.

"Full men" are permitted to wear the IBHESHU outfit. The young men, on the other hand, wear the western-style, military-like ISIKOTSHI. Shades of Scottish missionary influence are evident in the latter uniform. This uniform is symbolic of an army of sacred warriors engaged in the fight against evil. The hierarchical structure in which one is encouraged to acknowledge and respect one's elders is illuminated through these uniforms. Less overtly, the transition from ISIKOTSHI to IBHESHU may model a fundamental conversion from missionary tutelage to the maturity of African independence, which is at the heart of Shembe identity.

Maturity and marriageability of the girls is reflected in the differing array of skirts and bead adornment worn by each age category. Naked breasts are an indication of nubility and virginity, the latter a condition stressed in Church ideology.

A set of "western-style" uniforms is available to unmarried girls only. Firstly, the importance of the girls' position as the future of the Church and their need to be protected is highlighted in the extra attention paid to them. Secondly, it is possible that the use of this clothing reflects an historical mission influence in the Nazareth Baptist Church. Western dress was seen as "civilised" dress which, at the start of the Nazareth Baptist Church, would have appealed to those who had moved away from traditional dress due to missionary influence. Here again, the paradigm of progressing from missionary subordination to African religious emancipation is perhaps the underlying theme.

Great attention is given to detail, order, discipline and correctness in the wearing of dance uniforms. Girls, required to be correctly dressed, are checked by their leaders at dances. The latter will not balk at sending away sloppily dressed participants. All this amounts to strict control of the girls by the Church.

This control is reaffirmed on numerous ritual occasions reserved for unmarried girls alone, for example, the UMJAFETE ritual. This acts as a sacralised reminder to the girls of the normative requirements of the Church, namely, to safeguard their virginity in order to receive God's blessing as an enhancement of their reproductive capacity. This rite also bears relation to the Zulu Puberty rite and Festival dedicated to Nomkhubulwana where the girls are declaring their sexual potential. However, in contrast to the Nomkhubulwana rite, sexuality is subdued by the many strict controls on virginity expressed through the discipline of dress.

Furthermore, the UMJAFETE ritual is interpreted within a Biblical idiom. The girls are re-enacting the Biblical story of a Judge, Jephthah, whose daughter was sacrificed to God. Girls in the Nazareth Baptist Church are symbolically reaffirming their allegiance and dedication to God and the Church.

The status of married women is reflected in their dance attire. Women, through marriage, have been allocated to their husbands.

The formal appropriation of a woman's sexuality in marriage firmly subjects her to the male order of husband, Church Leader, AMADLOZI and God, to each of which she must accord elaborate respect. In essence, such respect rests upon the concealment of her sexuality from the public gaze. The long traditional skirt (ISIDWABA) worn below the knee, covered breasts and shoulders, and the traditional-style headcovering (INHLOKO) worn out of respect (UKUHLONIPHA) to the Church Leader, the AMADLOZI and God, reflects her state of womanhood. Symbolism

It is in women's dance uniforms that beadwork comes into its own. Colour and pattern are significant in Shembe beadwork. While there are no specific colour meanings in Shembe beadwork, a distinction may be made between light and dark beads. White is synonymous with brightness and lightness, while some coloured beads tend to be associated with darkness. In beadwork pieces such as the anklets (AMADAVATHI), the headband (UMNQWAZI) and the frontal apron (INEME), white beads form a background which surrounds coloured beads. White is pure, sacred and uplifts and lightens the darkness. Light surrounds, contains and subdues the darkness. Similarly, Shembe religion sets boundaries which prevent evil or the profane from consuming its adherents. White boundaries.

Patterning has been dynamic over the years, and colours of beads have changed to suit modern trends. Many believe that the current Leader prefers the older style of beadwork which largely makes use of primary colours in blocks, cross-shapes or extended crosses. Shape

Members did not believe these cross-shape patterns to have Biblical significance. More recent beadwork (introduced over the past 10 to 15 years or so) consists of a range of translucent and lustered beads depicting designs such as fish, birds and other animals. Objects required for daily use, for example the razorblade, are depicted, while religious objects such as the shield are also worked into designs.

Many members acknowledge a traditional Zulu influence in beadwork, but do not regard the Shembe-style and traditional Zulu beadwork as the same. Certainly some types of Shembe beadwork used in ritual are the same in name, for example, the UMNQWAZI and AMADAVATHI. In general, however, the types, colours and patterning of Shembe and traditional Zulu beadwork do differ.

There has been no attempt to incorporate graphemes showing western school influence into Shembe beadwork. In the Nazareth Baptist Church, traditional Zulu beadwork has been transformed into a unique style of beadwork which, to a large extent, excludes a dominant western culture. This beadwork has its own code of meaning which serves to produce a specific, largely exclusive, identity.

This, too, I believe explains the greater emphasis on the use of the African-style uniform. A unique Shembe identity is being asserted here.

This is not to deny that there has been a traditional Zulu influence on dance uniforms in general. Many members themselves are of the opinion that the dance uniform, received by Isaiah Shembe in a vision from God, has a traditional Zulu basis but is not the same. Similarities exist, for example, where the girls dance with bare breasts and skirts above the knees. Married women wear shoulder coverings, heavy leather skirts (worn below the knees) and tall head coverings. Men dress in outfits of skin (AMABHESHU).

The influence of Zulu traditional dress on Shembe dance clothes is not surprising. Aspects of traditional Zulu lifestyle have been assimilated into patterns of living at Ebuhleni, for example, the traditional division of labour in hut building and the popularity of dome-shaped huts, the latter a resting place for the AMADLOZI. The dwelling area of the current Leader, Amos Shembe, and the structural layout of Ebuhleni resembles that of the traditional Zulu village. Rituals such as the engagement and marriage ceremonies in the Church also incorporate elements of the traditional. For example, the payment of LOBOLO and slaughter of a cow to formalise the marriage.

Bearing in mind this similarity, it is not unreasonable to suggest that there are resemblances between Shembe's position and that of the king or chief traditonally. This is reflected in the way in which people approach him and the redistribution of goods to his close support group of female "disciples" who bolster his position

in the Church.

Isaiah Shembe, in establishing the Shembe religion, drew on traditional Zulu culture, but at the same time transposed it. He made use of just enough elements of Zulu tradition to appeal to Zulu traditionalists while drawing on other influences, in particular, Christianity, thereby forging a broad African Christianity which appeals to a broad mass of people.

In summation, clothing and adornment worn on ritual occasions are sacred symbols which present a social image to adherents and communicate individual and sectional status within the social structure. It is through the use of particular garments that members are reminded of acceptable standards of behaviour which are most often a reflection of Church ideology established by the Founder, Isaiah Shembe. This, together with the attention given to minute detail and precision in dress, is an assertion of control by the Church. By wearing uniforms, members are identifying themselves as Shembeites and are distinguishing themselves from Zulu traditionalists and members of other Christian churches. Members are symbolically accepting the philosophy of the Nazareth Baptist Church and the leadership of Amos Shembe.

8.2. THE PROFANE REALM

The sacred and symbolic meaning of ritual garments is only one facet of their significance within the Nazareth Baptist Church. The manufacture and sale of religious regalia, which falls within

the bounds of the profane realm, cannot be ignored. Many Shembeites are engaged in some sort of informal money-making activity.

Church members are actively encouraged, through exhortation by the Leader and Church doctrine laid down in the Hymnbook, IZIHLABELELO ZAMANAZARETHA, to work. Members are encouraged to use their hands to produce items for sale to facilitate self-support. Laziness is abhorred. This goes hand-in-hand with Church teaching which stresses the importance of sobriety and productivity.

Items made and sold by members of the Nazareth Baptist Church fit into three categories. Firstly, all items made specifically for ritual use; secondly, items restricted for sale to the African market, some of which Shembeites will not use, for example, beerstrainers; and thirdly, items produced for sale to all, particularly tourists at beachfront venues.

Women and girls, in accordance with the traditional division of labour, are responsible for the manufacture of dance clothing worn by women and girls, and beadwork for all males and females.

Most skin-work, particularly that for men's dance clothes, is done by males. This goes hand in hand with traditional male roles of hunting and herding. Woodworking, traditionally a male occupation, is also left to Shembe men, while grasswork such as the manufacture of mats, beerstrainers and handbrooms, is a female

domain. Of prime importance here is that, although the items have been produced using a traditional division of labour, they are no longer primarily given as gifts, but are sold for money.

Ritual regalia is usally made for sale to fellow members. There is no formal rule which prohibits the sale of ritual garments to non-Shembeites. However, there are those members who refuse to sell to non-Shembeites, while others have failed in their attempts to sell ritual beadwork at tourist markets.

The interpretation of the symbolic messages communicated in the refusal or desire to sell go a long way to understanding these widely differing responses. A message of religious identity and exclusivity is being transmitted by those who do not wish to sell to non-members. It is a message that only fellow Shembeites understand. Outsiders do not partake of these shared meanings. For those who are prepared to sell to non-members, the message is purely an economic one. Most important is the money to be acquired. For the buyer, the message would most likely be one of aesthetics - the desire to possess the object for its beauty.

A Shembeite concern with identity is most clearly highlighted when one compares the beadwork produced by Shembeites for consumption on ritual occasions, and beadwork produced primarily for the tourist market.

The beadwork made for sale at Durban beachfront and other

beachfront venues is produced by women and girls. This beadwork is very different in type, size, quality, price and use to that worn on ceremonial occasions in the Nazareth Baptist Church. The beadwork produced for beachfront trade is usually cheap, mass-produced and easily transportable.

Makers and sellers at Durban beachfront do not sell Shembe ritual beadwork there for various reasons, namely, it is too expensive to have tourist appeal, and tourists, in particular whites, do not buy it. Makers produce smaller pieces of beadwork in particular styles, patterns and colours which appeal to a tourist market.

Tourists are dictating to the producers what they will buy. Producers are meeting these needs, for the latter's aim is surely to make the most profit. The producers are commercially motivated, while the consumer is driven to purchase what he or she considers to be a piece of "genuine ethnic culture". An absurd situation exists in which beadwork made for personal ritual use by the makers is not desirable to tourists and subsequently, is not made available to them.

Tourists exclude themselves from any true understanding or shared meaning with members of the Shembe Church, whether members would sell to them or not. Shembe ritual beadwork is thus unique to the Shembe Church. In its use, exclusive boundaries are being drawn around worshippers in the Church.

Shembe religious philosophy encourages all its members to work, and Shembe makers and sellers at the beachfront do assist each other to some extent to achieve this goal. Shembe makers and sellers will share sites with fellow members. If, however, they share with non-members, these are often kinsfolk. Those who share may split the cost of the site licence. Sharing between Shembeites and non-Shembe family members has advantages. The non-Shembe family member is left in charge of the site when the Shembe member is unable to work, for example, on meeting days or on the Sabbath. Makers and sellers at the beachfront may also call on kin (who may or may not be members) and Shembe members to assist in the production of items for which they will be remunerated. Even though there may be co-operation between fellow Shembeites, the proceeds from the sale of one's own products are one's own. There is no profit sharing.

There are positive aspects to buying and selling activity for both Church members and for the Church itself. Firstly, people are encouraged through religious philosophy to make and sell. They are receiving sacred endorsement. Secondly, members, particularly women, are able to support themselves and their families, that is, they are offered a means of self-preservation while pursuing religious ends. This is made even more salient in an apartheid society where formal employment for black women has been limited. Thirdly, women and girls, in particular, are given a sense of self-worth and a degree of independence. They are largely in control of their time and labour. They acquire a sense of

usefulness in assisting others who are unable to make due to old age, education or lack of ability. Fourthly, women who make and sell at Ebuhleni are able to tend to their children, do not have problems of transport, and are not required to organise licences. Finally, by making and selling religious regalia to fellow members, Shembeites are expressing their acceptance and support of Nazareth Baptist Church ideology and subsequently, their exclusive identity.

Buying and selling does have some negative repercussions. Competition between individual members is encouraged. Each person's profit is his/her own. As a result, each strives to make as much profit as he/she can to support his/her own ends. The situation is thus fraught with the potential for conflict. This potential threatens to erupt, spill over and create disturbances within the realm of the sacred.

8.3. SACRED AND PROFANE

In the Nazareth Baptist Church, the sacred domain corresponds to that which is public, communal and common, while the profane realm encompasses that which is private and indvidual. It would seem then (only if one accepts Durkheim's rigid distinction) that in the Church, communal service (sacred) is potentially in opposition to the individual in pursuit of personal profit (profane). There are, however, numerous ways in which the Nazareth Baptist Church has manipulated the sacred and profane realms to enable them to work in tandem to its own advantage.

Informal money-making has not always been accepted in the Church. However, it has now been formally and fully assimilated into the Church. Members are encouraged in Church religious philosophy to make and sell, but this activity is also controlled by the Church. The Church has harnessed the potentially negative aspects of buying and selling and has transformed these in a positive way to serve the interests of the Church.

Firstly, members are actively encouraged to make for others, who are unable to make artefacts due to ill-health, old age, educational constraints or a lack of necessary skill. This will mean that clothing is available for those who want to wear it and thereby participate in sacred rituals. Opportunities are created for more members to participate, which will mean that more people receive God's blessing and are exposed to the normative requirements of Shembe society. This, in turn, reinforces the Church's control over its members.

In addition, if one is able to sell one's work to fellow members and receive money, then one is also more able to purchase ceremonial uniforms for oneself. Thus, money which is received need not be used entirely for the pursuit of profane gratification, but may be indirectly channelled towards the fulfillment of sacred ends.

The payment of offerings (UMNIKELO) to the Church is yet another

way in which money earned during profane activity is captured and used by the Church to subject its members to its service. UMNIKELO is paid in various forms. The joining fee and monthly membership fee secure the individual a place within the church community. If one is to retain or guarantee that place, one must ensure one's state of purity. If one has erred, one must be sure to be purified or healed through the payment of INHLAMBULUKO. Those who do not conform are physically and publicly set apart from the congregation. "Sinners" are required to sit outside the bounds of the church ground. At church services, one is not permitted to wear the dance uniform and dance if not in a pure state, for example, if one has had a child before marriage or one is not fully married (in the case of women). Those not permitted to dance will miss out on the blessing given by God on that occasion. The impure are also excluded from participating in one of the holiest rites, namely, holy communion.

The purely profane (monetary gain by individuals) is thus re-cycled into the sacred (through securing and re-emphasising one's place within the congregation of believers, while reinforcing the ritual strength of the entirety). The Church is able to turn monetary gains by adherents into gains for itself at the same time as reinforcing its control over its members.

It is during sacred rituals, for example church services and dancing, that one receives blessings from one's AMADLOZI and God. The AMADLOZI (who receive their strength from God) can influence

one's success in making and selling. If one has sinned, one cannot participate in dances, and one is publicly set apart during church services. These members are, therefore, not in a position to receive any blessing. This is likely to affect one's economic success. More than this, the Sabbath, a holy day of rest when no economic activity is permitted at Ebuhleni, is devoted to praise and thanksgiving. One has only deserved this day of prayer (when one may receive blessings) if one has worked well. This is very definitely stated in the Catechism of the Church as translated by Becken and Zungu (n.d.). Isaiah Shembe was noted to have said to a gathering of members:

> 98.74 "I want to tell you that I do not like people who do not work. I do not like it if you hide yourself when you are called to work, because this behaviour of yours PREVENTS GOD FROM BLESSING YOUR WORK" [my emphasis] (Becken and Zungu n.d.).

Shembe members are dependent on sacred means for success in the profane sphere. Hard work ensures the support of God, AMADLOZI and the Nazareth Baptist Church.

The women and girls form the majority of members, are the prime producers and consumers of clothing and adornment in the Church, and have the most to gain from being members. It follows that they are subsequently also the most controlled by the Church and are locked into a relationship of obligation to the Church.

Finally, the wearing of the uniforms on ritual occasions assists in averting potential conflict. Members are exhorted to dress in

the correct way. At Sunday dances, for example, participants are checked by their leaders prior to making their way to the church ground to receive blessings before moving to the dancing ground. This attention to dress ensures that everyone is dressed in the same way within their particular social grouping. All members of each social grouping are dedicated to the worship of God. Differences in dance ability and the social hierarchy may, at first glance, suggest the potential for competition, conflict and a resultant split within each dance group. The converse, however, occurs. Individuals within the group constantly strive to dance better (conform more) and so receive greater rewards from God. Also, one is not able to dance as an individual. One dances as part of an ordered unit, each part being essential to the success of the dance. This group unity is stressed and reinforced through uniform dress and uniform action on sacred occasions.

Uniforms worn by the participants set them apart as a whole from those who are not partaking in the ritual activity. The entire group engaged in religious activity is united through a common purpose, a sacred purpose - to worship God. The uniforms embody this sacred allegiance. It is at these communal gatherings that uniforms as sacred symbols are recharged with sacred meaning. On completion of ritual activity, the uniform may retain something of the sacred for its owner. This must surely contribute to members not wishing to sell or to give their uniforms away to non-members.

Through such sacred activity, a "collective effervescence" is

created. It is this which reinforces the solidarity of Shembe Church identity, in addition to representing society to individuals. Aspects of the profane life, where the individual and entrepreneurial activity are all important, are temporarily blotted out during sacred activity. Any potential for conflict which may have arisen while in the profane realm is overcome during worship.

Members are constantly being reminded of the sacred importance of the ritual, that is, to whom they owe allegiance and the well-being of the Nazareth Baptist Church over that of the individual. It is during this time of collective effervescence that any cracks in the religious and social paint are mended.

In short, devotion to the sacred sphere is vital to the successful management of the profane life which in turn materially sustains it and supports the sacred edifice.

Durkheim's rigid theoretical distinction between the sacred and the profane is not rigorously upheld in practice, as the example of the Nazareth Baptist Church shows. However, this is not to say that the sacred-profane dichotomy has no use. In fact, its importance lies in its use as an analytical tool to facilitate the management and understanding of research data.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

THE MARRIAGE OF EPHRAIM NGCOBO AND IVY MHLONGO
(Sunday, 3 December 1989)

The "first" and "second" marriages were held at the home of Ephraim Ngcobo (EN) at Matikwe, KwaZulu/Natal. On the morning of the wedding day, EN went to Inanda to an UMFUNDISI to get "registered". The marriage certificate cost R50,00. The wedding was set to start at 11.00am.

Prior to the start of the wedding, the men slaughtered a cow. When the animal was slaughtered, a prayer was said to the AMADLOZI to introduce Ivy Mhlongo (IM) to the home, that is, "this cow is for this lady so that she has the right to be in this house" (EN). As guests started to arrive, EN, still dressed in everyday wear, was presented with a band of white beads by the bride's sister. He wore the beads diagonally across his shoulder. Shortly after this, EN and his attendants went to change into the African-style dance uniform. The white sash of beads was also worn with this outfit. Although the beads were presented by the bride's sister, they were actually a gift from his wife-to-be. According to EN, the white sash was worn as a sign of respect and to show that when he first met his wife, she had had no children (although she had had four children at the time of this wedding ceremony). EN also carried an IWISA stick.

While EN had been changing into his wedding attire, so, too, had IM. She dressed in a tent hired for the occasion. She wore a sleevless white shirt and piece of leopard skin which covered her chest and shoulders. EN believed that this was for respect (HLONIPHA). She also wore the INHLOKO, UMNQWAZI, ISIDWABA and AMADAVATHI. The bride's attendant, a married woman, was dressed in like manner, although a towel replaced the cloak because she did not own one.

The bride carried a knife which still had its price tag attached. The tag is left on the knife to show that it has not been used. The knife is used to cut meat from the slaughtered animal for the other women attending the ceremony. The knife is only to be used in IM's household in future.

Most of the gathered crowd wore western-style clothing. The crowd consisted of both Shembeites and non-members (people from IM's area were not members). Shembeites were not required to wear their dancing or church outfits.

The women went to an open area (dancing ground - ISIGCAWU) beyond the house and tent. Men followed later, singing a "Shembe song" as they went. They were led by a man who was believed to be an accomplished singer.

The men and women used the same entrance to the dancing area, but

then stood in different areas. The bride stood on the left and the men on the right. Shembe-style dancing and singing occurred. EN danced with the men first, and then he danced with his wife.

After dancing, representatives from each family addressed the crowd. They spoke about the bride and groom and their families. Gifts were then given. A chest of clothing, handkerchiefs, blankets and so on, was carried out from behind a bush. A man and a woman from the IM's family presented the chest to EN's family. The contents were apportioned such that clothing was first supplied to EN's father, then to his mother, followed by his grandfather and grandmother.

Following this ceremony, the cow which was slaughtered in the morning was cooked for all to eat.

For EN, this ceremony was a sign of the final LOBOLO payment. He believed that the AMADLOZI were happy that he and IM were fully married. According to EN, the AMADLOZI were so pleased that he and his wife were later "given" another baby (This interview took place on 15.1.1992 after the birth of the above-mentioned baby). EN said that he was not permitted to hold the traditional-style marriage at Ebuhleni because they had had children before the final LOBOLO payments had been made.

In the evening, a western-style wedding reception was held in the the tent. The tables were set with cakes, biscuits, cooldrink and beer (for the non-Shembe members). The bride and groom were dressed in western-style clothing. EN wore a suit and IM, a white wedding dress.

APPENDIX 2

UKUKHULISA CEREMONY FOR GIRLS (AMASHESHAKUNGENA TO UTUBHANE)

The following account was written by my assistant, Ms S. Zibane:

> This occurs when a girl begins to menstruate. The ceremony is called UKUKHULISA - the girl is preparing for her role as a mother and life giver. Before the actual ceremony, UKUGONQA takes place. It is when the affected girl, together with other girls around her age, stay in a room for a week without being seen by the public. During that week the girls put white substance in their faces and pray and dance everyday. Old people (but female) visit those girls and give advices to them and tell them more about adolescence stage and changes that occur in the body during the stage and the way of reacting to those changes. Future and marriage advices are also told to the girls. This is the first phase of UMEMULO (to be explained below). On the ceremony day, the girls pray and dance and eat, and that meat is not supposed to be eaten by others.

APPENDIX 3

THE UMEMULO CEREMONY FOR GIRLS (UTUBHANE TO ISIDWABA)

The following account was written by my assistant, Ms S. Zibane:

After two years of sexual maturation, the girl can become ISIDWABA. Usually UMEMULO is conducted when the girl is 18 years or 21 years. This ceremony is conducted like UKUKHULISA, but here there are many things involved, like, at night the girls go to the lady concerned relatives and neighbours to ask for gifts, that is called UMEMULA. On Friday of that week the ladies went to the girl's uncle asking for goat and sword to be used by the girl during the actual ceremony. Early on Sunday, about 3 am, the girls go to bath in the river to take off all bad lucks from them and come back to prepare for the ceremony -UKUVUNULA. The lady concerned, with other two ladies, wear dancing outfit but using the skin ISIDWABA not the wool ISIDWABA. The other ladies wear towels or AMAHIYA. Then ladies sing traditional and church songs, dance and everybody eat. UMSHUMAYELI informs the spectators what the ceremony was all about and its importance.

APPENDIX 4

TRANSCRIPTION OF TAPED CONVERSATION WITH MR AMOS SHEMBE (27.6.89)

GM: The costumes and beadwork that everybody wears around here are absolutely beautiful. In fact, I have some photographs to show you. Unfortunately, my photography isn't very good, but it gives you an idea.
SHEMBE: You got to get me an album like this.
GM: Okay, I will, I will.
SHEMBE: Thank you. You must carry on. My eyes will be here [on the photographs], my ears...
GM: Okay. I would like to ask your permission if I may bring in a professional photograher to take good photographs?
SHEMBE: When?
GM: Possibly...
SHEMBE: Anytime, that's all right.
GM: It is just that I don't take good phototgraphs...
SHEMBE : This thing is starting on Saturday [July Festival].
GM: Is it on Saturday?
SHEMBE: Starting, ya.
GM: Is it.
SHEMBE: Saturday morning. You can come Saturday morning. Don't talk to me.
GM: Okay...
SHEMBE: It is the Sabbath Day. You only take photographs, then go.
GM: Okay. So if I have her in [Ebuhleni] perhaps next week some time?
SHEMBE: Next week, all right.
GM: I mean, we don't want to disturb you. Okay, now something that came up in asking all my questions is what is the origin of the clothing tradition, where does it come from, why do people wear the various types of beadwork and the IBHESHU?
SHEMBE: Ya, don't you know Zulus wear IBHESHU and beadwork a lot. So my father thought even in Christian belief, our costumes must not die away. There's no need.
GM: I was wondering about that and...
SHEMBE: Ya, I know. He said there is no need.
GM: Do you at your church meetings, tell the people to wear their traditional stuff, to wear their traditional clothing?
SHEMBE: Yes, yes, we tell them.
GM: And is it written as well?
SHEMBE: Yes.
GM: Where did the dancing originate from? Is this traditional Zulu dancing as well?
SHEMBE: I should say so. I should say it is traditional because whenever Zulus sing, they dance...
GM: All right, so...
SHEMBE: They sing and dance all the time, the Zulus. So my father said, well this dance is for Christ. When we are Christians, he will enjoy it.
GM: Right...

SHEMBE: Because it is our way of life - sing and dance.
GM: When people first wear beadwork must it be blessed?
SHEMBE: No, No. It is their own.
GM: Now, would they be able to sell their own beadwork?
SHEMBE: To sell?
GM: To sell it, for example, to...
SHEMBE: They can make beadwork for sale.
GM: And to non-Shembe people, I mean, for example, to whites?
SHEMBE: I think so, yes.
GM: It would be all right, their own stuff?
SHEMBE: Ya, they can sell.
GM: I notice that a lot of people are making mats and brooms and all sorts of things.
SHEMBE: Mats, yes, yes.
GM: Now is it part of the religious ideology to make these things or...
SHEMBE: No. It is just that they must work. My father thought the African a lazy type of people, so he wrote in the prayer book - in the morning you will read you must work, you must work, a lazy person doesn't go to Heaven, and so on.
GM: Ah ha...
SHEMBE: He wanted them to work, and when you work you get money. When you don't work, you don't get any.
GM: Is there a minimum clothing that people have to wear. You know, they have the church uniform, the women with the...
SHEMBE: Ya, ya, ya.
GM: Is there a minimum that they have to wear. Like would they come to church without the U14, the black band...
SHEMBE: No, that is sort of compulsory.
GM: So there is a minimum then?
SHEMBE: Ya, there is a minimum.
GM: Is that the church uniform, with the U14 and...
SHEMBE: U14...Yes, you don't go to church without.
GM: I also wondered why the girls, the unmarried ladies have 7 different dancing uniforms, you know, they have the IBLACK AND WHITE, the IPINK, the UVEYILI and all those?
SHEMBE: Ya, ya.
GM: Now why...
SHEMBE: He started with IBLACK, oh, no... He started, ya, with clothing until later he came to beads and small karosses.
GM: Ah, ha. And the women, they only have one dancing outfit?
SHEMBE: They only have one.
GM: Why is that?
SHEMBE: I think he didn't like married women [chuckle, chuckle]. So he had just one. Men, too, have only one, the IBHESHU, ya, the IBHESHU.
GM: What about working for others. I mean, would it be all right for Shembe people to work for whites?
SHEMBE: They do, they do.
GM: And that is quite acceptable?
SHEMBE: Very faithful people these are. And they get trained by most of the people.
GM: I just wondered whether there was something that they weren't allowed to work for...

SHEMBE: No, no, they work for anyone.
GM: Okay. How do the ladies here survive? Do you give them food or do they work? Is the money they get from beadmaking what they use to buy food, or do you give them food?
SHEMBE: No, I don't give them food. Woo! Terrible crowd here! You can't give them food. There are too many. You must come on a Saturday afternoon one day. Just stand there, you will see. A very big crowd from now, starting on Saturday. They will come, a lot of them.
GM: Yes. I have seen people arriving already. Lots more activity from when I started to now...
SHEMBE: For the whole month now, they will be arriving, staying here.
GM: Do you decide what the people should make or can they make what they want to make?
SHEMBE: No, what they want.
GM: As long as they are working?
SHEMBE: Ya, as long as they are working. Mats, everything. Ya, they must use their hands. God wants these hands to be used.
GM: What do the church uniforms actually mean, do they have a meaning?
SHEMBE: No, there is no meaning.
GM: No meaning. And the colours and patterns on the beadwork?
SHEMBE: No meaning. Ya, you can make your own colours.
GM: All right. If I came... [At this point he Shembe shouted to someone. There was the opening of doors. A girl came into the room and removed a music system]
SHEMBE: The church uniforms - where did they originate? The white church uniform - is it from the Bible?
SHEMBE: No. no, he [Isaiah Shembe] dreamt. He dreamt he was being told to go and start a congregation that wears white and he was a...you know, a place was high and looking down he saw people, crowds wearing white. Said you go and preach to these people in Mpondoland.
GM: Yes.
SHEMBE: Yes, in Mpondoland. But when he came to Durban he didn't get converts. He just stayed until he got people, converts in Durban and then he started going out, and in Mpondoland he went everywhere.
GM: I wondered because some of the unmarried ladies said that some of the beadwork was influenced by Mpondo.
SHEMBE: Ya.
GM: You know the UMBHAMBA? I have seen some Mpondo beadwork and it looks similar.
SHEMBE: Mpondoland - very nice beadwork, very nice, so they copied that too.
GM: I spoke to someone who came from Transkei. She told me that they have got Temples in Transkei.
SHEMBE: They have now. We started about 4-5 years ago.
GM: Is it.
SHEMBE: Ya, and very enthusiastic there.
GM: Would it be possible for me to go and visit these Temples?
SHEMBE: If you have somebody directing you - there is a Temple there. Oh yes, oh yes.

GM: You would give me your permission?
SHEMBE: Oh yes, you can visit any Temple.
GM: Thank you so much. I am really interested to see...
SHEMBE: Good, good.
GM:...the clothing.
SHEMBE: You take photographs?
GM: Oh yes.
SHEMBE: And bring phototgraphs?
GM: I will.
SHEMBE: That's good.
GM: But I am afaid mine are poor. You know that's why I want to bring in this photographer.
SHEMBE: Whose are your poor ones? These?
GM: Yes.
SHEMBE: These are good.
GM: But this woman, she takes wonderful photographs.
SHEMBE: Aah.
GM: I believe she took some about 10 years ago. They are really good.
SHEMBE: Oh ya. Do you see photographs in this house? In this room? It is because I don't know where to put them. They are all gifts you know.
GM: That's wonderful.
SHEMBE: I just put them there. This one I have been putting in the morning [pointing to an old picture on the wall above the doorway]. I moved it from where, ya, the space [??] and I put it there. It is a man standing, is the man who baptised my father. My father is sitting down.
GM: Oh yes.
SHEMBE: The man who baptised him. He was first baptised by a Wesleyan minister, a white man. Then when he got to him he said: "But this minister baptised me, Jesus was baptised in the river". He went back to the minister - "Why did you baptise me like that?. He said: "No, everybody is being baptised, it is only a sign that you have accepted Christianity". I mean, went about town Harrismith until he got that man. Oh, he is a baptist, so he baptised him and he adopted baptism too. Then he came to preach here in Natal.
GM: Oh, yes.
SHEMBE: I have tremendous converts. Number is terrible, terrible. I don't know what to do with them. Really there are too many, and they want me, yes.
GM: To be everywhere?
SHEMBE: Yes, ay, it is very difficult.
GM: It must be.
SHEMBE: I gave the minister. I said the minister will attend to you. These people don't like them.
GM: They want you?
SHEMBE: Ya, I am alone, me. I have been travelling through Natal, day in and day out, day in and day out until...
GM: It's hard.
SHEMBE: Ya, it's too much, yes.
GM: I was speaking to Mr Madondo and he said to me that you had been to the Ciskei and Mocambique, all over the place.

SHEMBE: Everywhere, ya. When they are started from here to Port Elizabeth, some congregation wanted me there. Ya, little bit far, you know. Our car is lost petrol and we slept in the veld.
GM: Oh no.
SHEMBE: Ya, and in the morning we went to Grahamstown, and ooh, it's quite a long way.
GM: It is a long way from here. I am from East London.
SHEMBE: Oh that is your home.
GM: So that is why I want to visit the Shembe people in Transkei as well. It is very interesting.
SHEMBE: Oh ya. We got them at Qawukeni, the Great Place, Mpondoland and we went to Umtata. And then there is a convert. You know the man, Mbele ?. Mbele came to me down here. I was down there too. He came. Once he saw me he said, is this the man who was directed by a man from Natal. His cattle were not producing well, calves dying and all that. So the man said: "No, go to Shembe in Natal". He came. When he came, by the time he got home his cattle were...the bull was lazy...it stopped laziness. When he came home, the first one which was covered by the bull got two cows and this man said: "Hmmm, I am from a wonderful man". And he was converted and he started preaching all over there.
GM: That's tremendous. That is really interesting. Thank you for your time. It has been very interesting.
SHEMBE: Come again, come again.
GM: Thank you so much, I will.
SHEMBE: When you feel like coming, come.

APPENDIX 5

EXAMPLE OF A CATALOGUE DISTRIBUTED BY WHOLESALERS IN THE CURIO TRADE

S.A. SHEWELL & Co. (Pty) Ltd.

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21st August, 1992.

The Director
EAST LONDON MUSEUM
P.O. Box 11021
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5213

Dear Sirs,

ZULU BEADWORK AND ARTIFACTS

As wholesale suppliers to the Curio Trade for the past 22 years we are experiencing an increasing interest in Zulu culture.

Collectors' items in Beadwork such as Ladies' traditional hats, headbands, belts, pendants, chokers, anklets, bracelets, aprons, and Artifacts such as sleeping pillows (headrests), milking pails, meat trays, spoons, sleeping mat frames, are becoming difficult to obtain but we are fortunate in having good contacts in remote areas and most interesting items continue to arrive to be added to our collection.

Should you be interested in this area will you kindly complete the enclosed information sheet and return it to us. We will then inform you of what is currently available.

Modern beadwork presents little problem in supply and our stocks are replenished on a weekly basis.

We enclose a price list of modern items immediately available.

We can also supply Zulu Shield sets, beaded spears, knobkerries, fly whisks, etc., and traditional decorative baskets.

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Director.

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P.O.Box 11141
Marine Parade
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ZULU BEADWORK

1 July 1992

NO.	DESCRIPTION	EXCL. PRICE	VAT	INCL PRICE
1	DAISY CHAIN SETS (Umcaluka)	2.40	.24	2.64
2	CHOKER - Solid (Isitilobho)	5.80	.58	6.38
3	CHOKER - Twist Large	4.95	.50	5.45
4	CHOKER - Strings	8.25	.83	9.08
5	CHOKER - Hollow (Ivovo or Khama)	4.95	.50	5.45
6	CHOKER - Small	4.95	.50	5.45
7	CHOKER - Large	8.25	.83	9.08
8	CHOKER & BRACELET SET	8.70	.87	9.57
9	BRACELET (Ingusha) -Flat 2,5cm	2.50	.25	2.75
10	BANGLE - Solid	2.90	.29	3.19
11	COLLAR - Looped	5.50	.55	6.05
12	COLLAR - Net	11.20	1.12	12.37
13	CASCADE (Itshebe) - (a) Small " - (b) Large	10.75 26.50	1.08 2.65	11.83 29.15
14	BROOCH BUTTERFLY	1.00	.10	1.10
15	BROOCH CROCODILE	1.00	.10	1.10
16	PENDANTS (Isibebe) (a) (b)	3.00 4.95	.30 .50	3.30 5.45
17	BELTS (Bande) (a) 2cm (b) 5cm	16.50 29.75- 42.00	1.65	18.15
18	ZULU LOVE LETTER (iNcwadi)	1.15	.12	1.27
19	FERTILITY DOLL	6.60	.66	7.26

NO	DESCRIPTION	EXCL. PRICE	VAT	INCL PRICE
20	DAISY SUNGLASS HOLDERS	3.70	.37	4.07
21	BRACELET CHILDS	1.65	.17	1.82
22	ELASTIC BEADED HAIR GRIPS	1.40	.14	1.54
23	CHILDRENS WATCHES	2.15	.22	2.37
24	ALICE BANDS (a) Broad 35mm (b) Narrow 22mm	16.50 9.90	1.65 .99	18.15 10.89
25	BROOCH ON CARD - Butterfly	1.15	.12	1.27
26	BROOCH ON CARD - Crocodile	1.15	.12	1.27
27	BEADED OSTRICH EGGS	40.15	4.02	44.17
28	BEADED CALABASH	9.90 - 19.80		
29	" EARRINGS	4.15 - 6.60		
30	" PURSES	16.50	1.65	18.15
31	COASTER SETS	16.50	1.65	18.15
32	FELT DOLL Small " " Large	3.30 5.20	.33 .52	3.63 5.72

ZULU COLLECTORS ITEMS: beadwork, beaded skirts, hats, meat trays, milking pails, mealie stampers, head rests, spoons, spears and baskets - price and availability on request.

Directors: E. Bainbridge -- C. Bainbridge

GLOSSARY OF CLOTHING-RELATED TERMS

GLOSSARY OF CLOTHING-RELATED TERMS

GLOSSARY OF CLOTHING-RELATED TERMS

(This glossary contains a list of clothing and related items most commonly used on ritual occasions in the Nazareth Baptist Church)

IBANTSHI - shirt with long sleeves and tasselled hemline worn with the ISIKOTSHI dance outfit by young men.

IBHESHU - skin covering worn over the buttocks. This is part of the African-style dancing uniform worn by men.

IBLACK AND WHITE - western-style outfit worn by unmarried girls of marriageable age at dances.

ICICI - earring.

IDAVATHI - beaded rectangle worn as an anklet.

IDUKU - headscarf.

IFOTO - badge bearing the photograph of either Isaiah, Galilee or Amos Shembe, or a combination of these.

IGXABA - square of black material to which are attached panels of beadwork. A square of black material is worn at the front and one at the back. This forms part of the dancing uniform worn by married women.

IHAWU - shield.

IHIYA - Fabric outfit worn by unmarried girls and married women under the church uniform (UMNAZARETHA).

IHLANGU - beaded wristband worn by married women as part of the dancing uniform.

IKHONGO - white pith helmet worn as part of the ISIKOTSHI outfit used by young men.

IKHULU - headdress of beads worn by married women as part of the dancing uniform.

ILALA - palm leaf used in the manufacture of headdresses and beerstrainers.

IMBATHU - large pieces of hair-covered skin worn around the neck, shoulders and chest by men as part of the African-style dancing uniform.

IMBHOKO - stick carried by men when at Nhlangakazi and on special ceremonial occasions.

IMISONTO - diagonal bands of fur-covered skin worn by men and boys as part of the African-style dance uniform.

IMPUNZI - duiker. Skins of these animals are used in the manufacture of dance dress for married men.

IMVUNULO - dance dress.

INCEMA - species of short rush used in the manufacture of mats and belts worn by married women when dancing.

INEME - frontal apron of beads worn by unmarried girls as part of the African-style dancing uniform.

INGONGONI - type of grass used in the manufacture of the round headress (INHLOKO) and handbrooms.

INGUBO YOMGIDI/INGUBO YOMSINDO/UMTSHEKO - cloak worn by married women when dancing.

INHLOKO/INKHEHLI/ISICHOLO - headdress worn by married women as part of the dancing and church outfits.

INJOBO - apron-like covering, usually of sheepskin, which may be worn at the front or side of the body by men when dressed in African-style dancing dress.

INSENGO - wire band worn beneath the knee by girls and men using the African-style dancing uniform.

INSIMBA - civet cat. Skins of these animals are used in the manufacture of African-style dance dress for men.

INTSOYI - red powder used to dye the headdress (INHLOKO).

IPINK - western-style outfit worn by unmarried girls of marriageable age when dancing.

IQANDA - large plastic bead used in the manufacture of the headband (UMNQWAZI).

ISHOBA - stick to which are attached white tail hairs of a cow. This is carried by men when wearing the African-style dancing uniform.

ISIBEBE - cleavage flap of beads worn by unmarried girls when wearing the African-style dancing uniform.

ISIBHAMBA - belt of ILALA palm leaves and beads worn by married women when dancing.

ISIBOPHO - woven grass strip worn around the UMNANSUKA headdress during the UMJAFETE Ceremony attended by unmarried girls.

ISICHONO - small square of plastic-like material decorated with skin, black and white braiding and plastic reflectors worn on the upper arm by men. Worn as part of the African-style dancing uniform.

ISICWAYO - large square of red fabric decorated with chevron patterns in white beads along the hemline. Worn by married women over the breasts when dancing. This term may also be used to refer to the skin shoulder covering worn by a bride.

ISIDLUKULA - headdress of black ostrich feathers worn by men as part of the African-style dancing uniform.

ISIDWABA - black fabric skirt worn by unmarried girls of marriageable age when wearing the African-style dancing uniform. The term ISIDWABA also refers to the blackened cowhide skirt worn by married women when dancing. Married women may also make use of an unblackened goatskin skirt of the same name.

ISIGQIZO - plaited strand of white beads worn by unmarried girls on the bicep and around the ankles as part of the African-style dancing uniform. Such strands are also worn by married women around the ankles when dancing.

ISIGQOKO - headdress worn with the UVEYILI dancing outfit used by unmarried girls of marriageable age.

ISIHLAKALA - beaded wristband worn by unmarried girls when dressed in the ISIKOTSHI dance dress.

ISIKOTSHI - dance outfit worn by young men and unmarried girls of marriageable age. The latter seldom wear this uniform today.

ISINENE - apron-like cover of skins which is worn over the genital area. This forms part of the African-style dancing outfit for men.

ISIPENETU - beaded rectangles or circles worn on the headdress (INHLOKO) as decorations.

ISIPHIKA - black fabric cover worn by leaders of the married women, ABAKHOKELI, over the chest, shoulders and back. This style covering is also worn by women in mourning, although it is usually green or blue.

ISIYAYA - neckpiece of black ostrich feathers and leopard skin. Worn by men as part of the African-style dancing uniform.

ITHAWULA - towel worn as a skirt by young unmarried girl. Part of the African-style dancing uniform.

IWISA - beaded stick carried by the groom at his wedding. Given to him by the bride.

IZINCU - buttock cover composed of groups of red, blue and yellow beaded strands. Worn by girls as part of the African-style dance uniform.

UBHESHWANA - hair-covered skin and plastic-like flaps worn over the IBHESHU. This forms part of the African-style dance dress for men.

UCU - sashes of white beads worn by a bride and bridegroom.

UFOURTEEN (U14) - black fabric band and white fabric strip worn by married women in church attire. The black band is worn around the waist and the white strip is worn around the headband (UMNQWAZI).

UMBHAMBA - band of predominantly white, beaded cloth rolls worn over the skirt in the lower buttock region by unmarried girls when dancing.

UMBHAMBA ISIFUBA - small band of predominantly white, beaded cloth rolls worn around the upper back and breast area by unmarried girls when dancing.

UMBHAMBA ISISU - small band of predominantly white, beaded cloth rolls worn around the waist by unmarried girls when dancing.

UMGEXO - necklet of large plastic beads (AMAQANDA), or silver or gold-painted plastic beads worn by unmarried girls when dancing. Married women wear a white lacy necklet of the same name when dancing.

UMGOBA - stick which forms part of the shield used by men when dancing. The stick is used for holding the shield. This is not found on shields used by girls and women.

UMJAFETE - white dress worn by unmarried girls during the Ceremony of the same name held in July.

UMJIVA OLUHLAZA - long green cloak worn by the evangelist (UMVANGELI) over his church uniform.

UMNANSUKA - worn with the church uniform by married women as a shoulderwrap and by unmarried girls as a head covering.

UMNAZARETHA - white cotton smock worn when attending church services and on other ritual occasions. This outfit is worn by all members, but differs in style according to age, gender and marital status (women).

UMNCEDO/ICOCKBOX - penis sheath made of the seed of the ILALA palm.

UMNQWAZI - beaded headband worn by unmarried girls of marriageable age when dancing, and married women when dancing and at church.

UMQHELE - skin and feather headdress worn by married women when dancing. Men wear a skin headdress of the same name when dancing and at church.

UTUBHANE - red cotton skirt worn by girls who have reached puberty. This is worn as part of the African-style dance uniform.

UVEYILI - western-style dancing outfit worn by unmarried girls of marriageable age.

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