

Report of research on

S E L F - O R G A N I S A T I O N B Y Y O U T H

A M O N G T H E

K H O S A - S P E A K I N G P E O P L E S O F T H E C I S K E I A N D T R A N S K E I

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Part One : THE RED KHOSA

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Rhodes University
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PREFACE AND CONTENTS

This report presents the results of intensive fieldwork which I have undertaken in the Gishel and Transkei since 1961, with the generous support of the Rhodes Scientific Research Council (formerly National Council for Social Research), in conjunction with the Department of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University. Grateful acknowledgement is made to these bodies.

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It will be noticed that Part I, in particular, makes little reference to literature. This is that relevant literature hardly exists. Outside the urban field, self-organised youth activities have seldom been systematically considered from either an ethnographic or a theoretical viewpoint. The rural Red Khosa, as such, have been a rather neglected field in anthropology, and their traditional youth organisations - the *mtshotsho* and *intlomba* - have escaped almost without mention. The report, therefore, is intended to present new ethnographic material along with first-level sociological interpretation. It is not intended to rule out a more abstractly theoretical analysis, which might be undertaken later.

My thanks and appreciation are due to my wife, Dr Lena Mayer, who has collaborated extensively in the writing-up stages. In Part I, she has contributed especially Chapters 1 and 3 and the first halves of Chapters 2 and 5. She also undertook the writing of Part II. We are also grateful to Rhodes BSE who supported her work by means of a Fellowship.

My main assistants in the field were Mr Euse Kanyani and Mr Percy Grayson, B.A. They also acted as interpreters. I am grateful to both of them for much energetic and painstaking help, and many illuminating insights.

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This report presents the results of intensive fieldwork which I have undertaken in the Ciskei and Transkei since 1961, with the generous support and co-operation of the Human Sciences Research Council (formerly National Council for Social Research), in conjunction with the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University. Grateful acknowledgment is made to these bodies.

I should also like to acknowledge the courteous co-operation of the Bantu Commissioners of the rural districts concerned, namely East London, King William's Town, Peddie and Willowvale, and of their staffs, during the period of the field study, 1961-65.

The report has been divided into Part I, on the Red Xhosa, and Part II, on 'non-Red' and non-Xhosa peoples of the same region. The fieldwork was undertaken mainly during my academic vacations. I spent many months altogether living in a caravan in the rural locations of Tshabo, Khalana, Shixini and Mabaleni, observing Red Xhosa youth activities at first hand. Later, the fieldwork for Part II was carried on largely by my assistants (who by then were well experienced), under my close supervision.

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November, 1972

INTRODUCTORY: ~~THE YOUTH ORGANISATIONS~~ ORGANISATIONS

CHAPTER 1

This is an account of the activities of rural
 Hindi-speaking people which cater especially for youth
 (boys, young men and unmarried girls), and which the people
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 they are run by youth for youth, adults have scarcely anything
 to do with them. We will call them the Hindi "youth
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INTRODUCTORY : THE YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

The organisations are largely concerned with play
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 and learning to interpret their sex roles along traditional
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Considering that there is practically no adult super-
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INTRODUCTORY: INTRODUCTORY ORGANISATIONS

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The organisations are largely concerned with play activities, such as dancing, singing, drinking, stick games, sweethearting and boyish fighting, all organised on a neighbourhood basis. But their significance goes much deeper than this ^{might suggest.} The youth are in fact exercising a kind of corporate autonomy, with responsibility for themselves and each other. Within this framework they are helping to socialise, control and discipline each other, and learning to interpret their sex roles along traditional lines.

Considering that there is practically no adult supervision it seems remarkable how law-abiding these youth groups generally are, and also how conservative. The values they preach and largely practise are basically the same as the parents' values; they include respect for seniority, preference for 'law' over brute force, and avoidance of pregnancy before marriage. The picture is therefore in sharp contrast to the alleged 'generation gap' of many contemporary cultures.

The youth organisations are a feature of rural life "from the Great Fish River to the Bashee and beyond", as

young men proudly told us; that is, across the Ciskei and deep into the Transkei. ^{Over} ~~About~~ two million people have their homes here, mostly Xhosa proper, but also some others (notably Mfengu) who have the same language and almost the same cultural heritage.⁽¹⁾ The prototype organisations are specific to the pagan or 'Red' (traditionalist) people, including those who live and work on white-owned farms. They seem to have escaped description in previous ethnographic literature, although Wilson, Kaplan and Madi (1952) have dealt briefly with some 'school' or Christian equivalents, which are historically adaptations of the pagan ones. These equivalents furnish an interesting comparison by virtue of their differences; they will be dealt with separately, in Part 2 of the report.

"Red people" (ababomvu) or 'smeared people' (amagaba), is the vernacular term for pagan, tribally-minded traditionalists,⁽²⁾ as against 'School people', 'dressed people' or (Christian) 'believers', meaning those whose personal and domestic life style is ordered according to more westernised norms. 'Reds' are still a considerable proportion of the rural Xhosa population. (See p. below). They are distinguishable outwardly by 'traditional' ^{red-ochred} costumes (worn especially by the women and girls) which make them surely one of the most photogenic groups in Africa. These costumes are indeed not strictly 'traditional', if only because western-type cloth and decorations have long replaced the earlier hides and shells; nevertheless they look distinctly different from 'western' styles, and they are subjectively valued ~~on that~~ ~~very account~~, as a kind of national or tribal dress.

(1) 'Xhosa' will be used here as a general shorthand, except where indicated otherwise.

(2) Because of their use of red ochre for smearing clothes or faces. Cf. P. Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen*, 1961, for a full discussion of the Red-School distinction.

The field material was collected over a period of nearly ten years, between 1955 and 1965, in three Xhosa and two Mfengu rural communities. Of the Xhosa communities Shixini in the Willowvale District of the Southern Transkei is rather off the beaten track, and far from the industrial centres. It was virtually 100% Red at the time of fieldwork. Khalana, in the more developed Ciskei, is only 16 miles from Kingwilliamstown and 41 miles from East London, and the national road to Port Elizabeth passes it. Tshabo in the East London district is even closer to the city (just over 20 miles). Despite this, both these places were almost as Red as Shixini, statistically speaking: (Tshabo 92%, Khalana 88%, according to a count made by local subheadmen at my request in 1955). But their small minorities of School people were ^{conspicuously} close-knit and self-conscious. (1)

Of the two Mfengu communities, Diya was one of the few predominantly Red places in the progressive, go-ahead Butterworth district of the Transkei, just across the Kei river from East London. Mabaleni, in the Peddie District of the Ciskei, faces towards Port Elizabeth - about 130 miles away by public transport.

Though some of these communities are over 100 miles apart, they were all broadly similar as regards basic social institutions, such as descent, kinship and territorial organization and what remained of the traditional political structure. There are regional variations, of course, but it will seldom be necessary to refer to them in connection with the youth organisations. Besides, the framework of the modern administration

(1) P. Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen, Chapter 2 and Appendix II.

was practically identical. Each of the communities was what is colloquially called in English and Xhosa a 'location' (lokesheni): a political and administrative unit, forming part of a District, having its own Headman (isibonda) and its own council or moot (inkundla) of all adult men, over which the headman presides.⁽¹⁾ Wilson (1952) uses 'village' in a similar sense, referring to the densely-populated Keiskamahoe District of the Ciskei.

People of a location have a strong sense of corporate identity, as well as political solidarity. As Wilson notes, they "show their solidarity by sitting together at weddings, invitation feasts, or large beer drinks held in other villages, and are served in the name of their location with their separate portions of food and drink"⁽²⁾. They have clearly defined external relations, with other locations⁽²⁾. Internally, the location is composed of local 'sections' (ilali) with their own names and usually their own sub-headmen (izibonda ezincinci, pl.). These too are political 'corporations' and are served with separate portions at entertainments within the location. A local section is composed of neighbourhoods or 'ridges' (imimango, sing. mmango).

As we shall see, the youth organisations directly reflect these territorial and political patterns, and actively assist the identification with one's neighbourhood, section and location.

(1) (1) Wilson, ed. Social Structure, Vol. 2 of Keiskamahoe Rural Survey, 1952, p. 16.

(1) (2) At the time of fieldwork the location headman was appointed and paid (though paid only humbly) by the Bantu Affairs Department. He was intended to represent the authorities to the people, as well as the people to the authorities. But in practice the people's approval of appointments was almost always sought, and there was a strong tendency to regard the office as hereditary. Subheadmen were not paid or officially recognised.

~~We shall see how the youth organisations embody this pattern, and how they actively assist the early learning of identification with one's location or section.~~

Outline of the youth organisations

The youth organisations are a by-product of the age stratification of Xhosa society. Each age category has its defined rights and obligations; each has an 'ideal personality'; each signifies its identity by a kind of 'uniform' specific to it; each stands in a prescribed relation to the others, expressed in a code of respect behaviour. As part of this basic pattern, boys "cannot" drink with men, or men play games with boys, or old men join the dances of young men, etc. Thus the members of each category in each locality get together to entertain themselves in their own way. They widen the sociable circle by also getting together with matching peer groups from other localities.

Much as the elders of a neighbourhood typically drink beer together, so the uninitiated boys (amakhwenkhe) typically hold mtshentsho parties, and the initiated youngmen (abafana) hold intlonbe parties, each in conjunction with their age-mates from other localities round about. Those parties ^{are held weekly when} ~~are to be~~ ^{done up} ~~elaborate affairs, attended by both sexes~~ in the full splendour of their beadwork and other finery. The male youths dance while the girls accompany them by clapping and singing (onbela). The party generally goes on all night, from Saturday evening into Sunday morning, without any break for sleep or food. (The sound of clapping, singing and shouting, coming faintly but persistently through the night, was what first turned my attention to the youth organisations, when I was busy with different research in Tshabo.) ^{Young couples take it as a special} ~~it is a recognised~~ occasion.

for courting and sweethearting. After the dance, the boys' groups play stick games, - the traditional 'fighting sport' of Red Xhosa, once regarded as training for warriorhood, and still a way to precedence and dominance.

The name mtshotsho or intlombe is applied both to the party or dance occasion, and to the group concerned. Even outside the immediate context of the dance, the boys of appropriate age in a given neighbourhood, who regularly mtshotsha (dance mtshotsho) as a group, are identified collectively as "the mtshotsho of" such and such place. As this indicates, the groups are significant focuses of corporate loyalty and solidarity. If they are not quite the classical 'age sets' of anthropological literature, neither are they the 'informal peer groups' often encountered in sociological description. They are publicly recognised and treated as corporate entities; e.g. a householder may enlist his local mtshotsho or intlombe to help in a task (such as cutting poles), rewarding them with a joint gift of beer. They hold their own business meetings, case hearings and beer drinks. They have their own 'laws' and procedures, which are known to everyone throughout the region. The dance parties themselves, noisy though they may be, are regulated by strict canons of etiquette, particularly in regard to hospitality and sweethearting. The young people speak of the 'laws' of intlombe or mtshotsho with much the same kind of respect one expresses for the 'laws' of one's community in the wider sense. And the adults, who have been through it all themselves, fully approve of this.

The age range of the mtshotsho group is normally about 13 to 21. Some places have a separate "children's mtshotsho" (mtshotsho yabantwana, $\frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{4}{5}$ intutu) for ages 8-13 or so. Manhood initiation which makes an inkwenkwe (boy) into an

umfana, (young man, at first only an 'unripe' one, ikrwala) is normally done at an age between 18 and 23, depending on individual circumstances. An umfana is free to marry, and is expected to behave in an adult way. He can no longer participate in the boys' mtshotsho, or in the typically boyish pastime of 'playing sticks'. Normally a new initiate first goes away to town for a few months to earn money and buy himself new adult-style clothes (umtshintsha, 'to change' clothes). He starts attending intlombe as soon as he is home again.

Initiations take place every year. Small neighbourhood groups of candidates are circumcised, then secluded in the bush for up to four months. There is emphasis on courage (not flinching at circumcision) but also on control of aggressive impulses (not fighting during the seclusion period). While the youths are in seclusion they go naked and ~~are~~^{are} covered from head to foot in whitish clay. They are suspended from normal domestic and community affairs, including those of the youth organizations, but they go about visiting each other's lodges. The coming-out ceremony is held jointly for a community or location, and is a massive affair watched by crowds of people. The novices, muffled in white blankets, are harangued by elders about the dignity and responsibilities of manhood.

There is no corresponding female initiation. A girl simply transfers herself from mtshotsho to intlombe, without ceremony, to 'accompany' her particular boyfriend. When her boyfriend is in seclusion, she removes all her 'girlish' ornaments, and remains unadorned until he 'comes out'. Then she dons the long skirt of the 'umfana girl'.

Through ritual and conventional^{on} behaviour, the great social divide between initiated and uninitiated males (or in simplified terms the man-boy distinction) is given dramatic expression in every department of Xhosa life. It is part of this distinction that mtshotsho and intlombe have to be quite separate, although both are concerned with courting, dancing, feasting, and relaxing.

Whereas stick games and fighting are a major theme in the boys' organization, in that of the youngmen their place is taken by 'hearing cases' and settling disputes according to intlombe 'law'. (But the youngmen do to some extent coach, control or supervise the stick fights of the boys.) These arrangements reflect a basic Xhosa-Ifengu idea, that 'settling matters by the stick' or by other physical force is only proper for boys not men.

The upper age-limit of the youth organization is indeterminate. Girls must drop out of intlombe activities at marriage; men need not. Many men gradually cease participating as they approach thirty, but some go on much longer, perhaps until their late thirties.

c.) Some individuals in some places continue to be associated with intlombe affairs in a kind of senior capacity, "even to such an age that their daughters are of the same age as the intlombe girls." These 'elderly' young men are known as ZINGQENGQE in Shixini and as AMAGCALA (the passionate ones) in Butterworth. They do not normally dance with the group or court the girls, though they may share beer when a drink is being held. Rather than members ~~in the ordinary sense~~ they are special advisers whom the senior youngmen can consult about intlombe 'law' when necessary.

Red people of all ages said approvingly that the young 'learn many things' through the youth organisation. 'These are the schools of Red children' was a common formula. The people take it for granted that every Red boy, girl and young man will regularly attend the appropriate youth organization, except when away at work. Not to do so would be seen as indicating abnormal personality, or alternatively, a decisive repudiation of the whole Red way of life. Either way it would cast much doubt on the person's suitability as a Red marriage partner.

The Red Xhosa youth organizations strike us as notably successful, in a number of senses. They maintain themselves as flourishing institutions in face of competition from (e.g.) non-Red youth organizations and the lures of the town. The participants appear to find tremendous pleasure and satisfaction in them, a pleasure which materially helps to bind them to their rural homes and to traditional Red culture. Young labour migrants say that they 'must' come home from town at frequent intervals because they would not like to miss too many mtshotsho or intlombe meetings. Above all, the youth organisations seem largely responsible for the relative absence of a 'youth problem' among rural Red Xhosa. Particularly in this last respect they seem much more effective than the analagous non-Red organizations to be described in Part 2.

It is true that the idea of what constitutes socially acceptable behaviour for the young differs somewhat as between pagan and Christian people. To many Christians ^{parties} mtshotsho are, as the Xhosa-English dictionary says, "immoral ^{clances} night-dealings of boys." (McLaren Bennie, A Concise Xhosa-English Dictionary.)

The Christian code implies that violence and sexuality both have to be firmly discouraged in the young. The pagan code does not. Red Khosa have a strong militaristic tradition. Warfare in the traditional sense is a thing of the past, but fighting behaviour is still deliberately taught and practised at all ages up to early manhood. Sexual gratification is valued positively at all ages. Adolescence is seen as a time when both sex and fighting ought to be practised vigorously, both as part of normal development and as training for later life.

As in any society, however, practising by adolescents carries new risks in that this age is newly potent in both respects - is fertile and also able to inflict death. The broad problem for Red Khosa, therefore, is how to encourage their youth in the proper vigorous practice and gratification in sex and fighting, without the price being paid in terms of social disorder, slaughter of fellow Khosa, and/or impregnation of potential wives; or put the other way, to teach them enough self-control, without too much inhibition.

Both in sexual matters and in fighting, Red adolescents are afforded some 'negative' guidance - i.e. practice in restraint or inhibition - in the contexts of family, kin group, and neighbourhood. But those are scarcely proper contexts for 'positive' guidance or active practice. The gap is met by the youth organizations. There the youth, without adult supervision, carry on sexual and fighting activities, and there they receive from their peers and near-seniors both encouragement and restraint. The organizations also provide a forum where male youth acquire politico-judicial skills and develop a concern with 'law' - both highly valued in Red Khosa culture.

Thanks to intlombe and mtshotsho (Red parents feel), young people can have a good time in their own way without endangering adult interests. They are sexually active there, without there being nearly as much premarital pregnancy^{ness} as among non-Red people~~s~~ whether urban or rural. They learn to fight, but the fighting is mostly disciplined sport, and seldom a vicious or senseless violence in the urban style. The use of the knife, ^{endemic} as a weapon which flourishes in town, is practically unheard of. Both sons and daughters on the whole show more lasting attachment to home, and more general respect for the parental generation and its values, than is normal among non-Reds. All sections of Xhosa are unaimously agreed that 'Red children are the best controlled' (Mayer, 1961).

Given the age range of 9 to 35 or beyond, clearly this is 'youth' organization in a somewhat generous sense. The common situation of all these so-called youth is most easily defined negatively. They are no longer or not altogether dependent children, but neither are they yet admitted to full status in the main adult systems, whether domestic, political, judicial, or ritual. From the mature adult point of view they form a somewhat marginal category. The considerable autonomy which they are allowed in the youth organizations can be seen as a quid pro quo for their marginality or non-interference in the adult world. The recreations of the youth organization are basically extra-domestic, and in some senses extra-community, held behind closed doors, in specially borrowed huts, or in some cases in 'empty' huts, or out in the veld, without any adult spectators, let alone participants. From the adult point of view this separation means that the violence and sexuality of youth are being kept at a convenient distance, while from the youth point of view it means freedom for self-

expression and self-organization, even though real power in the family and community (domestic, political, legal, or ritual) is still largely withheld.

Seniority and respect

"The principle of seniority is idolized in our customs." "We Xhosa believe staunchly that to live nicely and pleasantly a senior must know his junior, and a junior his senior. Each of these two must respect the other, but more especially the junior his senior." In these terms a chief's counsellor defined some basic axioms of Xhosa social structure, which apply also in the youth organizations. At every stage of life, ego is required to show respect and submission to those even slightly senior, concurrently with dominance over those even slightly junior. He also has a special relation of equality with age equals, initanga.

Strictly speaking it is not chronological age that determines Xhosa seniority relationships, but firstly the stage of life or age grade in which one is placed socially, and secondly the number of years one has spent in it, relative to the other person. Not only the major promotions carry their reward in increased status (e.g. from boy to youngman) but also the minor advances within the category (e.g. from youngman of a year's standing to youngman of two or three years.) All these advances "happen" without the individual having to "achieve" them, though in some cases special achievement can cause him to be promoted at an unusually early age.

A comprehensive respect etiquette applies between boys (of any grade) and men, including youngmen, (Abafana). Boys and men cannot eat from a common dish; they cannot sleep in the same bed or on the same mat; they cannot consume alcohol

together; boys cannot propose love in the presence of a man; boy and man cannot bathe together. In Khalana, for some years, the two senior grades of boys used to join up with the young men for their weekend dance, apparently because of dwindling numbers caused by absence at work. But the respect etiquette was preserved: the youngmen and boys did not dance together. The boys were only allowed their turn when the abafana had had enough and had left the hut. The whole arrangement (it seemed) was initiated by the youngmen to enable them to 'borrow' the boys' girls when they felt inclined.

But also, within the intlombe itself, two grades are recognised, i.e. junior young men and full young men. The junior young men are referred to as amatrwala (sing. ikrwala) by their seniors. This term literally means 'unripe fruit'. Technically, as a ritual status, it applies only to the first few months after circumcision, but within the intlombe circle the "new" youngmen remain amatrwala for years, "at least until they have several izilimela (years of circumcision)". Numerous etiquettes and prerogatives 'rub in' the superiority of the older members. (See chapter 4).

Five or six stages of boyhood are recognised within mtshotsho range. Each is spoken of as a division or 'grade' (mbuthi). The oldest boys in the mtshotsho proper - those who will soon be coming up for initiation - are the 'first grade'; the youngest members of the intutu are the 'fifth' or perhaps 'sixth grade' (according to local circumstances).

The first grade speak of themselves as the indala "the old ones" and of the second as their dyonco or 'boys'. (Afrikaans 'jong'). The second grade can similarly call the

third grade their ^{dyongo} ~~Dyongo~~. ^{Dyongo} ~~Dyongo~~ (then) stands for 'the grade directly junior to me'. Adjacent grade (like adjacent generation) is a specially tense, ambivalent relationship. In principle it is a sort of discipleship - "the first division show the way to their ^{dyongo} ~~Dyongo~~, and they to their own ^{dyongo} ~~Dyongo~~ in turn", we were told; - but in practice it is also fraught with rivalry, (See chapter 2).

Boys insist on their seniority etiquettes just as firmly as youngmen. For instance, first or second grade boys will normally address third grade boys familiarly, as mfondini (you fellow) or kwedini (you boy), but will expect the third graders to address them more respectfully either by surname or as buti (senior brother). The term 'children', abantwana, is applied by the mtshotsho proper to the intutu or junior mtshotsho, and sometimes also to the youngest grade in the mtshotsho itself. In the Xhosa context it has a patronising air which can also be made humiliating if required.

When the local 'first grade' boys go for circumcision, and thereby leave the mtshotsho, their immediate juniors automatically take their place as 'first grade', and so ^{on} all on down the scale. However, boys with special fighting or leadership abilities may be able to move up a grade individually, ahead of their age mates; and specially mature senior boys may also be initiated at a relatively early age. Thus the principle of achievement tempers that of seniority, as discussed in Chapter 2.

As a person ascends through the youth organization he is often required to combine active teaching or guiding roles (in one group) with passive learning or following roles (in the

next highest group.) Thus the 'senior' boys in the intutu are at the same time acceptable as 'juniors' in the mtshotsho, where they receive coaching in stick play from the mtshotsho boys proper. As we saw, this pattern of transitional overlap (so to call it) does not apply as between mtshotsho and intlombe, but it does also operate for the exit from the senior stages of the intlombe into mature adult affairs. A senior young man is accepted into the circle of the full men (^{amadoda}~~Amadoda~~) by being admitted to their domestic beer drinks, and their moot (inkundla), but he may still also be attending as the intlombe entertainments and discussions. (1)

The youth organizations also provide for a progressive widening of social horizons, which is significant for self-identification. 'Upward' and 'outward' extension go together.

The intutu is just a neighbourhood group. A reason cited for organizing it separately from the mtshotsho is that 'young boys can't travel far'. Social rather than physical incapacity is meant. The young ones do cover long distances herding, but their home duties keep them in at night (e.g. returning the cattle to the kraal every evening and taking them out every morning), whereas mtshotsho expeditions generally involve a night away from home.

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- (1) A newly accepted member of the amadoda circle ranks in that circle as an ^{ikhaba}~~ikhaba~~, meaning young growing plant. The role of the 'growing plant' is not unlike that of the 'unripe fruit' in the intlombe, or the learners in the mtshotsho. They are supposed to accept guidance from their seniors, to learn by watching and listening, to hold back in discussions unless or until called on to speak, and generally speaking to avoid any appearance of usurping the leading or dividing roles, while all the time maintaining the dignity of their new age-status vis-avis their juniors in the grades below.

The intutu party is held on a Saturday afternoon or Sunday morning, not too far from home. Home duties are not forgotten. Boys dash in and out as word comes that somebody's cattle are straying. Girls, too, emphasize that they must not stay away from home too long because 'we are always being sent on errands'. Both sexes would say they feared a thrashing if they stayed out at night.

The mtshotsho stage signalizes an intense awareness of local-community allegiance, transcending that of the home. Reciprocal visiting by mtshotsho groups brings new contacts with outside age-mates; at the same time, it is very much a community business, the ^{location or section} local group always going as a whole and identifying itself as 'the mtshotsho of such a place'. ^{Outside the location, or the} Lone visitors are ^{in fact, a lone visitor is} not accepted: 'you would be beaten'.

Inter-group relations become friendly when ^{a group of} the 'visitors' have been allowed to return two or three times and have subsequently invited their hosts back. Only then can it be said, 'They have danced together and established harmony.' After this, visits are exchanged regularly, and sequences arise, each group knowing where it is going to tshotsha next week.

Mtshotsho relations are shifting and quasi-political. At the time of fieldwork, Shixini boys would tshotsha with those from Mandluntsha; ~~their relations with those of four other~~ from Emangweni, Mtshayelwini, Qaukeni, Kulofombatha, and Mandluntsha; their relations with three or four other groups had been broken off after a 'battle'. Khalana boys ~~earlier~~ had a circuit embracing three other groups, but a few years earlier they had had to 'tshotsha alone' owing to their many quarrels. Group-conscious and trigger-happy as mtshotsho boys are, there is no knowing when trouble may break out. For this

reason among others, boys say that the most relaxed (though least 'interesting') meetings are those they call icawa or imbutho, at which no outsiders are present.

Intlombe visiting is different. An intlombe may likewise visit and be visited by other intlombe groups en bloc, but the circuits are wider than those of mtshotsho groups, sometimes covering amazing distances. More significant, the young man 'can dance at any intlombe' regardless of whether he or his group has had any relations there before. In principle 'an umfana can ask for intlombe anywhere from right across the Bashee to right across the Great Fish River.' The visitor is entitled to all the privileges of the dance, e.g. he can ask the master of ceremonies to have his favourite song sung, or take any of the girls out to 'propose love'.

This wide-range peaceful visiting, contrasting with the tense group visits of the earlier stage, is always said to begin in principle at manhood initiation. While in seclusion the novices are supposed to roam around visiting other lodges. 'This is the first time they can really make friends far away, as fighting is not allowed' to novices. *The intlombe itself, as a young man put it, "teaches us to love each other. We make friends all around. Late in life, many are still great friends with those they met at intlombe."*

Abafana, then, at the same time as they lay their sticks aside in favour of 'law', are supposed to lay aside the intense, suspicious, local-group preoccupations of the mtshotsho boys, much as the mtshotsho boys lay aside the earlier intutu preoccupation with the home. Of course this is a simplification. Family and local community loyalties will always be important. But the youth organization adds new possibilities for self-identification with something wider, namely with the Red Xhosa 'nation'. Youth visiting does not only provide an outlet for the youthful urge to roam (noted in many studies of

adolescent psychology). It does not only supplement the total networks of relations between families, and the networks of political relations, by adding a new network independent of either. It also gives ego first-hand experience of the community of expectations that exists among his age-mates - all enjoying themselves in much the same ways, all governing themselves by much the same 'laws'. By the intlombe stage he has achieved effective self-identification as a member of a category that extends 'from across the Bashee to across the Great Fish River'.

Youth Organizations in the past.

The youth organisations seem to have existed among Xhosa for a considerable period, though ethnographic literature has no more to say about them than it has about youthful activities among other African peoples. In the 1950's some extremely old informants told us about the mtshotsho as it was when they were boys. Some were evidently speaking of the 1880's and 90's, others of the turn of the century and since. By all accounts the basic outlines of the organization seemed remarkably constant.

These old men told of all-night meetings of the mtshotsho on Saturday, of stickfights of boys on Sunday, and meetings for ^(local) amakhaya boys and girls on Wednesdays, just as now. Then as now (they say) the boys danced and the girls clapped and sang. They speak of the joint meetings with other groups, and of fights with them. No doubt there have been changes in detail. There do seem to have been different ways of disciplining members, and different names for functionaries, not to mention of course the fashion changes in the styles of dancing and attire, of decoration and singing. But even these changes do not seem to have been very drastic over the last half century or more.

It does however seem that there was relatively greater emphasis on the fighting activities in the past. Qalekiso, in Khalana, a man of the Amayeke clan, says he was already herding cattle during the tribal war 'Ngcayecibi'. His first born son is claimed to be "over 70 years old". Qalekiso remarked that whereas nowadays the senior mtshotsho boys "value love affairs too much", in his young days stickfighting "was what mattered first of all". It was of great concern because battles and war were still on everybody's mind. Champion fighters were "praised and respected by all, and idolised by women". "They were the hope of the locality." Even when ^{the champion} he was a man, past the age of stick-play, ^{he} the ~~ex~~ champion would sometimes receive extra meat at sacrifices and ceremonies, and women would slip him some beer whenever they brewed. Everyone would know his praises and his boyhood name. The change in the value of fighting, from war training into a sport, is dwelled on by many older or middle aged informants. (See chapter 3).

We can also guess that there were links with the political system which no longer exist. "Boys born of chiefs and other great men of the area were respected (within the mtshotsho). At the Senior stage much was expected from them, although unless they were eloquent speakers they would not have command over us."

Old men also complain of a decline in standards, as old men usually do. In their days, they say, "we boys were afraid to be called drunkards, for that was to degrade your own prestige and that of your parents. It disgraced all the boys of your location as well." (Myeke, old man over 90 in Shixini.) "In those days we knew very little about money, and if we did earn a little we brought our parents every penny. Nowadays

boys use most of their money themselves, for boys today *decide for*
~~control~~ themselves." "During our days a boy would never
catha, (i.e. walk publicly) with a girl he has proposed to,
 but in these days they do not care."

The desire to remain

Red Conservatism and modernising influences

It is appropriate to review briefly some of the implications
 of Red Xhosa conservatism, seeing that the youth organisations
 are so closely tied up with commitment to the Red way of life.

Red Xhosa conservatism has not been primarily a result

of being "left alone" or of remoteness from sources of
 westernising influence. Rather it has been a continuing
 cultural expression of a resistance against the white man
 which was once expressed at the political and military levels.
 Thus the historical roles of the various tribal groups during
 the 100 years of wars with the whites (the so-called Kaffir
 wars) correlate with their degree of Redness at the present
 day. The groups who proudly took a leading part in the wars,
 e.g. the Goaleka, Thembu, Ndlambe, have adhered to traditional
 ways of life most tenaciously, while conversely the Mfengu, who
 were refugees from Natal during the Shaka wars, and who fought
 on the side of the whites, have aspired to white ways from an
 early date. The Red Xhosa still represent between a quarter
 and a third of the total ^{rural} ~~small~~ Xhosa population; the Red
 Mfengu perhaps no more than five percent of all Mfengu.

Until a few years ago deliberate cultural resistance would

often produce extreme and militant Redness in areas with old
 established mission stations, like Tshabo or St. Lukes, or
 in those within easiest reach of the city of East London.

in those within easiest reach of the city of East London.

across have destroyed traditional territorial patterns of

Only in the last ten years have Ciskeian Reds evidently been reaching the conclusion that their cultural resistance may not be possible much longer. Their confidence in themselves and in their 'message' has become shaken. The desire to remain 'true Xhosa' has come up against unyielding economic realities.

If once missions, administrators and traders were the main sources of modernising influence, nowadays the main source is urban employment for men and boys (often for girls and women too.) Urban employment does not only confront the individuals directly with modernising influences; it helps to determine whether or not there will be enough people left in the rural area to carry on with traditional institutions, including youth organizations.

In Khalana, for instance, about 1960, so few Red young men were 'at home' for any length of time that the Intlombe (youngmen's organisation) had almost come to a standstill, and to make matters worse the girls were also being tempted away by new opportunities for fruit-picking work.

In matters of modernization, the directives of the white authorities have often appeared to the people as contradictory. On the one hand Xhosa people have been told to develop along 'their own lines' and traditional chiefs and councils have been resuscitated. According to recent legislation those who enlist for work in town have to return home when their contract is expired, before they can get employment again. On the other hand those who were already working in town long enough to qualify as urban residents feel less and less able to spend any prolonged time at home, for fear of losing their right to return to the city. Meanwhile 'Betterment Schemes' in rural areas have destroyed traditional territorial patterns of

settlement; and the correlation between more years at school and better pay has had to be recognised at last as incontrovertible fact.

In some places, including to some extent Khalana and Tshabo, the old spirit of resistance, though badly shaken, is not yet extinguished. Many people stick to their red convictions; others, when they turn into 'dressed people', do so almost in the sense of 'dressing up' for new roles they are forced to play, without inwardly sacrificing their Red identity. Such types acknowledge the need for schooling for their children, but hope that they and even the children may none the less always remain basically Red, "holding on to the ancestors and all Xhosa customs", as they put it. As far as the children are concerned, participation in the traditional youth organisations is thought of as one of the best guarantees of this, and as likely to secure their future marriage with a Red partner.

In the late 1950's and early 60's, when fieldwork was being done, there were still only four church-going Christian families in Khalana location. A teacher felt that "at the present time we do not feel that there are many people we can visit and spend an afternoon with; people here are still backward." Only about 1965 did the two wives of Headman Jali of Khalana leave off their Red clothes, and start to dress themselves and their many children in European style. None the less (as one of them expressed it) "we are holding on tenaciously to custom (~~amasiko siwabantu kakulul~~); ^{all} all, the Xhosa customs (onke, onke awesixhosa). Nothing will come right if the spirits of the dead (izinyanya) and our customs have been discarded (~~akukho nto ingelunga eyekhiwe amasiko~~)...

There is no Xhosa who can do away with these customs even if he is high up in the ranks of the church". (See also chapter 4 in Part II).

The idea was spread in Khalana that because of a 'law from the Chief at Tamara' children were obliged to go to school. This eased the conscience of those Red diehard parents who had not yet reached by their own reasoning the position of Mrs. Jali. Songani, One of the few fairly well-off men in Khalana, summarized the position: "The majority of these new supporters of education are not interested in religion. The result will be people who put on European clothes but remain outside conversion (elugob-hokweni). People here are still very much attached to their custom."

This distinction between the real school people who aspire to Western standards, and the 'dressed people' who see Western ways as instrumental for survival, now colours the attitude of many parents towards their children's participation in school on the one hand, or in the traditional youth organizations on the other. It is becoming accepted that going to ^{primary} school need not by itself turn children into 'real school people'. Khalana has ^{long} had a ^{lower} primary school ^{but even since} since about 1933 ^{more Red children have started attending} leading to St. IV but the teachers feel it has made little impact on the Redness. "The majority of the mtshotsho group has been to our school" said Mrs. Roqoza, a teacher at ^{the} ~~Khalana~~ school. "Because parents do not care, the pupils have gone back to Mtshotsho. Mtshotsho cannot be obliterated in the minds of the children unless parents help ... People in Khalana do not like to see the mtshotsho movement disappear because they passed through it themselves." Some teachers

were partly resigned to the situation; the headmaster, Mr. B. Makubalo, said that "In the absence of any alternative amusement for girls and boys in Khalana one wonders what, in the absence of the Mtshotsho dance, could occupy the children's time and keep them away from mischief". But the official and commoner view was expressed by a lady teacher: "A child who attends loses interest in his or her work"; and besides "the kind of music they sing spoils the girls' voices."

In Tshabo, as early as 1956, the Reds were already well represented at the local school, without showing any signs of being anything but complete Reds in their extra-mural activities and way of dressing.

Tshabo School 1956

Christian homes			mixed homes		Red homes		Total
Standard	Girls	boys	Girls	boys	Girls	boys	
5	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
4	3	1	3	1	3	1	11
3	6	5	-	-	5	3	19
2	10	6	-	-	4	4	24
1	6	7	3	1	2	2	20
Sub B	7	10	3	-	8	19	47
Sub A	7	6	4	1	10	3	31
Total	39	35	13	1	34	33	155

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION: ORGANIZATION, MATTERS AND PARTISANSHIP

When Red Boys are dancing their characteristic dances they will sometimes dance in a kind of hoarse grunting style, called shishotsho (the same word as for frogs croaking); it is easily audible even above the regular accompaniment of girls singing and clapping. The

CHAPTER 2

THE MTSHOTSHO: SOLIDARITY AND LEADERSHIP

together, making to beat together for the dance of boys' hands. (1)

This chapter outlines the principles of shishotsho organization, as exemplified in meetings (ishotsho), dances and beer drinking. In all these activities, respect for seniority in being humiliated home, and in loyalty in the local group. These two values - one might say - are the foundations for the values of "law" and "war" respectively. Both of these have a central place in these traditions. They are manifested again in the shishotsho which grows, as described in Chapter 3.

Shishotsho and meetings

The primary local group of shishotsho boys and girls is called a shishotsho meeting, or possibly a location. This group have a regular outdoor meeting spot, which they call their "station" (ishotsho). In some places, e.g. Shintai, stones or pieces of iron are used to mark the boundary. The station serves as a kind of rural version of the street corner. Many show recognizable signs of long use, with the grass worn into bare patches through much treading and use.

(1) Shishotsho, the name of the (non-red) boys' organization in Kishikawachi, also seems to signify a hoarse vocal noise, but is explained equally by reference to the adolescent's breaking voice. Cf. Part II, Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 2

MTSHOTSHO ORGANISATION, MEETINGS AND PARTIES ^{SHIP}

When Red Xhosa boys are dancing their characteristic dances they will sometimes 'sing' in a kind of hoarse grunting style, called ukutshotsha (the same word as for frogs croaking); it is easily audible even above the regular accompaniment of girls singing and clapping. The name mtshotsho is said to derive from it, via "tshotsha-ing together", meaning to come together for the dances of boyhood.⁽¹⁾

This chapter outlines the principles of mtshotsho organisation, as exemplified in meetings (imibutho), dances and beer drinking. In all these activities, respect for seniority is being hammered home, and so is loyalty to the local group. These two values - one might say - are the foundations for the values of "law" and "war" respectively, both of which have a central place in Xhosa tradition. They are manifested again in the mtshotsho stick games, to be described in Chapter 3.

Stations and meetings

The primary local group of mtshotsho boys and girls is based on a location section, or possibly a location. This group have a regular outdoor meeting spot, which they call their "station" (isitishi). In some places, e.g. Shixini, stones or pieces of iron are used to mark the boundary. The station serves as a ^{more precise} kind of rural version of the street corner. Many show recognisable signs of long use, with the grass worn into bare patches through much treading underfoot.

(1) Ibhava, the name of the (non-Red) boys' organisation in Keiskammahoek, also seems to signify a hoarse vocal noise, but is explained locally by reference to the adolescent's breaking voice. Cf. Part II, Chapter 2.

The station is 'home' to the peer group as the homestead is to the family, it is associated with homeliness and relaxation in a place of happiness. Some boys loiter there for hours on end, occupying themselves in talk or leg-pulling, or "discussing strong and weak points in stick-fighting, or talking about beautiful girls". At one station in Shixini, a boy of about 16 could be observed early each morning, mounted on a small rock, alone and completely naked, dancing a quick-moving boy's dance, accompanied by his own singing. Incidentally this is where a boy is likely to acquire his nickname or 'name of boyhood' which will be regularly used among his fellows and sometimes even by adults.

The group are possessive about their station. It is theirs by unspoken common consent and they resent intrusion. Shixini boys tried at one stage to use a nearby store as their station, because it was "more interesting". But too many boys from other locations would also hang around, and friction arose as each group tried to monopolise the 'big isitishi'. A group fight resulted, and the victorious group 'owned' the station for a while. They gave it up eventually because they felt they could not relax there properly - it was too dangerous and too far from their homes.

Regularly every Sunday, in principle, the local group gather at their station to butha, meet and converse. Ukubutha or mbutho (an alternative name is icawa, "Sunday") can mean that they just sit or lie around and chat individually, without any organised activity (such as dancing, drinking or playing sticks). Alternatively it can mean a more organised meeting where definite business is being discussed, ~~and decisions made, mainly or wholly by the boys,~~ while the girls sit to one side a little way apart. In either case there is an emphasis on in-group privacy, on "being all amakhaya (home people)". "These are our private talks and we don't have outsiders (izizwe) there."

Imbutho is normally on Sunday afternoon. The interval of a few hours since the break-up of the all-night Saturday dance is supposed to have been spent in home, chores. Girls should prepare lunch, and put pots on the fire for supper, boys should milk or drive the cattle affield, etc. But in some places the parents complain that their children run off all too quickly.

Usually there is no formal business and the atmosphere is very relaxed, as well it may be after the strenuous dancing of the night before. Someone might start playing a concertina or mouth-organ, or girls may begin to sing and boys dance impromptu, but in contrast to the formal parties there is no pressure to join in. Couples find good opportunity for flirting or love talk. The pleasant sense of ease is attributed to the absence of outside groups. "Boys and girls of the same mmango are great friends", "the real home group who have always known each other". The girls need not be wearing their best clothes any more; the boys need not think about fighting. But the mbutho also take themselves seriously as a 'moot' where in traditional Xhosa style any kind of affairs affecting the group ought to be brought up for discussion and judgement, from 'cases' to 'new laws', and from projected beer drinks to battle plans. If for example the boys are planning 'Christmas' (see Chapter 7), or an uswazi or homecomers' treat, (obligatory when a member of the local group comes home from work in town or on the mines,) the contributions will

have to be discussed, and the arrangements for buying supplies, brewing etc. (1) Or perhaps ^{there is an} ~~the issue is one~~ of social control. The mbutho will 'hear cases' arising out of specific breaches of the 'law of mtshotsho', or grievances between members; or less formally, there may be discussions of the behaviour of a boy or girl "who does not pull well with the group".

~~Young men's groups have to discuss these kinds of business too, but they discuss them at their dance parties. (Chapter 4). Adults discuss them at beer drinks, perhaps, or more formally in the inkundla.~~ It is typical of the boys' secretive group-mindedness that they say they cannot have ^{such} discussions at parties as young men do. "Other groups would be present and would overhear us."

The senior boys keep firm control of the proceedings. They speak first, and only they can bring up 'cases' in their own name. When a junior boy or a girl wants to lay a complaint or raise an issue, he or she must enlist a senior beforehand to do the initial talking. When business is being discussed the girls are expected to sit apart, on the opposite side to the boys. They speak only if called on (e.g. to give evidence), and even then they don't rise to address the meeting, as a boy would do, but answer from their place, sitting.

Normally, matters discussed at the mbutho are not supposed to be made known to adults, unless there are serious implications, e.g. physical injury. In Khalana for instance a boy severely thrashed a girl of his mmango because he

(1) A typical decision at a Khalana mbutho was that the homcomer should contribute at least R1 for the uswazi ("though it was hoped he would give more"), and that each other boy should pay 25c and each girl 20c.

thought that she had been the cause of another local girl refusing his love proposal. The girl's parents heard of the matter and brought it up before the men, and the boy was fined a goat, or money in lieu. (The fine of course fell on the father.)

More often, the matter is 'important' only to the mtshotsho themselves. At Shixini, two or three boys are charged with the duty of collecting girls from their homes to attend the dance party (ukuphuthama). If the boy has failed to phuthuma the mbutho will fine him ten cents; "or should he fail to pay the fine he is ordered to phuthuma all the girls by himself on future occasions".

Besides the occasional fine, the typical sanctions are thrashing and suspension. At Khalana, a boy had been thrashed and others suspended in the recent past. Thrashing is for Xhosa a 'boyish' sanction; fining and suspension, or "excommunication", are the typical measures adult men also take to bring a recalcitrant member of a group or clique back into line. (Cf. P. Mayer, 1961, p.). In the mtshotsho as elsewhere they are expected to be thoroughly effective. "No boy ever deserted our group because he had been thrashed by others. And those who had been excluded would soon turn up and try to attend meetings."

The group, as a focus of corporate loyalty and solidarity, keeps its sanctions for whatever offences appear to be 'letting down the side'. At Khalana, one boy had the reputation of being a careless and aggressive talker (ibhotoloshe). "He would say whatever he liked", in a manner that made him liable to come to blows with other boys. At the imbutho it was pointed out to him "that this sort of behaviour would get us all into trouble with other locations sooner or later". He was reprimanded and warned that he would be thrashed, or perhaps told "not to go with the group any more". So too, a member who does not attend regularly will be questioned and

warned to "be more careful" and "always to ask permission if you want to be absent". Khalana boys held that it was necessary to be strict about attendance "because the icawa is when all our affairs are discussed, and we do not want to hear certain people say that they had not heard this or that", but beneath this, no doubt, the deeper feeling is that staying away shows a lack of concern with the group as such.

In one umango the practice was that a boy who regularly stayed away from meetings would be thrashed, not by another boy but by a girl. "She thrashes you until the sock is torn on the calf muscle". This unusual arrangement was intended as a precaution lest the thrashing lead to quarrels among the boys. A girl absentee was to be thrashed by a boy, as is more usual. At Khalana, the boys had taken it onto themselves to lie in wait at the bus stop to catch and thrash 'their' girls, when the latter wanted to go off to do casual paid work (pineapple picking) offered by white farmers not far away. The girls' default was serious, for they would not have been back for Saturday night and the mtshotsho dance would have been ruined. Thus the boys were well within their rights according to mtshotsho 'law'; the girls on the other hand, and their parents, were understandably loth to lose a unique chance for earning a little money without having to go to town or put on 'European dresses'. This issue, which caused much ill feeling on both sides, had something to do with the subsequent change to a Sunday afternoon mtshotsho party.

Mtshotsho Dance Parties

The small neighbourhood group, who butha by themselves, do not dance by themselves, or rather, any dancing that occurs when they are among themselves is impromptu and informal. The regular Saturday night mtshotsho party is an organised affair which always involves a number of local groups. Some of these

(probably but not necessarily belonging to the same or nearest locations) "tshotsha together" routinely, week after week. Others may be visiting groups, bent on 'establishing friendship' and eventually joining the circuit, or perhaps just adventuring. The intergroup relations are shifting and quasi-political when seen in a longer perspective, though the constellations of "friends" "allies" and "enemies" seem fixed enough at a given moment.

Among groups who for the time being regularly tshotsha together, each in turn provides the venue for the weekly party. The rotation is so well known that "if the dance was in this place this week, we all know it will be in that place next week. The only thing not known is which homestead". As the party are dispersing in the morning the senior boys will ask one of the girls of the appropriate ^{area} ~~zone~~ to "ask for a hut" at her home, or her neighbour's home, for next week's dance. No further announcement or confirmation is needed. *Only* ~~the~~ visiting groups

However, if one group are expecting "visitors" (an mtshotsho group or groups from outside the regular circuit) they will want to jump their turn, sending word around via the seniors that "we want mtshotsho to be at our place, and will you help us in that, please".

On the evening of the party the boys will collect in the centre of the hut to dance (teya). The girls, ranged along the wall opposite the entrance, will provide the music by ombela (clapping and singing). Young boys who are beginning to graduate from intutu may look on from the doorway, but no other spectators (e.g. adults or strangers) are allowed. Both sexes are dressed up, especially the boys. The party continues all night, (from Saturday evening until Sunday morning) without any provision for sleeping, though there

are opportunities for boys to take their sweethearts outside (see Chapter 5). Everyone is expected to be in the hut when the dance ends on Sunday morning. The boys will then go outside to 'play sticks' (Chapter 3) and the girls will remain in the hut to rest, or amuse themselves separately, until it is time to go home.

Each contingent of boys is responsible for bringing their local girls. The girls are needed to swell the 'band' on the one hand, and on the other hand they increase the selection of partners for possible courting and sweethearting. The first is a fairly routine matter, but the second is fraught with tensions and rivalries, inter-group as well as interpersonal. (See Chapter 5).

All the groups belonging to the regular circuit count as anakhaya, 'home people'. They join the party without ceremony; the boys simply go straight to their places in the dancing line, and the girls to theirs in the 'band'. Very different is the treatment of 'outside' visiting groups (izizwe). They must halt outside and send one or two representatives to announce them, before they can even set foot in the hut. Admission is not always granted; insults are quickly scented in this connection, and 'battles' may result. The visitors are also restricted as regards courting the local girls. (Cf. pp. . . . and below.)

The quick dancing typical for the mtshotsho is called ukuteya in the Ciskei and ukungqisha in the Transkei. Generally the line moves around the fireplace. The total effect is of rather wild and rapid movement. At Tshabo, boys waved their sticks as they danced, describing a curve (up-down-forward-sideways), meanwhile 'praising' each other rhetorically (ukubonga). They also thumped the floor with alternate heels in time to the clapping of the girls. At Khalana, a new and slightly different step had just been

introduced (dlezula), with guitar accompaniment. At Shixini, boys ^{also} would tshayelala (lit. "sweep a path") in order to 'give spirit' or 'joyful excitement' (ilombe). It meant breaking line and running quickly across the fireplace and back (buya 'return'), perhaps brandishing a battle axe or stick meanwhile, or blowing a whistle or shouting. A girl could tshayeleta by stepping out of the line of the clapping girls and dancing up and down in front of them for a minute or two.

When girls sing and clap together (ombela) to accompany the dance, one of them will act as umhlabei, ^{"leader"; chanting or} ~~"chanter"~~, giving out the tune solo, for the rest to follow in unison. The chanter is judged by her "beautiful voice and excellent choice of words and story" (I was told in Shixini). The 'followers' need not sing melodiously, but only loudly. Sometimes they use a special grating tone (ngqokola). The followers do not usually use words, other than 'hohayo' etc.

There is a fairly well-known repertory of songs in any given area, but as a Shixini girl put it, "it is difficult to say the wording because each umhlabei uses her own". Also, "the best one can compose her own songs, from any favourite stories or happenings in her own locality". The Shixini girls' favourite song at the time was called "Uban". The first phrase, sung by the chanter, ran "What can I do when it is so difficult?", with answering refrain from the 'followers' "She does not agree that I should kiss".

Although girls get some pleasure from ombela-ing, particularly when their sweethearts are dancing, in the main it is seen as a fairly heavy chore for them and basically a service performed for the boys. The boys, or one of them, will keep the girls up to the mark. This is often seen as a task for a dyongo, beneath the senior boys' dignity, as it was at Khalana. At Tshabo, however, one senior boy was put in charge "to remind the chanter to change the song

before it becomes monotonous". At Shixini no one boy was responsible; any boy, senior or junior, could give the signal to change songs, by knocking two or three times on one of the roof rafters, or simply shouting tshintsha (change). Any boy who thought the girls were not singing properly could threaten them with his belt, flapping it above their heads or against their skirts, and sometimes actually hitting them quite hard.

Whatever method is used to 'control' the girls they generally appear quite ready to stand up for themselves. They will grumble, stall or answer back, cheerily or crossly, showing considerably less deference for the males than intlombe girls would do. (See Chapter 5).

On occasions the local young men may elect to "borrow the boys' girls" to ombela for the intlombe dance. At Tshabo for example, during a mtshotsho dance at Nyosi's homestead, towards midnight two abafana knocked on the door and were asked to come in. Amid sudden silence, the boys' leader asked what they wanted and was told: "we want four girls for intlombe". The boys' leader told them to make their choice; the four chosen girls meekly obeyed and went along, after a display of shyness and pretence at hiding away. One of the girls 'escaped' from the intlombe and reappeared at the mtshotsho later in the night.

A party was held by the Emangwevini section of Shixini for themselves and the other four groups of the circuit, *namely* ~~Mtshayelwini~~, Gaukeni, Mandluntsha and Kulofumbatha. (Three other groups, including Groxo, had once been included in the circuit, but had split off after a disastrous battle in 1956, in which a Groxo boy was seriously maimed. (Cf. p. below). The Emangwevini group had made all necessary preparations e.g. smearing the floor, borrowing lamps, buying paraffin.

The party began about 9.30 p.m. on Saturday night. The local (Emangwevini) girls were lined up along the left hand wall of the hut. They wore knee-length skirts, and their breasts were covered with striped or checked cotton cloths (imitsheke) tied behind the neck and hanging to a little above the knee. They leant against the wall as they clapped and sang, sometimes also stamping for extra rhythm, (betha anyawo, "beating the foot"). The boys were dancing around the fireplace. They wore towels and imitsheke; a few had shorts on, the rest had short penis sheaths of smooth goat-skin. Most carried small battle axes. A few carried ordinary sticks, or knobkerries, with nails or boot-tacks (as used in mine boots). More had discarded their sticks and put them in a pile. Bead decorations were much less conspicuous than would be usual in the Ciskei. (See Chapter 6.)

Dancing continued uneventfully for a while. Both girls and boys would tshayelala occasionally. At about 10.30 the first 'outsiders' arrived; boys from an area called Velelo on the other side of Shixini river. They stopped a few yards from the hut, holding their long defence sticks (amakhadi) pointing upwards. One local boy went outside to them and shook hands. This was the signal for them to lower their amakhadi. The local boy then went from one to the other, collecting the amakhadi and putting them aside in the general pile. The visitors also removed the blankets they had been wearing and went in to join the line of dancers.

Other groups of outsiders from Kulcfumbatha and across Jojara river, arrived very late and were received in the same manner. At the same time as the boys of each group were 'accepted' their girls joined the local girls. After a while a boy would shout "put down your imitsheke" (cloths covering the girls' breasts). They all did so, tying them around

to the visitor boys (the 'first girls'), simply by virtue

their waists. It is usually required of girls to be bare-breasted at both mtshotsho and intlombe dances: the significance of this is discussed in Chapter 6.

The dance continued all night until about 8 a.m. when the local boys and girls left for home. The visiting boys and girls went to visit relatives in the locality, to get some food. After eating many went to sleep under the bushes or in the sun. It was the time for courting; "boys proposed a lot of love to girls from other parts of the location". Shortly after noon the mtshotsho started up again. "The tired boys sat by the sheep post and those who were not tired danced as vigorously as last night." At about 2.30 p.m. "the mtshotsho was out" and the boys moved off towards the spot for stick games, taking their sticks and leaving their axes in custody with the junior boys.

Leadership and Seniority

Leadership in the mtshotsho is not an anxiously guarded privilege. It is exercised so informally that its operation is difficult to trace. In many contexts, too, boys take their places without any specific directive, according to the principle of seniority (by age and grade) which was explained in Chapter 1. They must pair off to 'play sticks' - for example - but nobody pairs them: it is decided first of all by the grade each boy belongs to, and within those limits the choice is free.

However, the mtshotsho conforms none the less to a general Xhosa pattern for group activities, namely that somebody must have at least a latent responsibility. Somebody must be ready to give directions or take decisions when need arises, and to speak for the group in 'outside' contexts involving other people.

In the mtshotsho this responsibility nominally falls to the senior boys (the 'first grade'), simply by virtue

of their seniority. There are no specially designated officers as in the intlombe. (Chapter 5 below). Second and third grade boys, when questioned, maintained to me that they "had to take orders from any senior boy" although there were "no particular leaders". I noticed on occasion that even a quite undistinguished boy of senior grade would easily take command if no others of his grade happened to be present.

The authority vested in the seniors is vested in them jointly as a group, or as one put it, "we senior boys are the elders of the mtshotsho". But de facto it is common to find one or two of the seniors acting as informally acknowledged leaders and spokesmen of this senior grade, and thus of their mtshotsho as a whole. Without any formal process of appointment, they assume a certain responsibility for decision-making and order-giving; they generally speak for the mtshotsho in external relations, and sum up the 'sense of the meeting' in internal affairs.

It would be they who would for example go first into the hut at an "outside" mtshotsho party, to find out whether their group are welcome. This is no mere formality, for they may have to make a quick decision if the reception is cool, telling the boys to prepare for fight, and the girls to wait at a distance. At ^{boys} beer drinks, these boys would request the ^{hosts for a} share for their group. When ~~men~~ ^{men} celebrate ~~social occasions~~ and the boys are "entitled to something" (i.e. beer or meat), these boys would go and get it. Within their own group they are likely to act as injoli - the 'steward' who shares out the beer - and also to have the privilege of drinking first, or monopolising one or more tins.

Only boys with some authority may whistle loudly as a call for attention during a mtshotsho dance. (Dyongo boys may whistle for one purpose only, namely to make the girls ombela), ~~a duty normally entrusted to one of them.~~ If any

~~third or second division boy, or any girl, has something to put to the mtshotsho, she or he must approach one of the seniors, who will then whistle and announce it himself. Such requests tend to gravitate to the one or~~
~~Or these boys may themselves take the initiative to bring a breach of 'law' to the notice of the meeting. When there is a 'case', as described above (p.),~~ The leading boy or boys will have the last word, in most ^{discussions} cases, and the other seniors will simply go along with him.

At Khalana two experienced senior boys, Qhinga and Bomse, jointly occupied the leading position. They were the two outstanding stick-players of this mtshotsho, and I was told that "they respect each other greatly" and that "whatever one of them does, he will refer directly or indirectly to the other". At Diya, in Butterworth, a few of the seniors formed a leading clique: they were known as "the abaphathi - 'rulers' or managers.

Sometimes a single boy emerges as leader (though without ever being formally appointed). This is invariably the boy who excels in stick games and fights. "If a boy becomes an extremely good fighter, he begins to act like a leader, and to rule, even if not directly." His word will for example carry the day in discussion of whether to go for a stick fight in some other location. If he refuses to go, no one else wants to go either.

For boys, as distinct from men, 'law' itself is something which has ultimately to be enforced by the stick. Hence no amount of eloquence or other leadership quality counts among the boys if it is not combined with fighting ability too. "How can he lead if when contradicted he is unable to use force effectively?" It is fighting, too, that makes his name well known and redoubtable among the other groups who may have to be confronted politically, "When coming to his

location they will say, 'we are going to the home of Mr. So and So'."

A 'leading boy' will take it on himself to act as a kind of referee at stick games, enforcing the rules or keeping an eye on the training of the younger boys, (Chapter 3). He will give the signal for stick games to begin, and the dance to end, simply by gathering up his sticks and knuckle cloth and walking out of the hut. Even if he says not a word, the other boys ~~will all follow as soon as they see him go.~~ ^{at once.}

While boys nearly always stressed performance with the stick, when asked what qualities make a leader, one should add that in a way it was the moral component they were stressing. They spoke of "bravery" as against mere skill or strength in fighting. "He will not retreat easily." "He moves in front of the lines, and attacks the enemy line in the middle." "As long as he is brave, not being a specially good speaker will not matter." The leader boys whom I have seen were never mere bullies; often they struck me as outstanding in personality or ability.

Only one formal named office is known to the mtshotsho, and that is an executive or 'menial' one to which the senior boys appoint one or two of their dyongo because the work involved is beneath their own dignity. This office is termed 'Policeman' (ipolisa, pl. amapolisa.) ^{But} Although the 'policeman's' power is entirely derivative (however) it is enough to make the boy feel respected and important, if he does his job well. The 'policemen' look after disciplinary matters at mtshotsho parties, under the direction of the seniors. In particular they are in charge of the girls. They have to collect from their homes those girls who live further away and escort them to the party; they order the girls to sing and clomp when required, or force them to sing louder or more animatedly; they see that girls are not taken out of the hut by boys while dancing is going on, etc.

Local Group Oppositions

There is a built-in ambivalence in the relation between local groups who "tshotsha together", regularly or occasionally. On the one hand there cannot be a dance at all without more than the local ~~maingo~~ group being present, and new visitors from 'outside' are supposed to add extra excitement and enjoyment. On the other hand the groups confront each other as distinct corporations, reflecting the basic loyalty to location and section which was mentioned in Chapter 1. An affront or injury to even one boy will be taken up as a group cause. This ambivalence can be marked even among the 'sections' or 'ridge' of a single location who form one group, as will be illustrated in the case of the Khalana promotion dispute. (p. below).

As we saw, visits to mtshotsho dance parties in other areas, especially if they are first visits, are treated almost like diplomatic occasions between two foreign powers. The precautions surrounding the occasion are virtualised into a regular protocol. When the visitors have halted outside the dance hut and sent one or two of their seniors in to ask for admission, they are asked where they come from. They name their location and their headman or chief. "A good speaker among the guests would reply to the question in a polite way." They are next asked whether they are only passing through, or not. They answer "We have ended our journey" (si helele). They are then asked what they want, and they reply: "We have come to ask for mtshotsho." The senior boy who is speaking for the local group will say "We have heard of you", and a few leading senior boys will leave the hut to confer among themselves whether to accept the visitors or to gxotha, drive them away. If they decide to accept them, they return to the hut and announce that they 'have heard their request', and they will ask for the visitors

to hand over their amaxhadi (sticks) for custody. This is an anxious moment, for if the visitors were actually bent on battle they may refuse to do so. If the local senior boys decide not to 'give mtshotsho' to the visitors, the latter are supposed to go away, or they risk being attacked. (Girls are never harmed, but are allowed to go home freely.) The refusal is an 'insult' which will lead to a group fight sooner or later, if not on the spot.

Even if the visitors are 'given the mtshotsho' it is necessary that they come again to tshotsho with their hosts, on two or more subsequent occasions, "to prove that they are really friendly." Only then can they issue an invitation for another joint party to be held at their own location. The expression used is "The two groups have danced together and have become marmonious."

As we shall see, the intlombe deals with visitors in a totally different spirit. Young men are always free to visit and be welcomed at each others' intlombe, whether individually or in groups.

For boys, there are only two occasions when visiting is combined with a feeling of relaxed peace. One is Christmas, when even boys may visit a party in another location, and invite themselves in, simply saying that "they have come to ask for Christmas", (See Chapter 7). The other is the isijadu party held for senior boys as their last celebration before initiation. Isijadu is a specially Fingo custom. Boys from far afield meet at the dance; even the seniors of groups who have been rivals or on unfriendly terms come together joking and drinking. 'It is a very peaceful affair'. Even so, the boys first hand over all their weapons to be kept in safe custody, that all possibility of fighting should be excluded.

Boys generally agreed that stick play which includes

visiting groups from different locations is more 'interesting' than games of amakhaya among themselves. Friendly competition between the locations (we were told) can make such meetings 'perfect'. Two or three imitshotsho from different locations are present on many Sundays, four or five are exceptional. The seating of the onlookers - only two boys are fighting at any time - is according to their areas. Boys from one location may sit by themselves, or may form clusters with boys from a neighbouring location with whom they are friendly. In Khalana, the Khalana and Mabhongo boys occupied one side of the field, with Shushu and Nqontsi on the other. "We regard Mabhongo as our amakhaya" said the Khalana boys; "we always join together and fight other locations."

Alliances and oppositions usually persist for a few years, but are not thought of as immutable. The Khalana boys told me that some years ago they had regarded themselves as 'amakhaya' with Nqontsi. But they had ceased to invite or visit each other after a major fight. Nqontsi had started visiting Shushu instead of Khalana. "So these new camps were created." Significantly, the Khalana boys added that they were no longer such active enemies of Nqontsi, either, "otherwise we could not play at sticks with them at all. Some sort of alliance is necessary for coming together in the stick-play", although "the arrangement into 'allies' and 'opponents' at the play shows our more particular friendship or hostilities."

The 'political' aspect of the mtshotsho seems to have been even more pronounced in the past. Oppositions were sharper then and (I was told); behaviour outside one's own territory had to be more circumspect. Watching Nqontsi boys approaching the mtshotsho hut, Sogoni (a middle-aged man) said to me; 'During the years of our boyhood, boys from

another location would never have dared to blow shistles, and hit sticks together and come already 'qu/la'd' (with sticks at the ready) as these are doing. It would have meant a battle (idabi)'.

The division of beer

Among rural Xhosa the division of beer is very highly formalised, with particular attention to seniority and to the claims of visiting groups. Beer is basically a man's drink, but mtshotsho boys seem increasingly to use it too, especially in the Ciskei. They, too, when they divide out the beer, are acting out their group and seniority relations, and also the prerogatives of individual 'leaders'.

Besides Iswazi and Christmas parties, boys sometimes have been at their dance parties. The business of distribution is entirely the affair of the senior boys, but especially the 'leaders'. The other boys hardly feel involved. As the distribution of tins takes place the ombela-ing is continuous, and the rest of the party are busy dancing as if they were not taking any notice.

There is no real break for drinking; boys and girls do not normally sit down for a formal beer drink as do adults (including young men). At an mtshotsho at Nyosi's place in Tshabo, a full beaker was left at the top end of the hut. From time to time someone would leave the line of dancers to take a sip, either standing or laying his stick down on the floor meanwhile. At Khalana on Sunday afternoon 8.2.62, the mtshotsho was being held in Sogoni's homestead where an adults' beer drink was going on independently. The boys, including groups from Shushu, Mabhongo and Nqontsi, as well as Khalana, were sitting below the cattle kraal having their own beer, and dancing to a guitar.

A dance where there is beer is an inter-group occasion, of course. In accordance with normal Xhosa practice, the

tin of beer for each group is placed squarely in front of one member (a 'leading' senior) and it is this boy's responsibility to share with the others of his group. He may, if he wishes, drink the lion's share himself, but he will have to call the other boys and girls over, one by one, to come and taste. (Or some may come by themselves.) They each have a few sips and rejoin the dance. Besides his own group the boy in charge of the tin may call boys or girls from a 'friendly' group; or those who come to drink may themselves invite a friend to come and have a sip; or in the case of a senior friend they may carry the tin across to him. In the end, then, it ^{may} look as if anyone is drink ^{ing} from any tin, ~~irrespective of group;~~ but it is never random really.

The leading boy of a visiting group is supposed to speak up to request more beer for his group. If the groups are good friends it will be done with much banter and good humour. Thus when Khalana were hosts to Mabhongo and others, Gilindoda, the leading boy from Mabhongo whistled and addressed the Khalana injole: "I thought that after that first tin there would come other tins which we had been told about. Bomse, my equal, where are its legs?" (i.e. to come and follow). The injoli answered politely: "I am here, my equal. I understand what you say. But must we not first allow the beer to settle down that we have just been drinking?" He whistled and announced, "I request that girls should ombela". But Gilindoda was not easily sidetracked: "But what are we going to drink next?" he asked. The leading boy of Khalana, supported his injoli: "Bomse, were you not making a request just now?" The girls started to ombela, and Bomse was in a position to compromise. "I have what you said Gilindoda, I shall ask for one more tin". Gilindoda seemed dubious: "You are many my equal; thus you won't be satisfied" (with one tin). Bomse ordered two tins to be served.

While it is the specific privilege of 'leading' senior boys to control the sharing among their group, and drink as much as they wish themselves, the whole group of senior boys jointly have the prerogative of a special tin. In theory (though rarely in practice) this is the last tin served. None but seniors are to drink from the tin; none of them may 'offer a sip' from it to any second or third grade boy. Seniors make much of this privilege and emphasize the seriousness of the corresponding obligation: "Because we drink the beer of this tin, we seniors always fight in the front row at an idabi."

At an mtshotsho in Khalana, one of the leading boys of Khalana announced towards midnight, "How about serving a tin to the senior boys?" "Let it be for those who shoot the baboon" (i.e. senior boys) said a senior boy of the visiting location. The tin was taken to the leading boy of Khalana and the senior boys of both locations drank from it. When it was finished, the leading boy of Khalana sent a junior to take it to the centre of the hut, and told him to hit it hard from underneath. The 'empty sound' was to indicate to the 'house' that all beer was finished.

In Diya (Butterworth), 'the abaphathi' or clique of leading boys would sit together when boys were drinking beer, and they too were allotted a special 'tin for the manager'; the other senior boys did not share this though they might be offered sips.

Chinga and Bomse displayed their joint leadership at a mtshotsho beer drink in 1962, when Khalana were hosts to Mabhongo. On this occasion beer was provided by Sogoni's wife in return for the boys having cut fencing branches at her request.

The order to begin drinking came from both Chinga and Bomse. While boys were dancing to the Guitar Chinga

interrupted with his whistle to say "Bomse, my equal, I suggest we have a small tin (Ibhekile) to wash the dust down out throats". (For this designation of the first tin cf. p.). Bomse replied: "May I suggest, my equal, that it should rather be two gallons". After a number of good-humoured exchanges they agreed on the amount, and, Bomse told the dyongo to bring it in. The two leading boys had appeared to address only each other, but had obviously been playing to the house at large.

When Qhinga went out later in the night, Bomse crossed over rather ostentatiously to occupy Qhinga's seat, "It is I who shall sit here" he announced "because now I am the only big one present."

Early in the morning one of the Mabhongo visitors asked for beer. "Are you awake, senior boys? It is a long time since we had any beer." Neither of the two leaders reacted: Qhinga said drowsily "I am still asleep, my equal", and Bomse announced that he was going outside to pass water. At last one other senior boy gave orders for two tins to be filled. Qhinga and Bomse took the trouble to explain to me that they had made excuses on purpose, so that the other senior boys should also "do something", and "it should not look as if we are the only two big boys".

Promotion and the Ambivalent Relations between Grades

Within a local group the members of each grade have a special relation to each other as iintanga, 'equals'. They are also paired off with the corresponding grade in any other group on any occasion involving inter-visiting (above all, stick games.) And they have a corporate relation to the grades above and below.

The ideal scheme of promotions was outlined in Chapter 1. According to this scheme, promotion time is determined by the

local 'first grade' (senior boys) deciding to go for circumcision, and thus leaving the mtshotsho. Their place in the group is then to be taken automatically by the erstwhile second-graders, the place of the second by the erstwhile third-graders, etc., down to the fifth or sixth grade - the bottom of the junior mtshotsho; a new bottom grade will thus have to be recruited. In this ideal scheme, all the local little boys of similar age would be joining the junior mtshotsho together; subsequently they would move up en bloc, grade by grade, all the way to circumcision; and indeed all through life, for the intanga relation between those "who shared a circumcision hut" is regarded as a lifelong bond.

Alternately ^{IV} a specially capable boy may be able to prove that he can hold his own in stick-fighting against the next highest grade, and they will then eventually accept him as one of them, and he will have moved permanently on ahead of his old iintanga. This individual promotion is termed ukunyuselwa. The boy has to take the initiative himself - to challenge the boys of the higher grade, force them to accept the challenge, and prove his prowess by beating them all. It calls for courage and ambition as well as fighting skill.

Individual promotion becomes harder the higher one goes. Fourth-graders for example are quite willing to accept any fifth-grade boy who can 'make the grade'. Lungelo, in Shixini, worked himself up from the fifth to the third grade within a year and thereby qualified himself for the mtshotsho proper. But ^{first-graders} ~~seniors~~ are very often unwilling to promote a dyongo and admit him to share their privileges. They will refuse to accept his challenges to play sticks, or if he insists they will tell him to pick out a particular antagonist, which makes it a serious dual rather than a 'game'. If the

challenger is defeated he cannot stop the fight in the usual way, but only by running away. "The idyongo do not like that, and would rather forget their struggle for promotion."

Again, the junior mtshotsho need not think about their grading in relation to 'outside people' (izizwe) as they rarely if ever play sticks against outside teams, but it is a serious consideration in the mtshotsho proper. An outside opponent may refuse to play against a boy whom he still regards as his junior, or may insist that the boy vindicate his status by successfully fighting all the boys of the higher grade from all the visiting groups. (See Chapter 3).

A dyongo seeking promotion will come forward during the beginning of stick play, i.e. when the senior boys have their turn, and gula (challenge, show himself ready to play) (See Chapter 3.) As normally a second ^{grade} ~~division~~ boy cannot gula ^{grade} against first ~~division~~ boys, this alone shows his intention. He may exclaim - to declare his intention beyond doubt - "I want to come in" (ndiya ngena).

In Shixini, a dyongo who repeatedly challenges his seniors acquires a certain recognition even before he is accepted as a senior. "When they have anything to be shared like meat or beer he gets his own dish known as the 'dish of the one who goes in' (isitya sikanongena). 'He eats this dish with other juniors who also aspire to onongena'.

The difficulties of ukunyuselwa promotion at this stage reflect an underlying ambivalence which always exists, generally speaking, between senior boys and their dyongo. They are close in age and interests, and share in most activities. Therefore if the distinction between them is to remain meaningful, the seniors have to make some effort to demonstrate it effectively. They are motivated to insist on the distinction, because they value their prerogative of dominating the mtshotsho; the dyongo, on their part, envy

them this, and aspire to share it.

The rivalry between indala and dyongo is softened by the knowledge that in a year or two the senior boys will in any case be promoted to still higher things, and the present dyongo will take over the leadership of the mtshotsho. But this anticipation cannot be said to extinguish the rivalry which finds expression both in behaviour and in verbal statements.

In many situations the dyongo have almost to 'fag' for the seniors. They are typically called upon to perform activities which require a certain judgment and skill, but which are not esteemed as 'dignified'. The office of Policeman, mentioned above, is a case in point. Dyongo will also have to slaughter the sheep and pigs for the boys' feasts at Christmas. They will have to go to the shops to buy provisions for mtshotsho parties.

In discussion, the dyongo may only speak up after the senior boys have had their say. As we saw, the senior boys will make final decisions; they will also represent the mtshotsho in dealings with other mtshotsho groups, and with the adult world. But they enjoy many privileges besides. They claim a lion's share of food or drink at feasts. They monopolize the senior girls, but will pay attention to the junior girls as well. They play first at stick ^{games} fights.

Some exchanges which took place at an mtshotsho dance in Khalana will help to illustrate the tension between these grades. The 'policeman' (who as usual was a dyongo) was trying to bully the girls into ombela-ing. Several of his fellow-dyongo joined in. Nevertheless some of the girls still resisted and grumbled. A senior boy shouted out, "These children (meaning the girls) do not want these small ones (meaning the dyongo). They want us to handle them." "Yes, my equal" replied the leading senior boy, "but it is the

dyongo who are supposed to make the girls ombela." The first speaker only repeated: "When they refuse to ombela, after we have asked the dyongo to make them ombela, that shows that they want us (i.e. the seniors)." The leading senior: "When the girls are in this mood, would they not despise even you? Is it not better that they despise the dyongo?" Suddenly the girls started singing and clapping with renewed vigour, and the discussion was dropped. But meanwhile the two chronic sore points had both been touched on. First, the claim of the seniors to be the favourite of the girls, and secondly their use of the dyongo to do the arduous and "undignified" work.

In the Emangwevini section of Shixini, a dyongo called Sagwityi had long been requesting the chance to 'promote himself' individually (~~in the Bawa~~), but was consistently refused by a senior boy, Sitotso. The other dyongo commented that "Sitotso is jealous, he is the only senior boy here at present, and he eats a lion's share of everything."

It can be a more serious matter when a whole local dyongo grade feel that their seniors are blocking their promotion, by "refusing" to go for circumcision. In Khalana this issue combined with a latent opposition between local sections to split one mtshotsho permanently into two.

The Khalana group at that time included two local sections, one comprising Bawa and Mabhadikazi 'ridges', and the other Mqwashwini and Myabowula. The latter section had only two senior boys. These two decided to go for initiation, whereas the much more numerous seniors in the other section did not.

The dyongo of that section where the two boys were being circumcised, naturally expected to be accepted as seniors in their place. But this was not acceptable to the remaining (Bawa-Mabhadikazi) seniors. They argued that they constituted



the majority of seniors in Khalana; that they were perfectly entitled to choose not to be initiated yet; that the initiation of just two youths in Mqwashwini-NyaBowula could not be held to promote the grades, and that any dyongo who ^{might} attempt to play sticks with seniors (the index of equality) would therefore be regarded as rebels. Quite oppositely, the aspirants held that not only they but their 'equals' in Bawa-Mabhadikazi had every right to be promoted, and that their way was being unjustly blocked by 'nosala'. This is a contemptuous term indicating cowardice and self-indulgence, applied to youths who escape going for circumcision when their equals do. (cf. sala, to remain behind.)

The indignation of the Mqwashwini-NyaBowula boys broke out in open conflict. "They still regarded us as their dyongo, (as one recalled in telling the story) and even called us 'children'. So we decided to thrash them, to force them to give us respect." More than that, they persuaded their 'equals' from Bawa and Mabhadakazi to help.

Opportunity came when a wedding feast was being held in the home section. The boys were given their own portion of beer to divide out among themselves. "We decided not to give the seniors any beer, but to hit them instead." There was an argument, and as the senior boys walked away, the Mqwashwini boys followed them. "On the way my equal Sogoni suddenly opened on them with a stick. There was no chance to gula ^{(challenge in form).} We hit them and they scattered over the fields, running away. We were many, and they were only six."

After this incident the Mqwashwini and NyaBowula boys met and decided to carry their aggressive policy further, and to beat the Bawa-Mabhadikazi seniors on their own home ground, with the help of the local dyongo. They decided not to attend the night dance of the next mtshotsho (to be held at Bawa) but to arrive in the morning about 10 a.m., i.e. when



the boys would have left the dance hut to relax outside. "When we were near Jali's homestead we saw them dancing in front of the mtshotsho hut. They saw us, and went to the other side of the homestead, leaving the girls behind. We went past the homestead and found them ready for the fight. We fought and scattered them." They claim they would have inflicted a crushing defeat, if they had not been stopped by the Bawa young men.

This was the end of the single mtshotsho group. "They could not come to the common Icawa for fear that we hit them again." The boys of either side could no longer move freely into the mmango of their opponents. "You always expected to be attached, as if it were a different location altogether."

The split became permanent after the seniors took their revenge at an Intonjane⁽¹⁾ which was held soon after New Year, i.e. at a time when many senior boys, who had been away working, were back at home. The Intonjane was being held at Mqwashwini. The 'rebels' of the Mqwashwini-Nyatowala section, who had been drinking there, went over to Nyatowala during the day, leaving their blankets behind. "While we were at Nyatowala a child came running with the message that Bawa-Mabhadikazi boys had come and thrown out our blankets, broken our pot and ill-treated the girls. It was the girls who sent the child. We took our sticks and our concertina and moved fast to the place of Intonjane. When we arrived, we found them gone. They had stolen the whole pot of beer, leaving the empty pot outside near the bush." (This of course was a direct revenge for their being denied beer at the wedding). "We wanted to pursue them for this. We followed them to Bawa, but when we came there we were informed that they had gone down to Mabhadikazi. We turned, but did not go to our homes. ~~Early the following morning we sat under the big tree over-~~
~~looking Bawa, and blew our horn. We prepared for battle."~~

(This battle is described in chapter 3.)

~~We saw them coming and met them halfway.~~ But much to the dissatisfaction of the rebels, "although our equals in Bawa and Mabhadikazi had agreed that we should join together and thrash the Nosala, they never kept their word on that Sunday morning, or since then. They joined up with their Nosala instead. We suppose they feared that those Nosala would thrash them, being of the same mmango."

CHAPTER 3

A Red Khaz adolescent boy, up to the age of adolescent initiation (i.e. from about thirteen to about twenty), is seldom seen out of doors without a pair of fairly heavy sticks, one longer than the other. Even at a distance a figure moving over the sand will be recognizable as a boy by the characteristic silhouette with the two sticks over the shoulder. 'Playing sticks' is an indispensable part of boyhood education, and it is valued principally in the gymnasium, where games and wrestling are prominent features of the regular meetings.

Stickplay is the national sport of Red Khaz. As such it is valued even by adults whose two sporting days have long been over. But the stick is a formidable weapon too, and the youth is also valued as a fighter in the 'mobile war' of fighting and half-fighting.

The notions of 'playing' (ukadala) and 'fighting' are distinct, but they relate closely and rubily, and may merge in a given situation. Obviously, playing sticks is not like playing ball for example - it is quite specifically playing as fighting. The 'game' is a mock-up of a real fight, but it can easily develop into the real thing and there are many gradations in between. A bout between two players may be friendly recreation, or technical practice, or an exhibition of skill, or it may be a fiercely motivated contest for mastery, with far more than sporting implications. A series of bouts between two teams - which always needs two local tribe groups - can begin as pure sport and then turn nasty. At the end of the spectrum are the grim pitched battles (ukadala), where each group is out to rout the other,

very much as in the large pile sticks. In the night

CHAPTER 3
FIGHTING GAMES

STICKPLAY, FIGHTING AND BATTLES

A Red Xhosa adolescent boy, up to the age of manhood initiation (i.e. from about thirteen to about twenty), is seldom seen out of doors without a pair of fairly heavy sticks, one longer than the other. Even at a distance a figure moving over the veld will be recognizable as a boy by the characteristic silhouette with the two sticks over the shoulder. 'Playing sticks' is an indispensable part of boyhood education, and it is learnt principally in the sutshotsho, where games and coaching are prominent features of the regular meetings.

Stickplay is the national sport of Red Xhosa. (1) As such it is valued even by elders whose own sporting days have long been over. But the stick is a formidable weapon too, and the sport is also valued as a training in the 'noble arts' of fighting and self-defence.

The notions of 'playing' (ukudlala) and 'fighting' are distinct, but they relate closely and subtly, and may converge in a given situation. Obviously, playing sticks is ^{more} ~~not~~ like boxing than like playing ball for example - it is quite specifically playing at fighting. The 'game' is a mock-up of a real fight, but it can easily develop into the real thing and there are many gradations in between. A bout between two players can be friendly recreation, or technical practice, or an exhibition of skill, or it can be a fiercely motivated contest for mastery, with far more than sporting implications. A series of bouts between two teams - which always means two local sutshotsho groups - can begin as pure sport and then 'turn nasty'. At the end of the spectrum are the grim pitched battles (amadabi), where each group is out to rout the other,

in many areas even school boys 'play sticks'. See note on p. 64.

and the sticks and other more dangerous weapons are used without restraint, so that death or disablement are not uncommon.

Xhosa hold that boys are naturally pugnacious, 'like dogs', and 'always like to settle things by the stick'. To that extent (they suggest) boyish fights and battles are to be tolerantly ignored, within very broad limits (e.g. unless someone is dangerously hurt.) However, with the attainment of manhood the fighting urge is supposed to be sublimated. The use of the stick 'to settle things' then becomes improper and so does even stick play. Xhosa see this as one of the prime meanings of manhood initiation.

Adults expounding on the merits of the youth organisations seldom forgot to mention that satshotsho stick playing is good *inter alia* because it allows boys to exhaust their natural urge to fight.

"I have no pride in fighting any more" said Ngqula Bomse, a youngman in Khalana who had been a champion stick player a few years ago. "I fought a great lot when I was a boy". When young men quarrel and get heated, as if they would like to fight, sooner or later an onlooker will say "it looks as if you were never satisfied with sticks during your boyhood". Initiation is meant to convert these pugnacious beings into responsible men who will settle their disputes by reason and law. Over-aggressive boys in the country, and boys showing signs of becoming tsotsis in town, are therefore hurried off by anxious parents to an early initiation. Often the desired result is achieved: as the youth joins the company of men he stops fighting and brawling. Of a young man who still appears unduly pugnacious, 'like a boy', elders will remark that "the spear seems not to have changed his mind".

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Initiated young men were traditionally the official fighting force of the Xhosa. The new initiate was (and still is) presented with a spear, in token of his role as a warrior. But he is also presented with a plain stick, to be gradually blackened in the fire of the seclusion hut. These two objects represent two complementary but opposite facets of his new adult identity, corresponding respectively to the ideals of "war without" and "law within". The spear signifies the man of war confronting foreign enemies, the stick signifies the man of responsibility and law confronting fellow Xhosa - a token that where they are concerned he intends to "settle by words" and not by blows. Nowadays the spear is put away for good when initiation is over, whereas the black rod will always be carried whenever the man goes on any major business with legal implications.

Early training and the value for fighting

Red Xhosa upbringing (for males at least) seeks as much to stimulate fighting behaviour as to channel and control it. The little boy is receiving these lessons from adults almost as soon as he can walk. Before he is in the gutshotsho, where his peers and near-seniors take over the training, he has already absorbed the basic ideas: that equal is matched against equal, that it is disgraceful to flinch or cry, that play must be hard, but also controlled and public.

It is not so long since the Southern Nguni peoples - Xhosa as well as Zulu - were fighting wars in earnest. Old Xhosa men still see this as the historical basis of the stick-playing tradition. Qalekiso Ndita, an aged man in Shixini, remarked that "in the old days all organisation involving males was connected with war. A male child was treated differently from birth on. Because he was to be a

warrior, he was taught to stand very heavy blows." The art of war, they explain, required expertise both in group fight and in single combat, and the mtshotsho provided opportunity for both. "Every boy wanted to prove his worth before circumcision, for after it he would be a warrior, ready to face the enemy". The champion fighters among the boys were therefore "idolised, even by women", for they would be "the hope of the community during the furious days of war".

The old men concede that boys still play a lot but they remark that now it is only for their own pleasure or prestige, not for the community. "Not having the perspective of war, it is carried on just as sportsmanship", as Qalekiso put it, "In those days, if one were to ask a chief who were the sutshotsho stick champions in his area, he would know them all. If one were to ask the chief today he would say: 'I know nothing of the affairs of boys. Do you take me for a boy?'

But the fighting values are in fact still current. Strength, hardihood and physical courage remain high on the list of manly virtues, as conceived by both sexes and all ages. And stick play is still thought of as a way to develop them. Boy champions, and even grown-up ex-champions, still enjoy praise and reputation.

Men are entitled to watch the sutshotsho games, provided they keep a distance (say 100 yards or more) so that the boys are not too much aware of their presence. And they do often come, partly to enjoy the spectacle, partly to see how their 'sons' are shaping, or how their location is making out against others. They watch the play keenly, and keep up a running commentary among themselves. Boys say they

feel "very much encouraged" when they know their "fathers" are watching them play another group. (As often in Xhosa usage, ~~they~~^{is} means 'local elders' rather than 'our fathers'. In fact some informants said one ought not to watch one's own son play, meaning, perhaps, that it is an occasion for community values and relations, not family ones.)

I was watching sutshotsho stick games in Khalana together with Headman Jali and Dinyelo. They proudly pointed out a Mabhongo boy who was a distant relation of theirs. "Watch him" they said to me, "you will see a first rate fighter". Soon the boy came forward and a lefthanded boy from Tamara accepted his challenge. The boys faced each other, sticks raised, muscles flexed, but neither dared to open up. The 'first rate fighter' appeared particularly nervous. In the end, despite encouraging shouts of "don't be afraid", both boys laid off their sticks, left the arena and sat down. The two men with me were quite disgusted. They discussed the matter at some length. One thought their relative had better go off to work in town soon, before he lost his nerve completely.

Young men (abafana) are allowed to watch the games from close up. If 'trouble' starts they are the proper people to step in and control it. In fact they seldom do come, unless when trouble is expected, as the time of play usually coincides with their own intlombe party.

Women and girls are not to watch at all, from any distance. Those who were questioned about this said that they "would not dare to disobey" the well-known ruling, or that they "would never want to" and "would hate to see our sons (or lovers) hurt and bleeding". Yet women are as ready as anyone

to take pride in a champion. The earliest fighting training is given by mothers, in fact, ^{and} girls even play quite tough stick games of their own (pp. below). Perhaps one consideration underlying the ban is the idea that feminine attitudes would be too partisan in a narrow personal way, too "unfair". Boys seem to hint at this, on their own somewhat romantic formulation. They say women can't be allowed because too many of them have impundulus or other familiars which they use to help their own sons, or to be the undoing of a boy whose family they hate. A woman (they say) may direct her impundulu to stand nearby and to hit exactly where the opponent is hitting, and these invisible blows may be deadly.

It hardly needs saying that to be champion at stick playing is still a great ambition among the boys themselves. All were unanimous that "the best player commands respect", "Other boys will fear him." "His word will be final when a final word is needed". "To be a good fighter is for a boy the same as to have much money is for a European. He is respected and has a good position in the community". "Other boys do not dare to propose love to a girl he is in love with." "They fear him even during his absence." "His word is almost law." "It is human nature to wish to be a ruler over others wherever possible." We have already seen the connection between 'ruling' in the mtshotsho and fighting prowess. (Ch. 2 above)

Admittedly, boys also speak about the dangers of the stick. "Many people have been disabled at the mtshotsho" said a dyongo boy of 18 (Sigudlwana Nvumbi) at Shixini. "One boy died at Velabe after being stabbed with a panga. Some people are one-eyed from their mtshotsho injuries". But such remarks, even if they are not boastful rather than worried, are not

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meant by Reds as a critique of stick-playing or fighting in itself. That is more typically a 'School' or Christian point of view.

Thelelekisa - matching opponents, setting them on to fight - is practised among Reds as part of the earliest childhood training. Two women will goodhumouredly thelelekisa their little boys of perhaps three years old, by taking their hands and slapping them against each other's faces. Soon the toddlers get worked up and start fighting angrily of their own accord, scratching and biting, until one cries and runs to his mother. At this both women laugh heartily. But the mother takes care of her boy and soothes him.

Boys a little older are given something soft, like reeds, to fight each other with. Or an adult (either sex) will prod the child with an outstretched finger or two, not only allowing but encouraging him to hit back as hard as he can.

At five or six boys are already learning to use a second stick for defence. They are given leafy branches (amahlamvu) which are good for hitting but cannot do real harm. Adults looking on at such a combat, among the watching circle of other children, will smile indulgently, and urge the combatants on. They no longer show their amusement openly. Sometimes a big boy or a man takes up a stick to defend himself, and invites a small boy to try a bout, perhaps incidentally teaching him the regular terms like mela (wait) or masiyeke (let's leave it), and strongly discouraging any show of fear or pain.

Herding boys play each other a lot during the long hours out on the veld with the cattle. They now, at say 8 years old, use a pair of small sticks, or a slightly bigger boy playing

a smaller one may use a stick for defence with just an ihlamvu for hitting. Occasionally they have more organised games, amateurish but spirited, after their Sunday intutu gathering. The older ones start attending the mtshotsho games proper. There they get their main instruction, partly by watching and partly by being coached. (p. below).

Girls who herd with boys (there being no suitably-aged boy in their family) play sticks like them too. Boys don't play girls but thelelekisa them to play each other. A senior girl recalled that "sometimes I used to come home with my body all covered with lashes, so painful that it was hard to milk the cows. The 'old people' never interfered." She still had scars on her head, which she showed me. The stick games of mtshotsho girls are described on p. .

Sunday games: chivalrous restraints and local loyalties

Boys of a local mtshotsho contingent often practise with sticks among themselves, sometimes during or after the weekly mbutho. These games serve to determine ranking order within the group. But the main organised games are those which take place after the joint dance parties, among the groups who have spent the night tshotsha-ing together. Here the group oppositions and alliances are acted out, in characteristic mtshotsho style.

The play is a series of duels. Opponents are to be chosen across group boundaries, but within the same grade. 'Home' boys play 'outside' visitors (of equal grade) if there are any; or if not, one local section will play another. Each player is watched and cheered on by his own local group, or taught, disciplined or restrained by his own local seniors if need be. The more 'outside' groups are present, the more exciting these sessions are held to be. A visiting group

may turn up on the Sunday afternoon and be accepted to play sticks, without having been at the dance the night before.

In watching stick games one becomes much aware of two, potentially conflicting expectations or requirements - on the one hand that the boys will fight really hard, fight to win, on the other hand that they will keep to the rules of ^{fair} play. One sees the temptation sometimes to abandon the rules, resulting in intervention by the audience of boys in general, or by the senior boys in particular. One becomes aware thereby of the double pull on the audience too: on the one hand as ^{opposed} partisans rooting for their respective sides, full of fighting team spirit, and on the other hand as ^{one} "moral community", joint custodians of the fair play and restraint which are supposed to prevent mere games from degenerating into actual fighting.

Stick games are not exactly team games in the sense that the play itself is always solo. When a group are all hitting away together they are by definition engaged in a "battle", not a controlled "game". A main part of the problem of control at stick games is therefore to keep the group from rushing in too loyally to avenge what they regard as unfair treatment of one of their players. Ideally, at least serious grudges are supposed to be saved up and dealt with separately, by a "battle" fought at a different time and place after issuing a formal challenge.

Out in the veld, well away from the homesteads, is a place which the local mtshotsho regard as their regular 'station' for stick games. Most of these are places of great scenic beauty, a fact which is not entirely coincidental but tends to follow from practical considerations. The place has to provide a kind of stage, where two boys at a time can play

each other with room for all the other boys to watch from close quarters, and smaller numbers of young men and senior men from further away. The 'stage' should if possible not be easily accessible from the rear, so that the combatants will fight it out over a limited ground, without too much scope for backing away. Thus the shape is likely to be that of a grassy amphitheatre, gently rising at the sides and back, with a steep drop behind that, allowing the spectator a wide open view over distant ranges of hills.

On Sunday at about noon, after a night and morning of dancing, the boys move in a body from the mtshotsho hut out towards the stickfighting arena. A senior makes the first move. At Khalana one Sunday in October 1961, while the boys still danced and the girls sang and clapped inside the hut, Mabuti one of the Khalana senior boys took up his sticks and his knuckle cloth (ibhayi), went to the door and said: 'Fellows (bafondini) let's go to the other side of the homestead'. Everyone understood the euphemism. He was followed immediately by another senior, and then by all the boys.

On the way from the hut to the arena much by-play takes place "to get into the mood of fighting". The byplay is more elaborate when boys of several locations are present or expected. Rams horns are blown; whistles are sounded; guitars are played. Boys form up into single files or change into close formations. The senior boys, out in front, may lead a wild rush in wide undulating movements, slowing down to a trot, for what is called 'sweeping the way' (tshayelala). In doing this the boys may 'knock sticks' also, crouching down in a rough circle and each knocking his two sticks together, right against left, rhythmically, to the singing of amagwiJa.

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Amagwija (sing, igwija) are songs to be sung on the march or when entering into battle. (The name refers to 'walking' or 'marching'.) They are specifically meant to 'inspire', to provide ihlombi or imihlali, the excitement that "invigorates the heart" as does the singing of praises. "Like a dog set to something, the songs make one go forward fearlessly." "These songs inspire one. And amongst our boys there are some especially, whom we know to be encouraged by our singing. Mbanyaru, who was our champion against left handers, would always ask his equals to sing his favourite igwija when he came forward to play. If it was sung he would knock a particularly dangerous left hander to the ground". "These amagwija make one's hair stand stiff, one's body becomes full of excitement (imihlali), one feels cold tickling, shivers, on one's back, and the heart becomes big and strong like that of a lion". Each group of senior boys invent new words for their amagwija⁽¹⁾.

At the arena the boys sit down in distinct groups. If only home boys (amakhaya) are present, they form loose clusters according to their grades (seniors, idyongos and third grade). When there are several locations they usually sit very clearly separated. If there are enough different locations, alliances are formed, and friendly locations who

(1). Usually these refer to current neighbourhood events.

For instance there was an igwija^{in Shixini} about a boy called Nazimba who had seduced a girl.

will 'fight as one' on the given occasion sit close together or even mingled⁽¹⁾.

Seniors play first, then the second grades, then the third. Visitors must wait for the first 'challenge' (invitation to play) to be made by the home side. To open up themselves would be an 'insult', or an act of aggression.

Equals must play equals, grade for grade. The only exception is the special promotion procedure described in chapter 2, and this exception proves the rule, since the aspirant's challenge to the higher grade is really a declaration that "I am your equal now".

A game is initiated by a boy walking on to the arena and gula-ing - readying himself, wrapping the knuckle cloth into an igulo on his left (defence) hand. Or he may just thrust his fighting stick into the ground and wait. The challenge is an open one. One does not challenge a particular individual except when demanding a fight to settle a special personal score. Any equal from another local section may come forward in response, ^{Both} challenge and acceptance, then, both have an element of bravado, of "Who dares first".

(1) ^{At Tshabo the} ~~Occasionally the~~ ^{can} ~~opposition takes~~ the form of school ^{as both categories} versus Red boys, i.e. ~~when both~~ ^{and} are strongly localised, as ~~at Tshabo, where~~ the school boys are still sufficiently

conservative to ~~recognise~~ ^{take part in} the stick fight as a means of ^{play} recognition and prestige. ^{though they do not attend the dances. School boys also play} ~~In Qaukeni and Koukhulu, where~~ ^{as in nearby Qaukeni, but here, as} Red and School live mixed in the same sublocations, Red and School of one area fight red and school of another.

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->Before a player steps forward he removes all his beads and other ornaments, except usually a few small strings of beads, round his wrists or ankles. In most places nowadays the boys fight wearing black shirts. In Peddie and other conservative places the boys were still fighting naked, wearing only a penis sheath with the long strips of fur attached.

Each boy always uses his own personal stick. Every stick is slightly different in shape and weight, and a boy gets used to his own; but also, the boys are afraid of medicines. Some of these when smeared on the stick "will make the opponent feel dizzy and groggy even if only lightly touched on the head". "If they were to exchange sticks those lent to the opponents would be likely to be treated ones".

A game may be ended by one player calling Masiyeke (from Yeka, to leave it), as an admission of defeat. Both players then khulula, i.e. untie the iqulo. The vanquished one leaves the arena and the victor stays to take on another opponent. Alternatively, one may call a draw by simply saying khulula - a suggestion that they should both stop and lay off their sticks, not an admission of defeat. (The other player may agree and khulula, straight away, or he may refuse, being not yet "satisfied".) When a draw is agreed, both players leave the arena together.

Games continue until all or most of the boys have played, and no one else will come forward to accept a challenge. Someone is likely to say "the game is ended", (umdlalo uphelele), and the boys return to the mtshotsho hut.

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→ One of the distinctions between game and fight is the greater obligation in the former case to restrain oneself according to chivalrous rules. These are designed to stop either player from taking 'unfair' advantage and/or hurting the other unnecessarily. For example, one should not continue hitting the opponent if he calls 'Wait' (mela) after dropping his defence stick, falling, or being hurt. One should never hit him while he is down (qusha). One should not deliberately hit him hard on the head, or hit up and down in one quick movement so that the blow lands on the face. Some of these things, such as qusha, are considered rather cowardly even if done in the heat of battle. The seniors are responsible for stopping them at games, by controlling the juniors of their own sides. "If not, a group fight may result".

Seniors should also stop a bout if it is getting very heated, or very long drawn out, and neither player will give up, or if an already injured boy insists on continuing against too great odds. The formal way to stop the pair is for one or more seniors to step forward and interpose a stick between them. But an 'eager' boy who refuses to be 'satisfied' may not be stopped so easily, and the seniors may actually have to grasp his stick, or pull his igulo off him. Naturally, they can each only disarm their 'own' boy - not the one on the other side - or they would be accused of foul play themselves. A bout that is 'stopped' counts as a draw.

After the main games there may be coaching for the junior boys, or for those just coming up from the top of the intutu. The seniors, who do the coaching, do it usually in a good-natured, bantering way, without threatening or bullying. Men like watching the youngsters being taught, and praise them louder than they do the seniors, if they show promise, e.g.

"You surprise us, you boy of so-and-so!"

I watched a coaching session at Khalana, on a day when the local mtshotsho were hosts to Mabhongo and Tamara. When the senior boys and the dyongo had finished playing, a senior boy called Salata, together with a senior boy from Mabhongo, put the young boys on to fight. To one young boy who seemed rather timid Salata said in a gentle voice: "Don't tremble, boy, you are not about to stab a goat. Just gula. You are not going to die." He kept close control over the play, discouraging dangerous moves with instructions such as "Don't hit the head", or "No you boy, don't use such tactics" - this to a boy who tried hitting up and down with one quick hand movement. (~~This up and down hitting is considered especially dangerous because it cannot easily be defended against, and because the blow will land on the side of the face.~~) Each pair of youngsters was given only a short time before Salata stopped them, and another young boy was called on. "If you want to fight, gula quickly", and "who is your equal?".

The Khalana games

Brief accounts of two of the many stickplay sessions I attended will help to illustrate the points that have been made.

(a) Inter-group games

A.1. On 19th February 1962 the Khalana mtshotsho were hosts to those of Nqoutsu, Shushu and Mabhongo. Mabuti, a senior boy of Khalana, gula'd first, and his challenge was accepted by a Nqontsi boy named Ngumba. Ngumba soon received a number of cuts on the head, and started to bleed profusely. But he would neither give in nor call khulula. Perhaps he felt goaded by a provocative song which the Khalana boys were singing to their

guitar, with the refrain: "He thought that it was just playing a game".

Presently Ngqumba fell, and contrary to rule Mabuti continued hitting him. Immediately several Nqontsi and Shushu boys (Shushu being their 'allies' at this time) charged across the arena, and threatened to hit Mabuti. In face of so many boys, Mabuti stepped slowly back. Meanwhile Salata, another Khalana senior, shouted at him: "What are you doing, fellow (mfondini)? Why don't you wait for the other boy when he is down?"

Ngqumba's face was covered in blood, but he recovered himself and was about to resume play, when Qhinga, who is next senior to Mabuti in Khalana, stepped forward and hit with his stick between the two opponents. Mabuti turned to Ngqumba, saying: "We are being stopped, fellow". As he spoke he loosened his iqulo. But Ngqumba still refused to stop.

A.2. Qhinga himself then qula'd with the cloth which Mabuti had dropped, faced Ngqumba, and being a good fighter quickly added some more cuts to his head. He then turned to the boys of his side: "Stop this boy; he is bleeding". A senior boy from Mabhongo (allies of Khalana) came forward and hit between them with his stick. Qhinga loosened his iqulo; Other boys from both sides (Khalana and Nqontsi) surrounded Ngumbu, trying to persuade him to do likewise. He gave in at last, but with sulky reluctance.

A.3. The next game was between a Mabhongo and a Shushu boy. It went on evenly for a long time, until Salata Bomse 'stopped' them and himself donned the iqulo.

A.4. Molo of Nqontsi took up Bomse's challenge. During this game Molo held Bomse's defence stick, and Bomse shouted at him: "Don't hold me, my equal". Molo declared that he had not meant to hold him. There was some discussion on this point. Bomse was ready to continue the game, but Molo declared himself defeated, saying: "When I am defeated, my friend, I am supposed to go and sit down". Bomse replied: "Then I am not playing you, my equal".

A.5. Next another Mabhonga boy played another Shushu boy. The Mabhongo boy performed extremely well. The watching Mabhongo boys were jubilant. Several rushed up to their hero as he came from the arena to rest after the fight. They stood round him, played the guitar, danced and sang the fashionable song: "Why is he silly. He thought that it was just playing a game".

A.6. The next pair were Mondile of Mabhongo and Molo of Khalana. After a while Mondile got a cut on his head which started to bleed badly. The Khalana boys urged him to khulula but he refused. Soon some Mabhongo boys came forward to stop him. They had to hold him and take his iqulo off.

A.7. Now Bomse played a boy from Shushu. The game was even for a long while. The Shushu boy proved highly skilful with his defence against the formidable Bomse. At the end of the fight Bomse shook hands with him saying: "Shake hands, my equal, you are becoming tough".

A.8. Mabuti now stepped forward once again, and another Nqontsi boy accepted the challenge. He proved a superior fighter, and Mabuti received a cut on the head. The Nqontsi boy, though he clearly had the advantage, did not wish to continue against the bleeding Mabuti. He shouted "Are we not being stopped?" The Khalana senior boys shouted in turn: "The fight is stopped".

A.9. Offisi from Shushu came on next, but nobody came forward to play him. Offisi is a left-hander. Seniors of both Khalana and Mabhongo shouted 'Khulula, Offisi', and he did so. Left handed players are much feared; defence against them is difficult unless one is specially practised.

A.10. These were all of the more noted senior players and it was now the turn of the weaker ones. A game between two boys from Mabhongo and Nqontsi was slow and cautious. The spectators were not impressed. Bomse shouted: "This won't do. Let me stop it fellows!". Another Khalana boy supported him: "Stop them. These people are not doing anything".

A.11. With this the senior games were finished and the dyongos (second grade) were to play. For their games the senior boys act as referees, and if they like even order who is to play whom; thus a senior boy ordered one of the dyongos to "bring so-and-so's sticks, so that he can play".

The Khalana-Mabhongo dyongos did not put up a good show against those of Nqontsi-Shushu. One Mabhongo dyongo voiced his disgust: "Lend me a defence stick, man (he said to a colleague) Our boys are playing badly. I

don't know why. ⁷ They all suffer defeat".

A.12. All these games had been watched by the third grade (now recruits from intutu), and now it was their own turn at last. Their play was fierce and fast, and less organised, and the older boys were busy trying to control it. They even had some trouble in seeing to it that only two players were in the arena at a time.

b) Home games

On another occasion at Khalana, on 7th January 1962, only the local boys were present. Instead of confrontation of rival teams, (therefore) only the ranking of individual players was at stake. Beneath this were curious under-currents of feeling regarding a boy named Peter.

B.1. The two seniors, Qhinga and Salata, first entered the arena. The game was well balanced. Salata called 'Khulula' after a while, but Qhinga had not had enough, so they played on. Eventually, both satisfied, they both khulula'd and left the arena.

B.2. The second game, between Mabhude and Peter, seemed surprisingly fierce right from the start. Early on, Peter's iqulo became loose, and he shouted 'wait' (Mela). Ignoring this, Mabhude continued to hit Peter, who by this time had only his right hand stick.

Some senior boys ran forward to separate them. Peter bent down to pick up his left hand (defence) stick and piece of cloth. While he was still on his left knee and busy winding on the iqulo, Mabhude got at him from

behind, and dealt him a mighty blow on the neck.

Peter fell back unconscious.

"To take by surprise from behind" is a cowardly tactic resented by all boys. There was a general outcry against Mabhide. Some of the boys held him, whilst others attended to Peter. A few minutes later, Mabhide left the gathering of boys and remained alone at a distance.

At last Peter came round, got up and prepared to fight again. The boys, seeing that Peter wanted revenge, and fearing that the fight might take a serious turn, tried to stop him. He refused. "What are you stopping me for? He hit me from behind whilst I was doing up my iquilo. I told him to wait for me." The other boys kept on warning him: "Leave it, this is only a game".

Meanwhile Mabhide showed no signs of compunction. When some boys went up to ask him whether he really wanted to continue, he merely said he would continue if Peter wanted: "I won't hit him. I will only hit him, if he hits me".

Discussion went on for some time. Finally the senior boys decided to call off the stickplay altogether: "the game is ended". (This way out is possible only if no 'outside' location is present.)

Later, some senior boys explained the background privately. Normally (they said), if anyone should 'hit from behind' at stickplay, all the senior boys would have hit him pretty hard, right on the spot, and not just send him off the field as they did in this case.

But this ~~case~~ was different. According to rumour,
 Peter keeps an ^(witch's familiar) impundulu at his home. ("It sometimes
 makes him vomit blood".) Would not this explain
 something that Peter had said when he came round :
 "I know why you are doing this"? That was the reason
 Mabhude did not show more concern.

Some men had watched the incident from a distance.
 They did not interfere. Soon the boys formed a line,
 and to the music of a guitar, moved back to the mtshotsho
 hut, hitting their sticks together as they moved.

Amazons: Stickplay of girls

According to Red Xhosa men, only men have physical
 courage. Fighting prowess is not something they expect or
 extol in their women. When a boy displays cowardice men
 will admonish him "to leave behind your mother's heart and
 take that of your father". A man never fights a woman, though
 a husband may beat his wife.

But women do fight women, e.g. when one thinks another
 has stolen her lover, or given her a bad name. So do girls,
 and they commonly use sticks to fight it out. There is a
 kind of organised mtshotsho stick play for the girls, modelled
 on that of the boys though with some significant differences.

The stick play does not have the same central importance
 among girls as among boys. A few girls even dissociate
 themselves from it. Noziphuthume, a Red girl of about 15 in
 Shixini, said "I cannot see why girls should fight at all.
 Some girls are injured at the play. The boys have a fight
 almost daily and hurt each other, and also have their play

every Sunday. They like it. I hate it"⁽¹⁾. But the majority seem to value proficiency with the sticks, and will speak with some pride of a good fight put up by "our girls".

In many parts of the Transkei, when boys go out to play sticks on Sundays, after the mtshotsho dance, girls also go out, to their own place for playing. But they simply walk or run out of the hut, without the martial display of the boys, that is, without knocking sticks together, or forming lines, or blowing whistles, or ^{or} playing guitars. They do sometimes play their mouth organs, however.

Unlike boys, girls ^{do not normally} ~~never~~ go about carrying a pair of sticks. They use a thin kind for their games; they may take ^{these} along ^{to play} ~~in another area, but may~~ ~~to their arena,~~ or borrow them from junior boys or local girls ^{instead}. Some carry defence sticks only. In any case the girl does not keep to her own personal stick as a boy does. The sticks lie in a heap near the place of combat, and as the girls come forward each picks out one that suits her. Thus the same sticks are used by 'home people' and 'outsiders', amakhaya and isizwe. Apparently girls do not share the fear of sticks having been treated. (see p. above), which in turn suggests that their play is less grimly earnest.

At the arena they do not sit so strictly according to local groups or age grades as do the boys, but arrange

(1) As one might expect, school or Christian girls tend to be even more critical. "At the mtshotsho girls and boys play sticks which ruin their health. It causes permanent injuries internally and externally. Some have lost an eye; others are deformed from an injury. In the long run many minor injuries add up to major disablement. Some Reds become insane, after so many blows on their heads, and head wounds which are never properly cured." (Nomashagologo Wewe, aged 18, passed Standard IV).

themselves rather casually. Quite small girls may mix with big ones. The small children may carry the babies for whom the bigger girls are appointed as 'nurses', and between bouts the amazon might take a baby into her arms and fondle it.

In some places in the Transkei girls compete against different locations, apparently exactly like their boys. But they are not seen as 'representing' their groups to the same extent. The boys would rule that quarrels between girls of different areas must not affect their (the boys') relations. It was their affair to decide who were allies and who were enemies and they could not let the girls force their hand. In many other places in the Transkei, I found that boys had for this reason forbidden 'their' girls to play iziswe (outside groups) at all; they might only play among themselves, as amakhaya.

Women may sometimes look on from a distance at the girls' play but this is not as common as the attendance of men at boys' stick plays. And in contrast to the boys, "girls" "hate and resent" having these senior onlookers, though they cannot easily turn them away. On one occasion a girl drew the attention of the others to a group of women standing about 100 yards away. In a boastful tone she said: "Should I drive them away, to go and hoe their land?" "I am sure some of them were just cowards" remarked another. Another, senior girl intervened rather anxiously: "Leave them alone, they will only say that we have been stupid."

No male is ever supposed to watch, even from afar. The explanation generally given is that "girls are shy" and

"detest to be watched by males whenever they do anything."
They wish to be free in their play; they do not like the constraint which male presence imposes on them. Some girls put it more precisely: "They are our men and we must hide from them" The fact that I was a stranger and "did not count" presumably accounted for my being allowed to watch and film some girls' games myself.

Generally the girls' stick playing is less tense, and they will stop a bout sooner than the boys when one party is in distress. Really vicious behaviour (like poking with^a sharpened stick) is rare. But even so, their stoicism and fighting spirit can be quite remarkable. At the play I watched in Willowvale, Nongothika received two heavy blows on the crown of her head, so that the blood was running down her face. I tried to stop the game but both girls protested excitedly, "Why do they say we must stop, because they see blood. We are used to this." "They stop us when we are just warming up, my equal." When another two girls were rather cautious in their play, and were sparring rather than hitting properly, the onlookers shouted angrily to them, "Hit hard, you cowards! Have you ever seen anybody die at a stick play?" When a small keen girl was attacking a plump, much bigger girl, the comment was, "You see children are going to demote you." Another girl shouted "Hit that pumpkin ^{betha uko thanga} (~~BETHA ELO THANGA~~)". The plump girl said: "The European said we should not injure each other." The other girls laughed and screamed, "Listen to the coward. Don't take any notice of her bragging."

Two girls fought really savagely, using heavy sticks (like those of senior boys.) A girl came forward: "You were told to leave those big sticks alone." One of the players retorted: "Leave us alone. These sticks have

never killed anybody at a play. This is our normal way" (lit. 'This is our blanket', yangubo yethule)."

I was told that girls do not tshayelala as boys do, to encourage or inspire the fighters, nor sing amagwiya, but only ombela (sing and clap) for them. But when two girls gave a very weak display, one girl jumped up and said, "Shall I tshayelala for you? Perhaps that would encourage them". "No" shouted the other girls "You are not a boy, you cannot tshayelala like that." But in the excitement at the end of the stick play they all did tshayelala together nevertheless with the greatest gusto. And they also sang amagwiya. They did however claim a preference for certain amagwiya "which the boys do not often sing", and they did dance around more than boys would have done. "Cowardly thoughts are expelled when we sing and dance at our stick play."⁽¹⁾

A boy may if he like play sticks at the mtshotsho of an 'allied' group, even if he happens to be the only representative of his own place. If he says he met with unfairness, or was "beaten badly" there, his comrades will not regard it as a group cause but will only tell him that "it is your own fault, you went there by yourself". But ~~girls are expected to be more careful and never play without their amakhaya, for fear of quarrels which could spread to the boys.~~ When Emangwevini girls were playing those of Mtshayelwini (Willowvale, Transkei) I saw a single girl

(1) A British woman anthropologist to whom I showed a film of girls' stick play acutely observed that at certain points "they are walking and moving more like boys than girls".

sitting out by herself on the left. I was told that as she came alone from ¹Kuomali she could neither join in nor even pass any comment on the playing. "She might be blamed by her opponent 'out of the blue', which could result in the enmity between the groups."

— I did however see her run forward to accompany a local girl, Nongoakatisa, and help to wash the blood from her face, after she had received a nasty cut during her 'play'. She also joined in the dancing and singing, and shared the food of the local girls. (1)

Two girls of the same mtshotsho group who have a serious quarrel may fight it out with sticks at their home place, when no outsiders are present. This is not a game in the ordinary sense, but more like a duel. "We shall see each other at the mbutho", said by one quarrelling girl to another, implies "we shall meet there and fight it out." Boys are present at the fight and keep control of it.

On one such occasion, when the fight was over, the boy over whom the two girls had fought picked up his stick and angrily beat them both. Other boys then started to beat their girlfriends too. The girl who told us this explained that "they regarded all of us as having thelelekisa'd (made the antagonists fight)". Boys explained that "those girls make bad blood between us boys through their quarrels".

(1) 'Outside' girls will not even dance at the local girls' stick play if the respective boys are on awkward terms. Thus Velelo girls refused to dance at a stick play of Shixini girls.

A personal fight between two girls of different locations would be kept quiet, and boys carefully kept out, lest it turn into an ^(battle) idnabi. The girls would try to meet at a spot on the boundary (emdeni) between the locations. However, if one girl had insisted on a fight rather against the other's will, she might have to go over to her home ground.

BATTLES.

Battles (amadabi, sing. idabi) are massed fights between boys of different locations or sublocations. Being fought in earnest, they are much less referred to rules of chivalry than the regular games, and are usually much grimmer in their nature and consequences. Battles are not very frequent, but those which do occur are recalled in detail by the participants, with every appearance of ferocious pride. Wherever I enquired, in either the Transkei or the Ciskei, a detailed account would be forthcoming of an idabi which had involved the boys of the given location within the last few years.

Battles differ in their origin and context, and in their relation to adult political (community) relations. Some definitely originate from the affairs of the boys, ^{others reflect} ~~on their~~ ^{adult illusions,} ~~own~~ / In any case, ^{mature} ~~adult~~ men keep strictly away from a battle. Young men do attend, ostensibly to have a moderating influence. But sometimes they get drawn into the fighting too.

The rationale of the battle is that one group of boys "felt they had been insulted by the other". Haughty behaviour of hosts, ^{or} / allegedly unfair division of beer or food, ^{between the groups} / can be intensely resented. As a rule, personal (individual) insults do not lead to a battle challenge unless the insulted party is a senior boy, thus a 'representative' of his group.

Jealousy over girls is often involved even if the trouble arose ostensibly over something else, e.g. a trivial breach of etiquette.

A battle should be preceded by a proper challenge, when time and place are arranged. Surprise attacks do occur, but they are regarded as 'cowardly', since the attacked side have not had a chance to prepare properly.

When the agreed time comes the two groups approach with horns blowing. The suspense of awaiting the enemy, the noise of whistles and the wild singing of anagwiya, ^{followed by} the frenzied and ferocious fighting and the shouting of praises and encouragements, all add up to a grim and brutal spectacle.

Old men say that these battles closely follow the ^{inter-communal} pattern of fighting as it was in the olden days, "before the white man's police stopped it." Certainly an idabi is on a different pattern from the new-style gang fighting of the towns, in which knives are the decisive weapon, ^{and community loyalties as such are not implied.}

Tradition prescribed the spear for men (warriors) and the stick for boys. The possession of spears is illegal nowadays, by S. African law. There are in fact many about, hidden in homesteads and used for ritual purposes, but boys never use them in their battles. Rather, they interpret 'sticks' rather generously, adding knobkerries, heavy bent sticks (which overshoot the defence stick of the opponent), sharp pointed sticks, and in many parts of the southern Transkei, battle axes too. Some boys carry these dangerous weapons around with them regularly, and take them to their mtshotsho parties. In some areas of the Transkei, especially Gcaleka areas, at the time of fieldwork, boys of all grades regarded

them as part of their regular equipment, though meaning them only for serious fights and not games. The police had raided for them many a time.

In the Willowvale district (Transkei) I heard it argued that the widespread use of axes had made battles less frequent, by making them so dangerous. A boy concluded that "these axes are a very good thing." "Before the use of these axes boys of rival locations used to attack their enemies on the way to or from the mtshotsho," and men (even) used to egg their boys on to start a battle "if they had a grudge against the men of the other place", or possibly just "for excitement."

It is not uncommon for an idabi to result in one or several boys being killed, maimed or permanently disabled. In 1955 (for example) Mr. M. Wilkes who was doing fieldwork in Khalana found himself by chance witnessing a battle in which two boys were critically hurt. He quickly drove both to hospital in Kingwilliamstown, but one was dead on arrival. Some similar incidents are described below.

Boys speak of such casualties with regret but do not seem to see them as an argument against the practice of fighting amadabi as such. Punitive measures seem not to deter them either. The Administration (at least in pre-Bantustan days) used to react sharply; the S.A. Police would be called in, and the case would come before the magistrate; fines or ^{fair} ~~good~~ sentences would be imposed; yet periodic outbreaks continued and apparently still continue.

SOME BATTLE STORIES: KHALANA AND SHIXINI

Chapter 2 referred to the dramatic split in the ^{at} Khalana mtshotsho in 1957, when the Bawa and Mabhadikazi 'ridges'

opposed the Nyatowula and Nqashwini ones on a matter of promotion. As described there, the Nyatowula/Nqashwini aspirants for senior status resolved to "thrash the Bawa/Mabhadikazi seniors" "to force them to respect us." There were a number of incidents, one when the rebellious dyongo thrashed the seniors at Khila's ngidi (marriage feast); another when they fought them in the morning after an mtshotsho party in Bawa, and scattered them, and the young men of Bawa had to intervene. A third was at the intonjane at Veldi's homestead (in Nqashwini), coinciding with the New Year, "when everyone had beer". The rebel party, who had moved over to Nyatowula for a drink, received a message that the Bawa-Mabhadikazi group had "thrown our blankets out, broken our cups and maltreated our girls." (see pp. above) This third incident led to ^{a full-scale} the battle now to be described: ~~"We quickly took our sticks and our concertinas and moved fast to Veldi's home. But when we arrived boys from B and M had already left, having drunk all the beer, and having left the empty pot outside in the bush. We felt we had to punish them for this. We followed them down to Bawa. When we reached there we were told that they had moved on to Mabhadikazi, somewhere near Linedrift. We turned back, but~~ [~] ~~did not disperse to our homes.~~ // Quite early the next morning we were back at the big tree overlooking Bawa, and blew our horns. We challenged them, and we were prepared for fight. Soon we saw them approaching. We moved forward and met them halfway. This day we had our own young men (Abafana) with us. We had asked them because it was going to be a real idabi. The Bawa and Mabhadikazi boys also were accompanied by young men. We clashed together and there was a long fight. In the end they gave way and ran off. We thrashed ^{them} all, even their young men got some of it. Our young men also joined in and helped us thrashing them. One unafana was hurt and had to be taken to hospital."

The next day all concerned were called to Headman Jali's homestead, where an inkundla had been called. "Some policemen were waiting around in the homestead. At the inkundla we were asked why we fought, and we told them. We were warned not to divide one location into two." (These quarrels among the youth reflected more permanent conflicts between different local sections of Khalana: hence the headman's warning. ^{cf. chapter 2} (See pp. above).

The battle best remembered in Shixini had taken place four years before the fieldwork, when Shixini boys together with those from Mulumali gave battle to the united imitshotsho of Groxo, Bojini and Ngcizela. "There were so many boys that day, it made you nervous to look at them."

The real, clearly understood reason was animosity between Shixini and Groxo senior boys over girls. According to the Shixini version "the Groxo girls liked the Shixini boys, but the Shixini girls tended to reject the advances of the Groxo boys". "The Shixini boys had more izishumani (males who lack sex appeal). Our boys were better at stickplaying too; so we overshadowed them in every way. This caused them to have much hatred for us, though they were then our allies".

However, the quarrel was picked ostensibly over an incident at a party.

"It happened one day that some of our boys had gone early to the mtshotsho party, which was to be held at Bojini. Arriving there they were attacked and beaten by Groxo boys. As our boys were only six, they chose to

run away. They came home to us and reported the matter." On this basis Shixini issued an open challenge in full style. "We took our sticks and went over to the Groxo boys. We blew our horns loudly. (Blowing of horns by an 'armed' group of boys in the area of another location is a formal act of challenge). Then we came home. Groxo sent their junior boys to ask what we wanted. We told them that we were challenging them, and where we proposed to meet them, on the day after the next".

The place selected for the battle was near the Fairview trading store. It was chosen "because it is flat", but also "away from our home locations" and therefore "suitable for a fight". The boys obviously did not want any adults interfering. "That day we did not take any notice of the serious warning of Chief Dwayi not to carry axes and knobkerries". They went out to do battle "armed with every dangerous weapon", including small picks (brought back from mines) whittled down to a point. These are "more dangerous than axes, because they are longer and more spike-like. They go right through the bone easily."

Shixini boys got the best of the fighting and the Groxo boys and their allies fled. Some fell down and were injured. Among them was one really serious injury. "One of our boys had beaten the very Groxo boy who had started the attack on the six Shixini boys at Bojini. He got him down on the ground, but went on hitting him. We tried to stop him from inflicting more injuries but he refused and went on chopping the boy who was helpless on the ground. He put the sharp side of the axe on the

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boy's waist and rammed the axe with his foot into his spine, so as to make sure to ruin the boy completely. All the time he was doing this the vanquished boy on the ground was pleading for peace and mercy. This was a very cruel thing to do. The Groxo boy is still unable to walk to this day." A case was brought and the magistrate fined each boy involved £5 (or six months in jail). The Shixini boy who crippled the Groxo boy was also ordered to pay an allowance to his victim for the next 15 or 18 years.

Relations between Groxo and Shixini boys were still strained at the time of fieldwork, four years later. The boys did not dare venture into each other's territory. There had been several minor fights, between gangs of a few boys on either side, and one or two major ones. The major ones had been 'sneaky' surprise attacks, not by regular challenge. One of them happened at an ordinary mtshotsho stick play:

Shixini had gone over to Velelo (with whom they tshotsha together regularly), and were playing against them as usual on the Sunday afternoon. "Whilst we were still playing we saw a very large crowd of Groxo boys advancing towards us. They were together with the boys from Bojini and some of Ngcizela. When we saw them coming, our boys and the Velelo boys we were playing against quickly joined forces, ready to fight. We held our axes and sticks in readiness."

The Groxo boys were approaching, singing their igwija. "When they arrived we asked them what they wanted. They said that they wanted reconciliation and had come to suggest that we should have our mtshotsho together again. We said, we are quite agreeable. If

they really meant it, they should sit down, and we could play sticks as friends. First they refused, saying they only wanted our agreement, but when we repeated that they should sit down and play they finally agreed to do so."

Shixini being the hosts, a Shixini boy gula'd first and a Groxo boy took up the challenge. But as he came forward, he left his battle axe stuck in his belt, as is done by a person who expects an attack or means to attack. "We did not trust them, therefore. Also, because when their boy was defeated they said 'The game is ended'. In the context this was an ambiguous statement. ~~Besides its proper usage it is sometimes said in foolery, by a boy who does not want to go on with the play himself.~~

~~"We therefore had to chose which route to follow in this matter.~~ We ask them what they meant, but they just said they had come to an end of the stick play. Then they stood up, and began to handle their axes. So we also rose, and hit them.

"When the fight started, one of their praisers was shouting "Ayabaleka, ayabaleka (they are running away, they are running away)", which was meant to frighten us, and sometimes does cause cowards to run without putting up a fight. But our boys did not care, and went straight for them. And after a minute or two it was them that ran. We chased them, till we reached their strongest boys. We beat them and left them flat on the ground."

This time the Shixini seniors (By their own account) did not use their axes, and did not hit at any Groxo boy when he was down. But their juniors did use axes, and again one

Groxox boy was seriously injured. According to Shixini informants this boy was one of the Groxox ringleaders and was regarded as "silly and troublesome". He was so badly hurt that he had still not recovered over a year later.

THE INTERVIEW : LAW, MEDICINE AND OFFICE

Six Shixini juniors were arrested as a result. It was stated that they had qusha'd the Groxox boy (hit him while down) with knobkerries and axes. They were jailed for six months and each given six lashes with a heavy cane.

This further fight and its consequences did nothing to clear the air. On the contrary, it seemed to have increased the mutual hostility. Thus a state of virtual war had endured through four or five years, under successive "generations" of seniors, up to the time of fieldwork.

THE INTLOMBE : LAW, SENIORITY AND OFFICE

CHAPTER 4

Intloombe parties are held on Sunday nights, like *gushetaba* parties, and are **THE INTLOMBE : LAW, SENIORITY AND OFFICE** and drinking. But ideally at least, an *intloombe* differs from an *intloombe* as previously as mentioned is supposed to differ from *intloombe* according to *intloombe* in being altogether more dignified, more responsible and less violent.

Youngmen feel they now share not only in common responsibilities but also in "solve their problems" in accordance with the "law" (*intloombe*) of the group. They do so by verbal argument in rather pompous and exaggerated style, seeming often to like the sound of their own voices. Apart from this set aside for such business, the dancing or printing is liable to be interrupted by it at any time. Sometimes whistles for silence and "address the house", raising a point of order or a grievance, which will then be argued out before perhaps *intloombe* boys would have shown "the argument of the stick". Some illustrations are given at the end of this chapter.

That government should be carried by "words instead of blows" - the rule of law instead of the will of the strongest - is in accordance with a central teaching of *intloombe* initiation. The same striving for dignity and mastery is evident all along the line. *Intloombe* dancing is slower and more upright than *intloombe* dancing. The youngmen never dance without a rope wound elegantly around hips and legs. Their heads are shaken, their arms go in longer skirts. Visiting and hospitality are pillars. They sit down properly in their beds, like adults. Sweet-smelling is in a more modest level, as *intloombe* youngmen who are participating in married already. *Intloombe* is often more formalised, and where it is, the officers are intended for the best orders, or most imposing personalities, as against the best fighters or battle leaders. Battles are not fought any more, or even stick games. The youngmen are responsible members of the community, and are expected when necessary to control the finest fighting of the boys.

The *intloombe* are not refused to using empty pots, as having *intloombe* parties, like the *gushetaba* in some areas. Nobody objects to leaving them a lot, or knowing for them. They also have later hours, not having to think about bedding *intloombe* day next day, or stick games. At both *intloombe* and *intloombe* midnight seemed a usual starting time, and the party would

THE INTLOMBE : LAW, SENIORITY AND OFFICE

Intlombe parties are held on Saturday nights, like mtshotsho parties, and are largely given to the same recreations: dancing, courting and drinking. But ideally at least, an intlombe differs from an mtshotsho as profoundly as manhood is supposed to differ from boyhood according to Xhosa norms; in being altogether more dignified, more responsible and less violent.

Youngmen feel they are there not only to amuse themselves but also to "solve their problems" in accordance with the "law" (umthetho) of the group. They do so by verbal argument in rather profuse and ceremonious style, seeming often to like the sound of their own voices. Apart from time set aside for such business, the dancing or drinking is liable to be interrupted by it at any time. Someone whistles for silence and "addresses the house", raising a point of order or a grievance, which will then be argued out (where perhaps mtshotsho boys would have chosen "the argument of the stick"). Some illustrations are given at the end of this chapter.

That grievances should be settled by "words instead of blows" - the rule of law instead of the will of the stronger - is in accordance with a central teaching of Xhosa manhood initiation. The same striving for dignity and maturity is evident all along the line. Intlombe dancing is slower and more sedate than mtshotsho dancing. The youngmen never dance without a cape wound elegantly around hips and legs. Their beads are richer; their girls go in longer skirts. Visiting and hospitality are politer. They sit down properly to their beer, like adults. Sweethearting is on a more mature level, as befits youngmen who are marriageable or married already. Leadership is often more formalised, and where it is, the offices are intended for the best orators, or most imposing personalities, as against the best fighters or battle leaders. Battles are not fought any more, or even stick games. The youngmen are responsible members of the community, and are expected when necessary to control the fierce fighting of the boys.

The intlombe are not reduced to using empty huts, or having daytime parties, like the mtshotsho in some areas. Nobody objects to lending them a hut, or brewing for them. They also keep later hours, not having to think about herding duty next day, or stick games. At both Shixini and Tshabo midnight seemed a usual starting time, and the party would

continue into Sunday afternoon. At Diya (Butterworth) on 30.9.62 girls and youngmen had begun assembling during late Saturday evening but "nobody seemed to care when intlombe would begin", and dancing did not actually start till 4 a.m.

Unlike the young men, who clearly enjoy the 'business', the girls often admit to liking the sociable aspect of the intlombe better. A few are ashamed of this. "We go to the intlombe for amusement and pleasure so we may be irritated when an officer interrupts our pleasures because a problem needs solving. That is wrong of us." Most were outspoken in their criticism of what they regarded as the male showing off. "Some are very talkative for nothing. If a case is a very simple one they make it serious merely by their talkativeness." "They can waste a lot of our time at the intlombe. Sometimes discussion goes on very late. They can talk so much that they make us quite fed up."

While intlombe activities are basically adult in style, in a sense the youngmen are still 'learners', for they are only legislating and adjudicating for themselves, and not yet for anyone else, in the way that the elders' inkundla will legislate or adjudicate for the village community. Both youngmen and elders emphasised to us the 'educative' aspect of the intlombe, as a preparation for mature life. "This 'school' here is the same as the one where people are educated" said Zimoshile to me during an intlombe party at Shixini. "What happens year by year is retained mentally ... A young man should complete 20 years' attendance. Those who have only attended for 5 years are those who might hit their 'fathers' at beer drinks," i.e. they may not have had enough practice in the adult self-control of boyish aggressive impulses.

Some girls also spoke of what they "learnt" there. "We respect the officials of the intlombe, and this teaches us to respect and obey the orders of those at the head of affairs. Then, when we are married we will respect and keep the law of our husbands."

One of the cardinal differences from mtshotsho is in the treatment of visitors. "A young man may ask for intlombe anywhere from the Bashee to the Great Fish River, and beyond." Groups may be specially invited, but it is not supposed to matter whether there was an initiation, or whether a visitor is alone or in a group. Instead of mtshotsho-style cross-questioning and collection of weapons, the Intlombe 'Policeman' is to offer the freedom of the house to any youngman who enters the door: "We are dancing here, my senior brother, the intlombe has started, and

you will find a cape inside" (i. e. offering that he could borrow the necessary dancing wear from any girl or junior youngman present.) It is enough for the newcomer to express his thanks politely. He is entitled to all the amenities of the dance, including asking a girl out if he chooses.

Seniors and amakrwala

The 'grade' of seniors exercise a kind of collective responsibility or leadership in an intlombe group, much as in an mtshotsho and indeed any group of traditionalist rural Xhosa. The seniors are distinguished from the amakrwala - the "unripe fruit", or novices^{by} their more 'years of circumcision' and therefore years in the local intlombe group. As already explained, ikrwala (sing. of amakrwala) is used in ritual and general community contexts for a 'novice' who has been initiated lately (within the last year or so) and not yet fully re-aggregated. But among youngmen one remains a 'novice' in the intlombe for up to five, eight or even 10 years. Intlombe seniors condescendingly refer to their juniors as "our abakwetha" (literally youths during initiation period), implying that they are not yet really men at all. And in typical Xhosa way they delegate the more menial ~~tests~~ to them, and expect them to wait at the end of the queue for whatever amenities are to be shared.

At beer drinks the tins with beer are placed before the senior young men, and it is up to them to have their fill before it reaches the juniors. Sometimes the beer gets finished before the latter even have a chance. Juniors have to make the girls ombela (clap and sing), and also fetch them from their homes, often entailing a long walk through the night.

At Shixini the senior abafana have their own dance, reserved for abafana of at least 6 years standing, known as iketile. This takes place on Sunday afternoon, when the intlombe reassembles after the morning interval. All junior young men are strictly excluded. In some other places the juniors are supposed to dance first, "to get the intlombe going", so that the 'old ones' (inkabi ezindala) will have more enjoyment when they take over. Another arrangement is that all dance together but that the seniors can send the amakrwala out "when it gets too crowded". They may also do this at beer drinks.

defined amakrwala as those who At Diya location in Butterworth, the intlombe had "not yet completed 5 years after circumcision". At one dance there, word was given at about 4 a. m. by a senior young man that the amakrwala were to start making the girls ombela. Until then the young men had been sitting with the girls conversing, and occasionally a girl had left the hut with her lover. Now, after the girls had put on their beads - a lengthy operation - they went

to stand along the wall at the back of the hut, and, after much prompting, at last began to ombela. The amakrwala began to dance whilst the senior young men still sat, or lay on their backs on the mats along the wall. "This is the intlombe for the amakrwala (we were told). They are to make the intlombe ^{"The seniors made a show of waiting. Some of the seniors"} hot before their seniors take over from them. Some began to put on beads in a leisurely way, or arrange their capes round the waist. A few who "felt excited to dance" stood up and danced where they had been sitting, in most cases facing the wall.

^{Conspicuous for} The newer amakrwala are not expected to wear bead decorations, ^{Beads are accumulated gradually, from girls who are for "girls are not supposed to be in love with them", and their boyfriends had to (See chapter 6)} beads have been given away. ^{(A sister or friend will usually take them to remake into beads for her own boyfriend).} At Diya, they were a drab sight compared with the seniors who danced after them.

The amakrwala are not supposed to speak when discussions take place. "They only talk when asked to do so. They are supposed to sit and learn from their seniors". They have hardly any chance to "address the house" in the normal way, by whistling and interrupting the dance, except where they dance separately, as at Diya. During the "amakrwala dance" there, just referred to, several availed themselves of the chance. The seniors listened to their announcements but refrained from comment. Some of the announcements referred to them (seniors) in friendly, even affectionate terms ("I came to find a certain senior brother at the intlombe. It is a pity that the words I wanted him to hear are going to fall in his absence".) But others expressed veiled or open challenge: "Even if the 'government' (urulumente) is sitting along the wall, I am going to talk as I dance around the fireplace. They say that the government is asleep, but I can see clearly that they are wide awake." Or again, "Senior brothers (bakhuluwa), it is a long time that I have been used to taking charge of an intlombe ^{I have long} (i. e. since he ceased to be a boy). It is not enjoyable to be always doing something on behalf of another person. Here is your intlombe. Take charge of it on your own." The amakrwala continued dancing for some time, while the seniors were still busy putting on their beads. When the seniors began one by one to join the dance, the amakrwala left the hut.

Leaders and officials

In some intlombe groups the pattern of leadership is like the one described in Chapter 2 for the mtshotsho: namely that in principle the senior young men are collectively supposed to "see that intlombe law is obeyed", and generally control proceedings, but that in practice this may

be done by a few appropriate personalities.

Alternatively, in some other places, a few ex-senior-members maintain a close connection with the intlombe, well beyond the normal age, without actually remaining members. They are spoken of as the "observers", amaggala. "They are senior to the seniors." "Their daughters may be of the same age as intlombe girls". An intlombe in Butterworth was attended by three amaggala who took a leading part in the discussions. They were expected to guide the intlombe on controversial questions of the intlombe law, and sometimes serve as a kind of bench of appeal. "The amaggala have a very strong influence because they are experienced in the law of the intlombe," as we were told.

In Khalana too, two amadodana (young mature men) named Ndloyakhe and Veldini often attended the intlombe. They were referred to as zingqengqe by the other young men, and were believed to be experts in the law of the abafana "by virtue of their age." They were conceived as a kind of intermediaries between the young and the adult men, having a footing, as it were, in both camps. When the grown up men had a complaint, these izingqengqe were called before them to represent the intlombe.

But in many places the intlombe has its own regular offices, and appointing members specially to fill them. This is most likely to be the case where there is a solid nucleus of members permanently at home, as for example in the Shixini area. The usual titles of the officers are "Policemen", "Sergeant" and "Magistrate" reflecting the preoccupation of the intlombe with the process of law.

(a) The Magistrate (imantyi) is the senior officer, with a role something like that of a headman or chief in a local council of elders. His influence is both visible and far-reaching, for he leads all the discussions of the "house" (the group collectively) and this is the forum for all matters of concern, no matter whether judicial, legislative, or administrative, etc.

For example, when anyone has been appointed to a vacant office, in the normal way, by proposal and acclamation, it falls to the Magistrate to repeat and confirm the names, and to "admonish" the new officers about their duties, and "the way they should treat the people." He is the person to introduce new laws, or amendments of existing ones. Above all, he is to "try cases", usually referred to him by the Sergeant. All these are aspects of his role as head and mouthpiece of the assembly of young men, or voice of its moral community.

The qualities needed in an intlombe Magistrate were defined to me

many times in almost identical terms. "He must be a good speaker", "he must be liked by almost everybody", "he must not be a person who likes to fight", "he must have love for other people", "he must know the intlombe laws well", "he must be respected by people outside the intlombe, even adults". "Preferably he should have girl friends." It is instructive to contrast the mtshotsho boys' typical definitions of leadership quality (p. above).

The position of Magistrate holds many satisfactions for the ambitious and the vain, for those who like to exercise power, and be in the limelight. But this kind of ambition is not usually compatible with the ambition to save money and build up a fine homestead. The latter requires long absences earning money in town, at just the age when an umfana is eligible to become Magistrate.

I met some Intlombe Magistrates who were pompous, idle young men, who may have found work in town too demanding. But others were highly impressive. Some like Zimoshile were not expected to spend much time in town working since they are eldest sons of fairly well set up fathers. And some had a remarkable determination to help to maintain the spirit and integrity of their intlombe, arising from their dislike of town. To them the intlombe was specially important for returning workers as an environment where good comradeship was offered, and the law of Red young men was applied. Waka of Shixini was one of these men. With his strong physique, his distinguished appearance, and sharp if slightly cynical intelligence, he could have made his career in town: he preferred to stay in his own world and be poor.

A Magistrate is 'elected' by the consensus of the meeting (proposed and acclaimed) when his predecessor retires or leaves for an indefinite spell in town. He will have distinguished himself in the councils of the intlombe for a long time. During his tenure he has little to fear from any rivals for the office. Intlombe law does not provide for overthrowing or demoting a Magistrate. In any case there is little chance of the kind of scandal arising which might require for instance the demotion of an office holder in an urban organisation. (The Magistrate of an Intlombe is entitled to women and drink, and there is little or nothing for him to embezzle. What little money enters into intlombe business is invariably handed over before witnesses.) Thus the only effective way to undermine the position of a Magistrate is to suggest that he has reached "retirement age", that he is getting too senior to be handling the daily business of abafana.

Some expressions of rivalry were indeed noticed between the

local sections attending one Intlombe - a 'noble competition'
Magistrates of different groups, ~~as~~ efforts to outshine one another in eloquence and knowledge of the law. However, this competitive element is largely a reflection of competition between the groups the Magistrates represent, rather than competition between individuals.

(b) Policemen and Sergeants

Whereas a 'policeman' in the mtshotsho is entirely concerned with controlling the girls and 'conducting the ombela' (see Chapter 2), the intlombe 'policemen' are also oriented to law. They are supposed to lay charges against members who "break the law of the intlombe" or to report on them to the higher officials.

The Sergeant ranks next above the ⁸policemen. He is to give them their orders, e.g. at the dance, and back them up in exercising their duties. He could sometimes 'try' minor cases or refer major ones to his superiors. But his most typical function is that of prosecutor. "If he finds members have done wrong, he refers the matter to the Magistrate. During the hearing the sergeant ~~will~~ ^{must} substantiate in which way the accused has broken the law".

The role of the policeman as an executive is not always an easy one for he is apt to find himself between two fires. He has to cope with the resistance and resentment of those whom he is told to control, and often to bully them, but he also has to face the criticism and often sarcasm of the intlombe at large and of the superior officers. It is a position involving much bother, and labour, and is below the dignity of senior abafana. But for a junior umfana it may be the way to acquire a certain prominence, and many like the feeling of power that the office allows them- as is common among policemen everywhere.

A Magistrate gave me the following list of a Policeman's duties:

"To make girls (including those from other areas) ombela.

To 'arrest' an umfana or girl who have done anything wrong.

To see that abafana have no dangerous weapons (knives etc.) and report if he detects any.

To see to it that amakrwala don't smoke in the intlombe house.

To drive the girls to the river early on Sunday morning, for them to wash their bodies.

To see that no girl's skirt is shorter than about 2 inches above the ankle ('They must hlonipha; they are going to be women'). (Cf chapter 6)

To receive excuses from girls who cannot attend to ombela

because they are sick. (Menstruation is no excuse: "When they have their period they go; it does not affect the people") To watch that no girl has white beads across her forehead if she has never decorated an umfana in the house, and to report such girls to be fined. (These are abafana beads, indicating ^{as she has} a love affair. The relation is not proper unless she has publicly given the young man ^{beads as described in chapter 5} a ~~love-taken tool~~.

To drive ^{an} ~~abafana~~ ^{umfana} to stand in the dock, and hit him hard if necessary (bula, to shoot).

During an intlombe dance at Shixini, a young man whistled for attention in the normal way, and the girls stopped their singing. "The intlombe has started (he said) and there are only a few girls in the house. I am going to lay a charge against the Policeman who is responsible for collecting the girls." A little later another young man whistled: 'Some girls have gone out and I do not see the Policeman.' And later, when the abafana had 'warmed up' to the dance, many of them continuously demanded that the girls clap more vigorously. 'Clap sister, clap man' (qwaba dade, qwabe mani) shouted the Policeman. One of the exhausted girls spoke up: "We are very tired. What can so few girls do the whole night?" 'The intlombe is always spoilt by the dullness of its women' replied the Policeman angrily. 'I will not give you any rest. Intlombe girls are supposed to make the intlombe pleasant. If you want to rest you must marry and leave the intlombe house. Clap! Clap!' "The umhlabeli (cf. p.), as if in obedience, started a new song, but the words she sang were: "Dance and leave us alone for we are tired".

Still later, when the Policeman bent down to have a word with some of the resting abafana, the umhlabeli got at him again through her song: "You are chatting, you should be watching for crime". At this the Policeman hurried back to the dancing ring, and again commanded, 'Clap, clap! The girls now sang, "Where are the juniors of the amazingqi? They have gone to sleep and I grudge them their sleep. We are tired and finished. I see that you are dead tired too.')

At one point during this dance the Sergeant expressed discontent with the ombela-ing. He blew his whistle and remarked, 'Excuse me, members of this school. All girls must follow the mhlabeli. Just now the girls on the left differ from those on the right. Sing together properly, it is not hard. The Policeman must see to it.'

The Policeman then came forward and thrashed the girls with a small leafy branch which he had kept ready for such an occasion. (In some places

I have seen the girls threatened with thorn branches.) The Sergeant addressed them smoothly: "Excuse me my dear sisters. It is very shameful for a well decorated person to be ill treated. The Policeman does not want to be thrashing you all the time, but you are inviting punishment by not singing properly. If you are cheeky we will disgrace you."

The direct control of girls is the commonest but not the only occasion for the policeman to come under cross-fire. He may for example be accused of not having informed the sergeant when another young man ill-treated a girl. He may be blamed for having wrongfully 'arrested' a young man on a charge of using love magic improperly.

Yet some of the duties, like welcoming visitors, are pleasant ones. And the office of policeman, in spite of its difficulties, is felt to give younger abafana a valuable training in leadership, and to be specially valuable for 'shy' young men without girl friends. Waka, an intlombe Magistrate in Shixini, told me he would always put forward an isishumana for the office. {This term denotes a person without sex appeal, or of unconvincing appearance and manners}:

"Such people" he explained "are shy and therefore reluctant to attend the intlombe. Having office will cause him to force himself to attend. Many people are without girl friends simply because they are shy to talk to girls." As Policeman he has authority over girls; he will forget about his shyness and will get used to talking to them". Besides, "they have to talk constantly, to accuse others, and to defend themselves against accusations. The need to defend themselves alone makes them speak eloquently, and after a while they find themselves a good speaker. This is very helpful to them." He recalled his own progress in love and office: "As an ikrwala I had no beads, but when Ganya became an imantyi he liked me very much and used to talk very well of me in the presence of girls. He made me an ipolisa, and then a Sergeant. When I was a Sergeant the girls loved me as though I had a charm for them. When I was appointed imantyi there was a time when I had as much as four girls. Girls like a person who has a position and is honoured or respected by other men."

Continuing on the advantages of his policy, Waka said that "young abafana will not be so easily jealous if an isishumana goes about with the girls at night". (i. e. collecting and returning them) 'If a lewu (one who is popular with girls) were given this task, many would be overcome with anxiety lest he fall in love with their girls. Moreover the izishumana will

usually bear no grudges or show self assertion, as an olewu might. They tolerate being teased. They are not offended if a girl 'neglects' them. For all these reasons izishumane are like by the people, and are the right people to be made Policemen."

Girls sometimes complained about the roughness of some officers towards them, or their tendency to talk too long. "We know when they are only joking, and accept this, and don't take them to be a nuisance, but sometimes their jokes become plain rudeness." But usually they were impressed: "I admire our officers. I don't know anyone who would not admire them. They help us, by seeing that we are not illtreated, and that the laws of Intlombe are kept."

(c) The President

This office is only met with rarely (e.g. in Willowvale district, Transkei). The man to hold it is an adult, standing outside the organisation, but supposedly typifying its values and steeped in its laws, so that he can interpret them to its members more eloquently and impressively than they could do themselves. In the youngmen's eyes it enhances the greatness of the intlombe that a respected senior man continues to identify himself with it.

The President seldom attends, but when he does he is treated with great honour, modelled on the behaviour adopted towards a major chief. His praises are said; those near him kneel; the girls are ordered to sing his favourite songs. Even the newest members feel the splendour his presence sheds on the occasion.

Ndawo, the president of the Shixini and neighbouring Intlombe groups was a man nearing 50, of the amangwewu clan. He had been a powerful speaker, and outstanding dancer, when he was an umfana, but above all he had shown initiative and enterprise. He had instituted many innovations in the law and organisation of the intlombe and he had also been one of the promoters of the amatshawuza organisation in the district (This is an organisation for older married men and their amankazana, largely for drinking and feasting. It has spread through many parts of the Transkei; it has older roots in Pondoland).

This hero of the intlombe was a popular but not especially weighty figure in the councils of the adult men. His involvement in the organisations had kept him at home when it would have been more prudent economically to work in the towns; but he was estranged from his wife, was rather slack about his homestead economy, and was saved from poverty mainly

by the industry of his mother. But among the members of the intlombe he could boast of his greatness, and delight his audience.

At one intlombe party where he made one of his rare appearances, he first of all demanded a full house:

"Call everybody to come in. Call all girls, even those who are with their lovers, those who are being proposed to, and those who are parading their beauty outside. They must all come in. I will speak when they are all in the house."

When at last he started his speech, those near him "sat down on their hocks"; the Magistrate exclaimed praise names for him after each sentence of his speech, e.g. Hlabakhangele! (One who looks before he leaps); Phumalimiwe (One who comes out after sunrise); Unyamisile (You are right) Khawuphinde (Say so again). "I am the ukongameli, the 'above all' of the intlombe. I have got many officials under me. I am king (Kumkani) here and a king at the amatshawuza. The chiefs are afraid of me for I know the law." "You know what I did to one who defied the amatshawuza people. He was arrested and fined heavily because he disobeyed my order. I am a ruler over all."

Later in his speech he boasted of his success in teaching abafana not to be rough with girls. "My eloquence has been responsible for many people at the intlombe to have lovers ... I remember, and some of you will remember Bolkwana who had no girl friends till my eloquence made him ummetshi (one who has many girl friends). He and Waka had a tendency to treat girls roughly when they were proposing love; when girls refused them they would beat them. I tried many cases of such misbehaviour. I admonished them that a stick has never yet maintained the law. Many think it is good to be forceful in love affairs. But knowledge of sticks is of no use in this society. If you behave like boys, your girls will be in love with boys. Bolkwana and Waka became very popular with girls. Waka even won a girl away from her lover. Many people who were hated by girls won them through my eloquence. I have already said that even chiefs fear me like lightning. I wish you to obey my orders always."

Business before pleasure

Excerpts follow here from condensed notes of an intlombe dance I attended at Shixini. They are intended to illustrate the frequent interruptions of the dance for business of various kinds, and the tendency of discussions to lengthen out as one topic is piled on another.

There had been some lengthy discussion of a 'case' involving two different local sections and thus "threatening a breach in the intlombe". (See end of ~) Hardly had it been resolved when Vangendaba, the Magistrate of one of the sections, addressed the house, reminding them that officers were to be appointed: 'I had requested this house a fairly long time ago that I may be granted permission to appoint an official. I have not been able so far to obtain this permission.' 'You are to be answered today' shouted another umfana.

A Sergeant then stood up: 'One of my Policemen has gone away without informing me. I want to replace him by someone who has not attended this intlombe for some time.'

At this stage another young man interrupted: 'I thought there was a case to be heard today. We have to finish all the outstanding cases. Next time many of you will grumble when we stop dancing to try old cases.' He was told that the girl who was the complainant was not present.

Suddenly the girls started to sing loudly, and a girl danced into the ring. With great excitement the rank and file of the abafana resumed dancing. An umfana was about to be 'crowned', that is, publicly presented with tokens of love by his sweetheart, in a way resembling the announcement of an engagement. (See Chapter 5 below). The business discussions were drowned, and the officials thought it wiser to let things take their course.

When half an hour later this episode was over, the amakrwala had to be chased out in accordance with local practice. (Cf. p. above) The 'crowning' had attracted all and sundry and the hut was overcrowded.

When this 'hunt' seemed over, one of the Magistrates present referred again to the appointment of officials. 'Mister Vanyendaba, did you say you wanted to appoint a Policeman? 'No' Vanhendaba replied 'an imantyi (Magistrate), to be my substitute for I may go away soon.'

A senior umfana: 'If this is what you request, I think you are allowed to do that'. Here a Sergeant butted in: 'Who is that next to you, is that not an ikrwala?'. And a further discussion arose about this person's entitlement to be present.

Only after these various false starts did the matter of the appointment of new officials establish itself at last as an issue to engage the serious attention of the meeting.

Meja put forward another request: 'I wish to request the meeting to allow Ntlomelwana to be appointed as imantyi (Magistrate).

Another member: 'Not appointed, but reinstated'

Meja: 'You are quite right, thank you'

Gongotha (the Sergeant of the local intlombe): 'We want all these people (candidates for office) to come to the front'

Waka (Magistrate): 'I request you, gentlemen, (manene) to kneel down. We are going to talk about the appointments. These are the officials who have made requests for appointments'.

There were five requests, ^{two} 2 concerning Magistrates and ^{three} 3 concerning Policemen.

When the five candidates had come to the front, and stood before the kneeling crowd, Waka ordered them to take off their doeks, so that they should be properly seen by all present, all 'except Ntlomelwana who had been appointed before and is known to all inside this house.'

Immediately a discussion arose about the Policeman requested by Zimoshile, the Magistrate of Dumalisile Location. 'Am I right if I say' demanded a young man 'that the Policeman proposed by ² Simoshile is acting for one Mgala? Have the Amajingqi not enough policemen? Why should they appoint a third one?'

Joji: 'I know there are two policemen at the Amajingqi (of Duma Lisile) already. I also know that a Magistrate is never interfered with if he wants to appoint an official. But why should the Amajingqi have three amapolisa?'

Gongotha (a rather pompous young man) referred to precedent: 'You may know, Joji, what you have just referred to was disputed at an intlombe at Bidla some time ago, when a certain Magistrate wanted to appoint a third Policeman. He was told that he could not have three policemen. Therefore it would be wrong to allow the Amajingqi to do just that. We must adhere to our precedents.'

Another young man opposed the argument of precedent by the practical argument that locations vary in size. 'I would like to suggest that the meeting should not interfere with the affairs of Dumalisile Location which is a very big one as we all know. The location mentioned by Gongotha on the other hand is very small. Let us therefore withdraw these objections, and not lose more time over them.' The Magistrate

for Folokwe location grasped his opportunity: 'I too need another policeman. We have only two, and I know that they are really suffering, having to collect all our girls as well as being sent on other errands. I know how big my location is. Why should we make this a controversy?' Zimoshile quickly supported the speaker: 'I agree, his location too is very big. This meeting must allow him his request.'

Joji, who had previously questioned the appointment of a third policeman, was now ready to accept it, in view of the mounting consensus. Treating the discussion as closed, he tried to speed on to the next point: the admonitions to be delivered to the newly appointed officers. They had been standing inside the ring all this time, waiting, with their heads bare. 'I request (began Joji) that the one umfana who is to be reinstated should sit down. He has been admonished before, he knows the affairs of the intlombe; and requires no admonitions, having been Magistrate before. He cannot be treated the same as these new people'.

But Gongotha was not giving up about the Policemen yet. 'The intlombe has previously agreed (he said) that each location was allowed to appoint two policemen only. This is the law. If third ones are appointed this intlombe will not recognise them.'

Another Magistrate: 'It is true I was not allowed a third policeman. But I think you cannot compare that instance with the present one, because of the different sizes'.

Here an Umfana openly expressed impatience at Gongotha: 'Mr Gongotha, you always want to speak, but when you speak you only say the same thing you said before. Can't you let us get on with our discussions?'

At this, the local Magistrate (Zimoshile) used his authority to declare the matter closed: 'Gentlemen, I request you to leave this matter. The intlombe has given permission for the appointment of the third policeman.' But now, all of a sudden, a new complication was raised by the Magistrate for Folokwe. It evidently reflected his jealousy of Waka, who at this time was his influential Sergeant: 'This man has been chosen by Waka without my knowledge, (he said) My Policemen should abandon their posts, because I am nothing. Waka is the one who directs the Policemen not me.'

Here Gongotha saw a chance to re-establish his position: 'We have appointed these officials before us. All the locations have been granted their policemen without opposition. Let us get finished with this matter.'

The Folokwe magistrate withdrew his objection: 'I wish to bring

this to an end by saying that I will abide by the decision of the intlombe.'

Immediately the girls as if they had waited for the signal started to sing and clap, and the abafana danced.

There followed a lengthy episode relating to the 'crowning' of an umfana by his girlfriend, that had taken place previously. Only after this was finished, and some more dancing and clapping, did the intlombe return to the business of the admonitions. The newly appointed, who had withdrawn from the circle, stood up again, and were addressed by WAKA.

He first turned to the ^Ppoliceman: 'You are appointed as our Policeman. You are appointed so as to be worker for this intlombe. You must be of great help to your Magistrate, your Sergeant, to the intlombe and to the girls in particular. You are expected to be here on every intlombe night. You know that you are not allowed to propose love during the day at the intlombe, only at night. If you do it during the day you will be arrested.'

He then turned to the new Magistrate. 'You are appointed in place of Situlo. He was a very good Magistrate. He had many girl friends. You will have many too. You already know our law, but you must go on adding to your knowledge of it. If you act like a true Magistrate you will be respected by all the people, including the girls. If you propose love to them, they will accept your love. You must never be stubborn at meetings and discussions, or you will be thought foolish. You must never allow your Abafana to beat others who have girl friends in your location.'

He finally turned towards the girls: 'You girls, you see this young man here. He is now a Magistrate, and these are Policemen. You must report your problems to them.'

Zimoshile, as local Magistrate, had the last word. He spoke in a lighter vein, and very briefly as it was so late, and the intlombe showed signs of getting restless. 'Your doeks have been taken off for all to see if you have any scars on your heads. When I was appointed I had few beads. But when the girls saw the scars on my head they decided to make beads for me quickly so as to hide them.' His final words were a warning to the new Policemen: 'The main thing to remember is that a Policeman is not supposed to ill treat girls. He must never be rude to anyone in this house.'

Intlombe Law

The idea of law (umthetho), which is basic to the thinking of the Red Xhosa, occupies a special place in the minds of the abafana in their newly attained ^{manhood, and as} ~~position of~~ (so to speak) assistant-guardians of the law. As we have seen, abafana do not yet play a full part in deciding or enforcing the law of the community; they are only junior members of the inkundla. (p. above.) But they are entitled, as a boy never is, to 'admonish' girls or boys or even young married women (abafazana) if they have done anything wrong. If a young man discovers women chopping wood carelessly; or boys grazing cattle in the wrong places or stealing from other people's crops, he can stop them or report them to the inkundla. 'The young men have all the right of maintaining law and order in the location.'

When young men were asked to explain why they set such store by the intlombe they would invariably refer to the law. This is what Sonkebese Wewe, aged about 30, had to say: 'The intlombe is called a training school (Isikolo soqeqesho) of the Red people. All the life of our people is led by order of the law. There is not a single organisation that has not a pattern of law designed for it. If you go to a beerdrink the people talk about the law. At the inkundla people talk about the law. We abafana talk about the law. So everywhere there is law. If I were asked to give the facts about the good teaching of the intlombe I would say: The intlombe teaches the members to respect the law of the people which is there for everyone's welfare and good. It teaches us to respect anyone who is chosen or appointed to any position of authority. Thus, in future life these people will respect those above them. Girls will respect their parents at home and their 'homes-in-law'.

Because of their law, Red abafana say, they do not feel inferior to any one who has studied at other kinds of school. 'We have laws passed down to us from our fathers.' 'If we find anything new and worthwhile, we shall add it to our law, and it will enhance the beauty of the intlombe.' 'We write down all our laws in our memories and they are well kept there.'

At intlombe gatherings one will hear young men harp on the theme of their law, in casual references and in florid statements like the following (heard at an intlombe at ^{Digby} ~~Khafana~~): 'Gentlemen, we are at an intlombe now and the law of the Intlombe is not only our law, but the law handed down from our forebears. We are here to maintain that law. The day we do away with that law would be the end of our intlombe.

I respect the intlombe law and I expect that my child will also respect it.'

In the intlombe proceedings, even apparent trivia are considered as matters of the law, and therefore important. For instance, communications have to pass between different local groups of an intlombe, and it often leads to irritation and conflict when messages are not followed up, or are misunderstood, or not properly delivered or received. Here is a brief quotation from a 'case' made about such a matter at an intlombe in Khalana in the Ciskei. (I shall later quote in more detail a similar case heard over a hundred miles away in the Willovale district of the Transkei.)

Nyamfu: 'In short I say that the Nquntsi young man had been invited, and that the question of who was sent and to whom he gave the message shall not concern us. We are sure that an invitation had been extended to you because, here you are, with your abafana. You have come.' Fihlani stood up and said: 'No, Nyamfu, do not handle this question in this careless manner. It is a matter of importance to the intlombe. If we do not solve it well we shall be violating the law. This must be discussed in full so that such a thing cannot recur. I still want to know the name of your messenger and the person who received the message. It is useless deceiving me by saying that we have been invited, as if I do not know the law.'

After lengthy discussions Veldini, an Izingqengqe (Cf. above p.) of Khalana admitted that the Khalana intlombe was at fault, 'Son of Fihlani, as I see the point, I wish to agree that the manner in which our invitation was sent was not according to the law, and since it was so the Khalana young men are begging for pardon. We were deceived by the fact that we had actually sent a person to you, but the person was not a legal messenger, because he was a young man from Nquntsi. We know the law and we agree that we have not followed it ...'

In most intlombe's all young men are entitled to speak when cases are being heard, but invariably most of the talking is done by a nucleus of more experienced ones, and by those specially interested in law and administration. The rank and file may be satisfied with enjoying the social side.

The degree of formality of the case hearing varies between different intlombe's. Some Magistrates insist on full investigations and calling of witnesses, others are rather lax in these matters. In one Transkeian intlombe the right to speak was limited to the officials and what was called a "jury," consisting of the most senior and most eloquent abafana. Other young men had to ask permission of the house if they wished to speak. This was a reform introduced by a previous Magistrate to speed up hearings.

In most intlombe's the accused is put in the dock, i.e. he has to

stand in the centre of the hut, and is not allowed to sit down during the hearing. It is the duty of the Policeman or Sargeant to enforce this rule.

Discussions on procedure are common:

Young man: 'Are there not cases to be dealt with at this intlombe?'

Another: 'Yes there is one concerning an umfana and a girl.'

Sargeant: 'The policeman never told me about it. I shall wait until the policeman reports the matter to me.'

Young man: 'The case was postponed from last week to be dealt with at this intlombe. In such cases you can act without the policeman reporting first.'

Sargeant: 'We never dealt with this case because there was no imantyi present'

Young man: 'The law is that an assistant Mantyi can deal with the case if no Mantyi is present. Even a clever policeman can prosecute if there is no sargeant.'

Sargeant: 'What is the case about?'

Policeman: 'The young man was charged by a girl to whom he was proposing love. She says he smeared a drug on his hand and then shook hands with her. The girl noticed it and went out and cleared the medicine off her hand. She later told her lover. The lover told me.'

Minor cases are settled on the spot. For instance if an umfana is accused by another that he trayeledad intentionally in such a manner that he knocked another umfana to annoy him.

Big cases, such as theft, or fighting, usually take a long time, and are postponed from one intlombe to another. They are known (in Shixini) as "offences of blood" (Itvala legazi), because they can easily result in bloodshed if not settled. These cases are postponed so that 'people have a chance to discuss the matter at home and clear their own hearts.' Though they may take months, the cases are rarely allowed to remain unresolved. 'They never rot'. In the end a decision is reached.

Really serious cases are referred on to the locational headman, and may go through him to the Bantu Commissioner. Cases of impregnation of girls (for example) never come before the intlombe, except insofar as the girl is expelled. (The mafn remains in the intlombe.) The girls will not raise the matter but wait until it is noticed by the abafana. Then the pregnant girl is at once asked to leave 'Even if it is night she will be asked to go home all by herself. She has disgraced the Intlombe.' (cf. chapter 5)

The Intlombe Magistrate is however likely to be called to give evidence before the headman's inkundla. If he testified that he had thanked the girl for publicly decorating her lover in the intlombe (See Chapter 5) the young man is recognised as responsible for the pregnancy.

The usual punishment imposed by the intlombe is a fine, which is always imposed in terms of varying quantities of beer, from a tin to a 44 gallon barrel. Brandy or other hard liquor is never demanded. If a culprit has nobody to brew for him he has to pay in cash. In the sixties £5 was the maximum fine and 10/- the minimum. Fines imposed on girls are usually much smaller. The beer, provided by the culprit or bought with the money he has paid, is consumed by the intlombe as a whole, including the culprit. 'Then everybody is satisfied again and happy feelings restored.'

If the accused does not become 'submissive' to the judgement of the intlombe, but remains stubborn or becomes violent, then a 'life sentence' has to be imposed. 'He will be expelled from the intlombe for life. He has just to stay at home like old people. Sometimes we have even forced our girls to reject them, and they have to remain without girlfriends. It is like washing them off our hands.' This is exactly parallel to the sentence passed on the pregnant girl (See Chapter 5).⁽¹⁾

Conflict Resolution : The Case of the Itimiti

As an illustration of intlombe methods of 'conflict resolution,' I quote here the case of "the Itimiti" which was ignored at Shixini. This is the case which was discussed at the start of the session recorded on pp. above. It represents very much the kind of inter-group tension which in the case of an mtshotsho can easily lead to violent fission via "a battle" (See Chapter 2).

In this area, itimiti (English "tea meeting") means a party where money is raised by selling liquor and refreshments. Several of the seven local groups who have long formed the regular intlombe circuit in Shixini had been holding itimiti's recently in aid of their own funds. To raise a fair sum, full attendance was desired. On the weekend^d when the Kulomali section held theirs, however, three other sections (Dumalisile, Velelo and Mbanga) had failed to turn up. Instead they had held an informal intlombe of their own.

Some of the Kulomali young men were indignant about this. They raised the matter at the intlombe through their Magistrate, Gunuza. The issue was a serious one in that it threatened a split in the long-established and much-cherished unity of the circuit. And it taxed the

1. For "washing off" among Red Xhosa, see also P. Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen, 1961, Chapter 4.)

good sense of the senior officials, because some of them were suspected of having created or at least condoned the situation itself.

The Kulomali young men claimed that one of them, called Taliwa, son of Tali, had been sent with a few others to the previous intlombe specially to announce the date of their itimiti and to urge everybody to come. The Dumalisile, Mbanga and Velelo youngmen insisted that the message had not reached them properly, and that in any case they were in no way committed to attend the itimiti. Relations between Kulomali and the other three ^{had} in fact been rather tense for some while, though until now none of them had wanted to go so far as withdrawal from the common intlombe circuit.

Hence all the constituent groups attended the next intlombe with their minds full of the itimiti issue. The matter did not come up till nearly midnight. Zimoshile, the Magistrate of Dumalisile, was then addressed by a senior young man:

'Here is something, Zimoshile. Gunuza (the imantyi of Kulomali) has said that he had sent some young men to ask for everybody to attend his round of the itimiti. These young men were told that the itimiti was unknown to the intlombe.

Another young man: I have a long-standing request from this house to see to the appointment of a substitute for the imantyi in my area.

Gunuza: Your request has been taken note of, and the matter will be attended to. But let us deal with the matter about the itimiti first.

Zimoshile: Yes, we have heard all about the abafana who were sent to the intlombe, and we told them we knew nothing of the itimiti. We will give you full and satisfactory replies in this matter.

Young man: I agree with Zimoshile. I understand the abafana who were sent were unknown to the intlombe. They never got an acceptance from the intlombe.

Young man: Now is the time for the magistrate to deal with the matter. Many people are beginning to think that we have separate intlombes. If anybody has a complaint about the itimiti he must say it out now or never.

At this point an ikrwala was discovered in the hut, though all juniors had recently been ordered out: 'Go out! You seem to think we are not serious about maintaining our law.' Two young men complained loudly that they had asked to see some girls outside. The speaker turned to the Sargeant: 'Please let these people go out with the girls'.

The Policeman: Have you been sent by people to get these girls? 'Yes we have been sent.'

A senior umfana intervened impatiently: 'Gentlemen we have the law of the intlombe. Why do we allow people to disturb us when we are discussing important points? Let us stick to one point and finish it. What did Gunuza say when we were interrupted?

Gunuza: My point is that I sent Tali's son to go to the intlombe to ask for the next round of the itimiti. This had been discussed and agreed upon when the intlombe had met at Hadi. Tali's son said he was told that nothing was known of this itimiti.

Senior young man: Gunuza, did you see the Imantvi there yourself, or did anybody else confirm this account of what happened?

Gunuza: I agree I did not see these people myself.

Young man: Who then requested you to bring the matter up at this intlombe?

Another young man: I would like to know the law in this connection. You have mentioned three local groups - were all the other groups at the itimiti as well?

Kulomali young man: Yes, they were there.

Young man: Did you say anything about this matter at the itimiti?

Kulomali young man: We postponed the matter for this meeting.

Another outbreak of unrest among the body of the intlombe led one imantvi to announce that all those who want to see girls outside may now do so.

Zimoshile to Kulomali young man: Who is here the complainant, is it you or Gunuza?

Velelo young man: Gunuza.

Zimoshile: Why then do you speak for Gunuza? Who has been chosen to speak for Taliwe? (i. e. the son of Tali who was sent with the invitation) I wish you to clarify who is supposed to have acted wrongly in this case. It seems to me as if you are starting with the tail instead with the head.

Gunuza: Are you trying to teach me the law?

Zimoshile: If you are quarrelling, I will leave you alone.

Im antvi: Gentlemen, we cannot allow people to exchange words.

Zimoshile: My question is who is your witness that your message reached the intlombe.

Gunuza: To answer you properly I have first to ask you what the decision was at the previous intlombe that it resulted to your holding a separate intlombe.

Young man: I support the last speaker. We have not yet understood the reason why we had two intlombes.

Young man: It resulted from the decision of the previous intlombe at Mbanga.

Young man: Most of us were present at Mbanga. What do you say was our decision there.

Joji: I was at the intlombe at Mbanga. I too should like to know what was said there by those people who argued against attending the itimiti.

At this point Zimoshile intervened to divert the attention of the meeting from the critical point the argument had reached i. e. why groups had decided on their separate action. 'I think we can give a reply to only one person at a time' he said. But Joji repeated: 'Please reply.'

Zimoshile: I fear we must pass over Joji's question.

Gunuza as well was anxious to avoid a discussion of the underlying tensions. But he felt slighted and determined to have the three sections censured for their behaviour. 'To refer to you Mr Moshile, I wish to tell you that Taliwe told us he talked to Moshile, Waka and Lima.'

Zimoshile: What did he say?

Gunuza: He said he made a request for the round of the Itimiti.

Zimoshile: What did they say to him?

Gunuza: He said he made a request for the round of the itimiti.

Zimoshile: What did they say to him?

Gunuza: You know as an imantyi you should have learnt to answer questions before you raise new questions. There is not a single thing you have answered properly.

Young man: I wished you would answer properly and satisfy Moshile.

Young man: At the intlombe we need not reply^{to} any question, but only those which are concerned with essential points.

Zimoshile: Yes, especially now as this is not a case. Or is it?

Young man: Whatever it is, you must answer the questions.

Zimoshile: You have not brought the man you say you sent before this intlombe. He should be present and himself explain what he allegedly said to us. All those who went together with Taliwe should come forward. If the law is broken we must always try to put it straight.

Gongotha: (Another mantyi): now tried to end the exchange which had been getting heated: If this matter needs more evidence, it should be postponed and wait for the presence of Taliwe.

Waka: (the imantyi of Velelo): I wished Gunuza would agree with his friend Gongotha that the matter be postponed.

Young man: I agree with Waka. We cannot continue if we lack the evidence.

Then Gunuza decided on resuming the attack:

Gunuza: I say that the Magistrates of three places are responsible for what was said at the Mbanga intlombe, namely Zimoshile, Waka and Lima.

Young man: Let us not blame Gunuza for starting this argument. He is quite in order for informing us about matters which might lead to a split in our intlombe. Perhaps if he had not brought the matter up tonight, his people would harbour a grudge and would not attend the next meetings.

Young man: Indeed what is it that Gunuza is said to have left out that requires further evidence and explanation from Taliwe?

But the other side immediately rallied:

Young man: Of course there are questions which Gunuza cannot possibly answer, and that need to be answered by Taliwe.

Young man: We have said and still say: This matter should wait for Taliwe. Gunuza has failed.

Young man: We agree. Why should Gunuza come and explain to this intlombe what we all know already. Only Taliwe can say anything new.

Young man: This matter will be very difficult to decide, because those responsible are all very clever people, i. e. Moshile, Waka and Lima.

Here Meja, an imantyi who had been silent so far, saw his opportunity to try to take the sting out of the argument. He took up the earlier hint of Moshile and agreed that this was not a proper case hearing at all. 'We are all faithful members of this intlombe. Let us all agree that this is not a case. Let us just admonish each other about the matter, and then leave it. This is after all quite a minor thing, because our intlombe has not split as some of us feared it might.'

There was immediate support for Meja: 'Yes, gentlemen, we all must agree with Meja. We were all at Mbanga; why should Gunuza remind us about what happened there?'

Waka: If you, Gongotha, have been worried by some of my words, I withdraw them. Let us forget about that now.

Young man: What has been said by Gunuza is just the same as what would be said by Taliwe. Let us forget about this matter altogether. Grudges are of no value. They cannot solve any problems, but only damage the peace and harmony of the intlomba.

Young man: Have we then come to the conclusion that we all agree this will not happen again; and that we owe no grudges to anyone in this house?

Zimoshile: We have attended many intlombes and itimitis together. We had a reason not to attend that particular itimiti. Forget about grudges, for they will bring us nowhere. If we feel there is somebody to be blamed for this matter, it is he who insists on his request to return the round of itirmiti. He is fully aware that we refused for reasons known to us all.

Young man: Here at the intlomba we only support the truth. I do not think it is right to blame those who did not attend the itimiti. We are not boys who question those who did not attend the umtshotsho. We are and remain one intlomba and this is made evident by the good attendance tonight.

At this point the girls judged the time opportune for bringing the discussions to an end. They started to ombela, and dancing immediately started. But after a few minutes it was once more interrupted by a whistle.

A senior young man, Ntlomelwana: I specially wish to request Gunuza to forget about this for good. He must not have any grudges in his heart.

Gongotha: Has the house requested or instructed Ntlomelwana to make any requests to Gunuza?

Jofi: But it is clear that Gongotha still looks dissatisfied with the decision. Let him say out all what is in his heart.

Young man: As long as the intlomba is satisfied that the matter be left and forgotten, let us leave those alone who will never be satisfied. We have decided. Some people will always complain.

Jofi: I agree there are other cases to hear to finish tonight. Next time many of you will be dissatisfied if we stop dancing to try old cases.

~~The Sargeant reported that the girl who was the complainant in a pending case was not present.~~

CHAPTER 2

CHAPTER 5

SWEETHEARTING

Every local youth group has its specific set of girl associations. Everyone in the locality knows who are the "small girls" (*chikana*), the "babe's girls" (*shikana*), and the "youngman's girls" (*seikana*) respectively. In one light, these three categories represent different stages of life: there are fairly associated age limits, and different activities and dress proper to each. Thus the "small girls" are mostly between 7 and 13; they are still home-bound and under parental supervision; they may still be herding with boys. They are considered too young for all-night parties, or for the kind of sweethearting the parties imply. The "babe's girls" are mostly between 14 and 18; they have attained puberty; they are considered ready for sweethearting, but not for marriage. The "youngman's girls" range from perhaps 17 to 25. They are declaring themselves marriageable by associating with marriageable youngmen. They will leave the *shikana* organization when they marry, or become pregnant. At that stage the girl or young woman "becomes a big person" and "no more *shikana*" (respect, avoid) her.

In another light the categories represent networks of personal life. A girl "works with" her accepted boyfriend or lover. She attends *shikana* as long as he does. When he is initiated and moves up into the *seikana*, so does she. When she marries, or becomes pregnant, her ties with the youth organization are cut, and she moves in domestic and family circles.

CHAPTER 5

SWEETHEARTING

Every local youth group has its specific set of girl associates. Everyone in the locality knows who are the "small girls" (intutu girls), the "boys' girls" (mtshotsho girls), and the "youngmen's girls" (intlombe girls) respectively. In one light, these three categories represent different stages of life: there are fairly consistent age limits, and different activities and dress proper to each. Thus the "small girls" are mostly between 9 and 15; they are still home-bound and under parental supervision; they may still be herding with boys. They are considered too young for all-night parties, or for the kind of sweethearting the parties imply. The "boys' girls" are mostly between 14 and 19; they have attained puberty; they are considered ready for sweethearting, not yet for marriage. The "youngmen's girls" range from perhaps 17 to 22. They are declaring themselves marriageable by associating with marriageable youngmen. They will leave the ⁱⁿintlombe organisation when they marry, or become pregnant. At that stage the girl or young woman "becomes a big person" and "we must ^hhlowpha (respect, avoid) her".

In another light the categories represent networks of personal ties. A girl 'moves with' her accepted boyfriend or lover. She attends mtshotsho as long as he does. When he is initiated and moves up into the intlombe, so does she. When she marries, or becomes pregnant, her ties with the youth organisation are cut, and she moves in domestic and family circles.

As previous chapters have illustrated, the girls attend their local youth organisations to provide specific services for the boys and young men, notably ombela-ing for the dance. They are expected to do as the 'Policemen' tell them, though managing at the same time to get in quite a lot of backchat too, from the gay to the sharp or scornful. They are expected to be strongly loyal to 'their' group, and it seems they mostly are. But along with or even above the obedience and loyalty to the group, the girls are expected to be loyal to their individual sweethearts, and to declare openly who those sweethearts are, publicly 'decorating' them with the beadwork which is the token of an established love relation. In both mtshotsho and mtlombe, a parallel is drawn quite explicitly between the 'loose girl' (isifebe) who accepts more than one lover at a time, and the adulterous wife, and secret liaisons are held to be as reprehensible as among married people.

Given that all girls are to attend the local youth organisation, that each girl is to have only one lover (at a time), and that all such relationships are to be announced to the group, an instant way exists for identifying the boy or young man responsible in case of an illegitimate pregnancy. If both parties to the pregnancy will suffer - the youth by being fined, the girl by being shamed, scolded and expelled from the youth organisation - there are strong deterrents against letting a pregnancy occur. By and large these conditions are still generally met in Red rural communities. The effect is that the Red youths and girls can and do enjoy genuine romantic (as well as erotic) attachments and satisfactions, within the context of the youth organisations, while their parents need not worry much about possible pregnancy with its repercussions in the adult sphere.

Since only youngmen can marry and not boys, an mtshotsho sweetheart couple can obviously have no prospect of marrying each other in the near future. But in fact even intlombo sweethearts can rarely count on marrying each other. Among Reds, ^agirl's parents have an axiomatic right to dispose of her in marriage; and a youngman's parents have a scarcely less unchallengeable right to choose a bride for their son, "guided by the wisdom of the ancestors". Red young people mostly accept this without demur. The parental choice is likely to fall on someone other than the sweetheart, entailing that the sweethearts must part. Thus a sweetheart relationship is often or usually a selfcontained phase in the lives of the youth and the girl, rather than the opening phase of their marriage, and the institution of sweethearting can be looked at independently of the institution of marriage. But nowhere are the common threads of meaning or the 'training' aspect of the youth organisations, to be seen more plainly.

Traditional Red Xhosa moral codes regarding sexuality are somewhat different from official Christian ones, though the attitudes to premarital pregnancy are about equally negative. The Christian ^{norms} ~~norms~~ have specified only ^{one} ~~the~~ relationship in which sexual contact is legitimate, namely monogamous marriage; the traditional Red Xhosa norms have specified at least three. These are marriage, (either monogamous or ploygymous), mature sweethearting, and youthful sweethearting. Mature sweethearting is proper between mature, usually married men (amadoda), and women classed as amankazana (including widows, divorcees, unmarried mothers). Youthful sweethearting is proper between boys and young girls, also young men and marriageable girls. Marriage and mature sweethearting are both basically domestic, centred around hearth and home and bed; they are associated with the value

for fertility and childbearing. Youthful sweethearting is extra-domestic, associated with romantic love and nights under the stars. Pregnancy is to be avoided in this context since it makes a girl unmarriageable, and accordingly a young sweetheart couple should not copulate isifazi "as with a married woman", but isitombi, "as with a girl", limiting themselves to ukumetsha, or intercourse "between the thighs".

Subject to these differences, the norms of decency and morality are very similar in all three relations. The girl or woman is in each case strictly required to confine herself to one partner, for the time being. The man ^{or boy} need not. The couple are to exchange gifts, or services. And the relation is to be known, at least among their circle of peers. All "private love" is suspect by definition.

On these terms there is no question in Red Xhosa eyes of one mode of sexuality being "right" and the others "wrong". Rather, each mode is seen as being equally right and desirable in its own time and place, though wrong if it encroaches on the spheres of the others, e.g. if a man were to bring his sweetheart into his home, or continue 'youthful' sweethearting past the proper age, or a married woman offer herself as a sweetheart. While undoubtedly marriage ranks highest, and its claims generally take precedence, this is only an aspect of the overall precedence of adult over youthful interests in a gerontocratic society. It does not at all relegate premarital or extramarital sex to the category of "sinful", or even "vulgar", as in the official code of Christian converts.

In short, the youth organisations ^{provide the surroundings} ~~are the indispensable~~ milieu where youthful sweethearting can be kept fully separate from mature, domestic and family life, and especially

concealed from parents, as decency requires, while at the same time the terms which make it 'moral' (notably faithfulness of girls, and avoidance of pregnancy) can be enforced by way of group publicity.

Early training in sex roles

Red Khosa training in sexuality and cross-sex relations has something in common with the training infighting behaviour which was discussed in chapter 3. On the one hand positive expression is expected and encouraged: the youth who "has no girl friends" or "lacks sex appeal" (the isishumani), or the girl who "shows no interest" or "does not let herself be fondled", will be an object of concern or shame to parents and to peers, rather like the boy who doesn't know how to show fight. And on the other hand there are "rules" to be kept, and self-restraint is needed. Nobody admires the "uncontrolled" one who "overdoes things", the youth who "sleeps with a girl as with a woman", or who "impregnates a number of girls", or the girl who "allows a young man to do as he likes", or who "accepts all comers", or "appears too eager", any more than the over-aggressive boy who "fights rough" and ignores the rules of stick play.

With sexuality as with fighting, the youth organisation constitutes itself the moral community which must encourage on the one hand and restrain on the other, while also trying to contain rivalries and conflicts within manageable limits. But its role is even more crucial in the case of sexuality, because here the parents cannot take a hand, as they do with fighting training at least in the early years. Hlonipha (respect) makes it difficult or impossible for sexual matters or love affairs to be openly discussed between parent and child. Thus although boys and girls arrive in the youth

organisations already well instructed in the values of sex, as well as fighting, in the former case their learning has been all from peers and near-seniors.

Sex play and experimentation are said to start about the time children begin covering themselves, which in many areas would mean 7 or 8 for girls and 9 or 10 for boys. The children observe the mating of the goats, sheep and cattle they tend on the veld, and "try to imitate them", "catching and chasing each other". Some are "wild", others "frightened and shy". At this age too, there are classic games of hide-and-seek in which "girls can be caught in hidden places", and ^{there will be much} "talk of lovemaking" among the older ^{herd} boys, to which the younger ones like to listen. Adult attitudes at this stage are mainly permissive. Sex play, if noticed, is to be ignored: "It is just childishness."

Physical puberty is socially played down. No ritual or other formal recognition takes place (as it does among Pondo or Zulu). However, it is regarded as a stage at which boys "become interested in girls," even if the age when this will happen is unpredictable. Repeatedly when I asked young adolescent Red boys about their schooling, they would say: "I can't go to school any more. I am no longer a child. I have my girl friends now."

The adolescent has to consider the rules of umbulo ('incest'), according to which there must be no sexual contact between couples related by either blood, lineage or clanship. Thus adolescent boys are said to give up playing with 'related' girls, "because they cannot sleep with them". They begin instead to "propose love" to eligible girls.

Sexual shyness is thought normal at this age. A younger

adolescent boy may be "too shy" to speak directly of love to the chosen girl; he will enlist a sister to "propose" on his behalf, and hopefully to bring back the message of "acceptance" which the girl would herself be too shy to utter in person. Or the sister, going further, may take the whole matter upon herself. Hitler, a teen-age boy in Tshabo, said that he had three girl friends but that he had not chosen any of them. His elder sister had picked out girls whom she liked and "proposed love" in his name, only telling him after he was "accepted". If love proposals are made directly, at this age, they are likely to be simple and unadorned: "Accept me, for I love you".

But even among these gaucho teen-agers, two basic themes of maturer sweethearting are in evidence already, namely the drama of feminine reluctance, and the use of the love token to signify its ending. The young girl receiving a love proposal, just as the older girl, is expected to refuse *for a long time:* ~~it back~~ "I do not want you" (andikufuni). The boy is supposed to "keep on asking", until one day the girl will say: "I have accepted you" (ndikuvumilo). The boy will then ask for a token of love (isivumo). This may be a safety pin, a bangle or necklace, etc. Young girls, having little money to buy beads, yet sometimes manage to give their boy friend a little bead-decorated mirror, (usually worn round the neck).

As in later relations too, gift exchange continues as long as the relationship is in being. In Tshabo the young girls would make their boyfriend small beaded bags, or buy them sweets or tobacco. The boys would buy the girls calico doeks, or cheap rings for the arm, leg or waist. Each also gives small presents to members of the other's family, but not to the fathers. Money for the presents has to be wangled

out of the mothers somehow, perhaps with the help of a story concocted by an elder sister.

Physically speaking the 'small' girls and boys are awkward with each other, and in any case they are seldom able to sidestep the constraining presence of adults. They don't yet go to all-night parties (cf. Chapter 1.). The girl normally still sleeps with her parents, in the main hut, till she is 14 or so. Round about 15 or 16, however, there may be chances to meet and metsha in the veld at night, especially when parents have gone to a beer drink, or at special neighbourhood festivities like the intonjane ceremony⁽ⁱ⁾.

Mtshotsho and Intlombe sweethearting

Dance parties bring boys and youngmen together with girls who are not 'related' in the senses relevant for incest (unbulo), and they provide them with rich opportunities for all the stages of 'proposing love', courting, gift exchange and established sweethearting. No "love is to be made" in the dance hut itself, either verbally or physically, but the youths "ask their girls out" into the darkness, at those times when they are not needed to ombela. The beadwork worn by a male dancer is made for him by his sweetheart and is the essential public token of their relationship.

In the mtshotsho years, competition over girls becomes a prominent theme, and often triggers off fighting or battles. But there is also for the first time an explicit body of "law" about girls. Rather as in the stick games, the assembled

(i) This is a kind of rite de passage for girls, done only in some cases, and associated with fertility. The older sweetheart couples who attend the intonjane girl are virtually expected to metsha during the nights of celebration, and the erotic atmosphere is said to help the younger ones to do likewise.

mtshotsho groups or contingents are jointly to judge what is fair or unfair, in the name of mtshotsho law, and to stop an offender, if necessary by using force on him. Or looking it at the other way, the "laws" and grievances about girls provide a fine rich mine to be worked by individuals or groups who want to pick a fight with each other.

It is stated as a fundamental "law of the mtshotsho" that no boy is to force a girl against her will; for instance, force her to leave the hut with him, or to stay out with him when she wants to come back in, let alone force her to metsha if she doesn't want to. "A girl has a right to refuse" or "to become fed up", "a boy ought to accept her refusal". This refers mainly to courtship overtures. Once a girl has accepted a boy as her established lover, she is to be ready and willing to go with him whenever he asks.

But most mtshotsho groups report cases where boys got infuriated with a girl's continued unwillingness and tried to force her by hitting her. There were cases in Shixini where this had gone beyond the control of the mtshotsho, and the matter had to be taken to the sub-Headman. The touchy side of this problem is that girls are expected to refuse courtship ^{advances and} ~~so as they should~~ never appear "too eager". Even with an established lover, a 'decent' girl shows a certain modesty and does not for example easily allow him to metsha with her for the first time. (Cf. p. below.)

A girl who does regularly or often agree to go out with a boy, thus demonstrating that she has "accepted him", ought to refuse to go out with any other boy, unless or until she intends to jilt the first one. (Jilting cannot decently be done too often.) On the other hand, girls claimed not to mind

very much if or when the lover has other sweethearts. Many said that it made them "proud to be in love with a boy who is so popular". There seems often to be strong affectionate and romantic feeling in these attachments. Girls, in particular, would explain that all the hard and tedious work of ombela-ing becomes a pleasure "when you are standing near your boyfriend", "when you see him dancing in his beads".

Mtshotsho law also specifies that no boy is to appear at the dance without the beadwork he has been given by his girl or girls. Nor must he come in "borrowed" beads, or beads whose origin he can't or won't explain. A girl first puts newly-made beadwork on her boyfriend at a dance, in full view of the "house", or a friend may do so on her behalf if she is young and shy. The kinds of beadwork vary from one area to another, but are numerous everywhere, so that it is likely to be about two years or more before the boy has a full set given by one girl. However, a popular boy may be wearing several gifts of the same kind from his several sweethearts.

Compared with junior boys, dyongos and seniors are much less bashful suitors, whether at or away from the dance parties. They no longer need a sister's help. An older boy will openly walk with his sweetheart, or the girl he fancies, when she goes to fetch firewood or water or to do errands at the shop. He will 'date' his sweetheart (balela, "to count" the days) to meet him in the veld at night (this is a useful arrangement if he has several sweethearts). He will go to fetch her after dark, not indeed from her own parents home (which he must hloni) but from somewhere where she has arranged to butha (meet and converse) with other neighbourhood girls for the night. Her parents are satisfied when she takes her blankets and announces that she is off to butha at so-and-so's house,

where there is another girl of her ^{age group} ~~grade~~. The girls might sleep in the ikoyi hut, or (more often) with ^a "grandmother" of the home. The boy knocks at the hut after dark, sits for a while near the door chatting, then goes off. The grandmother asks no questions - she realises he is after one of the girls. Presently the girl, on some pretext, goes quietly out to join him.

A boy and his sweetheart sleep "in the bushes" or in a sheltered place on the veld. "He cannot sleep in a house with a girl or he will make her his wife." On rainy nights they might go to an uninhabited hut. But this is risky, for if any adult man sees them he can beat the boy.

The parents of the girl ought not to know about their daughter's lover. 'It is bad.' The mother often does find out, either from other women, or from another daughter. In fact it is expected that she will know sooner or later when the girl is going steady. But if a 'father' finds a boy with her or in her homestead, the boy is liable to be beaten. The boy prefers to keep off unless he is sure no 'old people' are around.

By the senior years of the mtshotsho, then, most girls as well as boys have begun to lead a quite active sex life. This is approved of and expected of them by adults of either sex. As a young woman put it "A big girl cannot stay without her lover because the night is long without him". Also it is often said that a girl who is not fondled by a male "becomes stiff in body like a man, and her blood does not flow properly". "The breasts of a girl who is not touched by a lover become dark because the skin does not wear off."

"Only girls who are to become witches or are witches already do not want men. They are being fondled by animals or impundulu's (familiar). But the values of faithfulness, modesty and publicity have been rubbed in too.

Young men are generally freer and more masterful than boys in their relations with their girls, or with girls at large, and the girls are expected to be politer and more obedient in return. It is part of the new dignity of the adult male, and at the same time a foreshadowing of the attitudes required in marriage. An initiated young man has a right or duty to 'correct' even a young married woman (p. above); so much the more may he order a girl around. It is stated as a "law of the Intlombe" that a girl must answer an umfana at any time, and talk to him politely, even if she does not know him or actually dislikes him. Also, an umfana may simply send a message to a girl to meet him at an assigned place, and she has to go, unless she can send a convincing excuse.

At a dance in Tshabo, a young man strolled in and said: "Please tell so-and-so (girl's name) to bring me a cape." The girl immediately did so. He looked at it and said mockingly: "This cape will make me very red. Bring me one without so much ochre." Again she immediately complied.

Probably the most active lovers in the intlombe are the amakrwala grade. With senior status many youngmen become less interested in courting girls, relatively to other intlombe activities. Also, many seniors are married. Marriage as such is not (for males) a bar to sweethearting, and indeed the husband whose wife has a baby is likely to seek a sweetheart, as the wife is sexually taboo for the whole suckling period of up to 2-3 years. But this should be a mature sweetheart, an inkuzana, with whom he can sleep isifazi. Even bachelors tend to gravitate towards amankayana as they get older. Intlombe girls generally insist that they would never accept as a lover "a young man who goes to amankayana."

Only the newest amakrwala - recently initiated, amakrwala in the ritual sense - are still themselves "shy like ^{friends} ~~birds~~", so that they cannot go courting girls freely like senior boys on the one

hand or experienced abafana on the other. Thus Their love relations are usually restricted to their boyhood sweethearts. "Girls would ridicule a girl who would fall newly in love with an ikrwala. They would say: "She is a thing for cleaning off the isuthu". Isuthu denotes the white clay used by abakwetha (novices in seclusion) to smear their bodies, but it also denotes a kind of sickness, misfortune or dirt with which this is associated. The girl who is said to be "smeared with isuthu" is seen as having taken on to her the misfortune and dirt which still adheres to the ikrwala. She will behave "sometimes as an umfana girl and sometimes like a boy is girl" exactly as the ikrwala himself is still an "in between thing, sometimes like a boy and sometimes like a man."

The fear of isuthu is still taken quite seriously by girls, according to male informants. The girls, when asked, tend to laugh it off, but admit that they would have to be much in love to accept the proposal of ^{a new} ~~an~~ ikrwala. They would giggle and say that they can't metsha with someone who is painted all over with red clay (as amakrwala ^{at this stage} are). They say that on a cold day they only wash their private parts and legs after a date; after a date with an ikrwala they would have to wash their whole body, and shiver at the river.

At the intlombe there is much teasing of new amakrwala together with their girl friends. "In this way they are taught to be tolerant as a man should be." Only a girl who is seriously in love will accept being made a butt of for months for the sake of an ikrwala.

'Public' and 'private love'

Red Xhosa couple comparing their own and school youth, to the disadvantage of the latter, often speak of 'public' versus 'private love'. "Love-making at mtshotsho and intlombe is known to all. Private love results in unfaithfulness among girls, and irresponsibility among boys and young men". In their eyes this is the reason for the apparently much higher incidence of illegitimate pregnancies among young school girls (i.e. because a young man responsible for a pregnancy need not fear detection.) The publicity in the youth group offsets the extreme reserve which Xhosa youth both Red and School are expected to practise towards their parents in matters of love or sex, under the name of hlonipha, and which generally prevents a lover from identifying himself at his sweetheart's home, e.g. by calling for her there or conversing with her in the presence of her parents. Reciprocally, the hlonipha complex gives parents a good reason and excuse to ignore the complexities of youthful love affairs and reserve their energies for serious marriage negotiations.

Besides the wearing of beadwork, both mtshotsho and intlombe have prescribed semi-ritualised procedures for forcing

sweetheart couples to declare themselves publicly. In the Shixini mtshotsho, a boy could stand up in the presence of the 'house' and demand the performance of what was called igunya. All the boys sit down in a circle around the "executioner", who holds a switch in his hand. He starts with the first boy and says "Igunya". This boy has to say "I am in love with so-and-so", a,b,c, and d, (giving all the girls' names). Anybody who knows he has omitted a name calls out "thrash him", and he is switched till he names her. Boys "like this a great deal". It is also done by girls (of all stages) to other girls, by girls to boys, and by abafana girls to abafana. "Igunya is what prevents a lot of private or secret love and wearing borrowed beads at the intlombe and mtshotshe".

But the most impressive publicity rituals are those of the intlombe, consistently perhaps with the added risk of pregnancy at this stage. A girl who has 'accepted' a young man is to make a ceremonial declaration at the intlombe dance, known as isaziso sokuvuma, "announcement of consenting", and to "crown him" by "hanging" gifts on him (xhova), and especially by "putting on" or "hanging on" (uxiba) the beadwork she has made him. After this impressive performance, which may hold up the routine dancing for half an hour or more, the girl has witnesses if it should happen that she becomes pregnant and the umfana tries to deny responsibility. The umfana will enjoy the pleasure of a recognised relationship, even if this does not necessarily discourage his colleagues from pursuing the girl. "The public putting on of the beads", (as an intlombe, the Magistrate explained to me) "is similar to a Christian church wedding. If there is a break of the bond the public is made to know." And if later on the girl "rejects" the umfana, he ~~will~~^{must} come and report this to the

intlombe in her presence. "The intlombe will henceforth be his witnesses if she should try to blame him in case of pregnancy". "If a girl is in love but never decorates her lover, we say she may have her child from a mealie stalk" (a young man who has no more beads than a mealie stalk)."

On one occasion in Shixini I saw "announcements" done at the same time by two different girls for the same umfana. The two girls stepped into the ring of dancing abafana. One held a piece of white cloth (Ikaleko, i.e. calico); the second had a parcel, tied into a white doek. This contained matches, tobacco, sweets and cigarettes. The girl with the parcel took a cigarette from the packet and put it into the young man's mouth. The girl with the cloth put cigarettes into the mouths of the young men behind her lover, until the packet was finished. She took a match from the box, lit it and threw it towards the upper side of the hut, then did the same with another and threw it the other way, towards the door. This, I was told, is symbolic of the fact that this young man is a lewu i.e. one who has many girlfriends, "He will always have someone to buy matches for him. He therefore need have no fear of wasting matches." Then the girl with the calico hung it over the young man's left arm (which is used for carrying the large skin tobacco pouch while dancing). The cloth is intended for ^{the sweat off} wiping himself during the dance.

After this ritual the Imantyi addressed the Intlombe: "I refer to the son of Nomfanqa. I am pleased and grateful to him for allowing these girls to come and decorate him publicly. I respect you for being so lucky. Some people have girl friends, but they are not so fortunate to be decorated so quickly as you are. These girls have recently accepted your love. Your girl friends rarely take long to

decorate you, son of Nomfanqa; I am sure your girls love you dearly. We have girls here from all areas, as far as Nqabarana. Your luck this time is that you are accepted by girls of your own location. To be a proper ummetshi you must be accepted by girls of all locations that dance with us. Then you will have all sorts of beads needed for an umfana. You know that when you have many girlfriends, all the girls will love you."

"If I may now refer to the two girls (he continued), I should like to tell them that if either of them should ever reject the young man, we are not concerned, until he comes to tell us so. Then we shall enquire whom she has fallen in love with so that we may be witnesses. We will make her Xhoma her new lover as well.

"Tying on the beadwork is normally done first, outside the hut, before dancing starts. It is a fairly lengthy operation. "Once the dancing had started the girl would not be able to decorate the young man to her satisfaction."

Sometimes the 'hanging', if done by a vivacious girl, can be quite a spectacular performance. At one intlombe I saw the girl moving gracefully among the young men to the rhythm of the ombela, teasingly holding out a cloth to one after another and quickly withdrawing it again, until at last she offered it to her lover. She danced for a moment by his side, wiping his brow, before she actually handed it to him. Such an unusual spectacle, with the girl making ~~pretended~~ symbolic advances to several men, ~~at once~~, is likely to stay long in the memories of all present, which after all is ~~one~~ a main ~~of the~~ functions of the performance.

A girl may leave her old lover (shiya, to desert), with or without a formal announcement, but if she wants to take a new lover the intlombe want to be informed who both the old and the new lover are.

It used to be axiomatic that Red girls never work away from home for money. Both aspects - being away, and earning money - would mean a loosening of peer group control (as well as family control) over the girls and their love affairs. But being away is the worst in that it would enable a girl to accept lovers unknown to the home group. This was one of the reasons why the Khulana mtshotsho boys reacted sharply to the girls' accepting the paid seasonal work which has been offered in recent years on nearby ~~Buzumbe~~ pineapple farms (chapter 2).

The boys' suspicions were not ^{altogether} ~~always~~ unfounded. A few Red girls did become pregnant whilst working on the pineapple farms. These cases created a great deal of commotion because pregnancies among mtshotsho girls had been all but unheard of previously. "It seems as if the people in the farms do not worry about the consequences of their actions." One year there were three such cases. Two of the girls concerned married their lovers, and only one returned home pregnant; thus the objective situation was not too bad. But the boys remained upset, because the girls were conducting love affairs outside the control of the mtshotsho, and had even found husbands unknown to the mtshotsho. Boys whose acknowledged sweethearts went away as 'pineapple girls' ^{said they} ~~would~~ "wait and see" before consorting with them again on their return from the farms, in case they might be pregnant by now lovers. They were afraid of being regarded as fathers of a child not their own. One boy said that after his sweetheart returned from

the farms he was always on the lookout at the shop for any letters addressed to her. "I took one to her and forced her to open it with me. It was from a lover she had met on the farm".... The girls, on the other hand, greatly enjoyed their new experience. "There is no danger in having two lovers" one pointed out " "I cannot become pregnant because I protect myself".

Rivalry over girls

Rivalry over girls occurs in both youth organisations as an issue between individuals (of course), but also as a 'structural' matter in the areas of tension which have been referred to in previous chapters; namely between local groups and between seniority grades within a group. The inter-grade 'girl rivalry' is semi-formalised, according to the conventions of seniority and respect. The inter-group rivalry is more 'warlike' or political. It is often confusingly entwined with efforts to prevent "private love" - a legalistic and moralistic theme as against a political one.

In the mtshotsho it is understood that love and politics have to be closely co-ordinated. A boy cannot openly propose love to a girl from a 'rival' location (i.e. one which is not allied or 'friendly'). He would risk being seriously beaten up by the local boys, and a battle (idhaba) might start. Such affairs have to be conducted secretly. Boys and girls of rival locations often meet at the shop; if a couple fall in love they contrive further meetings when the girl has arranged to visit relatives in the boy's location or in a 'friendly' one.

Even boys from the friendly locations who regularly come to tshotsha with the local group, do not have unrestricted rights to court local girls. Such a visitor may call a local

girl out from the dance to propose love and the girl may go with him if she likes but the local boys are entitled to call her back into the hut if they think fit. This is described as ukulinda "to guard" the girl. If the girl already has a local boyfriend, he in particular is always entitled to take her away from the 'visiting' boy. At least this is so if the visitor is his equal or junior, though he will hesitate to do so if the visitor is his senior.

In any case a girl's local lover will probably expect her to refuse a visitor's request to go out with him (in accordance with every girl's right to say no to a suitor), and the girl is likely to comply for fear that he (the local lover) will thrash her afterwards when they are alone.

Senior (first grade) boys are entitled to court junior girls, ~~within their own utshotsho~~ and call them out from dances. The dyongo are not supposed to grudge them this. However, even a senior should respect an established sweetheart relationship. If the girl already has a recognised dyongo lover, he can stop her going out with the senior, by asking the senior "politely", or making some excuse, and the senior ought not to insist. There might be fighting if he did.

If a junior boy should presume to make love to the sweetheart of a senior boy, the latter is entitled to take drastic action on his own behalf. "He beats him very hard, and this will not be resented by the other junior boys."

Although boys generally speaking are content to show proper respect to their seniors, the intlombe young men,

this sometimes breaks down over girls. Abafana claim the pick of all the girls of all grades, and the boys are to step back when an umfana beckons. Bad blood not infrequently results, for respect is ideally reciprocal, and the boys will say that the abafana are lacking in proper respect to them. Sinkuthu, a senior boy of about 20 in Shixini, said that "Boys have very much respect for the Abafana but the Abafana here have no respect for boys at all. They sometimes come to take our girls to their intlombe by force. They used to take away the best girls, and we were left with the useless ones. This was not right. They fall in love with them, and then they hit the boy lovers of the girls if they meet their girls at night." He added that "since we have our axes we have refused them making such free use of our girls." "An umfana can attend the intlombe all over the country, and enjoy himself whether he has a girl lover of his own or not. We boys can't. Why then should they come for our girls? If they do not show respect for us, we will demand it by means of our axes."

In the intlombe, as might be expected, the theme of inter-group rivalry is considerably muted. In principle a young man "can go to any location to propose love", just as he "can ask for the dance anywhere", without fear of being attacked. "The law of the abafana is that an umfana may be in love with any girl from Bashe river to the Great Fish river and across". Hence, at the intlombe dance, anyone may call any girl outside, even a girl from another location. "Even if the girl's lover is very worried and jealous he cannot do anything about it, because the law of the abafana lays down that no umfana is over attacked by others for being in love with a girl, as boys do in case of boys from other locations."

But the hostility can be expressed, though in subtler forms. Hospitality may for example be rather grudging where an intlombe group are "disliked" because their young men "took away many sweethearts" from others. The group themselves might make it a boast that just because they "wear more beads" or "have many olewu" (makes beloved by girls) they are "hated by others who are afraid of competition."

Above all, though abafana cannot openly attack each other over girls, they can and do put pressure on the girls to discourage them from taking "outside lovers". Their argument to the effect that one "cannot trust" young men from outside to look after a girl's welfare, is no doubt entwined with many strands of self-interest and policy.

In some areas the group of girls too will do all they can to break up a romance with an outside lover. They do so by shadowing the couple everywhere when the young man is visiting her girl: they address teasing remarks to the girl, so that she grows shy, and the umfana gets "fed up" with the courtship. One umfana admitted that he "nearly ran away" when he saw so many girls in a close group moving towards him in the location of his sweetheart. Intlombe officers complain about this practice, since discrimination against outsiders, as they keep explaining, is "against the law of the intlombe." But this does not stop the girls from their manoeuvres.

Although the senior youngmen claim much the same authoritative relation to their amakrwala as mtshotsho seniors do to their dyonjo, it stops short of any generalised right to cut them out with their girlfriends. But a nasty situation may arise if a girl establishes a love relation with someone who is both an 'outsider' and an ikrwala. The combination seems to let loose all the crude sexual possessiveness and aggression which the seniors are not supposed to express in relation to either category on its own. A practice was noted in Mfengu areas whereby such a girl is subjected to an ordeal called "roasting" (ukugqatsa) It can be done to her week after week until she abandons her ikrwala, or until he becomes acceptably 'senior' (which might be a matter of years).

Ukugqatsa used to be for witches. A woman who had been "smelt out" would be tied to the central roofpost, and a big fire made at the hearth (which is always close by). She would be forced to sit with her legs wide apart, and vicious black wood ants placed next to her private parts, to add to the unbearable discomfort of the intense heat. (This practice was later "forbidden by Europeans"). Young men maintain that ukugqatsa done to a girl is done "to test her loyalty", "to show her that there are full-grown abafana who feel affection for her."

But the word also means "to compete" (as in a horse-race or running race, etc.), and the competitive aspect comes through clearly.

A 'roasting' was watched at Diya on 31.9.62. At 4 a.m. dancing had not began yet; the youngmen were sitting around chatting to their girls; some had called girls outside. As the amakrwala grade got ready to open the dance, and the girls decked themselves with beads, a senior young man rose and announced: "Gentlemen, we are now at an intlombe, and the law of intlombe is not our law but the law of our forebears ... I expect that even my child will respect intlombe law ... if she must be guatswa'd, let her be guatswa'd." Another rose and said: "No young men will endure to be despised by an ikrwala. Amakrwala think they are the only people who metsha. Let us see if that is true."

While they spoke an ikrwala brought in an upper grinding stone (a smallish, round stone). The stone was placed at the fireplace and the girl was ordered to stand on it on one foot - an extremely difficult balancing feat-and to raise her right hand in the sign called "figure of eight", as when taking oath in a magistrate's court. A wire arm-ring was hung between the fingers of this hand. She was supposed to stay like this until the end of the dance (at about midday) without once going out, either to pass water or anything else. "She was not to be called for love making, or to have a drink." Dancers watched her closely and sometimes threatened her with slapping when she fell off the stone. Her feet, legs and arms swelled up badly, so that she had to take some of her decorations off.

Another girl explained to the fieldworker that the victim had been in love with her ikrwala while he was still a boy, and had failed to 'reject him' after his initiation as expected. "It was not promise of marriage, but only love, that made her endure all this."

The competitive motive was plain. The girl would be freed if she would only accept a local senior as her lover. "The seniors are old, and know that if they let us girls be in love with others who, unlike them, are young and unmarried, they would lose many of the new girl recruits." Senior young men were continually dancing in front of the victim making indications that they would like to be chosen. All she had to do was to make a small answering gesture to one of them, e.g. lower the hand from its "oath" position and offer him the wire ring. One tried to force the hand down, as he danced around; another tapped her with a gift he had received from his own sweetheart. The girl remained like a statue, keeping her eyes on the floor.

Young men passed mocking remarks : "If you can't take it, tell your ikrwala to help you." "A girl who doesn't want to be gqatsa'd, can go and dance with her father and brother." "Whichever girl taught you to metsha with an ikrwala, tell her we have gqatsa'd you here." "Put up the oath sign (figure of 8). Your ikrwala is going to lobela you with eight cattle." Another told the girl that she was lucky to be there at a "good" time, "when it is only the stone, whereas in our day we used the pin and tar (pierced the girl above the tit with a long pin smeared with the tar from a tobacco pipe). The girl would faint when she got home." One young man ^{suggested in the course of an address to the house} ~~who made a suggestion of the~~ ^{that she seemed rather} ukugqatsa practice being perhaps unnecessary was sharply reprimanded: "Are you aware what you are saying?" He said no more on the subject.

Many informants thought the gqatsa ordeal hardens the girl's determination to stand by her ikrwala. Often there is a 'happy ending', when she marries him and thus leaves the group. Gqatsa might also be seen as a kind of expulsion procedure, to motivate the girl to withdraw from the group whose "law" she is flouting. But the youngmen, in the name of this "law", will demand their ^upoind of flesh as long as she is with them. When the weekly dance is being held in another location she is made to bring the stone along ("carry the child on your back"). The Diya young men were proud that they had won their case in the Bantu Commissioner's court at Butterworth, not long ago, against a father who had objected to his daughter having been gqatsa'd. They had pleaded "that it was intlombe law, and if a person does not like it he or she is free to quit the intlombe group. We never forced anyone to join."

There are relatively harmless, semi-ceremonialised ways to act out individual rivalries between members of one intlombe. For instance, a young man might break out of the dancing line and dance alone for a while in front of the ombela-ing girls, "showing off" to the one he wants, and even touching her beads. The girl ought properly to continue ombela-ing as if she hasn't even noticed.

Nowadays, however, allegations about the use of love medicines by rivals have also become quite commonplace, wherever large numbers of young men go to the mines to work. Johannesburg is reputedly the place to acquire the medicines. In many rural areas a medicine bag or a small glass bottle with medicine is almost part of the normal equipment of an umfana. Old people shake their heads over this innovation. They complain that the use of medicines makes girls nervous and peculiar; that it makes girls fall in love with people who are not really to their taste; and that it encourages witchcraft.

Abafana refer to the selection of medicine in their bag as "igudzishede" or "igushede" (lit. "goods shed"). They "Make a competition of the strength of their charms." ^{The medicines are mostly thought} ~~Different specific~~ ^{to cause nervous conditions} ~~nervous conditions that occur among girls are attributed to charms.~~ (The funny diseases to-day found among women" as an old man put it.) Some ^{herb some} medicines (it is said) are used by jealous or jilted lovers to make girls look ugly and disliked by everyone else. Some cause girls to have fits, ^{but} the most common condition attributed to ^{them} medicines, however, is compulsory ^{ive} crying. Occasionally a stillbirth is attributed to medicines used earlier ~~on at the intloombe~~, especially if the baby is twisted in the cord.

The medicines are meant to "punish" the girl who has refused to accept a youngman's love, and force her into compliance. We might call this a substitute form of aggression, taking the place of physical violence. The pressure on the girl can become tremendous. A practice specially detested by girls is the public administration of medicines, which has become institutionalised in some intloombes. The umfana who wishes to use his charm asks for permission of 'the house' and the Policeman makes the girl stand before him whilst he applies the medicine.

Girls too go to herbalists to buy medicines to use against other girls who supplant them in the affections of their lovers. The medicine "makes the rival girl become unattractive and anxious." On the whole

the use of medicines is taken rather for granted by the young people.

"Wherever many people are grouped together and love is practiced, medicines will be used" they say.

Two young men in Shixini, M. and W. who had been friends for years, fell in love with the same girl. At first she favoured M. but after M. had left for work in Johannesburg she accepted W. Soon afterwards W. also went to Johannesburg; M. returned to Shixini, and the girl resumed her relationship with him. W. heard of this in Johannesburg through common friends. According to them, though, M. had not really regained the girl's favour. He had merely brought with him from Johannesburg a potent medicine which makes a man repulsive to a woman. The girl had heard about it (for it was widely known in Shixini) and had decided she must pretend to have rejected W. She could not bear the idea of the medicine being used on W. and making him really repulsive to her. She continued secretly sending messages to W. in Johannesburg, enclosing handkerchiefs and other small tokens.

Then W. returned home. He asked the girl for a date and she eagerly accepted. But when he went to meet her, he could not see the familiar drift he had to cross on the way to the trysting place. "I realised that I was under the influence of some medicine. I sat down, opened my little leather bag, and took out some of my own medicines and chewed them. Suddenly there was the drift right in front of me." He then met the girl at the assigned place, "and we went to our hiding place."

Meanwhile (according to W.) M's suspicions had been aroused and he had spent the night near the cattle kraal at the girl's home, watching for her return. "When I brought her home he caught us by surprise. As he approached us I remained standing and the girl walked towards the huts. He said nothing to me, but followed her: the girl 'You told me that you had rejected W.' he said 'You are an ihule', and he hit her. To me he shouted 'I'll get you one day'. I replied: 'I'll be in love with her until she is an old woman.'"

But ever since that day W. respected M's claim to the girl. Indeed M. married her soon afterwards. W. claims that "I left her, she never rejected me". He says that M. knows this and that the knowledge has "made our friendship even closer."

(1) Superstitions are milder in the case of an unmarried woman who is older and more independent, and/or who has already committed herself by a previous pregnancy. (In this case) the superstitions are almost entirely absent.

Two means to discourage pregnancy

As this chapter has documented, the sexual code of the youth organisations is far from being totally permissive, or 'promiscuous', however markedly it differs from orthodox Christian codes. The youth groups share the elders' abhorrence of unmarried girls becoming pregnant⁽¹⁾, above all if no man can be pinned down to take responsibility. Just as the elders, they see a stark choice - that a girl may become either an inkazana or a wife: pregnancy will forever disqualify her for marriage, the incomparably more honourable and desirable alternative. (This is one of the noticeable differences from School mores.) We have seen how the youth organisations seek to ward off such calamities by the collective chaperonage which they exercise. Two other pressures which tend the same way also deserve mention. One is the value for sexual self-restraint, the other is the punishment of couples who "transgress". In both cases the heaviest responsibility falls on the girl.

It is not enough in Red Xhosa eyes that a girl should refrain from "private love", from "looseness" (accepting more than one lover at a time) and from changing lovers too quickly. All those things are indeed important, because they bear on the important matter of pinning down responsibility in case of a pregnancy. But they are not enough, unless the girl also develops proper habits of restraint and resistance in her dealings even with an accepted lover, too. "She must not be too eager". This maxim becomes specially vital in the

(1) Objections are milder in the case of an unmarried woman who is older and more independent, and/or who has already committed herself by a previous pregnancy. But such women (amankazana) are already outside the youth organisations.

case of the senior girl, whose lover is likely to urge her to allow full intercourse, but the same attitudes are meant to be practised all along, through all the earlier ages and stages.

Although variations of personality and temperament are fully recognised, the general Red Xhosa stereotype is that males are likely to be impatun^{or}ate and that girls therefore need to be able to stand firm, until the time comes when it is proper to give in gracefully. Any girl from intutu age right into marriageable age knows that it is not considered proper to accept courtship overtures until they have been repeated "for a long time". (A young Red Fingo man told how he had "proposed to a beautiful girl" for a full year, until he gave up because he resented the delaying tactics of the girl. Later he was told by other abafana that she had remarked "that he was foolish to give up so early, at a time when she was just about accepting him as lover.") So too, every step to further physical intimacy is to be resisted "for a long time".

mtsho
A Red senior boy in Shixini described how his sweetheart received his advances:

"She would not even come out of the hut to me, until the girlfriend I had sent to call her came too. They stood with me and talked, but when the friend tried to withdraw my girl said anxiously, "Why are you leaving me?"

"I begged her to stay with me a little, seeing that I had come specially to see her. As I talked, I slowly moved towards the spot where I intended to spend the night with her. She was reluctant to follow, she threatened to go back to the Hut. In the end I had to take her hands and pull her along with me. When we reached the spot, she refused to sit down. I requested her to spread the blankets on the ground. She refused. I requested her repeatedly. In the end I spread the blankets myself, while she remained standing. I lay down, as if to sleep, and told her to sleep too. In the end she lay down, facing away from me, and fully dressed, wearing all her four skirts (These are worn one above the other, the longest being on top and the shortest next to the skin.)

I talked to her quietly, for a while, and then asked her to turn over and face me. She refused, until I exerted some force. I then requested her to take off the skirts. She again refused, and I had to pull them off one by one. She pretended to try to stop me, but offered no strong resistance at first. Only when I came to the last but one underskirt, did she struggle as hard as she could. She jumped up, and threatened to leave me, if I were to force her. 'Really what is it you want me to do?' she asked. She wrapped the remaining underskirts tightly round her, and pushed the ends between her thighs, holding them tight with her thighs. (Some girls wear also the inciyo, underneath the skirts. These cover the front part only, and are used by girls to avoid penetration. My girl did not wear this.) Thus the first time I metsha'd with my girl friend I did so between her thighs, well below her private parts. Even so I was pleased and did metsha with her until I felt satisfied.

'After we had slept together in this way on several occasions for about two weeks, I felt that she had got used to me and I had got used to her. This was the time when I asked her to take off her underskirts as well. I had to ask her many times, until, one night, she accepted. I can't force her. She might get up and leave.

Since then we slept together, both naked. She is very sensitive, and will not allow me to touch her private parts. She allows me, however, to metsha close to her private parts. But she does allow this only rarely, perhaps once in two months. She does not want to get used to it. She never tolerates any attempt at upward penetration. Once when I tried, she jumped up and ran away. I am not trying to lie on top of her, because she is not a married woman, and I am also afraid of her becoming pregnant."

It is regarded as normal that a young man or even a senior boy, will sooner or later urge his sweetheart to sleep with him isifazi instead of isitombi. When this happens, the pattern of modest resistance is to be repeated, but with the difference that the girl ought to stand firm indefinitely, and not give in at all.

Senior girls are generally of opinion that "if you don't want him to have internal intercourse he cannot. There are many ways to stop him." "He will say 'Now I am going to do something', (meaning intercourse), and he will promise to twala you (marry without previous reference to parents). My previous boyfriend used to ask for such things, but I never

agreed, because I feared to become an inkazana and what the people at home would say." "I dislike a boy" said another "who wants me to do what I was taught not to do. I just imagine how we should be after he had done that. What would he think of me? He would think that I am an inkazana."

A lover who is still a boy (as against young man) is in a particularly indefensible position. He would not be able to marry the girl, at least until after he has been circumcised. The alternative, to marrying her would be a seduction fine (normally five head of cattle) which would have to be paid by his father, thus getting him into serious trouble at home.

A girl will tell a boy who wants internal intercourse "I am not your wife. Remember we are playing". One might say that sex is still 'play' at this stage, in the same sense as stick games, i.e. in being not meant to have "serious" consequences. Most boys seem to accept the necessity of restraining oneself according to the rules. "A girl who is my lover" said a senior boy "should not let me impregnate her, because that is an offence against me. She should try to stop me from having full sexual intercourse. A girl who would sleep on her back and let you 'sleep' her in any way is dangerous. She wants to take away all your cattle."

Even for a ^{marriageable} young man it is no small matter to stand convicted of having made a girl pregnant. Apart from the practical consequences (lobola or seduction fine) his reputation is bound to suffer. Therefore, (as a young man put it) "as soon as she has given in you begin to go in fear, even though you were urging her before".

In some conservative areas, breaking a girl's virginity is a crime in itself, let alone impregnation. In Mfengu ^{and public} ~~areas~~ ^{is} ~~ishewula~~ ("booring") is practised as a sanction. The women who discover that the girl has lost her virginity beat her and chase her out of the homestead, meanwhile shouting out abuse of the young man or boy and calling him bad names: "So-and-so's son is filthy. He had broken ^{the} virginity of so-and-so's daughter named so-and-so". At this stage all the girls of the neighbourhood are to strip themselves naked, only tying black doeks round their waists. They run out from their homes, each carrying some sharp instrument, and join the women in raising the ^{hue and} cry, ~~called howula~~, "booring". The girl is driven in front of the procession as they make their way to the home of the guilty young man. Anyone who tries to obstruct them may be stabbed. The guilty young man hides wherever he can, but they usually chase any other young man they come across. When they come to the home they demand a big beast. If not satisfied with the beast offered they will refuse it and prevent any cooking taking place in the ^{home} kraal ("because we are hungry") until they are given a better beast, or the one previously offered is supplemented with a goat or sheep. When they are satisfied they take it away and slaughter it. But the meat is only eaten by senior women and men, never young men or women, "because it would make them liable to become seducers ^{or} and seduced themselves". Later, the guilty girl is "washed" at her kraal, before being allowed to mix with other girls again.

A girl once discovered to be pregnant must immediately remove herself from the mtahotsho or intlombe. "as one whom we have to hlomipha". (cf. p. above) On top of the shame and blame at home, and the loss of her chances of marriage,

her exclusion from the peer-group circle is a heavy punishment in itself. Technically the girl is now an inkazana; socially she doesn't belong with any age group - neither the girls nor the older amankazana and the married women. The relation with her former girl colleagues is profoundly changed. "We do converse with them, (pregnant girls), and even go with them along the paths of the location, but it ends there. We cannot go with them to any gathering of people. We never butha with an inkazana or visit her. Our parents would not allow it since she now is a big person. Perhaps they also fear she might make us behave as she did. I would never discuss love affairs with an inkazana, unless she is my sister and we live together. Even if she has been my friend, we cease to be friends as soon as she gets pregnant. I do not like to be close with her. It is not that we dislike the person herself, but it is not in accordance with proper respect that she should mix with us who have not had children."

A girl knows that pregnancy will be guessed from the appearance of her breasts. This is the very reason girls are required to keep their breasts uncovered at the dance. (cf. chapter 6.) The pregnant girl therefore becomes "shy" at the intlombe. When she is first discovered by her breasts the abafana keep quiet and privately talk about the affair. At the following intlombe the senior umfana stops the dance by a whistle. There is usually dead silence. Each person has some suspicions, or has heard some rumours. The senior umfana announces that among the girls in the hut there is one who is 'abnormal', and therefore she must go away. He says he is not going to name her, that "a person is master of herself", and that "the person in question" should go out of the room, before she is pointed out and pulled out by force.

At this the girl goes out, with her body covered.

A girl who has been twala'd but has rejected the intended husband and returned home, will also be termed an inkazana, and not supposed to mix with girls. But if it can be proved that she is still a virgin, not having been taken to the intanga (the hut where the bridegroom would meet the bride) she is allowed to rejoin the intlombe. The same latitude may be shown to one who left her husband with good cause, and within a reasonably short time (say 3 or 4 months), and who has not become pregnant.

Any mtshotsho girl who becomes pregnant will be expected to withdraw from the group by herself, without being told. Pregnancy of ~~any~~ mtshotsho girls used to be practically unheard of. Where it has begun to occur, as in Khalana, it is attributed to the girls leaving the protection of the group for work on farms or in towns.

No girl wants to end prematurely the "happy life of a girl" and be excluded from the circle of her companions. The boys or young men, too, dislike losing a member of their group. "We boys dislike our girls getting pregnant because it decreases the number of our girls. Even when girls go for marriage we feel unhappy, but cannot do anything about it, because marriage cannot be avoided". But the girl herself pays a ^{far} ~~poor~~ greater price. "The life of an inkazana is bad, She becomes a recluse who stays at home; her days are dull and lonely". In brief, she has no peer group any more. Since girls must hlomipha her, and wives and other amankazana are too old for her, she can only sit apart by herself on all the occasions when neighbourhood people are enjoying themselves "according to their groups": weddings,

invitations, sacrifices, beer drinks and any other domestic or ^{communal} collective festivity. (1) It may be a long time before she has a lover again (let alone the never-to-be-had husband), for boys cannot decently make love to amankazana at all, and young men who do so risk alienating their other sweet-hearts, as already mentioned above.

THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR ART ORNAMENT

(1) In one Red location a "terrible" increase in the number of these young unmarried mothers was expressed by saying, "You can see them sitting apart in a group".

THE LANGUAGE OF DRESS AND ORNAMENT

CHAPTER 6

1. Dress:

a. Dress as index of status:

THE LANGUAGE OF DRESS AND ORNAMENT
 In an extreme degree the way of dress to indicate status. In town, for those as far other people, dress is an index of education and occupation; in the country, among the Hindu and the more conservative school people, it is an index of stage of life.

Among the Hindu the main elaboration in this respect is with women. For example, the long sari which from being an untouchable - the humble, subdued newly-wed wife - to a strong and independent woman wife (perfect) is precisely reflected in the gradual 'liberation' of the head: from the plain black sari that nearly covers the eyes, to the flashily coloured and twisted turban worn high on the head. But we were concerned here only with the 'uniforms' of boys and girls, and those of their respective girls.

Though girls have no initiation to undergo, they 'accompany' the boy, as we saw. Then "girls" boys become grooming like women the long skirts proper to women girls. (long) These skirts cover the legs down to the ankles like the skirts of married women, though they are not cut on the same diamond pattern. "Boys' girls" by contrast wear short skirts, reaching to the knees; not completely meeting in the middle but revealing the top underskirt. Several or many underskirts may be worn, each shorter than the one above it. There will be a small patch covering, ^(white) traditionally with black

CHAPTER 6

THE LANGUAGE OF DRESS AND ORNAMENT

1. Dress:

a. Dress as index of status:

Xhosa are highly dress conscious people, carrying to an extreme degree the use of dress to indicate status. In town, for them as for other people, dress is an index of education and occupation; in the country, among the Reds and the more conservative school people, it is an index of stage of life.

Among the Reds the main elaboration in this respect is with women. For example, the long status climb from being an umtshakazi - the humble, subdued newly-wed wife - to a strong and independent senior wife (umfuzi) is precisely reflected in the gradual 'liberation' of the headdress: from the plain black doek that nearly covers the eyes, to the flamboyantly coloured and twisted turban worn high on the head. But we are concerned here only with the 'uniforms' of boys and abafana, and those of their respective girls.

Though girls have no initiation to undergo, they 'accompany' the boys, as we saw. When "their" boys become abafana they assume the long skirts proper to senior girls. (imicabo). These skirts cover the legs down to the ankles like the skirts of married women, though they are not cut on the same circular pattern. "Boys' girls" by contrast wear short skirts, reaching to the knees; not completely meeting in the middle but revealing the top underskirt. Several or many underskirts may be worn, each shorter than the one above it. There will be a small public covering, ^(inciyu) traditionally with beads

fringes, under the lowest skirt. (It is regarded as a 'protection' against seduction; also, the girl cleans herself with it after ukhumetshe.)

As far as the skirt is concerned, the older girls' attire is consciously interpreted as an anticipation of womanhood. It would offend the rules of hlonipha (respect for senior kin) if a wife's legs were seen 'by senior relatives and the ancestors'. One of the express duties of the intlombe Policeman in Shixini was to see that the girls' skirts were no more than two inches above the ankle. "Were they too short, the Policeman could be charged by the Magistrate for failing in his duties. Abafana girls must hlonipha for they are going to be wives".

Unlike a married woman, both senior and junior girls go naked down to the waist when indoors or going about routine business. They may wrap a cape over their shoulders when they go out for formal occasions, including the Saturday night dances. On other occasions, including the Sunday afternoon meeting, they may cover the upper body with a thin colourful piece of material or a striped towel which is tied or pinned together at the back of the neck. Often these cloths (called imitsheke or imitseke) are given them by their boyfriends.

Along with the decorous skirt length the intlombe insists on the girls keeping their breasts uncovered for practically the whole of the proceedings, both indoors and outdoors. The reason usually given is that pregnancy can be recognised from the appearance of the breasts, and that it is the duty of the intlombe to watch for early signs of pregnancy. But the young men also like to see the beauty of the girls, when they have "warmed up" to the dance, even though the erotic significance of the female breast is ^{not} quite

what it is

unlike that in Western cultures.

Mtshotsho girls too are invariably ordered to have their breasts uncovered during the dancing. A boy will command: Phantisi imitsheke (down with the imitsheke), and they comply without any embarrassment. Out of doors they are more often seen with breasts covered. This is understood as an expression of their independence. These girls are more equal, and less submissive and obedient to the wishes of their male companions, than are the young men's girls in their anticipation of the role of young wife.

The headaddresses of senior and junior girls are also distinct. For married women it is imperative that the head be covered with a doek, "to respect the ancestors of her married home": this is perhaps the most fundamental rule of hlonipha concerning dress. The wife's doek may be removed only where no senior people of her homestead can see her, e.g. when she goes to the river, or when she is alone with her husband. In consequence women are more embarrassed to have their bare head seen than their breasts. Girls start to cover their heads likewise although it is not in the same sense an obligation of decency. A senior girl going bareheaded is liable to be ridiculed. "People will think something has gone wrong with her". "This covering of the head prepares girls for the future when they will not be able to do without it even if they want to."

The headcoverings of mtshotsho girls are almost as 'wild' as those of the older, independent married women. Two or three headcloths will be put on at once, the 'turban' being constructed in such a way that all three show their 'best' doeks consist all of bright coloured thin cotton or rayon cloths. (For daily use they use a single one of these

pieces, tied firmly round the head.) Sometimes the girls pin large bright coloured broaches on to the headcloth. Senior girls do this also (not usually married women).

Abafana girls wear more subdued doeks, of darker cloth. (When they are "accompanying" the abakweta, they wear only a youngman's black or navy woollen doek.) The difference between their doeks and those of married women is that the women's doeks include as the main piece a dark cloth - blue, brown or black - made of stronger material, usually wool.

Men traditionally wore little clothing. A male was "dressed" when he wore his penis sheath, (Isidla) Even nowadays, older men often wear nothing but this under an ochred blanket, when they are around at home. The actors in a major sacrifice may wear nothing else at all. Outside the domestic situation, however, both old and young men keep the lower part of their bodies covered, whereas this is not incumbent on boys.

Boys, including senior 'boys' in their twenties, can be seen naked, with only a penis sheath, when dancing at the mtshotsho, playing with sticks, or attending rituals. On festive occasions they will appear with the upper part of the body almost entirely covered with beads, but the buttocks, genitalia and legs naked, except for a penis sheath decorated with long strips of fur, dangling almost to the ground.

Abafana on the other hand always dance with a blanket carefully wrapped round their waist, covering the legs entirely. The art of wrapping the blanket whilst they dance is one of the first lessons to be mastered by the amakrwala on joining

the intlombe. When the dance starts, each has an ochred blanket round his shoulders, like a cape. Then, while dancing, around the fireplace, he slowly removes the blanket and ties it round his waist. ^{I was told that "first the} To do this, the blanket is caught by ^{is pulled} both corners, the right corner over the left, and pushed inwards or rolled outwards and then downwards. The bottom corners are caught by both hands, and the blanket pulled upwards to the right in line with the original turn in. The right corner is put over the left again letting the blanket hang about three inches from the ground. The whole operation is to be performed while one is dancing. When the arrangement is finished there is a striking similarity to a woman's long skirt (umbaco). This covering of the legs is explained not in terms of hlonipha, (as with senior girls) but in terms of dignity.

In short then the dress styles reflect the shift of personal style which is required with the advancement from the mtshotsho to the intlombe stage of life: the requirement for more circumspection and also more submission in the female - more dignity and less 'rawness' in the male.

"Best dress" and fashion

Intlombe and mtshotsho gatherings are occasions when the best dresses are displayed, and new dress fashions developed. Adult Red women keep a well braided (with black cloth - ilenti) and decorated skirt and cape for "best" which is worn only for special events, like a sacrifice, wedding or circumcision. For girls, special events include mtshotsho or intlombe parties, but especially those which involve visiting an 'outside' place.

In Shixini, a few of the mtshotsho girls had not yet

been able to acquire best clothes for going out in. The senior boys decided that they should be specially urged to attend the 'home' meetings, and not stay away from those too. This kind of problem can be quite real because there is a great fear of ridicule: "If a girl goes to the Saturday night dance dressed in an old overskirt she is spoken of behind her back".

At the time of fieldwork ifashion was a word much in currency among unsophisticated Red people, young and old. There had always been changing fashions in dress, recognised as such. But they had concerned minutiae, such as the way the skirts were held up round the waist, or the colour or pattern of cloth used to cover the head or breasts. For example, the favoured way to hold the skirts up might be by copper wire chains, or tubular rubbers, or leather belts with buckles, or something else, according to time and place. Or it was ifashion to have jingling keys dangling from the waist, or small bells attached to a chain which is fixed to the inciyo. This idea of changing accessories seems to have originated with the boys, who for years had been bringing back from the mines new styles of belts, tobacco pouches, and caps. For a long time it stopped at accessories. It was part of the attraction of the mtshotsho and intlombe that the worker returning from town or mine could slip off his clothing, and revert to the familiar semi-or almost total nudity, and his bead decorations. For the girls the major items - the skirts and capes - remained pretty well what photographs suggest they had been since about 1910 at least: i.e. for over half a century. Minor variations in the arrangement of the black braids ^{ing or} and small bead decorations were not so much fashions as individual variations. All in all then, mtshotsho

and intlombe dress still conformed to the principle which was common for Red and even rustic 'European' dress in general - that each age-sex category kept to a relatively unchanging 'uniform' of its own.

But over the past few years more variation and more fashion consciousness have been appearing even among Reds, especially where they are living close to large numbers of School people. (It seems a symptom of local Reds having lost some of their faith in the superiority of their own culture. In the Kingwilliamstown district - for example - the Red dress styles have been growing more 'mixed' at the same time as many other aspects of the life style.) *Together with this has gone a new competitiveness in dress.*

Among the youth, in recent years, the new pressure to outdo each other in matters of dress has led in some places to extravagance in traditional dress, as well as to changing dress styles. In Khalana in 1965 boys were wearing coloured woollen vests, and short striped socks (amasoka) and woollen knee covers. "Each boy wants to look like the others." Girls found it necessary to appear at their mtshotsho clad in as many skirts as possible, in addition to the pubic covering, inciyo, for which only few now chose the traditional form with bead fringes. Each skirt was a little shorter than the one above, and a little less decorated with beads. One girl who had 7 skirts maintained that others wear 9. If it were found out that they wore less than four skirts they would be ashamed. "If you don't put those many skirts on people think we have no clothes."

Competitive dressing, which itself means a new experience of the power of "fashion", may mean multiplying a traditional

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item (e.g. skirt) or introducing a new one. In the same year, in the Kingwilliamstown district, many mtahotsho girls seemed to think three upper garments as imperative as four skirts. Each girl "must" wear a vest, over which she would have a bright green short sleeved woollen 'skipper' (a kind of pullover), and on top of that a cardigan 'skipper' of the same colour. "If I have not got the three things, I would lack dignity (ukuphela, to be light) before the other girls." The total outfit is expensive, far too hot for occasion and climate, and a marked departure from the conservative uniformity of the old semi-nude style.

When I asked boys whether they preferred the breasts of their girls to be covered up like this, some would say philosophically that it was the new fashion, and that they accepted it, that "nowadays everything changes and new things come into being." The majority felt that the girls are "more beautiful" in skippers; they really did like the style. Embarrassment about naked breasts was scarcely mentioned as an argument for the skipper. On the other hand, boys seemed to be developing a new embarrassment about their own nakedness. Most said they would feel awkward before so many girls with nothing on but their penis sheath, or even that they "would be laughed at if they went around naked" "The penis sheath is "finished" they said. And indeed few were wearing it under their trousers, as was common only a few years earlier.

Girls on the other hand showed no prudery either way. They insisted that they wore skippers only because it was smart and in fashion, and that they were in no way ashamed with their breasts bare, though they had always been used to covering them when they went far from home. Some, to

make their point, insisted on stripping off during the interview all three garments covering their upper body. They also said that they would be quite happy if their boys danced in only their beads and their isidla.

Senior girls possessed skippers, too, but they did not wear them during the intlombe meetings. They still ombela'd naked to the waist, and the young men insisted on their doing so, for the reasons which have already been given.

Beads and decorations. (intlabe)

Reference has been made in the previous chapter to the special significance of beadwork, ^(intlabe) gifts and decorations in the mtshotsho and intlombe, as tokens of love relationships. This field of beadwork and bead decoration is perhaps the only one (if we except the traditional 'best dresses') in which the ordinary rural Red Xhosa show considerable artistic sense and pleasure in aesthetic elaboration. They seem never to have been renowned for the quality or decorative beauty of their pottery, and this art has now died out. Woodcarving is still widely practised in making pipes and sticks, but there is seldom any attempt at decoration, and one never sees carved figures or "abstracts". But the bead work for adorning the human body is highly developed, and could make a major study in its own right. By far the greater part of this elaborate craft work is done in connection with the youth organisations, by girls 'decorating' their sweethearts.

A senior boy or youngman who has few or no beads is identified as one without sweethearts - an isishumane. One with many beads is one much loved by girls, - an olewu.

Among the kinds of bead ornaments are some which the youth can wear several of at one time, thus showing the number of ^{sweethearts} lovers he can boast of. Mistake is virtually impossible, for "the only reason" why a girl would make beads for her lover is "to show that she really loves him, and that therefore she wishes to beautify him". Romantic love among the Xhosa clearly has strong aesthetic associations. Again and again girls would explain that they enjoyed the mtshotsho or intlombe in spite of the strenuous work of ombela-ing all night, just because they were happy to see their loved one dancing "so beautifully decked out in his beads." "By giving him this gift", said a girl of 18, "I wanted to express my dearest love to him". Or: "I wanted him to think of me wherever he goes". "I wanted to beautify him for the Christmas dances."

Romantic love, by Xhosa standards, is either premarital or extramarital. Mature sweethearts (amankazana) also make beads for their lovers (normally married men), but married women never make them for their husbands. If a married woman makes bead gifts at all, she will make them secretly for her lover, ^{and} if the man wears them he will have to "pretend they were made by amankazana".

There is only one exception - one kind of beads which are supposed to be made by mature or married women, for their husbands, and which may not be made by girls, - and this is the only commonly-worn kind, which stands largely outside the romantic love complex, having some vaguely religious associations instead. (I am ignoring here the strictly 'professional' white beads worn by the diviner, igqira.) It is called isidanga, and it consists of many long strings of

light blue beads, which are worn as a necklace, hanging down nearly to the waist. A full man (indoda) wears his isidanga on any special occasion, including dances, but also including sacrifices, where intlombe beads would be quite inappropriate. It is so important a piece of property that it can be inherited like cattle. (1)

Yet even the exceptional isidanga itself echoes the theme that beadwork is an affectionate gift from a woman to a man. *as a*
beer drink Some elders were heard discussing at a ~~beer drink~~ who had made the isidanga being worn by those present. Several had been made by the men's amankazana. "Women are lazy in decorating their husbands" said one. *ama* "Inkazana have more love for men" said another "so they do it". Another explained how his inkazana had told him: "I will make a contribution to your home. I want to thank you for what you have done for me, and also want to please your wife so that she accepts your coming to me. So I'll make for you something that your son will inherit". Still another link with the "romantic" complex is that the isidanga is thought to show up specially well in the vigorous muscle-quivering

(1) When a boy comes out of circumcision, the isidangu may be hung round his neck by his mother, after the admonitions. He is told: "This is the bead of manhood". And when a girl gets married by umdudo and goes to her husband's home the bead may be put round her neck, with the words: "You are now a woman. You must wear this for weddings." The isidanga is thus exceptional also in that it can be used by both sexes, signifying maturity for either of them.

dance sometimes performed by men. Ndavo volunteered this dance for a film I made, and he wore his isidanga for it. Soga states (p. 411) "The isidanga forms a great feature in dancing, especially in the umtyulubo, when from the quivering imparted from the muscles of the breast, the beads dance about also in what is considered an appealing manner".

The beadwork of the youth organisations is stylised but in a great variety of styles, each with its own vernacular name. There are beads for the head, the ears, the neck, the chest, the upper and lower arms, the wrist, the saist, the upper legs, lower legs and ankles - in fact any part of the anatomy to which ornaments can be attached; and each of these kinds takes three distinct forms for the three ^{basic} ~~great~~ categories of males (boys, young men and mature men), none of whom may wear the kinds of beads belonging to the other categories. Not only styles and colours, but also the names by which individual items are known, vary from district to district.

In Shixini there were about a dozen ~~basic~~ types for boys, and about ten for abafana, each having their separate names, not to mention another dozen for amadoda. Most of these gave some freedom to the maker in the choice of pattern, combination of colours, etc. But the scope for variation is not the same for all ornaments. White headbands, for instance, were rather stereotyped, whereas bead 'squares' and belts allowed for almost unlimited fancy.

Even more inventiveness is shown in decorating with beadwork ^{vampires} ~~all~~ sorts of objects connected with the mtshotsho-intlombe life. There are bead-covered bottles for medicines, beadcovered ornamental sticks, mirrors, sunglasses, etc. In

some places bead imitation of European ties were common.

It has long been a characteristic Red Fingo form of decoration to use small mother of pearl buttons in great numbers, in addition to beads. Occasionally other items are ingeniously used, such as bottle tops, or rubber rings, to produce surprising effects.

Girls and women have little elaborate in the way of beadwork. After all, they have to make it for themselves, and the whole point of the bead ornament is that it is a token of love. They wear only necklaces, and simple bead strings round wrist and ankle, and also little squares. But they wear many non-bead ornaments, which they receive from their lovers. Brass coil-like ornaments, worn on the arms, were very common up to fifteen years ago, among senior girls and women of all ages, though now rather rarely seen among girls and younger women. But cheap bangles abound, of coloured plastic or shiny metal.

There is no sharp division as between the styles or kinds of bangles and necklaces worn by girls and women respectively, except that those of the women are usually more old-fashioned. Girls receive them from their current lovers, but husbands do not supply them, nor for obvious reasons do adulterous lovers. (1)

(1) Here for comparison is an account of the beadwork and gift exchange between mature sweethearts, i.e. an inkazana and her lover. A Subheadman in Shixini related how certain beads he wore had been given to him by his inkazana in 1955. "Not being a widow, she did not bring them herself, but sent someone else, who came in the afternoon. A widow would have sent us notice that she was coming, and we would have brewed beer and have had a hamel ready for slaughtering, as she and her companions would have been expected to sleep at my kraal.

In general the glamorousness of the girls at the intlombe and mtshotsho depends on their own effort, first of all in sewing themselves beautiful skirts and capes, secondly in buying colourful cloths for their head, and last not least in using cosmetics to good advantage. White and red are used for covering whole areas of the face, especially around the eyes. Yellow is the favourite colour for more elaborate designs on the face, especially of a linear kind. Blue is used sparingly in tiny dots on the cheeks for certain occasions (as for instance intonjane dances.) For red, white and yellow local stone is used; for blue, washing blue bought at the store.

The Gift exchange aspect:

The presenting of bead ornaments by females to their lovers is part of a gift exchange, which helps to create,

But this inkazana of mine was actually someone's wife. She sent some women and they only stayed till evening, and only had coffee and bread. I only heard that they might come from my usomodinga (the person who carries messages or makes appointments if we wish to meet). My inkazana sent me two cans, one bigger and one smaller. The bigger can contained many beads (Two obloro; one isidanga; one ndyifolo; two izitsaba; two amaphoco; two amathumelo; one intsaseba; and two amakhasi). The smaller can contained sweets, tobacco, matches, soap, mirror, sugar, coffee and tea. They also brought a loaf of bread. These things were to be consumed by the people and children of my kraal.

Bathcans were tightly closed and the people who brought them said. "We have been sent to bring these things" I produced a sum of two pounds, which I had ready, as I had been warned by my usomadinga. This was the usual amount then paid for the opening of two cans. After I had handed over the money, the women opened the cans, and displayed everything before us. The bread which they had brought was cut, and tea was made for them; then they left. They took the money to my inkazana, which I sent her in appreciation of her good services to me.

About two years later my inkazana asked me to return the beads to her, but only because she was going to wash them. They were returned together with Vulakabini, the long blue and white bead."

maintain and express the relationship between sweethearts. The exchange reciprocity is not complete, the male making as it were the better bargain. And even the publicity, which theoretically ought to be complete, is not always so in fact. ~~Both these facts reflect aspects of the relationship.~~

The girl, who is the main giver makes the biggest outlay, has the fewest possibilities to earn money. Red girls can earn a little here and there by doing odd jobs for those in the location whom they have no special obligation to help; e.g. weeding or hoeing fields, or scaring the birds off the kaffir-corn; or they may sell some eggs at the shop; or in the case of bigger girls, they may find seasonal work on European farms, if any such are near enough. These are all their resources, for it is not possible to ask parents for money for gifts to a lover. Parents are not supposed to know anything about it.

The larger bead ornaments, especially those of the ubafana, require many beads. A single one might cost R4 or more, which is a great deal for a Red girl. Fresh beads are constantly bought at the stores. Only very rarely are old beads from a discarded ornament used again. When boys are initiated, and have to lay aside the ornaments of boyhood, their discarded beads go into storage cans, and will be kept in them for years. ^{Sweethearts} The relationship is too personal, and ^{in a new} each gift therefore too singular, for old beads to be employed, ^{relationship; or the status change from boy to man is too profound.} In some cases, however, the boy may give the beads to his sisters, who ^{to} may use the materials to make decorations for themselves, ^(not for their lovers)

In a love relationship of long standing, where the pair have "gone steady" for years, it is regarded as appropriate for the boy or young man to give the girl money to buy beads

for a major ornament which she would like to make him, or which he would like to possess. What she gives them is labour and skill as well as her taste and artistic flair in arranging the beads.

That females are the main giver of gifts in a love relationship is the normal pattern in Xhosa culture, as will be noticed again in connection with Christmas gifts (chapter 7). The males are conceived as the more powerful partners, to whom gifts are brought, as by a tribesman to a chief, the return being in terms of diffuse benefits of protection, status rise, or shared hospitality. ~~The lover is to "protect"~~ his girlfriend against other males, and also treat her chivalrously himself, e.g. not seduce and abandon her. Besides, girls stress that they share in the enjoyment of the beads vicariously, by making their lovers look splendid and impressive. Sometimes they proudly put on for a short while something they have made for them, such as a string of white beads.

But there is also some direct reciprocity, in the form of presents made by boys and young men to the girls. Some have already been mentioned: cloths for head doeks or imitsheke, belts, bangles, and mirrors. Often, too, when the girl sends her lover some new beadwork he sends back some money. It depends on the individual relationship, the personality of the parties, and the earnings of the boy or young man how much he will give her in proportion to what she gave him.

By and large the girl knows she will get less than she gives. The ultimate reason is her weaker position and greater dependence. She 'threatened' by competition, in a way that he is not. Others of his sweethearts might outshine her

with their gifts, and draw his attentions away from her. Besides, a popular boy or youth is dividing his gifts among several girls, while each girl is allowed only one lover at a time. She cannot accept gifts from any other boy or young man, or only after she has publicly jilted (shiya) this one, and this is not a measure which can be repeated very often. Thus even a much admired girl is far less an object of effective competition than her masculine equivalent.

Any boy or young man who boasts a full set of beads has had a steady relationship with a girl over at least two years. The various items of beadwork are usually given in a rough order, at intervals of a few months. Nongetheni, ^{Shixini area} a girl of 18 from Polokwe in the Giskei said she gave the first beadwork to her boyfriend about two years ago. It was a Nongqoqame (from Nqongo, speckled or a guinea fowl). It is worn on the head and is made of white and some black and red beads. Next she made him an Uakwedamo, of white and black beads, also for the head. She gave it to him "just before Christmas, so that he could wear it for the dances." Her third gift was Isilelo, a kind of collar of beads, tight round the neck and falling over the shoulders. For this different colours are preferred in different districts, and there is also scope for the girl to introduce her own variations. She had used purple, black white and light blue, which is quite a common combination. The name is derived from salolo, "to refuse". Nongetheni tried to explain it: "I meant to say that I am giving you these beads, so that you must not do wrong things again. I refuse if you behave like a dog, trying to steal things." In Shixini the name isilelo ^{also} is used for a kind of beads for the head.

with girls. Before I returned I had two girls who had accepted my love, and had made me a few beads as a token of our love. It was then that I noticed that Pongole love is made the day after tomorrow, and (what is interesting at the

It is typical that girls begin to dress their lovers, as it were, from the head downwards, "because of their shyness". The result is that a boy who has a number of sweethearts (but none yet ^{of long standing} ~~for a long time~~), possesses many head beads, all of which he will wear at the same time. Before even head beads, young boys are sometimes given bags, decorated with a few beads.

It has been emphasised that beadwork is meant to be worn only by the recipient of the gift, or occasionally by the giver. This is not only a matter of sentiment but of "law". The vital function of publicising the relation would be upset if beads were to be lent, handed on or inherited. If a girl rejects her lover he can not wear the beads she has made him, as long as the estrangement lasts. Should the rejection terminate the relationship for good, the boy can only give the beads to his sisters, who ^{as we saw might dismantle them} ~~might take them to pieces and use the beads for making ornaments for themselves (not for their boyfriends.)~~ But these rules can sometimes be broken without fear of discovery if the actors move out of the face to face community, where "everyone knows everything". Waka, when a Magistrate of the Intlombe in Shixini, admitted to me that when he was a senior boy he had ^{for} some time had no girl friends ^{to give} ~~who made him beads~~. "One day I was sent to a very distant place, together with another boy who had many beads. We were to stay a few weeks, and would attend utshotsho meetings there. I was very ashamed of being recognisable ^{ed} by everybody as an isishumani. So ~~before I went~~ I borrowed many beads from another boy of my age. When we came to the place I wore all the beads, and our hut was always packed with girls. Before I returned I had two girls who had accepted my love, and had made me a few beads as a token of our love. It was then that I noticed that females love a male who has many lovers, and (what is astonishing at the

same time) that most of them are very jealous."

CHAPTER 2

PADAN CHRISTMAS

CHAPTER I

SUMMARY

CHAPTER 7

PAGAN CHRISTMAS

This report has been prepared to present the basic ethnographic material on the youth organizations along with first-hand sociological interpretations. This concluding chapter is not a theoretical analysis but an extended case study of the youth organizations in action, and, more specifically in 'pagan action'. There has been much criticism in the course of the report to dwell on the divisions, tensions and conflicts which are virtually built in to the structure of the youth organizations. We will now consider the celebration of Christmas, when the emphasis shifts to what Turner (1970) has termed 'commensality' - the general situation in which social divisions are muted or suspended, and the tensions of structure are relaxed.

Christmas (*Christen*) is one of the great festivals of these pagans. It is the annually recurring occasion when the whole people rejoice, all over these country, whereas the largest group involved in festivities for a wedding, circumcision or major sacrifice are the people of one or a few locations. Christmas is the only universal festival of the Xhosa, uniting men and women, young and old, Pagan and Christian. The idea of Christmas as an occasion for happiness when all divisions and antagonisms are to be ignored is very powerful, even among the normally contentious and bawdy.

In 1961 the boys of Mzimba (Tswana) had their Christmas ^{party} in the Panga area of Mankwago, i.e. among peers with whom they usually have little intercourse. "At a Christmas party" said a Mzimba boy "we welcome even very bitter enemies. This is a very pleasant and happy occasion. There must be no fighting at all."

The Christmas of a pagan neighbourhood is not tied to a particular date, i.e. Christmas day or New Year's day. It can take place any time during the Christmas vacations. That makes the occasion so special, in the rural areas, is that the enormous number of young (and older) men who take their normal leave then. It is just that sons, brothers, husbands and fathers are expected back from the towns and cities with money in their pockets, and a readiness to spend it on feasting, not only as ever mainly with their families but with their peers.

Especially in the case of boys, it sometimes happens that they return from the cities at some other time, and the group will go to town whenever that happens. One year the Christmas of the boys

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CHAPTER 7

P CHRISTMAS S

This report has been intended to present the basic ethnographic material on the youth organisations along with first-level sociological interpretation. This concluding chapter is not a theoretical analysis but an extended case study of the youth organisations in action, and, more specifically in 'peaceful action'. There has been much occasion in the course of the report to dwell on the divisions, rivalries and conflicts which are virtually built in to the structure of the youth organisations. We will now consider the celebration of Christmas, when the emphasis shifts to what Turner (1970) has termed 'communitas' - the general fellowship, in which social divisions are muted or suspended, and the tensions of structure are relaxed.

Christmas (Ikrisimesi) is one of the great festivals of Xhosa pagans. It is the annually recurring occasion when the whole people rejoice, all over Xhosa country whereas the largest group involved in festivities for a wedding, circumcision or major sacrifice are the people of one or a few locations. Christmas is the only universal festival of the Xhosa, involving men and women, young and old, Pagan and Christian. The idea of Christmas as an occasion for happiness when all divisions and oppositions are to be ignored is very powerful, even among the normally pugnacious Red boys.

In 1961 the boys of Shixini (Transkei) had their Christmas ^{party} in the Fingo area of Mandluntshu, i. e. among peers with whom they usually have little intercourse. "At a Christmas party" said a Shixini boy "we welcome even very bitter enemies. This is a very pleasant and happy occasion. There must be no fighting at all."

The Christmas of a pagan neighbourhood is not tied to a particular date, e. g. Christmas day or New Year's day. It can take place any time during the Christmas vacations. What makes the occasion so special, in these rural areas, is that the maximum number of young (and older) men can take their annual leave then. It is then that sons, brothers, husbands and fathers are expected back from the towns and mines with money in their pockets, and a readiness to spend it on feasting, not only or even mainly with their families, but with their peers.

Especially in the case of boys, it sometimes happens that many return from the mines at some other time, and the group will be celebrate whenever that happens. One year the Christmas of the boys

in Mabaleni (Peddle) started on September 5th.

The Intlombe prepare and celebrate Christmas separately from the mtshatsho, and sometimes the intutu also have their own celebrations. Usually one local group is the host for others, who in turn will be hosts in subsequent years. But besides this big joint party, with its pretty strict ideas of reciprocity, nearly all groups have celebrations at their ~~own~~ home places, and these can be freely visited by their neighbours for feasting in a more casual way.

All this makes for a considerable coming and going of groups visiting one another, sipping some beer and joining for a while in the dance or the joking, before they move on again. Sociable relations are so to speak 'stretched' beyond the usual confines.

There is far more eating and drinking at Christmas than on any other occasion in the youth organisations, and the party goes on much longer, often about 2 weeks, rarely less than a week. This requires the raising of considerable finances and a great deal of work from members. The pattern is rather like that of a neighbourhood wedding, or initiations, (both of which are likewise community occasions requiring massive entertainment over an extended period), but without any of the concomitant ritual or jural seriousness, and therefore perhaps more relaxed.

Both at the great rites of passage (marriage, initiation) and at Christmas, emphasis is placed on preserving peace, ~~and decorum~~. All brawling, fighting and arguments are firmly discouraged. But the ideas behind the common emphasis differ. In the case of the great ceremonies, religious and family sentiments are referred to: "The spirits want their children not to offend them by fighting" when they have come together in their honour. Christmas, on the other hand, is the great secular and non-family festivity. General, undifferentiated peace and happiness, but above all happiness, are its sole raison d'être. 'Happy' is one of the few English words known to many rural pagans, and 'happy' they call to each other, or to strangers, as they pass during the festive season.

At Christmas great provocations are tolerated from those who have drunk too much, which normally could lead to a quarrel or fight. I openly admired the patience of the youngmen of the Tshabo Intlombe towards one of them who was behaving ^{quite atrociously} most ~~impossibly~~. "If you see us remaining quiet" they explained, "this does not mean that we are afraid of him. But this is Christmas, and Christmas is an occasion for being happy. There must be no fighting. He will get what he is asking for on some other day, - a good hiding." In Shixini, ^{followed the custom} young men of senior men for the Christmas season: instead of driving out people who

who became violent during Christmas drinks they tied them ^{to trees} up and untied them when they had come round. (This is also customary practice at weddings in some areas, "for the sake of peace". Cf. Part 2, 1.)

Raising money

Money for Christmas parties starts being raised early. The amounts levied differ greatly. In 1964 senior boys in Shixini agreed each to contribute a dish of mealies and another of malt. In 1966 (?) in Khalana young men contributed 10/- each; In ~~Mabongo~~ girls were only supposed to contribute labour and no cash, if cash it would have had to come from their parents. In Mabaleni (Peddie) in 1964 senior boys paid the large sum of £2 each, and junior boys R1. 10. 0. Girls paid 6/- or less. The Mabaleni boys claimed that the total collection amounted to £29. (1) No wonder that the elders shook their heads and regarded this as an extravagance and waste on the part of their children which they could not afford. In Khalana, where the expenditure was more restrained, the elders were sympathetic and practical at the same time: "The young ones must enjoy themselves, otherwise they will be a nuisance in other respects."

In some places the intutu (junior mtshotsho) organise their own Christmas party, but this is only possible when they find parents and returning brothers ready to help with the money, and elder sisters willing to brew for them. In Nquntsi (Ciskei) the junior mtshotsho tried to raise 3/6 each, from their Amadala (Mtshotsho seniors), 3/0 each from the Dyongo, and 2/6 and 2/- each from the two 'children' grades themselves, to buy mealies and sprouting mealies. But they also exercised the 'licence' of Christmas by asking for money from 'people we meet'.

In the Folokwe sublocation of Shixini, ten senior mtshotsho girls held a proper meeting of their own to discuss the raising of funds for Christmas. This indeed is one of the occasions when girls do go in for doing things on their own. The boys approve heartily of their efforts, because it is appreciated that the girls are well qualified to wheedle additional money out of their returning lovers, additional to what the boys collect among themselves. *The girls discussed from about 3.30 until*

about 2.30 ~~The girls met about 2.30~~ in a hut which had been put at their disposal. They elected an injoli (steward) to be in charge of allotting

1. Here and elsewhere in the report, money figures are quoted in sterling or in rand/cents according to how the people themselves quoted them at the time of fieldwork.

beer, ^{and} the two assistant injoli to serve the beer. (When the time comes for drinking, the girls' injoli will receive from the boys' injoli the tin of beer assigned to the girls, and she will share it out to the other girls.) One girl suggested a hunchbacked girl who happened to be the most senior present, and all agreed. —

— The girlfriends of returning boys were instructed each to collect no less than 3/- from their lovers (i. e. a boy would be expected to pay 6/- if he had two sweethearts), and to hand the money to a keeper of the money, who was also elected. These being illiterate girls, no record of moneys received ^{would be} was taken, but all contributions were to be handed to the keeper of money in the presence of the other girls, and the girls had no doubt about being able to remember the various amounts, and the total.

As this example illustrates, each locality (sublocation or mmango) tends to have its own organisation for collecting Swazi (contributions) and for brewing what is called umgqitho beer. This is beer which the local boys and girls will drink in their own place before they go to the big joint invitation drink. As the mbutho meeting complements the mtshotsho dance (Chapter 2), so does the intimate "beer of the neighbourhood" complement the big drink where different groups meet.

In the very conservative Red location of Shixini, the girls raised part of the money by a formalised 'asking for Christmas' (ukusela Ikrismesi). The Christmas celebrations took place from December 24th to New Year, and the 'asking for Christmas' was clearly based on a European pattern. On the 25th itself, the mtshotsho dance broke up very early so that "each should go and get or ask for Christmas anywhere he or she liked". Girls went from the dance hut in a group, singing or doing ombela. ^{what they sang were the} (They were not choosing any particular songs, just those which are "suitable for singing when walking".) These were the girls of the "home" neighbourhood (Emangwevini), ~~who as usual would be~~ "asking Christmas" from homesteads round about the mtshotsho hut, while those from further away remained inside. Mtshayelwini were included with Emangwevini for this occasion.

The group went first to Ndawo's homestead, where they sang and danced, saying that they had come "to fetch luck and a token of merry Christmas to their boys". From there they went to "the caravan of the umlungu (European)" (my fieldwork base) to ask for Christmas. They do not actually go from house to house, only to those ^{get} whether they think they can get something, preferably beer or meat. They accept whatever they are given, ^{and} if the present is too small to share "the one who has eaten has eaten for the lot". —

From the caravan they went and danced at the Mëshayelwini boys' mtshotsho station, which is above a kloof, and afterwards to a number of other homesteads, before dispersing to their individual homes.

All money raised is invested in buying provisions; notably mealies and malt for brewing beer; tea and sugar, flour, green mealies and beans for cooking; pigs (Peddie) or goats and oxen (Khalana) for slaughtering; and in Mabaleni, European liquor. The brewing of beer, the baking of bread, and the cooking of food is done by the girls. Considerable labour is involved: grinding mealies, fetching water, collecting firewood, besides the actual preparation of beer and food. In addition the collection of money contributions from the boys is often regarded as the girls' task.

At the Christmas of the boys in Khalana, a pig was slaughtered every day of the week-long celebrations. The junior boys did the slaughtering, and the girls the cooking. This is regarded as their proper contribution. When the girls agree to take on brewing for the Christmas of the junior mtshotsho (whose "little" girls are not yet ^{able} fit to do it themselves), the girls are entitled to a tin of beer "for the work they have done". But they may also remain at the party "to drink some more."

Group relations and the allocation of beer: (A) Abafana

Even at Christmas, the vital business of sharing out the beer (between local groups and age groups) cannot be achieved without a certain amount of argument, and even recrimination. Even at Christmas, too, the young men handle it somewhat differently from the boys. But at Christmas, because of the consensus that peace is to be observed, fights rarely result, and the prolonged arguments include much good natured teasing, *reference to the Christmas peace.*

As at any beer drink, an injoli is in charge of assigning each group of visitors their share. The qualifications required of an injoli ^{include} ~~do not~~ only include a memory of how much beer was offered by each group on the previous occasion now being reciprocated; but also a knowledge of groups involved, and the relations between them; the job also requires eloquence and forcefulness, combined with great tact, and a self-control and conciliating talent. "He should have very good reasons for whatever he does."

In Khalana, the youngmen divided their Christmas beer into three portions. First, the beer for their (the youngmen's) hut; secondly, a smaller portion for the girls' hut, and thirdly, beer kept in the store hut (ikoyi) for use on the following day. The hut set aside for the girls

was in a neighbouring homestead, and there they would drink by themselves. Two senior youngmen explained this arrangement to me in different terms, but both in accordance with the Christmas spirit. One said: "We want to make them feel at ease when they drink. Girls are shy and would not drink comfortably in our presence." The other said: "If the girls were here, we would make long speeches, and would be slow to agree; we might even quarrel. Some young men like to show off when there are girls around." Senior men and women were drinking in another hut of the same homestead - the "fathers' hut". (It is normal Xhosa practice that on big occasions a senior age group can claim a sort of courtesy offering from the beer being drunk by their juniors.)

I give here two extracts from field notes to show how the relations between the youngmen and the senior men, and between host and visiting youngmen, came under scrutiny on this occasion, as the Khalana Intlombe were dispensing their hospitality, but how harmony was maintained in the general atmosphere of peace and good fellowship, without too much debate by Xhosa standards.

(a) The old men and the young men

Two men came to the young men's hut as a kind of deputation from the senior men, and asked to see Nyamfu, the youngmen's injoli outside. They brought the message that the men maintained they had been given less than the usual and stipulated share of beer. Some young men passed remarks to the effect that "men complain when they have been given less beer than their due, but never admit that they have been given more." Nyamfu did not give any immediate reply but went inside and called Veldini and Ndlukaykhe to come and discuss the matter with the two men. Veldini came and told the two men that they still had to discuss the matter among themselves, and would send word in due course.

Inside the hut Veldini made a loud whistle and addressed ~~those inside the hut thus~~ ^{the house:} "Please, lend me your ears, Zinkosi (sirs). Here is something new from the old men's hut. The old men have sent two messengers to come to you and tell you that the beer you gave them was not the usual amount they always get. They say it was less than an Imbiza. There it is then, sirs. You should give a reply."

Ndlukaykhe stood up and said: "Veldini! the words are clearly understood (Ayevekala). I think that the person who can give us the truth about this is the one who measured the beer for the old men. I think he will know better."

Nyamfu jumped up and said: "When you say so, you say it to me. I am the one who filled the Imbiza (pot) and told these two youngmen to take it along to the old men's hut. I was there and I offered the beer to them in the presence of these youngmen. Let them not demand more beer, just because they have finished what we gave to them."

Nombengu another senior youngman said: "We believe that what you have said, Nyamfu, is true, and cannot give the old men more beer, if they come to us in this manner. The beer would not be enough. The Izizwe (those from outside) have not

yet come." Nquntsi were in fact there already, drinking with Khalana, but several more groups were expected, including some from unusually far away.

The general feeling therefore was that "if the old men want more beer they must 'ask for it' " (go on wanting). No one was very keen to deliver this message; Nombengu suggested Veldini, and Veldini suggested Nyamfu, but eventually Veldini and Ndluyakhe agreed to go together. They returned with the report that the old men were "impossible" and were still pressing for the beer.

The other youngmen told them to sit down and not worry.

Presently two other senior men came and called Veldini and Ndluyakhe outside. They said that if the youngmen were not prepared to give them more beer they would leave the matter, but that the youngmen should realise that they (the old ones) "were not pleased." This did the trick. "It is surprising (remarked Nyamfu) how the men always expect us to give a lot of beer to them when we have brewed our own, whereas they do not give as much when they have theirs. But let us not displease the old men. Let us give them two more tins." All agreed. Thus the tension was "de-fused" at an early stage, in contrast to the lengthy sharp wrangling which could normally have been expected.

(b) The young men and the visitors

Each newly-arriving group of young men was welcomed in due form. Nquntsi, who "have full rights" at Khalana, had been served with beer right away. Mabhongo, the next comers, were treated rather more ceremoniously. They halted just inside the door, and were asked to declare "where they came from", before being politely invited to sit next to Nquntsi.

Presently a single youngman entered and stood near the door for a long time until Nyamfu whistled and told the house: "I must apologise to this youngman for letting him stand for such a long time". Addressing the youngmen he said: "You will forgive me, my equal. I have been occupied by a number of other things. Say, then, who are you?" The youngmen replied: "I am Fakafaka" (name of a location) "and Nyamfu gave him a place to sit. In fact, Nyamfu had recognised him immediately, but had been casting around for a tactful solution. For one thing Fakafaka had a long history of "being on strained terms" with Khalana. And for another thing the arrival of a single umfana creates problems. Is he to be treated as a whole location group in himself, with a whole group's portion of beer?

Another group arrived and stood near the door, identifying themselves as Sentse. "What do you mean when you say you are Sentse?" Spokesman: "Do you want to deny that we are Sentse, or do you want a trick to drive us out of your intlombe? Tell us if you do not want our presence in your intlombe. Nyamfu: "Look here, my equal, please listen to me carefully. I never said you were not Sentse, but what I mean is that I do not know Sentse. Anybody who knows Sentse should stand

up and explain. What I know is Fakafaka, and Fakafaka is already present in this hut. I have already given a place to Fakafaka." Nyamfu sat down and the youngmen who were still standing talked among themselves saying "We are being chased away, men."

At this critical phase Veldini stood up and intervened, as if to counteract Nyamfu's too masterful approach: "Please listen, sirs, this is a very small matter. What the youngmen in the house here want is only an explanation of the difference between Sentse and Fakafaka, because as far as we know, that is one and the same place. We cannot give a tin of beer to Sentse and another tin of beer to Fakafaka, if Sentse and Fakafaka is one person." The spokesman replied: "If you say so, it is according to your knowledge but we do not say so. I want to throw this matter to all those present in the hut to say what they think."

Several views were voiced. Nyamfu called again on the original Fakafaka youngman: "Say again, who are you?" "I am Fakafaka" (the youngman replied). "And who are these?" (indicating the youngmen from Sentse). "I don't know them." Nyamfu, however, refused to be convinced. "You youngman, wherever you are from, whether from Sentse or Fakafaka, I don't care tonight. I shall give you a place, but you can all sit together. Divide it among yourselves, but I can serve beer for only one location." He suspected of course, a ruse or collusion between the visitors to get themselves a double allotment of beer, especially because of the history of strained relations.

The visitors, though not appearing very satisfied, did not argue back any more. They went quite cheerfully and sat down next to the youngman from Fakafaka. And soon the Christmas spirit prevailed. The house "warmed up" to the visitors and the atmosphere became extremely cordial.

Boys do not usually organise proper sit-down beer parties, or have an injoli to conduct "manly" discussions. At the Christmas of the boys in Mambaleni location, near Peddie, in 1964, the task of allocating beer was assigned to the Amapolisa. Also, boys and girls were together in the hut. The beer was brought in only after all Isiswe had arrived and settled in, and dancing had proceeded for a couple of hours. No issues were raised about its division, and the atmosphere remained very friendly. The beer cans were exchanged every moment, or boys were "giving signs" (see Chapter 2), as signs of friendliness and appreciation towards their friends from different locations. However, the seniors, as usual, sat near the doorway, and the juniors further up nearer the interior of the hut.

As at other mtshotsho meetings, the task of amapolisa included "controlling the girls", but the control was to be especially strict so to "avoid quarrels between boys from different locations". It was insisted that couples should stay near the hut, and that any boy who tried to take a girl far away would be severely set upon by the "policeman".

Within these limits boys and girls were free to flirt and there was a great deal of it. "Because this was Christmas, all is free to boys of all locations (I was told). All can flirt with all the girls, as long as they do not take them away." (In Shixini, also, the boys' Christmas party was seen ^{as with} on occasion for freer lovemaking than usual, and nothing was said about not going too far away. There, too, the home boys had two abafana helping them "to keep the peace".)

Group relations at the Christmas of boys are reflected in the timing of the arrival and departure of the various visiting groups. The friendliest stay longest. At Mabaleni, the first day of the activities, a Saturday, was exclusively for the four amakeya locations. Late on Sunday afternoon "foreigners" (Izizwe) started to arrive, including some who were normally "rivals" or enemies of the homegroup, e.g. Qheto and Mphekweni, etc. All were dressed in their beads. "Everybody looked very decorative and fabulous". Sticks were surrendered, as usual. Celebrations continued throughout the week. On the next Sunday the boys of Mphekweni, (being the 'rival' group) were the first to be sent away. They were politely given their sticks and told to go "because the Christmas is at its end." After them it was the turn of Qheto to be sent away and on Monday the turn of most Amakhaka groups. On Tuesday morning only the "favourite Amakhaya" were left. Besides its more obvious rationale, this arrangement of 'sending off' the groups one by one is meant as a peace-keeping precaution, "so ^{that} they can't quarrel or attack each other on the way."

In Shixini likewise, boys explained that "we send off first our bitterest enemies, and ending with the Velelo boys who are our allies." But even Velelo would have to leave before the very end. "The last drops of our beer are kept hidden for the home people."

At an ordinary Mtshotsho party many boys will not bother to put more than their "weekday" beads on. At Christmas everybody wants to show all his or her finery. Sometimes it is proudly displayed to the whole community. In Mabaleni the display took place on Sunday, the second day of the festivities. Towards sunset, when everybody had been given something to drink, (including senior men and women), whistles were blown, and the girls still singing and clapping, emerged from the hut and walked slowly towards the inkundle. They were clad in their skirts and beads, naked from the waist up. Proud parents and relatives had come to see the great spectacle, where "the boys and girls are to show their art in dancing and to outdo each other in their dressing." The boys started the "dancing of boys" (Sipeza). They were naked, wearing only their long monkey-tail penis sheath. Colourful beads covered their heads, chests and arms and made them

appear incongruously naked from the waist down. Senior boys could be recognised by the Saliwe beads worn over the shoulders.

In intervals between the vigorous dancing, boys were publicly handed gifts by their girlfriends. A favourite gift was a tobacco pouch tied cleverly to a decorated stick to form the shape of a kite. Some older girls handed over their gift themselves, stepping forward briskly, others would send younger girls on their behalf. The boys resumed the dance waving their kite-shaped gifts aloft. (1)

When it was dark the young people returned to their hut for dancing and drinking, and eating. The feast continued throughout the week. Every day a junior boy chosen by the Amapolisa together with several girls was entrusted with up to £10 and sent to the trading store to buy provisions. Other girls continued to cook, brew, fetching water etc. The remaining girls went on singing and clapping for these boys who felt like dancing.

A group stick-play was staged at the Christmas "went out" on the Tuesday. It was explained to me as being of "the same nature as the stick-playing of abafana when abakweta are led out of their seclusion hut to wash off the whiteness". That is, it involves neither single combat, nor a group fight. It is meant simply as a happy display whilst the boys are walking off. Little cuts are common on such occasions. But this time one boy was seriously hurt and paralysed. It was a shock

(1) Some of the watching senior people were critical of the boys for dancing "not a proper style" and "altogether too little". "Things are changing" said one "this is not the proper Sipeza. This is, showing off of beads and youthful bodies."
only

to everybody that the happy occasion had ended on a tragic note, and a typical explanation was offered - that some of the "foreign" boys must have bought sticks of ^{a certain} medicine, which are known to cause paralysis.