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MASKANDA: THE ZULU STROLLING MUSICIANS

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Music.

Johannesburg, 1998
ABSTRACT

The aim of this dissertation is three-fold. Firstly, to study Maskanda as a genre and to elucidate the concept of strolling musicians from the Zulu emic view. Secondly, to show that Maskanda is an old traditional and not a neo-traditional genre as has been recently argued. Lastly, it is the intention of this thesis to justify the inclusion of Maskanda as a viable genre in formal music and cultural educational programs.

The rationale behind these three aims has largely emerged from the fact that previous studies of Maskanda have been approached from the outsider’s viewpoint and have thus overlooked the historical importance of Maskanda as a traditional Zulu genre. Maskanda has been erroneously presented, in many cases, as a contemporary genre and has been interpreted as such, resulting in some unacceptable generalisations regarding its nature and status. The interpretation of Maskanda given in this study emanates from within the Zulu cultural experience and is thus committed to an emic approach; etic methodologies have also been used where appropriate. It is hoped that this investigation will not only provide valuable information into the musical phenomenon of Maskanda, but that it will promote more informed cross-cultural perceptions regarding the indigenous cultural practices of Southern African ethnic groupings.
DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Music in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

\[Signature\]
Phindile Joe Nhlapo

10th day of DECEMBER, 1998.
DEDICATION

To my dearest and departed friend, Nellie Semani Munyai, with whom I shared a house in Sibasa, Venda. Thank you so much for your unfailing support while you could still breathe. I can still feel the warmth in the house even though you are no longer there in flesh. Your spirit has remained with me, helping me to see this dissertation through to its end. You knew my problems and I knew yours. We were bonded. You will always have a special place in my heart.

May your soul rest in peace.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project of this magnitude could not have been completed without the support of a number of people. Thanks are due to my first supervisor Mwesa Mapoma; to Mary Rorich, who took over from Mwesa and saw the project through; to Carol Muller who referred me to further sources; to Deborah James who added an anthropological dimension; to Nollen Davies whose own study on Maskanda contributed further insights and who also allowed me to make a copy of her dissertation; to Nomusa Khumalo for running errands for me. To Prof David Coplan for supervising the revisions, many thanks.

I was indeed fortunate that the Kagiso Trust agreed to provide me with the initial funding after I had approached them long after their closing date. Many thanks are also due to the University of Venda who employed me at a very critical stage of my research, that is, during the course of my field study. The job was a blessing in disguise because I was able to make further comparisons within the immediate Shangaan and Venda societies, thus enabling me to trace the origins of Maskanda beyond the Zulu context. To my student, Victor Malulukoe, my grateful thanks for being a very helpful informant.

I am of course greatly indebted to all the Maskanda musicians, many of whom I met at the former University of Natal's annual Maskanda competitions. They answered questions patiently and guided me to a better understanding of my Zulu culture. In particular, I would like to thank Ephraim Mchunu who lives at the George Goch hostel, for being very helpful indeed.

This leaves three people without whose efforts and encouragement this project would never have seen the light of day: My mother, wife and son. These are the most important people in my life.

Finally, thanks be to God the Almighty and to my ancestors for having taken good care of me.
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Fig. 1 Sipho Mchunu, well-known Maskanda Musician
INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH PROBLEM

The main objective of this dissertation is to study Maskanda as a genre and to elucidate the concept of strolling musicians from the Zulu emic view; further, to show that Maskanda is an old traditional and not a neo - traditional genre as has been argued in previous studies. Lastly, this dissertation will attempt to justify the inclusion of Maskanda as a viable genre in formal musical and cultural educational programmes.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

My initial experiences with Maskanda, the musical genre of the Zulu strolling musicians, date back to the early seventies (1970s). I was brought up at City Deep, Johannesburg, approximately 1300 metres' walking distance from the George Goch hostel in Benrose. My father worked at the City Deep gold mine and I lived with my family at the married quarters, affectionately known as skomplaas - a colloquial Afrikaans expression referring to our rural origins. Like all migrant workers, we maintained very close ties with our rural home, and went there during vacations.

The George Goch hostel is where most of the performers of Maskanda lived. Vivid memories paint a picture of male musicians who used to stroll around the hostel during weekends carrying their colourful guitars and concertinas. I was aware of but did not pay particular attention to them because I was an enthusiastic soccer fan in those days and preferred to watch professional league teams compete at the George Goch stadium.
Subsequently I began to appreciate the music of Maskanda; initially as an informal pastime and later as a member of an enthusiastic audience attending competitions held on a monthly basis by the musicians. These music competitions were organised in consultation with the hostel superintendent, who was known as untsumpa\(^1\) in Zulu. The Maskanda competitions were always happy occasions, where the musicians' obvious enjoyment would delight the audience who gathered in numbers to participate in the casting of votes for the best performer. Mbhaqanga, a related Zulu musical genre, was also performed alongside Maskanda.

I entered the hostel without fear because there was little violence in those days, besides the occasional incident of factional fighting. In addition, I knew many musicians who took part in the Maskanda competitions: I was sent on numerous occasions by my elder brothers to buy them a few beers from the shebeens that were run illegally inside the hostel. Life was generally peaceful back then and little did I did know that at a later stage in my life I would conduct research into this musical genre, inspired by my personal experiences of the Maskanda musical environment.

During frequent visits to the hostel I became aware of a "white man" who had befriended the Maskanda musicians and participated regularly at the indlamu competitions. He managed the Zulu language fairly well, and his ability to communicate in Zulu brought him even closer to the hostel dwellers.

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\(^1\) Note that, when a term is first introduced, or if it is used only occasionally, it will be italicised. Terms which occur frequently will not be italicised in subsequent appearances. Definitions of italicised terms are given in the Glossary, although, where the definition is of crucial importance to the discussion it may also occur in the text. Definitions on non-musical terms are provided within the text only.
I established later from some of the musicians that his name was Johnny Clegg, later of Juluka fame; he was at that time also a cultural anthropologist at the University of the Witwatersrand (see Fig.2). Together with his friend and teacher, Sipho Mchunu, he produced his first album of Maskanda music, with the title track Impi Nans'iyenza - literally; "War is coming". Indeed the "war" to which they were referring in their song was the endemic violence that would engulf pre-election South Africa.

Fig.2 - Johny Clegg and the Indlamu dancers in performance at Wits.
All the hostel dwellers had a rural home to which they returned on vacations. To them, the hostel was only a temporary place of abode, a place where they lived in order to be close to their workplace. Home - *ekhaya* - was the rural homestead in KwaZulu/Natal, and they spoke fondly of it when they prepared to “go down” - *ngisehla*, meaning “I am going home” in the low-veld.

Even though my initial experiences of Maskanda took place in the urban situation, in this study I have used the knowledge I acquired there to provide the basis for an inquiry into the rural origins and practice of Maskanda.

I have been very fortunate to study under Professor Khabi Mngoma at the University of Zululand. The undergraduate programme in African music and history included frequent visits by traditional musicians who also included old *uMakhweyana* bow players. Under Mngoma’s guidance in this very informative course, my knowledge and understanding of the genre were further enhanced.

**METHODOLOGY**

In my specific research of the topic I have naturally worked in libraries, consulting relevant books and journal articles in the ethnomusicological field. Literature devoted specifically to Maskanda, while miniscule, has obviously also provided invaluable source material.

Fieldwork has proved to be an important and most exciting part of my research programme and has enabled me to develop good and lasting contacts. Despite the many obstacles I encountered as a result of the violence in urban areas in the country, I was able to visit certain hostels in
metropolitan areas, such as the Denver, George Goch and Jeppe Hostels in Johannesburg, and Dalton, Wemner and Glebelands Hostels in Durban, where many of the Maskanda performers live. On many frequent visits it was not always necessary to enter the hostels themselves as Maskanda musicians spend a great deal of their leisure time strolling around within the perimeter of the outside surrounding of their living quarters. Thus, although the musicians are located in urban settings, they recreate appropriate performance contexts.

In order to give credibility to my study, it was deemed necessary to make audio-visual recordings inside the hostel, given the volatile situations at times. I had to make good contacts in order to accomplish this task (see accompanying video recorded personally at the George Goch Hostel in room 148 [new section] where Ephraim Mchunu lives). Besides Mchunu, I also interviewed the following Maskanda musicians: Bhojabhoja Ximba - an accomplished concertina player; Ngubane - an IsiShameni guitarist; Masombuka - a protégé of Mchunu; Nyathi and Mazibuko who are also Maskanda guitarists. Ximba and Masombuka, like Mchunu, hail from Msinga in the Greytown district - an area known to be where the Mchunu clan lives, and also this is where some Maskanda styles originated, for example, IsiShameni and the chordal concertina style IsiChunu. The former, that is, Ximba and Masombuka are also featured in the accompanying video recording. All of the interviews were conducted informally and in the language of the musicians, that is, Zulu. It dawned on me during these occasions that informal conversation was the best means of obtaining information because the responses were spontaneous.

Field researchers will know that many native people have become sceptical about giving information to strangers because they believe that it can be used
against them or, particularly in the case of musicians, for commercial purposes. Nowadays informants expect to be paid and they may well deliberately mislead an unsuspecting, inexperienced researcher who does not know their language. Informants are generally not keen to give formal interviews: they would rather spend their time drinking sorghum beer or utshwala besilungu (Whiteman's liquor such as Castle Lager) and discussing social issues if they are not on the road playing the guitar.

I was honoured to meet Madala Kunene during his performance at Kippies in downtown Johannesburg in August of 1998. He is one musician who has taken Maskanda music to a higher plane and has achieved international recognition as a result. While he no longer considers himself a Maskanda musician in the true sense, his music, however, remains rooted and true to its Maskanda origins. Despite the fact that there is rampant "bootlegging" and piracy in the South African music industry, he allowed me to make a video recording of his concert "live at Kippies". Besides his CD, the video recording is one of my prized possessions that even national broadcasters such as the SABC do not have. A few songs from this concert have been included in the accompanying audio-visual experience.

I also had the opportunity to visit the annual Maskanda music competitions held at the University of Natal, Durban, during two successive years, viz., 1992 and 1993. These competitions offer a more secure atmosphere in which to observe the participants, to record their songs and to interview the contemporary composers who gather in numbers at this great annual event. However, when I travelled to the competition scheduled to be held at the Village Green in Durban on the 16th October 1994, I discovered that it had been cancelled at the last minute, even though I had confirmed the dates two weeks earlier with Mr. Henry "Ujuba Special" Dlamini who currently
manages and comperes the competition on behalf of the National Sorghum Breweries. The competition was originally an annual event conceived by the late ethnomusicologist, Bongane Mthethwa and run under the auspices of the University of Natal Music Department. It has since become a marketing exercise for the brewery and, in the absence of a legal contract, the UND has lost general control over the event. The competition has thus lost its former glory as well as its previous connection to a respected academic institution. Maskanda musicians had been delighted to discover that their tradition merited respect from the academic fraternity. Taking part and winning the competition enhanced their status in society. Despite the cancellation of the 1994 competition, however, I was able to meet numerous musicians in Durban during the week spent there, some who had turned up for the postponed competition. I was thus nevertheless able to conduct many useful interviews.

I am particularly grateful to the following musicians who took part at the UND Maskanda competitions: Bhekizitha Mthembu - a past winner in the guitar category; John Dludla from kwaNyuswa in Bothashill, and Malusi Mhlongo from kwaNgcolosi in Hillcrest. John Dludla, a concertina player, has finally realised his long-cherished ambition to become a recording artist. Not forgetting Simon Mkhize of Dalton hostel room 53, a personal friend of the competition compere, that is, Mr. Henry Dlamini - a person with whom I had insightful discussions about the genre during the 1993 competitions.

I also had the opportunity, at this point, to conduct interviews with composers, performers and practitioners of the Maskanda music genre resident in the rural areas. Among many other issues raised, I asked them about how they got involved in Maskanda music; any formal/informal training undertaken; under whom did they first learn to play; which
instruments they preferred; who were their role models; the role of strolling musicians in their communities; any anticipated future prospects, for example, recording their music; the subject of their songtexts; influences in their music; how do they compose - first the lyrics or the music; the social status of strolling musicians, which instruments were used before the advent of western trade-store models. I was thus able to compare the themes and issues that concern rural as opposed to urban Maskanda performers, as well as explore the origins of Maskanda and interact with the elderly musicians who still perform on traditional instrumental models; they were happy to reminisce about what they had seen and heard in the past about the tradition of strolling musicians and their role in traditional Zulu society. In particular, I am indebted to Bab’uMkhwanazi affectionately known by his clan-name Shamase from Mtubatuba in KwaZulu.

In early 1994 at a funeral in Wedela Location, Carltonville, I met two retired scholars, D.C. Marivate and Professor K.V. Mngoma, as well as Professor C.T.D. Marivate. While we were dining, I introduced the topic of African epistemological loci with regard to music. The result was a very fruitful discussion from which I gathered valuable information that I was later able to incorporate into my analysis. We were also joined in our conversation by distinguished personalities in music, such as Sibongile Khumalo and Mr. Grant Kekana, both of whom also contributed their insights into the genre.

Of course, a project of this nature has also required the acquisition and study of the relevant artifacts. I acquired Maskanda recordings from the various recordings companies on the Rand, such as Gallo Record Productions, in order to establish the link in sound between the old rural and contemporary-urban styles. I was able to gain access to archival material collected from Maskanda musicians of the past, establishing their location, instrumental
preferences and the impact of technology on the genre. For this, I am
greatful to Rob Allingham for his willingness to help and for sharing his
passion and experience of African music with me.

I have also made a point of studying television programmes of relevance.
Ezodumo - a weekly Maskanda and Ditsamayana ha music programme
screened on CCV television, now SABC 1, and hosted by co-presenters
Bhodloza Ntimande and Thuso Motaung - has provided invaluable
information. Not only are the two genres amply represented, but other
comparable traditional styles and genres, such as those practised by the
Shangaan, are featured. I have thus been afforded the opportunity not only of
making comparisons between urban and rural Maskanda, but also between
Maskanda and similar ethnic genres.

I have also consulted newspaper reviews and photographs of old and new
Maskanda players, available in The Star Newspaper Library in
Johannesburg. This archival material has enabled me to acquire information
regarding instruments and costumes, as well as the performance formations
of both rural and urban Maskanda. One person stands out for her
unwavering assistance in this regard - Hailey Sumaya.

As will become increasingly obvious, this study has been undertaken from
an emic rather than an etic perspective, although I fully acknowledge the role
of my analytical training, especially in the formal transcription and analysis
of songs. It is also approached from an insider standpoint. I am Zulu by
birth, not merely a Zulu speaker, and am therefore in a privileged position to
give an authentic interpretation of Maskanda from within the culture's
circumference. Naturally my relation to my culture is reflected in my work,
both in my perception of its history, my current position within it and my
intended future participation in it. This statement is not intended to undervalue the scholarship undertaken in the genre by outsiders to the culture, but merely to assert my position as an insider and express my support for research that is emic rather than etic in nature. This should be encouraged by institutions of higher learning in order to integrate and enhance ethnomusicological methodology and knowledge in the more general context of cultural studies. By the same token, research by cultural insiders should also be encouraged.

Perhaps it is opportune at this juncture to explain the emic/etic concepts as well as the insider/outsider dichotomy. While the concepts are related, they are nevertheless dissimilar. Theories posited by Pike (1990) state:

the term emic refers in the first instance and in the most general way to the cultural analysis of a physical continuum...the term also refers to the procedures by which units are discovered, identified, and validated, as well as to the emic units themselves, i.e., to those units which turn out to be functional within a given system. The term etic refers, in cultural analysis, to the procedures guiding the preliminary phase of description, and to those units in the system which are not functional (in Alvarez-Pereyre and Arom 1993:9).

From the above, it is obvious that the term emic has to do with the notions and cultural judgements of natives while the term etic refers to a science of cultural analysis with has its own set of judgements different from the natives under study. This view is corroborated by Harris (1990:48) who states:

the emic approach is characteristic of a science of culture based on elicited meaningful distinctions of intentions, goals and values of native
participants; the etic approach is characteristic of a science of culture that does possess a data language based on observer’s identification of the motions of body and its parts and their environmental effects (in Alvarez-Pereyre and Arom 1993:11).

Therefore, let it be said once and for all that the term emic in this study refers to the views and perceptions of Maskanda musicians: the culture-internal categorisation and classification system that is meaningful to them.

Insider on the other hand is used to refer to a person who by nature of his/her birthright, ethnicity, cultural background, affiliation, kinship, early enculturation, home language and unhindered access to cultural information and artefacts is deemed to be in a favourable position than say, a Western scholar who does not possess the above attributes, to critically reflect on his/her culture in a more informed and authentic way. In this instance the Western scholar is known as the outsider.

Current ethnomethodological theories corroborate the importance of the emergence of insider researchers in cultures previously the objects of transcultural scholarship, objects inevitably studied according to prescriptive Western "academic" procedures entrenched over centuries. As non-Western cultures have, predictably, become more self-conscious, they have produced scholars of their own, whose work emphasizes their natural and legitimate observation of cultural phenomena from within, rather than from outside.

One notable ethnomusicologist whose work on the music and culture of his people, the Akan, is based on his experience as an insider is the Ghanaian, Kwabena Nketia. His authority, not only as an authentic spokesman but as a trained academician, has been accepted internationally. Nevertheless,
scholars in the "colonial" tradition, who believe that cultural phenomena can
be analysed more objectively from a perspective outside the culture under
scrutiny, have remained sceptical about much insider research. That such
scholars are increasingly losing their power base is confirmed by the recent
contains the work of many top-ranking ethnomusicologists, each of whom
confirms Nketa's unique scholarly status. American ethnomusicologist
Marcia Herndon has observed, with regard to Nketa's international status,
that the insider/outsider controversy has been finally and decisively resolved
because the "objectified other" now not only has access to scholarly work,
but is also in a position to acquire the credentials which permit him both to
respond critically to and to "re-vision" intellectual "properties" regarding
work in the cultural field (1993:67).

This study has been undertaken in accordance with current
ethnomethodological theories. In keeping with the spirit of the above, the
term "tradition (al)" will thus be used in this study to refer to an on-going
practice with an important social function, i.e., Maskanda. Traditional music
is known in Zulu by the following names: umculo wesintu, umculo
womdaba; umculo omosigqé; umculo westZulu, isiZulu. Such terms reflect a
non-static perception of culture, recognising the past of a genre and relating
it to the present. Tradition persists or recurs precisely through its oral
transmission, even within changing social contexts. As Margaret Thompson
Drewal observes, "it is crucial to understand transformative practices and
processes in order to understand change in the long term" (1991:46). Thus the
constituents of change in Maskanda are pivotal to the perception of the genre
as it is presently known.
It is my hope that this study will throw more light on the origins and nature of Maskanda than has been shed in previous studies. It is thus not intended to be a revisionist work, but as noted in the foregoing, to correct erroneous presentations of the Zulu musical genre Maskanda found in previous studies by relying on interpretations of practitioners of the genre. Thus, this study is also intended to expand the base of viewpoints from which the genre can be understood. A Zulu proverb captures the above intentions succinctly: "Asiboni ngaso linye". This implies that our perceptions of phenomena may not be the same, and it is only natural to observe things/matter differently. The concept of positionality is thus applicable, meaning that all positions have some validity. Therefore, studying Maskanda from an emic perspective is only a position that I have taken and is valid too. If the reader gets as much enjoyment from reading about the genre as I have in researching it, and appreciates it from the culture's circumference, then my task will have been well worthwhile.
STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Chapter 1: A pertinent literature review on previous studies on Maskanda is conducted. In addition, a discussion on the essential nature of the Maskanda; its origins and etymological origins of the term Maskanda is undertaken. Finally, the debate on traditional versus neo-traditional takes full swing.

Chapter 2: A categorisation of instruments used in Maskanda is given; traditional scales and tuning systems are also described.

Chapter 3: The focus is on the emic categorisation of Maskanda song texts and the usage of song texts to help reveal the traditional origins of the genre.

Chapter 4: This short chapter is aimed at meeting objective number three, i.e. to justify the inclusion of Maskanda in cultural and educational programmes.

A conclusion summarises the research findings and recommendations for further research are proffered.
CHAPTER ONE

1. THE DEFINITION AND DESCRIPTION OF MASKANDA

The primary aim of this chapter is to define the essential nature of Maskanda via an analysis of its performance aesthetics and concomitantly to establish it as a traditional Zulu genre. Where necessary, comparison to other parallel genres is proffered in order to reveal salient features that characterise Maskanda and the other genres. Equally important, will be the tracing of the traditional origins of Maskanda to the Zulu bow music from which it is presumed to have developed. In addition, some light will be cast on the etymological origins of the word Maskanda. Relevant literature, generally etic in perspective, will also be critically reviewed. Some comments will be offered regarding Maskanda musicians and their performance formations in rural as well as urban contexts. These will include information regarding the training of musicians. In conclusion, this chapter will question the assumption on the part of some researchers that Maskanda is a neo-traditional genre.

1.1. REVIEW OF PERTINENT LITERATURE

Maskanda has been defined by the following scholars: Mthethwa (1979), Coplan (1985), Ntuli (1990) and journalist Crozier (1993) as neo-traditional instrumental music, that is, music in a traditional idiom played on Western instruments. They also suggest that the word Maskanda is not an original Zulu word but is derived from the Afrikaans word, musikant - for musician. Davies (1992:11) on the other hand writes: 'Maskanda is a category of music played predominantly by Zulu males on Western instruments, namely the guitar, concertina, violin, piano accordion and more recently electric guitars
and drums' (own emphasis). Further, she states that the Maskanda tradition is a dynamic one, constantly changing and enjoying much popularity. It extends back to the early twentieth century, if not earlier (own emphasis), but remains a field which has largely been undocumented with negligible amount of research and recorded material.

The definition proffered by Davies does not even begin to elucidate the phenomenon of Maskanda and/or its true origins. It is narrow and pays lip-service to an enduring genre of Zulu music. Maskanda is not just a "category of music" as Davies has observed; it is a Zulu musical genre that is the domain of Zulu strolling musicians. Such a minimalist definition grossly understates the reality. Strolling musicians are not only peculiar to Zulu music, but to other traditional African societies. For instance, in Lesotho and in Sesotho of Mosheoshoe, strolling or wandering musicians are known as Ditsamayanaha. Coplan (1992) has done much work on this particular Basotho musical genre.

Further, Davies seems to perpetuate the notion that drums have taken centre stage in current Maskanda when this is not the case. Record companies have merely included drums and electric guitars in the Maskanda ensemble to provide rhythmic support and sonic enhancement to the "Maskanda sound". A Maskanda musician would not consciously buy any of the above-mentioned instruments - instead of the electric guitar, an acoustic model is amplified to invigorate the sound. The preference for steel strings instead of nylon models, was precisely to derive more sound as it was to attain a vibrant metallic tone. (See section 1.2 for further discussion)

Crozier (1993) on the other hand, extends his definition by stating that Maskanda musicians are the modern day folk singers of Natal. While
Crozier is a journalist, his input cannot be ignored since the medium of communicating his ideas is mass market and propagates current definitions about the genre on a much greater scale than would scholars. Crozier observes that Maskanda musicians are most often seen wandering along the road, plucking at the strings of the guitar and singing in a low mournful voice to on one in particular. Sometimes they have an audience of two or three people, and whenever there is a social gathering, a Maskanda musician is bound to be on hand to provide the music (1993:11).

Reviewing the annual Maskanda competition at the University of Natal, Crozier (1993:12) makes a rather contradictory statement, that 'the University has revived a dying genre of music with its annual - and increasingly popular - Maskanda competition'. Crozier is perhaps not aware, given his training, that Maskanda has been flourishing for a number of decades in the rural areas, as well as among migrant labour in and around metropolitan areas such as Johannesburg and Durban. He has completely overlooked the fact that during the holidays when the migrant workers returned home, in this case, to the rural area, song contests were and are regularly held.

Alternatively, Crozier may be referring to the current Maskanda and with regard to Natal University’s effort in placing the genre on the musical map as a less organic, more "staged" form of music. Coplan (1985:187) on the other hand, though not necessarily referring to the Natal University’s competition, rightly notes; 'these competitions still take place whenever migrant Zulu musicians gather'.

The foregoing argument is best consolidated by Erkmann (1991:75) who argues that 'the need to invent traditions, born as it was from the social,
political, and ideological dilemma of the black urban elite of Natal, was absent among the rural population'. Further, he states: 'the fact that traditions could be integrated almost seamlessly into a changing social environment and be adapted without the black elite’s intervention is demonstrated by a variety of concertina, guitar, and violin styles which the Zulu migrants and labourers on white farms in the Natal hinterland had created from the traditional instrumental genres' (own emphasis) (1991:75).

Nonetheless, Davies (1992) made a fair attempt at researching Maskanda, however, the main focus of her study was on the guitar styles. In the report, she provides a schematic summary of the guitar styles in Maskanda which are: IsiZulu; IsiZulu Esikhulu; IsiKhuze; Umzansi; Isibhaca; IsiShameni; IsiChunu; IsiPoyindani; IsiMandolini; IsiKholwa (1992:139). (See glossary for definitions).

To avoid the temptation of much repetition, additional literature review is incorporated in the ensuing discussions, especially the debate on neo-traditional versus traditional.

1.2 THE ESSENTIAL NATURE OF MASKANDA

The term Maskanda refers to the music of musicians who stroll in the streets, in the urban or rural setting, singing to no-one in particular, in most cases to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument. Their music is primarily self-delectative and is generally strongly individualised, although ensembles have also emerged with the passage of time. As pervasive as is the characteristic of "strolling" (walking or wandering) is the role of competition. Maskanda musicians use competitions as an avenue of gaining both musical and social ascendancy over their peers. The beauty of informal competitions is that they
are not valued as a means of financial gain but rather to expose individual
talent and skill, and to promote community acceptance and respect. The
audience at such competitions is invariably enthralled by these musicians
whose sense of humour is as prominent as their performing expertise. But,
while they include humourous anecdotal phrases in the song texts, their
music contains messages of great relevance to the individual and the
community. As Simon Mkhize remarked during the 1993 UND Maskanda
Competitions: *kusanele ingoma idle ngesizathu* - implying that songs which
contain messages of relevance are ones which have an impact on the
audience and become winners in the end (personal interview 1993).

Basotho’s songs of the inveterate travellers, known as difela ts'a
ditsamayanaha provide an appropriate point of comparison. As Coplan
highlights:

one of the most characteristic contexts for sefela performance is a formal or
informal competition among veteran performers, in which each competitor
puts an equal amount of cash into a kitty and the winner takes all.
Recognised masters who agree to abstain from competing, act as judges,
with the support of the crowd. Disagreement is apparently rare. The display
of eloquence and cultural knowledge, often by means of intertextuality, are

Formal competitions such as those previously organised by the University of
Natal do not differ in essential respects from the informal competitions held
in the traditional or urban settings. Although musicians are rewarded in
prize-money, the joviality of mood of the gatherings is equally important,
revealing that the performance aesthetics remain unchanged in the
competitive arena, despite the change in context. Usually competitions in the
traditional setting occur as outdoor activities, but in adapted contexts they are generally held indoors, although the performing area is invariably open and spacious. In the case of ensembles, acoustic instruments such as the guitar occupy pivotal positions alongside the voice. The leader of the group, invariably the most accomplished player in all respects, acts as a compere. He is also the lead singer and plays the acoustic instrument. He walks up and down within the available space, playing in picking style if his instrument is the guitar. He is the most conspicuous member of the ensemble, without whom it would not exist. The individualised role that he assumes in the ensemble is derived from the role that he would play in the traditional setting. With or without other members of the ensemble, he remains an individual, a Maskanda musician who composes his tunes and song texts, picking on his instrument and singing praises of his clan.

It is important to note that he does not sing praises of other members in the ensemble. It is also important to note that in very rare cases where there are two leaders in a group, the one who sings most in the lead role, will during the utterances of praises, briefly include the praises of the co-leader. However, this practice is a relatively recent innovation in Maskanda (see accompanying audio-visual experience, excerpt 21, where Mchunu plays with Ximba, the concertina player. In one of the songs, he also sings the praises of Ximba, calling him mfoka nkom'emyama – meaning, lad of the black cow).

As those familiar with the genre will know, entertainment is an inherent part of Maskanda performance practice. The musicians exhibit flair with regard to instrumental technique; eloquence with regard to the choice and use of words; they wear dainty traditional garb - imvumulo; and they adhere in essence to the traditional Maskanda sound.
It must be remembered, however, that Maskanda remains a peculiarly Zulu genre, one which has flourished for decades in the rural areas, as well among the migrant labour forces in and around metropolitan areas such as Johannesburg and Durban. Song contests held during the holiday periods spent at home are the equivalent of stick-fighting contests - umganga - from which most of the performance metaphors of Maskanda are derived. As noted in the foregoing section, these competitions still take place whenever migrant Zulu musicians gather together.

Maskanda song contests are "friendly fights" and the accomplished performer is also one who best enables the audience to participate in the whole performance, whether by singing along, dancing, clapping hands in concord with the rhythm of the song, and by ululating whenever the praise-singing is deemed to have been rendered eloquently. "Friendly fights" are also an important feature in traditional Zulu wedding songs, umbholorho, where the groom's entourage ikhetelo and the bride's umthimba engage in fierce song competition. Coplan has also observed in difela tsa ditsamayanaha how the competitive spirit unites society and engenders camaraderie. He states:

the competitive dimension of difela performance expresses the social tension inherent in the notion of "games" as a "friendly fight" or a conflict that unites people in a common excitation over the display of individual prowess in social accomplishment. The superior player of difela bests his rivals in a comradely contest over the most vivid and persuasive representation of shared experience. For listeners who are not migrants, the winner is the performer who best enables them to participate, imaginatively and emotionally, in the experiences they have not known (1988:351-352).
Distinctions between rural and urban forms of the genre have been overemphasised in many studies. The fact is that contemporary Maskanda is still clearly derived from its rural origins and sets store by the same criteria. That this is so is evident in the inclusion of izibongo in their song texts to validate traditional institutions (see Chapter 3). As Davies rightly notes:

any distinction between rural and urban cultures in South Africa is often meaningless. This applies to the Maskanda tradition, which permeates all the Zulu-speaking areas including Johannesburg and its surrounding environment. The music exists wherever Zulu migrant workers may be found. Many of these men have strong links with their families in the rural areas. Therefore, with the constant flow of people between the rural areas and towns and cities, there is an on-going interaction taking place (1992:11).

Rural and urban musicians also undergo similar training: it is conducted on an informal basis, the imitation of role models and choice of tunings being influenced by their place of origin. However, it should be noted that Maskanda is more individualised in the rural than in the urban setting. However, it must be remarked that tales of the success of Maskanda ensembles in the cities has increasingly led to a burgeoning of rural ensembles, who anticipate similar financial prospects in the future. The recording industry has had a significant impact on the genre in this regard, in that it has become the purpose or ambition of most Maskanda musicians to record - ukuqopha. When I first met Ephraim Mchunu and Ximba at the George Goch hostel, they informed me that their wish was to become recording artists because of the financial prospects involved and the fact that this also would enhance their societal status. In their words: 'Intholo yethu ukuba nathi sithole ithuba lokuba siqophe, ukuze izizukulwane zethu zazi nazo ukuthi obabamkhulu babengamagagu'. This means that their goal is to

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become recording artists, obviously because of the financial prospects involved, in order to leave a legacy for future generations (personal interview 1998). They have since looked up to me as their music producer, and I am making the necessary plans to help them realise their dream, and am looking forward to my new role as a Maskanda music producer (see accompanying audio-visual experience of how I am putting together a Maskanda ensemble). Bhodloza Nzimande, the current radio station manager of uKhozi, is held in high esteem by Maskanda musicians who ambition is to become recording artists. In turn, Bhodloza has become a music producer because Maskanda musicians look up to him.

Philip Schuyler (1984) has observed the foregoing among the *rwais* from the *tashlhit*-speaking region of southwestern Morocco. Like Maskanda musicians, the *rwais* are well adapted to a life of wandering. They have also responded to changing social contexts, especially the impact that the recording industry has had on their musical life. As Schuyler observes:

> in discussing their recording careers, however, the *rwais* often seem less concerned with pay than with prestige. The number of records to a *rwais*’ credit is an important criterion in determining his status within the society of professional musicians. The prestige also brings financial benefit which endures long after the initial recording fees have been spent, since a well-known *rwais* can expect frequent, high-paying jobs at private parties. Further, the *rwais* perceive these and other blessings as flowing directly from a single source - the producer or A & R director for the company. The producer is the *rwais*’ most powerful and exacting patron...he may have contacts at the radio station and on the cabaret circuit, to guarantee airtime for his product, and regular employment for his proteges. For favored clients, the producer may provide loans or advances against future recordings. In short, the producer has a good deal of control over a
musician's personal and professional life. Small wonder, then, that the *rwais* are careful to cultivate good relations with record company executives (1984:124).

Of course, besides its characteristic performance aesthetics and social role, Maskanda also has its own unique sonic profile. In fact, one might argue that its features as a sound phenomenon are privileged over its visual features. Stapleton and May capture the essence of current Maskanda as 'a sound which incorporates minor chords, largely unknown in Mbhaqanga, and a drone effect, created by the bass doubling the guitar parts, and by the guitarist's playing every pulse of the beat on the bass string' (1987:210). The result is essentially contrapuntal, comprising at least two rhythmically independent instrumental melodic lines, and in addition a vocal melodic line completes the counterpoint. Mchunu made mention of the foregoing by stating: 'I do not particularly like to play I(s)Shameni style because you use the first string (*ifesi*) more often, indicating that you are still immature as a Maskanda musician. *Ngigxile kakhulu esiZuluwini ngoba lapho awudlali ifesi kuphela: udlala kuzwakale* - meaning that I play isiZulu style more often because of its multipart texture and the fact that it is challenging, and people respect you if you are good at isiZulu' (personal interview 1998). (See the first few individual songs by Mchunu in the provided video recording to experience the multipart guitar texture). This vocal line may at times double one of the instrumental melodies (listen to *Isidwaba, side A, excerpt 4. recorded in 1966 by John Bhengu under the Troubador Label [BZ 1756]*). This is an authentic Maskanda sound revealing maturity - one which the generation of musicians after Bhengu have emulated.
The foregoing is intended as a description of the essential nature of Maskanda and its role within the Zulu culture. Obviously, it is equally important to examine the etymological origins of the word "Maskanda", particularly as there is on-going debate over some decades.

1.3 THEORIES REGARDING THE ORIGINS OF THE TERM MASKANDA

The word *Maskanda* has generally been accepted by scholars to be derived from the Afrikaans word "musikant". Although I am unable to supply an irrefutable alternative, I question the authority of this assumption, given the questionable nature of the evidence proffered in its support. Available sources do not research the origins of the term sufficiently rigorously to make any more than speculative claims; in fact they do little more than allude to its supposedly Afrikaaner origins. There has been no inquiry, for example, into its possible Zulu origins. Similarly, there has been no historical research into either the dating or manner in which the word might have been assimilated into the Zulu language. Colonially influenced research has consistently assumed the assimilation of Western words into African languages, but the possibility (and even probability) of reverse process of the occurring is rarely given credence. Henry Drewal (1998b), writing about the Mami Wata performance in West Africa, has shown that African people have tended to interpret European symbols according to indigenous precepts, investing them with new and dynamic meanings in accordance with their transformed contexts (in Drewal 1991:31). While Drewal's statement is acceptable, the reverse has never been thoroughly investigated by Western scholars: that is, to what extent indigenous African terms and terminology have in fact permeated European languages. The available literature gives the impression that while Africans assimilate European symbols, there is no
reciprocal process. However, it is easily proved that educational and intercultural influences constitute two-way traffic: there are in fact many African terms that have become part of colloquial English. Commonly accepted examples are the Zulu words *ibhahhalazwi* meaning "hangover" and *induna* meaning "supervisor": they are used in everyday English conversation.

As Postman and Weingartner have observed, 'there is a basic scheme of classification built into our common speech language. This built-in classification system directs us so that we observe the things we can readily classify with the names we know, while we tend strongly to overlook or disregard everything else. We see with our categories' (in Messner 1993:93).

Further rigorous research needs therefore to be done regarding the etymological origins of the word Maskanda before the generally accepted derivation can be regarded as authoritative. For one thing, the datings of Maskanda within the Zulu culture and the exposure of Zulus to Afrikaners would have to be compared, bearing in mind that the Zulu people generally came into closer contact with the English than the Dutch. At this point the derivation of Maskanda from "musikant" remains hypothetical and can be compared with similarly speculative observations regarding the origins of the West African term *griot(te)*. One theory suggests that it is of French origin while the other says that its derivation is from Portuguese. As Zemp (1964:375) has observed:

In its present form, the word *griot* is not part of any African language. Attempts to explain its etymology have given rise to a number of speculations without producing a conclusive result. One theory suggests that the word stems from the Portuguese word *criado* (servant), another that
it is a French corruption of the Wolof term gewel...the word was introduced into French and thus spread over all of French Africa. Spelled "guiriot", it first appeared in the eighteenth century in reports by French travellers to Senegal. Its present-day spelling was adopted in the nineteenth century (in Bender 1991:17).

However, it is comforting to know that in their respective homelands, the griots are known by a variety of names. Among the Mandinka people of Gambia, the griot - "a verbal artist" - is known as jali. As Knight highlights:

A jali is born into the profession. For centuries, the families of Kuyateh, Jabateh, Suso, Saho, Kanuteh, have pursued this profession and kept it to themselves through endogamous cross-cousin marriages. Women born into these families do not actually "inherit" the profession, but if they choose to pursue it, they study informally with their female relatives, and eventually with their husbands. They learn various verbal skills, but especially singing, and are then known by the term jali musu, or female jali. Men born into the families do inherit the profession and are generally expected to pursue it, although in the present day the obligation is not as strong as it once was. They too learn many verbal skills, such as interlocution, genealogical recitation, historical narrative, praise oratory, and singing...by the terminology applied to women, they would be known as jali keo- "male jali", but more commonly the term used is jaliba - "great jali". Further, the term "verbal artist" is a translation for the term "jali" and is based on the assumption that the jalolu - plural for jali - are expected to master the variety of verbal skills required in the practice of jaliya, or the profession of the jali. In the language of the Fulbe and Toucouleur, awlube; the Soninke and Wolof refer to these musicians as gesers and gewel (jewel), respectively (1984:4-5).
Taking a leaf from the above, it is worth noting that a musician in Zulu is known as *Umcuti* from the verb *cula*, meaning "to sing". This is due to the fact that most music in traditional African societies is vocal. There are other words which are used to describe musicians but these are generally applicable to other contexts, for example, *Umdlali*, meaning, "a player", and *Umdlali wesigenci", "a guitar player". While there is no evidence as yet that the term Maskanda derives from *cula* or any other similar word, to assume its derivation from "musikant" is unscholarly, even arbitrary.

One view that is being propagated is that the genre, Maskanda, and under its Afrikaner derived name did not exist prior to the introduction of Western instruments which must have occurred around the turn of the century. This view is tempting given the tantalising rationale proffered in its support. One thing remains certain though, that Maskanda - the genre and not the name - existed prior to the insertion of Western instruments. Like other traditional Zulu genres, it would have been known by the generic names such as: *umculo wesintu; umculo womdah; umculo onesigqi; umculo wesizulu; isiZulu* to refer to its rural origins and the fact that it is traditional music. As mentioned in the introduction, these terms are not static - they are applied to this end to refer to Zulu music which has a "rootsy feel".

Thus, terminology such as "old Zulu music" often used by some etic scholars is false. The acceptable terminology would be the one mentioned above. Maskanda, as subsequent sections will try to reveal, evolved from the music of uMakhweyana, the friction bows, and uGubhu to a lesser extent. To rest this case temporarily, it would be safe to assume that term Maskanda, and not the tradition, was co-opted at the time of the adoption of Western instruments. Thus, it appears that the term Maskanda has been used by previous scholars to refer to the genre when Western instruments were
adopted. As noted in the literature review from Erlmann’s research, there was no need to invent traditions but that the variety of concertina, guitar, and violin styles were created from the traditional instrumental genres.

Until further research proves otherwise, this will remain a contentious issue.

1.4 THE ORIGINS OF MASKANDA

The early beginnings of Maskanda still remain obscure, largely due to the unavailability of reliable or sufficiently explicit sources. However, several ethnomusicologists of note, amongst them Rycroft (1975) and Impey (1977), believe with some justification, that it developed from bow music. The gourd bows referred to are uMakhweyana and to a lesser extent uGubhu. A description of the two bows is therefore necessary at this juncture, starting with uGubhu.

uGubhu is an indigenous instrument of the Zulu; Rycroft refers to uGubhu as "classical" (1981:72). Kirby observes that:

there are no specialist makers, though men make the instrument for the women, who are usually the players. Old specimens are difficult to procure, since they are valued; in modern ones the calabash is occasionally replaced by a tin, and the original type of string by wire. The instrument is used essentially for accompanying the voice. As in the case of tribes previously mentioned, the art of playing upon the ugubhu is acquired by listening to experienced performers. Learners usually begin to study the instrument when they are fully developed, though young people who feel the urge to play may sometimes begin earlier. Women after marriage tend to lose interest and to give up performing. The uGubhu is usually kept under the framing of the hut, in which a fire frequently burns. As a result, the bow
and the calabash gradually turn a rich dark brown colour, which, with continual polishing with fat, renders old instruments very attractive. The *inkohlisa* is of a large size (1968:201).

From interviews conducted among rural Zulu communities, it was established that uGubhu was mostly associated with men while uMakhweyana was the instrument of women. Shamase in particular observed that uMakhweyana had been adopted by women and consequently has come to be known as a women's instrument whereas this was not so in the past. He made mention that as a young herdboy he used to fiddle with the instrument but never pursued it further (personal interview 1995). As Kirby observes, men make the instrument for their wives. As is the case with the uMakhweyana bow, the larger uGubhu is known as *inkohlisa* and played by men. Inattention to the bow size may lead to confusion regarding the relation between gender and bow type. However, Shamase did not have any problem in distinguishing between uGubhu and uMakhweyana bows because of the obvious difference with regard to the placement of the calabash on the bow. uGubhu has come to refer to any bow where the calabash is attached near the end irrespective of size, while uMakhweyana characteristically has the calabash towards the middle of the bow. Thus it is possible to accept Kirby's deduction, that uMakhweyana

is played by both sexes, the larger sizes by men, single or married, and the smaller by maidens or newly-married women. Women who have been married some time generally lose interest in the instrument. The largest size is called *inkohlisa* or *unkonka*, the same name as that given to the instrument by the Thonga; and alternative names for this form are *invingo* and *uqwabe*. The maiden's instrument, which is of small size, is called uMakhweyana (1968:208).
Confused by these various usages, many researchers have incorrectly concluded that the Zulu uMakhweyana was played only by women. This misconception has been further fortified by the fact that women have increasingly acquired the skills necessary to make as well as play the bow, while their husbands have increasingly adopted Western trade store instruments such as the guitar and concertina. Hence it is the women who are generally deemed to have kept the tradition alive - presumably while their men were pre-occupied with "ethnic unifying wars", such as those during the reign of King Shaka. And in fact they remain the guardians of the tradition today. Similarly, it is the women who adopted the Jew’s harp, known as imfilishi in Zulu, although it never entirely replaced the role played by the bow. Impey observes that 'a lot of women adopted the Jew’s- harp which, like the bow, is based on the production of harmonics, but it is purely instrumental and could not replace the social function of the uMakhweyana' (1977.4).

Thus, from the above discussion it is possible to deduct that Maskanda music as it is known today developed from bow music, and it was adapted to western instruments as the ensuing discussion will attempt to reveal. It is therefore possible to make reference herein to other Zulu bows (friction) such as Isicelakeshe to help trace the origins of Maskanda. While the latter bow has been replaced by the violin, it is still practised in largely in rural settings and occasionally in urban contexts. This bow is also known as ubhel’indlela as well as uDloko, and Kirby provides a description of this friction bow as follows:

In this group of friction bows, ubhel’indlela consists of a hollow bar or half-tube of bamboo, fitted with a wire string and tuning-peg. The string is set in vibration by means of a miniature bow of wood and hair from a cow's
tail, resin being applied to the hair. The mouth was originally used as a resonator, but recently a one-gallon paraffin tin has been added to the instrument. This type was found in many parts of the Union (that is, South Africa between 1910-1961). The Venda, Chwana (Tswana), Sotho, Swazi, and Zulu all continue to use it, and it has also been acquired by the Xhosa and even by some Bushmen (San). It is also found north of the Limpopo. Although in principle it remains the same, its form varies slightly in different areas. It is known as tsijolo in Venda; sefinjolo or segankuru, and sometimes setinkane in Chwana (Tswana); sekgobogobo or seisegeisege in Transvaal Sotho (Pedi); pone in Ndebele; sekatari in Sotho of Basutoland (Sesotho); istikelekelehele in Swazi. Kirby emphasises that this instrument was very popular among the young boys of Venda, Chwana (Tswana), Transvaal Sotho (Pedi), and Basutoland Sotho tribes (Basotho), but is not played much by the Swazi, Zulu, and Xhosa (1968:214 - 215).

An aural experience of the above bow is provided in the accompanying audio cassette as Ngayithatha Intombi, side B, excerpt 1: uMaDlamini Ithemba Lami, side B, excerpt 2. This instrument is played mostly by older men, and the living exponent is the irrepressible NoMashizolo Msimango who is well known for his courtship antics.

ADOPTION AND ADAPTATION OF WESTERN INSTRUMENTS

Western instruments have had a significant impact on many African musical traditions. The indigenous genres of the Zulu people are no exception. Impey provides a succinct historical background to this influence:

At the turn of the century, Western "trade-store" instruments became popular amongst urban Africans and migrant labourers. Their appeal spread to the rural areas where instruments such as the guitar, German concertina and jew's-harp were rapidly adopted in preference to traditional
instruments. It was during this time that the uMakhweyana bow began to
loose its popularity amongst the Zulu youth. These new instruments
became a prestige symbol amongst African people; a symbol of
modernisation and of progress. It soon became considered culturally
retrogressive to play the uMakhweyana bow. However, Western
instruments were played with traditional Zulu timings and the styles and
techniques of playing were peculiarly Zulu. The guitar is, to a certain
extent, the main replacement of the uMakhweyana; it is used for self
accompanied solo singing and played while walking...while the guitar is
often used to sing of love and to impress women, it is strictly a male
instrument (1977.3-4).

There are many scholars who attest that the acoustic guitar is in fact the most
popular instrument among current Maskanda musicians, although they
remain aware of the fact that the music composed for the instrument is
adapted from that of the Zulu bow. Mayer (1961:449f) has observed that the
eyear guitar songs were adapted from traditional one-string bow
uMakhweyana tunes (in Coplan 1985:86). Coplan notes that the Zulu solo
guitar song tradition goes back at least to the amazigxaga - a person who is
neither a traditionalist nor a Christian - proletarian guitarists of the 1920's. In
fact, he suggests that the performance of Maskanda traditional tunes on
Western instruments may well date from the nineteenth century (1985:186).
Johnny Clegg has documented the peaking of the guitar between 1960 and
1974, when it attained its greatest acceptance amongst migrant workers.
Everybody had a guitar, he observes; the instrument most favoured was a
cheap but well constructed guitar made in Pinetown and affectionately
dubbed the "Bellini" (1981:4). Maskanda musicians have subsequently
altered the name to uBelina (see glossary).
Bhekizitha Mthembu, a past winner at the 1992 Maskanda competition in the guitar category, said that his favourite model was *iRondo* (personal interview 1993). On the other hand, Ephraim Mchunu mentioned in conversation while we were enroute to a music store in Braamfontein to purchase a guitar string, that he would like to switch to the Yamaha guitar because of its sound and the fact that it was a quality instrument (personal interview 1998).

The guitar is one amongst several other Western instruments which have been adopted into the Maskanda tradition. Ermann (1991:75) and Clegg (1981:3) have both documented the pervasive impact of Western instruments on the musical life of the Zulu people from both the historical and musical points of view. Ermann has traced the appearance of the German Valentino concertinas in South Africa as far back as the mid-nineteenth century. However, due to the import ban on German products, it was only after the First World War that its counterpart, the Italian Bastari, became known to rural Zulus, acquiring the name *Ibastari*.

Nhlapo and Khumalo (1993) contend that the acoustic guitar and the concertina had a special appeal for Maskanda musicians because of their adaptability. For example, the standard Western E-A-D-G-B-E tuning of the acoustic guitar can be altered according to the pitch sequences and particular effects desired by the particular player. The violin has also been taken up by Maskanda musicians who have found that it makes an ideal replacement for the friction bows commonly known in Zulu as *Isicelikeshe, uBhel’indlela* or *uDloko*. However, the traditional friction bow has not lost out wholesale to the violin and is still played today, and as earlier stated, mostly by older male musicians who feel they can still court at this stage in their lives.
As a conclusion to this subsection, I propose the "Cultural Continuity Time-Line" as a useful tool in tracing the roots of Maskanda (see below).
TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MASKANDA

It is important at this point to show how Maskanda has developed technically since the early days of the adaptation of traditional one-string uMakhweyana bow tunes to the Western guitar. Two major instrumental styles are discernible, one for guitar and one for concertina.

Regarding the style of music developed for guitar, Mayer (1961:225) states that 'the early mode of performance was called ukuvamba - "vamping" or the strumming of a few basic chords. The technique was first widely popularised in the 1940's by two Ndebele singers from Bulawayo, George Sibanda and Josaya Hadebe' (Coplan 1985:186).

Rob Allingham, an archivist at Gallo Records, says that Josaya Hadebe in particular, copied this guitar and vocal style almost directly from Shadrack & His Band with Enock Mkhize on vocals [OAS 251] and became very successful with it in the late 40s to the early 50s. In his correspondence, Allingham informs me that recordings by Shadrack & His Band are the earliest Zulu guitar recordings that he knows of - recorded in 1938. He thinks these musicians were from Durban but is not 100% sure. Further, he states that whether this style has any direct influence on the development of Zulu traditional Maskanda is open to debate (listen to Ngihamba ngiya eGoli, side A, excerpt 1.).

From the above recordings, it can be discerned that the musicians are from the Natal area, simply by the strong Zulu accent. The message of the song is clear: 
Ngihamba ngiya eGoli - "I am going to Johannesburg, the city of gold";
suggesting the migrant labour mobility to urban areas which was characteristic of the social setting during this time. The musicians also use izibongo in the songs. The guitar is played in vamping style, reminiscent of the early mode of performance.

Coplan (1985) has identified the other most significant guitar playing technique as the innovative ukupika style; literally "picking". The style of playing was popularised by John Bhengu whose stagemame was Phuz'ushukela. Ukupika was proof that Zulu musicians had by this time mastered a virtuosic style far beyond the basic strumming or ukuvamba. John Bhengu won many street-guitar competitions in Durban, confirmation of his technical virtuosity and musical creativity.

From the foregoing arguments, one thing is apparent: the musical development process in Maskanda begins with the strumming of a few basic chords then move on to picking. John Bhengu himself, went through the same trajectory. This can be discerned from listening to his earliest recordings while still under the Troubadour Record Label [BZ 1314], track title - Katsazile [AD 686], side A, excerpt 2. Of Bhengu's recording made in +/- 1955, Allingham observes: 'This is the earliest John Bhengu recording that I know of. It doesn't exhibit hardly any of the characteristics of his mature style but perhaps is a good indication of the predecessor style that he and his contemporaries used as a base to create Zulu traditional Maskanda as it is known today' (correspondence to Joe Nhlapo 1996).
Malusi Mhlongo reminisced about his early days as an aspirant Maskanda musician. He states: 'I started out with a hand-made three-stringed guitar which had a 5-litre paraffin resonator. From then on I progressed and included the fourth string. All along I was strumming a few tunes on my guitar which I heard in our local village. When I had saved enough, I bought myself a second hand guitar in Pinetown which is the nearest town from my home, kwaNgcolosi in Hillcrest. I continued to strum a few songs and slowly learned ukupika from musicians in my area who had been playing the guitar for some time, and through perserverence, I am an accomplished Maskanda musician today' (personal interview 1993).

Ultimately, the Maskanda musician would then include a section on izibongo once he became confident of his performance. This is evident in a subsequent recording by Gubuzaka under the Troubador Label [BZ 1401], track title - Asakweli [AD 860], side A, excerpt 3 which was recorded in +/- 1956. About this recording, Allingham comments: 'This is similar to the two Bhengu performances on [BZ 1314] but here there is an izibongo section - a telltale characteristic of the mature Zulu traditional style - so again it would seem that this style was the actual precursor to the later Zulu traditional Maskanda' (correspondence to Joe Nhlapo 1996).

The role of the concertina as an appropriate Maskanda instrument has also been investigated. Johnny Clegg, previously of Juluka fame, and currently associated with the equally famous band Savuka, has identified two major concertina styles. IsiChunu - of the Chunu - originated from the Chunu clan in Msinga and incorporates the chordal structure of traditional girls' imfilishi, that is, mouth
organ music, *IsiNdwendwe* - of the Ndwendwe - similarly proclaims its origin in the Ndwendwe district and draws heavily on girls' uMakhweyana bow music. Clegg has observed that, although initially scorned by missionaries as *Izibambo zikaSathane* "Satan's handles", the *ikhostin* or concertina eventually became a symbol of rural stability and intact family structures (Clegg, 1981.b:2-9, in Ermann, 1991:75).

In his own performance, Clegg has been greatly influenced by the style of Mchunu, a style which retains its clear links with rural Maskanda. Stapleton and May observe that 'the appeal of "rural-based" music is equally evident in the styles of many other township musicians, moulding it into some of the glossiest and most commercial of modern pop sounds' (1987:210).

In conclusion, therefore, it is important to note that Maskanda remains true to its rural origins, despite the incorporation of modern Western instruments. It has a broad popularity base amongst a variety of linguistic groupings, continuing to reaffirm a specifically African cultural identity and expressive mode, despite its assimilation into a commercialised context. Developments in telecommunications, increased record sales and the re-entry of South African musicians into the global cultural arena have made the phenomenon of Maskanda accessible to Africans living north of the Limpopo, enriching their knowledge of African culture in general and establishing links with similar traditions which characterise other ethnic expressions.
1.5 CONTEMPORARY MASKANDA: TRADITIONAL OR NEO-TRADITIONAL

As stated at the outset of this chapter, one of the objectives of this study is to prove that Maskanda is not a neo-traditional genre but an age-old tradition which is practised among the Zulu. Issues around which the debate will focus are: adoption of instruments; the existence and viability of recordings and archives; and, most centrally, the belief that change does not compromise the status of tradition.

The notion of tradition on which this section is based recognises the inevitable impact that time and changing circumstances have on cultural practices and artifacts. Jeff Opland (1983:263), in his discussion of change in Xhosa oral poetry tradition, has identified a processual model of production in flux over time. Thus tradition, in a differentiated and dynamic view,

is an aggregate of elements held together by a centripetal force operating on the individual bearer of tradition. A force that conduces to conformity with other bearers of the tradition. In the course of time the bearers of the tradition might relinquish some elements in favour of new elements, with different elements altering at different points in time, thus aspects of the tradition might change, and the tradition would yet retain an identifiable character...so that it could have nothing in common with its existence at the first point of observation and yet by virtue of continuities and changes still be the same tradition (in Drewal 1991:46).
Thus a viable notion of tradition and one to which I adhere, is not static but processual. The researcher's concern is therefore to observe and to fully understand transformative processes in the long term, accepting that change is inevitable, however, recognising that the product of change is nevertheless traditional. Thus the process of musical change is a primary concern in this study.

There have been transformative changes in Maskanda, such as the adoption of Western in lieu of African indigenous instruments, and mostly in the urban areas. It is this fact that appears to be the main reason why scholars such as Coplan (1995) and Mthethwa (1979) have labelled the genre as neo-traditional. Crozier (1993), as shown in the literature review, corroborates this assumption. Coplan in particular gives a definition of "neo-traditional" in the glossary of his book titled, In Township Tonight, as 'an adjective describing any African expressive cultural form in traditional idiom modified by performance on Western instruments, urban conditions or changes in performance rules' (1985: 268). His definition of Maskanda thus reads: 'Maskanda (Zulu: from the Afrikaans; musikant, musician) neo-traditional instrumental music; that is, music in traditional idiom played on Western instruments' (1985:267). Therefore, it is evident from the above quotations that the insertion of Western instruments into this genre has been the main criteria used by Coplan and other scholars to label Maskanda as neo-traditional.

In an earlier publication, Coplan also notes: 'western trade-store instruments, including the guitar, concertina, violin, auto-harp and mouth-organ, became popular among migrant and farm labourers as well as among urban workers.
These instruments and many urban stylistic influences were incorporated into traditional music and dance culture' (1982:359-360).

As Coplan remarks, these instruments were incorporated into traditional music, they did not replace traditional music. They were adapted and re-tuned the African way by the Maskanda performers to increase their expressiveness. The borrowed instruments provided the performers with more musical possibilities than did indigenous ones. The adoption of a new instrument in a society is neither a measure of the "neo-ness" of the tradition nor the new context of performance; it is only indicative of the continuation and innovation of the tradition. Urban conditions are also not a criterion of measuring the "newness" of a tradition but are indicative of changing social and cultural contexts. Ermann argues:

the need to invent traditions, born as it was from the social, political, and ideological dilemma of the black urban elite of Natal, was absent among the rural population. Further, the fact that traditions could be integrated almost seamlessly into a changing social environment and be adapted without elite intervention is demonstrated by a variety of concertina, guitar, and violin styles which the Zulu migrants and labourers on white farms in the Natal hinterland had created from traditional instrumental genres (1991:75).

At the time of his writing, Coplan (1997) agrees that he was responsible for coining the term "neo-traditional" which other scholars subsequently cited without questioning its basis. He therefore used the term to emphasise urban musical cultures resulting from migrant labour. There was no distinction, Coplan avers, to show a clear break between music from the rural areas and the
urban experience. The concept was acceptable in the past but is now further from the truth (personal interview).

A little deviation, however general, from the foregoing discussion will justify the importance that musicians place onto an authentic traditional Maskanda sound. Music is first and foremost an aural phenomenon, and what both represents the essence of a genre and captures the attention of an audience is the way the sounds from the musical instrument are manipulated in order to produce a desired emotive effect. The audience may well be thrilled by the visual splendour of the instruments, but it is the sound produced that constitutes the true meaning and stylistic impression of the music. Therefore, attempts aimed at reducing music to a visual phenomenon have failed. Even tertiary institutions offering music have subsequently prioritised the development of aural skills in the content of their courses. As Drewal has observed: 'most research in Africa renders performance thinglike by turning it into structures and sets of symbols, as in the case of ritual; graphic notation in the case of music, and the printed word in the case of oral poetry' (1989:15). Arising from the foregoing argument is that academic discipline tends to emphasise the observable above any other phenomena. This continued infatuation with the observable has led many scholars astray from the truth in that they are unable to explain aural phenomena which are outside their own system of verification. As Bauman observes: 'the etic view of verification is, from the onset, imbued with an etic-analytical scientific concept which gives preference to the category of the visually observable over the category of hearable' (1993:4). It seems imperative that scholars of music should rectify this tendency.
Further, it has been persuasively argued that the application of notation to African music constrains its rhythmic subtlety and complexity. On the other hand, however, most scholars have agreed that applying notation to African music does reveal and clarify certain musical concepts. For example, melodic movement and the relationship of the spoken word to the music, etc., can be followed with ease via appropriate transcriptions. Transcription is an acceptable practice in ethnomethodology, but one which should not obscure the fact that music is primarily an aural phenomenon.

In Maskanda the origin of a borrowed instrument is not the major issue, but the potential the instrumental has to produce music which to the Maskanda musician, is peculiarly Zulu. This statement leads naturally to the question of to what extent change can occur without distorting the characterising features of a traditional genre. In fact, the question of what constitutes musical change becomes crucial. As Blacking observes:

the study of musical change must be concerned ultimately with significant innovations in music sound, but innovations in music sound are not necessarily evidence of musical change. Further, if the concept of musical change is to have any heuristic value, it must denote significant changes that are peculiar to musical systems, and not simply musical consequences of social, political, economic, or other changes (1977:260).

Earlier studies did not address musical change per se: that is, the actual organization and nature of sounds but were more concerned with non-musical phenomena. 'What is strictly musical about musical change cannot be treated in exactly the same way as other kinds of socio-cultural change, and current
sociological and anthropological theories of change cannot be freely adopted and adapted' (Blacking 1977:260). What really is at the heart of musical change is the structuring of the sounds themselves.

I have earlier stated that the adoption of a new musical instrument in a society does not presuppose a concomitant change in the music. This view has been corroborated by scholars such as Wachsmann (1958, in Blacking 1977:261), who argues that the introduction of the bugle in the 1860s and of a band of European instruments about 1884 did not start a musical revolution in Buganda as might have been expected, in addition, the lyre, (which was introduced from Busoga at about the same time as the band) and the tube - fiddle, which appeared in 1907, were incorporated into the same musical system without changing it. He states: 'the influence of Western music became felt, not directly through its sounds, but through the Churches' view that music itself must be spiritual in order to be suitable for things eternal...this attitude to music influenced African musicians and has continued to affect the development of their music ever since' (55). It is important to note that what is constantly changing in music is that which is least musical about it. Hence Blacking views musical change as radical change to the organization of musical elements, and states that studies of musical change should focus on change that is specifically musical, and change that really is change (1977:264-265).

Nettl, on the other hand, states that 'musical change is not caused by contact among people and cultures or the movement of populations...it is brought about by decisions made by individuals about music-making and music on the basis of their experiences of music and attitudes to it in different social contexts'
This view is one that has been widely adopted by those who emphasise the influence of the cognitive domain in decision-making about musical sounds. To qualify as musical change, Blacking is of the opinion that the phenomenon described must constitute change in the structure of the musical system, and not simply a change within the system (1977:275).

There are, of course, no universals in the determination of change because people do not perceive change in the same way. Studies carried out among the refugee Vietnamese population in the USA show that these people attach musical change to the change in the lyrics. The role assigned to language is of more significance in identifying musical items and musical change. Reyes Schramm has observed that if the song lyrics are all in Vietnamese, even if the music sounds Western and can be identified by Western names such as "bebop" and "twist", etc., by virtue of the Vietnamese text and the fact that most of the songs were popular in pre-1975 Vietnam, this music will be identified as Vietnamese by the refugee population. Further, 'reinforcing their identification of the music as Vietnamese was the subject matter of the song texts exemplified by responses such as "return to homeland", "Saigon City", and "goodbye Saigon" '(1986:95).

It is obvious from the above that it was imperative that the author familiarise herself with the emic theory on musical change among the Vietnamese before she began to analyse their music and make her own academic study of it. This is commendable because, as has already been emphasised, theories on musical change among the custodians of culture should be solicited and carefully compared with the theories of outsiders, no matter what their academic status.
Ethnomusicological and anthropological theories that have dominated the field for decades need drastic reviewing, in much the same way as folk theories need written formulation if the study of ethnomusicology is to develop. By implication, research by culture bearers should be accorded the same status as that undertaken by outside scholars. As quoted in the introductory section of this study, the Zulu proverb - *Asiboni ngaso linye* - is worth revisiting. The lesson from the proverb is that our judgements are not the same; that they differ from one culture to another. Every culture has its own idiosyncrasies and its own ways of conceiving music, musical change and organizing knowledge. These factors must be given due respect if the emic and etic viewpoints are to be reconciled. The imposition of foreign upon folk views - as has occurred over decades - has created many problems, yielding only the most superficial knowledge of particular folk cultures.

Addressing the problem of constraints imposed by academic discipline on performance research in Africa, Drewal observes that 'disciplines determine what is studied and how...informed by structural and symbolic models on temporal phenomena...the larger point is that disciplines select out whatever dimensions of performance suit them, submitting them to pre-established methods and procedures' (1989:11-12). In her conclusion, Drewal urges scholars in the field to combine the various perspectives into one methodology so as to advance a true understanding of performance in Africa. She believes that such an approach would yield a theoretical and methodological basis that would reflect more truly African epistemological loci, making those systems of thought, in Mudimbe's words 'explicit within the framework of their own rationality' (1988:X, in Drewal 1991:47).
Similarly, Bruno Nettl contends that 'an attempt to evaluate primitive [culture] music according to Western standards is futile. Unless the Western auditor is well acquainted with this form of music such an attempt will merely reveal his prejudices' (1956:20). He observed that, although this fallacy had been recognised by anthropologists, musicologists, on the other hand, have tended to ignore the problem, continuing to evaluate the music of pre-literate cultures according to Western norms.

At the end of this overview on the issues involved in defining musical change, we are then left with two key-words: development and innovation in music. Development refers to continuity, fartherance and promotion: in this case, of the Maskanda music genre. The adoption of the guitar should be seen in this light, and not as presupposing musical change. Development cannot take place in a vacuum: it builds on something existing, with all the connotations of persistence with which the word "existence" is imbued. Maskanda as a musical genre has persisted for generations.

Innovation should be viewed as creativeness on the part of the Maskanda musician who, after having opted for the guitar in lieu of traditional instrumental models, re-tuned it and exploited the musical possibilities that the new instrument presented him. Therefore, the age - old tradition continues to flourish and adapts to influences, yet remains the same tradition in flux over time. The commercialisation of the genre and the fact that the media has come to play a pivotal role in its promotion beyond its natural Zulu cultural milieu augurs well for the accelerated degree of performance in urban settings. Maskanda has now become transculturally accepted. The re-assertion of the African cultural
identity also serves as another reason for the ready acceptance of Maskanda - which previously had acquired paganistic associations from missionaries. This was the case with other ethnic-based music genres too. There is currently greater awareness regarding Maskanda among other ethnic groups in South Africa than ever before.

A question we should ask ourselves is why should the Maskanda musician concern himself with re-tuning his new instrument and not continue to play it as tuned in the Western way (see audio-visual experience accompanying this study). The answer lies in the organisation of sound patterns peculiar to his culture which are required to fit the traditional structure. These sound patterns were transmitted to him orally, and he knows when his instrument is not in tune, i.e., referring to culture-specifics. If the new instrument cannot conform to culture-specific musical requirements, such as particular traditional tunings, then it cannot be admitted into the tradition. The guitar has had to conform to the dictates of many African musical systems in order to gain popular acceptance, amongst them the Zulu musical system. It has been assimilated into the genres of music that require instrumental accompaniment and thus occupies an important place in the family of traditional musical instruments. It is therefore not presumptuous to state that the guitar is no longer an exclusively Western instrument.

The existence and viability of recordings in order to make transcriptions of the music is obviously of crucial importance to the study of traditional genres. The invention of recording has provided one of the most important contributions to the development of ethnomusicology as a field, not only in the collection of data
but also in its analysis. However, the technology did not deem the data "neo". Archives are only repositories of data, not tools for constructing conceptual edifices. Transcriptions and sound archives may contribute to the "modernity" of the discipline, but they do not alter the nature of the artefacts. Jaap Kunst observes: 'ethnomusicology could not have developed into an independent science if the gramophone had not been invented. Only then was it possible to record the musical expressions of foreign races and peoples objectively' (1959:12).

Hugh Tracey's exhaustive recordings of indigenous African music attest to the fact that ethnomusicology is a contemporary discipline, but their primary significance is that they have documented the music of oral cultures - as it is performed and heard. Archival material provides important access to Maskanda, but it does not in any way change the essence of the genre. It aids the researcher in documenting its processual change, but, in line with the notion of tradition adopted in this study, it does not constitute proof that it is, in its contemporary form, a "neo" rather than a traditional genre.

In conclusion, I would like to re-emphasise that the tradition continues to flourish to date as it has in the past. It continues to adapt to changing contexts, but still remains the same tradition by virtue of continuity and persistence. The phenomenon of the strolling musician is one which occurs throughout the world amongst rural, agrarian people, and comparisons between its various manifestations do yield data of great value to current ethnomusicological theory.
CHAPTER 2

ORGANOLOGY, SCALES AND TUNINGS

This chapter focuses on providing information which is technical in nature about Maskanda. Initially, an attempted emic categorisation of instruments is given. Subsequent to this discussion is a sub-chapter on traditional scales and tuning systems used, in order to reveal the internal structure of Maskanda music. Transcriptions are used as an aid in elucidating the above and are thus descriptive in nature.

2.1 INSTRUMENTS USED

There is no clear-cut rule for categorising instruments according to a specifically Zulu way. From interviews conducted, I was able to deduce that the degree of usage rather than type of instrument was more important in the categorisation of instruments in the genre. This may appear as a superficial attempt at providing an emic categorisation, but did become increasingly apparent during my field trips and could therefore not be ignored. Some generalisations about Maskanda gleaned in many instances from ordinary members of the Zulu society mostly in urban contexts were: 'those are musicians who roam around always carrying a guitar' (Mtshali & Mbatha, personal interviews, 1994). General responses as to their knowledge of traditional instrumental models used in the Maskanda music genre were: 'Oh, you are now referring to uMakhweyana, an instrument played by women' (Zondi & Khumalo, personal interviews, 1994).
The foregoing are generalisations made by ordinary members of Zulu society but they nevertheless confirm the central hypotheses of this chapter.

However, while the above suggests that my chosen categorisations are probably justified, I am aware that it would take years of field study to arrive at a truly emic categorisation of Zulu musical instruments used in all genres. I thus present my own views as conjectural attempts at arriving at emic classifications. Emerging from my investigation, I would thus characterise the instruments according to their role and degree of usage in Maskanda; firstly as instruments of western origin which have taken precedence over traditional instrumental models, and secondly as traditional/indigenous instruments used in the tradition of strolling musicians before the advent of western models, and from where Maskanda as it is known today is presumed to have originated. Note that the tradition of strolling was pervasive then as it is now, and therefore the two categories posited should not be seen as mutually exclusive: they are part of the same tradition. Thus, to dismiss, for example, uMakhweyana as not being part of Maskanda is incorrect as this study argues that Maskanda is the genre of strolling musicians. Since this is the case, then both western instruments adapted to Maskanda and the traditional/indigenous models are part of the same tradition of strolling musicians. This argument also holds true for the two song examples given in this chapter, by an uMakhweyana bow and uDloko player respectively. Both songs are repertoire in this enduring tradition of Zulu strolling musicians.
1. Guitar

- of Western origin
- known as *isiginci* in Zulu
- the domain of males
- favourite models are the Bellina and the Rondo (see glossary) and are used in both urban and rural settings

2. Concertina

- of Western origin
- known as *inkostini* in Zulu
- domain of male performers
- appears in different sizes, viz., 1 - high; 2 - medium; and 12 - low: the latter is the most popular and is called *uthwalufu*, a name derived from the English “twelve”. Hence the choice of name *Uthwalufu namaNkentshane* by a well-known contemporary Maskanda group (see accompanying audio-visual experience wherein Bhojabhoja Ximba plays the no.2 concertina).
- favourite make is *uGarantoni* in Zulu, from the English word “Garantone”.
- used in both rural and urban settings
3. Violin

- of Western origin
- known as *uvayolini* in Zulu, a name clearly derived from the English "violin"
- domain of males
- played in both rural and urban settings; its popular appeal is diminishing with the advent of techno-equipment
- home-made models are also available

4. Piano-Accordion

- of Western origin
- favourite models were *iBastari* and Valentino
- domain of males
- played mostly in urban settings. Most Maskanda performers choose the concertina in preference to the accordion.

5. Mouth organ

- of Western origin
- known as *infilitsi* in Zulu
- played mostly by young women, men very rarely play this instrument
- used mostly in rural settings, but is played occasionally in urban settings
CATEGORY B.

1. uMakhweyana

- traditional instrument
- presently played exclusively by females
- used mostly in rural settings and very rarely in urban areas except during cultural festivals and competitions. (See illustration below.)

Fig. 3 - The Zulu uMakhweyana Bow
2. Isicolekesho

- traditional instrument
- a friction bow also known as *uBhele' indlela*.
- presently *isicolekesho* or *uBhele' indlela* is played mostly by older men (listen to *Ngayithatha Intombi, side B, excerpt 1. & uMdlamini Ithemba lam, side B, excerpt 2.*).
- found mostly in rural settings, and occasionally in urban contexts
- also known as *udloko*

3. uGubhu

- a traditional instrument
- domain of older male performers
- used exclusively in rural settings
- performance practice has diminished since the advent of the guitar
- truly an indigenous Zulu instrument (See illustration below)

![Illustration of a uGubhu Bow](Image)

**Fig.4 - uGubhu Bow**
The following instrument, that is, umDurban (a dulcimer), falls in neither of the two categories in the strictest sense - it has only been included in this study to show the innovation which characterise Maskanda musicians, and the continuity of the tradition.

**umDurban**

- a Dulcimer; according to Dargie (1996), this type of instrument exists (though using a smaller 5 litre resonator) among the Xhosa and the Venda. Dargie recorded a Xhosa version called *utot’omdaka* - a dirty tin, near Lady Frere in or about 1981.
- a newly adopted instrument in Maskanda
- domain of males
- as the name suggests, the instrument originated from Durban where I first made acquaintance with it at the 1993 Maskanda competitions held at the University of Natal, Durban.
- a 25 litre paraffin or oil tin is used as the resonator and flattened on the upper part of the tin so as to form a curved shape similar to an incomplete semi-circle. Car-tyre tubes serve as the strings and the sound produced is a low bass drone and timbre. (See illustration below)

![Diagram of umDurban](image)

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*Fig.5 - umDurban - a Dulcimer*
ENSEMBLES

Maskanda is essentially an individualised type of performance as corroborated in a foregoing discussion. Ensembles began to emerge when recording companies became interested in recording Maskanda music. In the traditional setting, it was an unusual scene to have two uMakhweyana bows played together because many performers chose to play by themselves and to brood over unrequited love. Therefore, ensembles in Maskanda are a contemporary phenomenon and as such constitute a category in their own right. They are generally comprised of the acoustic six-string lead guitar which is sometimes amplified; the electric bass guitar; a set of drums (very cheap models); a concertina; backing vocals; lead vocals are provided by the leader of the group who in most cases is also the lead - guitar player. The inclusion of a keyboard has in the past been very rare, but is making its way into contemporary ensembles, especially in styles that show the influence of Mbhaqanga music. When it is used, it plays a minor role.

Very few groups use the accordion in the place of the concertina. Vusi Ximba is an exponent of Maskanda who has replaced the role played by an acoustic six-string guitar with the accordion. (The accordion is more prevalent in the Basotho's *difela tsa ditsamayana*ha genre, a parallel genre to Maskanda. Many musicians who use the accordion in Maskanda come from the Natal Midlands where there are Sotho speaking communities, as is confirmed by the occurrence of surnames such as Moloi, Mokoena and Motaung which are common.
The acoustic guitar is the most popular instrument, even in contemporary ensembles, because it best achieves the traditional sound desired both by performers and listeners. In conclusion, it is important to note that the use of instruments, be they traditional or Western in origin, is not entirely area-specific.

2.2 TRADITIONAL SCALES AND TUNING SYSTEMS

In this subsection, four songs have been transcribed into staff and analysed in order to show the traditional scale(s) and tuning system(s) used by Zulu musicians in the Maskanda genre. Directions on how to interpret the transcriptions are included. Note that the transcriptions are only an approximation of the music tones. Therefore, the notation used is descriptive rather than prescriptive and should be viewed in conjunction with the aural experience provided by excerpts on cassette. As the main objective of these transcriptions is to point out the salient features of Maskanda music, the lyrics of songs have not been included.

Song-title: Sizobika eNkostini (side A, excerpt 8.)
Composer: Thengiwe Dlomo
Instrumentation: uMakhweyana bow

(See transcription overleaf)
The fundamental notes are Eb, F, G, and appear on the last system of the score.

The instrumental part starts in a triplet rhythm followed by a dotted rhythm, and this is done interchangeably throughout the composition. Pulses are in groups of 8 and this pattern is maintained throughout the song. Besides accompanying the voice, the bow's melody also acts as the “call part” to the voice which acts as the “responsorial part”.

The vocal phrase makes ample use of falling tones indicated by the sign \( \text{\textcopyright} \) a common feature in indigenous Zulu vocal music. The vocal phrase is repeated throughout, but is shortened at later entries. It is also usual for contemporary Maskanda players to shorten the vocal phrase at subsequent entries, depending on the number of repetitions.

Notes used frequently are the three fundamental notes, Eb, F, G, and Bb. The Ab that follows occurs less frequently because the semitone interval is generally avoided, except in the approach to falling tones or within glissandi. The underlying tonal organisation is clearly pentatonic, as are old Zulu dance songs. Impey has noted that songs played on uMakhweyana in the inverted position, that is, the short wire segment is placed above and the longer segment below so that the pitch and tuning change slightly, often use the pentatonic scale (1977:5). The selected harmonics which resonate from the gourd of the uMakhweyana bow usually form the tonal basis on which the vocal melody is built.

The uMakhweyana bow can be played according to different tunings, depending on the needs of the player and the mode or scale to be used. The player will
selectively resonate the harmonics that amplify the underlying scale. The following illustration shows a different tuning of the uMakhweyana bow, according to which the fundamental pitches are C, D and Eb.

Fig.6 - Alternative tuning of uMakhweyana
(Rycroft, 1981:74)

The first note C is played on the upper segment of the bow - *ukushaya ngaphezulu*; the second note D is played on the lower segment - *ukushaya ngaphansi*; the third note Eb is produced when the lower segment of the string/wire - *uthaka* or *ucingo lukaMakhweyana* - is stopped - *ukwvala uthaka*. Chosen harmonics resonated when the gourd bow is lifted and held away from the chest. The illustration overleaf shows fundamental tones plus harmonics.

Fig.7 - Resonated harmonics plus fundamental tones of uMakhweyana
(Rycroft, 1981:74)
Even though the interval of a semitone is apparently part of Umakhweyana bow music, it is normal performance practice to glide over it rapidly to the note that follows, creating the effect of a falling tone – this is not the same thing as a passing note which is used in conventional notation. As stated above, the intended aural structure is pentatonic.

Song-title: *Ngayithatha Intombi* (side B, excerpt 1.)
Composer: Nomashizolo Msimango
Instrumentation: Isicalekeshe/udloko - friction bow

(See transcription overleaf)
The instrumental part appears in the two upper parts, and is repeated throughout the song. The principal melody is in the treble line, which is the upper-most melody played on the Isiculekeshe. Although the vocal part may sound as if it is higher than the principal melody, it is actually lower. The voice “polyphonises” at the interval of a 4th and 5th, and also at the 8ve. At initial entries, the principal melody is played an octave higher than is notated in the given examples. However, subsequent entries occur an octave below. The bow part is alternated ad libitum between the two octaves in order to create contrast, given the continual melodic repetition.

Beats are grouped in pulses of sixteen units with the first pulse in the group always falling on a weak beat. Off-beat timing occurs frequently.

Notes of the implied pentatonic scale and on which the song is based appear on the last system of the score.
Song-title: *Ngesaba ukuganwa (side B, excerpt 3.)*
Composer: Bhekizitha Mthembu
Instrumentation: acoustic guitar (iRondo type)

Note: Rapid or quick notes are encircled. The double line indicates the start of another group of eight pulses.

(See transcription overleaf)
Ngesaba Ukuganwa

Composer:
Shekizitha Mthembu

Instrumentation
Acoustic guitar
The transcription comprises the introduction to the song, known as *ihlabo* in Zulu. In this section the musician makes clear the scale and style to be used (see glossary). The guitar part in this composition has two independent melodies which create a polyphonic texture when the voice is added. The principal melody appears in the treble while the bass part acts as the reinforcement in its turn. The melody in the bass part "polyphonises" as the intervals of a 4\textsuperscript{th}, 5\textsuperscript{th} and sometimes at the 8ve, and also acts as the antiphonal part. The vocal part duplicates the principle melody in its turn after fifty-six pulses have been played by the guitar in the "ihlabo" section. This melody is repeated throughout the song. Imitation between the bass part and the principal voices also occurs, suggesting a call and response format as has been observed in the foregoing. Note that the principal melody has been written an octave lower than is actually played.

The instrumental part begins on an upbeat and makes ample use of off-beat timing and accentuation. Pulses are grouped in units of eight. At initial entries the pulse is very unsteady and nonmetrical, but as the song progresses a steady pulse is established. Midway through the song, units of pulses alternate in their entries, forming an interlocking of parts.

The pentatonic scale which provides the framework of the whole song appears on the last page of the score.
Song-title: Imbizo (side B, excerpt 8.)
Composer: Phuz'ukhemisi noKhethane
Instrumentation: Contemporary ensemble

Note: Glissandi and falling tones are represented by 🝐 and 🝑 respectively. A rising tone is represented by the sign 🝑. (See transcription overleaf.)
mhlaba-thengwunga bo ni s'le li ku-wo-na.

mhlaba-thengwunga bo ni s'le li ku-wo-na.
nja-lo nje na k'kho-ni-mbi-zo. Awu
The introductory guitar and concertina phrase carries the thematic material that is repeated throughout the *ihlabo* section. Thereafter, the main melody is taken by the lead voice and acts as the "call" phrase. This is answered by a backing group of male voices. The *call* and *response* format is the main compositional framework, and is used in abundance in this song.

"Polyphonisation" occurs mostly at the intervals of a 5th, as well as the 4th and 8ve.

Beats are grouped in units of eight pulses. Off-beat accentuation also occurs abundantly.

After seven "bars", the main section begins. This section commences with new thematic material that acts as the responsorial melody for the rest of the song. The theme in this instance is introduced by the guitar, and is taken by the concertina in its turn. The lead voice enters with its new melody, based on rising and falling tones. It is repeated throughout the song and also makes use of glissandi. There is also the suggestion of a microtone between the notes B-flat and B natural (indicated by brackets); this slide is reminiscent of a "blue note" in African American jazz.

The scale on which the piece is based appears on the last page of the score. It contains a semitone interval, namely, between B and C. However, the note B which is encircled, is played rapidly after the preceding falling tone, de-emphasizing the semitone interval so as to retain sense of pentatonic organization. It could also be argued that the song is based on a six-note scale.
since such scales occur abundantly in traditional Zulu music. However, the pentatonic organisation is felt strongly in this piece.

As the above analysis demonstrate, the characterising musical features of Maskanda have not been lost over the years, but remain palpable in compositions performed by contemporary ensembles. The following features should be noted in particular: The pentatonic scale which provides the essential tonal framework on which the music is built is still strongly adhered to; The interval of a semitone is underplayed by the ample use of rising and falling tones as well as glissandi. Antiphony remains the dominant principle underlying the basic musical structure, as is the use of repetition in both instrumental and vocal parts. The “polyphonisation” at the intervals of a 4th and 5th, which is considered undesirable in Western harmony is judged aurally pleasing by Maskanda musicians and enthusiasts. The occurrence of all the above is essential in the classification of Maskanda as traditional - umculo womdabu or umculo wesintu - in Zulu.

For an understanding of the different tuning systems used in the guitar styles in Maskanda, the reader is advised to consult the MA. dissertation, titled, A Study of the Guitar Styles in Zulu Maskanda Music by Nollene Davies (1992).
CHAPTER 3

MASKANDA SONG TEXTS

This chapter focuses on a variety of song texts in the Maskanda - a genre of music within the broad scope of Zulu music. The categorisation put forward is essentially emic. Since most of the song texts in Maskanda are topical, they have been placed into various subgroups; initially by taking into consideration how the Zulu people categorise them and secondly by taking into cognisance categories created by scholars such as Merriam, Tracey, etc. that correspond substantially with emic classifications and, in the case of Maskanda. It is worth noting the definition of emics as espoused by Murray (1990:147). He considers the term "emic" as applying in either of two situations: the informants provide the categories and/or say they agree with our analysis (in Alvarez-Pereyre & Arom, 1993:25.)

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the song categories put forward have been provided by informants (Maskanda musicians) and they happen to be in concord with categories created by scholars such as Merriam, Tracey, etc. These are not just semantic categories that I have personally created to push forward my self-interest in the emics. However, Maskanda musicians do experiment with the categories during their musical life. When I asked Ephraim Mchunu about the subject of his song texts, he was quick to reply that every Maskanda musician, through his musical trajectory, has at one time or the other sung about love, social commentary, eulogised someone, etc. He does not, however, regard this as something of a major concern, but that the music on his guitar will decide
the song texts to be used. He has, however, noted that during his teens he used
to compose many love songs because age permitted him to do so. In our
discussion, he made mention of Vusi Ximba who is notorious for using "vulgar"
language. However, he argues that this is not vulgar per se but to call a spade a
spade. As a Maskanda musician, Macingwane (clan-name of Mchumi) does not
like to use bawdy song texts, but has no particular dislike for, nor despises
musicians who thrive on them: 'it is their choice', he says emphatically (personal
interview, 1998).

It is a truism that song texts clearly reflect the culture of which they are part;
naturally this makes them particularly illuminating regarding their embodiment
of the values stressed by their culture. Speaking of Polynesian song texts,
Burrows (1940:339), for example, indicates that 'songs in praise of chiefs
fostered political loyalty. Songs in praise of places expressed the sentiment of
the homeland. In a negative way, songs of ridicule and scandal were at once a
punishment to culprits and a warning to others. Such songs constituted
something very like a legal sanction through public opinion' (in Merriam
1950:205). Song texts are therefore very useful in revealing and comprehending
the ethos and behavioural patterns of a particular culture under study.

It will be shown in this chapter how Maskanda musicians use the texts to
address social ills and try to provide solutions, use the texts to identify
themselves and to claim affinity to a particular area proving to whomever is
listening that the genre is indeed traditional. Maskanda musicians also use the
texts as the determinants of style as will be shown in the ensuing discussion.
In African music, as Akpabot notes, 'song texts can act as historical commentaries or "culture indicators"...the Oriki music of the Yorubas is a form of historical commentary, and African historians trained in the Western idiom are more and more beginning to take a closer look at these oral masterpieces which used to be taken purely at their face value as nothing more than entertainment. A thorough examination of song texts can indeed prove that they serve special functions in most traditional societies' (1986:42).

Although not particularly relevant to the discussion at hand, it is worth noting that sociomusicologists such as Lomax (Cantometrics) believe that song texts reflect the traits of a given society, and that the degree of complexity of a song is a measure of the degree of complexity of its society. They espouse the belief that the social structure of a society can affect the style of a song, and that the social structure may either be egalitarian or stratified. Lomax's seminal work on folk song style and culture is an important case study in such correlations and should be perused for more insight on this topic.

Generally in African traditional societies, songs of social control are usually topical and appropriate to a given community. Akpabot observes that they generally convey either praise or abuse designed to regulate the social order. Sometimes they are philosophical and humorous, since the African's sense of humour is best expressed in song and proverbs. Songs of social control, with their carefully worded texts, often serve as a village "newspaper" expanding on important happenings in the daily life of the society: the beautiful girl in the village who is promiscuous; the aging woman who marries a man many years her junior; the lady chorister caught in the pastor's bedroom; the prominent man
in the village who is an elite by day but an armed robber at night (1986:43).

In Maskanda, topical songs are the order of the day. Musicians in this genre are adept at ridiculing and praising individuals. They are always on the lookout for any happenings in the daily life of the society which may become appropriate subjects for their compositions. In work situations, for example, musicians decry the covert actions of a particular individual who pretends to be siding with them in their grievances against management, yet he/she is a spy of the management and receives remuneration for his/her underhand services. The spy is exposed in the song according to a carefully worded text, warning co-workers not to reveal anything in case they are approached by a spy of this kind.

In this study, song texts have been placed into six categories, viz., amaculo uthando (love songs): amaculo akhayo/anesizathu (social commentary): amaculo okubonga/okubongela (eulogy); amaculo okuhlambalaza/okuhluqa (bawdy songs); amaculo amahlaya/okuteketisa (songs for pure entertainment); amaculo okholo (religion). An introductory comment for each category is given. Where possible, the sex and age group of the performer is specified in order to assist the reader in mapping out carefully the topic(s) of interest of each particular age group. Where the literal translation is clear, no further explanation will be given. Note that the bold text is the “recited” poetry.
CATEGOR Y 3.1 - AMACULO OTHANDO

In this category the song texts involved are those dealing with themes of love, such as courting - ukweshela nokukekela, rejection - ukwaliwa, love making, unrequited love, etc. Song texts are treated as one homogeneous group because all are connected to the subject of love. They deal with the various stages through which a person goes in his / her quest for requited love. For instance, rejection and unrequited love can cause deep sorrow and these songs can be called amaculo omunyu in Zulu. As mentioned above, the songs are treated as a homogeneous group.

Song 1. Composer: Nomashizolo Msimango
Title: Ngayithatha Intombi (side B, excerpt 1.)
Age group: 50+ / Older performer
Sex: Male

Heyheni! Heyheni! we mamawele
Isivinini sami selanga
Isivinini sam' senyuke la
Nomawele, Nomawelewele
Ngayithatha mina
Ngayithath' intombi nsizwa
Ngashay' uluvalo ngaphel' amandla
Ngayithatha baba
Ngayithath' intombi nsizwa
Nank' amawele, nank' amawelewle
Isivinini sam' senyuke la
Awubhek' amawele.

LITERAL TRANSLATION

Hey! mother of twins
My zest of life for the day
This is where my zest for life riseth
Mother of twins
I took (her)
Man, I took the girl
I was scared and numb
Father, I took her
Man, I won the girl
Here are my twins
This is where my zest for life riseth
Take a look at the twins

"My zest of life for the day" means that the person to whom the singer is referring, and by whom he is enraptured, is his sole reason for living. Without her there is no life, or at least, it makes no sense without her. "This is where my zest for life riseth" means that the loved party is his pillar of hope, his source of renewed enthusiasm that makes him stronger everyday and makes it possible for him to withstand the hardships of life.
Song 2. Composer: Nomashizolo Msimango
Title: uMaDlamini Ithemba Lami (side B, excerpt 2.)

uMaDlamini yithemba lami
Uma ivuka laph' ingwenya
Ingadl' abantu
weMaDlamini ulithemba lami
Mayivuka laph' ingwenya ingadla bani

Ingadla mina kusal' ithemba lami
Mayivuka laph' ingwenya ingadla bani
Ingadla mina kusal' ithemba lami
Heyi! ngiyeshela mina, ngishela kwaZulu
Ngeshela kwaZulu, Ndabezitha
Ho mina ngiyeshela, ngishela kwaZulu
Wena weSilo, wena weNdlovu, Ndabezitha
Uyisigebengu ntomb' ungingenca ngembazo
Ungigenca ngembazo, wentombi zakithi
Kanti kukhon' isigebengu sentomb' eqom' eMpondweni
Intomb' eqom' eMpondweni,
Ikhalel' amagam' ami.

Wadla mbombomo Nomashizol' omnyama
Otsotsi hedla bedlula
uNomahilihili inyama beyiIdla beyihiIiza
Badla bethi qinis! hlehlelezi abakwabo
Ngoba sebesuthi, ngoba beganiwe
Bethi dlana lapha munt' ongaganiwe
Besi ngazi ukuth' usekhona mntakababa
Kant' usekhona, Awu! besith' usuhambile
Dlana munt' ongaganiwe

Kush' uMaDlamini ishende lami.

LITERAL TRANSLATION

MaDlamini is my pillar of hope
When the crocodile awakes
It can devour people
You, MaDlamini are my pillar of hope
Who will be devoured by the crocodile when it awakes

It can devour me and leave my pillar of hope
Who will be devoured by the crocodile when it awakes
It can devour me and leave my pillar of hope
Hey! I am proposing love in KwaZulu
I propose love in KwaZulu, your Majesty
Oh! I propose love in KwaZulu
Your Royal Highness, his Majesty
Girl, you are a criminal, you chop me with the axe
You chop me with the axe, you my home-girls
And yet there is a deceitful girl who is in love with a Mpondo
She is in love with a Mpondo man
Yet she still agrees to my proposition

Eat you mbombomo black NoMashizolo
Thieves ate and passed
Nomahilihili, the meat that they ate and pushed aside
Her family eating and devouring the meat in haste
Because they have had enough and are now married
Saying, eat here you unmarried person
We did not know that you were still here child of our father
And yet you are still here! We thought that you had left already
Eat you unmarried person

It is MaDlamini my mistress who said so.

This song has sung poetry as well as "recited" poetry. A Maskanda musician who is able to combine the intricacies of singing with the demands of praise-poetry - *ukuba yimbongi* - is regarded as a totally accomplished musician. The subject of the sung text as opposed to the "recited" poetry is in many instances unrelated. If the two are related, then the song is considered successful.
In this song the musician is talking about his mistress MaDlamini by whose love
he is enraptured. He has put his trust and confidence in her. The crocodile metaphor which is used refers to evil deeds. The poet says that even if evil were to befall him and his lover and he was required to sacrifice his life for her, he would do so. The invocation to his Royal Highness tells us that he knows that the King is the father and symbol of the nation; thus he wants the whole nation to know that he really loves MaDlamini. Put simply, if the King knows about his love, then the nation will know, because it is easier for the King than anyone else to disseminate information to his subjects who listen and believe in him.

MaDlamini is unlike other girls who court people from other ethnic groups such as the Mpondos - a subclan among the Xhosa speaking people. Zulu men used to despise women who entered into inter-ethnic relationships in the olden days; and some still do, mostly in the rural parts of KwaZulu, but even in the urban areas. They seem particularly obsessed with singling out the Xhosas.

In the "recited" poetry, NoMashizolo utters self-praises and uses metaphorical language as well as imagery. He refers to himself as Black Mbombomo, "mbombomo" is the crushing sound made by thunder especially when very dark clouds have formed before the storm, which makes the earth to tremble. The poet represents himself as a colossal, gigantic figure, relating his narration to the sung text in that he is giving a good account of himself to MaDlamini.

Aptly, this song is a showcase of life in the traditional setting where the King is the highest in authority.
Song 3. Composer: Bhekizitha Mthembu
Title: *Ngesaba Ukuganwa (side B, excerpt 3.)*
Age group: 22+ / younger performer
Sex: Male

O! mina ngiyesaba ngempela ukuganwa ngisemncane
Bona ke ngisale ngisenkingeni
Awuboni namhlanje sengithetha amacala

**LITERAL TRANSLATION**

Oh! I am afraid to marry while I am still young
See! I will always be in trouble
Can't you see that today indeed I am giving my account in marital disputes.

Song 4. Composer: Somaqhinga & Ensemble
Title: *Uzokwatiwa (side B, excerpt 4.)*
Contemporary Male Ensemble

Uhamb' unyaka wonke
Waya kosebenz' eGoli
Uhamb' unyaka wonke
Waya kosebenz' eThekwini
We mhlambe kwabe sekwalephi?

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We mhlambe kwahe sekutheni?
Wen' uzokwaliwa

LITERAL TRANSLATION

You left home for the whole year
To work in Johannesburg
You left home for the whole year
To work in Durban
What held you back?
What was the reason?
Your bride/wife is intending to leave you

The text in this song can be also be regarded as an example of social commentary because the system of migrant workers, some of whom never return, has been a source of concern to their communities. The musician is conveying the rural wife's intention of ending the relationship because her husband has neither communicated with her nor provided financial support for his family. He sings that someone who dearly loves him is suffering as a result of his irresponsibility and the possibility that her love is unrequited.

Summary Commentary

As mentioned at the introduction of this category, these songs are about the subject of love. Courting, proposing, falling in love, unrequited love, rejection, brooding and mourning over loved ones are common themes in love songs. The
songs also reveal some issues about the disintegration in the fabric of societal life, especially in the rural areas where young men headed for the cities in seek of job opportunities, leaving their loved ones besotted with hardships arising from non-maintenance. Many women were left to fend for themselves while their husbands "busied" themselves with women of the cities, some never to return. Thus, changing roles in the household became common as more women asserted themselves as heads of their households and to become culture bearers.
CATEGORV 3.2 - AMACULO ANESIZATHU/AKHAYO

The song texts in this broad category deal with everyday issues that are of great concern to the nation. There is no direct recrimination or attempt at social control but rather the music offers an avenue for making known to the nation behaviour that is socially unacceptable. Perpetrators of such behaviour are reprimanded and warned to abstain from their anti-social habits. Such songs give vent to community feelings and disillusionment.

Song 1. Composer: Nkansula and Band
Title: Owani Umbango (side B, excerpt 5.)
Contemporary Male Ensemble

Owan' umbango zinsizwa
Bafe baphel' abantu
Nina nisebalwa
Lombang' owani zinsizwa
Baze baphel' abantu
Awubhek' umhlaba wonke usuphelile
Owan' umbango zinsizwa.

LITERAL TRANSLATION

What is the dispute all about young men?
Many people have died
You are now in the minority
Why are you fighting young men?
Can’t you see the genocide
The whole world is dead
What is this contention all about?

Song 2. Composer: Phuz’ukhemisi noKhethane
Title: Hlanganani (side B, excerpt 6.)
Contemporary Ensemble

Awu! Ahawwe! Maye we!
Baze baphel' abantu bakithi
Baze baphel' abantu beNkosi
Kodwa sibulalana sodwa nje
SaZe saphela isizwe esimnyama

Hlanganani wezinsizwa sikhulume lendab' iphele
Awu! baphel' abantu
Awu! naku kuphel' isizwe.

Sibambe phela Phuz’ekhemisi
Wayihlabana ngempela Zulu mhlathune mfokaMajazana
Khona phans' eCepheni la sizaIwa khona
Khuphuka lapho ke Khethane enkostinini
Hayi sichamuka kancane thina sigudl' itwandle
S' yobambelel' emaphikwen' okhozi
Ngangilokhu ngibatshe le kancane
Ngithi uL(R)adio Zulu uhamba phambili basana
Hu!!

Awa! Maye we!
Safa yiloludlame
Saphela isizwe
Kuphela lonke izwe lase Afr(i)ka
Kuphela wonk' ama-Afr(i)ka

LITERAL TRANSLATION

Oh! Oh no!
Our people are dying
God's people are dying
But we continue to kill each other
The black nation is dying

Meet you men and talk things over
Oh! people are dying
Oh! We are witnessing the death of the nation

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Hold it, Phuz' ehemisi
You really stuck it, Zulu
Mhlathune son of Majazana
Down at Cepheni where we were born
Effect a crescendo there Khethane on the concertina
We are appearing steadily en-route by sea
To hold tight at the wings of the falcon
I used to inform them tersely
Saying that Radio Zulu is the best

Oh! Oh no!
We are dying because of this violence
Our nation is dying
Africa as a whole is dying
All the African people are dying

Songs 1 and 2 express deep-seated group sentiments about the unnecessary slaying of people which continues unabated in Black communities. Endemic violence is addressed as a national concern and Maskanda musicians are not immune from it. In fact they frequently reveal their frustrations about the continued bloodletting of innocent victims through song. 'When will the killings cease?' is the question both songs are posing. Musicians are aware that violence is not a thing of colour or 'Black thing' because it filters down even to white South Africans. Proven allegations of third force involvement in political violence makes this a South African problem. It is a national crisis and all of us irrespective of colour or creed must find a peaceful solution to the problem.
Both songs are about contemporary life but the message conveyed is equally significant in rural as well as urban areas. Violence is a problem for Africa as a whole - says the musician in song 2.

In song 2, the "recited" poetry is not related to the sung text. It is purely an expositional area in which the musician tells us about himself: where he was born; from which river he drinks; the chief to whom he pays homage, etc. In this section the musician claims affinity to his home indicating his social identity. Speaking of the functional importance of song style as an indicator of social identity, Lomax (1959:929) has remarked that 'from the point of view of its social functions, the primary effect of music is to give the listener a feeling of security, for it symbolises the place where he was born, his earliest childhood satisfactions, his religious experience, his pleasure in community doings, his courtship and his work - any or all of these personality shaping experiences' (in Feld 1984:405).

However, in the last line, the musician praises Radio Zulu (now known as uKhozi) which seems to imply that this medium of communication has played a pivotal role in informing the general public about the effects of violence. If this be the case, the song is successful because both sections, that is, the sung and the "recited" poetry, merge well.

Note that the song text is used as a determinant of style; the musician comes from the South Coast, at eCepheni kwaDukuza. The Maskanda style associated with this area is uMzansi (see glossary).
Song 3. Composer: Bhekizitha Mthembu
Title: *Isizwe Esimnyama (side B, excerpt 7.)*
Age group: 22+ younger performer
Sex: Male

Kenitshelen' isizw' esimnyama
Sibuye madoda,
Ngoba asiwaz'amasiko
Obabamkhulu bethu abasitsheli kahle
Asiwaz' amasiko.

LITERAL TRANSLATION

Make every effort to inform the Black nation
To go back to their roots,
Because they do not understand their customs
Our elders have not correctly informed us
We do not know our customs.

This song is more relevant to contemporary African societies who have forgotten their customs in favour of European and American ways of life. It conveys an important message to Africans who are experiencing difficulties and problems in life as a result of the fact that the spirits of the ancestors have turned their backs on them - *ukufukathela.* These modernised Africans do not know
how to perform the ancestral rituals which are necessary to make a success of themselves in life. Thus, the musician is urging all Africans to practice their customs once more. Bhekizitha Mthembu, the musician in this instance, has not included the "recited" praises in this song because he is still young and still has a lot to learn. Izibongo - praises - is the practice of veteran musicians who have accumulated cultural knowledge over decades. Yet this song is successful in that its content is both relevant and is nation building. Idle ngesizathu, meaning, 'there is reason and sense in it'. (See chapter 1. where I discuss the re-assertion of African cultural identity).

Song 4. Composer: Phuz'ukhemisi noKhethane
Title: Imbizo (side B, excerpt 8.)
Contemporary Ensemble

Lomhlab' uyathengwa ungaboni s'phila kuwona
Njalo ngonyaka sikhokh' imali yamasik' enduneni
Lomhlab' uyathengwa ungaboni s'hieli kuwona

Ungaboni siphila kulomhlaba
Siyawukhokheia

Awu! njalo njena kukhon' imbizo
Sebesibiz' emakhosini
Sebesibiza phezulu
Sebesifun' esikoleni
Bathi kukhon' imbizo
Awu! bayibamba ngempela msan'ophuz'ekhemisi noKhethane madoda
Khona phans' eMkhomazi esibuya khona
Khona kaDumisa
Hayi ngabatshela mfokababa Khethane
Ngathi bathi bayithint'imamba isemgodini
Ngathi hayi bafana iyonilimaza mayike yaphuma
Wobhasobha nsizwa ungami ngezansi
Is'gcabhane les' esingezansi
Siwis' amatsho.

LITERAL TRANSLATION

This earth is paid for, don't see us living on it
Every year we pay customs fee to the chief 's headman
This earth is paid for, don't see us staying on it

Don't see us living on this earth
We pay for it

Oh! now and then, there is a call
Calling us to the Kings
Calling us from above
We are summoned to school meetings
Saying there is a call
Oh! They really have it boy, Phuz' ekhemisi and Khethane, oh men!
Down at Mkhomazi where we come from
There at Dumisa's place
No, I told them Khethane, my father's son
They made known that they were going to touch the mamba (snake)
I said no way boys, it will hurt you if it ever came out
Take precaution young man, don't stand down there
What is down there is a deadly thing
It makes rocks to fall

*Imbizo* is a call (see glossary). This is a very successful song and one that has managed to transcend ethnic and racial barriers in South Africa. It was composed at a time when people were experiencing massive unemployment in the country and an alarming shortage of money. It refers to men in authoritative positions such as chiefs and the municipal councillors who expect rent and services to be paid for, while knowing full well that people have no means. Many individuals therefore decided to boycott the payment of services. This song was composed at this inauspicious moment and many people were able to relate to it. The song expresses group sentiment regarding the attitude of authorities who do not take into consideration that many people were living from hand to mouth.

In the "recited" poetry the musician proclaims himself as one who can withstand an imamba-snake while others cannot. The deadly snake makes rocks fall but it cannot do that to him because he is strong and can swim against the tide. Even
though he is struggling to make ends meet, he will somehow carry on. In other words, the strong survive while the weak fall by the wayside.

Again the text is also used as a determinant of style. By identifying himself as one who comes from Mkhomazi in the South Coast, one would expect the musician to play the umzansi style (see glossary).

Song 5. Composer: Thengiwe Dlomo
Title: Sizobika Enkosini (side A, excerpt 8.)
Age group: 33+
Sex: Female

Sizobik’ enkosini ‘kuth’ Indun’ayikho lana
Thina sizobik’enkosini ‘kuth’ Indun’ayikho lana
Thina sizobik’ekhulwini ‘kuth’ Indun’ayikho lana

LITERAL TRANSLATION

We are here to inform the King that his headman is nowhere to be seen
We are here to inform his royal highness that his headman is not around
Summary Commentary

This category has tried to reveal that messages of relevance in song texts are used by Maskanda musicians to teach their communities about social taboos and mores. The message in the music is meant to rebuild society into a cohesive unit that also has self-respect and respect for other people. In a time when rural communities have been ravaged by political violence and the social fabric torn into pieces, such songs have become a source of hope that things will get better someday.
CATEGORY 3.3 - AMACULO OKUBONGA/OKUBONGELA

This broad category deals with texts of praise, from the praising of individuals, and the community to self-praise. It shall be referred to as the "eulogy" category, to include the full range of praise-songs. Maskanda has an abundance of praise song texts.

Song 1. Composer: Phuz'ukhemisi noKhethane
Title: Sidedele (side B, excerpt 9.)
Contemporary Ensemble

Siyaluhalalisela loluhlelo lukaBhodloza
Sigiya ngengoma phans' eThekwini eGagasini

Bengicela kuBhodloza kathethe sibulalane Nzimande
Bengicela kuwe baba kawuthethe sibulalane ngengoma
Sithi thetha sibulalane ngengoma

Bayibamba ngempela mfan'oPhuz'ekhemisi noKhethane madoda
Khona phans' eCepheni lesizalwa khona
Umfula esiwuphuzayo siphuz' uMakhweyakade
Sichamuka kancane thina sigudi' ilwandle
Khona phansi eMkhomazi esibuya khona
Diliika lapho ke did'abalozi
Kudala beng' delela
Kudala bengeyisa
Awuthethe sibashiye
Awuthethe sibashintshe.

LITERAL TRANSLATION

We give praises to Bhodloza's programme
We dance to the music down in Durban's waves

I am requesting Bhodloza to announce that we should resume killing each other,
Nzimande
I am requesting Bhodloza to announce that we should resume killing each other
in song
We say: 'announce that the fierce song competition should resume'.

They really have it, boy, Phuz' ekhemisi and Khethane, oh men!
Down at Cepheni where we were born
We drink from the river Makhweyakade
We are appearing steadily en-route by sea
Down at Mkhomazi from where we come
Descend there, confuser of the spirits

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They disrespected me for a long time
They looked down on me for a long time
Speak so that we can leave them
Speak so that we can change them

Bhodloza is the name of Welcome Nzimande who is a well-known television personality and presents a music programme on Radio Zulu. He presents a music programme devoted to Maskanda on Saturday mornings, as well as the traditional music programme on CCV television on Wednesdays at 20H30 (now on SABC 1 at 21H00). This television programme features the music of Maskanda prominently, as well as other related styles from the various ethnic groups.

This song praises Bhodloza for the remarkable way in which he has promoted Maskanda music and musicians through the radio. The phrase, 'requesting Bhodloza to announce that we should resume killing each in song', is a performance metaphor drawn from the umgangela - stick fighting contests - and signifies that fierce competition through song and the exposition of advanced playing technical skills and buoyancy, should begin.

'Speak so that we could leave them' is also a performance metaphor from umgangela, indicating that one who is left in the battle field is a loser, and that he has received a severe hiding from another fighter. He is left on the canvas and the winner continues to challenge other fighters. 'Speak so that we could change them' signifies that, after having defeated the fighter whom he left lying
on canvas, he now enjoys the option of further challenging other fighters who will be required to exhibit exceptional prowess in excess of the previous fighter. He challenges fighters at his own will because of the following he now enjoys from onlookers. In the music of Maskanda this means that the musician is accomplished, is confident of his technical skills and is therefore in a position to challenge better musicians. By outperforming other musicians, his status grows and he earns himself respect among his peers and his immediate society. 'To challenge' is ukucela intselele in Zulu.

The text in the "recited poetry" is also used as a determinant of style - umZansi in this case as well.

Song 2. Composer: Phuz'ukhemisi noKhethane
Title: Amagama Akho (side B, excerpt 10.)
Contemporary Ensemble

Ubokhuluma uwabale nsizw' amagam' akho
SingabaseMkhomazi
Wenzani wathint' amabhelanyawo awaseMkhomazi
Wenzani wathint' amabhelanyawo sibuy'eMkhomazi
Thin' ingoma asiyithath' amashantsi
Thin' ingoma eyakith' eMkhomazi
Sayincela komama,
Sayithola kobaba.
Zibambe phele Phuz'ekhemisi
Wayihlaba ngempela mfo kamajazan' omnyama
Khona phans' eCepeni laph' engizalwa khona
Umful'engiphuza kuwo ngiphuz'uMakhweyakade
Hayi ngisahamba naye uKhethane
Khuphuka ke Khethane laph' enkostinini
Ngangilokhu ngibatshela kancane
Bethi hayoyibamba imamba
Ngathi musani ukuyidlokdla bafana
Ngoba isemgodini - Phu!

Ubokhuluma uwabale nsizw' amagam' akho
Singabas' eMkhomazi
Sizokushiy' enkudleni thina
Yith' amabhelanyawo
Siyihlaba ngonyawo.

LITERAL TRANSLATION

Speak, yet count your words young man
We are from Mkhomazi
What do you think you are doing touching the"barefooters" from Mkhomazi
What do you think you are doing touching us, we come from Mkhomazi
We don't take chances when it comes to the song
The song belongs to us at Mkhomazi
We were breastfed (the song) from our mothers
We got it (the song) from our fathers.

Hold them tight, Phuz' ekhemisi
You really stuck it, son of Black Majazana (coat)
Down at Cepheni where I was born
I drink from the river Makhweyakade
Oh no! I am still accompanied by Khethane
Effect a crescendo Khethane on the concertina
I used to inform them tersely
Saying that they are going to catch the mamba
I warned them not to poke it, boy
Because it is in its hole - Phu!

Speak, yet count your words, young man
We are from Mkhomazi
We will leave you in the field
We are the 'barefooters'
We stick it right with our feet.

The literal translation is fairly straightforward, representing the musician giving a stern warning to other young men, that is, his peer group, not to underestimate his musical skills. *Amabelanyawo* - what I choose to call the "barefooters" - are people who do not wear shoes but who walk barefooted by choice. They are
culturally knowledgeable traditionalists who are considered illiterate in Western terms because they adhere to the traditional way of life. In fact they are literate in terms of their cultural know-how, which includes an in-depth knowledge of traditional songs/music. They enjoy a high status in society because of their resourcefulness pertaining to their culture. Musically speaking, a barefooted is a traditional musician who displays an enormous amount of indigenous musical knowledge and one who is very skillful in playing his musical instrument. The musician knows what he is doing when it comes to manipulating sounds from his instrument, and that is why in the text the phrase ‘we don’t take chances when it comes to song’ is used. These musicians are champions and therefore peerless in their field because they were breastfed the song by their mothers and inherited it as it were ”genetic”, and their fathers also passed it on to them and helped to nurture it.

The ”recited” poetry is related to the sung text in that the musician continues to praise himself. The expression, ”hold them tight”- what? - the strings, Zibambe wethu is explained in the glossary of musical terms. The metaphor which the musician uses to refer to himself as the deadly mamba snake is a very potent one. He informs his peers not to tease him because he will unleash devastating musical tones from his instrument, which his opponents will not be able to emulate. They will be totally convinced that he is an excellent musician who has reached a far superior standard in performance than their own. He is telling them to challenge musicians who are at their own level; that is, of low technical standard. They should not attempt to challenge him because he is far above their level of musicianship.
Song 3. Composer: Qhudelimzwezwe
Title : Ingonyama (side B, excerpt 11.)
Age group : 36+
Sex : Male
Ngicela umbuzo silo samabandla baba wonke wonke akwaZulu
Ngicel' ukubuza ngonyam' enkulu
Ungayithint' ingwe?
Ungathint' amakhehl' edlozini?
Ungathint' amakhehla nezalukazi?
Angisakhulum' esebhem' ughwayi
Nesepehet' intshengula
Angisaphathi masebhem' inqawe
Ungathinta kanjani?
Wen' ungayithint' ingwe ngiyabuza
Ungayithint' ingwe?
Ungathint' amakhehl' emsamo?
Ungayithinta ngish' isemsamo?
Ungayithint' ingwe?
Ungathint' amakhehl' edlozini?
Auwuzwe baba, awuzwe ngonyama
Baba min' angazi lutho ngisemncane
Angithi nawe ngonyam' enkulu
Nawe bab' uthembel' emadlozini
Wen' ungayithint' ingwe ngiyabuza dlozi?
Ungathint' ingwe?
Ungathint' amakhehl' edlozini?
LITERAL TRANSLATION

May I ask his Majesty, King of kings in KwaZulu
May I ask you Big Lion
Can you touch the leopard?
Can you touch the elders when they are with the ancestors?
Can you touch our great-grandfathers and mothers?
Especially when they are smoking snuff
Not leaving out when they are smoking the pipe
How can you touch?
Can you touch the leopard, allow me to pose the question
Can you touch the leopard?
Can you touch the elders in their hiding spot?
Can you touch it even if it is in the hidden place?
Can you touch the leopard?
Can you touch the elders when they are with the ancestors?
Hear me, father, listen, you lion
Father, I do not know because I am still young
Is it not the case with you Big Lion?
You have also put your trust in the ancestors
Can you touch the leopard, allow me to ask you spirit of the ancestors
Can you touch the leopard?
Can you touch the elders when they are with the ancestors?
In this song the musician is paying homage to the Zulu King whom he sees as a god-like figure because he can perform tasks that no mortal man can conceivably comprehend. The question markings in the text do not suggest that he is actually asking the questions, but, rather, they are rhetorical: a way of praising the King which he acknowledges silently or with a dignified nod. The poet here believes that the King can do all the above because he has extraordinary powers which have been bestowed on him by the ever-present spirit of the ancestors. The King has the power over the living and is always in contact with the spirit of the departed.

From the text, it is clear that the Zulu people still believe in traditional religion, even though they have been influenced to a large degree by Christianity. Christianity and traditional religion in Zulu society co-exist and are not seen as opposing ends to the means of reaching the most high, that is, God. They are seen as different ways of doing the same thing. The Zulu proverb used is ayikho indlela engayi ekhaya: literally, ‘there is no road that does not lead one back home’. The majority of Zulu people are able to practice both religions at the same time and to strike a balance between the two.

The notion of non-static tradition even among the Zulu is apparent here. Christianity has also been remoulded to suit the needs of the Zulu people in such a way that it does not clash with their traditional way of life.
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Summary Commentary

In traditional African societies, gratefulness is considered paramount to engendering good human relationships. In addition, praising individuals who have accomplished something (ukubongela abantu abavelele emphakathini) is fairly common. Further, His Majesty the King, the paramount chiefs and chiefs are eulogised by their societies through praise-songs. However, self-praise was never a common feature in traditional life because such people were shunned as being too egotistical. With the passage of time, it has become fairly common for Maskanda musicians to praise themselves in song and this has become acceptable - revealing that tradition is non-static and dynamic. Thus, the song texts in this category have tried to show the different manifestations of praise and its usages under many contexts.
CATEGOR Y 3.4 - AMACULO OKUHLAMBA L AZA / OKU BHUQA

This category includes some songs which have an abundance of obscene language, not necessarily for its own sake but to convey the desired message explicitly. In the Zulu language full use is made of words which may sound vulgar to an outsider, but in fact merely "call a spade a spade". Vusi Ximba, who is an acclaimed Maskanda musician, exploits the use of "vulgar" language in his song texts in order to get the attention of his audience. Members of the audience who are in the know laugh him off, but others become offended. His intention, however, is not to offend anybody but rather to drive home the point. Given the apparent freedom of songs lyrics, Merriam points out that 'one would expect to find considerable obscenity, not necessarily for its own sake but rather directed toward some aim or used simply to increase the effectiveness of the desired message' (1950:192). Some song lyrics have a patent meaning which is often not the one intended by the musician. Very often it is the latent meaning that is of great significance to the musician and this requires a thorough knowledge of the language and its metaphors in order to decipher the message. Note: only one brief song text is included as an example.

Song 1. Composer: Thengiwe Dlomo
Title : Uvumelani Mnkwethu (side A, excerpt 5)
Age group : 33+
Sex : Female

Wen' uvumelani we mnkwethu mus' ukhala
Wen' uvumelani we mnkwethu mus' ukhala bo!

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LITERAL TRANSLATION

Why do you agree my sister, stop crying
Why do you agree my sister, please stop crying

*Mnakwethu* refers to people married in the same homestead, whether they be male or female. This text has both a patent and a latent meaning. In this case the latent meaning tells us that the husband 's lust for sex is too much for the wife to put up with, she may no longer want to have children. She does not want to be pregnant "year in and year out".

Summary Commentary

The song text(s) in this category have tried to show that the use of obscene language is used in abundance in Zulu to drive home the point. In fact, what is often referred to literally as "deep Zulu" includes more obscene words that, for example, Zulu people based in Gauteng may find offensive. It is fairly common for musicians in this genre to incorporate obscene song texts relating to sexual misdemeanour (*ezocansi*). Audiences roar with laughter whenever a sexual deviant is castigated in song.
CATEGORY 3.5 - AMACULO AMAHLAYA/OKUTEKETISA

This category is one of pure entertainment and of causing great mirth for the audience. There are many more nonsensical, meaningless syllables than is often the case with other categories. The desired objective is to cause laughter, thus rendering the message effective. The musician has the latitude to coin new words of his own, unhindered. Note that causing great mirth is inherent in all categories. This way the musicians disseminate information that is crucial to the well-being of the society but in an amusing way. Thus Maskanda also reveals itself as a genre which requires exponents with considerable verbal facility. In this category, however, nothing is intended to directly build the nation by addressing pertinent issues. The reason why the word "pure" is used to qualify the word entertainment is to indicate that the song has no purpose other than to provoke amusement. If it were not so, then an appropriate word would have been amaculo okujabula. (Among the Basotho baMoshoehoe, songs of joy or entertainment are called dipina tsa monyanyako).

Song 1. Composer: Maphoqoza
Title : (Imitating Indian singing) (side A, excerpt 6.)
Age group : 38+
Sex : Male
Por mama, Por mama
Shamur babo, Shamur babo
Gurumba tsha, gurumba tsha
Hatai, gurumba tsha
Hantakute
Tatai, tai, to to to to

Summary Commentary

Maskanda musicians are known for their penchant for causing laughter in anecdotes messages incorporated as part of the song texts. Some have gone so far as composing lyrics whose sole purpose is to amuse the audience, causing great mirth. Such songs are purely for entertainment purposes and to reveal the lighter side of life. As this category has tried to show, musicians have the "artistic license" to disseminate information that may be considered very useful to the well-being of the society albeit in an amusing way.
CATEGORY 3.6 - AMACULO OKHOLO

This category shows that Christianity has had an influence on the lives of the Zulu people as noted regarding song 3, category 3. It has become customary for Zulus to incorporate references to Christ in their song texts. Zulus are a deeply religious people and they are able to find compatibility between Christianity and traditional religion that approaches the almighty God through the presence and power of the ancestors. The dual nature of their religious belief has been noted by scholars such as Eileen Krige (1950) and Rev. Axel-Ivar Berglund (1989). However, it is important note that the word *uKholo* actually refers to religion; a very broad concept. It has since been customary for Zulu people to speak of *uKholo* to refer in the first instance, to Christianity. However, it should not be assumed that they are unaware of traditional African religion and other religions. This is only a reflection of the great influence that Christianity has had on their lives. If I were to be specific, this category would have been called *amaculo obuKhrestu*, meaning 'songs of Christianity'.

Song 1. Composer: Zibonele Mbatha

Title: *uJesu* (*side A, excerpt 7*)
Age group: 32+
Sex: Male

Yena lo Jesu ngasuke ngamlandela
Uyena lo Jesu ngasuke ngamlandela

LITERAL TRANSLATION
This is Jesus whom I decided to follow
He is the one whom I decided to follow

Summary Commentary

The song text in this category has tried to reveal the extent of influence of the Christian faith and its entrenchment in the lives of traditional African societies in broad terms. Zulu people were no exception; they also accepted the Christian faith, some without questioning its philosophical basis, while others such as Shembe of the Shembe of Nazareth Church adapted and remodelled Christianity along the lines of traditional Zulu religion, precisely to suit his needs and those of his followers.

In conclusion, it has been shown in this chapter that song texts in Maskanda are used to validate traditional social institutions - through references to the King; traditional religion - through references to the presence of ancestral spirits; influences - through references to Christianity and contemporary lifestyles and, also as determinants of traditional musical styles used in Maskanda by claiming affinity to a particular area. Song texts are used by the performers of this genre to give themselves and their music an identity, for example, umZansi - a style of Maskanda and also an identity of Zulu communities living in the South Coast of Natal. Maskanda musicians have used the texts to reveal that they are indeed traditional musicians who play a particular style which comes from the rural area and therefore peculiarly Zulu. They 'do not take chances when it comes to song', says one song, in exhibiting and maintaining traditional features in their songs.
CHAPTER 4

MASKANDA IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES

The purpose of this chapter attempts to answer objective no.3, namely; to justify the inclusion of Maskanda in cultural and educational programmes in South Africa. Because of the vocal call in educational institutions to include African music in general into the curriculum, it will be expedient due to the time limitations to undertake a single case-study in which Maskanda is included. This will involve revisiting the revised music curriculum of the University of Zululand, and to recommend a teaching methodology. The focus will be on the Music Literacy and Music Practical Stream which forms the core of the four-year Bachelor of Music Degree. The ML&MP stream - an abbreviation of the above - is divided into three (3) modules, that is, from first year to third year. Thereafter, the final year is comprised of four modules. In this section, I concentrate on the African music component only, and include briefly other Zulu musical genres in the discussion. I also give cognisance to the achievements of the University of Venda in propagating African music and making it an integral part of the curriculum. Hereafter, the UniZul music curriculum is presented in the table overleaf:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Study</th>
<th>Module A</th>
<th>Module B</th>
<th>Module C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - first term</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>aural perception answering a music phrase polyphony</td>
<td>literacy skills in S.A. music elementary transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - second term</td>
<td>practical application of Sub-Saharan music</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>African choral music history of &amp; theory of Practical application Transcription and Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - first term</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>African Zionist church music Transcription and harmonic analysis Practical application</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - second term</td>
<td>Theories of sound structure Oral tradition Orality vs. literacy in music Practical application Oral song</td>
<td>Melody and harmony in popular music Form in popular music Popular music of the world Practical application</td>
<td>Melody and harmony in Jazz Form in Jazz History and development Composition &amp; improvisation Practical appl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - first term</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>History of gospel</td>
<td>Zulu speech tone</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 - second term</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Module A</th>
<th>Module B</th>
<th>Module C</th>
<th>Module D</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>The African use of the LIV, V, I6, I harmonic progression. The guitar and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 UniZul Music Curriculum

RECOMMENDED TEACHING METHODOLOGY

In this section I recommend the following approach to teaching Maskanda at degree level to students whose cultural background is Zulu and to those who come from the other eight ethnic groups in South Africa. It suffices to specify that an interpreter be used for students whose first language is English or Afrikaans.
Visits by Maskanda Musicians

This is the most important part of the methodology in introducing students to the musical genre on a formal basis. During these sessions, the Maskanda musician will be asked to render a few items covering different topical events from his own repertoire. Students will be encouraged to question him in his own language, that is, Zulu, what the message of the particular songs signify and how the musician came about to compose the lyrics. The musician will also be asked to take students through a journey of his/her musical life - how he learnt to play the particular musical instrument; the musical influences from his/her immediate society; aspirations for the future; and the style of Maskanda that he/she identifies with and performs.

It is by no accident that I recommend that the initial sessions should focus on guitar players, and in particular Maskanda musicians who aspire to become recording artists. The reason is that the guitar is by far the most played instrument in this musical genre and it is relatively easier to locate guitar players, who often stroll and wander about everywhere, that is, in rural as well as urban settings. In addition, from Maskanda guitar music, the sonic profile of the genre is most apparent and is easily discernible even by yet unsophisticated students of African music. This offers an aural experience that will form the basis of teaching Zulu music theory, that is, in broad speaking terms, however, special emphasis should be on the contrapuntal texture of Maskanda.

Players of traditional/indigenous instruments such as uMakhweyana, Isicelekeshe, uDloko, uGubhu should also invited to perform in the auditorium
of the music department. Thereafter, the song texts and their social meanings are discussed with the performers who are normally the elder members of the Zulu society. Care should be taken that respect to the elderly is always accorded and they should be given enough room to express themselves even if this means that they will express themselves at a snail pace. The elderly are the custodians of the culture and are in actual fact the "authorities" who deserve the most respect. Writing about music education in Ghana, Flolu (1996) has observed with regard to teaching of African music in the schools, that learning from the practitioners of the genre is more practical, relevant and has a lasting impression on the pupil. As he observes:

African education is practical, aural-oral and informal. Despite the introduction of the writing culture of the West, listening and observation interwoven by memory remain the key elements of acquiring the basic skills of social adjustment. Tribal and family history, taboos and rites, and the codes necessary for sustaining society—all codified in proverbs, riddles, epics, and poetry—continue to be transmitted orally. Knowledge is thus in people's heads not in books. Teaching is by example, not by precepts; and learning is by doing, not by reading. This practical-orality of African civilisation is still vigorous and cannot simply be dismissed (1996:183).

As stated in the introduction of this study, I have been very fortunate to have studied under Professor Khabi Mngoma at the institution referred to above. The undergraduate programme in African music and history included frequent visits by traditional musicians who also included old uMakhweyana bow players. Such occasions used to be memorable events. Under Mngoma's guidance in this very informative course, my knowledge and understanding of the genre were further enhanced.
I cannot over-emphasise the importance of such visits as they make a lasting musical impression on the student of African music during the course of study and even after graduating.

**Zulu Music Theory**

As revealed by the curriculum, the musical theory should be broad as possibly can to encompass other Zulu musical genres such as Isicathamiya, Amahubo, Umbhaqanga, Isimanjemanje, etc. Obviously the base will be Western musical notation, as Mngoma has observed: 'Western notation is the lingua-franca in the study of music' (1987:1). However, the study of Western music theory has been taught at institutions for many decades to the exclusion of other theories of music, including Zulu music.

As Chapter 2 of this study has tried to reveal, the scales and tuning systems used in Maskanda should become an integral part of the broad study on Zulu musical theory. As students progress, they should be given the task of transcribing the songs; identify the scales used, and the tuning systems used for the instrument. For example, the Zulu guitar is tuned differently and does not follow the standard Western tuning of E-G-B-D-A-E. Umakhweyana may also be tuned differently, that is, in standard position or in the invented position. I am indebted to Davies (1992) and to Impey (1977) respectively for their studies on the different tunings used for the guitar and the uMakhweyana. Such studies could be used to augment the content of the curriculum.
**Instrument building and acoustics**

To make certain that future generations known about their musical past, traditional/indigenous instruments not only have to be preserved, but skills for making them have to be passed on. Fortunately, the current generation is exposed to both the written and oral traditions and can combine the strengths derived from both traditions to sustain the African musical genres.

The University of Venda music curriculum incorporated instrument building and acoustics into the core part of the degree stream focusing on African music. Students are not only expected to build several indigenous African instruments of the Venda, Tsonga and Pedi ethnic groups, but are required to know how to play them. Mr. Peter Tshipango, a former colleague of mine, co-ordinates the course and examines students on their proficiency to perform on the instruments and conformity of their instruments' acoustics to the original models. As a result of this course, I have become a proud owner of the *Dende/Xiende*, a Venda or Tsonga musical bow similar to uMakhweyana.

What the University of Venda has achieved is no miracle: it can be emulated by other institutions who are serious about the place of African music in the content of their music curricula. For instance, visiting musicians can be asked to share their skills at building traditional instruments such as uMakhweyana and *Isiculekeshe*, where the materials are sourced; preparation and handling of the materials; tuning the instrument, and the method of playing. The art of instrument building can actually be done live in front of students or through a laboratory video recording.
Audio-Archival material

Archival material can be sourced from the recording companies such as Gallo in Johannesburg to provide the aural experience at not much cost, and conveniently. Rob Allingham of Gallo Records is an excellent contact person who can be solicited into giving lectures on how to manage an audio-archive and the handling and cataloguing of materials.

From the above source, I was able to obtain recordings of Zulu guitar music made as early as 1938. The earliest recordings by John Bhengu, a legendary Maskanda musician of his time until his untimely death in a recording studio in 1984, are also available. Studying his early recordings has helped to shed some light on the development of Maskanda musical genre.

Other archival material could be sourced from the International Library of African Music; the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and various sources on the Internet. For instance, the University of Maryland in Baltimore, USA can be accessed via Internet for various audio and audio-visual archival material. Indiana University, USA is potentially a useful source of aural data because of a close relationship with the College of Music attached to the University of Zimbabwe. Obviously, their focus is on Southern Africa and therefore should be able to have in their possession archival materials from this part of the world.
Students research & recordings

First, to augment the archival material discussed in the foregoing section, students should be encouraged to record Maskanda music onto tape and/or video. Music departments are notorious for their reluctance at providing assistance to such ventures, not only with research funds, but with professional equipment as well, in order to make field recordings. Their concern in most cases has been the fact that the professional equipment is expensive and therefore cannot be entrusted to students. This is understandable when undergraduate students are involved, but with regard to graduate students - this should not be the case. In any event, the equipment is normally or should be comprehensively insured against loss or ruin. Undergraduate students should be allowed to use the equipment under strict supervision.

Second, research on African music should be encouraged at the undergraduate level. In particular, research which is generally emic in nature should receive priority in order to present another scholarly view about the same tradition previously the object of gaze by etic scholarship. This would enhance scholarly endeavour.

Interdisciplinary Studies

The music department in conjunction with the Department of African Languages, Zulu in particular, could share sessions on teaching about the song texts and their social meanings. As shown in the curriculum of the University of Zululand, some philosophical basis of Maskanda and the usage of the metaphor
in Maskanda praise-poetry could become an integral part of interdisciplinary studies. Professor D.B.Z. Ntuli of the University of South Africa has studied Maskanda praise-poetry at length and has written academic papers on the topic. Such studies should be pursued rigorously as there is a dearth of material that could be used to make the study of Maskanda more interesting and relevant.

Other disciplines could use the materials in this research in the following ways:

- Historians may use the information to trace the migratory patterns and cultural relationships among the Bantu.
- Scholars of linguistics may expound on the topic of etymological origins of words.
- The song texts can also be used by social anthropologists in further elucidating the ethos of the Zulu people.
- The study of instruments and their classification can be used by curators in museums in enhancing their knowledge of instrumental technology and subsequent categorisations.
- As this chapter has tried to show, music educators and ethnomusicologists could formulate and develop from the materials, methodologies in teaching about Maskanda in the formal classroom.

In conclusion, this chapter has attempted to show how Maskanda could be integrated into cultural and educational programmes. Further, it has argued in favour of African music to be included into the formal classroom and to emphasise the fact that this is long overdue. The responsibility now lies with educators from various disciplines to incorporate materials from this study and
future studies into the content of their curricula. Maskanda should be viewed as capable of educating the whole person. Thus, it becomes imperative that any future study of a chosen African music genre should be undertaken from a holistic point of departure.
CONCLUSION

It has been the objective of this study to show that Maskanda is indeed traditional and not neo-traditional as propagated in previous studies by cultural outsiders and, regrettably some studies by cultural insiders. It has been proven in the arguments brought forward that the main causative reason for the neo-traditional assumption has been the use of Western instruments. However, these instruments were adapted into Maskanda and re-tuned using traditional Zulu timings and modes. Through appropriate transcriptions, salient features which remain palpable even in new and changing contexts, have been shown to continue to persist and thus defining the essential nature of the genre as traditional. This study has also explained how the word "tradition(al)" is conceptualised in Zulu.

Maskanda, as we know it today, has been shown to have evolved from music of traditional Zulu bows, especially the uMakhweyana. Other bows discussed have been uGubhu and the friction bow known in Zulu as Isicelakeshe or uBhek'indlela.

Assertions regarding the etymological origins of the word Maskanda, thought to be from the Afrikaans language were shown to be largely unsupported.

A conjectural attempt at an emic classification of instruments based on the rationale of frequent playing was given. However, this will be followed in an extended study.
This study has also shown how current ethnomethodological theories with particular reference to the emic/etic approaches have influenced the study of ethnomusicology, each being a continuation of the other. Inherent in the discussion has been that at present, emic studies should be encouraged and adequately funded and, that in the end both approaches be integrated to advance the scientific study of ethnomusicology.

An emic categorisation of song texts has been presented in order to reveal that texts are also used as determinants of style and to give identity to the Maskanda performer and his/her music. The Zulu categories have been shown to substantially complement categories formulated by scholars such as Merriam and many others. The texts in Maskanda have been shown to reveal the ethos of the Zulu people, validate traditional institutions and even music. Thus through the texts, the central theme of proving that Maskanda is indeed a traditional and rural-based musical genre has been met. Where the comparison of Maskanda to other parallel genres such as, difela tsa ditsamayanaha and music of the griots, was deemed necessary to enhance the understanding of the genre of strolling musicians, and to reveal salient features that characterise Maskanda and the other genres, it was proffered.

As a recommendation for future research in Maskanda, Davies’ dissertation on the guitar styles could be extended to include, possibly some concertina styles common in Maskanda. Zulu experts on re-tuning the concertina could be solicited to share with the incumbent researcher their "proprietary" knowledge. Other research could focus on the Natal Midlands area where most performers of the Piano Accordion live, possibly, a biography on Vusi Ximba and his brand
of Maskanda music could be written.

Lastly, an inherent phenomenon in this research is that the materials of this study can be used in cultural and educational programmes. Historians may use the information to trace the migratory patterns and cultural relationships among the Bantu. Scholars of linguistics may expound on the topic of etymological origins of words, while scholars in African literature can, in fact, use the song texts as source material in the study of Zulu poetry and philosophy. The song texts can also be used by social anthropologists in further elucidating the ethos of the Zulu people. The study of instruments and their classification can be used by curators in museums in enhancing their knowledge of instrumental technology and subsequent categorisations. Music educators and ethnomusicologists could formulate and develop from the materials, methodologies in teaching about Maskanda in the formal classroom.
APPENDIX - GLOSSARY

Note: Zulu words are underlined; the literal meaning is given in italics and lastly the Zulu perception is given in ordinary text. This has been done in order to conserve space. The prefix is placed in parenthesis while the stem remains as is to ensure an alphabetical order.

1. (A)bafana - boys; rather refers to the bass part - metaphorical coinage of the Zulu word referring to boys because of their low-pitched voice, that is, the baritone/bass. Note that the perception of boys is not the same as it is in the Western sense where it is normal for boys to have high-pitched voices.

2. (Zi)bambe wethu - hold them, i.e., the strings in guitar music - the player should be in total control of the music (in guitar music). He should make sure that he produces the best “sound” - intsound - possible by manipulating the strings in a masterly way.

3. (u)Belina - Bellini; type of guitar which used to be manufactured in Pinetown - Maskanda musicians have "Zululised" the original name, i.e. Bellini, and have subsequently name it uBelina - pronounced in a strong Zulu accent. In many instances, uBelina is decorated and at times, rattles are inserted in the resonator to give the instrument a percussive sound.

4. (Um)bhidhi - a conductor - less relevant to this genre where there are no conductors. In a contemporary group ensemble, the appropriate word used is "leader" - umholi, and umholi wenembu - means "leader of the group".
5. **(Uku)bhinca** - *to dress in ethnic garb* - the word can also have a derogatory meaning, implying a fool, an uncivilised person or a non-Christian. It is also a stage after being an *iqhikizi* - a virgin. A bhinca is one who is now ready to get a man or has already had sexual intercourse. It is also associated to a style of dance meant to expose the underneath enticements.

6. **(Uku)bonga** - *to give thanks / sing in a thankful manner* - singing in an earthly manner and showing reverence to a special person or an event.

7. **(Uku)bongela** - *give thanks on behalf of* - to utter praises of one’s clan or self - (ukuzi) - bongela, or of the king/chief.

8. **(Im)bongi** - *a praise-singer* - singer who exhibits extensive cultural knowledge that includes folklore, legions, genealogies; is spontaneous and interprets his environment and everyday happenings in a skillful manner. This is the craft of masters. Not all good Maskanda musicians are necessarily good imbongis. If the musician combines the qualities of being an imbongi and exhibits skillful instrumental technique, then he is a total musician.

9. **(Um)culo** - *music* - an all embracing term that also includes dance and song texts as part of the music.

10. **(Um)dlali** - *a player* - a very general term that applies to non-musical fields as well. In Maskanda, a guitarist is still referred to as *umdlali wesiginei*, and this implies a guitar player. I believe that a distinction should be made, for example,
between a piano player and a pianist. The degree of variance is far too great. Zulu musical terminology seems not to have such adjectives, and an accomplished player is referred to as ingcwethi or umpetha - both general terms which are also used in non-musical contexts.

11. (D)oshaba - bass voice extra-ordinaire - one exponent of such a very low bass voice like that of a “lion’s roar”, albeit not a Maskanda performer, is Mahlatini of the famed Mahlatini and the Mahotela Queens who play Mbhaqanganga music - a related genre of Zulu music to Maskanda, especially early Mbhaqanganga.

12. (Uku)fakaza - literally, to give evidence - to harmonise; more appropriately this means to polyphonise because of an abundance of this texture in Zulu vocal music. Ex-prisoners can reminisce about how they were made to sing/ “harmonise” songs they did not even know during initiation sessions by older inmates. One had to sing his own line, that is, an independent melody to form an interesting polyphonic texture with the rest of the singers.

13. (Uku)gadla - to lend a heavy blow - this is a performance metaphor borrowed from the umgangela - stick fighting contests. This means to outclass another musician outright. To outperform other musicians so that they cannot “fight” back, that is, musically, because you have unleashed your secret blows, that is, the right notes in good picking style.

14. (Isi)ginci - the guitar - in the traditional setting it specifically refers to the acoustic model, which is decorated, and the nylon strings replaced with steel
ones in order to produce a bright and metallic tone. In some guitar styles, some percussiveness is deemed essential. The tuning is altered.

15. (Uku)giva - to dance in a stately way and incorporating graceful movements- same, it can also be a singing style popular among the Nguni - a dotted rhythm depicting a happy mood, more honourable, graceful movements which are full of pride (♩♩♩♩♩♩♩) etc. Most South African choral composers exploit this rhythm in their songs.

16. (Uku)hayi - type of singing and in a lyrical and very relaxed manner - this type of singing is associated with amahubu, "the song(s) of the clan", which are sacred in character. Amahubu are a symbol of unity and communion as the anthem of a country.

17. (Uku)hlabana - to stab each other - to compete in music; to outperform other musicians; to bring out the best in a person, especially one's musical skills and talent.

18. (D)hlabo - a short introductory phrase to a much larger work where the mode to be used is clearly stated, (especially in guitar music) - not only the mode is stated but this section is especially important in that even the style to be used is made explicit, for example, IsiZulu. This section also helps in eliciting the origin or home of the musician. Usually the Maskanda enthusiasts listening to the hlabo of another musician know what to expect in the main section after hlabo. They cannot be deceived by a musician who claims affinity to a particular area but is not, because they can tell of the music easily which is
based on a specific mode. Also known as intela.

19. (Uku)kekela - steps or movements suggestive of courtship antics - the guitar could also be used to accompany a love song in which the lyrics used suggest the proposition of love to a woman. The man would be making graceful gestures, and an enactment of kneeling as a way of begging for her love. The woman who is enchanted by the courting antics will reveal in her gestures as well, pretending to move slowly away from the man, that she has accepted the man's advances. The courting is then successful.

20. (Uku)khalalaza - to screech; to sing in an uncomfortably high pitch-to sing in the upper ranges possible and in many instances this practice induces the use of the falsetto by the musician if other registers are difficult to reach. The production of the voice is restrained. In Maskanda music aesthetics, this is the ideal voice sought by aspiring musicians especially in the IsiZulu esikhulu style. Parallel to the griot voice (see chapter 4.)

21. (Isi)mandoloni - in the style of mandolin playing, and execution of this style requires an agile forefinger - this style is presumed to be the precursor of Mbhaqanga music.

22. (Id)imbizo - a call - ceremony, for instance in the case of the king or chief summoning his subjects to address them on specific issues that concern the nation. Imbizo usually involves cultural celebrations with music being the unifying component.
23. **Musho wethu - tell us about him/her** - this expression is common in song texts of social commentary/control, where one member of the society who has behaved in an unbecoming manner is chastised through song. The audience usually voices aloud this expression to the musician in order to encourage him in exposing the culprit in a manner that evokes great mirth. This expression is also meant to complement the performance especially in the “recitation” of izibongo.

24. **Ngadla mina - I am the one who is eating now** - from the noun/verb, *ukudla* - meaning food and the act of eating. The Maskanda musician implies that the "stage" - *inkudla* is now his and that he is free to extemporise indulgently in order to show his skills as a player who knows how to pick the right notes.

25. **(I)ngcwethi - a champion/virtuoso** - an accomplished performer (in Maskanda music) who should be very good at his instrument and capable of exploiting *ukupika*; a good dancer as well; poetic flamboyancy, a person who has the gift of the gab and who is very good in his choice and use of words. Never is the beauty of the voice as in Western aesthetics given any particular significance in determining the virtuosity of the performer in indigenous music. The word *ngcwethi* is synonymous to *umpetha*.

26. **(I)ngoma - a song** - it is also a type of dance known by the same name.

27. **(Iz)i)ntambo - strings; word is derived from the noun intambo, meaning rope or string** - refers to guitar strings, and with preference for steel models in the place of nylon strings.
28. Amantombazane - girls; rather refers to the treble or soprano part-
metaphorical coinage of the Zulu word referring to girls because of their high-
pitched voice, as opposed to boy's low-pitched baritone/bass.

29. (Uku)pika - to pick/ picking on the guitar - to chose carefully the notes in
order to get the desired effect as opposed to vamping. This signifies the
virtuosity of a Maskanda performer, and an accomplished musician who will
inevitably earn himself respect among his peers, other musicians and his
immediate community.

30. (1)phimbo - a voice - ukuba nephimbo means to have a “good” voice. A
person with a growling bass voice extra-ordinaire is seen as one who has a
voice. It has more to do with the range and the pitch than it has to do with
beauty per se. It also has more to do with the context of performance.

31. (Um)qambi - a composer - sometimes this word is qualified by another
word, for example, umqambi wamanulo - "a composer of songs". However, the
word can stand independently because it used almost entirely in musical
contexts.

32. (i)Rondo - name of guitar - same; the choice of the guitar over another
model is influenced by the needs of the player and the style he plays. It is not a
serious matter of quality because many musicians cannot even afford one, but
the sound - intsound - it can produce.

33. (Uku)sina - to dance - it is also a general term for any type of dance.
34. (Um)sindo - noise or sound - Party, ritual, ceremony where the mood is jovial, for example, a wedding.

35. (Uku)shungu - to tune an instrument, e.g., the concertina - same, one learns to tune his/her instrument under the guidance of a "teacher" - role model. The traditional "sound" - intsound - peculiar to a specific area influences one's tuning. Very few Maskanda players have the knowledge to tune the concertina, and those who do charge for their service.

36. (Uku)vamba - to strum, in guitar music as opposed to "picking" - the playing of basic chords in succession which signals that the musician is a beginner or incompetent as opposed to ukupika which signals that the musician is competent and accomplished. The noun ubuvamba refers to the state of being dirty, and this is probably the reason why this name is associated with uneven, unclean playing technique.

37. (Zi)yeke wethu - leave them, that is, the strings in guitar music - this means that the player has a fantastic touch and is great because he is able to produce the best "sound" - intsound peculiar to his area. The audience is captivated by the way in which the player is able to take them through a journey of his area by manipulating the sound.

38. (Um)zansi - in the style of the Southern Natal; word is derived from the locative noun ezansi meaning "down there" - a Maskanda style which is peculiar to the Southern Natal and which is variable in speed and suggestive of a dance
beat. The music has an ostinato sound which suggests the "shihom" sound. The
guitar part may have more than three independent melodic lines which when
combined form an interesting counterpoint. Umzansi is also a style of traditional
Zulu dance performed by males.

39. Zisho wethu - tell them/it, (the praises) - sing the praises. The voice is used
during the recital of the praises varies considerably from that of ordinary speech
discourse. It is more melodic and that is why the verb 'to sing' rather than 'to
recite' is appropriate. Zisho wethu can also mean to introduce or express
yourself. In this case, one will sing the praises of his/her clan.

40. (Isi)Zulu - in true Zulu idiom or style - in guitar music this style is associated
with the North of kwazulu and is heavy and slow in character. It makes full use
of the indigenous modes with two but not more than three independent melodies
in counterpoint. The voice is an added counterpoint to the melodies. It can also
be used for the word, traditional.
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All photographs, courtesy of the Star Newspaper, 1995.
DISCOGRAPHY

Allingham, R. Singing in an Open Space. BL 680 GRC.403


Phuz'eKhemisi noKhethane. Imbizo. RPM. CCTIG.456


Excerpts in accompanying tape listed as follows:

SIDE A

1. Ngihamba ngiya eGoli [OAS 251] / [BL 680 GRC.403]
2. Katazile [BZ1314 / {AD 686}]
3. Asakweli [BZ1401 / {AD 860}]
4. Isidwaba [BZ1756]
5. Uvumelani Mnakwethu [UND Rec.]
6. Imitating Indian Singing [UND Rec.]
7. UJesu [UND Rec.]
8. Sizobika Enkosini [UND Rec.]
SIDE B

1. Ngayithatha Intombi [UND Rec.]
2. UMaDlamini Ithemba Lami [UND Rec.]
3. Ngesaba Ukuganwa [UND Rec.]
4. Uzokwaliwa [UND Rec.]
5. Owani Umhango [UND Rec.]
6. Hlanganani [RPM CCTIG 456]
7. Izizwe Ezimnyama [UND Rec.]
8. Imbizo [RPM CCTIG 456]
9. Sidedele [RPM CCTIG 456]
10. Amagama Akho [RPM CCTIG 456]
11. Ingonyama [UND Rec.]

LISTENING GUIDE TO AUDIO-VISUAL TAPE (MASKANDA)

1. Vuma kwabaphansi - This song is about ancestral "worship".
2. Womala mntwan’omuntu - Mchunu, the guitarists plays the intro section (ihlabo) and then takes a beer break. Mbatha is busy cooking amid the music, and Mchunu tells the other inmates to cook early because they have to start rehearsing seriously if they want to record (ukuqopha). Pertaining to the song, he informs me that he would like to add some background vocals (abazovuma).
3. Sebembulele - stops in the middle of the song to implore upon those present during the performance to contribute songs in order to increase the repertoire (*nize nezingoma zangakini*).

4. UKhanjana - a favourite song for most of those living with Mchunu, especially his nephew, Nhlanhla Khanye, present during this recording. Stops to have a smoke and says that life is difficult (*kunzima*); thereafter retunes the guitar for the next song.

5. Yath’iyamthanda - As an interlude, Macingwane plays a song from the Mthethwa clan (*eyakwa Mthethwa*) and informs us that he would like to change it. He says that they all have to contribute to the new arrangement. Thereafter, he retunes the guitar for the next rendition.

6. O’ mina ngiyabuz’ekhaya.

7. Isigodongo sentombi - "woman, you are a bitch".

8. Uyadla sibali.

9. Instrumental improvisation

10. Wezw’izinyanga - The "polyphonising" phrase by the rest of the group is: (*ziph’izinyanga awozwe bumbulele*), meaning, where are the traditional healers because he was killed.

11. We malo wam’.

12. Improvisation on a song by Kat’elimyama (black cat) Ngubane, a fellow Maskanda guitarist who is an avid *l(isi)shameni* style guitarist.

13. Umunt’ufel’ukulungwa kwakhe - Asks the inmates to remind him of other songs. Apparently, they knew his repertoire very well. He then asks me to make a copy of the recording on an audio-cassette.

14. IsiZulu asisekho sekuphendul’abafazi - Deploring non-adherence to tradition because women are now at the forefront.
15. Improvisation

16. Izinyanyavu ezanempi - Bhojabhoja Ximba on concertina and other members of the group are present from henceforth.

17. UKhanjana - kindly requests me to buy him some beers, to which I obliged. He then asks one of the hostel inmates to fetch the beers instead of his nephew because he has to rehearse with the group and to “polyphonise” (ukufofakaza – shemu shemu !!).

18. Uqamb’amanga - Ximba was not aware that I was already recording, causing laughter from other members, and Mchunu informs him that we were already making a demo.

19. Wesibali sami - Mchunu sings my praises and says that I have travelled a long way to reach his place of abode.

20. Kodwa yin’exosh’umakot’emzini- Majozi who can be seen snoozing in the video, had been on night duty and was exhausted when this recording was made. The background singers “polyphonise” (fakaza) by stating: la ekhaya yini, exosh’umakot’emzini; meaning, what is the reason for the bride to want to leave the homestead? Mchunu says that the sound would be good if the bass guitar were added. I then assured him that all instruments would be made available during the recording sessions, and the music will be mixed properly (ukucwenga emabhandeni). His nephew joins the rest of the backing vocals to render ukufofakaza.

21. Kwenze njani la ekhaya? - Mchunu recites his praises, and thereafter those of Bhojabhoja Ximba the concertina player, saying: khuphuka ke mfoka nkoma’emayama. Literally translated this means “rise up there you lad of the black cow”. Conversation with Masombuka (clan-name Ndawonde), a protégé of Mchunu who commends the performance.
22. Yini we maZulu - a beer break and thereafter Mchunu’s nephew requests him to play the song he normally plays with Ngubane, an Isiyamani guitarist.

23. Weziw’izinyanga - This is a group performance of excerpt 10 - one of the strings is loose, and Mchunu gives the guitar to Ndawonde mentioned in excerpt 21 to fix. This is part of the training and initiation of Maskanda musicians.

24. Ximba renders a solo concertina improvisation while the guitar is being fixed. Buthelezi in a yellow T-shirt, is a singer who joins the group at the time of the recording. Mchunu introduces him to me and the rest of the group. Ximba retunes the guitar and teaches the singers on the finer aspects of “polyphonising” (ukufakaza).

25. Ziqomele ngaphambili - Ximba leads the song and Mchunu joins in the antiphonal response with the rest of the group. Mchunu tells the background singers to make the phrases distinct. I was also “polyphonising” behind the video-camera. Mchunu tells them that I am not here to play games; they have to take this seriously, he says emphatically, so that their progeny could be left a legacy.

26. Wena ntombi owakwabani - The background singers “fakaza” as: 

musa ukutiza ela mangijola nawe. This song is about courtship. “hey girl what is your name? Do not be afraid because I only want to flirt with you”. Mchunu tells the background singers to count the number of times they will be making vocal entries and the number of breaks they have to take.

27. Ukudlala wentombi - Ximba says that he still wants to improve the “fakaza” part.

28. We mntwana wami hamba uyoganwa.
29. *Isigodongo senzowini* - guitar solo a repeat of excerpt 7. Mchunu really likes this composition.

30. *We Malo wam* - “shihom” antiphonal phrase.

31. *Wangenza makhelwane* - “fakaza” phrase is: *icala lingikahlile*. Majazi who had been on night duty is awake and has joined the rest of the group in song.

32. *Umunt’ ufel’ukulunga kwakhe*.

33. *Uhlali’edla umqombothi*.

34. *We s’thandwa sami*.

35. **Madala Kunene** renders his first composition at the Kippies, entitled: *We Mamgobhozi buph’utshwala bami* (hey you talkative woman, where is my liquor?). Switches to another guitar while the percussionist plays ad libitum. The rest of the group joins in, and the keyboards have replaced the traditional role of the concertina in this contemporary ensemble. Madala uses indigenous Zulu scales amply in this song “a la” Princess Magogo Buthelezi.

36. Instrumental improvisation

37. *Zobuy’izinkomo zobaba emasisweni* - This particular rendition has a Township jive feel to it. The two female background vocalists join in. In Maskanda tradition, this role is normally reserved for male singers, but as times are changing, the roles change as well. Mchunu says that he will never take someone’s wife and turn her into background singer. “I do not want to get into trouble” (personal interview 1998).

38. *Igwaaba [BW 058 MELT 2000]* – This song is also available on CD.

39. Improvisation by all members of the group “a la” a jazz performance. Dancers ululating, shouting: “ukuzala ukuzelula amathambo”.

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