

https://dspace.org/

Both sides of the camera: anthropology and video in the study of a Gcaleka women's rite called Intonjane.

Cloete, Laura

2015-02-09
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/16935

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

tradition, the rite was revealed to be about both tradition and improvisation, about history and about the moment. It had both pragmatic and idealistic elements, serving to inculcate and perpetuate certain notions, while exposing and questioning others. This was most evident in the analysis of language.

Language use varied, depending on the context: formal in speechmaking, informal in conversation. Men's artful manipulation of words was a creative cultural form which drew on learned experience from past rituals as well as immediate impulses taken from the politics of the present, and even from that moment. This creative manipulation of words was, despite its improvisational nature, considered 'traditional' as it was a form of speaking expected of men and grounded in long-held gender- and age-related assumptions.

In ritual context, male authority over speechmaking with its formal, metaphoric style of speech (recalling legal and political meetings where mostly men exercised sociopolitical authority) asserted their part in the ritual. Then, too, their emphasis on genealogy, outlining and construing authority upon their lineage position in terms of the patriarchal line, served to combine practice (the speaker's role) and memory (the role of his forefathers, which he emulated and respected) into 'tradition'. In recalling one's relatives, the rite was both personalized, through naming those known and remembered, and collectivised, through recalling an age-set familiar particularly to one's peers. This recall emphasized continuity.

By explicitly linking women and cattle throughout the rite, the analogy of men controlling 'property' (in the form of cattle, as

well as in women's labour, reproductive and *lobolo* capacities) and men controlling ritual was reinforced (Kratz, 1993). The close links between cattle, women, fertility and brideprice made this rite a valuable forum for men to reaffirm their authority over women and cattle (Kuper, 1982: 20-22). This invoking of authority by utilising 'traditional' forms of rhetorical manner, style and content allowed men the opportunity of asserting control, of becoming the guardians of knowledge and experience, and hence of ritual. This attempt at appropriation was an attempt to restore a patriarchal form of social balance, by returning the authority which women gained through their capacity to reproduce, to men. Significantly, then, the rite was encouraged to serve the needs of the community of elders, by restoring a conservative value system which viewed elder men in positions of authority over women, particularly young women.

In male oratory, events were rationalised giving them an historical and regional context with reference to Xhosa custom. By differentiating Xhosa society and all those who were part of it, from other societies, and by identifying specifically the people of Folokhwe as those who could be seen to be upholding 'tradition', the idea of a unified and stable way of life was put forward. This idealised life drew on notions of the past and disguised creative, contemporary cultural processes. Implied was the notion of obedience to a way of life, or custom, or authority, which encouraged conformity. Through the value attached to such notions of custom, men gave weight to the event, motivating it, making it necessary, but within a framework of strict conformity.

But customary, too, was women's singing, teasing and haranguing,

all vividly captured on video. Through these mechanisms, women offered alternative perspectives, both supporting and encouraging the initiate while also challenging and mocking men. Women's language use was more generally informal, many of their conversations argumentative or teasing and their songs often bawdy. Their linguistic skill, in making oblique, sometimes metaphoric references which mocked or encouraged ritual participants, was as formidable as men's. The apparent informality of style and women's background role, lacking the overtly attentive ritual and ancestral audience of male oratory, made it appear less authoritative. Yet male authority and dominance was challenged and, to some extent, subverted in the ritual situation through joking, haranguing, teasing and mocking men. Any notion that women conformed unfailingly was therefore belied.

Women's words, at *intonjane*, were significant largely for the symbolic action they precipitated, described or alluded to. Their non-verbal communication provided an essential context for speech and song and was therefore also a crucial medium for constituting the ceremonial experience.

Elder women, particularly, used *intonjane* as a forum to assert their authority. However, that their challenges were expected as part of *intonjane* suggested that, while their assertion of authority might have been real, their rhetoric of conflict was symbolic. The improvisational nature of their 'attacks' was testimony to the capacity for ritual to combine and accommodate historical and contemporary characteristics, both desired continuity and conscious choice-making (Drewal, 1991: 38).

The footage clearly reveals how women provided emotional and psychological intensity to the event, both by song and by means of the powerfully emotive ancestral call made through the physical and symbolic medium of walking and of procession. The repetitive, circular walk, harmonising with song, was a powerful symbolic gesture of the solidarity and unity of women. In the video footage, the cumulative effect of such non-verbal activities becomes visible. This women's activity complemented the men's role inside the cattlebyre by heightening emotions and raising the meaning for participants. Yet it also separated women out, emphasizing their uniqueness (Turner, 1968 : 233) and showing them as having their own specific and powerful contribution to make in the service of other women and the ancestors.

In leading the initiate through various symbolic ritual activities, women defined the ceremonial frame for the initiate's symbolic journey, highlighting the important parts and providing a musical itinerary that outlined her progress. This active participation contradicted gender assumptions, foregrounded by men, of women as passive, unreasoning followers, rather than capable and creative leaders. Challenging these notions, women showed themselves independently capable, in terms of knowledge and experience, to make decisions, to organise and to reason.

Hence, the notion of 'tradition' did not discourage multiple perspectives from men and women, and both were clearly assertive and creative in their appropriation and utilisation of this ideological tool.

Through the expression of emotion and language in culturally defined ways, a form of power was effected.

> Initiation combines high emotion, control, and knowledge but in different ways for different participants over the course of initiation (Kratz, 1994: 104).

Arens and Karp (in Kratz, 1994: 40) define 'power' as having two often intertwining senses: firstly, power as a "force" or "control"; and secondly, power as "energy" or "capacity" (ibid: 40). Initiation was a forum for the display of adult capacities, of adult power -- the power of personal- or self-control in the manipulation the various communication channels. The emotional and linguistic capacity which men and women, and particularly the elders, displayed had the power to affect each of them individually as well as all the others present. The initiate's choice of compliance, particularly, through the exhibition of self-control, had the "power to make them actualize their capacity for self-control and so ratify their claim to adult capacities and powers" (ibid: 40). But this power, and the authority it construed, was not easily come by nor easily shared, and ritual was an important forum for establishing and contesting this arena.

Female participants were empowered, both individually and as a community, through the expression of emotion and purpose, harmony, solidarity and individuality, song and leadership, while others present were also powerfully affected. Yet, at the same time, the assumptions underpinning their emotional manner of expression reinforced male ideas about woman lacking reason or control. On the other hand, male elders gained authority through

oratory which reified reason and control and enshrined conservative, patriarchal values. In its capacity for recording multiple layers of communication and for facilitating detailed analysis through continuous playback, the video method allowed this central role of men, and particularly male elders, to come into focus. Contrary to participants' verbal idealisation of women's roles, the footage revealed how, while amongst themselves, women recognised the leadership and organisational skills of which they were capable, in relation to men, the 'traditional' ideology which reified patriarchy, and the male-dominated assumptions which underpinned it, undermined the role and contribution which women had to make. Ultimately, women were expected to conform to the wants of a strict patriarchal ideology in the public domain before they could enjoy the benefits of limited empowerment which the rite might construe upon them. Yet this was not without a measure of self-interest. Their conformity and compliance to ritual expectations was an attempt to gain a measure of recognition, security and authority for their unique reproductive contribution. And, of course, *intonjane* was used as a vehicle to teach young girls to do the same. Young girls were taught a language of sexuality including such terms as "her father's cattle", reflecting a patriarchal social framework, and the initiate was taught submissive behaviour in accordance with notions of hierarchy.

While men couched 'dealings' with sexuality and fertility in the indirect language of metaphor, women acted out symbolic rites and sang bawdy, sexual songs with little embarrassment. But women's explicit dealings with their sexuality rarely compromised lineage or patriarchal concerns as they were always in the company of other women, and their actions were overseen at every stage by

an 'honorary male', the elderly post-menopausal woman of the agnatic clan. Thus, the ritual served to accentuate divisions of gender and hierarchy, to distinguish women from men, and to remind women of their duty to bear children.

In a gender tussle which was as much a game as a challenge, young girls and women utilised their sharp wit in song, dialogue and drawings as a 'weapon' in their battle for personal, bodily autonomy, while young and elder men responded in speechmaking and ritual activity to assert their authority over women. The rite therefore served to draw symbolic "battle lines in a struggle between the genders" (Webster, in Waldman, 1989: 44).

The utilisation of such modes of symbolic resistance allowed *intonjane* to be additionally defined as providing a social space for challenging the dominant ideology of patriarchy. This dominant, 'official' ideology, included assumptions about male authority over female reproduction and the ideal behaviour of married women. Through the symbolic, ritualised airing of what may well have been very real tensions on the ground, the community of women was reforged and the social fabric of the community strengthened. Ritual was therefore meta-experience, "experience about experience, a realistic portrayal of reality" (McAllister, 1992: 138).

To men, who were used to tensions amongst women being dispersed amongst households, much as women were dispersed, women's solidarity in performance could become, at times, somewhat unsettling, revealing

> the sources of power and strategies they have as a group and as individuals in difficult marital situations (Meyerhoff, in Kratz, 1994: 221).

Inevitably, women's challenges fanned the flames of male derision. Their kinsmen took up the gauntlet, foregrounding and prioritising male roles and authority through the manipulation of speech and symbols in an attempt to re-appropriate control. The fencing, the word-smithing and the manipulation and control of space was frequently enjoyed by all -- and the anticipation of this ritualised behaviour may undermine any serious intent on the women's part.

Between men and women was a "constant construction of difference, inequality and authority" (Kratz, 1994: 52). Within the apparent equality amongst men and women based on shared experience and knowledge which was forged by the sense of community and solidarity, was a definite hierarchy of authority in terms of age. Hence intra-gender equality was challenged by hierarchical access to authority based on age.

Clearly, then, the language of both women and men reflected their social order, articulating hierarchy, sex roles, seniority, and age status. Each person's verbal participation was harnessed to the task of sustaining his or her social environment (Douglas, 1970: 24). As it was only women who sang and men who made formal speeches, song and emotion were, like speech and reason, intrinsically linked to gender, hierarchy and authority. It was women and young people who generally brought, sang and obeyed, while elders, particularly men, expected to receive, speak and take command. Equality and hierarchy, apparently contradictory, co-existed, sometimes accepted, sometimes contested, within a

culturally understood communicative framework.

But speech and emotion were only partial indicators of this framework. The meaning and efficacy of the ritual lay as deeply hidden in patterns of participation and in symbols. Lewis (1980:33, 34) likens ritual to the performance of a play. He says

> [as] for the theatre, it may be more helpful to think generally of what happens in ritual in terms of stimulation rather than communication. Both performers and spectators are acted on or affected by a performance, although in different ways.
>
> ...we do not 'read' the event as we experience it or as we reflect on it; we do not 'decode' it to make sense of it or understand it. We are affected by it. It may set us thinking.

McAllister (1986) found with oratory at 'releasing the widow' rites in the Eastern Cape (then Transkei) that the effectiveness of the ritual lay not only in its verbalising of cultural ideals, but in the very performance itself. The initiate laid claim to her role by acting out the ideals of the community in an actual community situation. As video footage of *intonjane* reveals, the contemporary rite, in laying claim to symbols of the past and enacting the historical traditions in a community situation, thereby laid claim to the ideals and the culture in which these traditions were rooted.

Intonjane certainly could not be 'read' in any literal manner. Its power was at the level of symbols and metaphor affecting emotionally the participants and observers by making known complex, desired and enduring moral and sentimental relationships

(Lewis 1980: 197). For this, the careful analysis of video footage was crucial. Firstly, it allowed the researcher to access the affective dimension of the rite by reviewing the footage over and over again, and analysing aspects of the rite in relation to each other, rather than as a linear process; and secondly, video recordings accommodated analysis of the synchronous recording of sound and action, time and space -- of performance.

The recorded footage reveals what was perhaps the most critical aspect to the rite -- its role in effecting social order. While performance analysis of one rite has not revealed clearly why this desire to articulate and reinforce a community's identity through defining the individual's sense of 'place' exists, it has demonstrated the desire itself as well as the enormous affective power which ritual has for achieving this. This desire was revealed in the learning environment as much as in the knowledge communicated, knowledge learned through enactment in an environment which accurately reflected and reinforced the participants' social situation. The video footage of the *intonjano* ritual clearly reveals how the ritual was broken down into sections, each with its own actions, events and objects, for the purpose, Hammond-Tooke (1981: 2) argues, of effecting order.

Strict gender and generational roles informed participants of their place in society, providing reference points which individuals could relate to in terms of power, position and behaviour.

Girls' behaviour was constrained, with a checking system imposed on them. Boys, too, were subject to certain rules, but had much

more freedom. The young girls participated actively in the profane realm of the ceremony, but were only observers in the sacred. They could witness and participate in the ritual to a degree, but without the privilege of eating ritually slaughtered meat. In this manner, they were taught, by participant-observation, the procedure and importance of the ritual, as well as receiving a necessary socialisation in sexual control. Indirectly, yet perhaps more importantly, they were taught their 'place' in the hierarchy of things.

Married women, young and old, who had or had not been initiated, participated in both the profane and sacred aspects of the ritual. Uninitiated married women could participate because, with marriage, they would have ritually eaten *umkhono* (the foreleg) and ritually drunk *amasi* (milk). For them, as for all women, *intonjane* was a role model of the ideal, subservient behaviour expected of women, and they, too, were re-socialised regarding their 'place' in a patriarchal society.

By performing at dawn and dusk of every day, agnatic women provided a ceremonial frame within which to refocus the initiate and other participants on the rite, marking the passage of time, and entertaining and supporting the initiate through her time of trial. Repetition in the practice and content of song and other speech and symbolic 'traditions' were powerful mechanisms in the service of persuasion and transformation.

> Repetition, shifts in rhythm, specialised vocabulary, and changes in pronunciation... are believed to be necessary to achieve successful results... Repetition of the spell, accompanied by changes in rhythm, is believed to be the

> effective force in causing the words to enter the appropriate object... The repetition acts as verbal persuasion
>
> Trobrianders, on the language of magic,
> (Weiner, in Kratz, 1994: 283).

While younger married women participated as workers, the old women performed primarily as teachers. They taught the young girls and guided the *intonjane*. Waldman (1989: 7) argues that these women, past the age of childbirth, are no longer part of profane, ordinary life. They have entered the realm of the sacred. The dangerous, ambiguous, liminal stage of the *intonjane* posed no threat to them. This sacred dimension, as women who could not perform the birthgiving function innate and unique to womanhood, allowed them to cross over the gender divide and assume 'honourary male' status. They taught the young to practise sexual responsibility in relation to men, and obedience and respect to elders.

The initiate embodied these conservative values, taught by the elders, in demonstrating obedience and respect, exhibited through silence, whispered tones and submissive behaviour, and sexual restraint, symbolised by the empty register. The force of will she exhibited to accomplish this allowed her equality amongst women, but her will was simultaneously domesticated and controlled through the mechanism of hierarchy through age. The ritual symbolically 'tamed' the wild young girl to turn her into a responsible adult (Kratz, 1994: 337). Having endured seclusion, she emerged, respected, as a sexually and socially responsible woman. In terms of age, however, she still had to earn obedience and respect from her juniors. From the perspective of the elder, she represented the ideal new bride,

subservient, obedient and respectful, near the bottom of the intra-gender hierarchy. So the initiate represented, symbolically, the central tension of the rite and of community life: the contradiction between equality and hierarchy.

Of course, in reality, the 'woman-as-girl' could actually have been ranked higher than many of the women who supported her purely by virtue of age, marriage and motherhood -- and she may well have been using the rite to further increase her seniority. Having endured the rite, she could claim to participate "more equally" in the community of initiated women (ibid: 217, 221).

McAllister argues that many young women nowadays decline altogether a submissive role in relation to their elders, particularly the elder mother-in-law (1994: 36). And yet, within the ritual context of *intonjane*, the initiate was reduced to the status of a young girl and she conformed to that role. It mattered not that she was mature. It was the ritual definition of reality that counted and in terms of which the socialisation and other functions of the rite were performed, and it was this ritual definition which made *intonjane* affective and effective still. The community gathered to witness the performance of the ritual and everyone shared in and learned from the ritual environment by experiencing, within the tightly organised social framework, the "emotions and sentiments", as well as the symbolic meanings, that these ceremonies enshrined (Cook 1929: 944).

The *intonjane* ritual was therefore an act of collusion by all involved. Firstly, the older generations of both men and women colluded. In the face of change, they were striving to perpetuate an old religious and political order in which the

elders, by virtue of their age and experience, were the decision-makers of the society. But it was also, to some extent, an act of collusion between women who, as childbearers and rearers bearing the burden of work in the homestead, strived to increase their personal security in a manner which, too, would not threaten order in any dangerous or unpredictable way. The age and status of the initiate mattered to none of these participants. Again, it was the ritual definition of 'reality' that served to make the rite meaningful.

Clearly, through a complex, symbolic journey, *intonjane* forged identity and solidarity for all of its participants to varying degrees at various and different levels. Kin were bound together through the invoking and appeasement of common ancestry and the witnessing and supporting of ritual passage. Affinal and natal homesteads, likewise, were acknowledged through the blessing and celebration of the initiate. The community was brought together and reminded that the individual and the community were symbolically fused, that security ultimately came not through individuality, but through interdependence. Gender solidarity was forged through the division and control of ritual activities and through the contestation of patriarchal authority and notions of 'tradition'. And finally, generational groups were united or separated through the lessons they learned, the tasks they performed, and the activities they controlled. Both conformity and contestation co-existed, accommodated in different forms within the ritual structure. Participants' behaviour was context specific and recognition of how to behave within formally defined boundaries was a sign of belonging to the culture which defined such behaviour. Appropriate participation, in terms of gender, age and agnatic group, was a significant marker, therefore, of

cultural identity.

These notions of appropriate behaviour and belonging, of knowing one's 'place' in the scheme of things, as a means to affirming one's cultural identity were prevalent throughout the rite. Yet, significantly, for younger women, acquiescence may have signified not agreement, but the temporary abandoning of resistance in order to remain protected, in order to keep other rural options as wide open as possible. At the same time, for elders, their compliance reinforced the idea of 'traditional', proper Xhosa behaviour, perpetuating rural lifestyle and values. Hence a woman's behaviour placed her in a position of optimising her opportunities.

The collusion of women was symptomatic of their need, as childbearers and mothers, for a secure social order. For elder men and women, the rite dealt with the social fabric of agnatic group and community and served the purpose of reinforcing patriarchal values within these groupings. From a male perspective, particularly, the rite had a far broader perspective than the women's gender focus, symbolic of the public/domestic divide inherent in the patriarchal value system which it articulated. These values placed power and authority in the hands of elder men.

The ritual definition of *intonjane* as a rehearsal for marriage served the older generation particularly well in its accommodation of the linked themes of women and cattle, and their associations with fertility, reproduction, and subservient behaviour on the part of the young bride. Marriage, Ferguson argues, is a process of 'becoming', strengthened by the payment

of bridewealth cattle over many years. As a source of wealth and stability to the community, elders had a strong interest in promoting the status of livestock and in retaining control of women's reproduction, as well as authority over young men in an attempt to lay claim to their wealth (1985: 666). Hence the sacrificial and speechmaking aspects of the ritual, valorising cattle, were dominated by men.

Intonjane was thus, for men, primarily about reinforcing status distinctions between men and women and, particularly, between elder and junior, and for assuming authority over young girls sexuality, mature women's fertility and reproductive capacity and, thereby, gaining access to the *lobola* of young men.

Yet women participated in protecting the status of cattle and the links between cattle and women. In the language of sexuality (linking fertility and marriage) which girls were taught, as well as through female communication with the ancestors, all women, but particularly elder women, played a strong role in supporting and strengthening the patriarchal system which the ancestors/ cattle symbolized. Likewise, kin and community supported these themes as cattle were a domain of shared social wealth, unlike many other homestead assets (Ferguson, 1985). These repetitive themes of women and cattle therefore recreated and reinforced 'traditional' patriarchal values and authority.

Significantly, then, the emphasis on control and social order under the aegis of elder male authority suggested that, while *intonjane* served, on the one hand, as a means for women, individually, to increase their authority, it equally, or even primarily, could be defined as a vehicle for elders to achieve

that end, to re-assert authority in the community, particularly over women. This, I argue, was the reason why *intonjane* was regarded, by women and, particularly, by elders who had to authorise its undertaking, as a rite still worthy of performance in 1989.

The dual foci of *intonjane* were not necessarily incompatible. The economic and social reality of Shixini was of a community rapidly being incorporated into the wider South African economic system. For elders, an illusion of rural independence, as a means to resisting incorporation, was fostered thrcugh the ritual interpretation of principles of social organisation in which the individual homestead was embedded in relations of reciprocity based on kinship, neighbourhood and territory (McAllister, 1992: 132-133). For women, *intonjane* was a means of articulating gender tension and increasing personal autonomy in order, possibly, to facilitate incorporation into that wider socio-political economy, yet in a manner not destructive of daily personal relationships.

The co-ordinated scheduling of the various media, which video illuminated so usefully,

> does not imply that a harmonious and unified message about social roles and values is conveyed through each of them. Media might be used to invoke the same roles or contexts in very different ways. Contradictions and paradoxes are not foreign to ceremonies, whether between media or within them. Indeed, they are sometimes central
>
> (Kratz, 1994: 162).

A microanalysis of how language and symbols were used revealed the 'tradition' of *intonjane* not to be fixed and unchanging,

therefore, but flexible and accommodating of tensions, particularly the central tension between equality and hierarchy, and the differentiated authority this construed. This view of ritual is supported by Jean Comaroff who argues that, amongst the Tshidi, ritual offers "an authoritative map of social and symbolic relations that overlay but do not totally eclipse underlying structural tensions" (1985: 118).

At *intonjane*, the idea of 'tradition' was clearly invoked and manipulated in the service of maintaining a sense of patriarchal order and authority. The use of symbols, while serving to idealise 'traditional' values, also mystified the event, giving it spiritual significance and lifting it out of the ordinary and into history together with the greater-than-human authority of the ancestors and all traditions (Hammond-Tooke 1981: 3).

As Turner argues (1967), symbols, in their religious use, express cognitive classifications for ordering the universe while causing powerful emotions which have great psychological benefits. At the rite in Folokhwe, symbolism facilitated the expression of basic oppositions in thought, such as birth and death, emotion and reason, hierarchy and equality. The fate of the individual was shown to have value in the community and this served in reconstructing relationships within families, between men and women, and also amongst women and amongst men, restoring balance and purpose, and giving definition to individual and community identities. Ceremonial performance, drawn from, and reflecting, the cultural assumptions and sociopolitical organisation of their daily lives, served to naturalize and to reify as 'traditional' these symbolic roles and relationships. Thus, at the level of intellect and emotion, personal needs were met within a

patriarchal cultural framework maintaining social order.

Yet it was also through the manipulation of symbols in ritual contexts that changes across time were bridged, important cultural values and ideals were upheld, and continuity and order maintained. Symbols had the flexibility, through their abstract, mystifying nature, to normalise apparently powerful contradictions. They could transcend time without losing any of the authority which allowed them to perpetuate certain traditions while accommodating change in others. Hence, 'tradition' was both used to justify doing things in a particular way (Kratz, 1993) and also, conversely, in performance, 'tradition' became a tool for transformation. Video accommodates a dense reading of symbols, as important channels of power contributing significantly to ritual efficacy (Douglas, 1970: 12), through its capacity for repeated viewings.

The power and efficacy of the rite, its ability to persuade and transform, was rooted in the repetition of ideas and assumptions, of messages and themes, through both verbal and symbolic performance. In an orchestrated combination, this repetition reinforced, persuaded and transformed. Such intense repetition might appear to have been redundant but it was, in fact, a "richly varied and pragmatically powerful construction in time" (Kratz, 1994: 286) and was revealed in full force through video.

Then, too, the rite's efficacy was drawn from the fusing of individual and community in a dramatic physical, emotional and spiritual experience, entwined in a rich web of symbolism, which lifted the ritual out of the mundane, allowed it to transcend spatial and temporal difference, and gave the rite its powerfully

evocative cultural and religious authority.

Clearly, then, performance was at the heart of ritual efficacy. It had the capacity to accommodate both 'tradition' and 'improvisation', both continuity and change, in orchestrated linguistic and symbolic behaviour, in woven discourse -- a tapestry of hopes, dreams, assumptions, expectations, obligations, goals, desires and beliefs -- which surrounded, embraced and transformed all involved. Utilising the medium of video recordings, performance also provided a means through which the researcher could partake of, and begin to approach, the participants' reality, both immanent and immemorial, with centuries of experience and thinking behind it.

The implications for video and social anthropology

What appeared, to the researcher, as a paradox at the beginning of this project, is thus shown to be an event understood and manipulated in complex ways by various participants. Through detail in the footage, the researcher is given access to these dense levels of ritual meaning. Through video recordings, a conventional reading of *intonjane* is easily accommodated, yet the footage also reveals a mass of unanticipated data. Some of this, like the colour and adornment of participant's costumes, is information peripheral to the researcher's focus and collected unintentionally on tape. Other information stems from the unexpected foregrounding of male activities and allows the central role of male elders to come to the fore. Read together with the earlier footage, patterns emerge in speaking and in behaviour which were never envisioned and may well have remained unrecognised or identified only late in the research process

using standard methods of ethnographic research. The repetitive weight of these patterns in the footage gives subtly different shades of emphasis to the rite.

The wealth of data, and the ability to view it repeatedly and at length, is a major advantage for the research. For the ethnographer, the visual document is an ideal medium for creating Geertzian 'thick description' as one can 'begin each journey from the same spot to produce a network of interconnecting pathways' (Morphy, 1993 : 123). The extraordinary wealth of detail lies in the addition of 'sensory experience to analytical data' (MacDougall, 1976: 146). When images are examined in relation to each other and to their performative context, rather than in isolation, a measure of their psychological and symbolic significance, of ritual process and structure and the powers inherent in certain moments, constructed in the confluence of speech, action, space and atmosphere, are revealed.

This significant contribution is exemplified in the complex moment of ritual slaughter. Only in the densely-layered context of psychological and emotional intensity as provided by male oratory, by female singing and dancing, by the manipulation of symbolic implements, by the site of activity, by the adornment of items of ritual apparel, by the witnessing and responses of certain people, by the presence of the ancestors symbolised in the cattle, and by the hidden, silent form of the initiate does the ritual significance and efficacy of the act of slaughtering the ox become evident. The simultaneous and complex deployment of different media is at the heart of ritual's affectivity and formative power (Morris, 1995: 573). No other medium besides video can capture the multi-textuality and simultenaity of the

occasion, the potent drama of the form which makes the rite so effective, and which allows the researcher to 'get at' the affective dimension of the rite.

Another major contribution to the research is the evidence of informants' own voices and actions. People's appearances and personalities, their interpersonal relationships, their quality of communication, their values, their relation to their environment, their sense of space and time, their social and political organisation, their technology, their activities, their worldview - which includes the quality of their relationship with outsiders - all are evident to some degree in the footage. The sense of the event being 'peopled' with real personalities contributes to the dispersal of authority from the researcher.

Unlike Geertz's ethnography, which is criticized for its lack of indigenous voices, the footage provides evidence of many authors who, through video, will speak to many audiences. The polyphonic capacity of video disperses authority according to the personal biases and contributions of participants. In the proliferation of voices, it becomes evident that the ethnographer offered only one interpretation, rather than the authoritative account, of the ritual. Through the medium of video, a polyphonic text is produced which helps to prevent researchers from becoming prisoner to their assumptions, as they might with notes.

Meyer reaches the same conclusion but through a different route. He argues that there is

> an unalterable connection between the image and the event it represents. It can not be entirely made over to our interpretive purposes. Because there is always more in the image than any interpretation can exhaust, this indexical quality [of video images], properly used, prevents having only our translation (in Asch and Asch, 1988 : 167).

A video record of the voice and actions of the participants goes some way to restoring authority (at the most basic level) to the indigenous 'actors', and removing it from the author.

For all that the video record is selective in what it records, it manages to offer a more 'actor-centred' representation than impressionistic fieldnotes. This is especially important as it is generally the affairs of the elite, and not ordinary people, which are recorded in written archives for posterity. Footage of ordinary people offers an alternative archival record and helps redress the imbalance of power.

Of course an important, and sometimes controversial, aspect of video is its refusal to the right of anonymity. Yet it must be recognised that, where oral sources are disguised, so accountability is reduced. In this research, anonymity is not merely denied to ritual participants, but also to the researcher whose presence and participation in the research process can not be disguised. The absence of anonymity has the positive effect of undermining the anthropologists' authority by opening the medium and its voices to verification. Clearly, the anthropologist is not merely witness to the rite, but also

'detective on the trail of its meaning' (Turton 1992b: 295). To this end, the footage demonstrates why the anthropologist should be treated as 'less an expert fount of knowledge and opinion and more as a means of initiating and carrying through a process of discovery' (ibid: 295). The footage is thus a 'meta-document', reflexively revealing the actions of, and relationship between, participants and researcher.

It reveals local information about research practice and research context and about relations of power. The recorded footage has a transparency which illuminates the uncertainty of the research experience. In recorded conversations with informants and with the research assistant, the stumbling, often leading questions of the researcher treading uncertain terrain, are bared. Likewise, the ambivalence of ritual participants on the detail or meaning of the rite is shown. Hence the human fallibilities of the research process are revealed.

A good example is when Ndyamboti advises the initiate, in a rare moment of impatience, to 'Just guess!' [59], when pressed for an answer she clearly does not have. The camera operates, in these moments, in a reflexive manner, offering a more total picture of the encounter and of relationships: of the youthful and inexperienced researcher, tentative in understanding; of the camera, as an alien, yet amusing and clearly unthreatening technology; of inter-personal relationships, in which the researcher is peripheral to ritual decision-making and marginal in terms of participation, yet kindly accommodated, regarded as neither threatening nor discomforting, providing merely an additional interest to an already enjoyable scenario.

Participants' comfort and amusement with the technology is evident in the shot of three women, weaving and chatting while they relax after eating, comparing the box-like camera with its revolving lens to 'an F.M.' (radio), a wheel and a train. They tease each other about the manner in which they will be recorded and jest about the researcher bearing the weight of the camera which, they say, will 'break her back' [58].

The technology's limited influence on participants is exemplified by the joke shared between Nothimba and Chief Dalingozi about men's trousers. They jest about not bothering with ritual dress as this is, after all, only a woman's ritual [109]. Neither women nor men take the presence of a researcher or of a camera (despite knowing a record will be made of the ritual) as a motivation to dress up in any special way.

Video therefore provides a research means which offers a metacommentary on method and procedure thereby dramatizing the quest for evidence and revealing exactly how uncertain and contingent the research process, and the evidence itself, is. A consequence of its highlighting the research process is that video raises a number of concerns which also need to be addressed. These include the appropriation of knowledge, the removal of images from the research site, and the rights of research participants.

Sontag suggests that the anthropologist is akin to the photographer - merely a 'supertourist' who, as a visitor, is freed from any responsibility towards the people being photographed (1978 : 41). Both, she says, assume the 'peremptory rights' of the tourist - 'to interfere with, to invade, or to

ignore whatever is going on' (Ibid : 9). When the anthropologist arrives bearing technology, does this exacerbate an already sensitive issue? Many anthropologists question the appropriation of images, concerned that the video researcher may worsen existing relations of inequality (Turton 1992; Faris 1992; Loizos 1992; Ruby 1991). They also question whether, in utilising video, the researcher escapes the objectifying practices of which anthropologists utilising conventional methods of participant-observation are accused.

The appropriation of knowledge, whether through video recordings or notetaking, can be equated, in many ways, with the appropriation of the culture itself. Both video researchers and notetaking anthropologists gather evidence to prove that they 'were there', that this was 'reality as they saw it' - and they use this 'evidence' to justify their authority in their account of the event (Geertz, 1988). This issue of claiming authority by virtue of having 'been there' is doubly problematic for the video researcher whose technology also appropriates a potent scientific authority.

The images (which are the raw data of the video researcher) are not commonly regarded as interpretations of the real. More powerfully, they are seen as direct tracings of 'reality' itself. A recorded image is a stencil, a footprint, an emanation of light waves reflecting off the object, 'a material vestige of its subject in a way that no painting can be' (Sontag, 1978 : 154). In the wake of this evidence, imprisoning the recalcitrant and unaccessible 'reality' of the subject on tape, the event itself is reduced to only a shadow. The recorded footage becomes 'the reality' (ibid : 163). The camera, as a 'scientific' instrument,

is regarded as providing a record more transparent, less doctored, less an interpretation, and hence more authoritative, than notetaking could ever be. Yet is this the case?

In fact, the recorded footage is evidence of what the anthropologist sees... and more, for the camera records also the minutae of detail which the anthropologist cannot comprehend in a single viewing, and preserves it for later observation.

But video evidence cannot be regarded as representative of objective 'reality'. Rather, much like notetaking, it reflects an evaluation of what the anthropologist and informants regard as worthy of being recorded. On the basis of the biases, the prejudices, the understanding and the ignorance of the various parties directing the camera, as well as on the capacity of the camera to record only that which is in front of it, thereby annihilating from memory everything else out of view (MacDougall, 1975), the 'evidence' must be regarded, much like notetaking, as reductive, partial and selective.

The ambiguous nature of the acquired knowledge is compounded with removal from the research site. Sontag (1978) argues that the meaning of an image changes significantly when the context in which it is used changes. For photographs, and likewise for videos, the meaning is the use. When the image is removed to a new context, its old meaning 'drains away'. She illustrates her point as follows:

> Because each photograph is only a fragment, its moral and emotional weight depends on where it is inserted. A photograph changes according to the context in which it is seen: thus Smith's Minamata photographs will

> seem different on a contact sheet, in a gallery, in a political demonstration, in a police file, in a photographic magazine, in a general news magazine, in a book, on a living-room wall. Each of these situations suggests a different use for the photographs but none can secure its meaning... the meaning is the use
>
> (Sontag, 1978: 106).

Certainly, we need to bear in mind that, where images (and, of course, notes) are isolated from their larger context, a distorted or limited reading may result (Asch and Asch, 1988: 167). Indigenous voices, appropriated into the researcher's video recording, may be manipulated and ultimately subjugated to the anthropologists authority (MacDougall, 1992: 25). By controlling knowledge about a subject, the researcher establishes a relation of power over the subject. Clearly, then, the goal of trying to open up the research process, to share authority with the subject, thereby balancing power relations, is a central issue in all fields of social research.

When footage is archived, its metacommunicative nature offers a route for checking the ethnography, thereby addressing these problems. Unlike notetaking, archived video records, with the possibility of repeated consultation, preserve an interpretation of a cultural text which can be re-examined well into the future. Recorded video footage which substantiates the account clearly offers the author a basis for claiming authority over the interpretation of the event. And yet, simultaneously, the very same evidence offers avenues for challenging that authority as the footage can be used as effectively to revisit the anthropologist's account.

Furthermore, as part of the video research process, the researcher initially negotiates the terms of the project as part of an ongoing, interactive research method, thereby forfeiting largely the 'peremptory rights' of the tourist. Once permissions are negotiated, the 'invasion' and 'interference' is mostly by consensus and often, in fact, with the active participation and assistance of the subject. The footage becomes less a mechanism for appropriation by the anthropologist and more a medium for allowing a joint, interactive process of research, for opening the research to the participants, and ensuring a more accountable and transparent process.

Telling their own story in their own words lets the indigenous voices subvert the anthropologist's I-was-there authority to some degree. While the range of voices may be limited, the choice of who speaks and who is recorded is largely local. The recorded video footage accommodates continuous discourse with participants at a greater level of detail than notetaking (Morphy 1993: 124), resulting in a more open research process. The opportunity to elicit debate on the event, which video facilitates, contradicts the one-way, over-the-shoulder gaze of the tourist. Instead, the video researcher's process is participatory and interactive, accommodating a move from an 'essentially spatialized distanced, objectivist view to a temporal, participatory, interactive research practice' (Drewal, 1991: 3). A video recording of ritual performance as it happens facilitates this particularly well.

In a reciprocal manner, the researcher and the informants share information, back and forth, at a viewing, using the fixed image or voice in the recorded frame of data as a reference point for

all parties. Using the footage, any 'act' can be viewed in its performative context and is consistent in its repetition, and the footage acts as a catalyst to memory. Footage shot in the dark, like the opening speech and initiates' preparations for entry into seclusion, can be analysed audially and in the context of surrounding sequences and reveal valuable data.

Video's role as a facilitator, as a medium of communication between the various parties, is surely one of its greatest contributions. This is particularly important as the researcher and the participant cannot be said to have an 'identical' or 'shared' memory of the event. In seeking to understand of a particular act, the researcher would have to succinctly describe, from memory and notes, that act as it occured at one point in a long and involved ritual. However, the informant, not sharing the same perspective, understands the rite in its historical and socio-political context, might be hard pressed to recognise and separate out, retrospectively, that piece of behaviour from the ebb and flow of ritual action. The capacity of video to offer an exact frame of reference, to be paused at particular shots, to be watched repeatedly, to be examined frame by frame if necessary, means the ethnographer and participant can examine the ritual carefully and in minute detail, extracting not just that data originally focussed upon, but also peripheral information recorded simultaneously. This is particularly useful as ritual activity happens in bursts, and the intertextuality and complexity of these bursts of activity makes it often impossible to follow in any detail.

Much research explores issues that require especially sensitive questioning and about which informants may not comfortably be

able to speak. Such questions, for example, about sexuality and rape, as revealed in conversations, songs and drawings during the course of the rite, are facilitated particularly well by the 'third party' nature of footage. Being able to talk about issues in the third party (Collier, 1987: 40), as images seemingly 'objectified' by the camera (even when pointing to themselves), appears to put informants at ease, offering a significant degree of psychological comfort. This is equally useful for the researcher who may struggle to ask such questions directly of informants. By referring to the images or the conversations, subtle ethnocentrisms are more readily avoidable.

In returning a copy of the footage and research to the community on its completion, the possibility of long-term accountability is established and the contribution of the ommunity to th- academic endeavour is, in some small way, acknowledged. All of these mechanisms contribute to opening the research to scrutiny, thereby balancing relations of power to a greater degree.

Despite footage being event-specific, the wider context often remaining hidden, video may not always convey meaning in and of itself, yet it facilitates research into meaning and context, as well as the values, attitudes and customs which underpin the filmed behaviour. What it provides, therefore, is preservable data on which interpretations can be based, some evidence of the voices of participants, and ultimately, perhaps, a clearer idea of the researcher's methodology (or lack of it) and of the relationship between data, theory and interpretation. Grounding research in empirical evidence - in what we see people do - as much as in normative expressions of societal ideals - what they aspire to do - is of primary importance, according to Drewal

(1991 : 36). She argues that a solely normative account of ritual performance is necessarily limited.

> Not only is it ahistorical, but it cannot cope adequately with the vicissitudes of power, determination, and resistance as they are put into practice dialectically by performers in the moment of production
>
> (Drewal, 1991 : 30).

Clearly, then, video serves the anthropologist well in the exhaustive mass of detail - the thick description - which it provides as evidence to substantiate the account, and against which the ethnographer's account can be measured. But the contribution video makes lies not only in the fine detail it provides. Also useful for the research is the macro-picture of ritual which can be gained from the footage.

A set of motifs - of women, cattle, colour symbolism, male authority, reproduction and so on - emerge over the course of *intonjane*. Likewise, spatial, social, symbolic, temporal, and emotional patterns of organisation take on significance through recurrence. These overarching themes lend a sense of connectedness amongst all of the parts of the rite. In common is the broadly patriarchal framework which they serve. While a notetaking researcher would no doubt recognise these broad themes within the course of study, they could well prove elusive where only a small number of rites could be witnessed. Video's capacity for endless viewing allows such detail to be harvested within one rite.

And yet it cannot be denied that, used inappropriately with inadequate forethought and preparation, the camera can become a

weapon of alienation, an instrument for depersonalizing our relation to our subjects, with the researcher reduced to being a mere visitor, to being one of Sontag's 'supertourists' (1978 :41). The anthropological experience could become like that of the photographer:

> We share a brief, intense intimacy. But it's unearned. It has no past... no future... They leave... and I don't know them... If I meet them a week later in a room somewhere, I expect they won't recognise me. Because I don't feel I was really there. At least the part of me that was... is now in the photograph. And the photographs have a reality for me that the people don't. It's through the photographs that I know them. Maybe it's in the nature of being a photographer. I'm never really implicated.
>
> (Richard Avedon, in Sontag, 1978 : 187, 188).

However, the long-term nature and moral and ethical constraints of anthropological research contribute towards alleviating this problem for the ethnographer.

The biggest drawback which the video researcher faces is the difficulty of revealing the historical and socio-political context in which ritual takes place, particularly when only one rite is recorded. Every act is located within a broader socio-political context. While a performative analysis of only one *intonjane* ritual is clearly a valuable exercise in terms of understanding where the rite's efficacy lies in effecting transformation, we cannot learn from the footage whether there are any historical forces at work, driving the community to hold the rite and effecting change in ritual performance. A thorough understanding of change over time, of how the broader political and historical context influences the rite, could only be

achieved by recording several rites over an extended period of time, analysed within an historical framework drawn from literature and oral sources - something perhaps better done using conventional techniques.

On the other hand, understandings based on fieldnotes struggle to allow for a 'particular and historically situated' research practice, evoked according to the politics of the individual and of the moment (Drewal, 1991 : 3). Using standard fieldwork techniques, limited detail can be gathered within any one ritual to facilitate understanding. Notetaking researchers must view a number of events to gather the same degree of thick description as can be guaged in a single video recording. Their result is a composite, normative picture drawn from a number of events. Only by using video is microanalysis of a single rite possible.

Gathering evidence in the form of video footage allows the researcher to record not only what people say about what they do - that is, their intentionality - but also on what they actually do in specific performances and how they do it. Particular performances, situated in time and place, can be distinguished out from 'the performance as an even, encapsulating culture or an ideology' (ibid : 37), hence reducing the risk of reifying cultural rituals. Thus, rather than regarding ritual performance as a 'process of regularization', reproducing the past with only gradual change, these shifts to the particular and the individual make it possible to study performance as transformational process (ibid : 38).

In the end, video researchers, like the notetaking ethnographers, offer, in their representations of 'reality', a construction and

interpretation of another culture. In choosing what memories will remain about that culture, they bear the responsibility for creating a dialogic research practice which accommodates the sharing of authorship with indigenous actors and, simultaneously, of opening their ethnography to criticism by supplying evidence for their claims to authority and validity.

While the utilisation of video in research is not a panacea for anthropological dilemmas, the capacity of video to provide evidence, to offer a platform to indigenous voices, and to encourage a dialogic, interactive research process means it has a contribution to make which can well serve the anthropological endeavour.

==========

APPENDIX A

INTONJANE -- RITUAL AGENDA: 2-23 June 1989

Day 1	Fri 2 June	Pre-ritual preparation; *Umngeno*
Day 5	Tues 6 June	*Umngenandlini*
Day 14	Thurs 15 June	*Umtshato* (day 1)
Day 15	Fri 16 June	*Umtshato* (day 2)
Day 16	Sat 17 June	*Umtshato* (day 3) - not filmed
Day 17	Sun 18 June	*Ukutsiba intaba/umphindelo* - not filmed
Day 19	Tues 20 June	At night: in the seclusion hut with girls and boys
Day 21	Thurs 22 June	*Umphumo* (day 1)
Day 22	Fri 23 June	*Umphumo* (day 2)

SHOT DESCRIPTIONS

WS	wide shot	Establishing shot; includes context
FS	full shot	Tight shot of groups or individuals; includes whole bodies and some context
KS	knee shot	Three quarter shot; from knees to top of head
MS	mid shot	Half-body shot; from waist to top of head
MCU	medium close-up ...	Not much context; from shirt pocket to top of head
CU	close-up	Very little context; good detail; from neck to top of head
ECU	extreme close-up ..	No context; very tight shot of any feature
O/S	over-shoulder	Point-of-view shot
2-shot		Two people framed
3-shot		Three people framed (etc)
Pan		The camera moves horizontally, filming across the landscape
Tilt		The camera moves vertically, filming up or down the length the subject
Zoom		Changing the framing of the shot to widen it or bring the subject closer in.

Example of description of shot:
CU-KS-CU would mean the shot has widened out from a close-up (CU) to a knee-shot (KS), and then zoomed in again to another close-up (CU).

Shot numbers (1, 2, 3, etc) indicate a new shot, that is, recording has been stopped and re-started at the new number.

VHS TAPE NO. ONE

DAY ONE : PRE-RITUAL PREPARATION

1. Main hut.
--FS Women chatting and eating [after coming from reed-cutting near Shixini River.] Children; radio playing.

> "Mama, prepare food. Father is about to leave. No tea is made. He will come back for it. Where is Nomisile's can? Here is it sister Nongenile. What of it? Hi, that white can. Yes, this one. It is there for fermented mealiemeal porridge. Yes, what is this heavy stuff? You see it. It was not there. We moved it and have put it there. You know how difficult times are, yet you just put it anywhere you like. Hey, you have done a foolish thing. These are difficult times, that you know. Ask it from Nombulelo. Here is Nombulelo."

-- woman with can in hand.

> "No, you saw me, it was me who said it must be removed. That is where the trouble begins. But I know nothing."
>
> "Open there so that she may see. How are you? What is wrong? Ntombikazi, don't be afraid. Fill this bag to the top. What is wrong now? We also want some and it is going to come out there. You are always thinking about waste. I thought you were going to dish out more. No, how silly this dog is." (2'01")

2. --FS of group. (06s)

3. Courtyard
--FS Man chopping stakes [for screen poles]. CU sharp point, chopping.

> "I now bid you goodbye. The photocopy (film) will show your tongue sticking out. Oh girl. He-he-he-he, you will appear like that."

4. --Children with buckets standing, posing a bit, outside main hut (17s).

5. --Children with buckets going to collect water.

> "I am not worried by the snap (photo) that will come out and I carrying a bucket." (18s)

6. Seclusion hut
--KS-CU Man with stake, deciding with woman where to place it.

> "Is this gap supposed to be the doorway? It is supposed to be placed here. Yes, the door should be inserted there. It is the hut that is to be built there. Don't you have a straight bar for digging holes? I said this from the very onset that this is the place where the hut should be set. For a strong, firm hut we need a straight bar for digging. This is hard ground. What are you going to do? Usually deep holes are dug."

7. --Young boy at hearth rolling dung. (23s).

8. --CU-KS-CU Man putting stake into floor. Boy fills hole with dung. KS-CU Two men putting in stakes (2'02")

9. --CU stake, feet of men, pan to body. (51s)

10. --Last stake, men & girls bring branches to build cross-beams of screen.

> "Hey, Thoko. Go and put these over there. Oh! a straight bar, man. Young man, fetch cow dung from there. Go where is the other one? Just put one in here. That one is in a firm position. Where is the other one? This will do here. There will be comfort in this hut.

Where is the other one? It looks big enough. It is alright if it is big. I have set this one in. Bring me that one. Just bring me a thin piece of wire. Just below the garden fence. Be quick, there is not even a rope here." (1'04")

11. --Men tying branch to stake. (17s)

12. --CU hands tying.

"Hey, I will beat you It will still be high if you cut it from here. Could any child reach this point? No, it is high enough. Number two." (41s)

13. --MS tying branch. CU, pan. MS-KS tying, Alida in background. (1'42")

14. --WS man tying branch, Alida in background. Zoom in to Alida, zoom out to tying.

"Sabulile, give me a rope so that I may tie this point. Is there any other one? Women, the rope is finished. I am not just sitting down. They know that I am working here. They have finished eating. Don't you think he was asking for that? Just move aside. I am just soaking this one." (31s)

15. --Woman filling holes with dung. Pan across framework. (36s)

16. Main hut
--Women, children, dogs. Having tea, chatting. Pan around room. FS baby playing. MS pouring, serving tea.

"I want meat, I say meat. Run. Come to me. Oh no, look at that. I hope it won't shoot me."

"Drink, drink, drink, drink. Hey, hey, tek. So you behave like that." (2'06")

17. --Women eat goat meat. Women entering hut.

"Bha-bha. No, no. What is wrong now? I hate

that. I become dizzy whenever I don't drink tea at this time. Don't take too much sugar. By the way, what did you say? Da-da-da. It was bad." (28s)

18. Courtyar
--Boys bringing wood [for a fire in the seclusion hut]. Smile at camera.

"My child, put the wood over there." (19s)

19. --Boys drop wood outside seclusion hut. Nonqubela & Alida shy at being in shot.

"Put the wood over there." (21s)

20. Seclusion hut
--Pan across screen, fully reeded.

"Throw that out here. I know what to do. Nothing done will ever confuse me. You only have to be sure of yourself. We build you a hut to rape. You are not going to rape us. As for me, I will come and rape. If you don't hide your private parts, I will get at you when you come back from Mamnguni. He-he. Oh my, you make me laugh. Oh why?" (1'12")

21. --MS women reeding screen. Pan across children watching me.

"What should we do? Here is something which is going to trouble us. That one. There won't be people there. There are few people here. We should start putting mud now. When do we have food then? When are these children coming with this ox? They are coming. Gosh. I wonder where has this child gone to?" (48s)

22. Courtyard
--Men cooking, chatting, eating. Pan across homestead: see women, cattle, cattlebyre.

"Where? The people are waiting for him. Open there for it should enter from the bottom side. It should stay down there."

"Let this pot be cleaned. The people are apprehensive because it is almost dark outside. I told you about that during the daytime. I meant to..." (35s)

23. Main hut
--Woman and child, female initiate taking off earrings. Dusk, so very dark picture. (10s)

24. --Woman grinding red ochre make-up (34s)

25. --Female initiate applying red ochre [to face, arms and legs]

"It seems to me that this is the time when it is very cold outside. I meant to tell you."

"I was given a tot of brandy. These girls have carelessly put it and off they went. We have given up hope of seeing the sun." (laughter, noise)

"Gosh, what of ochre on this cold day? Why do you smear your bodies with ochre on a cold day like this? Hay-hay-hay-hay-hay. Where is his mother? Where is his mother? Whose child is this? No, send him to his mother. Please help me." (1'24")

26. --Male initiate applying red ochre [to face] (15s)

27. --Speechmaking [by Nothimba]. No picture as too dark, good sound.

-- Woman:
"Are you around all this time?"
-- Nothimba:
"Yes, I have been sitting outside. Women, women. Sit down, stand up. Let there be peace."

==========

UMNGENO : THE OPENING OF THE RITUAL

-- Nothimba:
"Here I stand to say that the reason why we

are sitting around in this hut is because of my elder bro[illegible]r's daughter. We have thought it wise and necessary that today we should take her behind the screen before she complains of ill health. So we have decided that on this day, Friday, we should lead her and seclude her from others in order to give her a healthy future. So it is no wonder therefore that we lead her into adulthood. Come to me, girl. It is my sister who spoke about you to me. That is all."

-- Reply by Nolele :

"We say thank you to you, *Skhomo* [praise name]. We thank you for the fact that you reminded us about something before she would get ill. It is a great and wise thing to look before you leap."

-- Nolele to the initiates:

"Cover yourself with that short white blanket. I am going to cover this person with this blanket. It is for her, the first born twin. Oh, hi-hi-hi-hi. Nobody should cover himself alone, because you are twins, born on the same day. Where is it? On which side? It is on the bed. What colour is it? Do not take the one you see on top. Our child, take any blanket you see. No, no. Sister, we have finished. Now I want them both nicely bathed. No one is to be left behind, you should follow each other."

-- Woman's voice:

"Are you going to carry both of them on your back?"

-- Nolele:

"Oh yes!"

-- Woman's voice:

"Oh my darling, will you be alive after that!"

-- Nolele:

"I suffer from chest troubles, that is the only snag! [referring to the cold]. It is getting late. Let us go. Get on your feet, come to me, line up behind me. As you come out of the hut, cover your heads. Hold on to me. Get underneath the white blanket." (3'20")

Author Cloete L
Name of thesis Both sides of the camera: Anthropology and video in the study of a Gcaleka women's rite called Intonjane 1996

PUBLISHER:
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Library website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the Library website.