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

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28. **Courtyard, outside main hut**
--Nolele, in procession with twin initiates and clanswomen.

-- Nolele:
"Nomfundo, cover your head. Line up behind me. Hold onto Nomfundo. Hold this lace."

-- Nolele begins singing, then the others join in. The procession begins weaving to the seclusion hut:
"Hoyiyo-hoyi-hoyi-haho. Here we enter. Yho, unmarried women, yho!" (1'55")

29. --Procession arrives at hut. Nolele and initiates enter hut. When Nolele comes back out again, the women walk to courtyard outside cattlebyre and sing while walking around in a circle. O/S (Alida & Nonqubelo also in frame). FS singing circle.
"Women, the process [of *intonjane*] must go on."

-- Alida:
"Anything else happen tonight?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"No."
-- Alida:
"No boys or girls come?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes, just all the boys and girls come." (6'40")

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DAY FIVE -- *UMNGÉNANDLINI* : THE INTERMEDIATE FEAST

30. **Cattlebyre**
--Circle of clanswomen singing outside cattlebyre, then they approach the cattlebyre to catch the speeches and replies by men.

-- Nothimba:
"... We have decided that we should let her in behind the screen [*umkhusane*] as she has not yet suffered from body pains. We have decid d to take the initiative before she gets ill. So, therefore, whatever happens to her, the diviners can't say that there was something

undone or left out. We want her to be free and to succeed in life. She should be able to get everything she wants, including her own children. Where do all these remarks refer to? They refer to the white-faced goat looking at us. The sheep and goat belong to the mother. The sheep is for mother Mamgwevu. Let me come to the point, that the people meant to slaughter these are not here. My elder brother, the son of Ntothoviyane, is not here. Although they are all absent, their younger brother by the name of Nothimba is here to take over. He is the one who is going to be holding the spear. When they are present, I draw back. I am the one who is going to stab the goat. That is all MaNgwevu [Ngwevu : Nothimba's clan name]."

-- Reply by another elder:
"He is the one to slaughter that goat. Oh yes, *maNgwevu*. He has thoroughly explained the point. You were not to do this before telling the people what you have just said."

-- Man:
"Hold it, hold it." [- hold the goat still.]

--Pan to courtyard, women singing after speech finished.
"Hoyayo, *sangoma*."

-- Laura talking to Nonqubelo about getting close to sound.

-- Pan to Nothimba passing the spear between its legs and then stabbing it in the stomach.

-- Nothimba:
"*MaNgwevu*, now this is the beginning. Go ahead... Is there a dish around here?"

-- The goat cries out loudly. Cheers of "*Camagu*!" ("so it is") are called out by men. (3'40")

-- The men begin to slaughter the goat. Nothimba sits down.

31. Small children helping adults with slaughter [fetch

knives, bowls for blood, keep dogs away]. Pan to sheep, also in cattlebyre, being held for slaughter. Dogs mill around. Songs continue in background.

-- Women sing:
"The girls of the royal house have gone into seclusion. Yo-yo-yo. You must agree."

-- Men:
"*Voetsek, voetsek*. These [goat and sheep] should not be slaughtered at the same time."

-- Brief shot of one bowl of blood [goat's] at gate post.

-- Animals writhing and spluttering.

"Hold it, hold it, this is the meat."

-- Two bowls of blood at gate [goat and sheep, placed behind Nothimba].

-- Child imitating writhing goat, then man finishes slaughter. (4'40")

32. -- Pan to women singing and cheering in courtyard.

"Ho-hayi-ho. The process must go on. This homestead doesn't have cattle. Where is the meat, yho!"

33. --Goat being slaughtered, sheep still writhing. WS pan between goat and sheep. FS skinning of goat. (1'07")

34. **Seclusion hut**
--WS outside hut. (16s)

35. -- Young *ikhankata* inside hut. Nonqubelo talks to both initiates, asks questions for me, they answer in hushed tones.
-- Nonqubelo:
"It is dark inside here. Just remove that blanket so that I may see what is in here. Good day. Alright? What is your name? I am ....?"

-- Nonqubelo (to male initiate):
"She (Laura) is asking why you are still here?

She thought that you would get in here the same day Nomfundo came in and then comeout together."

-- Male initiate:
"No, they say I will come out on Wednesday (tomorrow)."

-- Laura (to Nonqubelo):
"What are their names?"

-- Nonqubelo:
"Wagontsha and Nomfundo."

-- Laura:
"And their clan name?"

-- Nonqubelo:
"Mngwevu." (To the initiates:) "Now we are going, it is enough. She says she will come here again one day."

-- Pan to other (light) side of screen. Show contrast between light and dark sides.

-- Pan to writing on the wall (light side). Names of boys and girls, and their girl/boyfriends who spend the night there.

-- Pan to sexual and phallic figures on wall at doorway (Nombayana), also other diagrams and drawings on wall.

-- Next to the figure of Nombayana is a phallic drawing of a large, erect penis and yet another of a boy and girl having sex.

-- Laura:
"What is that on the wall?"
-- Nonqubelo (to *ikhankata*):
"What do you call it?"
-- *Ikhankata*:
"Which one?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"That one."
-- *Ikhankata*:
"Schools (*isikolo*)."

-- Nonqubelo (to Laura):
"They call it a 'school'." (5'36")

36. -- FS *ikhankata* poses.

-- Laura, translated by Nonqubelo:
"How many *amakhankata* are there?"
-- *Ikhankata*, translated by Nonqubelo:
"Two."
-- Laura:
"What is your name?"
-- *Ikhankata*: ....???
-- Laura:
"And the clan (*isiduko*) of the *ikhankata*?"
-- *Ikhankata*:
"Ngwevu."
-- Laura:
"Does she help here everyday?"
-- *Ikhankata*:
"Yes!"

--Pan around hut, to pot over coals. Pan to reed fence and around hut.

37. -- Pan to *ikhankata* blowing coals under pot. (1'29")

38. Courtyard
--WS clanswomen in singing circle, pan across cattlebyre. WS of homestead. Zoom into back of seclusion hut, cow chased by woman. Pan to cattlebyre, zoom into MCU of man in cattlebyre.

-- Women sing:
"Isangongobala." (1'40")

39. Cattlebyre
--Hacking at goat with axe (partially blocked by leaves), pan to slaughter of sheep. Pan to elder men sitting at left gate post (camera left), pan with male head as he checks slaughter and gives orders. (1'46")

40. Courtyard/cattlebyre
--FS slaughter.

41. --FS singing circle. Pan to cattlebyre, men slaughtering. (1'17")
"Yo-ha-ha-yo. Nomtshetshe, what time is it

now? I am scared of you."

42. --More male guests enter cattlebyre. Pan to clanswomen walking, singing, to seclusion hut. (1'05")

"Yo-ha-ha-yo. Nomtshetshe, what time is it now? I am scared of you."

"The girls of the clan are asleep. We have not been sleeping for days."

43. Courtyard, outside seclusion hut
--Women singing. *Ikhankata* comes out and goes back in. (38s)

44. Cattlebyre
--Men at work on two slaughters. One sheep brought into center of WS. [Elder] man [sitting at edge of cattlebyre] begins directing the cutting of portions (sound only, out of frame). Branches are brought in. Younger men stand still listening to directions:

"Just wait. This needs skill to divide it into portions. Do this. You're supposed to take the whole of the back portion and send it to *Intonjane*. How are you going to proceed from there? You have to take a portion from the women's portion and add it on that of *Intonjane*. Don't put all the burden upon you together with *Intonjane*. You're going to hang it. After a while you have to cook it but you're not going to have a taste of it. Where shall we get ours? No, don't teach me while I am teaching you! What would you be doing? Cut a piece from the women's portion of meat for the girls. Again cut from yours and give this to the girls. Don't give big portions away. Truly, you will be robbed by these women. And the meat portion for *Intonjane* is also there. Don't divide the girl's (*Intonjane*'s) meat. I mean this. I think you say we should pull a hair from the cow's tail so that the women... Yes, you are correct."

"No, Cira. I must agree that I say so. You see, when you repeat the same thing, you become lost. I mean it, I mean it. I am the one who says so. Alright. There are some

girls for the *intonjane*. Add more to your share. I say so, yes, yes, yes. Do not open there because the cattle will go out. I can see that the burden is on my shoulders." (4'02")

45. **Seclusion hut**
--*Ikhankata* with goat head/body parts for initiate. Women enter and greet initiate. Two older women cut meat.

"There he comes. There is something wrong with the liver. I must prepare a little here. I say here it is. Come with it. Hello, *Intonjane*. It is then okay."

"Good morning, *Intonjane*. Where is my knife. Come with one pot from that house. That piece of meat is going to be cooked in that one. Yes, you are not a wife, you're a girl, so don't moan. You should have joined women. Why should I go there? Even now."

-- Laura:
"Why do you specially have as your share goat's meat and men a sheep?"
-- Older woman:
"The gist of the whole custom is that goat."
-- Laura:
"Custom?"
-- Older woman:
"We are going to eat the goat's meat. Those on the other side are not going to get it. It is for women only."
-- Laura:
"What will the *intonjane* eat?"
-- Older woman:
"Only goat's meat. The men and women will eat goat and sheep."

-- The two women cut the meat. The *ikhankata* sits next to the fire doing nothing.

"No, my aunt, cut here. It looked good when you cut here. Men are to get the breast meat. Lawfully that sheep belongs to the women. Men are going to have the meat of the chest. It

is not all going to be theirs. They also have some portion from this meat." (3'57")

46. **Courtyard**
--FS, MCU three women with meat to carve. FS of meat.

"Here he is. One thing I thought of him is that he is around. Do you have a knife? Don't you have a knife there? We usually cut out the breast meat from here. I know it to be like that. They cut it out from there, as it is." (55s)

47. **Cattlebyre**
--Boys and men. Pan across cattlebyre.

"By the way, I have forgotten all about it. It is gone. No, I never had a pipe."

"He-he-he-he. Nevertheless, you are fond of drinking. Where do I get water? Is there any water? Where?" (1'05")

48. Courtyard
--Women carving sheep. FS sheep and blood bowl. (17s)

49. --Woman hacking sheep with axe.

"Hey, this axe is becoming loose. This woman did not take this out. Now, could you let this out nicely? Just cut this into pieces. Is this not the reason why she ran away? I am going to hack this meat. Where is your husband? Your husband is fast asleep (useless). Hi Nohambezantsi, just come back and scatter this... No, I had gone to undress." (55s)

50. --FS from groundview: cattle coming out of garden next to us. Boys exit after cattle, herding.

"Hey-hey-hey-hagi. Where to? How big these cattle are."

"Ho, they are fighting there. The fighting is on there. What is that?"

51. --Pan round to women still hacking meat (shaky, fast).

-- Laura:
"Is the blood eaten too?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes, it's cooked and eaten."
-- Laura:
"What does it taste like?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"It tastes like liver."
-- Laura:
"Are there no more speeches?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"No, no more." (2'16")

52. --WS women around cooking pot. One woman answers questions about the owner/mother of this homestead.

-- Nonqubelo:
"Mama! Mama! What is the name of the owner (mother)?"
-- Woman:
"Her name is Nosamsi."
-- Nonqubelo:
"What is her clan name?"
-- Woman:
"Her clan is Myeke."
-- Nonqubelo:
"Her husband's clan?"
-- Woman:
"Ngwevu."

53. --MCU pan to Nosamsi, initiate's mother, covering meat with sheepskin.

"Just take this one, yours is totally not right. Nosamsi! Nombulelo! Did you open this? I covered this so that the dogs should not carry it away. This is not monkey meat!" (1'24")

54. --Women eating and cooking meat (members of same clan share a dish).

-- Laura:
"The food is being cooked by the *abafazana*."

-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes"
-- Laura:
"The young married women. ("Yes") All have a share in it except for the head of the sheep which the older, married women have. Everybody here is a clan member only. (Yes) Does the first plate of food go to the older women?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes."
-- Laura:
"Must the *intonjane* eat first or can anybody eat first?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Anybody."

"Where have they gone to? Oh, here they are. Don't you want... what do you want? Sindiswa, my child, here is another one."

"Is this not finished? No, go this way." (1'01")

55. Cattlebyre
--Men eating. Pan from old men sitting against fence to young men in center giving bits to children (three distinct groups). One oldish man sits facing elder men, talking to them.

"It is not a second. From here we go to Emdeni and, to what should I call it, to the *intonjane* ceremony. We were old then in our side. Yhu! Just give the children some pieces of meat. Why don't you give them. We were boys and we went there, to *intonjane* dance. Come here young man." (36s)

56. Courtyard
--Women chatting, smoking, weaving. FS, CU feet holding rope, hands weaving. (They talk about me filming them.)

"They are going to say one is plaiting, the next one is smoking, and the other one is not smoking, she is only sitting. She is sitting next to the rope. Pig! Go! That is it. It is turning over and over (revolves). It looks

like an F.M. Do you see it? There is that shining thing. I mean that black thing which moves. Oh, it moves, yes, it moves and revolves. Yes, don't you see that it looks like a train as it turns, just like a wheel. You are back breaking this child. Your photo will show you breaking this or tearing this meat. A-ha-ha-ha. Nongqibi, you will appear (photo) tearing this meat, and a dog beside you. (1'51")

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DAY 14 - *UMTSHATO* (DAY ONE) : THE RITUAL CLIMAX

(Fade in)

57. Courtyard
--WS, FS clanswomen in a circle, singing. Pan to men and boys outside the cattlebyre, watching them. (1'20")

58. --Singing circle.

"Oh, you cowards, I will say that. Nko-nko-nko. You cowards, ho-ho, I am afraid of you."

-- Laura:
"Is it still just the clan singing?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes."
-- Laura:
"What about the woman we gave a lift to? Wasn't she *MamCira*?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes."
-- Laura:
"But isn't the clan here Ngwevu?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"It's Ngwevu, yes. I think also friends and neighbours."
-- Laura:
"As well today?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes."
-- Laura:
"Who is eating the meat today? Everybody?"

-- Nonqubelo:
"Everybody, yes, everybody." (28s)

59. **Seclusion** hut
--*Ikhankata* with figures on wall behind her.

-- Laura/Nonqubelo:
"How many days has she (?) been in here?"
-- *Ikhankata*:
"There are 14 days."
-- Laura/Nonqubelo.
"How many days left till the *intonjane* comes out?"
-- *Ikhankata*:
"We do not know."
-- Nonqubelo:
"Just guess."
-- *Ikhankata*:
"There should be one week left."
-- Nonqubelo:
"Seven days."
-- Laura:
"Ask her, what part of the meat will *intonjane* eat? Does she know?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"She is asking if you know which part of the meat *intonjane* is going to eat today?"
-- *Ikhankata*:
"We do not know." (1'02")

60. **Cattlebyre**
--Speechmaking. All cows in cattlebyre, one selected for slaughter. Back of speechmaker, voice (and brief CU) of person replying. Pan across boys outside cattlebyre listening and watching me.

-- Nothimba (with the voice of an elder replying "So it is"):
"Others, therefore, I do not say anything ("So it is"). Today, there is that brown ox ("So it is") with which we bless or heal Nomfundo in this house of my elder brother ("So it is"). We are here, Mangwevu ("So it is"). That ox is the eldest ox in this home. It has its own younger brothers ("So it is"). Here are its younger brothers. That ox will not be sold ("So it is"). We decided that it should

not be sold ("So it is") but to stand for such ceremonial purposes ("So it is") for Nomfundo and her brother, Wagontsha ("So it is"). I said to you Mangwevu ("So it is"), as the younger brothers of Ngonyeni ("So it is") and Ntothoviyane are not here ("So it is"), I, their father's younger brother do the slaughtering ("So it is"). On behalf of you, Ntambayithethi [the ox/ancestors], today we have come here ("So it is"). In this home, Ntambayithethi ("So it is"), you were not sold ("So it is"), together with your younger brothers ("So it is"). Here they are ("So it is"). Ntambayithethi, therefore, please give us no trouble ("So it is"). Don't give any problems to any Zulu [clan name for Mangwevu] ("So it is"), wherever they are ("So it is").

It is said that you are going to be slaughtered by me, Nothimba ("So it is"). Because my sons are not here, I am the slaughterer ("So it is")."

-- The women start singing and dancing quite excitedly in a circle outside the cattlebyre.

-- First reply by an elder:

"Let me then say, this is fine ("So it is"). You have said it before, you slaughter an ox ("So it is"). May the girl live ("So it is") and be healthy ("So it is"). You are telling us again that your brothers and sons are not here and that you are stabbing the ox ("So it is"). That is the custom ("So it is"). You are outspoken ("So it is"). So I say."

-- Men with rope to catch beast. Giving of orders, singing, general noise.

-- Nothimba, speaking at the ox and at the men as he prepares for the slaughter:

"Ntambayithethi, do not give me any problems. I say to you, Rhudulu, Zulu, Skhomo, Tshangisa [clan names of the *amaNgwevu*]. Hold it, young

men. Let it lie down smoothly without trouble. On its hoof. Do not give us any trouble. I do not know why it should be going round and round."

-- Second reply, also by an elder:
"Zulu, here is the word. The speech you have just given in this home of Ntothoviyane ("So it is") is appreciated ("So it is"). It should be done the way you have said it. So that this *intonjane* is healthy. We agree with you in everything which you have said. We say thank you when you say that, as there is nobody to slaughter the ox, you are there to do the slaughtering. We are here as witnesses. She must be healthy with no troubles."

-- Third reply by white-coated elder:
"Let there be peace, Ntshilibe, eh. This is what I mean to tell you, Nothimba. In the nation there are those known to be *baFolokhwe* [from Folokhwe]. They are there to support what is being said. Only the *abaFolokhwe* [people of the ward of Folokhwe]. I only agree by that plan. Everything you have just said is going to be carried out accordingly, as we are witnesses to you, Nxadi."

-- Pan to a group of men shouting instructions to each other on how to pull the ox onto its side using ropes. The ox bellows softly as they pull it over. The men shout amongst each other: "Awu-awu-awu."
"There bellows the ox."
"Give fortune to this home."
"So it is, go therefore."
"You, get away."

-- Once the ox is lying on its side, a man straightens out its legs:
"Yes, everything is now okay."

-- Nothimba:
"I am about to start now. Thank you, *maNgwevu*."

"Start man! We have given you the authority!"

--A man shouts at those holding the ropes binding the ox:

"Kneel down, kneel down".

-- They crouch in readiness. The women are still singing.

-- Nothimba approaches the ox, smacks it on its side with the spear, passes the spear between the fore and hind legs of the ox. Then he kneels down and drives the spear into the ox until it enters the stomach. The ox bellows loudly. Jubilent cheers of *"Camagu!"* ring out.

-- Nothimba:

"*Camagu*! Where is the girl? Drive the cattle out of the cattlebyre. Get off from the doorway."

-- Laura moves aside as the other oxen exit the cattlebyre. Pan briefly to women singing outside cattlebyre in a circle.

"Hayi-you-hayo."

-- Wave children out of the way. FS man stabbing stomach of ox to kill it. CU hole in stomach. Boys carrying log for sitting on.

"Who sent you, you boys? You have killed it. Hold the rope."

-- The clanswomen sing:

"Hoha-yho, hoha-yho."

--Man slicing open ox's stomach and trying to kill it with spear. FS man and beast. Beast groaning and moving. WS men with rope holding beast down. Beast still moving. CU body heaving, head/eyes moving, legs kicking. Older men sitting watching from kraal fence. (10'41")

61. --Men pull beast over onto its back. Skinning and carving begins.

62. --Man sharpens knife and joins others. Older men watch from

"Hold here. No, leave that one. It does not

belong here."

-- The women sing:

"Nontente, ho-ha-yo." (2'17")

63. -- Men chopping branches to lay meat on. (28s)

64. -- WS men carving, hide coming off. Man talking to Nonqubelo. Man poses for camera.

-- Nonqubelo:
"What do they call it?"
-- Man:
"The name of the tree where meat is put? Ixina-no-mthathi."

-- The women sing:

"We want *injeke* [part of stomach eaten by women]. Yho-ha-ho-he-ha-ho." (1'03")

65. Courtyard
--WS, FS women singing and dancing in circle.

"You have seen nothing." (49s)

66. -- Boys dragging branches into cattlebyre (skew horizon) (17s)

67. -- MCU dancing feet, dress and headdress, feet and skirts. FS dancing. CU head. FS dancing. (2'23")

68. --Woman clowning for camera, flapping her apron, while singing.
"How are we going to see it?"

-- Laura:
"Explain what the song means?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"This song means the penis of a man and the part of the woman under the dress. They say this penis looks like your apron!" (34s)

69. -- The women sing:

"Where is the meat?" (47s)

70. **Cattlebyre**
--FS men carving meat. Man talking about camera.

"Sit down, maan, sit down. Hey *maKhosi*, you're being snapped *maKhosi*, you are being snapped. Yes, I have found him. Here he is. He-he. Sit down."

-- Boy enters in front of camera. Man shows us meat he has cut, places it on a branch. Pan to branch. Men place parts of meat on branch.

"Hey, young boy, bring me something from there."

-- Nonqubelo:
"Which part of meat does *Intonjane* eat?"
-- Man:
"The one for *Intonjane*? The foreleg. Eh, this meat. The meat covering the kidneys and the foreleg, it is better to say that. Today *Intonjane* isgoing to have *intsonyama* and *umkhono*."
-- Laura:
"What is this in english? The front leg of the cow?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes." (2'44")

71. -- Men carve beast while a man talks to Nothimba. (36s)

72. -- MCU Nothimba gesticulating.

-- Nonqubelo:
"Nothimba Ndabakayise, the man who is going to make a speech."
-- Laura:
"What clan is he?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Ngwevu." (39s)

73. **Seclusion hut**
--A sow and her piglets block the entrance. WS hut, pigs, puppy. (27s)

74. -- Inside, pan along the walls.

"It is dark inside the hut. The walls are decorated." (21s)

75. -- Both initiates talking to Nonqubelo behind the screen. Very dark, see microphone, hear some questions and answers, but not all.

-- Male initiate:
"Yesterday, or Saturday."
-- Nonqubelo:
"When are you coming out?"
-- Female initiate:
"Me? I don't know yet. I am here now."
-- Male initiate:
"Perhaps you will stay here for the whole of next week."
-- Female initiate:
"I have spent 14 days there and have 14 here already. I am left with one week after next."
-- Nonqubelo:
"Is there a goat to be slaughtered again?"
-- Male / female initiates:
"We don't know. Is it going to be slaughtered? Yes, certainly."
-- Laura:
"What do they say?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"It's about a week they have stayed here. They are going to slaughter a goat."
-- Laura:
"Whew! Another slaughter?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes. Before she comes out. After some few days she is going out, after the slaughter."
-- Laura:
"Ask him, when did he come back in here?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Are you coming in today? Yesterday?"
-- Male initiate:
"Yes."
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yesterday."

-- Laura:
"What does it mean when you said it was a 'wedding'?"

-- Male initiate:
"When there is a wedding, a sheep and a goat is slaughtered. This is the beginning. After this, an ox is slaughtered."
-- Nonqubelo:
"He can't explain this word 'wedding', they really can't."
-- Laura:
"Okay, that's fine. (laughter) Ask him, why are they slaughtering a cow and not a bull?"
-- Initiate:
"Because this occasion is meant for a girl. It depends on the custom of a home."
-- Nonqubelo:
"It depends on the custom of the home. This one, is a custom of this home to slaughter a cow. In other homes are slaughtering a cow or an ox."

-- Laura (referring to the stomach upset of the male initiate a few days before):
"Is he well now? Is he not going to get sick again?" (laughter)
-- Man:
"We are healing both of them. We don't want them to be ill. In fact, they just avoid diseases from them."
-- Laura:
"Is she happy now that he's (male initiate) here now?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes, I think so." (laughter)
-- Laura:
"Is that '*imbola*' on their faces?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes."
-- Laura:
"Will they eat a special part of the ox?"
-- Initiate:
"Yes. *Umkhono*."
-- Nonqubelo:
"What else do you enjoy?"
-- Initiate:
"*Intsonyama*."
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes, a special part. They call it '*umkhono*' and '*intsonyama*'."

-- Laura:
"Tell them, they must enjoy it. (laughter) Ask them, will it be okay if we come one night, when all the young boys and girls come?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"They will be happy."
-- Laura:
"Okay. Thank you." (6'31")

76. Courtyard
--Clanswomen singing in a circle. MS *ikhankata* and other clanswomen.

"Iyo-yo-hoha. Iyo-yo-hoha. The wife must turn away." (1'19")

77. Cattlebyre
--FS men slaughtering carcass, cutting up ribs. (22s)

78. Courtyard
--Interview with a woman. O/S of Nonqubelo asking questions. Singing in circle in corner of shot.

"Do you want to understand why you say this day is a 'wedding' day? I don't know. I will ask another man."

-- Nonqubelo watches.

79. --Interview with another woman. CU face. Men in cattlebyre in background.

-- Woman:
"The wedding is over today. It's enough. Those days at *ekhokhweni*, wedding took place on the sixth day. Even now, wedding must take place in those six days. That thing must not be missed."

-- Nonqubelo:
"We are asking, mother, the only thing we want is the name. Why do they say this day is a wedding day? We ask this name. Why do they say it is marriage, but there is no marriage?"

-- Woman:

"Marriage takes place. Now we marry for *intonjane*. Listen then, do you understand wedding? Wedding the groom and the bridegroom, holding each other's hand walking in the courtyard. No, listen then. In Xhosa we are getting married today, getting married for *intonjane*. We are getting the *intonjane* married which we have done Xhosa custom for (*'esiyithombisileyo'*)."

-- Nonqubelo (to me):

"It is a different wedding from Xhosa custom."

-- Woman:

"White wedding is different to us. The *intonjane* wedding is apart. Sometimes one marry one's daughter. That marriage is not the same as the one we are doing here. This one is a custom one. We are doing Xhosa custom, eh."

-- Laura:

"Ask her, is this a wedding to make the ancestors happy?"

-- Woman:

"Do you ask if we are doing this sort of marriage to enable our forefathers to be happy? Yes, forefathers be happy because this child is going to become sick because of the forefathers. We prevent sickness by this custom (*siyamthombisa*). We marry now by *'lobola'* (*'inkomo'*). We first start with a goat and finish her whole custom. Now we shall end up with her wedding."

-- WS men slaughtering in cattlebyre.

-- Nonqubelo (in an aside to me):

"That is not the real answer."

-- CU head and carcass in cattlebyre. Man holds handful of brown stuff, scatters it around the kraal.

-- Nonqubelo:

"This is 'umswane'. It comes from the penis and the stomach of the cow."

-- Laura:
"What do they do with it? Why does he come out here and throw it?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"It is because, when the cows come in... , they must not feel that there has been another cow died here."
-- Laura:
"That's been killed?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes!"

-- Man exits kraal with branch bearing meat.

-- Nonqubelo:
"It's for *intonjane*."

-- MS man stops and receives instructions from Nothimba. CU meat on branch. KS meat taken off branch and held out while instructions given to Nolele, who stands by and listens.

"Woman (sisi), you must cut it in the middle here. Yes, woman, you must cut it in the middle here, do you hear? When doing this Xhosa custom using this meat (*ukushwamisa*), children [the *iintonjane*] go first without salt. You put in salt in the other side, then eat with them. Go then woman."

-- WS, Pan as man takes meat back and carries it to *intonjane* hut, followed by woman. Clanswomen singing circle in corner of shot.

"We want meat. Hey-yho. Ho-ho-ho. Meat."

-- Nonqubelo:
"They are going to roast that meat without salt, can't pour salt. First they are going to take a stick, that old *ikhankata*, and stick the meat and first eat it. Then stick the meat and feed the *intonjane*."

-- Laura:
"And do you know why they don't have salt, with the first meat?"

-- Nonqubelo:
"I don't know."(l ' sound and pic) (4'40")

80. Cattlebyre
--Men hanging meat (lungs, etc) at cattlebyre gate-post. MS O/S.
"You must first find a place to hang. Here is this place. Yes, here is the wound on your side, yes, on your side."

81. -- Man:
"Do you ask why do I cut this meat, what kind of meat it is? Oh! This is a lung. It is kept at this place, and tomorrow it will be kept here. This is its place."

-- Nonqubelo:
"This is the part called lungs, lungs of the cattle. So, he's going to (can't hear)...."
-- Laura:
"Will it be eaten eventually?"

-- Man enters carrying branches.

-- Nonqubelo:
"I think they want to see that the assistants... They want to give notice to the assistants that..."
-- Laura:
"For all that they've done?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes!"
-- Laura:
"So will the lungs go to the assistants?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes!"

-- WS men and dogs around the meat. Pan to man hacking carcass with axe. Dogs at carcass. Man enters with wood. Dog yelps. Men at carcass, dogs, man with wood in background. (2'40")

82. Seclusion hut
--woman talking outside hut. Male over fire inside framed in doorway. Another woman enters hut. Zoom FS man and fire through doorway. Very smoky inside hut.

84. Cattlebyre
--WS cattlebyre entrance: lungs handing on post, men in bg. Tilt to WS of ox's head at foot of post.

"Bring a plate. That's it, that's it, hurry up." (8s)

85. -- FS men at carcass. (16s)

86. Courtyard
--Women sitting chatting and smoking.

87. Seclusion hut
--Man and women exit hut.

"*MamTshawe*. Good morning, Tshawe. Go! Take you, my child."

88. Cattlebyre
--Pan with two women collecting meat out of kraal, shout back at the men as they carry the meat off. Pan back into cattlebyre.

"Raw meat. Take out the meat, take out our meat, and you are going to take it out. Here it is, here it is. Come and take it. You are going to take it out, like it or not. He-he-he."

-- Laura:
"Are they busy selecting meat?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes."

-- Woman in cattlebyre watching men, waiting for meat. Man takes meat and places it on a branch before seated elder. WS meat on branch. FS elders, man, meat. Women return to get more meat. Men and women argue/talk. Women carry out meat.

"No then, I did tell you that you can't hold this meat alone. Where is the other one? Where is the other one? You can't hold this meat alone."

"I am waiting for them."

-- Man:
"Children, too, will eat last. These men and women who are making a noise here will eat last. I am going to eat first. They are silly. They are rushing. The time I told you to bring those... It is difficult."

-- Woman:
"You must tell me nonsense after you have roasted the meat. Is it not yet ready? You have helped me a lot because I've been suffering from this smoke. This child have help me a lot this day."

-- Pan to clanswomen who come to sing at hut. FS women singing. Pan to include Nonqubelo, then back out.

"Oyoyo-haho. Sangoma." (1'44")

83. Courtyard
--WS two castiron pots (baking bread) protected from wind by metal bath. *Isidudu* in pot in foreground. Women enter shot and check pots.

-- Nonqubelo:
"Today they are going to roast the meat. But tomorrow they are going to roast and cook it."
-- Laura:
"So today they are just going to braai it and tomorrow they will cook it in a pot?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes!"
-- Laura:
"And what's this bread they're baking for, and the *isidudu*? Is it...?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes. The bread is going to eat by the people here tomorrow."
-- Laura:
"And will it be clanspeople or everybody?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Everybody."

-- Pan 360 degrees: women dispersed and chatting. (1'05")

"Come, man, come. Where is it? Hold. You are mad, you are mad. Don't become mad here."

"Cut the meat. This is not the only meat. Our meat is not yet finished here. Tell them to give us our meat. It is not yet finished here." (2'07")

89. Courtyard
--WS women's activity: at pot, at '*isidudu*', at wood, gathered around meat.

90. --Women and *ikhankata* at bread pot. (44s)

91. --WS women carving meat and chatting (back to camera). Child walks past, axe is thrown down, offcuts thrown away. (22s)

92. --FS women cutting slab of meat. CU meat.

"...here is something to cover you. You are greedy. Is this not meat? Do you see this?" (30s)

93. --Sunset. (3s)

94. --Sunset. Three women working over fire and pot - silhouettes against evening sky.

"I am going to take it to the house so that they can know that it is it."

"Is the leg not there now?"

"There is no leg there. It is only the back part and ribs and the side of back part."

"The man is going to ask. I am telling you."

"No! Don't talk, don't talk in frcnt of me." (59s)

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DAY 15 : *UMTSHATO* (DAY 2) -- THE RITUAL CLIMAX

95. Courtyard
--WS activity outside seclusion hut. Women in groups carving meat, woman chatting.

-- Man playing with children.

> "Run, Phindile. Yes, yes, ah (Eya-ya aha), that way I have told you. Here are mine."

-- WS two women carving meat. WS women's activity. (3'04")

96. -- Two women feeding fire under pot stuffed with meat.

> "It's enough, it's enough. Come with the time. You know, he is cross for what he has done. They let the wives give them something to drink. Know that drink is coming out."

> "The thing is it is clear that it does not want. Let it come.... Maybe she or he does not want another person in her place? No! I see he or she is begging it really." (30s)

97. --FS woman instructing man to cut up meat for her. MCU meat being cut. Man and woman converse.

> "You must bend, bend just like me. No, man. I will see today. Yes, then you are with the pots. You must bend so that your pots can be ready (to pour salt). Start cutting. I am struggling for a long time. Cut that one in pieces, eh."

> "Where? Just cut there. First cut out this kidney for the women. I know nothing of the heart. Just stand up, just stand up! No, I don't know this. A heart is a heart. No, I must help you my child. It's difficult. No! (Uhu-Hayi!) Where are the knives, girl? He-hayi. Just hold this knife. You are also going to get a piece of meat. That is my knife. This one is the one they lent me there. I just want to go and urinate. The

kidney is out this side. Where is that kidney, Aunt? Is there a kidney here? There is no kidney. Is there no kidney there? No! Did you take all the kidneys there in the cattlebyre? No, the only one which was here was on the other side of the back part, and also on the other side. This is the back part, you see. Then you have take it out in the cattlebyre already. No! Only one kidney has been taken out in the cattlebyre. Just yesterday." (1'25")

98. -- Woman feeding fire under pot and chatting. Pan to man and woman, talking, cutting meat. Pan to woman sharpening knife on stone.

"Hey! One kidney is not here?"
"No!"
"Is it not with the back part?"
"No, it has been taken out. It is there with you."
"Is it not there with you?"
"It is with you, no, not with us."
"Is it there?"
"Yes, it is there in the hut. There you are." Is it there with you?"
"Yes, it is."
"Is it the one which was here?"
"No! No, it was taken out in the cattlebyre with a piece of meat which was at the back part of the side."
"I understand myself that it was there. That is why I was saying it is going to be the kidney of this side. It matters not it was at the back part. Hayi."

-- Pan to man chopping meat with axe. Pan to pots, to woman sitting watching.

"Help us then. Ours is that which was eaten up in the cattlebyre. Let me say, is the pot covered now? Hmmm. Bring the meat which is in the pot. We are going to eat it here and sleep."

"What are you going to do with it, Aunt? Oh, yes, it is going to be cooked. It matters not

if there will be some of it left. It may be now." (1'09")

99. -- FS man chopping meat with axe, woman cutting it and pointing out parts with knife. CU knife and meat. Man again cuts meat.

"Woman Nolwandle (*Sisi* Nolwandle)!"
"Yes."
"No, you are cutting big pieces. Where are you?"
"She is on the same side."
"Was she on this side?"
"Yes!"
"Come and cut *open* then, on the side."
"On the side what?"
"Yes, the muscle is lighter on the side. '*Umhlolo*' is the muscle *which* is lighter at the side. Here is the muscle (*umhlolo*). He has not cut it out correctly."
"No! This is a muscle. It is here."
"Yes. Did he ever cut before? Can't you see that he is cutting wrong. He does not know that this is the side for the men now."
"Aunt is doing wrong. She does not know what she is doing. She has never cut meat before."
"You are going to do wrong the whole day."
"Do you say so? Yhu! I never cut meat before." (1'04")

100. Cattlebyre
--Men cooking meat in pot. Very smoky. (Filming into light - colour distorted) Pan to elders sitting against cattlebyre wall.

101. -- FS ox's head at gate post.

102. -- Meat on branches. Child with whip, man showing child how to use it.

"Qink-qonk! Hey, tyhini, pour on me, on me..."

"The thing is, it seems as if that pot has no cover. That pot has no cover? This pot. Hey, hit these dogs! Hit them! Hit them!"

"Hey, another thing, chase her for me. Boy, are you afraid of these dogs? He! This Solitar, for what is he waiting here? Leave them, man. Leave them. Hey! Nkosinathi, leave them. Leave the dogs. Go! Go! Call the other dogs too."

"Nkosinathi, Nkosinathi, come with my knife. Here is the meat. Where is Vusumzi, boy?" (2'34")

103. Courtyard
--Little boys playing soccer.

"Kick! No, that is not a ball! Hurry! Sure, it went out in the middle." (47s)

104. -- Man and woman cutting meat.

-- Nonqubelo:
"This meat belongs to *intonjane* and *ikhankata* and the girls from the clan."
-- Laura:
"All the women? Even the older ones?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes!"
-- Laura:
"When will they cook it and eat it?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"When? Now!"
-- Laura:
"Will the clanswomen only eat that and the other people all this other meat?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes!"
-- Laura:
"So, that's the intonjane's meat... and this is everybody else's meat?"

--Pan to women sitting around pot and roasting meat.
-- Nonqubelo:
"Yes." (28s)

105. -- Women in a group eating meat off pot lid. Pan to child eating next to group, woman cooking in background. Group eating: FS two women eating, pan to woman cutting meat in her mouth and eating, another woman eating. Pan

around group.

"He, Nantsika. He, Nogugile. Where are you going to with this meat? I am calling this child Nkosinathi. Here is it. He was giving it to the cats. I say they must share with Nosoges. Catch, Nkosinathi. Keep some for Nkosinathi here. He will meet Nkosinathi. But he let it fall down. These cats who are here again, hit them! Hit! I say this girl look like Nontshakaza. Which one? The one in the middle, the one who was called by her mother. I don't know what her name is. Is this child not Nontshakaza? No! Nontshakaza's is only one. Who's child is she? She is Nonkanjana's child. Nokhamntana? Nokhamntana? I don't know this Nokhamntana. Who is her father? It's ..... Who? It's Kwewu. Where on earth is it from? What sort is he? Kwewu! Both of them? Who is the other one? She is Vokozi's one. But they both look alike. Where must we go now?" (1'36")

16.6.1989

106. Courtyard
--11h55 -Pan around women gathered in groups; Alida. (distorted colour)

"Don't open your pinafore, Mamfene. Well now. I haven't got. I've been drinking. There is nothing." (21s)

107. Cattlebyre
--13h33 -Packed with men and boys. Pan from elders eating at left gatepost, across younger men/boys in center, to elders eating at right post.

"Vusana!"

"Outside. Call him outside to come here. Hurry up!" (1'41")

108. Next to the road
--Two horses grazing. Pan to cattlebyre. (25s)

109. Cattlebyre
--FS men at right gatepost eating. MCU Chief Dalingozi.

-- Nonqubelo:
"This is Chief Dalingozi."
-- Laura:
"The one with the brown hat."

"Go! Go! Go and sit with your mothers. Do not come and sit with us. What's it now among us? Go, Mluleki, you are being called."

-- Nothimba stands to make a speech.
"Sorry! There is somebody speaking. I want to speak properly. A cow... As I have said, a cow. Let us taste how it tastes. Is it ready to be served? They say the meat is ready to be served. Well, let it come to where the people are. Sorry, then.

Chief, you have just arrived here and you are going to eat meat. But you do not know of what kind the meat was, not knowing what had happened to it. Here at Ntothoviyane, that is my elder brother, we are holding a Xhosa *intonjane* custom [*ukuthonjiswa*] at kwaNdaba kaYise. We are making this custom for the daughter of my elder brother, namely Nomfundo, today. Yesterday, 'the wedding' took place. We held 'the wedding' yesterday with a beast called Ntambayithethi ("So it is"). That thing with a brown [*gwangqa*] colour. Today is the day of peace because we are busy with marriage.

You, Chief, arrive after we have finished the meat. There is no meat. You also arrive in time, at a good time, as the pots have not yet been taken away from the fire, Chief."

-- FS Chief Dalingozi, still seated:
"I thank you. I was just passing by and came to see Mr McAllister who I thought might be working here ("So it is"). It is a Xhosa custom, [??????] that a girl must receive a custom (ukuthonjiswa) ("So it is"). We must not stop doing our Xhosa custom ("So it is")

just because we are wearing trousers ("So it is"). You see now. You have stopped wearing blankets."

[Ha-ha-ha-ha. Oh no, really.]"

-- Reply by Nothimba, laughing :
"It is only *ukuthombisa* [lit. 'performance of the girl's initiation rites'], so we are not wearing blankets. If we were holding parties [like circumcision], we would be wearing blankets, Chief. Thanks." (3' 21")

110. Courtyard
--WS, FS, MCU '*holomane*' girls emerge from the seclusion hut. They circle, singing and walking in front of the cattlebyre. Then girls group in front of main hut and sing and clap. Pan across women sitting watching. Girls leave to visit other houses. People pour out of main hut to watch.

-- The girls sing:

"Hoyo-yo wena. We are the girls of the *intonjane*."

"Take sticks. We want *amanuka*."

"We want *amanuka* [sour porridge] and *nkobe* [boiled mielies]."

"Mgandela doesn't have cattle."

"We want *amanuka* or *nkobe*. *Holomane*. No yho. We say thanks, yho."

-- Laura:
"What is the name of it?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"*Holomane*."

-- fade to black.

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AT NIGHT, IN THE SECLUSION HUT WITH BOYS AND GIRLS

20.6.1989 -- night time -- joining *intonjane* for a few hours with the boys and girls in her hut. Black screen, sound only.

111. Courtyard
--19h39 -Young girls singing in a circle in front of the cattlebyre before going to sing outside the main hut.

-- The girls sing:

> "Mgandela has no cattle, yho-ho-ho yeha. The young man suits me. He has no cattle. Stop him! Stop him! No cattle, look at him!"

-- 19h40 - Song 2:

> "You, Nomalungelo. Ye-wa nomama yee. Take sticks. Yeha Mama yee. We want *amanuka*, yee. Yeha Mama yee."

-19h41 - Song 3:

> "By this Ntonjane. He-he-ha-he. We haven't slaughtered yet. We want meat. And the next one? Nzongomane, no I don't know it. Isangongobala, men are being misused by married women. Come on, Nzongomana, women."

-19h41 - bit of a song.

-19h41 - Song 4:

> "Ge-ge-ge. They laugh, he, they laugh. Hoha! Ge-ge-ge. What are you laughing at? Hoha! Ho-ge-ge-ge."

-19h42 - Song 5:

> "We saw you. Ke? We saw you by [the sign of] your handkerchiefs. We raped you on a Sunday. We saw you, we saw you, we saw you."

-- Laura:

> "Okay. It's Tuesday tonight. Tuesday, the twentieth, at about... What time is it, can

you see the time? (pause) ...about a quarter to eight."

-- the girls, singing finished, head for the seclusion hut. (4'38")
========== END OF TAPE ONE ==========

VHS TAPE NO. 2

CONTD: BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE SECLUSION HUT AT NIGHT

112. **Main hut**
--19h45: Nonqubelo and adults in main hut chat briefly, explaining our presence at night. Hushed tones.

-- 19h46 Woman:
"We are all well. No, there is nothing wrong. We are happy."
-- Nonqubelo:
"No, we are also well. There is nothing bad."
-- Laura:
"We just want to watch mainly, and listen to some songs."
-- Nonqubelo:
"We have just come to take photos because we asked Hoboshe when will *intonjane* come out. He just said it will be on Thursday. (Hmmm) Now we are coming for the last." (Hmmm)
-- Laura:
"Is her son in there again?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"She is asking if Hoboshe is among those."
-- Woman:
"No, he has gone out." (40s)

113. **Seclusion hut**
--Black screen. *Intonjane* : talking in a hushed voice. The boys and girls sing, chat. We sit on the side with the boys and girls.

The girls and boys sing:

"Sodom is burning, Gomora is burning, Sodom is burning, etc. Who is chasing the chicken? It is you. I will hit you. What has that done. Slap him on his face. Gomora burned."

-- Laura:
"Let's just explain what they said earlier. The intonjane says that the jumping over the flames - what you call climbing over the mountain -..."
-- Nonqubelo:
"Mmmm."
-- Laura:
"What's the Xhosa word for it?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"*Intaba*. It means a mountain in English."
-- Laura:
"Mmmm. That was on Sunday evening?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Mmmm."
-- Laura:
"And after dark all the girls were here, but no boys ("Mmmm") and the brother was in with the sister intonjane ("Yes"), so both twins were there. They all took off their clothes but the twin, but everybody wore blankets because the boy was there. If the boy wasn't there then they would have all gone naked. ("Yes") They ran outside and they burned all this grass in the hut outside in a big fire. ("Mmmm") And then they ran around the homestead ("Yes") and they jumped over the fire. Would they do it twice? How many times?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Just listen! How many times did you jump over the fire?"
-- Answer:
"Once."
-- Nonqubelo:
"Once."
-- Laura:
"Once? Oh! (pause) And then, after that, the intonjane, both intonjanes walked around in a circle singing in front of the kraal, just the two of them, ("Yes") not the others. And they wrapped themselves in one blanket - or was it two blankets again with the main intonjane wearing one?.."
-- Nonqubelo:
"Ahhh.. I think it was two blankets now."
-- Laura:

"Ja. Well, we'll check on that. ...duplicating when they both came out the hut on the very first day, of the twins, the girl in front and the boy behind, him 'riding on her back' sort of thing, as twins arriving at birth. ("Mmmm") Like that. And then, that was done on the Sunday evening ("Yes") and.. what else happened then? That was all?"

-- Nonqubelo:

"Yes."

-- Laura:

"And they're going to come out on Thursday morning at dawn. ("Mmmm") They're going to burn down the screen ("Yes") and paint the walls. ("Mmmm") Do they just paint it brown again?"

-- Nonqubelo:

"Yes."

Laura:

"So they just put mud on or what? What do they paint it with?"

-- Nonqubelo:

"They fetch the soil outside and paint it."

-- Laura:

"And then she's going to go down to the river and wash, and put red make-up on. (Yes) What is it called?"

-- Nonqubelo:

"I think on the face only."

-- Laura:

"What is that make-up called?"

-- Nonqubelo:

"*Imbola*."

-- Laura:

"No, no, the one, the red one you said earlier.., you asked her what it was. Didn't she have a different name for it?"

-- Nonqubelo:

"White make-up is '*ixala*' and the red one it's '*imbola*'."

-- Laura:

"Oh. I thought you said something else. Okay. She'll put the red make-up on and then, after washing and putting the make-up on, all the boys and girls will sleep here that night and go with her to the river. And then, when

she comes up from the river, they'll come up with her, singing. ("Yes") And then she'll just relax with her family. ("Yes") And then the whole ritual will be over ("Mmmm) on Friday morning. ("Yes") Okay."

-- Boys and girls voices, general chatter, our voices softly in background.

"Bongiwe! Bongiwe! Hmmm! You only have to shout, you people. He-he-he. Could they come across her? Will they call her? They will not. Should I tell them? I know where she is. I also know. I can tell them. No, I won't, but I know where she is now. But I do not know where she is. Do you know where she is? You will not find her even in this side. She is not here." (5'14")

114. -- Laura explains what Nonqubelo has told her of what the recent chatter was about.

-- Laura:
"They've just been talking about a girl. Called Nombom...?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Nombombuse."
-- Laura:
"Nombombuse, ("Yes") who's just walked out without asking Nombayana for the *ikhankata*'s permission. And so they've gone to look for her and they can't find her or her boyfriend, and she's in trouble. (laughter) Does just the *ikhankata* go and look?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Mmmm." (long pause)

-- Nonqubelo:
"Sibongile."
-- Laura:
"Is that him at the door?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Mmmm."

-- General chatter continues.
-- The *ikhankata*, standing inside the hut, begins shouting gleefully -- matching boys and girls names. Her

commands are repeated by the second *ikhankata*, standing at the door, who shouts so that the boys standing outside can also hear. There is much mirth.

> "Who is going to be asked about her lover? It is Bongiwe. By the way, why? Her lover must be known. It is *igunya*. What do they say? Your lover? Sinqu says her lover is Boyi. Nosiseko's is KK. Boniswa's is Maphothwana. Oh no, Themba, don't make such a noise. Why don't you behave yourselves? In what? So you behave well? Matolo says it's Nomatu. Matolo's is Nomampumlo. Nomaculo's is Meko. Nomatolo says that child is too talkative. It is himself and Nombulelo. No, Sisi. Nombulelo says it is herself and Minquza. Gqum-qikilo. Nombulelo, I do not want you to mention me. Bangi says it is himself and Disi, Mankumpa and Draai, Nozimpane and Themba. Boniswa says her lover is Asanda. He-he-he. Matolo says he has no lover but his four testicles. Moza has Gwangqa. Maculo, this child Ntulo is Mantulele. Bongiwe says her lover is Mziwabantu-Wekati. The owner is also asked? Oh no. ....etc,etc. "

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DAY 21 : *UMPHUMO* (DAY 1) : COMING OUT OF SECLUSION

22.6.1989

115. Seclusion hut
--Black screen -- 6h47 -Voices as people awake, a few rise.
--6h48: silhouettes entering and leaving the hut (light outside).
--6h49-50: General chatter begins. (1'50")

116. --6h51: Black screen, no sound. (39s)

117. Courtyard, outside seclusion hut
--6h53-54: Silhouettes, about five people blanketed against the cold.

> "What has happened? Who are supposed to be sleeping here? It is Nombulelo. Where is

Nombulelo? You lie, there is no Nombulelo here. You are going out. When are you going to take these out? No, don't ask me. Are you putting on clothes? Did you sleep here?" (44s)

118. **Inside seclusion hut**
--6h56:

"I saw her. Why do you tell lies? Do you mean that fool? They do not know. Like an old lady since Friday." (20s)

119. --6h58:

"Uzuthi kuMama. Tell mother to make a dress for me. Do you hear me? A dress for this occasion and not just any dress. Come here Tulisi. I call you." (52s)

120. --7h16-17:

"When are the children going to drive out this cow? Call. Aza, Aza! Should we take this out? Where did you take it out from? He did not take it out, he has been sitting here all the time. He is telling lies. You have long been standing there. Tununu, speak child. I do not want this. Oh my! You have been standing in front of the door. You did not take it out. What should I say?"

"I will not take it out as Majombolo also left it. You go on doing it. Mmmm. He-he." (1'28")

121. --7h19-21: Girl sweeping floor. Brief CU. Removing stakes.

"Here is your '*umbaco*' [long red skirt]. She is quick. Why? She says, she is not at Nonini's home. They are vagabonds. Where is it? Take it then."

Outside seclusion hut:
--7h22:

"Gosh! What is happening now?" (2'29")

122. --7h22-23: Girls wrapped in blankets. One sweeping. Children taking grass to bonfire place at the edge of the homestead, behind the main hut. Children at bonfire place. Girl emerging from hut with stakes. Pan to follow girls with stakes to cattlebyre.

"Hey, boy! What is wrong with this chap? You bastard, you donner! What is wrong with you? Has somebody sent you to us? Hey! Get away! Of what use are you to us? That child is going to scatter all this. Ngcusungu, does this little bit overpower you? Gosh! Wow! I am in a hurry to go home."

"Let them go and burn these. Ntsikelelo! He! Ntsikelelo!"

"Hey, it has not come to an end. Sabelo!" (2'01")

123. **Behind the main hut**
-- 7H24: Nolele goes to bonfire.

"What are you doing in that hole?" (26s)

124. --7h26: Nolele lights bonfire. Children run to watch. (18s)

125. --7h27: Nolele leaves fire. Girls come to sit around fire with the children and watch it burn. (56s)

126. --7h28-29: Gathered around the fire. High flames. CU fire burning straw. FS hazy with smoke. FS girl throwing grass onto fire. Pan around group. Fire rages. MCU Nolele leaning on stick and watching. FS people and fire.

"Yho! I am scorched! Yho! Do not burn yourselves. If one burns out, he will shit and burn in the hut. Oh, others can easily burn out here." (3'43")

127. --7h35: Black ashes and small flames. Only a few left watching.

"Oh! I am cold." (16s)

128. **Inside seclusion hut**
--Black screen. Nonqubel and I talk to the female initiate (male twin absent).

-- Laura:
"Is he (male twin) in town? Musn't he join in, being her twin? Not today?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"No."
-- Laura:
"Does he join her to come out tomorrow?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Not as well?"
-- Laura:
"So he's finished?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"Mmmm."

-- Laura:
"So, does she want to come out now? Has she had enough?"
-- Nonqubelo:
"She says, she is going to town as she is busy and she can't waste her time on what is being done here. Where? On the other side. She can't be sitting in a room doing nothing. She has long been grumbling."

-- Nonqubelo and the female initiate chat.

-- Initiate:
"They are not going to sing any longer. They have now stopped. The only thing they have to do is to come and sleep here tonight without making any noise."

-- Nonqubelo:
"Oh! Is that all?"

-- Initiate:
"Yes. You will find me doing finishing touches when you come again. Today I am going to smear the floor and wipe all the Ntonjane's belongings after which they will come to sleep. Tomorrow we shall wake up and go to

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