

Florence, who was my housekeeper, had married a man whose father's name was Bhasayi. Consequently, she never referred to the railway bus, which daily passed her home from Umtata, as ibhasi, but instead called it iteksi (the taxi), to avoid the syllable bhas in her father-in-law's name. Nor could she ever refer to ascending a river along its banks by using the common term ukukhweza, for the syllables khweza were an important element in Nomakhwezane, another of her father-in-law's names. She had to say thambeka instead. It will readily be imagined that women develop a language almost of their own, which makes it difficult at times for a stranger to follow them.

Analogous to these hlonipha words of the married women are those used by circumcised youths during their period of seclusion, constituting a dialect of their own, called isikhwetha.¹⁰

This avoidance of names can also often be the occasion of frustration, as when a woman goes to the local store-cum-postoffice to ask if there is a letter for her husband, and, when asked his name, bashfully refuses to repeat it, so that it has to be learned by enquiry from others. If a wife does refer to her husband, she calls him "the father or the brother of So-and-So."

Especially, and at all times, must a Tshezi woman show great deference to her father-in-law. She may not expose her breasts or remove her headdress, in his presence. "He must see no more of her than her face, arms and feet." She may not go to that side of the hut where he sleeps, and if she sleeps in the same hut with him and others, she must wait for him to lie down and turn his face away before

10. A number of these words are given in the Appendix to Kropf's Xhosa Dictionary where they are followed by a "K" in brackets.

preparing herself for rest. She may not touch his things, such as his pipe, stick, blanket, mat or anything that he wears. She may not borrow his dish or his spoon to eat with. She does not have to show quite so much respect to her mother-in-law, though she must not take liberties with her either. In general the young wife must at all times act with delicacy in her new home. She must be quiet, demure, diligent and hardworking, and deferential to all, especially to older people. She is an alien in this family and must ingratiate herself and work her way gradually into the associations of the homestead.

The young husband must also show great respect towards his mother-in-law (uninazala). He must not sit beside her, or take her by the hand. He must cover up when he sees her.¹¹ He cannot engage her in conversation. If he has bumped against her by accident, he must pay one rand which he puts down for her to pick up, or else hands it to someone to give to her. If he is in the unfortunate position of being without money, he makes a deposit of anything he may have so that he may redeem it, saying, "May such a thing not happen frequently to me."

The horror of incest is apparent in these taboos. Dr Kuper says of the Swazi (from whom the Tshezi may have emerged) that "the strongest avoidance is manifested between the bride and her father-in-law stressing the sexual barrier between them..... The husband's behaviour towards his wife's parents is on the same pattern as hers to his group, but is eased by the fact that he does not live in their home. The difference of sex involves him in showing the strongest avoidance of his mother-in-law, his umkwegati (Kuper in Radcliffe-Brown and Forde 1952: 107). Precisely

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the same is true of the Bhaca (Hammond-Tooke 1962: 115-123) and the Xhosa (Soga n.d.: 208-212).

Other practices must be observed by the wife at her husband's home. She continues to wear her black headkerchief (iqhiya) flat on the crown of her head and hanging down all round, covering her face, until she is pregnant, when it will be raised. If she should continue a whole year without becoming pregnant, it will be raised anyway.

She must avoid the cattle and the cattlefold and even the nkundla or courtyard, passing around the back of the huts to come to the entrance of any one of them. Many taboos to which women are subject have to do with cattle. Women are supposed to carry a ritual impurity (umlaza) injurious to cattle. During her menses a woman may not drink milk, handle cow-dung (ubulongwe) e.g. to smear hut floors, or enter the cattlefold. Wives may never enter their husband's cattlefolds, though daughters of the homestead may, but not while menstruating.

However, many of these customs are changing. There seems no longer to be the old strictness about women not sitting by the kraal or in the courtyard, except on formal or ceremonial occasions when many people are present.

People say it does not matter much any more, providing that women respect the entrance to the kraal or the door of the great hut. They should not approach these directly, nor stand in them, nor cross immediately in front of them.

As she grows old some of these restrictions are relaxed, but to the end of her life the wife remains something of an alien amongst her husband's people.¹² Her ancestral spirits are those of her father's home, to which she must

¹². This subject is alluded to by Hunter 1961: 43; and fully treated by Hammond-Tooke 1962: 113-120.

return if she has to propitiate them. She is of another clan than her husband and cannot participate in the rituals of his clan, though she must resume her bridal headwear as at the first and sit by in respectful homage whilst he, his brothers, his sisters, his children and his fellow-clansmen call upon their ancestors. Thus she remains for ever poised on the boundary of two worlds - her father's and her husband's. Even her children are not legally her own. If she is a married woman, they are her husband's (even if he should not be in every case their biological father). If she is an unmarried mother, they belong to her father or (if he is deceased) to his heir. She cannot own property except for a few personal things and an animal or two, that she may have received as gifts from father or husband. Nor can property be inherited by others through her.

To illustrate the dual relationship of a wife to her father's and her husband's clans, wives of the Lungu clan, that is women of other clans who have married into it, wear their headkerchiefs down over their faces like brides, when they come to the seaside; because the sea is the river of the Lungu people, from which they emerged.¹³ My housekeeper herself does not, however, so adorn her head for she is a daughter of this clan. She says of the sea, "it is home here (kusekhay' apha).". She hlonipha's to her husband's Mpondo clan of amaNanga. Thus, if she finds a Nanga homestead with graves, she makes a circuit to avoid them.

Ukucononisa (Adjuration).

Most interesting is the custom of ukucononozisa or ukucononisa. These words, which Tshezi and Tshomane informants say are the correct forms, apparently stem from

13. The clan called abe-Lungu is descended from two white men who survived a shipwreck on the coast of Pondoland in the first half of the 18th century.

ukuconisa, to adjure, to interdict or prohibit, and ukucona, to swear (Kropf-Godfrey 1915: in loc.). Soga equates the noun in the plural, maconini, with "taboos", "things inviolable or prohibited" (Soga n.d.: 353). He says that, among the Xhosa, a man having some article he does not wish any of his wives to meddle with, will adjure them to "respect and shun [this thing] as you do with my father", and that failure to observe this prohibition is equivalent to an act of sacrilege. Then, not only the guilty wife, but all her co-wives too, must go to their parental homes, report what has happened and return with gifts to the husband by way of propitiation. The guilty wife must also bring back a "sheep or goat to be offered in sacrifice" (This is in conflict with the rule against sacrificing sheep, because they do not bleat or cry). Cook, who uses the form conizisa, says that among the Bemvane this is really a curse pronounced on the wives of a homestead by their husband in a quarrel. He points to any article and says "Ngubawo lo" (this is my father), whereupon the wives must go home and return with "a sheep and some money as a peace offering" (Cook n.d.: 88). Hunter says that among the Mpondo "ukuconozisa" is an "effective sanction" against a wife who has refused to carry out some duty, or has angered some member of her husband's homestead. Then any member of the homestead, "even a child", may say to her: Ngubawo lo, "That is father", i.e. "I have said your father-in-law's name". Maconini is used as equivalent to ngubawo lo. The wives all go home and return with gifts, the culprit bringing "a goat or sheep" or a money equivalent. The killing of a goat or a sheep is not a sacrifice to ancestral spirits - no one is made to eat from the right shoulder first as in ritual killings "but it cannot be omitted", or "all daughters-in-law would go home again

until it were done" (Hunter 1961: 44-45).

Such descriptions as I had previously read of the custom had left me much mystified. Mamlungu, a woman of the Ngqakayi area first made me understand it.

"This thing", she said, "ensues upon a quarrel between a wife and someone else of her husband's home - perhaps a girl of the home (like her husband's sister) who says to the wife, "So - you are my father now!" alluding to the wife's father-in-law. [That is, she is accusing this wife of assuming authority in this homestead so great, that it is tantamount to usurping the place of the head of the homestead, her father-in-law. In the eyes of the people this is an enormous disgrace.] Well, after that the wife will report the matter here in the home, and it will be told also in other homesteads of relatives. Then all the wives go home. The [accused] wife returns with a beast and a new dish. When she arrives she informs all the others that she has returned. A day will have been appointed for them all to congregate here at the home. When they arrive on that day, that wife stands up and makes clear how the whole situation arose.

"The new dish will have been set down in front of her. The other wives will put money in this dish, the amount they give depending on what they were given at their people's homes, but it ranges from a pound to five pounds (R2 to R10).

"When the offering of the money is completed, two cattle are killed: the one that came with the wife and another one to be produced by the person who talked [i.e. quarrelled] with her. These cattle are then eaten. That of the wife is eaten by the wives, it being said to roll away the reproach of the wife [kujikwa eli-gama, 'this name is turned'], she is not 'the owner of this home'.

"Some of the wives come with a goat. The old ones pay five shillings and do not go home at all.

"If the person who accused the wife asks for forgiveness, the matter will be dropped. If the offence is repeated, there is no forgiveness."

III. Polygyny and the Rights of Wives.

A wife is not totally devoid of rights, for even a minor has rights.¹⁴

14. What follows is based on verbal information checked against written authorities, especially Seymour 1960: pages indicated in the Index under "Wife of Customary Union, rights of".

She has the right:-

- (1) to maintenance by her husband for herself, her children and any children born to her unmarried daughters;
- (2) to be consulted as a rule by her husband in matters pertaining to her own house (indlu);
- (3) to sue her husband against unjustifiable spoliation of the property of her house, or, in his absence, right of action against third parties for such spoliation;
- (4) to return to her father or guardian in the event of excessive ill-treatment by her husband, to be maintained by him until her husband makes restitution;
- (5) in the absence of her husband, to dispose of assets of minor value in the homestead to provide for her own daily wants and those of her family; and despite the general rule that women cannot own property, the right of control if not absolute ownership of things given her by her husband or father, such as the inkomo yobulunga;
- (6) the authority in the absence of her husband to defend his rights before the tribal court, should there be no male relative of his to do it for him; and
- (7) to control of a field of her own, whose produce shall be for the use of herself and her family.

Such are her rights under tribal law. But she has added rights under the law of the land. "In true Native law the only emancipated persons were kraalheads, but according to the law of the land all persons over the age of 21 years have attained majority and to some extent this affects the rights and liabilities of persons whose status would otherwise be dealt with under Native law." (Seymour 1960: 47). It is true that many Tshezi do not know just what their rights are

under the "white man's law" and others are deterred from claiming them by the costs of litigation; but the rights are there and are often invoked, as the busy state of magistrates' courts indicates.

On the subject of rights, the question arises: who is responsible to provide things (other than food) for a married woman. She arrives at her husband's homestead with a "trousseau" provided by her father or his heir, which includes clothing and household gear. After that her husband is obliged to house, feed and clothe her. Hunter, however, says of the Mpondo, that when the things brought by a bride wear out or break, "she goes back to her father or brother to ask for others to replace them" (Hunter 1961: 119).

From the Tshezi I got conflicting answers. Some said that it was from her people that she had to be provided for, "because the cattle ([bridewealth] are at her home"; others that the husband must provide for his wife; while a compromise was also suggested: all things damaged through her own fault had to be replaced by her own people, while losses through ordinary wear and tear, or damage by others, had to be made up by her husband.

Polygyny. This has apparently declined somewhat among the Tshezi. Of 204 married men investigated, 159 had only one wife; and of the 45 (about 22%) who had a plurality of wives, 42 had only two wives each and only three had three wives each. I met only one man who had more than three wives, and this was an old diviner over eighty years of age among the neighbouring Tshomane, who had five wives, nineteen daughters and seven sons.

This decrease is borne out by others. Kuper (1947: 37) estimates that less than 30% of married males among the Swazi have more than one wife. Hammond-Tooke says: "Today polygamy

is practically obsolete among the Bhaca. The great majority have only one wife and few polygamists have more than two" (Hammond-Tooke 1962: 38). According to Hunter, "The percentage of polygynists in Pondoland was never very high", but there too it has decreased (Hunter 1961: 202). One must be on guard, indeed, against too readily assuming that it was ever very high among any of the tribes. Rev. John Brownlee early in the 19th century found that among the Xhosa "scarcely any man of common rank weds more than one. Some of the chiefs, however, have four or five wives", while "Gaika" with "upwards of a dozen" is described as "somewhat of a Turk in this." (Thompson 1827: 356). Rev. Wm. Shaw likewise says that "a large number of the people, perhaps the majority of the married men, have not more than one lawful or recognised wife for each man." (Shaw 1860: 420). Though polygyny was freely allowed, the cattle required for wives constituted a check on all but the very rich.

Militating against polygyny there is also the "hut-tax" of R1 on each wife and the cost of supporting many wives. The coming of ~~the~~ planters and tractors has reduced the advantages of having many wives to till the fields.

Christianity, too, has had at least an indirect impact, even among a people like the Tshezi, the majority of whom do not profess to be Christian. For many of their neighbours do profess it,¹⁵ and in consequence are abandoning polygyny as they have abandoned red ochre, regarding both things as badges of primitivism and social backwardness; and this in turn influences the Tshezi.

Among social reasons operating against polygyny, the

15. The Population Census report of 1960 gives 813,232 Christians among the Xhosa of the Transkei. As the Xhosa in the Transkei number 1,386,376 (Transkei Annual 1968: 47), this gives 58.66% of them as professing Christianity.

home, born after she had been taken as a wife (zekiwe).

As a girl she had been made pregnant by a man who had been obliged to pay the usual fine of five head of cattle. "They expected him to marry me, and he was willing; but I refused, for he already had two wives. I would not be a mere third wife. So I ran away to Port Elizabeth. But I was punished⁵ in that my baby died at eight months. So I came home again."

She later became pregnant by a second man. He did not have to pay any fine, as she had already been an unmarried mother. Nevertheless he gave her brother "a bottle", partly as a courtesy and partly from a sense of obligation.

These two children belong to her father's family. She said that the second man would have married her; but she did not love him, so she chased him away (ndamxotha).

She fell in love with the third man who came, and he paid three head of cattle to take her to wife. By him she had her third child. Then he went off to the mines to earn money for her ikhazi cattle. In 1968 he had been gone for three years, but she still expects him to return and complete the marriage. When he returns, her people will discuss bride-price with him, "for there has been no ukulobola as yet." As she is not a virgin, they cannot ask too much. She thinks perhaps they will ask for three cattle, and then to make it look better, they will join (dibanisa) these with the three already paid. That will make it look like a sizeable amount. So she is "taken to wife" (zekiwe) now, but not yet tshatiwe, i.e. the final ceremony of umtshato has not yet been performed.

Umtshato - The Final Marriage Festivities.

This, as previously stated may not occur for a year or

5. She meant by supernatural agency - God or the ancestral spirits who are thought of as disciplining those who do not behave properly.

arguing that the Ngqeleni Tshezi, across the Umtata river, were all one with his Mqanduli Tshezi though they did not fall under his chieftainship, said: "They are our people; we do not marry them." He referred, of course, to Tshezi clans proper, not to alien clans resident among the Tshezi, subject to the tribal authority and so Tshezi by association. With these the Tshezi would intermarry.

But, to turn from theory to practice, I found many informants declaring that now the rule of clan exogamy is not so strictly observed; that "because people have increased in number so greatly" exogamy is limited to smaller groups like the lineages of one's immediate parents; or that at least persons on opposite fringes of the same clan may marry.

That clan exogamy is breaking down under the impact of social change, due to contact with urban centres and the generally greater permissiveness of the age, seems likely. The question is, To what extent? Is it "very common", as one informant said to me, for people to marry within the clan now?

According to a sampling of thirty marriages, mostly among the Tshezi with a few in adjacent Tsho-maneland, it is not common. I regret that the sampling was not larger, but this was one question that I found to be particularly difficult to ask the Tshezi. My research assistant experienced growing resistance until one day he came to me in manifest terror, saying that he dare not pursue such inquiries any further for fear that the people would kill him. I myself was threatened with assault on one occasion and on another was roughly pushed about by two men who kept asking: "Who sent you here? For whom are you inquiring? Someone must have sent you." I found the greatest co-operation from most of the Tshezi; but soon learnt that this stopped at the point of taking measurements, or

pursuing inquiries about kinship and clans. They were convinced, apparently, that such interrogations must be the prelude to some administrative scheme to reduce the size of their residential sites or to move and resettle people according to their clans. Alien clans, for instance, would fear lest in the interests of some separate development scheme it was planned to move them back to those tribal territories from which they came a century or two ago. It was useless to attempt to allay their suspicions; they simply did not believe me. In these circumstances hostility may suddenly flare up - as against the chief himself (p. 59,1,1) - and the consequent contretemps might put an end to the possibility of further field work. From taking as detailed a census as I should have wished, therefore, I had to refrain; while for the measurements of the size of huts (for example) I had to measure those of School people, which are just as good for the purpose being of the same size and shape as those of their Red neighbours, although better furnished within.

Also one cannot vouch for the accuracy of all replies to the inquiry regarding the respective clans of husbands and wives in a table like the following. If marriage within a clan is socially disapproved, as it is, and even regarded as incest, it is likely that some husbands and wives may try to conceal the fact that they have broken the taboos, and pretend that they are of different clans.

In the table there seems to be only one clear case of infringement of the rule of clan exogamy. That is the one in which a Nanga man living in Tsheziland married a Nanga woman. Some Tshezi informants say such unions may be regularised in advance by addition to the ikhazi cattle of a special beast as "the beast of incest" (inkomo yombulo) to

Census of Thirty Marriages in
Tsheziland and Tshomaneland
Showing Clans

Husband's Clan	Tribe	Wife's Clan	Tribe
-----	Tshezi	Madosini Nkumba	Mpondomise Bomvana
Tyingana	Tshezi	Zimtshe	Bomvana? Tshezi?
Nyawuza	Mpondo	Tyingana -----	Tshezi Xhosa
Khwalo	Mpondo	Nanga Dlumbu	Mpondo Mfengu
Tyingana	Tshezi	Nyawuza Qinebe	Mpondo Xhosa
Ntusi	Mpondo	Nyalo Nanga	Xhosa Mpondo
Cira	Xhosa	Mangwevu Mamgqunu Mangebe Mamqwarane Mamtakwende	Bomvana Thembu Thembu Ngqika Ngqika
Majole	Mpondomise	Ganya	Tshezi
Nzila	Gcaleka-Xhosa	Mamsinga	Ngqika-Xhosa
-----	Tshezi	Nyawuza	Mpondo
Sukude	Mpondo	Ngcitshane ----- Qinebe	Mpondo Tshezi Xhosa
Nanga*	Mpondo	Nanga*	Mpondo
Tiyana	Mpondo	Nanga	Mpondo
-----	Tshezi	Tiyana	Mpondo
-----	Tshezi	Nanga	Mpondo
Khwetshube	Mpondo	---	Tshezi
Tshawe	Xhosa	Njuza Dlamini	Xhosa Mfengu
Tyingana	Tshezi	Nanga	Mpondo

*A clear case of marriage within a clan.

placate the ancestral spirits, and which beast may or may not be sacrificed at the time of marriage. Hammond-Tooke writes of a similar beast, called the "white beast" (inkomo emhlophe) among the Bhaca, "in the old days" (Hammond-Tooke 1962: 97). Some doubt may be felt in respect of cases number one (the second wife) and number two, according to whether or not one treats Bomvana and Tshezi as "all one people" (as they themselves sometimes say, meaning by origin). But, as they have now long been separated territorially and been under chiefs quite independent of each other, so that the Transkei Government recognises them as separate tribal authorities, I treat them as separate people in this work. Of course they are related, the Tshezi having originated as the righthand house of a Bomvana ancestor, but that was two to three hundred years ago (Soga 1930: 360 ff.) So are the Gcaleka part of the great house (through an iqadi or support-house) and the Ngqika part of the righthand house of the Xhosa (Soga 1930: chart at p. 81) but they have long since grown quite separate and independent of each other and intermarry, as shown in number seven in the table where a Cira of the Xhosa great house married two Ngqika wives of the righthand house, and number nine where a Gcaleka married a Ngqika.

There is then only one of the thirty cases that really shows a marriage within the clan. Perhaps, therefore, despite the vociferations to the contrary of a number of Tshezi and Tshomane informants, one must say of these people as Hammond-Tooke does of the Bhaca: "It must be stressed that the violation of the incest taboos is a rare occurrence" (Hammond-Tooke 1962: 97).

A baby's refusal of the breast is held to be a sure sign of incest (amanyala, "deeds of uncleanness").

A mother may be urged to confess, and she may reveal that it was even before marriage that she had sexual intercourse with another man who was a clansman. He (husband or lover) and she are supposed to be dragged publicly into the cattle-kraal, though I myself did not observe a case, and a "beast of incest" is sacrificed to the ancestors. The man and the woman are forced to sit opposite each other, naked in front of all the men, and to eat a piece of meat, "tearing at it like dogs". Each must place one end of the colloped flesh between his or her teeth and chew till they meet in the middle. "It is a great public disgrace". Until expiation has thus been made, it is said that the babe will not take the breast. "Though their uncleanness may have been concealed from all living men, the ancestral spirits know of it and will not pass it over", said one woman (Cf. Hammond-Tooke 1962: 97-98). My informants spoke as if the custom were still current, but I never saw or heard of it actually being done, and among the contiguous Mpondo people, the custom is said to have become obsolete about forty years ago (Hunter 1961: 186).

Widows

A widow must be in mourning for one year. She wears skirts and blankets of white "sheeting", which may not be reddened with ochre, or embroidered, or otherwise ornamented (foll.p.195). The widow should stay at home and not go to beer-drinks or dances, though she may work in the field and visit such places as stores. At the end of one year the widow washes her whole body and paints it with red clay, relatives and friends attend her "coming-out" beer party, and her period of avoidance is over.

A widower observes like avoidance, but only for a month, or even a week.

CHAPTER X

KINSHIP AND CLANS

In this chapter I shall discuss the relationships of kinsfolk to one another in the narrower limits of the family before moving on to a discussion of larger groups such as lineages and clans.

Tshezi marriage is patrilocal. A young married couple are usually given a hut at the homestead of the bridegroom's father, until such time as the groom can afford a homestead of his own. At this point in the life cycle a consideration of the Tshezi system of "houses" (izindlu) is necessary.

The Tshezi nuclear family, consisting of a man, his wife and their children, is called a "house". When a man sets up on his own, he becomes head of a homestead (umninomzi, or umninimzi): if he has more than one wife, his homestead (umzi) will in fact be the home of a composite family, comprising a plurality of "houses", each presided over by a wife (umfazi).

The "houses" are distinctly categorised. A man's first wife presides over his great house (indlu enkulu), his second over the righthand house (indlu yasekunene), and his third over the supporting house or "rafter" of the great house (iqadilendlu enkulu; iqadi= rafter). This is as many houses as one almost ever finds among the Tshezi today. As will be stated in the next chapter (p. 189) a sampling of over 600 homesteads gave an average of about two huts per homestead. If therefore a homestead has more than three principal huts, it will usually indicate the presence in it of an extended family, in which one or more married sons are living with their father. The sampling of 204 married men already mentioned (p. 164) showed none with more than three wives and only three men who had that number each.

Tshezi informants generally speak of a time when "houses" were more numerous, and in the case of at least the chiefs it must have been so, for within living memory Tyelinzima had nine or ten wives and their names are remembered. But in the absence of any early literature about the Tshezi, one must fall back on that of other Nguni tribes and on Tshezi informants for details about more houses than three.

Among the Xhosa the fourth wife headed the support or "rafter" of the righthand house; the fifth headed the lefthand house; and the sixth the supporting house of the lefthand house. "All wives other than those of these specially designated houses simply came under the term amaqadi or 'wives of minor houses', and their relation to the more important houses might be declared or it might not (Soga 1930:35; ditto n.d.: 50). The lefthand house (indlu yasekhohlo) was not always created; and in addition to those mentioned there was sometimes a deceased grandfather's, or other relative's, house (ixhiba, Soga n.d.:50). Among the Mpondo all houses besides the first four (i.e. the great and the righthand houses with their two "rafters") were classed simply as extra "rafters" of the great and righthand houses alternatively (Hunter 1961: 16).

Each of a man's wives might have had several children, and within his own lifetime the man would already have been head of a considerable group of descendants. When he died his eldest son should have inherited his name, and other sons moved out when they married.

In the event of a wife dying, the man could marry again and put this wife into the empty house, where she would be classified as the "servant" of the dead woman. If she, in turn, died, he could do the same again. The status of the other wives would not be changed, "for these wives have their

own places". If the great wife died, for instance, the right-hand wife, or even the wife of the supporting house of the great house, would not be moved up to fill the vacancy. The man would marry another woman altogether and place her in the great house to "serve" the dead woman, her own children becoming part of the great house, and the other wives retaining their relative positions.

Next to the dominant and revered authority of the owner of the homestead is that of his wife (the great wife, if he has more than one), as she is "the female owner of the homestead" (umninikazi womzi). But if her husband's mother is still alive and lives with them, the daughter-in-law will be overshadowed by her.

If a husband dies, authority devolves on his eldest son, but also on his widow, ~~if his wife has survived him~~. "If the son wants to do something, he will start by telling his mother. She may agree, but if she does not, he cannot go on to do anything; for it is his mother who is in authority." He will continue to be under his mother's authority like this for so long as he and she both continue to live at his late father's homestead. People may address him as his father's heir, but before finalising anything he must consult his mother and get her agreement. This will still be the case even if the son and his wife move the homestead and the mother goes with them, so that it is understood to be the father's umzi that has moved. But if the mother stays behind in her late husband's homestead, and the son moves to build a new homestead of his own, and then afterwards his mother goes to live in her son's home, it is the son's wife who will be mistress of the place. One can see from this the importance that is attached to kinsmen and affines as "guardians" of the land, to such an extent that a woman has authority over land in the name of the lineage to which she

became attached by the transfer of marriage cattle. All the time that a son continues living with his mother at her home, the son's wife has no authority. She acquires authority in that case only when her mother-in-law dies.

Sometimes mother and daughter-in-law find it impossible to get on together, till at last the mother says to her son, "No! we cannot go on like this. Please go and build elsewhere."

A stepmother's authority is especially hard for a daughter-in-law to accept. The latter flares up, if she presses it, and may say: "You are not really mother here!"

Among nearer relatives of a Tshezi child two stand out in importance next to his own father and mother. These are Father's father and Mother's eldest brother.

Father's father is a very distinguished person to his grandchildren. They regard him with mingled affection and respect, while he in turn tends to indulge them. He will not have anyone troubling them, and they are apt to run to him for protection from parental discipline. He regales them with old traditions; and a boy growing up in his grandfather's homestead often wheedles gifts of stock out of him. If the boy happens to be the eldest son of the eldest son of the old man, he may have been placed in the grandfather's homestead on purpose to inherit the estate.

Malume (lit. male mother) covers all mother's brothers, but in this context applies especially to her eldest brother. On the death of Mother's father, he should be heir to the father's property, including his own sister's marriage payment, and therefore be the protector of her children. This makes him an important man to them. It is to his malume that a sister's son should go to indulge in indirect solicitation (ukutefa); for example by taking something while

pretending not to want it, or by exhibiting displeasure at not getting what he wants, so as to cause it to be given to him. "No matter what it is he may want, if he cannot get it from his father he goes off to malume and obtains it from him."

This practice of ukutefa has a reciprocal value. When a boy has grown up, his malume knows that he can say to him in turn: "Mtshana (sister's son), I do not have a blanket", or "I lack a jacket", and he will buy him one.

However, this practice of indirect solicitation is said to be in decline now, "on account of the increase of want" (ukuswela).

Radcliffe-Brown advanced the hypothesis that where the tendency is to merge the individual in the group to which he or she belongs, and a son gets from his mother care and indulgence, he expects to find the same virtues in all members of her group, especially her eldest brother; similarly, his father's authority inspires him to awe and obedience, and he tenders respect to all his father's kin. "The patterns that thus arise in relation to the father and the mother are generalised and extended to the kindred on the one side and on the other" (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 25). This, however, was criticised by Goody as unsatisfactory for the explanation of the snatching of property by the sister's son from the mother's brother, and for its over-emphasis of the privilege-rights of the former compared with the demand-rights of the latter (Goody 1959: 61-88).

The Tshezi regard their ancestral spirits as part of the kinship system. A herd of cattle is jointly owned by the living who now tend it, and the dead who did so formerly. Cattle are praised by calling the names of their departed owners (p.129). They may not be killed without consultation

among living members of the lineage, and if sacrificed ritually it must be in a certain way with invocation of the ancestors and using the sacrificial spear handed down in the family by them. More will be said about ancestral spirits in the chapter on Religion. This much is necessary here to show their involvement in kinship behaviour. Radcliffe-Brown says: "I regard ancestor-worship, where it exists, as in a real sense part of the kinship system, constituted as it is by the relations of living persons to their deceased kindred, and affecting as it does the relations of living persons to one another" (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 53).

If a son living at his deceased father's homestead has to sacrifice or sell a beast, he must first consult his mother, if she is living. Together they will then consult his father's older brother, or "big father" (ubawomkhulu, or utat' omkhulu). If there is no ⁺Father's older brother living, they consult one of his younger brothers (ubawomncinci, "little father"). Comparatively few things in Tsheziland are individually owned, and these mostly of a minor sort (such as pipes, beads, blankets). Larger property like stock, and also rights such as tenure of land, involve a lineage, though the senior member of it owns administrative rights and rights of usufruct for the time being.

An example of kinship at work in a ritual was afforded in the ukojiswa ("to be roasted for") ceremony of the solitary novice referred to on pp. 95-96. It happened among the Tshomane, but would have been the same among the Tshezi. The young man's name was Jongilizwe. Here is a diagram of his lineage to a depth of four generations of which, however, only the two most recent generations were represented at the ritual.

took place at the end of the festivities, when the uduli party were about to return to the bride's home. In any case, as we have seen, it should not occur before the arrival at the bridegroom's home of the cow of the string.

I have included a reference to this rite on the grounds that it is mentioned by earlier writers on the Xhosa-speaking peoples (Soga n.d.: 234; Hunter 1961: 200; Laubscher 1937: 183) and was mentioned by at least one of my own informants - an old man, who lived much in the past. I conclude that it has largely died out among the Tshezi. I did not see it, and those who described marriages to me in detail from beginning to end never mentioned it. Moreover I could find no amasi at all any more in Tsheziland, though I enquired diligently for it. It was a favourite food 50 - 60 years ago, when I was a child there, but the yield of milk from cows has so deteriorated (as explained elsewhere in this work) that curdled milk in calabashes has become a thing of the past, and the ceremony of ukutyis' amasi has probably disappeared with it.

Hlonipha (Customary Avoidance).

The verb ukuhlonipha, as used in this connection, means to show respect by bashfulness, by withdrawal, and by avoidance of certain people and certain things. A bride must especially show great deference to her husband and to all his senior male relatives. She must not use her husband's name, "because that was used by his father, and she has to respect him", and must therefore refer to him by some circumlocution. She may not even use any word whose dominant syllable forms part of the name of her husband or the names of any of his male relatives. When she arrives at her new home, the other women school her in the names she must avoid.

both been informed and invited, but were too far away to be able to attend. We had to wait till Gobisoko arrived from the adjacent locality of Isilahla of which he was sub-headman, as Thozamile was of this locality of Qadini (Fanisile acting in his absence). When Gobisoko appeared over the ridge, Fanisile went to meet him, swinging his stick over his head and welcoming him as "my child" (mtanam). When they arrived, Gobisoko called the assembled men to attention and stood beside Fanisile as the latter made a speech about the name and purpose of the ritual now to be observed.

Thus, in a ritual, the senior member of a lineage, or his deputy if he is absent, officiates, and he sees that all the other available members of the lineage are invited, and awaits their arrival if they live near enough to attend. Women attend the rituals of men to whom they are related by birth or by marriage, having a greater or lesser part according to whether they are daughters or wives of the lineage.

In the ritual drinking of beer, as at the novitiate of a diviner, the novice drinks first, then his or her father (or the latter's heir if the father is dead), then the father's brothers in order of seniority, then the novice's brothers real and classificatory, then the father's sisters, the novice's sisters, and finally the wives of this group of men.

In a purification ritual which I witnessed, and which involved a whole clan, the following participated and in this order:-

- i. The head of the great house and his son; his brothers of that house and their sons;
- ii. The heads of the other houses in turn with their sons; their brothers respectively, and their sons; then
- iii. All the daughters of the clan in the order of these houses.

In this ritual (which will be fully described in the chapter on Divination and Ritual) the wives were excluded, as not being involved in the displeasure of the ancestral spirits of their husbands.

To be an orphan, to be without kin, is the greatest conceivable calamity that can befall a Tshezi. It is to be lost, to be without ubuntu (the nature of a human being). However, it is hardly possible, for this to happen, because the Tshezi recognise a wide network of kinsmen. A child belongs first to his immediate kin, or family (usapho), then to his lineage (umnombo), then to a clan (isiduko), and finally, even if he is not a member of any Tshezi clan, he may still be a commoner of the Tshezi tribe, even if only by virtue of membership in an alien clan which has settled among the Tshezi and been received under the tribal "blanket".

The most important kinship unit is the first, the usapho, which includes all the offspring of one's father and more vaguely of one's father's father too. Beyond that in daily life the Tshezi, like most Europeans, are not concerned. They label great-grandfather and all before him as simply okhokho, "ancestors". If some old man can recite the names of their lineage, they will be interested, but the interest is more curious than practical. It was only by careful inquiry that I found that they had a word for lineage, umnombo, which means primarily a root or stem, hence a family stock. Some lineage names survive in short stereotyped lists which may be reeled off in praising cattle, but otherwise there is little interest in ancestry apart from the royal house. Clan exogamy is still important, but membership of a clan can be determined by possession of the clan name, without the necessity of being able to trace descent in detail.

The Tshezi recognise a minimal lineage of three

generations, like the Makhanya of southern Natal (Reader 1966: 80). This is the group of agnates, most if not all of whom live in proximity to one another on neighbouring ridges, so that they can readily come together on important ritual or other occasions. One then finds in the courtyard or the cattle-kraal the grandfather, his sons and their sons, an enlarged usapho group.

The corporateness of lineages is sometimes expressed at public events, for example by such a lineage group sitting together at a beerdrink or at an umgidi festival at the end of circumcision rites.

Besides his lineage, a man recognises relationship with those who share his clan name (isiduko) and perhaps a common praise epithet (isibongo) too. Members of the same clan are not necessarily lineally related, for a clan is a wider social network including even fictitious relationships. Common membership of a clan is often putative, and it cannot necessarily be demonstrated by genealogies. A man may trace his lineage back correctly for a few generations to his last remembered ancestor and then take a genealogical leap to reach the semi-mythical founder of the clan.

In the second chapter I have discussed the royal clans of the Tshezi. They are all descended from Tshezi and constitute the core of the tribe, the most important being that of Tshezi's great house of Tyingana from whom all chiefs of the Mqanduli Tshezi have descended (See Table on p. 26). As with other tribes, the founder "had a number of sons, each of whom became the progenitor of a section of the society. These major divisions of society are called clans, and in most societies their number remains fixed" (Mair 1965: 70). Alien clans or sub-clans attached themselves to the Tshezi core and moved down with them into Tsheziland, or joined

them after they settled there. These alien clans are commoners of the Tshezi tribe (Cf. for the Xhosa, Soga n.d.: 17 ff.). There are also commoners who may be Tshezi by birth, but who can no longer trace the point of contact between their lineages and any of the royal clans. Their origin is lost, as with the Xhosa, "either through the failure of tradition to preserve their point of contact with the tribal structure, or by the break in line of their progenitors" (Soga n.d.:19). Many of the descendants of Tshezi's sons Matshoba and Thembu (pp. 19,20) must have been long ago reduced to commoners. Indeed I heard so little (if anything at all among the Tshezi themselves) of Thembu (See Soga 1930: 360, chart) that I have not mentioned him in the table of Tshezi descent on p. 26; and if Tshezi had the seven wives tradition credits to him, he must have had more houses (and more sons) than the great house and the righthand house shown on the table. Many of these descendants of Tshezi's must now be commoners for lack of identification.

Among the Tshezi are also clans of amaNanga, amaTshuts' and ubeLungu.

The Nanga have the whole administrative area of Nzulwini (see Fig.1, p.51) mainly, if not entirely, to themselves under a headman of their own clan, Zwelebango Natshiki. The population of that area is 924 but one cannot take this to be the number of the Nanga clansmen, for some of them have intermarried with the Tshezi and settled in various other areas of Tsheziland, while conversely some Tshezi have settled among the Nanga in the Nzulwini area. The Nanga are of Mpondo origin, from the region of Lambazo north-east of Port St John's (Soga, 1930: 379) and may have moved to their present situation either with the Tshezi or subsequent to the latter's occupation of Tsheziland. But the relations of the Nanga

with the Tshezi are characterised by a good deal of tension. The Nzulwini headman seldom appears at the Tshezi court house. Once in 1968 he came there to prefer a charge against a man for refusing to return to him a field which he, Zwelebang Natshiki, had lent him. The defendant agreed to return the field; but asked that this might be next year, after he had reaped the maize he now had growing in it.

When the court agreed to this, which it deemed a reasonable request, Natshiki was very angry. The court's decision, he declared was ridiculous. It was desirable that the matter should be referred to the magistrate's court; but, he continued contemptuously, "such chiefs as you are will not even know what we are talking about in the presence of the magistrate. Your type is given to arguing and disputing - you never do anything else - I have no time to waste on you." He then advanced to the chief's table, banged on it, pointed to his own forehead and said: "Look here at me. Whatever you do, you are no match for me in matters of law." Then he stalked out of the court, followed by one of his people who had accompanied him. The court agreed that they should ask the magistrate to talk to him, as he was always contentious like this; and they said the next thing would be that he would want to be chief.

The Tshutsha are an Mfengu ("Fingo") clan, long resident among the Tshezi, though I was unable to learn with certainty whether they arrived with the Tshezi or joined them later.

Bhekumthetho, son of Nokenyana, son of Naphula (or Sinaphule), son of Mjikeliso, is now, though but a young man, the head of Mjikeliso's great house. Mjikeliso's elder brother was Velem. These two were sons of the same mother, who was the great wife of their father. But Velem in after life was poor, while Mjikeliso became well-to-do. So Velem asked Mjikeliso to act on his behalf in providing the necessary feasts

of meat and beer, ritual offerings and other things which it is the responsibility of the senior member of a lineage to provide. In this way it came about that de facto the headship of the clan passed to Mjikeliso and his line, while de jure it remained with Velem and his line. As there are only three generations back from Bhekumthetho to Mjikeliso, this must have happened not more than about one hundred years ago after the Tshezi were settled in Tsheziland. The house of Velem is situated inland (among Dalingozi's Tshomane according to some, among the Nanga in Tsheziland according to others), while Mjikeliso's house is among the Tshezi near Coffee Bay.

According to one informant, rituals had always been performed at Velem's homestead, until one day the latter said to Mjikeliso: "My younger brother, you have increased yonder; so now you conduct rituals there, but invite me when you do something. I will do things here and invite you." Thus he delegated part of his authority to Mjikeliso. A notable clan ritual carried out by Bhekumthetho, Mjikeliso's great-grandson, to which the house of Velem came with pomp and ceremony, will be described in chapter XV (pp. 293-301).

It should be said of the Tshutsha, as of the other clans described here, that they are culturally indistinguishable from the Tshezi among whom they dwell. These social and ritual bonds alone distinguish them.

The Lungu clan (abeLungu) have a romantic history. They are the descendants of two white men who emerged about 230 years ago from the same shipwreck on the Pondoland coast as "Bessie", previously referred to (p. 21). The white men took Mpondo wives and founded this clan. Their descendants today know these white men only by Xhosa names: Jekwa or Bhuku, Bhayi or Hatu. The clan members themselves are called abeLungu, the common term for Whites, because they

are the descendant of these white men. They are, however, generally indistinguishable in colour from their Tshezi and Tshomane neighbours. A concentration of them lives at the Xhora mouth in Bomvanaland. Others are near Ngewanguba in Tshomaneland, and still others near the Nenga store in Tsheziland. Soga says that while they were still living about the Lambazo in Pondoland, they fell foul of the Nanga clan, by whom they were beaten. They then sought refuge among the Tshezi, who, both to prevent them giving trouble and also for their own better protection, split them into sections and placed them among the Ntshilibe, the Tshutsha and the Ntshеле clans (Soga 1930: 382). Then, when the Tshezi crossed the Umtata river to take up residence first in what is now Tshomane country and then in what is now Tsheziland, the Lungu appear to have come with them and to have become distributed where they are now. The ones at the Xhora include descendants of Nogaya, who was the emissary of the Tshezi chief Gambushe to Hintsa to negotiate for the no-man's-land between the Umtata and the Bashee, which became the present Tsheziland and Bomvanaland.¹

The Hona people illustrate how a nuclear family develops into a group of lineages.

Henry Alfred Horner came to South Africa as an English soldier to fight in the Zulu War of 1879. He is said to have been one of the little band of heroes of Rorke's Drift. After the war he gravitated to Tsheziland and acquired the Maphuzi trading store. He took to wife Nompalo, a woman of the Tshezi chief's family, who also bore a European name, "Annie", probably given her by her husband. Eventually Horner sold his trading store and settled as a squatter in the Maphuzi valley nearby in a homestead similar to those of his Tshezi neighbours. He had six sons and three

1. Further on abeLungu, see works cited in footnote 3, p.21 of this work; and Soga 1930: 379-384.

daughters. All of them married. One son married a coloured woman. The rest of the family all took African spouses, three of them Tshezi, the others Gcaleka, Bomvana, Mpondo, Mfengu and Thembu. Their children totalled fifty-one. These in turn married and produced numerous offspring. One of Horner's sons told me he could no longer count their number. "If you killed a sheep, it would vanish in no time; even if you slaughtered an ox, there would not be enough meat to go round."

Most of these amaHona, as the Tshezi call them, continue to reside in the Maphuzi valley, where the slopes of the hills are dotted over with their homesteads and gardens. They are integrated into the Tshezi social order, being part of the Ngogo locality (ilali) and acknowledge Danisile as their chief. At beerdrinks one comes upon them, seated by themselves in a group like other lineage groups.

As Annie, or Nompalo, was Chief Tyelinzima's niece (umtshana), the latter's descendants call the Hona "children of our sister" (abantwana bodade wethu) or "niece's children" (abantwana bak' umtshana)².

This does not exhaust the list of clans among the Tshezi. For instance, the rebellious group of people referred to in court case No. 1 on p. 59 were amaNtuse, probably the same as Soga's amaNtusi (Soga 1930: 333), and another group of "trouble makers" were amaThokazi (case viii, p. 61), who according to Soga (ibid. 292) were originally of the BaKwena tribe and are also known as amaNtshilibe. But much more investigation is necessary before attempting to write of either of these clans in greater detail.

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Tshezi kinship terminology provides a model which reflects certain principles of social interaction. The first is the agnatic principle, which is illustrated, for example, by the careful distinction between the male siblings of the father and those of the mother. An Englishman calls all the male siblings of both parents by a single term uncle; but a Tshezi calls those of his male parent bawo, "father", like his own father, and those of his mother malume, "male mother".

Another principle is that of differentiation according to age. A paternal uncle senior to one's father is "big father" (ubawo omkhulu), while one junior to him is "little father" (ubawo omncinci, or ubawokazi). Again one's own brother is umkhuluwe if he is older than oneself, but umnina if he is younger - primogeniture being very important to the Tshezi. "Bantu social structure knows no equals, as with whole sibs, so with individuals. The first-born of the same parents is always the superior of those born after him" (Van Warmelo 1931: 11). Similarly a Tshezi or a Tshomane woman will always address her older sister with more respect, usually as Sisi (from Afrikaans, sussie), than her younger sister whom she calls udadewethu, "our sister".

A principle of more significance lineally is that the distinction according to seniority matters more between siblings of the same sex than between those of opposite sex, and between parallel cousins than between cross-cousins. But this must not be pressed too far. Even here, at least on the part of women, that respect for age so characteristic of most Africans will show itself, in that a woman will call her elder brother Bhuti (Afrikaans, boetie) and those younger than herself, umnakhwethu, "our brother". A man will also often address an older woman to whom he wishes to show respect (whether she is his own sister or not) as

Sisi. As it is these Afrikaans terms that are selected for use in this way, one is left to surmise whether this respect for age among cross-relations may not have arisen from or at least been enhanced by contact with Europeans. Deference to the aged is a regular behaviour pattern of the Tshezi, often reflected in kinship terminology by the use of the term "great" (omkhulu). Thus a grandfather (paternal or maternal) is "the great father" (ubawomkhulu) and a grandmother "the great mother" (umakhulu). Respect for seniority is seen also in the explicative differentiations of the wives of a polygynist according to whether the wife referred to was the first one married, the "great" wife (in the case of a commoner and now of a chief too), or the "righthand" wife, or some lesser wife still.

A Tshezi distinguishes his father's lineage (amawethu, "our people") from his mother's people, whom he calls amakhwe, a term corresponding to our English colloquialism "in-laws", from an Ur-Bantu suffix - kwe, meaning "having to do with marriage" (cf. Doke and Villakazi, Zulu-English Dictionary, in loc.).

restiveness and jealousy of Tshezi wives at having to share their husbands with other women is being more and more felt. It is very notable that whereas it used to be enough for a polygynist to house his wives in separate huts in one homestead, he now almost always builds each of them a separate homestead altogether. When I remarked on this to a woman, she said, "Yes, in the old days people loved one another more. They were willing to live together, but not today. Look at me - I am a righthand wife. Yonder is the homestead of the great wife [pointing to one on a hilltop]. I used to live there, too, but we fell out, so my husband built for me here. Now I don't even go up there any more."

Long years of observation of the monogamous marriages of Whites and of those Africans who have adopted western ways and manifestly are more affluent and more progressive, have perhaps imbued the subconscious minds even of Red women with the thought that they have a right to a husband or at any rate to a homestead exclusively their own. And the men, for their part, have probably concluded that it is not only more economical but also more tranquil to have only one wife.

IV. Exogamy.

Among the Tshezi there appears to be some difference between theory and practice in the matter of clan exogamy. In general, the theory is that of which Mrs Hoernle wrote: "The Nguni must be clearly distinguished from all other groups of tribes in their social organisation, in that they rigidly prohibit marriage, or sexual relations of any kind, with people related through any of the four grandparents" (Schapera 1937: 74). Or, as Hammond-Tooke says of the Bhaca, marriage and sex relations are prohibited with members of either parent's clan or of any of the clans of the four grandparents (Hammond-Tooke 1962: 97). Thus chief Danisile,

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Note: m.s. - man speaking
w.s. - woman speaking

RELATIONSHIP	ADDRESS	REFERENCE	RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP	ADDRESS	REFERENCE
Father	<u>Bawo</u> , or <u>Tata</u>	<u>bawo</u> , or <u>utata</u> (my father) <u>uyihlo</u> (your father) <u>uyise</u> (his father)	Son	<u>Nyana</u>	<u>unyana</u>
Mother	<u>Ma</u> , <u>Mama</u> , <u>Mha</u>	<u>uma</u> , <u>umama</u> (my mother) <u>unyoko</u> (your mother) <u>unina</u> (his mother)	Daughter	<u>Ntombi</u>	<u>intombi</u>
Brother (elder)	<u>Mntakabawo</u> , <u>Mkhu- luwe</u> (or -a)	<u>umkhuluwe</u> (or -a)	Son	<u>Nyana</u> <u>Ntombi</u>	<u>unyana</u> <u>intombi</u>
Father's Brother	<u>Bawo</u> , or <u>Tata</u>	<u>ubawokazi</u> or <u>utata</u> ; <u>Elder Brother</u> = ² <u>ubawomkhulu</u> ; <u>Younger Brother</u> = ³ <u>ubawomncinci</u>	Daughter	<u>Mntakabawo</u> <u>Mninawe</u> (or -a) <u>Dade wethu</u>	<u>umninawe</u> (or -a) <u>udade wethu</u>
Father's Elder Brother's wife	<u>Mamomkhulu</u> , <u>Mama</u> , <u>Ma</u>	<u>umama</u> , <u>uni</u> ?, <u>umamomkhulu</u>	Brother (younger)	(son) <u>Nyana</u> (daughter) <u>Ntombi</u>	<u>unyana</u> <u>intombi</u>
Father's Younger	<u>Mama</u> , <u>Ma</u> , <u>Mamomncinci</u>	<u>umamomncinci</u>	Sister ¹		
			Brother's child		
			Husband's brother's child	(son) <u>Nyana</u> (daughter) <u>Ntombi</u>	<u>unyana</u> ⁴ <u>intombi</u>

1. She has a reciprocal relationship with her younger brother too, of course, and refers to him as umninawe.

2. lit. big father.

3. lit. little father.

4. Adding unyana womkhuluwe or - womninawe, intombi yomkhuluwe or - ymninawe, according to whether their father was older or younger than his brother.

(cont.)

RELATIONSHIP	ADDRESS	REFERENCE	RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP	ADDRESS	REFERENCE
Mother's sister's husband	<u>Bawo</u>	<u>umyeni kamakazi</u>	Wife's sister's child		(son) <u>umtsha-</u> <u>na</u> (daughter) <u>umtshanakazi</u>
Mother's sister's child	<u>Kanina</u>	<u>ukanina</u>	----	---	---
Father's father ⁶	<u>Bawomkhulu</u> ⁷ <u>Makhulu</u>	<u>ubawomkhulu</u> <u>umakhulu</u>	Grandchild (either sex)	<u>Mtanam</u> , <u>Mzukulwana</u> <u>Mtanomtanam</u>	<u>umzukulwana</u>
Father's mother	<u>Makhulu</u>	<u>umakhulu</u>	(ditto)	(ditto)	(ditto)
Mother's father	<u>Makhulu</u>	<u>umakhulu</u> , or <u>ubawomkhulu</u>	(ditto)	(ditto)	(ditto)
Husband	<u>Myeni</u> , or <u>Ndoda</u>	<u>umyeni</u> , or <u>indoda</u>	Wife	<u>Mfazi</u>	<u>umfazi wam</u> , or <u>inkosika-</u> <u>zi yam</u>
Wife's father	<u>Bawo</u>	<u>ubawo usomfazi</u>	Daughter's husband (m.s.)		<u>umyana ozek'</u> <u>intombi yam</u>
Wife's mother	<u>Ma</u> , or <u>Mama</u>	<u>uma</u> , <u>umama</u> , <u>umazala</u> , or <u>umamazala</u>	Daughter's husband (w.s.)	<u>Mtaram</u>	<u>umkhwenyama</u> , or <u>umyeni</u> <u>wentombi</u>
Husband's father	<u>Bawo</u>	<u>ubawo</u> , <u>ubawozala</u>	Son's wife (m.s.)	<u>Mtshakazi</u> (bride)	<u>umtshakazi</u> , or <u>umoloka-</u> <u>zana</u>
Husband's mother	<u>Ma</u> , or <u>Mama</u>	<u>uma</u> , <u>umazala</u> , or <u>umama-</u> <u>zala</u>	Son's wife (w.s.)	(ditto)	(ditto)
Wife's brother	<u>Mlanya</u> , or <u>Sibali</u>	<u>umlanya</u> , or <u>usibali</u>	Sister's husband (m.s.)	<u>Sibali</u>	<u>usibali</u>

6. Father's father's father (great grandfather) = ukhokho, "ancestor".7. Old Xhosa as a usage for grandfather, according to Kropf - Godfrey's A Kafir-English Dictionary.

(cont.)

RELATIONSHIP	ADDRESS	REFERENCE	RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP	ADDRESS	REFERENCE
Wife's sister	Mlanyakazi, Dade wethu, Sibali	umlanyakazi, udade wethu usibali, or usibalikazi	Sister's husband (w.s.)	Sibali Myeni wam Yise ka - Yise ka -	usibali umyeni womn- takwethu uyise ka - umyeni wendo- dakazi
Wife's brother's wife	Sibali, Mlanyakazi	usibali, umlanyakazi	Husband's sister's husband		
Husband's elder brother	Yise ka -	umkhuluwe (or -a)	Younger brother's wife (m.s.)	By umzi name	umkamninawe, umninawekazi
Husband's younger brother	Bhuti	umninawe (or -a) wendo- da yam, or ubhuti omn- cinci	Older brother's wife (m.s.)	(ditto)	umkamkhuluwe, umkhuluwekazi
Husband's elder sister	Nina ka -, Ndodakazi, or Sisi	indodakazi, or indodakazi enkulu	Younger brother's wife (w.s.)	By married name	umkamnakwethu
Husband's younger sister	By name, or Ndodakazi, zi	indodakazi, or indodakazi encinci	Older brother's wife (w.s.)	Sisi	usisi, umkhu- luwakazi
Wife's sister's husband	Mnakwethu, By name	umnakwethu, umyeni wom- lanyakazi	---	---	---
Husband's elder brother's wife	Nina ka -	umkamkhuluwe	Husband's younger brother's wife		umkamninawe
Son's wife's parents	Mkhozi	umkhozi	Daughter's husband's parents	Mkhozi	umkhozi

Note

The following terms I obtained from one old and well-informed man of the Lungu clan (who live among the Tshezi, Tshomane and Bomvana peoples). I did not have the opportunity to check them thoroughly, and therefore I list them separately:-

(cont.)

Grandfather:

uMakhulu (Great one)

Grandmother:

uMa-⁸khulu (Great mother)

Great-grandfather:

uMakhul' omkhulu (Great, great one)

Great-grandmother:

uMa-⁸khul' omkhulu (Great, great mother)

(The above used for both paternal and maternal grandparents).

Eldest son:

unyana wam' omkhulu (my great son), or

owamazibulo (who was first-born), or

indlamafa (who eats the inheritance, i.e. the heir).

ngonyana bam' basemva kopyan' omkhulu (my sons who are after my great son).

Younger sons:

ozemva komkhulu (who comes after the great one).

Second son:

ozemva ngozemva womkhulu (who comes after him who comes after the great one), or

Third son:

ophakathi (who is within, in the midst).

Youngest son:

unyana wam' omncinci, wamaphelo (my son who is little, of the ends).

Eldest daughter:

intombi yam' enkulu (my great daughter).

Younger daughter:

intombi yam' ez' emva kwenkulu (my daughter who comes after the great one), or

ephakathi (is in the midst).

Youngest daughter:

intombi encinci, eyamaphelo (the little daughter, of the ends).

Grandson by eldest son:

unyana.wam' oza emva komkhulu (my son who comes after my great son)

Mother's brother:

ubkuti.

Mother's sisters:

odade bomama (the sisters of mother). "I call them all mama (mother)". Her eldest sister udade bomama omkhulu (the great sister of mother); second sister, udade bomam' ophakathi (my mother's middle sister); youngest sister, udade bomam' omncinci (my mother's little sister).

Father's brothers:

all called by women ubawo or ubhuti omncinci (little father or boetie, Dutch), but by men utat' omncinci (little daddy). As with mother's sisters, they are distinguished as omkhulu (gr.at) emva komkhulu (after the great one), ophakathi (who is in the midst), and omncinci, wamaphelo (who is little, of the ends).

Father's sisters:

each ubawokazi, again differentiated as "great", "in the midst", or "at the end."

8. The hyphen indicates a pause between the two parts of the word.

CHAPTER XI

FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE

As has been said, a young married couple usually live first at the homestead of the groom's father. If the groom is the eldest son, he may continue living there until his father dies and he inherits the homestead together with the privileges and responsibilities of headship. If the father becomes old and enfeebled, he may hand over to his son his responsibilities and spend the declining years of his life peacefully under his care. On the other hand the eldest son may move out to establish his own homestead, and leave the care of his father to a younger brother. Then later he may place his own eldest son in his grandfather's home, to grow up there and inherit the estate in due course.

1. Daily Life in a Homestead.

i. In former times the huts of the homestead were arranged in a crescent, the horns of which converged on the cattle-kraal. The space between huts and kraal was the nkundla or courtyard. Nowadays to save space the huts are set in a straight line facing the kraal, and the courtyard is narrower. As it is most unusual now for a Tshezi, even a chief, to have more than three wives, there are just three huts or houses (besides kitchen or store huts) which are of any importance. These are the great house, the righthand house, and the supporting house of the great house. The husband spends time with each of his wives in turn, but must try not to show undue preference if he wants domestic peace.

Very few Tshezi, however, have even these three houses. As most men have but one wife, they have but one house or nuclear family; and the entire homestead may consist of but a single hut and a store-hut, with or without a cattlefold. The average number of huts per Tshezi homestead in a sampling of 640 Tshezi homesteads was 2.2.

HUT¹ CENSUS OF NINE TSHEZI LOCALITIES²
IN THE LOWER NENGA AREA

Locality ²	Sub-Headman	No. of Homesteads	No. of Huts	Average Huts per Homestead ³	Largest No. of Huts in one Homestead	Commonest No. of Huts in one Homestead
Rini	Zweliwile	87	185	2	6	1
Kham	Jongiramba	45	90	2	5	2
Jonga	Mvimbo Tafangile	43	86	2	4	2
Ngogo	Mthintsilana	78	185	2	5	2
Gazini	Bambilanga	59	152	3	5	3
EmaGcalekeni	Mqhunuwana	106	237	2	4	2
Lutshini	Madeshane	63	119	2	4	1
Qhogi	Jongezweni	106	253	1	7	2
Lalini	Khaliphile	53	111	2	5	2

1 Excluding kitchen-huts.

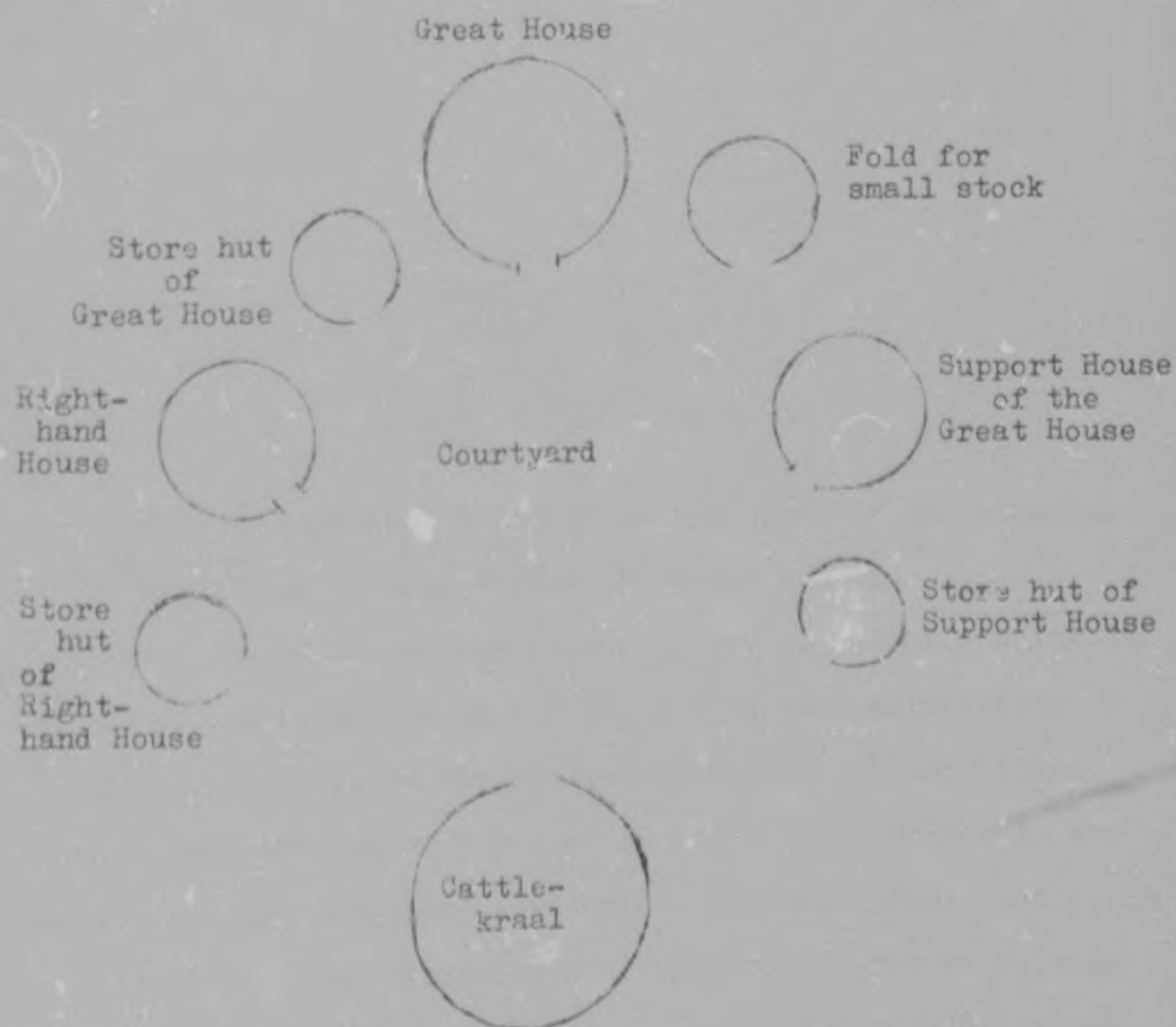
2 Throughout this work "locality" is used in its special sense of a sub-division of an administrative area: see p. 52, lines 17-24.

3 Reckoned to nearest whole number.

It is usual among the Tshezi, for the great hut to stand facing the entrance to the cattle-kraal. Where the other huts stand in relation to it is no longer a live issue; not only because now so few Tshezi are polygynists, but because those who do have more than one wife almost always build a separate homestead for the righthand wife at least. Two positions are possible (which I shall call A and B). The first is (or used to be) favoured by the Xhosa (Hoernle in Schapera 1937: 75) and the Mpondo (Hunter 1961: 16); the second by the Zulu (Krige 1950: 40-41) and the Bomvana (Cook n.d.: 14).

Fig. 8

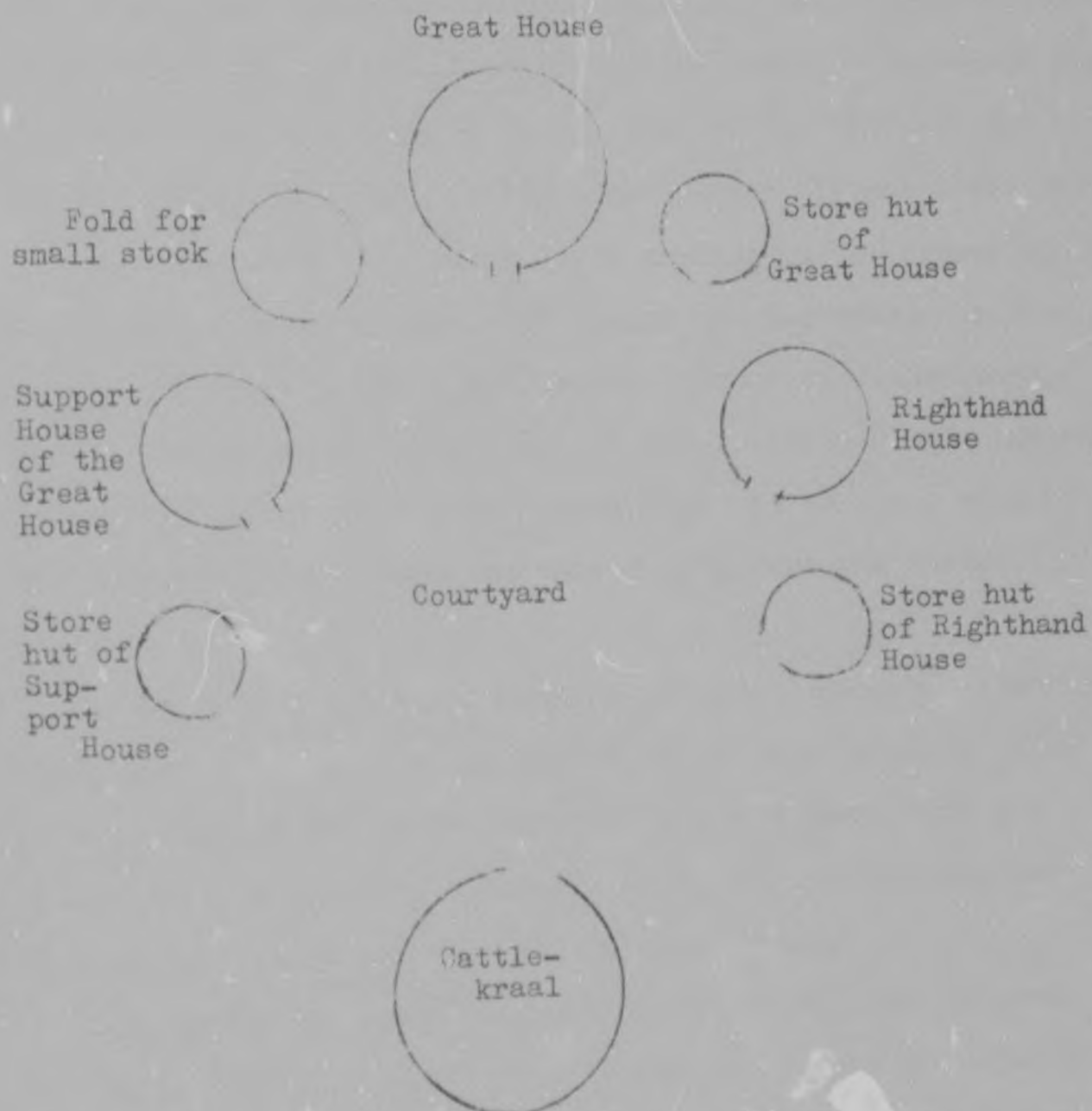
Position A. (Xhosa and Mpondo)



Here the righthand house is on the right from the point of view of one standing in the doorway of the great house looking toward the cattle-kraal.

Fig. 9

Position B. (Zulu and Bomvana)



Here the righthand house is on the right of one standing at the kraal and looking toward the great house.

A census of Tshezi homesteads to try to discover which of these two positions was preferred, proved most unrewarding. Hut positions betrayed the greatest confusion, and sometimes their arrangement seemed a matter of utter indifference to the owner. "We are confused", said some, "because this practice is no longer observed: there are no longer people who marry many wives." "Huts have no fixed position" said others; "they are placed as a person pleases." It is significant that this is precisely the case with the Swazi too, to whom the Tshezi are related and from whose territory they seem originally to have

come (p. 3). Kuper says: "Rigid allocation of wives on the left- and right-hand sides of the main hut, an indication of status amongst most South-eastern Bantu, is only found in southern Swaziland, where Zulu influence is strong. Elsewhere the arrangement depends largely on the whim of the head man and his mother, and a great deal of latitude obtains" (Kuper 1947: 39).

Whether there ever was a rigid arrangement of houses among the Tshezi, and if so what, are things now impossible to discover. Of thirty-eight older people, including councillors, whom I interrogated, twenty said it was Position B and eighteen as stoutly maintained it was position A. It is clear that it has been many years since any such arrangement was strictly maintained.¹

ii. Turning to the daily schedule of activities, one observes that this is not divided by rigidly fixed meal times as with Whites. Tshezi eat as and when the pangs of hunger and the chance of food dictate, though as a general rule morning and especially evening are the most favoured times.

In winter the women get up soon after daylight and cook for their families. Later after eating the people disperse to various duties or pleasures. Girls go to the woods to collect firewood. At mid-morning the older people make for the trading store or a beer-drink if there is one not too far away, and spend the main part of the day there, trading or sipping beer,

1. Information from one man even suggested that "left" and "right" had less to do with the spatial position of the huts than with the fact that the "righthand" son was the protector of the great house until the eldest son of that house, or one from its supporting house, inherited, whereupon he (the righthand son) moved out to establish his own homestead. He may thus have been the "righthand" in much the same way as a European speaks of one on whom he depends as his "righthand man". Yet spatial position must have been important too, for he said the righthand son must have his right hand toward the great house, i.e. Position B.



(Tshezi)

Young Women on
the Way to the
Trading Store.

Eyes ornamented
with white clay.



(Thembu in Tsheziland)

Culture Contact
and Change

School influence
(clothes) superim-
posed on Red
tribalism (painted
face).

(Tshezi)

Married Woman
at Store.

Note built-up
head-dress.
(Blanket em-
broidered at
the back).



idling and gossiping. As cattle are not folded at night in winter, boys round them up in the morning to see that none has strayed away in the night, and then check them again toward evening. Cows to be milked will be brought to the kraal for that purpose, while the rest of the herd may be left in view on a neighbouring hillside. Towards sunset girls or women light fires and set pots on them to cook the main meal of the day.

Spring and summer are much busier times. No one sleeps late - all rise betimes to their allotted tasks: some to hoeing or ploughing, later on to weeding and cultivating the fields, while girls cook for the workers. Now the boys are out all day herding on the veld to keep stock out of the fields.

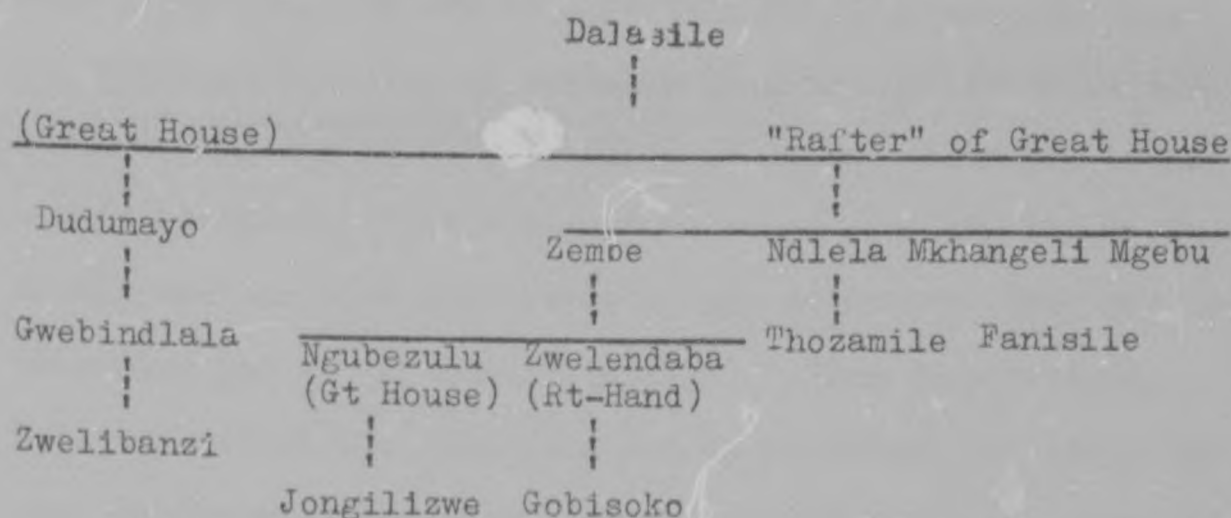
In both summer and winter, the family is re-united at the evening meal. If the weather is fine, it will take place out-of-doors, men, women and children eating together in the courtyard. If the weather is inclement, it will be eaten in a hut. As the people enter the hut, women take their places to the right, men and boys to the left of the doorway. This division has to do with the fact that, if strangers come, the men rise and open the door with their left hand, so that the women are shielded behind it while the men have their right arms free for defence if necessary.

2. Dress.

In olden times Tshezi men's wear was simple in the extreme. Skins (karosses) were used to keep out cold and wet. In fair weather even these might be laid aside at home or in the field. A man was dressed so long as he wore a prepuce-cover. To be without that was a disgrace. These covers were of two kinds. The first (called an isidle) was a sheath of sewn sheepskin, sometimes with a long string of the same material dangling from the tip. It covered most of the male member and was worn mainly

Fig. 7

Lineage Relationships in Ritual



Dalasile was chief of the Tshomane. Zwelibanzi died some years ago and was succeeded by a younger brother, Dalingozi (p. 30, footnote).

In the supporting house of Dalasile's great house, Jongilizwe is the great-grandson of Dalasile. Dalasile's great son of this supporting house, Zembe, is dead, and so are both Zembe's own great son Ngubezulu and his righthand son Zwelendaba. Authority therefore devolves on Thozamile, eldest son of Ndlela (deceased), Zembe's younger brother. Jongilizwe and Gobisoko call Thozamile "little father", because he is of a junior house to those of their own fathers. Thozamile calls them "my children" (bantwana bam).

When the time came for Jongilizwe's seclusion and circumcision, Thozamile was away working on the gold mines, so Fanisile his younger brother took his place in making all the arrangements. Then, just as the ukojiswa ritual was about to be held, Thozamile returned; but he asked his younger brother to finish out the initiation rites for Jongilizwe. After Jongilizwe's initiation, Fanisile was planning to go to the mines himself, when Thozamile would resume his role as head of the supporting house of the great house.

But all male members of the lineage were not yet there. Some could not come. Mkhangelili's son and Mgebu's son had

by old men. Then there was one which was worn by younger men and was made of a small gourd. The gourd was allowed to become old and dry, and then was scooped out and worn over the glans. It was called an iqhaga.

These things have almost if not entirely passed away, except in the case of abakhwetha, who wear a sheepskin prepuce-cover like that of the old men, called utwitsha (though the terms isidla and ingxiba are also used for it). One informant, a School man who worked as a shop assistant, told me that it was as recently as in 1961 that the local males suddenly decided to emulate those returning from working in the mines and in Natal, and the wearing of trousers became the rage. Then the prepuce-covers passed out of use, largely though not entirely.

Instead of trousers, boys and young men also often wear an isi(t)shuba, which is a robe of brightly-coloured cotton material reaching from waist to ankle. Or they may wear a towel (ilewuli) around their loins and upper legs. Young boys wear boxer shorts, and a very few men use them for underpants, but very little of the latter kind of underwear is used by Reds, whether men or women. Shirts are sometimes worn, and blankets are invariably draped about the upper part of the body. Beadwork is made for men by their wives or sweethearts and is worn at dances and feasts.

Hats or brightly-coloured woollen caps are bought at stores, but they may have to be modified. A young man of about 25 to 30 years said he would have to cut the pom-pom off the top of one which I saw him buy, because this was worn only by old men. If he wore it, he would be scolded for pretending to belong to an older age-set and for hankering after honours not his due. However some young men apparently pay no attention to this, as I have seen them wearing these caps, pom-pom and all.

The Tshezi women too have long since abandoned costumes

of skins and hides. Ox-hide skirts were still, until recently, brought out for the umngqunggo dances at the intonjane ceremonies. However I never saw them at intonjane ceremonies that I attended in 1968, though they are said still to be used on such occasions in Bomvanaland. Nor do women and girls as a rule any longer wear the small bead apron (inkciyo), of former days.

Married women now wear an outer braided skirt (umbhaco) with a short under-skirt (utoliweya). A breast-cover (incebetha) of braided sheeting, with shredded ends and hung with black beads, is being replaced by an isi(ishuba), which is sheeting about a yard in length worn round the torso. Girls and young women wear a headkerchief (iqhiya), usually of a plain black colour, wound round their heads. Brides wear the same black headkerchief, but flat on the crown of the head with the sides hanging down all around and over the face. Older women build up this head-dress to a large turban effect by wearing either two or three headkerchiefs folded together or by winding about their heads such materials as towels, old vests and small blankets, sometimes with a headkerchief over them.

Young girls wear a very short skirt (unomtishi), like the under-skirt of the older women. It is not braided. Instead of the incebetha on their upper bodies, they wear a blouse or a crew-neck T-shirt.

Women and girls alike wear beads (especially at festivities) and arm-bangles (imiliza) of wire or of plastic tubing, which has almost entirely replaced wire.

The ibhayi, or istofu, made of sheeting and braided across the back, with the braid often further adorned with buttons and strings of beads, is worn by women as a robe over their other clothes. In winter they often have two or three such robes, one on top of another.

Women and girls often wear a raglan sweater, called uwaxa.



(Tshomaneland)

Men of Abe-
Lungu Clan

in trousers,
blankets, hat
and woollen
cap.

(Tshezi)

Widow's Weeds

severely white, not
embroidered or
braided; no neck-
laces, bracelets, or
anklets worn.



At Christmas time the older girls break out into a veritable rash of gay clothes: hats and short dresses of cotton materials of many bright colours not worn at other times; startlingly bright anklets of purple, blue and yellow; and plastic shoes.

3. Dances and Parties.

When not busy with fieldwork or other occupations, the Tshezi are much given to dances, parties and beer-drinks.

1. Itshawe is a party of the Reds. The man giving it invites his friends from various places, requesting each of them in turn to invite all their friends as well - the more the better.

Beer is brewed; and on the day appointed abafana (post-circumcision young men) and amankazana (unattached females) arrive in all their bead-work, with the women in white blankets, which is the recognised party dress. No married women attend; "though their husbands do", as one married woman remarked resentfully.

A container is provided for gifts of money to the head of the homestead, who is giving the party. Each person is expected to throw in a contribution. Some put in as much as R2. The owner of the umzi watches, and, if the amount given is enough to warrant it, he kills a beast for meat. Sometimes, it is said, as much as R120, or even more, may be contributed at an itshawe party.

The people give themselves up to pleasure - eating meat, drinking beer, playing, talking, dancing and sweethearting. The women dance according to a Mpondo style, called ukusina, which consists mostly of stamping the feet and shaking the body up and down.

Those who take part in the activities and make contributions are the honoured guests and are called amatshawe. Tshawe

is the name of the much-respected ruling clan of the Xhosa people (Soga 1930: 104-06), so this is doubly an appellation of honour. Others come just to look on (ukubukela) without paying anything. They sit at a respectful distance and receive "hand-outs" of beer and meat, if they are lucky enough to be invited over by a friend among the tshawe.

The party starts in the day time, but may continue all night.

ii. Ipotsoyi is a party of young School people. It takes place when some young person decides that he would like to make some money for himself and at the same time provide enjoyment for others. He announces that on a certain day he will give a party at his home, and he lays in a stock of things to offer for sale, such as brandy, oranges, utywala beer and soft drinks.

When the day comes, he will ask one of the other young people to sit at the table and preside over the rest as chairman. He will request another to serve as usher, to show the people where to sit and to collect the entrance fee from them.

Before the party begins, the chairman calls the people to order and explains what the gathering is all about, and the price of the things offered for sale, and informs them of the identity of the one giving the party. He then declares the affair open, and each one spends his money as he chooses. Sometimes someone buys something and another, in fun, forestalls him by taking it from under his nose for a higher price. Or one may put down 10 cents for someone else to dance or sing, and another may offer 20 cents for him to desist! Music is provided by guitar or accordion; and people again vie with one another in paying the performers to play. They jive and dance all night. However, a potsoyi only lasts one night - from about 8 p.m. to 5 a.m. When morning comes, the chairman closes the proceedings, and the

amount of the takings is announced.

The name ipotsoyi has been appropriated also by the Reds for a party at which beer is sold. A man gets permission from the headman to hold a beer party to make money by selling beer. Permission, if granted, is for that one occasion only, though it may be asked for again and granted more than once, even within the same month. The headman each time fixes the size of the can of beer to be used² and the price to be charged for it. Those attending the party, if friends of the one giving it and anxious to help him will, try to promote merriment and the making of money in all sorts of artful ways. Thus when one man goes to buy his can of beer for the stipulated 15 cents, another may playfully step up and offer 20 cents to snatch it up before he gets it. It goes to the highest bidder. Each time a headman gives permission for one of these parties, he must be rewarded with a portion of beer for himself.

iii. Intlombe. This has already been described at the end of chapter VIII, pp. 132-137.

4. Beer-Drinks.

Beer drinking is the principal pastime of the Tshezi, and the week-ends are especially favoured for this purpose.

The biggest beer-drinks are, as a rule, the imigidi of two days' duration which conclude the khwetha and intonjane initiation rites of the young men and women respectively. These are sometimes attended by as many as 600 to 800 people. When the beer is ready for an umgidi, people begin to arrive in the morning to be ready for the distribution of the beer at noon. The owner of the homestead may have asked a number of friends to help him by brewing beer to add to his own,

2. Several standard sizes of cans are sold in trading stores.

and it is this beer which is drunk first at the different homesteads of the helpers. Each person is given a can of beer, called izichiki (dregs), as he arrives. After this, he goes on to the homestead where the umgidi is being held. Here a preliminary barrel of beer called umtsho³ is dispensed. But whereas izichiki are for all and sundry, umtsho is solely for those who live in this administrative "locality" (ilali). If the party is not large enough to require assistance from neighbours, the izichiki too will be distributed at the main homestead.

When the first beer has been drunk, the men of the homestead go and confer (ukubhunga) in the cattlefold, and decide how to apportion the beer. People are grouped according to their iinkabi (plural of inkabi, an ox) which are groups based on common residence.

A chief has a favourite ox, after which he calls a group of men living in proximity to him and whom he wishes to associate with himself at beer parties. In the early days such names often became attached in turn to localities in which chiefs settled. In Tsheziland there are two recognised royal residences, Qhogi and Gazini, still occupied by men of royal lineage, pending the coming-of-age of Ngqungelisamana the heir to the chieftainship (pp. 24-25). The two "localities" (i.e. sub-divisions of an administrative area under their own sub-headmen) where these residences are situated are also alluded to as eQhogi and eGazini. These are among the oldest and most permanent iinkabi names of Tsheziland. "They never change." Names of other localities may be those of petty chiefs whom an early chief settled there as headmen or sub-headmen. Other iinkabi arose as the

3. I was unable to obtain any meaning of this word. According to Kropf's dictionary this beer was given, among the Xhosa, to a chief or a headman.

population grew and more men chose names for themselves and their beer associates. New names are added still, as sons ask "to leave a father's inkabi" (ukuphuma kwinkabi woyise), and choose names of their own.

To effect this a beer party is arranged jointly by father and son, their wives both brewing for it, at which the father announces that he is releasing his son from his inkabi, and the son announces his choice of a different name for himself and his group. The name may be that of an ox he owns, or any other name he pleases. The reason for starting a new inkabi may be ambition on the part of a son, tension in a previous group, or simply that the older group became inconveniently large.

Tshezi iinkabi include Bhongo, Bhungu, Botho, Botho Osemthatha, Dephula, Dunga, Dinga, Gambushe, Geba, Mali, Mlonyi, Mlovu, Mnyamandawo, Mganu, Nzila, Ngogo, Nltongozo, Nqutheni, Ncothso, Ngolothi, Qawu, Qwambhu, Qam, Rhini, Sizi, Somaloshe, Shiya, Thengisa and Vunduza. Older names may survive as locality names, or disappear entirely.⁴

After the consultation in the cattle-kraal, three or four men are asked to go out into the nkundla at short intervals and call out the iinkabi names. Sometimes they use also names of geographical regions from which the people come, like Mpako, if they have not come in iinkabi groups. Each iinkabi (or group of iinkabi, if some have been combined) receives a portion of beer. Each group is enjoined to look out for neighbours, who may not have an inkabi name, and for travellers. One bag of maize is said to be enough to make five barrels of beer.

4. The only reference to iinkabi I have found in the literature about the Nguni is in Cook n.d.: 18-26. Iinkabi names he says may be descriptive from names of oxen, and clan (isiduko) names. Of the last sort was Kham, the name of the white woman from over the sea which was adopted as the clan name of her descendants (p. 20 this work).

The Tshezi are proud of their hospitality. The larger the company assembled at a man's homestead to drink his beer, the better he is pleased. It gives him prestige.

At an ungidi to mark the emergence of ten abakhwetha from their initiation rites, to which I was invited by Zwelandile, a Tshomane headman, hundreds were gathering from every quarter. Zwelandile was delighted. He led me to one part of the nkundla to show me how many were seated there, stretching away behind the cattlefold, then to another spot to show me what a large crowd was there. He waved his arms at the surrounding ridges, over which groups of men could be seen approaching with sticks held aloft. "Bafote! bafote!" (Photograph them! photograph them!) he cried, pointing to my camera. He wanted the world to know what huge parties he gave.

CHAPTER XII

LAND AND PROPERTY

Tsheziland covers an area of 67 square miles. It is fine, rolling, grass-covered country that descends to the sea in the same sort of wild beauty as the country near Ixopo in Natal, so lyrically described by Alan Paton in the opening pages of Cry the Beloved Country. The hills fold in on one another, and in the valleys and gorges between them there are wooded streams. These often run dry in the summer, but not the larger rivers, the Umtata, the Maphuzi, the Nenga, the Mpako and the Mncwasa. Besides the innumerable indigenous groves, where trees can be cut by permission of the chief, there are larger forests (chief of which is the Gxwaleni) which are Government-controlled and reserved.

The climate of Tsheziland is salubrious. Days are warm and sunny, hot in January and February, and nights temperate, with a tendency to chilliness in June and July. The Weather Bureau gives the following figures for Port St John's,¹ which is about forty-five miles further up the coast in Pondoland.

Daily maximum average ;	23.2 °C
Daily minimum average :	16.7 °C
Maximum and minimum :	6.5 °C

The Transkei contains some of the best farm land in the country and has an average rainfall of about 35 inches (889.0 mm) a year, compared with an average of 17½ inches (44.45 mm) for South Africa as a whole.² No separate figures are available for Tsheziland.

Following are the rainfall figures for Mqanduli, in whose coastal district Tsheziland is situated.

1. The Climate of South Africa, Part I. 1954. Government Printer, Pretoria.
2. The Transkei (Government brochure) n.d., p. 21.

Fig. 10	<u>Annual Rainfall, Mganduli³</u> (in millimetres)	
	1946	641.6
	1947	731.0
	1948	687.8
	1949	584.5
	1950	780.5
	1951	495.6
	1952	675.1
	1953	639.1
	1954	774.9
	1955	728.4
	1956	858.3
	1957	739.1
	1958	820.1
	1959	904.8
	1960	830.4

The forests provide the people with poles for dwellings, bushes for cattle-kraals, sticks for weapons, implements, and sleighs. In earlier and less peaceful times the forests themselves were refuges into which people ran to conceal themselves from the forays of enemy tribes. The long grass of the hillslopes provides thatch, while other varieties provide materials for making mats and baskets. Clays of the seashore and the valleys provided them with what they needed to make pots in the days when they made their own, and with ornamentation for their bodies, a practice to which they are still addicted. Fruits, berries, roots and leaves are eaten, or used as "medicines" in the rituals prescribed by their diviners. Rocks and stones are made into implements for grinding corn. Animal skins once provided clothing, but now are sold to traders for the money needed to meet the requirements of a cash economy. The twenty miles or so of coastline provide fish, oysters, mussels, octopus and other seafoods, which once the Tshezi would not eat at all, but in

3. From the District Record Book (Item 17) in Magistrate's Office, Mganduli.

recent years have learnt to eat increasingly.

The Tshezi use the land both for grazing their stock and growing crops. The land belongs to the tribe, represented by its chiefs and headmen, and also to those who once lived on it, but have become ancestral spirits and continue to be vitally interested in it.

The land is held in trust by the chief, who is "master of the land", and may not alienate it. It contains the graves of the ancestors, and he must guard it and hand it on intact as he received it. He may not even grant the use of it, except as the representative and by the implied suffrage of his people. If a stranger comes (and is approved) he may be allotted a place to dwell and so become a member of the tribe, but that is all. His allotment is not his to sell to someone else, though his heirs may inherit his right of occupation. If he or they should leave the land, it would fall back into commonage, to be re-allocated by the chief.

The earlier South African governors and explorers did not understand this. "Who owns the land?" they inquired, and being told it was the chief (Mair 1965: 138; Hunter 1961: 112) went off to see him. In return for recovering stolen cattle or by means of some other negotiation, they obtained permission to use a part of the land. To make assurances doubly sure, they drew up a document which the chief and his people could not read, in a language they could not understand, signed it themselves, and then the chief "held the pen" or was assisted to make a cross ("his mark"). They were convinced they had thus secured freehold title to the land for themselves and their heirs in perpetuity, just as if this had been a similar transaction in England or in Holland. They did not understand that when the royal hand was waved over hill and valley, permission to occupy was all that was being accorded.

A Tshezi thus looks across the rolling acres of Tshezi-land and thinks proudly: "All this is ours. When it stood empty we acquired it by negotiation with the Gcaleka and the Thembu, and we have held it inviolate for generations" (in fact, about 150 years).

Formerly when the Tshezi were still a small group and land was plentiful, a man could find land almost anywhere he chose. But today things are different. The people have increased (a matter of pride) but the land is small (a matter of regret). Neither headman nor chief any more, and not even the tribal authority as a whole, may authorise occupation of allotments but only the Bantu Affairs Commissioner (though usually on their recommendation) and a residential site provides only sufficient room for a man's homestead (huts, cattle-kraal and garden): it must not exceed half a morgen in extent, except with the prior approval of the Secretary for the Interior of the Transkei Government.

As well as applying for a residential site, a Tshezi man applies for a field or fields for his wife or wives. The produce provides the food for her own house (indlu), the children begotten by the husband whom she shares with the other wives. The applicant for an arable site follows the same routine as for a residential site, perhaps speeding his application through the tribal orders of authority by gifts of brandy, money or stock, till it reaches the Magistrate or Bantu Affairs Commissioner. If he in turn agrees to it, he sends down an African police constable to "chain" (ukutshey-ina)⁴ i.e. to measure off the field. In the case of an applicant for an arable allotment, the headman must first register the applicant's wife in the records of the Bantu Affairs

4. It is thought the term arose from the circumstance that once a length of chain was used for measuring. Now a tape is used.

Commissioner.⁵

Arable sites may not exceed 5 morgen, but few are so large. The average is said to be 3 morgen. Usually these fields are at some distance from the homestead. They are not fenced, but if two fields are adjacent to each other, a line of tall grass (idobo) will be left growing between them as a boundary line. There is no Government regulation requiring the fencing of either fields or gardens. All the law requires is that the allotment holder shall provide, erect and maintain to the satisfaction of the magistrate suitable beacons marking off the limits of his allotment. However the gardens are fenced, either with wire or (more often) with bushes or aloe plants. This is required of the people by the chief and his council(inkundla), who will not ordinarily entertain a complaint of animals trespassing in a garden if the owner has not troubled to enclose it adequately.

When crops are growing in the fields, herdboys are required to keep stock out of them. The redress, in case of damage, is for the owner to chase the herdboys and give them a thrashing, if he can catch them. A charge for damages may also be laid now in the magistrate's court, but is not often done.

When the harvest has been reaped, the fields are treated as commonage until the next ploughing season. The cattle browse through them at will. In fact the fallow fields (ama-diza) are preferred by the stock because of the luxuriant growth of succulent weeds which they produce in these winter months.

When allotments have been made of residential and arable sites, certificates of occupation are issued and entries made in the relative land registers kept in the magistrate's office,

5. I am grateful for much information here to Mr P.J.L. Botha, Magistrate and Bantu Affairs Commissioner of Mqanduli district.

giving the man's name, tax identity number, area of allotment, the maximum cattle units the allotment holder is permitted to graze, and the dates when the allotments were granted.

Residential sites are on top of hills, along the rib-like ridges and even on steep slopes. Such sites are dry - comparatively free from the heavy dews and fogs of the valleys. Conversely the valleys and especially the river-banks are preferred for arable sites on account of the rich, loamy soil which has been washed down into them for centuries and because of the more copious moisture which they contain.

Now, however, owing to the population explosion and the consequent land scarcity fields are to be found everywhere, sweeping up the slopes, over the hilltops and even (an unknown thing some years back) reaching down the inclines close to the sea. Abandoned residential sites are coveted for fields, because their soil has been enriched for years by cattle dung, offal, and other leavings of human occupation.

Among the Tshezi and other Transkeian tribes congestion is aggravated by the Republic's policy of sending people back to their homelands. Ten years or so ago population density among the Bhaca was estimated at 82 persons per square mile (Hammond-Tooke 1962: 147). Among the Tshezi today it is 103 per square mile (Magistracy Records) and for the Transkei as a whole 91 to the square mile inclusive of Bantu, Whites and Coloureds.⁶

It will be apparent from what has been written here,

6. The Transkei Annual 1968, 47, gives the following population totals: White, 14,092; Bantu, 1,386,376; and Coloured 11,099, and the total area of the Transkei as 15,512 square miles. It must be noted, however, that the population in the Transkei and Ciskei is very uneven. Some areas have a very low density, others a very high one. If one considers where the people live, one generally finds those areas much higher than the average for the region. Cf. Houghton and Walton 1952: 16.

that much of the old freedom of the chief to allot land as he pleased has disappeared. Considering the almost mystical relationship of the chief to the land, this must involve a considerable lessening of his prestige in the eyes of at least the more perceptive among his people. In that section of the relevant Act which deals with the duties, powers, authorities and functions of chiefs and headmen, no mention is made of recommendations for the granting of land (Transkei Authorities Act 1965, Sect. 42 (1)(a-m)). However, another section of the same Act does state that a tribal authority shall, subject to the provisions of this Act and of any other law, consider and make recommendations to the competent authority (in this case the Bantu Affairs Commissioner) in connection with applications for arable and other allotments (Transkei Authorities Act 1965, Sect. 4 (1)(d)(iii)).

Whereas in former times the right to fields was inherited and could not be forfeited until all members of the kinship group left the district and this right continued even though the field lay fallow for years, these things are no longer so. Now the right of occupation may be cancelled by the magistrate, whereupon the allotments revert to commonage. A Proclamation containing "Location Regulations: Unsurveyed Districts : Transkeian Territories" (Proclamation 26 of 1936, Sect. 9) provides for such cancellation of rights:-

- (a) Upon surrender by the allotment holder;
- (b) Upon the removal of the allotment holder from the location;
- (c) If without sufficient reason (i) the holder of a homestead allotment shall have failed to occupy such allotment for a period of one year or (ii) the holder of an arable allotment shall have failed to cultivate the land during a period of three successive years;
- (d) If the allotment holder shall be more than two years in arrears with any payment of local tax, as imposed by Act 41 of 1925;

- (e) (i) Upon a second or subsequent conviction within 10 years of the allotment holder of the crime of theft of stock; or (ii) if stolen stock has been traced to the Kreaal of the allotment holder - that is so situated as in the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's opinion to afford special facilities for stock theft; provided that nothing in this paragraph contained shall prohibit permission being granted to the allotment holder to occupy another homestead and arable allotment in an approved locality;
- (f) If the allotment has been granted in error or obtained by fraud or mis-representation;
- (h) For Administrative reasons or in the interests of public order or welfare;
- (i) If the allotment falls within the scope of an irrigation scheme, but he will have a preferential claim for another site.

The law also provides for the expropriation of sites in the case of residential or arable allotments interfering with the interests of other persons residing in the same or adjoining localities of the same district, or where the land is required for any public purpose.

There is no individual land tenure anywhere among the Tshezi, or their neighbours the Tshomane and the Bomvana, as there is in some other parts of the Transkei.

The law recognises a man's right to one residential and one arable allotment for each "house", not to exceed four altogether. The Native Taxation Act (No. 41 of 1925, as amended, Section 2 (2)(e)) lays down that the amount payable by any man in respect of local or "hut" tax shall not exceed R4 per annum; and as the tax is levied at the rate of R1 per hut or "house" (occupied by a wife), this means that the legal limit to the number of wives for the allotment of land is four. A man may have as many more wives than that as he pleases, provided he does not expect extra land for their use.

If a family or homestead moves to another administrative area altogether, new fields are granted in the new area and the old allotments are cancelled, to be re-allotted to others.

Ploughing and hoeing begin as soon as the spring rains have fallen in sufficient quantity to soften the ground in September or October.

In 1968 copious rains fell at the beginning of September, and for the first time in eight months the Nenga and the Bomvu rivers at Coffee Bay cut their way through the sand-bars and flowed into the sea. Ploughing began about the 15th of September near the Nenga store. More good rains came later, and by the 26th of October the countryside, especially at the coast, was becoming a vivid green. Yet ploughing was by no means general - most fields still lay fallow. The coastal Tshezi always lag behind in their field work. Ploughing at Coffee Bay began only on October 28th, and it was not in full swing until November 6th.

No particular day is set for field-work to begin, though the chief may announce one day at court, that people should resume cattle-herding as ploughing has begun. "People just start ploughing when they are ready." "People plough when the rains have come." Some morning the air is full of the sound of resonant voices shouting at the oxen as they draw the ploughs across the fields.

Old people living today still remember having heard from their grandparents of the time when fields were prepared for grain by means of digging sticks (izinti). This must have severely offset the advantage of being able to have as much land as one wanted for tilling. Then traders and missionaries introduced the hand-hoe, which was soon widely adopted. The single-furrow plough came next, introduced, it is said, by a missionary (Whiteside 1906: 196). Fields are now most commonly ploughed by this means. Ploughs are drawn by spans of four or six oxen, or sometimes by donkeys with oxen in front. The latest development is to hire tractors from a man

in Mqanduli. Other innovations are single-row ox-drawn planters and two-tine cultivators.

There is a division of field labour between the sexes. Machinery is handled by men, involving as it does haulage by oxen. Women are as a rule debarred from approaching cattle. Hoeing on the other hand is women's work, and despite the prevalence of ploughs, some fields are still hand-hoed. Hoes are also used for weeding between the growing maize plants. Though these divisions of labour are generally maintained, they occasionally break down. A man may help his wife weed a field, or more rarely a woman whose men folk are away at the mines, may put her hand to the plough.

At harvest time there is again a division of labour. Men and boys manage the ox-drawn sleigh, which is taken to the field and loaded with maize cobs. The men may help the women harvest the cobs, but women take them in baskets and empty them into the sleigh.

The Tshezi had no way of distinguishing long divisions of time. Events of long ago, but within memory, were distinguished by relating them to other remembered events. They were said to have occurred at the time of Ngcayechibi's War (1877), or of the death of Rhili ("Kreli") (1893), or of the Rinderpest cattle disease (1897).

For shorter periods they reckoned time according to the changes in nature. From one sowing time to the next was a year. The year had obvious seasonal variations: Spring (eluhlazeni, in the time when things become green); Summer (iHlobo, sameness, when all things are of one sort, viz. green); Autumn (uKwindla, harvest time, from ukudla, to eat); and Winter (uPusika, cutting time, when millet or sorghum, amazimba, is ripe for cutting down).

Besides these four seasons the year was divided into

twelve shorter periods according to the phases of the moon, enabling a Tshezi to talk of "last moon" (inyanga egqitileyo) or "next moon" (inyanga ezayo) or "after so many moons" (emva kwenyang' ezithile).

Under European influence they learnt to distinguish weeks and to give names to the days of the week, as follows:-

<u>uMvulo</u> :	the Opening	(Monday)
<u>uLwesibini</u> :	the Second	(Tuesday)
<u>uLwesithathu</u> :	the Third	(Wednesday)
<u>uLwesine</u> :	the Fourth	(Thursday)
<u>uLwesihlanu</u> :	the Fifth	(Friday)
<u>uMgqibelo</u> :	the Conclusion	(Saturday)
<u>iCawe</u>	(meaning unknown)	(Sunday)

The last name (iCawe) has also the meaning of "church"; and it also came to stand for the whole week, as "last week" (icawe egqithileyo) and "next week" (icawe ezayo). From the Whites too came the word iveki (week).

Now that printing in the vernacular has become commonplace, calendars in Xhosa are to be seen, through which Xhosa names for the "moons" (roughly equivalent to our months) are becoming stereotyped. I give them here, and add a diagram of the main agricultural and social activities that attend them. (See p.216.)

Names for the Months of the Year

Spring. (iNtlakohlaza, or eluHlazen)

September. eyoMsintsi: of the "Kaffirboom" tree (thrina caffra Thunb.)

October. eyeDwara: of the ragwort (Senecio latifolius D.)

November. eyeNkanga: of the larger ragwort (Senecio juniperinus L.). But the Tshezi often say eyoMbaba, "of the Cape Chestnut" (Calodendrum capense (L.f.) Thunb.)

Summer. (iHlobo)

- December. eyoMnga: of the acacia tree (Acacia karroo Hayne)
- January. eyoMqungu: of the "Tambookie" grass (Cymbopogon validus Stapf ex Burt Davy)
- February. eyoMdumba: of the swelling, i.e. of pods on certain trees and of grain on the maize cobs

Autumn. uKwindla

- March. eyoKwindla: of the time of harvesting
- April. uTshazimpuzi: of the frost-biting of pumpkins
- May. ekaCanzibe: of Canopus, the second-brightest star in the sky, seen just before daybreak in May.

Winter. (uBusika)

- June. eyeSilimela: of the Pleiades, "of the time of ploughing" (i.e. wheat)
- July. eyeKhala: of the Cape Aloe (Aloe ferox Mill.)
- August. eyeThupha: of the bud, i.e. when trees begin to bud.

These names are becoming standardised throughout the Xhosa-speaking tribes, but the degree of appositeness of the descriptive names varies in different areas. Thus the erythrina blooms earlier than September in Tsheziland, and no wheat is ploughed there in June or at any other time.

Although land is not owned privately, rights in land are more important to the Tshezi than any form of private ownership. The only rights which approach them in importance are those concerning the "private", or lineage ownership of cattle.

Cattle are owned primarily by the head of the homestead. He may have acquired them by inheritance, by natural increase, as bridewealth for a daughter or a sister, as gifts, in barter,

or in return for services rendered to someone like a chief. But soon others begin to share in their ownership. He apportions some of the cattle among his sons, or among his various houses if he is a polygynist, and thereafter he must consult these others as regards their disposal. He gives to each daughter as she marries, a special cow (inkomo ventambo), and he must provide the cattle necessary for ritual killings for members of his family.

Women acquire cattle in their own right as presents from husband or father, as rewards when daughters are married and are found to be virgins, or in return for services rendered as diviners.

Cattle are a symbol of affluence, which even the new money economy has not so far been able to displace. The Tshezi stress the economic value of their cattle: they labour for a man, drawing his sleigh to the store or his plough across the field; their dung provides a smearing for his hut floors, fuel for his fires and fertilizer for his fields; their meat makes the choicest of feasts; their skins provided a covering before the advent of blankets, and in the market today they are worth many rands.

They stress their social value: by means of cattle a man can acquire wives, and so children to carry on his name; he can give feasts attended by scores, if not hundreds, of his neighbours; he can make presents to honour a headman or chief (from whom favours may be expected in turn); he can acquire prestige as a wealthy man, if he has over 100 of them today, though it took many more than that in the olden days ("Grass and water were plentiful then." "They did not have the droughts we have now." "Whites did not pump water out of our rivers then, as they do now." "Then a man had to have over 300 cattle to be rich.").

Then there is the religious significance of cattle. By

them a man praises his ancestors, makes expiation for wrong he may have ignorantly done, offers sacrifices to ward off sickness or other calamity, and in general projects his influence and power into that other world whither all must go at death.

Then there is their aesthetic value. The Tshezi say: How beautifully they move! How musical their lowing! What could be lovelier than that ox with horns pointing downward on each side of its face (ixhaka)! And what greater joy can be afforded to men and spirits than to see the oxen race home into the yard of a homestead at a girl's initiation rites.

According to the annual report of the Transkeian Government Stock Inspector (Mr A.M. Mbontsi) at Kwaaiman, the 6,879 Mqanduli Tshezi, on June 30, 1968, owned 7,005 head of cattle. They also owned a quantity of small stock. The following gives the figures for the four administrative areas.

Fig. 11

Stock in Tsheziland : June 30, 1968

Area	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Horses	Donkeys	Mules
Lower Nenga	3,846	3,310	3,302	108	47	1
Lower Mpako	1,065	1,848	1,184	25	13	0
Nzulwini	1,098	1,485	976	9	9	0
Mthonjane	996	1,144	1,017	28	0	0
Total	7,005	7,787	6,479	170	69	1

Mr Mbontsi said that "many" homesteads owned no stock at all. In a sampling of 200 homesteads as to cattle owned I found that 15 had none. In another sampling one had 25, another 23, another 22, and 10 had only 1 each. The average per homestead was 7.2. In another sampling of the small stock of 56 homesteads (14 from each of the four administrative areas) I found two homesteads that owned only 2 head each, one that owned 158, while the average was 48.8 head of

T S H E Z I C A L E N D A R

(AGRICULTURE)

Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.
S P R I N G			S U M M E R			A U T U M N			W I N T E R		
Rains fall Tillage increases and spreads to inland Weeding begins	Some rain still Weeding in full progress	Maize half-grown Weeding begins	Green maize on the cob gathered Xoshombe field maize rites Preparations for harvest Maize pits dug or cleared Storage tanks made ready	H a r v e s t i n g					Harvesting coast lands Most fields fallow; cattle cropping weeds and tramping stubble	Veld grass burnt Wild herbs gathered in fields	
(SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES)											
Circumcision rites, building and repair work of winter months gradually decline to a minimum Female initiation rites and beer-drinks continue ⁺	Christ-mas spirit mounts among school people singing groups practice	Period of great heat Activities die down	Initiation rites and beer-drinks revive and increase						Initiation rites flourish. Beer-drinking at its height Building, thatching, repairing huts common		
Cattle are herded to protect fields Building and hut-repairing continue									Cattle allowed to roam fallow fields		

+ Indeed, though beer-drinks are most flourishing in winter following harvest, the brewing of beer from bought or stored grain goes on throughout the year

small stock per homestead.

Since the serious cattle epidemics of Rinderpest and East Coast Fever (c. 1897 - 1910), weekly dipping of cattle has been mandatory. There are dipping tanks by the Maphuzi, the Nenga and the Mpako rivers, while some of the Tshezi dip over the border in Tshomaneland. Sheep are not dipped, as there is no sheep scab in this area. Goats are dipped only when there is mange. Horses and donkeys are not dipped, but are hand-dressed, if they have mange.

Of pedigree stock there is none, the Tshezi putting emphasis on quantity rather than quality. Consequently the yield of milk is poor. "Cattle are not alike," said one informant. "Some give one intshula⁷ of milk, some only half an intshula." Another said, "Once you could get three intshula cans from a single cow, and distribute the cans to three huts. Now you get three jam tins (iinkonxa zejam!") He attributed this decline in milk to the poverty of the grass, due to the coming of sheep. "They eat the grass down short, and the cattle cannot get their tongues around it." A trader agreed, and added that the goats were worse than the sheep in this respect. The increase of sheep and goats and the denudation of bush for firewood all contributed to soil erosion and grass poverty. Old-timers said (and this I also well remember) that dobu grass was once taller than a horse. It is not often like that any more. Even after good rains, the ordinary grass hardly grows ankle-deep (and almost knee-deep), as it used to do. When drought is added, things become serious indeed.⁸

There was a time when the staple diet of the Nguni was meat and milk (Lichtenstein 1812: 300). This ceased to be

7. Intshula: a tin can holding five quarts.

8. "One hundred thousand head of cattle have died in the Transkei from drought in the last six months." Radio report, Feb. 6, 1969.

the case long ago. Yet fifty years ago, though even then maize had long since displaced meat as a diet, sour milk (amasi) in calabashes was still common. I never saw it during my work amongst the Tshezi in 1968. They spoke of it with a sigh, as only a pleasant memory.

The Tshezi are not greatly concerned with rights over property other than land and cattle; and when we talk of the "private" ownership of food, dwellings, clothing, weapons, household utensils and ornaments, this does not necessarily mean "individual" ownership: things may be regarded as the property of the family, the extended family, or even the lineage.

Each wife has her own hut and store hut. She is mistress of her hut and owns or controls its contents. Her husband has right of entry. She has right of occupation of her own field; but she may not dispose of her maize by sale, nor use large quantities of it for beer without her husband's consent.

Meat of slaughtered animals is shared by all persons of a homestead, as well as by other relatives.

Personal effects belong to the people who made them or received them as gifts.

At this point we may digress briefly on the subject of house-building and the manufacture of items of "private" property.

The style of the Tshezi house (indlu) has passed through five stages in the last hundred years or so.

(a) At first all huts were of the "bee-hive" form still used by the Zulu today. This is a structure of poles and saplings, and covered with a thatch of long grass reaching down to the ground. Hence its name ungquphantsi, meaning "right down to the ground". Very few of these survive

in Tsheziland today. I saw one owned by a diviner near Coffee Bay. It was plastered with mud on the inside. For the most part this form now occurs only as the temporary seclusion lodge (ithonto) of youths undergoing the initiation rites to manhood.

(b) Next came the wattle-and-daub hut called ingugwala. For this a much stouter framework of poles intertwined with pliable wood was made for the walls, which were then thickly plastered inside and outside with mud. The roof was a concave framework of saplings overlaid with a thick thatch of bundles of long grass. This was a more substantial building, with greater roof height inside. The roof was supported by poles (iintsika) resting on the floor of the hut. Floors were (and are still) beaten down with planks, or stones, or by the stamping of feet; then mud is prepared and spread over them and beaten down again; then more mud is applied, now mixed with cow-dung, and beaten and smoothed with an oval grindstone (imbokothwe); and finally the finished floor is neatly smeared with cow-dung mixed with water.

(c) The next change was from wattle-and-daub walls to sod (isoyi) or brick walls. These required no wooden framework. Instead, rectangular sods of turf were dug from the veld and laid one on top of another to form the circular wall. This mode of building, I remember, was coming in fifty to sixty years ago in Tsheziland. Roofs, as before, were concave and thatched with tied, as opposed to sewn, grass. Sods in time gave way to "Kimberley bricks" (ikhimb' i), which are made of mud mixed with chopped grass and are poured into wooden moulds and then dried in the sun. At the same time pitched roofs appeared, normally supported by one central pole, but still thatched not with sewn thatch but with the long bundles tied to the roof frame by grass rope. This was

really a kind of "sewing" too; for one woman mounted on the roof outside, another stood inside, and they fastened the bundles of grass with grass-rope threaded through a wooden "needle" (utulo) which they thrust back and forth to each other through the thatch.

(d) The fourth innovation was the rondavel (irontawule) whose high-pitched roof is unsupported by any poles, and whose apex outside is covered with mud (sometimes ringed with an old motor tyre, which has been acquired from a white man), while embedded in the mud are oyster and mussel shells, or out of it plants and flowers grow to form a kind of circular window-box. Also now came the proper sewn thatch as on English cottages and they added wooden doors and windows bought in traders' stores. Before that the only doors were frames of sticks or saplings intertwined with forest creepers, and which were propped against the doorway inside. These from their appearance were called "ribs of a dog" (iimbambo we-zinja). They were common fifty years ago, but now are hardly ever to be seen, except on kitchen or store huts. If there were windows, they were simply holes to admit air, which were plugged with blankets when necessary to keep out the cold.

(e) The rectangular uxande hut has two rooms and a medial wall between them. As with the rondavel, thatch is of the sewn type, but since, in other more technologically advanced parts of the Transkei, zinc roofs for these are common, such roofs will no doubt appear in Tsheziland too in time.

The craft of hut-building has always been divided between the sexes. In general all that had to do with woodwork (wall-frames and roof-frames) was the work of men; while all mud work (wall-plastering and floor-laying) and

grass work (cutting grass and thatching the roof with it) was the work of women. But the coming of better types of huts brought changes in this division of labour. Men cut sods of earth, and both men and women make "Kimberley bricks" which is a simpler matter of mixing mud and pouring it into moulds. The art of sewing thatch is the work of a few men, who have learnt it in the cities and are hired by their neighbours. The woodwork involved in installing doors and windows is done by men, but the women still plaster the walls and beat and smear the floors.

To build a hut a man may hire people to make "Kimberley bricks" for him at the rate of R2-00 per 100 bricks.⁹ This is considered expensive. The more common method is to brew beer for a work party. A man asks a boy (inkwenkwe, i.e. an uncircumcised youth) to organise a party of youths and girls of this age-set from the surrounding locality. If the youth cannot assemble enough workers, he will invite those of the age-set above. These are young men (abafana post-circumcision youths). Ordinarily these two age-sets do not mingle, but in a case like this the older ones will help the younger, because another day they may need to call on them for similar assistance. "They come, drink beer, and may make the full supply of bricks in one day" - which is the aim.

Now the services of an expert bricklayer are engaged. He erects the walls, charging R2 - R3 for a small hut.¹⁰

Next another man builds the roof frame (upahla) for a pitched roof and receives his reward in beer, perhaps with 50 cents added.

An expert at sewing thatch comes to thatch the roof and receives R4.

9. A number of these bricks that I measured averaged 12 x 7 x 5 inches in size.

10. About 12 feet in diameter. The usual is about 19 feet.



(Tshomane)

Sewing Thatch

Note the pole
for climbing
onto the roof.



(Tshezi)

A Typical
Prosperous
Homestead



(AbeLungu Clan
in Tshomane-
land)

Pipe Making
(cf. p. 222)

Prices evidently differ, for one reliable informant assured me that R4 was the price paid for the building of a whole hut, including the roof-frame. (Of course a European is charged much more!)

Weaving is generally grass-weaving, and is especially the women's domain. Among the objects made are the maize basket (ingobozi) for containing maize or millet and the beerstrainer (intluzi) for filtering beer. The latter is probably a skeuomorph of the retort-shaped nest of the Forest Weaver-bird (Symplectes bicolor) which was once used for the purpose (Alberti 1968, 24, footnote). Other items are the sleepingmat (ukhuko) and the foodmat (isithebe). Grassbaskets were once made, so closely woven that they could hold liquids (beer and milk), but with tin cans of several sizes obtainable at any trader's store, they have become obsolete. I never saw one in Tsheziland, though one was exhibited at an agricultural show near Mqanduli. Brooms (imitshayelo) are still made by some, both whiskbrooms and floorbrooms fixed to long wooden handles.

Women make basket-ware which they often sell to traders, who re-sell it to others at a profit.

Some Tshezi men carve the familiar long-stemmed pipes. They obtain drills and files, and also tin to line the bowls (from old tin cans). Many of these pipes also find their way into the traders' stores.

Sticks are cut from forest trees and shaped to suit the owner. They are of many sorts: the knobkerrie (iquku)¹¹ was once a short stick with a large heavy round knob, often studded with nails (the iquku of today is a much milder thing with a long stem and a very much smaller knob); the umnqayi, a long pointed stick without a knob, used in stick-fights

¹¹. This is "Tshezi" - the Xhosa word is igqudu.

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and held high in dancing; isagweba, a short stick with or without knob; and induku, a short knobbed stick for throwing at birds or for fighting.

Also carved are simple stools (unomgqemfu or isigobo), made from wood of the water berry or umswi tree (Syzygium cordatum Hochst. ex Harv. and Sond.). This is simply a block with the branches so severed and shaped as to afford two projections at one end and one at the other, which serve as the legs for a precariously balanced three-legged stool. Some are just blocks without legs. Like so many other things, these are fast disappearing, being replaced by chairs and benches bought from traders or from the Vulindlela furniture factory in Umtata.

Also made of the umswi tree are pestles and mortars for pounding maize. The mortars are made of sections of the trunks, whose top is scooped out to form a deep cavity, in which the maize is placed. Two women stand opposite each other and pound the maize.

Wooden head-rests for old men are no longer made, it is said.

Iron for assegais is obtained now from Whites in the shape of old scrap iron, which the Tshezi heat red-hot to make it malleable. Before Whites came they had no assegais, according to one of my old informants. Another said they used wooden spears, whose pointed ends had been hardened by slight burning just as they burnt the ends of rods used for digging. Yet the Mpondo and others knew the art of smelting iron ore from gravels and outcrops before white men came (Hunter 1961: 100; Theal 1919: Vol. I, 283).

When the head of a homestead dies, the inheritance passes to the eldest son of his great house. Apart from what the father, before his death, may have assigned to other sons, all the inheritance goes to the eldest son.

Women inherit whatever they may have received as gifts from their husbands during their lifetime. "These will be little things, it not being possible for them to be given much while there is a great one of the family."

When a man dies his sleeping mat will be cut in pieces and thrown away, but if he owned a bedstead this will not be discarded. "If he had many wives the property of each house belongs to that house - it may not be taken." This refers to household utensils and implements which formed part of the wife's trousseau as a bride or were received by her as gifts after marriage.

Fields belong to the wives, after their husband's death, each woman having her own. The sons will seek fields of their own for their wives. When a woman dies, her field belongs to her great son. Over-accumulation of land in the hands of a few, however, is now made impossible by the government regulation preventing anyone from having arable land in excess of 5 morgen.

These customs of the Tshezi are always subject to regulation by the laws of the Transkei. Upon the death of an allotment holder his rights of occupation are ipso facto cancelled, but the widows or heirs of the deceased have first claim for re-allotment of the land, should the magistrate consider they require it.

One of the main sources of Tshezi solidarity and of public acceptance of the rule of the Tshezi royal clans has therefore been undermined by modern legislation with respect to land rights. The rulers of the Tshezi can no longer offer their subjects the security in return for which their sovereignty was accepted and appreciated.

CHAPTER XIII
RESISTANCE AND RESPONSE
TO ECONOMIC CHANGE

Change has come more slowly to the coastal areas of the Transkei than to the interior. This is because the tides of progress flow along the only national road, namely, that which runs south-west to north-east, from the old Cape Colony to Natal, through the centre of the Transkeian Territories. On it are the most progressive commercial towns and villages: Butterworth, Idutywa, Umtata, Qumbu, Mount Frere, Kokstad and Umzimkhulu. But the Tshezi live fifty miles from this modern highway, and only recently have they begun to be connected with it by bus. The currents of civilization that have swirled along it have passed them by.

The Tshezi still cultivate the soil in a way that is suited to an abundance of land. Formerly, if the soil became worn out, it was easy to acquire a new field where there was virgin soil. Grazing cattle in the fields in winter provided all the fertilization that was deemed necessary. Now that there is a shortage of land, the Government tries to introduce such practices as artificial fertilization, contour ploughing and the rotation of crops. The Department of Agriculture of the Transkei Government employs African "extension officers" or "agricultural demonstrators" (abalimi) to show people how to make these improvements. But very few are willing to try new ideas or even to listen to them. I saw no contour ploughing or terracing. Steep hillsides are ploughed and the soil is washed down by lashing rain in thunderstorms.

The local extension officer told of a man who complained that his arable allotment was poor by reason of the strangling roots of a certain grass prevalent in it. The officer persuaded the man to let him work one morgen of it.

By ploughing, harrowing and reploughing, and using plenty of fertiliser, he succeeded in reaping more from this one morgen than the owner had ever got from his whole field of 5 morgen. The man was astonished; but next season he continued in the old manner and again made the old complaints.

Another man boasted that by organising a work party (ilima) he got his whole field ploughed and planted in one day. "What about the weeding later?" said the African officer. "Oh," replied the man, "that is my wife's business." The officer pointed out that one woman could not possibly weed the whole field in one day in addition to all her other duties - or anything like it. Consequently while she was busy doing the top end, the rest of the field was becoming more and more overgrown and the young maize plants were strangled. This explained why a small portion of his field was healthy and productive, while the rest was retarded and the plants stunted, as the man complained. It would be far better if he did not plough the whole area at once. But he could not, or would not, see it.

The Department of Agriculture urges the people to use 20 to 40 bags of fertiliser per morgen and 5 tons of manure as well. Instead the Tshezi, if they are persuaded at all, think they can achieve the same results by thinly spreading $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 bags of fertiliser and 1 to 5 bags of manure over a morgen. The fertiliser is supposed to be effective for two seasons; and when agricultural demonstrations are conducted, fertiliser, seeds and labour are all supplied free by the Transkei Government. But people who have been the beneficiaries of such experiments are apt to let their fields lie fallow the next season, because they now have such a surplus of maize. So the strength of the fertiliser in the second season is used up producing weeds!

But occasionally the extension officer's labours are rewarded. Beside the road near the Nenga store is the homestead of Rhosini. Once he was persuaded to allow an experiment to be conducted on his land free of any cost to himself. The result? He got 25 bags of maize from one morgen, from which previously he had been wont to reap 2 to 3 bags. Rhosini was speechless - but convinced! He carried on as he had been shown. His four acres include homestead, garden and field all on the same site. He now has, beside maize, a large banana grove, pawpaws, oranges, lemons, onions, peas, potatoes, beans, cabbages and other produce, which he sells to Whites between Coffee Bay and Mganduli, and with which he wins prizes at agricultural shows. He has built himself a cylindrical cement tank to store maize, a dam, and trenches for the draining of his land. He has dug down to a natural spring and walled it with cement. He has a chicken house and a pig pen. All around him are the homesteads of his neighbours, who envy him; but not one of whom has yet attempted to emulate him.

This inertia, unfortunately, is not limited to the Tshezi. It is found far and wide in the Transkei, and is held by even the most favourably-disposed to be perhaps the greatest single factor retarding the progress of the people.

There are several reasons for the lack of response by the Tshezi.

1. The country is not really theirs. "We are ruled by the white man." "The white man has our country now." It matters not how this came about - that Thembuland was taken over at the request of the Thembu themselves, who feared annihilation by the Gcaleka; and anyhow the Tshezi are not Thembu, though they live in their country; and it was years after Thembuland was taken over by the Cape Government before the Tshezi agreed (and then only reluctantly) to

be under a White magistrate. But however it happened, the country belongs to their conquerors. When, in the Second World War, Germany overran one European country after another, and much of the produce of these lands was railed to Germany to feed "the Fatherland", this offered little inducement to the people of those lands to redouble their efforts and increase their agricultural output. So the Tshezi (whether rightly or not) suspect in the back of their minds that any increase of wealth resulting from their labours would only go to help the Whites in some way.

2. They fear an increase of taxation, or an arbitrary curtailment of profits, if their wealth increases. When they first came under the white man, they had only one tax to pay, the hut-tax. Since then others have been added. They think that if they greatly increase the produce of their fields, the Whites would only say that if they are as wealthy as that, they should now pay more taxes, and so all profit of their increased labour would be gone. Or perhaps it would be said they no longer need such large fields and these would be reduced in size, just as the cattle were ordered to be culled by the South African Government when their herds got too large. This latter measure was to prevent soil erosion from over-grazing, but few of the Tshezi believe that. They regard it as one more evidence that the Whites intend always to pare down all their surpluses, so as to keep the status of the people low and subordinate.

3. Most Tshezi are Reds, and Reds are conservative. Their fathers did not use the new methods now proposed, they say, and if they do so the ancestral spirits may be displeased. This is no idle or superficial fear; its roots go deep. I well remember how on the old mission station, when I was a child, some of the women and children would come on a hot

day and beg for a few of the large juicy oranges from our trees. One day my mother said to a woman: "You see these pips. They are orange seed. If you planted them, you too would have your own trees, and could have all the oranges you want." "Oh, no", was the reply. "These are not our things. If you plant this seed, it will come up a tree. If I plant it, it will come up a baboon or some other such sorcerer's creature to harm me." It is no use a white man shrugging this sort of thing off with a snort of impatience. He should realise that if he had been born a Tshezi, he would think just the same way. The supernatural is very real to them.

4. Besides, modern agricultural methods, involving the use of special fertilisers and other things, cost money; and the Tshezi are apt to think that they can raise the food they need, without added cost, by simply applying the old methods to a larger area of ground.

5. Finally, practically all Tshezi are rustics, and it is characteristic of such people everywhere to be unambitious and content with little. For centuries the English peasantry were satisfied to till their fields in the same simple unproductive ways as their forefathers, till the Industrial Revolution came, only a hundred and fifty years or so ago, to change the face of England. Then machines, mass-production, trade competition and finally compulsory education jolted the rustics out of the sleep of ages and they began - and even then but slowly - to move. The Industrial Revolution has never yet really come to the Tshezi. In all Tsheziland there is not a single industry. Neither is there compulsory education. So there is nothing to challenge the people's energies. War and the chase are no more, and nothing has come to take their place. The Tshezi men who go away to

work may be stimulated by what they see on the mines and in towns, but when they return there is little outlet for their new interests. They are faced with the choice of either remaining in towns altogether (which governmental restrictions make increasingly difficult), or of lapsing back into the rusticity from which they had temporarily emerged. Industrialisation and compulsory education are the great needs of Tsheziland - as of all the Transkei.

Under the Transkei Agricultural Development Act, Act 10 of 1966, there is a scheme variously styled the Soil Conservation, or Rehabilitation, or Betterment, or Stabilisation Scheme, which operates as follows.¹

When an Administrative Area has agreed to accept "planning", the Department of Agriculture and Forestry moves in and takes a census of the population and makes a thorough survey of the area. An average Transkei family (i.e. a family of five persons) requires R120 per annum for a bare maintenance existence. To produce this requires on the average, 10 cattle-units² and 5 morgen of arable land, plus a residential site varying in size from a quarter to half a morgen.

On this basis, and in consultation with the people themselves, the administrative area is divided into three sections (1) residential, where the people's homes are clustered together in village style (2) agricultural, where all the fields are together in the best arable land, and (3) pastoral, which is commonage for grazing. This last is divided into four "camps", and all stock is pastured in one of the camps for a year in rotation. By this method three quarters of the commonage rests from being grazed for three

1. I am indebted for the information that follows to Mr R.M. Roberts, Chief Agricultural Officer, Department of Agriculture and Forestry, Transkei Legislative Assembly.
2. A cattle-unit = 1 bovine or 1 equine, or 6 sheep or 6 goats.

years in succession; and this gives time for a thorough rehabilitation of the vegetation. So successful has this been that it is said that, so far from herds having to be culled to prevent soil erosion from over-grazing, in "planned" areas there is no longer enough stock to eat down the lush pasture.

This rehabilitation scheme also involves other services, like the construction of dams.

By June 30, 1968, 45% of the Transkei was already "planned", and applications keep coming in from more administrative areas to have the scheme extended to them.

An average of between 1.5 and 2 morgen per cattle-unit is about right at present for the carrying capacity of Tshezi Tribal Authority land. But with the planning scheme (if they would only adopt it) it would be 1.5 or less.

To date, however, the Tshezi are among those who resolutely refuse to have anything to do with the Rehabilitation Scheme, for the reasons already discussed under the preceding section.

It may be thought that a lack of markets inhibits Tshezi production: but this is hardly the case. There are daily railway buses between Umtata and Coffee Bay (61 miles), carrying passengers and some freight, and there are two goods buses a week between Viedgesville (a large mercantile enterprise and a railway siding) and Coffee Bay (49 miles). These frequently bring goods, especially maize, to the traders to be sold to the people. They could just as well take away loads of Tshezi maize and other produce to be sold in Umtata or Viedgesville, or to be sent by rail from these places to East London or anywhere else in the Republic. If there were the need, the Government could put more goods buses on the road.

But the production is not even sufficient to meet the

needs of the local people. The Tomlinson Commission had stated that 15 bags, each containing 200 lbs. of maize, was the minimum possible production per family per year, if the needs of the people were to be met. Yet in 1964, though more than 70% of the land under cultivation was under maize and 95% of the total grain output consisted of this crop, the average yields were as low as about two 200 lbs. bags per morgen, and the production of maize and kaffircorn per family ranged from 4.4 bags per family in Pondoland to 8.5 bags in Thembuland, where the Tshezi live (Rutman in Horrell 1969: 151-152). So there was nothing left over to be sent to market. Yet, returning to the Tshezi district in 1968 after an absence of years, I was greatly impressed by the abundance and size of the maize fields. Visitors remarked on the same thing, as they approached the coast. Great flourishing maize fields reached right down to the sea. Some were badly burnt from the drought, but others were doing well. But it was the old story - increase of food, but insufficient to match the increase of population. Due to the long-standing drought, only about half the usual maize crop was planted that year.³ Critical shortages were reported from various places. No maize at all was to be had in Umtata, Mt Frere or Idutywa. Fifty miles from Umtata a trader who received a truckload sold it within minutes.

The traders' stores afford markets to the people, where they can both sell their produce and buy other goods in return. Following is a list of goods, some sold to and others bought from one store by Tshezi.

Nenga Trading Station

A. Goods Sold by the Tshezi

(Items marked with an asterisk in this and the next par. will be sold again to the people.)

3. This refers to the Transkei as a whole: Territorial News (East London), March 28, 1968.

1. Bones, hides and skins, wool.
2. Dried beans* (very seldom now), fowls and eggs, green peas (mostly by school people) green maize and sweet potatoes (the latter two, if especially asked for by the trader), maize*, tobacco*.
3. Baskets*, eating mats*, sleeping mats*, mizi grass* (for weaving), pipes (of umzimbiti wood)*, strainers for beer*.

B. Goods Bought by the Tshezi

1. Mainly by Reds.

Beads	Brass wire	Men's woollen caps
Beer strainers	Grass baskets	(<u>isinkwana</u>)
Braid	Head squares	Plastic tubing
Brass bangles	(<u>doeks</u>)	Sheeting
	Malt (for beer)	Small bottles

2. Mainly by School People.

Bread	Dresses	Suitcases
Carrier bags	Face creams and powder	Tea
Chinaware	Flour	Tea pots
Cigarettes	Hair clippers	Tinned foods
Coffee	Paraffin	Toothbrushes
Coffee pots	Powdered milk	Toothpaste
Condensed milk	Reckitt's blue	Umbrellas
Cotton	School requisites	Watches and clocks
Detergents	Seeds	Water bottles

3. By Members of Both Groups.

Benzine	Grain tanks	Matches
Blankets	Grass mats	Mouth organs
Boxer shorts	Hatchets	Nails
Buckets	Hats	Patent Medicines
Cigarette lighters	Hoes	Picks
Cultivators	Hut tops	Pipes
Doors	Jackets	Planters
Ear-rings	Jews harps	Ploughs
Enamelware	Key chains	Pocket knives
Feeding bottles	Locks	Pocket mirrors
Fencing wire	Maize	Pots
Fertiliser	Maize meal	Print

Rope	Shirts	Tin utensils (dishes and cans)
Rugs	Sickles	Tobacco
Saddles and	Soap	Tobacco bags
Bridles	Spades	Trek-chains
Salt	Steel combs	Trousers
Samp	Sugar	White lime
Saws	Sweets	Whistles
Sheep-marking oil	Thatching twine	Windows

Stock. Markets for stock are to be found with traders and speculators. There are stock sales twice a year at Maphuzi, and also at Kwaaiman, arranged by the Department of Agriculture. Direct marketing is open to Tshezi at controlled markets, such as the Transkei Meat Industry in Umtata.

Agricultural Show. Shows are held in various districts annually under the auspices of the Transkei Department of Agriculture and Forestry. I attended the one held for Mqanduli district in July, 1968, near Ngqungqu about 30 miles from the Tshezi border and not far from the Mqanduli magistracy. It was held at a school, where two buildings had been made available for the exhibits. However these could not all be contained inside. Quite half of them were outside, spread out on the ground, the accommodation within the buildings being reserved for perishables and such items as might be spoiled by rain. African Extension Officers were in charge, and all the exhibits were by Africans, some by Reds and others by School people. The only Whites present, besides myself, were half-a-dozen ladies who had been asked to help with the judging.

The exhibits included:-

i. Land Products.

- a. Animal husbandry: Cattle, eggs, hides, pigs poultry, sheep, wool.
- b. Agriculture: Bananas, beans, beetroot, cabbages, calabashes, cauliflowers, lemons, lettuce, maize, oranges, pawpaws, peas, pumpkins and sweet potatoes.

ii. Kitchen Products.

Bread, buns, cakes (including two or three very attractive iced ones), canned foods and fruit, and ginger beer.

Author Holt B

Name of thesis The Tshezi of the Transkei: An Ethnographic Study 1969

PUBLISHER:

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

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