

https://dspace.org/

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

Cloete, Laura

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

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

makes it possible to discern repeated signs of a strong concern for establishing social order.

At *umtshato*, the singing continued, sometimes with pointed jibes, sometimes with references so oblique their meaning was obscured. Finally, as the initiate's special portion of meat was roasted in her hut (signalling the approaching time of cooking and eating for the rest of the participants), the singers proceeded to the seclusion hut where they sang 'The girls [of the clan] have ended [finished their work]'. Finally the singing stopped.

Certain songs explicitly referred to and motivated ritual action, and the footage reveals that these usually involved procession. Through song, agnatic women told the initiate and the community that the rite was proceeding, that they were supporting the initiate, and, eventually, that their role was coming to an end. Their singing kept the momentum of the rite flowing, providing continuity throughout, starting and finishing each day, and marking important moments.

Then there were other songs which cheered the initiate. These songs were louder and would have been heard by the initiate, unlike men's speeches given some distance away in the cattlebyre. Women teach the songs to the young girls through the act of singing, conveying the experiences of women, both to each other and as a lesson for the young girls, in the encoded lyrics. The sequential development, up until the point where the

initiate's marriageability and maturity was announced through song, lent dramatic emphasis to the rite. This crucial experiential element, for setting a powerful emotional tone and context to the rite, is caught fully on video.

The footage clearly reveals that song permeates initiation, taking up far more time than speechmaking. Yet people did not stop what they were doing to pay the kind of attention that they did for speeches [60-82]. Rather, songs were 'ritual actions, emotional expressions, dramatic intensifications, or advertisements of social role' (Kratz, 1994: 236). Singing wove through the ceremony, binding the parts into a whole, inspiring, encouraging and sometimes provoking all in earshot. Within a framework which, for both men and women, encouraged co-operation and harmony, women remained critical commentators on their situation.

The ox, once ritually slaughtered, was butchered into specific portions for men and women [64-80]. Women ragged the men about being shortchanged in the portions they received [88]. The men took the teasing with good humour seeming to expect the women to exert some authority at this women's ritual, albeit jokingly.

> [Shot 88] At *umtshato*, the women collect meat from the cattlebyre and take it to the courtyard for carving:

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

Woman:
'No then, I tell you, you can't have this meat alone. Where is the other one? Where is the other one? You can't have this meat alone... Cut this meat. This is not the only meat. Our meat is not yet finished here. Tell them to give us our meat. It is not yet finished here.'

Meat is a valued resource, and its contested allocation is symbolic of the gender tussle over the significance and priority of this rite. Male control of the allocation of meat is symbolic of their general political and social authority. Female contestation, meanwhile, represents women's attempts to reappropriate control over this female ritual and, broadly, over female reproduction. Such gender divisions reoccur frequently and take shape as a distinct pattern in the footage.

Displaying the authority earned by age and experience, older women of the natal clan entered the male arena of the cattlebyre to flex their authority, haranguing younger men for the portions they allocated to women [88] and for their ignorance in the skill of carving and in ritual knowledge. Their delivery was loud, clear and vehement, almost shaming men for the meagre portions and, by implication, the disrespect they were receiving. The moment gained its power and impact not so much from what

was said as from the powerful delivery. The combination of raised voices, the emotional timbre, and the focused attention of the listeners made this a powerfully affective moment, yet the detail would be easily missed in the observer's attempt to note speech and action. The capacity of video replay, however, makes it accessible to the researcher.

Young women, without the authority of age, did not argue or harangue men, so it was left to older women to ensure, by challenging the younger men, that they received their appropriate allocation of meat at this women's rite. The men's attitude, conveyed in body language, movement and gesture as much as in speech, suggested amusement, the women's emotional outburst being clearly expected. The elder women removed their portions of meat from the cattlebyre and cooked it in the courtyard nearby.

The utilisation of space - men dominating the public sphere of the cattlebyre, women the domestic arena of the courtyard, with elders able to cross these boundaries - is again an affirmation of social order, of the individual's notion of place and of identity in terms of age and gender. The display of authority on the part of elder women, in entering the very heart of the male domain to challenge younger men [88], suggested that, in the hierarchy of this women's rite, age, for them, was superior to gender. The amused response of the younger men seemed to contest this.

The right front leg, this time called *umkhono* (or *umshwamo*) was set aside for the *intonjane* [70, 75]. Of this, informants said the part behind the front leg - what Kuckertz describes as the 'muscle [99] below the armpit' (1990: 241) - called *intsonyama*, was roasted saltless inside the seclusion hut over a smoky fire. In this hut filled with smoke, *intsonyama* was fed on a skewer to the *intonjane*. Kuckertz says smoke in the hut in a ritual context 'consecrates the place, the people inside the house, and the ritual proceedings: it is the symbol of the ancestor-spirit who is present here and now' (1990: 242). Eating of the special cut of meat in this unusual manner is, again, the means by which communication (McAllister, 1981: 6) or communion (Kuckertz, 1990: 252) with the ancestors takes place. The acts of reversal - smoke in the hut [82], eating saltless food [79] without touching it - are, Leach argues, indicative of the liminal state of the initiate (1976: 78). They are acts of reverence for the ancestors (ibid: 249) and imply an acceptance of the patriarchal kinship system.

The rest of the *umkhono* was then cooked, salted, in a pot to be shared with the old married women of the agnatic group and the old *ikhankata* [75]. Finally, everyone else ate. This feast shared amongst the community was 'communion amongst the living' (McAllister, 1981; Kuckertz, 1990) and reflected an important community value of reciprocity.

Day Two

[Shots 95 - 114]

Much meat was left aside to be cooked on the second day. Still the women harangued the men about portions.

> [Shot 99] At *umtshato*, in the courtyard, a young man helps to carve the women's meat while an older woman teases and harangues him:
>
> Woman:
> '...No, you are cutting big pieces...Come and cut open then, on the side...'
>
> Man:
> '... On the side, what?'
>
> Woman:
> 'Yes, the muscle is lighter on the side. '*Umhlolo*' is the muscle which is lighter at the side. Here is the muscle. He has not cut it correctly. No! This is the muscle. It is here. Yes. Did he ever cut before? Can't you see that he is doing nonsense. He does not know that this is the side for the men now.'
>
> Man:
> 'Aunt is doing wrong. She does not know what she is doing. She has never cut meat before. You are going to do wrong the whole day.'
>
> Woman:
> 'Do you say so? Yhu! I never cut meat before?'

Although older men controlled the allocation and division of meat, it was the younger men who were harangued [98].

Through the young men, the elders were reminded that this was a women's rite, yet in a manner which never directly challenged their seniority and authority. The men responded with less emotion, using amusement as a defence. This highlighted the contrasting gender assumptions, in which men were expected to control their passion, demonstrating reason and persuasion, while women were expected to show less order and control over their emotions and language. However, amongst women, older women were regarded as having the verbal skill, authority and greater personal control to challenge men. Hence the allocation and use of meat reflected notions of gender, age, status and of place, and the experience and re-enactment of this behaviour in ritual form reinforced such notions for all involved.

Cooking in large cast-iron pots began early in the morning on this day. Again kin, friends and neighbours all participated and, settled in agnatic groups, ate their fill. Separate agnatic groups formed to share plates of meat [105-107]. This sharing of the meat of ancestral sacrifice, Pauw says, is customarily restricted to the same persons with whom milk is shared (1975: 28). Eating of the ancestral meal indicates, thus, an acceptance of authority of the homestead, the kin group and of the dead (Kuckertz, 1990: 252).

Usually, no speeches are made on this day, but in Folokhwe, an exception was made late in the day when Chief Dalingozi and a small entourage arrived

unexpectedly on horseback [108-109]. The status of the visitor meant some words - explaining the nature of the rite - were expected by the participants and by the chief himself. Nothimba undertook this task. Little overt attention was given to this brief speech. While they spoke, the other men conversed and set about eating the remaining meat.

No mention is made of the custom called *holomani* [110] in the literature, and neither Ndyamboti nor any informants could translate it into English. In early afternoon, the young girls who supported the initiate through the many nights had their moment of glory and reward. They spent the afternoon dressing in short skirts with fancy embroidery, lots of ankle and necklace beads, and beaded headbands. Barebreasted and besmeared with white ochre, they sported coloured handkerchiefs and fancy combs in their hair. They walked out of the hut in procession, singing 'We are the girls of the *intonjane* clan' [110], parading slowly and in a refined manner in front of the adults.

Then they sang 'We want *amanuka* [sour porridge]' [110], followed by a similar song, 'We want *amanuka* and *nkobe* [boiled mielies]' [110]. As discussed earlier, notions of authority, obedience and reverence were revealed in their use of *hlonipha*, using the word '*amanuka*' in preference to '*amarhewu*' (sour porridge) as a means of showing respect to the ancestral spirits (Broster, 1976: 39). Following this, they sang, 'Mgandela doesn't have

cattle' [110] with a teasing, mocking awareness of the status cattle confers on men (Ferguson, 1985: 658).

Finally, outside the main hut [110], they sang again 'We want *amanuka* and *nkobe*' [110]. The space they occupied, outside the main hut, singing directly to the older women inside, suggests that they were linking ancestral respect with a similar respect for older women.

The girls were cheered and clapped and generally regarded with parochial amusement. Then they dispersed to wander from hut to hut, singing, chatting and receiving gifts of sugar, coffee and maizemeal.

Literally, *holomani* served as a fun-filled reward for the young girls' support of the *intonjane*, and also a way of spreading the news throughout the community that the wedding day ceremonies were reaching culmination. However, in mimicking adult women, in showing respect and obedience for their elders and for the ancestors, in the mature behaviour they demonstrated on this day, in the space they used for their display - and in being rewarded for their performance - the gender roles they were learning were naturalised and reinforced. Of course, just as they were learning to fulfil those roles, so, by teasing and mocking, they were also learning to assess them critically.

This parading of their sexuality in broad daylight seemed to signal the community's approval of youthful sexuality

where expressed or conducted in a socially controlled forum and in a responsible manner. The white ochre worn by the girls on their face and in patterns on their body [110] represented, according to Pauw's analysis of colour symbolism, their youthful purity and lack of sexual defilement. The bright, whiteness of their painted bodies also suggested the temporary differentiation of a person undergoing initiation, hence signalling their role as supporters of *intonjane* (1975: 126-127). The gifts were the public reward and acknowledgement of their responsible behaviour and support during these nights in the hut. Apparently, not all homesteads practised *holomani*.

Day Three

(no footage)

On this day, family, a few kin and neighbours finished the meat. The women again sang, but no speeches were made. Finally, late in the day, the bones of the ox were burned, leaving no remnants of this spiritual representative available to be bewitched, and bringing the ritual climax, and the obligation of the community to support the rite, to closure. The male twin bathed, then left his sister and returned to his own homestead once again.

Umtshato marked the end of the sustained support by adult women of the agnatic group. There was no singing by any

adult women after this event. The initiate was supported from then until the conclusion of the rite by her assistants, during the day, and the boys and girls at night.

At *umtshato*, then, a new set of themes was introduced. The community focus of this event, the haranguing, and the young girls behaviour at *holomani* revealed the rite to be about more than just women's issues or the affirmation of social relations amongst kin. As before, agnatic kinship was visibly expressed in the singing circle, in the women's procession to the seclusion hut, and in the eating groups people formed. Clearly, too, the footage reveals that these acts were linked to the symbol of patriarchy, the ancestors/cattle - in the performance of song to invoke the ancestors; in drawing the ancestral spirit, in procession, to the initiate; and in uniting the same people in feasting, who would usually share milk. But at this event, the emphasis was broadened to include non-kin; participation took on a revelry which had been absent until then; and everyone's, but particularly agnatic women's, behaviour tested the boundaries of decorum. It was significant, firstly, that the crude, mocking behaviour which agnatic women exhibited was accepted and, indeed, expected by men and, secondly, that the young girls, who had been enjoying sexual titillation each evening, acted with maturity and self-restraint on this day.

The men's response suggests that the women's provocative

behaviour was merely the symbolic airing of conflict tension. Usually, such tensions are dispersed amongst households, as are women. At *umtshato*, women's concerns about gender, about authority, about fertility and reproduction were given voice in a manner unthreatening to daily social interaction. The release of tension, expressed in speech, body language and spatial organisation in this forum, served, ultimately, to strengthen the agnatic group and the community through accommodating acts of solidarity amongst women.

The mature behaviour of the young girls, showing respect and obedience to older women particularly, suggests that they had indeed absorbed the conservative values of the community. Repetition in speech, song and symbolic action appeared to be powerful vehicles of persuasion. By performing at dawn and dusk on every day, the women provided a ceremonial frame within which to refocus the initiate and other participants on the rite, marking the passage of time, entertaining and supporting the initiate through her time of trial and providing important lessons in responsible community behaviour for the young girls.

> Repetition, shifts in rhythm, specialised vocabulary, and changes in pronunciation... are believed to be necessary to achieve successful results... Repetition of the spell, accompanied by changes in rhythm, is believed to be the effective force in causing the words to enter the appropriate object... The repetition acts as verbal persuasion
>
> Trobrianders, on the language of magic, (Weiner, in Kratz, 1994: 283).

The girls appropriate behaviour in terms of intragender hierarchy and female sexuality, as imparted also by the process of *igunya* was rewarded with gifts at *holomani*. Again, this suggests that the rite served a secondary, albeit complementary, purpose of focusing, not just on women's issues *per se*, but on the conservative values of the patriarchal society which needed to be reinforced if a women's security, as mother and childbearer, was to be assured.

***Ukutsiba intaba*: 'to jump over the mountain'**

(no footage)

> The final ceremonies of *ukuhamba entabeni* (going to the mountain) and going to wash are smiled at by informants. No 'old' person takes any part in them, and people who are serious about the seclusion, the killing, and the performance of the *umgquzo* dance, speak of the final ceremonies as 'children's nonsense'
>
> (Hunter, 1934).

Ukutsiba intaba was charged with symbolic significance in terms of objects, dress, performance and patterns of participation. These lighthearted aspects of the ritual might have been children's nonsense to the community, but they still had an important role for the initiate's immediate family. They put the seal of completion on the ritual, signifying the passing of the old order and the taking on of the new.

At *ukutsiba intaba*, the initiate's fertility and purification were secured by disposing of the polluted ritual impedimenta. She could then be incorporated back into her natal family. But before the rite formally finished, the initiate was allowed a brief respite, coming out of seclusion and resuming something close to normal behaviour for one day. This day was named *umphindelo*, meaning 'the return to seclusion' which marked the end of the transition. Only the rite of incorporation remained to be conducted.

Hunter describes the *intonjane*, at *ukutsiba intaba*, burning the wooden pegs she has used to eat with, the 'chewed remains of *umgqungu* roots' (1934: 172), and a handful of the *inxophu* grass on which she lay. Both she and her attendants then strip and leap, stark naked, several times over the flames. In Jotelo, *ukutsiba intaba* was held as the sun set. The polluted skewer used to feed the initiate and a tuft of grass from the seclusion hut were burned, signalling that the initiate was out of danger and her transition to adulthood complete. While these items burned, the *intonjane* and *amakhankata*, half-naked under blankets, jumped over the flames. Their nakedness (even if only partial) complements the connection which Hoernle (1918: 74) makes between women, sexuality and fertility. This naked act of jumping over fire ensures fruitfulness in bearing children and, according to Richards' writing on the Bemba serves to 'beg for parenthood' (1956: 78, 125). In Bemba custom, this rite is usually watched over by the father's

sister, much as it is here, stressing lineage concerns for procreation.

While the initiate's good health was a matter of everyone's concern, her fertility was dealt with largely in the company of females. So the event served to accentuate the gender divide, to distinguish women from men and to remind women of their duty to bear children.

Finally, stripping off her clothes suggests being stripped of the last of her childhood. Ideally, the initiate's physical inability to conceive would have passed, together with her childhood, and her mental and physical passage through womanhood begun. The *intonjane* had participated in a rehearsal for her wedding day, had the ancestors invoked to bring her good health, and her childbearing fruitfulness had been assured. She was now physically and mentally prepared for womanhood and its responsibilities.

Audrey Richards (1956: 138) describes how, for the Bemba female initiation ceremony, two of the critical moments before coming out involve 'two jumps over the faggots and the hoop' and the 'ritual lighting of the fire'. For the Jotelo *intonjane*, jumping over something and setting something alight also symbolized a critical moment. The *intonjane* had to 'jump over the mountain' which involved jumping over the flames of the burning eating stick wrapped in a tuft of grass removed from the seclusion hut.

In the absence of adults of the agnatic group or of the community, the focus of the rite returned to its original concern with women's issues of fertility, purity and sexuality in preparation, ideally, for the initiate's marriage. The focus of social good, explicit at *umtshato*, once again sank to the background.

Umphindelo: 'the return to seclusion'

(no footage)

Hunter (1934) does not give a name to the day called *umphindelo*, but simply describes it as following 'jumping the mountain'. She says that the *intonjane* and other girls go at dawn to a river where they strip and plunge in.

> Then they are joined by young men, and the whole party spends the day at the river, cooking some food there. At dusk the girls return. The *Iintonjane* and her attendant gather firewood on the way home. When they come home the *Intonjane*'s hair is shaved (ibid: 173).

While the initiate is at the river, her mother 'burns the *inxophu* grass from her hut, scatters the ashes in the veld, and smears out the hut' (ibid: 173). Hunter says the initiate does not return to the seclusion hut after this, although her behaviour remains bridally demure and submissive for another week (ibid: 173).

It seems that this 'coming out' has been modified quite

considerably in more recent times. In Jotelo, *umphindelo* fell before *ukutsiba intaba*, beginning on the afternoon of the third wedding day when the initiate came out of seclusion for a few hours. In Folokhwe, *ukutsiba intaba* and *umphindelo* were condensed into one day. Informants gave *umphindelo* little merit and were never sure until the last moment when it would take place. I never witnessed either *ukutsiba intaba* or *umphindelo* in Folokhwe as the date was brought forward unexpectedly to accommodate Nolele's impatience to finish the rite.

Informants said that, ideally, *umphindelo* was celebrated with yet another goat slaughter, also called *umphindelo*. However, as many families could not afford this slaughter, it was often ignored. The initiate would sweep up the grass in the hut, always wearing a black cloth over her head to hide her face. The young girls would take the grass outside and burn it publicly. The *intonjane* would re-smear the hut floor with dung and cover it with clean grass, all collected by the girls. Finally, she would wash in a basin brought to her in the hut. The *intonjane* would leave the hut, without ceremony, face always covered although bare of make-up, and wearing a blanket.

This cleansing of her environment and herself would express her newly purified state, and help to prepare her mentally for leaving seclusion and a return to normalcy. She would temporarily join her friends and family in the main hut for the day. She still had to talk quietly, but

could move about, inside and out, quite freely. She could eat and drink anything, even *amasi* which she would consume quite conspicuously. That evening, with the young boys and girls singing *tsholoza*, she would re-enter seclusion for a second, brief period. Once inside, she would smear her face anew with white ochre, signifying her newly purified state and the end of her transitional condition (Pauw, 1975: 126), de-robe, and lie naked, covered only with a blanket, on a mat behind the screen. She could not drink amasi again until she came out of seclusion.

In Folokhwe, some informants said the initiates went down to the river and bathed before joining their family for the day. However, others said that, while the initiates did bathe before coming out, it was in a small basin in the hut. The initiate drank some milk from her father's cattle. This signified her purified state (Kuper, 1982). There was no shaving of heads, and the female *intonjane* (but not the twin) was expected to return to seclusion afterwards. Informants said no adults were obliged to participate, although the parents would usually spend some of the day with the initiate. Even the old *ikhankata* would only join in if she felt like it. In the eyes of the community, then, the transition was complete and it was left to the family to reincorporate the initiate.

As the rite gradually came to a close, acts signifying purification and cleansing, associated with fertility and

cattle, came to the fore. The theme of social good, prevalent at *umtshato*, was, in the absence of community support, clearly not a priority any longer. However, in the drinking of milk, associated through colour (Pauw, 1975) and cattle (Kuper, 1982) with the ancestors, the patriarchal framework was still explicitly in evidence.

***Umphumo*: 'going out'**

[Shots 115 - 137]

Umphumo relates to ***phuma***, meaning to 'go out' or 'get out'. The *intonjane* finally came out of seclusion and assumed a normal life.

Soga (1931) says that, finally, after approximately 22 days in seclusion, a fourth animal would be slaughtered, called *eyokutshiswa kokuko* or *inxopo* (burning of the mat). On this last day, all of the grass, as well as the partition in the seclusion hut, would be publicly burned.

> This is the signal for a final burst of revelry. Singing and dancing become the order of the day, but above all it is the day when the national sport called *ulego* takes place. This is the racing of cattle trained for the purpose, for in olden times horses were not known among the Ama-Xosa or other Bantu tribes
>
> (Soga 1931: 221).

By contrast, Hunter says that the initiate, after visiting the river on her day of coming out never returns

to seclusion. Rather, she wears a kerchief 'tied low over her forehead' (1934: 173) and a long skirt for a week, and acts demurely like a young bride as she goes about her household tasks.

> Then after about a week her handkerchief is raised by some old person of the *umzi*, and she resumes her old short skirt, and behaves as a daughter of the *umzi* again. Only after the handkerchief is raised may she drink milk again, but there is no ceremony in giving it to her
>
> (ibid).

In Folokhwe in 1989, the ritual finished over two days, called *umphumo*. There was no cattle racing as described by Soga. The ritual ended with little fanfare, but did show rather more ceremony than Hunter describes.

Day one: the burning of the screen

[Shots 115 - 128]

Informants said that *umphumo* would begin before dawn, but in fact it took place only once the sun was up [115-117]. Just as *ukutsiba intaba* should happen after dark, symbolizing the death of the girl, so her coming out of seclusion should happen before dawn, symbolizing her birth as a woman (Waldman 1989). But the given time of 04h00 passed and, cocooned in the dark hut, participants only awoke after sunrise. Nolele arrived even later [123]. The reality of the ritual was thus consistently more flexible than the ideal structure of order and

detail which was articulated.

The process of leaving seclusion was enmeshed within a web of symbolic objects, dress, locations and performance. It began with the burning of the bamboo screen [124-127] and the cleaning and re-flooring of the hut [128]. The young girls removed the stakes of the screen and returned them to the cattlebyre, from whence they originally came [122]. The hut having been cleaned and the initiate purified, these items were no longer a danger to the cattle, and served to give notice to the ancestors of the initiate's purified state. The branches and reeds of the screen were burned in a large bonfire [124-127], symbolizing both the fertility of the initiate and, at the same time, the closure of the ritual (Richards, 1956).

For the young girls and boys, it represented the end of their nights of fun, laughter and sexual titillation or passion. They stood around the bonfire until it was almost reduced to ashes, and then went home. They returned for one last night, but the dark, intimate space had been destroyed and they would all sleep with the initiate, in the lightened, roomy hut. The *intonjane* remained in the hut, head covered with a black kerchief. She smeared her face with red ochre, just as she did when entering the hut with her twin. At this stage, the colour red signalled maturity, womanhood and fertility (Waldman, 1989; Ngubane, 1977), and a return to normality (Pauw, 1975: 126). She hid behind the door as, for her,

the ritual was not over until the last symbolic rites were performed.

Day two: going out

[Shots 129 - 137]

In the morning, the *intonjane*, rejoined by her twin, washed in a basin of water. Water is a powerful symbol of cleanliness and purification. Douglas says, 'Water possesses this power of purifying, of regenerating, of giving new birth' (1966: 161). This symbolic act was appropriate as she was about to emerge from her 'womb', reborn as a beautiful, pale, plump woman, ripe, ideally, for marriage.

Both initiates then smeared red ochre again on their faces [130], put on a black kerchief [131, 133] and the female initiate dressed in a ceremonial *umbhaco* (long red skirt with black trim) [134]. The long skirt, worn usually by older women, symbolized her transition to maturity (Ngubane, 1977) while the colour red again indicated her gradual return to normality (Pauw, 1975). She threw a small red blanket around her shoulders. The *amakhankata* also donned black kerchiefs on their heads. The male twin paid less attention to ritual detail, however, and wore trousers and shoes under the cover of his blanket [131]. Everyone wore blankets of vivid hues [135].

Ideally, informants said, the old *ikhankata* would lead the initiate, in procession, out of seclusion, but this was not obligatory. Broster says of *intonjane* amongst the Tembu that the initiate's father would lead her out of seclusion and give her milk to drink, thereby freeing her from taboo (1976: 49). In Folokhwe, neither Nolele nor Nothimba arrived for the going-out procession. The departure from seclusion was led, instead, with much lightheartedness, by a friend of Wagontsha called Valuvala [130-136].

[Shot 130] Valuvala:
'Go and take your blanket and smear your body with clay. Hi-hi-hi-hi. Don't rub it off. Eh-eh! ... You are to be quiet. Go and fetch a blanket...'

[Shot 131] Valuvala to Wagontsha, while he plays the fool with the black headdress he must wear:
'...Just take off your shoes and smear clay on them. No shoes were clutched in this initiation. There is no custom in the clutching of shoes...'

[Shot 133] Valuvala, amidst much hilarity, instructs everyone:
'Let us go, let us go... We are going to fetch *intonjane*. Let us go. Cover and pull your blankets so that you may not be seen to be wearing a pair of trousers!... Listen you all. Before we go. We are going to go round that corner, around the bush, behind this hut. When you reach the window, wait for me there. I will be coming with a cup of milk. A person must just have a sip. There is also going to be an animal dung. Everyone should spit on it, 'Phuu!'. How enjoyable milk is, but do not drink it! This should be done by each

person repeatedly.'

'*Intonjane* may drink a little.'
'No, do not drink it.'
'I will spit saliva only!'

A network of symbols was enmeshed in this act of sipping milk. As discussed earlier, a young girl can only drink milk from the cattle of her own patrilineal group. However, she is prohibited from drinking milk while ritually impure as this would endanger her father's cattle and, symbolically, her relationship with her patriarchal ancestors. Implied in this compliance with the taboo on milk is her acceptance of the principle of patriarchal descent and its inherent value system (Pauw, 1975: 129). In her newly purified state the initiate, the woman-as-girl, again sipped the milk of her natal family. This signified the successful establishment of harmonious relations with the ancestors. As prosperity and harmony amongst families and kinship groups is closely linked to cattle, inheritance and the ancestor cult, this act of drinking milk indicated the well-being not just of the individual, but also of kin and community, as well, of course, the appeasement of the ancestors (Pauw, 1975; Ferguson, 1985; Kuper, 1982).

Once married, a woman can only drink of the milk of her husband's cattle if it is ritually given to her. After *intonjane*, when the initiate returns to her husband, she will again be able to drink his family's milk at ritual givings. As will be discussed shortly, informants said

that one such ritual giving was usually held immediately on her return in recognition of her transformed status.

The procession filed out of the hut, around the back of the homestead to the door of the parent's hut [134]. There was no singing. At the door, they stopped [135]. Valuvala led the queue, followed by the *iintonjane*, the two young *amakhankata* and finally the young girls. They stood quietly, their heads bowed and their faces hidden beneath black kerchiefs. The other girls, heads and faces bare, laughed and joked behind them.

[Shot 135] A woman brings Valuvala a cup of milk from the main hut.

Woman:
'You like to talk. Talkative. What is it that makes you be so talkative? He spits, he drinks. How amused is this child. Make them sip and say 'Here she drinks. Here she spits'. Yes, she spits.'

Amidst much laughter, the two *iintonjane* and two young *amakhankata* solemnly took a sip of milk, then spat it onto the dung pile Valuvala collected from the cattlebyre and placed at his feet [135].

Valuvala:
'She drinks.'

The group:
'She drinks.'

Valuvala:
'She spits.'

The group:
'She spits.'

Hunter says the same act of spitting milk onto dung is conducted towards the end of the marriage ritual (1934: 201). At *intonjane*, the whiteness of the milk signified appeasement of the ancestors (Pauw, 1975: 124) while spitting it onto cattle dung symbolised vividly the initiate's newly purified state. No longer was she a danger to the cattle.

Valuvala returned the dung to the cattlebyre [135]. This powerfully symbolic act made manifest, to participants and ancestors, the initiate's newly purified state. The initiate's transformation was complete. Her links to her natal family and ancestors were reaffirmed.

The twins entered the hut and sat, faces still shielded, still subdued. The others followed happily. The conversation at the initiate's re-incorporation into family life began with some joking about 'coming from overseas' and 'needing accommodation and food' [136]. The 'traveller' had returned from her 'voyage', her journey complete. She had been separated from the liminal state and was now incorporated back into structure (McAllister, 1981: 48).

[Shot 136] Nosamsi, the initiate's mother, addresses them:
'Well, where are the people coming from? These are visitors. Boniswa, you must talk.'

Boniswa, shyly:
'We are from overseas. We have come to ask for accommodation.'

Valuvala:
'Loosen your voice, when you speak. Why do you speak as though afraid? Who is going to beat you? Yes, your ship has been wrecked.'

Nosamsi:
'Yes, gosh. Actually, where are you from?'

Boniswa:
'We are from the Mbashe River.'

Woman:
'Oh, let us admit, you may get the accommodation. From the place where you have come from, do you now find yourselves in good health?'

Boniswa:
'Oh, we are still well. There is no complaint. How are you?'

Woman:
'We are also well with no complaint. We are still happy. Don't cry, don't cry [to her little child].'

(Shot 137) Group still gathered. The women and the girls chat, jokingly:
'This has come to an end. That hut is burnt down. Now you are all going to stay here.'
'We shall not all stay here.'
'What are you going to do?'
'We are going back to that hut!'
'Wow! He-he-he-he. It is not yours. You have come back now. Where are your dishes? You've come back. You're going to give up hope. You are no longer going to get your food there. You are getting it here. He-he-he-he...'

This dialogue was a rehearsal of an occasion during the marriage rite when a party of people arrives at the groom's homestead. They are asked where they come from. They reply that they are travellers and wish for a place to sleep, whereupon a hut is allocated for their use (Hunter, 1934: 194). At *intonjane*, however, th. mother teased that she had no accommodation for them and they must return to their hut. Finally, everyone relaxed and chatted. The *iintonjane*, however, still sat, eyes down, talking quietly.

Only when all the girls left did Nomfundo and Wagontsha look up, pull back their kerchiefs so that their faces were revealed, change into normal clothes and start chatting in normal voices. The ritual was over.

In the absence of elder supervision, the informality and diminished community status of *umngeno* was evident. Besides the initiate, her twin and his friend, Valuvala, only young girls participated in the procession, met by the initiate's mother and a friend. This last leg was conducted in a tone, generally, of amusement and informality. Yet *umphumo* was necessary as it served to put the seal of completion on the ritual by consecrating the initiate's purified state and the success of the ritual through the drinking of milk, and by incorporating her back into the natal family.

Return to normality

(no footage)

In Jotelo, the initiated young woman re-smeared the walls and floor and then re-furnished the seclusion hut. At the impending arrival of her brother - whose hut was used without his permission - this took on some urgency. After about a week, she was given gifts of new clothes, blankets, some cups, some beer, and so on. Then she finally left for her husband's homestead.

Ukutyisa amasi - the ritual giving of milk

(no footage)

Kohler (1933) says that, in her unclean state, a menstruating girl would be restricted from drinking *amasi* (sour milk). This taboo served, metaphorically, to protect both cattle and women from the danger of the woman's polluted state. On the day of her coming out, her first menstruation finished, the father of the young woman would have a goat or beast slaughtered and there would be much celebrating indicating his pleasure at her newly marriageable state. She would be given *amasi* once again after her period of abstinence, in recognition both of her ritual purification and subsequent return to normal state, and as formal recognition of her marriageable state. She would now be allowed to drink *amasi* again in her natal home on a daily basis, except

for over future menstruating periods.

In the late 1980s, the initiate drank *amasi* twice: firstly at *umphumo*, her 'going out', and secondly when she arrived back at her husband's homestead. When she returned to her husband, a goat (called *amasi*) was slaughtered on her arrival and she was given milk from the slaughtered goat by her husband's parents in a ritual called *ukutyisa amasi*. In fact, the ritual goat's milk was cows milk (sometimes purchased) which was poured into a milking pale (*ithunga*) belonging to the homestead. Into this pail, a little water was added squeezed from the dung of a goat (*umshwane*). The milking rope was also dropped into the milk in the pail. This then was the ritual milk which the wife drank.

If the husband's family did not have a goat to slaughter, the senior male of the homestead would hand the wife the spear of that homestead to hold, and would announce that they were ritually giving her milk - at which point she could drink any milk.

A woman may drink milk at home and at friends, but never at her husband's cattlebyre. This prohibition is only lifted on special occasions, such as this ritual giving of milk. Immediately thereafter, the prohibition comes back into force until the next ritual giving. The ritual giving serves to recognise the transition and new maturity of the returned, purified woman. It acknowledges a subtle change in her status within the

household. This ritual goat killing and drinking of milk is yet another practice drawn from the marriage rite.

Conclusion

The reasons for the instigation of the *intonjane* ritual in Shixini were never clarified. The rite could have been motivated for complex, private reasons emanating from within the daughter's marriage; for reasons of increasing personal authority and seniority; or the reason may have been as simple, but important, as the opportunity to fulfil ancestral obligations and reciprocate a community's hospitality, while the family could afford to. Whatever the reasons, the footage reveals that the ritual served various aims.

We can see that intonjane was, at one level, clearly a rehearsal for marriage as there were many aspects of the initiation rite which corresponded to the marriage ceremony (Hunter, 1934: 194-201). The initiate, like the bride, was covered in a blanket and kept her face and head shielded. Both initiate and bride must act submissively, as expected of newly married wives. Men who attend the wedding ceremony take unmarried girls of the bridal party into the *veld* on certain evenings where they indulge in sex without penetration. At *intonjane*, it was allowed that some unmarried girls also indulge in what Hunter calls 'sweethearting', practising sex without penetration (ibid: 172) with their boyfriends. At the first goat slaughter, the initiate was given a special

piece of meat from the right foreleg, called *intsonyama*, just like a bride.

The climax of both the initiation and marriage rites is called *umtshato*, which means wedding day, and involves the ritual slaughter of a beast. Hunter says the unmarried girls of the bridal party, and the bride herself, are stripped naked to the waist on this day and viewed by all of the men and women (ibid). At *intonjane*, young, unmarried girls paraded bare-chested before the men and women on the last day of *umtshato*. The final part of a marriage ceremonial involves the bride being given a dish of milk once a beast is slaughtered. She spits out the first mouthful, then drinks the milk. *Intonjane*, too, concluded with the initiate sipping and spitting out the milk of her father's cattle, demonstrating her newly purified state while also signifying, in this marriage rehearsal context, the principle of clan exogamy (Pauw, 1975: 128).

Within the womblike protection of the seclusion hut, the initiate underwent a process of symbolic re-birth into adulthood, in preparation, ideally, for marriage. She entered, naked as a babe, wrapped only in a blanket. She remained secluded in this warm, dark, womb-like place, quietly fed and looked after, talking only in whispers, while the pivotal points of her life were celebrated, symbolically, by her agnatic group and community.

In her state of ritual impurity, she was characterised as

sick. She was kept out of sight and hearing, but her presence was never forgotten and was continually recognised and supported. Her recovery, once purified, was marked and celebrated. At a symbolic level, the saltless food and the *intonjane*'s injunction to whisper throughout her internment supports Leach's arguments (1976: 78) that, during separation, things happen in reverse. This was symbolic of the ambiguous nature of things when in a liminal stage. She finally emerged, beautiful and purified - the perfect woman - socially re-born, transformed into adulthood, ideally prepared for marriage and childbirth.

For the duration of her ordeal of seclusion, the woman-as-girl was expected to modify exuberant girlish behaviour to conform to the social norm of what constitutes mature, adult behaviour for a woman. She was supposed to be quiet, demure, subdued and passive. However, her ordeal was complicated by various participants who, while supporting her through the rite, also challenged her by offering a wide range of contrasting behavioural perspectives. Her choice to conform to expected adult behaviour, and the community's recognition of her obedience and her will to succeed, was what effected her transformation to adulthood in her own, and in their, eyes.

Of course, this is a fairly standard interpretation of the rite and one which could be served as well by notetaking as by video. More valuable and unique a

contribution from video are the patterns and spatial information which the footage reveals in the course of focusing on women.

An overview of the footage discloses a powerful metaphor, threaded throughout the ritual, of a journey which the initiates undertook and which was central to the efficacy of the rite. The initiate undertook a journey in both duration in time and movement in space. Her itinerary literally involved several stages: firstly, from the main hut to the seclusion hut, then outside the seclusion hut, and finally returning back from the seclusion hut to the main hut. Metaphorically, she journeyed away from her home to a new environment, was transformed, and then returned home again. The journey took place at dusk, as darkness slowly settled. The dark, Waldman (1989:8) tells us, symbolized the death of the girl in preparation for her rebirth as a woman.

The starting point for the ritual was the main hut of the homestead. Just as the cattlebyre was the heart of the homestead for men, so the main hut was the heart for women. These two areas were home to the ancestors (Berglund, 1976: 102). The hut was also where the initiate, as a child, ate, played and slept. It was significant that it was from this point that her journey, supposedly away from childhood, began.

Although she was already a mature woman, the journey the initiate undertook was of the newly menstruating young

girl as she symbolically enacted her supposed departure from childhood and her approaching state of readin 's for marriage and childbirth, when she would leave home and join her husband's family. This enactment by the woman-as-girl symbolized, then, a young girl's approaching departure from her natal family and their invoking, through symbols and speechmaking, of good health and fertility upon her.

Kratz (1994: 149) argues that the sequence of places utilised in the rite, and clearly revealed on video, is a part of the transformative process. Literally, the journey took her around the homestead to the seclusion hut. She travelled in a clockwise direction, away from the cattlebyre, around and behind the main hut, until she finally reached the seclusion hut. Figuratively, this was a journey away from the homestead, into the outside, leaving her childhood and her natal home behind her. As she prepared to leave, the protection of the ancestors was invoked to remain with her on her journey through adult life.

The initiate always travelled in procession, in ritual order behind the ritual teacher. Kratz argues that

> processional form is a dramatic icon... that links initiation to other life-cycle ceremonies, increasing social and spatial scope over time
>
> (1994: 153).

The procession - clockwise behind the main hut away from the cattlebyre - was different to the procession of the singers (who visited every morning and evening) and who moved in a circle in the courtyard, that is, in front of the cattlebyre or between the cattlebyre and the seclusion hut. The initiate, in her impure (supposedly menstruating) state, avoided polluting the cattlebyre. However, the singer's journey linked women, cattle and fertility - all male 'property'. This served to remind the woman-as-girl, her menstrual state symbolic of her capacity to give birth, of her place within the realm of male authority, as represented by the cattlebyre.

The cattlebyre and the courtyard, respectively the male and female heart of the homestead, were significant locations within the rite. Imbued with historical, religious and symbolic significance, these locations re-occurred again and again at this and other rites. The dominant values, beliefs and attitudes, regarded as 'traditional' and embodied in these special site were, through their recurrent utilisation, enacted, re-created, reinforced, legitimized.

The manner in which the initiate's space was shared, decorated and utilised offers clues to the nature of her ordeal. The initiate spent her nights, for the duration of seclusion, with the raucous company of boys and girls in a sexually titillating environment. Explicitly sexual images decorated the walls and teasing conversations are conducted, unseen but heard, next door to her, separated

only by a light reed screen - and this when, were she a young girl, her sexual curiosity would be at its peak. Her first menstruation would 'traditionally' have passed and her body would have been in its prime, fertile and ready for pregnancy and childbirth. At this point, when her sexuality was ripening, she had to exert the force of will to resist participating, or even showing interest.

In contrast, male and female elders offered a conservative perspective. Elders re-created and manipulated notions of 'tradition' which incorporate patriarchal assumptions of gender and identity, as mechanisms for appropriating and legitimizing their authority and reinforcing social control over the agnatic group and the community. It was in deference to such patriarchal notions that the initiate enacted this inert role. Yet, within this patriarchal framework, within the space provided by the rite, young women challenged the passive role enacted by the initiate by mocking men (who expect such passivity) in movement, in gesture, in speech and song. This challenging of the notion that women should be subdued was supported by older women who harangued and mocked men for supposedly trying to do them out of meat, especially younger men for their ignorance of custom. Their body language, gestures and words combined emotively to refute this submissive notion of women.

The division and utilisation of space therefore had enormous symbolic power in this rite. Within one

particular area, the initiate acted out a male 'ideal' new bride. In the dark space next door, young children acted out, seemingly unchecked, the wild and untamed behaviour expected of youth. Older men wielded their authority in the areas 'traditionally' regarded as their domain, namely the cattlebyre, while women explicitly contested that authority verbally and symbolically by challenging men about their 'traditional' tasks from both without and within the heart of their space.

Throughout seclusion, the initiate was required to uphold the idealized, almost asexual male perspective of the female. This, then, was the proving ground of her maturity. In her role of woman-as-girl, she was required to prove she could maintain adult poise when all around were challenging it if she wanted to be recognised as an adult. She learnt through experience. At the same time, the other participants learnt to treat her as an adult through witnessing her will to succeed. The physical journey was therefore a metaphor for the mental and social journey to maturity.

The physical journey was also a metaphor for transition to a state of purity, as preparation for marriage and childbirth. Hunter (1934) describes how when a girl is menstruating, she is regarded as ritually impure and thus dangerous to people and cattle. The impurity and danger of the initiate's polluted state (Turner, 1967) required her to be separated from others until the danger had passed. Before she could be returned to society, she had

to undergo another journey to restore her to health, purity and fertility. This second leg, in which all polluted items were buried or destroyed, symbolized her newfound state of purity and fertility. She was now ready to leave seclusion. This was accomplished through a final leg. She travelled, again in procession, back to the main hut, where she drank the milk of her father's cattle symbolizing her purity, her appeasement of the ancestors, and her acceptance of the patriarchal value system of her community. Her parents gave her gifts of new clothes and other items, symbolizing her new state.

As among the Okiek, through the metaphor of the journey involving themes of fertility and good health, sexuality and patriarchy,

> spatial domains and associations are brought together to create ritual arenas. The initiate's journey weaves them all together; the girls pass through a sequence of significant locations, their itinerary for transformation. The journey combines actual movement through space in processions and figurative movement created by changing the initiates' living space
>
> (Kratz, 1994: 151).

In bringing together, at the ritual climax, both sexes and three generations of women, a rite of passage was formally witnessed and through it, the initiate's position as a responsible, contributing adult was confirmed in the context of family, agnatic group and community. In return, the natal family and their kin, as

well as all participants, occupied publicly the moral high ground by following custom and offering sacrifice to the ancestors.

The rite may not, in fact, have initiated a girl into adulthood, but that was no matter. It was the ritual definition of 'reality' as a vehicle to serve the individual, the agnatic group and the community which was important. The fact that the initiate was already mature was irrelevant. The rite still served to affirm her role as a woman, thereby making a valuable contribution to her sense of identity. The initiate was recognised and supported throughout the rite, yet it was finally only by virtue of her choosing to comply to the expectations of kin and community, by demonstrating her maturity in the face of ongoing ordeal, that her position was redefined (Kratz, 1994, 227).

In Folokhwe, *intonjane* was a ritual of protection, safeguarding and celebrating - for both men and women, for young and old - in a normative, rather than actual, sense women's ability to procreate. Menstruation was merely an activating symbol, a physical manifestation rich with symbolic meaning, which allowed fertility, sexuality and authority to be brought forward as dominating themes. These are possibly the most threatening and controversial subjects for men and women within a patriarchal context as the female's unique ability to reproduce is the one way in which women can truly challenge male authority.

In manipulating these themes, both men and women were given the opportunity to bring to the fore, and challenge, ideas about control and authority over female reproduction which reflect, reinforce and even contest assumptions about gender and age. The persistence of the ritual is understandable as a vehicle for acting out this controversy, for women to manipulate the boundaries of male authority over their bodies within the fairly safe and accepted parameters of patriarchy, and for men to exercise their needs for securing control over women and, particularly, over female reproduction.

At the same time, for both the initiate and the community, it is clear that the acquisition of two states - maturity and purification - through the celebration of marriage, fertility and childbirth at *intonjane*, brought a sense of definition to a woman's identity and, through it, to the identities of her kin and her community. It was the culmination of an ongoing process of change and growth for the woman: her changing role in the home and community; her changing relationship with men and, as a mother, with her children; and, with pregnancy and childbirth, a changing relationship with her body and her own attitudes to her role in the community and her purpose in life (Dougherty, 1978:8). Women's initiation is a mark of the importance of women in any culture and of that culture's willingness to recognise this publicly and institutionally (Lincoln, 1981: 91).

As a mature woman, the public performance of *intonjane*

served the initiate by aiding her quest for seniority and authority. She was identified to the ancestors and, with their stamp of approval, she was approved within her agnatic group. Also, the good fortune wished upon her was shared with her husband's agnatic group and so, although an outsider, she could more firmly assert her role in this domain. Having made such a positive contribution, the woman has grounds slowly to assume a wider authority and more public role amongst community members.

Jean Comaroff (1985: 85) takes this a quest for authority amongst women further in her argument that, while initiation for men is a transition into becoming a fully social being, for women that transition is gradual and incomplete. Only on reaching menopause are women, no longer able to conceive, regarded as fully socialised and hence able to cross the gender divide and participate in the community with the authority of men. Only then are women entrusted with the authority of passing on custom. Having taken so long to earn their role as teacher, rather than worker, it is not surprising that, once achieved, their teachings do little to seriously challenge the tenuous equality they share with men. They collude with elder men of their clan, therefore, in maintaining the *status quo* (Douglas 1975: 61).

Clearly, then, this woman's rite can still be seen as a vital part of the marriage ritual, as part of a three-stage process of initiation into what it meant to be a

woman in Shixini in the late 1980s. We can say *intonjane* has moved from its role as a rite of separation from childhood to become rather a rite of incorporation into womanhood (Van Gennep 1960: 11) and, in Jean Comaroff's terms, into a form of adulthood *en route* to an equality, in many - if not all - senses, to that of men. Hence we can still call *intonjane* an initiation rite.

A performative analysis of the footage from a female perspective therefore demonstrates clearly that the heart of the ritual, for women, was the expression of a woman's cultural identity, with all its gender- and age-inflected nuances. The ritual focused broadly on women's concerns and thereby served a useful purpose for women. At an individual level, the rite served to make statements about female identity; at the level of kinship, the value and contribution of women in a patriarchal system was expressed; and at a community level, women's need for security for themselves and their children was demonstrated in the reinforcing of conservative values and the emphasis on strengthening the social fabric of the community.

Throughout, an interwoven and overarching theme of patriarchy and authority is shown to have been upheld by elders and unchallenged by participants. The rhetoric of conflict never really confronted the patriarchal values which underpinned the society. These values were continuously endorsed by elders, while younger men and women, as well as the youth who participated, implicitly

demonstrated acceptance through conformity in behaviour, obedience and respect to elders. It would appear, then, as if all participants conspired in a dramatisation of social organisation which aimed at strengthening the conservative moral and social foundations of the community.

And yet, it must also be kept in mind that the context of performance mandated acquiescence, to some extent, by all participants - particularly when the alternative of derision was prohibited by the religious context of the rite. Controlled by elders, particularly elder men, the audience of younger men and women were not of equal status or authority. Hence the elder's argument for social control might not be common sentiment. It must be acknowledged, therefore, that, to some extent, the social identities of certain participants may have been imposed in the enacting of this drama. There are subtle indications to suggest this.

Firstly, interviews held prior to the rite beginning could not establish the purpose for the rite being instigated. The initiate's mother said her daughter had asked to be *intonjane*, and yet could not give reasons why. Instead, she said that she thought the rite a good idea to protect her daughter and children from ill health. The initiate herself only claimed to enjoy the idea of a respite from domestic work. By the end of the rite, the footage reveals the initiate complaining openly about her lengthy seclusion and expressing a hearty

desire to return to her husband.

The possibility exists that the rite was suggested and instigated rather by the mother with the support of the initiate's elder brother, who authorised it. Were this the case, the rite would still serve, superficially, a similar purpose as before, but with a lesser degree of collusion by younger women and, perhaps, a different emphasis. This is hinted at in the footage and is supported by recent research.

In the footage, the subtle emphasis on social control in kinship forums and, more explicitly, in the community forum of *umtshato* - and the subsequent lack of interest by the ritual leaders when the rite's focus returned, after *umtshato*, to women's issues enacted only amongst children - suggests that the importance of the ritual lay primarily in the strengthening of conservative values which stress the role and authority of the elders, and particularly, of elder men over women. McAllister's research would appear to support such a suggestion. He argues that 'traditional' relationships of authority over women, as espoused in ritual, are changing on the ground. Where once a mother-in-law expected subservience from her son's wife, now she pampers the young bride for fear of earning her son's wrath and losing his wage (1994: 36). Likewise, the social framework which once socialised and protected a young girl's sexuality has largely broken down. Girls now have greater sexual freedom, resulting in multiple boyfriends, soaring pregnancy rates, and

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

PUBLISHER:
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

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

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

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