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Music-making of the Xhosa diasporic community: a focus on the Umguyo tradition in Zimbabwe

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction to and Background of the Zimbabwean Xhosa people

The Xhosas in Zimbabwe are a diasporic community who originate from South Africa (Makambe 1982: 7). They are a Mfengu group which is believed to comprise members from several ethnic groups like the Gcalekas, the Hlubis, the Zulus, just to name a few.[1] During the colonial period, the Zimbabwean Xhosas settled in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) under the leadership of Cecil John Rhodes, a British economic migrant and politician.[2] They settled in Mbembesi which is situated in the Matabeleland North Province, 42 kilometres north-east of Bulawayo (see Figure 1.1).



Figure 1.1 Map of Matabeleland North showing the location of Mbembesi. Map data© 2011 Tracks4Africa .[3]

[1] Throughout this dissertation, I use Zimbabwean Xhosa, Mfengu, and Fingo interchangeably. I use the term that suits my explanation best at a particular time.

[2] Rhodes, founder of Rhodesia, was born in 1853 and died in 1902. He was so passionate about colonialism such that he made desperate means to expand the British territory towards the north. He entered a new region that had already been occupied by the Shona and Ndebele people. He sought mining concessions with the Shona and Ndebele leaders. In 1895, the newly-founded territory was named after him as Rhodesia (http://www.bulawayo1872.com/history/rhodescj.htm).

[3] On the map, my research site is referred to as Mbambezi instead of Mbembesi. Such were common mistakes during the colonial era. Even though White colonial writers endeavoured to spell and pronounce English names of places and people correctly, comparatively, very minimal effort seems to have been made

Although Mbembesi is admittedly the first site where the Xhosa people first settled in Zimbabwe, they are currently spread almost throughout the country. For reasons of accessibility, I chose to focus my study on a single site, Mbembesi, where I grew up.

According to Ethos Makambe, the Xhosas arrived as a diaspora community in several groups beginning in 1888 to 1890 (ibid: 7). Referring to the Zimbabwean Xhosa community as a diaspora in my dissertation has a double implication. First, it recognises the Xhosa community in Zimbabwe as a group that has relocated from its original place to two or more foreign sites as indicated by Kim Butler (2001: 206). Second, even though the African Union (AU) definition of African diaspora is 'peoples of African origin living outside the [African] continent (Bauböck and Faist 2010: 79), I also view African diaspora as inclusive of internal migration within Africa. Thus, I consider relocations of peoples of Africa within Africa as an extension of the African diaspora.[4]

Besides being generally accepted that most diasporic movements see migrants relocating with their musical traditions, it is also clear that most African societies relocated with their music and other traditions in their oral and auditory forms.[5] What keeps these traditions alive rather is their regular performance (Bell 1997: 39). In the same way, the Zimbabwean Xhosa diaspora took with them their musical traditions that survived to this day because of being practised frequently. One such tradition is the *umguyo* ritual, on which this research project is focused.[6]

Umguyo is the major identifying practice for the Zimbabwean Xhosa people.[7] It can be defined as an initiation ceremony that 'converts' Xhosa boys into 'men'.[8] According to Zimbabwean Xhosas, males between the ages of 18 to 20 are considered eligible for circumcision. This means that an uncircumcised Xhosa male continues to be referred to as

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by them to portray indigenous names correctly. Up until this day, most of these names have not yet been corrected. To cite a few examples, MaNdebele land is known as Matabeleland, Mzila wegazi is Mzilikazi, and Matojeni hills is known as Matopos.

[4] Correspondingly, in his analysis of musical migrations within southern African nations, Maurice Vambe identifies the relocation of African male employees within Southern Africa in the colonial protestant music as African diaspora (2008: 286-87).

[5] Although Alexander Akorlie Agordoh does not focus on diaspora studies, she perceives African music as an oral tradition that is passed from one generation to another (2005:26).

[6] Albert Kropf defines *Umguyo* as an 'all-night dance that takes place before the young men who are entering on the circumcision rites are circumcised' (1915: 138).

[7] Even though the frequency of these traditions may decline in drought periods, normally, no year passes without an *umguyo* ritual taking place.

[8] The Zimbabwean Xhosa people believe that a boy remains a boy until he is circumcised. Only by being circumcised is a man recognized in a society.

a boy, *inkwenkwe*, despite his advancement in age. Drawing from orally-attained knowledge, the Xhosa people inherited this tradition from their compatriots in South Africa through oral transmission. The Xhosa people both in Zimbabwe and South Africa (Gwata, 2009: 3) indicate that the Xhosa men believe that in order for a man to be a real 'man,' he ought to be circumcised for two main reasons. Firstly, like the South African Xhosas, the Zimbabwean Xhosas undergo the ritual in order to gain respect within their society. Thus, a circumcised Xhosa man is no longer called by his first name for the reason that his status would have changed. Instead, his name would be prefixed by '*bhuti'* (brother). Secondly, he is considered to be of marriageable age. To clarify this, in the Xhosa tradition there is no girl who would like to be married to an uncircumcised male. One of Feri Gwata's interviewees indicates that the statement, 'I would never date *inkwenkwe',* is very common among the unmarried young Xhosa women's conversations (Ibid: 20). Furthermore, a circumcised man can be entrusted with community duties, as he would have been groomed for those responsibilities during the initiation period. Nevertheless, *umguyo* is one amongst many musically-oriented activities of the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe. Therefore, this research pays special attention to the music performed during the *umguyo* tradition.

1.1 Aim

Considering that I refer to *umguyo* as a tradition throughout my discussion, it would be pertinent to provide a historical description of *umguyo.* In the process therefore, I describe the procedures of the *umguyo* ceremony. I discuss the preparatory stages, the administration of the actual ceremony and finally the post-ceremonial events that are necessary to shape the initiate into a 'real' man. I also describe the music performed during the ceremony.[9] In turn, the narratives of the stages stated above assists the interested reader of my work to comprehend the basis of interpretations that I attach to the music performances articulated during the *umguyo* ceremony.

[9] This music indirectly reveals historical journeys that the Zimbabwean Xhosa people and their music undertook. These are both physical journeys (travelled by the Zimbabwean Xhosas) and abstract journey taken by their music. The comprehension of this abstract journey justifies the changes in the Zimbabwean Xhosa music that I discuss in my project results.

Under normal circumstances, different musical activities are performed during the *umguyo* ritual.[10] Music plays an important role as it assists the attendees, males and females, to be more at ease while they wait for the initiate's operation. My informants indicate that in the past, Xhosa males and females maintained their culturally-stated musical positions, and created music that seemed relevant to their expected musical contributions. For instance, women composed music that highlighted their value in the society hence entertaining each other. During my fieldwork, conversely, I noticed some crossovers in gender musical roles of the *umguyo* ceremony. For example, girls disregarded the natural boundaries that demarcate males and females as they participate in the musical activities of the initiate's farewell vigil. Due to that, I seek to show how musical performances during the Zimbabwean Xhosa *umguyo* ceremony shed light on socio-cultural issues like gender and behaviour.

Ruth Stone states that issues of gender and music behaviour are associated with cultural concepts (2008: 145-162). She also states that the majority of African societies are patriarchal and thus gender biased. In such a society, men's issues take precedence over women's. In this work I discuss how the Xhosa people assign musical gender roles to their males and females. There are clear reasons to believe that Zimbabwean Xhosa women occupy positions that keep them submissive to men. Although women have difficult physical tasks to fulfil specifically in preparation for and during the ceremony, some music sung during the day plays down their importance. The idea above is pivoted on the assertion that music can function to reflect or affect inter-gender relations in ethnomusicology (ibid.). In addition, I illustrate how music can cause behavioural change in people. In so doing, 'crossovers' in gender roles indicated earlier in this chapter become my focal point. Thus, paying attention to this will assist me to assess how a Zimbabwean Xhosa society's behaviour can trigger a change in their music-making for the *umguyo* ceremony.

In general, I exhibit how the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe make music for their boys' circumcision ceremony by paying special attention to selected song lyrics of the *umguyo* musical repertoire. While Marie Jorritsma (2011: 42), in her work on sacred music of the coloured community in Kroonvale, South Africa, declares that elements of Kroonvale

[10] Most commonly, the procedures of *umguyo* involve musical activities. However, some Xhosa males prefer to be circumcised in hospitals, while other families hold small and non-musical gatherings for their sons.

coloured community's history are archived in music, I argue that the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe have ensured the continued existence of their historical past by archiving it in the lyrics of the *umguyo* songs. Therefore, studying lyrics of the Zimbabwean Xhosa *umguyo* songs enables me to achieve several things in this project. First, I am able to determine the extent to which the Zimbabwean Xhosa community is cognisant of its diasporic position. In support of the preceding approach, James Robertson, in his own context of *Okinawan* Diaspora, claims that there are songs that 'act as sites of homeland cultural memory'. He further states that singing such songs reveal 'diaspora consciousnesses' of the diasporic community (2010: 431). In so doing, I establish how the Zimbabwean Xhosa people archive their past in song lyrics.[11] Second, focusing on song lyrics also allows me to make known the discrepancies, if any, between the Zimbabwean Xhosa/Mfengu music-making in the postcolonial era and the Mfengu music-making in pre-colonial and colonial periods. Thus, through assessing music texts, it is possible to demonstrate how Zimbabwean Xhosas' long stay in the diaspora has affected their music-making from the colonial to the postcolonial period.

Even though Zimbabwe is recognised as a postcolonial nation that both receives and dispatches migrants (Kyker 2011: 154), in music diaspora studies, Zimbabwe is highly portrayed as more of a homeland than a host land. Most ethnomusicological writers significantly perceive Zimbabwe as a source more than a destination for the migrants.[12] For that reason, I seek to demonstrate the possibility of studying Zimbabwe from a migrant-receiving end in ethnomusicological diaspora studies. Studying Zimbabwe from this angle will consequently draw the ethnomusicological researchers' attention to minority groups. Thus, my work makes ethnomusicological scholars aware of the opportunity to study musics of minority groups akin to that of the Zimbabwean Xhosas.[13]

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[11] I utilize the term 'archive' as used by Carol Muller (2004) and Jorritsma (2011).

[12] Daniel Tevera, Lovemore Zinyama, and Makambe, the historians, perceive Zimbabwe as a supply, a destination, and a passageway, predominantly, for Southern African migrants (2002: 2; 1982: 7). Although Vambe (2008), and Jennifer Kyker (2011), documents written by musicologists, both acknowledge Zimbabwe as a possible destination for migrants, they do not study Zimbabwean immigrants and their music. Besides focusing on Zimbabwean emigrants themselves, they also consider how music created in Zimbabwe addresses Zimbabwean diaspora issues. In his own context, Thomas Turino indicates how the Zimbabwean nationalists ignored genres from Malawi and Mozambique (2000: 67).

[13] The general focus in Zimbabwe is presently on two main indigenous ethnic groups, Shona and Ndebele. In scholarly works, researchers interested in Zimbabwean indigenous music generally concentrate on music of the Shona and Ndebele (Jenje-Makwenda 1995; Nyathi 1991; Huwiler 1995; Vambe 2006 and 2008; Kyker, 2011). In media, only in the period between 2004 and 2008, when Jonathan Moyo became the minister of Information and Publicity, was the radio airplay opened to minor languages in Zimbabwe. In 2008, when he resigned from the ZANU PF, the governing political party, the focus on these minor languages declined. The only hope for these Zimbabwean indigenous minority groups, 'the Chewa, Chibarwe... Kalanga, Koisan,

Although the Xhosa people, presently regarded as minority, have been in Zimbabwe for more than a century, there is insufficient literature on the Xhosa people. As an insider in this community, I felt obliged to fill in the existing gap in the scholarly literature. Harry Wolcott's analysis of insider's ethnography reveals that an inquiry of a native ethnographer tends to go deeper in comparison to an outsider's (1999: 469). He continues to state that an insider asks things that an outsider would not because of the knowledge the insider possesses about his/her culture (ibid.). Wolcott's explanation is that a researcher only seeks to enhance the little knowledge that he already has. As such, he cannot frame questions on issues that he is completely ignorant of (ibid.). In the same context, I seek to dig beyond my experiences about the music of this community. In juxtaposing the Zimbabwean Xhosa community knowledge with scholarly records on the broad spectrum of Xhosa music in my writing, I demonstrate cultural knowledge that is relatively new in the body of literature.

Writing on the Zimbabwean Xhosa people has been my desire as far back as 1995 when I was doing my teacher training at Hillside teachers' college, in Zimbabwe.[14] During that period, I wrote an unpublished enquiry on how the *umguyo* tradition affects Xhosa children's education in Zimbabwe. The main challenge that I encountered was the dearth of relevant literature that supported my enquiry. Even though authorities like Makambe had already written on this group of people, internet sources were highly inaccessible then.[15] The hard copies that addressed Xhosas' educational experiences focused on South African Xhosas only. Continuing to explain my desire to make a printed record of the Zimbabwean Xhosas, I utilised an opportunity to write on their music in 2009, when I was doing my final year honours degree. However, I still could not find literature that directly addressed Zimbabwean Xhosa music despite the increased availability and accessibility of electronic reading materials.

The aim of this project is to draw attention to a custom which, in spite of its long existence in the Zimbabwean Xhosa communities, has obtained very limited attention in the

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Nambya, Ndau... Shangani...Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda and Xhosa,' lies in Chapter 1, Section 1-7 of the newly proposed national constitution (*Bulawayo Chronicle* Thursday 7 March 2013: 5). This charter portrays the languages listed above as major rather than minor. It is therefore my hope that these languages be included in the school curriculum hence drawing the attention of these ethnic groups, their culture, and primarily their musical traditions in the body of scholarly literature.

[14] Hillside teachers' college is situated in Bulawayo. All teacher trainees are expected to write a mini project on a topic of their choice.

[15] Makambe's paper entitled 'African Protest Movements in Southern Rhodesia before 1930' is generally available as a softcopy on the internet.

ethnomusicological literature. In contrast to South African Xhosa music traditions which have plentiful literature (Hansen 1981; Dargie 1988; McAllister 1997, and Dlephu 2001) and African music at large, the Zimbabwean Xhosa people are underrepresented in the body of knowledge. Within Zimbabwe only, there is growth in literature of the music of other ethnic groups. For instance, Paul Berliner (1993) writes on the Shona *mbira*; Perminus Matiure (2008) writes on the Zezuru *mbira* music and its position in the spirit possession. Paul Bajilla (2012) has writes on how Zimbabwean Ndebele music is a social commentary. Reflecting on the reasons behind the scarcity of literature addressing musical issues of the Zimbabwean Xhosa people, my attention was drawn towards two separate issues, namely, the outsiders' ignorance about the existence of the Mfengu people in Zimbabwe and the insiders' unwillingness to divulge information about their tradition.

From my own analysis, there are two major reasons attributed to the scarcity of written material relating to the music-making of Xhosa people in Zimbabwe. Firstly, there is a general lack of knowledge concerning the existence of Xhosa people in Zimbabwe. Many people both within and outside Zimbabwe are not aware that this community exists. At the South African Society for Research in Music (SASRIM) academic conference held in South Africa in 2012, two attendees approached me and commented in surprise that Xhosa people lived in Zimbabwe.[16] Secondly, the Zimbabwean Xhosas, like the South African Xhosas, are people who are reluctant to make known their traditions especially the boys' circumcision ceremony (Vincent 2010: 11). Interested outsiders are deterred by the Xhosa people's suspicion of outsiders and hence the unwillingness to discuss their tradition with them (outsiders). Drawing from the discussions that I had with my Xhosa interviewees, there was a general anxiety concerning how I was going to present my data despite my insider status. I assume that such fear emanates from the knowledge that it can be difficult to concentrate on musical issues without commenting on the salient non-musical issues of the *umguyo* tradition. Some among the Zimbabwean community, in spite of their apparent existence in this shared global village, still desire to keep their tradition secret hence

[16] I met Phindile Mphetshwa and Akhona Dzuta, a music lecturer at UNISA, at the SASRIM Annual Conference at the Tshwane University of Technology. At this conference, which ran from the 19th until 21st of July 2012, I presented a paper on the music of the Zimbabwean Xhosa people entitled, 'Song and Interpretation: An Analysis of *Iingoma Zokuqhuba Inkwenkwe* during the Xhosa *Umguyo* Ceremony in Zimbabwe'. From my presentation, they were both surprised to learn that there is a Xhosa community in Zimbabwe. These are not the only ones per se. As a student in South Africa, many South Africans that I have met wonder on how fluent I am when conversing in Xhosa yet I claim to be a Zimbabwean.

intentionally minimising changes and outsider influences. In this regard, Edward Powe had the good fortune to be granted permission to collect data on the male circumcision of the Zimbabwean Xhosa people despite his outsider status (2007: 729-745).

Even though Powe's work entitled, *An Amamfingo Circumcision Ceremony*, brings attention to the Zimbabwean Xhosa *umguyo* ritual in the academic records, he did not mention anything on the music that accompanies this tradition. Thus, my enquiry intends to place the Zimbabwean Xhosas on the musical map in five ways. Firstly, I qualify the Zimbabwean Xhosa community as a musical diaspora by explaining how Butler's six characteristics of diaspora are demonstrated in the formation of this community (2001: 206). Secondly, I explore the effects of diaspora on Xhosa music-making for the circumcision ceremony. In particular, I search for the Zimbabwean Xhosas' 'ethos of diaspora' (Robertson 2010: 442). In the context of his research based on the songs of the Okinawa, Robertson considers 'ethos of diaspora' as the new identity that people in the diaspora acquire over time (ibid.: 443). Thirdly, I strive to demonstrate how *umguyo* musical performances can be utilised as a social commentary (Ramnarine 2006: 276). That is, how, through song texts, the Xhosa diaspora community narrates its experiences of 'master/subordinate' relationship in the colonial era. Fourthly, I utilise Zimbabwean Xhosa music-making as a focal point for determining the general approach to music-making in postcolonial versus pre-colonial and colonial states. Lastly, I consider how Zimbabwean Xhosa *umguyo* music has been influenced by contemporary musical traditions.

In general, African contemporary musicians (either from within or outside a particular African society) would not usually perform traditional music of that particular society exactly the same way the ancient culture-owners would do. Contemporary musicians always strive to modernise traditional music or keep it up to the fashionable standards with the intention of commodifying it for the purposes of making a living out of their performances. Thus, contemporary musicians strive to make their music more palatable to their targeted consumers. In so doing, they would normally mix musical traits of different cultures and musical genres bringing about musical interactions and hence, change. Where there are musical interactions, there is bound to be cultural interruption which will finally call for interpretations. For that reason, I analyse the influence of contemporary music genres on the musical traditions of *umguyo*. I do so by focusing on musical elements like song lyrics, rhythm, instrumentation, and popular culture of the Xhosa people that centres

on their music-making. Thus, I discuss the effects of acculturation on diaspora music-making.

For a long time since their arrival from their motherland until 1987,[17] the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe, based at Mbembesi, worked to keep themselves as a homogenous group, not allowing other Zimbabwean ethnic groups to stay amongst them. All this was done to avoid acculturation hence safeguarding their musical identity from change. However, since culture is always re-invented, this diasporic community has not managed to keep their traditions, including their music, away from outside influences. As much as the Zimbabwean Xhosas endeavour to retain the 'identity [of the *umguyo* music] from the culture from which it sprang' (Reyes-Schramm 1990, cited in Post 2006:275), it is practically impossible. Considering the wide cultural coexistence in Zimbabwe,[18] the Xhosa diaspora in Zimbabwe have no choice but to succumb to the changing times. Not all changes are negative. Some bring about development as they may 'alleviate a man's entire life' (Eade and Williams 1995: 12, cited in Nombembe 2009: 22).[19] In addition, Margaret Beissinger, Jane Tylus, and Susanne Wofford, state that all traditions are 'symbolically [re]constructed in the present and reflect contemporary concerns and purposes rather than a passively inherited legacy' (1999: 23). This notion explains why custodians of culture should not be anxious about the transformations and variations signalled in their cultures as traditions will always be inevitably re-composed to suit the demands of a particular period.

1.2 Rationale

In 2006, Tina K. Ramnarine called for more research on music-making in the diaspora (cited in Post 2006:275). She echoed Reyes-Schramm's concern for the need for urgent responses to the question about the continued existence of fundamentals of tradition in new situations and the capacity of music to remain the same away from its original culture (1990, cited in Post 2006: 275). In response to that, I have chosen to venture into a similar

[17] In 1987, the Zimbabwean Xhosas were resettled in areas around Mbembesi, in both Matabeleland North and South Provinces. These areas include Fort Rixon, Inyathi, and Matapa Kennilworth.

[18] As stated earlier on in this chapter, Zimbabwe has other ethnic groups existing around the Xhosas. These are the 'Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shona, and Shangani... Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, [and] Venda' (*Bulawayo Chronicle*, newly proposed Zimbabwean Government Constitution). The Ndebele ethnic group is the closest to them in terms of location, language origins, and cultural traditions.

[19] Eade and Williams consider change as development (1995: 12). For instance, the commodification of the music of *umguyo* by contemporary musicians can alleviate performers' lives, since this will be done for monetory gains.

study by looking at the Zimbabwean Xhosa diaspora and their music-making in the context of the *umguyo* tradition.

Ramnarine researches the making of Indian Chutney music in foreign states, Trinidad and London (cited in Post 2006: 275). Similarly, I opt to follow the same route as I examine *umguyo* outside South Africa. However, I do not study Zimbabwean Xhosa *umguyo* music in complete isolation from South Africa because I choose to maintain their connectivity since there is no culture which is wholly independent. In other terms, all cultures borrow from each other and the relationship between Zimbabwean and South African Xhosa cultures is no exception.

As stated earlier, engaging in the study of Xhosa music has always been my desire, in particular the exploration of their most valued ritual. In the present study, I am building on my previous research that I completed at Honours level. When I embarked on the research for the current project, I intended to make a comparison of the music-making of the Xhosa people in South Africa and Zimbabwe but I could not because of two major reasons. Firstly, my targeted population in South Africa, in the Eastern Cape,[20] did not believe in my ethnicity. The South African Xhosas' disbelief in the existence of the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe caused them to view me as the 'other' and as such, they would not welcome me into their own community. Secondly, their attitude towards me may be ascribed to the current socio-economic circumstances in South Africa. I did my research at a time when South Africa was experiencing an unwelcomed inflow of foreigners whom they detested for snatching 'their' jobs. The 2008 South African xenophobic attacks that left a number of foreigners dead marks the extent of this hatred. Zimbabweans were amongst the most targeted nationalities in this violence (Pillay 2008). In the same manner, I was not welcome and was even called by a derogatory term for foreigners, namely, *ikwerekwere*. Although I was initially discouraged, I later thought I needed a much longer time to create rapport with the South African Xhosa community. I have shelved the comparative study for my future research. The findings of this research will ultimately feed into my intended prospective study. Conducting research among my own people causes me to identify with the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe especially on the issue of underrepresentation in terms of literature and general marginalisation in broader Zimbabwean society.

[20] My research site was the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa because this is the traditional homeland for South African Xhosas (Vincent 2008: 434). I intended to do my research at Flagstaff, within the eNzondweni area.

From my experience, there is a need to draw on previous work in the field, but in my case, there are limited sources on the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe. Only general sources on Xhosa music in South Africa exist. As this leaves me with a very few sources to rely on, I therefore chose to start working towards filling in this obvious gap in the literature.

1.3 Methodology[21]

On a hot afternoon on 21 April 2012, I returned to the ENgxingweni area, KwaBhuluda, seeking more information on the Xhosa community's interpretation of the iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe,[22] *songs that I had recorded during my first field visit. My major aim on this particular day was to request my male cousin to assist me during my interviews considering that my husband, who had always been my key male informant, was away. I also intended to make appointments with at least six men. Besides making appointments, I also intended to brief my cousin on his expected duties. However, based on his relationship with the ENgxingweni community, my cousin suggested that 'we' should rather do the interviews that very day since it was on Saturday, and many people were available. He clearly indicated that it was not a problem asking the intended interviewees to attend to our inquiries. I agreed without thinking of the ramifications.*

One of the interviewees, Nzelane Mpengesi, a singer during circumcision ceremonies, expressed disapproval of our approach. His figurative expression quickly reminded me of my research ethics. A direct English translation of what he said would read as, 'A hunter decides on the day and time to go hunting. He makes his rubber sandals and prepares his weapons but he never tells a dog of his plans. The night before the hunting day, he sleeps, wakes up early in the morning, and signals the dog to follow him by whistling and clicking his fingers to it. Where to? Only the dog's owner knows' (Nzelane Mpengesi, 21 April 2012).[23]

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[21] The long italicised section that opens the methodology component is a narrative of my fieldwork experiences from which I draw key lessons on research ethics that are primarily designed to benefit ethnographic researchers.

[22] *Iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe* is a term coined by one of my informants to refer to the songs sung by men as they escort the initiate/s to the *ibhuma* or the secluded grass hut.

[23] In Xhosa, Nzelane said, *Umzingeli uyalicinga ilanga nexesha afuna uyangalo engqina. Wenza imbadada zakhe abuye alungise nenduku zakhe. Lonke elixesha akayixeleli inja ukuba ucinga ntoni. Ngelilanga azakuvuka ngalo esiya engqina, uyalala futhi, avuke ekuseni enkulu abethe umlozi ngapha eqhomfa iminwe ebiza inja ukuba bemke. Kuyiwaphi? Kwazi umniniyo*.

I was humiliated. I needed no one to interpret it to me that 'I' had treated Nzelane like a dog. All I managed to say was, 'I have heard you. I am glad that you did not hold back your feelings. I am so sorry and I promise that such a thing will not happen again.' I then suggested that we meet some other time when everyone was available. Instead, Nzelane relieved the tension by giving us 'permission' to continue with our day's plans. However, I drew an important lesson in research ethics from this encounter.

During the initial stages of my fieldwork, I was somewhat reluctant to draw a line between my two concurrently running statuses: my researcher status and my Xhosa community membership status. It was not until I was alerted by my disgruntled participant who indirectly demanded respect from me despite the fact that I knew him well before the inception of this research. I would like to agree with Bernard Russell who states that 'native ethnographers' are more likely to take most issues for granted as compared to outsiders (2006: 373). From the ethics incident described above, I learnt that the innocent ethics papers lying in my file at that moment were not enough to exonerate me.[24] This is supported by Marilys Guillemin and Lynn Gillam who argue that research ethics committees cannot assist the researcher when challenging unforeseen situations arise, demanding one to make instant decisions relating to ethical problems (2004: 272-73).[25] Instead, a researcher finding him/herself in a similar situation ought to be reflexive (2004: 272-73). In a similar way, reflexivity incited me to quickly step back and reconsider. By so doing, I managed to reinstate my position as a researcher (Manson 1996: 6). I was instantly reminded that I was the principal researcher and for that reason, I should not have allowed my male assistant to derail me from my initial plans.

Considering that I am a female researcher studying a ritual that mainly focuses on men's issues, I started by doing preliminary research with the intention to measure the feasibility of my study. Although Stone and Russell do not deny that the gender of a researcher can be a hindrance in accessing information, they both assert that such issues can be negotiated depending however on the hosting community and its ethics (2008: 145-46 and 2006: 373-74 respectively). I certainly consent to their opinion because I was offered an implied gender-neutral status in all my fieldwork visits. Following Deidre

[24] Ethics papers refer to the ethics clearance certificate, participant consent form, and introduction letter that student researchers take with them during the fieldwork.
[25] However, Guillemin and Gillam acknowledge the important role taken by ethics committees in drawing attention of researchers to different codes of ethics (2004, 272-73).

Hansen's fieldwork approach as a woman, a male mediator assisted me to acquire pertinent information where I was completely restricted (1981: xix).[26]

Although my fieldwork visits were seemingly spread across all seasons of the year, the actual *umguyo* ritual is usually held in winter. Thus, *umguyo* is a seasonal occasion. For social and economic reasons, Hansen affirms that the boys' circumcision ceremony in South Africa is always held in winter (ibid.: 493). This is relatively true for the Zimbabwean Xhosa community. In case of the *umguyo* ritual that I attended, it was held in December because of economic reasons.[27]My fieldwork constituted of five visits in total.

My field visits were as follows: In 2011, I made two informal visits to the Majola family in July and the other to the Tshabalala family on the 17th of December. Conducting informal visits was necessary in order to make my 'anticipated' informants get used to my presence. According to Russell, creating a good rapport and establishing trust are essential strategies when entering the field (2006: 211). During the University of the Witwatersrand's 2011 July semester break, I went to the Majola family to assist them in harvesting the sorghum from their fields.[28] This allowed me to get to know them better and vice versa. From sorghum, they make beer, which is one of the essential requirements in such ceremonies (McAllister, 2005: 107-122). The visit that my key informant and I made to the Tshabalala family was to verify if they still intended to conduct the ceremony on the dates that they had previously announced. I also intended to ask for permission to undertake my fieldwork research, which I was freely granted. On that very day, I informally conversed with some women who were making traditional beer.[29] Although they already knew me, I introduced myself and explained my research intentions to them. They allowed me to join them as I witnessed some of the procedures involved. As I was asking some questions on how to make beer, instead of giving me a straightforward answer, one woman cynically questioned me, wondering how I did not know what it takes to brew beer.[30] She did so

[26] As stated above, my husband is my key informant and my cousin only comes in if my husband is away.
[27] The initiate is one of the Zimbabwean 'economic' migrants working and living in South Africa. For the reasons attributed to distance and costs, many of such diasporans visit 'home' at most once a year. They mainly travel in December, during the festive season, when most workers are granted reasonably long leave days.
[28] The Majola family voluntarily offered to supply sorghum to make beer for this particular circumcision ceremony.
[29] The women who brewed beer for this particular ceremony knew me as a member of the Xhosa community.
[30] Ngxingweni is my original home area. Thus, I was born and grew up in Engxingweni before relocating to the Sojini area after my marriage. Most of these women were almost of my age. I grew up with some of them

because she did not understand that I had temporarily put aside my community membership status to wear my researcher hat. I then thought it necessary to explain to them that I wanted to add to the knowledge that I already had in case they had something different to offer. Such questions were common in my fieldwork but I am certain that I managed to handle them.

My third visit was held on the 30th December 2011 when I attended the *umguyo* ceremony. I was fortunate to attend this December event, as the *umguyo* ceremonies are scarce around this time. On this day, I conducted some interviews with men, women, boys, and girls who participated in the ceremony. In the process I was bombarded with different questions by my interviewees; desiring to know what I intended to do with the outcomes of this inquiry and how the community would benefit from the project. I simply told them that this work is going to benefit the Xhosa community as a whole as it is going to be a musical reference source for contemporary Xhosa people, future generations, as well as my posterity. One important question asked by the circumciser in this ceremony, concerned the issue of the high rate of death that follows boys' circumcision rituals in South Africa. He was wondering why initiates die in South Africa when there are no such deaths recorded in Zimbabwe.[31] He strongly expressed his concern and indicated his willingness to share his knowledge with South African Xhosa traditional circumcisers. This previous concern can form an important focus for future interested researchers. The meeting held on 12th April described at the start of this section constitutes the fourth visit. On 29th December 2012, I made my final follow up visit. As I wrote my thesis, I discovered that I needed to enrich my details especially concerning the administration of the *umguyo* ritual itself. At times, I made telephone interviews with those subjects who gave me permission to do so.

As this is an empirical research project, it provided me with an opportunity to also engage in face-to-face interviews with my informants. When weighed against other research instruments, Martyn Denscombe declares that face-to-face interviews allow a better response rate and immediate validation of data (2007: 10). Some of these interviews were

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and we often assisted our parents in beer brewing and mutually enjoying the sour porridge that is ultimately fermented into beer. Thus, these women genuinely did not understand how, on that day, I would 'act' as if I was not knowledgeable about this process. Besides, I had no recording equipment or any research equipment that marked me as different from them on that particular day. This is because this particular visit was an informal one.

[31] Vuyo Mbuli, an SABC newsreader and presenter announced shocking numbers of South African Xhosa initiates who had died in July 2012. He stated that the death toll had reached 43 by 17 October 2012 (SABC Morning News, 17 July 2012).

conducted informally (as I have stated) whilst others were semi-structured. In my preliminary research, I used informal interviews, which according to Russell, have no pattern but assist the researcher to unveil 'new topics of interest that might have been overlooked' (2006: 211). This is true because it is from this type of association that I was inspired to find out more about the relationship between beer and music performance in such rituals. I utilised semi-structured interviews in conjunction with an interview guide who assisted me to focus my questions the best way possible hence keeping my informants comfortable. As a woman researching boys' circumcision, I made sure I did not ask questions based on the actual operation as these would have possibly made my informants uncomfortable, especially the male respondents. Thus, I managed to remain impartial and unemotional since subjectivity and overreaction towards people's responses often deters them from providing authentic information (ibid.: 471).[32] Prior to my interviews, I was warned through reading Margaret LeCompte and Jean Schensul, and Russell's works which state that overreaction to participants' responses is common with 'native ethnographers,' and since I fall into this category of researchers, I strictly needed to be aware of my reactions to informants (1999: 129 and ibid. respectively).[33]

Besides being informed by my subjects, I also observed, participated in, and recorded the musical performances displayed at the *umguyo* ceremony. Engaging in participant observation assisted me to reduce the problems of overreaction on the side of my informants, hence building trust with them. As I became more accepted within the eNgxingweni community, they became less curious about my presence and hence the gap between us narrowed (Russell 2006: 254, 343). By the end of the ceremony, we could even share some jokes. I also obtained permission to capture still photographs, make audio and video recordings, and write thick descriptive field notes from the Xhosa community. These electronic recording devices allowed me to capture abundant data. According to Rand Fraenkel and Noel E. Wallen, electronic data collecting equipment is important in data collection as it allows the researcher to gather more as compared to someone who only relies on jotting down notes (2003: 36).

[32] Russell describes overreaction as an act of being extra sensitive to informants' answers. Rather, it is an indication of being shocked by interviewees' responses. An interviewee can read interviewer's overreaction from his/her facial expressions and remarks (ibid.: 255).
[33] Russell defines native ethnographers as researchers who write on their own cultures (2006: 211).

In choosing my informants, I utilised snowball and respondent-driven sampling (RDS). Guillemin and Gillam refer to this type of sampling as the chain referral method (2004: 192). As this name suggests, respondents are located by either the key informant or other respondents. I also incorporated purposive sampling as it provided me with an opportunity to interview only those whom I thought were able to provide me with the information I needed (Guillemin and Gillam 2004: 17). To achieve this, I employed age, gender, and social class as my variables necessary to guide me in choosing my informants. I interviewed 20 people; 10 males (inclusive of my key informant) and 10 females ranging between the ages of 18 and 100. The positions that my interviewees held in such an occasion and/or in the community, was also a factor I considered. Such positions included lead singers, dancers or music organisers. I concur with Denscombe who insists that data analysis from smaller sample sizes is a lot easier than using greater numbers (2007:28).[34] To analyse my fieldwork data, I utilise text analysis, specifically, a hermeneutic approach (Russell 2006: 473-74).[35] This is because dialogues, song lyrics, music behaviour and events are regarded as texts by Russell (ibid: 463).

1.4 Structure and Outline of the Dissertation

A good number of my subjects are conversant in only one language, namely isiXhosa. This caused me to conduct my interviews in the Xhosa language. In my dissertation, I sometimes quote my informants directly in isiXhosa. I do this in order to allow my Xhosa interviewees to identify themselves with this work if they are to read it. Every time I include these Xhosa dialogues, I make sure that I provide direct English translation for each. In addition, I explain their possible meanings in relation to the context of my study, my understanding and preconceived knowledge and different authors' ideas. In this work, I also include Xhosa song lyrics so that the reader will see the exact words of the song in

[34] Denscombe views numbers of between 15 and 30 as smaller numbers in terms of sample sizes. He states that analysing data of such numbers is manageable because there is less work in transcribing the interview responses. In addition, the tallying system is less complicated when dealing with smaller numbers (2007: 28-9).

[35] Hermeneutics or 'biblical exegesis' was initially adopted for biblical text analysis in order to understand God's original meaning of his words (Russell 2006: 475). It was later extended to the study of many kinds of texts inclusive of song lyrics and conversations. Russell states that this type of analysis demands that the researcher be deeply involved with the culture that he/she is studying. Familiarity with the community's language is essential as the researcher would need to understand connections between symbols and interpret what they mean (ibid).

order to verify the interpretations attached to them. I also provide direct English translations for the song lyrics.

The following chapters, present readers with a clear picture of how the Zimbabwean Xhosas make and remake their music for the *umguyo* ceremony. Chapter 2 provides a historical overview of the relevant literature, with a particular focus on the identity of the Xhosa people in general. Subsequently, literature that answers questions on how the Zimbabwean Xhosa people are linked to South Africa and how they finally settled in Zimbabwe is explored. In addition, literature on diasporic music-making is delved into, as it is the focus of my study. Chapter 3 presents South African findings on the *umguyo* ceremony on the basis that the musical tradition of the Zimbabwean Xhosa people is deeply informed by South African Xhosa tradition. A detailed presentation of the *umguyo* ritual in Zimbabwe is presented. In this chapter, I also reveal how the diaspora concept is demonstrated in the *umguyo* tradition. It is in this chapter too that I highlight how the Xhosa music sheds light on gender issues. In Chapter 4, as I analyse different songs sung during the *umguyo* ceremony, I demonstrate how the Xhosa people preserve their past in their traditional song lyrics. In the process, I critique one specific historiographer's views concerning the origins of the Mfengu people. I argue that the linkage of the Mfengu people (in both Zimbabwe and South Africa) to KwaZulu-Natal can be musically proven. In the same chapter, I also focus on how the *umguyo* music influences and/or is influenced by current musical genres. I explain what *umguyo* music holds for the Zimbabwean future generation. In Chapter 5, I conclude my work by highlighting the theoretical implications of this study. I also propose future studies that will serve as a possible focus of research in this area.

To sum up, my research is an empirical study that calls on the researcher to immerse him/herself into context, the environment, experiences and general interests of the subjects. During my research period, I realised that my relationships with my subjects were smoother and we were much closer towards the end of my fieldwork than in the beginning. Most of them felt so much a part of this research that they insisted on knowing the outcomes. In addition, some continue to offer research-related information even at informal gatherings like funerals. On 2nd March 2013, I attended a funeral where I met one of my research subjects who seemed to expect a 'continuation' of our 29th December 2012

interview.[36] To give something back to this community, I promised to give my respondents the video recordings and pictures that I captured. Giving them a copy of my dissertation would not be logical, as most of them are not well acquainted with English. In this dissertation, I have attempted to respond to the three main research questions stated earlier. I found that the Zimbabwean Xhosa people make their music in and out of their situations or social conditions. Next, I realised that even though most diaspora communities reveal an attachment to their places of origin through their music, the Zimbabwean Xhosa diaspora exhibits a departure. This study is intended also to show that the *umguyo* tradition indicates high hopes for the future Zimbabwean generations.

[36] This scenario called for reflexivity. Thus, even though I did not expect such a situation, I needed to make a quick decision concerning my subject's expectations. In response, I created some time to listen to him even though I had travelled for a different business on that day.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I review studies that are relevant to my research with the intention of locating my work within the body of literature. In the first section, I introduce and trace the history of the Xhosa people in order to establish a social and historical context for my work. I also trace the Xhosa/Fingo people from South Africa to Zimbabwe. In the second section, I provide a general picture on Xhosa music by looking at the previous studies carried out on music of the Xhosa people in South Africa. The critical dearth of literature that specifically references Zimbabwean Xhosa music justifies this move. In the third section, I focus on African music in general. Precisely, I view how Xhosa music relates to the entire body of African music. This broad approach as well as more specific scrutiny will in turn assist me to analyse the outcomes of my inquiry on the music-making of the Xhosa diasporic community in Zimbabwe. The fourth segment centres on diasporic studies since diaspora theory underpins and forms a broad theoretical framework for my entire research project. I also provide an extensive assessment of literature based on the general music-making in the diaspora because my study primarily intends to reveal how music is made in one particular diasporic community. Finally, I succinctly examine the transition of Zimbabwean Xhosa music from colonial to postcolonial period.

2.1 Previous studies of the Xhosa people

Upon reviewing the literature, the significant observation is that the Xhosa people are in no way a single entity.[37] Instead, they are subdivided into several chieftain groups. This observation is based upon the fact that a relevantly broad range of ethnic groups refer to themselves as Xhosas. These chief groups include the Bhaca, Bomvana, Mpondo, Mfengu, Mpondimise, Xesibe, Gcaleka, Thembu, Ndlambe, Ngqika, and the Xhosa (Zenani 2008 online). While Zenani (ibid.) includes the Mfengu in the list of Xhosa people, Jeremy Davis does not (2008 online). Davis' stance is anchored in the common knowledge disseminated by a number of established South African scholars who have written on Xhosa history (Ayliff 1912; Soga 1930; Moyer 1976; and Peires 1981). Davis establishes

[37] I utilise material written on the Xhosa people in South Africa.

that the Mfengu,[38] who happen to be the group in the diaspora, were originally Hlubi who escaped from Zululand[39] due to King Tshaka's raids (2008). Finally, this Hlubi group found refuge in the Eastern Cape under King Hintsa, who, out of sympathy, offered them a piece of land to live on (ibid.). Poppy Fry elaborates, '"*Siyamfenguza*!" [we are begging or we are hungry]. It was with this cry that the Fingo supposedly announced their arrival in Xhosaland' (2010: 25). Emanating from this lament, the Xhosa people called the begging group the Mfengu (beggars) as a derogatory form of address (Davis 2008 online).[40] However, Mavis Noluthando Mpola states that the name Mfengu has since become more or less their acceptable tribal name (2007: 119-120).

The Xhosa people in Zimbabwe are therefore the descendants of the Mfengu group described above. Although they are commonly known as the Mfengu, from personal experience, they prefer to be referred to as Xhosa. The Zimbabwean Xhosas usually take offence to being referred to as the aMaMfengu, aMaFengu or the Fingo. Thus, the history behind the names, Mfengu, Fengu, and Fingo, explains the negative attitude the Xhosa people have against them. Nevertheless, most of the non-Xhosa people around them enjoy calling them by the names listed above.[41] With reference to their double-identity that I infer from accounts given above, I prefer referring to this group as the Zimbabwean Xhosas unless there is a need to distinguish them from the other Xhosa groups.[42]

From the history of the Mfengu, I deduce that the Mfengu people's double-identity is all situational. Firstly, emanating from the language-behaviour that the refugees presented as they entered the Xhosa Kingdom in Transkei, they were referred to as the Mfengu.[43] Secondly, because of indentureship, this group was referred to as the Fingo (Mfengu when conversing in Xhosa). In his analysis of the way the Mfengu attained their tribal name, Alan Webster disputes that the Mfengu inherited their name from what was allegedly their first utterance as they approached the Xhosa Kingdom (1995: 241). Instead, he argues that

[38] The Mfengu are sometimes referred to as Fengu or Fingo.
[39] Zululand is currently known as Kwa-Zulu Natal province.
[40] The terms Fingo, Mfengu, and Fengu are used interchangeably in the literature but they are all derogatory terms. For the purpose of this study, I will use them if I am quoting or where there is a need, otherwise the term Zimbabwean Xhosa will be used.
[41] The Ndebeles in areas adjacent to Mbembesi and those who live within the Xhosa communities refer to the Zimbabwean Xhosas as Mfengu despite the knowledge that the Xhosas detest this form of address.
[42] In chapter 1, I indicated that the terms, Zimbabwean Xhosa, Mfengu and Fingo would be used interchangeably, not by choice but depending on the issue on discussion at that particular time.
[43] Noel Mostert states that the Fingo people moved from Natal to the Transkei where they sought protection, food and shelter from the Xhosa King, Hintsa. Their act of begging was then defined as '*ukumfenguza*' (1992: 498).

the Xhosa captives and collaborators whom the British colonizers coerced to work as farm labourers in the Cape Colony were dubbed as the Fingo (Webster 1995: 241). Webster asserts that the reason for this term was that the missionaries and colonial bureaucrats coined a Latin word 'Fingo', meaning forced-labour or 'to form or alter with the intention of untruth', to what finally became a tribal name for this particular group (ibid.). All this was done in order to deceive the British government in London since they were against the idea of forced labour or slavery (Cobbing 1988: 488). As such, the 'Fingo group' was compelled to work for the colonial settlers. Thus, the name Fingo or Mfengu is a work name, which, even though the workers had retired, continued to be used for them and even passed on to their descendants.

Thirdly, by association, the Mfengu are identified as Xhosa. Numerous historians state that a greater percentage of the Mfengu people were Xhosas who, in the 1830s, entered the Cape Colony searching for employment (Cobbing 1988: 487-519 and Webster 1995: 154). Thus, the significant number of the Xhosas amongst the Mfengu watered down the original identity (the Fingo-ness) of the refugees. This meant that fewer refugees who identified themselves initially as Fingo later acquired the social identity of the Xhosas. From the history recounted above, I also state that ethnicity either can be intrinsic or be acquired and thus is not always natal (Fry 2010: 26). In fact, it is against this background that in this research project I refer to the Zimbabwean diasporic group as either Xhosa or Mfengu.[44]

A number of Xhosa historians reveal some more common convictions about the Xhosa people. Firstly, they categorise the Xhosa people as one of the four descendants of the Nguni tribes (Kronos 1980: 45-48 and Rycroft 1967: 93) who are said to be predominantly found in the south-eastern Cape (Dargie 1988: 4 and Peires 2004: 224- 242).[45] From an emic point of view, the above assumption that places Xhosa people in South Africa only is contradicted by my research since I am studying the Xhosa people who are outside South Africa. The Xhosa (Fingo) moved to Rhodesia between 1890 and 1897 (Makambe 1982: 6). Amongst many authorities of Xhosa history, Makambe (1982) and Edward Powe

[44] Fry contends that although Fingo-ness is admittedly nonhereditary, it does not mean that it is not African oriented or is exclusively a device of colonial expropriation (2010: 26).

[45] The Nguni peoples include the Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi and Ndebele. Amongst them all, the Zulu tribe makes the greatest population in South Africa followed by the Xhosas. Due to their common background, these four descendants reveal some cultural 'collectivism' particularly in their languages, beliefs, values, traditions, and musical practices to mention but a few (Rycroft 1967: 93).

(2006) seem to be the only writers who recognize the presence of Xhosa people beyond the borders of South Africa. Secondly, a separate group of writers state that several chief Xhosa groups mentioned earlier in this chapter hold unique but related traditions (Soga 1930; Pauw 1963; and Wilson et al. 1952). For instance, most Xhosa ethnic groups in South Africa, inclusive of the Mfengu, practise circumcision rites (Wilson 1961: 165; Hammond-Tooke 1962: 79-8; and Mills 2011: 12).

2.2 Music of the Xhosa People

To my knowledge, there are is only a single scholarly study on Xhosa music in Zimbabwe, and that is my 2009 Honours degree dissertation. For that reason, I mainly rely on the academic works of various scholars written on South African Xhosa music in order to determine the nature of the Zimbabwean Xhosa's music. As I do so, I start by establishing the relationship between music and the *umguyo* ceremony. I state that music has a functional role during the Xhosa boys' circumcision ceremony. I follow that by the classification of music performed during this ritual. Thirdly, I focus on the structure of *umguyo* music. Fourthly, I concentrate on how the Xhosa *umguyo* music-making and performance sheds light on social gender roles. Finally, I pay attention to how cultural diffusion has influenced Xhosa *umguyo* music-making.

It is generally understood that music is culture that is created and transmitted by people (Hansen 1981: xiii and Dlepu 2009: 22). In a bid to explain how this transmission takes place, Petrus Jonas and Fric De Beer state that men are culture-bearers who, due to migration, carry their culture into new regions (1991: 40). This equally explains how the boys' circumcision rite still continues to be a vital cultural aspect even among the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean Xhosas left South Africa by the turn of the twentieth century, but they never left behind their music and their entire culture. Hansen states that *umguyo/umgidi* is not without song and dance (1981: 494). Drawing from what I know, *umguyo* is accompanied by musical activities that hold a significant place in the administration of the *umguyo*. Thus, music is functional during the Xhosa boys' circumcision rite. Dorcas Nompumelelo Jafta who views South African Xhosa music as educative, communicative, and entertaining supports my observation (1978: 27). While the Zimbabwean Xhosa women teach their girl children of their responsibilities, and make them accept their social status in the community through music, men utilise music to

educate the initiates on how to conduct themselves after circumcision. In Chapter 3, I reveal how the *umguyo* attendees employ music in communicating the stages of the ceremony. It is a fact that the main purpose of music is to entertain people. In a similar manner, music, besides knitting the *umguyo* activities together, serves as form of entertainment for the attendees. The music performed during the *umguyo* also helps to ease the days' tension. Thus, the initiates become courageous to face all the pain accompanying the *umguyo* ceremony in hearing certain songs being sung (Hansen 1981: 49). As such, I assume that music plays a similar purpose even in the Zimbabwean Xhosa community.

Paying attention to the vocal music, Hansen classifies Xhosa songs according to their functional role in the society and in relation to people who sing the songs (ibid.). The idea of relating songs to events which they accompany and to people who sing the songs provides useful guidance when doing my song-analysis even though in this project I take this notion a step further. Firstly, I reveal how and why particular songs are said to be related to a certain group of people and/or events. Secondly, I show the criteria that are followed in selecting songs for particular events of the *umguyo* ceremony. Finally, I reveal the impact of a song on the singers and the initiate/s. This will be made possible by analysing the musical text of the *umguyo* songs and by doing so I am agreeing with Dargie's general statement which says, 'one of the most obvious sources for the understanding of human behaviour in connection with music is song text' (1988: 4). Alternatively, from music text we can learn about people's social lives and thus social behaviours.

When looking at the structure of *umguyo* music, most of the songs performed during the *umguyo* ceremony take the form of call and response and cyclic (Dargie 1988: 108). In this case, one person leads the song and the rest respond. David Rycroft and Siziwe Everrette Dlepu assert that such music is antiphonal, a form commonly adopted for the majority of Xhosa music (1967: 88-90 and 2009: 56 respectively). Rycroft further states that Xhosa music is polyphonic, if it is a two-part or multi-part song (1967: 90) and usually strophic in form (ibid. and Dlepu 2009: 56). Within the Zimbabwean Xhosa *umguyo* musical repertoire, we find songs that are polyphonic in structure and hence they are difficult to notate. However, in appearance, most of the *umguyo* songs are seemingly simple as they adopt a strophic form in which verses are repeated for an indefinite period. The song leader is the one who determines when the song should stop. Rycroft substantiates this and states that in all Nguni songs, the strophe is repeated many times (1967: 91). Although a soloist

can present some minor melodic and textural variations, the chorus text remains constant (ibid.). Similarly, even though the Zimbabwean Xhosa song leader may vary the text in his/her melodic line, the followers usually respond with the same words in most songs.

Knobel Sakhiwo Bongela sees repetition as a way of making an emphasis in order to harness the listeners' minds (1991: 38). Logically, repetition makes it easier for the listener to master a new song as learning of songs took and is still taking place by rote in the Zimbabwean Xhosa community. The song leader also has a duty of controlling and maintaining a good flow of the song which is achieved through meaningful hand signs (Satyo 1998: 51). This then suggests that communication between singers and the song leader is vital. As I watched the Zimbabwean Xhosa men singing *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe,* the songs for escorting the 'initiate' to the *ibhuma/*secluded hut from a video clip, [46] I realised how vital it was for the followers to adhere to the song leader's commands. When the leader says, *shenke*, meaning change, every singer had to stop singing and prepare for the next song. As the Zimbabwean Xhosas sing, they employ vocal styles that are mainly common with the South African Xhosas. Dlephu defines these styles as *ukungqongqisa* or producing a gruff quality of sound (2009: 54). Dargie refers to these styles as *ukungqokola* or *ukundondya* in Mfengu (1991: 33).[47] Although Dlepu associates this vocal activity with female voices, in Zimbabwe, men also are capable of doing it.

Gender roles also play a vital part in Xhosa music-making. Thus, males and females have specific musical duties in Xhosa society (Powe 2008, Hansen 1981, and Dlepu 2009). Dlepu portrays women as song leaders in a gender-mixed musical group (2009: 86). Even though Dlephu may seem to portray women as having better leading voices in comparison to men, during the *umguyo* ceremony in Zimbabwe, men take the leading role in gender-mixed musical activities. I attribute this possessive arrangement to the fact that *umguyo* is basically a men's issue. However, women are not passive in these mixed musical activities; besides being followers, they regularly conduct *ukuyiyizela*/ululation during the performances. As Powe states that the Zimbabwean Xhosa women ululate when the newly-initiated men are about to approach home after a long exclusion, he describes the activity as *umyeyezelo* (2008: 43). From my knowledge, the Zimbabwe Xhosas refer to ululation as *ukuyiyizela* and not *umyeyezelo*. Nevertheless, without disputing the issue of gender clear-

[46] These songs will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.
[47] *Umgqokolo* is a term used for a variety of forms of voice usage. These forms include the type of gruff singing used by boys as kind of vocal percussion.

cut roles in Xhosa musical activities, I would like to assume that during the circumcision ceremony in Zimbabwe, song-leading is done by anyone with a talent to do so.

The question now is in what ways has Xhosa music changed? It is common knowledge that all musics have experienced cultural diffusion. Dargie asserts that there is evidence of cultural diffusion in Xhosa music meaning that the neighbouring environment has potential to influence and alter a people's music (1991: 34). For instance, the KhoiSan influenced Xhosa music in the form of musical terminology (ibid.). The terms which Dargie claims to have Khoisan roots include '*ukuxhentsa:* dance; *umrhubhe* and *umqangi*: names of the friction mouth-bow; *umngqungqo*: the women's round dance; [and] *ingqongqo*: the drum made by stretching an ox-skin, either holding it or placing it on the ground' (ibid.).[48] The culture that is likely to influence the Zimbabwean Xhosas' music is the Ndebeles' since Mbembesi is situated adjacent to the Ndebele community, namely, Ntabazinduna. Mpola, in her analysis of the Xhosa music text, asserts that some of the Mfengu music features a number of Zulu words and thus being indicative of the historical link between the Mfengu and the Zulu (2007: 119).

Since the Zimbabwean Xhosas were colonised, there are indications of imperial influence in the texts of songs composed in the postcolonial period. In particular, the Zimbabwean Xhosa boys voluntarily utilise English terms to which they attach vernacular accents. In agreement, Dargie considers the entry of the Christian Church into the Xhosa area in South Africa, through Ntsikana, as having a profound impact on Xhosa musical history (1988: 5). Thus, the general intrusion of the white people into their area in the 1880s as well as the frontier wars greatly influenced the music-text of the Xhosa people (ibid.). However, Dlepu negatively attributes transformation of South African Xhosa music to missionaries' ideologies (2008: 21). He argues that the Xhosa people ended up despising their own musical traditions because of the colonialists' attitudes towards Xhosa indigenous music. In his own words, he asserts

> The missionaries looked down upon the customs and music of the African people and that discouraged the Africans from practicing their own life style…This encounter marked a turning point in the cultural activities of the AmaXhosa, especially in their musical history. The missionaries, on their arrival, did not learn the music of the existing groups nor taught these groups how to write their own music, but they brought with them the European written music which neither suited

[48] The Xhosa terms were not originally written in italics. I italicised them so as to maintain the style of writing that differentiates non-English terms from the English words through italics.

> the customs of the groups nor agreed with their languages. These missionaries, musically, did a great deal of harm. (2008: 21)

His complaint is that the missionaries hindered the indigenous groups from doing what they used to do and thus the indigenous groups were compelled to abandon their cultures. In addition, these external intrusions are alleged to have caused deterioration in Xhosa traditions and customs.

As I discuss music-making of the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe, I also pay attention to the musical instruments that are related to *umguyo* music performance. In so doing, I mainly rely on Ludwig Alberti's discussion on the social life of the Xhosa people in South Africa (1968: 70-71) with the knowledge of the contributions by Hansen, Dargie, and Percival Kirby on Xhosa music instruments (1981, 1988 and 1934 respectively). The common understanding that the availability of raw material determines an increase in the amount of end product also applies to the instruments used during the *umguyo* ceremony in Zimbabwe. Thus, the musical instruments used in Mbembesi, in Zimbabwe, depend on the readily available raw materials in that location. Cattle are valuable to both the Xhosa people in South Africa (Fry 2010: 29), and to Zimbabwean Xhosas. For that reason, they stay in places with water and pastures for the benefit of their livestock (Alberti 1968: 70). Similarly, most homesteads of the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe, specifically in Mbembesi, are not built far from water sources, namely, the Mbembesi River, Nyoluka River, Somwahla River, and Ingwenya Dam. The Zimbabwean Xhosas, however, do not only get water from the rivers but river-reeds too, which they use to make *iimpembe* or reed whistles.[49]

The issue of scarcity of musical instruments among the Xhosa people leaves me with two unanswered questions. Firstly, it seems like there is a prevalence of drums in the Xhosa musical activities in South Africa as compared to the musical activities of the Zimbabwean Xhosas. I wonder what could be the reason behind this considering that the Mfengu had a close relationship with a drum/*ingqongqo* when they entered the Transkei from the Kwa-Zulu Natal Province (Mpola 2007: 120 and Kirby 1934: 45-46).[50] Secondly, there is a huge availability of relevant raw materials, wood and cattle hide and drums in Zimbabwe, to make drums, but I last witnessed a musical gathering with drum in use when I was very

[49] *Iimpembe* are wind musical instruments that are typically blown by teenage boys during the *umguyo* seasons.
[50] The Xhosa people learned to make drums, specifically a bass drum called *igubu* by observing the British brass bands in the 19th century (Kirby 1934: 45-46).

young, probably thirty-five years ago. This is in comparison to the prevalent use of drums among the Zimbabwean non-Xhosa ethnic groups like the Tonga, Shona and Ndebele. The question is, what then could be the reason behind Zimbabwean Xhosas' reluctance to incorporate drums to their music-making, particularly for the *umguyo* ceremony? In the following section, I look at the studies of African music that also feed into my research.

2.3 Studies of African Music

Different writers have similar opinions concerning what African music is. Alan Merriam (1982), Alexander Agordoh (2005) and Kofi Agawu (2003), contest Richard Waterman's perception of African music. Waterman assumes that African music is a particular phenomenon but the rest argue that Africa, as a continent, is so wide and has diverse musical activities and so it cannot be treated as a single entity (1952: 107). Agordoh particularly asserts that it is really difficult to single out African musical features which are common to the entire continent (2005: 1). They all contend that it is erroneous to treat African music as a single unit, as implied by Waterman. In addition, Merriam argues that some characteristics that are generalized for African music do not always apply to every part of Africa (1982: 113). True, but if we absolutely deny the concept of generalization, what, therefore, is African music? To me, African music refers to music of a single continent called Africa; music of different African states whose characteristics have been amalgamated to represent music of Africa. These characteristics ought to be generalized in order to result into what we may call 'African music'. Therefore, it is from this viewpoint that I contribute this research project for the benefit of the African music studies field.

From my knowledge, the tradition under enquiry is a communal product. In different terms, for the *umguyo* ceremony to be successful, the Zimbabwean Xhosa people have to assist each other. For that reason, I assume that the accompanying music, similarly, is a not a one-man's product but a collective effort. In a similar manner, both Agawu (2003: xi) and Francis Bebey (1975: iv) view African music as a collective art which is considered as a communal property which is shared and practiced by everyone. By its nature, it should communicate with all races and cultures, they say. In addition, they define it by what it is made of whereas Kwabena Nketia recognizes its achievements. Nketia claims, '… traditional African music is music associated with traditional African institutions of the pre-colonial era… [This music] has survived the impact of the forces of Western forms of

acculturation' (1966: 21). Considering the globalization of the music-world cultures, I assume therefore that there is no music that has survived outside influences as Nketia claims, even Zimbabwean Xhosa music itself.

I have realised that the Zimbabwean Xhosa *umguyo* music is mostly accompanied by percussive instruments namely, *izitofile/*rattles, *ibhamu/*clappers, *izandla/*hands, *instwazi*/sticks, and *induku/*fighting to mention a few. This observation is substantiated by Bebey who asserts that African music is characterised as percussive since drums, sticks or idiophones as well as hand-clapping are distinctively used in Africa. The reason behind the dominance of percussive instruments may be attributed to the discussion posted earlier in this chapter that African music in general has a limited range of instruments and for that reason, it relies on percussion that is relatively easier and cheaper to construct. Whilst Bebey (1969: 13) describes African music as having a well-defined role, Agordoh portrays it as a multi-functional instrument. He asserts that music does not only function as an accompaniment but also as a tool of entertainment (2005: 21). As mentioned earlier, the *umguyo* attendants do not stick to 'serious' music throughout the ceremony. They also sing recreational songs in between major events.[51] Separating music and dance in Africa seems to be an impossible thing as they work hand in hand. Similarly, the musical activities of *umguyo* tradition are marked by simultaneous performances of song and dance.

Agordoh goes on further to indicate the absence of a clear-cut distinction between the audience and the artists (ibid.: 26). From an emic point of view, there are no specific performers and audience in the Zimbabwean Xhosa *umguyo* musical performances. One person may lead the song and the rest respond. This suggests that the dancers should come out from the singers. African music is described as, to a larger extent, syncopated and full of improvisations (Hornbostel 1963: 284). Although everyone can improvise during a performance, improvisation is, however, mainly left for the song-leader. In Zimbabwean Xhosa music, improvisation that is effected through textural or melodic alteration (Rycroft 1967: 91), has brought in some changes to the *umguyo* music.

Different writers have dealt extensively with the issue of change in African music. African music is said to have faced drastic change over time, mainly through acculturation. Merriam (1982: 101) holds the belief that if structures in two systems are similar, there is a

[51] To me, recreational music is music that has no border barriers. Thus, it is music that can fit in any occasion and is usually entertaining.

great potential for them to blend together unlike where the structures are dissimilar and therefore suggests a frequent exchange of ideas in the first instance. This implies that there is similarity between Western and African music and hence Xhosa music since it was greatly influenced by Western Christian music during and after colonialism (Makambe 1982: 18). Both Merriam (ibid.: 390) and Agordoh (2005: 21) further break cultural and social change into three simultaneous groups. Firstly, there is substantive change if complete replacement of some particular items in a type of traditional music occurs. The second is the quantitative change which occurs when there is a considerable amount of change in music-making. The last is the qualitative change which refers to a situation whereby entirely new forms are brought into a music arena from outside (Agordoh 2005: 21). Although this piece of information may be useful in defining the amount of change in the Zimbabwean Xhosa *umguyo* musical traditions, I argue that the three types of change are apparently the same as they all denote relatively large amounts of alterations in music. Minimal changes are thus not accommodated.

African music is passed on aurally and orally (Agordoh 2005: 30). As I would like to know how the *iimvumi* or lead singers are chosen in the diaspora, Hansen (1981:13), Agordoh (ibid.), and Merriam (1982: 101) declare that African musicians are not made but born.[52] One of Merriam's informants told him that music talent is a God-given gift. Another informant within the same community denied the issue of individual inheritance but attributed musical ability to the environment in which a child is brought up (ibid.: 96). Agordoh affirms that a child's exposure to musical situations as well as participation has a great effect in his musical performance sooner or later in life. He indicates that musical training of an African child begins from cradle and runs throughout his or her life but this is done in an informal way (2005: 30).

In sum, Merriam himself discourages the idea of measuring a non-Western concept using a Western concept. He says 'African music system works by its own and satisfies those who play and sing it' (1982: 92). I strongly agree with Merriam but for analytical purposes and discussions, I will notate, transcribe and analyse Zimbabwean Xhosa music using Western concepts, where applicable and relevant, since to my knowledge there are no 'African-

[52] Merriam indicates that music is inherited from birth and it all depends whether the parents, especially the father within the Bala community, are talented enough to pass on the talent to the child (2005: 30).

designed' analytical frameworks that are wholly accommodative of all the complexities of African music yet.

2.4 Diaspora Studies

In this section, I define the term diaspora by paying attention to the Zimbabwean Xhosa community. That is, it is pertinent to understand what diaspora really is in order to establish how Zimbabwean Xhosas qualify as a diasporic community; to explicate how diasporas come into existence and to explain how music is made in diaspora in general. I also show the significance of diaspora studies on my research project.

The definition of the word 'Diaspora' becomes more elusive as its intellectual scope broadens. Before the end of the twentieth century, the term diaspora was applied to physical dispersal of Jews, Greeks and Armenians (Forbes 2005; Mercer 2008; Gilroy 1993; Venn 2006; and the Oxford Dictionary [Online]). In an effort to explain this, Tololyan in his own words states that '…the Jewish diaspora was the quintessential example of diaspora before the 1960s' (cited in Monson 2000: 1). However, Butler is concerned about what earmarks a diasporic movement from other general migrancies. She argues that while human migration is as old as human beings themselves are, it is equally unwarranted to claim that all these movements become diasporas (2001: 189). Alternatively, Butler, who seems to adhere to Safran's guiding principles of defining diaspora, argues that there is more to diaspora than simply the dispersal of people from their native lands into new regions (1981: 83-84). She insists that there are six distinctive characteristics that qualify a group of settlers as a diasporic community. Firstly, Butler asserts that diaspora is a group of people who have been scattered from a particular original location to two or more peripheral or alien territories. This clearly applies to the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe as they moved to at least two locales. Mostert explicates that initially the Fingo people moved from Natal to the Transkei (1992: 498). Makambe then links us to the second location of the Fingo people, namely Zimbabwe, then Rhodesia.

Secondly, Butler agrees that the ideal type of a diasporic community holds a collective memory or myth about its homeland. From an emic approach, the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe hold some beliefs that are hard to attest about their homeland, South Africa. In the Xhosa diaspora, the song '*Kwakungenje kwaZulu, thina siyoyi*k'*abelungu*', which

literally means 'it was never like this when we were still in the Zululand (back in the homeland); we are now scared of Whites', depicts a romanticized lifestyle in the homeland. In this song the Xhosa people express regret at their presence in the 'new land', given that they used to enjoy a kind of life without fear, back at 'home'; a life surrounded always by victory. Nevertheless, this sounds legendary as it is clear that this group failed to withstand the Zulu assailants during the Mfecane wars (Davis, 2008 Online). According to Kobena Mercer, such music also portrays nostalgia for those in diaspora (2008: 127).

The third trait mentioned by Butler in agreement with Safran, is the feeling of being estranged given that diasporas hold a minority status in the host land. Drawing from my personal experience as a Zimbabwean Xhosa, this is also true with this community. The Xhosa locale, Mbembesi, is a small site within a larger Ndebele community. Although the Ndebeles and the Xhosas seem to share a common historic background in terms of place of origin (Nyathi 1991: 13) the Xhosas are generally belittled by the Ndebeles. The Ndebeles, who stay in Ntabazinduna, an area adjacent to Mbembesi, often call the Xhosas by derogatory terms like, *AmaFengu* and *Abathengisi (*sell-outs). I want to assume that the issue of being 'sell-outs' could have emanated from the statement of eternal loyalty uttered by the then Xhosa chief, Nzimende Ndondo, to Lord Selbourne, the British High Commissioner. According to Makambe, the Ndebeles themselves had denied the Commissioner this kind of loyalty (1982: 8).[53] It is from this background therefore that these diasporic communities are compelled to feel 'partly alienated and insulated' from the host society (Braziel 2008: 25).

Fourthly, diasporic communities view the land from which they came as their ideal home and they hope to return to their original homeland eventually (Safran 1991: 84; Braziel 2008: 25). Similarly, this desire is not new in the Xhosa diaspora. South Africa, besides being a melting pot, is generally viewed as an ideal destination by most Xhosa people in Zimbabwe, especially the younger generation. This generation does not only wish to be in South Africa; but also it strives to cross borders even without legal travelling credentials. All that they say is, '*Siyagoduka'* (We are going back home).

Fifthly, the diasporic communities strive towards maintaining some relations to people in the homeland (Safran 1991: 84). Still approaching this from an emic point of view, every

[53] When the Commissioner, Lord Selbourne visited Southern Rhodesia, he expected to be honoured by the Ndebele through '*bayethe'*, a Ndebele slogan of reverence (Makambe 1982: 8).

family in Mbembesi greatly desires to locate its relatives in South Africa, particularly those with whom they share surnames. I have since realized that this reunion brings great joy especially within the diasporic family. As Robin Cohen claims, reunion enables the diasporic communities to identify who they are (1997: 63).

Finally, Butler asserts that diasporas and diasporic communities typically relate to one another. They naturally develop a sense of solidarity since they share a common plight (2001: 189). With the Zimbabwean case, this solidarity cannot be freely maintained because of political history and economic pressures. Mbembesi is admittedly the first place in which the Xhosa people were settled when they came from South Africa, but they are not all found in the same place today[54]. Regardless of a people's proxemic separation over time, their common cultural traits continue to exist.

In order to understand the musical history of the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe (diaspora), it is paramount to fully explore the causes of their departure from their motherland. Braziel views diaspora as a product of economic development whereby labour is imported or 'outsourced' (2008: 27). This implies that indentureship is one of the causes of diasporic movements. This is confirmed in the *Oxford Dictionary* [Online] and by Maurice Vambe (2008: 284-5) who agrees that there is often an external force behind a diasporic movement. Either people can be forcibly expelled from the land of origin or they can move out of their own volition. In contrast, Vambe proceeds to argue that it is not always the case that behind every African movement there is an external force. He says, 'Human movements within Zimbabwe and across present day national borders were and are a result of internal forces, such as wars, drought, trade and even the desire to settle in another area and country that is decided on by individual families out of volition…' (ibid.). To me, wars and droughts are external forces as they often impinge on people's lives without their consent. Drawing from the Zimbabwean Xhosa context, I would like to contradict Vambe's definition of an internal force. From my own perspective, an internal force emanates from within an individual. It is an individual consent. All factors that radiate from outside an individual are external forces. Following that, I would like to conclude that in every other movement, excluding slavery, both internal and external forces are at play.

[54] Presently, a greater part of the populace of the Xhosas in Zimbabwe is settled in Mbembesi in the Northern Part of Matabeleland Province. The remaining percentage is unevenly spread in adjacent resettlements, namely, Fort Rixon, Matapa, Inyathi, Kennilworth and in other further places like Silobela, Zhombe and Marondera.

For instance, when drought impinges on people's lives, it is they who decide to leave the place or stay and resist the effects. In view of that, the movement of the Zimbabwean Xhosa people was as a result of both internal and external forces. According to Makambe (1982: 7), the British Missionaries used the issue of land to attract the Xhosa people to move to Southern Rhodesia (external force), and they decided, on their own, to take up the offer (internal force).

Ramnarine, in her writing on Chutney music, states that it is paramount to start by considering the diaspora group and its causes of migration when discussing music of a particular diaspora community (2006: 277). Similarly, I have found it important to begin by exploring the causes of the Xhosa's movement into the diaspora (Zimbabwe) as these causes, in turn, assist in understanding the Zimbabwean Xhosas' music-making as well as the effects of diaspora on their music. This implies that the lyrics of a song can narrate a people's past as do some Jewish songs which reflect the complex history of their transnational movement (Stone 2008: 157). To elaborate, Robertson, in his own context of Okinawan diaspora, claims that there are songs which 'act as sites of homeland cultural memory'. He further states that singing such songs reveal 'diaspora consciousnesses' of the diasporic community (2010: 431).

One primary cause of Zimbabwean Xhosa diaspora is indentureship according to Makambe (ibid: 8). For labouring in the mines and fields, and for rendering military defence as well as bestowing continuous loyalty to the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia, Fingo males aged twenty-five years and above were promised an award of ten acres of land each (ibid.). In April 1898, a Fingo Agreement was signed between Frank Thompson, who was famous for Rudd Concession, and the Mfengu at Butterworth in Transkei.[55] In his own words, Makambe says 'it was a contractual instrument, hinged on strong elements of inequality between patrons and clients…' (1982: 7). Following this agreement, in 1890 the Fingo people moved from South Africa (Butterworth) to Southern Rhodesia (Mbembesi) out of their own volition, which is one of the internal causes of migration stated by Vambe (2008: 258). This history is useful because it clarifies who these people in the Zimbabwean diaspora are.

[55] Frank Thompson was popularly known as 'Matabele.' It is most probably that one of the Zimbabwean province's name, Matabeleland, was derived from this alias.

The description of the Zimbabwean Xhosas as a diaspora hinges mainly on the movement of the Fingo from Natal to the Eastern Cape and finally to Zimbabwe, settling in Mbembesi. For that reason, the utter disregard of the connectivity of the Fingo people with the KwaZulu Natal Province made by Stapleton (1995 and 1996) and Webster (1995) poses more problems than solutions to my inquiry. The two scholars claim that the Fingo are Xhosas who were forced to work for the British settlers under the colonially-created job-title, Fingo. In contrary to Webster's and Stapleton's claims, in this research I utilise the movement of the Mfengu people from KwaZulu Natal Province to the Eastern Cape to reveal how the Zimbabwean Xhosa people have based their composition on their social history.

2.5 From Colonialism to Postcolonialism

Zimbabwe as a postcolonial state still experiences the effects of colonialism. Such experiences are inevitably since the road from colonialism to postcolonialism is a process. The effects of colonialism were and are mainly demonstrated through unequal power relations between the dominant and the subordinated (Stone 2008: 263) which ultimately have influence on music-making. Even though colonialism, as a subject, has been extensively discussed in scholarly literature, there is still a need, through postcolonial orientations, to 'understand the operations of colonialist and anti-colonialist ideologies in political, social, cultural and [ethnomusicological]' spheres (Tyson cited in Stone ibid.). Thus, it is in such orientations, namely, postcolonial studies, that the aforementioned relationships are granted recognisable attention. Even though my research is informed by the theory of diaspora, postcolonial theory has an influence, though minimal, in the manner which I discuss the Zimbabwean Xhosa music-making. Postcolonial studies enable me to reveal how the British/Xhosa asymmetrical power relations are exhibited in the Zimbabwean Xhosa musical traditions from colonial to postcolonial periods.

Since the tradition that I am studying is nestled within colonial and postcolonial periods, I desire to establish if there are any impermeable boundaries between these two periods reflected in the music-making of the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe. That is, my work seeks to reveal the musical demarcations that are a consequence of the national-political transition from the colonial to postcolonial periods, if any. In relation to that, Stone, with awareness of the irony involved, asserts that the colonial systems have infiltrated into postcolonial

independent nations through continued-unequal-power relations hence heavily influencing people's musics in these nations (ibid.). This is so because those in leadership in the independent postcolonial states do not cease to assert hegemonic rule upon their own people (ibid.: 288). For that reason, the postcolonial musicians find issues to sing about hence continuing to compose protest songs, music that was initially associated with colonial rule. To demonstrate such, Vambe cites a *Chomtengure* as a Zimbabwean Shona song composed during the colonial period whose lyrics reveal anti-colonial resistance (ibid.). Ironically, in her thesis, 'A Person among Others: Music, Morality, and Postcolonial Politics in the Songs of Oliver Mtukudzi', Kyker analyses songs that possibly reveal continued existence of oppression of the Blacks by the Black government. One such song is *Bvuma*, Mtukudzi's composition whose meaning is highly contested (Kyker 2011: 118-140).

The existence of colonial residues in the 'independent' nations is not only evident in the new anti-oppression musical compositions but also in the new sets of lyrics inserted in the pre-existing melodies created during the colonial period. For instance, in the 1970s, Dickson Chingaira [56] composed the song 'Hondo Yakura MuZimbabwe' (War has intensified in Zimbabwe) and re-released the same song in 2002 as 'Hondo Yeminda' (War for Land) (Vambe 2004: 174). While on the same note, Marie Jorritsma, focusing on the coloured community in Kroonvale, Graaff-Reinet in South Africa, discusses the performance of the song, *Senzeni Na?* a protest song, to the text of 'Rejoice All Who Live', a religious hymn created well before the South African Apartheid state (2011: 52). Kauffman refers to this move as musical syncretism (1961: 31).

'Versions and sub/versions of a single song' reveal some alterations made to a piece of music (Vambe 2008: 288), be it to the melody or lyrics, alteration of music brings about change. Thus, even though postcolonial composers may alter colonial compositions to suit the postcolonial environment, the alterations may be necessary as they may bring in new musical ideas. In the Xhosa *Umguyo* musical repertoire, which is believed to have been composed during the pre-colonial and colonial periods, changes that represent development are evident. The continual existence of colonially-influenced compositions in the postcolonial musical ground enables the nationalists to trace their history as well as their identity.

[56] Chingaira is commonly known by his audience as Comrade Chinx.

In this section therefore, I state that the identity of a state stands in relation to the state's musical past. By this I imply that the musical history of a nation has a bearing in how outsiders or how people in general view a particular nation. Thus, the contemporary music of a particular group of people is not in any way independent from the very people's historical musical repertoire. In other terms, contemporary music is strongly influenced by the pre-existing musical genres. Several postcolonial scholars have examined how historical music has informed the present and future musical practices of different people. Mpola, in her analysis of Xhosa song texts, narrates how H. J. Masiza formulated the song, *Ngasemilanjeni yaseBhabheli* (By the rivers of Babylon) from the Psalms of David, in the Bible. This song is still sung today. This act of deriving songs from the Bible is not an uncommon thing in contemporary Zimbabwean music. The Xhosa boys also create their *umguyo* songs from contemporary religious music. Earlier, this behaviour was generally criticised in the Zimbabwean Xhosa community but it has since been accommodated (Bongile Mtongana July 2012). As a result, I want to attribute such an ideological shift to the ultimate realisation of the significance and necessity of historic background in constructing a strong and long lasting national identity and traditions.

Many ethnomusicological postcolonial writers generally perceive some relationship in the way colonial and postcolonial musical composers create their music. Be it general or politically-affiliated music, the musical products of these two different eras seemingly draw from the same source. They both incorporate traditional folk songs and rhythms even though at times the reliance may not be explicitly defined. In fact, the postcolonial musical compositions are continuations of or are influenced by the music composed in colonial and/or pre-colonial periods. To support that, Mtukudzi, a postcolonial singer has commodified Shona folk songs. One of the songs is *Chirimupoto*, 'We are in a pot'. In a similar manner, music that is sung by the Mfengu in the contemporary *umguyo* ceremonies is not performed independently from Xhosa/Mfengu folk songs. The idea of filtering the past into contemporary musical ideologies assists people to continue identifying with the new musical compositions (ibid). This is because the musical past forms the legacy of the national music of any state. Tuohy states that despite the incorporation of the historical past in postcolonial music-making, the composers also filter in foreign musical trends (Tuohy 2006: 226).

I conclude by stating that the continuation of colonial traits in the postcolonial independent nations is inevitable as the succeeding rulers after the end of colonialism would have been

exposed to colonial ruling systems. The change in government does not imply an adoption of a completely new system. Instead, the traits of an old system will always surface hence continuing in the new governing systems.

CHAPTER 3: A 'THICK DESCRIPTION' OF *UMGUYO* RITUAL IN MBEMBESI

3.0 Introduction

> *A thick description ... does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere facts and surface appearances. It presents detailed, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another. Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into an experience. It establishes the significance of an experience, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard.*
>
> *(Norman K. Design 1989: 83)*

This chapter brings us to one of the most commonly-adopted approaches to social institutions and events, the concept of thick description, propounded by Gilbert Ryle in 1971 and later popularised by Clifford Geertz in anthropological studies (ibid.: 538).[57] Based on the opening notion in this chapter, I 'thickly' present the events of the *umguyo* ceremony strictly for three fundamental reasons: One, to provide a clear picture of the systematic proceedings of the Zimbabwean Xhosas' *umguyo* ceremony. Two, to give support for my analytical interpretations of music presented in Chapter 4. Three, to contextualize my interpretations [if the context under which I make interpretations is richly and thickly described, it becomes easier for the 'reader of [my] work to gauge for herself or himself the credibility of ... [my] interpretations' (Pontoretto 2006: 256). I also describe the Zimbabwean circumcision ritual drawing from my fieldwork, while incorporating literature on the southern African Xhosa *umguyo* ritual. The latter is not used as a way of making a comparison but because of the paucity of information on the Zimbabwean ritual, a challenge already indicated in the opening chapter. In summary, fieldwork data, fieldwork observations, relevant Xhosa study sources together with the knowledge that I have as an insider in the Zimbabwean Xhosa community enable me to give a detailed narration of the *umguyo* in Zimbabwe.

I begin this chapter by illustrating how *umguyo* is a ritual. I use Catherine Bell's theory of rituals to frame my narration. This is followed by a description of the crucial social events that take place prior to and after the operation.[58] I further divide my narration into three

[57] Although Clifford Geertz is commonly regarded as the 'author' of the model of thick description, in the true sense he is the advocate of the concept. According to Joseph Ponterotto, the concept originates with Gilbert Ryle (2006: 538-39).

[58] Among the social events that I discuss are the musical performances and beer-brewing procedures.

successive sections, namely; pre-circumcision, the circumcision, and the post-circumcision events. All these events are guided by domestic social order and space, of which the space is believed to be relatively constant and sparse (Kuper 1993: 473; McAllister 2006: 185).[59] In these events, all society members are important, interdependent, and unified hence answering to normative rules of kinship, respect, and seniority (Kuckertz 1997: 311-48 and McAllister 2006: 188).

3.1 Characteristics of Rituals

I have already established that the Xhosas in Zimbabwe are progenies of the South African Xhosas. They have inherently acquired some of their social practices and rituals with *umguyo* being one of those rituals. Bell defines a ritual as having six characteristics, formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule-governance, sacral symbolism, and performance (1997: 138). Formalism is, according to Bell, the most common characteristic of rituals (ibid.). Supported by Susanna Rostas (1988: 89) and Felicia Hughes-Freeland (1988: 6), Bell asserts that the ritual participants tend to follow prescribed rules, resulting in limited personal input (1997:139). The implication is that ritual activities are more conventional or standardized and thus less idiosyncratic in character (ibid.). In addition, every participant has a specific role that she/he closely observes which reinforces the social status quo. Taking into consideration the *umguyo* ritual, social roles, including musical roles, are clearly demarcated for specific participants. The participants normally strive to maintain their prearranged positions so as not to disrupt the smooth flow of the ceremony.

Secondly, Bell states that most rituals depict some element of traditionalism, meaning that many rituals appeal to societal traditions or customs (ibid: 152). Traditionalism in ritual activities can be marked either by the adaptation of the past into contemporary settings or the creation of new activities that evoke connections with the historical past. In other words, a ritual is a strategy of ensuring continuity of the past in present times (Hobsbawn 1983: 11). The 'use of ancient costumes, the repetition of older social customs, and the preservation of archaic linguistic forms' are the most apparent modes of traditionalisation

[59] Kuper asserts that the structure of the Nguni domestic space hinges on a set of binary oppositions that informs every societal member of his/her position and through which normative values based on issues of gender and seniority are reinforced (1993: 473).

(Bell 1997: 145) that link the past and the present. Likewise, the *umguyo* ritual mirrors the long-standing values of the Xhosa people. Thus, the *umguyo* song lyrics and regalia revivify the historical experiences of the Xhosa people.

The third characteristic of rituals according to Bell is invariance (1997: 150). Invariance in rituals is marked by repetition, precision, and self-control on the side of the participant (Bell 1997: 150). To support this notion, Hughes-Freeland emphasizes that the ritual learners begin by copying and reproducing the skills learnt from others (1998: 90). Even though invariance seems to be inevitable in the Xhosa traditional musical performances, during the *umguyo* ceremony, divergence, be it in musical or the other social proceedings, generally is detested. The contemporary participants of the Xhosa circumcision ceremony seem to be expected to reproduce what they have inherited from their elders. Failure to do so is an indication of lack of observation of the rules that govern the ritual proceedings.

Bell positions rule-governance as the fourth characteristic for rituals (1997: 154). In this instance, Bell perceives rituals as activities that are governed by explicit and static rules which the participants should abide by. Bell's purposes of rules in ritual activities are to 'define the outer limits of what is acceptable, or they may orchestrate every step. In either case, they hold individuals to communally approved patterns of behavior' (ibid.: 155). The implication is that these are normative rules that regulate the ritual activities by determining the parameters of what is customarily acceptable (ibid.: 154). The unlimited number of taboos associated with the Xhosa circumcision ritual show the existence of the 'must be observed' rules that guide the ritual itself.[60]

Sacral symbolism is the fifth characteristic of a ritual (ibid.: 155-59). Bell states that rituals bear sacral symbolism when the activities involved clearly appeal to the supernatural beings (ibid.: 155). However, Bell also notes that the supernatural reality is not always apparent and direct in most ritual-like activities (ibid.: 156). This implies that both the spectator and the performer need to be knowledgeable of the history behind such activities in order to ensure extra meaningful interpretations that go beyond the simple as most songs usually bear more than one meaning (Vambe 2008: 288). Even though sacredness is accredited to objects, people, buildings, and places, sacral symbolism as a characteristic, hardly finds a place in the *umguyo* ritual. Instead, only trivial levels of 'sacradity' can be

[60] The details of some of the taboos associated with the *umguyo* ritual will be presented later in this chapter.

attested in songs performed by men as they escort the initiate to the place of seclusion.[61] These songs are distinguished from the rest of the music performed during the entire *umguyo* ceremony for the reason that they hold interpretations.

Bell's final characteristic that she claims often coexists with rule-governance is performance (1997: 160). Bell describes performance as demonstration or 'a type of microcosmic portrayal of the macrocosm' (ibid.). By this, she means that people from various places can get hold of the world's larger realities by scaling them down into stage enactments. To achieve authenticity therefore, the performers should exert an amount of energy and be improvisatory. In support of that, Hughes-Freeland asserts that 'Performativity… implies individuality and resourcefulness as put into movement; it can be seen as creative' (1998: 90). Creativity in performance draws people's attention to the ritual (Bell 1997: 163-4) as it will be spectacular to watch (Hughes-Freeland 1998: 90). To me, the nature of performance seems to contradict what is called for in formalism. On one side, formalism stresses that the actors should not display their own personalities or characters or rather should be impersonal. That is, the actors should 'not [be] the authors of [their] acts' (Humphery and Laidlaw 1994: 96, 99). On the other hand, performativity requires the performers to be more deliberate and be thoughtful of whatever they do. Therefore, I want to conclude that performativity and formalism, though they may both be characteristics of the *umguyo* ritual, cannot be witnessed simultaneously in a specific ritualistic activity.

Considering the administration of the *umguyo* ritual, I want to portray a ritual as a ceremony that also has a religions episode, for which its operations are executed in a prescribed manner. Although the ceremony can be attended by an undefined crowd, its sacred operations, which often mark the climax of the event, are often performed by a specified group of individuals. *Umguyo* is both serious and celebratory in that it has 'religious activities at one extreme and social etiquette at the other' (Gluckman cited in Bell 1997: 39). More often than not, rituals are held in isolated places. Such ceremonies include rites of passage like initiations that Arnold van Gennep categorises as life-crisis rituals (1960: 189).[62]

[61] I use the word 'sacradity' to mean sacredness as utilised by Bell (1997: 156).
[62] Van Gennep defines life-crisis rituals as a class of rituals that indicate the development of a person from one stage to another (1960: 189). Similarly, the *umguyo* ritual is a demarcation in a Zimbabwean Xhosa boy's life as it marks the end of boyhood and the beginning of manhood.

3.2 The Pre-circumcision Events

Ukwaluka (circumcision) is a freewill practice. Unless there is really a pressing need to compel the uncircumcised boy to undergo the circumcision ritual, Xhosa parents in Zimbabwe often wait for the boy to state his desire to be circumcised (Jonas and de Beer 1991: 364). Due to some of the following reasons, the parents or the community may initiate the idea of circumcision for the 'boy'. One, a boy may behave mischievously either by being involved in theft or by impregnating a girl. With reference to the latter instance, it is taboo in the Zimbabwean Xhosa community for a 'boy' to get married, therefore the boy's parents have to compel him to undergo circumcision so that he can take care of his own family.[63] Secondly, if a Zimbabwean Xhosa male reaches the age of twenty-five without being circumcised, the community gets concerned. They begin by advising him to undergo the ritual. If he turns a deaf ear, the community sees to it that the individual undergoes the ritual.[64] In such a case, there are no pre-circumcision events held.

When a boy within the age-range of *ukwaluka*/circumcision decides to undergo the initiation process, he does not communicate his intention directly to his father but approaches either his uncle (*utat'omncinci*) or an aunt (*inkosikazi katatomncinci or udadewaboyise*) who in turn, delivers the news to the boy's father (*uSomagwaza*).[65] His father then calls the other fathers to speak with them about a suitable date for the circumcision ceremony.[66] During this meeting, the *ingcibi* (cicumcisor/doctor) and *ikhankatha* (nurse) are selected.[67] These two should be knowledgeable, caring, committed,

[63] Besides referring to an uncircumcised Xhosa male (of any age) as a boy (*inkwenkwe*), throughout my work I also use the same term for the aspiring initiate.
[64] The community has the communal right to circumcise this individual without any notice. The men take the individual unexpectedly and circumcise him without his consent. In such a scenario no ceremony is held for the individual.
[65] While two or more boys can be initiated together, in this dissertation I refer to a single initiate for two reasons: One, my field data was collected from a ceremony with a single initiate, and secondly, for simplicity and consistency.
[66] In this project, I refer to the initiate's father and his brothers as 'fathers' of the child or boy. This is because they all assume the position of the biological father when it comes to the boy's rite of passage or any of their children's life-crisis rites. Thus, the boy's biological father, on his own, cannot make final decisions pertaining to his son's initiation. Instead, all the fathers' consents are vital. If there are minor family differences existing at that particular time, they are usually put aside. This is in line with the common belief among Africans that a child does not belong to a single family but to the whole clan.
[67] *Ingcibi* is the circumciser or the doctor. *Ikhankatha* is a male person that guards the initiates during their seclusion period (McLaren 1963: 68). The other duty of *ikhankatha* is to nurse the initiates' wounds especially in the first week of the circumcision period. For that reason, he is also referred to as the nurse (Menzi Mjoli 30 December 2011).

and honest.[68] Below, Menzi Mjoli, a retired traditional nurse explains what parents often value on the part of *ikhankatha*:

> I make sure that people's children do not get hurt so that I will be called again tomorrow. Some people still come to ask me to perform these duties but I tell them that younger nurses are available. They should go to them (30 December 2011).

Even though Mjoli has retired, people still ask him to take care of their children because of his caring heart.

Once the date is set, the boy's mother and other kinswomen are informed. Depending on their financial standing, the boy's parents may honour their son by hosting a pre-circumcision ceremony called *ingxelo* for him. *Ingxelo* is a small social gathering whose main function is to officially inform people within the vicinity and relatives (*amakhaya)* that the boy is grown-up and intends to be circumcised.[69]

The procedural events of this ceremony are brief and seemingly not detailed in comparison to the circumcision ceremony. *Ingxelo* takes only a few hours and has a small number of attendees.[70]All the proceedings of *ingxelo* happen in a cattle byre where all the attendees are strictly guided by normative rules of kinship, seniority and reverence (McAllister 2006: 188).[71]

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[68] After the selection of *ingcibi* and *ikhankatha*, the boy's father requests their services prior to the *umguyo* ceremony. If any of the chosen cannot take the task, the fathers' committee meets again to select another possible candidate. For the *ingcibi* to practise, he should possess a certificate from ZINATHA (Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers' Association) to prove his knowledge. The association awards the circumciser with a status equivalent to that of a certified traditional doctor. By being in possession of the certificate, the *ingcibi* is indemnified in case something goes wrong with the initiate during the circumcision operation.

[69] It is during the *ingxelo* ceremony that the boy's father announces the date of the initiation ceremony, which usually falls within one and two months after the *ingxelo*.

[70] Only a few men attend the *ingxelo* ceremony. Amongst them are the initiate's male friends, siblings, and cousins. The *ingcibi* and *ikhankatha*, whose services have been requested for by *uSomagwaza,* also attend. *USomagwaza* is the biological father of the initiate. The word literally means, 'father of the spear fighter'. However, Jonas and de Beer consider the boy's father as *uSosuthu* (1991: 365). According to McLaren, *So-* is a noun that has some similar clear expression of the word father (1991: 153) and *–suthu,* a word-stem meaning the seclusion place of the circumcised lads or a company of the circumcised lads (ibid.: 155). The latter part of the definition of *–suthu* prefixed by the meaning of *So-* gives a logic support to Jonas and de Beer's definition since the resulting definition of the complete word, *uSosuthu*, would be 'the father of the circumcised lads'.

[71] The cattle byre is largely associated with ancestors or sacredness in almost all the South African Xhosa societies, to an extent that beer drinking does not take place inside the byre during the *ingxelo* (McAllister 2006: 191). In Zimbabwe, even though the cattle kraal is equally a sacred place of gathering, during the *ingxelo*, men meet inside, have their food, and drink within, sitting in hierarchical arrangements. The venue used also has gender connotations: women do not have significant contributions in this ceremony. Men do all the cooking at the cattle byre. The women who come to the hosting homestead are usually neighbours and locally-situated relatives. Their attendance is only to keep the boy's mother company and to make plans for the oncoming initiation ceremony.

Although men and boys share the same venue, the cattle byre, there is a distinct line between the groups, hence demonstrating a '[prescribed] avoidance behaviour and morality' (McAllister 2006: 188).[72] Men sit on one side of the cattle byre, administering the ceremony and entertaining themselves with beer drinking.[73] The aspiring initiate and his fellow mates occupy the direct opposite side of the kraal, singing and awaiting to be sent on errands.[74] The focal episode for both groups is the slaughtering of the goat.[75] Young and energetic men (*abafana*) slaughter the goat, remove the right-hand foreleg (*umkhono*), cook the intact portion, and give it to the aspiring initiate who is then instructed not to break or chew the bones as he eats.[76] Despite the knowledge that his friends have their allocations from the rest of the goat meat, the boy may decide to share his portion with his friends.[77] After eating, he hangs the shoulder bone on his neck to indicate that he is about to be initiated into manhood.[78] The rest of the meat is prepared separately for men and the other boys. Not only the goat meat and bones are important on this day, but its hide too.

The *ikhankatha*/nurse attends the *ingxelo* with the intention to collect the goat's skin. From the skin, he makes *ityeba* or a bandage that he will use to dress the initiate's wound after the circumcision. To make *ityeba,* the *ikhankatha* curries or scrapes the skin and cuts it into relatively thin strips. Since the *ikhankatha* does not only use the skin to bandage the initiate, on the day of *ingxelo,* he also collects dried unpeeled maize cobs from the hosting

[72] Avoidance behaviour is demonstrated through respect. In Zimbabwean Xhosa society, boys and men do not mingle socially. For instance, boys do not eat from the same plate or drink beer from the same calabash with men. McAllister, in the context of beer making and drinking among the South African Xhosa community, refers to such behaviour as *ukuhlonipha* or rules of respect (2006: 188).

[73] One of my interviewees indicated that nowadays the beer drunk during the *ingxelo* is bought from bars. Thus, traditionally brewed beer is hardly used on this day.

[74] All other boys can be sent around by the men except the initiate. While men do all the cooking, the boys assist by bringing water, firewood, beer and any other utilities needed.

[75] The Zimbabwean Xhosas slaughter either a goat or a sheep, depending on what is available. However, the most commonly-available animal between the two is the goat. Sheep have become scarce among the Zimbabwean Xhosas' livestock.

[76] Although this is seemingly not a prevalent act, some Zimbabwean Xhosa families forbid their *ingxelo* attendees from chewing the bones. In such a scenario, all bones are put in one place for the boy's father, *uSomagwaza*, to burn them after the ceremony.

[77] According to Sihle Stanley, the fact of the boy eating the [foreleg *umkhono*] signifies that the boy has agreed to be circumcised and therefore he takes responsibility for whatever may happen to him during the seclusion period. The boy's father will also not be held responsible if the boy dies during the process. (29 December 2012).

[78] Though the 'necklace' is a non-verbal communication that the boy is about to be circumcised, it also indicates the boy's pride since not all boys intending to be initiated get such a ceremony hosted for them. When some families see the boy with this sign, they award him with gifts of live chickens that he normally eats with his friends and siblings. The 'necklace' remains on the boy's neck until the day of circumcision, when he is breaking off from everything associated with his boyhood.

family. From the maize cobs, the *ikhankatha* is only interested in the husks. Even though the *ikhankatha* keeps the *ityeba* and the maize cobs at his place until the day of *umguyo,* his duties begin from the day of *ingxelo* up until the day of *umphumo,*[79] when the *ikhankatha* hands the initiate back to his parents and the entire community.[80]

Immediately after the *ingxelo,* the long-term preparations for the circumcision day/*umguyo* begin. Every member of the community is at liberty to participate in these preparations hence making *umguyo* a communal event. The aspiring initiate fetches firewood for the circumcision day. His friends may help him if they are free. He also collects water almost on a daily basis until the final week before the commencement of the *umguyo* ceremony. Soon after the *ingxelo*, the boy's behaviour generally changes and becomes rowdy. Since the advertisement of the *umguyo* ceremony largely rests upon the boy himself, he is often found 'wondering around the village... spending much time at the stores [with his companions, usually a group of boys that that also intend to be initiated in the same year]' (Jonas and de Beer 1991: 366). The group distinctively dresses in brief shorts either with their upper torsos unclothed or clad in maroon, blue or green vests. Around their loins, on top of their shorts, the boys put on *imithika*, skirt-like attire made of animal skins. This kind of dressing, aggravated by their drunkenness becomes an appalling sight especially to young children.[81] The boys' rowdy behaviour, *ukukhwenkwa*, denote that the boys are about to be initiated into manhood.[82] Anyone seeing boys dressed in such a manner immediately realises that an *umguyo* ceremony will be held somewhere soon.

Next is *USomagwaza*. He is the general overseer, arising from the fact that he, the father of the boy is the head of the family and *umguyo* is, by and large, a men's issue. As a courtesy, *USomagwaza* begins by informing the chief or *inkosi* and the area headman (*isibonda*) of

[79] *Umphumo* is a small ceremony held on the day the initiate 'comes out' of the *ibhuma* (the seclusion hut) in order to re-join his family.
[80] The *ikhankatha* closely watches the initiate from the time of *ingxelo*. He grooms him towards the societal expectations for an aspiring initiate. The period between *ingxelo* and *umguyo* is the time the boy and the *ikhankatha* build some kind of rapport. Building a close relationship is necessary since the *umkhwetha* (newly initiated man) solely depends on the *ikhankatha* throughout his seclusion period.
[81] Although it may depend on the individual, most initiates undergo this behavioural change. Some reach a stage of getting into someone's homestead in high speed and killing a chicken without the consent of the homeowner. Generally, young children are not comfortable with this kind of behaviour. However, as long as *ukukhwenkwa* is done by an initiate-to-be, it is generally accepted in the Zimbabwean Xhosa community because it is regarded as a temporary way of conduct.
[82] Older boys usually engage on stick fighting, trying to settle some boyhood grudges with their rivals from other areas. The best fighter leaves a name for himself in his lifetime.

his intentions. He also notifies the local police for security reasons.[83] He then delegates most duties to a number of people well known to be quite reliable. His direct responsibilities include keeping in contact with *ingcibi* and *ikhankatha* for assurance of their presence on the day of *umguyo*. Once the circumciser and the nurse confirm their ability to take up the duties, the father saves money to hire the *ingcibi* and decides on how to compensate the *ikhankatha*.[84] *USomagwaza*, besides getting some assistance from well-wishers, is entirely responsible for all the provisions. He provides food for people on the day of *umguyo*. For instance, he decides which beast/s are to be slaughtered on the day. To ensure that food is not wasted on the day of *umguyo*, the *USomagwaza* finds an *injoli*.[85] *USomagwaza* and his wife source funds to buy food, blankets, and any other clothing necessary for the boy during his initiation period. It is also the father's duty to examine the boy for any sexually transmitted disease, prior to the circumcision day. Boys with such diseases are prohibited from undergoing the circumcision operation; the father does this early in order to avoid embarrassment during the ceremony.[86]

Women, on the other hand, specifically contribute towards the smooth flow of the initiate's circumcision ceremony. Their main contribution towards the success of *umguyo* is beer

[83] If the boys, except the initiate, fail to settle down their grudges before the circumcision ceremony, they intentionally continue their fights during the ceremony, at times to the extent of killing each other. So far, I know of two separate incidences in which boys died. As a result, the local police force has developed a practice of sending at least two of its officers to any reported Xhosa event. Their presence is enough to deter any aspiring offenders.

[84] One nurse, reluctant to be named, considered nursing as a communal duty that should not be compensated. Instead, the host can forward the *ikhankatha* a token of appreciation if he can afford to (17 December 2012). However, the *iingcibi* in Zimbabwe are paid for their unusual skills. Thembelani Mpengesi, an *ingcibi*, indicated that they charge R200 or US$20 per initiate.

[85] *Injoli* refers to either a male or a female person responsible for food and beer for any social gathering of the Zimbabwean Xhosas. *Injoli* is chosen by the community on the basis that he/she is fair, firm and not mean. On the eve of *umguyo*, the *iinjoli* (plural), under the instructions of the homeowners, divide the food between men and women. The children's share of the food is given to women as women and children's food is cooked separate from men's. Under each *injoli*, there are area representatives of *ubuzwe/inkosi* who report directly to him/her. The male *injoli's* 'kingdom' is the cattle byre where he subdivides the kraal into smaller portions equal to the number of *izizwe* attending. Each *isizwe* makes its own fire on the allocated place. If all the *izizwe* in Mbembesi, namely, Ngxingwa, Bhuluda, Sojini, Nqakala, Mbethe, Marawana, Veni, Mandluntsha, Mazizi, Niniva, Mabhele, Mantambo, and Matopo are represented in each function, then thirteen fires are made. The fires made by *izizwe*, excluding the hosting area's fire, *iziko lamakhaya*, are not for cooking but for the attendees to rest, socialise, roast meat, and warm themselves during the night. All food is cooked on the hosting area's fire. When the food is ready, *injoli iyalawula* (he/she instructs the cooks to divide the food into a number equal to the number of *izizwe* present). The *injoli* then draws everyone's attention by calling out all the areas by their names, to come and collect their food. Before food is handed over to the area's representative, the representative is expected to reiterate his own area's name after the *injoli* in order to confirm their rightful identity. The same order is followed when distributing beer (McAllister 2006: 181, 193).

[86] If an aspiring initiate is found to be sick, the father sends him to the clinic well before the circumcision time so as to allow ample time for the healing process.

making.[87] Soon after the date of *umguyo* has been declared, the boy's mother soaks sorghum and maize in preparation for beer making. Once the two ingredients germinate, she dries and grinds them either by pounding or by taking them to a grinding mill. While doing all this, she organises other women. She communicates her family's intention to the women of the community, but paying special attention to the brewers, and the female-*injoli*, a woman that will be taking care of females and children's food and the cooks. Although beer-makers may come from outside the hosting area, the *injoli* and cooks should strictly be members of the hosting area.[88] The mother also asks for and collects additional plates and beer-making utensils from the neighbourhood.[89] It is the mother's duty also to see that the grass for thatching the *ibhuma* or seclusion shelter is cut. If no woman from the community offers to assist her, she does the job herself or asks her daughter-in-law for assistance, if she has one. Other women from the community fetch water and stamp some mealie-rice or samp. These are usually the recently married women known as *ufazane*. *Ufazane* do most of the energy-demanding jobs because of their natural strength. During all these preparations, the teenage girls, while assisting the *ufazane*, are simultaneously being trained for their adulthood chores. The local teenage girls make frequent visits to the hosting homestead up until the day of *umguyo*. Besides assisting the *ufazane*, the girls wait to be sent on various errands. It is during such visits that the mature girls date their male partners.[90]

The success or the failure of the *umguyo* ceremony mainly lies in its preparations, which are mostly accomplished by the combined effort of the Xhosa community members. To illustrate, even the healthy financial status of a man, which may enable him to purchase ready-made beer or even hire labour beyond the Xhosa society, does not guarantee him a

[87] As McAllister affirms, beer brewing is hard labour that requires communal contributions. The processes involved in the beer making in Shixini, South Africa, are the same as those followed by the Zimbabwean Xhosas (2006: 170-173).

[88] Even though beer brewing involves medium of instruction, most often, it is a natural skill that is only enhanced through observation and practice. Within the Zimbabwean Xhosa communities, there are women who are well known for making 'sweet' beer and these are the very women who move from one area to another leading the beer-making teams. These women mostly begin their leadership activities beyond the ages of forty (Sobantu 29 December 2012).

[89] Similarly, the women in one of the South African Xhosa communities, Shixini, borrow some utensils required during beer brewing from friends and neighbours (McAllister 2006: 170).

[90] With reference to beer brewing and the preliminary stages of beer distribution in Shixini, McAllister states that young men and boys visit the hosting homestead with their interest not only in beer, but in the girls too (2006: 174). It is also possible that among the visiting girls there would be the initiate's lover whose major intention would be to bid farewell to her partner.

culturally- approved ceremony.[91] Thus, the community's input especially in terms of knowledge is vital. The kind of knowledge being referred to in this instance assumes the position of a customary heritage that is normally archived within the peoples themselves and passed on from one generation to another. In the case where the heads (mother and father) of the hosting family are reluctant to attend or to contribute to preparations of other people's functions, the community equally offers them similar response. This then explains why there is a need for every Zimbabwean Xhosa community member to be actively involved in other people's social events. As such, the co-operation and input of homesteads does not cease with the preparatory events of *umguyo* but extends even through the boy's circumcision ceremony itself.

3.3 The Circumcision Ceremony[92]

What brings to an end the preparatory period is the commencement of the *umguyo* ceremony. The circumcision ceremony usually takes place over a period of three days. It starts on a Thursday and continues until Saturday morning, immediately after the operation. Males and females attend to their duties, taking care to maintain both the division of labour and division of domestic space (McAllister 2006: 189-94).[93] Although there is interaction between the *umguyo* attendees, the laws that accompany the concept of proximity are closely observed in every activity. Men do their own things while women concentrate on their own business. In the following, I therefore begin by explaining what happens on Thursday, the first day of the *umguyo* ceremony. I then describe the events of the second day, Friday and finally, I describe the last day of the ceremony, Saturday, the day of the ritual practice.

For the majority of the Zimbabwean Xhosa people, the *umguyo* ceremony begins on Thursday. Although this day marks the beginning of the ceremony, it is also a day of the final and momentary preparations. Whilst a few people within the vicinity of the hosting

[91] One of my informants, Stanley, stated that the Xhosa people are very particular about the way the procedures of the *umguyo* ceremony are performed. His direct expression was, '*Kukhona ukuba umguyo ube yimboza, ikakhulu xa umntu engafuni ukuncediswa ngabantu bokuhlala kumbe okanye eqhuba izinto zakhe ngendlela ezichasene nesiko lakwaXhosa.'* This means that there are instances where the *umguyo* ceremony does not come out well, especially when a person is not willing to be assisted by the society or is doing things in a way that is not accepted in Xhosa culture (29 December 2012).

[92] Although it may seem as if I am narrating the events of *umguyo* ceremony from my personal experience, the details of most procedures were provided by Tallach Green Nombembe, a lead singer.

[93] On the subject of beer drinks, McAllister views an individual homestead as a place where mutual relationships can be modelled by the manipulation or the division of the homestead's geographical space, using not only the principles of territorial boundaries, kinship and age, but also of gender (2006: 189).

homestead continue with the final preparations, increasing numbers of people, from the neighbourhood and from afar, start arriving to witness the opening of the ceremony.[94] As they arrive, they are welcomed by the ululations of women who hastily move up and down the homestead. On this day, the ululations celebrate people's arrivals and are also used as a method of greeting since everyone will be too busy to engage in formal greetings. While the beer-makers work on the final stages of the beer brewing, the middle-aged women start making homemade bread (*imibhako*).[95] Young women, *ufazane*, clean the yard and cook for all the workers, as Thursday has no ritual activities that may force men to cook separately from women. Besides, the young men who usually cook for men will be busy making *izihonqo*.

On Thursday, mainly being *ilanga lezihonqo*, a day for making temporary shelters, young men (*amakrwala nododana*) cut branches from the most available trees in the area and bring them home. At the end of it all, the *izihonqo* will be sparsely dotted along the edges of the yard. The purpose of *izihonqo* is to accommodate people as additional numbers are expected to arrive on Friday. It is also in these shelters that women cook and bake.[96] The young men also cut down *izibonda zebhuma,* wooden poles, and saplings to make the frames of the seclusion hut (Jonas and de Beer 1991: 366), haul and leave them outside the homestead.[97]

The boy's seclusion starts from the first day of the week on which the *umguyo* is held. He is separated from the majority of the community members in order to eliminate the chances of him being exposed to witches (Stanley 29 December 2012). His movements become restricted. His guardian, *ikhankatha,* no longer allows him to move around the village, fighting his foes as he had done before. His food is also cooked separately. The *ikhankatha*

[94] Although people with different specific duties begin to call in soon after the announcement of the date of the *umguyo* ceremony, those with duties to be performed on the initiation day, like the *ingcibi*, and other people without specific duties per se, start arriving on Thursday. Amongst them can be relatives from distant places. While some come to assist with final preparations, others' main agenda is to drink *igwele,* which is 'a special portion [of beer] brought to maturity ahead of the rest', usually for people close to the family to taste (McAllister 2006: 175).

[95] Thursday is the day when beer-makers, with the help of girls and young women, strain the large amounts of beer. As a form of reward, the helpers get *intluzela* (McAllister 2006: 175).

[96] *Izihonqo* take the form of a cattle byre. However, it is a semicircle as opposed to a cattle byre which is a complete circle. *Izihonqo* normally face the West to avoid the common strong winds that blow from the East, hence making cooking an uncomfortable process.

[97] The fear is that the evil spirits from home will follow the boy to his secluded place through these materials if they get into the yard. Even the thatching grass is kept at the end of the yard, usually *esihonqweni* or in an enclosure surrounding the barn.

selects a young man who will be directly responsible for the boy's food hence seeing that the boy adheres to his specific diet. For instance, Xhosa culture deters the boy from eating chicken and pork on his last days before the circumcision. As from Thursday, the boy will be seemingly grounded, staying put for the *ikhankatha* to hand him over to the elderly men of the community.

Usually, the Zimbabwean Xhosa elderly men are found in the cattle byre during the boys' initiation ceremonies. On the Thursday, they wait to hear from the *USomagwaza* if he has anything new to tell them.[98] Provided there are no changes, the elderly men demand to see the boy so they can re-inspect him. Present too will be the *ingcibi* and the nurse (*ikhankatha*). After the examination, the boy is excused. Following this is the *ingcibi*.

The *ingcibi* lays his knives before the elderly men for inspection. According to Thembelani Mpengesi, an *ingcibi,* the knife should have been sterilised and must have a smooth cutting edge.[99] If the boy's father decides to purchase a new knife in fear of his son contracting sexually transmitted diseases through shared instruments, on this day he lays the knife before the community elders. Whatever advice the elders may have, the *ingcibi* has the final word about the new knife. After the *ingcibi* comes the *ikhankatha*. It is during this day that he shows his nursing materials to the boy's father, *uSomagwaza* and the *ingcibi*.[100] As from this day onwards, the *ingcibi* and the *ikhankatha* stay together. They sleep in the same place together with the initiate.[101] On Friday morning, the *ikhankatha* hands over the boy to the entire body of men.

Friday is the performance-filled day of the *umguyo* ceremony. On this day, people cease to prepare but celebrate in anticipation of the transitional hour of the boy's life from boyhood to adulthood. Song and dance, enhanced by beer drinking, set the mood of the day. Everyone finds a place in which to fit. Women's territory is mainly within the homestead while men shape the boy into a man at the cattle pen. Mphulu Tshabalala, a male

[98] Although not so common, the boy may change his mind about being circumcised. Therefore, the elderly men from the neighbourhood wait for the boy's fathers to confirm the boy's sincerity. The elderly men ask: *Iyanyanisa na inkwenkwe*? If all is fine, the father answers, *ewe iyanyanisa* (Stanley 29 December 2012).
[99] The *ingcibi* boils the knives in water for a relatively long time and then soaks them in methylated spirit for further sterilisation. If two or more boys are circumcised together, the *ingcibi* uses a separate knife for each (Mpengesi 30 December 2011).
[100] The nursing materials include *ityeba* and the maize husks that the *ikhankatha* collected on the *ingxelo* day. He also brings a sample of the leaves that he will be using as medicine on the boy's wounds.
[101] It is taboo for the *ingcibi (doctor)* and *ikhankatha* to have sexual intercourse when they are about to circumcise a boy. As a result, they spend the two last nights before the operation away from their own homes. In Xhosa they say, *ukwalusa kuyazilelwa* meaning that circumcision demands abstinence.

interviewee, states that, 'on Friday, the boy will be ours' meaning that the boy remains in the custody of men throughout the day. He is only released at night when he will be joining his peers, but still under some guards. What follows in this section, is a description of what happens in the cattle byre, which is followed by an outline of the construction of the seclusion hut, *ibhuma*. I then describe women's duties and state their musical activities, ending with an account of the events that take place at night, while people wait for early morning business.

Early in the morning on Friday, the *ikhankatha* usually hands over the boy to a large group of men who are seated at the cattle byre. He removes and surrenders his everyday clothing, and is clad in a blanket only (Jonas and de Beer 1991: 366). A beast is also slaughtered in the morning in the presence of the initiate in order to show him that retreat is no longer an option. Some may even slaughter two beasts depending on the number of the attendees as well as the financial status of the host. As a prerequisite, the hosting father also kills a goat for his son because the initiate does not eat beef on this day but goat meat only. From the whole beast, the boy only eats from the foreleg, as he would have done on the day of *ingxelo*. The young man, whom the *ikhankatha* had chosen earlier to take care of the boy's food, continues with his duties. He cuts out a small piece of meat for roasting, and cooks the remainder from the foreleg. The piece to be roasted is put on charcoals until it is charred. The *ikhankatha* then takes the charred piece; pricks it with a small thorny bud of a tree. Like a game, he instructs the boy to bite it off whilst his hands are folded at the back.[102] Every man in the cattle byre enjoys the game, so they form a crowd around the two, watching the boy trying to bite the piece of meat off the thorny bud. The *ikhankatha* does not simply give the meat to the boy. Instead, he makes sure the boy is pricked by the thorns before he wins. Some men from the crowd jeer at the initiate while others encourage him to catch the meat.[103] After eating, the boy has his head shaved. Next, two young men escort the boy to the nearest river to take a bath, leaving other men to continue with the slaughtering of the beast. While still bathing, the escorts fetch *iintswazi* for the initiate. These are thin long saplings from either *umbhongisa* or *ikrwili* trees, which serve as a prop during the dance of boys called *ukugxiva*. By the time the initiate comes back from

[102] The small bud is taken from any of these thorny trees, *ugagu, umkhaya* or *umphafa*.
[103] Tshabalala stated that some shouts like, '*Bamba! Bamba! Mani kwedini*,' meaning, 'Hold! Hold! You young boy,' are heard coming from the crowd. One informant, telling of his own initiation, indicated that he was insulted throughout the ceremony. He pointed out that men treat the initiate more like an animal than a human being.

bathing, his food will be ready. He eats and then starts to perform the boys' dance.[104] Later during the afternoon, the local young girls, mainly relatives, are allowed to get into the cattle byre to sing and clap for their brother. In Xhosa they say, *amantombazana abetha iqula.*[105] All the boys that attend the ceremony perform this kind of dance throughout the night. Only the songs change. The initiate remains in the kraal under the men's custody until midnight, when the men drive him, through song and dance, to the boys' hut, *ixhiba lamakhwenkwe.*

Friday is also a day to construct the seclusion hut, *ibhuma* or *isuthu.* Around midday, the young men haul the poles and saplings for making *ibhuma* to the spot marked by the father, *uSomagwaza.*[106] Usually, the *ibhuma* is placed away from the homesteads, where women do not usually pass by. Whilst the young men build the hut, the elderly men will be seated at a distance monitoring the progress and at the same time enjoying their beer. Once the frame has been put in place, men go back home singing and dancing. They sing the song, *Sivela Enkumandeni* (We are from the secluded hut), to signal to the women at home that it is now their turn to complete the structure. In response, the women rush to collect the thatching grass. To avoid meeting the men on their way back home, the women use a different way altogether. The younger women climb up the frame as they thatch, while the elderly women sit under trees, giving instructions. The only part done by the elderly women is the entrance.[107] Upon completion, the women go back home in song and dance just as the men do. When the women get close to the homestead, the men meet them from

[104] After eating, the men instruct the initiate to dance. They shout *tshotsha kwedini!* This means, dance you boy! His friends would have arrived to assist him in singing and dancing. In the evening, these local boys leave in order to dress up properly for the event. They also need time to prepare *izitofile* (percussion instruments made of empty 5 litre-cooking oil tins). The material of these tins is either plastic or zinc. The boys utilise tins because of their availability. In the past, *izitofile* were made from caterpillar cocoons. However, *izitofile* of this material have become obsolete. Besides, making *izitofile* with tins requires less labour.

[105] When the girls perform *iqula,* they hit on their laps in a rhythmical manner.

[106] The place on which to construct the *ibhuma* remains the father's secret until Friday because of the fear of witchcraft. Witchcraft is one thing that the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe are scared of. Hence, some of the *umguyo* attendees source some *imithi,* African traditional medicine, to protect themselves. In that process, their protection may affect the innocent people like the babies and the initiate. In the same manner, non-Christian hosting parents find *umuthi,* (traditional medicine) to protect the initiate while he is in his seclusion.

[107] One female interviewee stated that the childbearing aged women are prohibited from shaping the doorway and weaving the door. Only elderly women who have reached menopause are allowed to do so. Yet, no one was able to explain the significance of this rule. However, drawing attention to the Jewish practices in Leviticus 15 verses 19-32, I find similar societal attitudes towards the Jewish childbearing aged women. A Jewish woman during her menstrual period, in this scripture, is considered ceremonially unclean. Whoever touches her should take a bath. On the same basis, I suggest the possibility that the childbearing aged women in the Zimbabwean Xhosa culture are all considered unclean and therefore will defile the initiate if ever they handle his entrance. Thus, the initiate will remain defiled throughout his seclusion period, which usually lasts for a minimum period of six weeks without bathing.

the cattle pen, singing a song different from the one being sung by the women. They compete, each group trying so hard to sing louder than its opponent. Finally, one group wins with the losers being forced to join the winners. After that, the two groups part their ways.

While the men remain in the cattle byre singing and dancing to ceremonial songs, the women go into the yard to perform the *ukutyityimba* dance. Laurie Levine describes the dance as one of the main movements in Xhosa dance (2005: 91). As women and girls perform it, the 'entire body quivers and the knees are pushed forward and backwards (ibid.). This dance, according to Gladys Dlamini, an elderly female interviewee, was originally for girls and was not performed in the initiation ceremonies but in weddings (31 December 2011). For that reason, the songs sung during *ukutyityimba* lack themes that relate to the *umguyo* ceremony. Instead, they serve the purpose of recreational songs to cheer people as they wait for the circumcision process that takes place the following morning. The *ukutyityimba* usually ends at sunset when people get ready for food. The eating times in this ceremony are unusual. Whatever people eat at this hour, they leave out some for the final meal that will be eaten after midnight, when the initiate is about to move into the hut. This is probably the last meal for the boy before his operation.

Friday night is an all-night vigil for almost everyone. It is mostly filled with by different musical activities that are performed while people wait for dawn. A passer-by may not hear music from this homestead but noise, as the activities are performed concurrently. When the men sing and dance while enjoying beer in the cattle byre, the women do the same in the house. The boys and girls moving from the kraal to the hut, bid farewell to their brother-to-be with singing and dancing.[108] The small boys, too young to enter the hut imitate the bigger boys from outside. There is music all over. Starting with the men, the spatial division in the cattle byre does not prevent men from performing together.[109] Throughout the night, the men continue with their musical performances. They perform *ukuguya*, which is a simple dance performed by several boys as they stamp their feet down

[108] As indicated earlier in Chapter 1, in Zimbabwean Xhosa culture, the term brother (*ubhuti)* is used to refer to males that have been circumcised, depending on the kind of relationships people have with the 'new' man. Immediately after *umphumo*, everyone younger than the newly initiated man is seemingly obliged to prefix his name with the designation, *bhuti* or any title that denotes relative reverence.

[109] Although men still sit according to their areas or *izizwe*, a practice observed on the day of *ingxelo*, during the musical performances they all come together. They only stick to their territorial divisions when they are eating or drinking beer.

in a systematic way. Some of the songs that accompany the dance address the issues pertaining to the boy's circumcision. Another dance performed by men in the cattle byre is *ukuxhentsa*. The *Ukuxhentsa* dance in Zimbabwe is performed in a manner similar to that of South African Xhosas as they perform *ukuxhentsa* at beer ceremonies, described by Dargie (1988: 35). In Zimbabwe, *ukuxhentsa* is a dance for both men and women.[110] Performers' foot-rhythms should correspond to the song rhythm (ibid.). *Ukuxhentsa* being a recreational musical activity like *ukutyityimba*, it does not address the issues of initiation but functions to entertain the attendees. For that reason, the dance is not limited to the circumcision ceremonies only but can also be performed at any social gathering like beer drinking and Xhosa traditional weddings. One of my interviewees, Tshabalala, indicated that it is not so long ago that women were joining men in these dances. Instead of performing the same dances indoors as they do, women for that night only, would be allowed to dance with men in the cattle byre. However, because of the unruly behaviour of the boys in general, women have ceased doing so. As Tshabalala describes the boys' unruliness he says,

> Today's children are different from us. Children of these days are stubborn and dangerous. In the older days, children were submissive. Only four security guards were chosen to control them. Two inside and two outside were enough. With a single command, they would comply. These ones [of today] fight every time (30 December 2011).[111]

The boys' rowdy behaviour intensifies as they get into the hut. Usually at midnight, the men drive the initiating boy to the cabin singing the song, *Siya Enkumandeni*. They hand over the boy to the guards, who work hard to keep order in the room. By this time, even the boys from the furthest areas would have arrived. For the boys to enter the hut, excluding the initiate, the guards search them for sharp instruments and demand that they remove their clothes remaining with pants or brief shorts only.[112] When they get into the hut, they continue singing and dancing but in a deliberately disorderly manner. Instead of the listener enjoying some melodious voices from outside, sounds of whips followed by insults

[110] Tallach Green Nombembe (29 December 2012).
[111] To minimise rowdiness of the contemporary children in this ceremony, eight guards are chosen instead of four. They work together with the police officers if informed about the ceremony. However, the police officers do not go into the hut unless they are called.
[112] The boys sometimes carry some knives or any other sharp metals either to use them for attacking others or to protect themselves. It is common too that the Zimbabwean Xhosa males carry fighting sticks with metal bolts at the end. These are very dangerous instruments that can lead to death if ever used on someone. Even though these instruments have been banned by the Mbembesi police force, some Xhosa males still carry them around.

and howls of pain, can be heard from the cabin as the guards discipline the boys. The girls assisting the boys to sing would no longer feel secure to sit down as per tradition. For fear of their lives, the majority of the girls lean against the wall whilst a few further break the tradition by joining the boys in their dance and disorderliness.[113] With their behaviour being aggravated by the intake of alcohol, some boys and girls become uncontrollable to the extent that the guards throw them out of the hut. All this happens before the eyes of young boys who make their celebrations from outside. They copy everything their big 'brothers' do except for the drunkenness. Being young and less resistant, this group of young boys finally retire to sleep earlier than everybody else. Despite the fact that everyone will be tired, feeling sleepy and the majority still drunk towards dawn, they all have to be poised to witness the performance of the life-crisis ritual.

It is now Saturday, a day that every attendee eagerly waits for. Early in the morning, around 4am, a few young men take the initiate to the nearest river or dam to take a quick bath. Usually the water will be very cold since most of the *umguyo* traditions are held in winter, as indicated in the earlier chapters. Besides being the final bath in his boyhood, the bath makes the boy's body tense and numb to reduce pain during the operation (Mgqolozana 2009: 77). A few minutes after the initiate arrives from the river, the men summon everyone by singing in loud voices, *Sekusile Kaloku* (it is now in the morning). The song indicates that the arrival of the *ingcibi* and the *ikhankatha* is at hand. While women rush to join the men at a spot close to the cattle byre, the children remain within the yard keenly waiting for the strangely dressed man to execute his peculiar performances. However, the ear-splitting sound of the *ingcibi's* whip indicating his arrival scares these children. After his performance, the *ingcibi* joins the circle of men and women with his song with these lyrics: *Wo! Mntana Wadliwa Yingwe*,(Oh! Child you are being eaten by the leopard).[114] Men and women back him up. Before long, he swiftly runs straight to the secluded hut to 'ambush' the boy on his arrival.[115] After the departure of the *ingcibi* and *ikhankhatha* the singers remain while singing one or two songs of *ukuguya*. Without any notice, men withdraw themselves from women as they lead towards the boys' hut, *ixhiba*

[113] In the past, the girls would sit down stretching their legs forward. They would produce a neat row that follows the shape of the room. With the *ibhamu* on their hands, the girls would produce a boom, boom sound as they clap to keep up the song rhythm. *Ibhamu* is a hand-sized pad made by the Zimbabwean Xhosa girls using plastic casings filled in with old rags. The boys would then perform their dance in the centre of the hut.
[114] By the time the *ingcibi* arrives, men and women will be singing and dancing around the fire.
[115] Mgqolozana equates the speed of his own circumciser to that of a fifteen-year-old child (2009: 76). The circumciser and his helper, *uhlaka*, do not only lead to the seclusion to hide themselves from the boy and his entourage, but to make necessary preparations before the actual operation.

lamakhwenkwe. They sing *Uphi uSekankwenkwe?* (Where is the boy's father?), a song that signals the beginning of the ritual. As such, the boy's father commands the appointed guards to bring out the boy. He whispers to the boy as if to say, 'it is all well my son, go'. After that, he hands him over to the crowd.

If you have never seen a bandit being harassed, whipped, and kicked to climb on the police vehicle, then you have not seen much. The group of men ensure that the boy drags himself away from *ixhiba lamakhwenkwe*. If failing to comply, they drag him kicking and screaming. The entourage sing songs that instil fear, not only in the initiate, but also in every spectator.[116] Some initiates cry and for that reason it is a requirement for all to cover their faces with a blanket as they leave the homestead. Although all the women will be grief stricken, it is even worse for the biological mother. The mother pities her son to an extent of shedding tears. As if men do not care, some continue dancing and hurling insults at the boy. The sound of the music subsides as the men drift further and further away from the homestead.

As the women remain behind, they try to strengthen themselves through *ukutyityimba* music. They then follow with *Tagrina*, a non-musical act performed by women as they wait for a signal from the men at the seclusion.[117] Out there, the men get to a point of witnessing the boy's circumcision. Only the elderly men and some close relatives draw closer as the ambushing doctor 'attacks' the boy. The rest remain at a distance. After the boy has been circumcised, the community elders examine the wound and if they satisfied with the operation, they consent by declaring the boy as a man. It is from a tactical and successful operation that the *ingcibi* is hired for other similar jobs in future (Mjoli 30 December 2011).

3.4 Post-Circumcision Events

Immediately after the operation, the *ingcibi* instructs the boy to declare himself a man by saying, *ndiyindoda* (I am a man) (Mgqolozana 2009: 78). In response to the boy's

[116] These are five songs sung one after another. I list them as: *Uphi Usekankwenkwe, Siya enkumandeni, Mantango, Okade sibadinga,* and *Vela ndoda*.

[117] The origins of the term, *tagrina* seem not to be known in Mbembesi. The term itself does not sound like a Xhosa word. As women perform the act, they pull up their garments well above the knee-level, moving up and down with their legs far apart. One woman informant declared that the movement demonstrates the restlessness the woman has when she is in labour. Alternatively, a woman bears pains similar to that of labour when her son undergoes the circumcision process.

declaration, the men present only repeat the same statement after they have approved that the operation has been done correctly. They also declare, *Yii, Yindoda*, meaning, he is a man. Younger men who have been eagerly waiting for the results from afar further reiterate a part of the announcement. They only go, *Yii*. Since the younger men usually attend the ceremony in many numbers, their sound effectively reaches the ears of the women who have been impatiently waiting for it in the homestead. On hearing the sound, all mothers celebrate by ululating and urinating on the ground, and thus the main gist about *Tagrina*. The act closes by seeing women taking mud formed from their wastes and marking themselves on the foreheads. The young men out there break into a stick-fighting game as a way of celebrating the successful operation. This is quite a spectacular game for the Zimbabwean Xhosa men. Although the game is meant for the younger men to display their fighting skills in a friendly manner, some men end up engaging in serious fights that injure their heads.[118] After the celebrations, the men go back home singing. As they enter the homestead entrance, the women join them in their song, *Sivela Ekumandeni*.[119] In simple terms, the song suggests that the main business is over. Some people immediately leave for their own homes, while others find places to sleep within or near the homestead as they wait for *iintloko* to be ready.[120] Although the song, *Sivela Ekumandeni*, may seemingly suggest the end of the *umguyo* ceremony, the ritual cannot be over until the initiate is back home.

As other men return to the homestead after the circumcision operation, the *uSomagwaza* and *ikhankatha* remain at the secluded hut with the initiate, *umkhwetha*.[121] The boy's father intends to see how his son does during his first moments of the gruesome experience. He also presents the initiate with the spear that he had been holding since the beginning of the procession.[122] Stanley perceives the spear as a weapon granted to the initiate to fight his attackers (29 December 2012). Moreover, the initiate can use the spear for hunting since

[118] The man who gets hurt is allowed to nurse his wound as the blood gushes out. In Xhosa they say, *usophisa*.
[119] The song means, we are coming back from the secluded place.
[120] *Iintloko* is a Xhosa word meaning heads. On Saturday after the circumcision operation, the heads of the animals that were slaughtered for the ceremony are cooked and eaten by anyone around.
[121] On his face, *Umkhwetha* applies *ingceke* which is a white river stone-powder solution. On his entire body, he smears a yellowish powder solution known as *umabhudula*. All these solutions serve as sunscreens for the initiates.
[122] Though not on comparative basis, Douglas Carver states that the Xhosa initiate in South Africa is also presented with a spear and a club by his father and his father's brothers, not during early stages of seclusion, as it is done in Zimbabwe, but at the initiate's graduation ceremony (*umphumo* or *umgidi*) (2008 :43).

the initiate mainly depends on game meat after *umosiso*.[123] Irrespective of the father's concerns for his son, he completely leaves his son's welfare to the *ikhankatha*. The *ikhankatha* has a great task to fulfil because, under whatever conditions, the initiate has to come out of the *ibhuma* in good health. Mjoli, a retired elderly nurse, had this to say:

> Bandaging a 'child' right after circumcision is not easy. The child will be in pain but you have to tie him... not loosely but tightly. The first time I did it... I was uncomfortable with it but I did it... [Now] I am tired; I can no longer cope with the conditions (30 December 2011).

The assertion above indicates that 'nursing' is not an easy job. The nurse bandages the boy's wound and has to be strong as to give courage to the paining initiate. For the initiate, the period of seclusion is the time for him to learn new things. He also has to live by some standard rules. The *ikhankatha* teaches the initiate how to be a 'true man'.[124] As part of his test, the initiate has to observe some do's and don'ts that pertain to his seclusion period in the *ibhuma*.[125]

Ibhuma does not have all what the initiate requires for his welfare. Therefore, he needs to have a young boy to send on errands like going to ask for some food from home (Mgqolozana 2009: 83).[126] Such food includes mealiemeal, water, and some relish.[127] Before that, the initiate's staple meal is *umpholokoqo,* the dry loose pap, which is usually cooked from home and brought to the *ibhuma* by the young boy. Even though the boy may sleep with his brother in the seclusion, the *ikhankatha* does not cease to spend the nights with the initiate in the bush. He continues to monitor the initiate's healing progress up until the day of *umosiso*. By this time, the initiate will be expected to be able to bandage himself as well as spending some nights unattended. *Umosiso* is a non-musical ceremony that is attended by a few local men and the *ingcibi*. It intends to offer the community an

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[123] *During umosiso* the initiate is granted permission to eat meat or any other salty food. He can drink some water too. A goat is killed and left in his seclusion hut for him to eat.

[124] The period that the initiate spends out there is not only for the healing of the wound to take place. Stanley, as *ikhankatha*, stated that he teaches the initiate on how men ought to behave. He trains the initiate on how to be a responsible father. He also advises the new man not to wait for too long before getting married, as his mother needs a helper, the daughter-in-law (29 December 2012).

[125] Some of the initiate's restrictions are as follows:
The initiate is not supposed to visit home until the day of *umphumo*.
The initiate is not supposed to drink water during the first eight days of his seclusion period.
He is restricted from seeing his female partner or any woman as long as he is out there.
He should use a special language called *isikhwetha* that is only understood by people who associate with him.
Above all, he should keep all that happens at the seclusion place secret (Mgqolozana 2009: 83).

[126] The initiate can send his own young brother. If he does not have a young brother, he can send a young girl, usually below the age of ten, or use some cousins if he does not have a sister either.

[127] The initiate starts eating food with relish after and to drink water the eighth day of circumcision or on the day of *umosiso*.

opportunity to monitor the initiate's healing progress. If satisfied, some of the initiate's restrictions are lifted and the *ikhankatha* is made free to sleep at his own homestead. The young errand-boy replaces him instead. However, it does not mean that the *ikhankatha* would have deserted the initiate. Instead, he makes sure that he visits the initiate on a daily basis until he comes out.

After six weeks of separation, the initiate leaves the *ibhuma* with the *umphumo* ceremony being held for him. *Umphumo*, is a small ceremony, usually smaller than the *ingxelo*. Present are the 'fathers', a few middle-aged men from the neighbourhood, the elderly men, and women. All these people intend to witness the day the initiate receives some words of advice to follow throughout his life. Early in the morning, on the day of *umphumo*, the men converge at the initiate's secluded place while women cook food in preparation to receive a new man from the place of isolation. The *ikhankatha* and some energetic men escort the initiate to the river for him to take the first and the final bath during his period of seclusion. The *ikhankatha* takes the spear with him. As the initiate bathes, the other group of men remain to burn down the temporary grass structure.[128] All that the initiate has been using during his isolation period is burnt down except for the blankets. The blankets are given to the young-errand boy as a gift for assisting his brother during the seclusion period.

After the burning has been done, the men who were involved in the burning of the seclusion hut return to the homestead where they will meet the 'new man'. In the past, the newly initiated man would enter the home naked and running at a high speed as he escapes from his escorts that torment him. The men initiated shortly before the present initiate would greatly enjoy this part, as they would take it as revenge, however to the wrong person. When the new man gets home, he would be given a new blanket to cover himself. Nowadays, the initiate gets the new blanket whilst he is still by the river. 'There is no more torturing', says Stanley (29 December 2012). Instead, the escorts bring the new man home in celebration, singing the song, *Sivela Enkumandeni*.

The women as usual ululate at the arrival of the new man, who is then directed to a room exclusively prepared for him. The new man sits on the grass mat, called *ikhukho* in isiXhosa. If he did not buy a bed during his boyhood, that mat will serve as his bed. Close to him will be his guardian/*ikhankatha*. The community elderly people sit on the opposite

[128] The burning is done whilst the initiate is away because it is forbidden within the Zimbabwean Xhosa culture that the initiate sees his 'hut' being burnt down. After bathing, he goes straight home.

side facing the new man as they prepare themselves to give him some words of advice. Prior to that stage, the *ikhankatha* formally hands over the man to his parents, the 'fathers', and the community representatives. He also gives back the spear to the father as an indication that the initiate did not die out there, he is back with his weapon (Stanley 29 December 2012). The *ikhankatha* may state his general experiences too, if necessary.[129] Pertaining to the time of advice, some families may give an opportunity to anyone desiring to speak. However, in other homes, the father delegates the speakers for two main reasons. Firstly, to save time and secondly to avoid speakers that lack wisdom.

After all has been done, the people get food while the new man dresses up. From that time onwards, he is referred to as *ikrwala* meaning a new man, that is recently circumcised (Mgqolozana 2009: 186). *Ikrwala* is usually dressed in khakhi clothes, covering his head with a black head scarf.[130] He is also given *ikrwebhile*, a long unpeeled stick as an indication of his delicate status. The new man remains *ikrwala* for a period of two months. From that time onwards, he dresses up in any fashion of his own choice as he joins the open world where men generally have minimum restrictions.

Despite *umguyo* being a lengthy, expensive, and arduous process, with its events seemingly spaced out, it is bound together by the different musical activities involved. Having made clear how a boy becomes a man, the following chapter reveals the music performed during the circumcision ceremony hence analysing how these musical activities link the Zimbabwean Xhosa people to their roots and how the concept of diaspora is being addressed in this music.

[129] As stated earlier in this chapter, the *ikhankatha* gets only an appreciation for his hard work.
[130] *Ikrwala* puts the duke (headscarf) very close to his head in respect of women.

CHAPTER 4: MUSIC-MAKING FOR THE *UMGUYO* CEREMONY

4.0 Introduction

A clear picture of the *umguyo* ritual or ceremony has been outlined in Chapter 3. In this section, I examine how the music performed during this ritual is made. The Zimbabwean Xhosa diaspora is expected to draw upon its diasporic experiences in creating their music, so as do other diasporas. In the process, I reveal how colonialism has influenced music-making of the Zimbabwean Xhosa people in the postcolonial period. However, for this particular tradition, the Zimbabwean Xhosas are found to have deviated from the norm. I also assess whether their music-making for the *umguyo* rite fits into Bell's ritual framework (1997). I demonstrate how the Zimbabwean Xhosas preserve their history in song lyrics. Finally, I reveal how the *umguyo* music-making reflects on gender issues in Zimbabwean Xhosa society.

4.1 Diasporic Deviation

As clearly indicated in Chapter 2, the Zimbabwean Xhosa community seems to 'correspond to... [Butler's] restrictive criteria for diaspora status' (Averill 2006: 261). Nostalgia, being one of the principles of diaspora, is all too apparent in the Zimbabwean Xhosas' lives. The Zimbabwean Xhosas are counted among the death toll of the Zimbabweans who have been swept away by River as they cross as 'border jumpers'. They are also found among those who are unfortunate to be deported back to Zimbabwe before reaching their destination, South Africa. In addition, I assume the Zimbabwean Xhosas are among a large number of South African immigrants who fork out a lot of money trying to buy South African citizenship by fraud. They are not exempted from the migrants who denounce their lineage and opt to adopt any surnames that qualify them to be regarded as legal residents of South Africa. Certainly, I would not dispute the claim that the Zimbabwean Xhosas in South Africa are economic migrants, but I would wholly disagree if economic pursuit is viewed as the sole reason behind their migration. Thus, the Zimbabwean Xhosas re-location to South Africa is not only a response to economic hardships in Zimbabwe, but are also driven by their strong desire to go back to their original homeland. From experience, I know of the Zimbabwean Xhosas who take joy just on learning about the presence of their surnames amongst the South African Xhosas. In spite of numerous instances of behaviours presented above which are indicative of

nostalgia, the Zimbabwean Xhosas' musical repertoire lacks songs that address their desire to return home. Explicitly, the Xhosa diaspora has shown some seemingly underlying divergence, specifically in the way its people make music for their boys' circumcision ceremonies.

In many postcolonial musical writings, nostalgia, which is often expressed through song lyrics, is portrayed as a fundamental drive behind the creation of music in diasporas. For instance, Gage Averill, in the 'Musical Construction of the Haitian Transnation,' illustrates how Haitian composers portray 'nostalgic images' of the Haitian environment through the lyrics of seven different songs (ibid.). While Haiti, the homeland, is constructed in 'hospitable terms', antagonism is paradoxically attached to their diaspora, the city of New York (ibid.). [131] In addition, Ramnarine has presented numerous multiple-themed transcriptions of Indian chutney songs whose lyrics are drawn from the Indian experiences during their period of migration and arrival in the Indian-Caribbean diaspora (2006: 284-87).[132] African diasporas are not exceptions in formulating songs whose lyrics addressed their 'misfortunes related to how African families were torn apart by a new culture that press-ganged African males to work for Europeans in mines and on farms carved out of African land, while African females remained tethered to areas of erratic rainfall and unproductive soils' (Vambe 2008: 287). Amongst many, Vambe cites one such song as *Chomtengure*, a Zimbabwean Shona song of anti-colonial resistance, revealing the suffering of the Blacks under the settler rule (ibid.).

On the contrary, however, *Sasingenje kwa-Zulu* is the only song through which the Zimbabwean Xhosa/Mfengu people openly recount their memories of their homeland. In this song, the Mfengu direct their thoughts towards their beloved home, Zululand, which is now referred to as the KwaZulu-Natal Province.[133]

[131] More than 400, 000 Haitian immigrants settled in New York City around 1957 (2006: 262).
[132] The period during which the Indians migrated from India to the Caribbean lasted from 1838 to 1917. Other Indian-Caribbean migrations with larger populations settled in Guyana, Trinidad, Canada and the USA (Ramnarine 2006: 254-85).
[133] Most of my interviewees clearly indicated that they could not remember any other songs with lyrics that demonstrate the Zimbabwean Xhosas' memories of South Africa. Even beyond the scope of the *umguyo* musical repertoire, my informants agreed that there are no such songs.

Lead:	*Volo, volo, we! Mlungwana*	[Revolver, revolver, *we!* Young White man]
Response:	*Sasingenje kwa-Zulu, Sasingenje*	[We were never like this in the Zululand. We were never like this.]
	Thina s'osabamavolovolo	Us, we dread the revolvers.]
Lead:	*Volo, volo, we! Mlungwana*	[Revolver, revolver, *we!* Young White man]
Response:	*Sasingenje kwa-Zulu, Sasingenje*	[We were never like this in the Zululand. We were never like this.]
	Thina s'oyik'abeLungu	[Us, we dread the Whites.]
Lead:	*Thina siyoyik'abeLungu*	[Us, we dread the revolvers.]
Response**:**	*Sasingenje, Sasingenje thina s'oyikabeLungu*	[We were never like this, we were never like this Us, we dread the Whites]
Lead:	*Hhayi, Hhayi, hhayi, kwa-Zulu*	[Never, never, never, in the Zululand]
Response:	*Sasingenje, Sasingenje thina s'oyik'abeLungu*	[We were never like this, we were never like this Us, we dread the Whites]
Lead:	*Hhayi, Hhayi, Hhayi, Mlangeni*	[Never, never, never, *Mlangeni*]
Response**:**	*Sasingenje, Sasingenje thina s'oyikabeLungu*	[We were never like this, we were never like this Us, we dread the Whites]

Figure 4.1 Lyrics of the song, *Sasingenje kwa-Zulu, ingoma yokuguya*.

Sasingenje kwa-Zulu points us to a conflict that once existed between the British and the Mfengu. Taking into consideration that there are no records implying a British/Mfengu dispute in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, I consider *Sasingenje kwa-Zulu* as a Mfengu song that existed well before the Mfengu people migrated to Zimbabwe.[134] I state so because William Eybers mentions a single instance where the British Commissioner for southern Africa, Henry Bartle Frère, fought and overthrew some Mfengu regiments in South Africa (1981: 449). Therefore, in this song, the Mfengu could be referring to the above-mentioned conflict. The song lyrics depict a romanticised lifestyle in the former homeland. In fact, two contradictory accounts are presented. While the first image is portraying the bravery of the Mfengu people while they were still in kwaZulu-Natal, the second exposes their cowardice when they were living under the British control in the Cape. The implication is that the British defeated the Mfengu because they possessed powerful weapons, the revolvers. Thus, the Mfengu did not fear the British, but the revolvers that the British possessed.

If the Mfengu managed to create a song directly addressing their nostalgia when they were still in South Africa, then what caused them to depart from that practice? Is it that the Mfengu were content with the colonists' moves in the diaspora? For two major reasons,

[134] In support of this assertion, one of my interviewees, Menzi indicated that '*Umguyo* has a long historical standing...The Fingo people brought this tradition with them from South Africa... I don't know when exactly the tradition started... there are songs which are sung during the ceremony...[that] have not changed...' (30 December 2011).

namely loyalty and fear, the Mfengu would not have protested against their masters. Firstly, the Mfengu accorded an 'exaggerated degree of loyalty' and extreme submissiveness to their colonial authorities (Makambe 1982: 7) because of what the British had done for them earlier.[135] Thus, they were determined to show their masters great allegiance. For example, William Mzinjane vowed to remain faithful and never to rebel against his colonial masters no matter the circumstance (ibid.). In addition, Ndondo, on seeing the Matabele's disrespect towards Lord Selborne in 1909, vowed on behalf of the Mfengu community that they were 'not in the same spirit as they [the Matabele]' (ibid.). Due to the Mfengus' determination to offer unwavering loyalty to the colonists, a Cape politician and parliamentarian, Jacobus Wilhelmus Sauer, extended to them an encouraging tribute. With such an acclamation in mind, it seems like the Mfengu would not want to be found on the opposite side of their masters. Thus, the Mfengu in diaspora did not make songs of protest because of their extreme loyalty to the British colonial authorities.

Secondly, despite the conspicuous forms of mutual cohesion impressed in the Mfengu/British relationship, the relationship itself was implicitly hinged on master/subordinate intimidation and manipulation (ibid.: 7). Thus, the Mfengu's loyalty discussed above was not always out of volition but contractual, thereby keeping the Mfengu in perpetual fear of breaking the agreement.[136] In addition, the British possession of deadly weapons weighed against the Mfengu's lack of weapons (Makambe 1982: 8). Thus intensified inequality between the two groups and caused the latter to dread the former.[137] Still in the same context, I assume that the British mythologised the ownership of the *ivolovolo* in order to keep the Mfengu under control. Even though the Mfengu chief, Ndondo, had conveyed his request for gun ownership to the Rhodesian magistrate, his plea fell on deaf ears.[138] According to my knowledge, there are no families in Mbembesi that are known to have once owned guns. With this knowledge in mind, I would not expect the Mfengu to follow the common music-making diaspora culture of expressing nostalgia

[135] The British enabled the Mfengu to 'improve and recast a new self-image (Makambe 1982: 18). The British also protected the Mfengu against Xhosa abuse during the 1846 Xhosa/Mfengu tribal war. Consequently, the Mfengu and their children were assured of education (Mpola 2007: 121). Lastly, on top of being encouraged to enter into farming, Mfengu migrants were assured pieces of land to till (Makambe 1982: 18).
[136] The Mfengu's allegiance to the settler society was a prerequisite (Makambe 1982: 7).
[137] Though I am not a specialist in language analysis, the choice of words chosen by chief Ndondo to express himself when asking for weapons, 'we beg to ask to be allowed to have guns…,' clearly reveals some apologetic behaviour which is a clear indication of fear (1982: 8).
[138] See Makambe (1982: 8).

through song, but to certainly deviate in order to maintain 'good' relationships with their masters.

In sum, the Mfengu's extreme loyalty resulting from fear of their masters caused them to deviate from the common diaspora culture of expressing nostalgia by protest song lyrics. However, even though they deviated, they resorted to other avenues. For instance, in the following section I assess how Bell's characteristics of rituals are reflected in the way the Mfengu make music for their boys' circumcision rite.

4.2 The Depiction of Bell's 'Ritual Framework' in Music-Making

In previous chapters, it has been established that *umguyo* is a ritual and a list of the basic characteristics of rituals --formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule-governance, sacral symbolism and performance --was provided (Bell 1997). In this section, I demonstrate how the Mfengu accommodate these features as they make music for the *umguyo* ceremony. When analysing the entire *umguyo* musical repertoire, I take into account that not all of these characteristics are mirrored in the *umguyo* musical activities. Moreover, those that are mirrored are not automatically present in all the *umguyo* musical activities.

A tabular presentation of the *umguyo* musical activities is as follows:

Dances	**Possible Participants**	**Instruments, Props, and Attire**
Ukugxiva	Boys (and girls) 	-*Izitofile* [leg rattles] -*impembe* [whistle] -*intswazi* [long sticks] -*imithika* [skin or cloth skirts] -*Iibhamu* [clapper] *and accessories of their own choice.*
Ukutyityimba	Women and girls 	-hands -*ibhamu* [clapper]
Ukuxhentsa	Men and women 	-*induku* [fighting sticks for men] -*ihhova* [jacket for men]
Ukuguya	Men and women 	-*induku* [fighting stick] -*izembe* [an axe] -*isancele* [an axe]

Table 4.1 Tabular Presentation of *Umguyo* Musical Activities.
Table by the author (Its structure was adapted from the author's 2009 Honours degree dissertation). Pictures by Thobeka Msipha.

In my analysis, I found that formalism is mostly evident in events that have serious themes. One such event in the *umguyo* ceremony comes when the Xhosa men drive the boy to his seclusion. On this stage, formalism is demonstrated in various ways. Firstly, the men sing five compulsory songs listed in Chapter 3 in a strictly prescribed manner. These songs are sung one after the other without any stops in-between, maintaining their order of priority.[139] Regardless of the distance between the homestead and the seclusion, all these songs should have been sung by the time the Xhosa men reach the seclusion. The presence of prescribed behaviour in this musical activity qualifies formalism as a necessity in Zimbabwean Xhosa musical construction since prescriptivism forms one major element of formalism.

Secondly, conventionalism, an element of formalism, is evident in the way musical roles are assigned when the boy is under escort. The five songs in question cannot just be led by anyone.[140] There are particular song leaders (*iimvumi*) that are well known for this task in the Zimbabwean Xhosa community. This demonstrates a clear demarcation of musical roles hence demonstrating the maintenance of social status quo in the music-making of the *umguyo* ceremony.

Next, I explore how traditionalism is depicted in the *umguyo* music-making. Bell views traditionalism as the continuity of old customs in a society (1997: 145). In the Zimbabwean Xhosa society, some musical and non-musical 'practices...evoke links with the past' (ibid.). For instance, the old songs in the *umguyo* musical repertoire address issues of the Zimbabwean Xhosas' historic past, an issue that will receive greater attention under the next subtitle. In addition, the attire worn by the initiate and the *ingcibi* as they sing reveals some elements of traditionalism as it reminds the Xhosa people of their old days when they used to wear animal skin-attire. While the initiate is clad in animal hide skirt-like attire called *umthika*, the *ingcibi* is dressed in regalia made of a leopard skin.[141] Along with this there are non-musical patterns utilised to evoke links with traditional customs.

[139] The five songs have different contextual themes and all of them come at relevant times. I discuss the five songs in detail later in this thesis.
[140] Ndoyisile Meyaphi, a lead singer clearly stated that these songs are sacred, therefore they cannot just be led by anyone. He also mentioned that the songs are not supposed to be sung at any other time except when escorting the boy to the place of seclusion (30 December 2011).
[141] However, this kind of attire is becoming rare because of the unavailability of the necessary raw materials. The Xhosas cannot freely hunt as they used to do in the past because of the enforcement of the wild life conservation Act in Zimbabwe (Nombembe 2009: 27).

The initiate out there in the seclusion hut is taught an archaic secret language, *isikhwetha*, that he uses to speak to whoever visits him. According to Bell, such behavioural patterns create a prestigious identity for those community members who are passionate about the older ways of doing things.[142] In sum, the *umguyo* tradition is a repetition of an old social custom which the Zimbabwean Xhosas' ancestors used to practice well before the nineteenth century back in the homeland.[143] Thus, traditional practices of pre-colonial and colonial periods continue to exist in postcolonial Zimbabwe, specifically in Mbembesi. Since Bell perceives adaptation of the past into contemporary settings as traditionalism,[144] I can conclude that traditionalism is portrayed in Zimbabwean Xhosa music-making. However, even though some Xhosa musical and non-musical activities show some elements of traditionalism, thus continuity of certain old customs, there is evidence of variance in others.

Bell also asserts that rituals are marked by invariance (1997: 150). Although it is true that every society may desire to see absolute continuity in its culture, that desire is not viable as culture is prone to diffusion, hence change (Merriam 1964: 12). The *umguyo* tradition too, is not static just as its musical activities are not. In 2009, while doing similar research I found that 'more changes are evident than the surviving residues in *iingoma zomguyo'* (Nombembe 2009: 50). My subjects for this present study have confirmed this as we discussed the musical repertoire of *iingoma zomguyo*. To illustrate, the songs for boys *(iingoma zokugxiva)* and *iingoma zokutyityimba*, those that accompany female dances, are prone to change as most of them address issues pertaining to topical events. One such song is *Ama-Baccose*.

Leader: *Ngizokuthengela*	[I will buy you]
All: *Ama-Baccose, Mama ama-Baccosse.*	[Baccoses, mother, Baccoses]
Leader: *Uyawafunana?*	[Do you want them?]
All: *Ama-Baccose, Mama ama-Baccosse*	[Baccoses, mother, Baccoses]

Figure 4.2 Lyrics of the song, *Ama-Baccose, ingoma yokugxiva*.

The Zimbabwean Xhosa boys created this song in 2008 when hunger was at its peak in Zimbabwe. A food relief programme that was referred to as Baccose gave food to people in the rural areas regardless of their social status.[145] The same name, Baccose was attached

[142] See Bell (1997: 45).
[143] Mjoli confirmed this on 30 December 2011.
[144] See Bell (2007: 152).
[145] This information was provided by one of the youths, Melani Bulala, who participates in the *umguyo* ceremonies (May 2009). He could not establish why the food relief programme was named Baccose. It is not

to the food that people received. As this period was generally a time of economic crisis in Zimbabwe, the general standards of living were extremely reduced so much that only a handful of people could afford to buy clothing. The main concern was food at that time. However, during that period, South African clothing markets were brim-full of cheap female plastic shoes from China.[146] Since South Africa has become a major trading place for Zimbabwe,[147] in a short space of time those plastic shoes were all over Zimbabwe. Every female could afford a pair of shoes on her feet just as rural person could manage a plate of food through the Baccose programme. Sarcastically, the Zimbabwean Xhosas applied the same name Baccose to these shoes on the basis that they were cheap and appeared as if were donated like the Baccose food. Since *iingoma zokugxiva* are recreational and address topical issues, to entertain themselves, the Zimbabwean Xhosa boys composed the song, *ama-Baccose,* from the scenario described above. In this song, a boy is telling a girl that he will buy her the '*baccose'* shoes. He also asks if she wants them, in case she detests common fashion. Although many Zimbabwean Xhosa females began to shun these shoes because of this song, they could not stop buying them because of the extreme economic conditions that existed in Zimbabwe at that time. As expected, the song *ama-Baccose* has outgrown its usefulness because hunger and the plastic shoes no longer take the centre stage in Zimbabwe.

Still on the same note, the *Ukutyityimba* dance has changed slightly. Gladys Dlamini detested some movements made by females when performing the dance. She indicated that the dancers are supposed to be positioned on a single point but of late, they have adopted a new system of making unnecessary movements, especially the youth (31 December 2011). From my own perspective, the youths are influenced by contemporary choreographic dances that are full of movements. They are young and full of energy unlike the elderly women who have no choice but to observe the demands of their culture. From the two examples cited above, I argue that many musical activities during the *umguyo* ceremony are prone to change. Considering that *umguyo* is a very old tradition and has been hit by effects of time and space, logically the accompanying music would not manage 'to retain

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clear where the food came from. However, according to ibbly.com, the word baccose falls under a list of pseudo-words that are not included in the dictionary. Its meaning is not given either (Pseudo-words *ibbly.com* July 2009). Nevertheless, considering that 2008 was a time when the Zimbabwean government began to shun external food aid due to political motives, I assume that the food given to the Zimbabwean people at that time was an external donation. The name therefore, could have been coined by the Zimbabwean government for this particular food relief.

[146] Their costs ranged between R5 and R15, depending on the size.

[147] See Vambe (2008: 289).

its identity away from the culture from which it sprang' (Ramnarine 1997: 275).[148] Thus, new traditions develop in diaspora because of the diaspora experiences over time and geographical space in between diaspora and homeland. In the following section, I discuss how the *umguyo* musical activities are rule-governed.

My observation was that rules were enforced on events that are more formal. Thus, formalism and rule-governance work together in rituals for the reason that prescriptions are always guided by rules. Revisiting the example of five songs discussed under formalism, the boy's escorts adhere to the five prescribed songs because of the seemingly unspoken rules that prescribe taboos, *amazilo,* to ensnare the perpetrators. During my fieldwork in 2011, the *ingcibi* came, sang his song *Uyingwane encinane,*[149] and left unceremoniously as usual to 'ambush' the boy on his arrival.[150] One lead singer then took over in leading the same song. The majority of the followers resisted indicating that it was a taboo to sing *ingoma yengcibi* in the *ingcibi's* absence. From the previous instance, one can conclude that formalism in the *umguyo* musical activities is effected through rules that reside within taboos. In turn, the taboos awaken the performer's personal ethics that consequently deter the person from breaking the rule/s.

Among the six ritual characteristics suggested by Bell, invariance and sacral symbolism are not present in the *umguyo* ritual. Nowhere in the *umguyo* ceremony is Xhosa cosmology considered. For that reason, I declare that Bell's six characteristics may be common in some rituals; however, they are not always present in other rituals. I also suggest that among all features of rituals, performance is the most predictable and observable in the *umguyo* music-making. Without performance, it would almost be impossible to notice the other characteristics. I also maintain that these characteristics, when present in a particular ritual, present themselves in a complex network that makes it difficult for the analyst to trace one characteristic through without meeting another on the way. Lastly, I claim that it is through the *umguyo* characteristics that a person is able to determine how the *umguyo* musical characteristics evoke the past. Alternatively, the continuation of the traditional customs in contemporary times ushers in the pre-colonial and colonial musical styles into music-making of the postcolonial era.

[148] This is one of Ramnarine's concerns in her research on Indian music in the diaspora. I concur with her findings that new traditions develop in the new settlements because of the diaspora experiences (1997: 275).
[149] The song *Uyingwane encinane* should only be led by the circumciser. When the circumciser leaves the circle, as described in Chapter 3, the followers should change to a different song altogether.
[150] Refer to Chapter 3.

4.3 Archiving of Xhosa History in Song Lyrics

> *When I sat down in order to transcribe the raw data after my fieldwork on the 31st of December 2011, I made one major observation. I realised that some of the songs performed during the* umguyo *ceremony did not, from my own opinion, specifically relate to the context of* umguyo. *I state: 'from my own opinion', because during my follow-up appointment, seeking for the Xhosa-community's further clarification on the* umguyo *songs, my informants assigned meanings that were contrary to mine. Depending on their individual experiences, my informants exhibited a wide variation in their interpretations and opinions about Xhosa* umguyo *music.*

The general consensus of my interviewees is that the *umguyo* music was originally created by their forefathers in connection with the boys' circumcision ceremony. For instance, Mjoli stated that the songs performed during the *umguyo* ceremony are relevant to the circumcision event (30 December 2011). However, the Zimbabwean Mfengu generally seem not to be so keen to attach meanings to these songs. Instead, they stress that their ancestors brought the *umguyo* songs from the Cape to Zimbabwe as they are. Tshabalala states that the Mfengu did not bother themselves asking what the songs mean. Finally, he admits that their failure to enquire about the meanings of the songs was perhaps a mistake on their part (30 December 2011). Nonetheless, the interpretations of those few Zimbabwean Mfengu who try to attach meaning generally fails to link to their recorded historical background.

While the songs sung during the *umguyo* ceremony may appear simple, brief and repetitive in form,[151] their lyrics contain seemingly inconspicuous links to the historical past of the Xhosa people. Drawing from Marie Jorritsma's work on the context of sacred music of the coloured community in Kroonvale, in South Africa, a people's music has ability to retain the history, culture, and identity of the very owners of the music (2011: 43). While Jorritsma specifically argues that the elements of Kroonvale coloured community's history are archived in the sound of the music (2011: 42), I state that the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe have guaranteed the continued remembering of their historical past by archiving it in the lyrics of the *umguyo* songs. By juxtaposing my fieldwork data with scholarly

[151] See transcribed music of the *umguyo* ceremony in the appendices section. They use either diatonic or pentatonic scales.

narratives on Xhosa history, I create what I deem as apt interpretations of the *umguyo* song lyrics.

In this section, I examine the last five songs sung by the men as they drive the initiate towards the *ibhuma* or the secluded grass-hut, three of which I first encountered on the 30th of December 2011, after listening to the recordings done by my male informant.[152] It is important however to note that these songs will not be presented in sequence of their performance. Instead, I present them according to the themes to which they relate. Although these five songs, *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe,* can be discussed in terms of two themes, namely war and gender, in this section I mainly reveal how the Xhosa archived their warfare narratives in musical lyrics.[153] I thus state that the majority of the five songs, explicitly, the second, third, fourth and fifth songs (*Siya Enkumandeni, Mantango, Okade Sibadinga* and *Ndoda Enesibindi*), are exclusively centred on war. Thus, the five songs relay the history of the Zimbabwean Xhosas, hence connecting them to their compatriots in the homeland, South Africa. By so doing, I argue against Timothy Stapleton who queries the Mfengus' connectedness to Zululand. To substantiate my contention, I utilise, other than the five songs, some supplementary songs that are a component of the *umguyo* musical repertoire.

In his article, 'The Expansion of Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo "Exodus" of 1835,'[154] Stapleton questions the ethnicity of the Fingo people. He invalidates the common claim that the Fingo ethnic group is a combination of different ethnic groups (1996: 233-35). Instead, he sees the Fingo as merely the Cape Xhosa people, mainly the Gcaleka, who were unlawfully enslaved by the British settlers around the 1830s. Additionally, Stapleton also denies the linkage of the Fingo people to Zululand, the region that is now part of KwaZulu-Natal. In reconsideration of Stapleton's claim, I argue that the Fingo people were not a group necessarily formed by the original Cape Xhosa people only. Some of the Fingo group members physically moved from Zululand down to the Cape Province and finally northwards to Zimbabwe. The link between the Fingo people

[152] I refer here to the last three songs namely, *Mantango, Okade Sibadinga* and *Ndoda Enesibindi,* that are sung by men when they are already out there in the bush. For ethical reasons that are based on my female gender status, I could not witness the actual operation, and hence the accompanying songs. It was not until my husband, my male assistant, had electronically recorded the songs that I managed to access them.
[153] In the next section I then reflect on gender issues.
[154] Timothy Stapleton agrees with Alan C. Webster's and Jullian Cobbing's claim that the Fingo was not a distinct ethnic group which resulted from the Zululand refugees, but were a colonially-created group of British labourers (1991: 154 and 1988: 487-519 respectively).

and Zululand is clearly demonstrated through songs sung by the Zimbabwean Xhosa men as they escort the initiates to the seclusion. In this regard, I assert that the Xhosa people in Zimbabwe are one group of people who archived their past in their oral traditional song lyrics. Additionally, the history and social beliefs of the Xhosa people have a bearing on their music-making. I therefore disagree with Stapleton's description of the Fingo ethnic affiliation as only Xhosa people who came from the Cape (1991: 154). I also want to state that the songs sung during the *umguyo* ceremony clearly reference the Zimbabwean Xhosa people's history when they were still in regions of Zululand in South Africa.

As stated earlier, the young Zimbabwean Xhosa males of ages between the late teens and early twenties are culturally introduced to manhood through ritual circumcision (Powe 2007: 729-45). It is historically assumed that the Mfengu, who might have resulted from the 'remnants' of various chiefdoms, could have likely inherited the circumcision practice from the Zulu people during King Dingiswayo's reign. For good health, all Zulu soldiers were compelled to undergo circumcision (Mostert 1992: 498 and Carver 1988: 43). I assume that such songs accompanied Zulu circumcision rituals. On that regard, I claim that the Xhosa/Mfengu people did not only inherit the circumcision ritual from the Zulu people, but also the practise of singing songs during the ritual. Thus, some of the Mfengu *umguyo* songs, besides linking us to the mfengu historical past, were the songs that were used by warriors before *iMfecane* as they largely portray an image of war. [155]

The lyrics of the second song, *Siya Enkumandeni,* link us to the wars of South African Xhosa people and their historical narratives.

Leader: *Awu! Ye!*	[*Awu! Ye!*]
All*:* *Awu! Awu!*	[*Awu! Awu!*]
Leader*:* *E-we ke*	[Yes for sure]
All: *Siyay'enkomandeni kaSondaba, aph'izwe laxola sangena.*	[We are going to Sondaba Mountain where the Nation got peace and We entered]
Chants: (Yhela, Ehe, Yalung'indaba)	[The matter is settled]
Leader: *Tshenke*	[Change]
All: *Tshenke, Tshenke*	[Change, Change]

Figure 4.3 Lyrics of the song, *Siya Enkumandeni*, the second song of *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe.*

[155] Douglas Carver believes that the circumcision ritual initially had military implications (1988: 43).

Sondaba, whom the Zimbabwean Xhosas sing about, is Mehlomakhulu, a chief to the Hlubis who had been pushed out of Natal by the Amangwane tribe before the *iMfecane* (Scully 1907: 286). During Sondaba's leadership Soxokozela, King Mzilikazi's favourite chief, was brutally murdered causing Sondaba and his followers to flee to the mountains for their security (ibid.: 287).[156] Sondaba became a hero and a shield for the Hlubi who, for a long time, had been wandering about without a leader (Ibid.).[157] Although Soxokozela's attack took place in the Free State, today there is a resort place, a bush and the highest mountain named after Chief Sondaba in kwaZulu-Natal[158] as the Hlubis had migrated from KwaZulu-Natal (Scully 1907: 286; Wright and Manson 1983: 420). Most probably, this is the very mountain the Mfengu refer to in the song, *Siya Enkumandeni*. This background goes against Stapleton's assertion that the Mfengu never rubbed shoulders with the Zulus before the time of *iMfecane*. Instead, I state that some of the Mfengu people, the Hlubi, originated from KwaZulu-Natal as noted from the history narrated above. The song *Siya Enkumandeni* was possibly a praise song created immediately after Soxokozela's death by the Mfengu, specifically the Hlubis, narrating the outcomes and effects of the battle. In particular, the Hlubis declare that it is in the mountain to which they fled that they attained peace.[159] The Hlubis' culture of composing songs 'in honour of the victorious chief,' Sondaba, has long since been realised. Scully, in his document, *By Veldt and Kopje*, cites a number of songs that date from the above-narrated incident (1907: 392). One such song is *Spotted Leopard* that I present below:
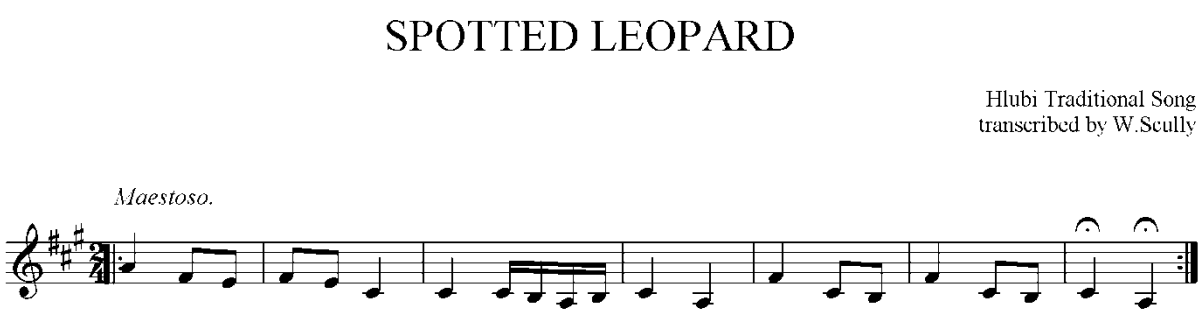


Figure 4.4 Transcription of the song, 'Spotted Leopard'.

In this song, the Hlubis credit Sondaba, the warrior, by personifying him as an aggressive leopard that devours people. The actual words go as: 'Spotted leopard, come out so that we

[156] During the frontier wars in South Africa, most Africans used mountains as places of refuge.
[157] The Hlubi are one group of people that are considered as the Mfengu today (Zenani 2008 Online).
[158] http://www.pongolagamereserve.co.za.
[159] I assume that the Hlubi (Mfengu) named the mountain to which they fled after Sondaba. In addition, the African traditional soldiers would use mountains as their strongholds or places of protection. I assume this is the reason why the Xhosa people 'found peace' in this particular mountain.

can see you' (1907: 292). Likening a victorious warrior to a vicious animal is not a rare thing in the African oral tradition. For instance, in several praise poems, kings are equated to animals (Opland 1996: 105, 107; Kaschula 1997: 182, 187). For that reason, the portrayal of *ingcibi* as a lion in the Zimbabwean Mfengu musical repertoire is not a matter of coincidence but demonstrates the unclaimed linkage the *umguyo* songs have with the Mfengu war fares.
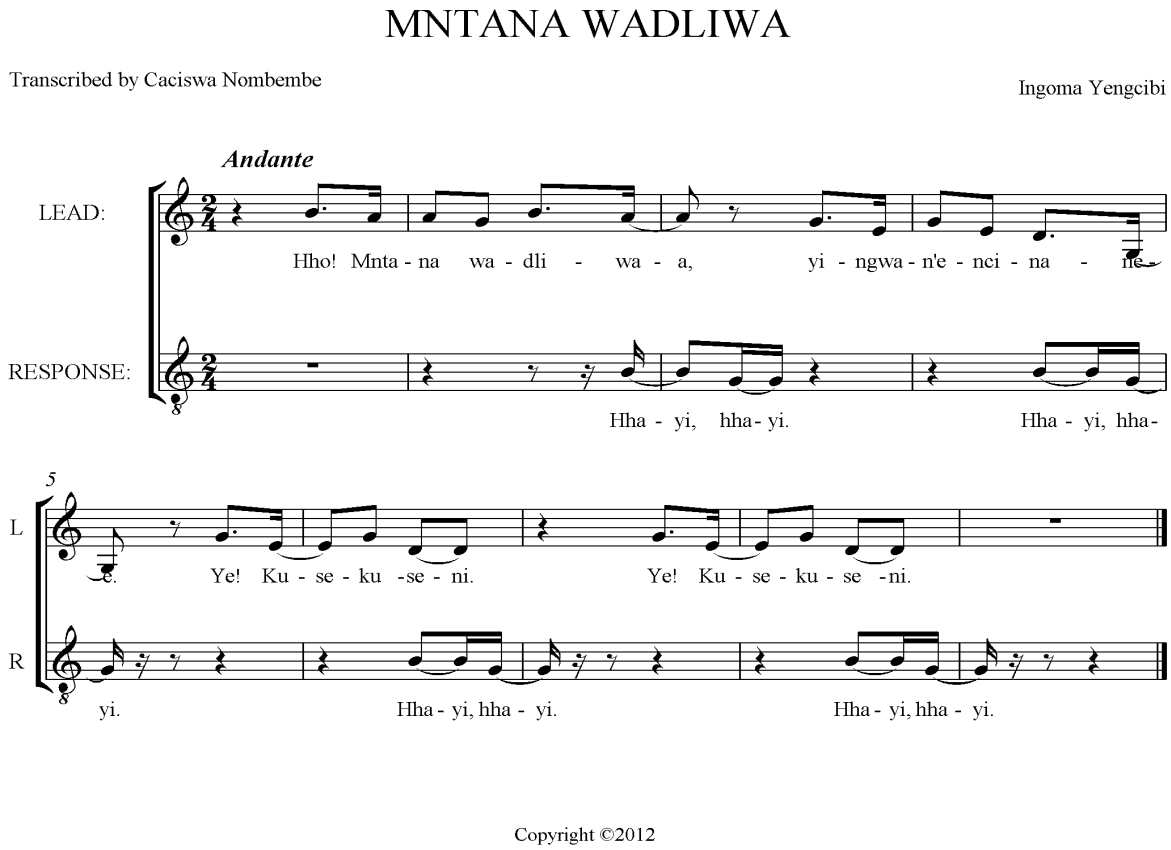


Figure 4.5 Transcription of the song, '*Mntana Wadliwa'*.

The above song is the *ingoma yengcibi*, *Mntana Wadliwa* in which the *ingcibi* is portrayed as a young assailing leopard that tears down the initiate in the morning.[160] Like *Spotted Leopard*, *Mntana Wadliwa* was a praise song for a hero that was modified for the *umguyo* tradition. Logically, the initiate represents the rival that resists the threat hence disputing his defeat by saying, *Hayi*! *Hayi* which is a denial verbal gesture (McLaren 1963: 55).

[160] A song sung by the circumciser just before the initiate is taken to the bush or the seclusion.

Lead: *Hho! Mntana wadliwa*	[*Hho*! Child you are eaten]
Response: *Hayi! Hayi!*	[No! No]
Lead: *Yingwan'encinane*	[By a young leopard]
Response: *Hayi! Hayi!*	[No! No!]
Lead: *Ye! Kusekuseni*	[It is in the morning]
Response: *Hayi! Hayi!*	[No! No!]
Lead: *Ye! Kusekuseni*	[It is in the morning]
Response: *Hayi! Hayi!*	[No! No!]

Figure 4.6 Lyrics of the song, *Mntana Wadliwa*, the song of *ingcibi*.

The performance of each of the five songs, *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe*, relate to a particular stage of the ritual. The lyrics demarcate each stage. When men begin to sing the third song, *Mantago*, the rest of the companions are instructed to remain behind. Only the distinctive relatives and old, wise men proceed. In a war scenario, the whole army does not surface at once. The stronger members set up an ambush. Similarly, the *ikhaba* or the recently initiated men are told to withdraw so that they will quickly catch up on the initiate if he decides to escape due to fear. In this third song, the singers sing, *mayihlangane*, which literally means let 'it' come together.

Lead: *Ye! Mantango*	[*Ye!* My age mate]
Response: *Ha! Ha! Mayihlangane*	[*Ha! Ha!* Let it come together]
Lead: *Ye! Mantango*	[*Ye!* My age mate]
Response: *Ha! Ha! Mayihlangane*	[*Ha!Ha!* Let it come together]
Lead: *Ye, Yelele hho hho!*	[*Ye, Yelele hho hho!*]
Response: *Ha! Ha! Mayihlangane*	[*Ha! Ha!* Let it come together]

Figure 4.7 Lyrics of the first version of *Mantango,* the third song of *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe.*

Although my respondents consider the 'it' as the group of the *umguyo* performers who are invited to sing in one spirit,[161] in contrast I want to assume that the 'it' referred to in this song is *impi* or warriors. In a war context, the warriors are summoned to come together and be more focused, as they approach the enemy. In addition, the tempo of the song accelerates as the '*impi'* draws closer to its rivals. The performers' footsteps set the tempo by stamping down hard and uniformly, hence acquiring a sense of oneness as they approach the enemy. Musa Xulu views fast tempo, which is normally determined by the

[161] This was Nzelane's interpretation during one of my follow up interviews (21 April 2012).

singers' footsteps, as one of the fundamental characteristic of war songs (1996: 78).[162] The very last three songs, *Mantago, Okade Sibadinga* and *Vela Ndoda*, are faster in tempo than the first two songs.[163] In them, the singers reveal more solidarity than before.

According to my informants, the fourth song is *Okade Sibadinga* (the ones that we have been looking for) and refers to the initiates. The Xhosa men declare the presence of the initiates that are due to be circumcised. However, considering that men escort the initiate/s right from the homestead, why, all of a sudden, would the escorts behave as if they have abruptly discovered a person or people that have been hiding in a secret place? On that consideration, I claim that *Okade Sibadinga* is a song that was originally composed and sung by the Mfengu warriors as they spotted their enemies. They declared, '*okade sibadinga nampa'* literally meaning, 'here are those that we have been looking for'.
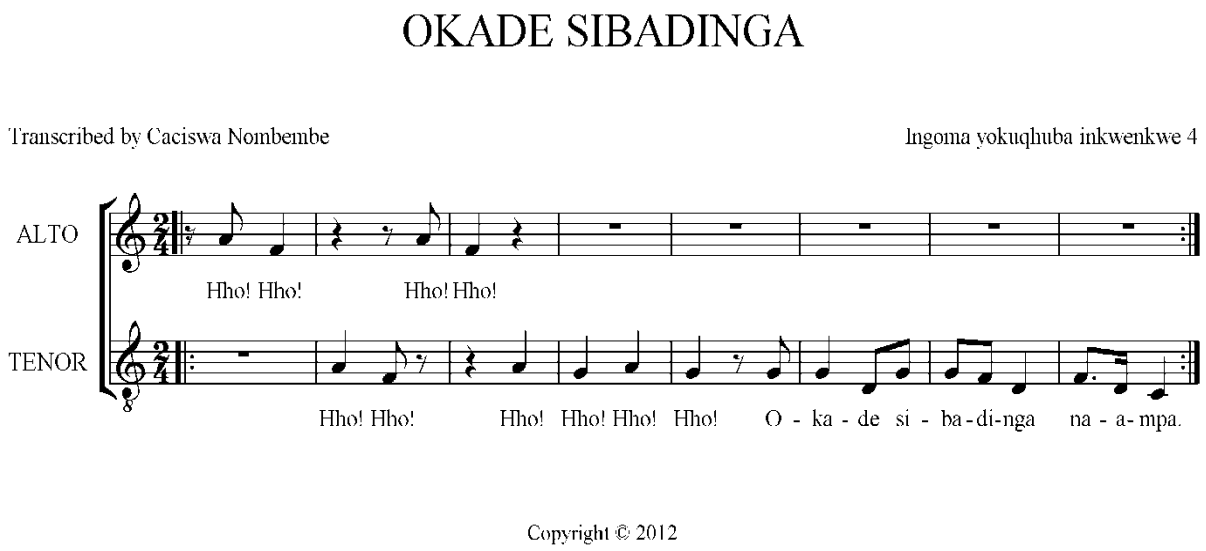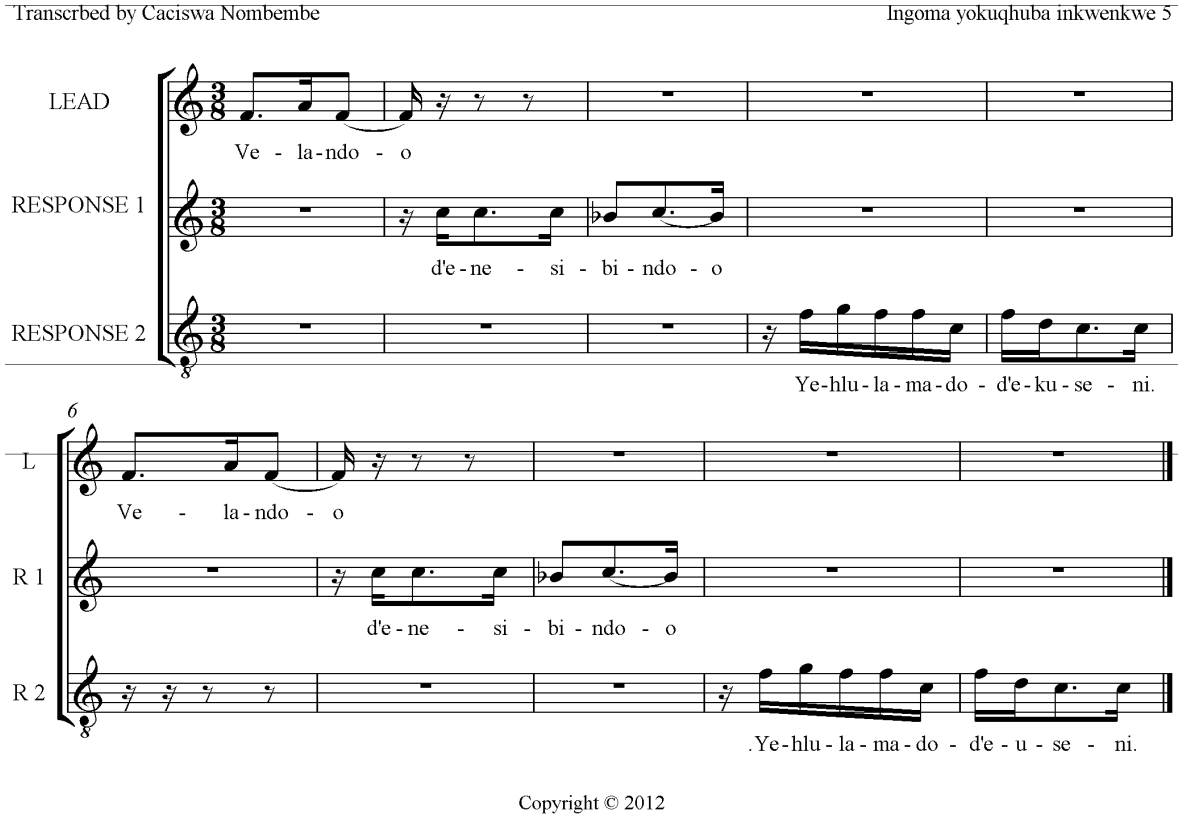


Figure 4.8 Transcription of *Okade Sibadinga*, the fourth song of *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe.*

After the enemy has been spotted, the warriors call for the bravest man to attack through the song, *Ndoda Enesibindi,* which is the fifth song of the ritual procession of *umguyo.*

[162] *Ha!* means exultation that I assume the Xhosa warriors would show as they approached their rivals (McLaren 1963: 54). I suppose that the sound of *Ha!* would not only encourage the Xhosa soldiers as they advanced towards their enemies but would also convey a message of woe to their foes.
[163] In agreement, one of my informants, Ndoyisile Meyaphi stated that the three final songs provoke the singers to advance with vigour.

NDODA ENESIBINDI



Lead:	*Vela ndoda enesibindo*	[Surface you brave man]
Response:	*Yehlul'amadod'ekuseni*	[Which overcame other men at dawn]
ALL:	*Yii ! ! !*	[*Yii ! ! !*]

Figure 4.9 Transcription and lyrics of the song, *Ndoda Enesibindi*, the fifth song of *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe*.

From the song above, I state that the whole army summons the bravest man, a man who has a record of fighting triumphant wars, to lead the assault. Alternatively, this is a heroic-praise song used by the Mfengu warriors to cheer on the gallant son hence aiding him to gain the vigour needed to attack. In this song, it becomes clear that due to the skills of a brave man, the entire army has won the fight. On the contrary, my informants interpret the brave man as the circumciser or *ingcibi*, not a fighter. I do not completely depart from their interpretation because I understand that the *ingcibi* himself derived his style of dressing from the gallant warrior who is the focal point in wars.[164] Like a brave warrior, *ingcibi* receives more attention in the *umguyo* scene. However, to substantiate my earlier assertion

[164] As indicated earlier in Chapter 3, the *ingcibi* dresses in skirts that are made of animal skin.

that there is a connection to war in these songs, I refer to one of the *umguyo* songs, *Itsho Magwaza*, that is not one of the five songs discussed in this section.[165]

Lead: *Itsho magwaza, Itsho magwaza wayigwaza kanjani?*	[Tell us you stabber, tell us you stabber how you have stabbed it]
Response: *Ah! Ye!, Woye, Woye, Itsho Magwaza*	[*Ah! Ye! Woye, Woye*, tell us you stabber]
Lead: *Itsho magwaza, Itsho magwaza kusile kaloku.*	[Tell us you stabber, tell us you stabber how you have stabbed it]
Response: *Ah! Ye!, Woye, Woye, Itsho Magwaza*	[*Ah! Ye! Woye, Woye*, tell us you stabber]

4.10 Lyrics of the song *Itsho Magwaza, ingoma yokuguya*.

This song and the fifth song, *Ndoda Enesibindi*, complement each other because *Itsho Magwaza* portrays a review done by the Mfengu after fighting a war. The 'bravest' man is now asked to explain to others how he fights his wars. As the escorts perform the *umguyo* music, they carry fighting sticks which resemble the assegais and other weapons used by the Zimbabwean Xhosas during their wars when still in their homeland. Thus, even though the Zimbabwean Xhosa community regards the brave man as the circumciser, there is clearly a historical reference to warfare remaining in these songs.

It is from this discussion then that I can confidently claim that the songs sung during *umguyo* reveal the history of the Xhosa/Fingo people in Zimbabwe. Considering that the circumcision practice was initially adopted in favour of warriors,[166] there is every reason for me to assume that the songs sung during *umguyo* were once war-songs. The final sound *Yiii,* marks the end of the ritual. In a war theme, the sound *Yiii* demonstrates victory. William Scully concurs as he describes a warriors' sound after the assassination of Soxokozela. '...A war-cry__ a long "g '' of the second line of the treble clef, which is wailed out with piercing shrillness___ was raised...' (1907: 291).

[165] Though *Itsho Magwaza* is song for *ukuguya*, it is not sacred like the five songs sung by men as they escort the initiate to the seclusion. It is sung anytime by men and women to entertain themselves. This song differs from *Somagwaza*, a circumcision ritual song for South African Xhosas. Even though both *Somagwaza* and *Itsho Magwaza* are songs sung during the circumcision ceremony, *Somagwaza* is a ritual song that is sung just before and after the circumcision operation. Moreover, it is sung by men only unlike *Itsho Magwaza* that is open for both men and women (Hansen 1982: 91). The lyrics of these two songs differ greatly. See the lyrics of *Somagwaza* in Dargie's book entitled *Xhosa Music: Its Techniques and Instruments, with a Collection of Songs* (1988: 144-46).

[166] However, the practice was banned later by Tshaka as it weakened his soldiers.

Yii is the sound that the Zimbabwean Xhosa women respond to when they ululate. As they do so, they will be right within the homestead, hence revealing that women do not go to war but shout in celebration if the war is won. Returning to the diaspora discussion, it is clear that the *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe* reference history of the forebears of the Zimbabwean Xhosa when they were still in South Africa. Now that they are in Zimbabwe, this ritual shows a link between diaspora and homeland. I could not understand these songs until I searched for possible links with Xhosa history. However, my subjects are not worried about the detailed meaning of these songs. All they say is, 'these are old songs. Our forefathers brought them as they are'.

On another note, the role of the songs, their lyrics, performance, and performers' regalia evidently suggest the connection between the songs and war. Thus, the *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe* are functional. They play a psychological role. Listening to the lyrics can persuade people to do what they cannot do under normal circumstances. This is why I assume that African traditional soldiers would sing war songs prior to their attacks. To exemplify, Mostert states that in 1917 during the First World War, when a ship carrying black South African soldiers, mainly Zulu men, crashed into another vessel at night, instead of panicking, the warriors began to celebrate their death with war songs introduced by Shaka (1992: 605). In a similar manner, even if the Mfengu-boy initiate faces an experience which is strange and tragic to him, the songs enable him to feel courageous and continue with the ritual operation.

The reverse is true too as the *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe* can also work against the listener. Close to dawn, the escort ensures that the initiate drags himself away from *ixhiba lamakhwenkwe* or the hut in which he had being dancing throughout the night. If failing to comply, they drag him kicking and screaming. The entourage sings songs that instil fear in the initiate. Tshabalala, one of my interviewees, admitted that the songs are dreadful. In his own words, he said:

> *Ekuseni, sizawube sesijikisile. Kuyazenza kodwa ujikisa, nam ndaphaphama kunjalo. Ingoma zakhona ziyakuxelela nje uba sekurongo.*
> *Ziyatshintshatshintsha...Wakhe waziva? IThixo isiphambano uyabaleka* (30 December, 2011).

A literal English translation of the above would be: In the morning, our mood would have changed. This change comes on its own. I also found it like that when I grew. The songs

themselves tell you that things are now wrong. They change and change. Have you ever heard them? God on cross, you run away. By this, he meant that the mood automatically changes in the morning. Tshabalala explains how scary the *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe* are. He is certain that, if I were an initiate, I would have run away on hearing the songs.



Figure 4.11 A picture of Zimbabwean Xhosa women gripped by fear as they watch 'their' son escorted to the secluded place, *ibhuma* in the morning. Picture captured by the author, December 2011.

In this section, I also want to state that the music performed during the circumcision ceremony does not only have reference to the Xhosa wars, but also to the general history of the Xhosa people. One such song is *uNongqawuse, ingoma yokuguya*. The song's name is adapted from the name of a Xhosa teenage seer who gave a prophetic pronouncement that the Xhosa should exterminate their cattle and burn their grain storehouses due to a resurrection that she predicted to be at hand (Levine 2005: 82). One Xhosa historian, Reverent William Philip was convinced that the cattle-killing delusion was a colonial invention that was aimed at disarming the Xhosas (Peires 1989: 348). One Xhosa historiographer, Sheila Davis, claims that the cattle killing was a Xhosa leadership strategy to divert Xhosa people's attention and interest from their highly cherished livestock to fighting wars (2007: 29). On other hand, Helen Bradford and Msokoli Qotole, the Xhosa historiographers in the same article, deny that Nongqawuse's prophecy had a war connotation because it had no brand-marks for war (2008: 66-105). They argue that Nongqawuse was too young to have strategised a war. However, in *uNongqawuse*, the Zimbabwean Xhosa traditional song, Nongqawuse, the girl, is blamed for launching the war and for causing the Xhosa people to destroy their valuable possessions. The song

explicitly states that Nongqawuse's prophecy left the Xhosas confused where it says, *Uph'uNongawuse kaloku? Abasazi kambe.*[167] The preceding lyrics cause me to deduce that the Xhosas remained asking each other about the whereabouts of Nongqawuse and her uncle, Mhlakaza, who had escaped on seeing the failure of the manifestation of the prophecy. From these lyrics, '*wayigxoga lempi, iphi na? Yayiphum'ezintabeni'*,[168] I also want to assume that the most likely war the song refers to is the eighth Frontier war. The reason is because during the eighth Frontier war, the Xhosas lost their strongholds in the Amathole mountain to the British (Peires 1989: 151). In sum, I argue that the song *uNongqawuse* was composed at the time of 1856 cattle killing disaster and claim that the incident eventually led to a war for which the Xhosa tribe was not prepared.

Below is the full text and transcription of the song, *uNongqawuse*:

Lead: *Uph'uNongqawuse kaloku?*	[Where is *Nongqawuse* now?]
Response: *Abasazi kambe.*	[They no longer know of course]
Lead: *Ewe ke?*	[Yes then?]
Response: *Abasazi kambe,*	[They no longer know of course,]
wayigxoga, lempi.	[She launched this war]
Lead: *Iphi na?*	[Which one?]
Response: *Yayiphum'ezintabeni.*	[That came from the mountains]
Lead: *Nango uNoNkosi wakwaNdlambe*	[There is Nonkosi of the Ndlambe]
Response: *Abasazi kambe.*	[They no longer know of course]
Lead: *Hho! Hho!*	[*Hho*! *Hho*!]
Response: *Abasazi kambe,*	[They no longer know of course,]
wayigxoga, lempi.	[She launched this war]
Lead: *Iphi na?*	[Which one?]
Response: *Yayiphum'ezintabeni.*	[That came from the mountains]

.

[167] According to McLaren, the combined meaning of these two words '*abasazi kambe'* is, they no longer know of course (1963: 4 and 67 respectively).
[168] The literal meaning of these words is 'she launched this war. Which one? That came from the mountains'.
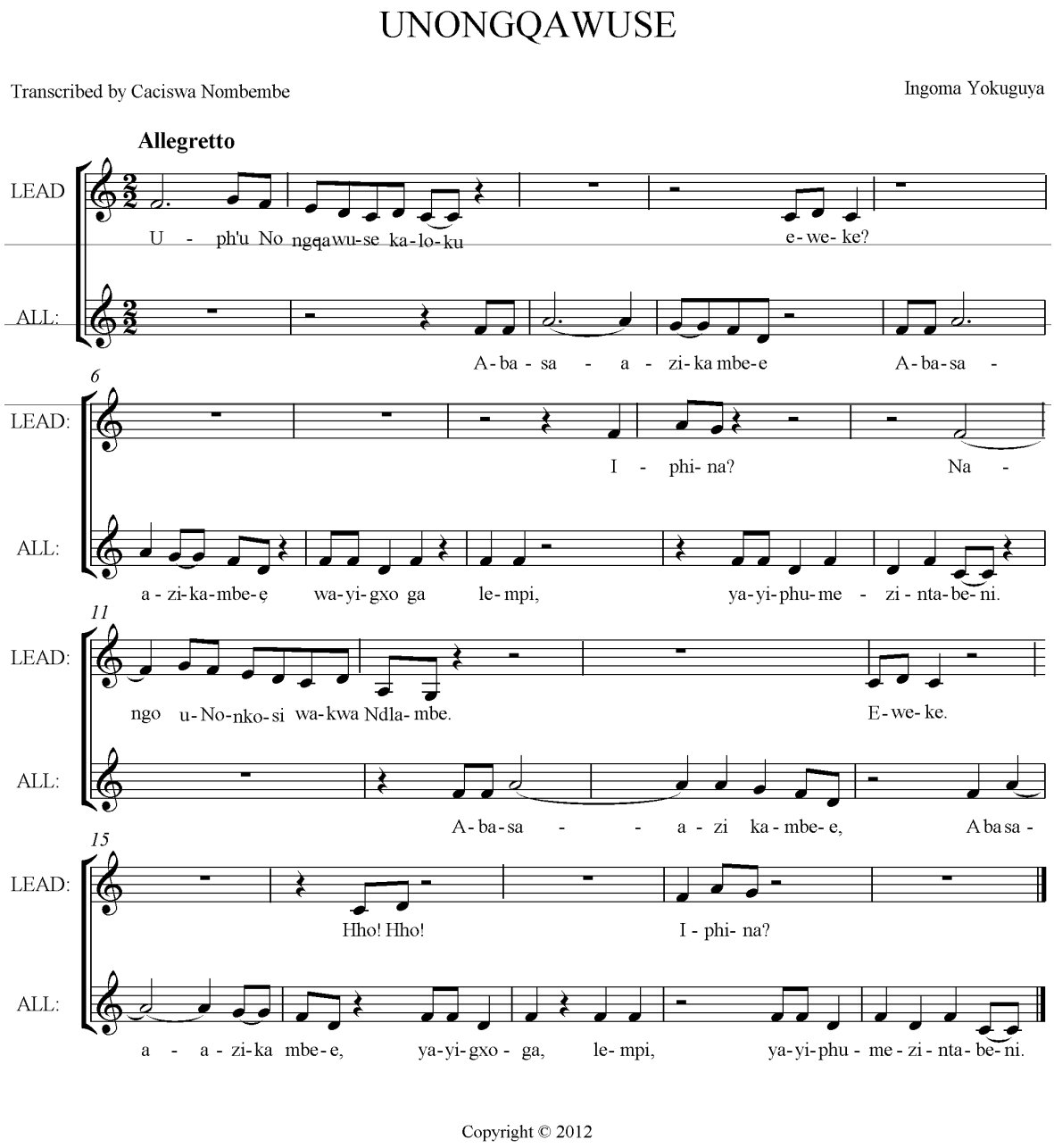


Figure 4.12 Transcription and Lyrics of the song *uNongqawuse, ingoma yokuguya*.

The song, *uNongqawuse,* is sung anytime on the day of *umguyo*. The song is largely sung by men to pass the time as they wait for the circumcision hour. *UNongqawuse* seems not to be an easy song to sing. For that reason, when the Zimbabwean Xhosa sing it, they show some misrepresentation of the original story.[169] Many people do not quite know the correct

[169] When I asked Meyaphi what the song meant he indicated that he was ignorant of Nogqawuse's story as he considered her as an old Xhosa traditional man. Some Xhosa people refer to the song as *uNongqawule* while others call it *uZingqawule*.

lyrics of the song and therefore the song is often avoided during the ceremony. If ever sung, the middle part the song is almost always usually hummed even by the song leaders. Instead of saying, '*wayigxoga'*, they sing, '*wayigxogxa',* a term that is meaningless in Xhosa. The Zimbabwean Xhosas' misrepresentation of words is very common in the *umguyo* musical performances. I attribute this weakness to lack of knowledge the Zimbabwean Xhosa people have about their own history. However, even without this historical knowledge, the Xhosa people facilitate the continuity of pre-colonial and colonial activities in the postcolonial era. Thus, the music that the Zimbabwean Xhosa people sing for their boys' circumcision ceremony has survived from pre-colonial through colonial times to the postcolonial period. The few alterations that the Xhosas impose on their music bring about change. While this change may be undesirable on one hand,[170] I consider it as development, on the other hand on the basis that some alterations in the lyrics for instance accommodate females that have been ignored in the original text of *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe* (five songs of escorting the boy to the seclusion).

4.4 How *Umguyo* Music Reflects on Gender Issues

In this section, I focus on how some of the five songs mentioned above, and other songs from the *umguyo* musical repertoire reflect on gender issues. Although the first song *(Uphi uSekankwenkwe?),* certainly complements the context of *umguyo,* it also focuses on gender. The third song (*Mantango*), focuses on both gender and war.

Most of my male interviewees agreed that *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe* are as old as the ritual itself, and thus unchanging. However, someone may be surprised that my 67 year old mother, a Xhosa by origin, married within the same culture, has acknowledged her ignorance of the third and the fourth song (*Mantango* and *Okade Sibadinga),* as she watched the video clips. *'Ezi'ingoma ezimbini zintsha apha kum'* (These two songs are new to me), she said. This was the same case with me, at the age of thirty-nine, regardless of the fact that I started attending this ceremony at a tender age. Such ignorance may be ascribed to gender matters which determine the governing structure of the *umguyo* ritual.

Every culture prescribes musical gender roles for its people. In the Zimbabwean Xhosa community, the songs being discussed are sung by men only as they accompany the actual

[170] It is undesirable because it misrepresents essential facts about Xhosa history.

boys' circumcision ritual. At the time that the men sing the last three songs, they will be out in the bush and therefore women have no chance to hear them. The first song, *Kusile Kaloku*, addresses the father as the sole owner of the child (the initiate).

Leader*:*	*Ye! Kusile kaloku,*	[Ye! It is now dawn]
Response*:*	*Ah! Wo!*	[*Ah! Wo!*]
Leader:	*Kusile kaloku*	[It is now dawn]
Response:	*Ah ! Wo! Siyamsokisa*	[*Ah! Wo!* We are circumcising him]
Leader*:*	*Uph'useka nkwenkwe?*	[Where is the boy's father?]
Response*:*	*Ah! Wo!*	[*Ah! Wo!*]
Leader:	*USekankwenkwe*	[The boy's father]
Response*:*	*Ah! Wo siyamsokisa*	[*Ah! Wo!* We are circumcising him]
Leader*:*	*Akhe nibavulele*	[Please open for them]
Response:	*Ah! Wo!*	[*Ah! Wo!*]
Leader:	*Nibavulele*	[Open for them]
Response:	*Ah! Wo! Siyamsokisa*	[*Ah! Wo!* We are circumcising him]

KUSILE KALOKU

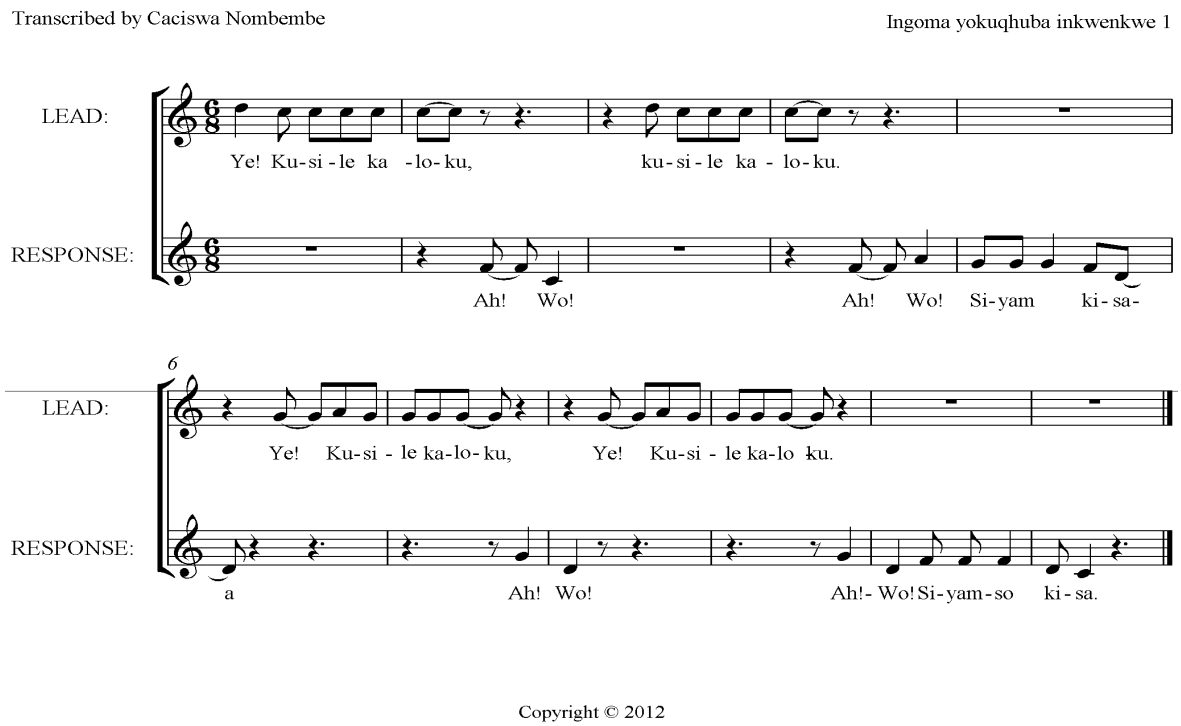


Figure 4.13 Lyrics and Transcription of *Kusile Kaloku*, the first song of *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe.*

The initiate's escort asks the father to release the boy to them. The mother is not in the picture. One of my male subjects[171] stated that there is no need to bring the mother into the

[171] Mphulu Tshabalala, a male informant who sees a boy child as a man's responsibility only.

picture as her duty, in his own words, 'expired' when she gave birth to the boy. Drawing from feminist theory, such a society is patriarchal since male dominance is the norm (Stone 2008: 46).[172] To elaborate, the Zimbabwean Xhosa women are marginalised and treated as 'others' in their own community. In fact, the women's main contribution towards the administration of the *umguyo* ritual is the thatching of the *ibhuma* (the seclusion shelter).[173] The boy's mother only emerges in the second version of the third song, *Mantango,* where the issue of circumcision is compared in a positive light to how tough the initiate's mother is. According to my male informants, the song has two versions. The first version, which my male informants refer to as the original composition, does not mention women.[174] Only in the second version of *Mantango* are women included in the lyrics of the five songs.

Lead: *Mantango, Mantango, indabindala*	[My age mate, My age mate, the matter is old]
Response: *Hha, Hha mayihlangane*	[*Hha, Hha*, let it come together]
Lead: *Mantango, Mantango, indabindala*	[My age mate, My age mate, the matter is old]
Response: *Hha, Hha mayihlangane*	[*Hha, Hha*, let it come together]
Lead: *Yayingangobani?*	[It was the size of who?]
Response: *Hha, Hha mayihlangane*	[*Hha, Hha*, let it come together]
Lead: *Yayingangonyoko*	[It was your mother's size]
Response: *Hha, Hha mayihlangane*	[*Hha, Hha*, let it come together]

Figure 4.14 Lyrics of the second version of *Mantango*.

This version reveals that the issue of circumcision is an old one and from inference, it has withstood the test of time. The circumcision ritual is compared to a woman where it says, *Yayingangobani?... Yayingangonyoko* literally meaning it was whose size? It was your mother's size. To me, in the song a woman is considered as resilient as the circumcision ritual itself. A woman has ability to withstand different difficulties during her lifetime (see Dargie 1988: 138-139). In view of this song version, I argue that the 'new' generation of the Zimbabwean Xhosa male composers are gender sensitive as compared to the earlier ones. They are informed of gender issues and hence attach value to females. In addition, I deduce that the significance of a woman is better admitted in private in the Zimbabwean Xhosa community. This is so because *Mantango* is the very song that my mother

[172] Ruth Stone, in the *Theory of Ethnomusicology*, defines feminist theory as a research structure that is centred on 'gender politics, gender inequality and sexuality.' She states that there is prevalence of male dominance or patriarchy in most cultures around the world (2008: 46).

[173] See Edward Powe (2007: 4). However in the South African Xhosa communities, the women's duty to thatch the *ibhuma* was snatched away from them because they are considered to be involved in witchcraft more than men do. 'In recent times... thatching [is] being done by men' (Dargie 1988: 139).

[174] Refer to the lyrics of *Mantango* in the previous section.

acknowledged as new to her. Men sing about a woman's value when they are already in the bush, a place where women are restricted on this day.

Of what value are the Zimbabwean Xhosa women? The lyrics of some songs sung by women as they while away time on the day of *umguyo*, reveal the nature of value the Zimbabwean Xhosa community attach to the female members of the society. In one of the *iingoma zokutyityimba*, *Badibene oRomani,* the Zimbabwean Xhosa women are equated to cattle.[175] The term *Romani* is a common cattle's name in the Zimbabwean Xhosa community. As two women or girls perform the *ukutyityimba* dance, the singers sing, *badibene oRomani,* meaning to say the cows are fighting. The song actually invites people to come and watch girls as they show off their 'good looking' bodies in a competitive manner. Zimbabwean Xhosa women, like those of South African Xhosa society, are bestowed material value, which is realised when a young woman is betrothed, and a bride price or *lobola* is paid (Alberti 1969: 63, and Fry 2010: 29). This is the reason why a Xhosa father may refer to his young daughter as '*iinkomo zam',* literally addressing her as his own cattle. Through *iingoma zokutyityimba* too, the Zimbabwean Xhosa women are revealed as materials that can be commodified by exchanging them for cattle (ibid.).

Another song with a similar meaning is, *Konke Ndikunikile*.

Lead: *Nanko*	[There they are]
Response: *Amabele ndikunikile*	[The breasts I have given you]
Lead: *Nazo*	[There they are]
Response: *Nempundu ndikunikile*	[The buttocks I have also given you]
Lead: *Inye*	[It is only one]
Response: *lendaw'endala nayo*	[place that I refuse with]
Lead: *Yona*	[It is]
Response: *Zinkomo zikaBawo*	[My father's cattle]

Figure 4.15 Lyrics of the song *Konke Ndikuphile, ingoma yokutyityimba.*

This song refers to a Xhosa female who tells her male partner that although she has allowed him to touch her body, she cannot allow him to sleep with her until he pays *lobola* to her father. The female in this song equates herself with the value of cattle. This reveals that Zimbabwean Xhosa females have been socially taught to accept themselves as the material valuables of their male relatives.

[175] The song is sung in unison repeating the same words, *Badibene oRomani*. Literally, the song means the *Romanis* have met.

The performance of *ukutyityimba* dance tells a story too about the social responsibilities of women. As women perform *ukutyityimba*, their upper torsos resemble the movements of a woman pounding mealie rice, *umngqusho*. At one point, the arms and hands portray a picture of a woman grinding mealies on a grinding stone. These gestures indicate that a Zimbabwean Xhosa woman is responsible for providing food for her family. At a later stage, during the dance, the female may lift up her arms and stretch them sideways shaping cattle's horns of her own choice to indicate she is the 'cattle' in her father's homestead. As the Xhosa boys compose their music, they seldom leave out the word *mama* in their songs even though *umguyo* is a men's issue. One such song is, *Ndiyayiwela*. The lyrics go, *Ndiyayiwela Mama, kusas'ek'seni Mama,*[176] meaning that he is being circumcised tomorrow morning. The boy tells his mother that he is crossing over from boyhood to manhood.

Even though circumcision marks the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood in a boy's lifetime, the boy does not cease to be a 'child' to his mother. This is because the bond of a mother and a child is so natural that it cannot be broken by such rituals. The initiate would always need to trifle around his mother and may be that could be the other reason why women are excluded from the ritualistic performances of *umguyo*. On top of that, there is an influence of English language in the Xhosa songs. One song of that sort is sung early by boys early in the morning as they bid farewell to their friend. Its lyrics are, Goodbye Mama, Goodbye. The word goodbye is given a Xhosa accent, *Gudubhayi, Mama, Gudubhayi*. Through music, the initiate bids farewell to his mother making it possible to determine that the Xhosa boys generally have a good relationship with their mothers.

4.5 The Structure of *Umguyo* Music

In this section, I identify the basic musical characteristics of the *umguyo* music. Even though the *umguyo* ceremony is divided into two sections, the ritual and non-ritual sections,[177] the music performed in these two sections largely share similar characteristics. For all the music performed during the *umguyo* ceremony, 'the dance is primarily a rhythmic accompaniment to the song' (Dargie 1988: 103). Just like the handclapping, the

[176] I am crossing mother, tomorrow morning mother.
[177] Please refer to the appendices section for an illustration of the musical structure of the *umguyo* ceremony.

foot stamping is determined by the song rhythm and hence keeps the pace of the song steady. That is, even though hand claps and foot stamping may sometimes form cross-rhythms with the voice rhythm, the three will always synchronise. However, not only the hands and feet maintain the song rhythm, but the performers' bodies too. For instance, when Xhosa females perform *ukutyityimba* dance, their bodies, namely the shoulders, waist, legs, arms, even their hands and fingers depict the rhythm of the song. Generally, the structure of *umguyo* music is polyphonic. Its phrases are in call and response form. In call and response, there is usually a variation and hence improvisation can occur. The only person who is free to improvise is the song leader. While the song leader improvises to keep the song going, the followers may sing harmonically corresponding parts 'in parallel with follower (and sometimes leader) parts, (ibid.: 103 and 104). However, because improvisation takes place, changes occur. Even though the Zimbabwean Xhosa people claim that *iingoma zokuguya*, especially the five songs that I refer as *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe*, have not changed since before colonialism, I argue that they have changed. This is so because *Mantango* is sung with two different tunes and lyrics that vary in some places. As mentioned before, one form of *Mantango* takes gender issues into consideration while the other does not. The songs of *umguyo*, being typically African music, are built on either diatonic or pentatonic scales. The following songs, *Mntana Wadliwa*, *Okade Sibadinga*, *Ndoda Enesibindi*, and *Magwaza*, all use pentatonic scales. The song *uNongqawuse*, *Ndoyi Ndoyi*, and *Bayadlal'abantwana* use a diatonic scale and *Ndoyi Ndoyi* uses a diatonic scale with parallel harmony, in a typical neo-African style. Bars 4, 8 and 12 of the song *Ndoyi Ndoyi*, are irregular bars with free rhythms. That is, the measures in bars 4, 8, and 12 are not in $^{2}_{4}$as it is with those in the rest of the song. This is so because African music cannot be accurately presented through Western notation.

After transcribing some of the *iingoma zomguyo*, I realised that most of the *iingoma zokuguya* are in triple meter whereas the majority of recreational songs are in simple metre. Below, I present a table illustrating songs in relation to their time signatures. The transcriptions of some of these songs are in the appendix section.

SONG NAME	CLASS	METRE
Kusile Kaloku	*Ingoma yokuguya*	$\frac{12}{8}$
Siya Enkumandeni	*Ingoma yokuguya*	$\frac{12}{8}$
Mantango	*Ingoma yokuguya*	$\frac{2}{4}$
Okade Sibadinga	*Ingoma yokuguya*	$\frac{3}{8}$
Ndoda Enesibindi	*Ingoma yokuguya*	$\frac{3}{8}$
Sasingenje Kwa-Zulu	*Ingoma yokuguya*	$\frac{9}{8}$
Itsho Magwaza	*Ingoma yokuguya*	$\frac{15}{8}$
Ingwane'ncinane	*Ingoma yengcibi*	$\frac{2}{4}$
UMazingane	*Ingoma yokuxhentsa*	$\frac{2}{4}$
UNongqawuse	*Ingoma yokuguya*	$\frac{2}{2}$
Bayadlal'abantwana	*Ingoma yokutyityimba*	$\frac{2}{4}$
Ndoyi Ndoyi	*Ingoma yokutyityimba*	$\frac{2}{4}$

Table 4.2 Tabular Illustration of *Umguyo* Songs and their Metres.

When listening to the whole musical repertoire, it can be perceived that most of the *iingoma zokuguya* are slow in tempo. The only songs that are relatively fast are the last three songs of *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe,* namely, *Mantango, Okade Sibadinga, and Ndoda Enesibindi.* All the recreational songs are comparatively fast. These include *iingoma zokutyityimba, zokuguya* and *ezokuxhentsa.* Due to varying functionality, their tempos differ. Thus, as the circumcision operation is a serious event, so also is the accompanying music.

In comparison to the South African Xhosas, the Zimbabwean Xhosas have a very minimal number of musical instruments. During the *umguyo* ceremony, the Zimbabwean Xhosas mostly use percussive instruments to keep the rhythm steady. These instruments include *izitofile/*leg rattles, *iinduku*/fighting sticks, *iibhamu/*clappers, and any instruments that are not tuned like clapping of hands. As indicated earlier, no drums are involved in the Zimbabwean Xhosa circumcision ceremony. In contrast to what happens in South African Xhosa circumcision ceremonies, the Zimbabwean Xhosas believe that drums have never been part of this ceremony (Nzelane Mpengesi, 21 April 2012, Stanley, 29 December 2012 and Tallach Nombembe 29 December 2012). However, I believe that when the Mfengu were still in their homeland, they made use of drums during their circumcision ceremonies (Levine 200582-84). I think that the use of drums in the *umguyo* ceremonies in Zimbabwe

came to an end because of migration. For the following reasons, the Zimbabwean Xhosas did not carry any musical instruments with them: Firstly, I assume that taking musical instruments with them was going to be 'unnecessary' luggage considering the distance between the homeland and diaspora. Secondly, since most of these Xhosa migrants were Christian converts, the White missionaries most likely discouraged them from using their traditional instruments on the basis that African instruments were considered unholy (Dlephu 2008: 21).[178] Thirdly, the placement of the Zimbabwean Xhosas in the foreign land, diaspora, led to acculturation that caused the migrants in question to shed some of their musical traditions, hence assimilating aspects of the musical styles in the diaspora context. For instance, to embellish their music, the Xhosa boys currently use metal whistles in place of reed whistles, *iimpembe*, which were used earlier on.

In conclusion, I state that unless a significant interpretation is attached to a song, the song text on its own may fail to convey a meaningful communication to the listener. From some of the five songs, we learn that the Zimbabwean Xhosas have archived their historic past and their values in the lyrics of the *umguyo* songs. Besides, the Zimbabwean Xhosa people are assumed to have adopted the songs they used to sing during their wars for the boys' circumcision ceremony hence deducing that the *umguyo* ritual is as tough as the war itself. The Xhosa historical narratives that are archived in the lyrics of the five songs in question enable the intended readers to comprehend the link between the Zimbabwean Xhosas and South Africa and thus connecting the Xhosa diasporic community to their homeland, South Africa. Although there are some changes evident in the performance and lyrics of *iingoma zomguyo*, the circumcision tradition still has a long future especially considering the distance and time the tradition has spent away from its roots. The music of the *umguyo* tradition stands to teach the future Zimbabwean Xhosa generations about their historical past.

[178] 'The missionaries looked down upon the customs and music of the African people and that discouraged the Africans from practicing their own life style…This encounter marked a turning point in the cultural activities of the AmaXhosa, especially in their musical history' (Dlepu, 2008: 21).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This dissertation, 'Music-Making of the Xhosa Diasporic Community: A Focus on the *Umguyo* Tradition in Zimbabwe', has been presented in four main chapters. In the first Chapter, the Zimbabwean Xhosa people were introduced to the reader. The reasons for engaging in this study were presented. Briefly, I gave a summary of the whole dissertation. In Chapter 2, I reviewed literature that relates to my study. It is in this chapter where I established that the Zimbabwean Xhosas are a diasporic community. They are a diaspora mainly because they have moved from an original location to two foreign places, namely, Transkei, in South Africa and Zimbabwe, Mbembesi. In Chapter 3, I gave a vivid picture of how the procedures of the *umguyo* ceremony unfold. The fourth chapter is an analysis and the presentation of my research results that I summarise below.

In my research, I have established that the *umguyo* ceremony is a ritual that portrays more than half of the characteristics of ritual identified by Bell, namely, formalism, conventionalism, traditionalism, rule governance, and performance. Amongst all, formalism is mostly evident in events that have serious themes. One such event in the *umguyo* ceremony comes when the Xhosa men drive the boy to his seclusion. In this stage, formalism is demonstrated in two ways. Firstly, the men strictly sing five compulsory songs in a prescribed manner. The presence of prescribed behaviour in this musical activity qualifies formalism as a necessity in the Zimbabwean Xhosa musical construction since prescriptivism is one of the major elements of formalism. Secondly, conventionalism, an element of formalism, is evident in the way musical roles are assigned when the boy is under escort. The five songs in question cannot just be led by anyone but by a male *imvumi*. This demonstrates a clear demarcation of musical roles hence demonstrating the maintenance of social status quo in the music-making of the *umguyo* ceremony.

It is through performance then that I have managed to determine how these people make music. Zimbabwean Xhosa music-making is influenced by two major factors. As described by makambe (1982: 7), despite the apparent existence of reciprocal fellowship between the Mfengu and the British, behind the scene the relationship was established and maintained on asymmetrical grounds. That is, the dominant/subordinate relationship between the two groups resulted in the Mfengu deviating from the common style of making music in diaspora. Although the Zimbabwean Xhosas once expressed nostalgia through their music, they deviated because of fear and loyalty to the colonialists. Basically, these two

characteristics are still influential in the present music-making of the Xhosas in diaspora. The Zimbabwean Xhosas never had a culture of protesting against their leaders and this is still the character that they portray in the postcolonial period. To my knowledge and according to my research findings, there is no music of the Zimbabwean Xhosas that addresses the Zimbabwean political issues. What could be the reason behind that? It may be possible that the Zimbabwean Xhosa people have transferred their loyalty to the government that succeeded the colonial regime (see also Drewett and Cloonan 2006: 3-21). If any postcolonial government, like the colonial regimes, instils fear in its citizens to indirectly deter them from expressing their politically-related grievances musically, then I call such a state of affairs 'colonial infringement'.[179]

In chapter 4, I have shown how the *umguyo* music-making of the Zimbabwean Xhosa people draws on their historical past. Through music, the Zimbabwean Xhosas comment on their social lives. By closely analysing the song lyrics of these Xhosa people, I found out that they have archived their history in the song text. For that reason, it is from these lyrics that I have established the origins of the Xhosas in the Zimbabwean diaspora. In general, I state that music of any cultural group comprises an oral archive of the history of the group. Whilst tangible national archives may be hard to access and difficult to draw information from, lyrical archives are easily accessible as they reside within people's everyday practices. The only danger with such an archive is for the people to pass on without forwarding the archive on to the next generation, as most of the *umguyo* repertoire is presently transmitted orally and aurally.

I found out that the song-lyrics that store the Xhosa past were created while the Zimbabwean Xhosas were still in their homeland. The continuation of music created during the colonial period in the postcolonial era is not a rare thing (Turino 2000: 35). As far as I can establish, the Zimbabwean Xhosa songs are subject to minimal variances which I refer to as nominal cultural changes. More variances exist in the recreational songs that are mainly designed to entertain people and hence addressing topical issues. Such music falls under the category of *ukutyitymba* and *ukugxiva* songs.

[179] Colonial infringement is:
-whereby a postcolonial government rules its people in the same way the colonial government of that particular nation used to do.

I also found out that Zimbabwean Xhosa music-making has gender implications. The Zimbabwean Xhosas utilise music not only to store their history, but also as a social commentary and a tool for teaching new generations. Both men and women teach their children societal responsibilities. The aspect that I have just stated links us to the question of how gender is reflected in the music-making of the *umguyo* ceremony. Even though gender is a sensitive topic within Xhosa societies, I have realised that there are gender cross-overs in how girls and boys perform. Presently, girls have failed to observe gender boundaries or rules that demarcate their responsibilities from those of their male counterparts. That is, the girls are found moving in circles with boys and performing the *ukugxiva* dance like the boys. I attribute this behaviour to the issue of equal rights that is becoming more prevalent in Africa in the postcolonial period. Besides revealing how music-making impacts on gender, I also established the effect of songs on singers and listeners. *Umguyo* music can soothe pain or aggravate the situation. As I have mentioned in Chapter 4, the initiate may either develop confidence or fear on hearing tunes and lyrics of the *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe*.

In Chapter 4, I also made an analysis of the structure of the *umguyo* musical repertoire. I established that most of the *iingoma zokuguya* are slow in tempo. There are only three songs of *ukuguya* that are sung at a relatively faster speed. These are the three last songs of *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe*, songs to escort the boy to the secluded hut, namely, *Mantango, Okade Sibadinga,* and *Ndoda Enesibindi.* As the *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe,* create a warfare atmosphere, it is fitting that the songs finally sung before attacking be faster because Xulu states that fast tempo creates solidarity among soldiers (1996: 78). However, tempos of the rest of the *umguyo* musical repertoire range between moderate and fast. I attribute the difference in speeds to the function of the songs during the ceremony. *Umguyo* songs other than those for *ukuguya* dance are for leisure. For that reason, they do not have a serious theme like *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe*.

I also established that the structure of the *umguyo* is polyphonic. Its phrases are in call and response form, with employment of variations. In most cases, the song leader is free to improvise. Although the Zimbabwean Xhosa people claim that *iingoma zokuguya*, especially the five songs that I refer as *iingoma zokuqhuba inkwenkwe,* have not changed since before colonialism, I argue that they have changed because when I compared the way *Mantango* was sung on two different occasions, I realised the tunes were slightly different. In one song, there were additional lyrics that addressed women as important figures. I thus

claim that the *iingoma zokuguya* are slowly changing without the owners noticing the transition. I attribute these small amounts of changes to the room of improvisation allowed for song leaders.

In keeping rhythm and tempo steady, the Xhosa people utilise percussion instruments such as clappers, fighting sticks, rattles, or any un-tuned item in their vicinity. When I made a follow up appointment in July 2012, my interviewees used empty opaque-beer calabashes, *izikadi,* since they were on their way to the beer hall.

It is paramount to state that this work does not claim to be exhaustive although it covers musical aspects that were generally covered for other cultures, but not specifically for the Zimbabwean Xhosa music. I state that my work omits a lot, however not by design, but because of demands of this particular research project at Masters degree level. For this reason, I call upon interested scholars to embark on subjects of this nature. By researching the culture of a minority group like the Zimbabwean Xhosas, I make other ethnomusicological scholars aware of the opportunity to study the music of marginalised minority groups of any societies.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: An Illustration of the Musical Structure of *Umguyo* Ceremony

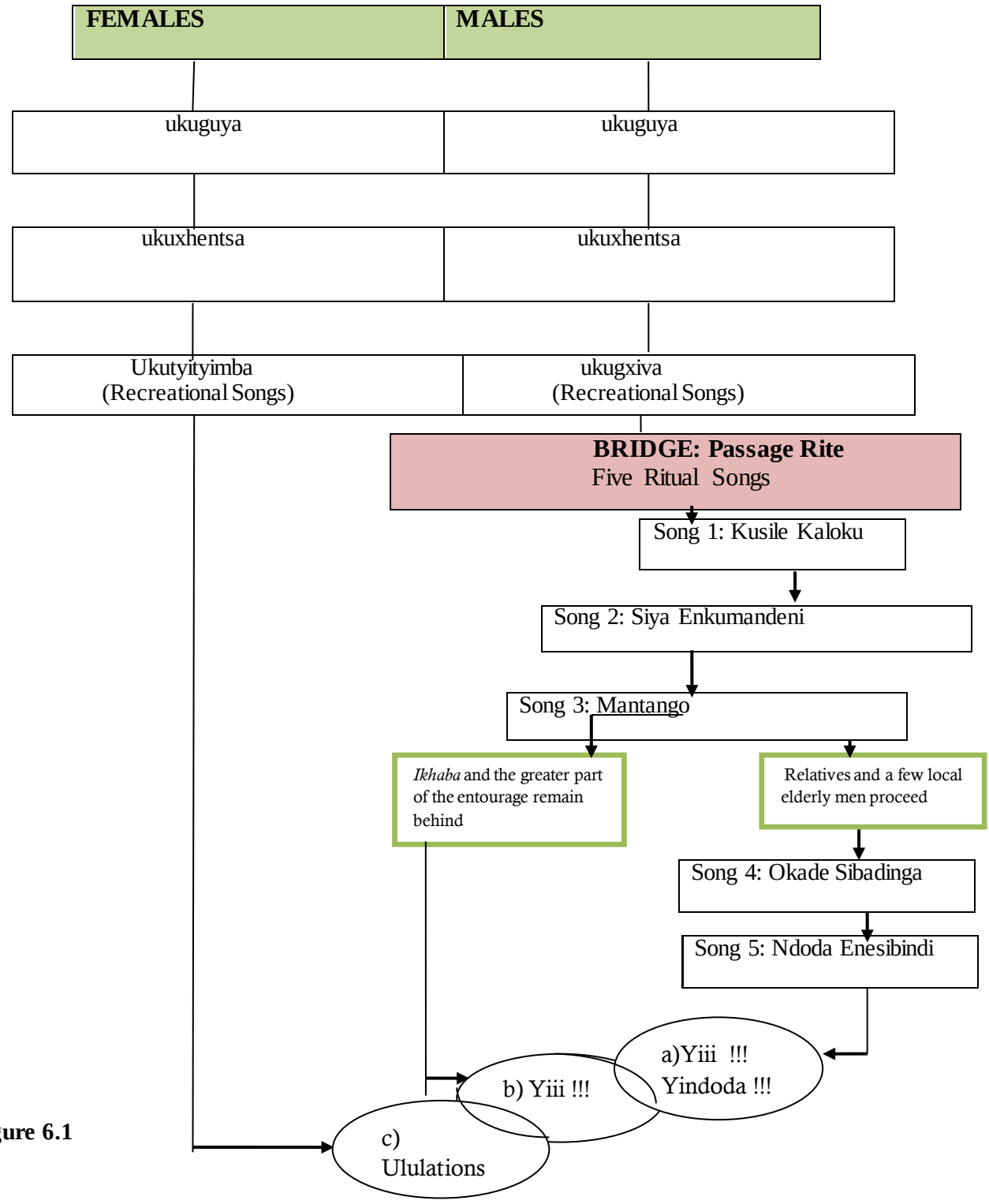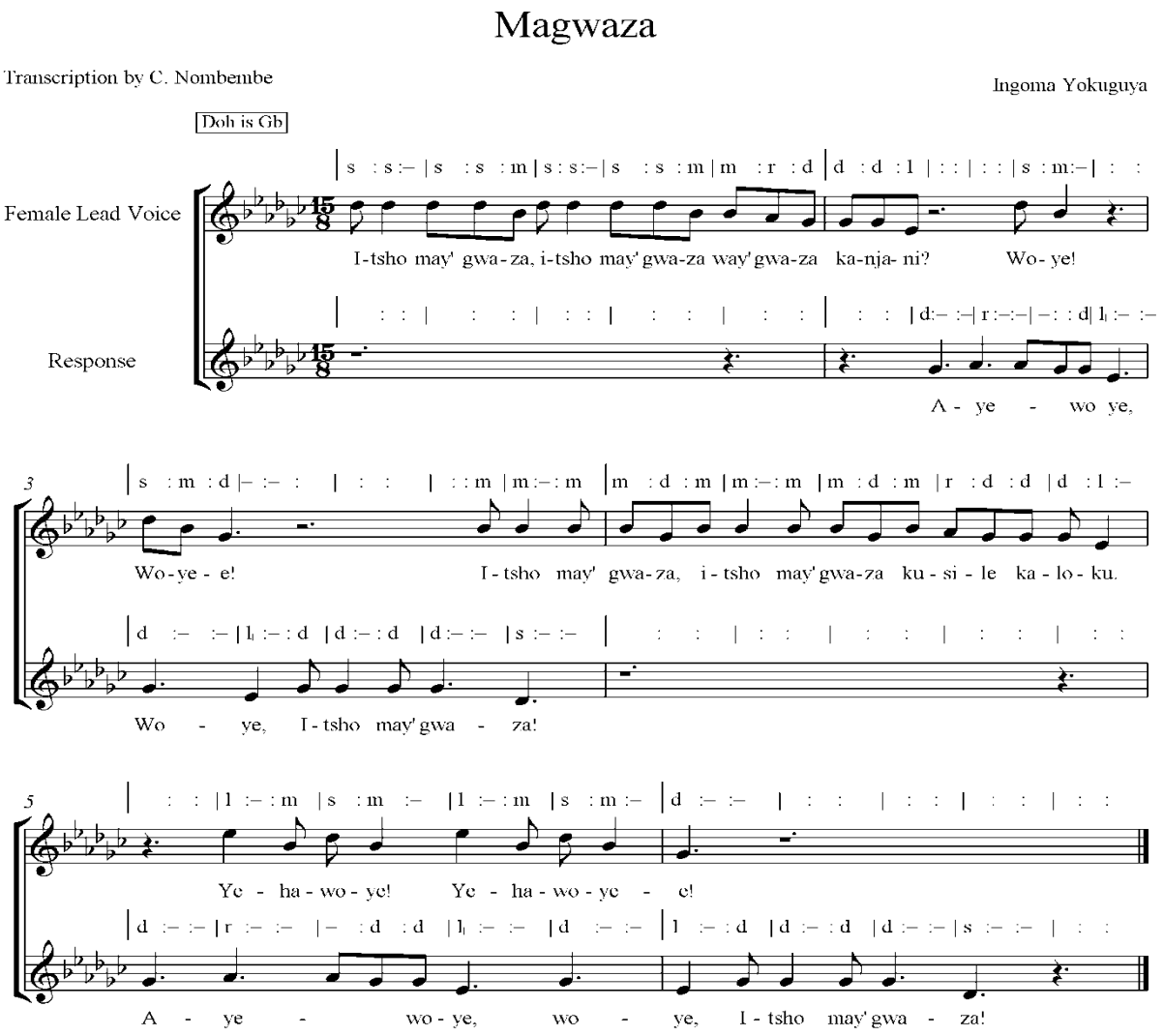


Figure 6.1
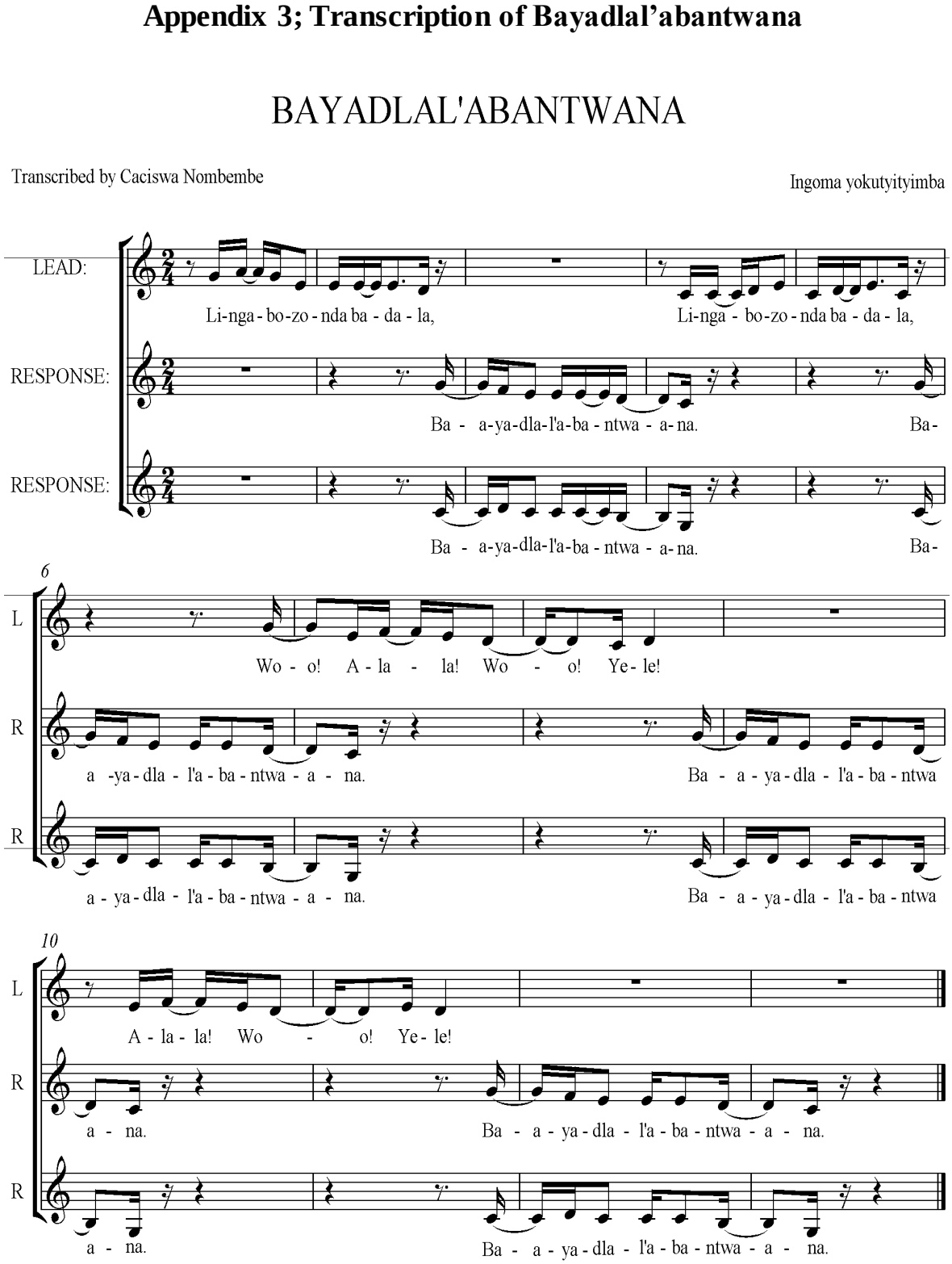
TRANSCRIBED SONGS OF UMGUYO (ADDITIONAL)

Appendix 2: Transcription of Magwaza
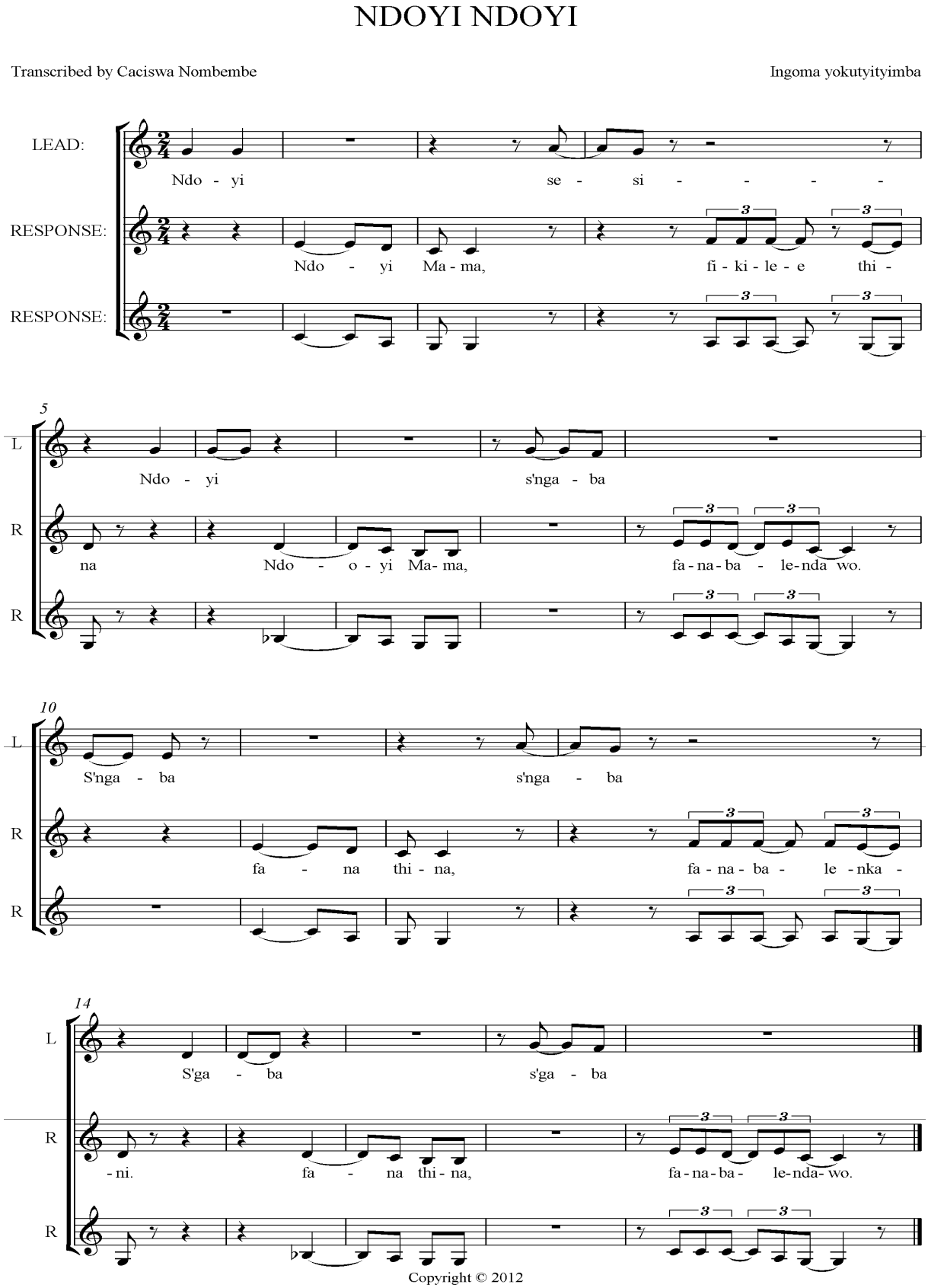


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Appendix 3; Transcription of Bayadlal'abantwana



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Appendix 4: Transcription of Ndoyi Ndoyi



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