

**Aspects of moral education in Bhaca *mamtiseni*
and *nkciyo* initiation rituals**

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ABSTRACTS

The main objective of this mini-dissertation is to investigate the basic form and content of moral education as it manifests itself in the *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* female initiation rituals of the Mount Frere region of the Eastern Cape Province of the Republic of South Africa. The main theoretical position taken is the re-emergent African Renaissance coupled with African indigenous knowledge systems, first revived by (former) President Thabo Mbeki. Accordingly the main purpose of this study is to address the transmission of moral aspects of female Bhaca initiation inherent in behavioural/cultural educational enculturation.

The main findings of the mini-dissertation constitute the following:

1. *Mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* rituals play a major role in the enculturation of young Bhaca girls.
2. The song texts carry strong messages of how to go about achieving a healthy and surviving society.

There are further opportunities for research in the following aspects:

1. *Nkciyo* initiation schools are very exclusive, involving many secret codes. The fact that I am a male put me at a disadvantage.
2. There are many more points of difference between the two rituals than meets the eye.

Key words:

Adam Kok, Abstinence, African Tradition, African renaissance, AIDS, Attire, *Bhaca*, Communal, Colonialism, Culture, Dance, Dingane, Disobedience, Eastern Cape Province, Education, *Elugangeni*, Enculturation, Ethnomusicology, Gcaleka, HIV, Identity, Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Immoral, Initiation School, Initiation ritual, Intangible cultural heritage, *Intombi*, KwaZulu Natal, Literate, Madzikane, *Mamtiseni*, *Mandlwane*, *Mas'khozi*, Marriage, Missionary, Moshoeshoe, Moral education, Morality, Moral regeneration, Mount Frere, Mthatha, *Nkciyo*, Obedience, Politics, Qaba, Respect, Sex, Sexually transmitted diseases, Shaka, Singing, Song text, Teenage pregnancy, *Thembu*, *Ubuntu*, *Uhlolo lwamantombazana*, UNESCO, Virginity testing, Village, Xhosa, *Zulu*.

Aspekte van morele opvoedkunde in *Bhaca mamtiseni* en *nkciyo* aanvangsrituele

ABSTRAKTE

Die hoofdoelwit van hierdie mini-dissertasie is om die basiese vorm en inhoud van morele opvoedkunde te ondersoek, soos dit in *mamtiseni* en *nkciyo* vroulike aanvangsrituele in die Mount Frere streek van die Oos Kaap Provinsie voorkom. Die hoof teoretiese standpunt wat ingestel word is her-opkomende African Renaissance gekoppel aan Afrika inheemse kennisstelsels, wat eers deur oudpresident Thabo Mbeki hernu is. Die hoofdoelwit van hierdie studie is dus die ondersoeking van die transmissie van morele aspekte van vroulike *Bhaca* aanvangsrituele inherent in gedrags/kultuur . opvoedkundige enkulturasie.

Die hoof bevindings van hierdie mini-dissertasie is die vologende:

1. *Mamtiseni* en *nkciyo* rituele speel 'n hoofrol in die enkulturasie van jong *Bhaca* meisies.
2. Die sanglirieke dra sterk boodskappe hoe 'n gesonde en 'n oorlewende gemeenskap geskep kan word.

Daar bestaan veredere moontlikhede vir navorsing betreffende die volgende aspekte:

1. *Nkciyo rituele* is uiters eksklusief, met baie gepaardgaande geheime gedragskodes. Die feit dat ek 'n man is, was nadelig.
2. Daar is veel meer verskille tussen hierdie twee rituele as waarvoor aanvanklik voorsien is.

Trefwoorde:

Adam Kok, Abstinence, African Tradition, African renaissance, AIDS, Attire, *Bhaca*, Communal, Colonialism, Culture, Dance, Dingane, Disobedience, Eastern Cape Province, Education, *Elugangeni*, Enculturation, Ethnomusicology, Gcaleka, HIV, Identity, Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Immoral, Initiation School, Initiation ritual, Intangible cultural heritage, *Intombi*, KwaZulu Natal, Literate, Madzikane, *Mamtiseni*, *Mandlwane*, *Mas'khozi*, Mariage, Missionary, Moshoeshoe, Moral education, Morality, Moral regeneration, Mount Frere, Mthatha, *Nkciyo*, Obedience, Politics, Qaba, Respect, Sex, Sexually transmitted diseases, Shaka, Singing, Song text, Teenage pregnancy, *Thembu*, *Ubuntu*, *Uhlolo lwamantombazana*, UNESCO, Virginity testing, Village, Xhosa, *Zulu*.

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

KEYWORDS

African Renaissance (AR): The culturalist perspective sees the African Renaissance as a movement calling for a return to roots. This perspective, arguably, is most dominant in the popular discourse about the concept. (Maloka, 2000:4-5.) The African Renaissance cannot be about political change and economic upliftment, however. Mbeki has also argued that a cultural and social renaissance is necessary. (Botha, 2000:18).

It also means taking decisive steps to challenge the spread of HIV/AIDS, especially since Africa accounts for more than two-thirds of the world total of those infected. (Botha, 2000:19.)

The African renaissance can also be viewed as a socio-psychological construct. (Botha, 2000:19.)

Enculturation: The process by which a person adapts to and assimilates the culture in which he lives. [The adoption of the behaviour patterns of the surrounding culture; "the socialization of children to the norms of their culture" (The free dictionary.com, 2009).

Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS): IKS refers to the complex set of knowledge and technologies existing and developed around specific conditions of populations and communities indigenous to a particular geographic area (National Research Foundation, 2003:6).

Initiation ritual: a meeting for more than two people to be initiated into a certain belief or way of life.

Intangible cultural heritage (ICH): Intangible Cultural Heritage, as defined by the UNESCO Convention (2008), consists of non-physical characteristics, practices, representations, expressions as well as knowledge and skills that identify and define a group or civilization.

The concept of intangible heritage extends particularly in the following cultural manifestations:

- oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage
- music, dance, drama and other performing arts
- social practices, rituals and festive events
- knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe
- traditional craftsmanship

Mamtiseni : is a dance ritual for girls of all ages, under the supervision of more experienced girls preferable the oldest.

Moral education: enculturating and educating (young girls in this context) to act in a socially and culturally acceptable manner.

Nkciyo: a Bhaca initiation school for girls.

2. Problem statement

Many of Africa's core customs and traditions are transmitted via dance music that is integral to initiation rituals. Following the recent application and discussions of the African Renaissance programme (AR) in the public media and in the National House of Traditional Leaders, there has been a strong recent revival of African initiation schools. These schools generally are regarded as vital to the process of moral regeneration. One of the prime functions of initiation schools is that of enculturation. This may be defined as

the process where the culture that is currently established teaches an individual the accepted norms and values of the culture or society in which the individual lives. [...] Most importantly the individual knows and establishes a context of boundaries and accepted behavior that dictates what is acceptable and not acceptable within the framework of that society. (Kottak, 2008.)

One of the mechanisms invoked in realising the moral objectives of the AR programme is that of ~~the~~ traditional or indigenous knowledge. Such knowledge may be defined as commonly generated and accumulated in a collective manner, based on the broad exchange and circulation of ideas and information, and transmitted orally from one generation to the other+ (Santilli, 2006:1). It is developed around specific conditions of populations and communities indigenous to a particular geographic area+ (National Research Foundation, 2003:1, citing Rozani). What is also important about the AR programme and IKS is that they do not blindly advocate a wholesale return to cultural practices of the past, or an atavistic revivalism which has no place in the contemporary world+ (Prah, cited in Maloka, 2000:5). Rather, they aim to reconstruct contemporary society along the interface of the precolonial past and the demands and desires of global culture.

The concept of the AR dates back to the 1990s. It was first employed by former President Thabo Mbeki in official ANC discourse in 1997. An AR conference was organized in the following year, with active support of the president's office. The conference paved the way for the launch of the African Renaissance Institute in 1999 (Maloka, 2000:1) and AR programmes at educational institutions such as UNISA and Walter Sisulu University.¹ As an overarching policy, the AR programme remains high on developmental agendas. Accordingly, the

¹ UNISA's Centre for African Renaissance Studies was founded in 2003 in order to give expression to the African Renaissance in an academic context.+[Web:] <http://www.unisa.ac.za/default.asp?Cmd=ViewContent&ContentID=18458> [Date of access 25 July 2008].

government declared the year 2000 ~~the~~ Dawn of the African Century, and identified the realisation of the African Renaissance as one of its five strategic tasks+ (Maloka, 2000:2). In short, the AR is ~~a~~ shared vision for the renewal of Africa+that entails

re-establishing progressive, traditional African values and a shift in consciousness to embrace individual responsibility to the community and the fact that individuals, in community with others, are in charge of their own destiny. [It] is a vision and mission for transformative change and development that is premised on the understanding that the future of Africa and the peoples of Africa and the Diaspora lie in the fundamental processes of renewal, re-invention and rebirth. The required changes need to occur in people's mindset and world outlook, which in turn require changes in material conditions as well as in the institutions and processes of intellectual, political, economic and cultural governance. (Centre for African Renaissance studies, 2008.)

Arguably, the dominant aspect of the discourse on the AR is that of a desired ~~return to roots+~~ to ~~traditional~~ African practices and beliefs+(Maloka, 2000:4-5). The AR programme therefore is not merely aimed at political change and economic upliftment. It is also a ~~socio-psychological~~ construct+(Botha, 2000:18). This construct firstly involves a process of self-discovery, the restoration of ~~the~~ African's self-esteem+ and ~~the~~ decolonization of the African mind+ (Botha, 2000:19, citing Thabo Mbeki). Secondly, it places a very strong emphasis on ~~moral~~ regeneration+. The need for such moral regeneration is motivated by ~~the~~ extent of corruption in both public and private sector, where office and positions of responsibility are treated as opportunities for self-enrichment; the corruption that occurs within our justice system; violence in interpersonal relations and families, in particular the shameful record of abuse of women and children; and the extent of evasion of tax and refusal to pay for services used (Kollmer,1995, citing Nelson Mandela).+

To these conditions may be added the HIV/AIDS crisis that has an ongoing, devastating effect on Africa's social structures and economic life. The AR

programme is driven by a belief that Africans themselves must find solutions to African problems (Botha, 2000:19-20, citing Thabo Mbeki.) Opening the National House of Traditional Leaders in 2006, Thabo Mbeki underlined the need

to ensure that our languages are not marginalised and that we increase efforts to help, particularly our youth, so that they become proficient in all our languages, that they understand and appreciate our customs and traditions; that all of us are well versed with the wisdom contained in our idioms, in our music and in our African outlook as expressed in the concept and practice of Ubuntu. (Mbeki, 2006)

As elsewhere in South Africa, colonisation, missionisation and culture contact have had an overtly negative effect on the vitality of initiation schools among the Nguni peoples of the Eastern Cape. Among the Bhaca people, for example, those who follow cultural practices of precolonial origin are seen as resisting progress and change sometimes still are referred to as *amaqaba* (the uncivilized); interview Nomqhukuvane Nozibele, (2007).

While such attitudes have had a significant influence on the value of initiation schools, an investigation in the Mount Frere district in 2007 showed some resurgence of two girls' initiation schools, namely *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo*. The commodification of African culture is evident in the *mamtiseni* dances and songs that are performed by buskers during festive season in Mount Frere.

However, there is evidence that these initiation rituals are becoming a part of local efforts to realise the moral goals of the AR program. For example, Mrs Mthwesi, a teacher and cultural activist, founded a *nkciyo* school in Mvuzi village in 2005, with the permission of the local traditional leader, Chief Baphathe Makaula. The school is receiving increasing communal support. Interviews with elderly informants as well as initiates, point clearly to this school as a site of *ubuntombi*, a form of moral education for girls. Typically, values that are inculcated include respect, obedience and sexual discipline.

The key question that emerges from this context is the following:

What are the basic contents and modes of transmission of moral education in the *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* initiation rituals in the Mount Frere region?

4. Sub-questions

1. What role do these initiation schools play in cultural redefinition? This will serve to put in perspective the role of these two initiation schools in redefining and promoting the Bhaca culture. It will also reveal some of the teachings that the girls receive during the initiation process.

2. Which musical modes of communication are used to transmit moral values? The musical modes of communication in this case do not only refer to music as an autonomous entity but as part of musical arts. Meki Nzewi describes an African definition of what comprises a musical performance or musical arts in Africa as one that includes the following performance arts disciplines of music, namely; dance, drama, poetry and costume art as domains that can not be separated in creative thinking and performance practice (2003: 13).

3. How do these modes communicate their messages? My study will give a description on how these modes communicate the lessons that the initiates have to learn.

4. What is the influence of the AR programme in the resurgence of initiation schools in the Mount Frere district? I will also look at how the AR programme has influenced the change and from which dimension it helps to restore moral values in the Bhaca society.

5. Main objective

The main objective is to investigate the basic form and content of moral education in the *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* initiation rituals in the Mount Frere region.

6. Sub-objectives

Firstly to describe the musical and dance modes of communication that are used to transmit moral values. Secondly to describe how these modes communicate their messages. Thirdly to describe the influence the AR programme has in the resurgence of initiation schools in the Mount Frere district. And fourthly to describe the role these rituals play in cultural redefinition.

7. Central theoretical argument

This study will demonstrate that moral values are transmitted in *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* initiation rituals by means of verbal and non-verbal musical symbols, in particular song texts, musical style, dance movements and costumes.

I am intimately familiar with the music and culture of the Bhaca Tribe of the Mount Frere region of the Eastern Cape in the Republic of South Africa because I myself am a member of this grouping. I was born in Mount Frere and have lived there for eleven years. I still frequently visit Mount Frere.

1.2 History of the Bhaca people.

The Bhaca people are said to have lived in the Northern part of Pongola River near the Libombo Hills around the 1720s. This is in present day the border between Mpumalanga and Swaziland. Bhaca people's visibility is said to have been dominant around 1734 and 1820s (KwaBhacaKingdom, 2010).

Bhaca people speak IsiBhaca, this is a mixture of languages through interaction with *Zulu*, *Xhosa* and *Swazi* languages. The *Swazi* influence is said to be Madzikane's evidence of having a mother from the royal house of Swazi nation, the Malambo family. Madzikane grew up within the Swazi people which is now a separate country from South Africa, Swaziland. Madzikane is said to have spoken the *Swati* language as a result of his place of childhood (KwaBhaca Kingdom, 2010).

The Bhaca people occupy the following towns in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa: Mount Frere, Mount Ayliff, Matatiele, Mount Fletcher, Mzimkhulu and Kokstad. Their province of origin is KwaZulu-Natal, during King Shaka's reign. Their leader then was Madzikane, the son of Zulu. He ruled his own people in his own part of land in KwaZulu-Natal. The following incident caused this tribe to flee to the Eastern Cape Province: Madzikane visited a traditional healer to earn power as a leader and to be a respected man. He wanted to be a king with *isithunzi* (dignity) as well as to become one of the most powerful leaders in Zululand. He made cut marks on his face during the session with the medicine man, which scared some people. It is said that two men from Madzikane's kingdom went to share what they had witnessed with king Shaka. They expressed their observations as an effort to threaten all the kings. Shaka did not like what he was hearing and perceived it as a sign of disrespect from Madzikane. King Shaka killed the men who had brought the news to him and fed their bodies to the vultures because he perceived them as a threat. Since they came to betray Madzikane, he feared that they would do the same to him. He prepared to launch an attack, destroy Madzikane's kingdom, take their women and cows, and kill all the men. That was his way of subjugating a nation.

Madzikane received this news and he started preparing for the day Shaka would come to attack him. The day came and Madzikane had driven the cattle away ahead of them. It is said to have been one of the most horrific fights Shaka's army has ever fought, a long and hard war. Shaka eventually defeated Madzikane's army. Madzikane ran away with his army and found a place of refuge with his people. Shaka never acquired the cattle from Madzikane that day (Makaula, 2006:4-8).

Madzikane realised that his people would never have a good life for as long as they were close to Shaka and as a result made a decision to leave the land that once belonged to his people. He and his tribe crossed the Thukela River away from Zululand. This is why this tribe is named AmaBhaca (the refugees). Women were in tears realizing what they were leaving behind, their happiness, and the

dangers that they were going to be exposed to during the search for a new home.

Madzikane's tribe consisted of the following sub-groups, the Zulu people, Wushe, Mpovane, Chiya, Nqolo, Nguse, Dzana, and Gebashe people. Madzikane's tribe first settled at Msongonyathi next to Mgungundlovu/Pietermaritzburg at the banks of the Msunduzi River. They grazed the land and found happiness. The news arrived to Shaka that the Bhaca people were in what was then Natal (presently KwaZulu. Natal). Dingane offered to go and destroy them. Madzikane's army fought with Dingane's army and neither of them surrendered. Madzikane's craft/black magic caused the Bhaca people's victory. It is believed that he performed his craft and the snow fell only on the Zulu soldiers' side, causing them to freeze to death. Some wanted to go back home but they knew that if they did that without winning the war, Shaka would kill them. Shaka's army was not supposed to go back home if they were defeated. The only option they had was to die fighting or win the war and bring the captured children, female and cattle of their opponents. They chose to freeze and die in the battlefield, as a result of the fear of Shaka's brutal killing strategies. Dingane's promise to Shaka was to bring Madzikane alive to Shaka. (Makaula, 2006:11)

Madzikane and his tribe continued to look for a place of refuge and they arrived at the land of the Sotho people at Thaba-Bosigo in King Moshoeshoe's territory. King Moshoeshoe gave instructions to his men to give cattle and food to the Bhaca's assuming that the Bhaca's were a hungry army which was there to fight for food. The Bhaca's only wanted to pass through, not to fight the Sotho kingdom. They subsequently crossed the Thina River (Makaula, 2006:9-13).

Arriving in what is known today as the Eastern Cape Province, the land of the Xhosa people, the Bhaca people had accepted that they are fighters and will forever be fighting to protect their families and cattle. They fought against the Mpondomise led by the Velelo and Thembu tribes in the Eastern Cape, next to

the present-day Mthatha. These tribes were at peace and had good relations, which the Bhaca never had with any tribe. These two tribes united in order to defeat the Bhaca but they in turn were both defeated and the Thembu people ran away. Madzikane and his people went and occupied land at the Thembu territory. Both the Thembu and the Bhaca people found peace and had good relations. They attended each other's ceremonies. The conflict started again between the Bhaca and the Thembu when Bhaca boys attacked Thembu boys in their initiation school. The Thembu men were sent to Madzikane to share views with him about this act, but Madzikane's response was not pleasing to them. Madzikane would not be part of the conflict caused between the boys. The Thembus saw that as a sign of disrespect and decided to launch an attack to punish the Bhaca people for the disrespect they had shown towards their customs (Makaula, 2006:14-18). This news got to the Gcaleka people and Mpondomise and they attacked the Bhaca people once again. This was the only time when Madzikane could not perform his craft as he felt that he was going to die and had no power anymore, which he defined to his people as "God's intention".

Madzikane had two sons, Sonyangwe and Ncaphayi, who, he instructed his leaders, would lead the Bhaca people. Madzikane could only die through the use of his own spear, and he asked to be killed through its use because that was the only way one could kill him. He was killed by the Thembu/Qwathi people. It is said that the sun set during the day the day Madzikane died, and the birds came down. It is believed that, even today, the bushes where he was killed are still respected by the community and no one ever goes closer to that place in that community. It was decided among the other tribes that, because Madzikane was dead, they would leave the Bhaca people in peace but one of the men said, "These people will always be fighting - they do not know peace". This man was supported by many. The Bhaca people eventually occupied a place next to Mzimvubu River close to Lusikisiki. They asked Faku of the Mpondo tribe for a place in Lusikisiki. They continued fighting and creating a bad reputation with the

surrounding tribes. They now occupy the region of Mount Frere (KwaBhaca) where they have the castle/royal home at Elugangeni village.

The Bhaca people are said to have been accused by the farmers from the old Natal of stealing their cows and had a fight with the farmers, but that is not true because they got those cows after the fighting which was part of a tradition that the winner takes the cattle. The first missionary around 1850 who worked among them was Pastor Garner who was asked for by a decree of parliament by Ncaphayi during his reign. It was Ncaphayi's attempt to stop the 'barbaric' behaviour of the Bhaca people as he saw it, because they had learned to kill people as if they were animals. This was as a result of the lifestyle they had to adapt to because of the attack by Shaka's army (Makaula, 2006:23-28).

I will attempt to summarize that there were various conflicts even during the time after Bhaca people settled in Mount Frere. They had a fight with the Coloured people (people of mixed race) because of the European settlers in South Africa of Adam Kok. Makaula during his time as the leader was asked to help in the Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902) by the English. It can be observed that the Bhaca traditions and cultures will have many trademarks from all the places they settled in (acculturation) as they moved from the Zululand. Praise songs were important since they served to preserve the history of the Bhaca people. This history included the specific words that were spoken by Madzikane. One of the songs they sang was about the struggle to climb the mountain at Lundini where King Moshoeshe of the Sotho people gave them food. This song which was sung by men was sung as they were digging holes to step on, to go up to the top of the mountain.

"ELundini! ELundini!

At Lundini! At Lundini!

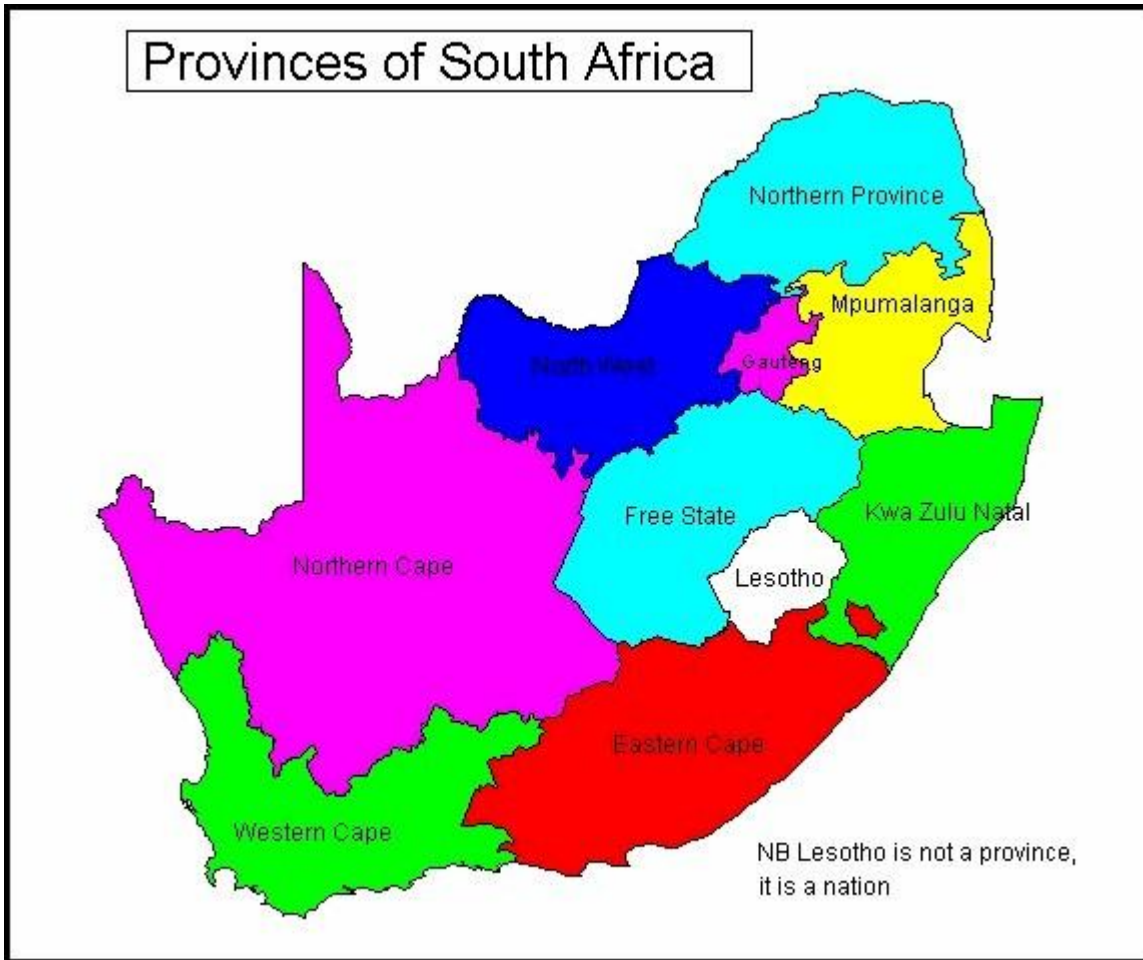
Kuyal' ukuba sinyuk' eLundini

It is hard to go up (climb) at Lundini

Kuyal' ukuba sinyuk' eLundini.+

It is hard to go up (climb) at Lundini!

(Makaula, 2006:12.)



(Map of South African Provinces, 2010).



(Map of the Eastern Cape Province, 2008).

Chapter 2

Literature review

This chapter will deal with the issues that concern morality and how these are transmitted in society. Evidence of how other cultures maintain a high moral standard through the arts will be discussed in this chapter.

The issue of the moral regeneration movement has been manifested in the revitalization of old initiation schools such as *nkciyo* and *mamtiseni*. One can ask questions such as: Are these old traditions still useful in our time and are they in agreement with the constitutional law of South Africa?

Nevertheless, actions have been taken as a result of the social ills and more contemporary problems and that is the result of the implementation of the African Renaissance (AR) program as discussed in the introduction. There are debates among the people who practice these rituals about the messages that go out to the public concerning the revitalisation movements. Some areas in South Africa, for example, the KwaZulu-Natal province, which is home to the Zulu tribe have been involved in the continuing practice of virginity testing for decades. The Bhaca communities of the Mount Frere region and others have recently been gaining interest in the practice as well.

Virginity testing is now being seen as one means of checking the onslaught of HIV/Aids. A few months ago, this traditional practice was criticised by human rights organisations as a violation of human rights. Chief Senyukelo Jojo of the Ama-Xesibe nation said that they decided to hold a ceremony to encourage young girls to remain virgins until marriage. The Ama-Xesibe chief said that they decided to bring back the practice as a symbol of protection against HIV/Aids and pregnancy before marriage+(Magenu, 2007).

This is a burning issue in the new South Africa, which has become even more conscious of its African traditions. South Africans have started using the strategies that are in the philosophies such as the philosophy of *ubuntu* that the

people live by, as well as the recent idea of an AR. The issue I am dealing with here is not the issue of the origin of the moral content but the lessons that participants of the *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* initiation schools learn. The reason for this is that we at this point in history can no longer pinpoint especially when it concerns moral values which of these values are of traditional African, Bhaca, European or Christian origin. The goal is to study the identity that is being enforced on these girls by the Bhaca society.

Enculturation and or initiation.

Jaco Kruger, a professor of Social Musicology at the North-West University in Potchefstroom, South Africa is an ethnomusicologist who has written exclusively on Venda music. His definition of enculturation is as follows:

The child's incorporation into society is achieved through initiation. Initiation schools all serve similar purposes. Initiation schools are partly educational institutions in which culturally important information is transmitted in dance to initiates. *Domba*, the girls' initiation school, in particular is partly well-known for its large body of information related to aspects of adulthood. This information partly is transmitted through dance and music. During this time they learn all the songs, dances and dramatic enactments of the school. Through dance they become members of a women's association which form part of social structure, and of a set of political checks and balance. (Kruger, 2004:4.)

Similar values such as the ones expressed above are taught in *mamtiseni*. This ritual does not merely deal with issues that concern girls only in the song text but with life issues as a whole. I have narrowed down my research area only to the moral content and the modes of communication of the moral issues during the process of initiation. Dances of puberty refer to the initiate's future identity as spouses, parents, and producers within the society. (Hempton, 1998-2002:110.) These dances are performed by girls of all ages from as young as four until approximately 18 or 21 years of age. These girls learn community-determined codes of conduct as young girls in their society as well as what is expected from them when they reach their future adult life. During these rituals they are taught

gender roles for the future of their society. It is essential that they learn their roles. This kind of initiation is exercised on boys as well. Men tell the boys to be brave, calm and fearless (Hempton., 1998-2002: 110). This rite of passage ensures the development of strong men who can play their roles as head of the family, which is the social structure that is found in many religions and culture in the world.

Mamtiseni is an event where girls get together without any adult supervision and teach each other value systems. This is part of a long string of initiation processes for young girls. I chose to focus on *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* as a result of their recent popularity in the communities surrounding the Mount Frere region. Similar rituals exist in other tribes as well. One of them, for example, is the Xhosa *umtshotsho* for boys. *Umtshotsho* is like a school for young people, managed by themselves with some supervision from senior boys only. Problems concerning the group are usually discussed. They are taught to prefer law above force, so as to try to resolve their differences amicably. They are also taught about courtship and such issues as [sexual abstinence] before marriage.+ (Yaka, 2005:2.)

There are also ritual events that consist of mixed genders and they affirm gender roles as in Venda dance studied by Jaco Kruger, which he defines as follows;

These dances provide more than musical education. They also allow boys and girls to socialize, and to learn socially acceptable behaviour. For example, when girls dance towards the boys, they greet them respectfully (*losha*). This teaches them how to behave towards men, and generally affirms gender relations. (Kruger, 2004:3.)

In conclusion, enculturation occurs through many activities in a society. It can be through interaction with others on day-to-day basis, going to church, playing football with people, making music, dance with others as well as through well structured, and goal-orientated initiation schools. Therefore, enculturation can occur consciously or unconsciously.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

The Bhaca people were affected by the missionary activity that swept the country and changed their ways of doing things in an attempt on the part of missionaries to convert them to Christianity. Indigenous cultural practices, [including ancestral worship] though still surviving to a limited extent today in rural areas, were vehemently condemned by Christian missionaries, as a package deal of Western culture, values and life-style were inseparable from it. (Rycroft, 1991:1.) This brought confusion about which value systems to follow especially in the minds of the generations that received education in schools, which were founded by missionaries. Missionaries used the education system to convert the learners to Christianity. I recall a conversation I once engaged myself in with my mother about her life growing up. She explained to me that in her generation (the 1960s) it was very confusing to know what to believe. Schools were teaching Christianity and convincing learners to forget the ways they live by everyday at home in favour of a Christian worldview. At home my mother remarked that they practiced what was regarded as *pagan* by the educators. She for some time during my childhood went to church whilst still believing in ancestral worship. This was always a nagging question in my mind because my parents are Christians and my father is a preacher. My mother Nokuzola Makaula stated in December 2007 that in her generation as a child in the 1960s, initiation schools such as *nkciyo* especially became scarce since there was no supervision in their community. Missionary educators as well as converts within the community viewed these activities as *pagan*. Conversely, other rituals such as boys' initiation schools to manhood continued.

My observation of this is that people selected some rituals that they always wanted to throw off and continued practicing ones that they had a desire to uphold. Generation upon generation of African converts, dressed in Western clothes, were taught to despise and totally reject their own customs and musical traditions, which the missionaries damned as heathen and barbaric. (Rycroft,

1991:1.), And the purpose was that Africans should have a doubtful sense of identity and self-respect; their cultural systems and values systems were subordinated and marginalized in the land of their birth+(Pityana, 1999:143).

There are, however, positive actions that the missionary activity proposed, and it was not all that negative towards the societies that they came into contact with. As a result, many Christian missionaries have devoted their lives in ways that have greatly enriched the communities where they worked+(Keesing, 1981:405). Some of the positive results were that missionaries, living in local communities where colonial exploitation had tragically disruptive consequences, have been vocal critics of government policy or practice+(Keesing 1981:406). It seems to me that the missionaries were not always responsible for their actions. Politics played a big role as it did throughout South Africa's history. Christianity has been a more benign and humanitarian force, most of the time, than many instruments the conquerors have used to impose their will and their standards. Institutionalized Christianity is, in this view neither good nor evil, it must be judged by what it does+(Keesing, 1981:406). That being said, it cannot be denied that Christianity, as much as any belief system, was, and still is, responsible for many actions. Christianity continues in many regions to serve alien interests, and the wounds to peoples self conception and the integrity of their cultures remain deep and unhealed+(Keesing, 1981:404).

As I stated before, while some practices became obsolete others gained strength and power among societies. The Bhaca people still practiced and selected what they wanted to change in the society during the missionary activity. What happened to tribal peoples in the path of European expansion depended on a number of factors: Wherever Europeans ways of life have burst upon small-scale societies, cultural borrowing has taken place by choice and under duress.+ (Keesing, 1981:394.) This refers to the reason why I will not attempt to categorize the moral value systems place of origin but the content, because;

The synthesis of old and borrowed elements-syncretism has been most striking in the realm of religion, where Christianity has been spread to every continent. Syntheses of Catholicism with traditional belief systems carried these old processes to much more dramatic degree: There was a vast gulf between the religion of the conquistadores and the Mesoamerican priestly cult of war, fertility, sun and rain, worship of feathered serpents, jaguar, and other gods, and human sacrifice. (Keesing, 1981:394.)

Missionary action and colonialism were effective in some parts but did not destroy the whole culture of the affected communities. A culture cannot be destroyed. However, outside influences can result in its reshaping. Evidently, Keesing states that even where new customs and beliefs outwardly replace the old in the course of change, the deeper premises and values of the traditional culture may continue to shape a people's worldview and orientation to life (1981:399).

Bhaca people are now looking back and attempting to use what is believed to have been a way of life before the missionary activity and colonial era. As we have seen, when people are coerced by the forces of change, a hearkening back to the past may be a crucial, sometimes a desperate way of trying to survive as a people, preserving identity and integrity in the face of powerlessness, decimation, and degradation (Keesing, 1981:401).

The resistance of the people against the return of practices such as *nkciyo* may have taken place because of the strategies that are used during the process of initiation. Questions maybe focussed on the lawfulness of the activities during initiation. Some Bhaca people may have been converted to resist the traditional ways that Africans used to believe and practiced. This maybe subject to extreme pressures by the onslaught of European power and the force exerted upon them to reject their centrality in the scheme of things, and people often come to review their culture as a *thing* (Keesing, 1981:407). At the same time those who practice Bhaca traditions might be motivated by a romantic idea of old times, the

old ways could symbolize a golden age of past glories and freedoms, or they could be rejected as delusions. Deep destruction of identity in colonialism created an explosive situation. As a result, proud men are turned into %boys+, forced to demean themselves serving and slaving for white %master+ with obeisance Christian missionaries sought to save their souls by turning them into pious children. Humans are led to despise the colour of their skin and the ways of their ancestors during missionary action and colonization (Keesing, 1981:407-412).

In West Africa, evidence of colonialism, which had the same effect as missionarisation in South Africa is made clear by Charry (2000) description of the event of French colonial officers. Charry states that they exercised a great deal of administrative control over local African chiefs, (who had few official powers who in schools as I have stated before that they were places of converting tribal people during a conversation with my mother), Charry states that these schools were an important means of indoctrinating West Africans with French culture (Charry, 2000:46-47). South Africa as %the little Europe in Africa+ experienced a slow change after the forced change. The revival of interest in folk music that swept the world in the 1950s made scarcely any impact at all on black South Africans under the apartheid regime and English colonialism (Rycroft, 1991:2). Efforts began in other countries and AR programs made inroads. The idea of the African renaissance as viewed by culturalists, the revitalization of old African traditions seems to have been more effective in making people value their intangible heritage and these days there is more and more interest in the public in what are believed to be traditional African practices and beliefs (Maloka, 2000:5).

More discussions are being used over time to address and find ways to heal Africa from its social ills, and one of the movements is the valuing of intangible national heritage because of the oral mode of communication that African

ideologies have been using over centuries to communicate values and more issues concerning social structure.

The importance of indigenous knowledge systems

Indigenous knowledge (which is part of intangible knowledge) may serve as a later healer. This is due to its recent popularity in people's vocabulary as one of the means to heal Africa. Pallo Jordan the former national Minister of Arts and Culture, defines intangible knowledge as a cultural heritage that represents values, expertise, skills, knowledge, understanding and information that is sustained over time through memory and transmitted orally or through practice within a community and that makes the world community more conscious of the cultural riches people have stored up over the ages (Jordan, 2008). As a result, UNESCO was adopted to safeguard intangible cultural heritage in October 2003 with an understanding that the world community would be poorer if we allowed the cultural products of some members of the human family to be permanently marginalized. Restoring the dignity of cultures that have been treated as somehow inferior or less worthy as a result of centuries of colonial domination or/and imperial conquest is one dimension of UNESCO. The other is to increase and expand on the fund of human knowledge our species has accumulated over the ages, the African continent as one of the continents that was most severely affected by imperialism and colonialism, is one of the direct beneficiaries of UNESCO Convention (Jordan, 2008).

Moral education as communicated in music is nothing new in the field of ethnomusicology, music education and musicology in general, Nolwazi Ndamase (2005) states that,

singing games are traditional games, in that their performance is a window into the community norms, values, kinship patterns, and gender roles, since the games reflect the various traditions [ō] they serve as a forum for children to learn and share cultural knowledge, although they may not be aware of doing so. Some of the Xhosa children songs have African moral values embedded in their texts, which are part of the values and norms of the society. (Ndamase, 2005:2-3.)

This strategy is used in many musical forms in the world. It is a way of making people repeat statements in their heads and subconsciously they believe it before they have even realized what they are learning. At one point one will find people using some song text to describe or cure themselves in their daily life situations. The same occurs in *nkciyo* and *mamtiseni* rituals. This does not mean that moral content during these rituals is communicated through music only; there are verbal as well as non-verbal modes of communicating values within the members as well as through the elders who are the leaders of the groups.

Music is still a form of entertainment for the community as much as it is a source of social structure and a preventative tool against moral decay. %hosa children\$ games also have moral values contained in them though they are meant for having fun.+(Ndamase, 2005:3.) One must be aware of the fact that these norms and values are not only communicated verbally, which means through song text and conversation. There are also a number of non-verbal ways to communicate that are used in these initiation schools namely, dancing and dress codes.

Chapter 3

A discussion of *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo*

Mamtiseni

The Bhaca nation and their music is scarcely documented hence the limited sources of their history and music.

The *Mamtiseni* initiation school is an initiation school for girls between the ages of six to until at least eighteen years of age. This group is under the supervision of the older girls, there are no adult supervising the event. They usually meet after the end of the academic school year, normally the end of November. Besides the teachings, the girls unite to promote interdependence through singing for many around the village as well as some town visits and singing for money. The money these girls make is usually used for buying sweets for Christmas and sharing during Christmas day. One must be aware that the moneymaking is a strategy to bring unity and interdependence among the participants of the schools. The repertoire of music during *mamtiseni* covers a number of aspects in the girls' lives namely; issues concerning sexual practice, politics, social structure, gender roles, strategies to promote peace and so fourth. Due to the diversity of issues the repertoire is very wide.

Nkciyo

Nkciyo is an initiation school for girls of the same age as *mamtiseni*. This initiation school's main focus is on sexual education and issues surrounding the result of engaging in sexual activity. Protection and safety for girls against the contemporary ills such as HIV/AIDS is dealt with intensively. This ritual is done under the supervision of the respected and trusted adults from the community. During the school, which takes place every weekend at Mvuzi village girls are checked by the elders for virginity. The elders teach songs and dances to the girls during these meetings. Girls are guarded from listening to their friends and engaging in immoral activities.

More views and activities during the initiation process will be revealed during the discussion of interviews and song texts that follows in the next chapters.

Chapter 4

Interview Findings

The following interviews were held on the third and fourth of December 2007 at Mount Frere. These were unstructured interviews of nine interviewees and more comments from the initiates as a group. The reason I chose using the unstructured interviews was for me to observe how the interviewees express their ideas about the initiation school without me leading them to any presumptions I might have had about the initiation schools. The interviewees were asked to express their ideas about *mamtiseni* and issues that are dealt with in *mamtiseni* such as, moral values and how they identify themselves.

The girls all seem to believe that *mamtiseni* teaches them moral values and creates an identity for them. The participants of the group start at about the age of five. This is because they are still young and can still be influenced or taught a particular value system that is in line with the values and moral system that are aspired for in *mamtiseni*. The age that the sixteen-year-old leader Pheliswa Jijane believes that, she will stop participating in the initiation school is when she is twenty-one years old. This is in line with the legal age of adulthood in South Africa. When one reaches the age of twenty-one he or she is then independent in decision making with no need for permission for life decisions from the parents or guardians.

Teachings

The content of the teachings first of all concern the issue of *ubuntombi*, which is the expected identity and behaviour of a girl in the Bhaca society. Being *Intombi-nto* means being a real girl, with this saying (*nto*) comes many expectations on how to be a girl. This is an identity of a girl who is pure and untouched by any male, a girl who makes her community and family proud through the way she conducts herself. The girls during the initiation process learn more about the Bhaca culture and more ways to function well in the society. The *mamtiseni* initiation group I based my study on consisted of girls from 10 years of age to 16

years. Pheliswa mentioned that the purpose of the group is to protect the nation, by that she means the young people are the future of our nation %we do not want to kill our nation+(Jijana, 2007.)

On choosing the group, she described the selection process in this manner: %o choose those who can dance and teach them about our culture+(Jijane, 2007). This then makes me wonder whether people who cannot dance are not permissible to learn the values that the members learn. Nevertheless members of the group were structured according to their capabilities, only a few girls danced in front, the rest of the girls were singing and clapping in support of the front dancers during my visit.

The song text ranges from religious to secular. Songs are selected from any of these categories as long as they provide a good contribution to the group's identity. The girls view themselves as people who can take big roles in life for their society and this, according to them, is what the initiation school prepares them for and the reason why they join the initiation school. They also believe that they are free, happy, and love *mamtiseni* because of the teachings they receive. The feeling of freedom here may be caused by the knowledge that they receive to guide and protect their humanity, knowledge is power as well as freedom, knowing one's rights renders freedom from unfair treatment that grows out of interacting with others. Interaction and participation (communal life) is the backbone of the life structure at Mount Frere.

The girls wish to be attractive people, people with good qualities, by involving themselves in wholesome activities such as dancing, singing, and learning all these activities in *mamtiseni* initiation school, as well as receiving education about moral values such as respect and obedience.

Values

In *mamtiseni* initiation school, girls are advised to both guard and behave themselves in a socially acceptable manner (*baziphathe kakuhle*) literary

meaning to carry themselves correctly. They are instructed not to walk at night after 17:00. Evenings are perceived as dangerous times, times for meeting boys and this ideology is the reason why they are not allowed to walk at night. There are songs that give advice concerning such behaviour and cautioning the girls. These issues are raised again when I discuss song texts in Chapter 5. Norms such as, respect, abstaining from sexual activity until at least the age of 18, which is the legal age when girls can get married, are some of the issues that are discussed and promoted during the initiation process. *Mamtiseni* helps keep the girls healthy, not to commit to wrong-doings in order to be a perfect child+ (Jijana, 2007).

The interviewees elevated the following values; respect, obedience and following orders as the essentials of their learning experiences at *mamtiseni* initiation schools. These values as one can notice are values that I assume most human beings, who want to function well in any kind of society, be it in a work place, home or in public places, one needs these values to respect his own rights and those of others.

The purpose of joining the group

The girls expressed that they joined the group to learn how to dance, Jive, *ukusina* (Bhaca word for dancing). They mentioned that the leader tells them how to behave and at school, they promote the same values.

The possible results if *mamtiseni* would get out of practice

Without *mamtiseni*, the girls believe that they would be pregnant at an early age or even living in the streets because of bad behaviour, or they might have moved to stay with their boyfriends before marriage. It appears that in this society the living together of an unmarried couple is immoral in their culture. The girls made a remark that this is a disgrace and an act of rebellion. The girls who are part of the initiation school are evidence that chances of getting pregnant are slim if one joins the initiation school.

The elders of the society also stated that this initiation school is under girls' control with no adult supervision and that the girls learn the values of *ubuntombi* (being a pure girl). Some older members of the society grew up practicing *nkciyo*. During their time, it was called *uhlolo lwentombi*, which means the inspection of girls. It stopped with the 1970s group. It is believed that education might have been more important for the people due to missionary influences. The older women believe that *mamtiseni* is good for the girls.

Missionaries are said to have come in 1969 at Mvuzi village and everyone who wore the traditional clothing was viewed as *iqaba* (the illiterate one). Neighbouring villages, which had no missionaries in their villages, were looked at as *amaqaba* (the illiterate ones) and they continued with their traditional way of living (Nozibele, 2007).

Some members of the society believe that, this is an activity that takes the community back to the old ways of living.

In *mamtiseni* initiation school, girls would also teach one another crafts for example, how to decorate. This skill would be used to decorate young men's horses during the horse racing and or horse show off activities as well as during Christmas. Relationships with the opposite sex were allowed but sex before marriage was forbidden. Girls would run away if a boy wanted to engage her in sexual activities. The difference between our times and that era is that at those times boys would be outcasts in the society if they impregnate a girl, that gave them some responsibility, which has now somehow lost popularity nowadays. Older girls would warn the younger girls because they are too young to get sex education from the elders. Sex education was transmitted orally from the elders to the older girls, and from the older girls to the younger girls through *mamtiseni*.

In conclusion, the girls believe that *mamtiseni* is a guide through the use of music, against teenage pregnancy, being disobedient, becoming street kids, and

engaging in sexual intercourse. *Mamtiseni* promotes following orders, as well as not walking at night and putting oneself in danger. The girls learn to have self-respect, respect for others, dancing and, singing skills, working in a group and Bhaca culture. Therefore, girls not only learn moral values but other skills as well during the *mamtiseni* ritual. The girls receive sex education and some artistic skills, other than music and dance, that is decorating horses for the young men (boyfriend) in their community.

Nkciyo

Interviews concerning the nkciyo school were held on the 4th of December 2007 at Mount Frere. The interviewees were asked to express their views on the practice of *nkciyo* and the teachings that take place during the ritual.

Parents and Community views

Chief Baphathe and other members of the community believe that the practice was a community agreement after the school went out of practice in the late 1970s. They expressed that other surrounding villages have the same initiation school as well.

Nkciyo is believed to be teaching (through *undalashi* and *isintu*) the old ways and the values of *ubuntu*. The school is said to be an initiative to prevent mishaps, of which one of the main ones is teenage pregnancy. The members of the Mvuzi village in Mount Frere believe that the girls seem to have abstained from premarital sex. Going back to be checked for virginity and continuing the initiation school activities means that they are still virgins according to the community. Nevertheless the girls are still said to be hiding or meeting boys in the bushes away from the village and the villagers cannot testify on the issue of sexual intercourse. These girls still continue to meet boys but they do not seem to be having sex, according to the community. The community is of the notion that *nkciyo* is about stopping girls from having sex, not stopping the girls from having boyfriends.

Nkciyo teaches the girls (*ukuziphatha*) meaning to behave themselves in a socially accepted manner. It prevents them from getting (sexually transmitted diseases). It teaches them to respect their future.

The revitalization of *nkciyo* is said to have been in the year 2005 after some cultural activists proposed it to the community and it has gained popularity since then. The community supports this practice. *Nkciyo* is said to have been stopped by colonialism and modernity that came with missionaries, however, it has gained its place in people's lives once again even the illiterate people such as teachers support the practice of *nkciyo*.

As I was discussing with the people, they confirmed the notion that everyone in the community from all social levels is in support of the process to save the girls and that there have been many deaths in the community as a result of HIV and Aids as well as a high level of teenage pregnancy. These were the reasons why many members of the society regained the view that *nkciyo* is a significant practice.

Some members of the society are of a view that, *nkciyo* places girls in the spotlight; because of their membership. They are under constant surveillance by the leaders of the initiation school and the community at large. This makes them feel responsible and to act cautiously.

The social view is that, younger girls see the practice of *nkciyo* as a reasonable, while the older girls see it as foolishness. That is so because the older girls were not raised in the system of practicing *nkciyo* but, by contrast, to the younger girls, the practice is part of their being. I realised during my visit that *nkciyo* is in fashion. Girls always undergo it even if they drop out at a later stage. The girls are mostly well aware of the values, as a result one of the close members of my extended family was part of *nkciyo* and at some point she dropped-out, as a

result she is now a teenage mother. This was a comment my cousin Sihle Dingiswayo, who lives with her, made during an informal conversation I had with him.

One of the mothers who grew up without the practice of *nkciyo* in the village expressed her appreciation of *nkciyo* as 'good times', a generation that is protected and taught something about life. She says she wishes that *nkciyo* had been in practice during her time as a child. She says she would not have had a child as a teenager, because of the regular checks girls receive every Saturday. Akhona is a single mother of one of the *nkciyo* initiation school girls and she became pregnant in her teenage years. During Akhona's time there was no supervision whatsoever; girls received no such guidance that is said to be received at *nkciyo* initiation schools.

Parents believe that their children are being protected from premarital sex that come with more diseases that are sexually transmitted such as HIV/AIDS. Mrs Nomqhukuvane Nozibele (age 69 at the time of writing) stated that during her time as a young girl *nkciyo* was called *uhlolo lwamantombazana* (The inspection of girls). Mrs Nozibele is one of the elders who were born at Mvuzi village in Mount Frere and has lived there her whole life and experienced the social changes and developments. During the interview we had more discussions about the ideologies that brought the change from the community's side and one of them was that of community members accusing others who were practicing traditional Bhaca rituals of being (*amaqaba*) uncivilized and resisting change and progress.

The initiation school girls' views.

They believe that *nkciyo* teachings prevent them from being infected with the AIDS/HIV virus, and teenage pregnancy. The girls mentioned that the elders at *nkciyo* say that they are protecting them from AIDS. *Nkciyo* is an exclusive ritual

like many initiation processes from many cultures. People who do not participate in the ritual are not accepted to learn what happens during the initiation process.

The girls are instructed not to play hide and seek with boys, (*umas'khozi, umandlwane*) and no private meetings with boys at night are allowed. They are also guarded against peer-pressure. Anam Ceba (9 years) (2007)+ We are instructed not to lie down on our backs.+ This is evidence of the language use when communicating these values to the girls by the elders, basically meaning that the girls must not exercise sexual activities.

From the group discussion, the girls randomly stated the following: One must not take money or sweets from strangers, must not go when a stranger invites them to his car because they might put them in a car and take them to the man's house to rape them. The girls said they do pay attention to these instructions. When I asked the girls the question, if there would be no music making and dancing during *nkciyo* rituals, would they continue being part of it? Their response was that, even if there would be no music they would continue to attend the initiation school, for their safety and protection. The girls value this initiation process and find it significant in their development as good healthy citizens of a society. Ncebakazi Dumako (age 14) started being part of *nkciyo* in 2006, her mother sent her to join the activity. She believes that being a participant of the initiation school will prevent her from teenage pregnancy.

Therefore during the *nkciyo* rituals the girls learn values that guard them mainly against premarital sex and teenage pregnancy. These issues seem to be dealt with intensively, as part of *nkciyo* rituals. The situations are tabled for the girls and examples are made of situations that might lead to rape. The effort to protect the girls, which is the main purpose of *nkciyo*, is evidently a much-focused aspiration for a safe society for the girls, as well as an HIV free society for the community members.

By way of concluding remarks for both initiation schools, it seems to me that during the interviews the idea of the re-emergence of these two rituals was clarified. The community believes in the moral content that is communicated during these rituals and the purpose of the rituals is clearly defined as a process of initiating girls to be developed in their totality. It wants the girls to be protected from the contemporary diseases such as HIV/AIDS. In addition, the value systems that exist in many cultures and religions in the world such as abstaining from sex before marriage is a strong universal value in many religions and cultures in the world. These rituals are said to be communicating the same moral aspects to the girls on different occasions. The dream of the community seems to be to keep girls who have a long life for the future of the community. Girls that will grow to be the next leaders and girls that promote a healthy social life. This is a result of fighting against deaths of young adults in the previous era, of which there were no occasions such as *nkciyo* to communicate such values as protection. I have to address the point that my investigation is not about whether these rituals do work or not during this initiation process. However, which moral content is carried by these two initiation schools in the completely young girlsq initiation process.



Front row-from the left: Anam Ceba, Asiphumze Luthuli

Second row-from the left: Sesam Ngcobo, Yonela Zembe, Babalwa Mahlathi, Ongeziwe Zembe, Siyasanga Nomsobo.

Third row-from the left: Ncebakazi Dumako, Asiphe Luthuli, Khuselwa Luthuli.

Chapter 5
SONG TEXT

In this chapter I will look at song text as it carries messages on moral content I need in this study. I have refrained from making music transcripts because I have a belief that notation will have no significant role in realising the moral content I need to identify in this study.

Mamtiseni/Iringi

<u>TEXT</u>	<u>Translation</u>
<p>1. <u>Yenono</u> Call: Yhe Nono, Yhe Nono mholo! Response: Yhe Nono, yhe Nono mholo Nono!</p>	<p>Hey Nono, Hey Nono, hey Nono greetings!</p>
<p>2. <u>Zemka Mangabangaba!</u> Call: Zemka Mangabangaba! Response: Zemka Mangabangaba!</p>	<p>They are leaving, vultures! They are leaving, vultures!</p>
<p>3. <u>Mcenge Zulu abuye!</u> Call: Mcenge Zulu, mcenge abuye! Response: Mcenge Zulu, mcenge abuye!</p>	<p>Beg her Zulu, beg her to come back! Beg her Zulu, beg her to come back!</p>
<p>4. <u>Washiy' umakoti ekhala.</u> Call: Wandilinga! Response: Washiyqumakoti ekhala, yewena u zo hamba la ekhaya! Call: Yhe wenqizohamba Response: Washiyqumakoti ekhala, yewena u zo hamba la ekhaya! Call: Hambubuye! Response: Washiyqumakoti ekhala, yewena u zo hamba la ekhaya!</p>	<p>You are testing me! You leaving a bride at home, she will leave this home. Hey you, she will leave! You leaving a bride at home, she will leave this home. Go and come back! /Come Back! you leaving a bride at home, she will leave this home.</p>
<p>5. <u>Amantongomane.</u> Call: Uwantshosntsheleni amantongo mane?</p>	<p>Why did you steal the peanuts?</p>

<p>Response: Uwantshosntsheleni amantongomane? Call: Yhe mhthalala, nangqamaowu. Response: Yhe mhthalala, nangqamaowu.</p>	<p>Why did you steal the Peanuts? Oh yes, here are the boys. Oh yes, here are the boys.</p>
<p>6. <u>Ithemba lam !</u> Call: Ithemba lam! Response: Ithemba lam. Call: Ndonyuka nalq Response: Ndonyuka nalq Call: Mandingene! Response: Mandingene endumisweni.</p>	<p>My hope! My hope! I will take it up with me. I will take it up with me. Let me enter! Let me enter the worship.</p>
<p>7. <u>Hyini may' dali?</u> Call: Yhini mayq dali, yhini? Response: (unengalelo)??? yhini Call: Yhintoni le ondifuna yona?</p>	<p>What is it my darling, what is it? What is it that you want from me?</p>
<p>8. <u>INKULULEKO</u> Call: Inkululeko uMandela wasinika ikululeko umandela! Response: Wasinikqinkululeko uMandela! X2 Call: UMandela, wasinceda, wasikhupha ebunzimeni, yinkululeko uMandela Response: Wasinikqinkululeko uMandela! X2</p>	<p>Freedom, Mandela gave us freedom! Mandela gave us freedom. Mandela helped us, he took us out of Struggles, Mandela is freedom. Mandela gave us freedom.</p>
<p>9. <u>Badlalele umlabalaba.</u> Call: Badlalele umlabalaba Response: Mlabalaba badlale lumlabalaba</p>	<p>Play the mlabalaba (an African board game, in this case it means to entertain) Mlabalaba play for them.</p>

These songs speak for themselves, they reflect some of the most valued norms and worldviews of the people from the Bhaca society. Song number 1 is a greeting at the beginning of the performance. This song serves to greet the audience at the beginning of the performance as well as greeting the other participants during the ritual. In Bhaca culture greetings are very important when meeting people it shows part of the philosophy of *ubuntu* and respecting others as fellow citizens. One who does not greet people knowing them or not is subject to judgment as one who is cold and has no *ubuntu* (Humanity).

Songs number 2 and 5 deal with conflict control. The notion of the vultures which are in this case vultures in their literal meaning as well as vultures as a metaphor for a force of destruction. People always aspire to maintain a peaceful society. This song promotes peace in the society. The evil spirits that bring conflict and hatred amongst the girls in the group and the society at large are the vultures. Alternatively, one can look at this as vultures eating the domestic animals such as chicken which brings poverty for the family. Song number 5 guards the girls from stealing.

Songs number 3, 4 and 7 deal with issues that concern marriage and relationships with opposite sex. The issues here are lessons about conflict control when one is in a relationship or married. Pleading for forgiveness is promoted because if such efforts are not made, the conflict might lead to divorce. Divorce is not promoted in this society. Women are expected to be humble and strong and keep the marriage strong and the family stable. The girls are made aware that if the man goes away leaving the wife crying back home, she might leave and that is a disgrace on the part of a man, he has failed. They learn that they can also give advice to family members about how to treat their women.

Song number 6 is a religious song, based on Psalm number 31 from the Bible. This shows evidence of the diversity of the issues that are dealt with in *mamtiseni*. The teachings range from African philosophy of *ubuntu* to Christian

values. This is evidence of the value system of the people and the influences that manifest in their worldview.

Song number 8 provides evidence that girls learn about their political history at *mamtiseni* initiation school. This song praises the first South African black president Nelson Mandela as the one who gave South Africans freedom. Political awareness is promoted in the initiation school. Politics is part of the people's existence and it structures their whole existence.

Song number 9 expresses the notion that these songs and the whole initiation school also serves as entertainment. This goes with the age group that practices *mamtiseni*. The girls are young and if *mamtiseni* is to be successful it needs to be entertaining.

In conclusion, the songs that are sung in *mamtiseni* teach girls about culture of the Bhaca people and society as a whole. The issues that they deal with range from social issues as basic as greeting people to acknowledge their human existence, respect, to issues that arise through contact with the opposite sex. Human contact in general, religion and politics are also key issues. This is not all; it is only evidence of how *mamtiseni* initiation schools educate the participants in total, meaning it deals with probably all issues that make people good members of a community of people.

Nkciyo

<p><u>1. Chris Hani</u> Call: Waye fekanjani? Yehi! Response: Yhe uyheyhe mama ye hi, x2</p>	<p>How did he/she die! Alas! Oh mother, Alas!</p>
<p><u>2. Lomfana ebezilimaza, ebez' khiphanje.</u> Call: Lo mfana ubezikhphanje. Response: U bezilimaza, ubezikhpha nje.</p>	<p>This young man was taking it out himself. He was hurting himself, taking it out himself.</p>

<p><u>3. Ndinentombi emnyama nemhlophe</u></p> <p>Call: Ndinentombi emnyama nemhlophe endandilala nazo Mhla kukhithikile.</p> <p>Resp: Ndinentombi emnyama nemhlophe endandilala nazo Mhla kukhithikile.</p> <p>Call: Uyheyheyhe mholo!</p> <p>Response: He mholo!</p>	<p>I have a black and a white girl I used to sleep with when there was snow.</p> <p>I have a black and a white girl I used to sleep with when there was snow.</p> <p>Oh hey hey hey, hallo!</p> <p>Hey, hallo!</p>
<p><u>4. Ziphi inkomo zokulobola</u></p> <p>Call: Walobola nge mali yodwa, ziphi inkomo zokulobola?</p> <p>Resp: Walobola nge mali yodwa, ziphi inkomo zokulobola?</p>	<p>You are only giving money as your Brides price, where are the cows?</p> <p>You are only giving money as your brides price, where are the cows?</p>
<p><u>5. Ivangeli yinto enzima emhlabeni.</u></p> <p>Call: Ivangeli yinto enzima, Ivangeli yinto enzima, emhlabeni.</p> <p>Response: Ivangeli yinto enzima, Ivangeli yinto enzima, emhlabeni.</p>	<p>Evangelism is a difficult task here on earth.</p> <p>Evangelism is a difficult task here on earth.</p>
<p><u>6. Umama Lindiwe uyamemeza.</u></p> <p>Call: Yhe mama Lindiwe!</p> <p>Response: Uyamemeza, umama Lindiwe!</p>	<p>Hey mother, Lindiwe!</p> <p>Mother is calling for you Lindiwe!</p>
<p><u>7. Azophela amaqhinga tshomi!</u></p> <p>Call: Hayqazophela amaqhinga tshomi!</p> <p>Response: Hayqazophela.</p>	<p>Your tricks will run out my friend!</p> <p>Aha, they will run out!</p>
<p><u>8. Umntu ozimele geqe.</u></p> <p>Call: Umntu ozimele.</p> <p>Response: Hayq umntu ozimele.</p> <p>Call: Umntu ozimele, umntu ozimele.</p> <p>Response: Hay umntu ozimele geqe.</p>	<p>Someone standing for him/herself.</p> <p>Alas! someone standing for him/herself</p> <p>Someone standing for him/herself</p> <p>Alas! someone standing for him/herself</p>
<p><u>10. Usemncane Thobekile.</u></p> <p>Call: Usemncane whee Thobekile.</p>	<p>You are still young Thobekile.</p>

Response: Hayi usemncane ufuna ukuganga futhi.	You are still young, you want to misbehave.
<u>11. Thoko sesibuza kuwe.</u> Response: Ulilela ntoni? Call: Thoko sesibuza kuwe?	Why are you crying? We are now asking you Thoko?
<u>12. Yhe Bhuti andiyazi oy'funayo.</u> Call: Yhe Bhuti andiyazi oy'funayo. Response: Yhe Bhuti andiyazi oy'funayo. Together: Ndikunika isandla, ndikunika ingalo, Ndikunika amabele, oh hayi ungancama! Together: Ndikunika isandla, ndikunika Ingalo, Ndikunika amabele, ndizokuxela ku mama!	Hey brother I do not know what you want. Hey brother I do not know what you want. I am giving you my hand, I am Giving you my arm, I am giving You my breasts, oh no you might as well just give up. I am giving you my arm, I am giving you my breasts, I will report you to my mother!
<u>13. Udiniwe unozala</u> Call: Udiniwe unozala. Response: Oo hohoho ziyanqoza. Call: O thatha ukhukho sqohlolwa. Response: Oo hohoho ziyanqoza. Call: O thatha isqamba sqohlolwa.	A mother is tired. Oh yes trouble is coming. Take a mat and we go to be inspected. Oh yes trouble is coming. Take a mat and we go to be Inspected.
<u>15. Ingculaza.</u> Call: Mholweni, Mholweni! Response: He mama kwenzekantoni? Call: Sosaba ingculaza. Response: Safa saphela sonke.	Greetings, Greetings! Hey mother what is happening? We fear Aids. We are all dying.
<u>16. Shayi zule lenciyo.</u> Call: Shayizule Response: Shayizule lenkciyo Call: Shayizule	Let it go on. Let this <i>nkciyo</i> (inspection) go on. Let it go on.

Response: lyho izule lenkciyo.	Yes, let this <i>nkciyo</i> go on.
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These songs deal with different aspects of life situations and guard the girls. Songs number 1, 4, 9, 14, and 16 deal with cultural and political awareness. Song number 1 is about a girl who is eager to know why Chris Hani the late ANC (African National Congress) comrade was assassinated in 1994, the girl asks her mother. These politics are part of the girls lives and that is their legacy, political awareness from the girls makes them appreciate their freedom in South Africa and to know how it was achieved. This promotes humbleness and appreciation for the present situation in our South Africa where there is now equality through democracy. Song number 4 teaches the girls about the culture of *lobola* (Bride wealth). This makes them aware of their worth. It also criticises the notion that people have been paying *lobola* in cash, not in cattle, the preferred payment method. Paying with livestock is more expensive and makes men appreciate their women.

Song number 9 promotes Bhaca identity, because one of the most moral ways of being is to have a clear identity. That gives one an image of how they should behave, which in this case is the identity of a young Bhaca *nkciyo* initiation school member. This identity carries a number of expected ways of being. Song number 14 promotes the practice of *nkciyo*. This song makes the girls aware of the fact that the practice of *nkciyo* was agreed upon in the provincial government offices of the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. The song assures the girls that the practice of *nkciyo* is legal. Song number 16 then gives way for *nkciyo* to take place. This song affirms *nkciyo* as a useful initiation school and that it should have a long life.

Songs number 2,5,6,10,11 and13 serve as promoters of a healthy society, promoting peace, obedience and good moral behaviour. Song number 2 is about

a boy who tried to circumcise himself. This is a huge problem with young boys. Growing up in Mount Frere, as boys reach puberty stage they start believing that the only way they can have sex is if they get circumcised. I remember situations when I was young myself, young boys used to play games about circumcision, and it was not always a game which turned out well. Therefore these girls are not only dealing with their own girl issues in *nkciyo* repertoire, they deal with social issues as a whole. This is because they will be mothers one day, and they will have to direct the boys not to engage in such behaviour. Song number 5 expresses the notion that peacekeeping in the society is a difficult task. I previously heard this song during an adult performance in December 2006 during a Christmas party for the old age citizens at Mount Frere city hall. Mr Fikile Giwu, the leader, described this song in his context as a song that deals with the fact that people are not living in peace, brother killing brother and that we must strive for peace. This is clearly what the girls in this situation are dealing with, the fact that keeping peace in the community is a hard task and that we must strive for peace.

Songs number 6, 10 and 11 deal with the fact that there are girls in the society who are disobedient. They engage in immoral behaviour and as a result, they find themselves in situations such as teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases and so forth. Song number 13 expresses how the mothers in the society are tired of talking to the girls about their behaviour. The song describes how the mothers react to the exhaustion. They have taken steps to implement *nkciyo* to look after the girls and monitor their status.

Songs number 3, 7, 12 and 15 deal with cheating, how it spreads diseases and puts both the girls and the society as a whole at risk. Song 3 and 7 are specifically against cheating and dishonesty of girls and boys. Awareness of boys who have multiple sex partners is brought to the girls' attention. Song number 7 serves to make the girls aware that they should abstain from sexual activities for their physical and emotional safety. Girls are guarded against their deceitful

nature, expressing that the stories they make up about their whereabouts will soon end and they will reap bad results, maybe through pregnancy or illness. Song number 12 is about a man who slowly makes his way to the girl asking for more until the girl says she will report him to her mother. The girl expresses that she cannot give more than the man wants and that she will tell her mother. In doing so, the man will have to deal with the community as a result of his immoral behaviour and may be arrested. This promotes girls to open communication lines with their mothers, because they need the mothers to protect them from situations of this nature. Song 15 deals with *ingculaza* (AIDS). This song expresses how people are dying because of (in some cases) immoral behaviour which occurs through sleeping with multiple partners and engaging in premarital sex.

Song number 8 promotes responsibility, that girls are accountable for their actions. Responsibility manifests in the way they carry themselves. Responsible girls are girls who are aware that engaging in premarital sex is immoral and dangerous and might ruin their lives. The song serves to promote girls as responsible beings for a better society and this, in turn, serves to build the nation.

In conclusion, these songs serve as promoters of *nkciyo* as a practice. The girls receive moral guidance, political education, *nkciyo* initiate identity as well as a Bhaca young girls' identity amongst the learned ways of being. Girls who attend the initiation schools are well aware of their reason for attending and what is expected from them. This initiation school is mainly focused on moral regeneration. It serves to discourage premarital sex and disobedience as a whole.

Chapter 6

Dance form analysis

In this chapter, I will be looking at dance as a medium of moral values transfer. In Africa dance is used for many purposes in the society, the same as music. Meanings differ from culture to culture similar to language differences. Dance, being non-verbal still has great ways of communicating to people and promoting social structure.

African dance has a purpose and this gives it form and structure. Dance communicates something and any communication tool needs a structure for it to be successful and to fulfil the purpose. Lange views human dance as being very highly developed, more so than other animals, because they can express abstract ideas. Movement communicates very complex ideas in a simpler and faster way than speaking (Lange, 1975:56). Lange states that dance, as a form of communication is highly capable of expressing ideas. This author makes the example of the primitive people who have limited vocabulary in their languages but a very high standard of expressing themselves through dance (Lange, 1975:55). This means that dance as a medium of meaning transfer is more highly developed in some cultures or areas than others, even though some cultures do not see dance as important as in other cultures. When a man loves a woman, he asks her for an opportunity to dance with her which is also an opportunity for them to communicate their feelings for each other in a non-verbal manner. This is to investigate whether the other person likes them enough to have a closer relationship with them. This is noted by the distance the person allows himself from the other during the dance. The person externalizes concepts created in his mind through his physical body+(Lange, 1975:55).

In dancing, colours, body paintings, flowers, etc. are used to decorate, and this is a way of showing the beauty of the body but there is also some way to appeal and promote culture, or express some ideas through dance (Lange, 1975:59).

These decorations may have very important messages as well as maybe used to express ideas.

The Ubaka-Igbo people of Nigeria see dance as the language of persuasion and control (Hanna, 1997:210). Dance indeed is capable of persuading and controlling an individual or a group. It is used for protesting as well as communicating norms or reconnecting people with the appropriate ways of living. That is a form of control and persuading people. Dance is a key medium of communication in Africa. (Hanna, 1997:211.) In Africa, protesting is performed through dance (*Toyi toyi*). Musical games use dance, and they have meaning that is in the dance not in the song text as well in the games children play. Hanna states that dance has suggestive rhythm and is rated in the standard of poetry in its diversity of meaning and in its form (1997:211).

This brings us to the point that dance has meaning in a society depending on who dances the dance in that society and for what specific reason. The why and where of the dance determines the meaning of that specific dance (Hanna, 1979:19). Dance exists in time and space and is affected by the physical environment (Hanna, 1979:19). That means that, how people express themselves in dance to transfer meaning is dictated by their geographical area and, the activities they take part in; in their daily lives as well as the animals, plants, insects, proverbs in their language, synonyms that are related to physical objects they have at their disposal influence how they will move. These are used in transferring meaning because dance is non-verbal.

Kurath in Hanna, (1979:20) states that in dancing steps and structured body movement are selected which are used to convey meaning. This is how dance transfers meaning, it transfers it through structured body movements to communicate ideas, emotions, give praise, criticise and so forth.

Dance has these elements in its meaning transfer, accents, duration, meter, and tempo (Hanna, 1979: 28). These elements are useful in giving a message and are structured in a way that will give the best possible expression of meaning. It is very important for a dance to be performed correctly and with a high level of performance for it to be effective and for its meaning to stay clear for those who are expected to be able to understand it. This understanding is similar to the understanding of language in a specific society, dancers and the spectators are aware of what is being communicated and dancers might not be aware of how they create these signs and codes to communicate as well as the spectators. It grows out of their daily lives and they might be aware of the actions and associate them with specific events (Hanna, 1979:29).

The size of the movements, height, shape and strength (Hanna, 1979:33), is determined by the style of the dance as well as the meaning that is used, therefore, these elements are very important for transferring of meaning and communication in dance as well as role-playing. These differ in other cultures depending on the gender of the practitioner.

Lange states that, dance as an art still uses the normal daily natural movements of our bodies, the only difference being that these movements might be expressed or exaggerated in dance but are graceful and less forceful than normal, and skills from experience or training are used to generate less force and energy. (Lange, 1975:56-59.)

The arts of a culture reflect the values of that culture, not just by contact but by who creates them (Wade and Pescatello, 1979:1). In *tshifasi* teams of the *Venda* culture for young boys and girls, girls have to greet the boys in a respectful manner and that teaches her the role of a woman and her status, learning her role as a women which is to subordinate to the men, which is part of that society's social structure and norms which are introduced and promoted in dance (Kruger, 2004:35).

The clothing that is used, and the mask which the dancers wear on their faces gives them character and maybe an historical event of a known character in the society, war dances, or criticizing or praising the king, in some cultures you have to wear like a king for everyone to see, but that is determined by the context. A celebration may call for specific clothing and mask, that is determined by what you are celebrating. This goes for the style of the dance as well because dance styles transfer meaning differently from other styles. %Style is based on psychological, historical, environmental or idiosyncratic factors+ (Hanna, 1979:30). Meaning of these devices depends on the context of the dance (Hanna, 1979: 37).

Hanna, (1997:210-215.) describes the devices of meaning transfer in dance, and some of these devices will be used in my analysis of the *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* dance rituals. Hanna lists six devices namely: Concretization, Iconisation, Stylistation, Metonym, Metaphor, Actualisation, Antonym, and Synonym. She in the same book lists domains of meaning transfer in dance as follows: The dance event, body in action, performance pattern, the sequence of unfolding movements, specific movements, combination of modes of communication, dance as a vehicle for another mode of communication and emotional content. The description of the above tools of analysing meaning transfer will be made during the analysis of *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* when they are being used and only those that are found useful in this study will be described.

There are different forms of dance with their functions namely: circle, line, chain, procession, dialogue and pair. (Lange, 1975:78-89.) These forms are used to promote various ideas and promote some aspects that are useful for reaching the goal of achieving a healthy society. These formations will be discussed during their use and only those that are being used during the analysis of *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* will be described in detail.

Mamtiseni dance event analysis.

Mamtiseni is a circle dance, which is also called *iringi*. *Iringi* is derived from its form which resembles a ring. Girls dance in a circle all the time with no movements, only clapping of hands and some will move into the middle of the circle only when they are doing solo dancing. The houses before were built in a circle and so were the oldest dances [õ] (Sachs, 1965:145). In the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa where Bhaca people are situated, houses are round in shape and their dances are mostly performed in a circle. This may mean that they see the community of people dancing as the housing, and protection of their culture and property because the circle may represent unity. The circle dance shows equality, relation to the centre of the circle and to each other (Lange, 1975:83). The circle dance promotes communication and cooperation between the performers and helps to induce fellow-feeling+(Kruger, 2004:10-11). This is a practical definition of the circle dance and I do agree with it because cooperation in a dance and the community is very important and the dance is capable of making ties between people and make them come closer and communicate easily. People do not make a circle alone but with other people, during the circle dance people become aware of each other and work together in achieving the purpose of the dance. In the case of *mamtiseni* initiation school, it is very important for the girls to hear each other clearly. This helps when listening to the singer who calls and to respond on time, as well as watching the movements of the dancer in the middle so that the clapping is in coordination with the singer and the dancer. This reflects the Bhaca culture of cooperation and equality to the leader, based on the philosophy of *ubuntu*. The philosophy of *ubuntu* promotes values of participation and communal life, which needs every members' full awareness of the whole process during social events or group activities.

A circle dance is a promotion of unified mood and action, and the focus is the centre of the circle (Lange, 1975:83-84). This promotes the feeling of unity and relation to a further degree+(Lange, 1975:84). In *mamtiseni* the focus is on moral issues that are carried out during singing and dancing. Most of these dances are

connected in a way with magical and social functions (Lange, 1975:84). The circle also symbolises that the outside world is excluded. This is a girls-only dance and those girls who join the group and belong to the group keep themselves together and keep out all the non-participants such as people from another age group and gender because the issues dealt with here concern girls of their age and only those who are part of the group. They motivate each other and learn in a closed group and that generates trust and unity amongst the members and agreement in the aim and reason for dancing which is to promote certain ideologies and identity. The learning of moral values is a complex issue because moral values can be forced by parents to the child through the administration of corporal punishment, which is against the law in South Africa. Therefore, these dances need the girls to focus and be united in their goals and beliefs and influence each other in a positive manner, safe from harmful experiences.

Lange states that the outside is seen as evil or alien, protecting themselves from it is the goal (Lange, 1975:84). The girls have people who view their rituals as primitive and hence uncivilized and they need to protect themselves from that danger and unite for the outsider who is out of the circle is the danger to the initiates. The circle represents taking something into ownership, to keep it in, to chain it, or to send it away. (Sachs, 1965:144). In *mamtiseni* the girls have their ideologies and identity as girls who are pure and girls with high moral values. They are keeping the bad influences of immoral nature out and preserving the morality of their group. The circle has a meaning of closing something inside it and preventing something from coming in. It is also an escape from the surrounding environment (Lange, 1975:84). During social gatherings, be it dance or something else people have a tendency to use it as an opportunity to escape from their daily lives and find some object or activity to focus on, some therapy, to feel as a community instead of being lonely individuals.

Circle dances can move in clockwise or anti-clockwise directions. If the wrong direction is taken it maybe seen as a mistake or worse, it maybe seen as dangerous. However, in some cultures direction does not matter. (Lange, 1975:84.) In *mamtiseni* dances, the direction of the movements does not have meaning. The girls can move in any direction. The point is that the girls who form the circle do not move much, only those who do the dancing in the middle move, in any direction.

During the circle formation the girls move as a group, in uniform movements and the only way for any of the girls to implement different movements is by moving out of the circle to the middle. Moving to the middle has a message that says ~~watch~~ watch me and support my attempt that I am making to express myself. The circle puts one in a place where one forgets about the world outside and the focus becomes the dance and the feeling of being part of something and acting as a community or a group.

Mamtiseni is a circle dance but due to the context of the dances lately, it has been translocated from the village to town for the dual purpose of entertainment and fundraising. The circle becomes a semicircle, reason being that spectators need to have a good sight of the whole performance and observe all parts of the dance.

The devices of meaning transfer in *mamtiseni* using Judith Hanna's model.

Stylisation occurs when a dancer uses gestures or movements that represent feelings and ideas (Hanna, 1997:212). In *umamtiseni* dance the meaning in song number eight about freedom (*Inkululeko*), the girl who is singing the solo part and dances at the same time uses the gesture of crossed arms on her chest to represent oppression and lifts up her hands up wide on top of her head to represent freedom. This is done in the style of the dance and expresses the idea clearly through movements.

Metonym is a form of expression that uses the name of something for that of another of which it is an attribute or with which it is associated. Hand shaking between two people is associated with peace making, this gesture is used in song number three showing peace making between the wife and a husband. He the husband begs the wife to stay at home and not leave him.

Metaphor is when a dancer uses a gesture to represent something else which best describes the idea one is trying to depict. The idea of playing a game in song number nine instead of the word entertaining is a metaphor. The girls describe entertaining as play.

Actualisation, is a representation of one of several of a dancer's roles. The girls played different roles. The leader, who is the eldest girl, plays the roles of a leader, teacher, dancer, and a singer. This shows also the different roles that one can play in a society with all the capabilities. The other girls played roles of solo dancer as well as solo singer at the same time.

Nkciyo dance event analysis.

During my observation of the *nkciyo* dances presentation, the girls were mostly in a straight line behind the girls who were dancing in groups of two and more. There were also solo dancers in the front as well. The formation of the dances looked as if the dances took the same formation as in the case of *mamtiseni* which uses semicircles and circles for most of the dances. However, this idea changed as the event progressed. The beginning of the dance event was mostly two lines. Behind were the girls clapping and singing in support of the dancers in the front row. This form lasted for a number of songs and dances. The form changed again to three lines, one line of girls singing and clapping in support of the dancers, and the dancers were divided into two groups facing each other in straight lines and the supporting group formed the top line of the π -shape. The other group of dances came with a different shape that was two lines of everyone

moving towards the same direction. Lastly, the dances took the form of a circle until the end of the presentation or dance event.

My realization after watching the videos I made of the dance event was that, the shapes were constructed according to sections of the *nkciyo* dance event, which is determined, by the sections of the event dealing with different issues within the whole event.

The general context of the songs can be categorized in groups as a result of the teachings and programming of the girls. The main points were firstly social contexts and stories of events in the song text that dealt with situations in the society of young girls acting immorally as well as other social issues of promoting peace and discouraging theft. Moreover, that section was a line dance with girls moving to the front and dancing solo and group movements. The second section of the *nkciyo* shape came when the songs dealt with issues of girls as a group addressing a girl with issues such as *nkciyo* hoko we are now asking why you are crying+ (song number eleven). *Thoko* is a girl who has acted immorally and now all the girls are asking her why she is crying. The third shape the girls are in two lines facing forward and moving forward, where they sing the song about giving a boy everything, yet all he seems to want is sexual intercourse (song number twelve), and the girls say that they will report this act to their mothers. The significance of the two lines and moving forward might be one of the dances that they use when entering or leaving the *nkciyo* ritual before or after the virginity testing. This kind of information I as a male am not supposed to know, as I will be an intruder and disrespecting the ritual because only women are allowed during this initiation ritual as I have previously stated.

The fourth section was in a circle where the girls sang songs dealing with the legal aspects within the national constitution that *nkciyo* is legal and was placed by the government to help young girls (song number fourteen). They are said to

be tired of the girls behaviour and saying that they should be checked for virginity (song number thirteen).

I will analyze each form in this context according to Lange's description of dance forms. In the case of the circle dance I have described during the *mamtiseni* analysis, I will attempt to put it in the context of *nkciyo* event without describing what a circle dance is but supporting why I think the circle is significant in this context. The part with the circle as mentioned before is to promote unity and closing out the outsiders and locking the insiders inside in the circle. The song text of the circle dances confirm the statements. During the circle dances the girls dealt with the text that was forming their identity and beliefs. *Nkciyo* is seen as an endangered event. The girls state that *nkciyo* is legal and that everyone in the group must be aware of that and believe in it for them to learn as well as follow the moral lessons that are dealt with in *nkciyo* rituals. The circle formation also promotes the idea that those who are not part of the initiation must not know the activities that take part during the initiation process. One must note that initiation schools as much as they are a private event and exclusive they do have public events such as dance events to promote and bring awareness of the ritual to the public at large. This is part of recruiting and marketing for new members for the next term's initiation school. The reader is advised to consult the descriptions of circle dance form that has been described during the *mamtiseni* dance because they have the same role in the *nkciyo* dance ritual.

The processional dance that the girls used for the song about a man who has been given everything but just wants sexual intercourse and will be reported to the mother is a good example of a processional dance. The progress here is the girls learning that when they have this problem they are supposed to tell their mothers so that they are protected from these immoral events. As Lange states "it is concerned with progression" (Lange, 1975:85). Progression is only progression if it progresses towards the aimed goal. The aimed goal here is to get the girls to communicate to their parents about issues of sexuality and danger

and the girls learn in the song that they have to tell the parents about situations of danger. Therefore I see this as a progressive move presented in a processional dance.

The line dance formation facing each other (or not) has a meaning. The idea of facing something has a meaning, for an example, meeting something, fighting against something if necessary. War dances are examples of line dances; they always are in a line. There is something about the multiple lines that heightens the intensity of the attack. (Lange, 1975:85). The fight here in *nkciyo* dance is against immorality that comes in different forms. This formation was used by the girls when they were dealing with someone stealing peanuts in their song text. They are fighting against social conflicts (*Ivangeli yinto enzima*) song number five and the song about mother looking for Lindiwe (song number six). Lindiwe is hiding somewhere, engaging in bad behaviour, which will lead her into trouble. The common idea of this group of songs that were performed in a line dance form is their fight against social immorality and fighting against social ills in general.

The devices of meaning transfer in *nkciyo* dances using Judith Hanna's model.

Stylisation is when a dancer uses gestures or movements that represent feelings and ideas. During song number twelve the girls put their hands covering the pubic area to show that they know what the man is looking for and that they will report him to their mothers.

Actualisation is a representation of one of several of a dancer's roles. The girls as in *mamtiseni* played many roles during the performance. They moved from being the girls who stand at the back of the solo dancers to solo dancers as well as singers. The girls were exchanging roles constantly and almost everyone had a chance to dance solo and in a group. This shows evidence of equality in the group and respect for every member.

The dance attire of *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo*.



Mamtiseni group from Qumrha Village in Mount Frere

Front row-from the left: Thembeke Jijana, Asanda Jijana, Fezane Dlangwana, Yonelisa Jijana, Veliswa Jijana.

Second row-from the left: Avela Jijana, Tumza Jijana.

Third row: from the left: Nelisiwe Lomtu, Sphokazi Cobokana, Zanele Sizana, Phelokazi Jijana, Pheliswa Jijana.

The dance costumes of the *nkciyo* and *mamtiseni* dances are the same. The girls wear short skirts that are torn into lines or skirts made up of only strings of wool called *amabheshu*. *Amabheshu* are a representation of the skins that were used before colonialism. The size of the skirt is very important because it marks the age of the girls and their status. Young girls who are virgins wear revealing clothes, meaning they have no cover for the breasts and the skirts are very short, as short as twenty to thirty centimetres long. The size of the skirts is a sign of innocence of the girls, showing that they have nothing to hide. Hence they are the pride of the community. Another practical explanation for the size and the design of the clothes is to make the girls' movements easy to make because they

are the only female age group that is allowed to lift their legs and open them wide when dancing. They do not need to collect themselves. Older women or married women are not allowed to do so, they wear much longer clothes and cover up very well.

In our times, when these girls perform in public they cover up their breasts, this is understandable for the girls who have to move around town in *mamtiseni* with no breast covers, they would be labelled as pagan according to the Christian views of some members of the society. The town is a public place as opposed to a performance art theatre stage having uncovered breasts would not be an issue because everyone in a theatre is there to experience the ritual of a performance, which includes a little nudity.

In conclusion, the dances and costumes evidently express and define the social structure of the Bhaca community as well as the identity of the people. The moral aspects of the dances here came clear in the attire of the girls, the dance structure and movements. I can then conclude that, the attire or costumes that the girls wear and the dance form and structure has aspects of morality in them. They promote a high standard of the most valued norms of the Bhaca people and promotes the worldview and philosophies of the Bhaca people.

Chapter 7

7.1 Musical style

The singing style that is used in *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* is a traditional Bhaca singing style. Songs are taken from different styles of music, but the girls continue to sing these songs in the same style as all the songs. This means that the songs coming from different musical styles are sung in the Bhaca style. The form of singing is call-and-response antiphonal singing in all the songs. The call-and-response form is a reflection of the Bhaca culture, a culture that requires participation from all members of the society. The use of the call and response form promotes the nature of the initiation process, which needs the participants' unity and consensus towards the aim of the initiation rituals that they perform. The use of the whistle which is used on every occasion as well as clapping, which serves as accompaniment or support for singing and promoting participation is evident throughout the dance events. The clapping is done with fingers tight together of the one hand, hitting the palm of the other hand, producing a loud clear strong beat for the music. The music in both events shares the same characteristics. The use of body percussion is typical in Bhaca music, either through stepping on the ground rhythmically to support and give a pulsating sound in support of the melody as well as the front or middle dancers to receive a strong beat.

In conclusion, the musical structure of both events is call and response. Both initiation schools use body percussion and a whistle as accompaniment. The tone that is produced as much as the songs are selected from different musical genres, they are performed in a traditional Bhaca way of producing a singing tone.

7.2 Dance style

The dance styles in both *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* is of the indigenous Bhaca people. While the dance style is not contemporary it is the traditional way of dancing and gestures used are the same in both dance events. The movements

are the old ones that I have always noticed growing up myself and no contemporary movements are accommodated in the dance style.

7.3 Attire

The attire for both dances is the young girls' *ibeshu*. *Ibeshu* is a skirt made out of animal skin and it has to be very short. These skirts, being no longer real skins these days, a cloth/string material is used as strips. This marks the age of the young girl and makes it easy for the young Bhaca dancers because their dances involve galloping, jumping, and lifting of feet up to the chest level. The skirt, which is noticeable in the pictures of both groups, are strips of cloths going vertically against the body. These slits make it easy for the girls to perform the dances with great agility. The girls are meant to be bare-chested. However, because of the Christian view, that is termed *public indecency*, so girls cover the upper body during public performances in town (*mamtiseni*). During the *nkciyo* rituals, girls are half-naked, meaning that the upper body is not covered, the reason being that they perform in the presence of females only at the initiation school. It is not a group that performs around town for money as practiced in *mamtiseni* during festive season. The size of the miniskirt is also a communication of the state of the girl, whether she is *pureqintombi-nto* meaning that she is still a virgin. As older girls and married women are not allowed to wear miniskirts in the Bhaca culture they have to cover up. It is regarded as disgraceful to have a wife who wears garments that reveal her knees and shoulders. Therefore, young girls only, have freedom to reveal these body parts.

In conclusion, it is evident that the attire has some significance and has a role to play in educating and identifying the girls in a morally accepted manner of the Bhaca people.

Chapter 8

Conclusion, Findings and recommendations for further research

In South Africa today, the issue of moral regeneration, a search for a solution for the problems at hand, is a shared view. Corruption, individualism and greediness are manifestations of the moral decay in our country. This notion led to the revitalization that the country is attempting to gain with this movement. In musicology, the battle is to find ways and evaluate available means of educating people to gain better moral values as well as regaining the ones that are out of practice. One of the main goals of this thesis is to build awareness of the moral content that is found in musical structure, dance, attire, as well as song text.

During my discussion of the song text and interviews I realised that there are shared values that are promoted in both *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* initiation schools. Turino is of the view that people in one society have some commonness in their different fields caused by their shared experiences, values, political standings and norms and worldview, also that they idolize the same entities and promote a shared way of life (Turino, 1989:2). This notion or the use of the theory of cultural analysis of music by Turino is true for *mamtiseni* and *nckiyo*. People have a worldview and that worldview is evident in their way of making music and the issues that they deal with in their songs reflect their worldview. People in this society have respect for girls who abstain from sexual activities until they are married, and respect for life and survival. The respect for life and survival value is reflected in the way they want the girls to live, free from HIV/AIDS. Teenage pregnancy, obedience, respect and healthy interaction between social members are very important values in Bhaca society.

These two initiation schools promote the values that the society promotes as part of their culture. The costumes, song text, musical form (call-and-response) are modes of communicating the most valued norms in Bhaca society. This revitalization of the South African society is a good idea by the government because it makes people aware of a way to live with norms taken from the

philosophy of *ubuntu*. This can have a result of a society that cares for others, morally correct, anti-corruption, as well as good governance. The idea is to raise these girls to believe in the most important values for the survival of the Bhaca society and the nation of South Africa. The desired result include, survival of the youth from diseases, no teenage pregnancy and communal mobilization.

Findings

It is evident in my view that, the implementation of the *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* rituals ages ago by the first leaders of the Bhaca nation was to maintain high standards for a healthy society. This notion remains of vital importance amongst the Bhaca people. The song text deals with direct instructions towards achieving a healthy and surviving society.

A prevailing negative sentiment (especially on the part of those who have no clear understanding about the initiation process) about these initiation schools is that they are unconstitutional. I believe that they are indeed constitutional because the participants take part in the initiation schools by choice and may drop out as they please. It has happened before in the Mvuzi *nkciyo* initiation school. My cousin dropped out of the *nkciyo* initiation school by choice and the result was not a positive one. She engaged in premarital sex as a result of her new value system that she had chosen. This resulted in her becoming pregnant at the age of thirteen which is a shameful age to be pregnant in the Bhaca society. Therefore, one can imagine that the supervision that girls receive from *nkciyo* and *mamtiseni* members and society as a whole protects the girls and is capable of keeping them safe from sexual temptations because of the communal support and belonging they receive in these initiation schools.

These initiation schools serve as societies of pure safe girls, with high moral values and obedience towards elders' instructions and advice. Therefore it can be confirmed that *mamtiseni* and *nkciyo* initiation schools for young Bhaca girls in the Mount Frere region of South Africa contain aspects of morality in the way it is

performed, song text, costumes, musical form and dance structure. These rituals carry the most valued norms of Bhaca people for young girls in the Bhaca society.

Recommendations for further research

This topic warrants further research because one still has to know the actual happenings during the initiation schools, specifically *nkciyo* initiation school. In *mamtiseni*, it would be of great interest for me to know how the girls get to choose the repertoire and the whole spectrum of issues they deal with in their rituals. It was evident to me that *mamtiseni*, unlike *nkciyo*, is more diverse in the content of the music, meaning that this initiation school strives to educate the participants in as many aspects of their lives as possible, while *nkciyo* seems to focus more on issues of sexual practice, specifically abstinence more than life in general.

It is indeed evident that this research needs more time and more analysis. I believe that the aims of the research were met and this research can be useful in implementing ways to heal our country as well as educating our people of South Africa.

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Appendix A
Interview transcriptions
Mamtiseni

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Place and Date</u>	<u>Comment</u>
1. Pheliswa Jijana	16	Mount Frere 3 December 2007	<p>The leader of the <i>mamtiseni</i> group from Qumrha Village. Pheliswa stated during the interview that; girls usually join the <i>nkciyo</i> initiation school at the age of five. Pheliswa who is now at the age of 16 plans to leave the initiation school at the age of 21.</p> <p>On choosing the group: she described the selection process in this manner: %ochoose those who can dance and teach them about our culture+</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Teachings</u></p> <p>The content of the teachings first of all concern the issue of <i>ubuntombi</i>, which is the expected identity and behavior of a girl in the Bhaca society. Being <i>Intombi-nto</i> which is being a real girl and with this saying (<i>nto</i>) comes a lot of expectations on how to be a girl, a girl who is pure and untouched by any male, a girl who makes her community and family proud. The girls during the initiation process learn more about the Bhaca culture and more ways to function well in the society. The group consists of girls from 10 years old to 16 years old. Pheliswa mentioned that the purpose of the group is to protect the nation, by that she means the young people as they are the future of our nation %we do not want to kill our</p>

			nation+ she wants the girls in her group to be like people on television (professionals) like in the SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) show <i>Ezodumo</i> . <i>Ezodumo</i> is a show that broadcasted the indigenous music of South Africa, playing music videos of which one of them was <i>mbaqanga</i> or <i>mas'khandi</i> .
2. Neliswa Lomtu	14	Mount Frere 03 December 2007	Songs are taken from any category as long as they provide a good contribution to the group's identity. The content of the music ranges from religious to secular. Neliswa Lomtu identified herself as one who can take big roles in life for the society and this according to her is what the initiation school prepares her for and the reason why she is part of the school.
3. Asanda Jijana	11	Mount Frere 03 December 2007	She says that she is free, happy, and loves <i>mamtiseni</i> because of the teachings they receive. She stated that, respect, obedience and following orders is what she learns from this initiation school. <i>Mamtiseni</i> helps keep the girls healthy, not to commit to wrong doings to be a perfect child+. These values as one can notice are values that any human being, who wants to function well in any kind of society, be it at the work place or in public places, one needs these values to respect his rights and those of others.
4. Thembeke Jijana	12	Mount Frere 03 December	She joined the initiation school at the age of seven. Her wish is to be an attractive person, a

		2007	person with good qualities, by involving herself in good activities such as dancing, singing, and learning all these activities in <i>mamtiseni</i> initiation school, as well as receiving education about moral values such as respect and obedience.
5. Yonela Jijana	9	Mount Frere 03 December 2007	She says that she joined the group to learn how to dance, <i>Jive</i> , <i>ukusina</i> (Bhaca word for dancing). She mentions that the leader tells her how to behave and at school they promote the same values.
6. Mrs Zanele Ceba	37	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	stated that it was controlled by the girls and promoted the same values of being <i>intombi</i> , which means pure girls who have never been with a boy, by that meaning virgins.
8. Mrs Nomqhukuva ne Nozibele	69	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	We grew up practicing <i>nkciyo</i> . During her times it was called <i>uhlolo lwentombi</i> , which means the inspection of girls the name was changed. It stopped with the 1970s group because education might have been more important, Nozibele stated. She believes that it is helpful. <i>Umamtiseni</i> existed and it was called <i>indlamu</i> , there were elders responsible for the teaching. During the <i>indlamu</i> ritual they learned the same values they learn at <i>uhlolo lwamantombazana</i> (Checking girls' virginity). Therefore <i>indlamu</i> was a platform where other girls taught other girls without the elders' presence. She stated during the interview that the missionaries came in 1969 at Mvuzi village and

			<p>everyone who wore the traditional clothing was looked at as <i>iqaba</i> (the illiterate one). Neighbouring villages which had no missionaries in their villages were looked at as <i>amaqaba</i> (the illiterate ones) and they continued with their traditional way of living.</p>
<p>9. Mr Mzolisi Madotyeni</p>	<p>59</p>	<p>Mount Frere 04 December 2007</p>	<p>Believes that this is an activity that takes us back to the old ways of living. The girls would also teach each other crafts for example how to decorate, so this skill would be used to decorate young men's horses during the horse racing activities as well as during Christmas. Relationships with the opposite sex were allowed but sex before marriage was forbidden. Girls would run away if a boy wanted to engage her in sexual activities. The great thing was that boys would be outcasts in the society if they make a girl pregnant, which gave them some responsibility which has now been lost. Older girls would warn the younger girls because they are too young to get sex education from the elders. Sex education was from the elders to the older girls and from older girls to the younger girls through <i>mamtiseni</i>. Therefore girls not only learn moral values but other skills as well during the <i>mamtiseni</i> ritual.</p>

Nkciyo

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Place and date</u>	<u>Comments</u>
1. Chief Baphathe Makaula	60-70	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	stated that %t was an agreement to practice <i>nkciyo</i> . We are not the only people doing this, Mpindweni, Tholeni and Moyeni villages are practicing the same custom. <i>Nkciyo</i> is teaching (undalashé, isintu) the old ways and the values of <i>ubuntu</i> . This was brought into our attention by a teacher Mrs Mthwesi in 2005 to prevent events of which one of them is teenage pregnancy.+ The chief means that Mrs Mthwesi as I inquired about her she seems to be one of the cultural activists for the revitalization of <i>nkciyo</i> . <i>Nkciyo</i> is practiced in towns surrounding Mount Frere as well as in the Eastern Cape Province as a whole.
2. Mr S'khumbule Mbewu	45	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	<i>Nkciyo</i> works because the girls are attending it. But they are not changing. And they seem to have abstained from sexual intercourse. Girls going back for another meeting to be checked for virginity and continuing the initiation school activities according to Mbewu means that they are still virgins.
3. Mrs Nomaswazi Zembe	56	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	Stated that <i>nkciyo</i> teaches the girls to (<i>ukuziphatha</i>) behaving themselves. It prevents them from getting diseases (sexually transmitted diseases). It teaches

			<p>them to respect their future. It was started at about the year 2005 and it is going stronger. The community supports this practice. Even the literate people like teachers are supporting the practice of <i>nkciyo</i>.</p>
<p>4. Mrs Ntombizo-didi Luthuli</p>	56	<p>Mount Frere 04 December 2007</p>	<p>Stated that <i>nkciyo</i> helps in many ways; it protects these girls in many ways, the idea of knowing that someone is watching everything the activities they practice everyday. The elders of the practice of <i>nkciyo</i> are always watching their girls around in the community. Between the years 1960-2004 people did not know about this school. Before 1960 people practiced <i>nkciyo</i> and she believes that the presence of schools in villages was the cause of the change in some social customs. She says that the younger girls see it as a reasonable practice but the older girls see it as foolishness, the reason being that the older girls were not raised in the system of practicing <i>nkciyo</i>.</p>
<p>5. Ms Akhona Zembe</p>	27	<p>Mount Frere 04 December 2007</p>	<p><i>Nkciyo</i> helps the girls become aware of themselves. these young girls are growing up in good timesq the generation that is protected and taught something about life. She says she wishes that <i>nkciyo</i> was practiced in her time as a child, and she says she would not have had a child as a teenager. She says the girls are checked every Saturday.</p>

6. Mrs Zanele Ceba	37	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	She is a mother of one of the initiates. She stated that the initiators say they are protecting their children from sexual activities that lead to deadly diseases. According to her <i>nkciyo</i> is still working. The eldest girls who practice <i>nkciyo</i> may be 17 or 18 years old she said, and these girls have not been impregnated or infected with any of these fatal diseases. Other villages like Magxheni are part of the Mvuzi <i>nkciyo</i> . She stated that she has not heard any negative comments about this activity. She says that the girls' parents seem to be satisfied with the practice of the initiation school.
7. Mrs Nomqhukuvane Nozibele	69	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	During her time it was called <i>uhlolo lwamantombazana</i> (The inspection of girls). The community members accused others who were practicing traditional Bhaca rites of being (<i>amaqaba</i>) uncivilized and resisting change and progress.
8. Ncebakazi Dumako	14	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	She joined <i>nkciyo</i> in 2006, her mother sent her to join the activity. She believes that being a participant of the initiation school will prevent her from teenage pregnancy.
9. Yonela Zembe	10	Mount Frere 04 December	She started in 2006. She says it prevents her from Aids, pregnancy as a result of engaging

		2007	in sexual activities. She says that the elders of <i>nkciyo</i> say that they are protecting them from Aids. She stated that they are taught that if other girls want to know what they do during the rituals, then they must tell them to go and see it for themselves.
10. Ongeziwe Zembe	12	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	We are instructed not to play hide and sick with boys, <i>umas'khozi</i> , <i>umandlwane</i> , and we must not talk to boys in private at night. One must not listen to girl friends when they are in a relationship convincing one to get into a relationship as well.
11. Babalwa Mahlathi	13	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	Stated that elders tell them not to ever be tricked by boys to tell what they do in the <i>nkciyo</i> rituals, because boys never tell what they do in their initiation schools.
12. Anam Ceba	9	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	+ We are instructed not to lie down on our backs.+
13. The whole Mamtiseni initiation group	9-14	Mount Frere 04 December 2007	From the group discussion the girls randomly stated the following: One must not take money or sweets from strangers, must not go when a stranger invites them to his car because they might put you in a car and take you to his house. The girls said they do pay attention to these instructions.

Appendix B

Mamtiseni and nkciyo dance pictures

- *Nkciyo girls in song number 10 (The T shape).*



- *Nkciyo girls singing song number 12 (Processional dance).*



- *Nkciyo girls in two lines facing each other.*



- *Nkciyo* girls in a circle



- *Nkciyo* girl with her leg up high (which only young girls can do amongst the female gender in the Bhaca tribe)



- *Mamtiseni* girls in half circle formation.



- *Mamtiseni* song number 8, girl on the left hand conner with crossed hands on her chest.



- *Mamtiseni* song number 3 the hand shaking and hugging symbolising peace making.

