

“We are white”: Oral tradition, documented history and molecular biology of Xhosa clans descended from non-African forebears and their expression of this ancestry through the idiom of ancestor religion



A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of Rhodes University

by
Janet M Hayward

September 2017

The image on the cover page is a reproduction of a mezzotint by George Morland entitled *African hospitality* (1.1). The image was copied from <http://www.imageoftheblack.com/gallery.html>.

Abstract

Xhosa clan membership is symbolised by a clan-name (*isiduko*) and passed along the male line from father to son. This social indicator has a biological counterpart in Y chromosome DNA that passes through successive generations in the patriline. Both relate specifically to a distant patrilineal forebear or apical ancestor. The present study has involved the collection and documentation of oral-historical information relating to the descent of certain Cape Nguni clans from non-African forebears and (where possible) a review of documented accounts of such origins. The research has also included collection of buccal cells from male research participants and analysis of their Y chromosome DNA. This method indicates whether a man's patrilineal forebear lived in Africa. Otherwise, it indicates the broad geographical region from which he originated, hence providing an additional, independent source of information relating to ancestry that can confirm or challenge claims made based on oral history. Ethnographic research into the performance of distinctive ancestor rituals by clan members explores the continuing relevance of foreign ancestry in the contemporary context of rural communities in the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

The study heeds calls for the decolonisation of scholarship in various ways: methodologically, through transdisciplinary research; ontologically, by questioning the utility of the nature: culture and related dichotomies; and epistemologically, because instead of relying entirely on the western academic tradition, it takes account of other modes of knowledge production. In rejection of the notion that only one side of history is true, it records multiple voices – those of the powerful but also the ordinary. The study deals with race and racial identification, but confirms the superficiality of these constructed differences by offering evidence of their submergence in the unifying power of kinship and descent.

Table of Contents

Preface and acknowledgements.....	6
PART ONE.....	10
1. Introduction.....	11
1.1. Research context	11
1.2. Research field	20
1.3. Goals and Plan.....	21
2. Conceptual issues.....	24
2.1. Western knowledge.....	24
2.2. Social Constructivism.....	27
2.2.1. The construction of East and West.....	27
2.2.2. The construction of race and culture	29
2.2.3. The construction of kinship.....	37
2.2.4. Constructivism in anthropology	39
2.2.5. Knowledge and power.....	40
2.3. Other Ways of Knowing	42
2.3.1. Indigenous Knowledge Systems.....	42
2.3.2. Recognising History	45
2.4. Issues for the present study.....	48
2.4.1. Nature vs Nurture Revisited.....	49
2.4.2. Potential Contributions of the Study	53
3. Methodological considerations	55
3.1. Research design.....	55
3.2. Research participants	59
3.3. Fieldwork	61
3.4. Field Methods	65
3.5. Historical Sources.....	68
3.5.1. AbeLungu.....	70
3.5.2. AmaCaine and amaOgle	73
3.5.3. Historiography	74
3.6. Molecular Support	75
3.7. Ethical considerations	79
3.7.1. DNA Genealogy	79
3.7.2. Anthropology and ethics.....	80
3.7.3. Ethnographic praxis	86
3.7.4. The broader political context	91
3.7.5. Conclusion.....	92
4. Contexts	94
4.1. History & political economy of the macro context.....	94
4.1.1. Early history	94
4.1.2. Cape Nguni political economy in the 18 th and early 19 th centuries	96
4.2. Society and culture on the 'Wild Coast'	99
4.2.1. The Patrilineage.....	99
4.2.2. Clan Membership	102
4.2.3. Functions of the Clan	103
4.2.4. Ancestors	105
4.2.5. Sources of Good and Evil.....	108
4.2.6. Agents of the Ancestors	110

4.3. Abelungu and other exogenous clans.....	112
4.3.1. AbeLungu.....	113
4.3.2. Other clans of European Descent.....	116
PART TWO.....	119
Introduction to Part Two.....	120
5. Genealogies (<i>Iminombo</i>).....	122
5.1. AbeLungu.....	122
5.1.1. AmaMolo.....	122
5.1.2. AbeLungu Jekwa.....	126
5.1.3. AbeLungu Hatu.....	130
5.1.4. AbeLungu Horner.....	132
5.1.5. AbeLungu Fuzwayo.....	133
5.2. AmaCaine.....	135
5.3. AmaOgle.....	137
5.4. AmaFrance.....	139
5.5. AmaIrish.....	142
5.6. AmaThakha.....	144
5.7 Genealogies (<i>iminombo</i>).....	145
5.7.1. Expansions, contractions and other genealogical variations.....	146
5.7.2. The construction of surnames and clan synonyms (<i>izithakhazela</i>).....	149
5.7.3. Themes and questions.....	151
6. AbeLungu history (<i>imbali</i>).....	153
6.1. AmaMolo.....	153
6.1.1. Early history of the clan.....	153
6.1.2. First encounters with colonists.....	156
6.1.3. Nationality of forebears.....	159
6.1.4. Servants of the colony.....	159
6.1.5. Other abeLungu clan sections.....	162
6.2. AbeLungu Jekwa & Hatu.....	164
6.2.1. Early history of the clan.....	164
6.2.2. First encounters with colonists.....	166
6.2.3. Descent from a woman.....	167
6.2.4. Settlement of Bomvanaland.....	169
6.2.5. Chieftaincy.....	172
6.2.6. Servants of the colony.....	174
6.2.7. Other abeLungu clan sections.....	176
6.3. AbeLungu Horner.....	177
6.3.1. Origins of abeLungu Horner.....	177
6.3.2. Life and times of Alfred Horner.....	179
6.3.3. Surviving shipwreck.....	180
6.3.4. Other abeLungu clan sections.....	181
6.4. AbeLungu Fuzwayo.....	181
6.5. AbeLungu histories (<i>iimbali</i>).....	183
6.5.1. Theme 1: The process by which foreigners become natives.....	183
6.5.2. Theme 2: The production and preservation of knowledge.....	186
6.5.3. NRY questions.....	187
7. Other clan histories (<i>iimbali</i>).....	188
7.1. AmaCaine & amaOgle.....	188
7.1.1. Establishment of Port Natal.....	188

7.1.2. John Cane and the origins of amaCaine.....	194
7.1.3. Henry Ogle and the origins of amaOgle.....	198
7.2. AmaFrance	201
7.3. AmaIrish	203
7.4. AmaThakha	204
7.5. Other histories (<i>iimbali</i>).....	206
7.5.1. Entangled histories	206
7.5.2. Theme 1: The process by which foreigners become natives.....	207
7.5.3. The production and preservation of knowledge.....	209
7.5.4. NRY questions	209
PART THREE	210
Introduction to Part Three	211
8. Traditional Ritual practice.....	212
8.1. Ancestor Rituals	212
8.1.1. Forms of Ancestral Acknowledgment.....	212
8.1.2. Ritual Performance	216
8.1.3. <i>Izinqulo</i>	221
8.2. Accommodating Christianity	224
9. Clan praises (<i>izinqulo</i>).....	226
9.1. Structure and meaning of Nguni clan praises.....	226
9.2. Documentation of exogenous clan praises.....	228
9.2.1. Collection and compilation of clan praises.....	228
9.2.2. Analysis of clan praises	229
9.2.3. Interpretation of clan praises.....	231
9.3. Clan praises of original abeLungu clans & amaThakha.....	231
9.3.1. <i>Izinqulo</i> of amaMolo & abeLungu Jekwa.....	232
9.3.2. Combined abeLungu <i>Izinqulo</i>	236
9.3.3. Interpretation of abeLungu clan phrases	239
9.3.4. AmaThakha	243
9.4. Clan praises of AbeLungu Horner and other clans	243
9.4.1. AbeLungu Horner.....	244
9.4.2. AmaCaine.....	245
9.4.3. AmaOgle	247
9.4.4. AmaFrance.....	248
9.4.5. AmaIrish	251
9.5. <i>Izinqulo</i> of exogenous clans.....	252
9.5.1. Form.....	253
9.5.2. Content.....	254
9.5.3. Function.....	259
9.6. Degrees of affiliation	260
10. Ritual Practice (<i>Amasiko</i>).....	262
10.1 AmaIrish	262
10.2. AbeLungu Horner	263
10.3. AmaCaine	267
10.4. AmaOgle	270
10.5. AmaFrance	273
10.6. AmaThakha	276
10.7. AmaMolo	277
10.8. AbeLungu Jekwa	282

10.9. AbeLungu Hatu	284
10.10. AbeLungu Fuzwayo.....	286
10.11. Degrees of Conformity	289
PART FOUR.....	294
Introduction to Part Four.....	295
11. Molecular results	296
11.1. DNA.....	296
11.1.1. A tale of two molecules	296
11.1.2. NRY of participating clans.....	299
11.2. Ethnographic anomalies & questions reassessed in light of NRY	304
11.2.1. Do abeLungu Buku share forebears with abeLungu Jekwa?	307
11.2.2. Are abeLungu Jekwa descended from Jekwa or Gquma?	308
11.2.3. Were the amaMolo forebears (Bhayi and Pita) brothers?	310
11.2.4. Were the abeLungu forebears (Jekwa and Hatu) brothers?.....	312
11.2.5. Were the amaMolo forebears of Asian or European descent?	313
11.2.6. Do abeLungu Fuzwayo share forebears with amaMolo or abeLungu Jekwa?.....	315
11.2.7. The case of amaFrance.....	316
11.2.8. The case of abeLungu Horner.....	317
11.3. NRY Genealogies contextualised	319
12. "White people from across the sea:" Combining the sources of evidence and drawing conclusions.....	321
12.1 Multivocality.....	322
12.2 Opening up the canon of knowledge.....	324
12.3. The relatedness that people act and feel	325
12.4. "We are white".....	327
12.4.1. Common descent.....	328
12.4.2. Izithakhazelo	333
12.5. Spinning the web of culture	334
Bibliography.....	339

Preface and acknowledgements

The existence of clans claiming descent from foreign entrants into amaMpondo and amaBomvana communities first piqued my interest some 20 years ago. It came in the form of a footnote in Monica Hunter Wilson's *Reaction to Conquest* (Wilson, 1979[1936]:6), that referred to the foreign progenitors of some of the Mpondo people amongst whom she worked, and also the neighbouring amaBomvana. She noted that the Mpondo clan-name "amaMholo" was said to derive from two Asian shipwreck survivors while members of the Bomvana "abeLungu" clan claimed descent from shipwrecked Europeans. I was at that time (1994-5) doing research in Mbotyi on the Mpondoland coast, and some time into my fieldwork, was informed by one of my participants that he and I were cousins. In the conversation that followed, he told me of his Scottish forebear, named Caine, who had married an Mpondo woman many generations back, and founded the clan to which he and his agnates belonged, named amaCaine after its founder, according to convention. Siwela Maguba's assertion that we were cousins was premised on the notion that our common European ancestry constituted a form of kinship. I was intrigued by this as well as the realisation that in addition to the two clans cited by Wilson, others claiming foreign descent had evidently emerged subsequently, and remain extant.



Figure 0.1. Siwela Caine

A decade later, Hazel Crampton's (2004) *The Sunburnt Queen*, and Steven Taylor's (2005) *Caliban's shore: The Wreck of the Grosvenor and the Strange Fate of Her Survivors* were published, both of which mentioned the abeLungu and amaMolo clans,

as well as other Eurasians believed to have possibly integrated into Xhosa culture. On reading both books, my interest in the subject was rekindled.

The final piece fell into place in 2005, when I was asked by the editor¹ of the then monthly magazine, *Windows South Africa* to write an article about The National Geographic Project. This was a joint venture between National Geographic and IBM, an ambitious attempt to use mutations in mitochondrial and Y-chromosome DNA to track the migrations of Homo sapiens before and after their exodus from Africa circa 80 000 years ago (Hayward 2005). Of particular interest to me was the ability of Y-chromosome DNA analysis to trace the broad geographical location from which a man's patrilineal forebears originated. The greater part of the Y-chromosome does not recombine with maternal DNA at conception, and is referred to as non-recombining Y-chromosome DNA (NRY). NRY passes relatively intact across the generations, from father to son, down the male line, thereby precisely paralleling patrilineal descent. In the case of amaMpondo and amaBomvana clans claiming descent from foreign forebears, the agnatic transmission of a man's clan-name to his male progeny, and identical biological transmission of his NRY, also to male progeny, and they in turn to theirs, provided the potential for corroborating such claims.

This study therefore derives from a convergence of three diverse elements: first, a particular kind of historical circumstance in which certain foreign men² integrated into amaBomvana and amaMpondo groupings of Cape Nguni, subsequently founding new clans. The second relates to precedents of patrilineal descent within their host cultures and how these are linked to the ancestor religion and accompanying ritual practice in ways that make historical knowledge not only relevant but also potent in the present. The third stems from developments in the field of biotechnology, specifically concerning NRY, and plays a peripheral role, only being brought to bear in the concluding section as a final layer of interpretation of preceding ethnographic findings and literature reviews. Like many anthropological studies, this work starts with an interesting story, in this case one that has the potential to reconfigure commonplace notions concerning national, racial and cultural boundaries. By offering different potentials for the complexities of integration

¹ Axel Bührmann, to whom I am grateful for the opportunity he gave me that led to greater things.

² Even though there are accounts of women surviving shipwreck, and being integrated into local communities – one example being Bessie/Gquma, Crampton's sunburnt queen – various factors preclude the inclusion of their descendants in this study, which are discussed in 3.2.

across these artificial divisions, it shows that nationalism, racism and ethnocentrism need not necessarily be the default positions they appear to be.

The execution and completion of this study rests primarily on the buy-in and contribution made by the many research participants. In particular, the late Chief Mhlabunzima Mxhakha and Katutu Phangelo of amaMolo, Chief Ngubelanga Ngubechanti and Alfred Moyisile of abeLungu Hatu, Songezo Mwezeni of abeLungu Jekwa, Mlungisi Horner of abeLungu Horner, Mkhululelwa Caine of amaCaine and Kutu Dukuza of amaFrance, all of whom gave up days of their time to accompany and introduce us to their agnates. Photographs of these key facilitators are reproduced in Figures 4.1 - 4.6 in Chapter 4.

The project would not have been brought to fruition without the support of my family, friends and colleagues. My mother, Dawn (Sparks) and late father, Redvers Hayward gave me unconditional love and freedom of choice during my childhood and beyond. My children, Mara Horowitz and James Kalis tolerated my complete or partial absence from their lives as I spent long periods either in the field or behind the computer. Having been in primary school when the work began, James in particular endured my divided attention for more than half his life. My siblings, Michael Hayward and Margie Harris expressed continued interest in the work, and like my mother and children, accommodated my ongoing preoccupation. I owe much appreciation to my late aunt and godmother, Betty Sparks, a strong independent woman with academic and aesthetic interests, who provided me with an important role model during my childhood and beyond. My partner, Ian Goodes, entered and enriched my life towards the conclusion of this work, giving me enormous support, both emotionally and practically.

Some of my friends simply accommodated my distraction, many provided substantial input in terms of discussion about my work and/or suggestions of relevant authors and literature, especially Andre Terblanche, Prof Russell Kaschula and Jenny Gordon. The vast knowledge and experience of Steve Powell with regard to the people and terrain of the former Transkei, particularly Mpondoland, was instrumental in facilitating my own familiarity with the region during the 1990s. I have also been sustained by the amity and encouragement of dear friends. In Mthatha, Fikile Jonas, Marelize and Jonathan Hobbs, Thulani and Bongekile Kraai. Others have been in my life since childhood or early adulthood, including Lyr Thurston, Lorna Schofield and Chandre Gould.

Many former colleagues at Walter Sisulu University facilitated my academic development and offered support. In particular I am grateful to Malusi Damane, HOD of the anthropology department in 1990, my first year in Mthatha, Dr Larry Petkou of the sociology department for his friendship and advice, Prof Nomalungelo Goduka, former DST NRF SARChI Chair, Prof Masilo Lamla and Dr Kholekile Ngqila of the anthropology department for many years of collegiality. I am appreciative of the support and opportunities offered by past and present members of the Rhodes anthropology department, especially Dr Penny Bernard, Dr Rosabelle Boswell, Prof Chris de Wet, Prof Michelle Cocks, Dr Patti Henderson, Des Bekker and Thabo Seshoka. I am grateful to Prof Himla Soodyall of the National Health Laboratory Service who expedited the DNA component of the work, and her student David De Veridices, who did the necessary laboratory work. The friendship of Prof Jeff Peires and his wife, Mary-Louise, has also been an important source of support and encouragement.

I would like to acknowledge the staff of the Rhodes University library who have gone beyond the call of duty to facilitate my access to literature. They were especially helpful in the early years of the project before I moved to Grahamstown when no effort was spared to assist me. In particular I am grateful to Chief Librarian Jabu Nene for her kindness and support. Her predecessor Debbie Martindale was also unfailingly helpful, as was Rina Goosen from inter-library loans and Sally Schramm, formerly in the Cory Library.

Finally, the work would not have been possible without the support and assistance of my research assistant, Qaqambile Godlo, and supervisor Prof Robin Palmer. Both stood by me throughout the extended process, as friends, advisors and essential collaborators. Prof Palmer was instrumental in awakening my interest in anthropology when he was one of my first lecturers in 1982 and his advice and guidance during the design, carrying out and completion of this project have been invaluable. Qaqambile approached the work with keen interest and dedication and apart from the sensitivity and diligence with which he went about conducting and translating interviews, was responsible for the majority of photographs taken during the course of fieldwork, some of which are included here.

PART ONE

1. Introduction

[M]any recorded wrecks (and possibly some unrecorded ones) took place on the Pondoland coast, from the opening years of the Seventeenth Century on, and [...] some survivors from these, either compelled by circumstances which they were powerless to alter or as a matter of preference, settled among the natives and accommodated their lives to the new conditions in which they lived (Soga, 1930:377).

1.1. Research context

It is now broadly accepted that between sixty and a hundred thousand years ago, a small band of the first fully human species, *Homo sapiens*, was able to leave Africa. Sea levels were lower at that time, and driven by famine, curiosity or chance, small groups of these first people managed to cross over to Asia, where they settled for some time in what is now India, then proceeding to populate the rest of the world (Pagani *et al.* 2015, McCarthy & Rubidge 2005:292-3, Oppenheimer 2003:73-83,174). Tens of thousands of years after these first Africans had emigrated, some of their descendants returned to Africa, this time by ship. Their pale skins were adapted to northern hemisphere climates, their focus was on trade, later conquest, and they had various forms of advanced technology, including weaponry, at their disposal (Boxer 1959:67,112,236, Diamond 1998:80,241). What followed was the tragic and well-documented litany of land expropriation, slavery and colonial expansion.

Less well documented are accounts of friendship, integration, and even love, which took place against this background of coercive contact. One such example occurred in amaMpondo and amaBomvana communities of the Cape Nguni living along the so-called "wild coast" of the former Transkei, on the south-eastern shore of South Africa, known during the colonial period as the 'Native Territories'. The notion that various foreigners travelling through this area might have contributed to the local gene pool, as they have wherever they have settled, is not remarkable. More unusual is that some of them arrived, involuntarily, via shipwrecks, recognised the impossibility of rescue and became integrated into the local society.

Of those who stayed permanently, they and their progeny were admitted as honorary members to the clans of their hosts, as many anthropologists and others who interact in this context have been, and still are. Where such entrants into the culture are recalled by their descendants, it is in anecdote, or due to their relatively recent entrance, because their own names and genealogies would be irrelevant in the context of

incorporation into existing clans. The idea that some foreign entrants founded new clans is considerably more interesting because the principles of patrilineal descent upon which clan membership is based, and the traditional ancestor religion practiced by Cape Nguni, which are interrelated with one another, involve the preservation of knowledge relating specifically to clan forebears.

This is so in the case of at least six clans within the amaMpondo and amaBomvana groupings of Cape Nguni who live along the aforementioned coastal strip, the research site of this study. Clan membership, marked by a clan-name, is transmitted strictly along the male line. A common clan-name denotes that descent is claimed from the same ancestor, essentially understood to be the clan founder, and this is mutually acknowledged as well as publicly recognised. Many retain beliefs and practices associated with the traditional ancestor religion, across urban and rural contexts, even in many cases where they have converted to Christianity. These revolve around a belief in the continued presence and influence of dead relatives. Ancestral spirits are appealed to and appeased through ritual animal sacrifice, the brewing of traditional beer (*mqombothi*), and the recitation of clan praises. These *izinqulo* or *izibongo* comprise the name of the clan founder and other ancestral names interspersed with metaphorical phrases depicting the history of the clan and its forebears. In this way, genealogical, biographical, and historical information is preserved orally through its encapsulation into clan praises that continue to play a vital ritual role.

The present study involves the collection, analysis, review, and interpretation of multiple sources relating to the integration of foreign men into Mpondo and Bomvana societies between approximately 1700 and 1850. They founded what will be referred to as 'exogenous' clans in order to distinguish them from the 'endogenous' ones among whom they live, and from whom their wives have hailed and continue to do so. On entering the field, I was able to locate both the clans mentioned in documented historical accounts – abeLungu and amaMolo – and other sections of the abeLungu clan, namely abeLungu Fuzwayo and abeLungu Horner. I re-established connection with amaCaine, whom I had encountered some fifteen years prior to the start of this research, and identified four additional Mpondo clans claiming European descent – amaOgle, amaFrance, amaIrish and amaThakha.

The work rests primarily on the collection of oral accounts of clan histories, genealogies, and praises, and the description and comparison of ritual practice as

evidence of how and why the oral tradition remains relevant in the present-day. Where possible, these ethnographic findings are augmented by, and compared with accounts by historians who have documented the absorption of foreigners into local cultures. This has occurred not only in the case of *abeLungu* and *amaMolo* (Soga 1930, Kirby 1954), but also certain other clans claiming European descent that have arisen more recently in Mpondoland, whose forebears played roles of sufficient interest to have been written about by historians, or preserved in archived documents. John Cane and Henry Ogle, for example, the forebears of *amaCaine*³ and *amaOgle* respectively, made history as members of the small party of British men who established white settlement in what was to become Durban (Ballard 1989, De Kock *et al.* 1968, Gadsden 1974, Leverton 1974, O'Byrne Spencer 1992). Cane and Ogle, together with certain others among their party, are also recalled by documented history for having broken with more established colonial practice, at least in South Africa, by integrating with local Zulu and Mpondo cultures, even as they engaged in more conventional capitalist exploits. The only clan founder whose name is recalled in full is that of Alfred Horner, forebear of *abeLungu* Horner. Not only do his descendants know his first and surname, but also that of his trading store, and hence archival evidence could be identified, although this was minimal.

Other clans identified during the research are descended from men whose names did not survive oral recall, or if they did, failed to make it into historical or archival records that I could identify. In their cases, oral tradition provided the sole source of historical information concerning their forebears and clan origins. However, the analysis of NRY collected from male agnates belonging to clans claiming foreign descent provided further insight into the geographical origins of their forebears, as it also did of course in the case of those whose entrance into the culture was corroborated by written history.

The forebears of interest here were foreigners and are recalled as such in both oral and documented historical accounts. Many of them are also recalled as 'white' although as will be seen this was not necessarily always the case, some having hailed from Asia. Some of my research participants referred to themselves or their forebears as 'coloured' – or were described as such by members of the communities in which they live. The categorisation of race in South Africa was fundamental to the apartheid project

³ As will be explained more clearly in 5.1, despite the discrepancy in the spelling of John Cane's surname and that used by his descendants, members of the *amaCaine* clan, it has been possible to establish genealogical links between the clan and its founder.

and, in a less doctrinaire form, had been a feature of colonial rule. Although discrimination on the basis of race officially ended with the advent of democracy, the legacy of racialisation, including categorisation, lives on. A brief look at the history of racial categorisation and segregation during colonial and apartheid eras is therefore necessary to contextualise and explain the use of racial terms in this study.

When the British colonies (Cape and Natal) merged with the Boer republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) in 1910 to form the Union of South Africa, two racial categories were recognised, namely "White" and "Native" (Posel 2001:89). Policies designed to discriminate against indigenous South Africans were subsequently developed, such as the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 that enforced racial segregation in towns, and the Representation of Natives Act of 1936 that abolished what little franchise had existed for the African population up until that time (Finchilescu 2010:224-5). When the National Party was elected into government in 1948, these preliminary legal frameworks were formalised and extended with the express purpose of protecting white racial purity, political dominance, economic privilege and so-called 'civilization' (Posel 2001:98 Seekings 2008:3-4). Notably, the segregation between 'white' and 'black' that had been initiated prior to apartheid, expanded to include segregation between 'white' and 'coloured' (Seekings 2008:3).

Foremost among apartheid legislature was the Population Registration Act of 1950, which called for a national register that recorded the race of every South African. Four races were delineated: White (people of European descent), Native (also known as Bantu or Black), Indian (people of South Asian descent) and Coloured (a diverse grouping that included indigenous Khoisan, the descendants of slaves brought from Africa, East Asia, China, Indonesia and Malaysia during the 17th and 18th centuries, and the mixed offspring of all other groups) (Finchilescu 2010:224-8, Posel 2001:89 & 102, Seekings 2008:3). A plethora of additional Acts were promulgated in order to ensure segregation between the white minority and other South Africans, collectively known as 'non whites'. These included the Mixed Marriage Act (1949) & Immorality Amendment Act (1950) which outlawed sexual relations and marriage across race lines, the Group Areas Act (1950) & Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) that prevented people belonging to different races from living in the same residential areas, attending the same schools or universities, travelling on the same public transport and sharing recreational areas such as beaches and parks. In 1953 the Bantu Education Act (1953) decreed that 'Black'

South Africans should receive an inferior education that would equip them as manual or at best semi-skilled workers, including junior nurses, teachers and clerks, but nothing else. The Pass Laws were promulgated in 1952, requiring Africans to carry identification at all times (Finchilescu 2010:224-5). Unless employed there, they could only stay in cities for 72 hours at most.

All of these Acts rested on the racial categories defined in the Population Registration Act, which represented an "attempt to produce fixed, stable and uniform criteria for racial classification which would then be binding cross all spheres of a person's life" (Posel 2001:98). The practicalities of assigning all South Africans into one specific race group was not however a simple matter. Most white South Africans understood race in terms of natural biological categories, signalled by skin colour, that determined differences in intellect, 'civilization' and morality. Race groups were understood to comprise a natural hierarchy with people of European descent at the top, those of African descent at the bottom and 'coloureds' and Indians somewhere between. Social and economic inequalities between races were therefore understood to be determined by natural hierarchies and thereby legitimised. However, many allegedly 'white' families had intermarried across the racial demarcations in the distant and sometimes recent past, complicating the use of descent as a definitive criterion for race allocation. As a result, in spite of the perceived biological foundations of racial differences, direct lines of descent were not emphasised in the process of racial categorisation. Instead, it was essentially a matter of 'common sense' and consensus, drawing on "co-terminous" factors including language, culture and appearance. Judgements were made not only on the basis of physical appearance, but also "social standing" and "lifestyle" and were "inseparable from perceptions of class and status" (Posel 2001:88-97, Seekings 2008:3). Whereas descent or notions of race as a fixed biological essence were de-emphasised during administration of the Population Registration Act, hierarchies of privilege were entrenched (Posel 2001:103).

The vagaries implicit in racial categorisation are evident from the racial definitions provided in the Population Registration Act: The category "White" referred to someone whose "appearance is, or who is generally accepted as, a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person" (Section 1 [xv]). Similarly, "Natives" were described as those who were "in fact or [...] generally accepted as [...] member[s] of any aboriginal

race or tribe of Africa" (Section 1 [x]). The residual category of "Coloured" comprised those who were "not [...] white [...] nor [...] native" (Section 1 [iii]) (Posel 2001:102, Seekings 2008:3).

In 1990, Nelson Mandela was released after 28 years of imprisonment for his involvement in anti-apartheid revolutionary movements. Four years later he became President of South Africa following the country's first democratic election. The Population Registration Act was abolished, making way for the introduction of new legislation to provide opportunities for South Africans who had been disadvantaged during the apartheid regime. These included the Employment Equity Act of 1998 and the Black Empowerment Act of 2003, both of which sought to address the economic and other inequalities that had characterised the apartheid state, relying heavily on the racial categories delineated in The Population Registration act as the means by which affirmative action was to be enacted (Posel 2001:109, Seekings 2008:5). Although official racial discrimination has ceased, racial inequalities remain apparent. In principle, all races now have equal rights to education, health, housing and other national resources, but the majority of black South Africans continue to experience inadequate housing, health care and education, as well as high levels of unemployment, whereas most white South Africans retain economic privilege (Finchilescu 2010:226, Seekings 2008:2-7).

Although relations between South Africans belonging to different race groups have been destabilised by political transformation, the racialised identities and racial division fostered by apartheid have remained entrenched (Finchilescu 2010:224, Seekings 2008:2-5). This is evident in the endurance of racial categorisations which continue to be used by most South Africans on a daily basis, and are reinforced by the media in which social actors are identified in racialised terms (Posel 2001:109, Seekings 2008:2-6). Race groups in South Africa "have a historical reality that has shaped the subjectivities and worldviews of the South African population" (Finchilescu 2010:228). As such, in spite of their having stemmed from apartheid policies, the terms 'black,' 'white' and 'coloured' have continuing salience in post-Apartheid South Africa because they describe categories of South Africans whose lived experience has always been - and in many cases remains - circumscribed by these very racial categorisations. The use of racial categorisations in the context of this study however alludes to more than racial differences, extending to notions of identity and cultural history, as will be seen -- hence the use of the phrase "we are white" in the title of this work, which is taken directly from conversations that I had

with more than one of my interlocutors. The significance of the phrase for the study stems not only from its reference to the perceived race of the clan founders of interest, but more importantly, its demonstration of the extent to which perceptions of race are socially constructed while simultaneously being deeply implicated in personal senses of history and identity.

This is not the first South African study to investigate the descendants of European entrants into local cultures. Michael de Jongh for example, has investigated the Buys community of Buysdorp in Limpopo (De Jongh 2004, 2006). These are the descendants of Coenraad de Buys who was born in 1761, the son of a French Huguenot named Jean du Bois (De Jongh 2004:86). At the age of 53, Coenraad joined "a group of Xhosa marauders" and "quit the colony" fleeing north where he took refuge with Tswana chiefs (Wagner 1974:1). He "married or cohabited with several local women," including the mother of the Xhosa chief Ngqika, and a niece of the Ndebele chief, Mzilikazi, with whom he established a formal union in 1812 (De Jongh 2004:87). At first, the descendants of de Buys intermarried with African women, adopting local languages and customs, with the exception of circumcision. Over time however, they began to consider themselves superior, and to deliberately move away from "native ways", demanding Christian education and discouraging marriage with Africans. They came to consider themselves as belonging to a "middle world", not fully accepted by either Africans or whites, and to construct their own "culturescape" with "family-based" structures of government, economy, education and religion (*ibid.*:88-90). Although also descended from a white forebear, unlike the participants of this study, the Buyses' identity has been premised on separation rather than integration.

The incorporation of NRY analysis into social and historical research has been employed in a number of studies, especially abroad. A Y-chromosome haplotype common throughout Asia has for example been linked with descent from Genghis Khan, the thirteenth century Mongolian emperor who conquered most of Eurasia (Zerjal *et al.* 2003). In the United States, claims by some of the descendants of Sally Hemings, a slave owned by President Thomas Jefferson, that the president fathered some of Sally's children, have been corroborated by genetic testing (Elliott & Brodwin, 2002:1470). Of more relevance to this study, is research into surnames conducted in the British Isles, which has revealed that men sharing a surname exhibit "high levels of coancestry" (Jobling 2001, King & Jobling 2009). In the present study, it is the parallel transmission

of the Cape Nguni clan-name and Y-chromosome DNA strictly according to the principles of patrilineal descent that makes NRY analysis relevant as a research methodology. As in the case of the English surname, ancestry is predicated on the basis of a common clan-name.

The case of the Lemba bears more resemblance to this study than any mentioned thus far, but lacks the in-depth ethnographic analysis. Known as the "Black Jews," the Lemba are found in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Malawi. According to their oral histories, they are descended from "white men" (Parfitt 2003:118) who were Jewish, and came to Africa from "Sena," possibly a reference to Sanaa in Yemen (Spurdle & Jenkins 1996, Thomas *et al.* 2000). Oral traditions are supported by "suggestive customs" including circumcision and food taboos, such as separating milk and meat (Thomas *et al.* 2000:674, Spurdle & Jenkins 1996:1131). These claims of Jewish descent have been corroborated by NRY haplogroups, 50% of which are Semitic in origin (Spurdle & Jenkins 1996:1128). One of these is the so-called "Cohen modal haplotype" characteristic of the Jewish priesthood, which is transmitted patrilineally (Thomas *et al.* 2000:677). Unlike the case of the Buyses, and in common with the participants of this research, descent from foreign entrants into African cultures in the case of the Lemba, has involved a retention of certain customs associated with the cultures of such forebears that co-exist with an otherwise total integration with local African cultures.



Figure 1.1. The wreck of the Grosvenor painted by George Carter⁴

⁴ Image copied from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wreck_of_the_Grosvenor

The casting ashore of Europeans onto the coast of Africa has also captured the artistic imagination. An oil painting by British artist George Carter dated circa 1795 depicts attempts made by some Grosvenor survivors to get to shore along a pulley attached to the rocks. Prior to that in 1791, just nine years after the wreck of the Grosvenor, another English painter, George Morland, produced a mezzotint depicting the comforting of survivors by Xhosa tribesmen, which he entitled 'African hospitality,' which is reproduced on the front cover. More recently, the acclaimed South African artist Andrew Putter borrowed Morland's term 'African hospitality,' using it as the theme for his exhibition at the Michael Stevenson Gallery in Cape Town in 2009-10.⁵ It comprised a series of five portraits in which he visualised not only Bessie (Gquma) but four other shipwreck survivors, two from the Grosvenor and two from earlier Portuguese wrecks. Gquma's story was also fictionalised by W.C. Scully in his *Transkei Stories* (1984), one of which was entitled *Gquma the White Waif* and recounted his perception of Bessie's rescue and subsequent life among the amaMpondo. In 2011, the East London Guild Theatre dramatized the story at their Grahamstown Festival fringe production, in a musical entitled 'Castaway'.



Figure 1.2. Portrait of Bessie as imagined by Andrew Putter⁶

⁵ Thanks to Dr Patricia Henderson for drawing my attention to this.

⁶ Image copied from http://archive.stevenson.info/exhibitions/putter/african_hospitality.htm

1.2. Research field

The research is located within the growing body of interdisciplinary scholarship that aims not so much to investigate phenomena from various discrete perspectives, but rather to seek ways in which collaboration between different disciplines can lead to the multi-layered interpretation of data and a more nuanced analysis (Newell and Green, 1982:23-5). In part this involves a review of the ways in which biological anthropology and the science of genetics have been used to further racist and classist social theories, and suggestions as to how contemporary social science and molecular biology can be combined for purposes other than exaggerating and then exploiting human biological variation. Another aspect of interdisciplinarity relates to the clan praises, oral histories and genealogies relating to clans descended from non-African forebears collected during the course of this research. These constitute the records of oral tradition, an indigenous mode of knowledge production that is considered here to be complementary rather than either inferior or superior to other modes of knowledge production. Such knowledge is valuable for its own sake, but I seek to go beyond simply recording it by assessing the ways in which oral histories overlap with documented histories on the one hand, and Y-chromosome DNA on the other, and by demonstrating the ways in which they have functional significance in contemporary communities.

The research attempts to interlink knowledge produced within and without the academy, allowing research participants to play a role in the co-production of the knowledge transcribed here, reflecting the transdisciplinary and even nondisciplinary (vernacular) nature of this research. The study was rendered possible precisely because of the avid interest by research participants in relating their oral histories and describing their ritual practices. This was because, as much as I valued the veracity and role of oral tradition, participants respected the solidity and permanence of written tradition. Out of respect to the people whose history this is, therefore, and in order that this work will satisfy their expectations as well as those within the academy, I have transcribed many interview extracts verbatim, and included all of them in the appendices. Although the living archive of oral tradition can never be fully represented in text, due to its very nature, this study records large volumes of information, much in the way of the traditional colonial archive, or early ethnographies, simply for the sake of posterity.

The research takes as its primary resource, what Foucault called "subjugated knowledges". It takes account of diverse data sets provided by other modes of knowledge

production, as well as voices from outside and within the academy. In the process, multiple aspects of the same story are revealed, some of which are discordant or even contradictory. In rejection of the notion that only one side of history is true, no attempt has been made to deliver a single unassailable truth. Discrepancies and incongruities are taken as inevitable and presented as such; a unified perspective represents a misguided attempt to present ideological harmony where none can exist (2.3).

This kind of approach, which is termed “polyphonic” by Tyler (1982), “dialogical” by Marcus (Marcus and Cushman, 1982:42) and as involving disciplinary and interdisciplinary conversations within and without the field by Gay y Blasco and Wardle (2007:121), has the potential to reconfigure traditional anthropological power relations and destabilise notions of ethnographic realism, or the perception of the anthropologist as all-knowing. The authority claimed by anthropologists, or awarded to them by readers, becomes “dispersed” (Marcus and Cushman, 1982:42), and constructions of self versus other and insider versus outsider are undermined (Mohan, 1999:50). “[D]ialogic research” collapses such dualities by changing power balances between anthropologists, their research participants, and the topic of research, so that knowledge is understood to be “generated inter-subjectively” without privileging any one form of knowledge over another (*ibid.*). This approach does not pretend that power relations can be dissolved, but proposes that they can be minimalised through acknowledgment and attempts to work productively within them (*ibid.*).

1.3. Goals and Plan

The goals of this research are threefold. Firstly, it will document and collate oral history while its custodians are still alive to impart it. As the younger generation becomes increasingly distracted by technology and popular culture, the centrality and significance of genealogical and ancestral influence is sure to decline. The oral will inevitably give way to the digital and information which has been passed along by word of mouth for hundreds of years will soon be irrevocably lost. The first intention of this project is to record the historical, biographical and genealogical details preserved in the oral traditions of exogenous Bomvana and Mpondo clans. Much of this has been translated into English for purposes of discussion and analysis here, which in the case of clan praises, is accompanied with transcriptions of the original isiXhosa renditions. In addition to this documented repository of oral tradition are MP3s of the interviews, which constitute a

fuller, vernacular repository. The recording of people's histories in their own voices in audio and documentary forms comprises the first goal of this work.

The centrality of clan membership to Cape Nguni conventions of social and ritual beliefs and practices presumably led to some European entrants into the culture founding new clans. As such, they became clan ancestors after death, and are still recalled by their descendants, according to the tenets of the ancestor religion. Their oral tradition is therefore a new one, rendered according to the patterns of an existing one. Their mode of ritual practice similarly, while recalling and affirming the European origins of clan founders, has been shaped in the form of established Cape Nguni tradition. The second goal of this work involves an analysis of these emergent oral traditions and ritual practices. Developed in response to social and ritual prerequisites, they provide a unique window into the production of knowledge – one specific mode of knowledge production to be sure – and the ways in which this is shaped by the context in which it is constructed. The harnessing of genetic research to test the oral tradition provides a further aspect of analysis of the oral tradition.

The third goal of this research involves the active attempt to disperse the authoritative voice of the anthropologist by sharing description and explanation with those whose history and contemporary beliefs and practices constitute the subject matter of this research. This represents an attempt to break down the dualisms of self and other or insider and outsider through the intersubjective construction of knowledge. Drawing as it does on the yields of various means of knowledge production, and taking the data thereby collected to be equally relevant, this study challenges stereotypical notions of knowledge production such as the alleged objectivity and verifiability of documented history and biological science, as against the subjectivity and inaccuracy of oral testimony. It explores the social and political aspects of knowledge production and feeds into contemporary and historical debates within anthropology and more broadly relating to the concepts of race, culture, and identity. These hierarchies of knowledge production and their social and ideological underpinnings will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 will describe the means by which research participants were identified, the field methods employed for collection of the various different kinds of data, and other methodological issues such as historiography and ethics. Chapter 4 will provide more detailed background into the contexts in which this research was conducted. The research area falls within the former Transkei, one of the Bantustans created in fulfilment

of Verwoerd's policy of separate development, which has indelibly shaped the region's history and political economy. The chapter will begin by looking at the broader historical, political and social milieu. It will then shift focus to the ethnographic context, by describing the participating clans and existing documented historical literature dealing with them, where such has been identified. These four introductory chapters comprise Part One.

Parts Two and Three comprise the ethnographic heart of the research, and Part four concludes the study by addressing the DNA aspect of the study and recapitulating the themes revealed through a combination of various sources of evidence.

2. Conceptual issues

The introductory chapter delineated various modes of knowledge production that can yield insights into the phenomena of clan formation based on foreign founders among the amaMpondo and amaBomvana. Heuristically, I suggested that these disparate data sets and associated methodologies should be treated as equally valid. There has been a regrettable tendency for disciplines such as biological science and history to assume greater reliability than the supposedly more subjective pursuits of ethnography and the collection of oral testimonies.

The present study challenges conventional hierarchies of knowledge production, and adds to a growing body of scholarship calling for the integration of indigenous and other knowledge systems, and a reimagining of the scientific project in general. It also contributes to dialogues concerning the concepts of race and culture, which have characterised the origin and development of anthropology as a discipline. To these disparate ends, the chapter briefly surveys western scholarship in general, and anthropology in particular, exploring the ways in which research has been premised on dichotomised and hierarchical worldviews that have been imposed not only on the subjects of study, but also within the academic establishment itself. It will consider the nature of power and power relationships, especially in so far as these impact on definitions of what constitutes knowledge, and who is seen to be eligible to construct and disseminate it. This review is necessary in order to contextualise the study itself, some of the research findings in Parts 2 and 3, and the discussion in Part 4, as will become apparent.

2.1. Western knowledge

The scholarship of the Ancient Greeks, which heavily influenced the Roman period, and its revival beginning with the Renaissance and the Reformation but notably with the Enlightenment, along with the Judaeo-Christian tradition, have contributed significantly to the development of European scholarship (Kuhn, 1985 126-8, Watson, 2005:128-131). In Ancient Greece, supernatural beliefs in a multitude of gods and their relationships with one another as well as ordinary mortals governed all aspects of life. This complex polytheistic mythological narrative of the exploits and influences of gods, many of whom were subject to extraordinarily human failings as well as supernatural powers, explained the human condition. Humans were understood to be descendants of the gods, not

separated from or essentially different to either the world itself as a natural environment, or the gods themselves. Philosophers, notably Aristotle, challenged this orthodoxy with more naturalistic theories. Christian mythology by contrast, was human- rather than god- or nature-centric, and based on the premise of only one supreme God who created man in his own image, and woman from the body of man. God had dominion over man, just as men did over women, and humans over animals and nature. Being inherently sinful – and women more so than men – humans fell from grace, separating themselves from their divine creator for the duration of their earthly life, and beyond that into eternity if they failed to obey the divine doctrine and fell victim to their sinful natures. Christianity, with its institutional strength was more successful at resisting naturalistic challenges to its dogma than Ancient Greek religion.

The notion of a divinely inspired hierarchy with its own creator at the pinnacle, followed at considerable distance below by men, then women, and finally the rest of the natural world, was built upon oppositions between supernatural and natural, men and women, and humans and animals. By representing hierarchical and oppositional models of power structure as divinely ordained, the Genesis creation myth naturalised and legitimised such models (Leach 1969). By positing human nature as inherently sinful, with adherence to religious dogma the only antidote, it established that what was natural was also undesirable, indeed evil. On the other hand, that which related to the supernatural, such as adherence to religious codes and dictums – in other words, that which was cultural – was established both as good and as correct. The distinction between what was natural as represented by the body, and what was spiritual and cultural as represented by the mind, was likewise normalised and legitimised through its presentation as preordained.

This religious credo took philosophical form in the work of René Descartes (1596-1650), who is widely attributed as having opened the way for the subsequent development of a positivist science of the body, and especially western biomedicine (Duncan 2000:488). Descartes translated the opposition between the sinful demands of the human body, and the saintly application of religious principles, into a division of the human subject into two separate entities of body and mind. His conceived mental/spiritual as against physical/bodily faculties were comprised of entirely different substances, the first thinking, indivisible and non-extended, the second, non-thinking, divisible and extended in space. Human bodies were subject to the same mechanical laws

as other bodies, but minds did not exist in space, and were not governed by mechanical laws (Ryle 2009[1949]). Descartes could not accept that "human nature differ[ed] only in degree of complexity from clockwork", that is that mental activity was simply another mechanical process. Therefore, although conceding that body and mind were "ordinarily harnessed together", he allowed for the preservation of his Christian belief by postulating that the soul was the property and domain of God, and as such, immortal, surviving death of the body. This separation of mental processes from all other physiological ones, has constituted what Ryle called the "official doctrine" (*ibid.*:1-8), from which perspective, nature is perceived to be amenable to forms of knowledge production quite different from those pertaining to the spiritual realm. By removing the human mind/soul from its temporary somatic abode, Descartes liberated it from scrutiny; as the province of God it was unknowable. The "machinelike" body (Ecks 2009:4, Lock and Farquhar 2007:19) on the other hand, was made available as a research domain.

For Descartes, the ability to think was autonomous from somatic existence, that is, the mind was able to formulate concepts and produce knowledge independently from physical or sensory experience. He believed that understanding could be achieved through the application of reason alone, as encapsulated in his quintessential rationalisation that the fact that he had thoughts proved his existence, *cogito ergo sum*. His perception that cogitation alone could produce knowledge provided the basis for rationalist philosophy. Rationalist philosophers such as Spinoza (1632–1677) and Leibniz (1646–1716) asserted that physical reality could be explained by the products of thought, and indeed that such knowledge was superior to any provided by sensory experience. This philosophy characterised the so-called "Age of Reason", during which a number of scholars were engaged in the 'Enlightenment project' of using rational explanations to dispel superstition and myth.

Descartes' contemporary, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) disagreed that the intellect was innate to the human condition, believing instead that humans were governed by biological instincts and propensities. The results of such biological determinism were evident in human tendencies such as conflict. For Hobbes, only the material – what could be observed – was real. His materialism was based on natural principles, and his understanding of human nature shaped by his observations of wild animals living in their natural habitats. He pre-empted the Darwinian or Malthusian perspective by seeing survival as dependent upon success in struggle, in the case of

humans, defining this as “quarrels” arising from “competition”, “diffidence” and “glory” (Hobbes 1651:185). The only difference between humans and animals, as far as he was concerned, was that the former were subject to a “social contract” that supplanted biological imperatives with social ones as the determinants of behaviour.

The ideas of Hobbes, together with others such as John Locke and David Hume, provided the basis of empiricist philosophy, which sought to replace conceptions that knowledge could be deduced from philosophical reflection and mathematical deduction alone, holding instead that it could only be arrived at through experiment and experience, and even then, seldom with 100% certainty. Instead, they sought causal explanations that neither evoked supernatural forces or beings, nor depended upon the application of thought, but were the result of direct experimentation and observation. John Locke (1632-1704) in particular brought a truer voice of reason by speaking out against the prevailing status quo that envisaged social position as predetermined according to allegedly “natural” or at least “divinely ordained” hierarchies, such as those used to justify racism, slavery, and the divine right of kings (although ignoring patriarchy). Biologically deterministic explanations of human cognition were similarly rejected, human mental capacities instead being understood not as predetermined, but infinitely malleable (Sperber 1985:2). Such explanations emphasised the role of social and cultural factors in the development and playing out of human nature, but still proceeded from the premise that these were fundamentally separated from physiological biological factors.

The emergence of western science as a product of the European Enlightenment, with its dualist notion of a physical world separate from and essentially different to spiritual and moral worlds, is considered to be the defining dichotomy on which western science and the western worldview have been premised. Hall (1992:224) explained how the emergence of “modern” society as a consequence of the European enlightenment, and the concurrent emergence of distinctive forms of knowledge “provided the framework within which modern social science and the idea of modernity were formulated.”

2.2. Social Constructivism

2.2.1. The construction of East and West

Enlightenment scholars extended notions of preordained inferiority already assigned to women and animals by Christianity, to include people who at that time were being

subjected to colonial contact and proto-anthropological scrutiny (Vermeulen, 2015). The initial mind/body dichotomy and perceived correlations between mind/culture/male/intellect and their allegedly natural superiority over body/nature/female/emotion were extended to include pure/civilised/science/white, and polluted/primitive/magic/black respectively. Again the implicit hierarchies were understood to be both predestined and unchallengeable. This essentialised depiction of the human condition, codified by the Cartesian split and extended to include race and culture as further markers of inferiority, has provided a template for subsequent attempts to understand human nature and culture, informing not only scientific theories, but also those coming from the humanities and social sciences. These pairs of binary oppositions are not only structurally intertwined with one another, but have also underpinned anthropological theory and practice throughout its history and development.

Anthropology sprang into being in the late nineteenth century, like western science, a product of its own historical context. European solipsism had been challenged by what was widely held to be the "discovery" of cultures "other" to its own, but was simply the realisation that the world was far larger, and its inhabitants very much more diverse, than had hitherto been imagined. A new academic discipline – anthropology – stepped into the breach, to explain the enormous variety of human culture that was becoming evident. The cultures encountered during the spread of European colonialism were cast as oppositional from the start, and the entire anthropological project premised on the explanation of these differences.

Hall (1992) noted that the opposition between 'civilised' and 'primitive' was also characterised as the "west" vs "rest" dichotomy, the former referring to the "developed, industrialised, urbanised, capitalist, secular and modern" societies that arose in Europe during the eighteenth century. These societies developed as the result of specific economic, political social and cultural conditions; where these did not obtain, the inhabitants were characterised as 'primitive' or 'barbaric', if not 'savages'. The west/rest dichotomy does not stand alone, but functions as "a system of representation" because it works together with other "images and ideas" so that "western" and "urban" become associated with "development" whereas "non-western = non-industrial = rural = subsistence-agricultural = under-developed" (*ibid.*).

The concepts are emotionally charged because ideas of "good" and "desirable" have been associated with the "developed west", whereas the non-west is seen as

"under-developed" which equates with "bad" and "undesirable". In this way, the distinction itself "provides criteria of evaluation against which other societies are ranked" and as such, "produces a certain kind of knowledge about a subject and certain attitudes toward it, in short, it functions as an ideology" (*ibid.*:186). According to Hall (*ibid.*:224), the "rest" was necessary for the "political, economic and social formation of the west", and also for the formation of "western forms of knowledge" and the western "sense of self" or "identity". Of the many "different ways of talking about itself and others" that were produced by western discourse, that of "the west and the rest" was "one of the most powerful and formative", and it

continues to inflect language of the west, its sense of us and them, racial inferiority and ethnic superiority still operate powerfully across the globe. West and rest is alive and well in language, models and assumptions of modern sociology (*ibid.*).

The notion of "the rest" being constructed in opposition to "the west" and contingent upon existent power relations and their perpetuation, was an elaboration of ideas originally proposed by Edward Said in his seminal work, *Orientalism* (2003[1978]). Said (*ibid.*:5) described the "Occident" and the "Orient" as "man-made [...] geographical sectors" that had been created within western discourses that represented them as dichotomous, with the latter cast as inferior and in opposition to the West. Said developed the concept of "Orientalism" to describe "knowledge" that was created in a context of political domination (*ibid.*:40-41), and which constituted a "style" of "dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (*ibid.*:3). In other words, Orientalism represented for Said, a "political doctrine" (*ibid.*:204), under which the "West" and the "Orient" were simply ideas that had been rendered "real" (*ibid.*:5). Arising from "human effort", that is constructed partly from affirmation and partly from each side's identification of the other, both concepts lacked "ontological stability" (*ibid.*:xii). Similarly, for Hall (1992:224), the west:rest dichotomy was a "construct" that determined the structure of thought and knowledge. It allowed for the classification of societies into different categories, condensing "a number of different characteristics into one picture – represent[ing] a composite picture of what different societies, cultures, peoples, places are like."

2.2.2. The construction of race and culture

The west:rest dichotomy was epitomised by the first anthropological theories in which the related concept of race took shape. The differences in skin colour, hair texture and

other physical differences that are evident between humans hailing from different continents are explained by Darwin's theory of biological evolution by natural selection. They are related to the adaptation of *Homo sapiens* to different climates and environments, having migrated out of Africa and populated the rest of the earth, or having remained in Africa and continued to adapt to changing conditions there. Waves of migration, followed by long periods of isolation resulted in phenotypic as well as cultural diversity among humans (Hirschman 2004:387).

The concept of race was originally a "folk idea" or "folk taxonomy", used in the same general sense as terms such as "kind" or "breed". In the 1800s, the term began to be used more widely, and debates about the origins of racial differences developed. Monogenesis, the idea that all humans originated from common origins, which was consistent with the biblical creation story, began to be replaced by the concept of polygenesis, the belief that different human races had separate origins and essentially belonged to different subspecies (Smedley and Smedley 2005:19, Lieberman *et al.*, 1989:68). Three such "racial stocks" were conceptualised, namely Caucasoid, Mongoloid and Negroid. The former were believed to have arisen in Europe, Mongoloids were understood to have Asian origins but included among others, Polynesians, Native Americans and Maori, and the Negroid race comprised Africans, including Khoisan, and also Australian aborigines. The racial typology was understood to constitute a hierarchy, with white Caucasians at the pinnacle and black Africans at the base, this grading being construed as scientifically verifiable, a position that has since been characterised as scientific racism.

Both cultural and physiological differences were understood to be biologically determined, that is to say genetically inherited and irreversible (Hirschman 2004:392). Variations between so-called 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' races were seen to be representative of a natural and/or God-given hierarchy. Early anthropological explanations for such differences were propounded by among others, Herbert Spencer (1820 – 1903), Edward Burnett Tylor (1832 – 1917), Lewis Henry Morgan (1818 – 1881), Henry Sumner Maine (1822–1888) and James George Frazer (1854 - 1873). Their so-called "social evolutionary" theories, aka Social Darwinism, co-opted Darwinian biological concepts and processes for the purposes of social explanation. Echoing Darwin's (1859) theory of natural selection, which had envisaged the slow progression of biological organisms from simple to more complex forms, social evolutionary theorists described

the evolution of social institutions as a means of adapting to changing social contexts, with the increasing development of complexity over time. Unlike Darwin's work, however, social Darwinism lacked any physical evidence, as institutions do not fossilise, and its reconstructions of pre-history were entirely speculative.

Social Darwinists believed that humans were born with innate psychological and cognitive capacities – a 'psychic unity of mankind' – and that all human societies had started out on the lowest rung of an evolutionary ladder, with their members possessing the ability to evolve more complex social forms. This entry-level human society was designated 'savagery' by Tylor, followed by 'barbarism' and ultimately 'civilisation'. Morgan further sub-divided these social stages, conceiving of 'lower savages' as comprising the most basic form of humanity, barely able to make a fire. From this point, each culture possessed the potential to evolve through middle and upper savagery and three similarly demarcated stages of 'barbarism', until such time as they invented the alphabet, heralding the dawn of 'civilisation'. Each of these technological advances was understood to involve concurrent 'advances' in marriage, law, religious belief, economic activity, and so on, and whereas other cultures had only achieved a certain level of progress, Europe had already reached the pinnacle. These unilineal evolutionary theories rested on a "largely unexamined and simple notion of human nature" (Bloch 2005:6):

The different groups of mankind advanced along a single necessary line of progress, from one stage to another. Technological or intellectual advances were the driving force for forward movement, but this was along a road which was traced by the internal potential of a shared human nature. The itinerary regarding politics, kinship, religion, morals and anything else, was thus universal and what varied was how far different groups had got pushed along.

The emergence of race as a means of defining groups of humans, the subsequent ranking of such groups, privileging some over others, and conceptions that natural and fundamental distinctions existed between them was therefore a product of the historical context of European imperialism, that is to say, modernity (Mullings 2005:670). According to Smedley and Smedley (2005:19), it was no coincidence that the development of the concept of race occurred at the very time that Europeans, Africans and Native Americans were interacting with one another in North America. This so-called 'new world' was allegedly based on principles of "equality, civil rights, democracy, justice, and freedom for all human beings", but involved the extermination of Native Americans and enslavement of Black Africans by European colonists. Against this background, the demotion of those 'other' than Europeans to non-human status justified genocide and

slavery, and the concepts of "White", "Black" and "Indian" came to signify natural social categories based on "human differences" (Mullings 2005:671-2, Lusca 2008, Lieberman *et al.* 1989:71-2). The portrayal of social inequality as natural and permanent went on both to underlie and to rationalise atrocities such as American eugenics programmes of the early twentieth century as well as segregation in the South, Nazi exterminations of Jews and others before and during WWII, and apartheid in South Africa, among other atrocities (Mullings 2005:669, Smedley and Smedley 2005:20).

The concept of race involved the transformation of physical traits into signifiers of social identity and status, which were then used to justify racist beliefs and policies (Lieberman *et al.* 1989:71-2, Smedley and Smedley 2005:22). As early as 1904, the American anthropologist Franz Boas pointed out that as much as biological anthropologists had attempted to classify human races as separate from one another they had failed to do so (Lieberman *et al.* 1989:68). The notion that human races belonged to different species has never been upheld by biology, which has always recognised the ability to interbreed as constituting membership of the same species. There is now consensus among biologists, anthropologists and other scholars that racial groups are not "genetically discrete" or "scientifically meaningful" and cannot be measured (Smedley and Smedley 2005:16). More recent developments in the field of genetics have clearly demonstrated the common origins of all human beings, thereby definitively invalidating alleged biological foundations for the concept of race such as notions of polygenesis, and hence irrevocably undermined the premises from which scientific racism proceeded.

One of the first anthropologists to actively counter scientific racism was Frans Boas, when he refuted the linguist Daniel Garrison Brinton's assertion that variations in the pronunciation of the same sound from one utterance to another was due to their "lack of sophistication" and "low developmental stage" (Bunzl in Boon 2008:19-20). Boas, having noticed the same phenomenon himself among the Kwakiutl, tested Brinton's hypothesis and deduced that apparent alterations in pronunciation heard by the transcriber were in fact "alternating apperceptions of one and the same sound" as he processed "unknown sounds" according to the "sounds of his own language." Far from being "a sign of primitiveness", these alleged "mispronunciations" were sounds misheard and altered according to expectations stemming from the transcriber's language and experience (Boas 1889:51-2).

Boas' observation showed the extent to which what is perceived is neither neutral nor objective, but subject to misperception according to the cultural norms and expectations of the perceiver. Just as what was unfamiliar was processed according to what was familiar in the case of European philologists "hearing" Native American phonemes, Boas realised that an anthropologist's understanding of the cultures they study is filtered through their own cultural and normative expectations. As such, it was not possible to understand any culture according to the tenets of another, but only on the basis of its own unique historical and cultural context. This assumption provided the foundation of his theoretical perspective of historical particularism.

Boas shifted the conception of culture from something singular and universal, to 'cultures' in the plural, each the product of its own unique history, and only understandable in terms of its own emic rationale. This doctrine of 'cultural relativism' was explicitly launched as an attack on the growing racism of the day, of which Brinton's interpretation of Native American linguistics provides a classic example. Boas and his followers rejected the biological determinism of social Darwinism, and its conceptions of the parallel, unilinear development of highly specific cultural forms. Instead they emphasised the unique social and historical determinates of each cultural context and the cultural determinates of human development. The nature vs nurture debate took shape as a reaction against the scientific racism that underlay social evolutionary theories, with Boas taking a leading role. He and his supporters endorsed Locke's characterisation of the infant mind as a *tabula rasa* or 'blank slate' to be written upon by enculturation and socialisation, the only means by which behavioural and cognitive as well as social attributes were acquired. Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and other anthropologists influenced by Boas demonstrated the extreme "malleability" of the human mind in their ethnographies, showing that no human thought or act was independent of culture. Where social evolutionary theorists understood human culture to comprise fixed sets of technological and cultural constellations, instinctually acquired at differential rates, Boas posited a multiplicity of cultures, each the product of and shaped by its own historical conditions, and equally bounded. Their emphasis on each culture as a product of specific historical and social forces countered the biological determinism of social Darwinism (Wright, 1998:8).

During the first half of the twentieth century, the notion of culture as a "domain of analysis" or "descriptive conceptual tool" shifted to become "something out there" that

functioned as an “explanatory concept”, becoming a “thing” much in the same way as “market” “economy” or “state”. The rise of nationalism and related partition of the world into nation states emphasised distinction, treating countries as “obvious units of analysis”. The study of ‘primitive’ cultures mimicked this state-centrism, essentialising the notion of culture so that “the Iroquois”, “the Samoans” and so on were each understood to have “one economy, one history and one social life” like France or the United States. The essentialisation of the concept was equally apparent in British anthropological concepts such as “total social fact” and “social structure”. Malinowski and his students argued for the rationality, coherence and authenticity of each distinct culture; Radcliffe-Brown and his students placed more emphasis on the social structure. In spite of significant differences between their theoretical approaches, anthropologists on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean shared a conception of the world as consisting of a number of distinct peoples, each comprising a different culture, understood to be a fixed and stable entity amenable to categorisation and description (Kuper 1996 [1973], Trouillot 2002:42-3, Wright 1998:8).

The concept of culture came to represent small scale and bounded entities comprised of “identical homogenous individuals” who shared perceptions and systems of meaning. The characteristics of each culture reproduced themselves and did not change over time and could therefore be defined definitively (Wright, 1998:9). Recent scholars have rejected such perceptions of culture as homogenous or “highly patterned, cohesive, and coherent set[s] of representations (or beliefs) that constitute people’s perception of reality” (Wenner-Gren Foundation, 2000:2). Eric Wolf, for example, in his seminal book, *Europe and the People without History*, (1982:3-4) discussed the development of the concept of culture as part of modernity. He referred to the tendency among European scholars to divide the “world of humankind” into various “bits” each of which was conceptualised as distinct from others so that each “nation”, “society” or “culture” was understood to be an “integrated and bounded system” or “fixed entity” existing in opposition to others. In this “false” construction of reality, the “quintessential West” was set in opposition to an equally “quintessential East”, while the remainder, or “Third World”, made up an underdeveloped “residual category” that was contrasted with both the “developed West” and the “developing East”. These divisions, according to Wolf (*ibid*:22-23), with reference to the work of Frank (1966, 1967) and Wallerstein (1974) are false because of the many ways in which contact, connection and interrelation has

taken place between the world's peoples. Frank and Wallerstein's explanations of the spread of global capitalism highlighted the unequal exchange between wealthy and impoverished nations, which have served to entrench both polarities. Their work indicated the extent to which the peoples of the world were involved in a "totality of interconnected processes" (*ibid.*:3).

The concept of culture as something fixed, bounded, static, shared uniformly by all group members, and reproduced intact across the generations (Wenner-Gren Foundation 2000:2, Wikan 1999:62) cannot hold in the face of numerous and diverse interactions that have occurred between people over space and time, which have ensured both flux and discontinuity. This concept of culture developed alongside colonialism, and like that of race has functioned as a means of exploiting differences to legitimise conquest and slavery. Treated as something "fixed", to be revered and respected, it has become a holy cow used in defence of special interests, while frequently obscuring self-interest, abuse of power and racism (Wikan 1999:57-8). Such essentialism deems culture to be more worthy of respect than individuals. When people are cast as 'exotic' and 'other', they are dehumanised, portrayed as "caught in the web of culture", and hence lacking agency, responsibility or the ability to adapt to changing conditions". Those living in the 'west', or 'us', by contrast, are perceived as active agents, able to think and reason. Masquerading as a means of showing respect, this reductionist conception of culture has replaced that of race in explaining 'them' as "lesser human beings than 'us'" (*ibid.*) and the concepts of race and culture have both been used to rationalise inequality (Mullings 2005:669).

The concepts of 'west', 'rest', 'race' and 'culture' have for the most part been taken as given, understood to reflect core principles underlying the human condition. Their use in the explanation of human difference has been central to the western academic tradition, especially anthropology, and the western worldview in general. All of these concepts have subsequently been implicated in the hierarchical and segregationist worldviews and policies that have shaped and legitimised colonialism. Although Boas' conception of culture was designed with the explicit intention of moving the focus away from racist explanations for cultural diversity, it has since been seen that the concept of culture – just like that of race – has construed certain people and their worldviews and modes of knowledge production as 'other' to and implicitly 'less than' those who live in the industrialised 'west'. The concepts have been critiqued by anthropologists and other

scholars who have emphasised the extent to which knowledge does not reflect autonomous or underlying truths, but is a cultural product shaped by the context in which it arises.

The concept of race for example, is socially constructed because it is what Searle (1995) calls "ontologically subjective". That is to say, that race does not exist in the way that a mountain does, but was the product of particular historical conditions and depends upon the "collective agreement" of social groups in order to be meaningful. Racism is a by-product of the concept of race which was constructed alongside the concepts of west and the rest. Similarly, the concept of culture is "just an idea, a word that can be filled with various kinds of contents depending on one's vantage point" but does not have an objective or material existence (Wikan, 1999:57). Such social constructions were set up European conquerors in opposition to their colonial subjects, essentialising both as polarised and disparate categories, and functioning ideologically to legitimise and justify European imperialism. The alleged neutrality and impartiality of western science was co-opted as further evidence that racial difference was something real and meaningful. The realisation that such concepts reflect perceptions of social reality that have been constructed and perpetuated by dominant social groups is part of an intellectual movement that has been termed the "constructivist turn". Constructivists emphasise the extent to which social reality and knowledge are not autonomous or based on value-free facts awaiting scientific discovery, but are actively created, produced by the particular historical and cultural contexts in which they emerge, and shaped by factors such as language, social convention and political power (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:51-55).

There is now agreement among evolutionary biologists, anthropologists and other scholars that racial categorisation is subjective, arbitrary and biologically meaningless, which has been corroborated by the fact that it cannot be accounted for genetically as advances in DNA analysis have definitively disproved the existence of race at a biological level (Shih *et al.* 2007:125-6, Smedley and Smedley 2005:16). Similarly in the case of 'culture', critiques of the essentialised perspective of cultures as "delineable wholes", "internally homogenous, [... and] mutually exclusive" when they are involved in continuous processes of change have led to increasing dissatisfaction with the concept. Some anthropologists have gone so far as calling for its "banning" on account of its essentialist, racist, ahistorical and static characteristics (Fox and King 2002:1-2, Berg-Sørensen *et al.* 2010:39, Wilson 2002).

2.2.3. The construction of kinship

In spite of the racism implicit in social evolutionary theories, and the conception that racial and cultural differences were inborn and immutable, all humans were understood to share an underlying 'psychic unity'. The speculated evolution of Europeans from 'primitive' to 'civilised' states implied that those cultures judged as occupying 'lower stages' of 'savagery' or 'barbarism', nevertheless possessed the capacity to evolve, that is to acquire in time, 'higher' social forms. Indeed, the role of Europe was originally understood to include facilitation of precisely such a transition, as epitomised in Kipling's (1899) poem, *The white man's burden*,⁷ which captures simultaneously the attitude of Europeans towards their colonial subjects as "half-devil and half-child" and their perceived duty of "serv[ing] their captives' need" (for civilisation). From the perspective of social evolutionists, inherent inferiority did not preclude the capacity for social evolution and hence ultimately, 'civilisation'. This notion of a 'psychic unity of mankind' was not explicitly utilised by subsequent cultural determinists, whose rejection of immutable biological causes of cultural difference nonetheless implicitly accepted underlying human similarities, albeit in terms of actual cognitive and cultural parity. In spite of differing and even conflicting trends within the discipline, and notwithstanding charges of racism and culturalism, the focus of anthropologists on cultural differences has always been premised on more fundamental notions of human similarity. This is true of anthropology not only historically, but also contemporaneously.

In his rejection of kinship as a social construct based on western misperceptions, David M Schneider (1918-1995), appealed less to underlying cultural similarities, focussing instead on what he perceived to be profound cultural differences. When in 1865, John McLennan (1827 – 1881) put forward his social evolutionary theory of kinship in *Primitive Marriage* (1865), he distinguished between "the facts of blood relationship" and "ideas about kinship" (in Schneider 1984:166-7). Facts of blood relationship stemmed from filial relationships between parents & children, and fraternal relationships between

⁷ The first verse of Kipling's poem clearly demonstrates the kind of paternalism and racism embraced by European colonialists:

"Take up the White Man's burden,
Send forth the best ye breed
Go bind your sons to exile, to serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness, On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples, Half-devil and half-child" (Kipling, 1899).

siblings. These facts of kinship were innate and natural, leading to the creation of “natural unalterable bonds”, “feelings of ‘kindred’” and “instinctive affection”.

Ideas of kinship on the other hand derived from the “intelligent observation of these facts” and were cultural rather than natural (*ibid.*). Other social evolutionary theorists including Morgan, Maine, Spencer and Durkheim also emphasised the role of kinship in the history and evolution of human culture (*ibid.*:165). The next generation of anthropologists, including Malinowski, Radcliffe-Browne, Fortes, Firth, and Levi-Strauss, saw kinship as the major institution of ‘primitive society’ and invested much time in its study. They all agreed with McLennan that kinship was a quality of human nature, biologically determined and innate. Arising from the process of human sexual reproduction, the bonds of kinship were seen as stronger than any other bonds over which they took priority, leading to instinctual behaviours between kin members (*ibid.*). Classical kinship theorists therefore differentiated between what they defined as ‘real’ or ‘true’ kinship bonds on the one hand, and ‘fictive’, ‘putative’ or ‘classificatory’ ones on the other. The former stemmed from consanguineal or affinal bonds, whereas the latter were based on neither blood nor marriage. Kinship was understood to be an essentially biological process, innate and part of human nature, regardless of cultural aspects attached to it (Schneider 1984:172).

Schneider (1984) disagreed that kinship bonds were innate and instinctual. According to him, the notion that kinship bonds were determined by the presence or absence of biological ties and genealogical proximity (filial relations being closer than fraternal ones for example) was based on what he called the “fundamental assumption” of kinship. The notion that the bonds inherent in kinship were determined by “the biological nature of human nature” and more powerful than any other social bonds, and that this was universal, holding true across all cultures, derived from the assumption that “blood is thicker than water”. The assumption that kinship and genealogical relations were the same universally despite cultural interpretations was dubbed by Schneider as the “Doctrine of the Genealogical Unity of Mankind” (*ibid.*:174). He believed that the assumption stemmed from the “ethnoepistemology” of European culture that tended to understand humanity in terms of natural or biological predispositions, and that while the definition of kinship in terms of relations arising out of processes of sexual reproduction may have been applicable in the European context it was not universally applicable. In his opinion, the fact that this “fundamental assumption of classical kinship studies” was

unable to withstand scrutiny meant that “the comparative study of kinship should be abandoned” (*ibid.*:175-7).

2.2.4. Constructivism in anthropology

The Constructivist perspective dates back from intellectual movements associated with recent thinking in the social sciences and humanities that have rejected the certainties claimed by natural sciences such as biology, physics and chemistry, positing instead that the alleged “reality” described by these sciences has in fact been the product of social construction. (Mokrzyan 2014:1-3). Social constructivism shifted the epistemological focus from the “what of knowledge” to the “how”, that is to say from the alleged discovery of neutral and objective facts to the ways in which social and political factors mediated the construction of such “facts” (*ibid.*:2). The perspective has been identified with a number of “turns”, beginning with the “Linguistic Turn” in the late 1960s, which criticised logical positivist philosophy and located language at the core of philosophical reflection.

The concept of constructivism was subsequently taken up by anthropologists in what has become known as the “Interpretive Turn” initiated by Rabinow, Geertz and others in the late 1970s. Picking up on the idea that objective facts or truths did not exist, following Foucault, they conceptualised culture as a “set of discourses which structure the world” (Lye 2008) and as such, like a text, are open to interpretation. The role of the anthropologist therefore was “not the elucidation of a pre-existing truth or meaning that is objectively ‘there’ but as the positing of meaning by interpreters in the context of their conceptual world” (Lye, 2008). The third phase of social constructivism, or so-called “Rhetorical Turn” is also known as “rhetorical constructivism”. The word ‘rhetoric’ , according to the Merriam Webster online dictionary, is

the art of speaking or writing effectively [...], the study of principles and rules of composition formulated by critics of ancient times [...], the study of writing or speaking as a means of communication or persuasion [...], skill in the effective use of speech [...], a type or mode of language or speech [... and] insincere or grandiloquent language (Merriam-Webster-Dictionary 2017).

Of most relevance in the above definition are the terms “writing effectively” and “writing [...] as a means of [...] persuasion”. The reference to “principles [...] formulated by critics of ancient times” is however a useful place to start, because as Mokrzyan (2014:4-5) points out, early philosophers such as Plato, Locke, Bacon and Kant all intended to expel rhetoric from philosophical and scientific discourse on the grounds that it limited expression to *dóxa* or common opinion, “tangle[d] the relationship of words and

things” and therefore obscured reality. The modernist project by contrast, revolved around the “triumph of things over signs, plain style over rhetoric and reason over passion”, thereby extending *épistémé* or true knowledge. It was based on an assumption that language could be used transparently, that it corresponded directly with truth and faultlessly reflected reality.

Rhetorical constructivists contend that to the contrary, “common-sense” scientific and philosophical explanations for “bio-socio-cultural reality” as well as “selves and societies,” are “symbolic constructions” (*ibid.*:2). Rhetorical constructivist anthropologists argue that because our understanding of social and cultural phenomena is determined by “rhetorical conventions” and interpreted according to “rhetorical tropes,” it is not possible to eliminate “figurativeness”, i.e. rhetoric, from anthropological discourse (*ibid.*:5). They have questioned assumptions that anthropological texts are transparent and objective, pointing out the ways in which rhetorical techniques are employed by anthropologists in order to present ethnographic texts as reliable. Lacking any absolute “theoretical proof”, ethnographic “authority” has instead come from the extent to which the rhetoric has been “effective” and “persuasive”, principally to academic peers.

Representations of ‘other’ cultures by traditional anthropologists have been complicit in perpetuating the “dangerous illusion” that comprehensive knowledge about such cultures could be achieved. In reality, such texts were manifestations of the power relations between the cultures of anthropologists those of the ‘others’ they represented. In addition, they failed to acknowledge the extent to which members of any cultural context who have different political interests, such as men and women, or homosexual and heterosexual individuals, may have utterly opposing perspectives regarding the same culture. By assuming one correct perspective, mainly culled by male anthropologists from male interlocutors, ethnographers “take sides” with one political stance to the exclusion of others, thereby forgoing any possibility of political neutrality (Mokrzan 2014:6-9, Gay y Blasco & Wardle 2007).

2.2.5. Knowledge and power

Social constructivism formed part of the postmodern critique of the modernist belief that scientific methods could reveal absolute and objective truth. Proponents spoke out not only against science, but all ‘metanarratives’ or attempts to explain every aspect of society that claimed ultimate authority, including not only theoretical perspectives such as Functionalism, Feminism, Marxism etc., but also religious and political ideologies such

as Christianity, Islam, Communism and Capitalism. All such claims of complete unqualified knowledge or universal validity were rejected by these thinkers who emphasised the extent to which the production and content of "knowledge" were neither neutral nor objective processes, but contingent on the social and historical contexts in which they emerged. In the case of western scholarship, the creation of texts and their interpretation were understood to be influenced by prevailing notions in which hierarchies of gender, class, race and culture were seen as inevitable and immutable. The physical sciences, humanities and social sciences were all castigated as reflections of inherent power relations.

One of the foremost thinkers to describe the creation and shaping of knowledge according to dominant norms or the close association between power and knowledge was Michel Foucault, who, some fifty years ago reflected on changes that had been taking place in the intellectual landscape since the early sixties. He used the concept of 'discourse' to describe the creation and shaping of 'truth' according to 'scientific' yardsticks and concurrent marginalisation of other modes of understanding. In the first of two lectures delivered in 1976, he spoke of the way in which the "very bedrock of existence" had been attacked, thereby exposing the "fragility" of treasured "institutions, practices and discourses" (Foucault 1976:80). The "theoretical unity" of "global totalitarian theories" such as Marxism and psychoanalysis had been disrupted, and their "inhibiting effect" countered as it was seen that thinking "in terms of a totality [...] proved a hindrance to research" (*ibid.*:80-81). In the process, what he called "subjugated knowledges" had come to the fore. These were on the one hand "blocs of historical knowledge" that had been "buried and disguised in a functionalist coherence or formal systemisation" and on the other, "low-ranking knowledges" that were "incapable of unanimity", which had been "disqualified from the hierarchy of knowledges and sciences". Such knowledges were the result of "an autonomous non-centralised kind of theoretical production" and their "validity was not dependent on the approval of the established regimes of thought". They had been revealed by critical scholarship and demonstrated the extent to which it was not theory or knowledge that mattered, but life and reality. These marginalised knowledges provided a means by which the hegemony of modern scientific discourse could be contested (*ibid.*:81-82).

At the same time, as observed by de Wet (2016) in his reflections of more than 30 years anthropological research in Catha Village, Keiskammahoek, Eastern Cape, power

dynamics are not absolute but ever-shifting (*ibid.*:76). While colonial and apartheid governments had the 'power' to "decide what [...] count[ed] as knowledge (*ibid.*:72), villagers also utilised the "bureaucratic record-keeping, administrative and legal system to their own advantage, [for example in negotiating] their own internal disputes" (*ibid.*:71) and through potentially blocking his access to the community post 1994 (*ibid.*:75). In charting his extended relationship with villagers and their growing acceptance of him as a "person in his own right" (*ibid.*:74), he describes shifts in the way in which research was perceived by participants from "something that happens to them" (*ibid.*: 76) to their participation in "wider moral and intellectual relationships (*ibid.*: 76) as "part of a wider knowledge community (*ibid.*:71).

2.3. Other Ways of Knowing

The subjugated or marginalised knowledges referred to by Foucault include those of ordinary people, such as nurses for example, who operate from a position of deep understanding and vast practical experience which is seldom recognised or acknowledged by medical science. In the context of this study however, it is Foucault's second form of subjugated knowledge that is relevant. These are the bodies of knowledge held by non-western ascientific peoples, from medical to historical, that have been produced and transmitted over considerable periods of time, and continue to bear contemporary relevance. This section will consider first indigenous knowledge in general and then oral history in particular, with reference to how both have been traditionally marginalised but more recently recognised as valid. The section will conclude by broadening the net of knowledge production even further to look at interdisciplinary and more importantly transdisciplinary collaboration and why such moves away from specialisation and compartmentalisation are necessary.

2.3.1. Indigenous Knowledge Systems

Western understandings and characterisations of humans as individuals and as groups have for the most part been in terms of ranked positions based on gender, race, class and culture, all of which have been perceived to involve inherent and unchanging moral, cognitive and behavioural characteristics. The resultant power relations in turn have been conceived of as ordained by nature or supernature, and therefore unassailable. This ideology echoes the hierarchy and dichotomy inherent in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Similarly, according to the principles of western categorisation, modes of knowledge

production and their credibility are understood to constitute a natural hierarchy with pure sciences such as mathematics at the top, down through other natural sciences, social sciences, humanities and pseudo sciences, with indigenous knowledge systems bringing up the rear.

It is however a misconception that scientific thought originated in Europe, because many of the developments stemmed from unacknowledged advances in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, biology, engineering, and the scientific method, among many others, originated with Chinese, Indian, Arabian and other early scholars between 8 and 13 CE (Teresi 2002, De Kosky & Allchin 1999). This neglect is mirrored in the way that non-western scientific enterprises that do not conform to western standards of scholarship and research practice, and literary forms that are not documented in text, are similarly considered inferior to those produced according to such principle and practice. This is so despite the fact that the implicitly scientific nature of much human behaviour has been recognised by many anthropologists (Nader 1996:4).

Malinowski was one of the first to acknowledge the value of knowledge obtained by modes other than those preferred and utilised in the west, though only to limited extent, when in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, he he observed that

‘savage races’ lack neither ‘scientific attitude’ nor science in that [...] no art or craft however primitive could have been invented or maintained, no organised form of hunting, fishing, tilling or search for food could be carried out without the careful observation of natural process and firm belief in its regularity, without the power of reasoning and without confidence in the power of reason; that is, without the rudiments of science (Malinowski 1925:21).

Since then, so called ‘ethnoscience’ such as Horton (1967) and Atran (1998) among others, have demonstrated parallels between indigenous knowledge systems and western science. More recently, scholars from within or on behalf of indigenous communities have called for the adoption of indigenous knowledge systems as legitimate means of understanding and explanation, as valid as those produced by western modes of knowledge production. Scholars such as Gehl *et al.* (2010) and Battiste (2005), have written about The *Algonquin Anishinabe* worldview of Canadian Native Americans, emphasising how their indigenous knowledge comprises a “complete knowledge system with its own concepts of epistemology, and its own scientific and logical validity” (Battiste 2005:4). Similarly, proponents of *Kaupapa Māori* Theory in New Zealand such as Reynolds (2004), Mane (2009) and Pihama (2010) seek to decolonise mainstream academic theory. Locally, Goduka (2005, 2012) has spoken about a need to shift from a

positivist to indigenous-based approach, and Pitika Ntuli (2002) has posited similarities between Quantum theory and African conceptions of the world in that both permit the simultaneous existence of yes and no, either and or. All these scholars emphasise the need to liberate thought from the binary oppositions that characterise European scholarship.

Criticisms have also been levelled against western scientific enquiry from within the western academic establishment itself. As long ago as 1959, the English chemist and novelist Charles Percy Snow spoke of a "cultural divide" between scientists and "literary intellectuals". Depicting these academic groups as "two cultures" that shared very little intellectual, moral or psychological common ground, and barely communicated with one another; he perceived this divide to exist across the western world. As far as he was concerned, scientists and arts scholars had distorted images of one another and were located on either side of a "gulf of mutual incomprehension". He characterised science as a culture in the anthropological sense because of the way in which scientists tended to share common attitudes, standards, modes of behaviour and assumptions that cut across other mental patterns such as those provided by religion, politics and class. Similarly, "literary intellectuals were ignorant of science and hence also impoverished" (Snow 1990[1959]:169-171). Snow called for practitioners of both sides to build bridges for the benefit of society and progress of human knowledge, but although some sixty years have passed, his vision remains unrealised (Krauss 2009).

Philosophers of science working in the 1960s and 70s began to question the alleged objectivity of western science, suggesting that it was just as dependent on cultural factors as any other mode of knowledge production. In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* for example, Thomas Kuhn (1962) challenged the 'neutrality' of scientific facts, pointing out how they were influenced by the social and political positions of the scientists who created them. Similarly, in *Against Method*, Feyerabend (1974) rejected the universal applicability of western scientific methodologies. These thinkers sought to show that instead of being ideologically neutral and based purely on allegedly objective facts, western science was a product of its cultural context. Hence it was not only subjective, but also ideological, and therefore had social and political implications. As most western scientists were at that time middle-class white men, their concerns and biases were necessarily reflected in their research questions, data analyses and resulting

findings, many of which were premised on racist and patriarchal assumptions (Goldenberg 2006:2624-5).

Snow's notion of science as a culture, and these observations made by philosophers of science, were developed by proponents of the so-called "science-studies". Following on from the work of Critical Medical Anthropologists such as Merrill Singer, Hans Baer and others who had asserted that despite widespread convictions regarding the objectivity and absolute verifiability of western biomedicine, it was not free of bias, and every bit as cultural as other healing systems, science studies scholars including Nader (1996), Marks (2009), Franklin (1995) and Martin (1998) argued that western science was only one among other ways of knowing, and hence just as shaped by the culture in which it emerged as any other knowledge system. As such, there was no reason why it should not be subject to social scientific scrutiny in the same way as other aspects of culture.

Nader (1996:1-5) pointed to the role of social evolutionary theorists as instrumental in separating science from other forms of knowledge by characterising a belief in magic as part of 'lower' cultures, whereas religion and science were germane to 'higher' ones. Western science was considered unrelated and superior to superstition and occult practices. It was also understood to be somehow detached from and above ordinary life. Understood as separate from and superior to both 'pseudoscience' and religion, western science has been perceived as value-free and autonomous, untainted by the social, political and economic context in which it is embedded. Various science scholars have critiqued the so-called 'citadel' of western science. Nader (1996:6) for example, argued that in its occupation of an uncontested and privileged position of power, accepted as absolute both by its own practitioners and the wider world beyond, science has become decontextualized from the rest of society, and totally lacking in reflexivity. She questioned the assumption that "such a narrowly demarcated science restricted to western ways of knowing" could constitute a valid source of truth, and went further to contend that "western rationality is not the benchmark criterion by which other cultural knowledge should be evaluated" Nader (*ibid.*:3).

2.3.2. Recognising History

Preliterate and preindustrial peoples have not only been considered to lack science, but also history. Europeans "claimed history as their own" while denying that of others, who were "participants in the same historical trajectory" (Wolf 1982:23). The "tacit

anthropological supposition that [precapitalist, preindustrial] people [... are] without history", essentially erases 500 years of colonialism by denying the "ongoing relationships and involvements" between the world's inhabitants (*ibid.*:18). The perspective critiqued by Wolf was particularly evident in the ahistorical perspective taken by structural functionalist anthropology. Radcliffe-Brown (in Harris 1969:524-5) attempted to justify this by pointing out that he was not anti-history as such, but what he called "pseudo-history". Since most of the societies studied by anthropologists lacked written historical records, anthropologists relied on conjecture and imagination to invent "pseudo-historical" or "pseudo-causal" explanations in the construction of their histories.

Radcliffe-Brown, among others at that time, was engaged in critique and rejection of the then current social evolutionary and diffusionist theories, which had been fundamentally historical; a history however that was based entirely on speculation according to the principles of evolutionary progression and the spread of technology respectively. Radcliffe-Brown's point was that he did not reject the importance of history as such, but that it had to be reliable and not based on conjecture. As he believed it impossible to obtain useful or reliable historical information from preliterate cultures, their histories were not so much irrelevant as impossible to know (*ibid.* 1968:524-6). For Malinowski (1948[1926]:85) on the other hand, history was embodied in the "cultural fact," in the form of mythology. For him, mythology was understood by members of 'primitive cultures' to be the "real cause" of their "social grouping[s]," "moral rule," rites and customs. As such, it served as a "warrant," "charter," or "practical guide to [...] activities." Unlike Radcliffe-Brown's perspective of the history of 'primitive cultures' as being unknowable, Malinowski believed that it was both visible and functional, performing roles of explanation and justification for present social and ritual relations. His explanation of mythology as performing a social function based on the replication of historical precedents, did not however imply that accurate historical facts could be gleaned from contemporary understandings of the past.

It was only in the early sixties that scholars began to perceive that the histories of pre literate peoples were not only accessible, but also valid. The first to allege this was the Belgian historian, Jan Vansina. Although he had studied anthropology as well as history, he was working as an historian in the 1950s and 60s when only official written documents were accepted as historical sources (Newbury, 2007:215). Vansina sought to broaden the scope of historical inquiry to include "neglected social categories" such as

those Wolf subsequently described as “people without history”. According to Newbury (*ibid.*:214),

[h]is interests were in redefining the scope of historical inquiry, not only in method, but by redefining the relevant actors – to include not only the wealthy and powerful, and not only westerners, but many categories of people. However, to do so he had to operate within the rigorous confines of historical methodology of the day – to prove that within this broader field the historical actors were truly “historical agents” according to the canons of the day. It was not enough to satisfy himself that Africans had a history: he had to present this in such a way that all historians could see that. Acceptance within a universal field of history was his goal.

Vansina realised that if the social field was to expand beyond that of privileged and influential Europeans, historical methodology would also have to expand to include oral accounts as valid historical sources, something western historians at that time were disinclined to acknowledge. He proposed that oral narratives were essentially analogous to documents and as such, that plenty of historical sources could be identified in Africa, and understood according to the “same critical apparatus as western written sources”. Oral testimony, together with principles drawn from archaeology, ethnography and linguistics could be used to reconstruct the histories of people living in preliterate cultures. Vansina’s work in Central Africa led him to assert not only that Africa had a history, but that “it was knowable in the same terms as history in Europe” (Newbury 2007:213-7).

Although Vansina wanted historians to consider oral accounts of history as legitimate sources, he did not expect them to abandon the highly structured historical techniques of the day. Indeed, as Newbury (*ibid.*:218) points out, he reaffirmed the “analytic conventions” of 1950s historicity, only calling for their equal application to “other classes, races, cultures, and sources”. Vansina believed that only one single version of historical truth existed, and that apparent contradictions in oral testimonies could be resolved through the application of historical methods in order to reveal the one true story (*ibid.*:250-51). European historians however continued to insist that whether or not Africa had a history, it could not be known without written sources. At the same time, Africanists pointed out that the conventions of historical analysis, which had been developed for the analysis of western texts, were not applicable to African sources and history because they were too “fixed and limiting”. They criticised Vansina for misunderstanding and misrepresenting the “essential character of communication and collective knowledge in oral societies”, and for his approach which was found to be too structured and inflexible for application in such contexts. His work thus “offended [...]

historians who neglected Africans; and those interested in African societies who neglected history" (*ibid.*:216-9).

Vansina's thinking did however eventually lead to transformation both in the understanding of Africa, and in the discipline of history (*ibid.*:214). Modern historians accept oral accounts as valid historical sources, although not entirely according to the tenets defined by Vansina because they no longer understand the contradictions implicit in oral testimonies to be "alternative variants of a single tradition". Instead they recognise that a "single presentation" might well contain "multiple histories" (*ibid.*:250). Vansina's call for an expansion of the historical gaze was criticised from all quarters, and his vision of history as comprising a single discernible truth rejected, but his primary call for the recognition of oral tradition as legitimate historical material has subsequently been realised. As Newbury (*ibid.*) points out,

the point is not necessarily to transcend these differences to arrive at a broader vision of a given history. Instead the goal is to craft a discourse that accepts these unresolved contradictions as essential to history, to incorporate them as central to history, which then becomes in itself incomplete and contradictory – incomplete not only for lack of data, but for lack of resolution – not temporarily incomplete, but perpetually incomplete and contradictory not from competing voices, but from a confrontation located at its very core. Ideological harmony not only masks discord, but is a sure catalyst to discord. So too historical complacency masks contradictions. And so too, claiming hegemonic vision is a sure catalyst to a struggle of who defines history.

Thus contradictions are now acknowledged as inherent to history and indeed a history devoid of contradiction, one that presents a single version as the ultimate truth, offers instead the concealment of dissonance in the interest of retaining the power to define history in the hands of those who also hold political and economic power. In such studies, of which this is an example, the object is not to remove contradictions or to resolve conflicts, but to attempt to explain them (Newbury 2007:250).

2.4. Issues for the present study

I have attempted in this research to review different kinds of knowledge production pertaining to a particular kind of historical circumstance, a task which has relied significantly upon interpretation. Documented sources have not been privileged over ethnographic and oral ones, and no attempt has been made to resolve the inevitable contradictions that arise between oral and documented history and within oral traditions themselves. My interpretations of these histories in terms of the various methodologies

employed and the ways in which they impact on my research participants, contribute to broader theoretical discussions within anthropology, especially those pertaining to knowledge production, culture and race. The study attempts to bridge some of the divisions discussed in this chapter, in particular rapprochement between scientific and indigenous modes of knowledge production and the old dichotomy between nature and culture.

2.4.1. Nature vs Nurture Revisited

As noted, social constructivism developed in reaction against philosophical essentialism which was based on stereotypical generalisations about gender, race, culture and religion that have constrained individuals and tied them to oppressive roles and identities. As was explored in 2.2, constructivists have criticised the characterisation of racial and cultural groups as the products of distinct and unchangeable 'essences', showing that perceived internal homogeneity and boundedness are erroneous because group identities are continually contested and subject to change. Whereas essentialists have attempted fixed definitions of identities by asking "what it is" to be a Jew or a woman as though identity was something that could be discovered, constructivists have instead asked about the ways in which identity is assigned or claimed, and under what conditions, in what historical circumstances (Berg-Sørensen *et al.*, 2011:39-40).

One consequence of social constructivism has been normative to the extent that essentialism has been characterised as "inherently conservative" and "politically and normatively problematic, whereas social constructivist views of group identities have been seen to be "inherently progressive" and hence unproblematic (Berg-Sørensen *et al.*, 2011:40, 43). Other social constructivists have however challenged the very distinction between "that which is socially constructed (culture) and that which is not (nature)". Allan Dreyer Hansen for example, points out that the distinction between nature and culture is itself socially constructed. As an anti-essentialist radical constructivist, he critiques the linking of either constructivism or essentialism with normative values such as progressiveness or conservatism on the grounds that such a view is not only false but in itself a manifestation of essentialist modes of thought (Hansen in *ibid.* :42-2).

Other scholars have also suggested ways in which the "aversion" to biological explanations or what Ehrenreich and McIntosh (1997:12) characterise as "anti-innatism" that have become the norm in social and cultural studies are themselves essentialist. Characterisations of humans as a species in the biological sense of sharing certain

properties or tendencies that might have behavioural implications has been labelled “reductionist” and ultimately “bad science” (*ibid.*). However, such “anti-biological” approaches that define humans as “unique” and “miraculously free” from biological influences, occupying a status “utterly different from and ‘above’ that of all other living beings” sets them apart from closely related animal species and as such are equally essentialist (*ibid.*). Such “antibiologism” goes beyond scepticism about the ways in which biology might be misused, creating a “new form of dogma” (*ibid.*:13).

The “stereotypes of biological determinism and cultural malleability” according to Ehrenreich and McIntosh (*ibid.*:15),

don’t hold up under scrutiny. [... B]iology is not a dictatorship - genes work probabilistically and their expression depends on interaction with their environment. [... N]either is culture a realm of perfect plasticity. [... E]ven in the absence of biological constraints, it is not easy to remould human cultures to suit our utopian visions. [... I]n the extreme constructivist scenario [...] it’s hard to imagine who would have the will or the ability to orchestrate real change: the people in power who have no motivation to alter the status quo or the oppressed, whose choices, preferences and sentiments have been so thoroughly shaped by the cultural hegemony of the elite. [...]

[From the constructivist] perspective [...] no real understanding or communication is possible between cultures. [...] The meaning of any human practice is inextricable from its locally spun semiotic web, to pluck a phenomenon such as “ritual” or “fear” out of its cultural context is [...] to destroy it. Certainly such categories have different properties from place to place. [...] Yet] we manage to grasp things about each other - emotions, motives, [...] linguistic meanings - that couldn’t survive communicative transmission if we didn’t have some basic emotional and cognitive tendencies in common. The [...] rejection of innate human universals threatens not only an intellectual dead end but a practical one. In writing off any biologically based human commonality [social constructivists ...] undermine the very bedrock of the politics they claim to uphold. If there is no human nature outside social construction, no needs or capacities other than those constructed by a particular discourse, then there is no basis for social criticism and no reason for protest or rebellion. In fact, tacit assumptions of human similarity are embedded in the theories of [...] social constructionists.

The fact that race and culture do not exist objectively does not mean that they do not have real consequences. Race may be socially constructed and lack scientific consensus, but it is very real in popular thought, and racism is a social reality that has harmed and impacted adversely on the lives of millions of people (Lieberman *et al.* 1989: 70, Mullings 2005:669, Trouillot 2002:48). Thus although race does not exist at the biological level, its social and political co-option as the basis of ‘othering’ those who are not white and European has had vast and diverse political implications. Even those who were objectively white and European but imagined to be of a different race by virtue of

being Jewish faced discrimination to the point of extermination by the Nazis. The concept retains meaning not only because of the racism and resulting social discrepancies and atrocities it has engendered both in the past and contemporaneously, but as a result of these injustices, as a meaningful marker of individual and group identity. Black consciousness movements have arisen and continue to derive relevance and potency from common histories of exploitation and subjugation as well as shared notions based on race and racial identification and affiliation. Pan-Africanism for example, created transnational racial solidarity that has contributed to processes of decolonisation and such "positive mobilisations" would not be possible in the absence of race consciousness (Appiah 2015:8).

The concept of culture has gained widespread acceptance and use in public spheres, and is considered indispensable by some scholars such as archaeologists and primatologists. Archaeologists such as Rita Wright and Aunger for example point out that the reconstruction of past lives from material culture depends upon the recognition of patterns, continuity, and social identities based on technological divisions so that archaeological data directs archaeologists towards the use of the culture concept which would therefore not be feasible to abandon (Wenner-Gren Foundation 2000:5). Likewise, primatologists whose work has suggested the existence of culture among some nonhuman primates cannot concede that the concept has no value. Boesch for example in his research among different Chimpanzee populations has found that each has unique behaviours transmitted across the generations and that identical behaviours frequently mean different things in different populations (*ibid.*: 2-3). Similarly King's (*ibid.*:4-5) work with bonobos and gorillas shows that infants learn to produce and comprehend patterned gestures that have shared meanings in order to communicate. Culture is a useful if not indispensable concept for primatologists and archaeologists, and does not only relate to the entrenchment of differences between the world's people. Human evolution has involved what Johanson (2011) termed "a synergetic combination of biological and perhaps, more importantly, cultural evolution." Culture may be "singularly human" but so are "other unique traits" for example the "egocentric" assumption that humans occupy a "lofty position above nature". This separation between humans and the natural world is an "unrealistic perspective" borne from our own vulnerabilities (*ibid.*).

The essentialism inherent in constructivist arguments was also highlighted by Carsten (1995) in her critique of David Schneider. Unlike other social constructionists who

rejected concepts such as 'west', 'rest' 'race' and 'culture' because they accentuated and perpetuated differences between people, Schneider rejected classical kinship studies because they were premised on underlying cultural similarities. Carsten (1995:224) expressed her intention to "rescue kinship from its post-Schneiderian demise" and suggested a "more flexible definition of kinship". She did this with reference to Malays living off the mainland on an island called Langkawi, whose identity, unlike that Africa which is often "defined at birth by a structural position in a lineage" (Fox in Carsten *ibid.*) was a

process of becoming" that began [...] with conception and birth; [...] continue[d] through feeding, [...] growing and living together in the house, [...] marriage, [...] birth of new children; and [was...] only [...] completed when [...] men and women [became] grandparents (*ibid.*).

On Langkawi Island, "ideas about relatedness" did not stem from a distinction between "facts of biology", such as birth and "facts of sociality" such as commensality, but through a process that included reproduction, eating and sharing a home (*ibid.*: 235). Blood, for example, was understood to be the "stuff of kinship" as well as "personhood" and was understood to be acquired not only in the uterus during gestation, but also after birth through sharing a house and food with others. As such, biological and cultural facts coexisted with one another, interacting in various ways and Carsten's ethnography demonstrated the extent to which the separation between "social" and "biological" was culturally specific. As such it raised the question as to whether kinship was "biologically or socially constituted". Being impossible to answer, the question underlines the extent to which any distinction between biology and culture is unsatisfactory (*ibid.*: 225-237).

Similarly, it is a mistake to understand identity as "a thing" when it is an "activity", as was eloquently expressed by Kwame Anthony Appiah in his 2016 Reith lecture series, entitled *Mistaken Identities*. Exploring religion (Appiah 2016a), nationalism (Appiah 2016b), race (Appiah 2016c) and culture (Appiah 2016d) in turn, Appiah demonstrated how each constituted a "form of confinement" that simultaneously provided "contours to our freedom". The concepts are confining because they are "conceptual mistakes" that "underwrit[e...] moral ones" (Appiah 2016d). By characterising identity as "an activity not a thing" and therefore something open to change, he emphasised the ways in which tradition could be created rather than blindly followed. As will be seen, this is precisely the means by which black and white racial conceptualisations and African and European

cultural ones have manifested in the histories and contemporary ethnographies of the participants of this research.

2.4.2. Potential Contributions of the Study

This chapter has explored the ways in which race and culture have been reified and shown how conceptualisations that treat social constructions as objective facts are fallacious. At the same time, the concepts of race and culture are meaningful in the lived experience and social interaction of people, not least the participants of this study. Hence in the same way that racial terms that have continued salience in the South African context (1.1), they are utilised primarily as emic descriptions. Cultural categorisations such as 'European' and 'coloured' are used, not because these are conceptualised as either absolute or homogenous, but as descriptive of the social realities of interest here. In exploring the histories and experiences of contemporary clan members descended from foreigners living in rural and largely traditional Mpondo and Bomvana social contexts, stories of cultural and racial *unity* emerge, in sharp contrast to the ideologies of *difference* that have conventionally been perpetuated within the academy and without.

It is evident from the discussion above (2.3) that anthropology already meets many of the methodological requirements outlined by other kinds of scholars in calls to decolonise and democratise scholarship. This study hopes not only to do this, but to go further in attempting the kind of interdisciplinary scholarship currently absent from anthropology, as noted by Kuper and Marks. It does so methodologically by including in addition to information provided by history, ethnography and the oral tradition, some contained within biology. It does so theoretically by challenging the implications of dichotomised understandings of human reality at two levels: at an ontological level by questioning the utility of the nature: culture and related dichotomies, and at an epistemological level in two ways: Firstly by collating the products of a variety of not necessarily complementary modes of knowledge production rather than producing a single coherent rendition by means of certain specialised methods and principles of the western academic tradition. Secondly, by recording multiple voices – those of the powerful and also the ordinary – in rejection of the notion that only one side of history is true.

This study necessarily opens up old and largely unhealed wounds inflicted by the application of biological precedents to questions of race. Like much early anthropology, it focuses on race and racial identification. However, rather than using racial differences

as a means to legitimise racist perceptions and policies, my intention is to illustrate the superficiality of these alleged differences and the much broader human kinship that they belie. In challenging dualistic perspectives and the false dichotomies they spawn, some insight is perhaps to be gained from this work, which also hopes to contribute to current epistemological dialogues within anthropology and beyond.

3. Methodological considerations

In 1954, Percival Kirby published an article in *African Studies* in which he collated all documented accounts of interaction between European colonists and the descendants of shipwreck survivors. He was primarily interested in the amaTshomane clan, into which a white girl child,⁸ believed to have survived shipwreck circa 1700, married, but he also covered the amaMolo and abeLungu clans mentioned by Soga (1930) and Wilson (1979[1936]). Early in his paper, Kirby noted that the enterprise of collating this particular kind of history required that “the ethnologist and the historian...join hands” (Kirby 1954:1). The present study also involves a joining of inter-disciplinary hands, but it goes beyond anthropology and history to include indigenous knowledge and molecular biology. Like Kirby, my aim is to collate all available information about Xhosa clans tracing descent from non-African forebears, but I do not restrict myself to shipwreck survivors or one or two clans and neither do I rely on documented history alone. Against an ethnographic background of ritual practice, I have collaged different kinds of knowledge, derived from oral tradition, documented history and NRY sampling. The research therefore becomes a story told from four different perspectives, each of which is founded upon very different premises, with incongruent ideas about what constitutes knowledge and how it is articulated.

3.1. Research design

The oral histories, genealogies and clan praises around which this research is primarily centred constitutes the kind of common-sense wisdom of ordinary people or content of local knowledges that Foucault called “subjugated knowledges”. These “low-ranking” knowledges are referred to here as “indigenous knowledge systems”. For Foucault, this kind of knowledge reflected life and reality and was more relevant than the theories and ‘knowledge’ of which metanarratives were comprised. Similarly, Gay y Blasco and Wardle (2007) point out that while indigenous modes of knowledge production are not necessarily based on ‘factual’ or ‘scientific’ understandings, this does not mean that the insights acquired “less valid or true than those of science, they are simply valid and true in different ways and about different things”.

⁸ Gquma or Bess - Crampton’s ‘sunburnt queen’.

In the context of this research, oral tradition is taken to constitute an important source of indigenous knowledge despite the fact that this is more frequently associated with agricultural and medical knowledge. Historical, biographical and genealogical information that has been transmitted through multiple generations has provided the primary source of data in this study, and is taken to constitute evidence as relevant and valid as documented history, following the work of Vansina (see 2.3.2 above). As such, the unresolved contradictions both within the oral tradition and that arise from comparisons between oral and documented history are understood as essential to this history. Attempts at providing a unified perspective are rejected as attempts of masking inevitable discord in the interests of a false ideological harmony.

This research does not however rely solely on indigenous knowledge, but draws also on biological, documented historical and ethnographic sources. It is Interdisciplinary in that it involves an "integration of different disciplinary approaches or methodologies," as against 'Multidisciplinary', which involves looking at data from the perspective of different disciplines with no attempt at integrating them (Ommer *et al.* 2008:28). Ommer *et al.* (*ibid.*) however call for a 'transdisciplinary' approach in which academics "work with the information, understanding and knowledge of non-academics" in a process of knowledge production that "move[s] beyond the university to engage members of society." Such an approach has the potential to "broaden understanding and increase the complexity of that understanding, generating fuller knowledge of the subject at hand" (*ibid.*).

The research conforms to Gay y Blasco and Wardle's (2007:121) depiction of ethnography as involving disciplinary and interdisciplinary conversations within and without the field, which provide a "framework of exchanges between writers, the people they write about, readers and earlier thinkers", as well as a means by which "ways of knowing and representing the world emerge and are transformed". This approach can also be conceptualised as "dialogical" in the sense described by Marcus and Cushman (1982:43-4) in which "other authoritative voices are represented in a text along with that of the ethnographic writer." By replacing conventional anthropological relations with egalitarian ones, ethnographic texts resemble a conversation rather than implying that they constitute a full and accurate representation of 'reality'. The power relations inherent in traditional anthropology are similarly addressed by what the American anthropologist Stephen Tyler terms "polyphony" (Mokrzan, 2014:9). Tyler proposes the concept of

“evocation” as an alternative to representation in which anthropological texts do not consist of explanations by the observer of the observed, but “fragments of discourses and utterances of social actors cited by the author” (*ibid.*). As such they take on a “polyphonic form”, thereby “decolonizing power relations”.

The concept of polyphony in relation to power and knowledge has a direct ethnographic relevance as well as a broader theoretical one in the context of this research. This is because the relation between power and knowledge is by no means confined to western modes of knowledge production, but frequently a feature of indigenous knowledge systems too. The clans amongst whom this research was conducted are part of a broader social context in which patriarchy and gerontocracy are firmly established. As such, the custodians of oral tradition were widely held to be genealogically senior men, to whom most other clan members, men and women, would refer questions and defer. However, in my experience, senior women and to some extent junior men were often equally if not more knowledgeable about their clan histories, which as will be seen have been included in this study and offered equal weight to those provided by the official custodians of oral tradition.

In her attempt to understand the processes by which “things, persons, concepts and events become invested with meaning”, Emily Martin (1998) evoked a series of metaphors to describe knowledge production. The first of these was the ‘citadel’, which describes western science which is considered to be ‘objective’ and therefore safe from attack in the form of critique. A rhizome, by contrast is an organism with an underground stem that sends shoots upwards and roots downwards and if divided into segments, each will regenerate into a complete organism. For Martin, the metaphor of a rhizome describes “how knowledge within the citadel and the way it is produced can be linked with processes and events outside” as well as the “discontinuous, fractured and nonlinear relationships” that exist between science and the rest of culture. She finds Donna Haraway’s (1994) metaphor of “string figures” created during the game of cat’s cradles the most useful:

Cat’s cradle is about patterns and knots. [...] A number of string figures can be made on one pair of hands, but they can also be passed back and forth between the hands of several players in a collaborative effort in which one person cannot make all the patterns alone. [...] From] cat’s cradle, we might learn something about how worlds get made and unmade and for whom (*ibid.*).

Both the latter metaphors are useful to conceptualise the means by which knowledge is preserved and transmitted in the oral histories and genealogies of interest here. Such knowledge has been recalled primarily because it plays important social and ritual roles, particularly in the belief and practice of the ancestor religion. The analogy of a rhizome is particularly useful in that it describes the different kinds of knowledge yielded by this research, which are to some extent complementary and related but also 'discontinuous'. The image of string figures passing from one pair of hands to another in a process that involves some continuity but also variation, captures the passage of oral tradition from person to person over time and that while many of the patterns will be repeated, new ones might also be invented while others may be tangled or incomplete.

The metaphors of a citadel, a rhizome, and the string game of cat's cradles used by Martin (1998) to refer to different kinds of knowledge production (2.4.1) are apt descriptions of the transdisciplinary research upon which this study has depended. It has not been taken as given that knowledge produced within the ivory tower or citadel, whether scientific or historical, should be accepted without question as unadulterated fact. Instead 'western' modes of knowledge production are understood to be rhizomic, inextricably linked with social and political occurrences and processes outside the academy, in ways that are often discontinuous or fractured. Like the passing of replicating and yet changing patterns from one pair of hands to another, the unpacking of the products of scientific, historical and indigenous modes of knowledge production have involved variation as well as continuity. As a means by which knowledge is preserved and transmitted, the oral histories and genealogies collected, which have been recalled primarily due to their important roles in the belief and practice of the ancestor religion, can be seen to comprise a repository of knowledge. This is a living archive however, which like a rhizome, combines a certain amount of interdependence with some independence, and like the transmission of string figures, involves not only repetition, but also tangling, untangling and invention. Since clan membership is ascribed according to the principles of patrilineal descent, which exactly emulates the transmission of NRY⁹, the analysis of NRY collected from male agnates belonging to clans claiming foreign descent has provided further insight into the geographical origins of their forebears.

⁹ Except of course, that lacking Y chromosomes, women do not inherit their paternal NRY.

This study brings together four different kinds of information regarding the origins of clans allegedly descended from foreign forebears, and still living among amaMpondo and amaBomvana. These are (1) the oral tradition of present-day clan members including history, genealogy and praise poetry, (2) documented historical sources such as accounts by historians and archival records where available, (3) ethnography of contemporary ritual practice, and (4) NRY analysis of male agnates. Each of these methods contributes specific kinds of information relative to the founders of amaMpondo and amaBomvana clans claiming European forebears, and their descendants who have comprised the research informants for the study.

3.2. Research participants

Many foreigners are known to have been absorbed into amaMpondo and amaBomvana communities, including men, women and children. A number of factors preclude the inclusion of the descendants of women in this research, including the fact that clan founders were always men, the transmission of the clan-name along the patriline, and clan exogamy. Patrilineal descent and marrying out are social factors that make the identification of the descendants of women entrants into the culture impossible, which are exacerbated by the transmission of NRY along the male line, thereby making the biological verification of such ancestry equally impossible. Women carry their father's clan-name, but their children belong to the clan of *their* father, so there is no way to trace the descendants of women from clan-names. In the case of illegitimacy, children belong to their mother's clan, and hence carry the NRY of their biological fathers, not that of their clan founder (4.2.2).

Although mitochondrial DNA is transmitted matrilineally to men and women, patrilineal descent and exogamy similarly preclude the identification of possible descendants from women who entered the culture. A widespread random analysis of men and women across all clans could be expected to yield a proportion of mitochondrial DNA belonging to a particular European haplogroup, which could then be deduced as belonging to Bessie or some other female entrant into the culture. Clan exogamy however makes it impossible to predict in advance who might be expected to belong to such a haplogroup. Therefore, although women agnates of clans descended from foreign men have played significant roles during this research, it has not been possible to include the descendants of women entrants into the culture, who have been rendered socially and

biologically invisible due to the twin influences of patrilineal descent and exogamy. The niceties of clanship and kinship in the research area, and among the Cape Nguni in general, are discussed in some detail in the following chapter.



Map 3.1. Research area showing research sites and participating clans

In the cases of the two original clans, abeLungu and amaMolo, contemporary members were identified by following various documented and word-of-mouth leads. Locating the clans and clan sections that were traced for the purposes of this study involved a combination of word of mouth, the combing of barely passable roads through countless *lalis*¹⁰ in pursuit of leads that often turned out to be red herrings, and sheer coincidence.¹¹ We worked within geographical boundaries determined by amaMpondo and amaBomvana chieftaincies, these groupings having been identified in the literature as including the amaMolo and abeLungu clans. We also worked within a roughly 20 km coastal margin, due to the association between shipwreck and the incorporation of survivors into the local culture. The area therefore stretched from the Msikaba River on

¹⁰ I have used the Xhosa vernacular term *lali* to refer to rural districts.

¹¹ Which was on occasion so astonishing that my research assistant - and sometimes even I - could not help but attribute it to favour bestowed by the clan ancestors themselves.

the border between Mpondoland and KwaZulu Natal, to the Mbashe River, southern extremity of Bomvanaland, the border between the two territories being the Mthatha River, as can be seen in Map 3.1. There are certainly other abeLungu groupings and other clans claiming European descent, some of which we heard about and encountered during the course of the research. Constraints of time and funding made it impossible to include all these clans in the research which included simply the first ten groupings that we located that fulfilled research criteria, namely the tracing of descent from a European forebear and expression of this by means of a clan-name and traditional ritual practice.

3.3. Fieldwork

The identification of clans and clan sections was an organic part of the research process itself and work began from the time of initial encounter, meaning that fieldwork was in progress at the same time as clans and clan sections were being identified and/or located, as can be seen in Figure 3.1 below. In most cases we gained entrance into the community and/or clan or clan section by initially visiting traditional leaders. In a few cases we encountered clan members first, and subsequently met with their clan elders and traditional leaders.

Year:	2009						2010												2011							
Month:	07	08	09	10	11	12	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	
Molo	█	█				█		█			█															
Irish		█							█																█	
Fuzwayo		█						█			█															
Caine			█						█				█													█
Horner					█							█														
Thakha					█	█																			█	
France						█			█					█												█
Ogle						█								█												
Jekwa									█			█	█												█	
Hatu													█										█		█	
Buku																								█		

Figure 3.1. Fieldwork Calendar

We began by speaking to clan elders, from whom we sought the information required to construct clan histories and genealogies and record clan praises. We then visited the homestead of every agnate in the *lali* in order to locate them geographically with the GPS for purposes of mapping, genealogically in terms of their descent from the clan forebear, and genetically through sampling and subsequent analysis of their NRY.

Research began at Mamolweni, home of the amaMolo clan section on Thursday

9th September 2009, when my research assistant, Qaqambile Godlo and I sought an audience with the local traditional authority, Chief Mhlabunzima Mxhaka. Mhlabunzima turned out to be senior kinsman of the amaMolo and thoroughly supportive of the work. He also referred us to his agnate across the Mtakatyi River, Mr Katutu Phangelo, senior kinsman of another large segment of amaMolo. According to oral tradition, the amaMolo clan is descended from two shipwreck survivors by the names of Bhayi and Pita who were brothers and whose father, Jafiliti remained behind when the brothers embarked on the voyage from which they were never to return. We were welcomed with open arms not only by the clan elders, but by the amaMolo in general, who were keen to help us in any way they could, appreciating that our interest in them meant that their history was to be recorded in writing, something they valued.

We heard about a second section of the abeLungu clan which lives slightly south of Mamolweni at Tshani, who trace descent from an apical ancestor named Fuzwayo, our initial encounter with them taking place in August 2009. In November 2009, we made visited a third section of the abeLungu clan across the Mthatha River in Bomvanaland, at Mapuzi, near Coffee Bay.¹² We were directed to Mlungisi Horner, senior kinsman of abeLungu Horner, and learned from him that the Horners are descended from a trader by the name of Alfred Horner and that their entrance into the abeLungu clan is relatively recent.

Much later in the research process, we were directed to another abeLungu clan section at Kwaaiman and Ngcwanguba, on the road between Mqanduli and Coffee Bay. They claimed descent from an ancestor named Buku, whose name appears in Soga's genealogy. Unfortunately, time constraints made it impossible to extend ethnographic research to this group and their side of the story is confined to what is suggested by 3 DNA samples collected from male agnates with whom we met briefly in March 2011 (3.6).

During the first 10 or so months of fieldwork, we took a series of expeditions into *lalis* along the coast, covering much of the area between the Mntafufu River, north of Port St Johns and Mpako River at Hole in the Wall. We were soon directed to Gogogo, Qandu in search of Nicholas Beresford, whom we nicknamed 'Lord Beresford' before meeting, and who lived up well to our expectations. He is the senior kinsman of amaIrish,

¹²Having discussed my research plans with my third year students of 2009, one of them – Vuyiswa Taleni – subsequently encountered a member of the abeLungu Horner clan section in a taxi on her way to Coffee Bay. She informed me of this meeting and that the family could be found at Mapuzi. I am very grateful to her for this lead.

but the clan is extremely sparse and his sole agnate lives some distance away at Mtalala. We were also told of another clan – abeLungwana – who were said to have white forebears, but when we finally met with elders of the clan in April 2010, we were informed that the ‘white’ person in this genealogy had been “an albino person born of black parents”.

We also encountered various families who were described by those who directed us to them, as ‘coloured’. Those we met¹³ were fluent in English and isiXhosa and although living among amaMpondo, do not identify with the culture and do not have clan-names. As such, they were not included in the survey which required integration into and identification with the local culture as well as a clan-name which is both expression of and necessitated by such integration and identification. The existence of such families suggests that the cultural absorption with which we are here concerned is not essential and that it is possible to live within a traditional rural context without participating in local social and ritual observations and activities. This could however be due to more recent – within one or two generations – entrance into the culture, allowing no time for children or grandchildren for example to interact with their peers in ways requiring closer cultural integration, at least in terms of certain key elements such as circumcision and *lobola*. It is however beyond the scope of this research to explore these possibilities.

Having encountered amaCaine previously, it was natural that the clan should be included in this research survey as evidence of the continuation of a practice initiated centuries previously with the development of the exogenous clans amaMolo and abeLungu. On my return to Hili, Mbotyi, in September 2009, in search of amaCaine, I located my original contact, Siwela Maguba who had moved across the Mzimpunzi River to a neighbouring *lali* closer to the village centre of Mbotyi, and his younger brother Bekuyise Caine who still lives in the Maguba homestead in Hili. Bekuyise directed me to his senior kinsman, Johnson Mkhululelo Caine who lived in the town of Lusikisiki. Johnson was at that time working at the Magwa tea plantation not far away from Mbotyi, where we met him for the first time.

The following month we went to the extreme north-eastern corner of Mpondoland, to the Msikaba River mouth, because of its close proximity to the legendary Lambasi Bay,

¹³ We were directed for example to members of the Barry family in April 2010 and the King and Calvin families in August 2010.

where the Grosvenor had wrecked in 1782 and also another ship less than a century previously, survived by the forebears of abeLungu and also possibly amaMolo. We were accompanied by Buyiswa Mhlovuvela¹⁴ to the homesteads of three more clans claiming European descent – amaFrance at Ndengane and amaOgle and amaThakha at Rhole. Members of all three clans were included in the survey.

In March 2010 we finally moved south to Bomvanaland, in search of the original abeLungu clan and any others that claimed foreign forebears. We had as a starting point, information obtained from a database that had been compiled as part of work carried out for the Department of Land Affairs by Kraai and Terblanche (1998), which tabulated baseline data about the 14 000 residents of the Dwesa-Cwebe Administrative Area. This indicated that homesteads in the Mendwana and Hobeni districts, close to the Mbhashe River were occupied by people with the clan-names Mlungu, Bhayi and Sukwini. The amaSukwini clan was described by Peires (1981) as one among other Xhosa clans descended from Khoisan forebears. It was originally included in this research survey, but the inability to definitively establish Khoisan ancestry through Y-chromosome DNA analysis and constraints of space made it prudent to leave amaSukwini and other clans of Khoisan descent for future research. However, at that time it was clear that members of the first and third clans were people that we sought, and since the name of one of the amaMolo forebears was recalled as 'Bhayi' it seemed possible that the Bomvana clan of the same name might also be of European descent. After some wild-goose-chasing it turned out that he had been Sotho, and therefore that the clan was not suitable for inclusion in the survey.

We soon located abeLungu at ebelungweni, Rhasa and Cwebe who pointed us in the direction of a much larger grouping at Sundwana in the Elliotdale Administrative Area, visiting them in March 2010, when we learned that they and their agnates at ebelungweni, as well as others at Xhora Mouth were descended from Jekwa, one of the shipwreck survivors named by Soga (1930). Our work at Sundwana began in June 2010 and we were hosted and accompanied during our fieldwork by Songezo Mwezeni, local Mlungu clansman and entrepreneur, who introduced us to Mquba Ketwana, the senior kinsman considered to be custodian of the abeLungu Jekwa oral tradition. Like the amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa welcomed us and our enquiries into their lives and were keen

¹⁴ I am grateful to Andrea Giampiccoli for introducing me to Buyiswa.

to collaborate in the further documentation of their history.

Having by then been in the field for about a year, I was pleased that in addition to the clans that had been known to me at the outset – *abeLungu*, *amaMolo* and *amaCaine* – I had identified two more *abeLungu* clan sections – *Horner* and *Fuzwayo* – and an additional four *Mpondo* clans – *Ogle*, *France*, *Irish* and *Thakha*. It troubled me to some extent however that although *Soga* (1930) had named two *abeLungu* forebears – *Jekwa* and *Hatu* – the latter had not been named among the forebears of *abeLungu* we had thus far spoken to. In June 2010, while working among *abeLungu Jekwa* at *Sundwana*, we were sought out by Chief *Ngubelanga Ngubechanti* of *Zwelitsha*, also in the *Elliotdale Administrative Area*, who informed us that our research would not be complete until we had visited him and his people at *Zwelitsha*. When we did so the following month, we learned that he and his agnates were descended from *Hatu*.

The initial phase of fieldwork was primarily concerned with the location of existing clans and search for additional ones, but research began as soon as these had been identified. From July 2009 to May 2010, this involved the collection of genealogical, oral historical and ethnographic data from clan elders and homestead heads and/or their wives. From 24 - 28 May 2010, Prof *Himla Soodyall* and *David De Veredicis* accompanied us on a fieldtrip to *Mamolweni* during which we were trained in the procedures for correct explanation of the process and its implication to participants and the collection of buccal cells for DNA analysis. This necessitated revisiting many of the previously visited homesteads in order to collect DNA samples but meant that from June 2010 onwards it was possible to collect all forms of information during the same fieldwork encounter, although follow-up visits frequently occurred for other reasons.

3.4. Field Methods

Because the survey was drawn from many and widely dispersed locations, it was necessary to take frequent, relatively short fieldtrips and the research did not therefore lend itself to the anthropological convention of extended presence in one community. As a result, although I have been present at rituals on other occasions and we sometimes arrived in time to eat meat and drink *mqombothi*, I did not manage to attend any rituals held by the clans discussed here during the course of fieldwork and therefore my ethnography depends on what people say they do rather than my experience of what they do. *Wilson (op cit.:372)* and *Opland (1983:40)* describe the recital of praises at

rituals as being rendered in a high, virtually incoherent voice, and against much background noise, meaning that the words are not necessarily easy to decipher, even for the local audience, but my inability to attend rituals has conceivably reduced substantive if not precise insight.

Another way in which this research deviates from anthropological convention is that by focusing on specific clans it emphasises geographically scattered and amorphous entities at the expense of the neighbourhoods and communities of which each clan grouping is a part. In this sense, the research moves away from the anthropological convention of being located in a single site, conforming to what Marcus (1995) termed 'multi-sited ethnography'. Such studies have arisen as a result of anthropologists participating in more interdisciplinary scholarship that lack clearly demarcated objects of study (*ibid.*:97). The approach allows new objects of study to emerge through an expansion of what is in the ethnographic picture, with research becoming an evolutionary process both within the field and in the writing up. Instead of being pre-articulated, questions arise out of the research itself, developing out of the "fractured, discontinuous plane of movement and discovery among sites," and the anthropological convention of "comparative study" is revived. The focus of attention shifts to "subaltern subjects" and "other domains of cultural production," thereby challenging the conventional ethnographic perspective (*ibid.*: 101-2).

The fieldwork was concerned with two specific and interrelated aspects of south-eastern Bantu culture in general, but in this case concerning the ten clans and clan sections of interest here. These are the oral traditions of clan history and genealogy and ways in which this ancestry is expressed through the idiom of ritual practice. The first form of oral tradition of interest here relates to the clan forebears themselves, who they were and how they came to be in the position of becoming part of a culture very different from that into which they had been born. Such information was sought firstly in oral history, in the stories about the clan forebear and his integration into the culture that have passed down through the generations. Another source of the same information, though in more condensed and abstract form, is clan praises (*izitutho, izinqula, izibongo*). As will be seen in Chapter 4, clan ancestors are primarily recalled by name, but also by some of their characteristics and/or deeds, which when combined with one another in a stylised and in the case of the latter, metaphoric form, constitute clan praises, which

therefore comprise a source of genealogical and biographical information, albeit sometimes difficult if not impossible to interpret.

The initial task of fieldwork therefore involved the collection of these two distinct though related forms of oral tradition: those recorded in the oral histories of clan origins and forebears, and the clan praises themselves, more distilled and allegorical records of the same ancestors and historical circumstances. Both these forms of oral tradition are dependent upon and contextualised by genealogy, specifically the strictly patrilineal descent system according to which the south-eastern Bantu clan membership is reckoned, which is also of course the means by which contemporary agnates are linked to the forebears recalled by their clan oral histories and genealogies. Oral accounts collected in the field and those that have been documented by historians, provided two perspectives on the particular historical circumstances of interest here, which as will be seen, overlap with one another to a large extent, but also diverge. Further insight was acquired by ethnographic research into ritual practice. Like members of endogenous clans, those claiming European descent acknowledge their forebears according to the tenets of the traditional ancestor religion.

The words of clan praises are not only biographical, but also evocative, and their recitation constitutes an integral part of ritual performance because in addition to the gathering of people, brewing of beer and slaughter of animals, they serve to alert ancestral spirits that a ritual is in progress. According to the tenets of the Cape Nguni traditional religion, ancestors have the capacity to punish as well as to reward their descendants and it is therefore the responsibility of every man to remember and commemorate his ancestors (see Chapter 4 for more on this point). The very act of remembering constitutes a form of commemoration and it is these parallel yet interrelated processes that I sought to document and understand during fieldwork, by looking at both the means of remembering – oral tradition – and the means of commemoration – ritual practice.

Interviews were conducted entirely in the vernacular, in conversational form, led by my research assistant, Qaqambile Godlo, who had been previously briefed on what to discuss. He would begin by introducing both of us, including where we came from, how we had met¹⁵ and the reasons for our visit. He would obtain permission to switch on the

¹⁵ Qaqambile was an especially interested and interesting student in my first year class of 2009.

voice-recorder and having done so, ask about oral history, clan praises and ritual practice. Interviews were later translated into English and transcribed, follow-up interviews being conducted where necessary. Genealogical information was recorded in writing because we discovered very early in the research proceedings that transcribing voice recordings of such details was not only inaccurate, but also tedious in the extreme.



Figure 3.2. Pukazi Dozekile (*Ma Mlungu*) of *abeLungu Jekwa* and Janet at Sundwana

3.5. Historical Sources

Clans are usually known by the eponym of the clan founder (4.2.2), but there are cases where a clan-name derives from alternative sources such as for example, a chief's favourite ox. The Xhosa clan-names Mbalu and Jingqi for example were the respective names of Tshiwo¹⁶ and Maqoma's¹⁷ preferred beasts, whereas amaHlubi derive their clan-name from that of a woman who married into the royal house of the imiHuhu, which thereafter became known by her name, Hlubi (Soga, 1930:63-64). These are however exceptions and for the most part, clan-names are the names of distant progenitors.

In the case of amaMolo and *abeLungu*, their clan-names are derived neither from the names of progenitors, nor from those of wives or favourite oxen, but refer respectively to linguistic and racial features associated with the clan founders. In the case of amaMolo, the inability of their forebears to speak isiXhosa (6.1.1), and in the case of *abeLungu*, their pale European complexion, the term '*mlungu*' meaning 'white'. Similarly,

¹⁶ Tshiwo, the head of a minor royal Xhosa house died without issue, whereupon Langa, a minor son of Phalo 'kept his house alive' which means that, he was appointed to raise children in the name of a Tshiwo. Such a house is called *ixiba* in isiXhosa or *isizinde* in Pondoland, which means, "appendage of the reigning house" and customarily uses neither the name of the original head nor that of his replacement, but that of his favourite 'racing or dancing ox' (Soga, 1930:63).

¹⁷ Son of King Ngqika of the Rharabe, born in 1798.

although 'Irish' has subsequently become envisaged as the clan forebear's name (5.5), the clan-names amaFrance and amaIrish are not the names of forebears, but perceptions of their ethnic identity or reflections of national or regional identity which is perhaps the closest thing that Europeans have to clan affiliation.¹⁸ The remaining three clans in the survey – amaCaine, amaOgle and amaThakha – follow local convention in that they are known by the names of clan founders. In the case of the former two, these are in fact the surnames of the clan founders, which are still used as such by some (though not all) contemporary clan members, doubling as clan-names. Very little is known about Thakha, but this can be presumed to have been the Xhosa name given to the clan founder.

Although the clan-names amaMolo and abeLungu derive from characteristics rather than names of forebears, their names – Bhayi, Pita, Jekwa and Hatu – have survived the oral record. These follow the south-eastern Bantu convention whereby, united under a common clan-name which is in itself synonymous with the names of numerous forebears (8.1.3), the forebears themselves are recalled by single names. The names ascribed to the abeLungu forebears may possibly have derived from their original names, for example Pita from Peter or as suggested by one of his descendants, Jekwa from Jack (Albert Skiti, Appendix B2.5), or they could be names given to them after their arrival, the assigning of names or nicknames in the vernacular to Europeans being a well-established convention within the culture. For the most part however, the names documented in historical and archival records are the same as those recalled in oral tradition, verifying that both refer to the same historical characters and circumstances.

AbeLungu Horner could be traced back to Alfred Horner, about whom some archival records were found. Similarly, as has already been noted, the forebears of amaCaine and amaOgle could be traced to John Cane and Henry Ogle, two men who were among the first settlers in Natal and played central roles in its establishment as a British Colony. As in the case of Alfred Horner, the retention and continued use of the clan founder's surnames together with overlapping oral and documentary evidence has made it possible to link the forebears of contemporary clans with actual people. Since names and events recalled by oral history could be matched with historical documentation of the same people and circumstances, it was possible in the case of amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa, abeLungu Hatu, amaCaine, amaOgle and to a lesser extent abeLungu Horner, to

¹⁸ Other examples of clan-names based on regional or national identification include 'amaSikhoji' (Scotch) and 'amaTshemani' (German).

compare oral accounts with documented ones.

In the case of the other clans and clan sections by contrast, clan-names and oral traditions did not provide sufficient information regarding the names of original clan forebears, hence precluding their identification. AmaThakha for example identify with a European forebear who exists only at the level of oral history and genealogy and no European names ascribed to him have survived the oral record. On the other hand, even though amaIrish have retained their forebear's surname – Beresford – as has one branch of amaFrance – Richards – these did not prove sufficient in themselves to link the clans with actual forebears. It has therefore not been possible to identify the clan founders of these three clans. As they could not be definitively named, they could not be historically situated and hence no documented accounts of their histories could be sourced. Similarly in the case of abeLungu Fuzwayo, whose forebears cannot be definitively named or genealogically located, documented accounts relating to their specific forebears and clan history could not be identified.

With the exception of abeLungu Fuzwayo, it is possible to estimate roughly when the forebears of the remaining nine groups entered the culture. In the case of amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu, this was up to 300 years ago. John Cane and Henry Ogle arrived at Natal almost two centuries ago, and judging from their oral genealogies the founders of abeLungu Horner, amaFrance, amaIrish and amaThakha entered the culture within the last 125 years or so. Thus the 5 groups with the longest histories are those whose histories have been documented to a greater or lesser extent by historians.

3.5.1. AbeLungu

The primary text concerning the early history of abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu and amaMolo is John Henderson Soga's *The South-Eastern Bantu* (1930), based primarily on his collection of oral history. John Henderson was the second born son of Tiyo Soga (1829-1871) who was educated in Scotland and became the first Xhosa missionary. Having trained as a Presbyterian priest, he returned home with his Scottish bride Janet Burnside. She bore him four sons, the first of whom was William Anderson, the first African medical doctor in South Africa who was also a missionary. After John Henderson who was South Africa's first black historian, came Alan Kirkland Soga, the first black lawyer in South Africa and then Jotello Festiri Soga, the first veterinarian. John Henderson and Janet also had three daughters; Bella, Frances and Jessie Margaret (Williams 1978:133,1983:7-8).

A second important text was published by Percival Robson Kirby, musicologist and

historian who was born in Aberdeen Scotland in 1887 and immigrated to South Africa in 1914, occupying the chair of music at the University of Witwatersrand from 1921 to 1952. In 1954 he published an article in African Studies entitled *Gquma, Mdepa and the amaTshomane clan: a by-way of miscegenation in South Africa*, in which he assembled all the information he could find regarding the “mixed breed descendants of people who had been shipwrecked” (Kirby 1954:2). Kirby was primarily interested in the amaTshomane clan into which Gquma or Bess married, and the abeLungu clan, citing no less than eight documented accounts of abeLungu Jekwa from a wide variety of sources including accounts by historians, George McCall Theal (1897) and Soga (1930); the journal of William Hubberly (1953) who survived of the wreck of the Grosvenor in 1782; and the diary of Jacob van Reenen, member of a party of farmers who set out in 1790 in an attempt to find survivors from the Grosvenor. As something of an aside, Kirby also documented what was known about amaMolo.

Others, such as Wilson (1979[1936]), Broster (1967) Crampton (2004) and Taylor (2005) have written about abeLungu and amaMolo, all of whom have depended primarily on the above two sources. Information about the two original abeLungu clan sections, amaMolo and abeLungu, is also available from the unpublished work of Mphumelelo Makuliwe (c.1990), a teacher at Ngangelizwe High School in Mthatha. He has collected clan histories and *izinqulo* from a number of Xhosa clans, including abeLungu and amaMolo. Although his work remains unpublished, he kindly allowed me access to the entries which are relevant to my research.

One further source of documented information regarding certain amaMolo and abeLungu Hatu clansmen is provided by the *Chiefs and Headmen Correspondence Files* which are lodged at the Mthatha Library Archives (Chief Magistrate (Mthatha), Resident Magistrate (Ngqeleni), Resident Magistrate (Elliotdale) 1910-1963). These are a record of letters and supporting documents pertaining to the commission of colonial administration of the then ‘Transkeian Territories’ which was divided into a number of Districts. Each of these Districts was overseen by a Resident Magistrate (sometimes called a ‘Bantu’ or ‘Native’ Affairs Commissioner) and comprised a number of Administrative Areas or ‘Locations’, each under the stewardship of a ‘Headman’. The letters document the passage through the colonial hierarchy of recommendations and applications from Regional Magistrates in the Districts to the Chief Magistrate in Mthatha and from there to the Secretary of the Bantu Affairs Department in Pretoria. Approval for the

appointment, payment, disciplinary action and retirement or suspension of headmen under the employ of the Colony then returned back down the hierarchy to the Resident Magistrates. The files cover a period of just over 50 years, beginning soon after the union of South Africa in 1910¹⁹ and continuing until the so-called 'independence' of Transkei in 1963. They therefore start out by recording British Colonial administration, but from 1948 onwards, that of the Nationalist Party, which is reflected in the fact that from that time, some – though not many – entries are in Afrikaans.²⁰

The letters reveal small glimpses into those of the amaMolo abeLungu Jekwa forebears who served office as Headmen during that period. However, as will be seen, letters and documents generated as a result of colonial business provide more of a commentary on the colonial mind-set than useful or interesting biographical insights into the people concerned. The files do show that the Headman positions were generally filled by locally chosen men who occupied hereditary positions of clan leadership. Although Administrative Areas do not correspond precisely with clans, each location has at least one clan that predominates and in most cases it is the head of this clan that is appointed as Headman, a situation which, together with the division of the territory into Districts and Administrative Areas, persists virtually unchanged to the present day. In this way the colonial system piggybacked existing tribal structures in its administration, making traditional leaders simultaneously responsible to their people according to traditional imperatives and to their master, the Colonial Administration who remunerated them and expected their complicity, another situation which has continued to the present day.

AmaMolo and abeLungu Hatu both have hereditary offices that have passed through the generations and are therefore recorded in the Correspondence Files. The former reside at Mamolweni, which is Administrative Area No 46 of the Ngqeleni District. During the time in question, abeLungu Hatu resided at Qatywa which was Administrative Area No 24 of Elliotdale, but they have subsequently moved to Zwelitsha, not very far away.

I was not able to find any information about the abeLungu Horner clan section, or their forebear Alfred Henry Horner in the historical literature. However an archival search unearthed two documents in which Horner's name appeared: a Notarial Bond dated 1898

¹⁹ The four British colonies – Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange River – had until then been separate entities but they unified on 31 May 1910.

²⁰ Translated into English by Marelize Hobbs.

and an entry in the *Transkei Mercantile Directory* for the year 1903, appended to a book about the Transkei region written by Caesar Henkel (1903).

Henkel was born in Germany where he trained as a soldier before settling in the Eastern Cape in 1856 where he worked as cartographer to the surveyor general and then as forester in various districts before being promoted to Chief Forest Officer, stationed in Mthatha.²¹ After retirement he remained in Mthatha, taking on the office of Secretary of the Tembuland Agricultural Society and in 1903, based on his long association with the region, he published a book which he illustrated as well as wrote, entitled *History, Resources and Productions of the Country between Cape Colony and Natal, or Kaffraria proper*; later shortened to *The Native or Transkeian territories* Henkel, 1903). It is a compilation of various kinds of information²² primarily concerning existing agricultural practices and Henkel's suggestions for "modernising" agriculture. For reasons that he did not make explicit, he included a verbatim reproduction of the Transkei Mercantile Directory or "Index to Licence Holders of General Stores, Hotels, Shops, Trading Stations, &c., January and February 1903 (incomplete)" in which Alfred H. Horner is listed as a trader (*ibid.*:101).

3.5.2. AmaCaine and amaOgle

The history of the amaCaine and amaOgle forebears has been richly documented, confirming that the lives of John Cane and Henry Ogle were closely intertwined, as is suggested by their oral history. The first indication that anything at all had been documented about the amaCaine forebear came from the clan itself, when at our first meeting, Johnson Caine lent me faded facsimiles of historical accounts in which the name John Cane figured; who Johnson asserted, was the clan's original forebear. I was able to trace the texts²³, the first of which was O'Byrne Spencer's (1992) entry for John Cane in *British Settlers in Natal 1824-1857 A biographical Register*. This is a compilation of biographies that historian Shelagh O'Byrne Spencer has been working on since the early 1960s, with the intention of covering approximately 2800 Natal settlers. She has published eight volumes so far (from ABBOTT to HOGSHAW). The other texts were copies

²¹ A man of diverse interests and talents, Caesar Henkel was also a botanist and painter, started the country's first fish hatchery and his name is commemorated in the botanical name of the Cape Yellowwood, *Podocarpus henkelii*.

²² In the main his own descriptions of the history, 'physical aspect', agriculture, flora and fauna, minerals, mission work, railways and forestry of the region, but also two chapters written in the manner of a text book or manual on forestry, water conservation, and the growing of fruit, vegetables and flowers.

²³ Thanks to Sally Shram who was working at the Rhodes University Cory library at that time.

of selected pages of chapters entitled *Traders, Trekkers and colonists* (Ballard 1989) and *The Zulu kingdom, 1928-79* (Collenbrander 1989) in the edited volume, *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910* (Duminy and Guest 1989). Both were accounts of the establishment of Port Natal as a British Colony in the mid nineteenth century, in which not only John Cane, but also Henry Ogle featured prominently.

Other biographical material about Cane and Ogle was then sourced, for example *Dictionary of South African Biography* (De Kock *et al.* 1968) and a special edition of *Natalia* (1974). This is an annual journal published by the Natal Society Foundation, a body established in 1865 with the purpose of acquiring, preserving and encouraging research into Natal history, the first issue of which came out in 1971, with Colin Webb, historian and then Deputy Vice Chancellor of the University of Natal as editor. These led to the identification of further historical sources such as the diary of William Wood (1965) who arrived in Port Natal with his parents at the age of 12 in 1835. He began learning to speak isiZulu almost immediately and acted as Dingane's interpreter while still a child.

I came by coincidence across another text that provided invaluable insight into this time and place in history, *The James Stuart archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples* (Webb and Wright 1976). Born in 1868, James Stuart grew up in the Natal midlands in the small towns of Greytown and Ixopo, where his father was magistrate, learning to speak isiZulu fluently. In 1886 he began a career in 'Native Administration' when he was employed as clerk to the resident magistrate of Eshowe in 1888. In 1895 he was appointed as magistrate in Zululand. During this "unremarkable career of a colonial civil servant", Stuart collected the historical testimonies of almost 200 isiZulu informants, which he transcribed in the vernacular and which are stored in 78 files in the Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban (*ibid.*:334-5). Stuart's notes were subsequently translated into English by Colin Webb and John Wright, and published by the University of Natal Press between 1976 and 1986 (*ibid.*:333).

3.5.3. Historiography

It has long been recognised that history is not a neutral representation of the past, but a product of the specific historical periods and social contexts in which it was constructed. It comprises a series of interpretations, all of which are contingent on the worldviews of the historians who write it (Becker, 1938:21-2). As in the rejection of erstwhile natural scientific "certainties" by social constructivists (2.2), recent historians have shifted the

scholarly gaze from an alleged uncovering of underlying “facts” to questions regarding the means by which historical knowledge is created, and the extent to which it reflects the interests and perspectives of those who hold power, thereby sublimating the experiences and interpretations of those who do not.

The documented texts described above have been identified because of their reference to the histories of the clans that participated in this study, or their founders. The key historical source referred to in the case of abeLungu was produced by John Henderson Soga (1930), who, despite having a paternal grandfather steeped in traditional isiXhosa culture, embraced an unquestioning acceptance of European values and displayed marked discomfort with many aspects of Cape Nguni tradition, as was clearly evident in his work, especially *The Ama-Xosa Life and Customs* (1931). Other historical resources were crafted by white historians or retained by archivists working before and during apartheid. Some were civil servants employed by the regime, others took the colonial settlement of South Africa and white government as givens, doing nothing to challenge the *status quo*. As such, these historical texts are relics of colonial and apartheid ideologies and patent examples of the extent to which social and political factors determine what constitutes history.

As has already been discussed in Chapter 2, such historical texts are not understood to be purveyors of any kind of truth or the reflections of a unified vision. Instead, they constitute only one of the modes of knowledge production taken into account, along with alternative ways of knowing, such as those derived from oral tradition and indigenous knowledge systems (2.3). After Vansina, oral history is taken as an equally valid historical source (2.3.2). After Foucault, any attempt to portray unanimity is shunned (2.2.5). Instead, the products of various modes of knowledge production are taken into account, not with the objective of resolving the resulting contradictions, but in the hope of explaining them in the context of the broader social and cultural conditions within which they arose.

3.6. Molecular Support

[O]ur history is written in the DNA of each of us, the survivors. The “writing” represents just a “scribble on the cuff” of the DNA, though there is a deeper meaning to these scribbles. If we look at them for a single individual, without comparisons to others, they do not say much. They represent just a string of numbers. However, when compared with those in other people, these scribbles start to tell a story. These collective stories are about origins of mankind, appearances

of tribes, their migrations, about our ancestors, and their contributions to current populations (Klyosov 2009b:252).

The vast majority of DNA sequences are the same across all humans, but some variation arises during the process of DNA replication. When this happens, the difference between the original DNA strand and the new replicated one constitutes a mutation or polymorphism. Such polymorphisms are passed down to successive generations whose DNA continues to accumulate further mutations so that the DNA of modern humans contains a degree of diversity. If these accumulated sets of DNA polymorphisms are compared across different populations, various kinds of information can be inferred.

Recent developments in molecular biology have made it possible to use genetic polymorphisms to decipher a wide variety of information (Jorde, Bamshad *et al.* 1998:126). MtDNA and NRY provide intact genetic records of matriline and patriline respectively and patterns of their polymorphisms can be used to reconstruct the origins of *Homo sapiens* and the relationships between humans and other species. Ancient human migrations, DNA lineages, the spread of language and other matters pertaining to the evolution and history of the human species can also be traced by comparing MtDNA and NRY polymorphisms. They have also shown that the spread of agriculture in Europe was related to the migration of agriculturalists and not simply the diffusion of farming technologies and that the oral history of Romany Gypsies locating their origin in India is indeed the case. Other ways in which such genetic information can be utilised is in predicting predispositions for certain illnesses including heart disease, diabetes, cancer and Alzheimer's, as well as responses to medication and the production of so-called "DNA fingerprinting" for use by forensic scientists (Jorde, Bamshad *et al.* 1998:126-7, Klyosov 2011:517, Mounolou & Lacroute 2005:747).

Mutations occur at relatively constant rates over millions of years and so they can be reliably used to reconstruct DNA genealogies and can therefore be conceived of as "molecular clocks" (Rozhanskii & Klyosov 2011:26). Two kinds of mutation are used to decode DNA ancestry and provide other kinds of information. The first, single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs) are variations in DNA sequence that result from the alteration of a single nucleotide. SNPs in the non-coding region of the small circular MtDNA molecule – also called the 'd-loop' – occur about ten times more frequently than they do in nuclear DNA, resulting in a relatively high level of diversity (Horai & Hayasaka 1990:829, Jorde, Bamshad *et al.* 1998:127). The mutation rate of NRY by contrast is extremely slow and

the SNPs selected for the construction of Y chromosome DNA genealogies tend to be “unique-event polymorphisms” (abbreviated to UEPs) because they have occurred only once or occasionally twice, during the whole of human history. They are therefore extremely stable and are passed on to all male descendants so that men who test positive for any given SNP share a common ancestor. Having taken place so rarely, SNPs act as markers of “human tribes” or “Y-chromosome lineages”, also designated ‘haplogroups’ (Jobling & Tyler-Smith 1995:450, Klyosov 2009a:188, 2011:518).

Geneticists have constructed human phylogenetic trees from haplogroups, one for patrilineal descent determined from NRY and one for matrilineal descent based on mtDNA. They indicate that all human males are descended from a single common patrilineal ancestor, sometimes called ‘NRY Adam’, and estimated to have lived between 50 000 and 90 000 years ago (Klyosov 2009a:186-7). Similarly, all mtDNA genomes are descended from a single maternal ancestor – Mitochondrial Eve. Major branches of these phylogenetic trees are labelled with letters of the alphabet and sub-branches with a combination of alphanumeric labels²⁴. Genetic ancestry testing locates any individual’s position in this human ‘family tree’ and genetic populations tend to be associated with particular geographic regions because of human migrations that took place tens of thousands of years ago by the forebears of contemporary people. For the purposes of this research, the focus has been on NRY because, as has already been noted, Xhosa clan membership and NRY both pass exclusively along the patriline. NRY SNPs looked at for the purposes of this study are M139, M17 (R-M198), M175, M186, M60 and M91.

The second kind of polymorphism useful for the construction of DNA genealogies occurs more frequently than do SNPs. Called ‘short tandem repeats’ (STRs) or microsatellite systems, these mutations involve the insertion or deletion of tandem sequences of two to six nucleotide base pairs. STRs therefore comprise ‘sets’ of polymorphisms which are inherited as a unit by descendants. Because they mutate more frequently than SNPs, they provide information about more recent ancestry (Jorde, Bamshad *et al.* 1998:126-7). The construction of NRY genealogies in this case involves comparing specific Y chromosome loci in order to determine how closely men are related to one another. Men who have the same combination of NRY STR genetic markers share a haplotype. Ancient migrations usually involved groups of people related to one another

²⁴ For example, the Y haplogroup R1b which is commonly found in Western Europe is a sub branch of haplogroup R1, a sub branch of major haplogroup branch R.

and whose males therefore shared the same or similar haplotypes, so particular haplotypes tend to be concentrated in and therefore associated with specific regions (Klyosov, 2009:188). This makes it possible to infer the geographical origins of patrilineal forebears.

Segments of NRY containing STRs are referred to by the abbreviation DYS which means 'DNA Y-chromosome segment' and particular DYSs have been identified as useful for the construction of DNA genealogies (Klyosov 2011:517-8). Ancestry informative Y STRs selected for comparison in this study are DYS19, DYS385a, DYS385b, DYS388, DYS389I, DYS389II, DYS390, DYS391, DYS392, DYS393, DYS426, DYS437, DYS438, DYS439, DYS448, DYS456, DYS458, DYS635, and GATA H4.

DNA was collected from 124 male members of the clans participating in this research. As already noted, the strict rules regarding clan exogamy ensure that women marry out of their clans, meaning that no correlation exists between their DNA and clan-name (3.2). Tracing the descendants of male entrants into the culture by contrast was facilitated by the parallel transmission of NRY and the clan-name along the patriline (4.2.1). Clan exogamy together with the fact that women do not have a Y-chromosome and therefore no NRY meant that no relevant information could be secured from their DNA, resulting in their exclusion from the DNA sample.

The collation and analysis of different sources of knowledge and modes knowledge production brought to light certain shifts, discrepancies and other anomalies between written and oral or different oral accounts. Some of these could be phrased as questions that might be addressed with reference to the NRY findings. A total of six such questions will be reconsidered in Chapter 11, which deals with the Molecular results of this research.

The first question concerns abeLungu Buku, who as seen in 3.3, provided three DNA samples, but were not included in the ethnographic survey. It is:

- Do abeLungu Buku share forebears with abeLungu Jekwa?

An additional five questions will be posed in the concluding sections of Chapters 5 and 6 with reference to genealogical and historical anomalies arising from the material covered in those chapters.

3.7. Ethical considerations

In this section I explore the ethical implications of this research and anthropological research more broadly. I begin with the DNA component which, falling under biomedical research, is governed by strict ethical guidelines, well suited for their purpose, and straight-forward to fulfil. The larger part of the research, while also governed by ethical guidelines, falls under social science where fulfilment of ethical guidelines is less clear cut, particularly because in this case the discipline is anthropology, as will be explored in 3.7.2. Some of the issues raised in 3.7.2 will be examined in further detail in 3.7.3 and 3.7.4, and 3.7.5 comprises a few concluding thoughts.

3.7.1. DNA Genealogy

I collaborated with Prof Himla Soodyall, Principal Investigator of the Sub-Saharan African leg of the National Geographic project, and her Masters student David De Veridices in the sampling, analysis and interpretation of NRY. Strict ethical procedures were in place when it came to the collection of DNA (Appendix L1). Samples were acquired by means of a buccal swab applied to the inner cheeks of the mouth, which is entirely painless. Participants were required to be over the age of 18 and to sign a consent form in the presence of at least one witness. They had to have had the procedure and its implications fully explained to them, which was done by Qaqambile in the vernacular, along the lines delineated in Appendix L2. DNA samples were dispatched to Johannesburg for DNA extraction and analysis at the National Health Laboratory Service. Results were confidentially returned to participants and explained to them in their mother tongue by research assistant, Qaqambile. Only one person in this research survey expressed reluctance to provide a DNA sample, which was of course respected without question. All other participants, and even some neighbours (whose DNA was taken in the interests of inclusiveness but excluded from the survey) were interested and keen to be involved, and a total of 200 samples were collected during the course of the research, 124 of which belonged to male members claiming membership of one of the participating clans.

Ethical clearance for the DNA component of this study was granted by Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of the Witwatersrand (M120364 (DdV) and M090576 (HS)) and for the research as a whole, from Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee (2011Q3-5).

3.7.2. Anthropology and ethics

I am sure that I am not the first to approach writing the 'ethics' section with a sense of trepidation and defensiveness rather than intellectual challenge; it feels more like a duty than authentic scholarly engagement. This distinction between 'duty' or the 'right' thing to do, and 'personal conviction' or the 'good' way to behave raises questions that are pertinent to a discussion about the ethical practice of anthropological research. The questions are: What is morality and how is it different from ethics? Where does the knowledge of good and evil come from? Is morality universal? A consideration of these philosophical questions provides a prelude to the discussion about anthropological research practice and the ethical guidelines by which it is regulated that follows. In conclusion, the work of anthropologists who have engaged with topics relating to ethics and anthropology will be reviewed in relation to how their ideas and concerns relate to anthropological research in general and this study in particular.

Origin and nature of morality

When the moral philosopher Alexander Macbeath, delivered the Gifford lectures²⁵ in 1948, he did not distinguish between 'morality' and 'ethics', the title of his lecture series²⁶ suggesting that for him the concepts amounted to the same thing. There is an important difference though, because whereas ethics "answers the question 'How ought one to live?' [...] morality is a certain kind of answer to that question, [...] involving moral obligations such as rules, rights, duties commands and blame" (Caplan 2003: 3). So ethics relates to what is 'good' or 'bad', pertaining to 'benefits and harms'; morality to what is 'right' or 'wrong', pertaining to obligations and duties (Meacham 2014). On the basis of the difference between living in society with awareness and consideration of benefits and harms, as against according to social obligations and the anger, hypocrisy, arrogance and other ills they bring, the philosopher Joel Marks (2012) argues for the existence of ethics in an absence of morality, recommending that the concept of 'morality' be abandoned in favour of 'ethics' (Meacham 2014, Schroeder 2012).

For Marks, morality is arbitrary, a myth with no objective existence, requiring only that people believe that it does exist. He argues that there are no universal "commands"

²⁵ An annual lecture series established to "promote and diffuse the study of Natural Theology in the widest sense of the term—in other words, the knowledge of God" (Gifford Lectures).

²⁶ *Experiments in living. A study of the nature and foundation of ethics or morals in the light of recent work in Social Anthropology* (Macbeath 1952).

that fully override human desires and that humans are driven by the “non-universal” commands of their societies (Meacham, 2014). His approach echoes those of early functionalist anthropological perspectives that characterised ‘primitive morality’ as a function of religion. Religious – and other – behaviour was understood to be governed and mediated by social institutions acting in accord with one another to maintain and perpetuate society itself. According to this perspective, ‘primitive morality’ involved adherence to religious rules and obligations, unlike that of ‘civilized cultures’, in which people behaved according to intuitive and personal conceptions and convictions of what constituted right and wrong (Macbeath 1952).

As long ago as 1952, Macbeath criticised the alleged ‘non-universality’ of human morality. Drawing on ethnographic evidence provided by Malinowski and others, he asserted that ‘primitive moral authority’ was not dependent on religion, but constituted in exactly the same way as ‘morality’ in the ‘civilized’ world, and was therefore a universal human attribute (Macbeath 1952:350). For Macbeath, this stemmed from underlying similarities between human communities, all of which have two things in common: basic human needs, and the goal of meeting those needs. The means by which humans address their common problem of basic needs are diverse and multiple, it is the goal of addressing them is held in common. This ‘goal’ can only be described by its criteria of being a goal, so Macbeath called it the ‘formal ideal’. “Moral goodness” arises from loyalty to the ideal and is not dependent on religion. It is therefore achievable by all humans (Macbeath 1952:90,65).

From the sociobiological perspective, morality is neither a common human response to the universal human condition of fulfilling basic needs, nor a function of organised religion. Instead it is a “universal set of moral intuitions” that are the outcome of millions of years of evolution as “social animals”, involving development of a “moral faculty” that guides intuitive judgements of right and wrong in interaction with local cultural conventions (Hauser & Singer 2005:19). Drawing on research in which atheists, agnostics and religious people were presented with the same set of moral conundrums, over 90% of whom gave the same responses, Hauser and Singer suggest that morality exists in the absence of religion (*ibid.*:18).

This brief and by no means exhaustive review of explanations for the origins and nature of human morality demonstrates the difficulties and complexities inherent in addressing the subject, about which no consensus can be reached. Elements from all of

the arguments seem feasible: There are evident social advantages to the existence of moral codes which are instilled through socialisation and enforced by- sanction, yet no reason to reject the idea that they developed alongside other capacities during the process of human evolution. Morality is universal to the extent that all human societies have clear conceptions about what constitutes right and wrong, and means by which transgressors are sanctioned. It is also particular because exactly what comprises such conceptions is shaped by local social and cultural realities. The point of this discussion is not to explore moral philosophy further, but to relate two of the aspects arising from it to the practice and regulation of anthropological research. The first concerns the extent to which the concepts of ethics and morality can be considered universally applicable, either as concepts in themselves or as related to the practice of anthropology. The second considers the alleged distinction between 'ethics' and 'morality' in the context of formal ethics processes governing research practice.

Local or universal?

Aspects of morality including religion, values, virtue, evil and duty have long been the subjects of anthropological study, and many anthropologists understand moral values to be universal human attributes. However, whether these can be identified and codified into for example the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that was adopted by the United Nations in 1948 remains contested. For example, the principles of human rights prohibit certain customary practices, for example female circumcision (Li 2007:152), but such prohibitions have frequently been ignored. They also raise the ire of some scholars, for example the Egyptian medical anthropologist Morsy (1991:19-21) who expresses indignation at the paternalistic attitude underlying what she terms "the white man's burden medicalized", yet another attempt to extend the "western civilisation mission". Attempts to "respect" women as free and autonomous cannot be implemented without coercion, thereby undermining the norms they seek to implement (Li 2007:152).

The theoretical interest that anthropology has in culture, and the emphasis it places on local context, have led to a position of cultural relativism from which it is not possible to deduce, infer or judge the rationale, let alone the 'morality' of people's beliefs and behaviour from an etic perspective. This "relativist stance" is often at odds with universal values such as those defined as "human rights" (Caplan 2003:4, 16). Cultural relativism has been criticized for suggesting that so-called 'atrocities' can be interpreted as well-intentioned and therefore moral, and thus that culture itself is deemed sufficient

to provide moral justification. Li (2007:161) points out however, that this is a “normative” form of cultural relativism, which assumes culture to be the only means by which views and practices are to be judged. On the other hand, what Li calls “descriptive cultural relativism” is more interested in the differences between moral views and standards and ways in which compliance can be motivated and negotiated without loss of agency and autonomy in the implementation of the kind of ethical norms that are defined as human rights (*ibid.*:160). Thus the recognition that culture has an ethical significance need not undermine the plausibility of universal moral values and ethical principles (*ibid.*:151).

Anthropology’s “relativist stance” has however tended to place it in opposition to universal values such as human rights. Many anthropologists are critical of the universalism of human rights because the discussion is removed from particular contexts, and elevated to “the level of the categorical imperative” (Caplan 2003:16). Human rights principles have evolved within specific cultural contexts that differ significantly from those within which customary practices and the ideas behind them evolved. The promotion of pluralism and acceptance of cultural diversity are as important in human rights discourse as the protection of freedom of thought and expression (Li 2007:152). As has been seen from this consideration of the debate between human rights proponents and anthropologists, there are limitations in the extent to which human rights can be defined as absolute, or to which they have universal applicability. Similar questions have been raised regarding the cross cultural application of theoretical models (Strang 2003:172-3), and as Strang (*ibid.*) points out, should also be asked in respect of professional codes of ethics, which will be explored now.

Right or good?

Anthropologists have made many efforts to distance their discipline from association with oppressive systems including colonialism, racism and sexism. These have tended to focus on *what* anthropologists’ study, rather than *how* they do so (Ortner 2016b:34-5). Recently, more emphasis has been placed on the research process itself. This has resulted in the development of research protocols or guidelines to ensure that those engaging in scientific and social scientific research do so ethically. Research must be seen to be ethical from the perspective of all concerned, specifically research subjects, colleagues, students, funders, ethics committees and the public at large (Anthropology South Africa 2018, Caplan 2003:3,27, Posel & Ross 2014:2,7).

Notions of what constitutes ethical practice have shifted over time, and in relation to changing regulations and environments. Research methodologies across different fields, even within the social sciences, are not homogenous, and what appears ethical from a personal perspective does not always align with what is required professionally. Many guidelines have been based on those previously developed for biomedical research, and as such, rather than focusing on reflexivity and other more personal or theoretical aspects of the research process, have emphasised the protection of research subjects from harm, and universities from litigation. These are certainly important issues and must be taken seriously, but other factors are sometimes overlooked in the process (Caplan 2003:4, Mills 2003, Pels 1999, Posel & Ross 2014:7).

Anthropological fieldwork often involves complex and difficult personal and emotional challenges, as demonstrated by Posel and Ross (2014) in the edited volume, *Ethical quandaries in social research*, a collection of accounts about ethical decisions made by researchers from various disciplines. The contributors describe “messy” and personally challenging predicaments they have faced during fieldwork, difficult situations in which ‘ethical’ decisions had to be made (Posel & Ross 2014:1,6). The accounts demonstrate the complexities of such decisions, made in

the heat of the moment and then as this cools with retrospection; with emotional along with rational underpinnings, and with varying temporalities and senses of urgency, in the midst of varying degrees of knowledge and ignorance, and in the context of fluid social relationships that are always powerfully inscribed in the practice of research, along with the vectors of power that derive – frequently asymmetrically – from the wider context of South Africa’s past and present (*ibid.*:6).

With increasing imposition of “audit culture” (Strathern 2000) on universities, their ethics committees have become “regimes of regulation” (Posel & Ross 2014:2). Regulations tend to be technical rather than “ethically substantive”, the procedures are bureaucratic and tend to encourage a “tick-box” mentality (Posel & Ross 2014:3).

It is evident from the discussion about the different perspectives of universal human rights proponents and anthropologists above, that both seek to represent the interests, rights and autonomy of human individuals. Their discrepancies lie in approach, and epitomise the distinction between ‘morality’ and ‘ethics’ discussed earlier. Proponents of human rights seek to impose their own conceptions of social justice by means of regulation, law and intervention, that is through duty and obligation, as such taking a ‘moral’ view. The anthropological perspective on the other can be characterised as

involving 'ethics' because it prioritises material and cultural lived reality, taking account of locally specific benefits and harms.

There seems to be a similar disjuncture concerning the ethics of anthropology and the ethics of committees. Research ethics involve the regulation and enforcement of externally defined values, sometimes neglecting the complexities and nuances of research encounters. Anthropology by contrast, as Ortner (2016b:34) reminds us, is "an ethical project in itself" because of the moral and political commitments inherent in attempts to understand social and cultural difference, as evidenced in the discipline's long record of "intellectually, ethically and politically sustainable" accounts (*ibid.*). The regulation of ethical research has become a matter of morality rather than ethics, and there is a deep irony in the possibility that in complying with ethics regulations, researchers may be induced to commit unethical acts such as fabrication and glossing over.

Anthropologists certainly need to engage in reflexive study of their own ethics and morals (Caplan 2003: 3), but the superficial and regimented implementation of formal ethics guidelines sometimes flies in the face of the deeper, more engaged and locally contingent approaches. Ethical practice extends beyond the slavish following of a set of procedures. This brings me back to my description of the sense of duty and obligation I felt when embarking on writing the ethics section of this work. I resolved the matter by embarking on a scholarly engagement with debates concerning ethics and anthropology, rather than paying lip service and cursorily ticking boxes.

I do not imply that I do not respect formal research obligations and requirements. I take my responsibilities to students, colleagues, the broader public, and ethics committees seriously, and demonstrate this through commitment to and continued engagement in teaching, scholarship, and knowledge sharing within the academic context and beyond. Like Strang (2003:187) however, I believe that my primary responsibility is to my research participants. My ethical conduct does not stem from obligation or regulation, but a personal commitment to teaching and research developed during three decades of teaching and doing anthropology. There is undoubtedly a need to define ethical research practice and ensure that it such guidelines are understood and followed. It is however unfortunate that the formal regulation of research tends to be approached from a perspective of 'morality' through the external application of obligations, on the assumption that left to their own devices researchers will act

unethically, rather than in the expectation that their work will be guided and shaped by personal convictions or 'ethics'.

3.7.3. Ethnographic praxis

I will turn now to the participants and context of this study, and to methodological and epistemological implications of research that have ethical dimensions, especially in the case of anthropology (Caplan 2003:4, Posel & Ross 2014:2-6,23-4). Caplan (2003:27) suggests that it is

difficult to divorce ethics from politics, including the politics of knowledge. [...]ethics, like politics, is a series of processes in which power is heavily implicated. [...]The issues that recur continually are concerns about, on the one hand, the relations between anthropologists and the[...] subjects, [...] and, on the other, the responsibilities of anthropologists towards informants and others.

This section will consider the "politics of knowledge" in relation to this study. I will begin by considering the need to ensure autonomy, agency and anonymity on the part of research participants, and go on to explore the extent to which anthropologists are able to represent the lives and worldviews of 'others', and the question of knowledge production more generally.

Autonomy, agency and anonymity

It is essential that ethical decisions made by researchers represent the interests of research participants (Posel & Ross (2014:6). One means of ensuring that this occurs is through the process of informed consent, which has three elements: First, participants must be fully informed about the intentions and extent of the study. Second, they must understand the information provided by the researcher, as well as any potential impacts that the research might have on them. Finally, they must be given free choice regarding whether or not they participate, and retain the option of exiting at any time, should they so desire (Wasunna et al 2014:57-8). These conditions are relatively straight forward in western contexts, but as Wasunna et al (*ibid.*) point out, may be complicated in developing countries characterised by poverty and low literacy levels, and especially where cultural and/or language barriers exist between researchers and their participants. Notions of 'personhood' also need to be taken into account, because western conceptions of individualism are not universal and in the African context for example, decision making is often based on consensus and negotiation (*ibid.*:57-8). Respect for autonomy of

research participants includes that their anonymity is ensured, or that information collected during research is only disclosed with their permission (Wiles et al 2008:417).

All these factors came into play in the context of this study, and as in some of the cases described in Posal and Ross (2014), there was not always a perfect fit between formal requirements and the practical details of my research practice. For example, the observations noted above concerning changing ethical requirements over time. The fieldwork for this study was conducted between 2009 and 2011, when the regulations governing ethical research practice were less stringent, that is before written consent for participation and the use of photographs was required. I explained the nature and purpose of my research to all my informants, and obtained their verbal consent before switching on my voice-recording device (3.4), but have neither written nor recorded verbal evidence of this.

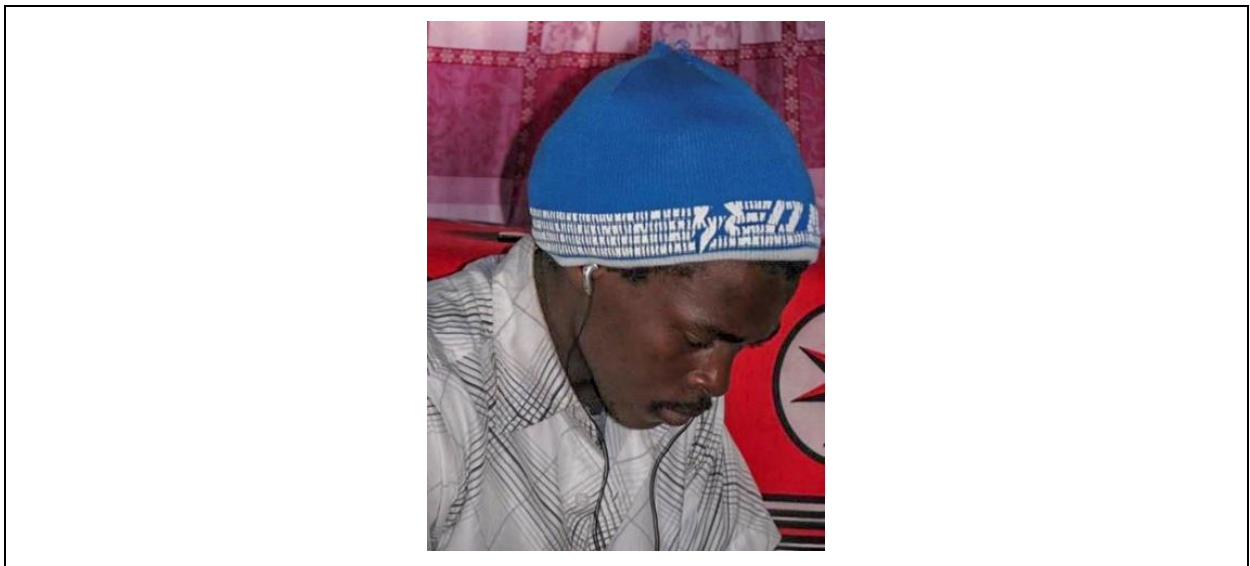


Figure 3.3. Qaqambile translating an interview

Had I had sought written or recorded verbal consent from research participants, this might not have proved as simple as expected. In the context of the regulation and coercion that characterised South Africa's apartheid history, people who probably do not speak and almost certainly do not write English, are understandably reluctant to sign on any dotted line. Also, the relationship between an anthropologist and her research participants develops slowly over time, a process that cannot be facilitated by immediate formalisation of relations. Obtaining recorded verbal consent is equally problematic: The act of approaching a potential informant with a voice-recorder that is already recording in order to obtain evidence of their verbal consent defeats the intention of acquiring prior

consent. The alternative of first acquiring verbal consent and then turning on the voice-recorder and acquiring it for a second time is simply preposterous. There is no doubt that interviews, subsequent analysis and use of photographs should only proceed on the basis of informed consent, but a certain amount of flexibility and recognition of the social elements at play in the research context should also be allowed for.

I speak only rudimentary isiXhosa, so it was necessary to have an interpreter during research in order to ensure maximum understanding and a smooth flow of communication. I was assisted in the field by Qaqambile Godlo from Tsolo, belonging to the Mpondomise tribal grouping and amaQina clan. He accompanied me when I began working in July 2009, and subsequently on the vast majority of fieldtrips. He was not only good and interesting company, but his own calling as *sangoma* heightened his personal interest in the research. He proved an ardent worker, adept at the tasks in hand. I am grateful to him for the initiative and integrity with which he approached the work, and am convinced that this contributed positively to the project as a whole. We worked very much as a team and I soon came to trust his ability to manage the interviews without my interference. Any confusion that arose during subsequent translation and transcription was cleared up during follow-up interviews. When I use the pronoun 'we' therefore, it is not in the royal sense, but to acknowledge Qaqambile's key role in this research. Cultural and language barriers certainly exist between me and my research participants, but I believe that these were ameliorated by Qaqambile's interest and familiarity with the research context and focus.

It was also necessary that we take account of the "communitarian consent process" described by Wasunna et al (2014:58). In each area where we worked, we began by approaching the local chief and/or headman, to introduce ourselves, explain the reason for our presence, and ask about potential clans under their jurisdiction, or in cases where we had already established this to be the case, to seek their approval to visit them. On subsequent visits we would return to the homes of local traditional leaders to pay our respects and discuss the progress of the work.

The participants of this research welcomed our interest in their clan affairs, and especially the fact that we were recording their history in writing. The lack of interest in these matters among members of younger generations was lamented by many, and more than once we were admonished for having come too late, in other words after key custodians of clan oral tradition had died. On one especially poignant occasion, the old

lady in question had died only five months previously and it was recalled with dismay how she had tried repeatedly – but in vain – to pass her knowledge on, cautioning that one day somebody would come and ask about it, by which time it would be too late because she would be dead. “Here is the person she was talking about” they said, speaking of me, shaking their heads and speaking in hushed tones. The recall and commemoration of deceased ancestors and their genealogical connections to living descendants – the participants of this research – is integral to this study. It therefore entailed the use of actual names, so anonymity or the use of pseudonyms would have defeated the ends of the project, both from the perspective of the study and the research participants themselves.

Who makes knowledge and who owns it?

Anthropology has frequently been characterised as the holder and perpetuator of dubious ideological positions, as a result of its history and development. In spite – or maybe because – of this, the discipline has sought to address these pertinent charges through reflexivity and continual revision. Lamphere (2018) traces some of the changes that have occurred in anthropological research practice and the writing of ethnography over the past century. Malinowski’s goal when he was working in the Trobriand Islands in 1918, and that of most anthropologists well into the twentieth century, was essentially comparative, involving the documentation of human diversity with specific emphasis on the contrast between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (*ibid.*:64) (??). In the past two decades, significant changes have occurred both in terms of fieldwork practice and ethnographic writing. These shifts have been spurred by the work of among others, feminist anthropologists who have focused on power differentials between anthropologists and their subjects, addressing issues of positionality and intersectionality, and calls by Clifford and Marcus (1986) for unquestioned ethnographic authority to be replaced with more open-ended or dialogical writing that emphasis the words of research subjects (*ibid.*:71).

Caplan (2003: 3) asserts that ethics goes to the heart of anthropology because it raises the question of what the discipline is, and who it is for. To some extent Lamphere’s characterisation answers Caplan’s question, the first part of which I have also addressed above (3.7.1). Lamphere (*op cit.*) also speaks to the second part of Caplan’s question, which will be considered in more detail here. Strang (2003:187) makes the important point that

[i]t is impossible to do anthropology without [...] appropriating cultural knowledge for the purposes of analysis, and the question remains whether, in an unequal power relationship, is it 'appropriate' to do this, or whether [...] this constitutes an example of] 'experts' who claim that [...] people cannot represent themselves and must therefore be represented by experts who know more about them than they do themselves.

Do anthropologists have the right – or even the ability – to represent 'the other' at all, or should anthropological representations rather be directed by the judgements and perspectives of anthropological research participants? (*ibid.* 2003:176). I have already indicated my leaning towards the latter option by defining one of the intentions of this study to be an attempt to decolonise the process of knowledge production through co-production in which indigenous knowledge encapsulated within an oral tradition is acknowledged as valuable and relevant, and research participants are able to identify and recognise their own voices within the pages of this text (1.2, 2.3). I have also endeavoured as far as possible within the patriarchal and patrilineal context in which I worked, to take account of marginalised voices.

This research has involved the participation of all members of the clans in the survey. Although senior agnates who are the acknowledged custodians of the knowledge were the principal informants, contributions made by women and younger men were also collected where possible. Clan praises were frequently collected from younger as well as senior agnates, and also from women of various ages, but the interviews from which historical and genealogical information was obtained were for the most part conducted with clan elders, widely recognised as the custodians of such knowledge, who in the vast majority of – but not all – cases, were men. We found without exception that members of the clans in which we were interested were keen to be involved in the research. Our presence and the questions we asked sometimes served to reawaken their own interest in the subject, and discussions and debates would sometimes ensue between kinsmen when more than one was present during interviews. We would always be referred to the senior kinsman, reputed custodian of the knowledge, and final arbiter of uncertainty, who would however be quick to refer us to elders of other branches of the clan with which he was less familiar. On subsequent visits we sometimes found that additional agnates who we had not yet visited or who perhaps lived in a *lali* in which we had not yet worked, would seek us out and demand inclusion.

One of the central goals of this project involved the documentation of oral history, which accorded with the expectations and wishes of the research participants, who

supported and contributed to the documentation of their oral tradition. My responsibility to them to do so, and to ensure its endurance contradicts another requirement of research ethics, namely that all data should be destroyed within a certain period after conclusion of research. As in the case of anonymity, this regulation is totally at odds with the goals of both the project and its participants, and once again options to negotiate regulations such as these need to offer some flexibility.

I am not able to represent my research participants. I am white, in possession of a vehicle able to traverse extremely bad roads, camera, smartphone, GPS and various other designators of my class and race, not least a privileged education. Ironically however, in the context of this particular study, my whiteness was a metaphorical marker of similarity and not difference – as the title of this study affirms, my informants regard themselves to be the descendants of white forebears, at least in the patriline. Also, due to the interest of research participants in the subject matter, their belief in its value and desire that it should be documented, and the help of my interpreter who is familiar with the realm of ancestors and means by which they are acknowledged and appeased, I am able to produce an authentic ethnographic and historical account. It is of primary importance to me that it should be seen as such from the perspective of my research participants. At the same time, this ethnographic and historical material has been employed for “purposes of analysis” (Strang 2003:187), and hence in fulfilment of my anthropological responsibility (as laid out in my trusty set of ethical guidelines). It potentially contributes to what Ortner (2016b:35) describes as a new form of ethnographic theory that involves a “politicised or ethicised emic” in which theory grows out of “deep ethnographic engagement”.

3.7.4. The broader political context

Since the 1980s, with rising trends in neoliberal economics and politics, the anthropological gaze has fallen upon power, domination, inequality, oppression and other “harsh dimensions of social life”, constituting what Ortner (2016a:47,58-9) has termed “dark anthropology”. She describes counterpart approaches – anthropologies of the good – that have resisted the “dark turn” by focusing on “well-being” through studies of “the good life”, morality, ethics and “what gives lives a sense of purpose and direction” (Ortner 2016a:47,58-9). Ortner does not conceive of the two approaches as oppositional however, but is interested in integrating them, on the basis that there is no point in

opposing neo-liberalism if better ways of living cannot be imagined (Ortner 2016a:60-61).²⁷

There are various reasons why Ortner's conception of 'anthropologies of the good' is applicable to this study. One of its key focuses is on people's relationship with their deceased ancestors, understood to be the source of blessings, but also punishment if they are neglected. Another is the recall of such ancestors through the oral record, for example clan praises, which are experienced as direct communication. Belief in, recall of, and communication with ancestors is central to people's sense of well-being.

The study is also concerned at a theoretical level with political issues such as the history and contemporary context of race and racism in South Africa, offering alternative visions of South Africa's political and historical legacy, and potentially its future. The South African anthropologist and cultural ambassador Johnny Clegg, has dedicated his music career to offering just an alternative vision, as expressed in his recently released song entitled *Colour of my skin* (2017). Between the lines of the song it is possible to read musings that are almost certainly inspired by the inevitable outcome of his terminal illness. More explicitly, and of more relevance to this study, the song conceives of a utopia in which all human skins are the colour of rain drops, and all humans are kin:

I'm caught inside the colour of my skin
People see me from the outside in
It doesn't matter what I've done or where I've been
Like a promise unfulfilled I'm waiting
[...]
One day I will be gathered to my people
Under the warmth of the sun shining
For the world has all my brothers and my sisters
And love will be the prize we win
[...]
If the eyes are the soul's open window
And if the mouth can speak words and make it fly
I'd say we all are the colours of pure water
Like drops of rain falling from a common sky (Clegg 2017).

3.7.5. Conclusion

Many anthropologists hold that ethical principles are inherent in their discipline and those trained in it. These are sometimes at odds with those developed as formal institutional

²⁷ An inspiring local example of such work is Fiona Ross' (2010) *Raw life, new hope: decency, housing and everyday life in a post-apartheid community*, a study of people living in squalid and poverty-stricken informal housing near Cape Town.

responses to the need to ensure ethical research practice, which in many cases cannot be quantified by impersonal and formalised procedures, only demonstrated through personal conviction and authenticity.

4. Contexts

As a necessary prelude to the ethnographic chapters that are to follow in Parts Two and Three, this concluding chapter to Part One provides the historical, political, geographical and cultural contexts within which the historical and contemporary circumstances of interest here have occurred. These factors have impacted as much on members of the exogenous clans who form the focus of this work as they have on the endogenous ones amongst whom their forebears integrated, and the chapter will conclude by delineating the locations and numbers of homesteads that comprise the survey.

4.1. History & political economy of the macro context

4.1.1. Early history

During the mid-1500s, Bantu-speaking people, originally from West-Central Africa, according to linguistic evidence (Inskeep 1978:119), who had been moving slowly south for some time, began to settle in the area extending from the Mthamvuna River, southwards in search of fresh grazing for their cattle. Prior to this, the area had been habitat to a large variety of animals and some groups of nomadic San and Khoi. By about 1750, twelve "chiefdom clusters"²⁸ had settled in the area between the Mthamvuna and Sundays Rivers. Although all spoke Xhosa dialects and shared Cape Nguni "patrilineal, pastoral, hoe-culturalist" characteristics, each had a sense of their own distinctiveness. Amongst these migrants were Mpondo chiefs and their families, who settled in the most northerly area, immediately south of the Mthamvuna. A faction of Bomvana under the leadership of Dibandlela also originally settled in Mpondoland, only acquiring their territory south of the Xhora River in the early nineteenth century (6.2.4). During the settlement and expansion of these Bantu speaking immigrants, the San population diminished severely, but the Khoi – as fellow cattle owners – were often incorporated (Hammond-Tooke 1975:7-13). Residual cultural influences of interaction with the Khoi are evident in aspects of contemporary traditional healing practices, and the isiXhosa language, whose characteristic clicks have been traced to borrowings from Khoi languages (Herbert 1990, Bostoen and Sands 2009, Hammond-Tooke 1997, 1998, 1999); and there is considerable genetic sharing (Tobias 1974:26-27).

²⁸ Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Bomvana, Bhaca, Hlubi, Bhele, Zizi, Mfengu (Fingo), Xesibe & Ntlangwini (Hammond-Tooke 1975:9).

Much further south, a broader and more brutal colonisation was taking place with the establishment by Dutch mariners of a refreshment station at Table Bay in 1652. The imperialist expansion of Europe from the fifteenth century onwards, accomplished through seafaring and the conquering and exploitation of large parts of the rest of the world, brought the branch of humankind that had emigrated out of Africa approximately 70 000 years previously, back to its motherland, which they did not of course recognise as such at the time. Although improved shipping technology and the development of ocean-crossing vessels expanded trade possibilities for Europe, seafaring was a far from exact science and many ships wrecked as a result of faulty navigation technology, incorrect maps, and stormy seas. The rough and perilous stretch of coast line between the Mthamvuna and Kei River mouths, still known as the "wild coast," was host to a remarkably high number of shipwrecks over time, many of which have been documented by Boxer (1959), Crampton (2004), Taylor (2005) and Vernon (2013), amongst others.

Many passengers and crew drowned, but some were washed ashore. The first encounters that amaMpondo and amaBomvana had with Europeans, were during the 16th and 17th centuries, when shipwreck survivors were cast up onto the beaches. Many encounters between shipwreck survivors and local inhabitants were acrimonious if not fatal (Boxer 1959, Taylor 2005, Vernon 2013). Encounters such as these appear to have been typical of the nature of interactions between Europeans and Africans across the entire subcontinent; when the Dutch first encountered Khoikhoi in Table bay, relations were far from friendly (Schoeman 2009:54,117,122-4). Many shipwreck survivors died violently, some trekked off in search of European settlements, often perishing from hunger or violent encounters along the way. Others chose – or had no option but – to stay where they were, and were incorporated into communities living beside the beaches onto which fate and the Indian Ocean had dumped them.

Later, as the brutal machine of South African history and politics played itself out, rebels or adventurers of various kinds also found their way out of the colony and into the so-called 'Native Territories'. Crampton documented stories of runaway slaves from the Cape and various Boer and other renegades who escaped into the Xhosa territories. Some also married local women and established new clans which remain extant. This study is concerned with specific men who comprised part of this second wave of returnees from Eurasia: those who washed up upon the shores of Mpondoland or for other reasons integrated their lives and genes with isiXhosa speaking people living along a small portion

of the eastern shore of South Africa. Not only did they survive shipwreck or shun colonial society and culture and enter into marriages with local women, but they are recalled and acknowledged by their descendants as clan founders and ancestors, which has ensured preservation of their names and various other biographical details in the oral tradition.

4.1.2. Cape Nguni political economy in the 18th and early 19th centuries

Towards the end of the 18th century, settler expansion of Boers and British became closer and much more threatening to the inhabitants of the 'Native Territories'. These well-established chiefdoms originally prevented the eastward expansion of frontier Boer farmers. Having acquired many of their cattle from illicit trade with the Khoi, the Boers become involved in a series of retaliatory cattle raids with the 'natives', and in 1781 these land and stock disputes erupted into the first of eight bloody wars to be fought over the next sixty years²⁹. These were wars in which British and Boer settlers forcefully took more and more territory, and this in turn caused intense conflicts between different Xhosa-speaking chiefdoms - desperate for new places to live, or to protect their as-yet unconquered territories. Early in the 19th century, the chiefdoms were further threatened by the *Mfecane* (c.1823-30), a "great wave of battles and migrations set in motion by the rise of Shaka and the Zulu state" (Peires 1981:86).

By 1853, relations between the Cape Colony and 'territories' had settled down somewhat and there was a tense and uneasy peace, although issues were not entirely resolved (Keppel-Jones 1975:48-60). In 1856, things were finally and tragically settled when, on the advice of a diviner (*sangoma*) interpreting an encounter which the teenage Nongqawuse, had had with ancestral spirits, people were ordered to kill and eat all their cattle, and consume or destroy all their crops. In exchange for these dire measures, people were led to believe that on February 18th 1857, those who disobeyed together with all whites, would be swept into the sea by a hurricane, and an abundance of cattle and grain would miraculously appear (Peires 1989)

This apocalyptic prophecy was never fulfilled, and in the resulting famine, resistance crumbled, and thousands of people were driven into colonial settlements in search of work. There was also a growing dependence on trade commodities and with the introduction of poll tax in 1857, access to cash became even more essential.

²⁹ The "Kaffir" or "border" wars, fought in 1781, 1793, 1799, 1811, 1818, 1823, 1835 & 1850 (Keppel-Jones 1975:48-60, Wilson 1979[1936]:7).

Desperate inhabitants of the 'Native Territories' – almost exclusively men – were driven to search for work. Demands for labour were increasing on white farms in the region so work-seekers could be accommodated; subsequently the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1870, and gold on the Witwatersrand in 1885, created enormous labour demands (Wilson *op cit.*:3). By 1878, the territories belonging to all the Xhosa-speaking chiefdoms except the amaMpondo had been attached to the East Griqualand magistracy under Cape Colonial protection, and were formally annexed to the colony in 1886.

Stuck away in the most north-easterly corner of the 'territories', Mpondoland managed to escape the effects of much of this upheaval. Due to the geographical remoteness and general inaccessibility of the area, it was relatively less populated, and the fertile soil produced high yields (*ibid.*:7). The region had in any case established a position of dominance and economic prosperity. Beinart (1982:9) recorded how in 1828, during the reign of Faku, paramount chief of the amaMpondo (c. 1820 -1867), the Mpondo lost their land east of the Mzimvubu, and many of their cattle, when scores of people fleeing Shaka's *impis* forced them to retreat to the western side of the river. Here Faku abolished male circumcision³⁰, reorganised his military force and intensified raiding, hunting, agricultural and trade enterprises. By 1843, the amaMpondo had replaced their cattle herds, and Faku commanded tremendous power over many of the people living south of the Zulu kingdom.

The amaMpondo then began moving back across the Mzimvubu River, in search of more grazing land and in hope of re-establishing some of their old settlements. Faku wanted to reclaim the eastern reaches of his territory because the land was now under threat from trekkers who had settled in Natal, who were – like everyone else at the time – keen to expand their borders. Faku continued to incorporate more local groups into his empire, and in 1844, he signed a treaty with the Cape Colonial government which recognised and protected his authority over what was by now a considerable area. Mpondoland appears to have enjoyed something of a charmed history. Under the inspired leadership of Faku, amaMpondo could recoup their considerable losses. His statesmanship must have contributed to the obviously favourable way in which the

³⁰ It is believed that the main reason why Faku did this was to ensure that young men were permanently available for raiding, defence etc. Circumcision used to involve 3 weeks isolation, during which time many of the youngest, strongest men would have been unable to participate in the raiding, defence and attack which ensured the return of the Mpondo's to economic stability.

colonial authorities handled the region. AmaMpondo did not join in the cattle killing in 1856, and when poll tax was introduced across the rest of the 'territories' a year later, Mpondoland was excluded. In 1894, when Mpondoland was finally annexed to the colony, Hammond-Tooke (1975:23) describes the submission as a "non-violent [...] psychological conquest" which tribesmen were forced to accept because of various political, economic and religious pressures.

For the next 70 years, the Transkei was administered by Cape provincial administration, originally under the British colonial government. The Glen Gray Act of 1894 established district councils under chiefs who were used by the colonial government as proxy rulers. It was a 'dress rehearsal' for the Land Acts of 1913 (affecting the Cape) and 1936 (covering the whole of South Africa) which severely limited allocations of land to blacks. The Nationalist Party victory in the 1948 elections brought further changes. In 1958, H.F. Verwoerd, former "Minister of Native Affairs" took over as prime minister, committed to putting his policy of 'separate development' into practice. This resulted in the awarding of 'self-government' to the Transkei in 1963, followed by 'independence' in 1976 (Davenport, 1977:281). An extensive and largely dysfunctional bureaucracy was entirely funded by the South African government, and included the building of civic buildings and border posts, as well as the employment of great numbers of civil servants (Hammond-Tooke 1975:23, Streek and Wicksteed 1981). The local leadership was associated with a certain amount of instability. The prime-minister, K.D. Matanzima, was replaced by his brother George in 1979. Bantu Holomisa, former head of the Transkei Defence force, took over the reins after a bloodless coup in 1987, remaining in power until 1994 when he set his sights on the broadening horizons of South African politics (Donaldson, *et al.* 1992)

After the first democratic elections, the Transkei as a separate entity fell away, and the region became part of the vast and diverse Eastern Cape Province, separated for the first time from the Cape Province, former Cape Colony. Despite this incorporation, Transkei remains a discrete region in many ways, and facilities for the vast majority of its rural inhabitants remain both insufficient and in many cases, inadequate. Many people still lead lives which are not significantly changed from those of their ancestors during the 16th and 17th centuries. Traditional forms of land use and local government are still practised, and while this may be partially explained by the shortage of facilities, capital and opportunities during colonial and apartheid governments, the resilience of many

craft, religious and other cultural practices also suggests a determination on the part of many rural people to retain elements of their heritage. This does not mean that modern ideas and innovations are rejected; instead they are incorporated and employed alongside traditional methods.

4.2. Society and culture on the 'Wild Coast'

4.2.1. The Patrilineage

The distinction between 'kinship' and 'descent' (Hammond-Tooke, 1985: 313) amongst isiXhosa speakers was noted some eighty years ago (Hoernlé 1937), and is still evident today. Whereas kinship includes all consanguineal kin, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, descent "is more specific, [...] refer[ing] to the singling out of one side of the family for special emphasis" (Hammond-Tooke 1985:313). Amongst the Cape Nguni, emphasis is on patrilineal kin and is expressed through patrilineal descent as articulated by the clan system (Hoernlé 1937:73, McAllister 1997:285).

Mzolo (1978:207) noted, with reference to Zulu clans, that originally the clan was a "magnified family, consisting of offspring of a single forefather, the clan's founder." Due to continuous expansion over time however, "numerous members of one clan can [no longer] trace their connections to each other by patrilineal descent from a common ancestor" (*ibid.*). The same is true of Xhosa clans which can therefore be said to comprise all the descendants of a remote, "often mythical" ancestor (Hoernlé 1937: 80, McAllister 1997: 285, Preston-Whyte 1974: 178, 201). Clan members tend to be widely scattered and are often to be found living in more than one chiefdom (Hammond-Tooke 1968: 34, Hoernlé 1937: 80, Mzolo 1978: 207). Lineages on the other hand, consist "of the descendants of a known ancestor, some three to six generations removed in the male line" (Preston-Whyte 1974:178). Any clan will therefore include "a number of discrete lineages" (Bigalke 1970: 49) whose members live close to each other, each of which is descended from a common patrilineal apical ancestor, frequently a grandfather or great-grandfather (Hammond-Tooke, 1985:315, McAllister 1997:285, Preston-Whyte 1974:185,196).

Hammond-Tooke (1984: 78) called clans "vague non-groups". There is no word in isiXhosa for 'clan' and neither is there a collective isiXhosa term designating "all clan

members" (Bigalke 1970:50, Hammond-Tooke 1968:32,34).³¹ Hammond Tooke (*ibid.*) attributed this apparent lack to the fact that amongst the Mpondomise, to whom he was specifically referring, "the clan is not conceptualised as a group". Clan membership is signified by the clan-name (*isiduko*) which according to Kropf (1915:86) comes from the root '*duka*' meaning "to wander among strangers" (Kuckertz in Hammond-Tooke, 1984: 80,91). Although Hammond-Tooke (1968:34) acknowledged that a shared clan-name implied kinship, he suggested that clan members "do not seem ever to think of *all* clansmen as forming some sort of group" (*ibid.*). Bulelwa Nosilela of the African Languages Department at Rhodes University bore this out, agreeing that there is indeed no direct translation of the term 'clan' (Nosilela 2010).

Wilson (*op cit.*:52,53), and contemporary isiXhosa speakers with whom I discussed the matter, held that the word *isiduko* (plural *iziduko*), meaning 'clan-name,' could be used interchangeably to mean both clan and clan-name, and that it sufficiently covered both concepts. The matter is not easily put to rest by consulting dictionaries as only the *Oxford English Xhosa Dictionary* has an English-Xhosa section. Both Rev. Kropf's *Kaffir-English Dictionary* (1915) and the more recent *Greater Dictionary of IsiXhosa* edited by S.L. Tshabe et. al (2006) have only isiXhosa-English entries. According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, the isiXhosa word for 'clan' is '*amani*' but rather than being a noun meaning 'clan', the term is conventionally phrased as a question which means "who are your people?" (i.e.: what is your clan?). It is impossible to cross-check the meaning of '*amani*' in the other two dictionaries because they list only the stems of words and not the prefixes. Thus '*ama*' as prefix is not listed and neither is '*ni*'.

The word '*amani*' is however more or less analogous with '*ungumni?*' which according to Kuse (1973:2) means precisely "of what clan are you?" Similarly, as Mzolo (1978:207) points out, the isiZulu question '*ungowaphi?*' which translates to 'of what place are you?' also means, 'what is your clan?' since clans were formerly associated with particular places that were exclusively occupied by entire clans (Mzolo 1978:207-8). Contrary to Hammond-Tooke's (1968:34) assertion that it is a lack of clan identity which results in the absence of a direct translation of the concept, I argue that it is rather that the identity conferred by clan membership is so deeply embedded that the questions "who are your people?", "where are you from?" or the even more specific "what is your

³¹Evans Pritchard (1933-35) made precisely the same observation about the Nuer, characterising them as "group abstractions" and noting that they have "no word meaning clan" (in Kuper, 1982:83).

clan?" are sufficiently redolent of the English 'clan' as not to require a separate term. As will be seen, clan membership is not only a central idiom around which much social discourse revolves but also an integral and significant element in the belief and practice of the ancestor religion.

The lineage by contrast, is referred to by a number of terms, such as "*abantu bomzi*" and "*imilowo*" (Hammond-Tooke 1968:34) or *abantu bomthondo omnye* (people of one penis) (Bigalke 1970:48). Certain specific functions have been associated with lineages, such as the settlement of disputes, marriage negotiations and attendance of group rituals (Hammond-Tooke 1968:27, Preston-Whyte 1974:196). According to Preston-Whyte (1974:196), "lineage groups are [...] ritual units," the members of which "recognise binding obligations to each other, [... which] are particularly strong between members of minimal segments who live adjacent to each other." The clan, on the other hand, being a much wider and more scattered group, has only two functions; namely the regulation of marriage and sexual relations according to strictly applied exogamy rules and the constitution of what Hammond-Tooke (Hammond-Tooke 1974:345,1985:316) describes as a "congregation" using the word in "the Durkheimian sense", in other words to connote a "group of worshippers who have a common god or gods as the object of their worship."

Hammond-Tooke (1984:90) subsequently switched his position by asserting that "the important descent groups among the Cape Nguni would appear to be clans, rather than lineages" and in fact that "the lineage, as such, is not a significant factor in understanding the dynamics of Cape Nguni social life" (Hammond-Tooke, 1984:91). Like Kuckertz (1984b), he found that a "large number of clan-names" are represented in wards, that "agnatic groups are extremely small" and "on the face of it, these tiny groups seem to be generally too small either to claim the name 'lineage', or to be functionally important" (Hammond-Tooke, 1984:80-82). He (*ibid.*:91) defined the lineage as "a set of people the relationships between whom are structured on a genealogy" and the clan as "likewise not a group but a set which defines consanguinity, the extent and operation of exogamic rules, and significantly, the objects of worship in the ancestor cult".

Hammond-Tooke went on to propose use of the term 'agnatic cluster', suggesting that this was the "only socially relevant group" and what the term *imilowo* – previously offered as a translation of 'lineage' – referred to. In an agnatic cluster, "all connecting links between local [...] homesteads can be shown, [but] by no means are all the people

whose names appear [...] actually present in a particular area". This genealogical knowledge is "necessary as a calculus... to provide a way of determining (and validating) relative seniority" (Hammond-Tooke, 1984:84-86). Such seniority is expressed in the specific roles taken by senior men, in the case of the agnatic cluster, the *ntloko* (head) and when it comes to conflict resolution and ritual, a broader agnatic group comprising a number of clusters falling under the most senior *ntloko* who is the *inkulu* (big one). The clan or "wider cult group is nothing more than a potential action set [...] expressed symbolically through the important role of the ritual elder" and remaining "latent until activated by a ritual or other event involving the ancestors" (*ibid.*:86).

My research would support Hammond-Tooke's findings that people sharing the same clan-name tend to reside close to one another, and are able to explain their genealogical links to one another as well as those members who are no longer resident in the area. I will avoid the term 'lineage', adopting his suggestion of 'agnatic cluster' which emphasises both the kinship and the territorial elements which such groups embody. For the most part however, the term 'clan' will be used because it is the extent to which the clan functions as a "congregation" or "group of worshippers [... with] a common [...] object of [...] worship" that is of central importance to this study. In the case of multiple groupings of a single clan living in different areas, and unable to demonstrate genealogical links with one another, each will be designated a 'clan section'. In some cases such clan sections comprise a number of agnatic clusters in the sense of numerous families living in actual or relative geographical proximity, descended from multiple apical ancestors, and able to demonstrate their genealogical links. In others, they comprise no more than a single agnatic cluster, descended from one recent common ancestor, but with some of their members absent. In the case of exogenous clans of more recent origins, almost all comprise single agnatic clusters according to this definition, in some cases represented by no more than one or two households. They will nevertheless be referred to as clans, again because it is the broader ritual aspects of clan membership that comprise the primary focus of this study.

4.2.2. Clan Membership

Clan membership signifies descent from a common forebear, the eponymous ancestor after whom the clan itself has been named (Preston-Whyte, 1974:178). Clan members constitute a "congregation" because "all the constituent lineages of a clan call on the same clan ancestors" and therefore "the clan as a social group is symbolically expressed

by the worship of a common set of clan ancestors" (Hammond-Tooke, 1968:43). Thus even though they are widely dispersed "throughout the chiefdom territory" – and sometimes even beyond into other chiefdoms – all the clan sections of one clan "worship the same pantheon of ancestral spirits – a community of (clan) saints." This is not done collectively, "either as a clan or as a lineage, but merely as the small local group of agnates" (Hammond-Tooke, 1985:317).

Clan membership is determined by the principles of patrilineal descent, namely that all children, whether male or female, belong to the same clan as their father. Thus a man's children, provided he is married to their mother, will belong to his clan while a married woman's children will of course belong to that of their father, her husband. The absolute laws of patrilineal descent, namely that clan membership passes exclusively through the male line, are however infringed in the case of illegitimacy. If a child's parents are unmarried, it will be putatively acknowledged as the child of its maternal grandfather, or if he is deceased, it's mother's brother and will thus be considered to belong to the maternal grandfather's (also the mother's) clan (Bigalke, 1970:96, Wilson, *op cit.*:233). This is true in all cases of illegitimacy, whether or not the identity of the biological father is known and even in cases where the child is 'claimed' by its biological father who is then liable to pay 'damages' to the child's maternal grandfather, usually in the form of cattle or other livestock. If the parents of an illegitimate child subsequently marry, such 'damages' will be deducted from the *lobola* or bride price payable by the groom's family to that of the bride, following which the normal rules of patrilineal descent will apply and the child will be considered to belong to the clan of its father. Alternatively, if an illegitimate boy is circumcised from the home of his biological father, he will also at that point be considered to belong to his father's clan. In all other cases, illegitimate children will belong to their maternal clan, thus infringing upon the absolute rule of patrilineal descent.

4.2.3. Functions of the Clan

Clans are exogamous which means that as descendants of the same (usually mythical) ancestor, agnates are forbidden to marry one another. Hammond-Tooke (1968:43) saw this regulation of marriage as one of the main functions of the clan. Sexual relationships between agnates are seen as incestuous unions and not only embarrassing to living clan members but considered to be offensive to ancestral spirits. Such heinous offences need to be "washed away" through the performance of rituals (Preston-Whyte, 1974:192).

Clan exogamy draws “a clear distinction between consanguines and affines” and is not confined to agnates but extended to include the clans of all four grandparents (*ibid.*, Hoernlé, 1937:74). Thus while clan exogamy is certainly effective in prohibiting marriage between members of the same clan, such prohibitions are not limited to agnates but extended to include a much wider category of kin.

The clan then, is a broad and scattered group which does not serve economic or political purposes although it does imply kinship which can be exploited by fellow clan members, even if they are otherwise strangers to one another. Apart from denoting common descent from an extremely ancient and probably mythical forebear and providing a “congregation” to which a person automatically belongs by virtue of birth, it would appear to have very little other function. Although it certainly does regulate marriage through exogamous rules of prohibition, it does so no more or less than those prohibiting intercourse or marriage between descendants also of Father’s Mother, Mother’s Father and Mother’s Mother.

The clan-name or *isiduko*, indicative of clan membership, is an important part of social identity and a matter of supreme interest when meeting strangers, usually being stated immediately upon introduction. A married woman is called by her *isiduko*, prefixed by ‘Ma’ and while she will also be called ‘Mother of (child’s name)’ upon bearing children, she will primarily be known by this appellation throughout her life. *Iziduko* are uttered to invoke the clan founder when clan members stumble or drop something and on fortuitous instances such as sneezing which is considered good luck (Wilson *op cit.*:234) or the reappearance of someone who has been absent for a long time. *Iziduko* may also be spoken by others, such as neighbours or community members in greeting, to express gratitude, or show honour to the bearer of the name (Opland 1983:16, 41). As Kuse (1973:6) pointed out, this evokes strong emotions in the clan member concerned,

When a person is addressed or declaimed by way of the recitation of his *iziduko*, he experiences a feeling of pleasure and pride. He is elated at being recognised in the style that has resonances of solidarity with the clan as a whole, and with antiquity.

I would argue, and will show in what follows, that the significance of the clan lies in the social and ritual implications of clan membership. Despite the fact that clans are widely dispersed and neither constitute corporate groups nor are conceived as such, with the result that they do not fulfil any economic or political functions, clan membership confers an identity that is more deep-seated and socially relevant than a person’s first or

surname and is an essential element of the Xhosa cultural context. It also has important ritual implications, constituting a link between living clan members and their forebears, and thus, indirectly, with each other. The oral recall of clan genealogies and other forms of clan oral history is fundamental to ritual practices associated with the traditional ancestor religion.

4.2.4. Ancestors

According to Hammond-Tooke (1968:26), the Southern Bantu "have only a vague idea of a supreme being," or as Bigalke (1970:73) puts it, they consider the entity to be "a quasi-ancestor with whom people's ancestors intercede on behalf of the living." Although the belief system includes creation myths, it lacks what might be considered a "theology" (Hammond-Tooke, 1974a: 319, 1974b: 345). The Creator, known in isiXhosa as *uDali* or *uQamatha* takes little interest in "the affairs of his creation". Although able to "intervene in people's lives, they themselves cannot influence him because there is no way to approach him directly" (Bigalke 1970:73). He does not, therefore "constitute an important factor in the religious system," is neither worshiped nor invoked and no rituals are directed towards him (Bigalke 1970:73, Hammond-Tooke 1974a:319, Kuckertz 1983:113). Instead, "another complex of beliefs," namely belief in ancestral shades, witchcraft and sorcery fulfil the functions of explanation (Hammond-Tooke 1974a:321) and "effective ritual behaviour is directed towards the shades of deceased agnatic forebears, the *izinyanya*' (Hammond-Tooke 1968:26).

The term 'ancestor worship' was coined by Herbert Spencer (1898[1876]) in his *Principles of Sociology* to describe an on-going relationship between living people and their deceased family members who are believed to have the ability to cause both blessing and harm to the living, and who are propitiated in various ways. In *African Religions and Philosophy*, John Mbiti (1969) took exception to the use of both words in the term. He felt that the word 'ancestor' was misleading because it implied that only spirits who were "once the ancestors of the living" played a role whereas children, siblings, wives and other family members who are not strictly speaking 'ancestors' could also exert influence (*ibid.*:85). He also noted that the word 'worship' did not adequately describe the relationship between the living and the dead which involved keeping in touch with departed family members through libations and food offerings which were "tokens of fellowship, hospitality and respect" and "symbols of family continuity and contact" rather than "worship" as such (*ibid.*:9). He also contended that the term was inadequate

because it implied that African religions began and ended at the "level of the family" whereas they were multi-layered. The isolation of a single element (ancestor worship) led to the neglect of other aspects (*ibid.*:9).

Mbiti advocated that the terms "ancestral spirits" and "ancestors" should be abolished and replaced by "spirits" or "the living dead" because of the limitations imposed by the term "ancestor" (*ibid.*:85). However, the term "living dead" is itself problematic in as much as it is more frequently used to describe "zombies", people who have been changed into servants by witches who leave behind an image of their victim which the kin assume is a corpse and therefore bury (Niehaus 1997:255). Thus, people presumed dead are believed to continue to exist in the here and now in a visible sense, rather than the invisible form taken by the ancestral spirits here under discussion. The term "shades", frequently used by anthropologists, is an alternative term for dead forebears who are "omniscient and omnipresent," playing "a big and ever-present role in the lives of all members of the family and clan" (Bühmann 1986:27-8).

Mbiti's assertion that ancestral spirits include people who are not necessarily ancestors would apparently be upheld by Kiernan (1982:292-3) who suggests that "extra-descent group ancestors" or "affinal ancestors," i.e.: ancestors arising from marriage rather than unilineal descent, are instrumental in causing excessive suffering and even death, being both harsh and aggressive, unlike descent group ancestors who are fundamentally benevolent. However, others such as Hammond-Tooke (1968:41, 1974a:335, 1974b:349) and Wilson (*op cit.*:233) emphasise that it is only when a person is being called to become a diviner (*sangoma*) that the maternal ancestors play a significant role, and that even where maternal ancestors do trouble the living, sacrifices are still performed at the paternal home by the agnatic kin and more significantly, to patrilineal ancestors (Hammond-Tooke 1968:41, 1982:60, Wilson *op cit.*:233). As Bigalke (1970:78) pointed out, women do not become communicating ancestors and even where *ukupha iinkobe* (to give boiled maize), a ritual specifically for deceased mothers or grandmothers, is performed, the animal is sacrificed outside the kraal, the preserve of males and male ancestors; while the deceased woman is referenced, it is the patrilineal clan ancestors that are invoked (Bigalke 1970:97). Thus, the effective ancestors in the isiXhosa context and those to whom sacrifices are made, can rightly be considered 'ancestors' in that they are the departed spirits of patrilineal antecedents (Bryant

1917:140, Hammond-Tooke, 1974:325, Wilson *op cit.*:233). I will therefore not substitute the term 'ancestor'.

Mbiti (1969:9) considered the use of the word 'worship' when referring to living people's interactions with the omnipresent dead to be "almost blasphemous," but he did not suggest an alternative. Bührmann (1986:27) was also critical of the term 'worship' because dictionary definitions would imply "adoration paid as to a god, [...] to pay divine honours to; to adore or idolise" whereas the ancestors are "too human" and the relationship "between people and their ancestors [...] too personal." She preferred the terms "ancestor reverence" or "ancestor remembering," (*ibid.*). Others who criticised the term include Brain (1973), Kenyatta (1938) and West (1975) (Hammond-Tooke 1978:134).

Hammond-Tooke (1978:134) acknowledged this "trend in African ethnography to deny that the term 'worship' is adequate for describing the ritual acts (and accompanying states of mind) directed by participants in the so-called ancestor cult." He asked whether by criticising "commonly accepted" definitions of worship as implying "elements of adoration, devotion and supplication of a superior power" we are not "in danger of importing our own ideas of what worship should be into [...] an analytically useful concept" (Hammond-Tooke 1978:135-6). Hammond-Tooke went on to show that "the class of ancestors is clearly marked off from the living, they are "invisible", able "to be in a number of places at once" and "continually aware of one". Communication with the ancestors "is as much through ritual acts as through verbal formulae," and at ancestor rituals (*idini*), agnates participate in "a very real communion service" (*ibid.*:137-146). He ultimately concluded that "the South-Eastern Bantu, especially the Zulu and Cape Nguni, [can] be said to worship their ancestors" and that "to suggest otherwise would seem to border on ethnocentrism, if not cultural arrogance" (*ibid.*:147).

It is also true that the relationship between living people and their ancestors does not always involve "a behaviour pattern of humble worshipper to omnipotent god" (Krige and Krige 1943:239). Although possessing superhuman qualities which they are apt to exercise on their descendants, ancestors "remain within the reach of man" (Kuckertz, 1983:114), as illustrated by Bührmann's (1986:29) informant in the statement, "I get angry and scold them and remind them about their duty towards me". Kuckertz, (1984a:12) found that he "support[ed] *both* sides of the argument" because "people have a wide variety of terms denoting their forebears [... and] speak about their ancestors

situationally [... perceiving] them as senior kinsmen *or* elders, as superhuman personal powers *or* divinities" (his emphasis). I agree that both perspectives are applicable.

Hammond-Tooke's use of "ancestor cult" and Kuckertz's (1983, 1984) of "ancestor religion" are useful in that they provide nouns to describe the belief system itself, but they do not assist in the attempt to explain the relationship between living people and their deceased forebears. Hammond-Tooke's use of the term 'cult' is worth briefly discussing in that it addresses what he calls the 'congregation'. He points out this does not constitute the entire clan, but rather "each lineage" which "forms a separate and discrete cult group worshipping its own particular set of ancestors who have influence over their own descendants" (1974b:345). As a result, "the chiefdom is populated with literally hundreds of little cult groups (Hammond-Tooke 1985:317). Membership of the cult is determined by birth or adoption, and in the case of women, by marriage; because married women fall under the influence not only by their own ancestors but also those of their husband (Hammond-Tooke, 1974b:345, Kiernan, 1982:294).

4.2.5. Sources of Good and Evil

When the life principle or *umoya*, becomes separated from the body at death, it ascends above (*ezulwini*), where it appears much as "it did as a person on earth" (Bigalke 1970:75). Although this "life principle" or "essence" rises in the case of all dead people, those of women, children and unmarried men become part of "an undifferentiated body of ancestral 'shades'", whereas those of men who married and produced children become "communicating ancestors," able to influence the lives of their descendants, both for better and for worse (Bigalke 1970:78). Kuckertz (1984a:12-14) listed fourteen different terms that refer to the ancestors in isiXhosa, differentiated from one another primarily by the contexts in which they were used. They are however most commonly called *izinyanya*, the "elder-spirits" or *amathongo*, when they appear in dreams. The singular terms, *inyanya* and *ithongo* respectively, are seldom – if ever – used, because ancestral spirits are rarely conceptualised individually. (Hammond-Tooke 1968:41, 1974a:325). The stem '*thongo*' is the same as that of *ubuthongo*, meaning 'sleep' and *ithongo* meaning 'dream' (Wilson *op cit.*:231), implied that those who are deceased are not truly dead, but only sleeping.

Ancestors maintain interest in the "affairs of their (living) descendants" (Hammond-Tooke 1974a:331), towards whom they are, in general, beneficent (Bührmann 1986:28, Hammond-Tooke 1974a:331, Wilson *op cit.*:234, Kiernan

1982:289). They "like conviviality, just as they did when they were alive on earth" and are attracted by the presence of many people at the homes of their descendants, the "blood of sacrificial beasts", *mqombothi* (beer) and a herbal medicine, *ubulawu*. Ancestors are acknowledged through the performance of rituals. If these are neglected, ancestors will censure their descendants by sending misfortune (Bigalke, 1970:76-77).

Death, illness and misfortune of any sort are not considered to arise as a result of chance but instead are believed to have been caused or "sent" by some kind of "external agent" which may take human or supernatural form (Bühmann, 1986:32 & 35, Hammond-Tooke 1974a:336). Evil is interpreted in one of two ways. It is attributed to either the machinations of witches, associated with "evil incarnate" or sorcerers, whose evil is "embedded in matter" (Kiernan 1982:287). Both witches and sorcerers are "individuals who use their powers and the forces of nature to harm other people." The former inherit their role at birth, while the latter are "ordinary tribesmen" who make use of "strong medicines" acquired from herbalists or diviners to harm others (Hammond-Tooke 1974a:337). The second way in which evil is interpreted is as "misfortune, illness and suffering" inflicted by ancestral shades as "just punishment for crimes committed" (Kiernan 1982:288).

Thus, the perceived sources of misfortune or 'evil' may be of human origin, emanating from a witch or sorcerer, or of supernatural origin, in punishment for a "breach in custom" (Hammond-Tooke 1974a:336). There is an "important difference" between these two kinds of misfortune which relates to the perceived culpability of the victim. Where the origin of misfortune is seen to be of ancestral origin, it is understood as being deserved and as having been brought about by the victim's own action or more specifically his inaction – failure to perform certain rituals. Misfortune emanating from ancestors, usually illness, tends to be curable and is seen more in the light of "paternal admonition" than as in any way evil. The intention of the ancestors is not to harm their descendent, but "to do him good, to punish him for wrongdoing, to bring him to his senses and force him to fulfil his proper obligations, among which [...] is the obligation to sacrifice to his ancestors (Kiernan 1982:290). In cases of witchcraft or sorcery on the other hand, the victim is considered to be a "target of malevolence" and not in any way deserving or culpable. Such misfortune is "entirely evil" and has the capacity to kill (*ibid.*).

Bryant (1917:141) suggests that it is from ancestral shades "that all blessing and curses flow," but there are certain categories of misfortune for which neither they nor

their afflicted descendants are responsible. Although ancestors are primarily “well-disposed towards the collective body of their descendants” (Kiernan, 1982:289), they send illness or misfortune if they are not fed, in other words if rituals are not performed for them. They cannot protect people from witchcraft or sorcery, but their “standing by” a person so afflicted will hasten recovery (Wilson *op cit.*:234). By the same token, if displeased, they might “turn their backs,” leaving the person more vulnerable to such an onslaught (Kiernan 1982:291).

4.2.6. Agents of the Ancestors

Ancestral shades communicate with the living through individuals especially chosen by themselves as “agents or mediums” (Bryant 1917:141, Hammond-Tooke 1974b:348). People of any age, including children may be required to enter initiation but the calling appears to favour middle-aged women (Bryant 1917:142, Wilson *op cit.*:320). Wilson (*op cit.*:321) and Hammond-Tooke (1974b:349) also note that it tends to run in families. Diviners (*amasangoma*) are “called” by their ancestors through a particular kind of illness called *ukuthwasa* where *thwasa* means “the emergence of something new,” such as for example, a new moon or a new season, particularly spring (Bühmann 1986:36).

Although the illness is usually prolonged, it does not necessarily manifest in a uniform way. Although Kiernan (1982:298) describes the symptoms as “distinctive” and specifically as “acidity and pains in the shoulder, sides and upper back”, Wilson (*op cit.*:320) notes that they differ from person to person and could involve any or all of a number of symptoms including “stomach-ache, nervousness, [...] pain in the joints, back, shoulder and neck, [...] headache and suppurating cheek, [...] uncontrollable hiccup, [...] nervous twitching” and frequently, “periods of unconsciousness” (Wilson *op cit.*:320). According to Bühmann (1986:36), the symptoms involve “emotional disturbance” accompanied by physical symptoms and “excessive dreaming” is the “most constant feature”. A person afflicted with the *thwasa* sickness, “becomes withdrawn and irritable” and might be “restless, violent, abusive and aggressive.” They tend to wander aimlessly or “disappear for days at a time,” will often neglect personal appearance and hygiene, and might hear voices (*ibid.*). Wilson asserts that “severe illness” is always “preliminary to initiation ceremonies” and that the only cure for such illness is considered to be the initiation ceremony itself (Wilson *op cit.*:320).

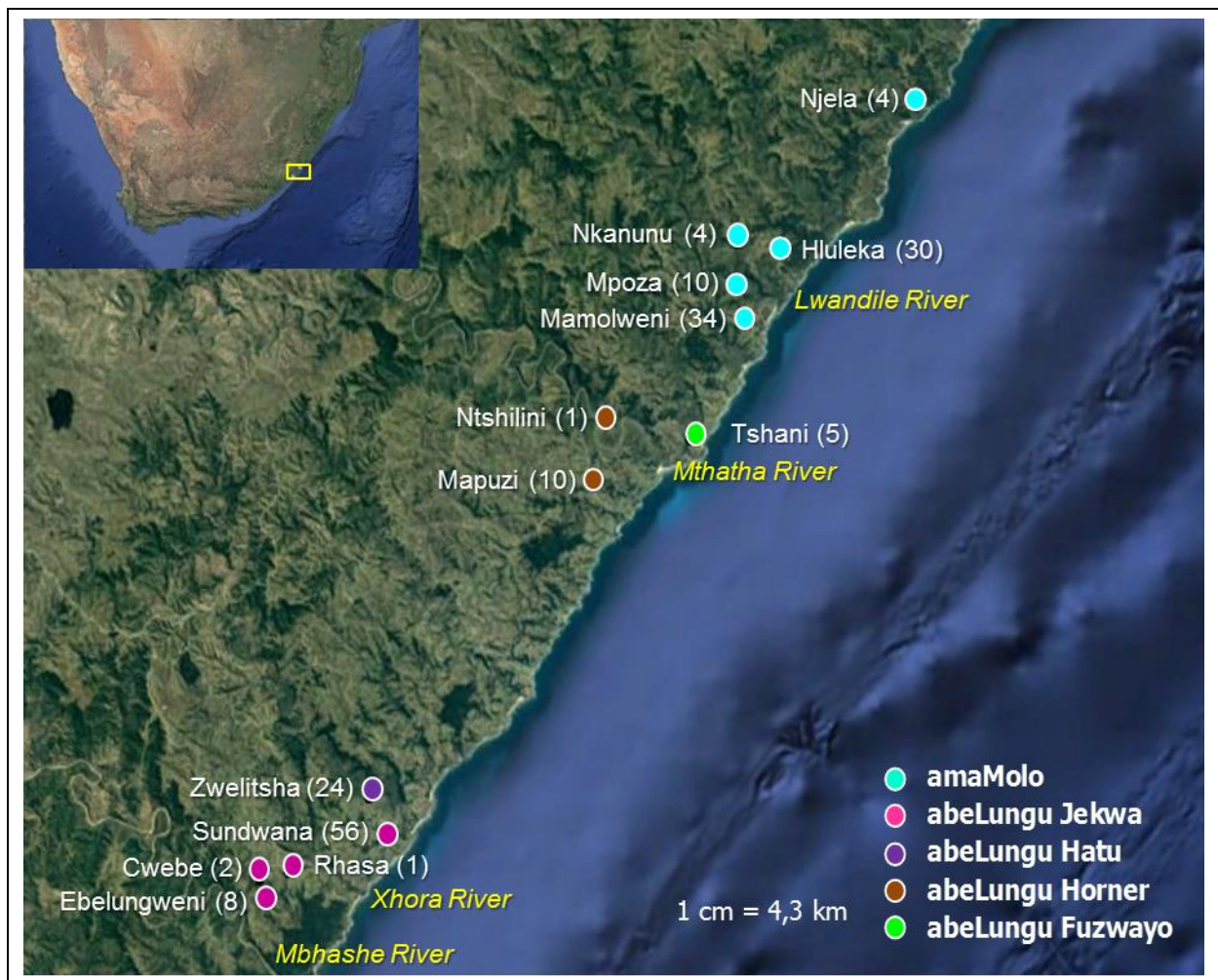
Initiation involves, amongst other things, attendance by a *sangoma*, ritual killings, virtual seclusion, food avoidances, sexual abstinence and frequent washing in special

herbs. The novice is considered not only to be ill but also in constant danger from ritual impurity (*umlaza*), and therefore takes precautions such as not shaking hands or allowing the shadow of another to fall on them and avoiding those who are in mourning. Dreaming is prolific during initiation and also after graduation as *sangoma*. It frequently involves appearance of an *ithongo* (ancestral shade) taking the form of a wild animal such as a lion, leopard or elephant and referred to as *ityala*. The initiate is expected to confess such dreams, which take place during wakefulness as well as sleep, and particularly during the *ukuxentsa*, a dance performed by the initiate, preferably every day, and requiring others to clap their hands as accompaniment (Bühmann 1986:37-8, Wilson *op cit.*:321-5). The initiation period may last two years or longer, with completion being marked by "an elaborate initiation" (Bühmann 1986:83-90, Hammond-Tooke 1974b:349). This coming out ceremony or *mgidi* signals that the novice is "cured." As a fully-fledged *sangoma*, he or she may now begin to practice the art themselves, although many do not (Wilson *op cit.*:335-6). The process comes at significant cost (formerly in kind, subsequently also financial) as the initiate must provide not only a number of sacrificial animals during initiation, but must also pay a beast (or the cash equivalent) to the training *sangoma* on completion (Bühmann *op cit.*:37, Wilson *op cit.*:341). This means that people sick with *ukuthwasa* are sometimes forced to delay either or both initiation and graduation ceremonies until economic circumstances permit.

It is the role of diviners (*amasangoma*) to "act as the mouthpiece of the spirits, [...] intermediaries between the living and the dead" (Bryant 1917:141) or as the "interpreter(s) of misfortune" (Hammond-Tooke 1974:344). They are consulted "to discover the cause of illness, accident, [...] death, the wishes of the *amathongo*, the identity of an enemy" and so on (Wilson, *op cit.*:336). Thus, it is they who determine the cause of misfortune, and specifically whether it derives from ancestral wrath or witchcraft (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:348). People do not consult *amasangoma* alone, but in the company of three or four others, usually men of their family but sometimes neighbours and the process of divination is called *ukuvumisa* which means "to cause agreement" (Bühmann 1986:33, Wilson *op cit.*:335). If the cause of misfortune or illness is proclaimed by the *sangoma* as resulting from ancestral displeasure, the means by which things can be amended is through ritual animal sacrifice.

4.3. Abelungu and other exogenous clans

For the purposes of this study, the original abeLungu clan is rarely referred to as one clan, in which case the designation abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu is used. For the most part, it is treated as two separate clan sections, viz. abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu. The clan-name abeLungu, used in the historical literature to designate the clan descended from Jekwa and Hatu, will be used to refer to the clan as a whole, including not only the descendants of these two original shipwreck survivors but also those of the amaMolo forebears, Bhayi and Pita, due to the apparent clan fusion that has occurred between the original two clans (6.5.1). Descendants of Alfred Horner, Fuzwayo and Buku are also likewise members of the abeLungu clan. With the exception of amaMolo, the abeLungu clan sections are differentiated from one another by appending the names of their clan founders to the clan-name itself.



Map 4.1. AbeLungu

4.3.1. AbeLungu

The tendency for Xhosa clans to be widely dispersed across different tribal and regional boundaries has been pointed out by Hoernlé (1937:80), Hammond-Tooke (1968:34), Mzolo (1978:207) and Opland (1983:44), among others (4.2), and is borne out by the abeLungu contingent of the survey which is scattered along 70 km of coast between the Mngazana and Mbhashe River mouths. They live in small or sometimes extremely large clusters, as is seen in Map 4.1, which shows the distribution of the abeLungu clan sections within which we have worked with numbers in brackets after each *lali* indicating the number of abeLungu homesteads in that particular locality.

AmaMolo

Immediately to the south of the Mtakatyi River is 'Mamolweni,' which translates literally to 'place of the Molos.' This is where the Great Place (home) of the chief of the amaMolo is located. The largest concentration of amaMolo are to be found here, that is 34 of the 82 amaMolo homesteads. A further 30 amaMolo homesteads are located across the Mtakatyi River under Sibonda Ntintile and their genealogically senior kinsman, Katutu Phangelo. Smaller clusters are found nearby at Nkanunu and Mpoza, and another almost 20 km north at Njela.



Figure 4.1. The late Chief Mhlabunzima Mxhakha and Katutu Phangelo of amaMolo

AbeLungu Jekwa

The abeLungu Jekwa are comprised of 67 homesteads. They are spread out over four districts with the vast majority (55) living in the Elliotdale district at Sundwana, in which very few homesteads belonging to other clans are to be found. AbeLungu Jekwa homesteads in the *lalis* of Cwebe, Rhasa and Ebelungweni in the Hobeni district make up

notable minorities, and this despite the fact that in the same way as the name Mamolweni is derived from the clan-name amaMolo, Ebelungweni is named for abeLungu.



Figure 4.2. Songezo Mwezeni of abeLungu Jekwa

Whereas amaMolo make up the predominant clan in Mamolweni, this is far from the case with abeLungu Jekwa living in Hobeni *lalis*. There are also abeLungu Jekwa homesteads at Xhora Mouth,³² some of which are included in the survey, but fieldwork was unfortunately forced to terminate before all abeLungu homesteads in this *lali* had been visited.

AbeLungu Hatu

The vast majority of abeLungu Hatu (24 households) are to be found some distance inland of Sundwana at Zwelitsha, where many are settled around the *komkhulu* (great place) of their chief, Ngubechanti Ngubelanga, and others are interspersed with other clans nearby. We also encountered a solitary member of AbeLungu Hatu at Xhora Mouth, but he was unable to indicate how he fitted into the abeLungu Hatu genealogy collected at Zwelitsha.

³² Pronounced 'Xhora Mouse' by most locals



Figure 4.3. Chief Ngubelanga Ngubechanti and Alfred Moyisile of abeLungu Hatu

AbeLungu Horner

Most abeLungu Horner homesteads are found at Mapuzi in the Coffee Bay district, with one out of the eleven homesteads comprising the Horner contingent of the survey living across the Mthatha River at Ntshilini.

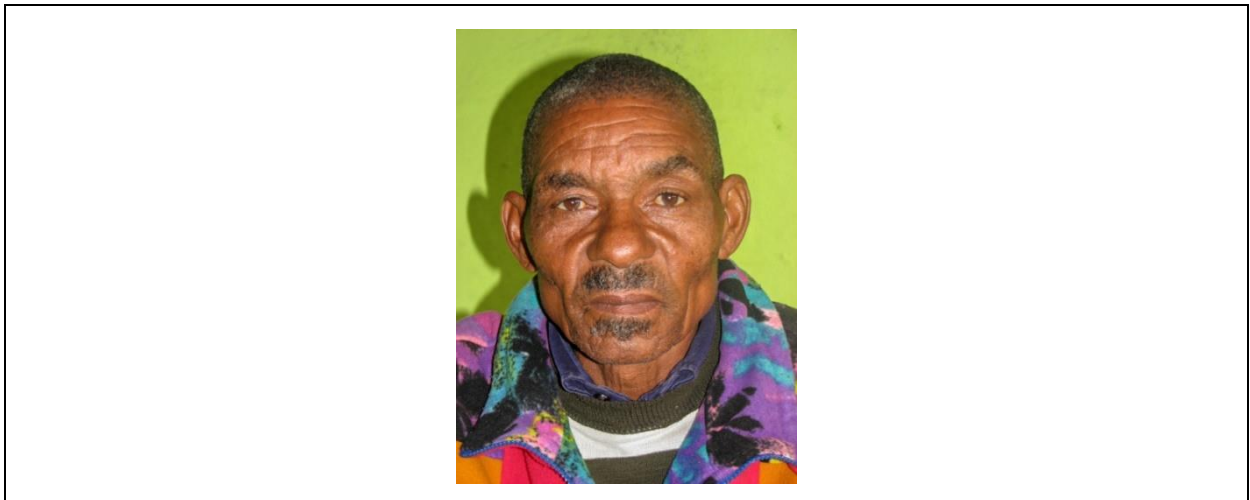


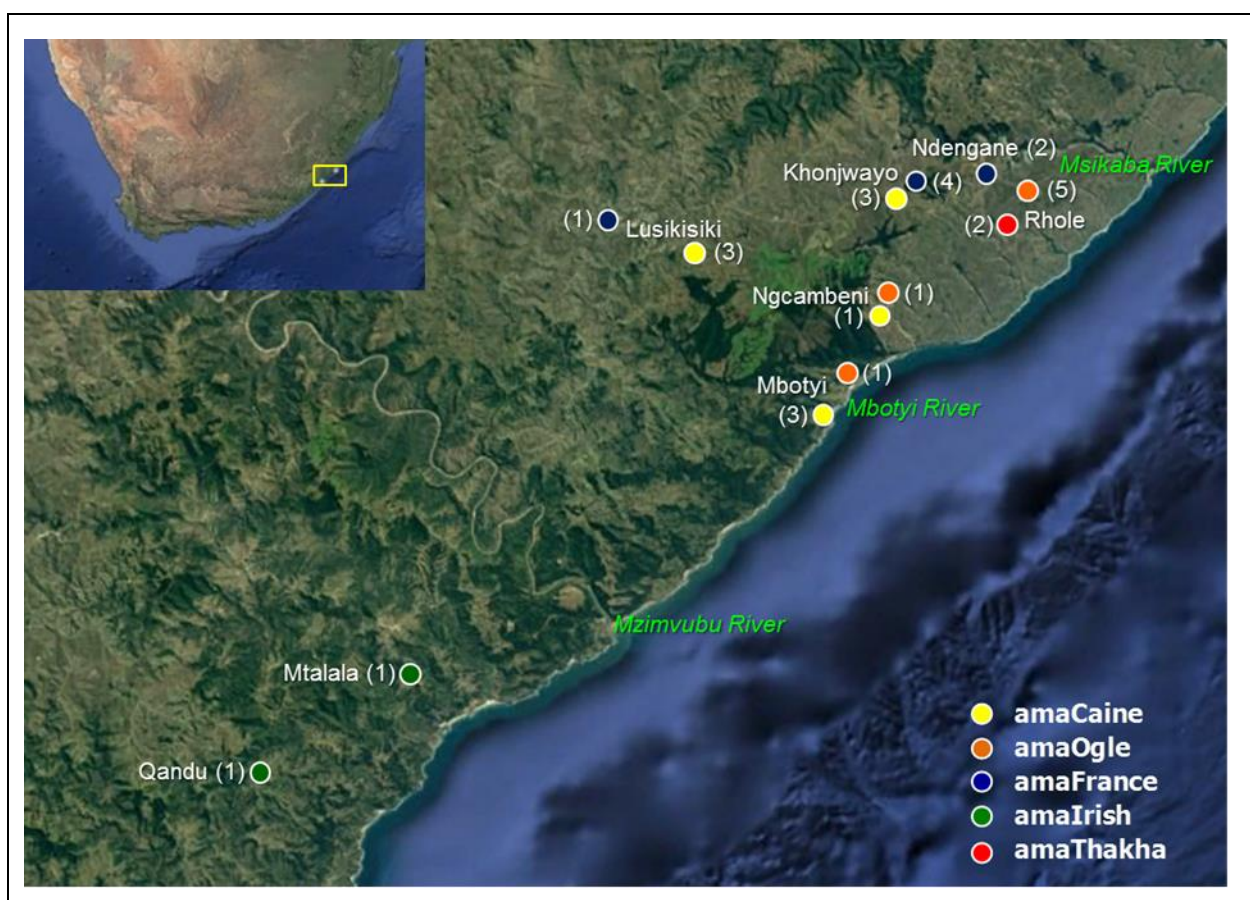
Figure 4.4. Mlungisi Horner of abeLungu Horner

AbeLungu Fuzwayo

The abeLungu Fuzwayo contingent of the survey comprises only 5 homesteads situated close to one another as small minority in Tshani.

4.3.2. Other clans of European Descent

Whereas those abeLungu living at Mamolweni, Sundwana and Zwelitsha live as the dominant clan in clusters of agnates based on descent from apical ancestors or their wives, the smaller abeLungu clan sections such as abeLungu Fuzwayo, abeLungu Horner and abeLungu Buku constitute smaller clusters amid other more prolific clans. Similarly, the other clans in the survey – amaCaine, amaOgle, amaFrance, amaIrish and amaThakha – live as minorities among other clans, especially the latter three which have limited membership. Map 4.2 shows the locations in which these clans live, with the number of participating households shown in brackets.



Map 4.2. Other clans of European descent

AmaCaine

The original Caine homestead was at Mbotyi, but some Caines have since moved closer to Lusikisiki. There are a number of Caines in Durban, who, falling outside the research area are not part of the ethnographic research survey but having heard about the research from their agnates have submitted their genealogical information to me and therefore been included in the genealogy (Appendix F1). Those living at Mbotyi and along

the road to Lusikisiki are all included and a total of ten homesteads in the survey belong to members of the Caine clan.

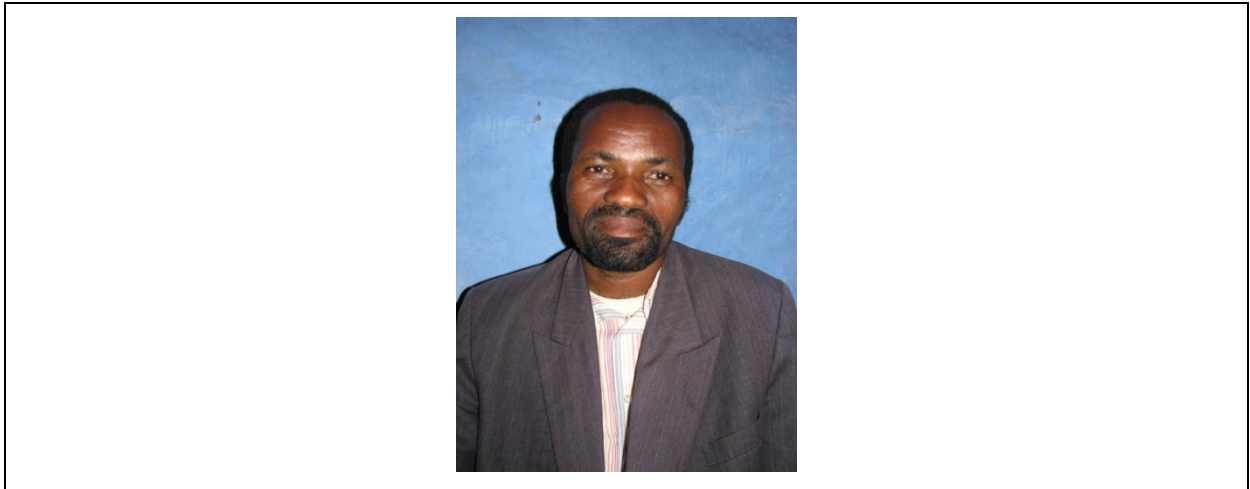


Figure 4.5. Mkhululelwa Caine of amaCaine

AmaOgle

The amaOgle forebear set up home at Rhole, slightly south of the Msikaba River but members of the clan have subsequently spread southwards along the coast. Others are apparently found further inland, outside the research area have therefore have not been included. Seven of the homesteads in the survey belong to amaOgle agnates.

AmaFrance



Figure 4.6. Kutu Dukuza of amaFrance

As in the case of amaOgle, some members of amaFrance live outside the research area, and therefore have not been included in the survey. The majority of amaFrance homesteads are to be found along the road between Lusikisiki and Msikaba River Mouth.

Enoch Richards lives in the Ngobozana suburb of Lusikisiki. Four amaFrance homesteads are located at Khonjwayo, and another two at Ndengane in northern Pondoland, almost on the KwaZulu Natal border.

AmaIrish

Only two amaIrish homesteads were located during the course of this research. As can be seen they are some distance south of the other clans and also separated from one another by some 12 km. I was not able to identify any other amaIrish clan members suggesting that the clan is verging on extinction.

AmaThakha

Like amaIrish, amaThakha is represented by only 2 homesteads, both of which are at Rhole. Also like amaIrish, clan members were unable to direct me to additional agnates and therefore also gave the impression that this clan is in a process of disappearing.

PART TWO

Introduction to Part Two

The commemoration to this day and likely beyond in both oral and written historical accounts of the founders of amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa, abeLungu Hatu, abeLungu Horner, amaCaine and amaOgle clans is only partly due to the novelty and/or historical interest of their assimilation into Mpondo and Bomvana communities. Their recollection has been facilitated by the regular recall down the generations of clan founders' names, in oral histories, or as clan-names, or both, as a function of continued belief in the tenets of the ancestor religion, and associated ritual practice. Although I refer to the documented history of abeLungu as recorded by the historians John Henderson Soga (1930) and Percival Kirby (1954), it should be borne in mind that the source of their information, like mine, was primarily oral, although Kirby also used a number of personal journals. Thus the essential difference between these sources and my data is the periods (generations) in which the oral tradition was sampled. In the case of amaCaine and amaOgle, it was possible to identify historical characters as clan forebears, because both John Cane and Henry Ogle played significant roles in the establishment of Port Natal as a British trading post almost two centuries ago, and their role has been extensively documented in historical literature. These two sources of historical information – oral and documented – is compared in an attempt to assess contiguities and discrepancies between them.

The remaining clans and clan sections – abeLungu Fuzwayo, amaFrance, amaIrish and amaThakha – do not have sufficient recall of the surnames of their ancestors to enable reliable association between historical characters and clan founders. All clans and clan sections of interest here have however been identified and included precisely because of claims to foreign ancestry inherent in their oral traditions.

Although genealogies have been separated from clan histories and praises, these divisions are artificial, created merely for purposes of discussion. In reality, genealogical information is inextricably bound up with clan history and both comprise the subject matter of clan praises. All three forms of oral tradition are intertwined not only with one another, but more significantly with tenets of the ancestor religion which hold that it is in the hands of immediate as well as distant ancestors that both the good and bad fortune of living individuals lies. Reciting clan history and *iminombo* in the form of *izinqulo* is an integral part of the complex means by which such ancestors are acknowledged, appeased

and venerated, as will be more fully explored in Part Three, along with the ritual practices of which they comprise an essential element.

Part Two comprises three chapters dealing with the genealogies of clan founders who entered the Bomvana and Mpondo cultures, and the histories of the clans they founded, as told by their descendants, and where identified, documented in the historical record. Chapter 5 will present and discuss genealogical information recorded in the oral record (*iminombo*) and elsewhere. Chapter 6 will compare the oral and – where available – documented accounts of clan founders and clan origins of the abeLungu clan sections, and Chapter 7 will look at the histories (*imbali*) of the remaining clans and clan sections.

5. Genealogies (*Iminombo*)

In this chapter, the oral genealogies of each of the five abeLungu clan sections and five other participating clans will be documented. Where possible, these will be compared with genealogical information documented by historians.

5.1. AbeLungu

5.1.1. AmaMolo

Soga collected the oral genealogy of amaMolo and documented it in *The South Eastern Bantu* (1930:491), which is reproduced in Figure 5.1aa below. Some eighty years later, I once again collected the amaMolo oral genealogy, which is recorded in full in Appendix A1, a contraction of which is reproduced in Figure 5.1ab. Both the oral and documented (Soga 1930) amaMolo genealogies record Bhayi as the clan founder as well as his father Jafiliti, a man reputed to have remained behind when his sons went to sea.³³ The oral record recalls a second amaMolo forebear, named Pita, believed to have been the younger brother of Bhayi. Two differences between the contemporary amaMolo oral genealogy and that collected by Soga are immediately apparent. First, the name 'Kumkati', recalled by Soga (*ibid.*) as that of Jafiliti's father, no longer appears – just as other names recorded in his genealogies are no longer retained in the oral record, as will be seen. Second, Bhayi's brother Pita is not included in Soga's genealogy.

Soga's history of the amaMolo clan relates that Bhayi was on board a slave ship with amongst others, three men named Tulwana, Mera and Pita, and an unnamed woman. According to Soga, when the ship wrecked, Bhayi, Mera and the unnamed woman survived, whereas Pita and Tulwana were lost at sea. Although Soga named Mera as one of the amaMolo forebears, he did not record his genealogy and made no reference to him and Bhayi being brothers, stating to the contrary that Mera was not part of Bhayi's original party, but simply another shipwreck survivor. It seems uncanny that Pita, recalled in oral history as Bhayi's brother, and whose name, like those of Bhayi, Jafiliti and others has been passed down, should have been confused by his own descendants with that of a man originally of the same party but subsequently drowned at sea, or so Soga recorded

³³ Chief Mxhaka: "Jafiliti never came here, he remained at Portugal. The people that came here were Bhayi and Pita. He was left there overseas. He was just their father" (Mhlabunzima Mxhaka, Appendix A2.3).

Figure 5.1.aa (Soga, 1930:491)

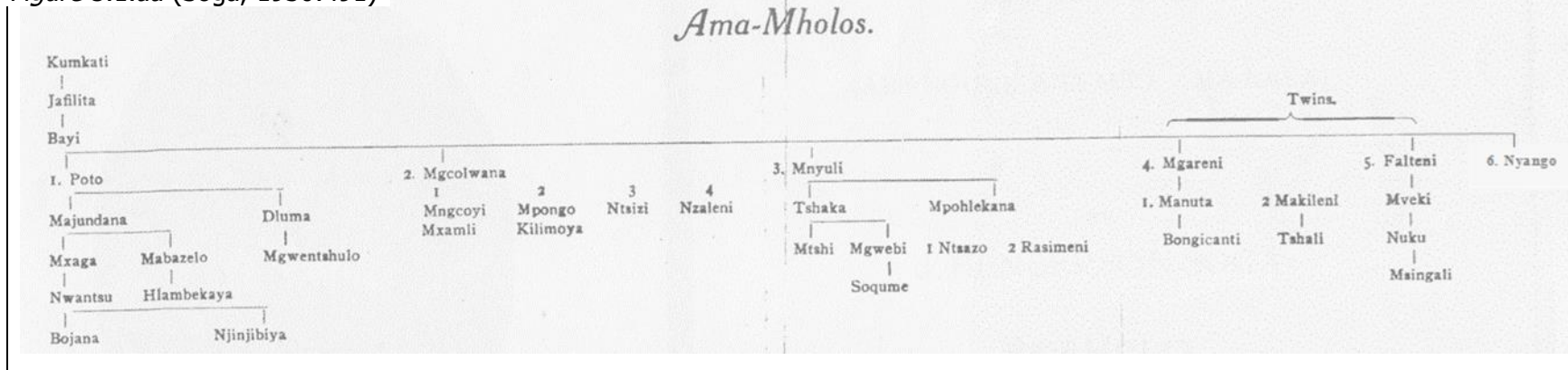


Figure 5.1.ab (Hayward, 2010)

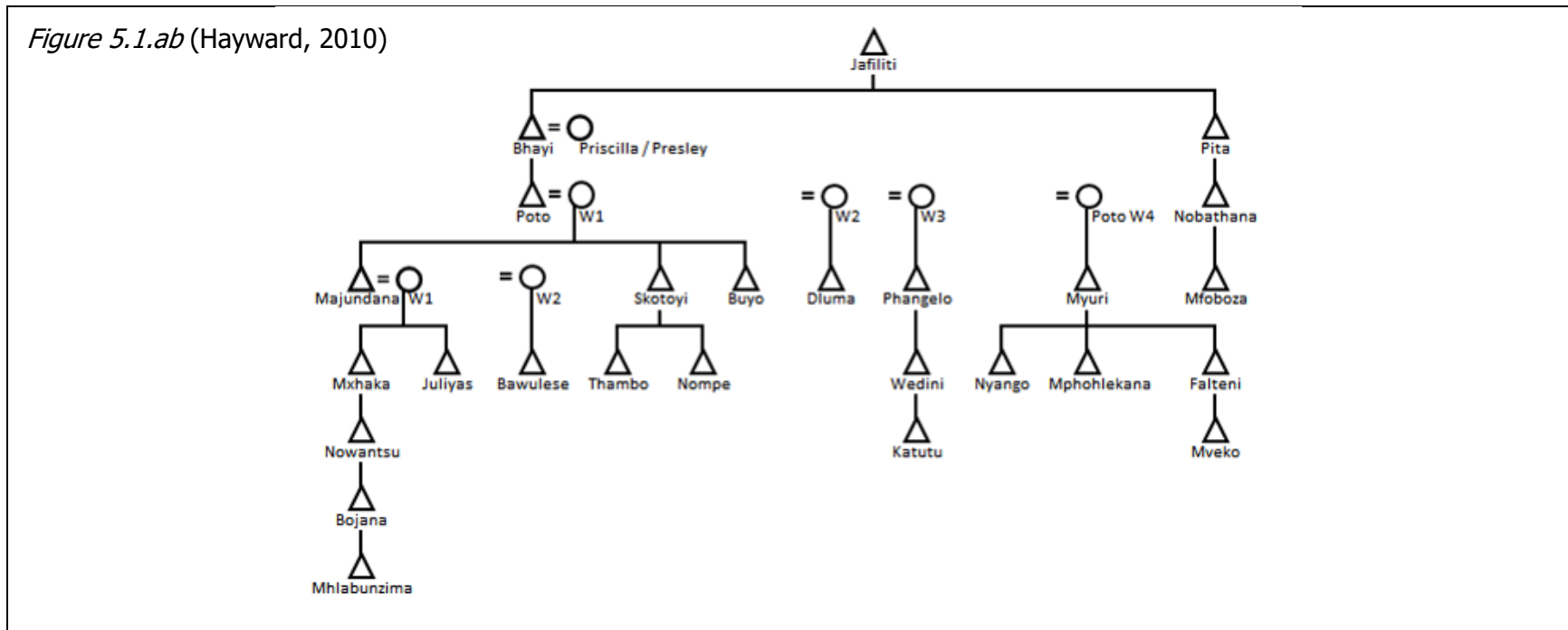


Figure 5.1a. Genealogies of amaMolo.

more than eighty years ago. The amaMolo genealogy recorded by Soga omits any reference to the second amaMolo forebear – whether Mera or Pita – from whom a large proportion of amaMolo participants are believed to have descended (Appendix A1). In other respects – that there were two men and a barren woman washed ashore and that the elder man’s name was Bhayi – contemporary accounts mirror the one recorded by Soga (6.1).



Figure 5.1b. Ngongobezela Nkawu (MaMolo)

The woman shipwreck survivor was unnamed by Soga, who records only that she was unable to bear children. The ability to produce children is the means by which women are recognised as mature members of society and infertile women are often ridiculed both by their families – especially affinal – and the community at large (Dyer *et al.*, 2002:1665). If they also remain unmarried, they are considered to be girls in much the same way that uncircumcised men are thought of as boys. After marriage, infertility is stigmatised through its signification through a custom in which new wives (*amakoti*) indicate this status through the convention of wearing their headscarves low over their foreheads, which are only moved back after they have borne a child. It is surprising that recall of the woman who survived shipwreck together with Bhayi, noted by Soga and recalled by oral tradition as having been barren, has survived centuries of oral history. She is not only recalled by oral history but commemorated in the *izinqulo* of amaMolo and also those of other abeLungu clan sections, as will be seen in Chapter 10. Although her name is not recorded in written history, it is reputed by oral history to have been ‘Presley’, after whom Presley Bay – at the mouth of the Mtakatyi River between

Mamolweni and Hluleka – is said to have been named, also known by some as 'Priscilla'. Despite her infertility, the woman believed to have been Bhayi's wife is remembered as one of the amaMolo forebears. Her infertility is often used to explain Bhayi's marriage to an "Mpondo woman, by whom he had six sons, named Poto, Mngcolwana, Mnyuli, Mgareni and Falteni, the last two being twins, and finally Nyango" (Soga 1930:490).

Myuri, Bhayi's third son according to Soga but recalled in contemporary oral tradition as his illegitimate grandson, is believed to have sired abeLungu Jekwa and others. As will be seen below however, abeLungu Jekwa recall a set of forebears amongst whom Myuri's name does not appear and their oral history accounts for amaMolo as having descended, like themselves, from Jekwa (6.1.5, 6.2.7).

Despite being listed in the text, Nyango, the last-born son of Bhayi does not appear on Soga's genealogy, although it has been added to the reproduction above (Figure 5.1aa). In respect of the Great House of amaMolo, in the line of chieftaincy, there is no difference between the genealogy recounted to Soga by Nwantsu (circa 1930) and that recounted to me by Mhlabunzima (2009-10), with the exception that the former ends with Bojana, the father of Mhlabunzima, who was a grandfather at the start of research and passed away in 2013. However, there all similarity ends. The six brothers listed by Soga as the sons of Bhayi have transformed into three generations with firstborn Poto now remembered as the father of third-born Mnyuli (Myuri) who in turn is now believed to have fathered the two younger brothers: Falteni, the second twin and Nyango, the last-born. The remaining two brothers of Poto, Mngcolwana the second born and Mgareni the elder twin do not appear in Mhlabunzima's genealogy, while the houses of Phangelo from the third wife of Poto and Pita from the younger brother of Bhayi, which are absent from the genealogy recounted to Soga by Nwantsu, make up a large part of the contemporary genealogy.

The clear line of chieftaincy running from Bhayi to Chief Mxhaka is unvarying across both genealogies, one collected almost a century ago and the other over the previous two years. This precise genealogy is further confirmed by the *Chiefs and Headmen Correspondence Files* (Chief Magistrate (Mthatha), Resident Magistrate (Ngqeleni) 1910-1963). However when it comes to the other houses, although there is a

relatively high correlation between names, the generations have clearly become scrambled, suggesting that what Preston-Whyte (1974:196) and Hammond-Tooke (1968:28,35, 1985:313) found with respect to the depth and accuracy of royal lines far exceeding those of commoners, also applies within the senior genealogy of the amaMolo clan.

5.1.2. AbeLungu Jekwa

Soga (1930:378-380) related that three men and a girl child washed ashore somewhere in the region of the Lambasi River mouth and were given isiXhosa names. The men were called Jekwa, Bati and Hatu. The girl, Crampton's (2004) *Sunburnt Queen*, was called Gquma, and was also known by her presumed original name, Bessie. Having all come from the same ship, interpreted locally as a house, they were considered to be family, with Bati and Jekwa seen to be brothers and Gquma, the daughter of Bati. Bati did not apparently remain long in Mpondoland, but left on a ship that arrived some time later, leaving his property – including presumably his putative daughter Gquma – to Jekwa. It is from Jekwa and Hatu that the abeLungu clan is descended, although as has been seen (3.3), their respective descendants comprise two separate abeLungu clan sections.

The full abeLungu Jekwa oral genealogy can be found in Appendix B1, and represents information collected from elders – primarily Mquba Ketwana – concerning the original abeLungu Jekwa forebears. This has been compiled together with individual homestead information collected from homestead heads themselves, or their wives. The summary reproduced in Figure 5.1c includes only those names which appear either on Soga's genealogy (Figure 5.1cb) or were related by the abeLungu clansman Zali to William Soga (Figure 5.1ca).

Figure 5.1ca
(Zali (1889) in
Kirby, 1954:14)

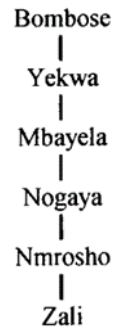


Figure 5.1cb (Soga, 1930:381)

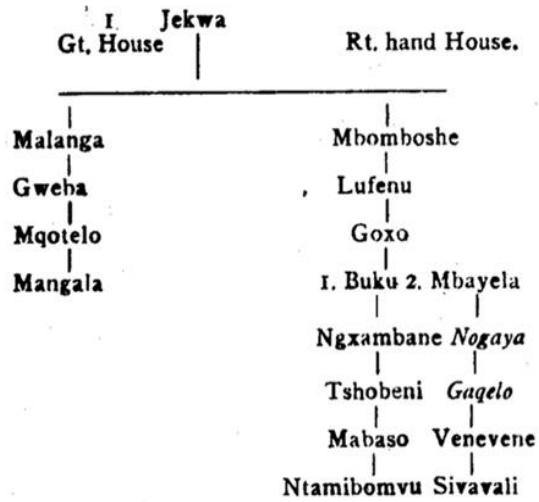


Figure 5.1cc (Hayward, 2010)

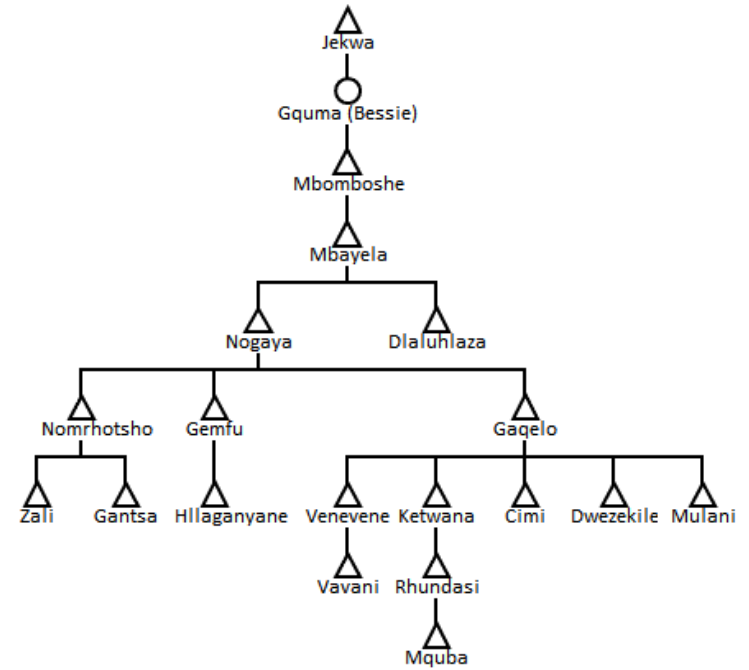


Figure 5.1c. Genealogies of abeLungu Jekwa

In comparing the three genealogies in Figure 5.1c, collected in 1889 (Zali in Kirby, 1954), circa 1930 (J.H. Soga) and 2010 (Hayward), it is immediately apparent that the spelling of names is inconsistent as in Bombose/Mbomboshe, Yekwa/Jekwa and Nmrosho/Nomrhotsho. The former were recorded in the late nineteenth century before attempts to standardise isiXhosa spelling began in 1929 with the establishment of a South African Orthography Committee (Peires, 1979:164). This possibly goes some way to explaining the somewhat archaic spellings used by presumably William Soga when recording the genealogy allegedly related to him by Zali. In all these cases there is however no difficulty in deciphering that both spellings refer to the same forebear. It can be assumed that the Vavani recorded in my genealogy is the Sivavali in Soga's genealogy as both refer to the first-born son of Venevene.

According to Soga, Jekwa took two wives. Mbomboshe was the son of his second wife and the father of Lufenu who fathered Goxo. Goxo had two sons; Buku and Mbayela who was the father of Nogaya (*ibid.*:381)³⁴. The names of Lufenu and Goxo in Soga's genealogy are absent from both the prior (Zali) and subsequent (Hayward) genealogies. The reversal of Mbomboshe (Bombose) and Jekwa (Yekwa) on Zali's genealogy when compared with those of Soga and myself is not especially surprising in the oral relation of genealogies when it is considered that when memorising a list of names – or a list of anything – it is easy to confuse the order. Although Kirby (1954:14) is quick to judge Zali as "confused", such reversals and transformations can hardly be unexpected when the number of centuries across which the information has been transmitted is taken into account. With the exception of the reversal of Jekwa and Mbomboshe and the absence of Gquma, Zali's genealogy is a closer fit with the contemporary genealogy than is Soga's.

There is also an expansion in the genealogy collected during the course of this research. Although absent from both earlier genealogies, Gquma has appeared in the genealogy over the intervening eighty years as the daughter of Jekwa. It is not necessarily unusual that a woman should be recalled in the oral tradition. It will be recalled for example, that Priscilla or Presley is recalled in amaMolo oral history, although more in name than as an actual forebear because she was childless. The clan-names of

³⁴ Gaqelo, the son of Nogaya was one of Soga's informants when he collected the oral history concerning the handing over of 'no-man's land' to Gambushe, regent chief of the Bomvana at that time (circa 1826) (*ibid.*:381).

wives are also frequently recalled in the oral tradition. In the case of abeLungu Jekwa however, the focal person around whom the oral history has come to revolve is Bessie or Gquma. Although Jekwa is still recalled as her putative father, she is now considered to have been the mother of Mbomboshe who was named by Soga (1930) as the son of Jekwa, i.e., she has been inserted between the original clan founder and his son.

It is surprising that a woman should appear in a genealogy at all, let alone in the position of one of the principal forebears because patrilineal descent means that clan membership is transmitted exclusively along the male line. Except in the case of illegitimacy, a woman's children belong to the clan of their father (1.3.2). In the case of Gquma, both oral and documented history refer to her having married:

Interview Extract 5.1a

Mquba Ketwana: What we know is that we came from a woman. In the old days there were many wars; people were moving all the time. This girl was given to the Tshezi and they went away with her. Then she was impregnated and no one asked who impregnated her because now she was with the Tshezi, so the child she was going to give birth to would be from that home (Mquba Ketwana, Appendix B2.3).

Mquba's assertion that Gquma married into amaTshezi clan is possibly incorrect because all other indications are that she married into the amaTshomane clan (Soga, 1930, Kirby, 1954, Crampton, 2004). Soga (1930:379-80) describes her marriage thus:

In the course of time, Gquma was given in marriage to Xwebisa, or Sango, Principal Son of Tshomane of the AmaTshomane Clan. Xwebisa was, therefore, grandson of the Paramount Chief, and in his own turn became later paramount Chief of Pondoland. The dowry paid [...] for Gquma is said to have been 300 head of cattle. [...]

To Xwebisa and Gquma were born three sons and one daughter. The eldest son, Gela, ultimately became Paramount Chief of Pondoland; the second son was Mlawu, the third Mdepa.

Mquba is correct however in making the important point that Gquma's children would have been of her husband's home, that is, belonged to his clan. Added to this is the fact that Gquma's name does not appear in either of the two abeLungu Jekwa genealogies collected earlier, viz. the one collected by Soga (circa 1930) and the one related by Zali (1889). It is evident therefore that the novelty and relative fame of Gquma together with the undisputed connection between her and Jekwa has somehow resulted in her relatively recent incorporation into the genealogy, even though this contradicts both the laws of patrilineality and the documented record. Crampton's (2004)

book was probably published too recently to have been the sole cause but is sure to have contributed in some way, especially as we came across two copies among abeLungu, one in Sundwana among abeLungu Jekwa, and the other at Zwelitsha, in the possession of Chief Ngubechanti of abeLungu Hatu.³⁵

The story of the little girl who survived shipwreck and lived to marry a Paramount Chief and produce four children may or may not have survived the oral record of amaTshomane; indeed their oral record might also have been tweaked by recent interest in the story. What is clear is that contemporary members of the abeLungu Jekwa clan, descendants of the man who received her *lobola*, and amongst whose ancestors Gquma spent her childhood, recall her not as a daughter, but as its mother.

5.1.3. AbeLungu Hatu

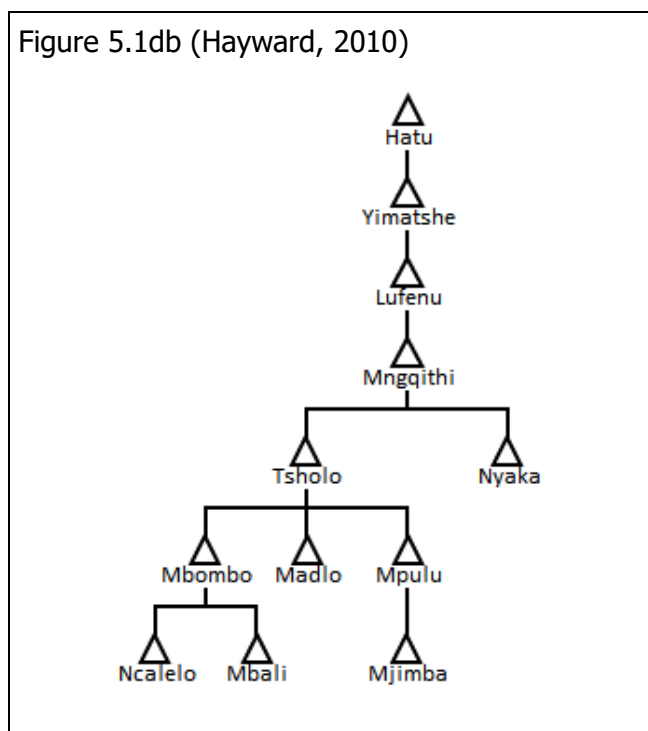
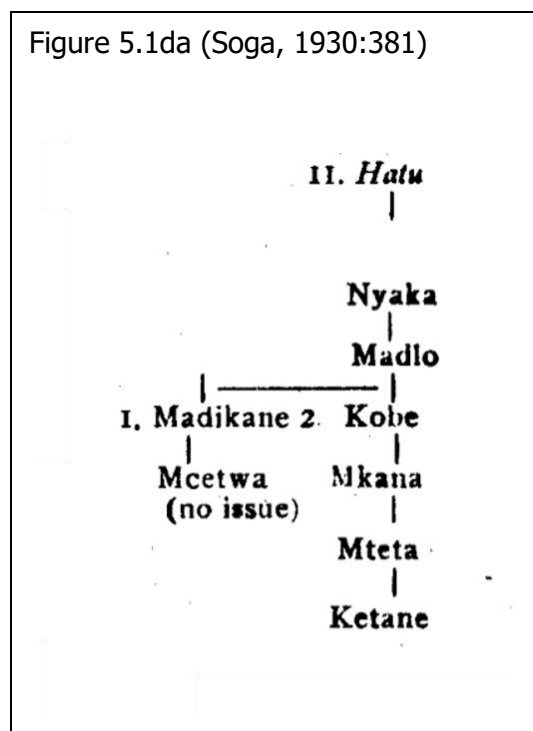


Figure 5.1d. Genealogies of abeLungu Hatu

The full oral genealogy collected from abeLungu Hatu is reproduced in Appendix C1. Unlike the amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa genealogies documented by Soga (1930), which correlated fairly closely with those I collected approximately 80 years later, there are relatively few similarities between Soga’s genealogy and the one currently recalled by Hatu’s descendants. As can be seen in Figure 5.1d above, only two names – Nyaka

³⁵ During our interview with Chief Ngubechanti, he called a child to fetch it so that he could check some genealogical detail of his clan against the genealogy documented by Crampton.

and Madlo – are common to both genealogies. Although recorded as Hatu’s son and grandson respectively by Soga, contemporary oral tradition recalls them five or more generations after Hatu, and both as childless.



Figure 5.1e. Children belonging to the abeLungu Hatu clan

Instead, Hatu’s descendants are recalled in the oral record as Yimatshe, Lufenu and Mngqithi. Lufenu, it will be recollected, is recorded by Soga (Figure 5.1db) as having been the son of Mbomboshe and grandson of the original abeLungu Jekwa forebear, Jekwa himself. The names Lufenu and Mngqithi are not recalled by contemporary abeLungu Jekwa. Another more recent abeLungu Hatu ancestor is recalled as Mbombo, who is widely acknowledged to be the same person recalled as Mbomboshe by abeLungu Jekwa. Thus the abeLungu Hatu clan forebears recalled by Soga – Nyaka and Madlo – are now recalled merely as (childless) names. Recorded in Soga’s transcription of the oral tradition eighty years previously as the son and grandson of Hatu himself, they are now considered to have lived relatively recently and, ironically, not as having sired any descendants at all, least of all those who participated in this research. Instead, among the forebears recalled by abeLungu Hatu, are Lufenu and Mbomboshe, both of whom are recorded by Soga as being descendants of Jekwa, the latter of whom is also recalled in in the abeLungu Jekwa oral tradition. Unlike those of amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa therefore, the oral genealogy of abeLungu Hatu bears very little resemblance to that recorded by Soga. On the other hand, the genealogy of Mbali’s line, that is from his appointment as chief up until the present, which is apparent from a perusal of the *Chiefs and Headmen Correspondence Files* for the Qatywa Administrative area accords in all respects with the abeLungu Hatu oral genealogy (Chief Magistrate (Mthatha), Resident Magistrate (Elliotdale) 1910-1963). Unusually, the abeLungu Hatu chieftaincy is not in the senior genealogical line, as will be further explored in 6.2.5.

5.1.4. AbeLungu Horner

Appendix D1 shows the full genealogy of abeLungu Horner, as collected in 2010 from Horner elders and individual homestead heads. The contraction below (Figure 5.1f) shows the five of Alfred Horner's seven sons who still have descendants living in the area, as shown by the shaded figures who represent the household heads of the eleven Horner homesteads, ten of which are in Mapuzi. Alfred's grandson from his firstborn son Johnson's second wife, Weldon Horner, lives not far away across the Mthatha River at Ntshilini.

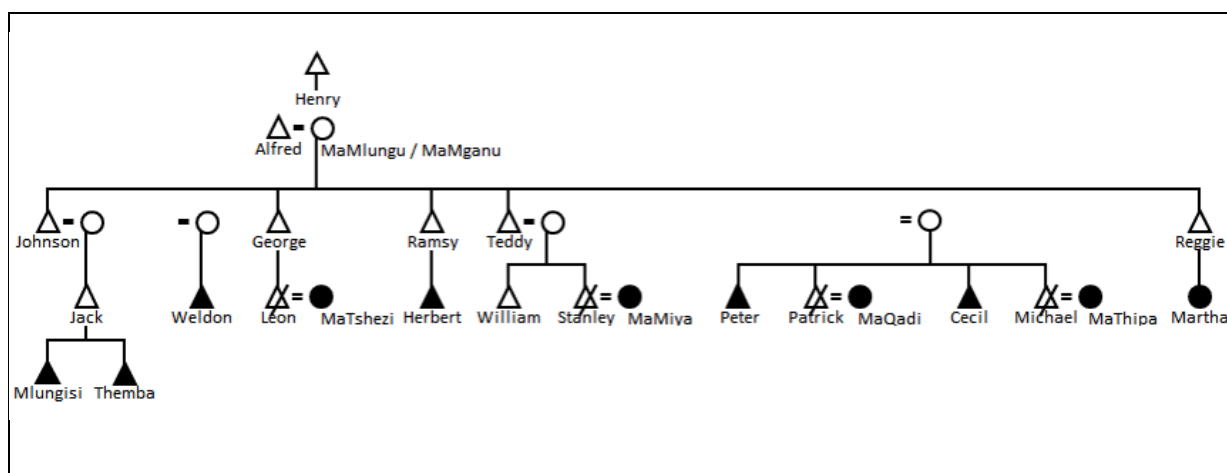


Figure 5.1f. Genealogy of abeLungu Horner

It will be recalled (5.1.1) that the amaMolo oral genealogy records the name of Jafiliti as the father of their clan founder, Bhaiyi, despite the fact that he had never set foot upon African shores. Soga's genealogy collected some 80 years previously records the name of Bhaiyi's grandfather as Kumkati. This is also the case among abeLungu Horner, who recall not only their actual forebear – Alfred Horner – but his father Henry (Figure 5.1f). It is known from archival documents identified with regard to Alfred Horner that his second name was Henry, indirectly confirming that Alfred's father's name might well have been Henry due to the common English practice of using a father's Christian name as his son's second name. As in the case of amaMolo, the oral record specifically notes the absence of the forebear's father, as when Mlungisi Horner said that "Horner (Alfred) [...] was not with his father (Henry), who was left behind (Henry), who was left behind" (Appendix D2.1).

The number of generations between Alfred Horner and the children of participating household heads is five, representing 125 years. Alfred's lastborn Reggie

is said to have been born in 1912. If it is assumed that his ten children were born over a period of twenty years, then that would bring his arrival in the area, presumably roughly contemporaneous with the birth of his first child Johnson, to approximately 1892. The difference between 1892 and 2010 (when the abeLungu Horner oral genealogy was collected) is 118 which is only seven years short of the 125 years that could be expected to have produced five generations of descendants. This is also consistent with documented history which confirms that six years later in 1898, Alfred already owned the Mapuzi Trading Store for that was the year in which it, together with his other possessions, was pledged as security against his debt to William Black. Five years later in 1903 he was still trading at Mapuzi, as indicated by the trade directory in Henkel’s book (Henkel 1903). All available evidence therefore suggests that abeLungu Horner were recent entrants into the already well-established abeLungu clan. If Alfred did indeed marry a girl from this clan, this might in itself have constituted his actual means of incorporation: not having a clan of his own, and being in any case, a white man, perhaps it was natural that he should simply be admitted into his wife’s clan, as has been the case with other entrants into the culture.

5.1.5. AbeLungu Fuzwayo

Like abeLungu Horner, AbeLungu Fuzwayo are the descendants of one recent common ancestor. Their oral genealogy is comparatively shallow, represented in entirety – although with the exclusion of children – in Figure 5.1g, in which the homestead heads of the six abeLungu Fuzwayo homesteads are shaded. The full abeLungu Fuzwayo genealogy is recorded in Appendix E1.

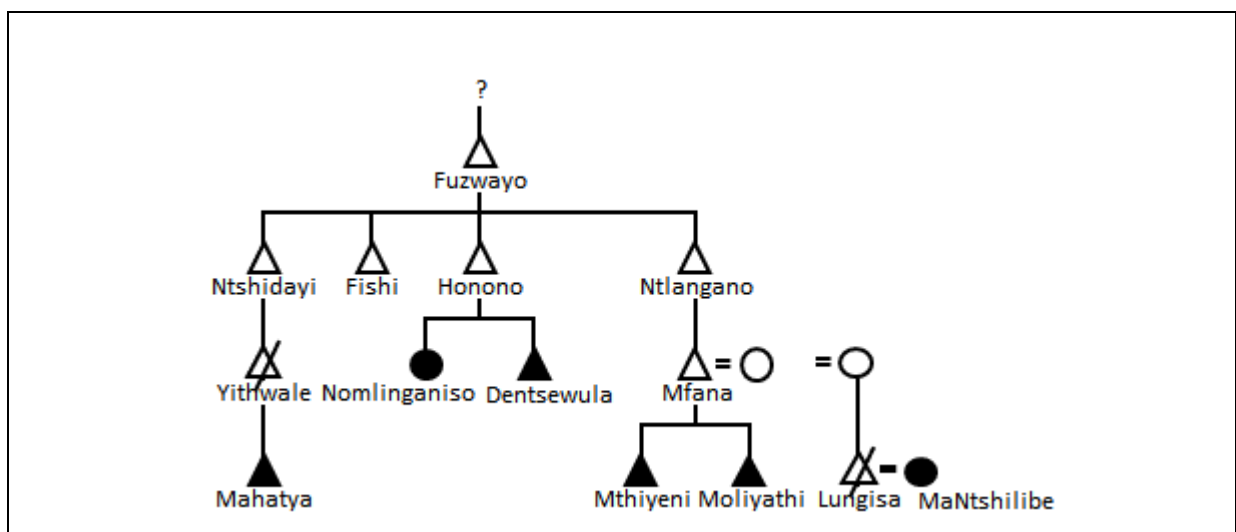


Figure 5.1g. Genealogy of abeLungu Fuzwayo

As in the case of abeLungu Horner, the depth of the abeLungu Fuzwayo oral genealogy is five generations, including Fuzwayo himself and the children of contemporary clan members. The shallowness of the abeLungu Fuzwayo genealogy is probably not due to recent entry into the culture, as in the case of abeLungu Horner however, but instead related to a loss of oral tradition amongst members of the clan section. Nomlinganiso, one of the elder clan members for example explains:

Interview Extract 5.1b

Nomlinganiso: I do not know the father of Fuzwayo. What I know is that after the shipwrecked man came out of the sea, he gave birth to our forefathers. I knew all of this before. But because my fathers are no longer here and because I am old, I no longer know it. I did know, but now I have forgotten it. That is the whole story (Nomlinganiso Smayile nee Ntlangano, Appendix E2.2)

The lack of clarity regarding the origins of abeLungu Fuzwayo will be further explored in 6.4. Essentially however, their clan history is unclear and whereas they might share a forebear with either amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa or abeLungu Hatu clan members, they might equally be descended from a man who, as in the case of Alfred Horner, was absorbed into the clan more recently. If descended from one of the first abeLungu clan sections, their genealogy would be very much deeper than is suggested above, but as in the case of many commoner clans, even those descended from African forebears, the retention of oral genealogy is less reliable than in the case of royal, or as has already been noted with respect to this research, the senior line within the clan genealogy.



Figure 5.1h. AbeLungu Fuzwayo homesteads at Tshani.

5.2. AmaCaine

The amaCaine clan is descended from the Englishman John Cane, which has been possible to establish primarily because even though the spelling has changed, the majority of clan members retained their forebear's surname, simultaneously using it as their clan-name. Figure 5.2a below shows John Cane's genealogy, constructed from information about his parentage and offspring recorded by O'Byrne Spencer (1987:35). The full Caine genealogy as related primarily by Mkhululelwa can be found in Appendix F1. The amaCaine participants of this research are in touch family members living beyond the research area, including Durban, the city that owes its foundation to their forebear among other men. On hearing about this research, these amaCaine agnates were eager that their branches of the family should be included in the genealogy, as they have been. Figure 5.2b is a contraction of the amaCaine oral genealogy, showing only the ten participating homesteads.

O'Byrne Spencer (1987:35) noted that Lavutha or Christian was one of two (known) children that John Cane had "by African woman or women unknown". Prior to this research, Mkhululelwa Caine spoke to his aunt about the genealogy of the Caine family and recorded what she knew in writing. When I was subsequently referred to him by Bekuyise Caine, he lent me the document – and others – for copying (3.3) and related his understanding of the origins of the Caine clan:

Interview Extract 5.2a

Mkhululelwa: [T]wo brothers [...] came from [...a] ship. One was Kristjan, the other was Kruger. About Kruger I didn't get any information. But Kristjan fell in love with a black lady called MaNyawuza who bore a son called Lavutha. That Lavutha was our forefather, he fathered Maguba (Mkhululelwa Caine, Appendix F2.1)

According to Mkhululelwa, Lavutha was the son of Kristjan (Christian), who is recalled as the original amaCaine forebear (Figure 5.2b). O'Byrne Spencer by contrast, recorded Christian as the son of John Cane (Figure 5.2a), noting 'Lavutha' as Christian's Zulu name. Both agree that Lavutha was the son of the first Caine/Cane by an African woman. The oral genealogy appears to expand O'Byrne Spencer's one generation into two by perceiving Kristjan and Lavutha as father and son, but the conflation of Christian and John means that there is neither contraction nor expansion when the oral genealogy is compared with O'Byrne Spencer's recorded one. In effect, the name John has been lost from the oral record, having been replaced by Kristjan/Christian. The amaCaine

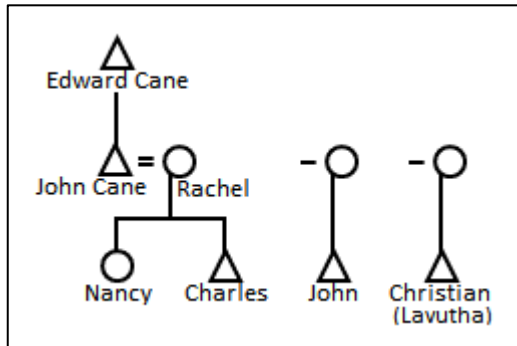


Figure 5.2a (O'Byrne Spencer, 1987:35)

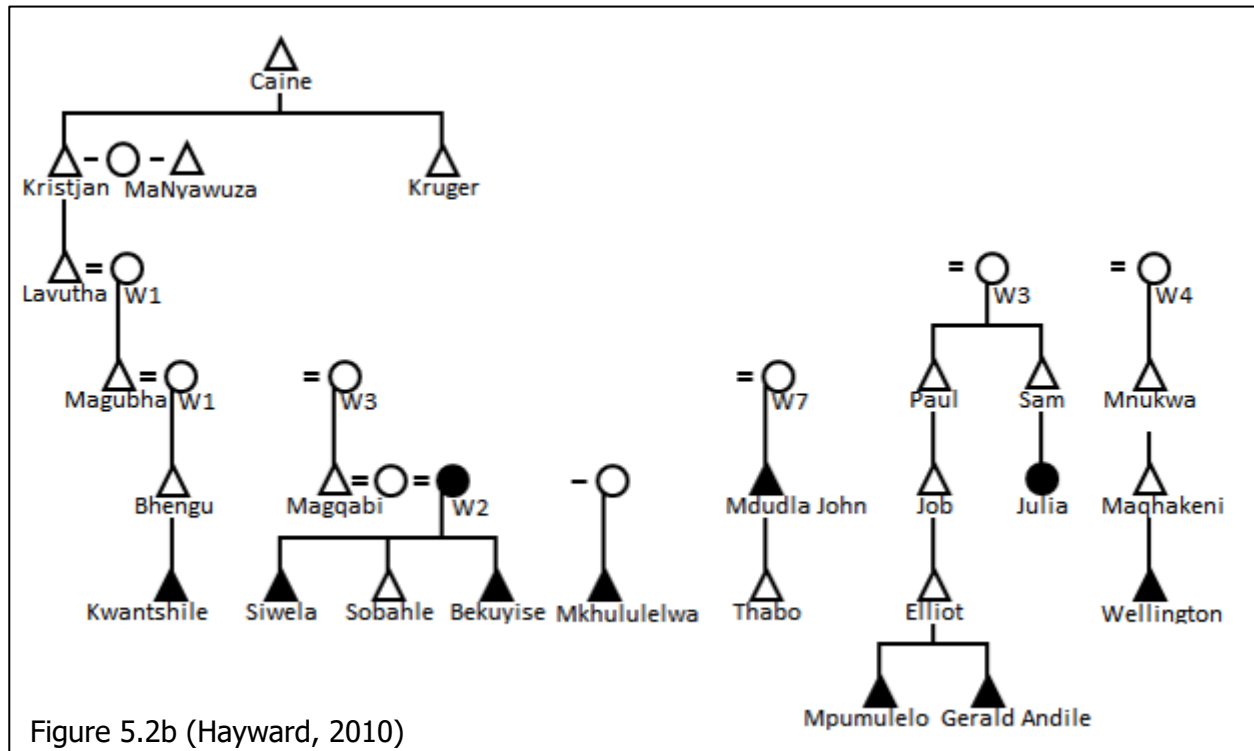


Figure 5.2b (Hayward, 2010)

Figure 5.2. Genealogy of amaCaine

contingent of the research participants trace descent from Maguba, the apical ancestor whose name is used as surname by a small number of participants and who is recalled in the oral tradition as the son of Lavutha. The appearance of the names Lavutha and Christian/Kristjan in both oral and recorded Cane/Caine genealogies is the first and most compelling indication that the Caine contingent of the research participants are indeed descended from John Cane. This is supported by other correlations between documented and oral history that will be discussed in 7.1.2.

It is apparent from the genealogy constructed from information recorded by O'Byrne Spencer (1987) that in addition to his Zulu and Mpondo wives and concubines, John Cane also had a white wife called Rachel and two children, Nancy and Charles. It is well documented that during the early years of Durban's establishment, there were very few white women in the colony so it must be assumed that Cane's firstborn children would in all probability have been mothered by Zulu and possibly Mpondo women.

5.3. AmaOgle

As in the case of John Cane and the Caine clan, the first connection between Henry Ogle, the historical character and the contemporary amaOgle clan involves the retention of the surname Ogle and its doubling as a clan-name. In the case of Ogle there has been no alteration in spelling as with Cane/Caine. The name of Henry Ogle's father is not recorded by de Kock *et al.* (1968), but the ancestry website, Family Search holds the facsimile of a baptism certificate, which records that on March 30th 1800, Henry Ogle, the son of John and Hannah, was baptised at St Peter's Cathedral in Sheffield, Yorkshire (Family Search, 2012). Henry Ogle's birthdate is recorded as 1800 (de Kock *et al.*, 1968:522) and in a letter to the Governor of the Cape Colony in 1830 in search of Henry Ogle, Ann Webster refers to the fact that he emigrated from Sheffield to the Cape. It is therefore probable that the Henry Ogle who later left for Africa was baptised in Sheffield in 1800 and we can therefore infer that his parents' names were John and Hannah. We also know that he later had a son named John, named perhaps after his paternal grandfather (Webb & Wright, 1976:111).

A full version of the oral genealogy of the Ogle clan can be found in Appendix G1, an abbreviated version of which is depicted in Figure 5.3b. Figure 5.3a is Henry Ogle's genealogy constructed from information documented by de Kock *et al.* (1968:523),

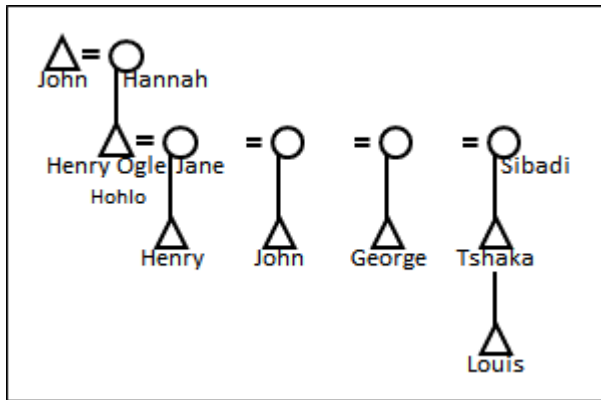


Figure 5.3a (de Kock *et al.* 1968:523, Family Search, Webb & Wright, 1976:111)

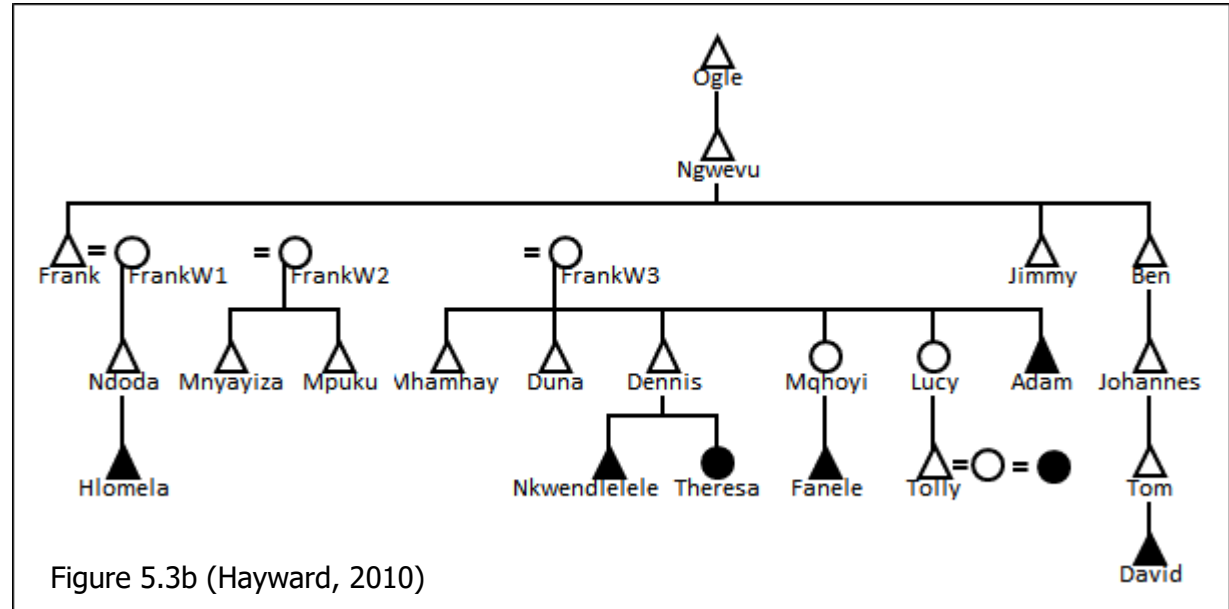


Figure 5.3b (Hayward, 2010)

Figure 5.3. Genealogy of amaOgle

Webb & Wright (1976:111) and Family Search (2012). Like Cane, Ogle is said to have “fathered many Coloured children” (de Kock *et al.*: *ibid.*), of whom Dinya (Webb & Wright: *ibid.*) names three: John, Tshaka and George.

According to Hlomela Ngwevu,

Interview Extract 5.3a

Hlomela: I was borne by Ndoda who was borne by Frank. Frank was borne by Ngwevu. Ngwevu was borne by this man that was called Ogle (Hlomela Ngwevu, Appendix G2.2).

There is no overlap between the names recalled in the oral record and those historically documented, other than the surname of Ogle itself. Although absent from the oral genealogical record, the Ogle *izinqulo* recalls “Hohlo” as an amaOgle clan forebear (9.4.3). This is the name reported by Dinya to have been Henry Ogle’s Zulu name (Webb & Wright, 1968:110). Like other praise names, ‘Hohlo’ was absent from oral historical and genealogical accounts collected from members of the amaOgle clan, only surfacing coincidentally because Hlomela Ogle recalled his father’s praises even though he did not use them himself. Dinya also named Ogle as one of two white settlers³⁶ who had the largest number of wives (*ibid.*:111) and it can therefore be presumed that he also had many more children than those recorded in the Stuart Archive, one of whom was in all probability Ngwevu or Ngwevu’s father. Like John Cane, Henry Ogle also had a white family, as can be seen in Figure 5.3a where documented history records that he was married to Jane and that the couple had a son named Henry, after his father.

5.4. AmaFrance

Kutu Dukuza is second in line to the position of genealogical senior of the amaFrance clan and accompanied us on our visits to clan members. He is the grandson of Dukuza, a white man who entered Mpondo culture approximately three generations ago. The full amaFrance genealogy can be found in Appendix H1, of which the contraction represented in Figure 5.4a shows only those homestead heads who participated in the study.

³⁶ The other being Mbulazi (Fynn).

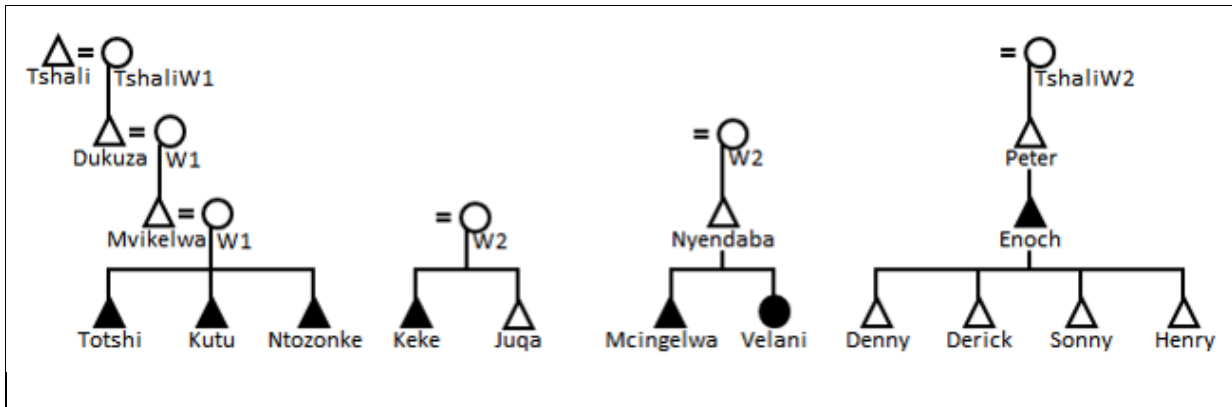


Figure 5.4a. Genealogy of amaFrance

Although Dukuza is believed to have been the amaFrance forebear, his father Tshali is also recalled in the oral tradition, as are Jafiliti and Alfred in the case of amaMolo and abeLungu Horner respectively.

Interview Extract 5.4a

Kutu: Dukuza was borne by Tshali. [...] Tshali was a white person and Dukuza, my grandfather was white like this (pointing at Janet). He had a long nose like this (still pointing). He had a long neck, very white. He's the one that mixed with blacks. He mixed with black people when he was very young (Kutu Dukuza, Appendix H2.3).

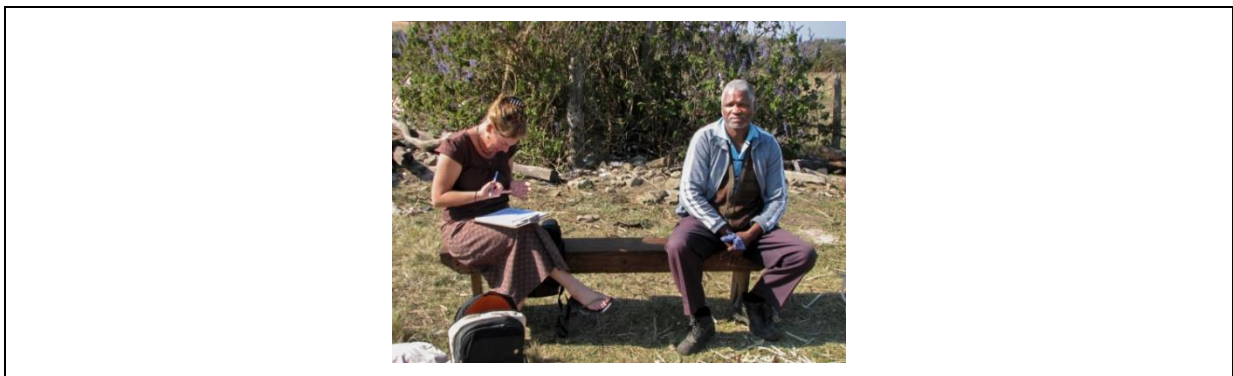


Figure 5.4b. Janet collecting amaFrance oral genealogy from Kutu Dukuza at Khonjwayo

Although Tshali is recalled in the oral record as the father of the amaFrance clan founder, Dukuza, he is believed to have had two wives, not something normally associated with European culture. In IE5.4a however, Kutu spoke of his grandfather as though he knew him – which he very probably did – unlike his great-grandfather Tshali. Tshali's implied polygyny according to the amaFrance oral genealogy suggests that it might have been Tshali rather than Dukuza who entered the culture. This would have meant that Dukuza would have been coloured however, which is inconsistent with Kutu's

memory of his own grandfather. It is from the two wives of Tshali that amaFrance participants believe themselves to be descended, as can be seen in Figure 5.4a The son of Tshali's first wife was Dukuza. He had two wives himself and all his descendants use his name as surname according to Xhosa convention. Tshali's second wife was the mother of Peter and his descendants use 'Richards' as a surname. The descendants of Tshali's two wives do not agree with one another with respect to either genealogy or cultural identification:

Interview Extract 5.4b

Enoch: My grandfather was Peter. Peter Richards. And he named his son Peter. [...] My father gave birth to children. I'm one of them. We schooled in Bantu schools. [...] We were borne by a white person, not a coloured, but he married a black person. My grandfather is what you call a European (Enoch Richards, Appendix H2.4).

It will be seen in 9.4.5 that Enoch does not identify with the need for or importance of a clan-name. He also rejects other aspects of Xhosa culture such as the use of isiXhosa names in reference to his forebears:

Interview Extract 5.4c

Enoch: These people called themselves Dukuza (angry). That's what's bothering me. They called themselves Dukuza. We are not Dukuza, we are Richards. Their father was a fisherman at the sea. He was going up and down looking for fish. Black people named him Dukuza and him (pointing at Kutu), he used Dukuza as a surname. I don't know this Dukuza thing. [...]

Qaqambile: [W]ho is Tshali?

Enoch: Haai, uTshali? I don't know Tshali. (To Kutu) Who is Tshali?

Kutu: My grandfather said Tshali was his father.

Enoch: His father? No, it's not Tshali, it's Peter.... This Tshali thing is something that he was called by black people, just like my father was called Bhalangile. It was a name given to him by *abantu*. Just because my father was called Bhalangile, we can't call ourselves Bhalangile. He was Peter (Enoch Richards, Appendix H2.4).

Enoch takes issue with the adoption of Xhosa nicknames as names and surnames. He also claims to have no knowledge that Dukuza's father's name was Tshali. Although this is likely to be the English name Charlie, Enoch again considers it a nickname given to the clan forebear rather than his actual name, which he believes to have been Peter Richards. Although an archival search yielded various matches for the name Peter

Richards, it was not possible to determine whether this was the person named as Enoch's grandfather.

Enoch is the sole representative of Peter's descendants among amaFrance participants, and he lives in Ngobozana, a suburb or township of Lusikisiki. As he neither lives in a rural area nor subscribes to a traditional worldview, according to the criteria by which research participants were selected (3.2) he would not have been part of the survey but for the fact that Kutu Dukuza introduced him to me as one of his agnates, and I did not see fit to exclude him. This factor was however used to resolve, if only for purposes of discussion, the genealogical contradiction posed above as to whether amaFrance are descended from Dukuza (as believed by the majority or rural-dwelling participants) or from the two wives of Dukuza's father Tshali (as contended by the solitary urban member of amaFrance). The two accounts are incompatible because Tshali is recalled in the former as an absent father from whom the little white boy Dukuza ran away, and in the latter as the polygamous clan founder. As will be seen in 9.4.5 when this becomes relevant from the perspective of clan praises, the issue will be resolved for purposes of discussion by adopting the perspective of the rural-dwelling members of amaFrance, as the majority and also as participants who fulfil the criteria outlined in 3.2.

5.5. AmaIrish

Only two homestead heads, who are geographically remote from each other comprise the amaIrish research participants. Nicholas Beresford lives about 16 km north of Mamolweni at Qandu, and his patrilateral parallel cousin or classificatory brother, Monde, lives even further north at Mtalala. They related their clan genealogy thus:

Interview Extract 5.5a

Nicholas: My grandfather is Beresford, that's his name.

JJ: What about the father of Beresford?

Nicholas: No, Beresford to us is a surname, but to my father, Beresford was his father. Then came my father. My father was John Beresford (Nicholas Beresford, Appendix I2.3)

Interview Extract 5.5b

Monde: My grandfather was Irish Beresford at Qandu. When I was born he was no longer here. My father was the son of Irish Beresford and his name was Sam Beresford. [...]

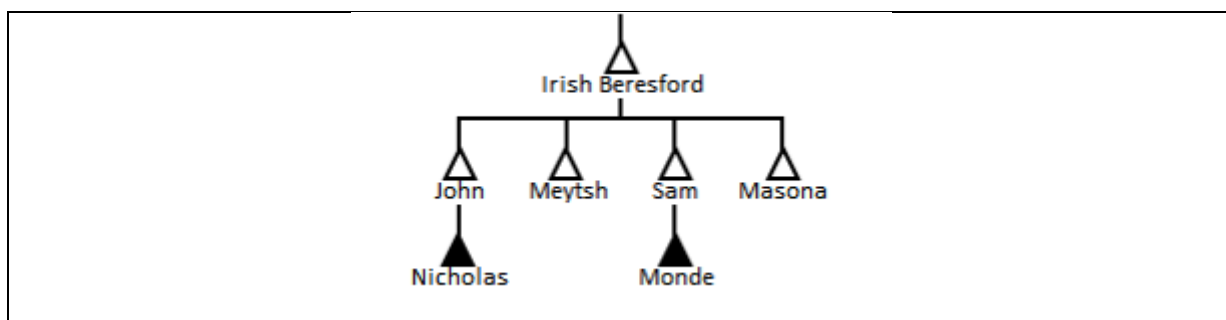


Figure 5.5. Genealogy of amaIrish

Figure 5.5 is a representation of the genealogy of the Irish clan, a fuller version of which is in Appendix I1. Like those of the Caine and Ogle clans, the amaIrish genealogy begins with the clan forebear himself and does not name his father, as do amaFrance, amaMolo and abeLungu Horner. At only three generations, the amaIrish genealogy is the shallowest of the exogenous clans comprising the research survey. Despite this extremely recent entrance into the culture, amaIrish oral recall is remarkably thin and it appears that all that remains of their forebear is his surname – Beresford – and his Irish nationality.

Neither Nicholas nor Monde know the Christian name of their forebear and somewhat ironically, it is partly their adoption of Xhosa naming conventions that has led to this. Nicholas, for example stated in IE5.5a that “Beresford to us is a surname, but to my father, Beresford was his father”. The convention of adopting the name of an apical ancestor as surname has evidently resulted in the amaIrish forebear’s surname being conceptualised as his Christian name. Monde on the other hand equates the clan-name – Irish – with the name of his forebear, again according to conventional Xhosa perception and practice. The fact that Nicholas and Monde refer to their clan forebear as Beresford and Irish respectively is also consistent with the Xhosa convention of clan synonyms all referring equally to the clan founder or clan itself (5.7.2, 9.5.2). Only the surname of the amaIrish forebear has survived the oral record and the loss of his Christian name can partially be traced to naming conventions germane to the Xhosa clan structure. Similarly, the names John and Henry have passed out of the amaCaine and amaOgle oral record, but other elements recalled in the oral tradition made it possible to associate their clan forebears with actual historical characters.

5.6. AmaThakha

Mthathiswa Nkunde is the grandson of the amaThakha clan founder, Thakha, and lives with his mother, wife and children next door to the original Thakha homestead. His cousin Lozo lives nearby. These two homesteads represent the amaThakha clan in this research. They are located at Rhole, not very far away from Theresa Ogle and other members of the Ogle clan, but nearer to the Indian Ocean. Of all the sites in the research area, Rhole is closest to Lambasi Bay where both the Grosvenor and the ship carrying the abeLungu forebears and Bessie/Gquma ran aground. The clan-name Thakha can be presumed to have been the name of the clan forebear, quite probably one given to him by the people amongst whom he integrated. Neither of his European names have survived the oral record.

According to Mthathiswa,

Interview Extract 5.6

Mthathiswa: Khatha gave birth to One and One gave birth to Nkunde. Nkunde gave birth to Mtoto, my older brother, Mthathiswa (me) and my younger brother Mziwesoja (Mthathiswa Nkunde, Appendix J2.3).

A fuller version of the amaThakha oral genealogy can be found in Appendix J1, Figure 5.6 being a contraction that represents the two participating homesteads. Following Xhosa clan convention, more than one clan-name refers to the amaThakha clan, namely Thakha, Khatha and Thank³⁷ (5.7.2, 9.5.2). Thakha and Khatha do not represent two different forebears but are used interchangeably and Thank is called in the clan *nqula* as will be seen in Chapter 9.3.4. Only one name in the amaThakha genealogy suggests that the clan might have European connections and that is the name of Nkunde's father, 'One' (pronounced "Wun"), but searches of genealogy and surname websites have not revealed the use of this as a surname. The surname Nkunde and variations of the clan-name appear to be of isiXhosa rather than English or other derivation, and it is therefore in the oral history alone that the clan origins are recalled.

³⁷ Note that in isiXhosa, Th is pronounced as an aspirated T and not as the English Th.

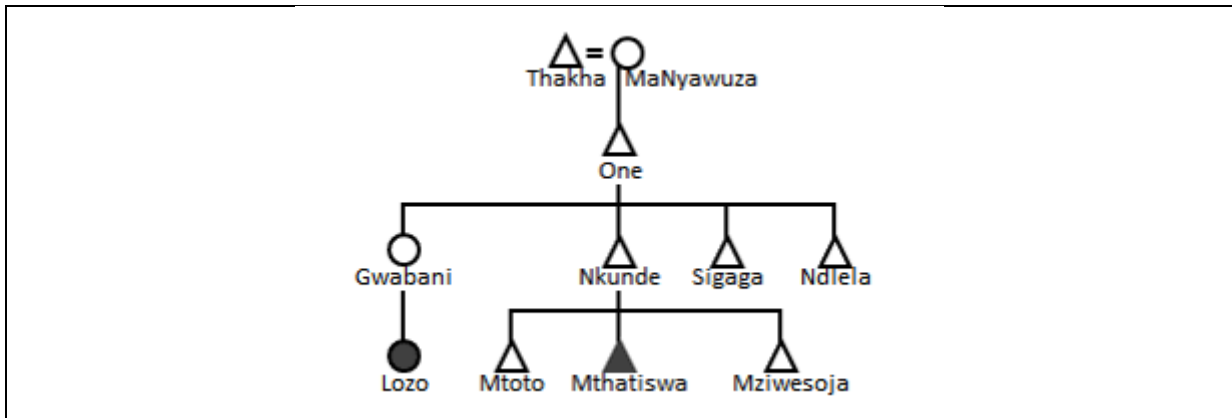


Figure 5.6. Genealogy of amaThakha

5.7 Genealogies (*iminombo*)

In the context of oral genealogy, the clan name, inherited at birth according to the laws of patrilineal descent, is understood to represent the clan founder himself, the common ancestor of all agnates. Likewise, other clan ancestors are recalled by personal names, or some other name received as the result of life changes such as initiation into manhood or the assumption of chieftaincy, or perhaps as praise or nicknames. Contemporary agnates too, are generally represented in genealogies by single names, given or acquired, or nicknames. These are the names that have been recorded above, many of which, and others in addition, are recalled in clan praises (*izinqulo*), as will be seen in Chapter 9. The central importance of the names of patrilineal antecedents is underlined by the recall of the names of the *fathers* of their respective clan founders, by members of amaMolo (5.1.1) and abeLungu Horner (5.1.4), despite the fact that neither of these men had ever been physically present in the communities into which their sons integrated.

Genealogy involves the recording of names, and the relationships between the incumbents of those names. In this context, these are the names of sets of agnates, and the relationships are between long deceased clan founders and their descendants, and between contemporary clan members. Oral genealogies have relevance for both sets of relations, the former because ritual practice centres around recall of deceased forebears, and the latter because local kinship networks, obligations and hierarchies are genealogically determined. To this extent, the oral genealogies collected and collated here, map relationships both within this world, and between this world and the next, as represented by Kuper (1982b), and discussed further in the introduction to Chapter 9.

Comparisons between contemporary oral genealogies collected among the original three abeLungu clan sections and those documented by Soga (1930) eighty years previously, indicate that various transformations have taken place over time, including excisions, reversals, contractions and expansions. Comparisons between oral genealogies of more recent entrants into the culture and those of original abeLungu clan sections, illustrate the extent to which tradition is made in the image of convention. This is evident firstly in the ways that surnames have been incorporated originally by endogenous clans and more recently by exogenous ones, and secondly, with respect to the tradition of *izithakhazelo*, in which any one clan name is synonymous with various others. These aspects of the transmission of knowledge on one hand, and its construction on the other, will be discussed in 5.7.1. and 5.7.2. respectively. Finally, 5.7.3. will recapitulate those of the themes and questions that emerged from the collection, collation and analysis of clan genealogies that will be followed up or developed further in the chapters that follow.

5.7.1. Expansions, contractions and other genealogical variations

Judging from the oral genealogies, the forebears of the more recent exogenous clans entered local cultures between three and six generations ago. The most recent entrant was apparently the founder of amaIrish three generations ago, followed by that of amaFrance one generation earlier. Horner entered Bomvana culture, and Cane and Ogle arrived at Port Natal, five and six generations ago respectively. The exact date that these latter two clan founders arrived is however known to have been 1824, 186 years before these genealogies were collected in 2010. Using the standard average of 25 years per generation makes their entry 7.44 generations ago. AmaCaine and amaOgle oral genealogies are both six generations deep, meaning that they have contracted by almost 1.5 generations over 186 years, that is by 20%.

The three oldest sections of the abeLungu clan – amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu – all recall genealogies stretching back to their original clan founders, Bhayi, Jekwa and Hatu respectively, which are represented in full in Appendices A1, B1 and C1. The depth of the amaMolo oral genealogy is eight generations, including all generations from Bhayi to children and grand-children in the homesteads of clan members who participated in this research. The depth of the oral genealogies of both abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu is thirteen generations, reckoned in the same way.

The wreck of the Grosvenor in 1782 provides a means by which to estimate roughly when these shipwreck survivors were incorporated into the culture. In 1790, a search mission went into the 'Native Territories' in search of survivors from the wreck, during which they encountered Bessie or Gquma who was judged to have been about 80 years old at that time. Thus she would have been born around 1710 and shipwrecked circa 1720. The difference between 1720 and 2010 is 290 years, which when divided by 25 arrives at an expected genealogy depth of 11 generations. Kirby (1954:2), among others are of the opinion that amaMolo survived the same shipwreck as abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu. If this is the case, their oral genealogies fall short of the expected 11 generations by three generations, representing a contraction of just over 3.6 generations over 290 years, or 31%. Those of abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu by contrast, at 13 generations have expanded by 1.4 generations over 290 years, or 12%.

Contractions in the oral recall of genealogical generations are also evident in the significant proportion of names recorded by Soga that have passed out of recall entirely. Or in the case of abeLungu Hatu, their own ancestors side-lined in favour of abeLungu Jekwa forebears (5.1.3). Genealogical expansions have also occurred, such as in the case of abeLungu Jekwa who acquired an additional forebear – Gquma/Bessie – over the past eighty years (5.1.2). Or in the case of amaMolo, the six sons of clan founder, Bhayi, now being recalled as belonging to three different generations (5.1.1). Other variations include reversals of fathers and sons or other confusions of genealogical ranking.

The ease with which names may be forgotten is demonstrated by the genealogies of some of the more recent entrants into the culture, for example that of amaCaine. Whereas O'Byrne Spencer's (1987:35) genealogy records John Cane as the father of Christian, also known as Lavutha, in the oral genealogy, Christian has been conflated with his father John, whose name no longer appears. At the same time, Christian is recalled as the father of Lavutha. The founder and his son have been contracted into one man, and two names of the founder's son are now recalled as having belonged to the founder and his son. Multiple conflation of fathers and sons or creation of fathers and sons from one forebear would contribute to overall expansions and contractions over extended periods of time.

Some of the genealogical expansions, contractions and deviations that have occurred over time can no doubt be explained by lapses in memory regarding actual

kinship ties (such as filial as against fraternal) or losses of the names of individual forebears as their descendants have come to be regarded as those of somebody else. The name of the abeLungu Hatu forebear Madlo, for example, is retained in the oral genealogy despite the fact that his descendants have shifted and are now recalled as those of the abeLungu Jekwa forebear Mbombo/Mbomboshe. It is also clear that different agnates within individual clan sections often recall different ancestors – as well as the same ones – and also that any individual informant’s own line will often be given priority over others, whether or not this is genealogically accurate. It must be presumed that large numbers of forebears are not recalled in genealogies (*iminombo*) or commemorated in clan praises (*izinqulo*).

Other variations between Soga’s transcription of oral genealogies and mine can be partially explained by the manner in which genealogical information is preserved and transmitted across the generations. This is primarily through recitation of *izinqulo* – usually in a ritual context – which comprise lists of names interposed with praise phrases (9.1). The names that are called are not only those of ancestors from the direct patrilineal line such as in the case of a chieftaincy which has only one incumbent per generation, but includes any number of brothers in each successive generation. Formulaic and to some extent metaphorical in form, *izinqulo* do not include minor biographical details such as whether relationships between the names recalled were filial or fraternal. It is therefore easy to see how brothers may be mistaken for fathers and sons, or by the same token, fathers and sons conflated into one forebear. These kinds of errors would result in genealogical expansions and contractions, as have evidently occurred in abeLungu Jekwa, abeLungu Hatu, and amaMolo genealogies between 1930 and today.

For all these discrepancies and anomalies, there are also continuities between contemporary genealogies and those collected historically. In the case of names for example, although the genealogical links between forebears have become scrambled in many cases, there is nevertheless significant endurance in the actual names recalled. There are also cases in which genealogical information has been transmitted with an exceptionally high degree of integrity. It has been noted that lines of Xhosa chieftaincy tend to be recalled with a greater degree of integrity than those of so called “commoners” (Preston-Whyte 1974:196, Hammond-Tooke 1968:28,35, 1985:313) and this appears to also be the case within individual clans with respect to the senior vs

other lines of descent. In the contemporary genealogy of amaMolo for example, Chief Mhlabunzima Mxhaka's line shows no variation from the one documented by Soga prior to 1930, and nor does that of abeLungu Jekwa which is recalled today as materially no different from that recounted to William Soga one hundred and twenty years ago. The line of Hatu by contrast has not been well preserved in the oral tradition.

5.7.2. The construction of surnames and clan synonyms (*izithakhazela*)

Clan names are acquired at birth according to patrilineal principles, and represent a social grouping of agnates, as well as their collective clan ancestors (4.2). What are called 'first names' here, are those consigned at birth, often as a statement either of gratitude or of hope regarding destiny or countenance, or acquired subsequently at significant life stages, or as praise or nicknames. These more personalised or individual markers of social identity, rarely if ever run in families. As has been seen, it is these names that comprise the oral genealogies collected from participating clans. A third name, the surname, did not exist before incorporation into the colonial political-economy, which forced people to conform to western bureaucratic requirements of a two-part identity comprising both a first name and a surname.

Whatever the full names of the original abeLungu forebears might have been, their integration into local cultures is so remote and so complete that the presence of their single names – Bhayi, Jekwa, and Hatu – in both oral and documented accounts is sufficient to establish a connection between the original men and their contemporary descendants. It was possible to trace both amaCaine and amaOgle back to actual historical characters, men who played key roles in the establishment of Durban, and it was primarily the retention of their surnames as clan-names that allowed for the connections to be made. Significantly however, neither of their Christian names – John and Henry respectively – have survived the oral record. Similarly, although the surname of Beresford has been retained by members of the amaIrish clan, the first name of their forebear has passed out of recall. Only abeLungu Horner, recall their forebear, Alfred Horner's full name, although he is almost always referred to simply as 'Horner'. In all these cases, the clan founder's original surname is conceived of as is first name.

Certain clans did not retain the surname of their clan founder. Some recall what could perhaps have been a first name – Tshali / Charlie – in the case of amaFrance, or a nickname – Tank / Khatha in the case of amaThakha. Similarly in the original abeLungu

clans, it is possible that the names 'Pita' and 'Jekwa' of amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa forebears respectively are derived from the names 'Peter' and 'Jack' (3.5). Other founders – those of amaFrance and abeLungu Fuzwayo – are recalled entirely by isiXhosa names or nicknames. In all these latter cases, as well as that of amaIrish, named ancestors could not be definitively identified. With no previously documented genealogies against which to compare them, all that could be done was to document these oral genealogies.

If the genealogies of the original exogenous clans are considered (Appendix A1, B1 & C1), it can be seen that in all cases that the surnames of homestead heads are the names of their grandfathers or more distant patrilineal forebears. In part, this reflects the fact that the surname is a recent addition, and even now, although required in the broader context, for example in relation to employment or social welfare, remains unnecessary in the contexts of community interaction and oral genealogy. Surnames are always the names of direct ancestors, but they are selected rather than inherited. Even though inherited from the father in many cases, both now and often for two or more generations previously, at some point, the requirement to produce a surname arose, which was chosen from the first names of any of a man's patrilineal forebears. It is therefore not uncommon for full brothers or patrilateral parallel cousins to use different surnames. The use of the names of direct patrilineal forebears as surnames accords precisely with Cape Nguni convention so the fact that this is the case among the original three abeLungu clan sections simply indicates their following of the wider convention. Some of the more recent entrants into the culture – amaFrance, amaThakha and some branches of amaCaine and amaOgle – also follow this trend. Others – the balance of amaCaine and amaOgle, abeLungu Horner and amaIrish – have retained their forebear's surname exclusively.

During the process of integration into Cape Nguni communities, The European standard of two names has been translated into a local idiom, and shaped to conform to convention and expectation, according to which each ancestor – or agnate – is recalled by a single name. In the original clans, this had already occurred by the time Soga recorded their genealogies. In the case of clans of more recent origin, where the reduction of two names into one favoured surnames over first or nicknames, as in the case of amaCaine, amaOgle and abeLungu Horner, it was possible to identify clan founder's full names. Where names or nicknames were retained and surnames lost, it

followed naturally that no such identifications could be established. In both cases, the reduction of two names into one was part of a process whereby the incorporation of a foreigner into the culture involved a realignment of circumstances relating to him as an outsider so that they accorded with cultural norms consistent with being an insider.

Another way in which unusual circumstances are shaped according to traditional idiom involves *izithakhazelo*, the clan synonyms associated with each clan name. Although a clan is primarily identified as, and known by the name believed to have been that of its original forebear, a set of other names equally denote both the clan and in some sense the clan founder himself. For example, amaMolo are known equally as abeLungu, and I have met members of the clan – and others – who perceive of a common clan forebear named 'Mlungu'. Similarly, in the case of amaThakha, the names Thakha, Khatha and Thank all refer to the same man and/or clan. Again, this suggests the transformation of a set of foreign circumstances into more traditional, conventional and expected forms, a process which must have occurred within each of the clans of interest here.

While it is obvious that this must have taken place on multiple levels and over extended periods of time, it is interesting that the simple perusal of oral genealogies, both those which can be compared with documented ones and those which cannot, should have revealed this glimpse into the process of incorporation itself.

5.7.3. Themes and questions

As was seen in 5.7.2, the oral genealogies of clans descended from foreign entrants into the culture appear to comprise not only fact and fiction, but also social construction in progress. This complex and ongoing process by which foreigners become natives, comprises the first general theme arising in this chapter, that will subsequently be further developed.

The second relates to ways in which this work challenges the notion that the epistemologies of documented history and western bioscience should be privileged over those of oral tradition. In 5.1.1, the comparison between the oral tradition documented by Soga (1930) and contemporary oral genealogies (2010) revealed different names for the second amaMolo forebear: Mera in the case of the former, and Pita in the latter. The correlation of the name 'Pita', both as one of the four men named by Soga, and as the second amaMolo forebear as far as contemporary amaMolo agnates are concerned,

suggests that Soga might have made an error in his transcription of the amaMolo oral genealogy. On the other hand, Mera's name might simply not have survived oral recall, in which case Pita could be either a synonym for or descendant of Mera. It is impossible to do more than speculate on these among other possibilities however, and to note that it is possible that Soga might have confused the names of Mera and Pita in his written account of the oral history related to him (5.1.1). This question cannot of course be resolved, but it is important to note that such transpositions of names are as easily made in the documentation of oral history as in its transmission, and perhaps in this case oral history should be given the benefit of the doubt.

In Chapter 3, the first of a series of questions that will be reconsidered in Chapter 11 in the light of molecular results was posed. The second involves the unusual inclusion of women in the oral traditions of abeLungu Jekwa and amaMolo, despite the fact that this is contrary to the strictly patrilineal means by which clan membership is reckoned. In the case of amaMolo, the barren wife of Bhayi – Presley or Priscilla – is remembered in stories of the clan section's origins and commemorated in *izinqulo*. Having been childless however, she does not occupy a prominent position on the genealogy. Contemporary members of abeLungu Jekwa on the other hand, conceptualise Gquma as a principal forebear in her current position as the mother of Mbomboshe. This is not however reflected on either of the earlier abeLungu Jekwa genealogies and it is in any case an untenable proposition because neither her offspring nor her descendants would have belonged to the abeLungu clan. The inclusion of women is unprecedented in Cape Nguni genealogies, going as it does against the grain of patrilineal descent. As was seen in 3.2, clan exogamy renders the matriline (and mtDNA) socially and biologically invisible. Therefore, if Bessie were the clan founder of abeLungu Jekwa, one would not expect to find European mtDNA, but African NRY. The question then is:

- Are abeLungu Jekwa descended from Jekwa or Gquma?

AmaMolo are said to have descended from two men who were presumed to have been brothers. Similarly, the two abeLungu clan founders – Jekwa and Hatu – are believed to have been brothers. Questions three and four therefore are:

- Were the forebears of amaMolo (Bhayi and Pita) brothers?
- Were the abeLungu forebears (Jekwa and Hatu) brothers?

6. AbeLungu history (*imbali*)

This chapter builds on the genealogies of exogenous clans that were presented and discussed in the previous chapter by comparing further details from the oral record with written sources, where available. It will collate contemporary abeLungu oral histories collected in the field and review such documented history as has been identified concerning the older abeLungu clan sections, and the minor details regarding Alfred Horner.

6.1. AmaMolo

There is in Mpondoland a peculiar tribe, the descendants of an alien race. Its tribal name is Ama-Mholo or Ama-Molo. [...] The progenitors of this tribe are described as men of a black race, having long black hair, and features of a different cast from those of the Bantu (Soga, 1930:489).

6.1.1. Early history of the clan

The following interview, the first we recorded with Chief Mhlabunzima Mxhaka, flowed like conversation with the inputs of his wife, MaNyawuza, and Lungisa Mxhaka, his kinsman.

Interview Extract 6.1a

Mhlabunzima: These white people were travelling way back in the 1500s. They were on a ship but when it was somewhere near Port St Johns, it wrecked. I'm not sure the direction they were taking but they were Portuguese, even though we call ourselves abeLungu from England, they were Portuguese. The people who came out of the sea were three white people, two men and a woman. This ship that wrecked, the sea was flushing out survivors in different places but these three came out here. Of the three that came out here, the woman had no children. The two men married black women and they called the woman who came with them Presley.

MaNyawuza: Presley Bay is named after her. [...]

Qaqambile: What are the names of the two men who came out of the ship?

Mhlabunzima: These two men were Bhayi and Pita. [...] Bhayi had [...] a] wife. She gave birth to Poto. That's how our history stands. History says that there were not many people around then, there were no towns back then, even Durban was not a town. All these towns – Port St Johns etc. – that are along the coast were not there yet. People were few. What was here was only forest and many animals.

MaNyawuza: Did they [Bhayi and Pita] know how to speak Xhosa?

Mhlabunzima: No, they only knew the word “Molo” and that is why we are called amaMolo. They were saying “Good Morning” and people took that word “Molo”.

Qaqambile: So the name “Molo” came from that?

Mhlabunzima: Yes. [...] We are those people who came out of the sea, the amaMolo.

Lungisa: Others crossed the Mthatha River and settled all the way to Xhora.

Mhlabunzima: That is so. Then we came, us, the current people. We were got from local girls by the coloureds who gave birth to us. Even this surname that I use (Mxhaka) came from a coloured; he was white (unlike me who is dark). What changed them to look more black was their black mothers (laughs).

Qaqambile: These AbeLungu here in this area, who is their ancestor, Bhayi or Pita?

Mhlabunzima: It is Bhayi who gave birth to Poto and then Poto gave birth to us.

Qaqambile: What happened to Pita?

Mhlabunzima: Pita didn't have many children, but his children are found among us here.

Lungisa: They are found on the other side of the Mtakatyi River.

Qaqambile: What about Presley, did she have many children?

Mhlabunzima: No, she never had children.

Lungisa: She only had one breast.

Mhlabunzima: The reason why these men married black girls is because Presley only had one breast and couldn't have children. Well I see that Portuguese had the same way of life as we do in that if a woman cannot have a child her husband should find another woman who can (Mhlabunzima Mxhaka, Appendix A2.2).

Katutu Phangelo's account of the origins of his people had similarities with and differences from that of Chief Mxhaka:

Interview Extract 6.1b

Katutu: From what I've been told [...] it is the white people coming from other countries. These white people came out between Durban and Lusikisiki and these white people had a business that they were conducting and they continued with this business. Some left and two white people were left: a man and his younger brother. After these white men left [...] those who were left behind took black young girls to be their wives.

Qaqambile: Do you know their names?

Katutu: I don't know but the younger one is said to be Pita and the older one, he was called Bhayi. That thing of saying 'bye bye' because since black people did not know English, they called him Bhayi because he was saying 'bye bye'.

Qaqambile: Oh, that was not his name?

Katutu: No, this thing of Bhayi was not his name. They were both called by the black people. [They were called] the Molos because black people were saying ‘*Molweni*’ and they did not know isiXhosa and black people did not know English. When people asked them what race they were, they replied ‘Molo’ because they did not understand the term so they were called Molos. They were imitating this thing of ‘*Molweni*’.

Now then, these two who married these black girls, the young one (Pita) gave birth to one child also who was called Nobathana. The son (Poto) of the old one (Bhayi) came to do what black people are doing, that is polygamy, he had many wives (Katutu Phangelo, Appendix A2.1).

Both accounts allude to a connection between the meaning of the word ‘molo’ (hello) and the clan-name ‘amaMolo’ believed to have evolved from the first word learned by amaMolo forebears on arriving in an alien culture, which was also noted by Makuliwe (c1990):

Their language was not understood by the Mpondos. They were often heard greeting, saying “Molo” or “Morning”. As a result they were referred to as the Molos.

Katutu added a variation on the theme with his explanation that Bhayi’s name came from ‘bye-bye’.

Some eighty years ago, Soga spoke to Nwantsu, the son of Chief Mxhaka about the history and genealogy of the amaMolo clan. In 2009 and 2010, I spoke to Chief Mhlabunzima Mxhaka, the grandson of Nwantsu, about the same things. When it comes to written history about origins of the amaMolo clan, there is not much beyond Soga’s (1930:489-90) account, which was after all the transcription of oral history related to him by Nwantsu:

The progenitors [of the amaMolo clan] were three in number, two males and a female, who had been cast ashore on the Mpondoland coast, from some wreck. Their names, according to native pronunciation, were Bhayi, and Mera; the name of the female, however, was not given. They were probably Malay or Indian, possibly natives of Madagascar. The story concerning them, as handed down by tradition, is as follows. On a certain day, in their own country, Bhayi, his wife, and two others named Tulwana and Pita, walked down to the shore near their home to bathe. While in the water, they were suddenly surrounded by white men, captured, and placed on board of a ship. In the course of the voyage the ship was wrecked on the coast of Mpondoland, and the three mentioned were cast ashore. Two of the original party must have been lost, but another man, Mera, was washed ashore with them. Imagining that they could reach their own country by following the coast line eastwards, they walked for many days but lost all hope in the end and turned south. Reaching Mpondoland they determined to settle among the Mpondos.

As in the case of contemporary accounts, Nwantsu speaks of two men and a barren woman having come ashore. Various places are named with regard to where the ship is alleged to have wrecked: “on the coast of Mpondoland” (Soga, 1930:489), “at the Mdumbi River” (Makuliwe, c1990), “somewhere near Port St Johns” (IE6.1a), and “between Durban and Lusikisiki” (IE6.1b). This combination of broad facts recalled by many informants and smaller details that differ across accounts can possibly be accounted for by the vicissitudes of memory, which seems more likely to retain broad themes than precise details.



Figure 6.1. Chief Mhlabunzima Mxhakha of amaMolo with his son Dumisani behind him and Katutu Phangelo with his son Somzana behind him.

6.1.2. First encounters with colonists

According to Kirby, (1954:3,10), the amaMolo clan was already well established in Pondoland by the time the *Grosvenor* wrecked in 1782. The first recorded encounter between members of the amaMolo clan and colonists took place in 1790, when an expedition of Dutch farmers ventured into the ‘Native Territories’. Their mission was to ascertain the truth or otherwise in rumours of survivors from the *Grosvenor* which had been wrecked eight years previously at the mouth of the Lambasi River, who were alleged to be living among local inhabitants. The encounter took place at the Little Mngazi River near Port St Johns, and was noted briefly by Jacob van Reenen in his journal (*ibid.*).



Map 6.1. AmaMolo historical

In 1830, Stephen Kay, author of *Travels and Researches in Caffraria* (1833), set out to visit Mdepha, the third-born son of Gquma. He was in the company of Wesleyan missionary William Shrewsbury who had visited Mdepha – or as Shrewsbury called him; ‘Dapa’ – with fellow missionary William Shaw two years previously. Somewhere between Mqanduli and Hole in the Wall (see map 6.1), Shrewsbury and Kay encountered a “village inhabited by persons of a mixed character, chiefly of slave extraction” (Kay in Kirby, 1954:9). These ‘black’ men had “unusually thick woolly hair and bushy beards [...] readily admitted their alien origin” (*ibid.*).

Kirby (1954:17) also referred to two notebooks kept by William Bazley when travelling in Mpondoland for the express purpose of recording any information he could discover regarding survivors of the wreck of the *Grosvenor*. Kirby was of the opinion that Bazley “knew Mpondoland and the Mpondos very well” (*ibid.*:18) but he found his notes “very confused, as they were [...] made at different times [...] over a long period

[...and included] both repetitions and contradictions" (*ibid.*). About the amMolo, Bazley (in Kirby 1954:19) recorded:

Ammamola descendants of the Lascar people. Minna was picked up on the seashore and taken up to Willem Lochenberg's place where she grew up and got married to a soldier who had deserted from the Cape. She had some children by this husband before he died. Then she got married to an escaped slave, or most probably to one of the Lascars³⁸, survived from the *Grosvenor*. A son and a daughter were born of this union. The son, called May, lived a long time [...] in East Griqualand and died at a good old age there. His sister was married to a man called Piarse, and a daughter by this union became Mrs John Dunn. Another of May's sisters became Mrs Toughy.

Bazley recorded the name of May's father as Domosi Nochuko. He also recorded that May's sister Lydia married "Poswa, a Fingo of the Mashlati or Langalati tribe," from which union, three daughters and three sons were born. One of the daughters, Elizabeth, married "Mr Carson." Another amaMolo marriage is recorded, between a "Mamolo girl, Encabo" and William King (*ibid.*).

There are two reasons why Bazley's information about amaMolo, as recorded by Kirby (1954), is not particularly useful for this research. First, I have concentrated on isiXhosa-speaking people living traditional lifestyles – to the extent that that these are still to be found in rural Transkei – and not English or Afrikaans-speaking white or coloured people who might have descended from the same forebears as those who participated in this research. Minna, and the majority of amaMolo women mentioned by Bazley married into white families, or as Kirby puts it "passed over [...and] became members of European families" (*ibid.*:23). Second, as was shown in Chapter 3.2, even in the case of Minna's daughter Lydia who married an Mfengu man, the descendants of female non-African forebears are untraceable for the purposes of this study because by ensuring that each generation of women marries out while each generation of men brings in girls from other clans, exogamy obscures the matrilineal line as effectively as it emphasises the patrilineal one. As a woman, Minna with her presumed Asian ancestry – like Gquma with her European ancestry – would not have possessed Y chromosomes and nor therefore Y chromosome DNA. Their non-African patrilineal origins are thus indistinguishable in their descendants. If the assumption that Minna was descended

³⁸ A generic term used to describe men from various parts of Asia who were employed as sailors and other crew on British ships.

from a male shipwreck survivor is accurate, her mitochondrial DNA would have been of African origin.

6.1.3. Nationality of forebears

Contemporary and historical accounts concerning the geographical origin of amaMolo forebears do not concur. According to Soga (1930:489), they were Asian, possibly from India, Malaysia or Madagascar. Kirby (1954:23) believed that they were probably lascars; men employed as sailors and other crew members on British ships, who would have hailed from essentially the same places suggested by Soga. By the time Makuliwe did his research in the 1990s, notions regarding the ethnic origins of clan founders appear to have shifted. According to Makuliwe (c1990), the amaMolo,

can be traced back to white people that got shipwrecked in the Indian Ocean and then married to Mpondos. AmaMolo are now considered to be Mpondos but in the past they were not. In about 1565, a ship got wrecked at the Mdumbi River and survivors founded the Molo clan. The renowned historian J.H. Soga related that the survivors of the shipwreck were from Madagascar (Makuliwe, c1990).

Makuliwe's assertion, that amaMolo are descended from white people continues to be widely held by contemporary clan members. For many, the association is with 'whiteness' rather than a particular country although England is sometimes cited as the land of ancestral origin. However Chief Mxhaka asserted that although people say England they mean Portugal, which is the country he believes to have been the original home of his forebears (IE6.1a). Chief Mxhaka was the only informant to locate Portugal as the amaMolo ancestral nation, all other informants citing England, despite documented historical sources that described them as Asian. It is impossible to know why the chief has this conviction but my surmise that some conflation between the history of navigation and the entrance of amaMolo into the culture as a result of shipwreck has taken place.

6.1.4. Servants of the colony

Further information regarding descendants of the amaMolo clan founders is available from the *Chiefs and Headmen Correspondence File* for Area 46 of Ngqeleni, Mamolweni (Chief Magistrate (Mthatha), Resident Magistrate (Ngqeleni) 1910-1963). The first entry is in 1924³⁹ and records the death of Chief Mxhaka, documented in Soga's genealogy of

³⁹ Although the files began shortly after 1910, only events such as death, appointment or transgression are recorded so extended periods of time often elapse between entries.

the amaMolo as the great-grandson of Bhayi, and recalled likewise by contemporary clan members. Mxhaka was succeeded by his son Nwantsu, who more than once ran afoul of the law. The first time was in 1930 when he did not "report the presence of an unauthorised person on the commonage of his location", thereby contravening Section 15 (2) of Proclamation No 143 of 1919 as amended by Proclamation No 24 of 1922, for which he was reprimanded. Just two years later, in December 1932, he was arrested and gaoled for a more serious misdemeanour, namely "being accessory after to the fact to the crime of murder". He was temporarily suspended from the post of Headmanship but reinstated a few months later when he was released from gaol in February 1933, his absence being regarded as "leave without pay".

In July 1951, the Native Commissioner of Ngqeleni who was at that time R. A. Midgely, informed the Chief Magistrate in Mthatha that Nwantsu was "no longer fit to carry out his duties as a headman," and recommending that he be retired on pension and that a new Headman be appointed. Approval was received to appoint Julius Majundana as Headman but Nwantsu died before his pension was approved. Although it was Midgely who had originally recommended that Nwantsu be placed on pension he was subsequently reluctant to submit the necessary documentation and even though Nwantsu had already died, felt it necessary to report to the Mthatha Chief magistrate that,

As Headman Nwantsu has at no time since 1947 rendered satisfactory service as a Headman, I do not see my way clear to furnish the required certificate of good service. I presume, however, that in view of the fact that the Headman has since died, the application for retirement will now fall away.

Nwantsu's son Bojana, had predeceased him, and Bojana's son Mhlabunzima was only 16 years old. Mxhaka's brother Julius was therefore appointed to act until such time as Mhlabunzima came of age, that is that he should be at least 25 years old, married and "otherwise suitable". Julius however died in 1952, whereupon Makintose Zwekulu was appointed as Acting Headman until such time as Mhlabunzima came of age. Zwekulu was however arrested for robbery in 1954, whereupon Daniel Maqubuka was appointed as Acting Headman. In 1961 Maqubuku asked to be relieved from the position, whereupon the Konjwayo Tribal Authority appointed Gantololo Ntentereni to act until such time as a permanent Headman of Mamolweni was appointed. Gantololo was the brother of the local Mpondo Chief, Ferguson Gwadiso of the Konjwayo house.

Zwekulu's name does not appear in the genealogy I collected from the amaMolo in 2010, so it is probable that he was not a member of the clan. The name Daniel Maqubuka also does not appear in the amaMolo genealogy, and he therefore also presumably belonged to a different clan. There is however no indication that either belonged to the Gwadiso house. What is clear is that when Maqubuka requested to be relieved of office, Gwadiso tried to obtain the office for his kinsman by appointing Gantololo Ntenti without so much as consulting with the amaMolo themselves.

Gantololo Ntenti was definitely not a local man, being part of the Chief's house, and his appointment raised the ire of locals to the extent that a letter was written demanding the appointment of Mhlabunzima or his younger brother Vayeke which would have served to return the office to the clan. From my own research into the amaMolo genealogy (Appendix A1), it is known that Mhlabunzima was born in 1931, and that his first child was born in 1961, exactly the year that this matter came to a head. This indicates that he was 30 years of age and married, and therefore that there was no reason why he should not have been appointed. It is also clear that the appointment of Gantololo was not made in the usual way whereby the Resident Magistrate of Ngqeleni consulted with the community and then made recommendations that went all the way to Pretoria and back via the Mthatha Magistrate's office, because in a letter written to the Chief Magistrate in Mthatha in June 1961, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner related that Gantololo Ntenti had been appointed by the Konjwayo Tribal Authority.

Having passed from Chief Mxhaka to his son Nwantsu and then to his younger brother Julius, who was standing regent until such time as Mhlabunzima, the true heir, came of age, the Headmanship then appeared to pass out of the amaMolo clan. Like that of Julius, the appointments of Makintose Zwekulu and Daniel Maqubuka were temporary, until such time as Mhlabunzima was able to assume office. The matter was not resolved during the time that administrative correspondence was filed and stored, but it is evident that the Headmanship did at some time pass to Mhlabunzima because he was Chief when this research began. However, the dispute with the Gwadiso house appears to have continued. While we were in the field we were made aware of disputes over land that had been occupied by amaMolo homesteads for decades being demanded by the current Gwadiso chief, and when Mhlabunzima died in 2013, no representative from the chieftaincy attended his funeral although the Great Place is relatively close.

Such are the scanty details recorded in archived colonial correspondence about the most recent four generations, namely Chief Mxhaka, his brother Julius, son Nwantsu and grandson Mhlabunzima.

6.1.5. Other abeLungu clan sections

In documented accounts of their origins, amaMolo and abeLungu are considered to be two separate clans with two distinct sets of founders (Soga, 1930, Kirby, 1954, Wilson, 1979[1936], Crampton, 2004). Yet in Mamolweni and Hluleka, and amongst amaMolo in general, it was discovered that the clan-names amaMolo and abeLungu were used interchangeably or serially. As has already been noted (5.7.2), it is quite common for each clan name to be synonymous with one or more other names, because any one clan is associated with a number of ancestors and appellations, all of which are synonymous in their reference to one particular clan, and used as such. What was unusual in this case was not the use of two names in reference to one clan, but the apparent conflation of what were referred to in the literature as two clans into one. We spoke to Chief Mhlabunzima about this in two separate interviews, and also to Katutu Phangelo.

Interview Extract 6.1c

Qaqambile: So are the amaMolo abeLungu or not?

Mhlabunzima Mxhaka: Yes they are not two different clans, they are the same. Our history goes on and we are widely spread. Some went this way, others went that way; they crossed the Mzimvubu (Mhlabunzima Mxhaka, Appendix A2.2).

Interview Extract 6.1d

Qaqambile: Well I've been making a mistake here, thinking that the clan of amaMolo is different from the clan of abeLungu.

Katutu: No, the amaMolo are abeLungu. It's just that they were saying "Molweni" so that's how it began (Katutu Phangelo, Appendix A2.1).

Interview Extract 6.1e

Qaqambile: We understand that amaMolo and abeLungu belong to the same clan but can you explain why some use Mlungu as a clan-name and others Molo? Do you know when and why this occurred?

Mhlabunzima Mxhaka: There is no difference. But when our grandfathers came here they did not know how to speak Xhosa because they were saying when greeting people, 'Morning, Morning'. Xhosas shifted that to Molo and so they were called Molos. So Xhosas took the name Molo from that saying of 'Morning, Molo' [...]

Qaqambile: So how did it come about that some called themselves amaMolo and others called themselves abeLungu or does it depend on what the individual chooses to call himself?

Mhlabunzima Mxhaka: I would put it that way; there is nobody that is forced to call themselves Molo or Mlungu. It is entirely up to you. For example we like being called abeLungu.

Somzana: For example I usually say Mlungu, Molo. I use both of them.

Katutu: Well us here, we accept both names, if you say Mlungu you are talking to me, if you say Molo you are talking to me. But it may be that those across the Mthatha River differ from us. Maybe it's them that divide these things (Mhlabunzima Mxhaka, Appendix A2.3).

It is therefore clear that despite written history having recorded the separate origins of abeLungu and amaMolo clans, contemporary amaMolo members consider themselves to have descended from a common ancestor even though they cannot demonstrate how this is so. Chief Mxhaka and Katutu Phangelo both spoke of the scattering of the clan in relation to the question about the connection between amaMolo and abeLungu, as in the following account by Mhlabunzima Mxhaka:

Interview Extract 6.1f

Mhlabunzima Mxhaka: Because men are men, [...Bhayi and Pita's] sons had wives and they were seeing local black girls and they got married. One of the sons made a girl pregnant but because he had other wives and this was not allowed, the girl went away to Mqanduli (her home) and had the child there. This son gave birth to children and the abeLungu at Mqanduli today are descended from him. [...]

[He] went away with his mother as a child. Once he got there, he started a nation that side. They called him Myuri. In the same way that Myuri started a nation, those who were left behind (Bhayi and Pita) also started nations of their own (Mhlabunzima Mxhaka, Appendix A2.2).

Katutu Phangelo related the same story:

Interview Extract 6.1g

Katutu: There beyond the Mthatha River, those who are there; it is a girl who went away impregnated by Poto. [...] They say that the baby that was carried by this woman who left here pregnant was Myuri by name. [...] So those are the descendants of Myuri. [...] They are found at Mqanduli and Xhora.

Qaqambile: Oh so those who are at Mqanduli and Xhora are of Myuri?

Katutu: Yes (Katutu Phangelo, Appendix A2.1).

Soga (1930:490) recorded Myuri as Bhayi's third son. However, in the oral tradition he is recalled as the illegitimate grandson of Bhayi who moved away *in utero* from his ancestral home and founded other sections of the abeLungu clan at Xhora and Mqanduli. It is indeed true that sections of the clan are to be found at both these places although in the latter case it is unlikely to be abeLungu Horner that is being referred to but abeLungu Buku (3.3).

6.2. AbeLungu Jekwa & Hatu

We came out of the sea. We are not a black people. We have white blood in our veins. Many years ago a vessel was wrecked at the mouth of the Lwambasa River in Eastern Mpondoland (Zali⁴⁰ (1889) in Kirby (1954:13)).

6.2.1. Early history of the clan

Like those of the amaMolo, oral accounts of the origin of the abeLungu clan are unanimous in asserting that the clan descended from shipwreck survivors, and also tend to recall where the shipwreck occurred, i.e. Lambasi Bay (see map 5.2). Unlike those of the amaMolo, except in the case of Bessie/Gquma, the accounts rarely mentioned the actual names of original clan forebears:

Interview Extract 6.2a

Albert: Well us abeLungu, they say we come from overseas. Old people say it was 1820. When we came here we were travelling with a ship. It was three white people. They got off at Lambasi. The third one got back on the ship because he had forgotten something. Two were left, it was a man and a girl. The story goes that the kings from Dudumayo found them. At the Nyawuzas in the land of Mqanduli when you are going towards Coffee Bay. They took them and kept them. They stayed and stayed and then the male white person married a black girl. Then came us from that marriage (Albert Skiti, abeLungu Jekwa, Appendix B2.5).

Interview Extract 6.2b

Vuthuza: You see abeLungu come from two white men. [...W]e come from Mpondoland at Lambasi. That's where we came out. At Lambasi. Even if we are chasing oxen we cry out "At Lambasi". When a woman is ululating, she shouts "At Lambasi, where we come from in Mpondoland" (Vuthuza Sitwayi, abeLungu Jekwa, Appendix B2.6).

⁴⁰ From a statement made by Zali, a member of the abeLungu clan, to Rev. William Soga in 1889. Zali's statement was found among Rev. William Soga's notes, and was in the possession of A.W. Pearce, the Senior Native Commissioner at Mthatha at the time Kirby was researching his paper. Pearce gave Kirby a certified copy of Zali's statement (Kirby, 1954:13).

Interview Extract 6.2c

Chief Ngubelanga Ngubechanti: From what I have heard, there was a shipwreck. This ship was coming from I'm not sure between Holland or Britain, but overseas. This ship, according to history wrecked at a place called Lambasi. Lambasi is at Ngqeleni. That's where it wrecked. Now history is telling us that in that shipwreck, a girl was left behind. The girl was named Bessie. This girl was taken to the *komkhulu* (Great place) of that side. History goes on to tell us that this girl got married there in that Komkhulu, but I'm not sure really which Komkhulu it really was but it appears that she got married there. Now, that's how our thing, us Mlungus, started. You see, the old people who would be able to tell you exactly how it happened, are no longer with us, but that's how we became, from that shipwreck. It was from that ship that was carrying white people that wrecked there at Lambasi. (Chief Ngubelanga Ngubechanti, abeLungu Hatu, Appendix C2.1).

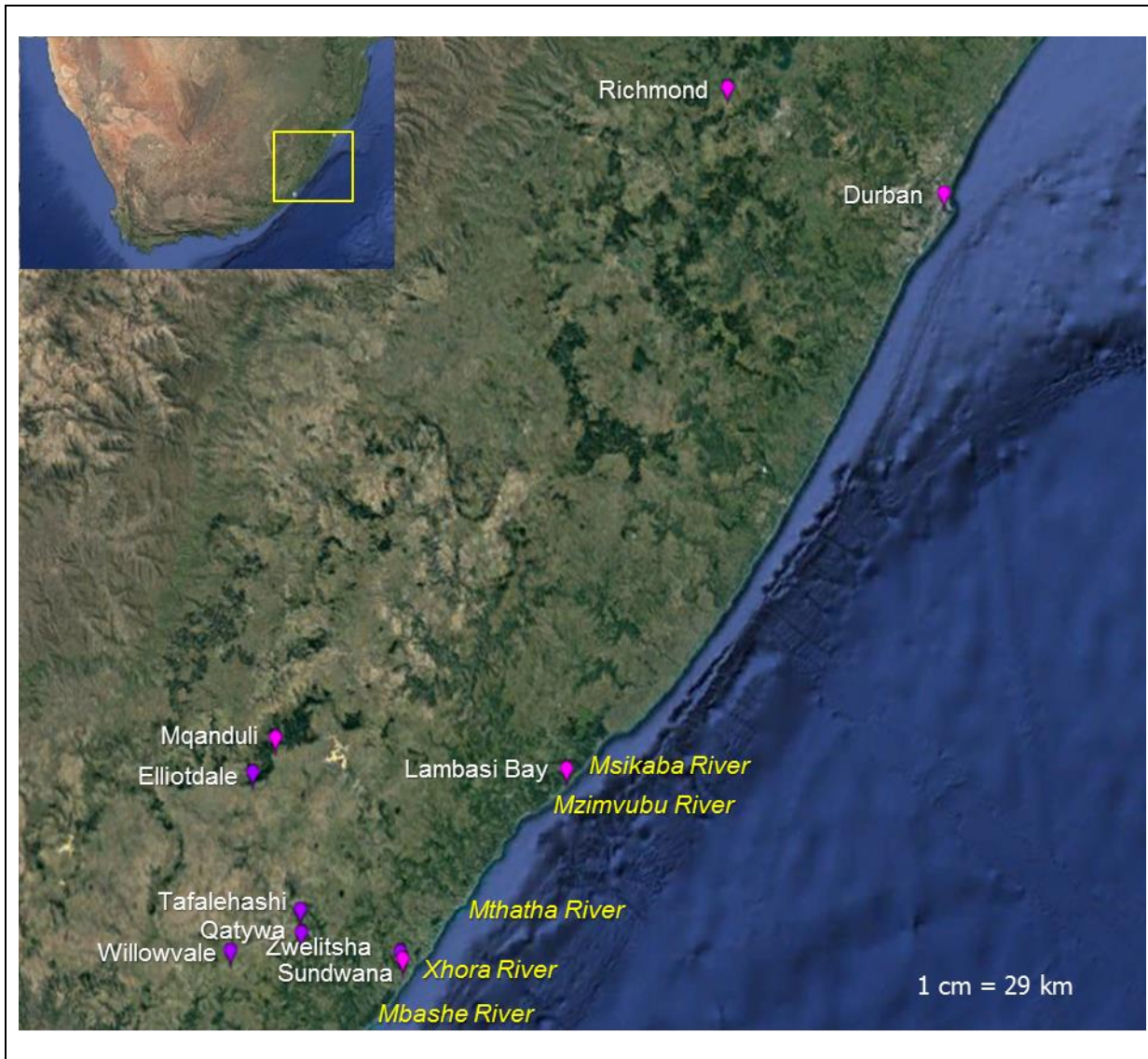
Soga's (1930:379) account reads as follows:

During the reign of Matayi, Paramount chief of Pondoland and father of Tshomane, the Ama-Nanga clan, under their chief Cimbi, was resident in the neighbourhood of the Lwambazo River, where one of the shipwrecks occurred. [...] Cimbi sent word to Matayi, informing the Paramount Chief that he had with him several white people, survivors who had come ashore from a wreck. They were four in number, three males and one female child. These the Natives named respectively, Bati, Jekwa, Hatu and Gquma. According to Native ideas, as they came from the same 'house' (viz. the ship), they were necessarily all relatives one of another. This need not, however, be accepted seriously. The two first named were supposed to be brothers, and the young girl Gquma was supposed to be the daughter of Bati. In course of time, Gquma was given in marriage to Xwebisa, or Sango, Principal Son of Tshomane of the AmaTshomane clan. Xwebisa was, therefore, grandson of the Paramount Chief, and in his own turn became later Paramount Chief of Pondoland. The dowry paid to Jekwa or Bati for Gquma is said to have been 300 head of cattle. Sometime after this, a vessel arrived off the mouth of the Lwambazo River and Bati decided to leave in her. [...] Bati made over his property to Jekwa.

Makuliwe's (c.1990) history of the abeLungu clan begins with the statement that "They are Bomvana who are pale in complexion which came as a result of whites mixing with blacks. They are white people who came from the sea because their ships had been wrecked."⁴¹ He cited a Broster (1973), who referred to the European origins of the clan, and Soga (1930), who noted that "[t]he girl was given the name 'Gquma' because she came out of the roaring waves of the sea", 'Gquma' meaning "roar of the waves" in English.⁴²

⁴¹ Translated from isiXhosa by Thulani Kraai and Janet Hayward.

⁴² Makuliwe mistakenly cited Tiyo Burnside Soga (1937) as the author of this latter quote, which is from the isiXhosa version of Soga's (1930) *The South-Eastern Bantu*, although not included in the English translation.



Map 6.2. AbeLungu historical

6.2.2. First encounters with colonists

The first encounter between abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu and colonists was documented by Theal (1897) who gave an account of an elephant hunter named Hermanus Hubner who together with others was 'massacred' in the 'Native Territories' in 1736 (Theal in Kirby, 1954:2). The party had allegedly 'had dealings' with three Englishmen who were shipwreck survivors. When, in 1790, a search party was sent in search of survivors from the wreck of the Grosvenor (6.1.2), the diarist Jacob van Reenen described their encounter with "a tribe of mixed breed descendants of people who had been shipwrecked (at Lambasi Bay) which Kirby (1954:2) surmised were part of the "same shipwrecked party" encountered by Hubner. Van Reenen described them as "a race which differs from the Kaffers, they being quite yellowish and having longer hair" whom

the party was told were “a kraal of Christian bastards [...] descended from people who had been shipwrecked” (*ibid.*). The search party encountered

three old white women, who could not speak any European language, and did not know to what nation they belonged, though from one of them being called Bessie, it was concluded that they were English. These women were wives of a petty chief, and had children and numerous grandchildren (*ibid.*).

One of the survivors of the wreck of the Grosvenor, William Hubberly, is believed to have also encountered the abeLungu, describing them as “a tribe of Natives quite different from those [...] hitherto encountered” (in Kirby, 1954:3).

6.2.3. Descent from a woman

As was seen in 5.1.2, abeLungu Jekwa, like amaMolo, recall female shipwreck survivors. Contrary to Soga’s (1930) account which spoke of Bessie having married the chief of the amaTshomane, she is now recalled as a key abeLungu Jekwa clan forebear. Some oral accounts corroborate Soga’s account of her having married, others relate a different story:

Interview Extract 6.2d

Mquba: Gquma was borne by Jekwa. [...] The girl, Gquma went to Bomvanaland, the Tshezi were given to her. This girl gave birth to men and girls and then they scattered. We came here [Sundwana] (Mquba Ketwana, abeLungu Jekwa, Appendix B2.3).

Interview Extract 6.2e

Nomqho: Hatu was with a girl and she gave birth to the Nogaya lot, they are also the abeLungu. Hatu took a wife and gave birth to his own children. He came with this girl. This girl also fell in love here and gave birth to the Nogaya’s. [...] Those of Nogaya are illegitimate. This girl who was with Hatu fell in love and gave birth to men outside marriage (Nomqho Same, abeLungu Hatu, Appendix C2.2).

The first extract (IE6.2d) recalls Bessie as Jekwa’s daughter which accords with documented history to the extent that she had originally been understood to have been the daughter of a third shipwreck survivor – Bati – but was given over to Jekwa on Bati’s departure. Also mentioned in IE6.2d, is Bessie’s marriage, although the clan into which she married is recalled as Tshezi rather than Tshomane as recorded in the documented accounts of Soga (1930), Kirby (1954) and Crampton (2004).



Figure 6.2. Mquba Ketwana of abeLungu Jekwa with his family

This conception of Bessie as matriarch of the abeLungu clan as a whole is not shared by all. Nomqho for example, in his explanation (IE6.2e) refers to the acceptance of a woman's illegitimate children into the clan of her father (which is also her clan), as discussed in 4.2.2, which explains how clan membership can be reckoned through the female line. It is not therefore the ability for a woman to confer her own clan-name onto her children that is unusual in the case of abeLungu Jekwa, but that a woman should have been recalled as a forebear despite having married out.

In IE6.2f below, the original abeLungu forebears are recalled not as Jekwa and Hatu, but by the names of their respective descendants, Nogaya and Yimatshe. Nogaya is further conflated with the perceived female founder of the abeLungu Jekwa clan section, once again suggesting that it is Bessie rather than Jekwa who is recalled as the original forebear.

Interview Extract 6.2f

Mandlenkosi: They say that we came out from the sea here. A man along with his sister came out of a ship. UNogaya and Yimatshe, those are the people that came out of the sea. They built this nation. [...]

The man was Yimatshe. Nogaya was a woman. We built in this land [...] We built here on top. Nogaya was left near the sea. [...]

They say we came from England (Mandlenkosi Ngqubethile, abeLungu Hatu, Appendix C2.6).

The perception of Bessie as clan forebear was not recorded by Soga, which suggests that it must have come about during the period between Soga's documentation of the origins of the abeLungu clan and the present day.

6.2.4. Settlement of Bomvanaland

Kirby and subsequent sources drew extensively from J.H. Soga's work and I will summarise the history of the abeLungu Jekwa from that provided by him. Referring to them as "the AbeLungu clan of Bomvanaland," Soga (1930:376) relates that the Bomvana have not always lived in their current location south of the Xhora River, and that their migration to this site involved the mediation of Nogaya, a member of the abeLungu clan. Oral history collected by Soga himself suggested that the earliest known location of the Bomvana had been in KwaZulu-Natal, perhaps in the Richmond area or possibly near Durban (*ibid.*:360) (see map 6.2). In 1650 when Njilo was chief of the Bomvana, his grandson Dibandlela, refused to pay tribute that Njilo demanded of him, took his followers and their cattle and fled to Mpondoland, where they remained for some 150 years (*ibid.*:361-2). It was during this period and Soga believes it most likely to have been either the Bennebroek⁴³ which wrecked in 1713 or some other wreck that went unrecorded, that three white men and a girl washed ashore at Lambasi Bay, who were subsequently incorporated into the amaBomvana clan.

Nogaya was the great-great grandson of Jekwa. By the time he was a young man, it was the early nineteenth century and the rightful heir to the Bomvana chieftaincy was Ngezana. Ngezana's uncle Gambushe was standing regent because Ngezana had been a child when his father died. In resulting disputes between Gambushe and Ngezana, the latter appealed to his father-in-law Ngqungqushe, paramount Chief of amaMpondo, for assistance. This was granted, but Ngqungqushe was killed in ensuing strife. Holding Gambushe responsible for his father's death, Faku, the son of Ngqungqushe attacked him in revenge. Gambushe, now an old man, decided to leave Mpondoland (*ibid.*:363-366). He called upon Nogaya, who traded in "blue-buck skins and *mtomboti* necklaces". As a trader, Nogaya travelled extensively, including to the great place (*komkhulu*) of King Hintsa, the Paramount Chief of the Gcaleka, in the Gatyana (Willowvale) district (*ibid.*:367). His travels took him through land lying between the Mthatha and Mbashe Rivers that had been vacated by the Gcaleka some sixty years previously and was now a no-man's land (*ibid.*:363). Nogaya negotiated with King Hintsa for the right of the Bomvana to occupy this territory. He was the first to put

⁴³ However Kirby (1954:21) points out that the fact that Gquma was allegedly "still alive in the nineteenth century proves that she could not have been on [...the *Bennebroek*] when she foundered in 1713".

forward an ox in payment thereof, followed by others. Gambushe contributed four oxen, and a total of ten were driven to Hintsa to finalise the agreement (*ibid.*:368-369). Zali, the elder of the abeLungu clan who spoke to John Henderson Soga's brother in 1889, recalled having been a child walking at his mother's side on this exodus from Mpondoland (Kirby, 1954:13) which must have taken place in approximately 1826.

It was not long before Faku, still seeking to avenge the death of his father, came to attack the Bomvana again. Failing the first time, he then called upon the Bhaca for help. Repeated attacks from combined Mpondo and Bhaca forces eventually drove the Bomvana across the Mbhashe River, where they sought refuge with the Gcaleka, remaining there for about thirty years. In 1856 when the "cattle-killing delusion" began, not allowing "common-sense to be over-ridden by superstition [...they] returned to the country bought from Hintsa, and from which they had been expelled by Faku." They have remained there to this day (Soga, 1930:371-373).

Aspects of this history are retained in the oral tradition:

Interview Extract 6.2g

Vuthuza: During the times of war we went away [from Mpondoland] and we came here. [...] It's Nogaya who bought land here. This is not the land of Tshezi. Even when you check the book at Xhora it will tell you that this is Nogaya's land, there is nothing to say that it is Tshezi's land. This is Nogaya's land. This whole thing has been buried. You see now when you are digging it up like this, the Tshezis will not like you. When you go to the town of Xhora you'll find a book there that says that this is Nogaya's land (Vuthuza Sitwayi, abeLungu Jekwa, Appendix B2.6).

Interview Extract 6.2h

Patawula: Us here in this land of Xhora, we came from across the Mthatha, that was Nogaya. He was with Gambushe. They reached a place called Tafalehashi. He was with a king. They wanted the land of Xhora across the Mbhashe at the Tshawes.⁴⁴ The king's horse got tired there, that's why it's called Tafalehashi. Nogaya left Gambushe there and walked across the Mbhashe River. He got to the Tshawe land. He got to King Hintsa. He reported that he's with a king, King Gambushe. The king's horse got tired on the way at Tafalehashi. Hintsa said, "That land is okay, it is not old but the king can get that land if I can get a beast that has colours that we are going to use to make the king's crown. Now you, you as the king's right hand man, you can make the first payment." Nogaya gave King Hintsa eight cows. By that he was buying this Xhora land, that's how Gambushe got this Xhora land. We, the Nogaya house, we built at Sundwana (Patawula Nokeku, Appendix B2.7).

⁴⁴ Clan-name of the royal Gcaleka house.

Patawula's account is remarkable both for its historical and biographical detail, and for the extent to which it accords with Soga's (1930) account. The exodus of abeLungu from Mpondoland (i.e.: the other side of the Mthatha River) under the leadership of Gambushe, the role of the abeLungu clan member Nogaya in negotiating with Hintsá for the land and the transfer of cattle to seal the deal all concur with Soga's version. The only significant difference concerns the number of cattle paid to Hintsá and how many of them were provided by Nogaya in that Soga spoke of ten cattle, only one of which was provided by Nogaya. Thus the threat to amaBomvana security mentioned by Soga as inducing them to move out of Mpondoland has been retained in the oral tradition, as has Nogaya's role in acquiring the land and his contribution to paying for it.

What is interesting in Vuthuza's account, is its allusion to conflict between the abeLungu and amaTshezi clans regarding ownership of the land. Soga (1930:383) cited the amaTshezi clan as the right hand house of the amaBomvana and Theal (1908:174) confirms Chief Gambushe of the amaTshezi clan as the chief of the amaBomvana at that time. Soga's reference to the incident spoke of Gambushe as chief of the Bomvana and Nogaya as negotiator for the land, implying that both played a role in the exodus of amaBomvana from Mpondoland, but not alluding to any conflict regarding land between the two Bomvana clans. I was not able to identify the "book at Xhora" to which Vuthuza referred. However, as land is usually held in trust by the paramount chief, who allocates it to other chiefs, who in turn allocate it to those living under them in a system of communal land tenure, the land occupied by amaBomvana would theoretically include sections for settlement by amaTshezi and abeLungu clan members – as indeed is the case. The conflict to which Vuthuza refers must therefore have ensued subsequent to Soga's recording of the amaBomvana history, and possibly as the result of a misunderstanding of the true role played by Nogaya which was as facilitator rather than prime mover. He contributed only one of the ten oxen given to Hintsá, four being provided by Gambushe himself, and the remaining five presumably by other amaBomvana men who recognised the authority of Chief Gambushe.

With the annexation of Mpondoland in 1894, as noted in Chapter 4, British colonial rule was imposed across the Transkei. This continued beyond the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, until the Nationalist Party won the whites-only election in 1948. The 1913 land act granted 7% of arable South African land to the black majority

in the Cape, somewhat relieved by the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act that was extended to the entire Union;⁴⁵ and from 1948 onwards, separate development was actively promoted, leading to construction of the Transkei 'independent' Bantustan in 1976 (with others to follow in short order). Over the same period, chiefs were first alienated from colonial government structures and then co-opted into the apartheid regime, which in some cases put them at loggerheads with their people and quite possibly also with each other. Any or all of these factors, not to mention others, might explain the land conflict between the amaTshezi and abeLungu chieftaincies alluded to by Vuthuza Sitwayi in IE6.2g. It is not however possible to do more than speculate on the matter here, and so it is the fact that a chieftaincy exists among the abeLungu, and that is located within abeLungu Hatu, that will now be considered.

6.2.5. Chieftaincy

It has already been seen that only antecedents of abeLungu Hatu are mentioned in the *Chiefs and Headmen Correspondence Files* (Chief Magistrate (Mthatha), Resident Magistrate (Elliotdale) 1910-1963) because the (largely) hereditary position of Headmanship was awarded to abeLungu Hatu – as indeed it was to amaMolo. In our first interview with Chief Ngubelanga, he referred to his chieftaincy:

Interview Extract 6.2i

Chief Ngubelanga: Now here, this side [Zwelitsha], we have a chieftainship. I don't know whether I can mention that.

Qaqambile: Yes, you can.

Chief Ngubelanga: This chieftainship started with my great grandfather, Mbali. Then after Mbali died, Sidumo reigned. Sidumo died and Mtshazi reigned and then Mtshazi's chieftainship name is Ngubechanti. Ngubechanti died when his time came and Bavumile reigned but he was temporary. He was holding for my father. Then Bavumile died. Then Jonginamba reigned. That's my father, Maqhekeza was his birth name. My father had died a long time ago. After he died, Ngubelanga reigned, which is me who is Nceba by birth name. So, we have a chieftainship that is in that order. The Mlungus here have a chieftainship because of this house, because of Mbali's house. Mlungus reign here (Chief Nceba Ngubechanti, abeLungu Hatu, Appendix C2.1).

This accords almost exactly with the information contained in the *Chiefs and Headman Files* which began with the death of Headman Mbali in 1918. It has been seen

⁴⁵ This act extended the land set aside for reserves to almost 13%, although this was never accomplished. At the same time it prohibited purchase or ownership of land outside the stipulated reserves (O'Malley, 2017).

that Colonial appointments of Headmen generally fell to men who were traditional leaders in their own right, most often the heads of local agnatic clusters. The promulgation of the Native Administration Act of 1927 gave the Governor-General power to appoint, recognise and remove chiefs, but even so, for the most part the appointment of Headmen took cognisance of the wishes of the people who generally preferred that the office be held either by their own clan elders or those of the predominant clan in the area. Having died in 1918, Mbali would not have been appointed under the new conditions brought in by the Native Administration Act. It is most probable that his position was supported by his people and presumably men belonging to other than the abeLungu clan

It was seen in 5.1.2 and 5.1.3, that although the abeLungu Hatu oral genealogy differs fairly markedly from the one recorded by Soga, both consider Hatu to have been junior to Jekwa. As a result, there is some confusion associated with the fact that an abeLungu chief was chosen from descendants of the latter. Not only is abeLungu Hatu genealogically junior to abeLungu Jekwa, but the house of Mbali is not the senior lineage of the abeLungu Hatu clan section. The abeLungu Hatu oral genealogy records Mbali – the first abeLungu ‘chief’ to have been recognised by colonial authorities – as the younger brother of Ncalelo, whose descendants live amongst those of Mbali and comprise participants of this research (5.1.3). The abeLungu Hatu oral tradition does not offer an explanation for the appointment of Mbali as Headman instead of his elder brother Ncalelo, but that of abeLungu Jekwa addresses the fact that the chieftaincy was awarded to abeLungu Hatu rather than themselves:

Interview Extract 6.2j

Vuthuza: This is Nogaya’s land [Sundwana]. Across there [Zwelitsha] are children of the younger son of Nogaya. Nogaya was a chief. He made his younger brother reign. He gave him the land that you are coming from, Zwelitsha. [...] This is Nogaya’s land. That is his younger brother at Zwelitsha. It’s two men, it’s the younger brother who’s reigning (Vuthuza Sitwayi, abeLungu Jekwa, Appendix B2.6).

Interview Extract 6.2k

Janet: Do you know the names [...] Mbali and Madlo?

Albert: Yes, those names are of Nogaya’s second house. Didn’t you say you were coming from [Chief] Ngubelanga’s home? These names are from there, they are the second house but because ancient people were not greedy they took the chieftaincy. Mbali took it. They are other abeLungu but we are one thing. The

difference is that one man will come from the great house, another man will come from another house and so on. But Mbali came from the second house (Albert Skiti, abeLungu Jekwa, Appendix B2.5).

The first thing that is evident from these interview extracts is that as noted earlier, neither of the names recorded by Soga (1930) as the abeLungu forebears – Jekwa and Hatu – appear. Instead, Nogaya, an ancestor of abeLungu Jekwa, is recalled as either the father or the elder brother of Mbali. Thus to some extent, in the popular imagination, Nogaya and Mbali – descendants of Jekwa and Hatu respectively – have been conflated with the original clan founders, Jekwa and Hatu. Nogaya and Mbali would not have been contemporaries, but were possibly alive at the same time. We know from Soga that Nogaya was a young man in the early 1800s and from the *Chiefs and Headmen Correspondence Files* (Chief Magistrate (Mthatha), Resident Magistrate (Elliotdale) 1910-1963) that Mbali died in 1918, meaning that he was probably born around the mid-1800s. This suggests that Nogaya was probably some 50 – 60 years older than Mbali, thereby confirming Nogaya as the senior agnate, but not explaining why the chieftaincy was awarded to abeLungu Hatu. It cannot be deduced exactly why a chieftaincy was conferred upon abeLungu Hatu, but it is apparent that from the perspective of abeLungu Jekwa, abeLungu Hatu descended from the same ancestor as themselves – Nogaya – but from a junior house, and consequently that as the senior house, they would have had to approve or allow it.

One possible explanation for the conferring of a chieftaincy on abeLungu Hatu is that it was simply an aspect of the British colonial government's strategy at that time, which involved alienating chiefs by appointing headmen. As has already been seen, such appointments were generally supported by local communities and were most commonly awarded to the senior kinsman of the predominant clan in the area, and frequently to chiefs themselves. It is possible therefore that abeLungu Hatu were more predominant in Qatywa than abeLungu Jekwa were in Sundwana and that the appointment followed from the application of colonial principles of demographic democracy rather than the genealogical hierarchy of the abeLungu clan.

6.2.6. Servants of the colony

Archival material sheds a little more light on some of Hatu's descendants because this chieftaincy – as in the case of amaMolo – has passed patrilineally down generations of the abeLungu Hatu clan section. Descendants of Hatu who were incumbent of this

position between the years of 1910 and 1963, like those of Bhayi, were the subjects of correspondence between colonial administrators which is preserved in the *Chiefs and Headmen Correspondence Files* of Qatywa, which is Administrative Area 24 of Elliotdale, held in the Mthatha Library Archives (Chief Magistrate (Mthatha), Resident Magistrate (Elliotdale) 1910-1963). The information in these files relates entirely to abeLungu Hatu forebears, the chieftaincy having been awarded to Mbali, the great-great grandfather of Ngubelanga Ngubechanti who is the current incumbent, and then remained within that clan section.

The first letter is dated 15 March 1918 and reports the death, two days previously, of Headman Mbali who, according to the abeLungu Hatu oral genealogy, was the great-great-grandfather of the current chief, Nceba Ngubelanga. The letter goes on to report that the "people of Mbali's location request that Sidumo Mbali be appointed to succeed his father as Headman of Qatywa, Elliotdale", pointing out that he had in any case been carrying out his father's duties for some years. Approval of the appointment of Sidumo Mbali was duly granted by the Department of Native Affairs. Headman Sidumo retired on a pension in 1938.

Sidumo's son, Ngubechanti Sidumo was then appointed Acting Headman of Qatywa Location. He died in 1946 when his son and heir, Maqekeza Ngubechanti was only 12 years old. His younger brother Bavumile Sidumo was therefore appointed Acting Headman until the rightful heir, Maqekeza Ngubechanti, had "reache[d] the age of 25 years, marrie[d] and otherwise prove[d] suitable for appointment". Headman Bavumile Sidumo died in 1953, upon which, his younger brother Mtsi was appointed Acting Headman, Maqekeza still being a minor.

Almost three years later, Mtsi fell afoul of the law when on the 1st February 1956 he was arrested by Constable Manie George Senekal for "wrongfully and unlawfully" supplying liquor to a "prohibited person" without a permit from the Magistrate. Section 1 of the Transkei Liquor Proclamation prohibited 'natives' from purchasing liquor, but Headmen received "letters of exemption" which permitted them to buy alcohol. As Acting Headman, Mtsi would have been eligible for such a permit. He was arrested not for possession, but because one, Siqeko Sinyuko – a so-called "prohibited person" – had previously been arrested for possession of a half bottle of Mellowood brandy. The brandy was said to have come from Mtsi and this was confirmed when Senekal checked his

letter of exemption which confirmed that he had indeed purchased two half bottles of Mellowood brandy that morning.

Mtsi's case was heard in court on February 2nd in the District of Elliotdale before Mr A. J. Wilson. Mtsi pleaded guilty, and was found guilty, being sentenced to a fine of £5 or 2 weeks imprisonment with compulsory labour. He paid the fine. The Resident Magistrate of Elliotdale appealed to the Chief Magistrate in Mthatha that as this was the first occasion on which Mtsi had erred, he should be severely reprimanded and warned, but not dismissed. This was condoned by the Department of Native Affairs but the Resident Magistrate of Elliotdale was instructed to cancel Mtsi's letter of exemption, which he duly did. Three years later in January 1959, the Commissioner for Native Affairs at Elliotdale wrote to the Chief Commissioner for Native Affairs in Mthatha requesting that Mtsi's acting appointment be terminated in favour of Maqokeza Ngubechanti, the rightful incumbent of the position. This implies that Maqokeza would have by that time have turned 25, married, and in other respects shown himself to be worthy of the position. The request received the approval of the Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development and Maqokeza commenced his duties as Headman of Qatywa Location on April 1st. Upon the death of Maqokeza, he was succeeded by his son Ngubelanga who is still in office.

6.2.7. Other abeLungu clan sections

It has already been seen that documented historical accounts of the origins of the amaMolo and abeLungu clans recorded them as descended from two different sets of forebears (recalled as Asian and European respectively), who may (or may not) have survived the same shipwreck, but settled among different Cape Nguni groups (Mpondo and Bomvana). Although the historical literature described them as two separate clans, they now consider themselves agnates, and the clan-name amaMolo is understood as synonymous with abeLungu. AmaMolo oral tradition explained the existence of abeLungu Jekwa, Hatu and Buku as the descendants of Myuri who is recalled as the illegitimate son of one of Bhaiyi's sons, whose mother returned to her home in Bomvanaland while pregnant. AbeLungu Jekwa similarly account for the presence of their 'agnates', the amaMolo:

Interview Extract 6.2l

Ngubelanga: Now, it is said that old people (from back then) were travelling on foot. Other AbeLungu were left there at Ngqeleni. Ja, as you hear, they say Mamolweni, those are abeLungu there. Then others came this side, walking this side. On the way they were leaving some of them behind. There were no cars then. Other AbeLungu are across that (Xhora) river. That area there, all the way down to Ngqeleni, are AbeLungu. They were left there. Then our great grandfathers crossed the river and came this side, came to build here where we are today (Chief Ngubelanga Ngubechanti, abeLungu Hatu, Appendix C2.1).

Interview Extract 6.2m

Mquba: [A]fter the wreckage of the ship, these people came out and they were scattered. And then some were borne by men, for example the Bhayi's you were talking about. And we were borne by a woman. But we all come from Jekwa (Mquba Ketwana, abeLungu Jekwa, Appendix B2.3).

6.3. AbeLungu Horner

Even those who call themselves Molo and Sukwini came out from these wrecks. We ourselves came from Horner. These men came out at many places: Coffee Bay, Hole in the Wall, Mdumbi, Cape Town and many places. They settled and married and there is now a nation of them (Mlungisi Horner, Appendix D2.1).

6.3.1. Origins of abeLungu Horner

The descendants of Alfred Horner are not unanimous in the stories they tell of him and how he came to live at Mapuzi, Mqanduli, as can be seen from the following:

Interview Extract 6.3a

Mlungisi: Horner is the son of Henry who was a German soldier. Horner's ship was wrecked near Coffee Bay. He married a girl from the Mlungu clan, a girl from Hlahla, Nompalo near Hayville, near Hole in the Wall (Mlungisi Horner, Appendix D2.1).

Interview Extract 6.3b

Cecil: When he [Alfred Horner] came here he was a soldier. He came here during the wars of Dingane. I think it was 1834 or something. And then he never went back to England. He came from England. This I was asking my father. He came from England and came here and bought a shop there at Mapuzi. After that he stayed. In those times there was no *mnqushu* or rice, people were eating mealies. When he stayed there he bought a hundred and something sacks of mealies. After buying these he stored them and then a big rain came and then those mealies were ruined. After the mealies were ruined, he moved from there and went to build there by that house. [...] When he moved from where the shop was, he moved there and then he married a girl from Zithulele. It is this girl that gave birth to our fathers.

Qaqambile: What was her clan-name?

Cecil: She was MaMganu. What I do not know was whether she was black or not because I never saw their photos, I won't lie to you. Where Alfred was born, my father even told me the street. He said it was at Liverpool. He even told us the street but now I have forgotten it (Cecil Horner, Appendix D2.2).

Interview Extract 6.3c

Weldon: My grandfather, Alfred Horner came from Scotland, German. He was travelling by ship and then they went and went and then a strong wind came when they were by Xhora mouth. The wind blew them out of the sea. And then they survived and they came out. And then when they came out they were welcomed by Africans. [...] And then another ship came. Many others went back and my grandfather [...] Alfred Horner [...] said that he would not go back there, that land is too small, houses are being built on top of others. Here the land is beautiful and spacious and people are happy and the soil is fertile. And then he got a black girl from Hlahla, Nompalo and he stayed at her home, he was kept there. And then from there, he came here to Mapuzi and built a shop, it is still there (Weldon Horner, Appendix D2.6).

Although there is widespread reference to Alfred Horner having been a trader, there are few other details about the origins of abeLungu Horner that agree across different accounts. For instance it appears that Alfred Horner or perhaps his father Henry might have had some military connection, but there is no consensus on either the army or the war involved. Neither is there any clarity regarding where Alfred – or his father – originated from, with apparent confusion between Great Britain and Germany.

It is interesting to note that in 1858, The British German Legion, a contingent of German soldiers, with their wives and children settled in various parts of the Eastern Cape, then known as 'Kaffraria'. (Schwär, 1985). They had been recruited by Britain during the Crimean War, following which some enlisted for dispatch to South Africa as military settlers (*ibid.*:12). The circumstances of this settlement is described by Schwär (1985) in *Germans in Kaffraria*, which also collates passenger lists of the settlers, among whom is one, Carl Horn. Horn, whose trade was categorised as "peasant," was born in Weggun, Uckermark in Prussia. On 31 August 1858, at the age of 28, he, together with his wife Frederike and one child, left Hamburg onboard the Wandrahm, arriving at east London on December 6th.



Figure 6.3. Themba Horner of abeLungu Horner and family

From the two documents pertaining to the abeLungu Horner clan forebear that were identified (4.2.1), it is known from Henkel's *Transkei Mercantile Directory* (1903), that in 1903, Alfred Horner was trading at Mapuzi in the Mqanduli district, and from a Notarial Bond,⁴⁶ that he had been doing so since at least 1898. The bond was Horner's acknowledgment of a debt of £250.00 to a certain Mr William Black, and his pledge of the Insurance policy on the "Buildings and Premises and the goods in the trading Station known as the Mapuzi Trading Station" as collateral security against non-payment. The difference between the arrival of Carl Horn (1858) and the earliest known record of Alfred Horner (1898) is 40 years, making it possible that he might have been the father or grandfather of Alfred Horner. As a white minority in a British-dominated area the German settlers were motivated to assimilate, and this was accelerated by the anti-German feeling after 1914. A name-change from Horn to Horner might have occurred in the circumstances (Palmer 2017). Although the oral recall of Alfred's father's name as 'Henry' against 'Carl' suggests that such speculations are unfounded, parallels between other aspects of the oral tradition and the settlement of The British German Legion in the Eastern Cape, and the tendency already observed for oral tradition to involve just such transformations, justify the consideration of this possibility.

6.3.2. Life and times of Alfred Horner

During the period of this research, the Mapuzi Trading Store has alternated between being open and closed for business, although primarily the latter, conceivably as various people have tried their hands at trading. It cannot be deduced when exactly ownership

⁴⁶ The Notarial Bond (Appendix D4) is lodged at the Cape Archives and was passed in Cape Town on April 29 1898 before a Notary Public by the name of Casper Hendrik Van Zyl. Alfred Horner was not present but had authorised by Power of Attorney, a man by the name of William Templar Buis to appear on his behalf.

and management of the business passed out of the hands of Horners but they are no longer involved. The descendants of Alfred Horner still live in the Mapuzi neighbourhood however, and when they speak of their forebear, 'Horner', it is to Alfred that they are referring. As will be seen, most abeLungu Horner, specifically the nine homesteads in the survey who live at Mapuzi have 'adopted the customs of their mothers' and live according to (some of) the tenets of Xhosa culture. Others, in particular Weldon Horner from Ntshilini, while not entirely relinquishing traditional beliefs, only express them when required and for the most part identifies as coloured rather than Bomvana.

The oral history of Alfred Horner asserts that that he married a local woman who bore him seven sons and three daughters, many of whose descendants still live at Mapuzi, with others just across the Mthatha River a short distance away at Ntshilini. The informants recall Alfred's wife as belonging to two different clans, amaGanu and abeLungu. In the case of the former, his entrance into the abeLungu clan would presumably have been based on the circumstance of his being a white man marrying into the culture, as had been the case with Jekwa and Hatu. If his wife belonged to the abeLungu clan, this circumstantial similarity would have been enhanced by ensuing affinal links. In effect, the principles of illegitimacy – i.e. belonging to the maternal grandfather's clan – would have applied to his children despite his being married to their mother. Whether or not he would have been considered a putative member of the clan cannot be speculated on, but in practice such a situation – whereby both spouses have the same clan-name – would be unthinkable due to the laws of incest.

6.3.3. Surviving shipwreck

Alfred Horner entered the Bomvana culture approximately one hundred years after Jekwa and Hatu, by which time the abeLungu clan was long and well established. Like them, he married into the culture and is recalled by descendants in oral histories and genealogies as well as ritual practice. By 1903, he was trading at Mapuzi Store, by which time Coffee Bay and the rest of the Transkeian Territories were well provisioned with roads and other means by which colonial administration, trade and commerce could be conducted, and it is therefore likely that Alfred Horner arrived at Mapuzi overland. Some oral accounts (IE6.3a & c) however, tell of his being shipwrecked, and thus echo the refrain of original abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu and amaMolo clan sections of surviving shipwreck. The idea that Alfred Horner survived shipwreck has been woven into

abeLungu Horner clan mythology, and coexists with more personal stories about him as a trader.

6.3.4. Other abeLungu clan sections

AbeLungu Horner recall Alfred Horner as their forebear and their oral histories do not account for other abeLungu clan sections such as amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu in terms of shared antecedents. Despite being considered members of the abeLungu clan therefore, the doctrine of common descent seems less relevant in this case, possibly due to the significant lapse in time between the incorporation of other abeLungu forebears and that of Alfred Horner.

6.4. AbeLungu Fuzwayo

We are abeLungu, we are not black people entirely, but a nation that changed (*kwajika uhlanga*). What I mean is we were created by a white person. His clan-name was Mlungu and he mixed with the black people. We are abeLungu (Nomlinganiso Smayile, abeLungu Fuzwayo, Appendix E2.3).

As was seen in 5.1.5, the genealogical knowledge of abeLungu Fuzwayo was scant, and their historical knowledge is equally so. In the case of the original abeLungu clan sections, despite the fact that certain branches live considerable distances away from the chieftaincies at Mamolweni and Zwelitsha and the heartland of abeLungu Jekwa at Sundwana, many clan members are nonetheless able to trace their genealogical connections to clan founders, which are publically recognised. AbeLungu Fuzwayo on the other hand can trace no further back than their apical ancestor, Fuzwayo himself, and do not know whether he descended from Jafiliti, Jekwa, or Hatu, or indeed whether their clan affiliation was acquired through some other means, such as in the case of abeLungu Horner (6.3). The nature and history of the affiliation of abeLungu Fuzwayo into the abeLungu clan is not only unclear to members of the clan section themselves, but is also unknown to elders of amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa clan sections who were unable to indicate whether or not Fuzwayo fitted into their respective genealogies. For these reasons, abeLungu Fuzwayo have been considered a separate section of the abeLungu clan.

The first time we visited Tshani was early in our research and we were directed to the home of MaNtshilibe, the widowed second wife of Mfana Ntlangano. She greeted me with a hug – the first of many abeLungu and their wives to express kinship with me, a white woman, on our very first acquaintance. No men were present that day, and we

left word of what our mission was and that we would return another time. When we did so, we found that a family meeting had coincidentally been scheduled for the same day. At first we thought this boded well for our research but as can be seen in the interview (Appendix E2.1), the opposite transpired. In general, although a number of abeLungu Fuzwayo men were present, they appeared reluctant to speak and their answers to our questions were scanty. On subsequent visits, and after we had spoken to Nomlinganiso Smayile (née Ntlangano) and her brother Dentsewula who belong to the eldest surviving generation of abeLungu Fuzwayo, we were forced to acknowledge that having lived in relative isolation from other abeLungu clan sections, their knowledge regarding its origins really are minimal and that the apparent hesitation evident during the first interview was not context-specific but indicative of a more general uncertainty among abeLungu Fuzwayo regarding the history of the abeLungu clan and their place in it.

Despite this uncertainty, the essentials of the abeLungu story are nevertheless retained by members of abeLungu Fuzwayo as is revealed in the following interview extracts:

Interview Extract 6.4a

Nodzeyi: Well in my opinion, we became abeLungu – they say a ship wrecked and a man came out and that man met with blacks and he stayed with them and mixed and then abeLungu came about. That’s what I heard. Well, I won’t speak again now because I am just telling you what I heard.

Qaqambile: Do you know the name of the man who came from the ship?

Nodzeyi: Well, I won’t lie to you. I really do not know. Why don’t you ask other people here? I am really confused. [...]

Qaqambile: Ok. I want to ask you where did your people come from before you built here?

(Silence.)

Mthiyeni: Yho! No. Don’t you know Mbasthewula? (Gedasi). Do you know where we’re coming from? Maybe we came from Mpondoland or Bomvanaland. Because I hear that there are abeLungu clans there at Cala and Mamolweni.

Qaqambile: We now realise that the Mlungu clan is really scattered. But we have found that those who are at Njela trace their roots to Mamolweni. So do you come from Mamolweni or do you have another place that you come from?

Gedasi: [...] When I was born, these houses were already here. I do not know where they were before. I heard rumours of Xhora and I don’t know where they were coming from before Xhora. Those who are of Mamolweni say Bhayi and

Bhayi is a man who came from overseas. Well, that's what I heard when I was growing up.

(Silence)

Qaqambile: Is there anybody here who knows exactly how many white people came out of the sea?

Gedasi: We wouldn't have knowledge of that because as we said, we were young. We wouldn't know who started by doing what.

Qaqambile: So there is no one who knows the story of the men who came out of the ship?

(Silence)

Mthiyeni: No, no one here because we are all young (abeLungu Fuzwayo, Appendix E2.1).

Only the kernel of the abeLungu story is retained in abeLungu Fuzwayo accounts of their forebears: that a white shipwreck survivor had children with local Xhosa women from whom they are descended. No names are remembered, neither of the place where the shipwreck occurred, nor of original forebears. Even the names and origins of more recent ancestors are unknown, although there is an awareness of other abeLungu at Xhora and Mamolweni and that the latter are descended from Bhayi.

6.5. AbeLungu histories (*iimbali*)

While certain factors are not recalled with much clarity or do not readily agree across different oral accounts of clan section histories, other elements recur, such as the survival of shipwrecked white people, the intermarriage of these survivors with the Xhosa amongst whom they found themselves, and the movement – or scattering – of the AbeLungu clan members descended from such unions. It is also clear however that beyond a basic framework which is more-or-less consistent, there are other details which change from one account to another or incidents that are recounted by some informants but not others. In addition, some informants admit to not being entirely sure about certain details, many indicating that such knowledge was in the possession of old people who have since died. The chapter will conclude by reiterating those aspects of these historical accounts that contribute to the themes and questions outlined in 5.7.3.

6.5.1. Theme 1: The process by which foreigners become natives

The process of integration of the original exogenous clans into the Cape Nguni cultural context involved a moulding of their oral histories according to endogenous clan

conventions. As already discussed in 5.7.2, one means by which this occurred was in the construction of clan synonyms (*izithakhazelo*). The implication in Mxhaka's statement (6.1a), that the names of foreign places might be understood as to some extent interchangeable is potentially suggestive of a similar process. It will be recalled that more than one clan synonym is usually associated with any given clan, each of which refers equally to the original clan ancestor (5.7.2). Similarly, place names may constitute social rather than geographical categories, so that Portugal and England function as synonyms for European ancestry rather than references to discrete places. This is underlined by Chief Mxhakha's assertion that "We just know that we are coming from overseas and overseas to us is England. Even if it's India, to us it's still England" (Appendix A2.3).

A second way in which existing clan conventions and ideologies shape the construction of oral tradition of exogenous clans relates to the key concept of common descent in the context of patrilineal clan membership. The two original abeLungu clan sections – amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu – share a common history of having survived shipwreck, possibly the same shipwreck. They are described by historians such as Soga (1930), Kirby (1954) and others, as two separate clans, but now consider one another agnates, members of the abeLungu clan, with amaMolo retaining their original clan name as a clan synonym. Over the sixty to eighty years that have elapsed between Soga's recording of oral history, and that collected recently, two clans originally noted precisely because of their unusual origins, which although similar were nevertheless separate, are now considered – and consider themselves to be – agnates of one another.

The shift from two discrete clans to two sections of one clan has been accompanied by another shift involving racial identification/categorisation. Soga (1930) described amaMolo as having Asian ancestry, which was corroborated by accounts of interaction between certain colonists and members of the clan documented by Kirby (1954). Contemporary amaMolo agnates and their communities, and Makuliwe's (c. 1990) informants on the other hand associated amaMolo with white European ancestors. This second shift can be explained with reference to the first: clan fusion necessitated the merging of discrete ethnic and geographical origins due to the principle of common descent. Since all clan members are believed to have descended from a common forebear, it follows in the case of the abeLungu clan, that a single individual can only have belonged to one race and hailed from one country. Hence the subsequent fusion

between the amaMolo and abeLungu clans required that the eponymous Mlungu assume one identity, which transpired to be European. This conceptualisation of a single abeLungu ancestor is epitomised by Nomlinganiso Smayile (Appendix E2.3) in the opening quotation of 6.4, where in the absence of an actual name for the original founder of abeLungu Fuzwayo, she applied the local convention of envisaging it to have been 'Mlungu'.

The necessity for clan histories to demonstrate the clan principle of common descent is further underlined by the way in which amaMolo and the older abeLungu clan sections all account for one another and other abeLungu clan sections as descendants of their own original forebear. Thus each clan section recalls its own history and forebears while simultaneously accounting for other clan sections as agnates. AbeLungu Horner, by contrast, as much more recent entrants in to the clan, make no attempt to account for themselves as descended from a common abeLungu forebear or for other abeLungu clan sections as descended from Alfred Horner, presumably because their incorporation is too recent to warrant such a stretching of reality.

On the other hand, a sense of common history if not descent is evident in some accounts of abeLungu Horner clan history. The relatively recent incorporation of the Horners into the abeLungu clan appears to have had certain consequences, for example an apparent ambivalence about membership to the abeLungu clan at all, as will be discussed in 9.4.1 and 10.2. At the same time, despite the fact that many abeLungu Horner agnates recall their forebear as having been a trader – as verified by archival documents – others recall him as having survived shipwreck. This suggests that the integration of the Horners into the abeLungu clan has involved the absorption of some tenets of broader clan mythology into their oral history, thus providing a sense of common history even though this was probably not the case. Once again, this highlights the way in which oral tradition mirrors not only history but also social tradition.

In the case of the older abeLungu clan sections, clan mythology exists both at a broader ideological level in which each clan is believed to have descended from one particular forebear and at the individual clan level in which the stories and attributes of individual progenitors – for example that they came from Europe – comprise the content of each clan's unique mythology. Canons drawn from broader clan ideology, in this case that of Cape Nguni clans in general, are not understood to be inconsistent with what is remembered about the actual clan progenitors and separate – although similar and

possibly related – clan histories. Despite having most probably descended from multiple forebears who hailed from Asia as well as Europe, abeLungu clan mythology – or oral history – conforms to the general principles of the Cape Nguni clan; that despite being scattered over geographical space and unable to indicate how it is so, all clan members descend from a single common ancestor. The broader clan ideology of descent from a single forebear holds true in spite of different histories and clan forebears.

6.5.2. Theme 2: The production and preservation of knowledge

This collation of the products of different modes of historical recall contributes in two ways to the theme of what constitutes knowledge and how it is shaped and preserved. The first relates to the documentation of oral tradition. With the exception of that contained within archives of colonial documentation, and to a limited extent the diary or other accounts of white explorers, the documented history referred to in this chapter [Soga, 1930, Zali (in Kirby, 1954), Makuliwe (c. 1990)] has been for the most part transcription of oral history. This chapter and other ethnographic chapters, as well as much of the appendices, similarly document oral tradition. These renderings of the oral into text, while attempting to freeze something inherently dynamic, and inevitably privileging certain voices over others, nevertheless constitute a valid and valuable mode of knowledge production, one frequently acknowledged and appreciated by the participants of this research.

The second way in which material cited in this chapter contributes to Theme 2, is in the form of a stark demonstration of the extent to which what is preserved, how and why it is created, is a product of its context, in this case the British colonial machine. Having had chieftaincies conferred upon them during the colonial era, certain minor biographical details about amaMolo and abeLungu Hatu Headmen serving during this period were gleaned from letters written between Regional Magistrates in Ngqeleni and Elliotdale respectively, and Chief Magistrates in Mthatha. These brief snippets alluding to the services of appointed Headman, tell little about the men themselves. The files are more informative about the nature of some of the constraints that were placed on inhabitants of the 'Native Territories' and also reveal aspects of the obsequious absurdity of regional Magistrates who for example felt it appropriate to describe the reporting of the death of a Headmen as "an honour". Bureaucratic triviality is illuminated more fully than the lives or interests of the men about whom we are here concerned.

6.5.3. NRY questions

The question of the identity of the abeLungu Jekwa clan founder was further considered in 6.2.3, which as will be recalled, constituted NRY Question 2: Are abeLungu Jekwa descended from Jekwa or Gquma? (5.7.3). Two additional NRY questions were posed in 5.7.3. This chapter contributes two more, questions five and six:

- Were the amaMolo forebears of Asian or European descent?
- Do abeLungu Fuzwayo share forebears with amaMolo or abeLungu Jekwa?

7. Other clan histories (*iimbali*)

[T]hose people who came out [of the sea]: we have the Ogle family; this homestead (amaThakha); and the France family; and amaCaine. But amaCaine are not here (Rhole), they are at Mbotyi (wife of Mthathiswa Nkunde, amaThakha, Appendix J2.2).

The other clans whose members participated in this research are those descended from European entrants into the culture who founded new clans. In the case of amaCaine and amaOgle, the surnames of clan founders were taken as clan names, making it possible to link the clans with their ancestors, the historical characters John Cane and Henry Ogle, whose roles in the establishment of Durban have been substantially documented. AmaFrance and amaIrish express their European ancestry through reference to European nationalities, and although one branch of amaFrance use the surname 'Richards' and amaIrish have retained the surname 'Beresford', no definitive links could be established between these names and historical characters. Contemporary members of amaThakha have not retained any obviously European names. This chapter will collate documented and oral histories of amaCaine and amaOgle, and present the oral histories of amaFrance, amaIrish and amaThakha. Once again, it will conclude by considering how observations stemming from the documentation and analysis of various historical sources undertaken in the chapter contribute to the themes outlined previously (5.7.3).

7.1. AmaCaine & amaOgle

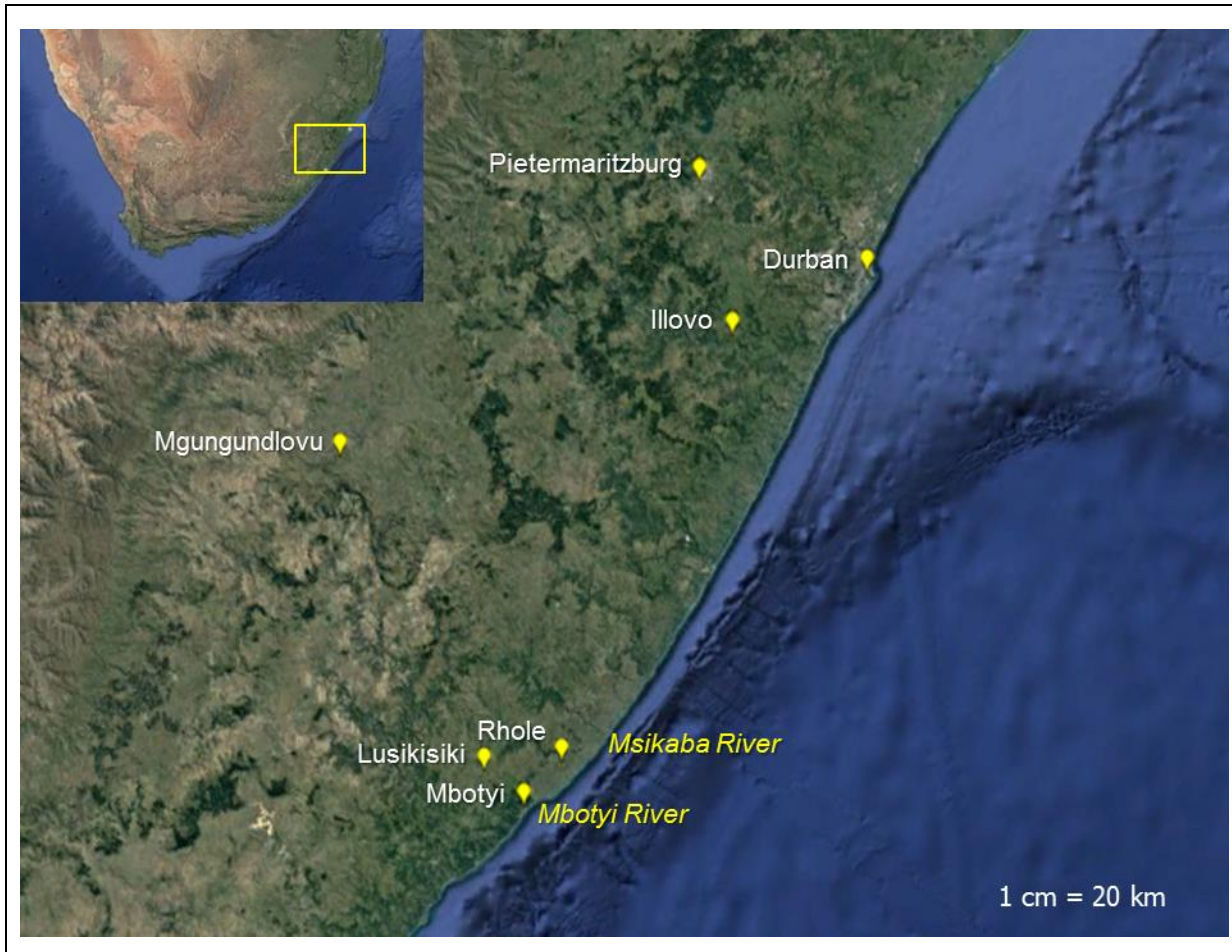
There were three of them: Dean Ogle, Love-it Caine and Dukuza Math who were left by a ship that was wrecked at Port St Johns. They went to Lusikisiki and mingled with black people and stayed behind (Mary Richards née Caine, Appendix F2.9).

7.1.1. Establishment of Port Natal

In 1824, having obtained permission from Lord Charles Somerset⁴⁷ to establish a trading settlement at the Bay of Natal, Lt Francis Farewell interested Henry Francis Fynn and 24 others in the venture. The advance party included Henry Ogle and sailed from Cape Town aboard the *Julia*, under the leadership of Fynn. They arrived at Port Natal in May 1824 (Ballard 1989:118, Gadsden 1974:10, de Kock *et al.* 1968:522). Lt Farewell and

⁴⁷ Governor of the Cape Colony from 1814 until 1826.

the rest of the party, including John Caine and Thomas Halstead, followed on the *Antelope*, arriving two months later (Gadsden *op cit.*:10, Leverton 1974:25, O’Byrne Spencer 1987:31).



Map 7.1. Caine and Ogle historical

Fynn⁴⁸ and Farewell, accompanied by Ogle, almost immediately opened negotiations with Shaka, and on August 24th, the Zulu king ceded approximately 3500 square miles of land surrounding Port Natal to “F.G. Farewell and Company”. Ogle was one of the signatories on the deed of cession (de Kock et al *op cit.*:522, Gordon *op cit.*:23). On the 27th, the Union Jack was hoisted in celebration of British acquisition of the territory, and on the 7th of September, nine of the party of settlers embarked on

⁴⁸ Dinya (Webb & Wright, 1976:96-97) recounted that when Fynn (on horseback) first arrived at a Zulu homestead, he caused “women etc. all to run away. They said his hair was like cattle tails. [...] The extraordinary thing to the natives was this strange being on top of another strange animal”. When Fynn was brought before the Zulu monarch, Shaka ordered that he undress and put on his own royal loin cover. “This was done, and Fynn presently appeared in the garb of a Zulu, his flesh as white as milk, only be to called ‘Mbulazi of the Bay, the long-tailed finch that came from Mpondoland’, this being the praise-name made up by Shaka.

the *Julia's* return voyage to Cape Town. She subsequently sailed back to Port Natal, whereupon a further eleven of the original settlers decided to return to Cape Town with her. She was wrecked however on the voyage, and there were no survivors (Gadsden *op cit.*:11). Fynn, Cane and Ogle were three of the six original settlers to remain at Port Natal, where they set about hunting and trading. Farewell made frequent trips to King Shaka, supplying him with medical and other goods with the result that "the settlers held a strangely privileged position, regarded by the Zulus as being under their ruler's protection" (Gadsden *op cit.*:12). This initial cordiality and patronage is perhaps reflected in this account by Ogle's descendant, Theresa Ogle:

Interview Extract 7.1a

Theresa: When Shaka got [to the amaOgle forebears] he said, "These animals should not be killed because these animals are mine." Then he took them back home and gave them a beast. Then when Shaka said this beast must be captured [and killed], the white people said, "No, don't capture it." And then they shot it. Shaka didn't know anything about guns, he only knew spears.

Back then, people were wearing things called *izigaga*⁴⁹. These white men gave Shaka a blanket. Back then clothing was called *imibhalo* (Theresa Ogle, Appendix G2.1).

Theresa's testimony aligns with documented accounts that Cane and Ogle arrived during the rule of Shaka, which was indeed the case. She also mentioned that the settlers at first received his protection and that the white men gave Shaka a blanket, echoing documented history in which it is recorded that Farewell provided Shaka with goods.

Some chiefdoms that had been dislocated by Shaka's wars sought protection from these white traders who "organised [... them] along African political lines, separated into villages acknowledging individual traders as their chiefs" (Ballard *op cit.*:118, de Kock *et al. op cit.*:523). This would have been in accordance with the shift from "kinship-based" to "territorially-based" authority described by Hammond-Tooke (1975:29) which occurred sometime after the Nguni tribes had settled in Southern Africa. Genealogical authority exerted over people was replaced by chiefly authority exerted over land, leading to relationships of "quasi-clientship" between "strangers seeking political protection" and those who could offer it. It was a "short step" from

⁴⁹ Animal skins.

offering "allegiance and service" to a non-kinsman to giving him "political loyalty" in exchange for "economic protection". A chief who had a large number of followers was better able to attract more. Thus Fynn, Cane and Ogle each came to govern large numbers of Zulus who had fled Shaka. As far as Shaka was concerned, the white traders were "client chiefs" and as such he expected them to "render 'service' to the Zulu state, like other tributary chiefs within the Zulu political orbit" (Ballard *op cit.*:118). In 1828, James Collis arrived at the Port and became a leading merchant (Keegan 1996:192, O'Byrne Spencer *op cit.*:150, Webb & Wright 1976:99). He and other traders who also arrived around that time, such as Daniel Charles Toohey and Richard (Dick) King "also gathered refugees and fugitives from the Zulu kingdom as clients" (Ballard *op cit.*:118).

Relations between Dingane and the settlers began to deteriorate in the early 1830s and worsened considerably between 1835 and 1837. However Dingane apparently required the settlers' military power as much as they needed his favour. In spite of their unsettled relations with the Zulu monarch, they continued to come to his military assistance when required. Towards the end of 1837, a new player entered the field. Voortrekkers or Boers from the Cape Colony, under the leadership of Pieter (Piet) Mauritz Retief and Gerrit Maritz arrived in the area. The British settlers welcomed them, realising that if they formed an alliance with them against the Zulus, they might be able to escape the economic and political control exercised over them by Dingane, and possibly establish their own government independent of the Cape Colony.

In January 1838, Retief visited Dingane with the intention of securing permanent boundaries for a Boer settlement in Natal. The Boers, "walked about the kraal unharmed" for the first two days. On the morning of February 6th, the king ordered his men to seize the Boers who were carried off and massacred while Dingane called out "*Bulala amatakati* (kill the wizards)". The Boers' wives and children who were in wagons some distance away were also killed (Wood 1965:380-1). According to Collenbrander (1989:85), Dingane was motivated by a threatening letter he had received earlier from Retief, who also refused to hand over firearms to Dingane, and taunted the king with a mock cavalry charge (*ibid.*:93).

Thomas Halstead, who had been interpreting between Retief and Dingane was killed in the massacre, as was another settler, George Biggar. Halstead and Cane's association had dated from at least 1824 when they arrived at Port Natal together on the second ship. By 1838, many men had come and gone, others had perished along

the way, but Cane, Halstead, Ogle, and Fynn had endured. Dinya (Webb & Wright *op cit.*:110) described Halstead as “a European, of slight build, tall” and although he had a kraal at the Illovu River, he also spent some time living with John Cane (*ibid.*:110-1). He was much younger than Cane.⁵⁰ When he died, John Cane was strongly of the view he ought to have been saved. It was the killing of this young man which led to Cane’s taking up arms against the Zulus (*ibid.*).

About five weeks after the massacre, a force calling themselves the Locusts set out under the command of Cane to “aveng[e] the deaths of Halstead and Biggar” (Wood, *op cit.*:383). On arrival at Ndongakusuka village, the settler army was surrounded by a Zulu force under the leadership of Dingane’s brother Mpande, and almost entirely annihilated. Only four settlers - one of whom was Dick King - and about 500 Zulus survived. John Cane and George Biggar’s brother Robert also fell (Ballard *op cit.*:122, O’Byrne Spencer *op cit.*:34, Wood *op cit.*:385). Cane had advanced the king’s interests as diplomat and as army captain, and faced numerous other dangers. When he died at the Battle of Ndongakusuka, it was having taken up arms against the king he had fought for repeatedly over the past fourteen years.

Ogle had not been in the force that was decimated at the battle of Ndongakusuka⁵¹, although a number of his Africans had been part of the settler force (de Kock *et al. op cit.*:523). It was alleged by Cane’s son Christian, that when Ogle learned of Cane’s death, he went to Cane’s home on the Berea and burnt all his papers in order to destroy his last will and testament (O’Byrne Spencer, *op cit.*:34). Ogle, King and all the other whites in Port Natal were evacuated to *The Comet*, which happened to be anchored in the Bay (Wood *op cit.*:386). On the first morning after the evacuation, Wood, Ogle and others

[w]ent towards the shore in a boat, and perceived that the Zulus were occupying Natal. [... O]ne of the [Zulu] captains called out to us and said, “We have killed the principal people of Natal, and now only want Mr Ogle!” Upon which Mr Ogle [...] stood up and said, “Do you want me?” And, on being answered in the affirmative, he replied, “Then you shan’t get me” [...]

“[S]undry articles of provisions such as flour, coffee, sugar, fat, and plums were taken from Mr Ogle’s house and thrown on the ground, into which they [...]

⁵⁰ “Dick King [and ...] Damuse [...] were young men. John Cane and Ogle were grown-up men” (Dinya in Webb & Wright 1976:110).

⁵¹ Also known as the battle of Thukela (Ballard 1989:122).

poured a keg of French brandy, and having stamped it with their feet, left it for him (*ibid.*:386).

After nine days, the king's soldiers returned home. The majority of settlers proceeded with the Comet to Delagoa Bay but Ogle and some others remained (*ibid.*).

Although the Zulu *impis* had "inflicted severe defeats on both the Boer and British settlers", their success was not to last for long. At the beginning of December 1838, the British sent 100 soldiers to occupy Port Natal and restore peace. On December 16th, the Boers defeated the Zulus resoundingly at the Battle of Blood River (Ballard *op cit.*:122). At the Battle of the Maqongqo Hills in February 1840, the combined Boer and Zulu forces defeated Dingane, after which Mpande was proclaimed king of the Zulus. All the territory between the Thukela and Mzimvubu Rivers was given over to the Boers and the new Boer state – the Republic of Natalia – was declared (Ballard *op cit.*:122, Collenbrander *op cit.*:93).

Life in the Boer Republic was not easy for Ogle. According to de Kock *et al.* (*op cit.*:523),

[t]he Boers [...] disliked him, probably because of his unorthodox way of life. They arrested him for travelling without a permit and the Volksraad passed a resolution prohibiting him from buying property in Port Natal.

Displeased at the establishment of the Boer Republic, Sir George Napier⁵² dispatched a force to Port Natal, which hoisted the Union Jack on 4 May 1842, inciting hostilities with the Boers. By this time, only Ogle and Fynn remained of the original party of settlers and Ogle joined the British forces as a captain. The Boers overcame the British at the Battle of Congella, after which they besieged the Natal Garrison. Ogle and others were taken prisoner by the Boers and held at Pietermaritzburg. It was this that impelled Dick King to set out on his legendary horse ride to Grahamstown in order to secure British assistance. The distance of just under 1000 km, which usually took 17 days on horseback, was completed by King in only 10 days.⁵³ A British force under Col. A.J. Cloete duly arrived aboard the *Southampton* on June 25th. Ogle and the other British prisoners were released. When the Republic of Natalia was annexed as a British Colony on May 31 1844, Ogle was the one person to have witnessed and played a role over the entire preceding twenty year period (Ballard *op cit.*:123, de Kock *et al.* *op cit.*:523).

⁵² Governor of the Cape Colony from 1838 until 1844.

⁵³ In *The Ride*, a televised re-enactment of Dick King's journey by Barry Armitage and Joe Dawson, the great-great grandson of John Cane, Bekuyise Caine, accompanied the party as groom.

Henry Ogle died in Pietermaritzburg in 1860 (de Kock *et al. op cit.*:252), on “the anniversary of the day on which he had first set foot on Natal soil” (Gordon *op cit.*:24).

In the twenty years that elapsed between the arrival of the first British settlers in 1824 and annexation of the territory to Britain in 1844, allegiances between Zulu and British were forged and broken and a great deal of blood was shed. Alliances of a less military nature were also made over this period, between the British settlers who had first arrived in the territory and Zulu and Mpondo women. As Ballard (*op cit.*:118-9) pointed out, a social characteristic of the settlement was the scarcity, if not total absence, of white women, and many of the early settlers took Zulu and Mpondo women as wives and concubines. In consummating these relationships they frequently “adhered to local African marriage customs. [...] Serious efforts were [...] made by several white chiefs to legitimate their marriages by means of *lobola*.” As Dinya put it,

All these Europeans built on this plan: they all had a number of wives and ordinary native kraals, but also differently constructed houses not far off, where they actually lived and at which they received European visitors. [...]

The sexual intercourse with these wives took place on the Zulu plan: that is any woman required would be specially sent for. She would at nightfall come to the man’s house. The man would not go about to each woman’s hut from time to time, carrying his blanket with him, as less important men are in the habit of doing (Webb & Wright *op cit.*:111).

The early white settlers of Natal lived among indigenous people in some respects according to the tenets of traditional practice, especially when it came to marriage. John Cane and Henry Ogle both had “establishments of wives” and fathered “coloured” children (de Kock *et al. op cit.*:523, O’Byrne Spencer *op cit.*:35, Webb & Wright *op cit.*:112). The Cane and Ogle clans whose members live in the Lusikisiki district to this day and have participated in this research are their descendants.

7.1.2. John Cane and the origins of amaCane

[John Cane] was a stormy petrel⁵⁴ of early Natal whose life was recklessly expended for little advantage (Leverton *op cit.*:22).

John Cane was born in London in approximately 1800, the son of Edward Cane, a metal worker. On 2nd June 1813, barely a teenager, he sailed from Portsmouth as a

⁵⁴ Referring presumably to the allegorical use of the bird by Maxim Gorky in his poem *The Song of the Storm Petrel* (1901), later considered to be the ‘battle anthem’ of the Russian revolution. Petrels are small seabirds that hover above the surface of the ocean, feeding on small fish and Gorky allegedly used the birds to symbolise fearlessness in the face of great adversity.

crew member on the *Hector* which was bound for Batavia via the Cape. He took his discharge at Cape Town. In October of the same year he was given permission to remain in the Cape and was employed by H. Matfield, a wine merchant. A year or two later Cane moved to a farm at Uitenhage where he trained as a carpenter. In 1824, he was employed by Farewell as carpenter on the *Antelope* and moved to Port Natal (O'Byrne Spencer *op cit.*:31). Dinya Ka Zokozwayo, whose oral testimony was collated by Webb and Wright (*op cit.*) recalled Cane as "the tallest of all the Englishmen, [...] very strong and industrious [...and he] shaved" (Webb & Wright, *op cit.*:112). His African name was "Jana" (O'Byrne Spencer *op cit.*:31, Webb & Wright *op cit.*:110) and he lived at isiNyameni on the Berea. He also had a "wagon-making establishment" at Congella, and another kraal near the Ifafa River, also called isiNyameni (Webb & Wright *op cit.*: 111).

Cane had "liaisons with various women" including Rachel, the child of a Dutch/Khoi union (O'Byrne Spencer *op cit.*:34) whom Isaacs described as John Cane's woman (Isaacs 1936:146) and also as "the good and faithful Rachel" (*ibid.* 1937:59, 91). O'Byrne Spencer (*op cit.*:35) listed two of Cane's children "by an African woman or women unknown". The first, also named John, was described as "an illiterate coloured man" who stated that "his father 'Cain' had been a white man, and that his mother was 'a Kafir living in the Bay'". The second, Christian (or Lavutha), was born circa 1838 at Mbizane.

Christian was born while his mother was accompanying a buffalo-hunting expedition, on which she had been taken to do the cooking. After Cane's death she fled with Christian to the Tuli people under Chief Mnini. At an early age Christian was employed by a Boer family, and was at Congella when hostilities broke out between the Boers and the British. By Oct 1907 he was living at Lusikisiki in Mpondoland (*ibid.*). It is from Christian (Lavutha) that the amaCaine participants of this study are descended. They recall him and his entry into Mpondo culture as follows:

Interview Extract 7.1b

Wellington: My ancestor fell from a ship at Durban and the ship left him there at Point, Durban. Then he went along the coast chasing this ship that had dropped him. He was really confused; he didn't know what to do because there was no way he could get back to the ship. The word is he turned at Port St Johns, he stopped chasing it. Then he came here, he came to Qawukeni to look after cattle. There he met up with black women and then we came. I have no idea where he came from overseas.

Qaqambile: Do you know his name?

Wellington: Lavith (Wellington Caine, Appendix F2.2).

Interview Extract 7.1c

Mkhululelwa: I asked from my aunty, where did we come from? She said that we came from Scotland. We came here by means of a ship which wrecked at Lambasi but the year is unknown. [...]

Lavutha married two wives. He was the first person who got married because his father [Kristjan] fell in love with a black lady but their love was not lasting. Also she tried to have another love affair with a man of the Mambilinini family, a Zulu man, and they had a son, Soyipha. So that family of Soyipha, we call them our relatives (Mkhululelwa Caine, Appendix F2.1).

Interview Extract 7.1d

Siwela: Caine was coming from overseas, in England. When he came here, he came to Durban. [...and] gave birth to a son called Lavith. [...]

[Lavith's] first [child] was Maguba. And then Lavith died. [...] There was his son now left, Maguba, and then his [Lavith's] brother took his wife⁵⁵ there at Durban and she gave birth to children. [...] These children were Maguba's siblings because they were borne of the same mother, but their fathers were different.

Then the one that was born after Lavutha had died moved to Mbotyi. When he came here he saw beautiful land that he thought suited his brother Maguba. [...]

Then [...he] went back to fetch his brother, Maguba. [...] Then they built and Maguba died. He saw that he was about to die and then he said he doesn't want to die here. He said he wanted to go back to Durban and die there, where he came from. He wanted to be buried where his father was buried. He collected men with horses and they took him along the coast. These men came back without him. And then that was the end. Then we came from our fathers here. My father took a wife and that wife died. Then he took another one, MaOgle and then she gave birth to us (Siwela Maguba, Appendix F2.6)

As was the case with abeLungu, oral histories recalled by different members of the Caine clan concur when it comes to broad facts but differ in the details. The most significant correlation between oral and documented history is in the existence of Cane/Caine's son's name, 'Lavutha' in both records, as seen in 5.2, although frequently recalled in the oral tradition as 'Lavith'.

⁵⁵ According to the levirate marriage custom – *ngena*.



Figure 7.1. Bekuyise Caine on the left and Mkhululelwa Caine on the right with his mother between them.

When the Horners were incorporated into the abeLungu clan, they adopted the clan history of surviving shipwreck although their forebear had probably arrived over land. The refrain of shipwreck also appears in oral histories collected from members of amaCaine (IE7.1b & c). In IE.7.1c, Mkhululelwa goes so far as naming Lambasi – where the abeLungu forebears came ashore – as the place that the original Caine was shipwrecked. Other informants are however aware that his port of entry was Durban. As in the case of the Horners, the notion of surviving shipwreck has been incorporated into Caine oral history even though their forebears actually arrived under different circumstances. But unlike Alfred Horner, John Cane really did arrive at Port Natal by ship. These two fragments of oral history regarding the founder of the Caine clan, namely that he arrived by ship and that this was at Durban constitute two further similarities between oral and documented accounts.

One final biographical fact is alluded to in both documented and recalled accounts of the origins of the Caine clan, namely regarding Lavutha having moved from Durban where he was born, to Mpondoland (IE7.1b & d) – or in the case of Siwela’s account (IE7.1d), it was Maguba, Lavutha’s son that moved. This is echoed by O’Byrne Spencer (*op cit.*:35) who recorded that “[b]y 1907 [... Lavutha] was living at Lusikisiki”.

The oral histories also reveal something about the nature of the relationship between John Cane and the African woman who was Lavutha’s mother, which appears to be reflected in, if not resolved by documented history. Although both Mkhululelwa and Siwela imply that Lavutha’s father was absent during his childhood, they describe relations between his parents in very different ways. According to Mkhululelwa, “their love was not lasting” and Lavutha’s mother also had a relationship with another man with whom she had a son, Soyipha, whose family are considered relatives of the Caines

(IE7.1c). Lavutha was apparently born during a buffalo-hunt, his mother having been taken along to cook (O'Byrne Spencer *op cit.*:35). The reasons behind the surprising presence of a full-term woman on a hunting expedition cannot be guessed at, but the account does not create the impression that Lavutha's mother was one of the "established wives" referred to by Dinya. O'Byrne Spencer's account therefore appears to lean towards Mkhululelwa's description of the relationship between Lavutha's parents as being a short affair.

Siwela offers a much more traditional version: After the death of Lavutha's father, his mother was taken by his father's brother as wife, according to the *ngena* or levirate marriage custom. Sharing a mother, Lavutha and the children of this marriage were brought up as siblings (IE7.1d). Although O'Byrne Spencer (*ibid.*:31) surmises that John Cane may have been the brother of Ann and Thomas Saunders Cane, also 1820 settlers, there is nothing in the accounts of the early settlers of Natal to suggest that he had a brother among them. We have seen however, that brotherhood may be assumed by other than blood connections, such as having come from the same shipwreck, and in Mkhululelwa's oral account, Kristjan, the father of Lavutha is believed to have had a brother, Kruger. O'Byrne Spencer (*ibid.*:35) dates Lavutha's birth to circa 1838 which is the same year as the Battle of Ndongakusuka at which John Cane died and therefore to some extent also supports Siwela's account. Regardless of whether it was due to death or a short-lived affair however, John Cane was not apparently present during Lavutha's childhood, and he grew up with his mother and siblings from a different father.

7.1.3. Henry Ogle and the origins of amaOgle

[Henry Ogle] was one of the most colourful Figures in the early history of Natal. His dogged perseverance in the face of adversity helped to found a new community (de Kock *et al. op cit.*:523).

According to The Dictionary of South African Biography (de Kock *et al. op cit.*:522) Henry Ogle was "[o]f a roving disposition". He was born in Yorkshire in 1800 (de Kock *et al. op cit.*:522). He and 40 others from Yorkshire came to the Cape Colony aboard the *John* in 1820, under the leadership of Charles Mouncey. The Settlers Handbook (Nash 1987:95) lists him as having been 20 years old and trained as a mason. In 1824, he was one of three mechanics to accompany Henry Francis Fynn in the advance party to Port Natal in order to explore trade possibilities (Gordon *op cit.*:23, Fynn 1950:58). On their very first night in Natal, according to Fynn (*ibid.*:59), it rained and they were attacked

by “wolves” that made off with Ogle’s leather trousers. He tried to get them back but they tore in two and the predators made off with a trouser leg containing a 60 Rix dollar note in the pocket. Apparently undeterred, Ogle passed the remainder of the night singing and the rest of his life at the Port.⁵⁶

On November 27th 1830, a certain Ann Webster wrote from London to Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole⁵⁷, asking him to forward her enclosed letter to Henry Ogle “if he be still living”. Ogle had “emigrated from Sheffield, to the Cape of Good Hope” some 11 years previously but had not written to his mother for almost 7 years. She was by then “nearly 80 years of age [and] extremely anxious to hear from him”. Ms Webster went on to ask for “any particulars respecting him, and whether he left a family; as there is some property, a share of which ought, I believe to come to him”. Ogle was very much alive in 1830, relations between the British settlers in Natal and Dingane were beginning to deteriorate and he was in the thick of it. It is not known whether the letter enclosed by Ann Webster was ever forwarded to Henry Ogle and if so, whether or not he received it but it implies that he came from a background of some means.

Whether or not on the basis of this legacy, Ogle is said to have

established himself as a trader, [...] remaining to weather the caprices of Shaka and Dingane, while those who did not die by misadventure gave up and sought their fortunes elsewhere (de Kock *et al. op cit.*:523).

As a trader, Ogle was to fall afoul of the law on more than one occasion, usually however escaping costs to himself. Between 1846 and 1856 he appeared before the District Court of Natal five times, three times as Plaintiff, suing debtors for moneys owed to him either for meat or livestock. He also appeared twice as Defendant, being sued for non-payment of debts incurred. Ogle denied both charges, and they were subsequently withdrawn. Similarly, in 1853, he denied liability for Quitrent arrears of the farm “Vegt Lager” on which he resided. We learn from the cases that Ogle plied the trade of butcher until at least 1851. In 1846, he was in Durban but by 1850 he had apparently moved to Pietermaritzburg. In 1853 he gave his address as Vegt Lager, a

⁵⁶ It should be noted that Fynn’s diary was written retrospectively in 1857, covering events that occurred some thirty years previously, from the time of Fynn’s arrival in Natal in 1824 until his departure in 1832, with the purpose of legitimising Fynn’s claim to land in Natal (Pridmore, 2004: 139). It has been described by Cobbing (1988:510-11) as “one of the major disasters of South African historical literature” comprising the “welding together of [...] propaganda essays written by Fynn” by editors D. McK. Malcolm and James Stuart, the latter of whom “interfered with” and “straightened out” evidence. It caters to a “need to create a past which justifies European actions at Port natal” (Pridmore, 1994:75).

⁵⁷ Governor of the Cape Colony from 1828 until 1833.

farm near “Bushmans River” which was the original name of the town now known as Estcourt. By 1855 he was no longer a butcher, having taken up farming.

Like many other early Natal settlers, Ogle was chief over large numbers of people who had fled from Shaka (Ballard *op cit.*:118, de Kock *et al. op cit.*:523). According to Dinya, he owned three kraals: the great kraal Bekane, which was inherited by his son John, Kwa Toyana where his son Joji (George) was born, and Zembeni which was inherited by Tshaka, his son by Sibadi, the daughter of Sicubana ka Dibandhlele, a Cele chief (Webb & Wright *op cit.*:111). The descendants of Henry Ogle recall their forebear thus:

Interview Extract 7.1e

Theresa: History says they came out of the sea by ship at Durban. At Durban, at a place called Sibubululu. And then they came out and stayed at *Esixeni*. Then they were found by boys that were guarding cattle. Then the boys ran home and said that they saw animals that looked like people. [...]

[M]y grandfather Frank came this side to build (Theresa Ogle, Appendix G2.1).

Interview Extract 7.1f

Hlomela: According to my knowledge, Ogle and Caine, if I’m not mistaken, and another man called Collis, and another man whom I forgot; they were four. They came out of the sea in a year unknown to me. They had nothing. White people usually came out of the sea carrying things like pens which they showed to black people but they came out with nothing. When they came they associated themselves with black people. They had nothing to show to black people and they married black people. [...]

People that I know that came from Natal are Caine and Ogle, from a place called Natal midlands where they started to plough. He [Ogle] gave birth to Ngwevu. Ngwevu gave birth to many sons.

From what I heard, these men who came out of the sea were not related. They were just people that were embarking on the same journey. That’s why Frank was able to marry a girl from the Caines (Hlomela Ngwevu, Appendix G2.2).

Although the accounts do not mention shipwreck specifically, both record that he came “out of the sea” arriving at Natal. Theresa mentions Durban as the place where he arrived which is indeed where Ogle came ashore in Farewell’s advance party. In contrast to contemporary amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu agnates who conceive of their respective pairs of forebears as brothers, Hlomela uses the frequent intermarriage between the clans of more recent origins as an indication that the men whose histories

are entangled in the oral tradition, and in the case of John Cane and Henry Ogle, also in documented accounts, could not possibly have been brothers. This assumption is of course drawn from local premises of clan exogamy and the incest taboo.



Figure 7.2. Theresa Ogle and family

7.2. AmaFrance

[Tshali arrived] by boat. They were washed out. After they were washed out they were discovered and then they married black people. And then, after marrying a black wife he gave birth to Dukuza. Dukuza also married black people and then Dukuza gave birth to our fathers. Then my father married my mother (Velani France, Appendix H2.1).

It will be recalled that two branches of amaFrance have different recollections of their genealogy (5.4). From the perspective of Enoch Richards, the two branches are the respective descendants of the two wives of a clan founder by the name of Tshali. The larger contingent of amaFrance recall Tshali not as their clan founder, but as the father of their forebear, Dukuza. Not only do the versions of clan history offered by descendants of the alleged two wives of Tshali not concur with one another, but there is also a cultural divide within the clan, predicated on the urban lifestyle and coloured identification of the branch represented by just one man, Enoch Richards, as against that of Kutu Dukuza and the majority of research participants who live for the most part in the relatively rural area of Konjwayo, on the road between Lusikisiki and the amaFrance ancestral home at Ndengane in Northern Mpondoland, where Velani France lives with her mother, and daughter, Nomakhaya. AmaFrance account for the origins of their clan as follows:

Interview Extract 7.2a

Velani: [I]t is said that Tshali was a German (Velani France, Appendix H2.1).

Interview Extract 7.2b

Kutu: Tshali [...] came to the sea. He was with children. These children were boys. He kept on coming to the sea with these children. Dukuza (one of the children) made friends with black children. Dukuza got lost with the (black) children. His father looked for him and gave up looking for him. Tshali went back home and forgot about him because when he kept on coming back to the sea he was not finding him and so he forgot about him. Now black people called him Dukuza because he was a white boy that got lost wandering with black children.⁵⁸

So he stayed with a man called Gavu. He grew up and got old. He didn't even go to school. He smeared some things on his face. When he went to town, there was a doctor called Betty, a white doctor. This doctor knew him. This doctor was saying, "This is the son of Tshali." This doctor would take Dukuza and make him wear suits and take the things he was wearing and put them in a plastic. And then when Dukuza went back home, he would take off the suits and put the things he was wearing before back on and carry sticks. That's how he became Dukuza and that's how we came to use Dukuza as our surname. He himself was borne by Tshali and got lost from his father when he came to the sea. [...]

I'm not sure whether it was Kokstad or what. But white people that usually came here were coming from Kokstad usually. Or Port Shepstone, but Kokstad was the first place to have people coming here (Kutu Dukuza, Appendix H2.3).

Interview Extract 7.2c

Enoch: My grandpa comes from Germany. How he came here was, there was a boat that came to Port St Johns. Then my grandpa came out from that ship and he came to build at Ntabankulu. Well, he gave birth to my father (Enoch Richards, Appendix H2.4).



Figure 7.3. Velani France with her mother Ma Philwayo

Velani's account (IE7.2a) suggests that the amaFrance forebear arrived as a result of shipwreck and Enoch's (IE7.2c), that it was by ship but not necessarily

⁵⁸ Dukuza means wandering aimlessly.

shipwreck. In Kutu's account of the origins of the clan on the other hand (IE7.2b), Dukuza is believed to have come to the sea rather than from the sea. He and his family are believed to have come from somewhere in Natal, possibly Kokstad, on holiday. The tracing of clans claiming European descent from shipwreck survivors seems to have been adopted as oral history even in clans and clan sections whose forebears entered in other ways, as has been seen in the case of amaLungu Horner, amaCaine and amaOgle. It is therefore possible that in the case of amaFrance too, this element has been adopted, while the story of the child wandering off with Xhosa children is closer to the truth, especially as it is partially verified by the name given to their forebear, Dukuza which means "wandering aimlessly".

It is the clan-name 'France' that identifies the clan as having European ancestry, and not the surname Dukuza, which is used by the majority of the amaFrance research participants. It does not however appear to follow that clan members believe their forebear to have been French, as will be discussed further in 9.4.4.

7.3. AmaIrish

AmaIrish, it will be recalled, is not only one of the smallest clans in the survey, comprising only two homesteads, but also has the shallowest genealogy at a mere four generations. Their ancestral home is at Qandu, where Nicholas Beresford still lives. Qaqambile and I nicknamed him 'Lord Beresford' as we drove along one of the worst roads of the entire research area to find the man we had been directed to. We later also met his agnate, Monde Beresford, who has relocated to Mtalala, some distance away. This is what Nicholas says about his forebear:

Interview Extract 7.3a

Nicholas: Beresford was born overseas in the land of the Irish. He was Irish himself. He was English (white), he was not even a coloured. Then he gave birth to coloureds when he was here.

Janet: How did he get here?

Nicholas: [Beresford] came with a ship. They wrecked at a place called Mamolweni. That place is still there. That's how they came this side (Nicholas Beresford, I2.3).

Once again, European descent is associated with shipwreck. Nicholas was born circa 1936, so allowing 25 years per generation would date the presence of Beresford or rather the birth of Nicholas' father, John, to about 1911, by which time overland

transportation into the 'Native Territories' was well established. It may be more probable that Beresford arrived overland or if by ship, that it was not one that wrecked, and that as in the case of other clans, the mythology of shipwreck has been incorporated due to its association with European forebears. There is of course no way to establish what really happened, but it is possible to join a few sparse dots and postulate who the Irish forebear might have been. Nicholas claims that:

Interview Extract 7.3b

Nicholas: The first Beresford...was involved with trade or transport (Nicholas Beresford, I2.1).



Figure 7.4 (Lord) Nicholas Beresford of amaIrish

In *Trading Stations of the Central and Southern Transkei*, Michael Thompson (2009), himself of trader stock, documents the history and families involved in 454 trading stores. His entry for Tshani Shop, which is just off the road from Ngqeleni to Mthatha River Mouth, lists a certain J.E. Beresford as having traded there in 1913 (*ibid.*:38). This correlates with the date of Nicholas' father's birth, estimated above to have been circa 1911. Clan oral history recalled by Nicholas relates that his European forebear arrived at Mamolweni which is 15 km south of the original amaIrish home at Qandu. The Tshani trading store, which still stands and conducts business, is only 8 km south of Mamolweni. This is of course insufficient to establish a definitive link between J.E. Beresford and the amaIrish clan, but the geographical proximity between the places named and the correlation of dates suggests that one is possible.

7.4. AmaThakha

Of all the clans and clan sections that participated in this research, amaThakha live closest to the legendary Lambasi Bay, at Rhole. There are only two homesteads in the

survey, those of Mthathiswa Nkunde, and his cousin Lozo. Their accounts of their forebear are not especially similar:

Interview Extract 7.4a

Lozo: I don't know much because it's our mothers who know. [... My grandfather]'s name was One. He came from Thekwini [Durban] to this side and then he married my grandmother. They gave birth to our mothers. When my grandfather died I was very young, but I remember him. He used to visit other coloureds at Khathu. Then he died and our mothers were left. Then they gave birth to us (Lozo, Appendix J2.1).

Interview Extract 7.4b

Mthathiswa: [W]hen I grew up I built my house next to my grandfather's house. I grew up knowing my father only. I don't know my grandfather, I never saw him. But when we hear about where my grandfather's father came from, he's a person who came out of a shipwreck in a place called Gwegwe, near Mkhambathi.

Qaqambile: So do you know Khatha's origin, where he came from?

Mthathiswa: Well I don't know where he was from but I heard that he was Scottish. I don't really know this because I heard it from my father who was a drunkard. He used to say "I'm a Scotch man" (Mthathiswa Nkunde, J2.3).

Although Lozo believes that her forebear came from Durban, Mthathiswa related the familiar story of their having survived shipwreck. He named the place as having been "near Mkhambathi" which is only slightly north of Lambasi Bay, and extremely close to where his grandfather, One, made his home, where he himself lives today. This is a mere 8 km away from where the *Grosvenor*, and another ship almost a century earlier, expelled European survivors onto the Wild Coast. Very little else is known about the amaThakha forebear, other than that he may have been Scottish.

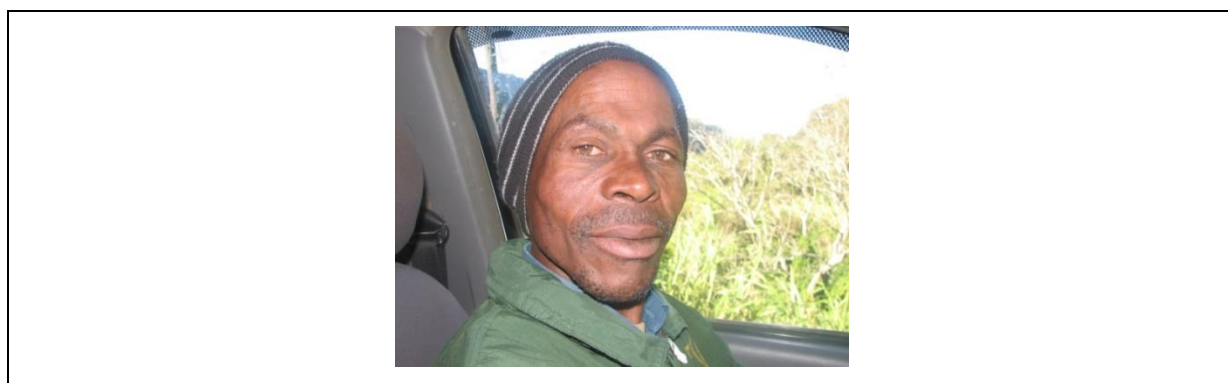


Figure 7.5. Mthathiswa Nkunde of amaThakha

7.5. Other histories (*iimbali*)

7.5.1. Entangled histories

The oral traditions of both amaCaine and amaOgle acknowledge that their forebears arrived at the same time, as is corroborated in documented history. Not only is their oral history interlinked, but there has been considerable intermarriage between clan members and thus in many cases historical ties are strengthened by affinal ones, as can be seen more clearly in their oral genealogies (Appendices F1 and G1). The oral traditions of amaCaine and amaOgle both allude to the presence of other white men in the parties of their forebears, as is also described in historical accounts of the establishment of Durban. In certain cases one of these is alleged to have been the forebear of amaFrance, thereby intertwining their history with that of amaCaine and amaOgle laid out in 7.1.

Mary Richards née Caine, believes that Cane and Ogle were accompanied by the forebear of amaFrance (Appendix F2.9), whereas Hlomela Ogle (IE7.1f) recalls that they were accompanied by two other men. He names one of them as 'Collis' which was indeed the surname of one of the early Natal pioneers. James Collis arrived four years after Ogle and Cane. He set up a trading store and was another of the settlers who acted as chief over Zulu refugees. Shortly after the town of Durban had been established in 1835, he died in an unfortunate accident when the cigar he was smoking caused a powder magazine to explode. Dinya, aged about eight at the time, "heard the report" which was described as "very loud" and saw the smoke (Webb & Wright, 1977:99, 109-10). Collis was also mentioned in the historical literature as one of the white men who acted as Zulu chiefs.

During the early years of British settlement, Cane was dispatched first by Shaka (in 1828) and his successor Dingane (1830) on diplomatic missions to the British Government. He failed to secure a "treaty of friendship" between the British and the Zulus (Gadsden *op cit.*:12, O'Byrne Spencer *op cit.*:32), which led to a "rift in relations" between the Zulu Monarchy and the white traders (Ballard *op cit.*:119-120, Collenbrander *op cit.*:88, O'Byrne Spencer *op cit.*:32,34). In 1831, Jacob Msimbithi

allegedly misinformed Dingane⁵⁹ that the British, with Cane's support, were planning an invasion of Zululand. Dingane retaliated by confiscating Cane's cattle and torching his Durban home, esiNyameni. Rumours then spread among the Port Natal whites that they were all to be "liquidated" by the Zulus. Fynn, Cane and another settler, Thomas Halstead, fled to Fynn's home at the Illovu River, and later to Mpondoland. Other whites hid in dense bush. Some months later, the traders received Dingane's word that they would not be harmed, and they returned to Durban (Ballard *op cit.*:119-120, Collenbrander *op cit.*:88, O'Byrne Spencer *op cit.*:32,34).

In the winter of 1833, relations once again soured when some of the settlers and their followers killed about 200 Zulu soldiers in the mistaken belief that they had murdered some white settlers near the Mzimkhulu River. Once again, Cane and other settlers including Ogle fled south in fear of Dingane's wrath, some returning early the following year, once again having been asked to do so by Dingane, who assured their safety. Others remained at the Mzimkhulu River for more than six months.

These flights to Mpondoland by the Natal settlers provide documentary evidence that the Natal settlers had cause to mingle with Mpondo people – and women – for extended periods of time. Their livelihoods of trade and hunting might very well have taken them there prior to this. Pridmore (2004:132-3) notes for example that in December 1824, Henry Francis Fynn travelled the distance of almost 200 km from Port Natal to the Mzimvubu River, establishing contact with the Mpondo chief Faku and marking "the onset of colonial overland trade between Port Natal, the Mpondo region and the eastern Cape". It is not recorded whether or not he was accompanied by others such as Ogle and/or Collis, but the prospect that Halstead, Collis or some other man whose name Hlomela cannot recall might have been the amaFrance forebear cannot go beyond surmise.

7.5.2. Theme 1: The process by which foreigners become natives

As abeLungu Fuzwayo quite possibly share a common ancestor with amaMolo, or one of the other two original abeLungu clan sections, their claim of having descended from

⁵⁹ Msimbithi was "an African from the Cape who [...] assisted [King Shaka ...] in his dealings with the whites". On Cane's recommendation, Dingane ordered that he accompany the diplomatic mission to the British. Msimbithi was reluctant "because of past misdeeds" and was duly imprisoned by Colonial authorities "as an escaped convict [... A]lthough released after a short time, his animosity to whites, and to Cane in particular, intensified" (O'Byrne Spencer *op cit.*:32).

shipwreck survivors is hardly surprising and potentially accurate. We know that John Cane and Henry Ogle arrived at Port Natal by ship, but not shipwreck. The entrance into Mpondo society by the forebears of *abeLungu* Horner, *AmaFrance*, *amaIrish* and *amaThakha* also did not in all probability result from shipwreck. However the mythology of descending from shipwreck survivors has permeated the oral tradition of all these clans.

Hlomela's description of his forebear having had no possessions (IE 7.1f) possibly implies shipwreck. However, it is known that Henry Ogle arrived safely by ship and that it was trade that brought him to Natal, suggesting that he would have had possessions and quite possibly trade goods too. On the other hand there is another possible reason why Henry Ogle might have "had nothing to show to black people". It will be recalled from 7.5.1, that on the occasion of the first flight of white settlers to Mpondoland in 1831, Dingane had set fire to Cane's home and confiscated his cattle. This suggests that Cane at least would have lost many of his possessions. It is possible that Ogle might also have lost property in retaliation from Dingane, but that it was not recorded. Or perhaps, given the circumstances of flight from Zulu *impis*, he had left Durban with nothing, which would account for the memory of his having arrived with no possessions.

AmaOgle aside, the one or more shipwrecks that yielded survivors from whom actual clans trace descent, have evidently led to the creation of a mythology that has been adopted by other clans descended from Europeans who entered the culture subsequently by different means. In the case of the clan fusion between *amaMolo* and *abeLungu*, common descent was presumably premised on notions of common history, and in the process, racial and national differences were elided. There is no need to claim common descent in the case of the clans discussed here because as discrete clans rather than sections of one clan, it would not be expected. The numerous affinal ties between the members of these clans are further evidence of their independence from one another in terms of descent. However, it is apparent that the common history of having descended from Europeans has tended to encompass identification with the quintessential *abeLungu* claim of descent from shipwreck survivors, thereby demonstrating the inherent fluidity of oral traditions and mythologies of the past.

7.5.3. The production and preservation of knowledge

Most of documented histories reviewed in the collation of amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu histories in the previous chapter were transcriptions of oral history (Soga 1930, Kirby 1930, Makuliwe c. 1990). In the case of amaCaine and amaOgle, although much of their history was documented by apartheid era historians, one of the strongest sources was provided by Dinya, collected among many others, by the colonial civil servant James Stuart, and transcribed by Webb and Wright (1977). Once again, it is evident that there is a value in the documentation and preservation of the social present, which renders it available for perusal in some future era when it has been rendered history.

The key role played by Dinya's testimony in the context of this research has already been alluded to in 5.3, and relates to the link between amaOgle and their forebear, Henry Ogle. Taken together, Dinya's reference to Ogle by the isiZulu name, 'Hohlo,' which was presumably bestowed upon him by those he governed, and the inclusion of the name of 'Hohlo' in amaOgle clan praises collected in the field, constituted the one tangible piece of evidence confirming that amaOgle research participants are the descendants of Henry Ogle. Once again, the value of documenting oral history is underlined.

7.5.4. NRY questions

No NRY questions emerged during the documentation of either genealogical or historical accounts of the clans discussed in this chapter. However the Molecular results revealed interesting findings in the case of one of the abeLungu clan sections (6.3) and one of the clans discussed in this chapter, both of which will be returned to in Chapter 11:

- The case of amaFrance.
- The case of abeLungu Horner.

PART THREE

Introduction to Part Three

Contemporary members of clans descended from foreign progenitors recall their clan origin stories and the genealogies of their forebears (*iminombo*) to varying degrees. Such information has been set out in the previous three chapters, and compared with that contained within the written historical tradition where such was available. This recall is not due to the remarkable circumstances of the clan histories, and nor does the knowledge exist in a vacuum. Instead it is a function of absorption into the Cape Nguni culture, which necessitated the adoption of a belief system in which ancestors are held accountable for the good and bad luck of their descendants. One means by which clan founders and other forebears are venerated and appealed to is through the recall and recitation of their own biographical and genealogical details, making the recording and transmission of such knowledge essential for the health and welfare of contemporary clan members.

In Part Three, the focus shifts from the details recalled in clan oral traditions, to how these are relevant in the social context that both shaped and ensured the preservation of such knowledge. Chapter 8 reviews relevant ethnographies concerning traditional ritual practice, providing a background against which the variant ritual practices of clans claiming descent from foreign forebears can be compared. It begins by discussing the different reasons underlying the performance of rituals, goes on to describe the form of ancestor rituals, and concludes with an explanation of the nature and importance of clan praises (*izinqulo*) as an integral aspect of ritual practice.

In Chapter 9, the clan praises of exogenous clans and will be considered, with an ensuing analysis that focuses primarily on an interpretation of praise phrases that refer through metaphor and stereotype to the foreign origins of clan founders. Chapter 10 will describe and analyse the ritual practice of participating clans, again with an emphasis on whether and how this refers to and commemorates non-African forebears.

8. Traditional Ritual practice

8.1. Ancestor Rituals

8.1.1. Forms of Ancestral Acknowledgment

Bühmann (1986:28) noted that although the ancestors are primarily “kindly mentors, guides and protectors,” they are liable to “get annoyed, angry and even vengeful... when the customs are not kept and performed regularly.” They experience other human discomforts and emotions also; such as the ability to feel cold, hunger and thirst, or even neglect, happiness and contentment. *Amathongo* or *izinyanya* (ancestors) not only retain certain attributes of being alive and an interest in the doings of their living descendants, but also delight in various earthly pleasures such as the consumption of meat and beer (Bryant 1917:95, Hammond-Tooke 1974a:331, 1974b:353, Wilson 1979[1976]:232, Kuckertz 1983b:119). Living people propitiate their dead ancestors through the performance of rituals, thereby appeasing such appetites. Hammond-Tooke (1974b:344) defined ritual as “a stereotyped behaviour pattern usually expressing its aim symbolically, that is believed to maintain or to effect a significant change in man’s relationship with the supernatural.” He went on to note that while there might be a paucity of “theological speculation among the Bantu” this is compensated for by the importance of rituals (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:345), and indeed that “traditional religion” is expressed “in ritual rather than in complicated metaphysical speculation” (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:351).

McAllister (1997:279) defined two categories of ritual, the first of which, “ancestor rituals,” stress kinship and involve the sacrificial killing of an animal, while the second, which he called “beer drinks,” stress local or community ties. Although beer is also an integral component of ancestor rituals, it is the sacrifice of an animal which is of principal importance, while at beer drinks, “beer is the primary focus of attention and the only foodstuff available”⁶⁰ (McAllister *op cit.*:294). According to Hammond-Tooke (1974b:351), rituals can be classified as either “rituals of kinship [...] associated [...] with the ancestral cult” or “communal rituals” which revolve more around economic concerns such as “rain-making, the securing of fertility of land and crops, the protection of the country against lightning and hail” and “the celebration of the harvest” (*ibid.*:354).

⁶⁰ Traditional beer (*umqombothi*) is understood to be a food rather than a beverage and recent studies have shown that it is high in vitamin B (Shava, 2016:133) and has probiotic potential (Mokoena, 2016).

McAllister (*op cit.*:294) listed additional occasions for the holding of beer drinks or communal rituals, such as the releasing of a widow from mourning, "the return of a migrant worker" and "as reward for a work party." He notes that they are, however, frequently held "simply to provide hospitality" because a homestead head feels that "it is time to brew for the community." Kinship rituals, therefore "express the unity of family and descent group and handle the problems of individuals in the specific domestic sphere both in terms of life-cycle and health" while the aim of beer drinks or communal rituals is to "secure and maintain tribal well-being" (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:354).

There are certain similarities between ancestor or kinship rituals and communal rituals or beer drinks. For example, neither is considered the sole concern of the household head but the responsibility of a number of others besides (McAllister *op cit.*:296). Also, despite the distinctly religious intent of the ancestor rituals, "beer is thought to be associated with the ancestors" (Bigalke 1970:103) and so beer drinks are also believed to "please the ancestors and to elicit blessings from them" (McAllister *op cit.*:294-5). According to McAllister, the differences between the two are evident from the roles taken by kin as against neighbours and local territorial groups (McAllister *op cit.*:295) and the nature of oratory at the events themselves (*ibid.*:305). Preparations for ancestor rituals "are relatively private and controlled by the homestead head and his male agnates, with their wives, sisters and daughters doing most of the work" (*ibid.*:295). In the case of beer drinks, it is neighbours and other community members who do most of the work, which primarily involves the brewing of beer (*mqombothi*).⁶¹ Some neighbours and community members are of course agnates and affines (*ibid.*:296).

"[A]ncestor rituals are affairs of the agnatic group and its close cognatic kin," who make the necessary decisions and whose solidarity is thereby affirmed (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:352, McAllister *op cit.*:296). In the case of beer drinks, decision-making and expression of solidarity is instead made by members of the sub-ward section (*isigodi*) of the homestead holding the event (McAllister *op cit.*:296). Although "lineage and clan corporateness" are considered to be important, they only feature during ancestor rituals, whereas "neighbourhood and solidarity on the basis of territory" are equally important values which are not expressed at ancestor rituals, but do constitute

⁶¹Brewed from fermented sprouted maize, a process taking approximately five days.

a "major component of the social process" (*ibid.*:304). Thus the "roles and groups" evident at beer drinks are "based on territory, politics and transaction, on the reality of agricultural co-operatives, patron/client relationships and the political power of individuals"(*ibid.*:304).

These differences are underlined by differences in the oratory at the two kinds of occasion. At ancestor rituals, the oratory excludes neighbours who are part of everyday interaction, whereas at beer drinks, it includes them. These differences are not absolute because many neighbours will also be members of the agnatic cluster and hence will play the roles both of close neighbour and of agnate (*ibid.*:305). McAllister asserts that it is due to "changing conditions in the Transkei" over the past century, that beer drinks have evolved to become the "predominant ritual form." Specifically, changes in the social organisation of production such as labour migration, and correspondingly, in the size and composition of households, have led to the replacement of kinship as the "major organising principle" by "neighbourhood and a sense of community". Increases in beer drinking "coincided with, reflected and provided normative or ideological support for the changing nature of rural production." Since ancestor rituals were not community affairs, many were replaced by beer drinks. It was not so much that neighbourliness arose as a new social principle, but rather that "it became more important as the kinship system weakened" (*ibid.*:306).

As the rituals most closely associated with the ancestor religion, it is with ancestor rituals that I am concerned. These take three forms: life-cycle rituals, *idini* and *ukupha*. Life cycle rituals mark important stages of transition in an individual's life, namely birth, initiation, marriage and death. These are acknowledged through public expression due to the holding of a ritual intended to "invoke the blessing of the dead" (Bigalke *op cit.*:103, Hammond-Tooke 1974b:352), although the rituals seldom coincide precisely with the actual transitions. *Imbeleko* (or *bingelela*) for instance, which introduces children to the ancestors, takes place at the time that babies begin to run around outside the hut, at approximately the age of two or three years. Initiation which involves circumcision (*ulwaluko*) for boys and *ntonjane* for girls does not take place at puberty, but sometime around the age of eighteen years or sometimes older. The marriage ritual of *utsiki* or *ududu* designed to introduce the new wife (*makoti*) to the ancestors, will usually take place sometime after a wife has moved to the home of her husband's parents (Godlo 2010). Death or mortuary rituals comprise three stages, the first of

which, burial, is not a true ancestor ritual because it involves neither animal sacrifice nor the invocation of ancestors. The second mortuary ritual, *ukukhapha*, intended to “accompany” the dead person to the “land of the essences” was traditionally performed on the same day as the funeral, but now takes place at least five weeks thereafter (Bigalke *op cit.*:80). Finally, the all-important *ukubuyisa* ritual, also called *ukuguqula* (to turn around) (*ibid.*:80) and *ukugoduka* (return home) (Kuckertz 1983b:119) brings the dead ancestor back home. This takes place at least a year after death and the purpose is “to bring back the ancestor and reintegrate him, on a higher level, in the life of his lineage” (Bigalke *op cit.*:80). In all cases, rituals may be further delayed due to financial pressure (see Appendix M).

If the life-cycle rituals are not performed, or if they are incompletely or incorrectly performed, the *amathongo* are likely to appear to their living descendants in dreams or recurrent thoughts (Kuckertz 1983b:120, McAllister *op cit.*:286). More frequently however, illness or some other misfortune will arise either for the erring man himself or some member of his family, for example a child. If diagnosis by a diviner (*sangoma*) indicates ancestral wrath, it becomes necessary to perform what is called a “piacular” ritual, which seeks atonement for the sacrilege of having ignored some other ritual or acknowledgement of the ancestors, or having performed it inadequately (Bührmann *op cit.*:34, Bryant *op cit.*:141, Hammond-Tooke 1974a:332, 1974b:352). This is the second category of ancestor ritual which is referred to in isiXhosa as *intambo* (McAllister *op cit.*:282) or *idini*. Such rituals are “celebrated in response to an ancestor’s demand for “food” and on behalf of the afflicted person” (Kuckertz 1983b:121). The affliction takes the form of illness or misfortune which is diagnosed by a diviner (*igqira*) as having been caused by ancestral wrath due to the neglect of a custom (Bührmann *op cit.*:28, Hammond-Tooke 1985:316). Piacular rituals are essentially “healing rites” performed “in response to ancestral intervention” (Kuckertz 1983b:118). They involve the most intense interaction between the living and the dead because the well-being of the former has been attacked and there is an urgent need to put matters right (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:352).

A third type of ritual may be performed when a man wishes to thank his ancestors on his return from a successful journey or spell of work or simply to secure their continued blessing. He does so by performing a ritual known as *ukupha* or *isipho* which means the giving of a “gift” (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:354, McAllister *op cit.*:282).

Kuckertz (1983b:120) includes this third type of ancestor ritual (or to use his term, "ancestral feast") under the first category, namely "with respect to certain occurrences in a person's life," thus defining only two types of ancestor ritual, those which commemorate a life-cycle stage or offer "thanksgiving to the ancestors for some favour received" and those which takes place because "the ancestors have demonstrably intervened".

A further distinction is made by Bigalke (*op cit.*:106-7) between kinds of ancestor ritual among the Ndlambe. *Imigidi* (singular: *umgidi*), such as *umphumo wabahkwetha* (coming out from circumcision school), the end of a girl's seclusion during *intonjane* and *umdudo* (celebration of marriage) are "public feasts" attended by people from near and far who bring presents of food and drink. On the other hand, *izizathu* (singular: *isizathu*), which include *ukukhapa* and *ukubuyisa* mortuary rituals, *ukupha* (thanksgiving) and *idini* (piacular rituals), amongst others, are performed for a reason (*isithathu*), "concerned with the ancestor cult," and are not open to all. Although this would seem to contradict his statement that due to the "Xhosa belief that visitors bring good luck," there is "no real limit to attendance" of rituals, Bigalke (*op cit.*:104) asserts that "there is a tacit understanding that rituals, unlike *imigidi*, are not absolute public occasions" (*ibid.*). Kuckertz (1983b:121) on the other hand, speaking specifically about piacular rituals, asserts that "non-relatives are admitted and actively invited," although certain elements are "clearly separated from what is in the interest of the public." The family remains central throughout the feast, but it is none the less necessary for the reasons for holding it "to be made public" (*ibid.*). The aim of what Kuckertz calls "the ancestral public feast," during which the public is addressed by the homestead head, is to "make public the fact that the afflicted person is not sick on account of the malicious intentions of others, but because of the intervention of the ancestors" (Kuckertz 1983b:124).

8.1.2. Ritual Performance

Ritual practice is not consistent across different clans and especially geographical locations, but McAllister (*op cit.*:282) implies that major rituals such as those commemorating life-cycle events, thanksgiving rituals and rituals for the cure or prevention of illness, all follow essentially the same format. There are however some differences between his description and those provided by Bigalke (1970) and Kuckertz (1983b & 1984), which probably reflect not only tribal and clan variations, but also the

fact that while McAllister generalises across all ancestor rituals Kuckertz focuses on the particular ritual specifically. Bigalke (*op cit.*) describes a variety of rituals individually which would seem to imply that as McAllister states, there are many similarities between them. The following description, intended to give a broad outline of ritual performance is for the most part a synthesis of the descriptions provided by McAllister (*op cit.*), Bigalke (*op cit.*) and Kuckertz (1983b, 1984).

The decision to hold a ritual is made by the homestead head, who provides the animal to be sacrificed and the beer (Bigalke *op cit.*:62). However, the ritual will be presided over by a senior kinsman, where possible the *inkulu* (ritual elder) who is the "genealogically senior male member of the descent group" (Bigalke *op cit.*:62, Hammond-Tooke 1985:317, Kuckertz 1983b:126, Preston-Whyte 1974:196). If he is unable attend, his younger brother or the head of the agnatic cluster holding the event may take his place (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:347). If the genealogical senior is not well, or if he is unmarried or considered to be mentally unsound, the responsibility will pass on to his immediate junior (Bigalke *op cit.*:63). Bigalke (*ibid.*) also found that in some cases, conversion to Christianity caused the genealogically senior male to refuse taking part, thus also necessitating the role being taken by another. The reason why it is the most senior man of the agnatic cluster who is considered the appropriate person to act as officiant is because his seniority gives him the power to "invoke the ancestral spirits" (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:346). Apart from taking the key role at rituals, it is also the responsibility of the *inkulu* to arbitrate in all quarrels, whether between husbands and wives or fellow kinsmen (Bigalke *op cit.*:65).

The dates of ritual killings must be arranged with the *inkulu*, and it is his responsibility to make sure that all members of the clan segment as well as certain cognates are called (*biziwe*) to the ritual (McAllister *op cit.*:285, Preston-Whyte *op cit.*:196). Those agnates who live nearby are called to a meeting and informed that a ritual will be taking place, when it will occur and the reasons for the decision to hold it. They are asked to pass word on to other agnates as well as matrilineal kin, *abatshana* ("men and women whose mothers or parent's mothers were or are members of the agnatic group"), close cognates such as mother's siblings and their offspring (McAllister *op cit.*:285). These relatives are expected to attend the ritual and although unavoidable absence due to distance or work commitments is acceptable in the case of most rituals, when it comes to *guqula*, or the integration of the deceased "at the level of the shades

into the lineage group as someone who will both help and punish his descendants," people attempt by all means to be present (Bigalke *op cit.*:60). Neighbours, other community members and even people from further afield will also attend the ritual, having heard about it informally, but they are distinguished from agnatic and consanguineal kin who are specifically "called" to attend (McAllister *op cit.*:285). The presence of non-kin is welcomed at ritual killings because they are believed to bring good luck to the homestead (Bigalke *op cit.*:104).

The ritual takes place over three days, beginning at about four o'clock in the afternoon of the first day, which according to McAllister (*op cit.*:284), is the "most important day of an ancestor ritual, [...] during which communication with the ancestors is initiated." Men start to arrive from noon onwards and assemble beside the cattle kraal (Bigalke *op cit.*:115). Proceedings begin when the *inkulu* calls male agnates to a meeting (*ukubhunga*) at the *inkundla*, or space between the cattle byre and the main hut. Both the cattle byre, which has its gate positioned so that it faces the door of the main hut, and the *indkudla* are considered to be "sacred places," closely associated with the ancestors (McAllister *op cit.*:283). The men are apprised of the reason for holding the ritual, namely which ancestral spirit has communicated, with whom, the nature of the communication and the kind of offering to be made (*ibid.*:286). The preferred sacrificial animal is a beast, usually an ox because "castration has purified it" (Bigalke *op cit.*:129). Goats may also be used and are always the animals sacrificed "where clan ancestors are [...] invoked" (*ibid.*:130). Sheep do not cry out when being slaughtered and as this signifies the acceptance of the sacrifice by the ancestors (McAllister *op cit.*:291), they are not considered appropriate (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:352, Kuckertz 1983b:124, McAllister *op cit.*:282). Other men, according to the order of genealogical superiority will also speak, especially to note that the host has been "receptive and responsive towards the ancestors" (McAllister *op cit.*:287).

The women have meanwhile been waiting inside the main hut, seated on the floor in their customary position on the right-hand side from the perspective of entering⁶². Having concluded the *imbuzo*, men enter the hut where non-kin sit according to rank on the left hand side, with the most senior nearest the door. The women are

⁶²In Mpondoland this is reversed, with the left hand side being the women's side and the right, the men's. As a result the doors are also reversed; fitted so that they open towards the left and women are 'behind' the door.

requested to clap and sing (*ombela*) and the host, holding the "spear of the home" and a ritual stick (*umnqayi*) – both of which are associated with the ancestors – will lead the ritual dance (*xhentsa*) in an anticlockwise direction around the central hearth. Dancing will be periodically interrupted by speeches from all present, including women and neighbours, although the ranking of senior to junior is still observed. The speeches themselves are punctuated by calls of "camagu!" (be appeased), a term used "frequently [...] in sacred contexts in relation to the ancestors" and recitations of the *isiduko* (clan-name) of the homestead head or his clan praises (*izinqula*) (McAllister *op cit.*:287-8).

[I]t is believed that the ancestors, too, are present, and this is the first stage of the central aspect of the day's business, that of involving and communicating directly with them. Through the dance and the speeches that are such an important aspect of it, the ancestors are alerted and brought closer to the homestead, in readiness [...] for the crucial parts of the ritual which follow (McAllister *op cit.*:288).

The women then sing the "song for going out" (*ingoma yokuphuma*) and still led by the *inkulu*, the male agnates dance out of the hut and across the *inkundla* towards the cattle byre (McAllister *op cit.*:290). At certain rituals (for example *guqula*, *ukupha* and *intambo*) the *inkulu* will take *ubulawubomzi* with him. This is the "medicine of the home" which is prepared from herbs that have been "whipped up into a froth" (Bigalke *op cit.*:115, 127). The herd of cattle or goats, including the sacrificial victim are driven into the byre and the procession stops some distance away where the *inkulu* invokes the ancestors and explains to them why the event is being held and what offering is to be made. This time there is no response from the audience as it is the ancestors and not the living who are being addressed.

The women return to the hut and the men enter the byre where the beast (or goat) to be slaughtered is "handed over or given (*ukunikela*) to the relevant ancestor" (McAllister *op cit.*:290). The animal is secured and thrown down onto its side by young men who, although frequently agnates, are not necessarily so because they are chosen primarily on the grounds of youth and strength, these qualities necessary particularly in the case of a strong ox (Kuckertz 1983b:125). The man responsible for performing the ritual slaughter, known as *intlabi*, is ideally the second most senior agnate, although this is not always the case in practice. He consecrates or blesses (*sikelela*) the animal by ritually passing a spear "between the front and hind legs and again between the front ones" (Bigalke *op cit.*:113,116,119,124). It is then stabbed just below its chest while the *inkulu* invokes the ancestors (*ukunqula*). The stabbing causes the beast to bellow

which is “the medium by which the praises (*izinqulo*) [...] will be taken to the agnatic ancestors” (Kuckertz 1983b:126). The cry of the beast is also taken as a sign that the ancestors have accepted the offering (McAllister *op cit.*:291). “If the animal fails to bellow, it is considered to constitute “ancestral censure.” This requires consultation with a diviner who will usually indicate that the ancestors are displeased because certain disputes between agnates have not been settled. It is for this reason that clan section members are expected to “live amicably” or settle quarrels “with minimum delay” (Bigalke *op cit.*:60). It is only at ancestor rituals that animals are killed in this way, at other rituals or non-ritual slaughters, they will be “killed with a knife by severing the cervical vertebrae just behind the head and by cutting the artery” (Kuckertz 1983b:125).

After the slaughter of the animal, the rest of the herd is driven out of the byre and the sacrificial victim is butchered. A piece of meat taken from the shoulder of the right foreleg, the *intsonyama*, is lightly roasted and one or two beakers of *mqombothi* (beer) are brought for the *ukushwama* (ritual tasting). Agates, whether men, women, or children take part in this, as do *abatshana*, people whose mothers or grandmothers were members of the host clan (Bigalke *op cit.*:133, McAllister *op cit.*:291). In the case of piacular rituals, ritual tasting of the *intsonyama* is first done by the patient (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:353). This takes place inside the main hut and involves a number of stages, including the throwing of a portion of the meat over the shoulder in a symbolic act of discarding the affliction (Kuckertz 1983b:130, 1984:3). The remaining *intsonyama* is then cut up into small pieces by the *inkulu* to be ritually tasted by other agnates present (Kuckertz 1983b:131). At *ntonjane*, a goat is slaughtered for each girl participating, each of whom tastes the *intsonyama* of her goat. At *umdudo*, the celebration of marriage, the ritual tasting is done by the bride (Bigalke *op cit.*:108, 110).

A small amount of *mqombothi* is reserved as a libation for the ancestors and is poured into a small hole made inside the byre (McAllister *op cit.*:290-1), or *insipho* (residue after the beer has been strained) is thrown over the contents of the sacrificial animal’s stomach (Bigalke *op cit.*:120). The *ubulawu* is thrown out into the kraal (*ibid.*). The heart, lungs and head of the sacrificed animal are retained until the final day of the ritual, when they are eaten. The organs are hung on the gatepost of the byre (*ixhanti*), a place especially associated with the ancestors and the head is placed at the foot of the post (McAllister *op cit.*:284). The remainder of the meat is cooked and certain delicacies are reserved for the most senior agnates. It is then served, beginning with

the senior agnates and moving from there to other agnates and finally to other men present, and women. Beakers of *mqombothi* are distributed according to the same hierarchy (Bigalke *op cit.*:120, McAllister *op cit.*:291).

In the evening, neighbours return home, but they will return on the subsequent days of the ritual, when they play a more prominent role and continue with the consumption of the meat and beer (McAllister *op cit.*:292). The kin group will spend nights during the ritual in the main hut where the *mqombothi* and meat are stored in a sacred place at the rear (*entla*) so that they may be shared with the ancestors (Bühmann *op cit.*:28, Hammond-Tooke 1974a:333, Wilson *op cit.*:232-3, McAllister *op cit.*:283). It is believed that the ancestors simply "lick" (Bryant *op cit.*:145) or "smell" (Bigalke *op cit.*:76) these offerings, which accounts for the fact that they are not seen to diminish in quantity (Bigalke *op cit.*:75, Wilson *op cit.*:250). The kin group will sing, dance, talk, eat meat and drink beer throughout the night in "communion and commensality involving the living and their dead forebears" (McAllister *op cit.*:292). After some days or even months, the bones of the right leg from which the *intsonyama* was taken will be burnt, signalling the termination of the ritual (Kuckertz 1983b:131).

8.1.3. *Izinqulo*

According to Kropf (1915:286), *ukunqula* is a verb which means "to call on departed ancestors (*iminyanya*)". *Isinqulo* (plural: *izinqulo*) is the noun denoting the incantation itself, which Bigalke (*op cit.*) calls an invocation. In form, *izinqulo* are very similar to the praise poems (*izibongo*) that are composed to pay tribute to chiefs or dignitaries, cattle and ordinary people (Mzolo 1978: 220, Opland 1983:33-4) and which are still in evidence in the current South African political arena as performed by *iimbongi* or praise singers. According to A.C. Jordan, praise poetry may be composed for a person, clan, tribe, nation, animal or lifeless object, but it is concerned with neither landscape nor emotion and is instead rooted purely in the concrete, in the subject and appropriate imagery to describe it (Jordan 1973). *Izibongo* are not recited in order to "convey information," but as a means of expressing pride or gratitude, and to encourage and strengthen (Opland *op cit.*:132). The praises of chiefs are composed by "professional bards" (*iimbongi*), whereas ordinary men compose their own praises, as well as those of their cattle (Mzolo *op cit.*:210). Clan praises have been transmitted orally for many generations and it is

therefore not clear who composed them (Mzolo *ibid.*:210-1). This discussion will focus specifically on clan praises, also termed *izibongo*.

Kuse (1973:4) points out that the word '*isiduko*' (clan-name) can be understood in two ways; firstly as the clan-name itself, and secondly as "the set of praise names for each clan." As already discussed (5.7.2, 6.5.1), each clan also has a number of *izithakhazelo*, which Mzolo (*op cit.*:209) translates as "address names" because every Xhosa clan is not only associated with the ancestor who gave his name to the clan, but with also a number of other forebears whose names are synonymous with the clan-name (Kuse *op cit.*:2, Opland *op cit.*:43). The simplest form of *isinqulo* is the clan-name (*isiduko*) itself (Ndawo in Opland *op cit.*:44) or one of the *izithakhazelo*. If a number of *izithakhazelo* are recited in sequence, to which are added praises (*izibongo*) about the characteristics of the ancestors and the history of the clan, the *isinqulo* becomes a praise poem or *isibongo* and each clan is associated with such a "traditional poem" (Opland *op cit.*:43-4). The clan *izibongo* consist therefore of "the names, praise names, and praises of ancestors of the clan, as well as praises commemorating events in clan history and physical or moral attributes of clan members in general" (Opland *op cit.*:47). Clan praises are rather short and thus easy to memorise (Mzolo *op cit.*:210). In terms of this work, clan praises recalling the names and certain biographical details of white clan founders provide crucial evidence, but the fact that they have to be brief necessarily reduces their potential as a source of information about the founders.

To call on the ancestors using their *izibongo* is thus to *ukunqula* and in this way "intimate contact" is made with the ancestors because "their praise names are parts of their very selves" (Opland *op cit.*:40). *Izinqulo* and *izibongo* thus constitute a "medium of communication" with the ancestors (*ibid.*:119), and as such are integral to ancestor rituals. In fact it is the *isinqulo* that "makes the slaughtering of an animal into a ritual" (Bigalke *op cit.*:107). The recitation of *izibongo* brings ancestors into the present where they are able to commune with the living (Opland *op cit.*:131, 133). This is aided by the bellowing of the animal during the sacrificial slaughter where the "coincidence of the praising invocation and the animal's crying out, which is ritually essential, underlines the fact that the ancestor cult is part of a communication between the dead (the ancestor-spirit) and the living" (Kuckertz 1983b:126). The *izibongo* therefore have "vitalising power" or embody within their very words, the power to reach those who have passed beyond the threshold of death (Opland *op cit.*:131). Human speech is thus "conceived

of as a tangible entity" (Peek 1981:21) and "the symbol is felt as being in some way, the very being or object that it represents" (Levy-Bruhl in Opland *op cit.*:131). As Opland (*ibid.*:132) points out,

naming an individual and his ancestors [...] strengthens the living individual through ensuring the protective sympathy of his ancestors and promotes continuing intercourse between the living and the dead. The performance of izibongo thus *does* something; uttering the words of the poem makes something happen (his emphasis).

Hammond-Tooke (1968:40) noted that "ritual killings are made on a large number of occasions, but it is only at specific killings to propitiate a shade who has been divined as causing sickness [...] that the calling of the names of ancestors (*isinqulo*) is done." Bigalke's work however would appear to disagree, as he indicated that *izinqulo* form an integral part of all eleven different kinds of ritual he studied, whether they were so called "public feasts," (*imigidi*) or performed for a more specific reason (*izizathu*), such as illness or the marking of a life-cycle stage (Bigalke *op cit.*:106-7, 127). My own research findings would agree with Bigalke; that provided the animal is not slaughtered for food purposes but as a sacrifice to the ancestors, they will always be called upon through recitation (*ukunqula*) of the clan praises.

It is important to note that while it is recent ancestors of the agnatic cluster that "ask" for rituals to be performed, it is the clan ancestors as a whole that are invoked at rituals (Bigalke *op cit.*:111, Hammond-Tooke 1985:317). The communicating ancestor is always a man who was married and had children, his own homestead and stock, thereby having achieved "full manhood" (Bigalke *op cit.*:94). This is underlined by the fact that on death, "the full set of three mortuary rituals is performed" (*ibid.*:78). It is only such an ancestor who requests sacrifices through appearance in dreams or thoughts and who sends misfortune and illness. He is usually identifiable (in many cases as a father or grandfather) because he comes from the recent genealogy and was usually known to the dreamer while still alive (Hammond-Tooke 1985:317, Kuckertz 1983b:127).

As has been seen, preparation for the hosting of a ritual in terms of brewing beer and calling agnates to attend is the responsibility of members of the agnatic cluster and those whose presence is expected are members of the local clan section. Yet when it comes to the *isinqula*, the names of dead clan section members are never mentioned but "always the names of four or five clan ancestors, with their praises, [...] to whom

genealogical connection cannot be traced" (Hammond-Tooke 1968:40, 1985:317, Kuckertz 1983b:126). It is not that the clan section ancestors are not deemed important but, to the contrary, by reciting the clan-names and one or more of the clan praises, all ancestors are addressed (Bigalke *op cit.*:130) or as Hammond-Tooke's (1968:41) informant put it,

[w]hen a person makes a sacrifice he prays to no particular shade but does it for all the dead people of his home. [...] You do not call all the names because by calling the older names you include them all. Even if you recognise an ancestor in a dream, and you know that he is asking for meat, you will not specially call his name. It is included [in the invocation of clan ancestors].

It is not only members of the agnatic cluster who attend rituals, but clan members living close by will also be there. This "clan solidarity is a vital ingredient in Nguni society, binding a man to his living relatives as belief in the spirit world binds him to the dead" (Opland *op cit.*:120). This clan affiliation, identified through a common clan-name and *izibongo* (*ibid.*:47) is expressed at rituals which also demonstrate the "coherence of unilineal descent groups," both by the fact that members are expected to attend and by the belief that "rituals can be effective only when peace and harmony prevail between kinsmen" (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:345).

The invocation of the clan ancestors [...] is an impersonal, liturgical appeal to a vast, essentially *unknown* group of ancestral dead: the effective religious (emotional) involvement in ritual is with the known ancestors of the clan segment. The dead, it must be remembered, can only affect the lives of their own descendants, and they do this at two levels. In some vague unspecified way *all* fellow clansmen are under the *generalised* care of the clan ancestors, but in everyday life each agnatic group is *specifically* under the influence of clan section spirits (Hammond-Tooke 1985:317, his emphasis).

It is through ritual that the belief system and the "day-to-day interactions between men" are articulated (Hammond-Tooke 1974b:344). This depends upon what Bührmann (*op cit.*:29) termed "a symbiotic relationship" between the living and the dead in which "the role of each [... is] to keep the other happy, healthy and viable." Because ritual action in general and *izibongo* in particular "locate the present in the past" (McAllister *op cit.*:281) and "promote communication between the living and dead," the passage of time is defied (Opland *op cit.*:133).

8.2. Accommodating Christianity

Minor differences in practice exist not only between different clans in any one given area (Bigalke *op cit.*:115,126), but also according to tribal distinctions and differential social

and historical circumstances. For example, as McAllister pointed out (2003:16-17), his research was conducted in Shixini, Xhora, where although people can no longer be described as "Red" or *amaqaba*,⁶³ they none-the-less "remain very conservative, strongly attached to Xhosa tradition and committed to a rural lifestyle." There has been little Christian influence and, only relatively limited implementation of "betterment schemes,"⁶⁴ which involved the rearrangement of social and economic conditions. As such, kitchen gardens and arable plots were still relatively large and homesteads able to produce a large proportion of their grain requirements.

Kuckertz's research area in Caguba, Mpondoland, by contrast, was not only among a community with a high proportion (88%) of Christians (Kuckertz 1983b:114), but the implementation of "betterment" schemes also entrenched migrant labour, diminished land allocation to comparatively small fields and broke down neighbourhood groups, creating "suspicion and ill-feeling between new neighbours." Differences between the role and nature of communal work parties (*ukulima*) is influenced by religious beliefs because the traditional exchange of beer for labour is less appealing to people whose conversion to Christianity requires abstinence (McAllister *op cit.*:16-17). Although this discussion refers specifically to economic concerns, such issues would of course also impact on ritual belief and performance.

⁶³ The red people or *amaqaba* (where 'red' represented traditional the ochre with which adherents died their clothing) resisted change whereas their *amagqoboka* or school counterparts accepted Christianity and other forms of assimilation in Mayer's (1980) distinction.

⁶⁴ Betterment schemes were implemented in the Transkei and other homelands from the 1930s with the intention of preserving natural resources and improving agricultural production. They involved grouping previously dispersed homesteads into villages located separate from grazing and arable land, placing restrictions on grazing and reducing access to arable land. In general they were met with resistance from those affected, not least because insufficient land was allocated to make the policy viable in practice (McAllister, 1989:346, O'Connell, 1981:44).

9. Clan praises (*izinqulo*)

The act of reciting clan praises is described by the verb '*ukunqula*', and constitutes an essential aspect of ritual practice because it is believed to have the power to both evoke and appease ancestral spirits. Whereas clan genealogies (*iminombo*) provide the framework for linkages between contemporary clan members and their departed forebears (Chapter 5), the recitation (*ukunqula*) of clan praises (*izinqulo*) constitutes the means by which such forebears are brought into communion with their living descendants. Clan praises therefore fulfil an important catalytic function in that their recitation is not simply the passive repetition of arbitrary personal and historical facts, but perceived to quite literally travel from the lips of the speaker to the ears of his deceased ancestors.

This chapter begins with a brief consideration of some of the semiotic elements inherent in the structure of Nguni clan praises in general, followed by a delineation of which aspects of those collected during this research will be further analysed. As outlined in the Introduction to Part Three, this chapter and the one following shift the focus from *what* is recorded in the oral tradition, to *how* this knowledge is relevant and/or meaningful in the performance of traditional ancestor rituals. As such, no further attempt will be made to compare or assess genealogical and historical consistencies and anomalies regarding the biographical and historical information contained within clan praises. Instead, this chapter will focus on praise phrases, and especially the ways in which they refer to, and commemorate foreign ancestors.

9.1. Structure and meaning of Nguni clan praises

Clan praises are constructed according to a generic formula, which in itself alludes firstly to the system of patrilineal descent underpinning clan membership itself, and secondly to the broader social and economic context within which clan members exist, co-exist and interact. Patrilineal descent is represented in clan praises through frequent repetition of the word '*zika*' or sometimes '*kwa*', both of which mean 'of'. These terms prefix many clan praise lines, and – whether followed by ancestral name or praise phrase – idiomatically refer to the direct blood line that extends from deceased clan forebears to living descendants appealing for their attention. This aspect of style is therefore also a device by which the spoken word constitutes not only historical and genealogical

information, but more importantly, the means by which those belonging to both past and present are brought into one another's presence.

A second element that is common to Cape Nguni clan praises in general and also recurrent in those of some of the clans of interest here, relates to the theme of cattle. The idea of the "cattle complex" was originally introduced by Herskovits (1926), in reference to the central role played by cattle across most of the Eastern shore of Africa. It is exemplified by an association between male status and the ownership of cattle, and the ritual sacrifice of cattle to mark important rites of passage. Although milked, cattle do not provide meat unless as a result of ritual sacrifice or accidental death, and women are considered harmful to cattle, being associated instead with horticulture. Kuper, (1982b) did not agree with all aspects of Herskovits' characterisation, but developed the concept further with regard to the higher social prestige and ceremonial importance attached to pastoral activities, as against the lower status occupation of agriculture pursued by women, who in fact produced most of the food consumed.

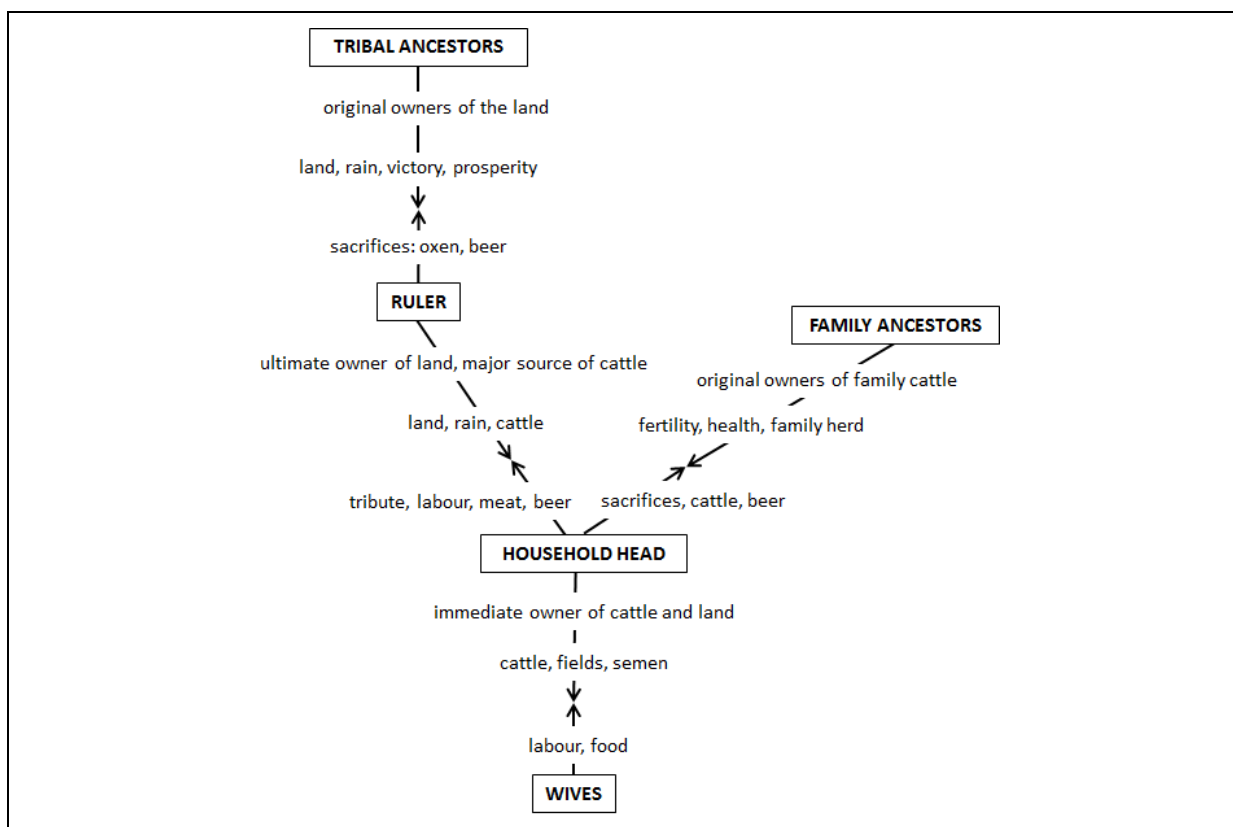


Figure 9.1. Reproduction of Kuper's (1982b:17) Hierarchical transactions

Kuper (1982b) spoke of a "hierarchy of food production" (see reproduction of his diagram in Fig 9.1) according to which, the female modes of production – horticulture

and foraging – were ranked lower than those of men – pastoralism and hunting. Pastoral and agricultural products were however exchanged for one another in the sense that “superiors” in the form of ancestral spirits, chiefs, fathers and husbands provided cattle and fields to their “subordinates” who comprised the living, followers, children and wives respectively. In return, subordinates provided meat, labour and grain to their superiors, the most “crucial” of these “hierarchical exchanges” being those between ancestors and descendants, in which clan ancestors, as the “original owners of family cattle”, provided fertility, health and the family herd itself in exchange for sacrifices of cattle and beer.

Such sacrifices will be the subject of Chapter 10, this brief delineation of the social, economic and ritual significance of cattle, and more importantly the perceived role of ancestors in being responsible not only for their very existence, but also their ongoing well-being, is included here by way of explanation for the way in which cattle, and specifically the ownership of cattle by clan ancestors occurs as a repetitive theme in some of the *izinqulo* discussed below.

9.2. Documentation of exogenous clan praises

9.2.1. Collection and compilation of clan praises

Oral genealogies and histories concerning clan origins and forebears were primarily sought from clan elders, the custodians of such knowledge, but clan praises are the business of every person and were accordingly collected from any and all research participants who wished to contribute. Although many of those collected were recited by older men, some were the renditions of younger men or women of various ages. Praises were not recited in an ordinary spoken tone but often at heightened pace, and in an altered, to some extent ritualised tone of voice that rendered some of the words incomprehensible.⁶⁵ Even clan praises (*izinqulo*) recorded for the purposes of this study that were not collected in ritual contexts were recited in this way, in some cases “virtually incoherent”, as Wilson (1979[1936]:372) and Opland (1983:40) have also remarked.

A total of 34 *izinqulo* were collected: eight from amaMolo; seven from abeLungu Jekwa; nine from abeLungu Hatu; four from abeLungu Fuzwayo; two from each of amaCaine and amaThakha and one each from abeLungu Horner and amaOgle. No

⁶⁵ Passages of clan praises I recorded that were unable to be translated or transcribed are indicated by three question-marks (???).

izinqulo as such were collected from amaFrance and amaIrish. In almost all cases, clan praises collected from different agnates within any clan or clan section had many similarities and a few differences. Clan praises collected from contemporary members of the original abeLungu clan sections and abeLungu Fuzwayo were distilled into four combined clan section *izinqulo* based on the frequency with which clan ancestors and praise phrases were mentioned by contemporary clan members, as well as their general relevance across the clan, as described in Appendix K1. These four abeLungu clan section *izinqulo* were then combined with one another, according to the same criteria to generate the combined abeLungu clan praises, which will be utilised for purposes of analysis and interpretation. The two clan praises collected from amaCaine were similarly combined, as described in Appendix K8. The amaThakha clan praises were only recited by two research participants, one of whose rendition was a weak reflection of the other, so the fuller version was adopted as the clan section *isinqulo* without any process of combination.

As already noted (4.2.2), a woman's clan membership is determined by that of her father, just as a man's is determined by that of his father. Marriage does not alter a woman's clan-name (*isiduko*), and the customary term used to address a married woman is 'Ma (*Isiduko*)', which is also the most respectful way to address any woman, married or not. Hence asking research participants what their sisters and daughters were called after marriage, was a means of establishing whether or not people's self-identification – as having no clan affiliation – carried through into the social context within which they – as well as their sisters and daughters – interacted.

9.2.2. Analysis of clan praises

For the most part, there was strong correlation between the information recalled in clan praises and that already known from the documentation of other aspects of the oral tradition, often highlighting factors that have already observed. In certain cases, such as those of amaMolo and the clans descended from more recent entrants into the culture, the fit between names recalled in their histories, genealogies and clan praises was almost exact. In others, links between ancestors named in oral histories and genealogies and those recalled in clan praises were not so clear cut, such as those of abeLungu Jekwa and Hatu for example, both of which recalled one other's forebears in addition to their own. Similarly, the clan praises of abeLungu Fuzwayo included both

amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa ancestors, and also a clan forebear named Mlungu, the latter further demonstrating the centrality of the conception of a single common clan forebear. These examples of the sharing and construction of clan forebears are not at all surprising, being entirely consistent with observations already made regarding the preservation of oral tradition in a context determined by an underlying assumption that members of the same clan are all descended from one common ancestor.

When clan praises were discussed in 8.1.3, it was seen that they comprise praise names interspersed with commemorative praise phrases. It is however misleading to separate praise names from praise phrases. This is because both are to some extent synonymous with the names of actual ancestors. A particular clan forebear, Jekwa of the abeLungu for example, will be recalled in clan praises by the name 'Jekwa', and by one or more *izithakhazelo* or 'nicknames' given to him during his lifetime and also by phrases related to his specific historical or biographical circumstances, such as for example, "white people from across the sea". At the same time, the 'vitalising power' of clan praises means that the presence of all clan ancestors is evoked through their recitation, whether or not they are specifically named, so that as much as clan praises refer to individual forebears, they also represent the entire body of clan ancestors, and for that matter their living descendants.

Certain praise names called in clan praises were not recalled in other parts of the oral tradition. These were most likely *izithakhazelo* or the additional praise names referring to ancestors who are also recalled by their more commonly used names, those by which they are known in other forms of oral tradition. It is seldom possible to distinguish which praise names and phrases refer to the ancestors named in oral histories and genealogies, or even to know whether they are synonymous with named clan ancestors recalled or others who may have passed out of other modes of oral recall. This interchangeability of the names of actual ancestors, their acquired nicknames and the phrases that represent their history and biography, are impossible to untangle from one another. As mentioned above, however, the following analysis of clan praises will not attempt further interrogation of genealogical consistencies or anomalies, but primarily constitute an attempt to interpret metaphorical and stereotypical allusions within praise phrases that relate – or appear to relate – to claims of foreign identity.

9.2.3. Interpretation of clan praises

The idiom in which many praise phrases are couched is essentially metaphorical, and attempts to understand exactly what was initially intended by the phraseology and metaphor of praise phrases must be understood as an essentially interpretive exercise and prone therefore to misconceptions stemming from cultural, historical, racial and any number of other factors.

Some praises are easier to interpret than others. Certain phrases for example are essentially biographical, such as those in abeLungu clan praises that allude to ships, the sea, across the sea, England and Lambasi. All of these are direct references to the clan's history of having descended from shipwreck survivors, and do not require further interrogation. Other phrases are inaccessible to interpretation because they cannot be linked with what is known about clan history. The meanings of praise phrases such as, "Of swimming in a river, *Zoo dad'ezibukweni*" (Appendix B3.7) and "I am cow must give birth so that colostrum will come out, *Ndingu nkomo mayizale kuphum'isigqoko*" (Appendix E3.3) cannot be construed because they refer to attributes or biographies that cannot be linked with contemporary oral history or historically documented clan section history. It is with the phrases that lie between these two extremes that we will be concerned here, namely those which are essentially metaphorical, but which appear to allude to known historical circumstances. As such, acknowledging that this is essentially an exercise of interpretation, I hope to explore ways in which European identity is claimed and expressed through the medium of ritually charged orations spoken in isiXhosa.

The clans participating in this research all claim descent from non-African forebears, but do not all express identification and affiliation with their host cultures to the same extent. AmaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa, abeLungu Hatu and abeLungu Fuzwayo participants express a relatively high degree of cultural affiliation and their clan praises will be considered in 9.3. Those of clans expressing some ambivalence about the extent of their cultural integration will be discussed in 9.4. The chapter will conclude with an overall analysis clan praises collected from exogenous clans.

9.3. Clan praises of original abeLungu clans & amaThakha

The clan praises I collected from amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa were not the first recordings, because the amateur historian Mphumelelo Makuliwe conducted a similar

exercise in the 1990s, across a much broader range of clans. The two versions of amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa clan praises will be compared in 9.3.1, following which the combined abeLungu clan praises and those of amaThaka will be considered in 9.3.2 and 9.3.3 respectively.

9.3.1. *Izinqulo* of amaMolo & abeLungu Jekwa

Makuliwe (c.1990) records the following as the *isinqulo* of the amaMolo:

Isinqulo 9.3a AmaMolo *isinqulo* recorded by Makuliwe (c.1990)

<i>Iinkomo zikaMolo</i>	Cattle of Molo
<i>ZikaMlungu</i>	Of Mlungu
<i>Mpondo</i>	Mpondo
<i>Khoboko</i>	Khoboko
<i>Gxagxa</i>	Gxagxa
<i>Lawu</i>	Lawu
<i>Ngabakwasilanda yinaliti</i>	Thin as a needle
<i>Bakwa mkhonto yimesi</i>	Where they come from a spear is a knife
<i>Nkonjane emnyama yaphesheya kolwandle</i>	Black swallow from overseas
<i>Inyok'emnyama ecandl'ulwandle</i>	Black snake that crosses the sea
<i>Nkomo zoMlung'omnyama nenwele zakhe</i>	Cattle of white people who are black, even their hair (is black)
<i>Mlambo omkhulo ongwelwa nangamehlo</i>	A river so wide that you cannot see the other side, that cannot be crossed
<i>Wona awel'umlambo ugcwele</i>	They cross such a river even when it is at its fullest
<i>ZikaBhayi</i>	Of Bhayi
<i>ZikaSomlungwana</i>	Of Somlungwana
<i>Zika Mera</i>	Of Mera,
<i>ZikaTulwana</i>	Of Tulwana
<i>ZikaPita</i>	Of Pita
<i>ZikaNgcolwane</i>	Of Ngcolwane
<i>ZikaMagarheni</i>	Of Magarheni
<i>ZikaFalteni</i>	Of Falteni
<i>ZikaNyango,</i>	Of Nyango
<i>ZikaNywantsu</i>	Of Nywantsu
<i>ZikaMxhaka</i>	Of Mxhaka

There are remarkably few similarities between the *isinqulo* recorded by Makuliwa and the combined amaMolo *isinqulo* transcribed in I9.3b below. Contemporary amaMolo *isinqulo* are without exception contractions of this – almost epic – testimony to the names and attributes of clan founders. A full list of amaMolo *isinqulo* can be found in Appendix A3, the one below being a contraction thereof, as demonstrated in Appendix K3.

Isinqulo 9.3b Combined amaMolo *isinqulo*

<i>SingabeLungu</i>	We are abeLungu
<i>Sonke apha kulendawo kuthiwa</i>	All of us here in this place called Mamolweni, we
<i>yiMamolweni,singaMamolo,abeLungu</i>	are the Molos, the Mlungus.
<i>Kwa Jafiliti</i>	Of Jafiliti
<i>Kwa Bhayi</i>	Of Bhayi
<i>Umfazi onebele elinye waphetsheya kolwandle</i>	A woman with one breast from overseas
<i>Islanda yinaliti</i>	A blanket-pin is a needle
<i>Kwa mkhonto yi mesi</i>	Of spear is a knife
<i>Umfazi obelenye phesheya kweEngland</i>	A woman with one breast from England

The most striking difference between Makuliwe’s transcription of the amaMolo clan praises and those collected during this study, is that, in conformity with many Cape Nguni clan praises, it refers to cattle, unlike those collected more recently, which do not. This will be discussed further in 9.5.1. Likewise, almost all the praise phrases in Makuliwe’s *isinqulo* do not appear in those collected recently from Mamolweni and Hluleka, most notably those referring to amaMolo as “black snake” and “black swallow” which tend to corroborate original reports of Asian forebears. As does “*nkomo zoMlung’omnyama nenwele zakhe* (cattle of white people who are black, even their hair (is black))”, which also goes further to suggest – as observed in 6.1.3 – that concepts of foreign origins appear to have been linked with an idea of ‘whiteness’ even where this might not actually have been the case.

The phrase “*ngabakwaSilanda yinaliti* (thin as a needle)” from Makuliwe’s *isinqulo* bears some similarity with “*isilanda yinaliti* (blanket-pin is a needle)” which is common among contemporary amaMolo *izinqulo*, but the similarity is in form rather than meaning, because the two phrases express different aspects, the first of appearance and the second of technology, a theme also found in the phrase “the spear is a knife, *mkhonto yimesi*” which is discussed further in 9.3.3. However, it is easy to see how the apparent similarity between the two phrases could have led to the confusion of one for the other, either by a clan member in reciting the clan praise, or by Makuliwe in his transcription. Reference to clan founders having come “from overseas (*waphetsheya kolwandle*)”, by contrast, appears frequently in contemporary amaMolo *izinqulo*, but is absent from the one recorded by Makuliwe.



Figure 9.2. Janet with members of amaMolo at Mamolweni

The phrase, “woman with one breast - *umfazi onebele elinye*”, believed to have been Bhayi’s infertile wife, Presley or Priscilla, recalled as having survived shipwreck along with him and his putative brother Pita, is also absent from Makuliwe’s transcription. This phrase, together with two others, “the spear is a knife, *mkhonto yimesi*” and “blanket-pin is a needle, *isilanda yinaliti*”, occur frequently across the amaMolo *izingulo* collected during the course of this research. They are also, as will be seen, ubiquitous across other abeLungu clan praises. Only the phrase “the spear is a knife, *mkhonto yimesi*” is represented accurately in Makuliwe’s version. It is ironic that the phrase, “woman with one breast - *umfazi onebele elinye*”, is entirely absent from Makuliwe’s rendition because this is the one phrase that can be definitively linked with amaMolo from a biographical perspective, as will be further considered in 9.3.3. The praise phrases listed by Makuliwe appear to have some historical aptness, but are no longer part of amaMolo renditions of their clan praises. Certainly, the elders he would have spoken to would have been older than the ones I met, and as such can be presumed to have had a better recall, but this is insufficient to explain the extensive discrepancies between praise phrases in the amaMolo *isingulo* recorded by Makuliwe some twenty years ago, and those I collected more recently. Contemporary amaMolo clan praises appear to conform more closely to those of the original abeLungu clan than to those of their own clan section, as recorded two decades ago by Makuliwe (c.1990).

When compared with the rich and poetic amaMolo *isingulo* recorded by Makuliwe (c.1990), his transcription of that belonging to the original abeLungu clan is relatively scant:

Isinqulo 9.3c AbeLungu Jekwa isinqulo recorded by Makuliwe (c.1990)

<i>Nkomo zikaNgesi</i>	Cattle of the English
<i>Zika Mbomboshe</i>	Of Mbomboshe
<i>Zika Nxambana</i>	Of Nxambana
<i>Zika Nogaya</i>	Of Nogaya
<i>Zika AbeLungu</i>	Of AbeLungu
<i>Zika Gubanca</i>	Of Gubanca
<i>Bala lenkomo!</i>	Count the cattle!

Makuliwe only recorded two praise phrases, both of which allude to cattle and one referring to the English origin of the clan. Unlike his rendition of the amaMolo clan praises, there are more similarities than differences between the *isinqulo* he recorded for abeLungu Jekwa and the ones collected during my fieldwork in 2010 – 11. However, his abeLungu Jekwa *isinqulo* displays a relative paucity when compared both with the one he recorded for amaMolo (I9.3a), and those I collected from contemporary abeLungu Jekwa. These are transcribed in full in Appendix B3, and have been contracted into the combined abeLungu Jekwa *isinqulo* transcribed below, as illustrated in Appendix K4.

Isinqulo 9.3d Combined abeLungu Jekwa *isinqulo*

<i>Zika Jekwa</i>	Of Jekwa
<i>Zika Gquma</i>	Of Gquma
<i>Zika Mbomboshe</i>	Of Mbomboshe
<i>Nkomo zika Mbayela</i>	Cattle of Mbayela
<i>Tarhu nkomo zika Nogaya</i>	Look kindly on us cattle of Nogaya
<i>Zika Yimatshe</i>	Of Yimatshe
<i>Zika Lufenu</i>	Of Lufenu
<i>Zika Somangxangatshe</i>	Of Somangxangatshe
<i>Zika Feni</i>	Of Feni
<i>NguQhina ka Qhonono</i>	Qhina of Qhonono
<i>Zika bafazi thwalani iminqwazi m'xel'amadoda</i>	Of women wear hats like men
<i>Zika mkhonto yimesi</i>	Of spear is a knife
<i>Ngumfazi abele nye waphesheya ko lwandle</i>	Of a woman with one breast from across the sea
<i>Zika silanda yinaliti</i>	Of blanket-pin is a needle
<i>Aka nqanawa</i>	Of ship
<i>Pesheya ko lwandle</i>	Across the sea
<i>Zika Ngesi eliyindoda</i>	Of an Englishman
<i>Tarhu nkomo zaseLambasi</i>	Have mercy on us cattle from Lambasi

The three praise phrases that were recalled across the majority of amaMolo *isinqulo* – "woman with one breast from overseas, *umfazi omnye abele nye naphesheya ke lwandle*", "blanket-pin is a needle, *islanda yinaliti*" and "the spear is a knife, *mkhonto yimesi*" are all represented in the combined abeLungu clan praises. As are phrases

referring to English origins, a ship, and “across the sea”. In addition, the perceived place at which clan forebears were shipwrecked – Lambasi – is recalled. The phrase, “of women wear hats like men, *zika bafazi thwalani iminqwazi m’xel’amadoda*” is also recited in a number of renditions of AbeLungu Jekwa clan praises. All these praise phrases can be seen to relate to the foreign origins of clan founders, which will be considered further in 9.3.

9.3.2. Combined abeLungu *Izinqulo*

The combined amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa clan praises have been discussed above. Before the combined abeLungu clan praises are discussed, those of abeLungu Hatu and abeLungu Fuzwayo will be briefly considered. The individual clan praises collected from abeLungu Hatu can be seen in Appendix C3. The means by which these were combined and the combined clan praises themselves can be seen in Appendix K5. AbeLungu Hatu clan praises include seven phrases that are not seen in any other abeLungu *izinqulo*. The majority of these are very much the metaphorical kind of lines common across all Cape Nguni *izinqulo* and do not obviously reference the foreign origins of the clan, namely “of *Khamanga* (Banana palm) that grows at the sea”, “of rekindling the cooking stones of Ntsimbakazi”, “of grinding stone”, “of brewing rock” and “of ewe goat grabbed by the horns”. The phrase “of women wear hats like men, *zika bafazi thwalani iminqwazi m’xel’amadoda*” which was seen to be part of the abeLungu Jekwa *isinqulo* is also recited by abeLungu Hatu, as are the three quintessential abeLungu phrases which will be discussed further in 9.3.3. This and the remaining two phrases might be seen to relate to stereotypical impressions of Europeans on the one hand – “of face that does not have crumbs, that does not have rubbish, *zoo buso abuna ngququ, abuna nkukuma*” and the skin colour of mixed-race descendants on the other – “of sprinkling of yellow, *zika tshiza ngobhelu*”, and will be discussed further in 9.5.2.

The question as to whether abeLungu Fuzwayo might be descended from the forebears of amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa, or abeLungu Hatu, is not resolved by a consideration of their *izinqulo* which incorporate elements of those collected among all three clan sections. The clan praises collected from abeLungu Fuzwayo comprise Appendix E3, and details of their combination as well as the praises themselves can be seen in Appendix K6. At first glance, the abeLungu Fuzwayo clan praises are very similar to those of amaMolo, in that eight of the thirteen lines more or less echo those of the

latter. These include those referring to the abeLungu⁶⁶ clan, the amaMolo forebears Bhayi and Jafiliti, their allegedly English nationality, and the three praise phrases found commonly across all abeLungu clan praises.

The similarities with amaMolo clan praises are reduced when it is considered that two of the remaining three names called are those of abeLungu Jekwa forebears, Mbayela and Mbomboshe, and the third, Qhina of Qhonono, although absent from Soga's genealogies and those collected during the course of this research, is also recalled in one abeLungu Jekwa *isingulo*. An additional two lines refer to a ship and the sea, which are common refrains in the abeLungu Jekwa and Hatu oral repertoires, but absent from amaMolo clan praises. Thus, nine out of thirteen lines in the combined abeLungu Fuzwayo *isingulo* are the same or similar to those of the combined abeLungu Jekwa *isingulo*. Clan praises cannot be expected to provide a means by which to establish any kind of genealogical links, as has been seen in the case of the abeLungu Hatu clan praises, which echoing their oral genealogies, side-line their actual clan forebears in favour of those of the abeLungu Jekwa clan section.

Clan praises collected from the three original abeLungu clan sections and abeLungu Fuzwayo were combined according to the guidelines described in Appendices K1.1 and K1.3 and demonstrated in K.6. The combined *izingulo* are as follows:

Isinqulo 9.3e Combined abeLungu *isingulo*

<i>SingabeLungu</i>	We are abeLungu
<i>amaMolo</i>	Molo
<i>Zika Jafiliti</i>	Of Jafiliti
<i>Zike Bhayi</i>	Of Bhayi
<i>Zika Jekwa</i>	Of Jekwa
<i>Zika Gquma</i>	Of Gquma
<i>Zika Mbomboshe</i>	Of Mbomboshe
<i>Nkomo zika Mbayela</i>	Cattle of Mbayela
<i>Zika Yimatshe</i>	Of Yimatshe
<i>Zika Lufenu</i>	Of Lufenu
<i>Zika Somangxangatshe</i>	Of Somangxangatshe
<i>NguQhina ka Qhonono</i>	Qhina of Qhonono
<i>Zika mkhonto yimesi</i>	Of spear is a knife
<i>Isilanda yinaliti</i>	A blanket-pin is a needle
<i>Umfazi onebele elinye waphetsheya kolwandle</i>	A woman with one breast from overseas
<i>Bafazi thwalani iminqwazi m'xel'amadoda</i>	Women wear hats like men
<i>ZaseNgilani</i>	Of England

⁶⁶ None of the abeLungu Jekwa or abeLungu Hatu clan praises referred to the abeLungu clan specifically.

Aka nqanawa
Pesheya ko lwandle
Kwa Lambasi!

Of ship
Across the sea
At Lambasi!

The extent to which each of the 20 praise names and phrases included in the combined abeLungu *isinqulo* (I9.3e) were represented across all 28 *isinqulo*⁶⁷ collected in the field is plotted in a bar chart in Appendix K7.2. It shows the frequency with which each praise line was recalled across all 28 *isinqulo*, as well as within each of the four abeLungu clan sections concerned. The 20 lines comprising the combined abeLungu *isinqulo* are grouped according to whether they refer to clan-name (2), ancestral name (10) or praise phrase (8).

This analysis of the frequency of use of *isinqulo* lines across and within the four abeLungu clan sections shows that of the three clan sections that recall their own – albeit perceived – forebears (amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu), there is a moderate to high recall of at least one key clan section forebear, and that abeLungu Fuzwayo have high recall of one amaMolo forebear. Whereas the names of amaMolo forebears recalled accord with those documented by Soga, in the case of abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu there is some indication that clan forebears (as recorded by Soga) are passing out of recall. This is demonstrated dramatically in the case of the latter, but even though Jekwa is recalled by his descendants, it is by fewer than those who recall Mbayela, the father of their apical ancestor Nogaya and therefore a nearer though still distant forebear. This bears out what was already indicated by clan section oral history (6.2), where it was seen that some contemporary members of abeLungu Jekwa conflate their clan forebears name, Jekwa, with that of their apical ancestor, Nogaya.

The clan praises collected in the field show that certain praise phrases are germane to abeLungu and that others are recited by some but not all clan sections. AmaMolo for example do not recite any phrases other than the four quintessentially associated with the clan, but the work of Makuliwe (c.1990) suggests that other praise phrases originally part of their *isinqulo* have been abandoned. The *isinqulo* of abeLungu Jekwa and Fuzwayo both include praise phrases that overlap with one another, as do those of abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu, but it is only the latter clan section that

⁶⁷ 8 from amaMolo, 7 from abeLungu Jekwa, 9 from abeLungu Hatu and 4 from abeLungu Fuzwayo.

also includes a large number of additional praise phrases, not all of which are obviously redolent of clan history.

Four praise phrases quintessentially represent the abeLungu clan in that they are recalled across all four clan sections. In some cases, such as the amaMolo, these are recalled across many *izinqulo* collected from contemporary clan members, but in others, they are recalled to a relatively limited extent. The praise phrase, “of women wear hats like men, *zika bafazi thwalani iminqwazi m’xel’amadoda*” was recalled by 57% of abeLungu Jekwa, but only 22% of abeLungu Hatu, and not by any of the other clan sections. Of the praise phrases that qualified for inclusion in the combined abeLungu *isinqulo* (see Appendix K1.3), all refer to the known history and perceived nationality of the original abeLungu clan founders, or can be associated with stereotypical associations with European culture, as will be discussed more fully in 9.5.2.

There is considerable overlap between ancestors named as forebears in clan genealogies and those recalled in clan praises in the case of *izinqulo* collected from the original abeLungu clan sections, amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu, which also include the names of ancestors who have been lost in genealogical oral history. The ancestors named in clan praises are all ancient, if not original forebears, which accords with observations made by Hammond-Tooke (1968:40, 1985:317) and Kuckertz (1983b:126) that more recent clan section ancestors were never mentioned in *izinqulo*, but those of ‘clan ancestors’ to whom genealogical connection could not be traced, as was discussed in 8.1.3. It is certainly true that abeLungu Fuzwayo and to a lesser extent, abeLungu Hatu cannot demonstrate their links with the clan ancestors named in their *izinqulo*, but the oral genealogies of amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa do trace directly back to Jekwa and Jafiliti respectively, both of which are verified by those documented by Soga (1930), despite the recent insertion of Bessie / Gquma into that of abeLungu Jekwa.

9.3.3. Interpretation of abeLungu clan phrases

Of the four quintessential abeLungu praise phrases, the first involves reference to England and as such is biographical rather than metaphorical. The other three phrases, which will be discussed in turn are:

- woman with one breast from overseas, *umfazi omnye abele nye naphesheya ke lwandle*

- blanket-pin is a needle, *islanda yinaliti*
- the spear is a knife, *mkhonto yimesi*

Woman with one breast from overseas

According to amaMolo, this phrase recalls their forebear Priscilla, aka Presley, the barren woman who is recalled as having survived shipwreck along with the other amaMolo forebears, and believed to have been Bhayi's wife. Her inability to have children is metaphorically portrayed in the praise phrase by the depiction of a woman with only one breast. While it is possible that this might have been the case, it is more likely that she had two breasts but no children, and that her characterisation as having had one breast was an allusion to infertility rather than an actual physical condition. Although abeLungu Jekwa also name a woman among their forebears – Bessie/Gquma – she is recalled in both documented and oral accounts as having borne children and so while, like Presley/Priscilla, she was a "woman from overseas", there was nothing else about her that would account for her characterisation as somehow less than a complete woman with regard to reproduction. The relative ubiquity of this praise phrase across many abeLungu clan praises suggests that the phrases recited by contemporary members of the amaMolo clan have not all been adopted from those of the abeLungu clan sections, but that movement has occurred in both directions. The fact that the phrase is not recorded by Makuliwe however, remains both curious and inexplicable.

Blanket-pin is a needle

In order to contextualise this praise phrase, it is necessary to consider when trade items began reaching Mpondoland, and what is meant by the term 'blanket-pin'. The British Colonial Government only legalised trade between colonists and natives in 1824. Boers had however been exchanging copper, iron and beads for cattle since the early eighteenth century (Peires, 1981:97-100). Trade with Europeans took longer to reach Mpondoland, but Wilson (*op cit.*:2) asserts that by the latter half of the nineteenth century, a steady exchange of blankets, hoes, axes and illicit guns for hides, skins, ivory horn and cattle was well established between colonial traders and amaMpondo. Licences for trading stations were issued from 1830, with traders exchanging beads, metal, blankets, guns and ammunition, horses, liquor and other commodities for ivory, cattle, and grain (Volk, 2003:16).

Prior to this, men would have worn a penis sheath and carried an ox-hide blanket and women ankle-length skirts made from ox-hide and a skin apron tied above the breasts (Soga 1931:410-12, Wilson *op cit.*:101). Western dress, that is clothes stitched with needle and thread were only adopted from approximately the middle of the nineteenth, once Christian missionaries had begun to succeed in converting some Cape Nguni. Subsequently, even those who resisted conversion to Christianity began to use fabric to construct garments along similar lines to traditional ones. Access to so-called blanket pins therefore post-dated the entrance of amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu into Mpondo and Bomvana communities by at least a century, suggesting that the praise phrase was invented sometime after establishment of the abeLungu clan.



Figure 9.3. Kilt pin / blanket pin ⁶⁸

Figure 9.3 represents the large safety-pin referred to here as a blanket-pin, which is known – amongst English speakers – as a ‘kilt-pin’, presumably describing its function prior to importation into the South African colony, and subsequent introduction and establishment as a trade item in the ‘Transkei Territories’, most probably at more or less the same time as blankets themselves. During the establishment of trade within the region, blankets were rapidly recognised as useful items, not least because like traditional garments, they could be wrapped around the body. Kilt-pins would have been useful for securing not only traditional garments, but also blankets wrapped around the body, hence the vernacular term, ‘blanket pin’. Broster (1967, 1976) has shown that other than the patently useful function of securing garments, blanket-pins were frequently attached to beaded tags, sometimes called “love letters” that depicted biographical information pertinent to the wearer, as is illustrated in Figure 9.4.

⁶⁸ Image copied from https://www.etsy.com/market/sewing_embroidery



Figure 9.4. Beaded love letter with blanket pins ⁶⁹

Although traditional Cape Nguni technologies included for example awls, it is probable that neither blanket-pins nor sewing needles existed amongst the communities into which the original amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu clan founders were absorbed. The clothes worn by shipwreck survivors however, would have been stitched. It may appear on first glance to be counter-intuitive to assert that the praise phrase, “blanket-pin is a needle, *islanda yinaliti*” refers to perceived superior technology associated with European culture and hence abeLungu forebears. However, it is possible that the relative technologies metaphorically represented by the blanket-pin and the needle relate more to cultural stereotypes associated with tailored western dress as against rudimentally joined traditional garb, than to technology *per se*. That is to say that the perceived technological superiority of the needle does not lie in its function of stitching, which predates the metal-work required to produce a robust safety pin, but in the products of stitched cloth as against skins, blankets, or rectangles of imported fabric secured by blanket-pins or otherwise. Metaphorically therefore, the praise phrase, “a blanket-pin is a needle, *islanda yinaliti*” alludes to the distinction between traditional as against technologically advanced and more enduring ways of securing – and indeed manufacturing – clothing.

The spear is a knife

The notion of improved technology associated with the abeLungu clan is also implicit in the praise phrase, “the spear is a knife, *mkhonto yimesi*” which clearly alludes to the more advanced technology involved in the construction and functions of a knife as

⁶⁹ Image copied from <https://hubpages.com/politics/The-Blame-is-Squarely-Laid-on-the-Feet-of-Poor-Africans-Chains-on-the-Minds-of-Africans-Dysfunctional-Existence>

against a spear. However, as will be seen in Chapter 10, this praise phrase also refers to the ritual *use* of a knife against a spear among some clans and clan sections, if not currently, then historically. Taken together, the praise phrases, “*isilanda yinaliti*” (a blanket-pin is a needle) and “*oomkhonto yimesi*” (the spear is a knife) suggest that abeLungu are people who do not resort to traditional techniques such as holding clothes together with pins or cutting with a spear.

9.3.4. AmaThakha

Unlike many of the other research participants belonging to exogenous clans of relatively recent origins (9.4), Mthatiswa Nkunde expressed no hesitation in reciting his clan praises:

Isinqulo 9.3h *Isinqulo of amaThakha*

<i>Thakha</i>	Thakha
<i>Phin'alikhothwa</i>	The wooden spoon that cannot be licked
<i>Imbokodw'ebomvu yakwa Magayisi egay'ucumsi</i>	The red rock of Magayisi that grinds
<i>Sizi zKotshi thina</i>	We are the Scotch

(Mthatiswa Nkunde, Appendix J3.2).

As in the case of most endogenous Cape Nguni clans, the clan-name is the same as that of the clan founder, unlike the clan-name 'abeLungu', which relates to biography rather than genealogy (3.5). Also, although it is not evident from the *isinqulo* above, it can be seen in interviews with amaThakha participants (Appendix J2) that in accordance with traditional clan conventions, the amaThakha clan is also known by synonyms or *izithakhazelo*, namely 'Khatha' and 'Thank'. Their *isinqulo* also follows convention in that it comprises praise names and phrases, but it does so to limited extent in both cases. The final line refers to the alleged Scottish nationality of the clan forebear. An absence of direct – or indirect – cultural allusions as well as oral and documented biographical and historical accounts of the clan forebear and history make the third line impossible to interpret. The second line will be discussed further in 9.5.2.

9.4. Clan praises of AbeLungu Horner and other clans

Some contemporary members of the more recently absorbed clans – abeLungu Horner, some members of amaCaine and amaOgle, the Richards branch of amaFrance, and amaIrish, expressed ambivalence about whether or not they have clan-names (*iziduko*)

and clan praises (*izinqulo*) at all, and the extent to which these are pertinent to them as the descendants of foreigners.

9.4.1. AbeLungu Horner

Many members of abeLungu Horner denied that they (among other exogenous clans) had either clan names or praises:

Interview Extract 9.4a

Mlungisi: The Sukwinis, Mlungus and Molos have no clan-name. [...] We do not have a real or deep clan-name because we came from white people and white people don't have clan-names. [...]

Qaqambile: When you are performing your rituals, do you recite praises and the names of your ancestors like the Xhosas do? If so, do you use the names of the ancestors who came out of the wrecks?

Mlungisi: Yes, their names appear. [...] It is difficult to admit, but I don't want to lie to you. No, we don't have praises (Mlungisi Horner, Appendix D2.1).

Interview Extract 9.4b

Qaqambile: Do you say praises?

Cecil: Well we don't have a clan-name, I don't want to lie to you. We just call ourselves Mlungu, Horner, that's it (Cecil Horner, Appendix D2.2).

Interview Extract 9.4c

Weldon: We never said any praises. What I said was that I am performing this dinner for my father.

Qaqambile: Oh, you just spoke about it.

Weldon: Yes, I spoke about it in front of the people who were there (Weldon Horner, Appendix D2.6).



Figure 9.5. Cecil Horner of abeLungu Horner and family

Despite the denial by many Horners that they belong to the abeLungu clan, and although their rituals do not in general include the recitation of formal clan praises, abeLungu Horner nevertheless do speak the names of their dead forefathers when they slaughter, and specify the reasons why the event is taking place (10.2). Only Herbert Horner appeared to affiliate comfortably with the notion of membership to the abeLungu clan, and he recited the only abeLungu Horner *isinqulo* collected:

Isinqulo 9.4a AbeLungu Horner *isinqulo*

<i>Ndiluhlobo lwase beLungwini</i>	I am the Mlungu kind
<i>Kwa Horner</i>	Of Horner
<i>Kwa tiki ayivimani ne pokotho</i>	Of tickey is allergic to the pocket
<i>Kufuneka iye evenkileni iphinde ibuye itsho ibuyel'ekhaya</i>	It has to go to the shop and then come back and then go back home

(Herbert Horner, Appendix 2.4).

The clan-name 'Mlungu' is called in the abeLungu Horner *isinqulo*, as is one ancestral name, Horner. The final phrase is quite possibly biographical of Alfred Horner and his trading store. The third line, "*kwa tiki ayivimani ne pokotho* – of tickey is allergic to the pocket" will be discussed further in 9.5.2.

9.4.2. AmaCaine

Not all members of amaCaine identify with the concept of a clan-name. Mpumelelo and Mkhululelwa for example both denied that they had clan-names (Appendices F2.4 and F2.5 respectively), as did the now late John Caine who was of advanced years and infirm, but whose wife answered on his behalf (Appendix F2.8). Women belonging to the clan are however known as MaCaine after marriage. Mkhululelwa (Appendix F2.5) admitted to neither the possession of a clan-name, nor the recitation of clan praises, whereas Mpumelelo (Appendix F2.4) conceded that his forebear's name – Caine – was called, albeit in isolation and without accompanying praise phrases. Both Mkhululelwa and Mpumelelo live on the outskirts of the town of Lusikisiki but Wellington (Appendix F2.3), also now deceased, who lived in a more rural – and hence potentially more traditional – area, concurred that the recitation of praise poetry did not accompany the slaughter of animals, but he was nevertheless able to recite amaCaine clan praises (Appendix F3.1).

The apical ancestor of the Caine component of research participants was Magqabi, the grandson of Lavutha by his son Maguba's third wife. Magqabi built his

homestead in the remote *lali* of Hili, in the Mbotyi district, which remains to this day inaccessible by vehicle. Unlike other Caine agnates, Siwela admitted without reservation or qualification that amaCaine do have clan praises and that they have ritual relevance. *Isinqulo* 9.4b is a transcription of the two amaCaine clan praises collected from Wellington Caine and Siwela Maguba, which can be seen in Appendices F3.1 and F3.2 respectively. They were combined with one another according to the criteria laid out in Appendix K3 and demonstrated in Appendix K8.

Isinqulo 9.4b Combined amaCaine *isinqulo*

<i>Caine, bantu bakwa Caine, nantsi into endininika yona.</i>	Caine, people of Caine, here is something I'm giving to you.
<i>Singoo Mginiza</i>	We are the Mginizas
<i>SinguMakhasana</i>	We are Makhasana
<i>Umayuk'efile</i>	The ones that resurrect from death
<i>Abaphetsya,abaseNgilane</i>	Those that are from overseas, from England
<i>Abawela ngentak'ezimaphiko</i>	Those who crossed on bird with wings
<i>OoNobhongoz'omhlophe</i>	The white Nobhongozas

The reference to the clan-name amaCaine is significant in that it alludes not only to amaCaine forebears – “people of Caine” – but also highlights the all-important association between the performance of ritual sacrifices and the feeding or gifting of ancestors in the hope that such offerings will be favourably acknowledged. The praises include not only names but also phrases alluding to the circumstances of the clan and its forebears, according to traditional convention. That they came from ‘overseas’ for example, and are of English descent. Although John Cane died relatively young at the age of 38, he managed to escape near death more than once before that (7.1), which is perhaps reflected in the line “[t]he ones that resurrect from death”. The names that are recalled in the Caine *isinqulo* do not appear in their genealogy (Appendix F1).

The Caine research participants not only hail from various social contexts ranging from deep rural to peri-urban, but also from different lines of their apical forebear Lavutha. Siwela and Mkululelwa are from the line of his first wife, both being the sons of Magqabi, the former from his third wife and the latter from a girlfriend. Mpumelelo and Wellington are from the lines of Lavutha’s third and fourth wives respectively (Figure 5.2b). Wellington’s relatively recent discovery of the Caine clan praises and the claim by Lavutha’s descendants from other wives to have no tradition of clan praises suggests that by affiliating with white or coloured and Christian values and practices, these lines

adopted the clan-name and its associated cultural and ritual complex only partially or not at all. Siwela, by contrast, both lives in a social context in which ritual practice is more predominant and comes from a line in which it played a role. He asserts that his own ritual practice follows that of his father who in turn adopted the tenets of his mother's religion (Appendix F2.6).

9.4.3. AmaOgle

Neither Theresa nor Hlomela fully conceded that Ogle was either a clan-name or a clan, but its use as an appellation in the case of married Ogle women indicates that it is acknowledged as such in the wider social context. Hlomela is a practising Christian and our interview with him (Appendix G2.2) took place in a building on his property which is used as a church. He was at first uncertain as to what we actually meant by the term 'praise', thinking we meant "praising the creator". He vehemently rejected the idea of praising his ancestors, his Christian views precluding him from "put[ting] the dead first", that is before "the creator". Traditional notions of the existence and role of deceased ancestors are not however entirely replaced, but instead – as he says – "combined".

Ancestral spirits have taken a position that is subordinate to the Christian God for Hlomela, but the ritual sacrifice of animals remains an offering made in the hope of favour, just as in the traditional context. Thus, although Hlomela's rituals take place within a Christian framework, and the Christian God is given primacy over ancestral spirits, they are performed for conventional reasons and with similar expectations, which are made manifest by the spoken word. Similarly, Theresa Ogle described the vocalisation of this information (Appendix G2.1).

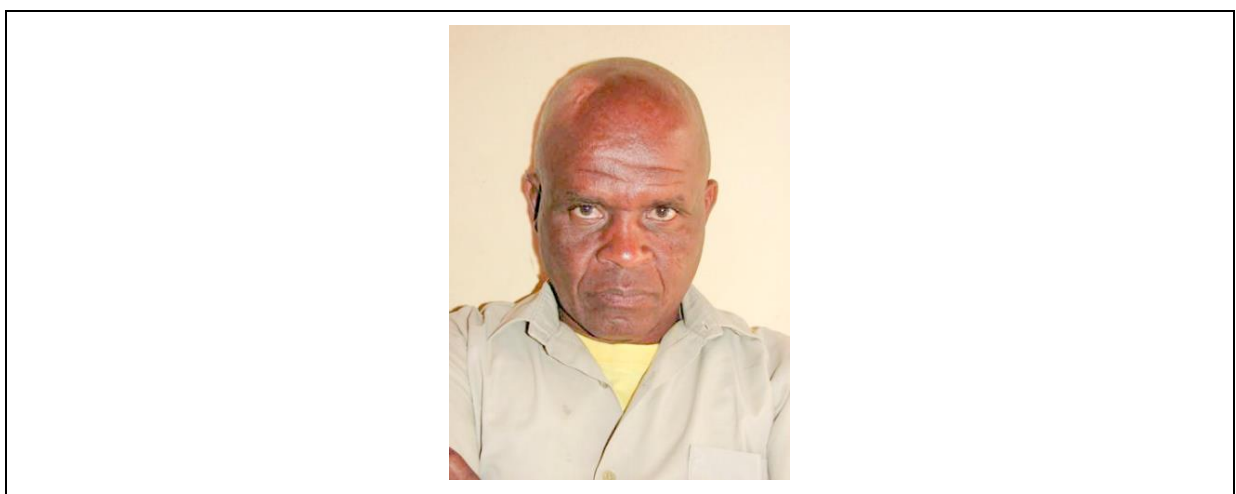


Figure 9.6. Hlomela Ngwevu of amaOgle

Although amaOgle ritual practice lacks the recitation of praise phrases, it includes the other kind of oratory essential to traditional ritual practice: a verbal declaration of what kind of animal is being slaughtered, why the sacrifice is being offered, and what kind of outcome is desired. Even though Hlomela does not recite clan praises in practice, he recalls the Ogle clan praises that his father used to recite:

Isinqulo 9.4d AmaOgle *isinqulo*

Singabakwa Hohlo,

Kwa Mahlahla.

*Abantu abaxelelwa ngabelungu ukuba bayanuka
kuba balala nabantu abamnyama.*

Apho badutyulwa khona kodwa baphinda

bakhwebuka babuya.

We are from Hohlo,

From Mahlahla.

People who were told by whites that they are
smelly because they slept with black people.

Where they were shot at, but they turned and
went back again.

(Hlomela Ngwevu, Appendix G3).

Hlomela identifies with Christian belief and practice, which means that he does not directly address his ancestors and hence does not recite clan praises. Even though the amaOgle clan praises do not play a role in his own ritual practice, he has memorised them, partly it would seem because of the poeticism and perhaps history inherent in clan praises, as is suggested by his assertion that “this thing of saying praises is very nice when you are hearing it” (Appendix G2.2). Although absent from the clan oral history (7.1) and genealogy (Appendix G1), the isiZulu name, Hohlo, bestowed upon him presumably by those he governed, has been recalled via clan praises that have survived the oral record despite having become for all intents and purposes, obsolete. As has been seen (5.3), the inclusion of the name of ‘Hohlo’ in the Ogle clan praises confirmed the descent of amaOgle research participants from Henry Ogle.

9.4.4. AmaFrance

Enoch Richards did not concede that he had a clan-name, but women were brewing *mqombothi* in his yard in a suburb of Lusikisiki on the day we visited him, which is always associated with traditional ritual practice, and therefore suggests that even though he is a practicing Christian living in an urban centre, members of his close family are not entirely removed from aspects of traditional practice. Unlike Enoch, Kutu Dukuza and the amaFrance agnates amongst whom he lives use the names of their forebears and those given to them by members of their forebear’s adopted culture as clan-names, and as will be seen in 10.4, they have also adopted other aspects of traditional ritual

practice. Similarly, Velani France, in much more remote rural Mpondoland identifies with the concept of belonging to a clan named according to the names of its founders:

Interview Extract 9.4d

Janet: What do [amaFrance] use as a clan-name?

Velani: The names of our fathers [Tshali, France, Dukuza]. (Velani France, Appendix H2.1)

Velani's description suggests that the three names 'France' (clan-name), 'Dukuza' (clan founder's name) and 'Tshali' (clan founder's father's name) are used more or less interchangeably as clan-names and surnames. As clan founder, Dukuza's name (and that of his father, Tshali) are taken as synonymous with the clan-name, France, and as grandfather of many amaFrance participants, its use as a surname by a large number of amaFrance clan members also accords with convention. This situation would be extremely unlikely to arise in clans with deeper genealogies, whose clan-name is taken from the perceived original forebear, but whose contemporary members use a number surnames all taken from recent ancestors in their own genealogical lines. This double use suggests that two traditional clan conventions have been followed in the case of amaFrance: first the tendency for clan-names – which are usually the perceived name of the original clan founder – to have synonyms comprising the names of other ancient forebears. Second, the use of the names of recent forebears as surnames. In the case of amaFrance, eponymous clan founder and recent forebear are one and the same man – Dukuza – because relatively few generations have passed since his absorption into the culture, and therefore insufficient time for a distinction to develop between the two.

As has already been seen, Enoch Richards rejects identification with core elements of Mpondo culture embodied in the clan-name, and begrudges his agnates' use of local names given to their forebears and their adoption of traditional culture and belief (IE5.4c). It is therefore not at all surprising that he does not recite praises. Other amaFrance participants tended to identify with the idea of having a clan-name, and as will be seen in 10.5, to perform rituals very much according to traditional convention. There was however less unanimity with regard to the recital of clan praises during ritual performance:

Interview Extract 9.4e

Qaqambile: Do you say praises?

Kutu: Well no, I don't hear anything from the old people that we are from who and who. I just usually hear people saying that we are from France, Richard. [...] When we are about to stab, we just have a meeting as the people of the home and we speak about what we are about to do and why we are about to do it (Kutu Dukuza, Appendix H2.3).

Interview Extract 9.4f

Velani: [W]e do say praises. We call France, Tshali, Math, those who gave birth to us. Then we call Rhole, Philwayo. They are from my mother's side. We mix clans (Velani France, Appendix H2.1).

Kutu's description suggests that in his case, the vocalisation of the nature and reasons for ritual performance are more of an explanation to the living than a sacrifice to the dead. While this public explanation is customary at traditional rituals, as has been seen, it is neither the only nor the most important form of oratory performed at traditional rituals. Kutu has been told that France and Richards are his ancestors, but he does not recite their names when he ritually sacrifices an animal, and neither does he refer to any hopes regarding the outcome of the ritual performance. Like Hlomela Ngwevu of amaOgle, he appears not to address his ancestors directly, but neither does he address them indirectly by 'combination' as Hlomela described doing. The oratory at Kutu's rituals is therefore apparently concerned with informing the attendants about proceedings, but not necessarily with evoking or appealing to clan forebears, the all-important function associated with the recital of clan praises.

Velani France by contrast, described the recitation of clan praises as part of ritual practice. The amaFrance *isinqulo* as recited by Velani comprises primarily clan-name synonyms – France, Math and Tshali – augmented by the clan names of maternal ancestors. Even though Velani's *isinqulo* lacks the customary praise phrases, it retains the core element of *isinqulo*, a perceived association between the recitation of praise names and communion with ancestral spirits. The fact that Velani's *isinqulo* included clan-name synonyms as well as the clan-name itself conforms to traditional convention, with respect to the first three names called. The maternal origins of the other two clan-names does not conform to the strictly patrilineal means by which clan membership is ascribed.



Figure 9.7. Kutu Dukuza and family

9.4.5. AmaIrish

Nicholas Beresford was slightly ambivalent about whether or not his family had a clan-name, first denying its existence, but later claiming it as 'Irish' (Appendix I2.1 & I2.3). He was similarly drawn between his European ancestry and his amaMpondo social context when it came to clan praises:

Interview Extract 9.4i

Nicholas: *Unqula* is not something that we do much [...] because we were never like the indigenous people here that go for long and do the complex stuff of *nqula*. We just do it briefly because we live here. [...] We just call 'Beresford' and 'Irish' and then speak to them about whatever problem we have (Nicholas Beresford, Appendix I2.3).

His agnate Monde by contrast, did not identify with the recitation of clan praises at all:

Interview Extract 9.4j

Monde: [P]eople who *nqula* are from the black line. The white line does not *nqula*. People who are called 'the white line' do not have praises. Praises are for the black line, the Dlaminis, the Qhirhas, the what-what – black line. [...] I joined a church so we don't do those things (Monde John Moya, Appendix I2.2).

Although Monde lives among amaMpondo who presumably conform with traditional ritual practice, he claimed no identification with the age-old mode of evoking ancestral spirits embodied by clan praises, attributing this disassociation unequivocally to his "white line". Nicholas Beresford denied that clan praises played an important role because his clan is not "like the indigenous people", but he nevertheless acknowledged that he recited them "because we live here". In other words, as part of the fabric of his social context, they are expected by his community members. The *isinqula* recited by Nicholas Beresford comprises the bare basics of the two names associated with the

amaIrish forebear – Irish and Beresford – and proceeds directly to the explanation of reasons for and expectations of the ritual. Like that of amaFrance, it lacks the more metaphorical praise phrases, but it does not draw from maternal clan-names, as the *nqula* recited by Velani France does. Perhaps this reflects Nicholas' general ambivalence in which his ritual performance is self-admittedly in order to satisfy social expectations rather than part of his culture as such. AmaFrance on the other hand, seeking closer identification with traditional amaMpondo cultural identity, augmented their limited clan-names with various clan-name synonyms, as well as those of women who married into the clan, suggesting that their paucity of clan praises relates more to the relatively short period they have had in which to develop or evolve them, than to a rejection of their significance. Nicholas Beresford of AmaIrish does not extend his clan-names with constructed clan synonyms, or with the clan-names of his mothers and grandmothers, and asserts freely that – as in the case of certain members of amaCaine and amaOgle – he performs rituals for social rather than religious purposes.

9.5. *Izinqulo* of exogenous clans

As part of their incorporation into amaMpondo and Bomvana cultures, clans descended from foreign forebears acquired not only clan-names but also clan praises, both of which are essential accoutrements for social and especially ritual participation. In many respects the clan praises collected in the field conform to those of endogenous clans, although there is considerable variation in terms of length and complexity. It is not possible to cast the information contained in clan praises as completely “accurate” because it is evident that other factors such as conceptions of common descent and a general fluidity of praise phrases – and in certain cases ancestral names – between different clans has come to bear on the construction and transmission of clan praises. Nevertheless, clan praises appear to contain much information that is historically and genealogically accurate, for the most part according with that recorded in other versions of the oral record already considered, namely oral history and genealogy. The contemporary relevance of this knowledge is demonstrated during the performance of ancestor rituals when it is combined into clan praises recited as a means of both evoking and respecting clan forebears.

It has already been observed that the recitation of the names, praise names and praise phrases of clan founders and other forebears by their living descendants is

understood to attract the attention and evoke the presence of ancestral spirits. The ritual function of clan praises is thus embedded in their form. The actual content of clan praises, that is the genealogical, biographical and historical information contained within their lines, is as such equally embedded in their already conjoined form and function. The words themselves together with their being spoken aloud in specific ritual contexts according to a complex set of cultural precedents constitute a powerful and intimate means of communication between living and dead. The purpose of reciting *izibongo* is not the transmission of information, but the harnessing of their 'vitalising power' so as to reach from the land of the living to that of deceased forebears (8.1.3).

Nevertheless, much information is contained within the lines of clan praises, as has been seen in this chapter. In this concluding section, the clan praises collected from all ten groupings will be compared with one another with regard to their form, content and function. It has already been noted that these aspects of clan praises are seamlessly interconnected with one another, but the consideration of each as a separate element is useful. It allows for comparison of clan praises more generally, and also, as in the case of the oral genealogies and histories illuminated in earlier chapters, it illustrates the ways in which knowledge contained in oral tradition recalls – to a large extent accurately – genealogical relationships and historical events, while being simultaneously shaped by social conventions and expectations. As such, a comparison between clan praises collected from different clans with one another in terms of their form, content and function casts light on processes that underlie the production, transmission and conservation of knowledge more generally.

9.5.1. Form

Discrepancies in terms of length, complexity and idiom of clan praises aside, the clan praises collected from all ten groups shared a fundamental similarity in that all referred to the foreign ancestry of clan founders, even if this was simply through European names such as 'Beresford' and 'Tshali' (Charlie), or places such as Ireland and France. With the exception of those recited by amaIrish and amaFrance, clan praises emulated those of endogenous clans by including praise phrases as well as praise names.

In addition to the listing of praise names and praise phrases, the idiomatic use of cattle as a means of praising clan forebears can be considered an aspect of the 'form' of clan praises because it constitutes a means of address and praise. As has been seen

in 9.1, this was observed in almost all *izingulo* collected in Bomvanaland, but none of those collected in Mpondoland, although it appeared from Makuliwe's (c.1990) transcription of the amaMolo *isingulo* that reference to cattle had been made in the past. The retention by Bomvana research participants of cattle as an idiom of praise, as against its relinquishment by those living in Mpondoland, is almost certainly reflected in the contexts in which the clans studied here live, and as such echoes observations made elsewhere regarding variations in identification and practice based on different degrees of affiliation to culture that are rooted in "tribal" differences.

9.5.2. Content

The very fact that clan praises commemorate clan forebears by various names other than those used elsewhere in the oral tradition, together with the generally metaphoric nature of clan praises, makes them essentially vague and opaque, and very much more difficult to interpret or to count upon for verification than other forms of oral tradition. However, the link between oral and documented historical accounts provided by the amaOgle *amathakhazelo* 'Hohlo' (3.2.2, 5.3) played an especially interesting role in this collation of the products of various modes of knowledge production, providing evidence that that members of amaOgle clan who participated in this research were indeed the descendants of Henry Ogle. This is a special instance of the kind of insights that can be achieved as a result of intense scrutiny of both traditions and the attempt to forge collaboration on equal grounds across a variety of different modes of knowledge production.

Three further aspects of the content of clan praises will be discussed: first the use of clan synonyms (*izithakhazela*) which has already been discussed (5.7.2, 6.5.1, 8.1.3) will be recapitulated, followed by brief discussions of praise phrases and how some of these appear to draw on racial and/or cultural stereotypes.

Izithakhazelo

Many of the clans descended from foreign entrants into the culture have acquired *izithakhazelo* as part of what can be termed their cultural adaptation, a process predicated on the essential role played by clan and praise names, clan forebears and clan praises in the social and especially ritual context in which their descendants. Unusually, the praise names of amaFrance are augmented by those of their maternal ancestors, which is neither a local convention, nor followed by any of the other

participating clans. In the absence of paternal ancestors, maternal ones are presumably better than none, and this also reflects practice of white entrants into the culture who did not found new clans but were absorbed into existing ones.

Others have been constructed along traditional lines, that is according to conventional associations with place or additional names such as those awarded ceremonially or as nicknames. On the other hand, certain names, which could conceivably have operated as *izithakhazelo* have not stood the test of time. With the exception of 'Tshali', if 'Charlie' was indeed the first name of the amaFrance forebear, and 'Alfred', that of the abeLungu Horner forebear, surnames have for the most part survived the oral recall better than Christian names, as demonstrated by the retention of Beresford, Caine, Ogle and Horner among large numbers of their descendants as surnames and in certain cases also as clan-names.

As was seen in 5.7.2, surnames are not governed by strict laws of transmission as are clan-names, but having been recently introduced, reflect personal preference as much as anything, and it is not uncommon for patrilineal parallel cousins or even blood brothers to go by different surnames, each however being the name of a patrilineal forebear. Such patterns are evident among the older clans of amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu, as well as amaThakha and certain branches of amaCaine, amaOgle and amaFrance. According to traditional conventions, surnames are chosen from the first names of recent patrilineal forebears, but the forebears of amaIrish, amaCaine and amaOgle are recalled as 'Irish', 'Caine' and 'Ogle' respectively. Thus the traditional convention of taking surnames from the first names of patrilineal forebears has led to the surnames of the forebears concerned here being understood as first names so that ultimately the former have survived oral record while the latter have faded from memory.

The use of 'German' as *izithakhazelo* by members of amaFrance is noteworthy. That an association exists between clans and places is evident from the way in which geographical locations are frequently named after the clan living there most predominantly. This is observable across both Mpondoland and Bomvanaland. It was seen in 4.2.1, that Mzolo (1978:207-8) attributed this to an historical precedent whereby particular areas were inhabited exclusively by members of one clan. He illustrated his point by translating the isiZulu question "*ungowaphi?*" to "of what place are you?" which essentially means "what is your clan?". He attributed the nature of the question to the

association that had originally existed between places occupied exclusively by particular clans, and the clans themselves, so that even though Cape Nguni clans are now widely dispersed, an association between clans and territory lingers in *lali* names. Mamolweni and Ebelungweni for example, are named after the amaMolo and abeLungu clans respectively. Similarly, the *lali*Rhole in which Teresa Ogle and amaThakha live, is named after the predominant clan in the area, amaRhole. It is therefore not surprising that place names and clan-names should have been conflated in the case of amaFrance and amaIrish.

At the same time, in the case of exogenous clans, place names may relate not so much to particular nations or geographical regions, but to associations with foreignness in general, and European foreignness in particular. This was inferred in the late chief of the amaMolo, Mhlabunzima Mxhaka's assertion that his people said they came from England, but they actually meant Portugal. Similarly, in apparent contradiction to the clan-name itself, the amaFrance forebear is generally considered to have hailed from Germany, while at the same time he is recalled in certain aspects of oral tradition as having been a compatriot of John Cane and Henry Ogle, members of the exclusively English settler party sent to colonise Durban in 1824. If this was the case, both the clan-name amaFrance and its *izithakhazelo* 'German' would reference his foreign and specifically European ancestry rather than his actual nationality. This may or may not be the case, but the praise name 'German' is too contradictory to 'France' to be taken literally and clearly functions as an *izithakhazelo* relating to the foreign ancestry of the clan founder. This suggests that from the local perspective, parts of Europe enclosed by national boundaries and demarcated on maps do not necessarily constitute independent European nations, but possibly synonyms for Europe itself. That the clan-name amaFrance implies a more general notion of European identity than the specific nationality it implies is borne out by the fact that Enoch's sister was referred to as MaGermany as well as MaFulanisi (France) (Appendix H2.4).

AmaIrish, by contrast identify with only one nationality, and the fact that The Beresford Family Society website specifically lists an "Irish branch" headed by the Marquis of Waterford,⁷⁰ suggests that the amaIrish forebear might well have been an

⁷⁰ The Marquis, whose seat is at Curraghmore in Waterford, Ireland, is also president of the Beresford Family Society.

Irishman (Beresford Family Society, 2013). Whether or not he was however, traditional conventions such as the tendency for a clan-name to be conceived of as the name of the clan founder, and to be associated with a place of the same name, appear to have been transposed upon the amaIrish situation, as they were in the case of amaFrance.

Praise phrases

While the majority of praise phrases made reference to the known historical conditions under which the clans were founded, some, especially those of abeLungu Hatu, included praise phrases that not only failed to overlap with those recited by members of the other abeLungu clan sections, but also did not perceivably refer to the clan history or the characteristics of its forebears. The inclusion of such lines in clan praises is explained by Opland who described how an individual might “adopt” phrases about other people into his personal praise poem (Opland, 1983:40) or incorporate “striking and apposite lines” from another clan’s praises into his own (*ibid.*:45). In this way, praises “may be transferred from one person or poem to another” (*ibid.*:47). Thus while the inclusion of historically pertinent praise phrases across *izinqulo* collected from different clan sections might constitute an expression of common ancestry, the inclusion of others that appear less relevant possibly attests to the tendency noted by Opland for a “borrowing” of praise phrases.

This phenomenon evidently still occurs, as was demonstrated to me during a first-year course I taught to Rhodes University anthropology students in 2014. The course was on Cape Nguni ethnography, and when discussing the importance of clan praises I encouraged some of the students to recite their clan praises in front of the class. A few young men expressed their willingness to do so, one of whom included as one of his praise phrases the line “*Umfazi onebele elinye waphetsheya kolwandle* (A woman with one breast from overseas). As will be recalled, this is one of the praise phrases common across four out of five abeLungu clan sections, relevant to the clan history by indicating that clan forebears originally hailed from “overseas”. The appearance of the line in the praises of a clan that does not claim foreign ancestry illustrates the potential fluidity of praise phrases and the fact that they might be incorporated into clan praises even if not entirely appropriate or redolent of that clan’s history.

Racial and cultural stereotyping

Some praise phrases seem to refer to what could be considered racial stereotypes and as such offer themselves up for interpretation in the context of a clan allegedly descended from non-African forebears. The abeLungu phrases “Of face that does not have crumbs, that does not have rubbish, *Buso abunu ngququ, abuna nkukuma*” (Appendix C3) and “Men wear hats like women, *Amadoda athwal’iminqwazi axel’abafazi*” (I9.3d) refer to attributes of cleanliness and fashion respectively and possibly to stereotypical associations with European culture. It is also possible that the abeLungu Hatu praise phrase “of sprinkling of yellow, *zika tshiza ngobhelu*” refers to the skin colour of mixed-race descendants. Similarly the amaThakha praise phrase, “[t]he wooden spoon that cannot be licked, *Phin’alikhothwa*” may be seen to refer to European notions of hygiene and kitchen etiquette.

Racial stereotyping is most clearly evident in the amaOgle praise phrase “People who were told by whites that they are smelly because they slept with black people” which refers explicitly to the stigmatisation that Henry Ogle’s fraternising across the racial divide would undoubtedly have incurred in white society of the time, despite indications that this was the norm during the early years of Natal’s history.

The abeLungu Horner praise phrase “*kwa tiki ayivimani ne pokotho* – of tickey⁷¹ is allergic to the pocket” does not appear in *izinqulo* collected from other abeLungu clan sections, but is common among those collected from amaSukwini (3.3). Members of the amaSukwini clan are often referred to as coloureds or *iLawu*, and the praise phrase tends to suggest a stereotype possibly associated with coloured culture, of not being especially adept at remaining financially fluid. Many abeLungu Horner would consider themselves white before coloured, but at least one branch of the family – Weldon Horner and his children – identifies strongly with coloured culture. As will be seen in Chapter 10, most abeLungu Horner live according to abbreviated or personalised traditional standards, identifying with certain symbols of European culture which are reflected in the ways in which they perform traditional ancestor rituals. Perhaps this sense of hybridity is likewise expressed through the adoption of a praise phrase more commonly found in amaSukwini *izinqulo*. The inclusion of the praise phrase “of tickey is allergic to the pocket” into the abeLungu Horner clan praises may be another example of the

⁷¹ The nickname for a small silver three-penny coin that was withdrawn following decimiliasation in 1961.

appropriation of phrases from one clan's praises by another. In other words, aside from any cultural stereotypes possibly associated with the profligate spending of money, the incorporation of the phrase into abeLungu Horner *izinqulo* is perhaps more directly a reference to their mixed-race ancestry.

9.5.3. Function

It has already been seen (8.1.3) that the primary function of the recitation of *izinqulo* relates to their perceived catalytic qualities that serve to bring the living and the dead into communion. The names and phrases themselves are believed to possess potency, so that the recitation of *izibongo* is understood to *do* something (my emphasis). Human utterances take the form of "tangible entit[ies]" so that the symbols of praise names and phrases have a "vitalising power," embodying the very forebears they represent (Levy-Bruhl in Opland 1983:131, Opland 1983:131-2, Peek 1981:21). The recitation of *izinqulo* at ritual performances by the participants of this research for the most part conforms to this in the case of the clans discussed in 9.3, that is those who identify fully with traditional culture. Even among those considered in 9.4 however, the 'vitalising power' of recited clan praises is recognised except in a minority of cases in which such recital appears to be more a matter of fitting in with social conventions and expectations than fulfilling ritual ones. Therefore clan praises that are minimal, such as those of amaThakha, or contain historical inaccuracies such as the genealogical anomalies apparent in those of abeLungu Hatu, do not make such *izinqulo* any less effective than others that may be more extensive or more verifiable from the perspective of documented history.

Aside from their explicitly ritual functions, clan praises fulfil other functions. Firstly, as Opland (1983:43) pointed out,

The use of patronymics or a recital of the *izibongo* of his ancestors in a sequence by the head of a homestead relates an individual to the immediate genealogical context of a specific nuclear family; recital of the sequence of *iziduko* relates an individual to the more distant genealogical context of his clan, an affiliation that he shares with individual members from many other nuclear families living in his location and elsewhere.

This refers to the important social role played by clan membership, mediated as it is by understandings of patrilineal descent, understood both in terms of recent and distant ancestry as well as the nature and role of deceased forebears in the lives of their descendants. By locating the individual within these immediate nuclear and more distant

genealogical contexts, clan praises affirm more general principles of patrilineal descent, functioning as markers of social position, and referencing principles of the ancestor religion that provide explanation for personal circumstances as repercussions of failing deceased forebears in some way. Finally, as has already been noted, clan praises serve as a significant means of knowledge preservation in that they record biographical and genealogical information pertaining to clan histories. It is this final function that has constituted them as essential to this research as products of history that retain an important role in the present, in a sense, as a kind of 'living archive'.

9.6. Degrees of affiliation

In general, religious affiliation whether to Christianity or to traditional ancestral religion was strongly correlated with social context. For the most part, those research participants living in urban or peri-urban areas described themselves as Christians and explained their failure to follow traditional practice with reference to their European forebears and/or Christian belief. Those living in rural areas on the other hand tended to follow traditional practice even where this was for social rather than belief-based reasons or where traditional beliefs were held they were frequently attributed to the influence of maternal ancestors. One exception to this was the Dukuzas, the more traditional branch of amaFrance who live only 10 km out of Lusikisiki, but largely follow traditional practice despite their proximity to town. Hlomela Ngwevu of amaOgle cannot be considered an exception because although he lives in the coastal village of Mbotyi, it is in the village centre and as a tradesman and hence not in truly rural conditions. Monde Moya, Nicholas Beresford's kinsman who resides in a rural area – though not quite as remote as the *lali* where Nicholas lives – also breaks the convention. The correlation between degree of identification with traditional culture, and length and corresponding complexity of clan praises, is illustrated by a comparison between those of amaThakha and amaFrance, both of whom have oral genealogies four generations deep. The former, while only four lines long, take conventional form, whereas those of amaFrance comprise praise names only, bolstered with some belonging to maternal clans.

As has already been seen, these tendencies for ritual practice to be observed both more thoroughly and more ubiquitously in rural as against urban areas and Bomvana as against Mpondo contexts – and their exceptions – are not unique to these exogenous clans, but reflected more generally across other clans, with the exception of

course of a claim to European ancestry perceived as playing a causal role. Such variations in belief and practice are therefore not significant or interesting in themselves in the context of this research. It is the impact of such variations on the construction, transmission and recall of oral tradition, specifically in this instance, clan praises, that is of interest here.

10. Ritual Practice (*Amasiko*)

This final ethnographic chapter will continue to explore how the knowledge contained within the oral traditions of clans descended from foreign ancestors is deployed in their interactions within the broader communities of which they are a part. This will be done by describing the ritual performances of exogenous clans, such occasions being not only intensely personal interactions between living and dead clan members, but also important community events. The order in which ritual performances of clans and clan sections are considered begins with the most recent entrants and works back from there. AbeLungu Fuzwayo will be dealt with last because although there is no clarity on when they entered, it is likely that they are descended from one of the original abeLungu clan sections.

10.1 AmaIrish

Nicholas Beresford's approach to the recitation of clan praises was abbreviated but traditionally based, whereas Monde Moya rejected their role on the grounds of his white heritage, in which they play no part (9.4.5). This split in cultural identification within the small amaIrish clan is further apparent when it comes to their ritual practice.

Interview Extract 10.1a

JJ: Do you perform rituals?

Nicholas: Yes we do perform rituals because we live in this land but our rituals are really not as big as the people from here, they are really short and little. [...] So even with the rituals, they are not a major thing for us, we just do them because we live among these people (Nicholas Beresford, I2.3).

Interview Extract 10.1b

JJ: Do you perform rituals?

Monde: No, we don't do any rituals. We do not. Do you see here? [shows missing joint from small finger]. I got injured in the mines, we don't do rituals here. Well you see I joined a church so we don't do those things. Everything to do with rituals, we don't go along with it. Jesus only. [...] Even those who cut their children's faces, the children crying – black line (Monde John Moya, I2.2).

Nicholas Beresford once again asserted that he performs rituals out of social obligation rather than as expression of his own belief. Monde does not perform rituals, citing both his European ancestry and his Christian belief as the reasons for this, making

it clear that the loss of the tip of his little finger occurred in a mining accident, and had nothing to do with the identical amputation characterised by the *ingqithi* ritual.⁷²



Figure 10.1. Monde Moya of amaIrish

Like others, Monde used genealogy – his European patriline – to support his lack of practice, but unusually, his identification with his European forebears seemed to be to the exclusion of that with his Mpondo ones. His distinction between what he called the ‘black’ and ‘white’ lines suggested that the kind of integration or hybridisation of the two cultural, religious and philosophical frameworks that has been observed among other participating clans and clan sections, and in his own near kinsman Nicholas Beresford, was not possible from his perspective. Monde has moved away from the site of his forebear at Qandu, where Nicholas still resides, and is separated from his wife and children (Appendix I2.2), preferring to live alone in a solitary homestead among other clans. He has not adopted local traditions and unlike his agnate Nicholas Beresford and others such as Wellington Caine for example, apparently does not feel the social compunction to do so even in partial form, using his European ancestry and Christian belief to justify this.

10.2. AbeLungu Horner

When asked whether they performed rituals according to local custom, abeLungu Horner participants gave a range of responses, as indicated in the following interview extracts:

Interview Extract 10.2a

Qaqambile: You are this nation with mixed blood living among indigenous people who have their own ways of living. How do you do it?

Mlungisi: Well that’s easy. We were born in Xhosaland and we are living among Xhosas. We have customs and traditions but we don’t do our rituals like the

⁷² The ritual amputation of the distal phalanx of the little finger on the left-hand.

Xhosas. For example when Xhosa people kill a goat they use a spear but we just slaughter it with a knife and enjoy the meat, that's it. We are white people so we don't perform rituals. We can even perform rituals with a chicken rather than a goat. We are not governed by the strong traditions of the true Xhosa people (Mlungisi Horner, Appendix D2.1).

Interview Extract 10.2b

Qaqambile: So you are living here among black people who have their own ways of living. These people perform rituals. What about you, do you perform rituals?

Cecil: Yes we do, exactly.

Qaqambile: What I want to know is, do you perform them the same way as other clans?

Cecil: Well, we slightly differ, but when it comes to circumcision it's the same. [...]

When we do our thing, we slaughter a sheep, we do not slaughter a goat. But for a boy we slaughter a goat. When I think of cooking for my ancestors, I slaughter a sheep. [...]

Qaqambile: How do you perform *mbeleko*? [ceremony performed to introduce children to clan ancestors].

Cecil: No, we don't have any *mbeleko* here.

Qaqambile: Oh, the only thing you do here is slaughter a sheep.

Cecil: Yes, we just slaughter a sheep and brew a little bit of *mqombothi* because our mothers are Xhosas. Let me say all our mothers from our grandfathers, our mothers are black Xhosas all the way. But *mbeleko* we do not have.

Qaqambile: When do you slaughter the sheep?

Cecil: Well you see, I work at the mines. So when I think of doing something here at home, I brew *mqombothi* like the Xhosas and then I slaughter a sheep. And then I say, "Things have gone well for me at work, I thank you." We do not use a spear to slaughter the sheep, we just slit its throat.

Qaqambile: With a knife?

Cecil: Yes, whichever knife. We don't have something special that we use to slaughter.

Qaqambile: Is that the only ritual you have?

Cecil: Yes, there's no other.

Qaqambile: What do you call that?

Cecil: We call it dinner (Cecil Horner, Appendix D2.2).

Interview Extract 10.2c

Herbert: Well, the rituals I perform here, I even perform the English one.

Qaqambile: Which is the English ritual?

Herbert: The English one is dinner.

Qaqambile: How do you perform your dinner?

Herbert: I call all my fathers and their children and then tell them that I'm having a dinner for my child. [...] I say, "I'm calling my fathers, here is my child, he or she wants dinner so I'm making it now. So please, there mustn't be anything that bothers him or her." [...]

There is a ritual of boys. That ritual is purely Xhosa, Bomvana. We do that ritual, we perform it. Even with my sons, I slaughter a goat using a spear and then it cries and says "Baaaaah." And then I say, "It has been successful." The boy now is no longer a boy, he is a man. And then I brew *mqombothi*. And then all the Bomvanas

come and they drink *mqombothi* and beers. Then they say, “This *mgidi* [ritual] was big.” Then after that, they praise him, they say “All hail [initiates new circumcision name] you had *mgidi*, now you are a man.” That’s when the spade breaks⁷³ (Herbert Horner, Appendix D2.4).

Interview Extract 10.2d

Weldon: My father built his own house and then he built this home for me here [Ntshilini]. [...] And then he got sick and died. And then his homestead fell down while he had sons. [...] I took this boy who sent you here called Mphikeni [Mlungisi]. I took him and said to him, “Do not leave the old man and the old woman” [Weldon’s father Johnson and wife]. I said “Go and build there, I will help you.” I even cleaned up the site before I sent him there. I took a cow and went there to perform a dinner. I put up two tents. [...]

Qaqambile: What was the purpose of this dinner?

Weldon: It was because my father had been left alone there, so he felt like he was thrown away, his family must come back to him. A child in the family said they dreamt of an old man saying that he is cold, he has been thrown away, everyone is ignoring him.

Qaqambile: So you were performing this dinner for someone who is dead?

Weldon: Yes, I took a cow from here and went to slaughter it there. I did everything inside tents because there were no houses.

Qaqambile: As you are these white people, do you perform rituals?

Weldon: Girls that were married to our fathers were black. How can we then not know rituals?

Qaqambile: Do you perform them?

Weldon: Yes. We say we are performing “dinner.”

Qaqambile: Does that mean that you perform them differently from other homes?

Weldon: Yes. [...] We never said any praises. What I said was that I am performing this dinner for my father. [...] I spoke about it in front of the people who were there. I said I want him to live here and rest in peace. [...] Brandy and *mqombothi* was there, everything that is eaten and drunk by Xhosa people [at rituals] was there. My father is white. I said *mqombothi* must be there for the Xhosa people and brandy must be there. [...] I said to him], “I did this for you, do not feel cold any more.” After that I’ve never heard anything from him. [Johnson Horner]. [...]

Qaqambile: [...] For example, at my home [...] When we slaughter a sheep, we slit its throat, but first we speak.... We first say praises, reporting what the sheep is for. [...] But a goat [...] is stabbed in the stomach before we slit its throat because we want it to cry. So do you do all of that?

Weldon: [...] You see, if you [Qaqambile] had made one of my girls pregnant, and you get a child and then if the child requires a ritual, I won’t do what we do here, I will perform your rituals, I will follow your ways. I will do everything you do, I will stab the way you stab, I will do everything you do, just your ways because what I want is for the baby to be well. Do you hear me?

Qaqambile: Yes. What if it is your son’s baby, for example Patrick’s son?

Weldon: If it’s like that, then we’ll follow our ways.

Qaqambile: Do you mean the ways of not stabbing in the stomach, just slitting the throat?

⁷³ Literally: ‘That’s the end’.

Weldon: Yes, if it's a sheep just slitting its throat and saying "I want this child to be well." But if the child needs the rituals of the mother's side, then we'll follow their ways.

Qaqambile: There's this thing called *mbeleko*, do you do it here?

Weldon: That is what I'm talking about. That I will follow his or her mother's ways.

Qaqambile: Oh, you depend on the child, on the sickness of the child, what it is sick for?⁷⁴

Weldon: Yes, because all I want is that the child must be well (Weldon Horner, Appendix D2.6).

Members of abeLungu Horner perform ancestor rituals to various degrees, but do not in general slaughter the traditional sacrificial animal, the goat, preferring to use sheep. Also, they slaughter with a knife rather than the customary spear and in a way that will bring instant death rather than the bellow of pain that is traditionally interpreted to confirm ancestral satisfaction (8.1.2). Circumcision is practiced by the Horners, which is easily understood due to its strong association with manhood in the culture (and its omission would make it difficult to obtain a girlfriend let alone a wife). In this case, ritual slaughter takes place very much according to tradition, both in terms of using a goat, and slaughtering it with a spear. However with respect to other rituals, different houses within the abeLungu Horner clan section perform them to varying degrees and in some cases only if they are considered necessary, rather than as a matter of course.⁷⁵ When they do perform rituals, they do so in their own characteristic way which involves deviating from traditional practice both in terms of the animal used and the way in which it is slaughtered.

A certain ambivalence among abeLungu Horner concerning their Xhosa identity was noted when their *izinqulo* were discussed in Chapter 9.4, where more than one Horner informant said that since the Horners do not have a true clan-name, they do not have clan praises. However when asked how their daughters, having married into Xhosa culture were addressed, they replied "MaMlungu", thereby conforming to Xhosa convention in which a married woman is known by her clan-name. Similarly, although AbeLungu Horner undoubtedly revere their ancestors and express this in traditional

⁷⁴ The phraseology here indicates the way in which certain illnesses are understood to result from the direct intervention of ancestors, and hence the patient is seen to be 'sick for' the reason of ancestral neglect, necessitating the performance of a ritual.

⁷⁵ There are other exceptions for example in the case of Cecil who spoke of hosting a thanksgiving event when he returns from work on the mines (IE10.2b).

ways such as slaughtering an animal and brewing beer, this traditionalism is simultaneously denied in their explanations of the kinds of animals used and actual methods of slaughtering.

It is clear however, that while abeLungu Horner rituals may be characterised by the insertion of certain 'English' cultural conventions, they are performed for all the usual traditional reasons: *mbeleko*, circumcision, thanksgiving, the call through dreams from the ancestors to be fed and certain kinds of sickness. Beer is brewed, brandy and other traditional elements are provided to family, community and others from further afield who attend. The animal is slaughtered for a reason or for a person, the ancestors are informed of this although *izinqulo* may not actually be recited, the family and community witness it; they drink the beer and eat the meat. The perceived efficacy of ritual performance is underlined by Weldon's assertion that having answered his father's call to be fed, he "never heard anything from him [again]" (IE10.2d).

Minor variations in the details of ritual practice exist across all clans, each of which aspires to provide for the preferences of their own particular ancestors. AbeLungu Horner likewise incorporate into their ritual practice elements associated with their European ancestry such as humane slaughter and the concept of hosting a "dinner". Calling it a 'dinner' does not however alter the fact that in cause, nature and spirit, the event is very much *isiko* (8.1.2).

10.3. AmaCaine

It was seen in 9.4.2, that a degree of cultural ambivalence was expressed by members of amaCaine in the sense that some rejected the use of 'Caine' as a clan-name and the acknowledgment of clan ancestors via *izinqulo*. These sentiments were echoed when it came to commemoration of their ancestors through ritual practice, which is influenced by their affiliation with 'white' and/or Christian culture.

Interview Extract 10.3a

Qaqambile: Do you perform rituals?

Mkululelwa: No, I don't.

Qaqambile: Why not?

Mkululelwa: First of all, on the Caine side, I do not know them. I do not know how Caine's rituals are because even those who are performing rituals are performing rituals from the mother's side. Because when you try to find out and ask questions about these rituals they are doing, whether it's the cutting of the face of children, you'll find that they're cutting their faces because their mothers did

it. So my Christian religion affected me. So I don't do them because there is nothing that tells me to do them in my Christianity. [...]

Qaqambile: Do you slaughter?

Mkululelwa: When we want meat. When we want to make a braai [barbecue].

Qaqambile: When do you usually make a braai?

Mkululelwa: [... W]e had sheep. We used to just go into the kraal and take one during December time. [...]

Qaqambile: Oh, so you only slaughter for food?

Mkululelwa: Qha.⁷⁶ [...]

Qaqambile: How do you kill a beast?

Mkululelwa: We stab it here, at the back of the neck. And then we skin it and take it to town to be cut up [by the butcher] and then we put it in the fridge. Because when we search for the truth from the old people, we don't get the straight truth from them. And because we went to school and because of the way that we see things, we realised that we are coming from whites. So we do not know anything that has to do with blacks (Mkululelwa Caine, Appendix F2.5).

Interview Extract 10.3b

Mpumelelo: We make parties. We have nothing to do with rituals. [...] For instance, I once slaughtered there at my house. I slaughtered a beast on Wednesday. I took it to the butcher to be cut up and then I put it in the fridge. No, we don't perform rituals. But others have things that they adopted from [local] people. Otherwise there are no rituals at all in the Caine family because we came from white people.

Qaqambile: Have you ever had a case whereby you have a sick child that needs a ritual to be cured?

Mpumelelo: No, no, no. These things of *mbeleko*?

Qaqambile: Yes.

Mpumelelo: No, no, no.

Qaqambile: Even you, as old as you are, you have never had *mbeleko* performed for you?

Mpumelelo: No, never. But I did *chaza*.⁷⁷ Because when we grew up, there was a thing of going to live with other people. Or the thing of having a group influencing you to do it. You'll see your peers having these cuts on their faces and then you want to do it too. Otherwise there is no such thing in our home (Mpumelelo Caine, Appendix F2.4).

Interview Extract 10.3c

Qaqambile: Do you perform rituals?

Wellington: [...] We don't perform rituals, but to satisfy the *lali*, we do perform rituals that have no problem to us.

Qaqambile: Oh, so what do you do exactly? Do you slaughter?

Wellington: Yes.

Qaqambile: When you slaughter, what do you say you are slaughtering for?

Wellington: Well I say I slaughter for something, for example, when I'm happy and I want my children to be happy, to know that I did something for them.

Qaqambile: What do you call that?

Wellington: I call it a party.

⁷⁶ Meaning 'that's all'.

⁷⁷ Cuts on child's face.

Qaqambile: Can you please tell me in detail how you slaughter?

Wellington: If it's a beast, I stab it here [back of the neck] [...]

Qaqambile: When do you slaughter a beast?

Wellington: I slaughter it even if I'm happy. Or when I want to thank my ancestors that I have worked successfully. And when I'm burying someone and when I see that I don't need to buy any meat. [...]

Janet: Do you make the beast cry?

Wellington: No, we just kill it. It cries if it feels pain, it's not that we make it cry. People that make a beast cry, stab it here. [...] In the stomach. [...]

Qaqambile: Oh, to you it shows no problems of any sort if it doesn't cry?

Wellington: Yes, we just kill it and skin it. Then we eat meat.

Qaqambile: Do you do that thing of eating certain parts of the beast yourselves only before the *lali* eats?

Wellington: No, we slaughter and everybody eats (Wellington Caine, Appendix F2.3).

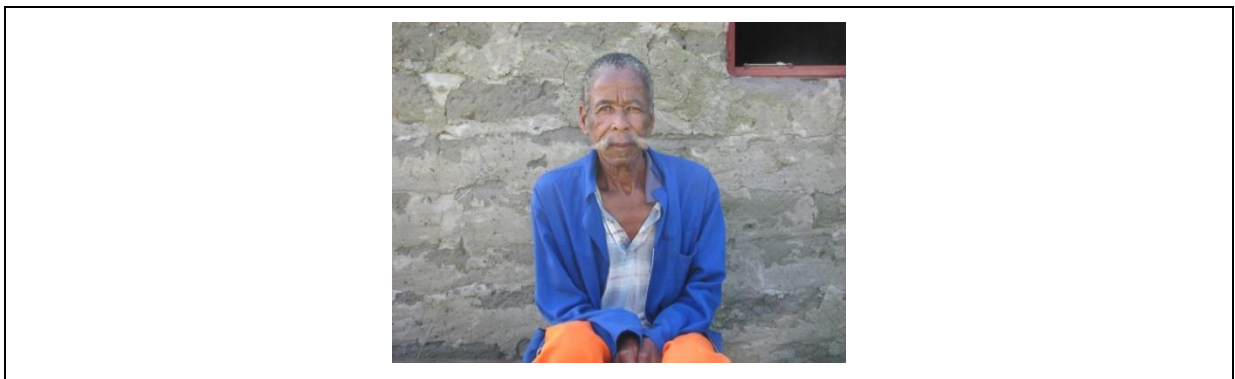


Figure 10.2. Wellington Caine

Interview Extract 10.3d

Qaqambile: So now, since you live here, do you perform rituals?

Siwela: We do perform rituals because my father was performing rituals of his mother's side.

Qaqambile: Please tell me how you perform these rituals and which rituals do you perform and please specify how you slaughter, if you do slaughter.

Siwela: When we slaughter, it starts from a child being sick and you'll find that this child has no physical pains. We grab a goat and then we speak and say that we are giving this goat to you. We take a spear, we stab it in the stomach. We take the goat hide from the right front leg and make it into a strip and we dry it. Then we put it around the neck of the child, or around the wrists. Then the child will come back to health. My father was performing his mother's rituals.

Qaqambile: Oh so what you mean is that this ritual that you are talking about is from your grandmother's side?

Siwela: Yes, in actual fact, we Caines do not have our own rituals.

Qaqambile: So you, in your house perform these rituals because your father performed them?

Siwela: Yes.

Qaqambile: Is that the only ritual you perform?

Siwela: There is another ritual that we do for girls. After we see that now the girl is growing older, we give her a cow and then in the same way [as described before]. We cut the strip of skin and put it around her neck or wrists.

Qaqambile: What do you call that ritual?

Siwela: We call it *umngquzo*. [Mpondo term for *ntonjane*, the initiation ritual for girls]. My older sister performed that ritual.

Qaqambile: At what age do you perform this ritual?

Siwela: When the girl is fifteen years old, and above.

Janet: When they slaughter, do they make the animal cry?

Siwela: Yes, we do, we stab it in the stomach. Every animal that we are going to cut a strip of skin from, we make it cry. A sheep is not made to cry because we do not cut off a strip of the sheep's skin.

Qaqambile: Oh, so a goat and a beast are stabbed in the stomach to cry?

Siwela: Yes.

Qaqambile: So how do you kill it?

Siwela: We stab it in the stomach till it dies. We stab it till the spear reaches the heart (Siwela Maguba, Appendix F2.6).

Ritual practice among amaCaine reflects the same trend observed in 9.4. with reference to their identification with a clan name and recitation of clan praises. Those living nearer town affiliate more with European and Christian culture, and as the social context shifts from urban periphery to rural to deep rural, so adherence to traditional Mpondo culture and ritual practice increases. Mpumelelo described the events he hosted as "parties", much as certain abeLungu Horner agnates spoke of "dinners" (10.2). With the exception of Siwela, if amaCaine slaughter, they do not do so according to traditional ritual methods, reciting no clan praises and slaughtering in the local non-ritual way, which causes a quick death and does not elicit a cry from the animal. This is because they are descended from white people who did not adhere to such customs, and hence neither do they. For Mkululelwa, it was also because they do not form part of Christian practice. Although traditional Mpondo ritual belief and practice has for the most part not been adopted by the amaCaine clan, either historically or in the case of many contemporary members, social expectations in rural contexts means that rituals are performed to a greater or lesser extent by members of the clan who live away from town.

10.4. AmaOgle

For the most part, amaOgle ritual practice resembles that of other more recent clans, but refers more directly to the role of sickness as a reason to perform rituals. This relates to the belief discussed in 4.2.5, that illness and other forms of misfortune are visited upon people by their ancestors as punishment for their failure to perform rituals.

Interview Extract 10.4a

Qaqambile: Do you perform rituals?

Theresa: [...] Well, we do perform some sort of a ritual if there's a sick person. For example if someone needs something to be slaughtered for them. There's no other thing beyond that. [...]

Qaqambile: How do you slaughter?

Theresa: We just slit its throat. [...]

Qaqambile: Which animal do you kill for rituals?

Theresa: We use a sheep.

Qaqambile: Have you ever had a case where a person got sick for *mbeleko*?

Theresa: Yes, we did have that case but we at this homestead do not wear skins⁷⁸ (Theresa Ogle, Appendix G2.1).

Although Theresa Ogle acknowledged that her branch of the clan did perform rituals, including *mbeleko*, this appeared to be in response to illness rather than in general. The interplay between ritual performance as a matter of course or in response to illness or misfortune is especially true in the case of *mbeleko*, the ritual that introduces a child to its ancestors and which is believed to result in illness or other bad fortune for the child if neglected (4.2.5, 8.1). The by no means small financial implications of ritual performance (see Appendix M) often mean that the ceremony is delayed, sometimes indefinitely. Any tendency among research participants to wait for clear indications from ancestral spirits in the form of the actual manifestations of ill health or bad fortune before performing in particular the *mbeleko* ritual, should therefore be seen within a broader context in which financial constraints often make this a necessity and hence not peculiar to the clans of interest here.

In the case of the latter ritual, the conventional wearing of thongs cut from the skin of the sacrificial animal around the wrists and ankles of the person for whom it was slaughtered is not observed. Ogle ritual practice as described by Theresa also differed from Mpondo practice in that the ritual animal slaughtered was a sheep rather than the more sacred goat, which was not slaughtered according to the traditional ritual method. Similarly, amaOgle ritual practice as described by Hlomela, involved a blending of tradition with more western cultural elements:

Interview Extract 10.4b

Hlomela: We live by the ways of black people here even though we don't entirely do the exact things that they do.

⁷⁸ *Isiphandla* or thongs around the neck and wrists from the skin of the ritually slaughtered animal.

Qaqambile: Can you please tell me sir, when you perform rituals, what rituals do you perform? What kind of animals do you slaughter and how?

Hlomela: Rituals that we perform are not entirely different from the ones of Mpondoland. For example, here in Mpondoland, when a child is born, it is a must that this finger [little finger] must be cut [*ingqithi*].⁷⁹ We never followed that. Secondly, all children, by tradition must be cut on their faces [*bachazwe*] here in Mpondoland. The purpose is so that the blood will correctly circulate in the body. [...] Nowadays, this tradition is slowly fading away. [...] According to tradition [...] a child must be cut. But we [...] decided, 'no, we will not do these things.' But in the case of my daughter getting pregnant, her child will be taken home (to its father's family) and then the child will be cut there. I'm not against that. But me, here, I have boys that have children.

When we have recognised that the child has our blood, even if the child is old, we perform what is called *mbeleko*. There is something that is taken near the sea that we use to wash the child. When we perform this *mbeleko*, we may use a chicken or a goat or a sheep, whatever is available.

Qaqambile: Oh, so you do not have a specific animal that you use for *mbeleko*?

Hlomela: No, no. We use anything that is available.

Qaqambile: Please sir, tell me exactly how you perform this ritual. [...]

Hlomela: [...] If we have *mbeleko* for a child. [...] Usually we request an old person to be present. [On] the day of the *mbeleko*, we will speak. She will speak and then I will speak as the parent of the child. We speak about what we hope may happen to this child. When we are finished with that, we slaughter. And we take the bile of the animal and we put it somewhere. The next day at dawn, we will wash the child with that thing that we take by the sea. [...] After the sun has risen, then we smear the child with the bile. Then that's the end.

Qaqambile: How do you slaughter?

Hlomela: When the animal is for a ritual, we use a spear. We don't really stab it with the spear, we just fake the stabbing. It doesn't matter if it's a goat, sheep or a beast. We fake the stabbing in the stomach. We do not really stab it. After that, the person who is going to kill it, will kill it. [...]

Qaqambile: With other homesteads, it is said that the beast must cry so that they will know that whatever they are doing is successful. So [...] by this faking of stabbing, does the beast cry and do you need it to cry as other homesteads do?

Hlomela: Yes, I would say that, that the beast needs to cry but not always. What we understand [...] is that [if] someone that is not supposed to stab the cow, let's say you [Qaqambile] stabs the beast, [...] it will not die. [...] In the case of a person stabbing a beast, who was not supposed to stab it, for it to die, someone who was supposed to stab it must come and fake the stabbing and then the beast will die. If the person who was supposed to fake the stabbing does not come, we will spend hours there, waiting for the beast to die and it does not die (Hlomela Ngwevu, Appendix G2.2).

According to Hlomela's account, his clan tends to neglect smaller ritual aspects, such as *ingqithi* and *bachazwe*⁸⁰, which are in general practiced less now than they were

⁷⁹ The ritual amputation of the distal phalanx of the little finger on the left-hand.

⁸⁰ Ritual cuts on the face.

in the past, even among endogenous clans. Despite Theresa's indication that *mbeleko* is not performed without reason, Hlomela asserted that amaOgle do perform the more important rituals, including *mbeleko*. AmaOgle performance of this ritual largely follows convention, for example washing of the child – or sometimes adult⁸¹ – first with medicine of the homestead and then later with bile from the sacrificed animal. When it comes to the method of slaughter, amaOgle practice deviated from tradition. Hlomela's account was similar to Theresa's in so far as both indicated that animals were not slaughtered according to traditional methods, but he went further to describe this as having been preceded by an elaborate faking of traditional slaughter.

The tenets of both the maternal and patrilineal cultures of contemporary members of amaOgle appear to have become inter-twined with one another, incorporating certain western elements with selected aspects of traditional ritual practice and combining the respective philosophies. This is best illustrated in Hlomela's response to Qaqambile's question regarding the perceived necessity for the ritually slaughtered animal to cry out (IE10.4b). Hlomela asserted that sacrificial animals offered by his family were expected to cry out, as required traditionally to indicate ancestral satisfaction. The traditional explanation for the failure of this is that the slaughter was performed by the incorrect agnate (8.1.2). However, despite having faked the traditional stabbing routine and ultimately slaughtering the animal according to non-ritual procedures, Hlomela claims that it is required to cry – as in traditional practice – and where this fails, that such failure is not understood to be related to the parodied slaughter, but to the conventional reason cited by tradition. This overlay of western-influenced slaughter method with traditional expectation and explanation demonstrates the extent to which the aspects and philosophies of these two cultures have become enmeshed in Hlomela's understanding.

10.5. AmaFrance

Enoch Richards' disassociation from Mpondo culture as against the more traditional affiliation of his agnates is further demonstrated in accounts of amaFrance ritual practice.

⁸¹ In the case of not having had the ceremony performed during childhood, certain signs or symptoms during adulthood will sometimes be interpreted by *sangomas* to mean that the ancestors require its performance.

Interview Extract 10.5a

Qaqambile: So, sir, you live here and you live with black people. Are you having the same lifestyle as them?

Enoch: Yes, my boy.

Qaqambile: So do you perform rituals the same way they do?

Enoch: We perform what we have to perform, only those that we have to perform. [...]

Our rituals are not many and they are not really near the black people's rituals. You see, we married black people, but not me, this is Caine [pointing to his wife]. [... S]he's a coloured. We usually perform some rituals in order to satisfy the wife who is on the black side. [...]

[W]hen we slaughter, we just slaughter the English way. [... W]hen I slaughter a beast for my children, I just grab the beast and kill it, I don't say anything...

Qaqambile: How do you kill it?

Enoch: We cut it.

Qaqambile: How do you cut it?

Enoch: We stab it here, like it is done by black people?

Qaqambile: *Esingolobeni*? In the back of the neck?

Enoch: Yes. Or I shoot it and it dies.

Qaqambile: You don't make it cry?

Enoch: No, no, no. We don't do that. [...] We skin it and then we eat meat. We are like white people. Our rituals are like white people's, straight. Sometimes I take the meat and make bacon and don't even give any to people. I have white friends. I give them meat too and they go away.

Qaqambile: So even your father was living like you are living, he didn't perform any rituals?

Enoch: Yes (Enoch Richards, Appendix H2.4).



Figure 10.3. Enoch Richards and family

Enoch only performs those rituals that are strictly necessary and although sometimes using the traditional non-ritual method of slaughter – which is also fast and hence humane – he also uses a gun on occasion. He does not recite clan praises and nor does he distribute the meat in the customary ritual way. In his discussion of ritual practice, Enoch continues to assert his affiliation with European and specifically white

culture, pointing to the ethnicity of his wife (formerly Caine) as further justification for his abbreviated ritual performance, and also underlining the observation already made that where traditional practice is adopted, this is frequently explained with reference to the influence of maternal kin. Kutu and Velani, by contrast, subscribe to more conventional notions of traditional belief and practice:

Interview Extract 10.5b

Qaqambile: Do you perform rituals?

Kutu: Well, we do perform rituals. Because my grandfather's wife was black, she was MaNyawuza. When she had children, you'd find that her children cried a lot and they needed to be cut on their faces [*chaza*]. And also there would be a thong put on the child, whether it's from a sheep or a goat because we are not fussy, we use either because we are white people [*mbeleko*]. Those were done because our grandmother was a black person. So we do perform rituals because Dukuza married a black person. He grew up among black people, he married a black person. He gave birth to children among black people and with a black person.

Qaqambile: Do you perform your rituals the same as other clans?

Kutu: Well, all the clans here are different in their ways. Each clan has its own medicine that it uses to wash its people with when it's performing its rituals. Even us here at home, we have our own medicine that we use to wash with when we are performing a ritual.

Qaqambile: What about in the case of slaughtering?

Kutu: We use a spear when we slaughter. I even have a spear here at home, inside the house. If the animal is for a ritual, we stab it here.

Qaqambile: Where?

Kutu: In the stomach.

Qaqambile: Does it cry?

Kutu: Yes, it has to cry (Kutu Dukuza, Appendix H2.3).

Interview Extract 10.5c

Qaqambile: Do you perform rituals?

Velani: Yes, we do.

Qaqambile: The same as local people or different?

Velani: The same. [...]

Qaqambile: Are the rituals you perform like those of the mother's side or are they different.

Velani: Well because my father was born by Ma Rhole, we take the rituals from the Rhole's and my mother's side [Philwayo] and we combine these with those of France when we perform rituals. [...]

Qaqambile: Do you perform the *mbeleko* ritual?

Velani: Yes, we do, with a goat.

Qaqambile: Do you tie strips of goat skin around the neck?

Velani: Yes, they are around the neck and also the wrists which is called *isiphandla*.

Janet: Do you have your own variations in how you perform the rituals?

Velani: No we do it the same way as others because we have mixed with them. I've watched other homesteads performing the rituals and we don't do it exactly the same. Because our black parents performed these rituals for us and we don't

know how our fathers were doing it. [...] They took the Rhole way of performing rituals and combined it with the France way (Velani France, H2.1).

Kutu and Velani described amaFrance ritual practice as conforming fairly strongly to traditional conventions, although the latter slightly more so. Both referred to the adoption of the customs of maternal forebears, and that in essence their practice did not differ from that of their neighbours, minor variations in detail being no more than those that are characteristically found between different clans, and even, as has been seen, within clans.

10.6. AmaThakha

Mthatiswa's identification with Mpondo ritual practice has already been observed with reference to his clan praises, and is further demonstrated in his ritual practice:

Interview Extract 10.6a

Qaqambile: Do you perform rituals at your homestead?

Mthatiswa: Yes I do.

Qaqambile: Can you make an example of any ritual you perform, how you perform that ritual and how you kill whatever you are using for that ritual.

Mthatiswa: We use a knife when we slaughter.

Qaqambile: Do you make the animal cry?

Mthatiswa: We make the animal cry, we don't just kill it.

Qaqambile: Where do you stab this animal?

Mthatiswa: There's no place else that we stab but the throat.

Qaqambile: Can you name one of the rituals you perform?

Mthatiswa: When a child grows we say that we are performing *mbeleko* for the child. *Mbeleko* and *isiko le khaya* [ritual of the homestead].

Qaqambile: What do you use to perform *mbeleko*?

Mthatiswa: We use a sheep for *mbeleko*.

Qaqambile: What do you use to perform *isiko le khaya*?

Mthatiswa: We use a goat. [...]

Qaqambile: Is there any other ritual that has to do with children after [*mbeleko*]?

Mthatiswa: The only one that's there is the one that's called *umngquzo* (*ntonjane*).

Qaqambile: That one of girls?

Mthatiswa: Yes (Mthatiswa Nkunde, Appendix J2.4).

AmaThakha perform rituals for the usual reasons, and like all clans, have their own ways of doing things, for example, when it comes to the choice of animal used. They recite clan praises and require sacrificial animals to cry at slaughter, but do not stab them in the stomach, thereby only partially emulating traditional ritual slaughter. They use a knife rather than the traditional spear.

10.7. AmaMolo

Having entered Mpondo culture almost three centuries ago, amaMolo, like their neighbours, perform rituals to mark certain occasions and for other reasons. However, like abeLungu Horner, and despite the time elapsed since their founding, they have their own particular ways of doing things as is shown in the interview extracts below.

Interview Extract 10.7a

Qaqambile: Do you perform rituals?

Chief Mxhaka: Yes we do perform rituals because we have adopted it. [...] When [...] our great-grandfathers [...] arrived here [...] the Xhosas living here were performing rituals. Their culture, their way of living was different from what was going on here. So the Xhosas saw these people had their own way of living and decided to give them their own land so that they could perform their own things in their own way. There is still a difference, even now with regard to some things, because we have already adopted some customs. When we make our own rituals, there is a difference and people are amazed because when we perform the ritual feast [*idini*] of introducing a child to the ancestors [*mbeleko*] we usually do it in our way which is different from that of the Xhosas.

Mrs Mxhaka: Even the time [of day] that we do it is different.

Chief Mxhaka: Amongst the Xhosa, a rope from a cow's skin is made to put around the child's neck, but we use white beads instead. You can even mistake him or her for *iqhira* [*sangoma*] because of these white beads.

Qaqambile: Are the beads put around the wrists too?

Chief Mxhaka: No, only the neck.

Xolile: We just cut mealies to make bread which we pass on to the people and they pass it on to each other. And that is the end of our ritual.

Qaqambile: Amongst the Xhosa when they perform *mbeleko*, the mother and baby are seated behind the door and given a piece of meat cut off the left foreleg of the animal which the child must finish without sharing. Do you do this?

Xolile: No.

Chief Mxhaka: Well, nowadays some Mlungu homesteads do this because they have adopted it but it is not really our custom.

Mrs Mxhaka: But here in this homestead we don't do it (Mhlabunzima Mxhaka, Appendix A2.2).

Interview Extract 10.7b

Janet: I've noticed that many Mlungus and even Peters⁸² have tables and chairs in their houses. Is this a Xhosa thing?

Chief Mxhaka: No, it is an Mlungu/iLawu⁸³ thing. It is also because our rituals require us to have a table.

Janet: Do you sit around it?

Chief Mxhaka: The family is too big to all sit around the table, just those close to the ritual or who relate most to it (Mhlabunzima Mxhaka, Appendix A2.7).

⁸² Not of Jafiliti's brother Pita's line but Peter, of the Hastoni clan, like amaSukwini, originally included in the ethnographic survey.

⁸³ I.e: coloured.

Interview Extract 10.7c

Qaqambile: You say these white men arrived and they found black people here who have their own way of living, they have customs. So you who are living now as the Lungu clan, this way of living of black people, how do you conduct it, if you do?

Katutu Phangelo: Well they [amaMolo] imitate this thing of these people who are found here but their way is different. There's this thing that is done for a child when it is born called *mbeleko*. [...] They differ in that rope they make that is tied around the neck. Their rope is not made out of cow skin but from beads. They wear white beads.

Qaqambile: These beads of *amaqhira*?

Katutu: Yes, you'd say that is an *iqhira* when you see them but the difference is that it is just one string around the neck. A child must be quite big, must have achieved a certain stage of mental development before it is given that necklace. Keep in mind that this is something that they found here, this custom; it is not theirs, they found it here. That's how they start.

Qaqambile: Even *mbeleko* is not being done?

Katutu: Well *mbeleko* is not done by us all [the whole clan]. You see, these customs that have been adopted by others we have never done them in this house. My father never did anything like that.

Qaqambile: What were his ways?

Katutu: We are born and we just grow and we just live. My father was like me now, alone. He was the one that was conducting things, everything came to him because his brothers were not there, they were dead. Those who had to perform customs or rituals that needed to be done, it was my father who did this for them. For example my sisters who were born by his brothers were helped by him with these rituals. But us, no we never performed any rituals [my father's children].

Qaqambile: Is it still like that?

Katutu: Yes [pointing to his grandson]. Here are the grandchildren; there is no one who ever performed a ritual here.

Qaqambile: Here you don't even say praises?

Katutu: No. No. No. What we do here is just buy drinks, fizzy drinks or whatever and we go and sit by the sea and watch the ships. That is our ritual, there is nothing more. [...] Well my ritual is that thing I've said of sitting there watching ships with a drink. There's no slaughter of any sheep or goat or cow. I just sit there and watch the ships.

Qaqambile: Is that because you are people who come from overseas?

Katutu: Yes. But now, [some of] my people have adopted these customs from here (Katutu Phangelo, Appendix A2.1).

As indicated by both Chief Mxhaka (IE10.7a) and Katutu Mr Phangelo (IE10.7c), some amaMolo have adopted Xhosa customs more than others but as is illustrated in IE10.7d, even where this is the case, ritual performance nevertheless incorporates elements characteristic of amaMolo practice:

Interview Extract 10.7d

Qaqambile: Do you perform [... rituals] the same as the other clans here?

Nozuko: They are not the same.

Nkosiphethe: I will speak because this [Nozuko] is a child. Yes we do perform rituals here. We perform them by a goat. We put beads around the neck and we even make mealie bread after we have slaughtered a goat.

Qaqambile: How do you slaughter?

Nkosiphethe: We stab it with a spear here in front (pointing at his navel) then we do this, then we do this [indicating ritual movements of the spear around the body of the sacrificial animal], then we slaughter it with a knife. Then we put the spear away. And then we talk to the person. We talk to him or her about this meat that they will be eating (Nkosiphethe Jizani, Appendix A3.4).

Amongst amaMolo, rituals are performed for the same reasons as they are among endogenous clans and in at least some cases the traditional sacrificial animal – a goat – is slaughtered. In IE10.7d, Nkosiphethe described doing this according to traditional practice up to a point. He performed the traditional ritual movement of the spear and subsequent stabbing in the stomach (8.1.2) and then put the spear aside, using a knife to slaughter the animal. Others, such as Chief Mxhaka slaughtered with a spear (IE10.7e), but acknowledged that this was not traditionally the case among amaMolo as indicated by his eldest son Dumisani in IE10.7f.

In 9.3.3, it was seen that “*mkhonto yimesi* (spear is a knife)” is the signature abeLungu praise phrase and suggested that this might refer to what can perhaps be thought of as an association of abeLungu with more sophisticated technology as represented by a knife against the traditional spear. This metaphor can however assume a significance beyond the purely functional when it is carried over into the ritual sphere as a way of signifying an alternative cultural affiliation, namely white or English, as is seen among abeLungu Horner and latter-day practice of amaMolo.

Interview Extract 10.7e

Qaqambile: When you are slaughtering in the Xhosa tradition, a spear is used. Do you use a spear?

Chief Mxhaka: Yes because we have adopted a lot of things. We have a spear here.

Qaqambile: When we visited abeLungu at Coffee Bay, they claimed to use a knife instead of a spear. They said that they just slaughter and eat without reciting praises. I understand that you have adopted more customs.

Chief Mxhaka: No they are correct to say they use a knife because even when we say our praises we say that a spear is a knife. [...]

Lungisa Mxhaka: When you say a spear is a knife and then you use a spear that is not a problem to the ancestors because the word of mouth is enough for them. It is us who have adopted a spear. [...]

Mrs Mxhaka: Even when they say praises, they say a spear is a knife. Even though they say that, they use a spear to cut.

Lungisa Mxhaka: [...] It is enough to the ancestors just to say that a spear is a knife (Mhlabunzima Mxhaka, Appendix A2.2).

Although they have lived among amaBomvana for at least eight generations, amaMolo have retained an identification with their foreign ancestry, which is expressed in the ways that their traditional ancestral rituals are performed. Having adopted the ways of their wives, amaMolo now pay homage to their ancestors through traditional media such as ritual sacrifice and the spoken word. It is not however perceived necessary to carry the former out according to the letter of amaMolo lore, but sufficient that the latter should include reference to this fundamental deviation between abeLungu methods of slaughter and those deemed essential to the evocation of ancestors in the context of Cape Nguni ancestral religion, as embodied in the phrase “the spear is a knife”. AmaMolo are not compelled to use a knife when performing ritual slaughter because the recitation of the amaMolo liturgy is understood to in and of itself satisfy their ancestors.

Interview Extract 10.7f

Chief Mxhaka: [...] that’s how we say our praises, we say that a spear is a knife. So those at Coffee Bay are not lost in their ways of doing when they say they use a knife instead of a spear [...]

Dumisani Mxhaka: Even here we were not using a spear, it is because we have adopted it that we now use it (Mhlabunzima Mxhaka, Appendix A2.2).

The combined use of a spear and knife described by Nkosiphethe in IE10.7d implies a transitional position between the amaMolo knife and the traditional Xhosa spear, and that the latter is in the process of replacing the former. There are other elements of contemporary amaMolo ritual practice that were apparently not originally performed by amaMolo but are in the process of being incorporated. For example, in IE10.7a, Chief Mxhaka referred to the adoption of the ritual tasting of the *intsonyama* which is “not really our custom” and Katutu Phangelo, who like his father does not perform *mbeleko* for his children noted that “these customs that have been adopted by others, we have never done them in this house” (IE10.7c). This suggests that the necessity of conforming to traditional cultural conventions which has always shaped

abeLungu existence, continues to do so, at least among amaMolo who while still expressing their European cultural affiliation, seem to have done so to a greater extent in the past.

In spite of what appears to be increasingly traditional practice when it comes to ritual slaughter, other parts of amaMolo ritual proceedings incorporate elements which in all cases can be seen to represent European cultural norms. This hybridity is explained by a number of informants as being due to the fact that while Xhosa ritual practice was not part of the culture of their forebears, having married Xhosa women, they adopted the customs of their wives, but with modifications. The most significant difference between traditional Xhosa rituals and those of amaMolo is their use of white beads rather than cow-hide for the child's necklace in the *mbeleko* ritual. The association of beads with Roman Catholicism in the form of the rosary together with a conception in the collective European imagination of heathenism as being partially expressed in the wearing of skins, both suggest that an affiliation with European cultural values is expressed through this modification in traditional practice.

Perhaps the colour of the beads also underlies this identification. Whereas the wearing of white beads is usually an indication of having entered into initiation as a *sangoma*, amaMolo are adamant that in their performance of the *mbeleko* ritual, this is not the case. As such, in the same way that the use of beads as against leather thongs is representative of foreign ancestry, the colour of the beads – white – is potentially a reference to the presumed race of amaMolo forebears. AmaMolo rituals also begin much earlier than those performed by endogenous clans (10 am as against 4pm) and the serving of mealie bread, and sometimes the ritual sharing of this bread among all present is emphasised. In many cases certain role-players are seated around a table. These practices can also be seen to be symbolic of European cultural stereotypes, especially when viewed in counterpoint against Cape Nguni culture. However animals are slaughtered more or less according to traditional methods and clan praises (*izinqulo*) are recited in order to evoke the presence of the ancestors, as is other oratory in order to make known to them the reasons why the ritual is being performed.

Certain details in the nature of rituals performed by amaMolo differ from more traditional practice, but not the reasons for slaughtering, or the expectations of what it will bring. It is still the ancestors who are at the heart of the ritual, who are being evoked and appeased according to custom, but having come from a different culture, they are

understood to have different tastes and preferences. In the same way as meat and beer is ritually and communally consumed in the traditional context as a means of paying respect to departed ancestors, the ritual sharing of bread among attendants, some of whom are sitting up at table, honours ancestors belonging to a culture that did those things. Having descended from non-African forebears, certain stereotypical acts associated with European and/or Christian culture have become encoded into the ritual practice of amaMolo. Starting early, the use of store-bought beads rather than leather thongs, the baking and ritual sharing of bread,⁸⁴ the use of a knife in preference to a spear and sitting around a table are all elements associated with European culture which have been ritualised through their incorporation into traditional cultural practice. In this way, amaMolo have adopted the beliefs and customs of their wives but they have not done so at the cost of abandoning the perceived cultural identity of their ancestors.

10.8. AbeLungu Jekwa

AbeLungu Jekwa were incorporated into the amaBomvana, whose name derives from the same root as *mbola* or red ochre. Traditionally, this was used to smear skin and clothing, and it has remained symbolic of affiliation with traditional cultural values and lifestyles, as will be discussed further below. AmaBomvana as a whole are associated with traditionalism and conservatism, much in the same way as their neighbours, the Gcaleka. As indicated previously (8.2), conversion to Christianity and economic changes resulting from the implementation of so-called 'betterment' schemes are common in Mpondoland, but have occurred to a much lesser extent in the Xhora region where people have held on to traditional economic and religious practices with far more tenacity (McAllister, 2003:16-17). When it comes to the performance of rituals, abeLungu Jekwa display a high level of conformity with their Bomvana and Gcaleka neighbours. Transcriptions of passages taken from interviews with members of the abeLungu Jekwa clan will illustrate this point.

Interview Extract 10.8a

Qaqambile: What I want to know is, the way you are living, how do you perform your rituals, if you do?

Vuthuza: I thank you. We, when we perform *mbeleko*, in the Xhosa ways a child is smeared with *mbola*, [red ochre] but we do not do that. That's the difference.

⁸⁴ Although bread would not have been part of the traditional diet, these days it is not hard to come by unless there are financial constraints because *lali* spaza shops have daily bread deliveries and stock bread flour.

We just cook for the baby. We don't smear the baby with *mbola*. With the Tshezis and other clans, the baby is smeared with *mbola* and they say they are changing the colour of the baby. Thank you.

Qaqambile: How do you perform *mbeleko* here?

Vuthuza: Well, we at first slaughter a goat for the child. And then after, we follow with a cow.

Qaqambile: When you slaughter it, what do you use, do you use a knife or a spear or something else?

Vuthuza: When we are about to catch it, while it is in the kraal, we say praises first, while we are carrying a spear. [...] And then I say, "I am making this child with this wether⁸⁵." And then we enter the kraal. We catch it; we stab it with the spear.

Qaqambile: Thank you sir, but there is something that is not clear to me. That side, the Mpondo side, they do not want the animal to cry when they are stabbing it because they say they are *abeLungu*. So do you make it cry on this side?

Vuthuza: It is not suffocated, it is stabbed to cry. And then the mothers say "Camagu!" We cannot suffocate it because we are not stealing it, we are performing a ritual, it has to cry. (Vuthuza Sitwayi, Appendix B2.4).

Interview Extract 10.8b

Qaqambile: Do you perform rituals?

Mquba: As we are this white nation, we came and lived here among this black nation. We stayed here with it and we performed the rituals that were performed here. This is from here [pointing at *ngqithi*⁸⁶]. It's not from Europe. We also circumcise. We lived among black people, we slaughtered goats with them, we did everything they did because we came here and when we became men, we took their girls and then we became this mix and performed the rituals that are performed by these people. We even do *ntonjane* [female puberty ritual]. We do all the things that are done by Africans, black people to be exact. That's how we live. Like this man here [pointing at Colin Tiedt⁸⁷], this is the fourth year of him being here, he's living here with us. His children will perform these rituals, they will do *mbeleko*, they will do everything. I mean to say, we live with *abantu* [black people] and we do the things they do. If you were here in 2006, we had a big *mgidi* here, all of us here, even those from Hobeni and across the Xhora were here. We were gathered here. We were eating meat in the kraal. We were drinking *mqombothi*. Our girls were sitting right outside our kraal, near the entrance (Mquba Ketwana, Appendix B2.3).

There is really only one difference between the ritual practice of *abeLungu* Jekwa and that of endogenous clans and this relates to their non-use of red ochre (*mbola*) in the childhood ritual of *mbeleko*; also known as *mqaba* which means 'to smear'. The word '*amaqaba*' meaning 'the smeared ones' has the same root, and the practice of

⁸⁵ Castrated goat.

⁸⁶ The ritual amputation of the distal phalanx of the little finger on the left-hand.

⁸⁷ A white man who has a long family history in the area and who recently moved permanently to Sundwana where he is following his calling to become a *sangoma* and has been accepted as part of the *abeLungu* clan in a rather touching case of history repeating itself.

smearing *mbola* is not only associated with the *mbeleko* ritual, but with also with a more general affiliation with traditional as against modern standards as described by Mayer's (1980) distinction between 'red' or *amaqaba* and school (*amagqoboka*) "ideologies of resistance". By smearing themselves and their clothing with red ochre, *amaqaba* indicated their retained association with traditional cultural practice.

The difference pointed out in IE10.8a, that when the *mbeleko* ritual is performed by abeLungu Jekwa, the child is not smeared with red ochre could be the kind of variation which exists between different clans in the sense that certain customs, for example *ingqith*⁸⁸ are characteristic of particular clans but not performed by others. On the other hand, given the association between *mbola* and strong tradition, it might be a means by which abeLungu Jekwa demonstrate that despite their otherwise strict adherence to traditional ritual practice, they do not have purely Xhosa origins. With this exception, when abeLungu Jekwa rituals are compared with those outlined in Chapter 8, marked similarities are evident. For example, the reasons why a ritual is held, the kinds of animals slaughtered (goats and cattle), the seating positions of attendants, the drinking of *mqombothi*, the recitation of *izingqulo*, the use of a spear in the sacrifice and necessity that the animal cries out, all of which are central in Cape Nguni rituals, are equally significant in the performance of rituals by abeLungu Jekwa.

10.9. AbeLungu Hatu

As in the case of abeLungu Jekwa, the ritual practice of abeLungu Hatu conforms closely with that described by Hammond-Tooke and others, as described in Chapter 8.

Interview Extract 10.9a

Qaqambile: We would like you tell us about how you perform your rituals, how you slaughter and so on.

Chief Ngubechanti: Well, if we are going to slaughter, if we are going to perform a ritual, maybe we are going to slaughter a beast. [...] The beast is among others inside the kraal. The men of this homestead stand at the entrance [*emaxhantini*] in front of the kraal. People are here in front of the kraal, nephews, mothers, daughters, sons are in front of the kraal. Even friends are there.

Then the father of the homestead tells the people what ritual is going to be performed. If maybe there was someone who dreamt of a great ancestor, he will say that somebody or he himself dreamt of such-and-such a person, saying whatever, so now I am doing whatever he has said. [...]

⁸⁸ The ritual amputation of the distal phalanx of the little finger on the left-hand.

After all is clear, then he says praises. By doing that he is calling the masses, he's calling old people, people who are no longer with us, those who are beneath, they must come closer, they must be near when this ritual is being performed, their spirits must be here. When he's done praising, he is carrying spears. When we are saying "Cattle of Gquma," it is because this mother came out of the sea and was taken to *Komkhulu*⁸⁹ and was given a Xhosa name. She was called Gquma because she came out of the sea, the sea is a place where there is a lot of noise. He will say praises, facing the kraal. And then he will say that this beast is this kind and this colour, this beast that we are going to perform a ritual with.

*Abafana*⁹⁰ must go in and grab the beast and throw it down. After that, [removes two spears from the inside of the thatched roof of the hut] these are the things he stands in front of the kraal holding. These things were present even before; our great grandfathers had these things. After the beast is held and thrown down, it is stabbed by the spear in the belly so that it will cry. After it has cried, after it has said "Bhuuuuuu!" the ritual then has been successful. Then women will ululate, and then after that, something called *umxhelo*⁹¹ is taken out. And then it is skinned. And then we eat something called *umshwamo*⁹². It is eaten by the homestead. This piece of meat is eaten before anybody eats anything. It is braaied. Then thereafter, everyone else is allowed to eat. So it is like that (Chief Nceba Ngubechanti, Appendix C2.1).



Figure 10.4. *Nomqho Same of abeLungu Hatu*

Indeed, as is evident in an interview with an elder of the clan section, Nomqho Same, the ritual practice of abeLungu Hatu approximates that of local tradition to a greater extent than abeLungu Jekwa in that ochre is utilised in the *mbeleko* ritual:

⁸⁹ The chief's homestead.

⁹⁰ Young men.

⁹¹ Spinal vein.

⁹² Piece of meat taken from the right front leg.

Interview Extract 10.9b

Nomqho: [...] The only thing that will be done to the baby, the mother will smear the child with *umdiki*.⁹³ They smear the face.

Qaqambile: What about the mother?

N: She will also be smeared, like the child. The grandmother will smear the mother of the child but the mother has smeared her child (Nomqho Same, Appendix C2.2).

There is therefore no appreciable difference between the ritual practice of abeLungu Hatu and endogenous amaBomvana clans.

10.10. AbeLungu Fuzwayo

The apparent confusion in the oral history of abeLungu Fuzwayo (6.4) as to whether their ancestors came from Mamolweni, Xhora, or somewhere else, is not resolved by a consideration of their ritual performance as is seen in the interview extracts below:

Interview Extract 10.10a

Qaqambile: Moliyathi, please can you tell us, according to your knowledge how you slaughter a goat? [...]

Moliyathi: Ok, according to my knowledge, when we are about to smear a child here at home, we take the thing that is called a spear and then we put it next to the kraal and it sleeps there (the night before the ritual). After that, old men of the home arrive and then they report about the issue, they report what we are here to do. [...] Then we take the goat and put it down and stab it. [...]

Qaqambile: Where do you stab the goat?

Moliyathi: In the stomach so that it cries. And then we kill it by slitting its throat. Then after that, there's a piece of meat called *umrhotsho* that's taken out from the right front leg. Then it is put in the flames and then before eating it, that's when the silence starts. It is people of the home that eat first before anyone else. Even then, the people that are married into the home do not eat that meat. It is eaten by us and our fathers and their sisters (Moliyathi Ntlangano, Appendix E2.3).

Interview Extract 10.10b

Qaqambile: Ok, so in this homestead do you perform rituals? If you do, how are they different, if they are different, from those of other clans around here?

Mthiyeni: Well, I'll answer you on that. Yes we do perform rituals in this homestead. Our rituals here are performed slightly differently from those of other clans. When we perform our rituals, we use a spear to slaughter. There is an owner of the spear who we call *ntlabi* and we speak before slaughtering an animal, explaining why we are slaughtering, who has dreamed what. And then we stab it. And after that the animal cries and then we speak, we say that the ritual has been successful. Yes, successful.

Our rituals here differ from others by one thing. When it comes to making that neck rope [*ntambo*]. We differ by *ntambo*. We don't use the cow's tail when

⁹³ Otherwise known as *mbola*, which is red ochre.

making the *ntambo* and we don't even check how the weather is. Other homesteads use a cow's tail. We buy a rope in the shop and put beads on it (Mthiyeni Ntlangano, Appendix E2.1).

Interview Extract 10.10c

Nomlinganiso: Well, when I begin the ritual, I brew *mqombothi*. After brewing that *mqombothi*, we grind mealies on a grinding stone and then we make what is called *unoqebengwana* [mealie bread] or it is called *isonka sothuthu* [bread of ash). [...] Before we eat the bread it has to be sliced in to many pieces with a knife. And then we take the bread and eat. [...] When we have finished eating this bread we drink our *mqombothi*. That's how we do it. [...]

Now it's party time. We enjoy ourselves and drink *mqombothi*. That bread, it is not all of it ours, it's the abeLungu family that eats first. We eat that bread here [pointing at the hearth], *esililini, iziko*. We surround the hearth and eat. [...]

Qaqambile: At what time do you start this ritual, here in this homestead?

Nomlinganiso: Well we here at this homestead usually, by this time (11.am) we have started, by this time the mealie bread has already been baked. [...] After cutting the bread, we have to be careful not to eat all of it. We take the left over bread and pierce the slices with sticks and push them into the thatch above the *entla*⁹⁴. We must not finish the bread, it is a must.

Qaqambile: What is the significance of that, why do you put the bread there?

Nomlinganiso: It is our custom, it is our tradition. It is the tradition of the abeLungu.

Qaqambile: Who are you keeping the bread for?

Nomlinganiso: We are keeping it for the ancestors (Nomlinganiso Smayile, Appendix E2.3).

In interview extracts 10.10a and 10.10b, abeLungu Fuzwayo ritual sacrifice is described more-or-less according to traditional practice as described in Chapter 8. The second part of IE10.10b addresses the childhood ritual of *mbeleko*, and describes the use of white beads in preference to a leather thong, an element of the ritual characteristic of amaMolo practice, but not that of either abeLungu Jekwa or Hatu. Also in the tradition of amaMolo, abeLungu Fuzwayo bake bread for their rituals. In their case, the ritual sharing of this bread takes place not only between those present but also with the ancestors, in much the same way as meat and beer are symbolically shared with the ancestors by being placed in the part of the hut associated with them, the *entla* (8.1.2).

⁹⁴ Sacred space at the back of the hut directly facing the door.



Figure 10.5. *Nomlinganiso Smayile (Ma Mlungu) of abeLungu Fuzwayo*

Although abeLungu Fuzwayo methods of ritual slaughter are similar to traditional practice, and hence that of abeLungu Jekwa and especially abeLungu Hatu, their rituals incorporate many of the customs associated with European culture that are found among amaMolo. If these similarities in terms of European identification are considered in conjunction with the small distance between Tshani and Mamolweni (under ten kilometres), it is perhaps most likely that abeLungu Fuzwayo are an offshoot of the amaMolo clan section. The fact that their ritual slaughter appears to follow more traditional lines has possibly more to do with the relatively small size of the abeLungu Fuzwayo clan section, when compared to amaMolo, who are the predominant clan in Mamolweni. As a minority exogenous agnatic cluster living among a majority of endogenous clans, it is conceivable that their conformity to local practice would exceed that of amaMolo. It was seen in 10.7, that amaMolo are apparently in the process of absorbing certain ritual traditions which they have presumably resisted doing for almost three centuries. It is therefore possible that being in the minority, abeLungu Fuzwayo adopted local customs more quickly than amaMolo, but as with the latter, retained elements of ritual practice by which their European forebears are commemorated. On the other hand, as was noted in 9.3.4, certain praise phrases commonly found in *izinqulo* collected among abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu – but not amaMolo – appeared in those of abeLungu Fuzwayo, indicating that despite their geographical proximity to amaMolo and certain similarities regarding customs associated with ritual practice, it is not possible to make assumptions about the origins of abeLungu Fuzwayo.

There are elements of abeLungu Fuzwayo ritual practice that resemble those of abeLungu Hatu but not abeLungu Jekwa. Red ochre, as was discussed in 10.8, is symbolic of adherence to traditional Cape Nguni culture. The ritual use of *mbola* (red

ochre) in the childhood ritual of *mbeleko*, which is associated with traditional Bomvana practice, was described by members of abeLungu Hatu, but none of the other abeLungu clan sections. It was however referred to by both MaMlungu and MaNtshilibe of abeLungu Fuzwayo:

Interview Extract 10.10d

Qaqambile: Do you perform the ritual that is called *mbeleko* here?

MaNtshilibe: Yes, we do.

Qaqambile: What do you use to perform this ritual?

MaNtshilibe: We use a goat.

Qaqambile: How, because in other homesteads people put on strips of skin, what do you do here?

MaNtshilibe: We don't put on anything. What we do is we smear the child with *mbola*.

Qaqambile: Tell me how you perform the ritual. [...]

Nomlinganiso: At about three o'clock in the afternoon, we gather and speak about this child and we mention that *siyamqaba*.⁹⁵ Then the mother of the child smears the child with *mbola* and then the mother smears herself too (abeLungu Fuzwayo, Appendix E2.3).

None of the amaMolo informants mentioned red ochre in their descriptions of the performance of *mbeleko*, but this is not especially significant as neither is it commonly used by other Mpondo clans. AbeLungu Jekwa specifically stated that it was not included in their performance of the *mbeleko* ritual and this appeared to be the one way in which they deviated from traditional practice. AbeLungu Fuzwayo by contrast do smear red ochre at *mbeleko*, as pointed out in IE10.10d above, as do abeLungu Hatu.

As in the case of their clan origins, genealogies and clan praises, the ritual practice of abeLungu Fuzwayo displays some novel elements but also much hybridity between their practice and that of other abeLungu clan sections.

10.11. Degrees of Conformity

In this chapter I have used extracts taken from interviews with members of exogenous clans to illustrate the ways in which their traditional ancestor rituals are performed. Among these clans, as in the case of endogenous ones, rituals are held in order to both evoke and acknowledge ancestral spirits, with the intention of commemorating them, so as to ward off or ameliorate their ill favour. Traditionally these were associated with lifecycle events such as birth, puberty, marriage and death. Due to the financial

⁹⁵ The term '*siyamqaba*' translates as 'we are smearing' and is synonymous with the *mbeleko* ritual.

implications of holding rituals (see Appendix M), there is now a tendency to avoid them unless illness or bad fortune is interpreted as having originated from ancestral censure. Also, as McAllister pointed out (8.1), the increased importance of community ties over kinship bonds has led to a tendency for beer drinks to be held more frequently than ancestor rituals. These consolidate and affirm community relations rather than those with deceased forebears and other agnates, and require the brewing of beer but not the slaughter of animals. These trends are mirrored in the exogenous clans discussed here, but notions of why and how ancestral rituals are performed are retained, as has been seen in this chapter.

I have compared the ritual practice of participating clans and clan sections not only with one another, but also with more traditional Cape Nguni practice outlined in Chapter 8. Any such comparison must involve some generalisation because practice is not uniform. Relative social contexts ranging from deeply rural through less remote rural and peri-urban to urban have a strong bearing on belief and practice. Across the amaCaine, amaOgle and amaFrance clans, all those participants that live in urban or peri-urban areas (including the village centre of Mbotyi) profess Christianity, those living in less remote rural areas concur with the tenets of traditional practice up to a point but with some modification, and those living in the more remote areas do so to a greater extent. Members of the Caine and Ogle clans whose lines have not adopted local practices explain this by referring to their white forebears. The more traditional members of amaCaine, amaFrance and even Enoch Richards speak of the influence exerted on their religious belief and practice by the Mpondo women who married their forebears. In both cases, explanations for contemporary practice are genealogically based, the European patriline in the case of the former and the Mpondo matriline in the latter.

Another factor accounting for differences occurring in ritual practice both across and within clans is that certain practices are associated with tribal traditions. Although tribal boundaries are often geographically rather than ethnically determined, a comparison between the practice of endogenous amaMpondo and amaBomvana clans would reveal variations of practice similar to those between amaMolo living in Mpondoland and abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu living in Bomvanaland. As has already been pointed out, the latter are associated both through name and practice with the tenets of the 'red' ideology, evidenced primarily in the active practice of ancestor ritual. In Mpondoland on the other hand, there has been more widespread conversion to

Christianity, and although this seldom means that rituals are not performed, it does mean that the form of the rituals may be altered. Thus the exact form and nature of ritual performance is influenced not only by a desire to commemorate and satisfy individual clan ancestors, but also by the practice of immediate neighbours who attend abeLungu rituals, and host them in return at theirs.

The ancestral religion is predicated on the revering of a family's own departed kin. Ancestral spirits are not perceived as amorphous spiritual entities, but as named individuals with particular preferences and idiosyncrasies, which also influence aspects of clan rituals. The brand of alcohol served for example, or the provision of sweets, snuff, or marijuana, are indications of attempts to cater for the individual predilections of clan forebears. Such partialities and other things associated with clan founders and by extension the clan itself and its members, are often symbolically recalled and expressed in the idiosyncratic forms taken by ritual performance in different clans as well as different sections within a clan. Similarly, in some of the clans considered here, their having been foreigners is marked by an incorporation of distinctly European or Christian features into ritual practice. In other cases, such ancestry has resulted in a greater or lesser degree of dilution of traditional practice. Among some, little or no discernible difference between the practice of exogenous and endogenous clans was observed.

In the case of abeLungu Hatu for example, their descriptions of ritual practice conformed exactly to those described in Chapter 8, whereas abeLungu Jekwa differed only to the extent that they did not anoint red ochre on the occasion of the *mbeleko* ritual. Among amaThakha, ritual practice was for all intents and purposes in full conformity with that of their neighbours, with the single exception that a knife was used to sacrifice the animal instead of a spear. AbeLungu Fuzwayo also conformed more or less precisely with traditional modes of practice, but included certain ritual elements directly associated with their perceived European ancestry. Like amaMolo, they marked the *mbeleko* ritual with white beads rather than strips of goat skin, and served bread at their ritual performances much in the manner of Holy Communion. Indeed, abeLungu Fuzwayo took the inclusion of bread in their rituals even further by offering it not only to family members and other attendants at the ritual, but also to their ancestors, just as sacrificial meat is commonly left out for their benefit. The influence of Christian

mythology is suggested by the replacement of the traditional leather thong used during *mbeleko* with beads, and the ritual sharing of bread at rituals.

The hybridisation between local and foreign ritual practices was especially pronounced in the case of amaMolo. At rituals, clan members – at least some of them – sit up at table to eat, and they start much earlier than is customary, at around ten o'clock in the morning rather than in the late afternoon, as do the abeLungu Fuzwayo in the case of some rituals. These ritual elements are not only markedly different from traditional practice, but appear to express identification with European culture. In certain cases, the metaphoric associations between such elements and European culture are evident, and the inclusion of these aspects explicitly linked with foreign heritage.

The remaining five clan sections - abeLungu Horner, amaCaine, amaOgle, amaFrance and amaIrish - did not affiliate as closely with local traditions and conventions, with the possible exception of the majority of amaFrance members. Their descriptions of ritual practice showed many deviations from or dilutions of traditional convention. As in the case of the majority of older clans, when rituals are performed, identification with European culture was expressed symbolically through incorporation of stereotypically European and/or Christian acts into ritual practice. AmaIrish and some members of amaCaine indicated that their reasons for performing rituals were simply that as they lived among people who performed them, they did so to fulfil community expectations. Others did not acknowledge that they performed rituals as such, instead referring to such occasions as 'dinner' in the case of abeLungu Horner or a 'braai' or 'party' in the case of amaCaine.

Among abeLungu Jekwa, abeLungu Hatu, abeLungu Fuzwayo and amaThakha, the preferred sacrificial animal was a goat, again conforming with traditional convention. With the exclusion of amaThakha, it was slaughtered in the traditional way with a spear and in all cases in such a way as to cause it to cry out so as to alert the ancestors of the sacrifice. By contrast, when the remaining five clans brew beer and slaughter an animal, many do not use the traditional sacrificial goat, but a sheep or even chicken instead. Thus the abeLungu praise phrase, "*oomkhonto yimesi*, spear is a knife" is purely metaphoric from the perspective of abeLungu Jekwa, abeLungu Hatu and abeLungu Fuzwayo because while it is recited in their *izinqulo*, it is never put into practice. For abeLungu Horner by contrast, it is taken literally and although few recite *izinqulo*, they really do use a knife instead of a spear when slaughtering.

For amaMolo it is something else again. In IE10.7e, Lungisa Mxhaka noted that “[w]hen you say ‘a spear is a knife’ and then you use a spear, that is not a problem to the ancestors because the word of mouth is enough for them.” This suggests that although amaMolo have changed from using a knife to using a spear when they slaughter, the evocative quality of *izinqulo* transforms the recitation of the phrase into the action itself and thereby satisfies the ancestors. Both amaMolo and amaOgle described the elaborate faking of traditional slaughter but avoidance of the key element by which the animal is made to cry out, thereby killing the animal by more humane means, another stereotypical notion associated with European culture.

This chapter has described a range of ritual practice, from highly conforming with local tradition, through hybridisation of African and European features to exceptionally minimalist. Some degree of variation exists in terms of the exact details of ritual performance across all Cape Nguni clans as well as within them, and the nature of these variations is shaped by multiple influences including family and clan history, the practice of the community in which the clan/clan section resides, and the tribal affiliations of that community. All of these coalesce into the idiosyncratic practice of particular clan sections and sometimes different houses or branches within them. The reasons why rituals are performed however, are less variable. They are conducted for one of two reasons, either in order to mark life cycle events which can be otherwise seen as informing the ancestors of certain changes of social status, or in acknowledgement of blessing or atonement for misfortune (which includes certain kinds of illness) judged to have been sent by the ancestors. My interest in the details and variations of ritual practice across the different clans and clan sections does not therefore stem from a belief that the variations themselves are particularly meaningful. Stemming from various and arbitrary influences, the variations are more or less irrelevant in the broader context of the Cape Nguni ancestor religion, altering only the form, but not the substance of ritual practice. Instead it is the nature of the variations that intrigues me for there seems to be a common theme running through many of them, which like the clan-names, their oral histories, genealogies and clan praises, acknowledges the foreign culture of clan progenitors through the media of the local idiom.

PART FOUR

Introduction to Part Four

Part Four comprises two concluding chapters. The first begins by tracing the discovery, nature, and different kinds of DNA, and the role that non-recombining DNA is able to play in the reconstruction of human history. It will then consider the results of NRY tests conducted among male members of the clans participating in this study. Finally, the various questions and anomalies that arose during the ethnographic chapters are recalled and reassessed in light of the NRY findings.

The final chapter recapitulates the themes revealed in the ethnographic survey as a whole, and contemplates what these suggest about the production of knowledge, and the construction of identity.

11. Molecular results

Klyosov (2011:517) has used the term “DNA genealogy” to denote what he calls a “relatively new area of science” that “creates” knowledge in “history, linguistics, anthropology, ethnography and related disciplines based on DNA sequencing” (Rozhanskii & Klyosov 2011:26). In the context of this study, one specific form of DNA – non-recombining Y Chromosome DNA (NRY) – is relevant because its patrilineal transmission parallels that of clan membership in the communities in which this research was conducted.⁹⁶ The present research does not however rely upon NRY for the ‘creation’ of knowledge, but rather employs it as a means of corroborating and elaborating upon other information obtained through oral and documented history and ethnographic study.

11.1. DNA

11.1.1. A tale of two molecules

DNA was first identified in the nuclei of white blood cells by Swiss biologist and physician Friedrich Miescher in 1869, but it was almost a century before its structure was revealed, in 1953, by Rosalind Franklin, James Watson and Francis Crick (Watson & Crick 1953). Shaped like a spiral ladder, it is a complex molecule comprising two strands coiled together in the quintessential double-helix form. Each strand is a chain of nucleotides, each nucleotide being made up of one sugar (deoxyribose), one triphosphate and one of four nucleobases (bases) – adenine (A), guanine (G), thymine (T) and cytosine (C). Bonds between the triphosphates and sugars of successive nucleotides constitute each strand as a polymer because the bonds are covalent and therefore relatively stable. Two nucleotide polymers thus provide the double helical backbone of DNA.

Attached to the sugar of each nucleotide is one of the four bases, A & G being “purine” and T & C, “pyrimidine”. Hydrogen bonds form between purines and pyrimidines with A bonding only to T, and C only to G; these are called “base pairs” and are represented by the rungs of the spiral ladder in the simile above. The bases themselves provide the 4-letter DNA alphabet because information is encoded in the sequences of base pairs in certain segments of DNA. The 46 chromosomes organised

⁹⁶ All the tables in this chapter were generated from the results of the subproject of DNA sampling and analysis involving Dr Himla Soodyall, Janet Hayward and David De Veridices.

into 23 pairs that are located within each human cell nucleus are comprised of these microscopic coils of nucleotide polymers, also known as “nuclear DNA” because they reside in the cell nucleus.

Prior to cell division, nuclear DNA replication takes place when hydrogen bonds between base pairs, which are not covalent and can be relatively easily broken and re-joined, dissolve. The double helix unwinds and new hydrogen bonds form between purine and pyrimidine bases thereby exposed and their unattached counterparts, resulting in two DNA copies, one for each daughter cell in the subsequent division. 44 out of 46 chromosomes (22 pairs) are called autosomes and comprise autosomal DNA, while the remaining two, which are called allosomes, determine sex. In the case of women, both allosomes are made up of X-chromosome DNA, whereas in men, one comprises X-chromosome DNA and the other, Y-chromosome DNA.

In the production of gametes (sex cells), a special kind of cell division – meiosis – ensures that each gamete (female ova or male sperm) contains only 23 chromosomes because the other 23 will be provided at conception by the other parent’s gamete. Two gametes fuse to form a zygote, during which process maternal and paternal autosomes pair up and exchange segments of their genetic material to create 44 randomly recombined autosomes, the unique genome of each individual.⁹⁷ Similarly, X-chromosome DNA from both parents recombines at conception, so that paternal and maternal X chromosomes and autosomes contain the jumbled genomes of all forebears of all four grandparents. In the case of Y-chromosome DNA, with the exception of what is called the “pseudoautosomal” region, located at either end of each Y-chromosome, recombination does not occur. Y-chromosome DNA therefore passes more or less intact along the patriline. This non-recombining section of Y-chromosome DNA is designated by the abbreviation NRY.

Franklin *et al.* revealed the mechanism of a process that had been intuitively understood for at least a century by Darwin (1859), Mendel 1996[1866] and others, and were able to show exactly how genetic material is carried from one generation to the next by means of DNA. Ten years later in 1963, it was discovered that organelles within cell cytoplasm with the essential role of energy production – mitochondria – had their

⁹⁷ Except for identical twins because they result from a zygote that splits after recombination has already taken place.

own DNA (Mounolou & Lacroute 2005:746, Nass & Nass 1963). Due to its location within mitochondria, this was termed “mitochondrial DNA” (mtDNA), distinguishing it from nuclear DNA found in the cell nucleus, as illustrated in Figure 11.1.

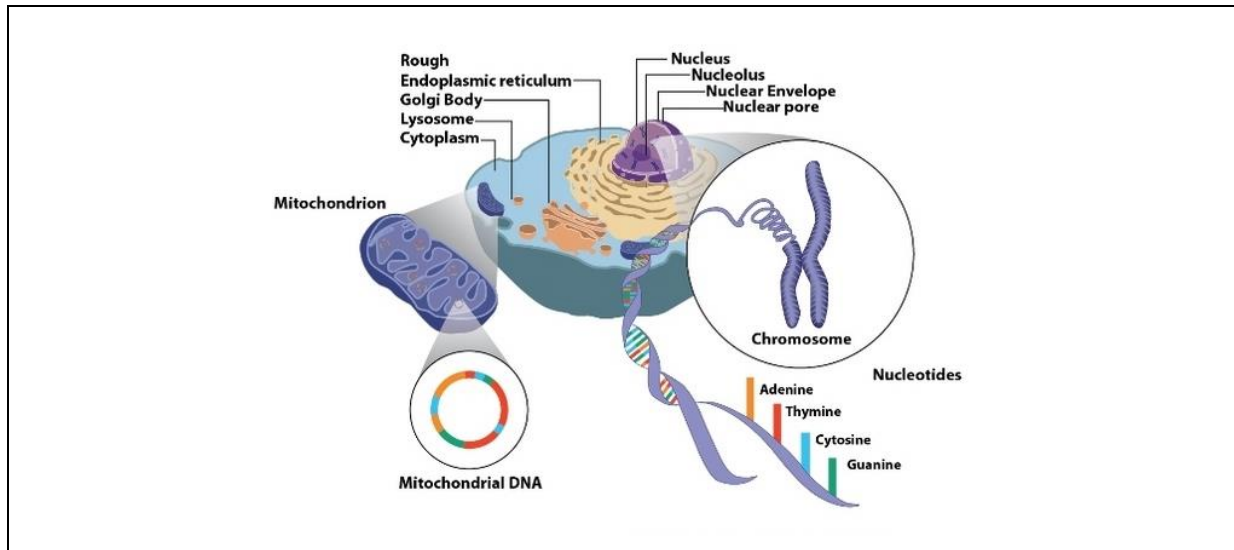


Figure 11.1. Mitochondrial and Nuclear DNA (Vigilant & Groeneveld, 2012).

By 1965, mtDNA had been isolated from various animal species and by 1972 it was understood that male sperm did not contribute significantly to mtDNA, which passes virtually intact along the matrilineal line (Horai & Hayasaka 1990:828, Jorde, Bamshad *et al.* 1998:127, Mounolou & Lacroute 2005:746-7). Like NRY therefore, mtDNA does not recombine during meiosis, so that comparisons between mutations found in NRY and mtDNA are able to provide “a particularly simple record of their past” (Jobling and Tyler-Smith 1995:449). Nuclear and mitochondrial DNA are of separate evolutionary origin, the latter having derived from the genomes of bacteria that were engulfed by the early ancestors of today's eukaryotic cells,⁹⁸ as put forward by Margulis (1967) in her theory of endosymbiosis. Unlike the helical shape of nuclear DNA – and like that of bacterial DNA – mtDNA is circular (Horai & Hayasaka 1990:828), and it is a very much smaller molecule. It has subsequently been discovered that mtDNA is a “vector” of genetic information in that it can be used to cast light on evolutionary relationships between different species, different human ethnic groups, and humans and their non-

⁹⁸ Cells of animals, plants & fungi which store most of their DNA in the cell nucleus and some in organelles (mitochondria or chloroplasts) as against prokaryotes (eg bacteria) which store their DNA in cell cytoplasm.

human forebears (Horai & Hayasaka 1990:828, Klyosov 2011:245, Mounolou & Lacroute 2005:746-7).

Some segments of DNA provide blueprints for amino acid chains that allow enzymes to produce the proteins that control and determine processes involved in the reproduction and maintenance of human life. Such DNA sequences are either whole or partial genes, and are designated "coding sequences" or "coding DNA", as against other sections of DNA that are "non-coding" because they do not code for protein. About 97% of human nuclear DNA is non-coding (Dileep, 2009:1) as against only 10% of mtDNA (Horai & Hayasaka 1990:828). Non-coding DNA was originally believed to have no function and was considered "junk" DNA, but more recent research suggests that it does fulfil certain functions, some of which are beginning to be understood. It has for example been suggested that non-coding DNA may have arisen concurrently with the evolution of sexual reproduction in eukaryotes by playing an essential role in reducing damage during the crossing over of genetic material between maternal and paternal chromosomes during meiosis (Dileep 2009:4). This idea is borne out by the very much smaller component of non-coding DNA found in mtDNA, the mitochondrial genome having derived from that of bacteria which do not reproduce sexually. More relevant to this research however is the information revealed by comparisons between mutations within specific locations of non-coding DNA of people originating from different continents, which provides insight into such ancestry. It is to this research that we now turn.

11.1.2. NRY of participating clans

As was seen in Chapter 4, some clan sections participating in this research had numerous members and others exceedingly few. As a result, the number of NRY samples representative of each clan varied considerably, as is illustrated in Figure 11.2 above. The smaller clan sections such as amaThakha and amaIrish, for example, were represented by one and two male participants respectively. Larger clan sections such as amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa by contrast contributed 37 and 36 DNA samples respectively. As has already been noted (3.3, 3.6), members of the abeLungu Buku clan section were included in the NRY sample despite not having been part of the ethnographic survey due to the fact that they were encountered late in the fieldwork process.

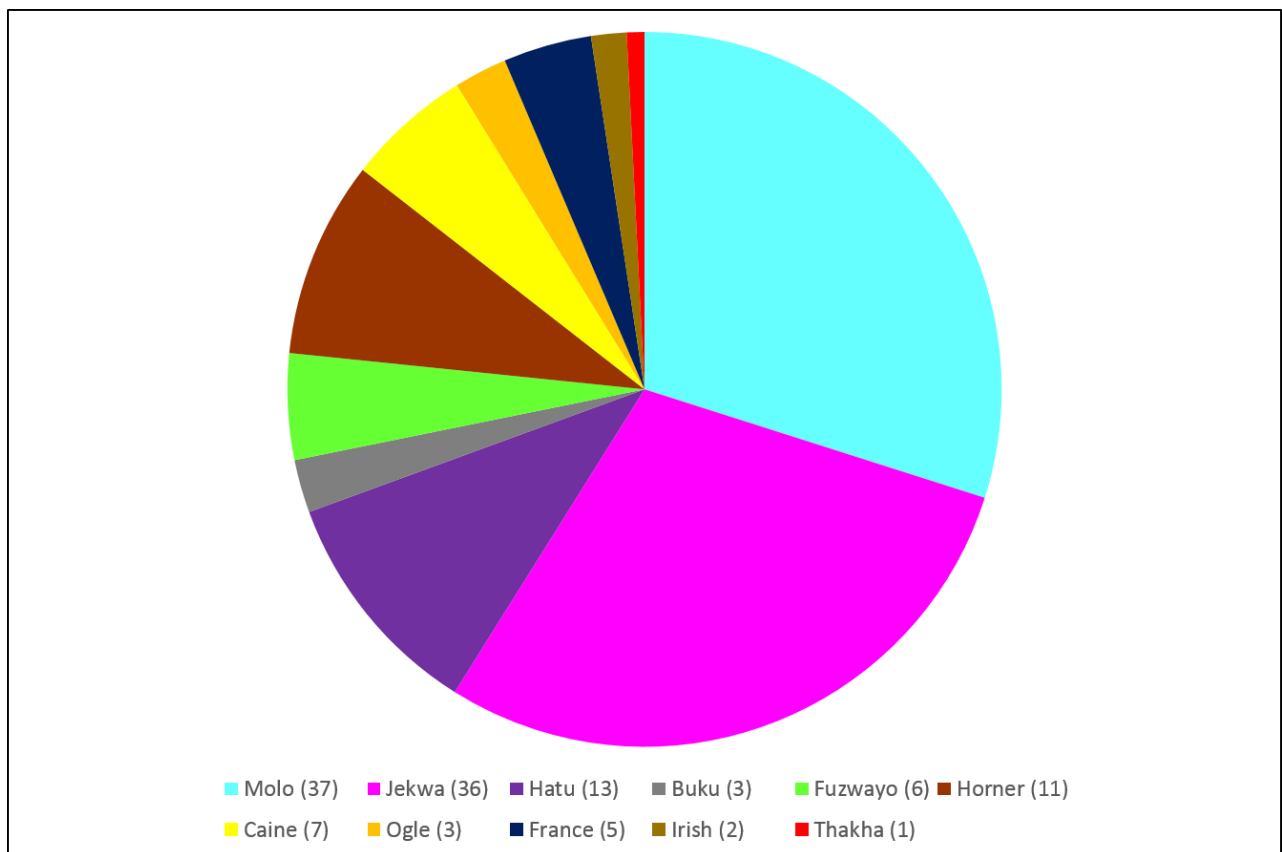


Figure 11.2. Number of NRY samples provided by each clan section.

DNA was collected by means of buccal swabs from male members of the eleven clan segments and sent to Pretoria for laboratory analysis by my research collaborator, David De Veredicis (3.6.2). Results from the entire sample of 124 specimens are shown in Figure 11.3. It can be seen that more than half (56.6%) of NRY samples were haplogroups of European origin while a further 6.5% was an Asian haplogroup. 17% of the total sample was of a haplogroup found commonly across Europe and Asia and therefore difficult to pin down precisely to one region or the other. Only one fifth (20%) of the sample represented African haplogroups.

A total of ten haplogroups were represented across all 124 NRY samples. Four of these were of African origin (M-M52, E-M191, E-M2 and E-M85) which have not been differentiated from one another either in Figure 11.4, or elsewhere in the chapter since it is the haplogroups of foreign origin that are more relevant here. Participating clansmen whose DNA analysis yielded African NRY have been excluded from DNA genealogy diagrams to protect their privacy. As can be seen, African haplogroups were represented in the NRY of amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa, abeLungu Hatu and abeLungu Buku. Only

one clan section – abeLungu Fuzwayo – had exclusively African NRY with all others exhibiting a predominance of haplogroups of European, Asian or Eurasian origin.

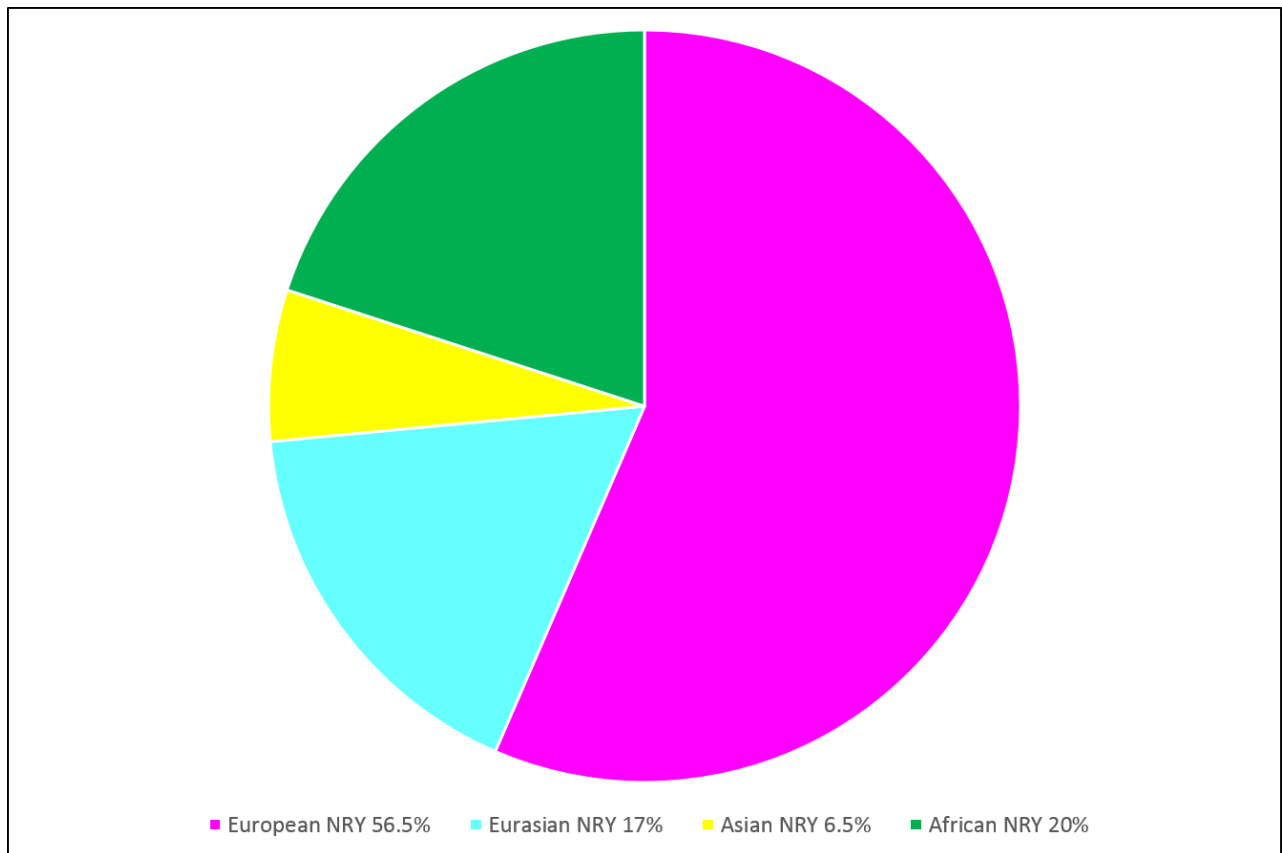


Figure 11.3. Continental origins of NRY haplogroups.

Figure 11.4 shows which NRY haplogroups were represented in the DNA samples collected from all participating clans. The vast majority of amaMolo NRY was that of haplogroup R-M198, which is more commonly referred to as R1a. This haplogroup is believed to have originated in the Eurasian Steppes north of the Black and Caspian Seas. It is now commonly found across Eurasia, and therefore cannot be associated with either European or Asian ancestry exclusively (World Heritage Encyclopaedia 2017a). The balance of amaMolo NRY belonged to haplogroup Q-M242. Haplogroup Q is believed to have arisen in Asia approximately 17,000 to 22,000 years ago, subsequently spreading through northern Eurasia. The Q haplotype defined by the marker M242 is today commonly found in Central Asia, Siberia and India, therefore pointing decisively to Asian ancestry. The haplogroup is also common among Native Americans, having crossed the Beringia landmass between Siberia and Alaska approximately 15 000 years ago (Chopra 2012).

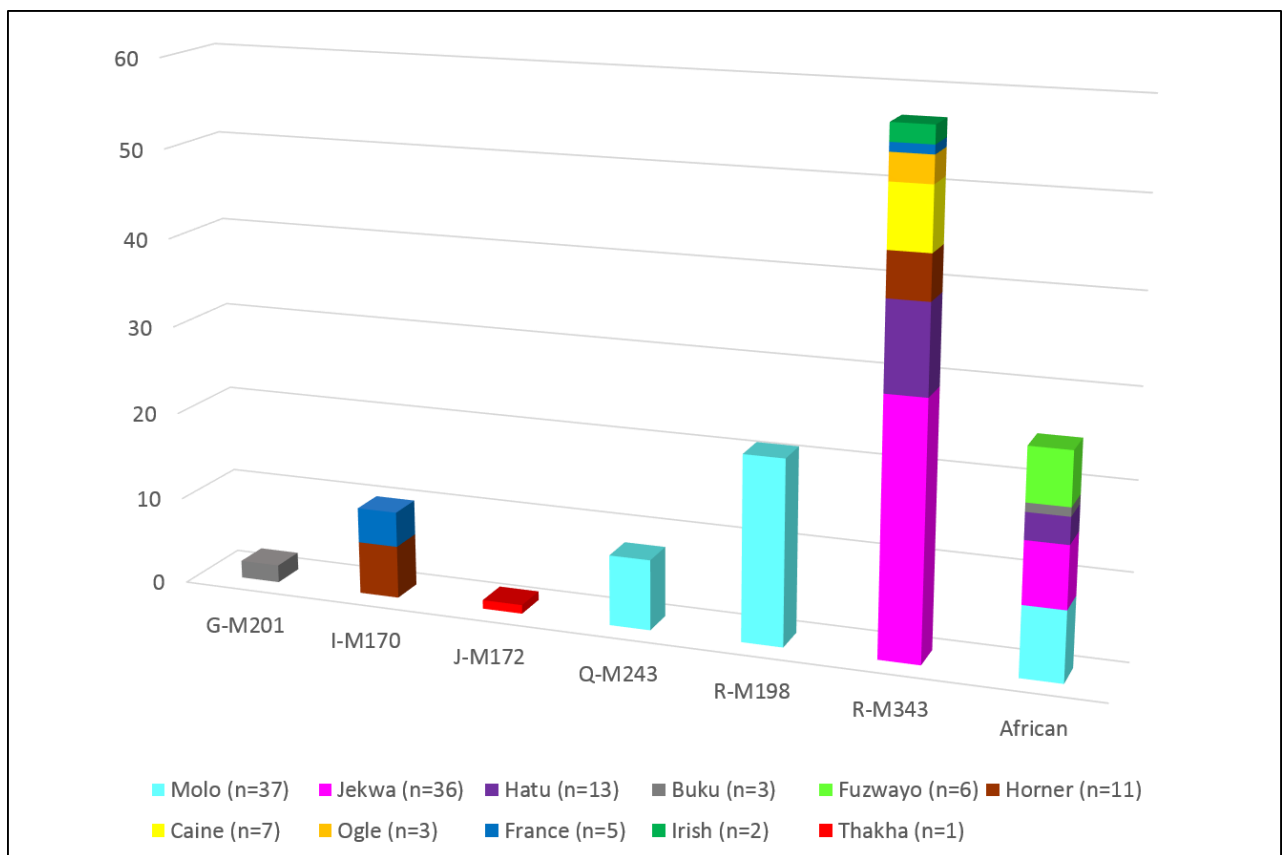


Figure 11.4. NRY haplogroups represented across all participating clans.

Of the three samples of NRY collected from abeLungu Buku, the majority belonged to haplogroup G-M201, which is believed to have originated some 30 000 years ago, probably in the Middle East or Asia. It is currently widespread throughout the Middle East, Europe and Asia, especially in the Caucasus region (World Heritage Encyclopaedia 2017b).

Haplogroup I is believed to have been brought to Europe by Cro-Magnons from the Middle East between 20 000 and 40 000 years ago. It is now found mainly in Europe, where approximately 20% of the male population has NRY from haplogroup I. Some members of the abeLungu Horner and amaFrance clan sections had NRY belonging to haplogroup I-M170 (World Heritage Encyclopaedia 2017c).

The amaThakha clan section was represented by only one male participant whose NRY haplogroup, J-M172, probably originated in the Fertile Crescent, subsequently spreading to Southern Europe, central Asia, the Mediterranean, and India around 12,000 years ago with the development of agriculture (World Heritage Encyclopaedia 2017d).

CLAN	Y HG	Y Def Marker	Y-chromosome Short Tandem Repeats																		
			DYS 19	DYS 385A	DYS 385B	DYS 388	DYS 389I	DYS 389II	DYS 390	DYS 391	DYS 392	DYS 393	DYS 426	DYS 437	DYS 438	DYS 439	DYS 448	DYS 456	DYS 458	DYS 635	Gata H4
Horner	I	M170+	15	14/15	15	13	13	31	23	10	12	15	11	14	10	11	20	15	16	21	12
France	I	M170+	14	14	14	14	12	29	21	11	11	12	11	16	10	11	20	14	16	22	11
Jekwa	R1b	M343+	14	10/11	14	12	12	28	25	10	13	13	11/12	15	12	11	19	16	17/18	23	13
Hatu	R1b	M343+	15	11	13	14	13	29/30	24	11	13	13	12	14/15	12	11	19	15	16/17	23	11
Horner	R1b	M343+	14	11	12	12	13	29	25	11	14	13	12	15	12	12	18	17	17	23	12
Caine	R1b	M343+	14	13	14	12	13/14	27/28	23	11	13	13	12	15	12	11	19	16	18	23	13
France	R1b	M343+	15	11	14	12	13	29	24	11	13	13	12	15	12	12	19	16	19	23	12
Ogle	R1b	M343+	14	11	14/15	12	13	29	22/23	10/11	13	13	12	14/15	12	12	19	16	17	23/24	11/12
Irish	R1b	M343+	14	11	14	12	13	29	23	11	13	13	12	15	12	13	19	16	19	23	12

Table 11.1. Variations in Y-chromosome Short Tandem Repeats in clans with common haplogroups.

All remaining participants – the majority of abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu participants, all amaCaine, amaOgle and amaIrish participants, and the balance of abeLungu Horner and amaFrance participants – belonged to haplogroup R-M343. Also known as R1b, this is the most common haplogroup in Western European populations. It is believed to have expanded throughout Europe after the last glacial maximum about 10 to 12,000 years ago, with the spread of farming (World Heritage Encyclopaedia 2017e).

The overlap between abeLungu Horner and amaFrance when it comes to haplogroup I-M170 and the majority of clans in the case of R-M343 is due to these haplogroups being relatively common among Europeans, and does not suggest recent common ancestry in terms of clan forebears. Haplogroups such as I-M170 and R-M343 are derived from single nucleotide polymorphisms, which as was seen above occur rarely, acting as indicators of broad geographical regions of ancestral origin. STR markers on the other hand provide a more refined resolution, delineating specific lineages within haplogroups, known as haplotypes. Therefore, while a number of clans share a common haplogroup, their haplotypes vary, as is illustrated in Table 11.1 which delineates the STR variations between clans that share a common haplogroup. Indeed the resolution provided by STR variations is so refined that some variations are evident even within individual clans, such as in the case of DYS385A for example, with both 14 and 15 being present among members of abeLungu Horner.

11.2. Ethnographic anomalies & questions reassessed in light of NRY

Figure 11.5 illustrates the NRY haplogroups represented by each individual clan section. In the cases of amaCaine, amaOgle, amaIrish and amaThakha, 100% of NRY samples taken from the participants of these clan sections confirmed the European origins of clan founders, and all participating agnates of each clan section were descended from the same patrilineal forebear. The DNA genealogies of these four clan sections are reproduced in Figure 11.6.

Among other clan sections, certain anomalies arose during the collation of oral and documented histories and genealogies. A total of six such questions have been posed regarding the abeLungu Buku, abeLungu Jekwa, amaMolo, abeLungu Hatu and abeLungu Fuzwayo clan sections. It was hoped that the results of NRY analysis might cast further

light on these six questions. In addition, NRY analysis of members of abeLungu Horner and amaFrance raised genealogical issues that had not been suggested by either historical or ethnographic research.

These eight anomalies / NRY findings will be reconsidered in 11.2.1 – 11.2.8. They are:

- Do abeLungu Buku share forebears with abeLungu Jekwa?
- Are abeLungu Jekwa descended from Jekwa or Gquma (Bessie)?
- Were the amaMolo forebears (Bhayi and Pita) brothers?
- Were the abeLungu forebears (Jekwa and Hatu) brothers?
- Were the amaMolo forebears of Asian or European descent?
- Do abeLungu Fuzwayo share forebears with amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa or abeLungu Hatu?
- The case of amaFrance.
- The case of abeLungu Horner.

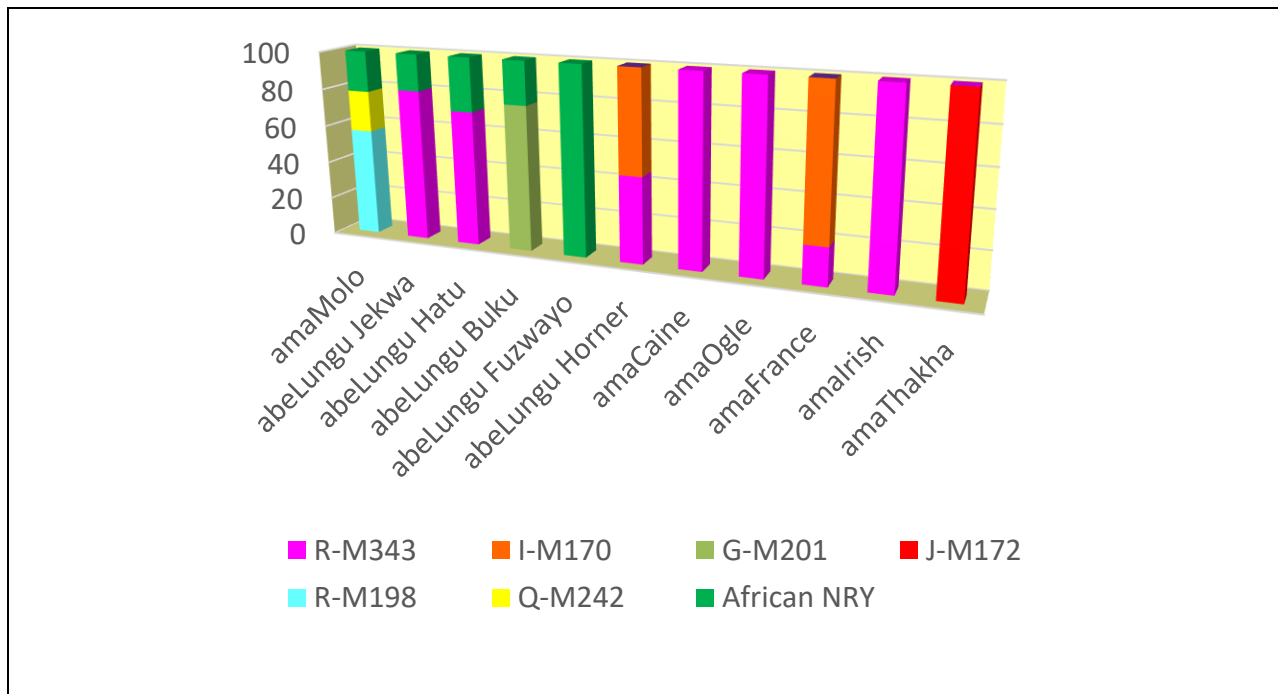


Figure 11.5. NRY haplogroups represented by individual clans.

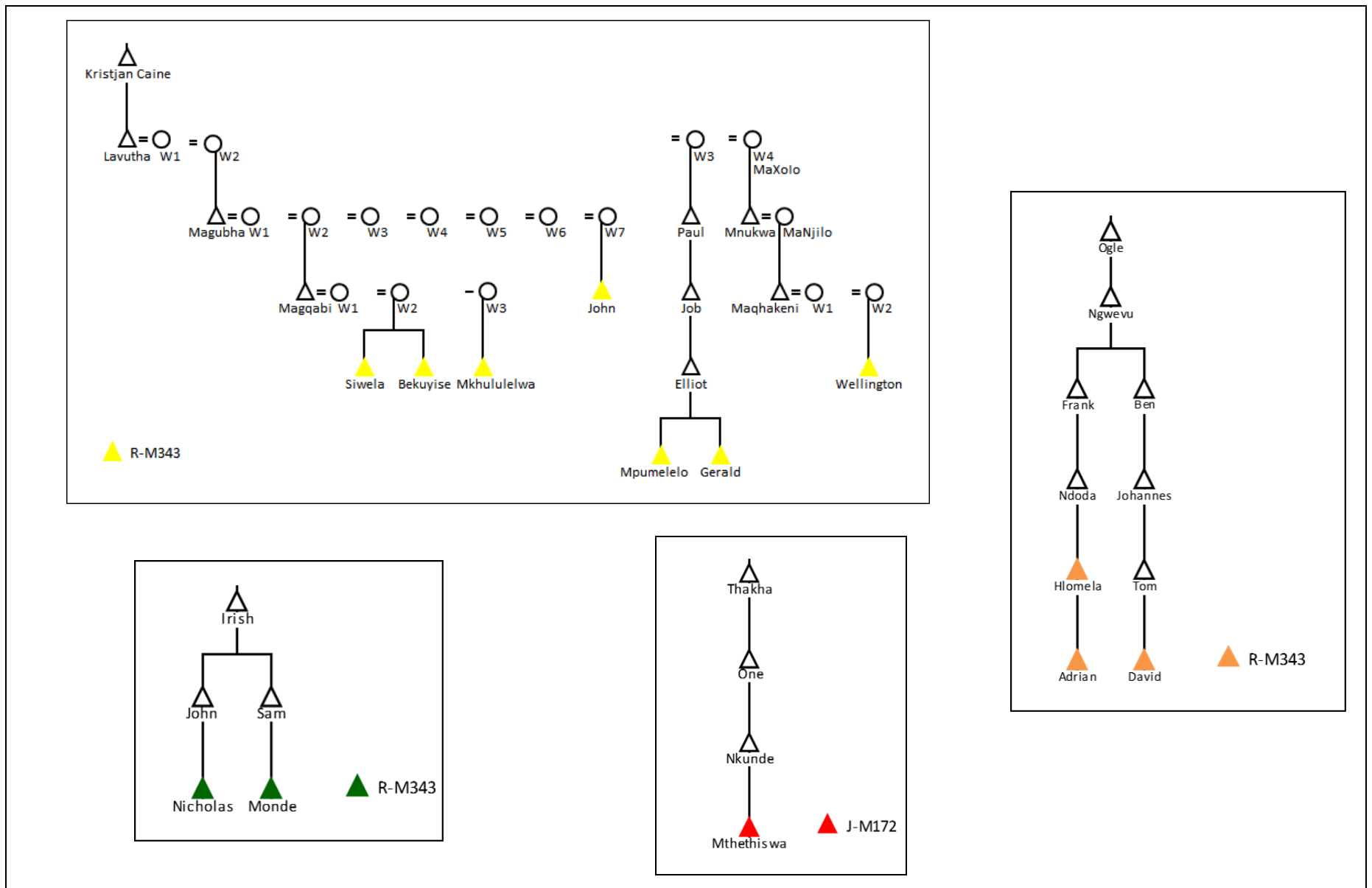


Figure 11.6. DNA genealogies of amaCaine, amaOgle, amaIrish and amaThakha.

11.2.1. Do abeLungu Buku share forebears with abeLungu Jekwa?

The abeLungu Buku clan section was only encountered late in the fieldwork process and so it was not possible to include them in the ethnographic survey. It was also not possible to meet with more than three members of the clan section, from whom, all being men, DNA samples were collected so that they could participate in the DNA component of the research. Soga's (1930) genealogy included an abeLungu Jekwa forebear named Buku, the great-great-grandson of Jekwa, and brother to Mbayela, recalled in contemporary abeLungu Jekwa oral tradition as an important clan ancestor. To be more specific, Jekwa's son Mbomboshe was the father of Lufenu, who was the father of Goxo. Goxo had two sons named Buku and Mbayela (5.1.2.).

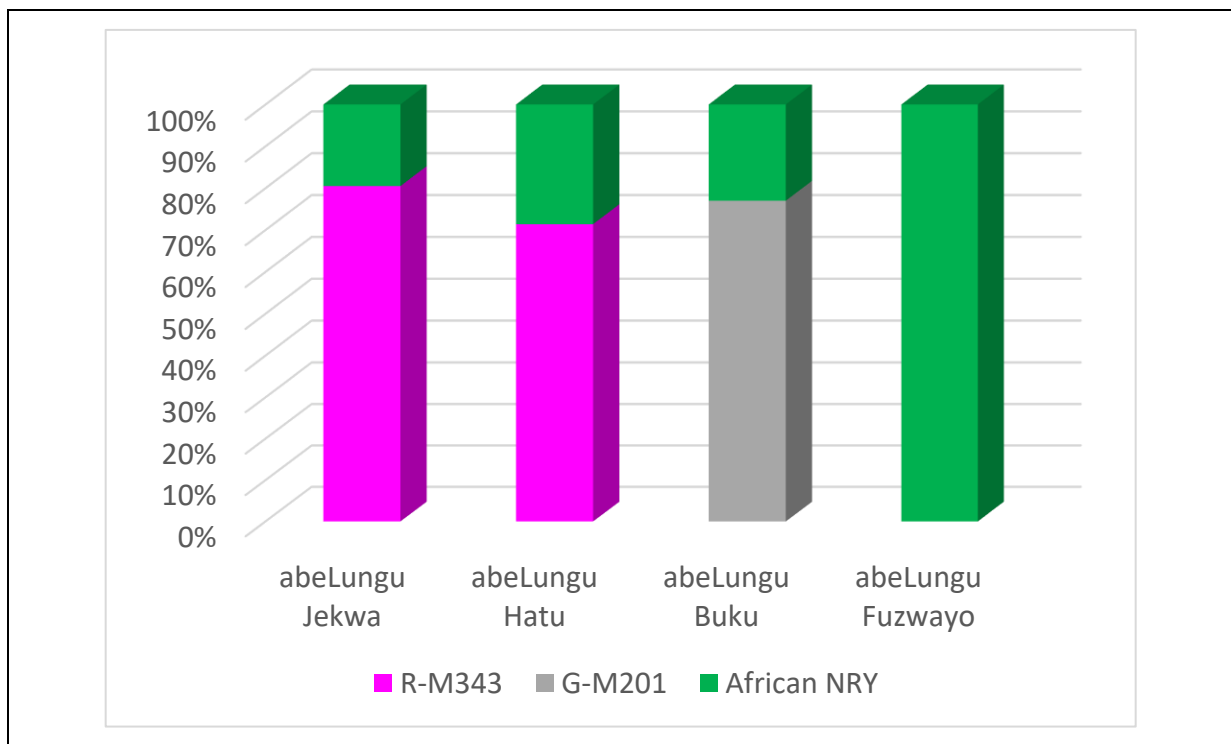


Figure 11.7. NRY Haplogroups of abeLungu Jekwa, Hatu, Buku and Fuzwayo.

Since the oral tradition of abeLungu Buku was not collected or their ritual practice investigated, it has not been possible to assess the extent to which it either overlaps with or differs from that provided by abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu. However, as illustrated in Figure 11.7, the NRY analysis clearly indicates that abeLungu Buku do not share a haplogroup either with their agnates as described by Soga – abeLungu Jekwa – or

with abeLungu Hatu. One third of abeLungu Buku NRY was from a haplogroup of African origin, and the remainder belonged to haplogroup G-M201, which is commonly found in the Middle East, Europe and Asia (11.2.1). As such, although the NRY analysis confirmed that the clan section's forebear was a foreigner, providing that Soga was correct in documenting Buku as Mbayela's brother, NRY analysis indicated that abeLungu Buku are not descended from Buku. This is because Jekwa's European NRY would have passed down not only to Buku and Mbayela, but also to all of their descendants. For the same reason, it is not possible that abeLungu Buku share a forebear with abeLungu Hatu.

11.2.2. Are abeLungu Jekwa descended from Jekwa or Gquma?

The full DNA genealogy of abeLungu Jekwa is reproduced in Figure 11.8. As can be seen in Figure 11.7, 80.5% of abeLungu Jekwa research participants belong to haplogroup R-M343, also designated as R1b, the most common haplogroup found among Western European men. Had abeLungu Jekwa descended from Gquma (Bessie, the 'Sunburned Queen'), their NRY haplogroup would have indicated African descent because it would have been exceedingly unlikely that her children would have been fathered by a European man. Hence, the recall of Gquma as the abeLungu forebear – which was not recorded by Soga (1930) – is a recent addition to clan oral tradition, possibly triggered by the unusual circumstance of a woman entrant into the culture, or possibly the interest in Gquma taken by historians such as Crampton (2004).

The oral recall of Presley and Gquma is in name rather than agnatic principle and is in all probability related to the extraordinary nature of their arrival in the culture. In the strange context of foreign men having arrived unexpectedly out of the sea, the presence of women must surely have been even more irregular; sufficiently noteworthy to have survived hundreds of years of oral tradition despite acting in counterpoint to prevailing social conventions.

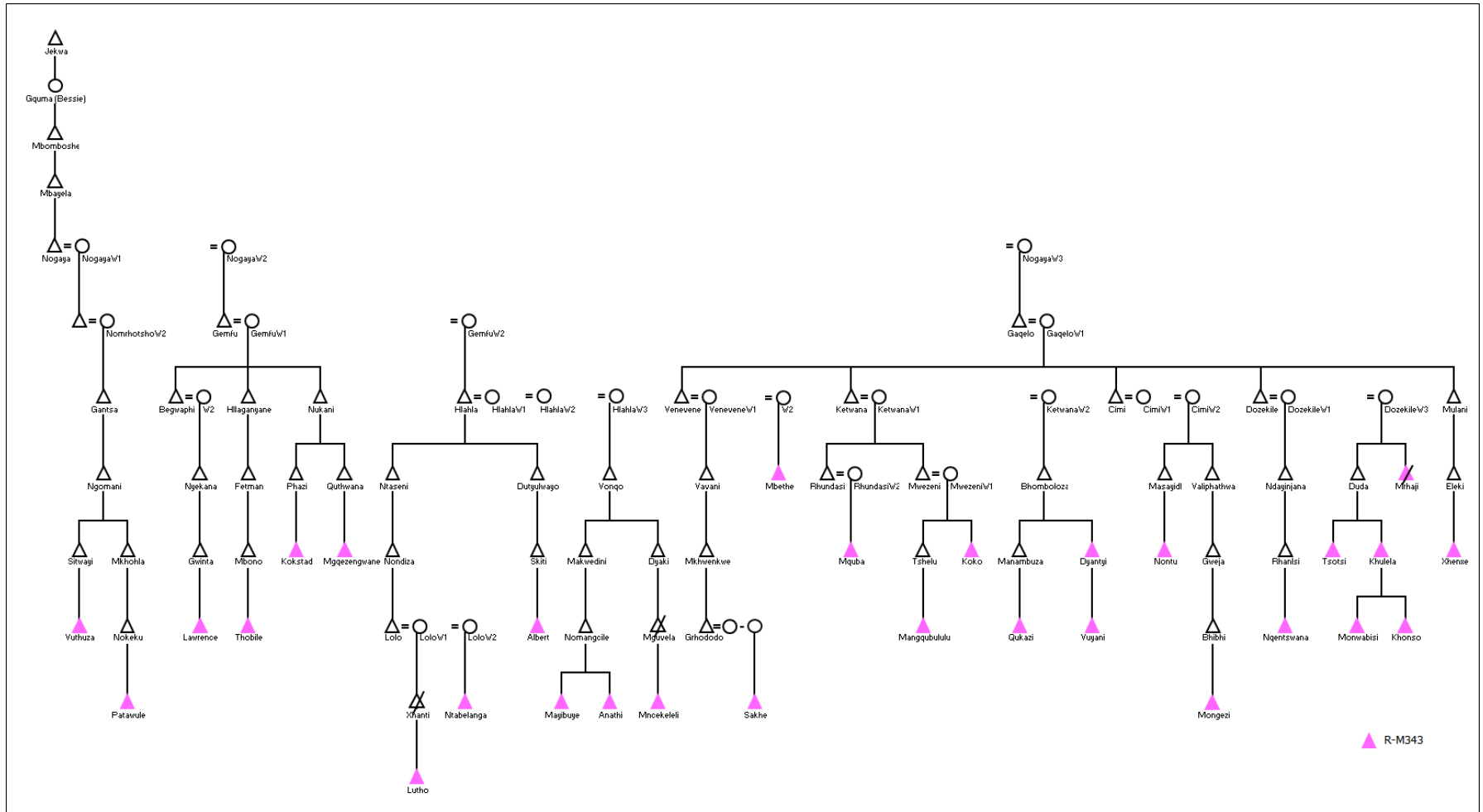


Figure 11.8. DNA Genealogy of abeLungu Jekwa.

11.2.3. Were the amaMolo forebears (Bhayi and Pita) brothers?

When I collected the oral genealogy of amaMolo, one fundamental difference between contemporary oral tradition and that recorded by Soga (1930) immediately became apparent (5.1.1.). Whereas the historian had named only one amaMolo forebear – Bhayi – I was repeatedly informed of his brother, Pita, from whom a sizeable proportion of amaMolo agnates claimed descent. Contemporary informants went so far as naming the brothers' father – Jafiliti – which name is also recorded by Soga as Bhayi's father.

Although Soga's genealogy named only Bhayi as the amaMolo forebear, his commentary mentioned a man named Pita who was said to have been lost at sea. Soga named Bhayi's co-shipwreck survivor as Mera, but did not record his genealogy. I suggested earlier that one possible explanation might be that Soga had made a mistake in his transcription of the oral history narrated to him by amaMolo informants (5.7.3). No clarity can be achieved through speculation and so while the anomaly of the names of Bhayi's co-founder of the amaMolo cannot be resolved, the question as to whether or not they were brothers can be assessed in the light of NRY analysis.

Figure 11.9 illustrates the DNA genealogy of amaMolo. Three African and two Eurasian NRY haplogroups were represented among participating agnates. 21.6% of amaMolo DNA participants exhibited African NRY groups, while an overwhelming majority of agnates – 78.4% – corroborated clan oral traditions claiming descent from foreign forebears. With one exception, the amaMolo DNA genealogy corroborates the kinship relations documented in the oral genealogy to the extent that almost all those claiming descent from Bhayi share a haplogroup, as do those claiming descent from Pita. Only in the case of the descendants Phangelo's first wife is there an inconsistency in that their NRY suggests that they are in reality the descendants of Pita and not Bhayi. As has already been discussed, this kind of conflation between forebears is not unusual in the transmission of oral genealogy (5.1). Although the oral tradition maintains that the two amaMolo forebears were brothers, the NRY analysis shows clearly that they could not have shared a father.

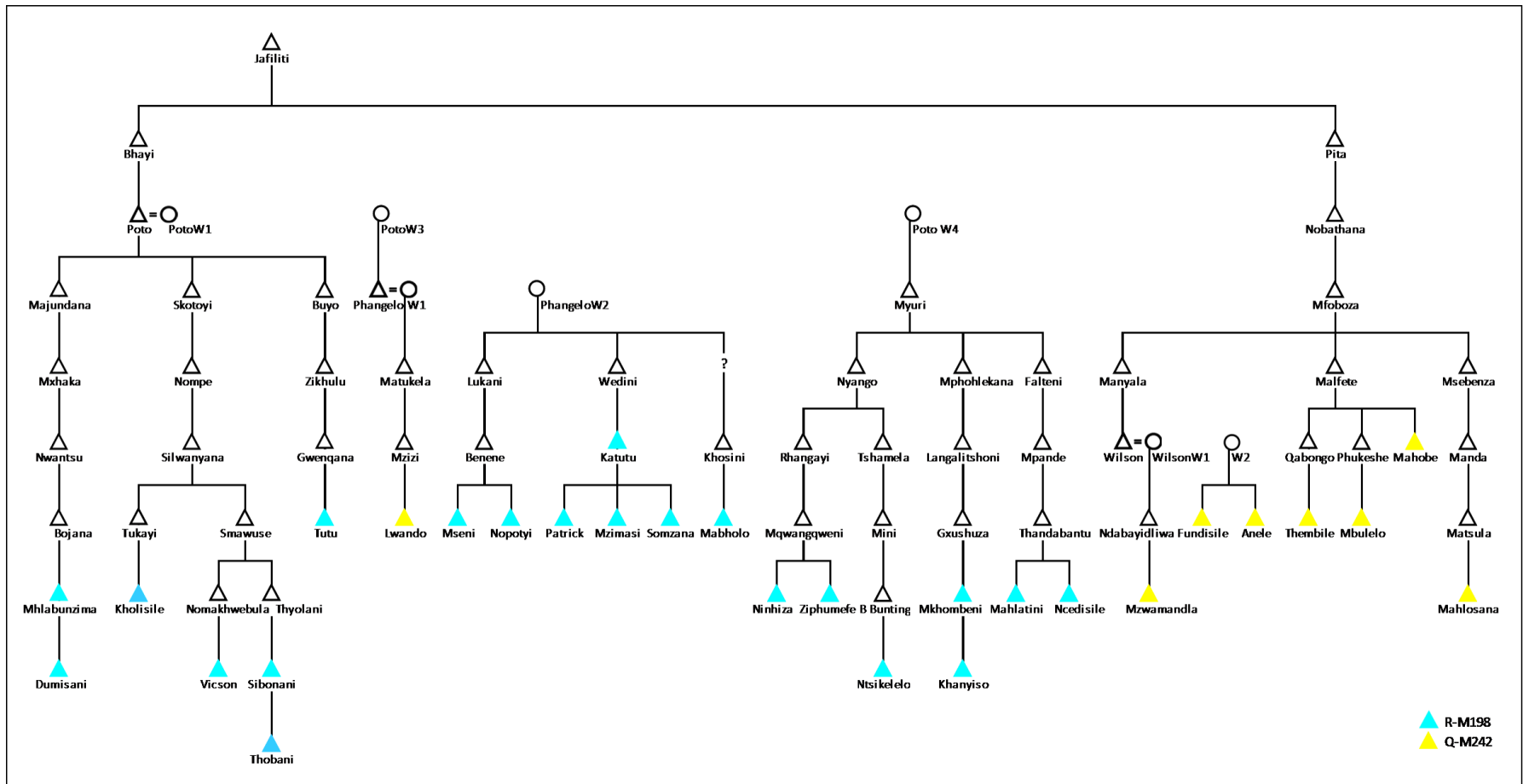


Figure 11.9. DNA genealogy of amaMolo.

11.2.4. Were the abeLungu forebears (Jekwa and Hatu) brothers?

Figure 11.7 indicates the distribution of NRY haplogroups in abeLungu clan sections excluding amaMolo and abeLungu Horner. NRY denoting haplogroups of African origin constitutes 19.5% and 23.1 % of abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu participants respectively. The remaining approximately 80% of both abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu NRY belongs to haplogroup R-M343. Also called R1b, this is the most common haplogroup among Western European men which is why it is not surprising that it is represented not only in these two abeLungu clan sections, but also many other participants of the research (11.2.1).

CLAN	Y HG	Y Def Marker	Y-chromosome Short Tandem Repeats									
			DYS 19	DYS 385A	DYS 385B	DYS 388	DYS 389I	DYS 389II	DYS 390	DYS 391	DYS 392	DYS 393
		STR No:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Jekwa	R1b	M343+	14	10/11	14	12	12	28	25	10	13	13
Hatu	R1b	M343+	15	11	13	14	13	29/30	24	11	13	13
		STR No:	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
			DYS 426	DYS 437	DYS 438	DYS 439	DYS 448	DYS 456	DYS 458	DYS 635	Gata H4	
		Jekwa	11/12	15	12	11	19	16	17/18	23	13	
		Hatu	12	14/15	12	11	19	15	16/17	23	11	

Table 11.2. Variations in STRs between abeLungu Jekwa & abeLungu Hatu.

As was explained above, and is more explicitly laid out with reference to abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu in Table 11.2, even where common haplogroups share the same Y-chromosome marker (such as M343), they are distinguished from one another into multiple haplotypes or lineages by means of Short Tandem Repeats (STRs). Closer scrutiny of abeLungu Jekwa's and abeLungu Hatu's unique segments of Y-chromosome DNA (DYS markers) indicates that although 10 out of 19 are the same or overlapping, 9 differ by one or two points, specifically STRs 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 16 and 19. As such, although both belonging to a common haplogroup defined by the same Y-chromosome marker, Jekwa and Hatu did not share a father. The full DNA genealogies of abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu are reproduced in Figure 11.8 and Figure 11.10 respectively.

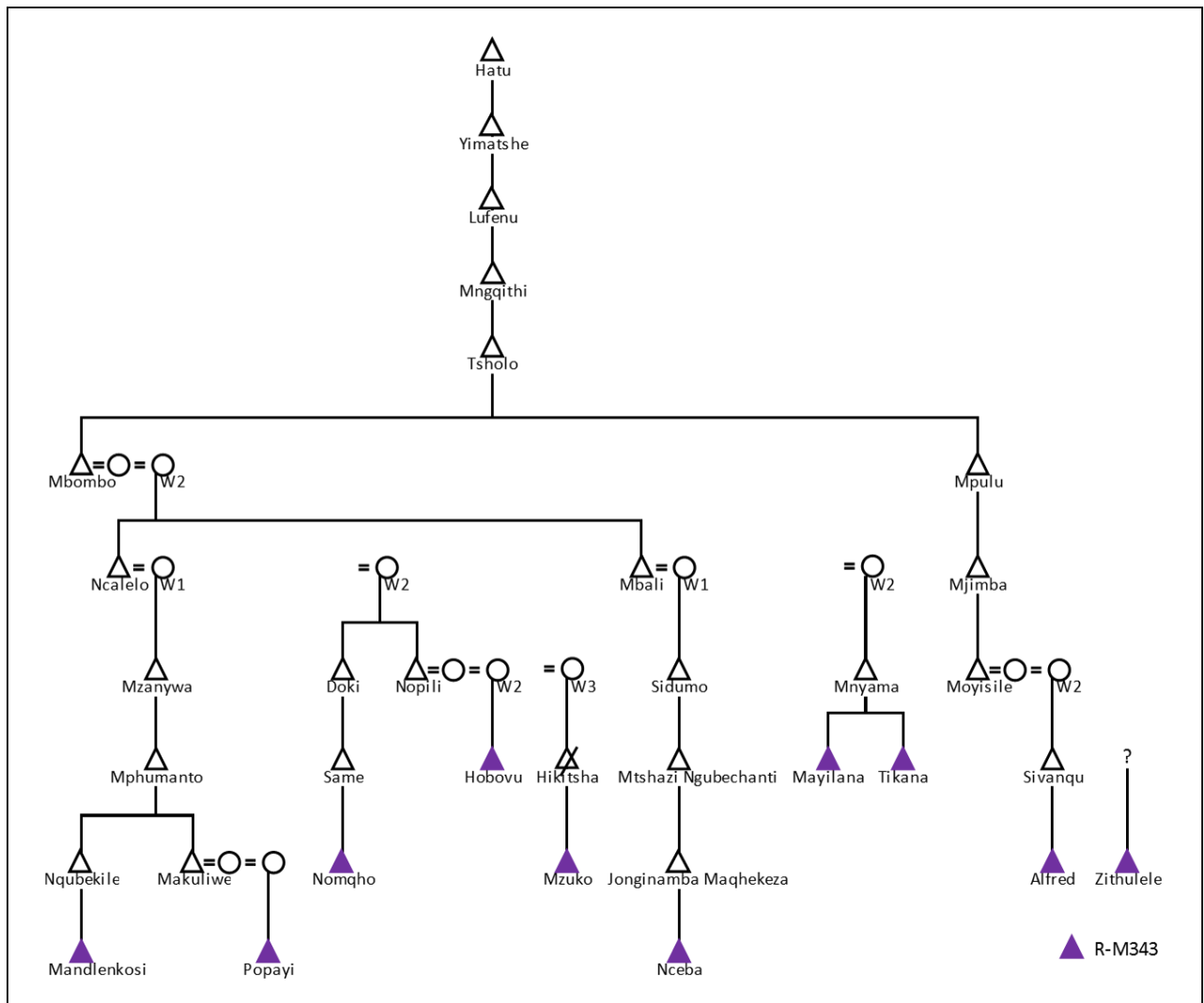


Figure 11.10. DNA Genealogy of abeLungu Hatu

11.2.5. Were the amaMolo forebears of Asian or European descent?

A further inconsistency between amaMolo oral tradition and their documented history concerned the geographical origins of their forebears. Documented accounts, such as those of Soga (1930), Kirby (1954) and Wilson (1979[1936]) stated explicitly that the clan was descended from Asian shipwreck survivors, whereas contemporary agnates claim European descent (6.1.3). The matter was discussed in detail in Chapter 6 where it was surmised that race may have become irrelevant over time with the fusion of two original clans descended from shipwreck survivors and described as amaMolo and abeLungu, subsequently assuming common membership of the latter clan. The presumption of common ancestry was further demonstrated in the oral traditions of both clan sections which in each case explained the presence of the other by virtue of their own forebears (6.1.5, 6.2.6).

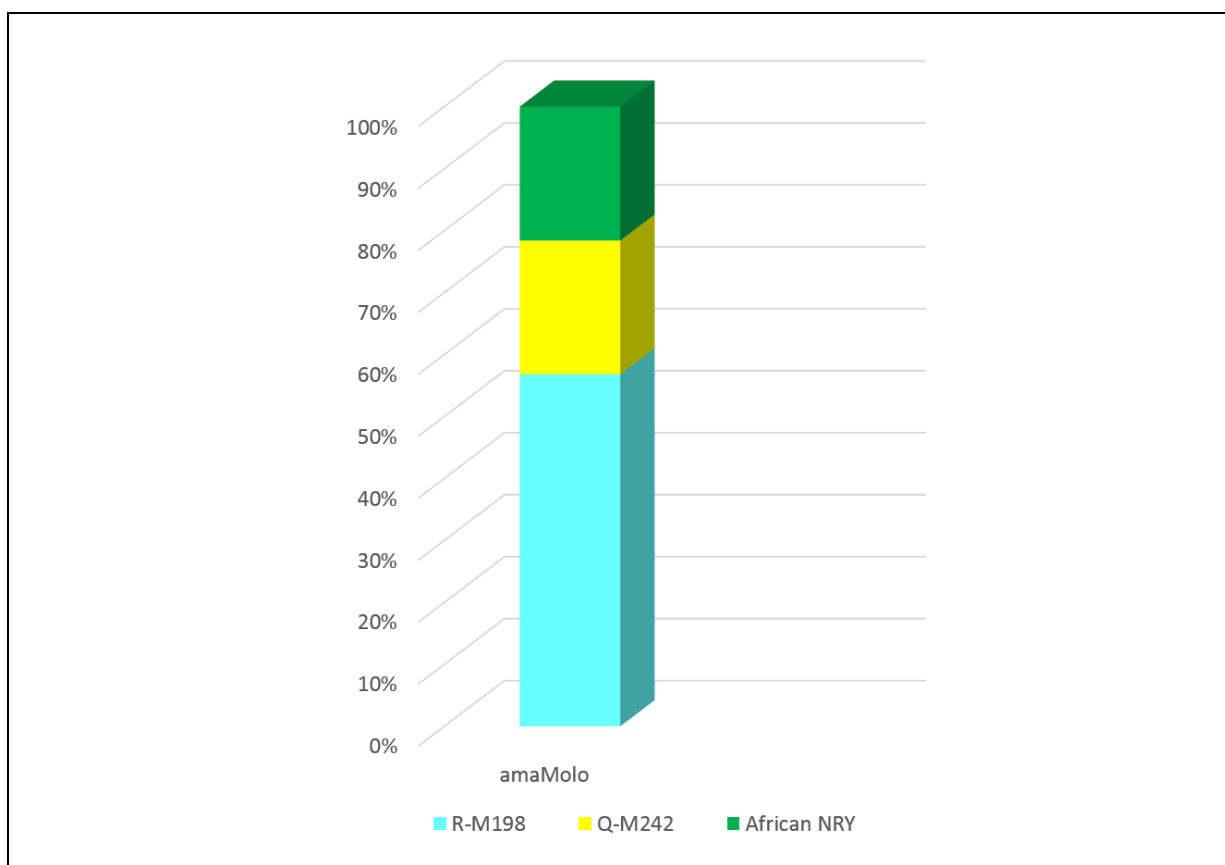


Figure 11.11. NRY Haplogroups of amaMolo

Figure 11.11 shows the distribution of NRY haplogroups in amaMolo participants. 21.6% of amaMolo NRY haplogroups were of African origin, while the remainder – a majority of 78.4% – confirmed the foreign origins of their forebears. The different haplogroups represented by the descendants of Bhayi as against those of Pita indicate that the two men were not brothers, as discussed above. (11.2.3). In the DNA genealogy of amaMolo reproduced in Figure 11.9, it is evident that with the exception of the descendants of the first wife of Phangelo, all of Bhayi’s descendants carry NRY belonging to haplogroup R-M198, also known as R1a. The descendants of Phangelo’s first wife and Pita’s descendants all belong to NRY haplogroup Q-M243. As was discussed in 11.2.1, haplogroup R-M198 is widely distributed across Eurasia and cannot be definitively associated with either European or Asian ancestry. Haplogroup Q-M243, by contrast is most commonly found in Central Asia, Siberia and India, therefore pointing more decisively to Asian ancestry.

Although the ubiquity of haplogroup R-M198 across the entire Eurasian landmass intimates that the question as to the geographical origins of the amaMolo clan founders cannot be resolved with reference to NRY, the unequivocal linking of haplogroup Q-

M243 with Asia suggests that their forebears were quite probably of Asian origin, thereby substantiating the documented history of amaMolo.

11.2.6. Do abeLungu Fuzwayo share forebears with amaMolo or abeLungu Jekwa?

The oral genealogy collected from the abeLungu Fuzwayo contingent of the research survey was very truncated, and they did not recall any ancestors that overlapped with those recalled by other abeLungu clan sections (5.1.5). Their clan praises and ritual practices seemed to draw from those of both amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa, between whom they are situated in terms of geographical location (9.3, 10.10). It was hoped that NRY analysis might throw further light on their ancestry. However, as is illustrated in Figure 11.7, all NRY contributed by abeLungu Fuzwayo participants indicated haplogroups of African origin, showing unequivocally that they did not share patrilineal forebears with any other abeLungu clans. Their DNA Genealogy is reproduced in Figure 11.12.

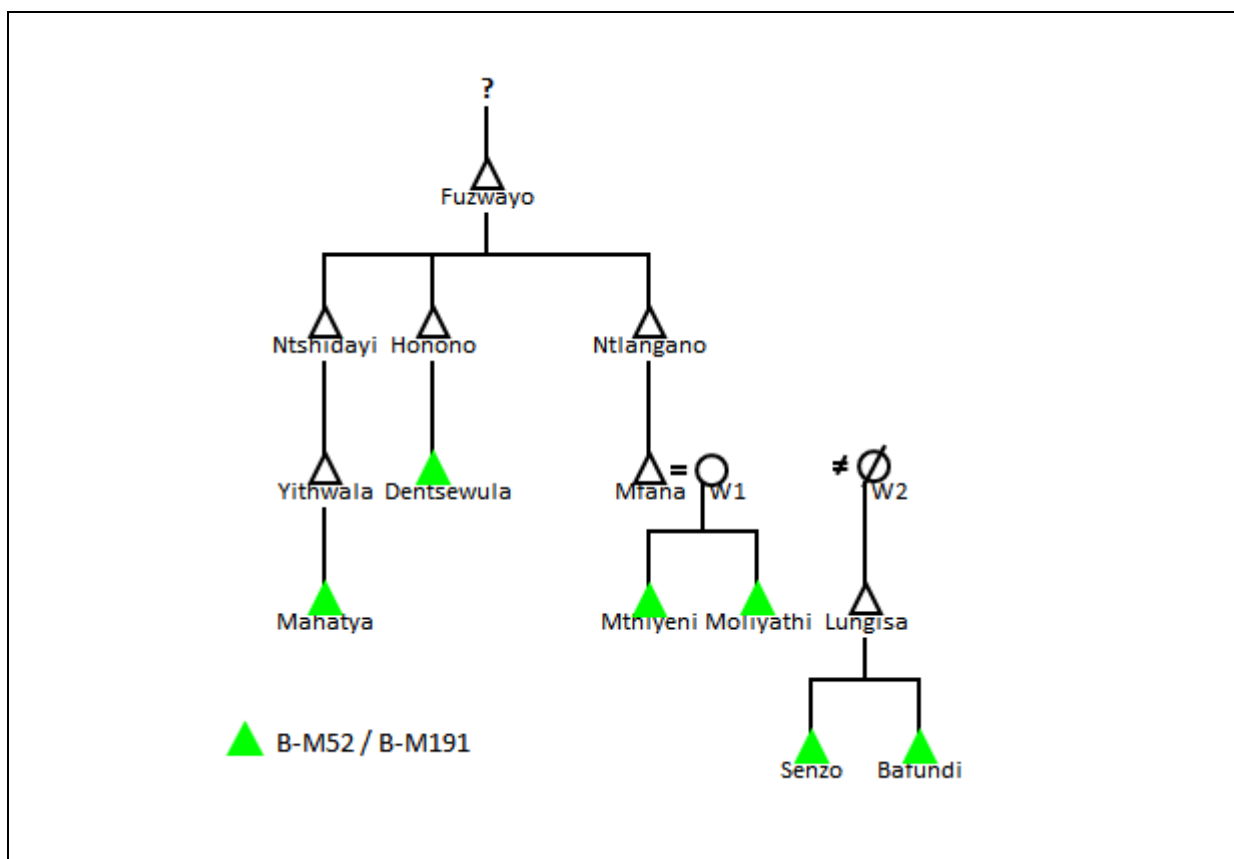


Figure 11.12. DNA Genealogy of abeLungu Fuzwayo.

Although abeLungu Fuzwayo are clearly of African and not European descent, this cannot be taken as implying that they are not *bone fide* members of the abeLungu

clan. When the laws of patrilineal descent were discussed in 4.2.2, it was noted that the clan-name is transmitted along the male line, mirroring the transmission of NRY. It was also noted that in the case of illegitimacy, these absolute unilineal laws are infringed. In the case of pregnancy out of wedlock, the child will for all intents and purposes be considered the offspring of its maternal grandfather. Illegitimate children therefore belong to their maternal clan. The African haplogroups represented in abeLungu Fuzwayo NRY therefore do not suggest that they are not members of the abeLungu clan but rather that at some time in the recent or distant past, membership was constituted through a woman rather than a man and that it is therefore not evident from the analysis of NRY.

11.2.7. The case of amaFrance

It will be recalled from earlier discussions about amaFrance that there is a schism in this clan section. Allegedly descended from two wives of the same forebear, a man named Tshali, the agnates descended from the first wife conform in most ways to traditional conventions and practices, while those descended from Tshali's second wife, headed by Enoch Richards, largely reject tradition, including the use of isiXhosa names. The two branches of the family not only related to traditional culture differently but they provided contradictory oral genealogies (5.4, 9.4.4, 10.5). Figure 11.13 represents the DNA genealogy collected from members of the amaFrance clan section. As can be seen, despite both sides of the family's conviction that they share a patrilineal forebear, this is not borne out by the NRY analysis. Enoch belongs to Haplogroup R-M343, the most commonly found haplogroup in Western Europe and also in this study. The rest of the clan section belong to Haplogroup I-M170, which is also extremely common in Europe, found in approximately 20% of the male population.

The sense of family affiliation that exists between the Dukuza side of the amaFrance clan section and that of Enoch Richards must be based on something other than biological kinship. Perhaps as in other cases that have already been discussed the sense of kinship stems from a common history rather than a common patrilineal forebear. The two sides of the family presumably have contradictory genealogies and memories because they have different forefathers. What these men shared was their European ancestry and the fact that they entered local cultures and married amaMpondo wives. These similarities apparently translated into an idea of common descent which endured even though the two branches affiliated into local culture to differing degrees.

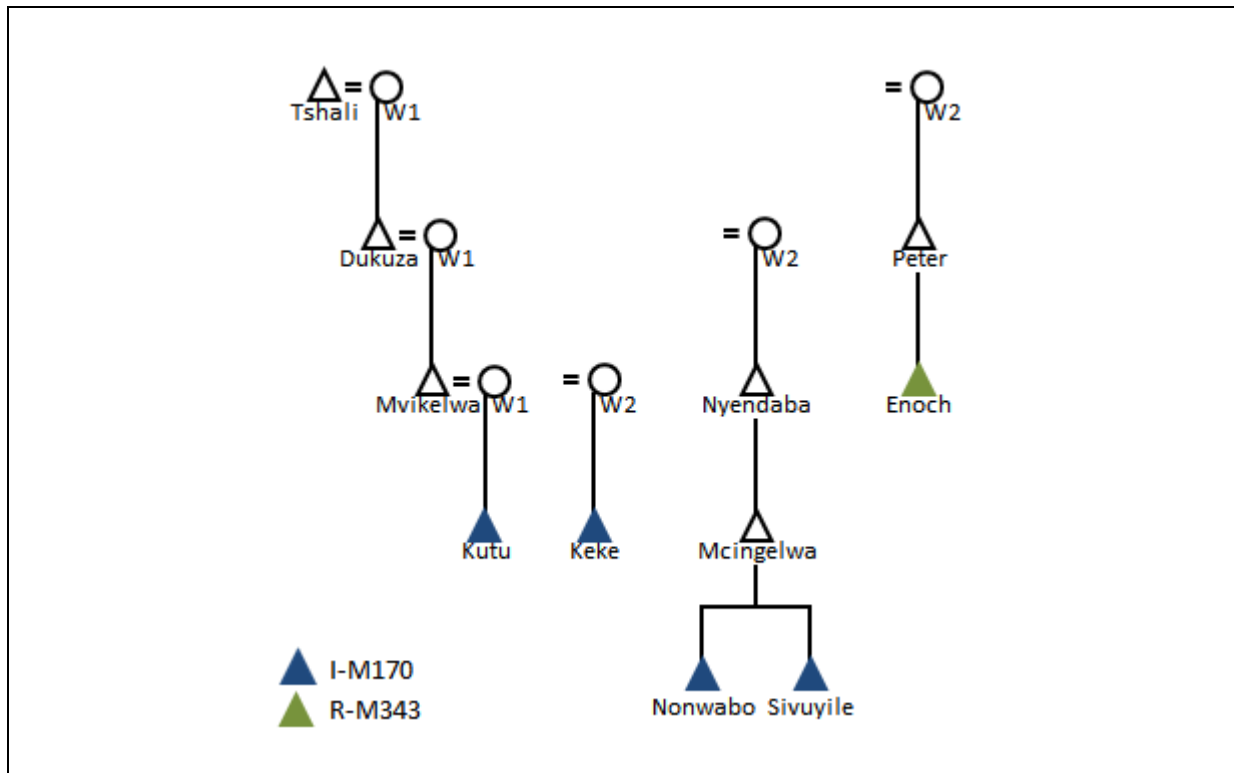


Figure 11.13. DNA Genealogy of amaFrance.

11.2.8. The case of abeLungu Horner.

The abeLungu Horner clan section claimed descent from Alfred Horner, a relatively recent entrant into the culture who ran a trading station at Mapuzi near Coffee Bay around the turn of the twentieth century. The different parts of the family comprising the abeLungu Horner research participants were said to be directly descended from Alfred's four sons, Johnson, Ramsay, Charlie and Teddy. Both Johnson and Teddy had taken two wives each, and some of the participants were therefore the offspring of these second wives. The abeLungu oral genealogy comprises only five generations and was consistently reported by more than one agnate.

Figure 11.14 is the DNA Genealogy of abeLungu Horner. The descendants of both wives of Alfred's firstborn, Johnson belong to NRY haplogroup R-M343, along with many others in Europe and in this sample. The offspring of Johnson's brothers belong to haplogroup I-M170, also commonly found in Europe. This indicates that in spite of widespread belief by clan members that they are all the descendants of Alfred Horner, it is only the issue of his first son Johnson who share his NRY haplogroup. As in the case of amaFrance, the commonality lies in the European origins of abeLungu Horner forebears but not in the clan ancestor himself.

By coincidence, the NRY haplogroups of the two abeLungu Horner forebears and the two amaFrance forebears, are identical, as illustrated in Figure 11.15. Once again however, as has been explained above, similarities as against variations of STR markers differentiate close patrilineal kin from co-members of the same haplogroup.

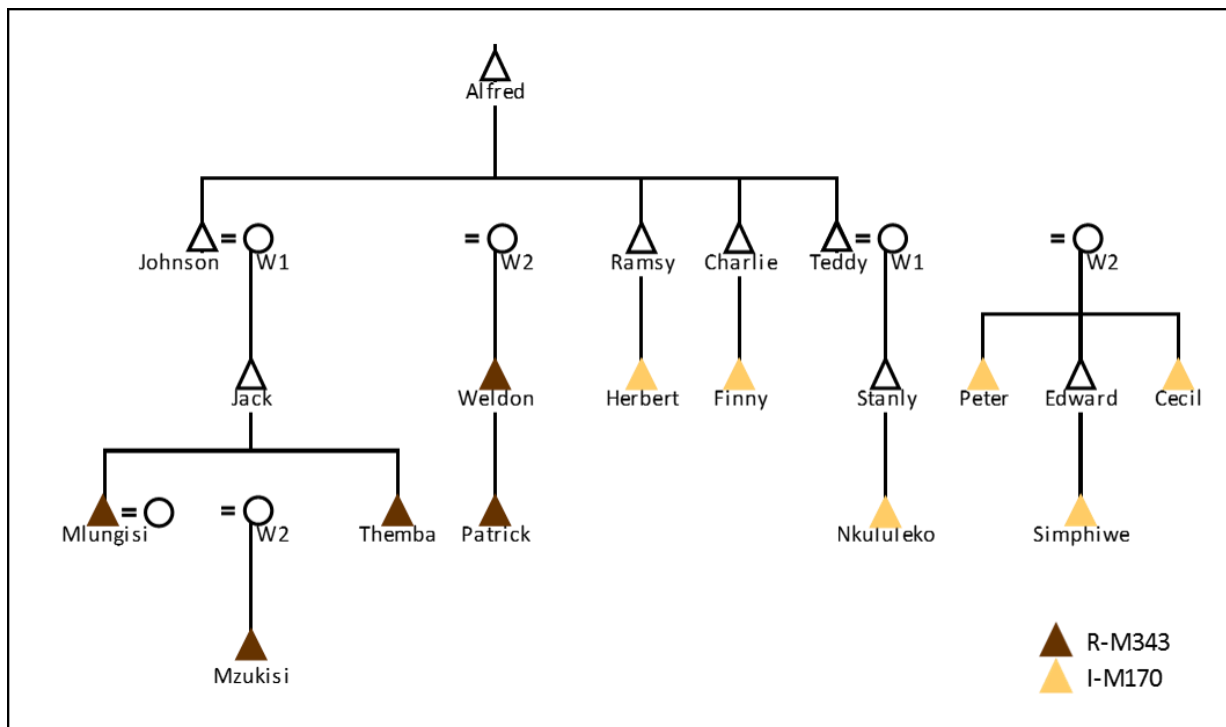


Figure 11.14. DNA Genealogy of abeLungu Horner.

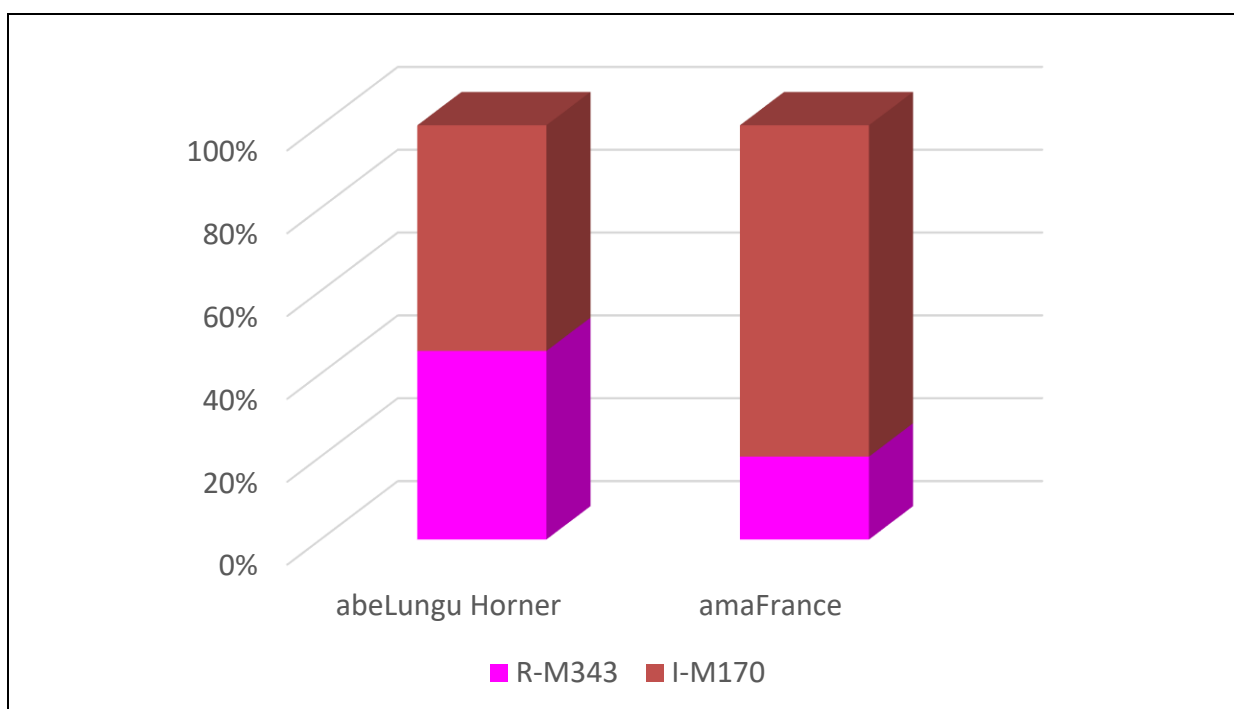


Figure 11.15. NRY Haplogroups of abeLungu Horner and amaFrance.

11.3. NRY Genealogies contextualised

For the most part, results of NRY analysis conducted on DNA samples drawn from male research participants confirmed their claims of European ancestry. An overwhelming 80% of NRY indicated Eurasian haplogroups, showing definitively that the patrilineal forebears of 10 out of 11 clan sections were foreigners. Among the older clan sections, approximately 20% of NRY haplogroups indicated African ancestry. Roughly a quarter of these belonged to *abeLungu Fuzwayo* agnates whose membership of the clan was most probably constituted maternally (11.2.6). The remaining African haplogroups can be presumed to be the results of extra-marital sexual relations.

When I discussed the *amaMolo* NRY results with their late chief, *Mhlabunzima*, the news that the haplogroups of a small proportion of his *amaMolo* agnates indicated African forebears did not surprise him in the least, merely confirming what he – and possibly others – already knew or suspected. He also explained a further anomaly uncovered by the NRY analysis. The DNA component of the research took place under the auspices of the National Geographic Project who were interested in all African DNA, not only that provided by the participants of this study. We therefore collected DNA samples from all interested community members, as well as those we were specifically interested in. When the results came in, one of those drawn from a man belonging to a clan other than *amaMolo* indicated not only foreign ancestry, but haplogroup R-M198, the identical haplogroup of Chief *Mhlabunzima* himself. He explained that this man was the son of his father's brother's girlfriend, adding with a chuckle, "DNA tells all the secrets".

Among exogenous clans descended from more recent entrants into the cultures (*abeLungu Horner*, *amaCaine*, *amaOgle*, *amaFrance*, *amaIrish* and *amaThakha*), 100% of NRY haplogroups confirmed European ancestry. In the case of *abeLungu Horner* and *amaFrance* however, a trend already discussed during the ethnographic chapters in relation to the older clan sections seems to be replicated in the clans of more recent origin. This is the apparent tendency for characteristics such as similar history and shared race to supersede a purely biological reckoning of kinship.

For the most part, NRY analysis confirmed the oral traditions of participating clans. It was able to clarify to some extent the question as to the nationality of *amaMolo* forebears, and perhaps provided some explanation for the somewhat hazy recall of *abeLungu Fuzwayo* clan members. Although the vast majority of clan sections exhibited

haplogroups of European origin, in many cases ones commonly found in a high proportion of Europeans, closer scrutiny of Short Tandem Repeats indicated that each of the clans – including all abeLungu clan sections – was descended from a different forebear – or in some cases two different forebears. Finally, the DNA analysis suggested that the definition of kinship according to other than biological principles holds sway not only in the older clan sections as has been discussed before, but also in those of more recent origin.

12. “White people from across the sea:” Combining the sources of evidence and drawing conclusions

When the ancestors of amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu found themselves alive and in Africa some three hundred years ago, they would have been ill-equipped for survival in almost every respect. However, we are given to believe that they obtained, with local assistance, a living for themselves, and in due course a home, one or more wives, children, cattle and more. Their lack of clan membership – and hence clan ancestors – would undoubtedly have inhibited full participation in their new social environments, constituting a kind of social nakedness that would also have been experienced by the forebears of abeLungu Horner, amaCaine, amaOgle, amaFrance, amaIrish and amaThakha. That this was the case is borne out by the fact that all acquired – or established – clans, although whether this occurred during their own lifetimes or in those of subsequent generations cannot be known. Ultimately however, the descendants of foreign entrants into the culture had *iziduko* (clan-names), *iminombo* (genealogies) and *izinqulo* (clan praises). All these are essential for social and ritual participation in community life. Having acquired them, the clans founded by non-African entrants were able to become fully integrated into amaMpondo and amaBomvana cultures, and have remained so to this day and presumably into the future.

In common with much anthropological research, this study derives primarily from an interesting story that I happened upon by chance. A story that turned out to have replicated more than once among communities living within a narrow strip of coast, 150 km long by 25 km wide. The research represents an attempt to both unravel and bring together three different versions of the same story:

- An historical version that inverts the original emigration of Africans to Eurasia tens of thousands of years ago in that it involves a return of Eurasians to their mother continent.
- A cultural version that subverts the colonial history of white domination and violence because it is about the incorporation of white castaways and outcasts into Mpondo and Bomvana cultures, by whom they and their descendants were awarded full membership, as represented by the clan-names themselves and continued existence of the clans.

- A biological record contained within NRY, the transmission of which exactly parallels patrilineal descent, an important social principle upon which Cape Nguni culture rests.

These three sides to the same story have been explored through the application of four methodologies: collection of oral tradition, review of documented history, ethnography of ritual practice and analysis of NRY. As has been seen, the stories and the methodologies overlap with and contradict one another in a variety of ways and combinations. The overlaps come as little surprise, there is no reason to expect that commonly held convictions, acknowledged not only privately but also publicly, and not only in a secular but also in a ritual sense, should not have been substantiated by other sources. In the case of contradictions, the very nature of the transmission of oral tradition makes it inevitable that details and large chunks should be lost and changed over time. What is lost, and how things change however, suggests that factors other than the passage of time and fallibility of memory also shape and inform the content of oral tradition. As such, they cast light on the production of knowledge itself, as something highly social, implicitly political, and context-specific.

This chapter concludes the work by reconsidering in summary, the various voices relating to the production and preservation of knowledge, both within and without the field, upon which the research has depended, and the ways in which the study heeds contemporary calls to extend the canon of what constitutes knowledge in an attempt to decolonise of knowledge production. In 12.3 and 12.4, the ways in which the research findings challenge conceptions of kinship and race as absolute categories will be discussed. Finally, the ways in which this study has demonstrated the extent to which social and cultural principles mould and define the construction of knowledge, and how tradition is actively created rather than passively followed will be recapitulated.

12.1 Multivocality

This study has rejected the dichotomy between 'indigenous knowledge' and 'western ideas' in the belief that an investigation of interactions between western and indigenous modes of knowledge production is far more useful (Goebel, 1998:294). 'Traditional practices' cannot be understood as separate from the historical contexts in which they have been shaped, not only by western science, but also Christianity. Indeed, as Goebel (*ibid.*) points out, "there is very little called indigenous that does not have something

western implicated in it” and this is as true for endogenous Cape Nguni clans as the exogenous ones whose members have been the participants of this research.

Like the production of western knowledge, indigenous knowledge is shaped by the belief systems and power dynamics of its own social context. This parallel is drawn by Mqotsi (2002:162) with reference to Durkheim’s (1912) portrayal of religion as “society worshipping itself”. Just as the Christian hierarchy with a male god at the pinnacle, followed by angels of various kinds reflects the patriarchal and hierarchal feudal structure of emperors, princes, nobles, squires and serfs, the positions of ancestors in African religion mirror the male and genealogy-dominated context in which they are meaningful. As already discussed in Chapter 9, these principles of patriarchy and gerontocracy are represented by Kuper (1982b) in what he termed “hierarchical transactions,” a series of replicated relations of reciprocity between ancestors, rulers, men and women. Some of the ways in which these principles play out socially and especially ritually have been illustrated throughout this work, in discussions concerning beliefs and practices associated with the ancestor religion, as well as with regard to the incumbents of significant ritual and social roles. Roles of genealogical senior (*inkhulu*) and ritual slaughterer (*intlabi*), for example, as well as those of traditional leadership, are reserved for men who are not only genealogically senior and psychologically sound, but have otherwise fulfilled social requirements such as marriage and paternity. There is some evidence that the rigidity of patriarchy is being broken down, with some women now being accepted as chiefs, but for the most part this remains an exception rather than a rule.

In recognising that clan members other than genealogically senior men are also custodians of oral tradition, this research has included, where possible, the voices of women, for example Velani France of amaFrance and Nomlinganiso Smayile of abeLungu Fuzwayo. Similarly, especially in the collection of clan praises, the voices of younger agnates have been included. In certain cases, such as those of Mlungisi Horner of abeLungu Horner, and Hlomela Ngwevu of amaOgle, both relatively young men, it was their personal interest in clan history rather than genealogical superiority that led to their roles as key informants. As such, the concept of multi-vocality or polyphony in the case of this research, refers not only to the recording of voices and perspectives other than those of the anthropologist, but also those not necessarily recognised within the cultural context itself.

12.2 Opening up the canon of knowledge

We are reminded by de Sausa Santos *et al.* (2007:xlix) that while colonialism as a political relationship might have ended, it is still evident in social relations. They point out that “epistemological diversity” – “[c]onceptions of knowledge, of what it means to know, of what counts as knowledge, and how that knowledge is produced” – is as vast as cultural diversity. Yet “non-scientific forms of knowledges and [...] the subaltern social groups whose social practices [...] are] informed by such knowledges” have been suppressed as a result of the “epistemological privilege granted to modern science”. Unless this is addressed through “global cognitive justice,” global social justice will not be achievable (*ibid.*:ixx-xx). They therefore call for an “opening the canon of knowledge” by engaging in “dialogues and alliances between diverse forms of knowledge, cultures and cosmologies” (*ibid.*:xliv).

The transdisciplinary research methods employed in this study represent attempts to extend notions of what can be known, how it can be understood, and whose perspectives are to be perpetuated. As such, it represents an attempt to decolonise the way in which knowledge is produced. One of the ways in which this has been attempted has been through attempts to break down dichotomised perceptions, for example between ‘west’ and ‘rest’, ‘self’ and ‘other’. These dichotomies, which have epitomised western scholarship, developed from the original opposition between nature and culture. As was seen in 2.2.2, this original dichotomy has to some extent been conflated and used to as an extension of the “them” or “other” polarity, that is, in opposition to “us” and the “west”. In other words, notions of “natural” or biological inferiority embedded in depictions of “other” races have been extended to include notions of cultural inferiority equally embedded in those belonging to “non-western” cultures.

All these concepts have been denounced as mere social constructions, but such critiques have failed to move beyond the essentialist notions embedded in the oppositions themselves, and have been premised on normative judgements. The understanding of race as social construction as against biological fact for example, does nothing to address historical and contemporaneous impacts of racist and xenophobic perceptions and policies. Approaches that set humans apart from other animals, free from biological imperatives, are as essentialist as those that informed scientific racism. The nature:culture distinction is itself a social construction, any separation between the two being not only utterly unrealistic, but patently false. The histories and experiences

of contemporary clan members descended from foreigners incorporated into Mpondo and Bomvana social contexts have similarly demonstrated the extent to which neither race nor culture nor kinship can be fully understood or adequately explained when conceptualised in oppositional and essentialist terms. The stories related here demonstrate the unifying power of kinship and descent, under which essentialist notions of culture and race are subsumed.

12.3. The relatedness that people act and feel

Duana Fullwiley (2008) conducted ethnographic research in medical genetics laboratories in New York. Like many others involved in science studies, she expressed the cultural determinist concern that scientists involved in DNA genealogy tended to 'privilege' genetic markers of race over environmental – that is cultural – influences (*ibid.*:695). She was interested among other things, in documenting "how racial categories [were] being constructed anew" and wanted to understand "scientists' motives for wanting to resuscitate [... the] troubled categories" of race as mapped onto the continents: "'Black'/African, 'White'/European, and 'Red'/Native American" (*ibid.*:698). Yet in her account of an incident she observed on a bus in New York, she evoked precisely these racial categories:

Fullwiley and two men were the only African Americans on the bus, the other passengers being almost exclusively Hispanic. One of the African American men was in a wheelchair, and had to be buckled to the bus wall by the driver. The other was seated at the back of the bus and remonstrated with the disabled man for wasting everybody's time, to which the latter replied "You just sayin' that 'cause ya black".

"I ain't black" came the response, "I'm Choctaw!" At this, the only white man on the bus claimed that he was also Choctaw. Both 'Native Americans', "one visibly white, the other black, continued to taunt the sole black man now on the bus" (*ibid.*). Later, Fullwiley compared this "free" and "messy" "donning" of "new races and identities" with the "orderly lab environment" where a "quest for racial precision reigned" and she "wondered at the porous relationship of science and society" (*ibid.*:724-5).

There are two things about this anecdote that are interesting in the context of this work. First, the way in which Fullwiley was simultaneously engaged in both the critique of racial categorisation and the use of racial categories to describe and analyse her experience on the bus. Her anecdote juxtaposed the 'racist' stereotyping implied in

the disabled man's accusatory, "[y]ou just sayin' that 'cause ya black" with her own description of the event which demonstrated only too clearly that it is not the use of racial categories *per se* that is racist, but the association of negative stereotypes with racial categories. Fullwiley was well aware of this, describing the scientists who were her research participants as "scientists of colour" who "focus[ed] on race as a function of their personal identity politics" and were not driven by "racist notions of human difference" (*ibid.*:695).

The second interesting thing about Fullwiley's anecdote is her assumption that claims of Choctaw ancestry by a white man and a black man involved the 'free and messy donning of new races and identities', notably in this instance one that was undeniably indigenous. Among the people with whom I worked, racial identification is predicated on racial associations that derive from historical circumstances that have been retained by word of mouth, and are not racially evident in contemporary clan members. It is eminently possible that one if not of both the self-proclaimed 'Choctaws' on the bus really were descended from native Americans. If so, this would have been evident in their non-recombining DNA only if the relationship was in the direct matriline or patriline, but not otherwise. As has also been evident in this work, this thought experiment indicates that connections between genotype, phenotype and personal identity are far from obvious or essentialist.

Personal senses of identity, whether based on nationality, race or culture, do not necessarily coincide either with how people look or with their genetic profile. Therefore concerns expressed by scholars such as Duster (1996), Lock (2000), Palmie (2007) and Marks (2009), among others, that DNA genealogy research revives essentialist racial categorisations are unfounded. As El-Haj (2007:224-5) pointed out, those involved in DNA genealogy are not interested in phenotypes, but in descent, and therefore they establish a different kind of relationship between culture and biology than that of race science. The information carried in non-recombining DNA is "neutral", it cannot "generate cultural, behavioural or [...] truly biological differences between human groups" (*ibid.*). What it does provide is "a reliable record of the history of a population group" in that "biological data" deriving from "cultural practices" constitute "natural-cultural artefacts" that reveal the "truth" of "oral tradition, [...] religion and kinship practices," thus demonstrating that "history itself is shared [... and] historical traditions [...] might well be true" (*ibid.*).

El-Haj (*ibid.*:225) noted that the “social constructivist turn in the humanities and social sciences has made it difficult to consider a more complex relationship between culture and biology,” but her reference to Rabinow’s (1996) concept of “biosociality” did just that. Rabinow inverted the sociobiological premise that “culture is constructed on the basis of a metaphor of nature”, asserting that “in biosociality nature will be modelled on culture understood as practice. Nature will be known and remade through technique and will finally become artificial just as culture becomes natural”, thus overcoming the nature/culture split (*ibid.*:99). El-Haj’s (2007:225) characterisation of ancestry testing suggests how this occurs: DNA genealogy mixes “the domain of biology (the natural) with the domain of history (the social),” showing how the biological originates in the cultural and provides evidence for “historical knowledge”. Contrary to concerns voiced by those who fear a return to race science, genetic genealogies “disentangle [...] ancestry from questions of culture and capacity” (El-Haj, 2007:225).

This research has focussed on a rare and particular kind of South African historical encounter. It has relied not only on the mixing of social and biological domains implicit in ancestry testing, but on additional sources of knowledge in the form of ethnography and history. It has shown that the concept of race does not necessarily or only relate to physical characteristics or derogatory stereotypes, but can reflect broader senses of identity that are not only rooted in immediate contexts of family and culture, but incorporate more distant or removed historical and genealogical factors. In her attempt to move towards more flexible approaches to studying kinship, Janet Carsten extended the concept of kinship to include not only relationships defined by biological principles, but also those stemming from “ideas of relatedness” or “the relatedness that people act and feel” (Carsten 1995:236). Like her work among the Langkawi, where relatedness is partially constituted by shared food and space, this work has suggested that for members of Mpondo and Bomvana clans claiming descent from European forebears, notions of relatedness are in part derived from a sense of shared history and race.

12.4. “We are white”

A prevailing theme in the consideration of oral traditions has involved the interplay between clan ideology at the macro level and clan section history and biography in the micro context. Core notions regarding the constitution of the clan among the Cape Nguni and the nature of relationships between clan members have been termed ‘clan ideology’

in the sense that they constitute imperatives by which important social aspects such as ritual practice and marriage are understood. This interplay is demonstrated through stories related in oral tradition that account, in the case of abeLungu clan sections, for their own inclusion in the clan, or that of other clan sections, their incorporation into amaBomvana and amaMpondo cultures more generally. In many cases, contemporary narratives differ from oral histories collected previously, residing in documented historical accounts, or obtained through DNA genealogies. The narratives suggest that notions of shared history and race can be taken to represent common ancestry, and that perceptions of European descent may similarly be represented according to the tenets of traditional idioms such as clan synonyms (*izithakhazelo*).

12.4.1. Common descent

Members of a clan understand themselves to be the descendants of a single forebear. This essentially mythical clan founder is eponymous because clans are believed to carry his name. Only members of royal or chiefdom lines are likely to be able to trace direct genealogical links between contemporary agnates and original clan founders. Beyond the level of the agnatic cluster, although a common clan-name indicates kinship, this can rarely be demonstrated genealogically. These notions of kinship are most visible in exogamy rules that designate marriage or sexual relations between clan members as incestuous, and highly distasteful to ancestors (4.2). The belief that all agnates are descended from a common ancestor is so integral to understandings of what clan membership implies that the trope of common descent tends to inform and shape oral traditions in various ways. Notions of shared history and/or shared race have led to perceptions of common ancestry that have shaped both oral tradition and personal identity.

Shared history

The most ubiquitous way in which shared history is expressed is through the metaphor of shipwreck. This is the means by which amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu clan founders were incorporated into amaMpondo and amaBomvana respectively, as recorded in clan oral traditions and various documented histories. The clan mythology of surviving shipwreck has however spread across all sections of the abeLungu clan. In the case of abeLungu Fuzwayo, this is not surprising because they are almost certainly descended from either amaMolo or abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu clan sections. In the case of

AbeLungu Horner by contrast, archival and documented historical accounts indicate that their clan founder, Alfred Horner, most probably travelled overland to Mqanduli. Even though in certain other respects, many members of AbeLungu Horner deny membership of the AbeLungu clan and amaBomvana culture more generally, many recount Alfred Horner's entrance into the society as having resulted from his being shipwrecked. No matter how vague or contested AbeLungu Horner affiliation with the AbeLungu clan might be, it has nevertheless involved adoption of the predominant clan mythology of surviving shipwreck.

Even more surprising is the way in which the association between the original AbeLungu clans and shipwreck has been incorporated into the oral traditions not only of AbeLungu Horner, a relatively recent entrant into the AbeLungu clan, but also those of entrants into the Cape Nguni culture more generally. The forebears of amaCaine and amaOgle arrived at Durban by ship, but they were members of a party of British settlers and certainly not shipwreck survivors. The founder of amaFrance may or may not have been among John Cane, Henry Ogle and the other founders of the city of Durban. The descendants of all of these clan founders however claim shipwreck as the means by which their forebears entered amaMpondo society. Similarly, in the case of amaIrish and amaThakha oral traditions, their clan founders are perceived as having survived shipwreck, even though their relatively recent incorporation suggests that this was probably not the case.

The mythology of shipwreck as a means by which Europeans entered Cape Nguni cultures, while true in the case of the original exogenous clans, has come to constitute a folklore adopted by all clans participating in this study, a common refrain that explains incorporation as a matter of chance even though in the case of clans of more recent origin, it was more likely a matter of choice. The 'shipwreck turn' or tendency for the descendants of foreigners to identify their forebears as shipwreck survivors may constitute a means of mythologizing the dependence of clan founders on the local communities that adopted them as against the independence or even dominance implied by other modes of arrival, such as trade or deliberate choice. This is one of numerous potential factors that might underlie this perception, none of which can move beyond speculation, but a common history of descent from European forebears has apparently expanded to accommodate shipwreck as the common means by which all foreign clan founders entered the culture.

Only in the case of sections of the abeLungu clan would notions of common history translate into conceptions of agnatic kinship, hence requiring exogamy. Common historical circumstances in the case of the other clans did not extend to incorporate notions of common ancestry and as such agnatic kinship. Affinal links between these clans and between them and abeLungu clan sections are therefore not only possible, but as was seen in Chapter 5, relatively common, especially between members of amaCaine, amaOgle and amaFrance.

Clan fusion between amaMolo and abeLungu has necessitated the adjustment of individual clan oral traditions to accommodate broader clan mythologies, primarily that of descent from a common ancestor. AmaMolo oral history for instance holds that other sections of the clan, specifically those to be found at Mqanduli (abeLungu Buku) and Xhora (abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu) are descended from Myuri, whose descendants constitute a significant proportion of the amaMolo contingent. Myuri's name appears on Soga's genealogy as the third born son of Bhayi, and on the contemporary oral genealogy, as the illegitimate son of Bhayi's firstborn son, Poto. It does not however appear on any of the abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu genealogies, oral or documented. In similar fashion, abeLungu Jekwa account for the amaMolo clan founder, Bhayi, as one of the sons of Jekwa, although he is not included among the sons of Jekwa named in any abeLungu Jekwa genealogies, oral or documented. Generalised notions of clan structure – for example that all members are descended from a single forebear – coexist with biographies of individual forebears and separate – although similar and possibly related – clan histories in the oral histories of amaMolo and abeLungu Jekwa/Hatu, but are not supported by either oral or documented genealogies. Thus the principle of common descent holds true despite different histories and clan forebears, and canons drawn from broader clan ideology are not understood to be inconsistent with what is remembered about clan progenitors.

The three original sections of the abeLungu clan – amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu – recall the names of their clan founders to greater or lesser degrees. This is not so among abeLungu Fuzwayo, who, unable to demonstrate how they belong to the clan, envisage a clan founder named Mlungu, thereby conforming to traditional conventions in which clans are named after their clan founders. Although abeLungu Horner rarely recite clan praises, when they do, they call the names 'Horner' and 'Mlungu', similarly claiming descent from an eponymous white clan founder named

Mlungu. In the cases of abeLungu Fuzwayo and abeLungu Horner, the absence of recalled genealogical links in the former, and actual ones in the latter, resulted in the application of more general principles of common descent. The clan-name was envisaged to be that of the clan founder, even though this was not the case in the naming of the abeLungu clan (3.5).

The principle of common ancestry is a theme around which individual clan section histories revolve across all abeLungu clan sections. Although adherence to this dominant element of clan ideology supersedes and to a point distorts the personal histories of individual clan founders that fundamentally contradict it, it does not extinguish them. AbeLungu *izinqulo* likewise display identification both with broader clan principles and simultaneously with unique clan section histories and biographies in their utilisation of common clan praises that combine ubiquitous praise phrases with the names of particular clan section forebears. Shared historical situations in the form of being descended from men who were a) foreign (usually European), and b) shipwreck survivors, or believed to be such even if they might have been cultural fugitives of some other kind, apparently provided an initial basis for connection, and where necessary hospitality, leading ultimately to perceived kinship, if not during the lifetimes of those concerned, then retrospectively.

Shared race

In the Preface I described my encounter with a member of amaCaine who claimed kinship with me, a white woman, on the basis of our presumed shared race. This identification with whiteness was also evident in my interaction with other clans in the survey. I was more than once greeted with a hug at the very first meeting by women belonging to the clans I worked among or the wives of male agnates. Not having experienced such immediate shows of intimacy during previous research among endogenous clans, I understood this to denote a sense of sisterhood based on conceptions of shared race. Members of various abeLungu clan sections considered me an honorary agnate for the same reason. On the first day of my first fieldtrip to Xhora, I was exiting a Spaza shop as a member of the abeLungu Jekwa clan entered, and on seeing me, he broke into his own clan praises in acknowledgement of my race.

The assumption of kinship stemming from common race – and also history – was also evident among some of the clans that participated in this research. In the case of

amaFrance and abeLungu Horner, although Y-chromosome DNA confirmed that all clan members were descended from European forebears, in both these clans there was not one but two clan founders (11.2.7, 11.2.8). This was not reflected in the oral traditions of these clans, both of which claimed descent from a single European forebear. It was therefore the fact of European ancestry together with a shared historical circumstances of clan founders being incorporated into Cape Nguni society that presumably led to a conception of kinship, a kinship that stemmed from perceived brotherhood based on shared race and history, and therefore not verifiable by DNA. As in the case of the conferral of clan membership through the maternal line in the case of illegitimacy, social norms in the end outweigh biological facts (which are anyway unknown to locals).

It is also apparent that racial differences may be subsumed by historical similarities, as in the case of the two original exogenous clans, amaMolo and abeLungu. According to Soga (1930:489) and Kirby (1954:23) the amaMolo forebears were Asian, but by the time Makuliwe was in the field almost thirty years ago, he reported that the clan "can be traced back to white people". In my interviews with contemporary clan members, the association was also with "whiteness" rather than a particular country, although England was sometimes cited as the land of ancestral origin. Over time, foreignness seems to have become associated more with European ancestry than with a different, though also dark skinned nation. Perhaps this is another example of the assimilation of a more general clan mythology into that of individual clan sections. Despite having most probably descended from multiple forebears who hailed from Asia as well as Europe, abeLungu oral history conforms to the general principles of the Cape Nguni clan, that despite being scattered over geographical space and unable to indicate how it is so, all clan members descend from one common ancestor.

The founders of all the clans and clans sections surveyed during the course of this study are believed to have been European, even in the case of Bhayi and Pita, the amaMolo progenitors who were quite probably Asian. The sense of descent from white men was expressed by many of the research participants in references to themselves as "white" or claims that "we are black but our blood is white". In the case of amaMolo, common histories presumably led to their clan fusion with abeLungu, and the principle of common descent subsequently led to notions of shared race. In the cases of amaFrance and abeLungu Horner, by contrast, where in both clans two European men were conflated into one clan founder, and in my own experiences, shared race itself was

sufficient to constitute a sense of kinship. The incorporation of Europeans into abeLungu and other clans simply on the basis of shared race, and the conflation of Asian ancestry with European origins in the case of amaMolo, demonstrate not only the way in which oral traditions are shaped by the clan principle of common descent, but also the extent to which concepts of kinship are fluid rather than fixed in biological principles of procreation.

12.4.2. Izithakhazelo

Cape Nguni clans are frequently known by multiple names or a 'set of praise names' (Kuse, 1973:4). Hence, although a clan is primarily identified and known by the name believed to have been that of its original forebear, a set of synonyms equally denote both the clan and in a sense, the clan founder himself. These are frequently the names, nicknames and praise names of the clan founder and those of other key forebears – brothers, sons and grandsons of the clan founder. Like the clan-name itself, these additional clan-names – *izithakhazelo* – are evocative of the clan founder and the broader body of clan ancestors (5.7.2, 9.5.2). For example, both 'amaMolo' and 'abeLungu' refer equally to the abeLungu clan, and accordingly, as has been seen, some members of the abeLungu clan conceive of a common clan forebear named 'Mlungu'. Similarly, in the case of amaThakha, the names Thakha, Khatha and Thank all refer to the same man and / or clan.

These local conventions have required the transformation of foreign circumstances into traditional and expected forms. One means by which this has occurred, concerns ideas of nationality. In certain cases, these appear to not necessarily be descriptive of countries of origin *per se*, but representations of European descent expressed according to the local idiom of *izithakhazelo*. Conflations between European and British nationalities were evident in the case of amaCaine and amaMolo. The former were of the opinion that their forebear, John Cane was Scottish, which is not supported by documented history that locates his birthplace as London (7.6.2). Similarly, Chief Mxhaka, the late chief of amaMolo, observed that Portugal and England – and for that matter India – were all one as far as the majority of his people were concerned, representative of foreign origins rather than geography (6.5.1). It thus appears that local perceptions of European countries and/or regions might constitute categories of a different nature from those enclosed by national boundaries.

This is best illustrated in the case of amaFrance. The oral histories of amaCaine and amaOgle mention one another's forebears as well as their own, noting that both clan founders arrived in the same way, at the same time. A third man, believed to have been the founder of amaFrance, is said to have accompanied John Cane and Henry Ogle this time, and this is likewise reflected in the oral tradition of all three clans. It has been established that Cane and Ogle did indeed arrive by ship, and it is not surprising that a connection between amaCaine and amaOgle should have been maintained, since the two men from whom they are descended arrived in Durban at the same time and were both involved in the same enterprise. The amaFrance forebear might well have been one of the twenty five men who established Durban, but the fact that they are known to have been British contradicts the national identity implicit in the clan-name itself.

The clan-name France however, appears to imply a more general notion of European identity than the specific nationality it encapsulates. Most members of amaFrance use the surname 'Dukuza', so it is their clan-name rather than surname that identifies them as having European ancestry. It does not however follow that they believe their forebear to have been French. Some refer to him as having been German, and amaFrance woman agnates are referred to as 'MaGermany' as well as 'MaFulunisi [France]'. Hence it is conceivable that France and Germany are perceived as analogous with Europe. Or England, as would have been the case had the amaFrance forebear – along with Cane and Ogle – been one of the founding fathers of Durban, as is suggested by oral history. Thus – as in the case of common descent – more general clan principles appear to have been applied, in this case with respect to any given clan-name being associated with multiple synonyms. In this sense therefore, national identities – such as Germany and France – do not refer to nationality, but comprise synonyms of European ancestry, thereby constituting clan synonyms or *izithakhazelo*.

12.5. Spinning the web of culture

The origin of the amaMolo and abeLungu clans dates from circa three centuries ago, and it seems likely that had it not been for the ritual requirements of the ancestor religion, much of the genealogical and biographical information preserved in the oral tradition would not have survived, or not to the extent that has been recorded during the course of this work. For all the overlap between oral and documented accounts of the same historical circumstances, there were also anomalies and inconsistencies. An analysis of these has suggested that such discontinuities may not simply be the result

of faulty recall associated with the oral transmission of knowledge, but instead constitute an aspect of knowledge production in their own right.

Members of the clans comprising the research participants of this study identify strongly with white culture, in some cases having maintained this association for centuries. Various means of commemoration ensure that European ancestry is neither forgotten nor denied, but constantly referred to both in word and deed. It is expressed in clan-names, and praises as well as ritual practice, and has been retained throughout apartheid despite bringing no discernible social or economic advantage. Issues concerning social context, family tradition, personal choice and other factors cross cut one another, but these parallel prevailing social contexts in which belief and ritual associated with traditional ancestral religion tends to be more widely held and extensively practiced in rural as against urban or peri-urban areas and Mpondo vs Bomvana conventions. The different extents and forms in which integration has taken place also reflect historical and more recent personal choices in terms of cultural and religious identification, and these are seldom consistent either across or within clans.

The acknowledgement of foreign ancestry is however evident in the rituals performed by all ten clans or clan sections, if not through modified practice, then through the names and histories recalled in *izinqulo*, the recitation of which constitutes an essential aspect of ritual practice as a means by which ancestral spirits are brought into the presence of the living. AbeLungu Jekwa, abeLungu Hatu, amaMolo, abeLungu Fuzwayo and amaThakha expressed strong affiliation with local tradition and with certain exceptions, their ritual practice closely approximated that of endogenous clans. As such, their primary means of association with foreign ancestors is contained within oral histories as against ritual practice. In the case of the remaining clans – amaCaine, amaOgle, amaFrance and amaIrish – and the abeLungu Horner clan section, foreign ancestry is expressed not only in oral tradition but also very strongly in the form of their ritual practice. In most cases, those who identify with and participate fully in traditional rituals do so with some deviation from traditional practice, usually regarding the method and/or weapon used for the slaughter of sacrificial animals. Thus where descent from European forebears does not preclude traditional practice, it in most cases serves to modify and/or curtail it. The traditional means of honouring and evoking ancestral spirits via the recitation of clan praises or *izinqula* for example is absent from or minimal in amaFrance and amaIrish ritual practice and even though amaCaine and amaOgle

possess clan praises, some of these have not been retained by certain genealogical lines while others have passed out of contemporary usage.

Traditional beliefs regarding the powers and role of ancestral spirits, and the expression of such beliefs through the performance of rituals have been key to the incorporation of exogenous clans into Mpondo and Bomvana communities. The commemoration of these clan ancestors has involved the production of knowledge at two levels. The first relates to what is *remembered* by means of oral traditions such as *imbali* (oral history), *iminombo* (oral genealogy) and *izinqulo* (clan praises). In most cases, oral traditions have primarily fulfilled a role of preserving knowledge of clan forebears, but the ways in which they have been shaped by cultural conventions suggest that they have also been a means of promoting social integration. The second level at which knowledge is produced is through ritual practice, or what is *done*. In this case, especially in the case of the older clans, the emphasis is more on social integration than on knowledge preservation. Whether local ritual conventions are closely followed or much abbreviated, however, explanations almost always cite ancestry, the African matriline in the case of the former, and the European patriline in the case of the latter.

Kuckertz (1990:267-8) called traditional rituals "ancestral feasts". He described them as "healing rituals," requiring the afflicted person to accept three different kinds of authority: that of their homestead, that of their agnatic group and that of their deceased ancestors. Ancestral authority therefore provided a "conceptual framework" for all authority, while at the same time, the "social reality" of "human authority" provided a "model according to which the ancestors [could be] conceptualized". As deceased parents and elders, the ancestors were "superhuman authorities" and "divinities" of living kinspeople, thereby comprising a "model of authority". Conversely, the social reality of human authority provides a model according to which the ancestors are conceptualized. Drawing on Geertz (1966), Kuckertz suggested that ancestral authority provided a "model of reality" for its adherents in that it "modelled" people's actual relationships of "authority and obedience" thereby making them "apprehensible". Simultaneously however, ancestral authority constituted a "model for reality" to the extent that it provided a prototype according to which people's relationships were organized.

Kuckertz's depiction of ancestral authority as a representation of social reality is not far removed from Durkheim's (1912) conception of religion as "society worshipping

itself.” Although shifting the emphasis from religion specifically to society more generally, the so-called ‘constructivist turn’ in anthropology is to some extent an elaboration of the same basic premise – that the way in which we apprehend and behave in the particular social and cultural context into which we are born is informed and shaped by norms and concepts that are not pre-existent or preordained, but socially constructed. Hence knowledge is contingent upon and indeed a product of the social and cultural context in which it is produced. Geertz’s quintessential summing up of his understanding of culture expresses these ideas most poetically and succinctly:

Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs (Geertz, 1973:5).

This study has demonstrated various ways in which the web of culture is spun. Precise facts pertaining to the nationalities, identities, histories and inter-relationships of original non-African clan founders, while important in certain micro contexts, are mere idiosyncrasies in the broader social environment. Oral histories and clan praises have evidently been shaped by the clan ideology of common descent with a sense of relatedness being derived from common historical circumstances of white clan founders being incorporated into Cape Nguni culture. The construction of kinship on the basis of shared historical circumstances in some cases includes shared race as a basis for kinship, and in others, conflates race in the construction of kinship. The exact biographical and genealogical details of clan founders comprise knowledge of one kind, but some of the anomalies apparent when documented and oral histories are compared, constitute a different kind of knowledge, one that tweaks and shapes specificities so that they conform to broader cultural principles. History is thus reconstituted to reflect the expected social norm rather than a reality that is purely incidental, and the world is made in its own image.

As Boswell (2016:3) points out in her introduction to *Postcolonial African Anthropologies*, “African identities [are] ever dynamic [...] continuously being added to, constructed and curated.” Similarly, Appiah (2016d) characterises identity as “an activity not a thing” (2.4.2). Rather than understanding tradition as something to be blindly followed and a means of confining and constraining individuals, Appiah emphasises the ways in which traditions are created. The inherent dynamism of identity and culture are aptly demonstrated in the findings of this study. In their retention of European identity

through adherence to and expression of core tenets of the Cape Nguni traditional ancestor religion, the descendants of European and Asian entrants into the culture have constructed hybridised identities that conform to local convention and expectation even as they pay homage to their European forebears. They have created a new tradition according to the conceptualisations and understandings of an existing one, guided but not constrained by it.

Bibliography

- Anthropology South Africa. 2018. *Ethical Guidelines and Principles of Conduct for Anthropologists*. Available online from <https://www.asnahome.org/about-the-asna/ethical-guidelines> [Viewed on 3 March 2018].
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony.
- 2015. 'The race in the modern world: Problem of the colour line.' *Foreign Affairs* 94(2):1-8.
 - 2016a. Mistaken Identities: Lecture 1: Creed. BBC Radio 4, The Reith Lectures. Available online from http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/radio4/transcripts/2016_reith1_Appiah_Mistaken_Identities_Creed.pdf [Viewed on 14 April 2017].
 - 2016b. Mistaken Identities: Lecture 2: Country. BBC Radio 4, The Reith Lectures. Available online from http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/radio4/transcripts/reith2_country.pdf [Viewed on 14 April 2017].
 - 2016c. Mistaken Identities: Lecture 3: Colour. BBC Radio 4, The Reith Lectures. Available online from http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/radio4/transcripts/reith3_colour.pdf
 - 2016d. Mistaken Identities: Lecture 4: Culture. BBC Radio 4, The Reith Lectures. Available online from http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/radio4/transcripts/2016_reith4_Appiah_Mistaken_Identities_Culture.pdf [Viewed on 14 April 2017].
- Atran, Scott. 1998. 'Folk biology and the anthropology of science: Cognitive universals and cultural particulars.' *Behavioural and Brain Sciences* 21:547-609.
- Ballard, Charles. 1989. 'Traders, trekkers and colonists' in *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910*. Duminy, A. & B. Guest (Eds). Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.
- Banton, M. (Ed). 1966. *Anthropological approaches to the study of religion*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Battiste, Marie. 2005. *Indigenous knowledge: foundations for first nations*. Available online from <https://www2.viu.ca/integratedplanning/documents/IndegenousKnowledgePaperbyMarieBattistecopy.pdf> [Viewed on 20 June 2016].
- Becker, Carl. 1938. 'What is historiography?' *The American Historical Review* 44(1).
- Beinart, William. 1982. *The political economy of Pondoland, 1860-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Beresford Family Society. 2013. *The Beresford Family Society*. Available online from <http://www.beresfordfamilyociety.org.uk/origins.html>. [Viewed on 4 January 2013].
- Berg-Sørensen, Anders, Nils Holtug & Kasper Lippert-Rasmussen. 2010. 'Essentialism vs. constructivism: Introduction.' *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory* 11(1).
- Berger, Peter L. & Thomas Luckmann. 1966. *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Bigalke, Erich Heinrich. 1970. *The religious system of the Ndlambe of East London District*. Master of Arts in African Studies, African Studies, Rhodes University.
- Bird, J. (Ed). 1965. *Annals of Natal Volume 1*. Cape Town: C. Struik.
- Bloch, Maurice. 2005. *Essays on cultural transmission*. Oxford and New York: Berg.
- Boas, Franz. 1889. 'On Alternating Sounds.' *American Anthropologist* 2(1):47-54.
- Boon, James A. 2010. 'On alternating Boasians: Generational connections.' *American Philosophical Society* Vol. 154.
- Bostoen, Koen & Bonny Sands. 2009. 'Clicks in south-western Bantu languages: contact-induced vs. language-internal lexical change.' *Proceedings of 6th World Congress of African Linguistics*, Cologne: Köppe:129-140.
- Boswell, Rosabelle. 2016. 'Introduction: Continuities and contradictions in postcolonial African anthropologies' in *Postcolonial African Anthropologies*. Boswell, R. & F. Nyamnjoh (Eds). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Boswell, Rosabelle & Francis Nyamnjoh (Eds). 2016. *Postcolonial African Anthropologies*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Boxer, C.R. (Ed). 1959. *The tragic history of the sea, 1589-1622 : Narratives of the shipwrecks of the Portuguese East Indiamen São Thomé, 1589, Santo Alberto, 1593, São João Baptista, 1622, and the journeys of the survivors in South East Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brain, J. 1973. 'Ancestors as Elders in Africa: Further Thoughts.' *Africa* 43:122-33.
- Brenner, Joni, Elizabeth Burroughs & Karen Nel (Eds). 2011. *Life of bone: art meets science*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Broster, Joan A & Alice Mertens. 1973. *African Elegance*. Cape Town: Purnell & Sons.
- Broster, Joan A.
 – 1967. *Red Blanket Valley*. Johannesburg: Hugh Keartland.
 – 1976. *The Tembu: their beadwork, songs, and dances*. Cape Town: Purnell.

- Bryant, Rev. A.T. 1917. 'The Zulu Cult of the Dead.' *Man* 17:140-145.
- Bühmann, M. Vera. 1986. *Living in Two Worlds*. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau.
- Caplan, Pat. 2003. 'Anthropology and ethics.' In Caplan, Pat (Ed.) *The ethics of anthropology*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Carsten, Janet. 1995. 'The Substance of Kinship and the Heat of the Hearth: Feeding, Personhood, and Relatedness among Malays in Pulau Langkawi.' *American Ethnologist* 22(2):223-241.
- Chief Magistrate (Mthatha) & Resident Magistrate (Elliotdale). 1910-1963. *Chiefs and Headman correspondence files (Qatywa District 24 of Elliotdale)*. Mthatha Library: Native Affairs Inventory.
- Chief Magistrate (Mthatha) & Resident Magistrate (Ngqeleni). 1910-1963. *Chiefs and Headman correspondence files (Mamolweni Administrative Area 46 of Ngqeleni)*. Mthatha Library: Native Affairs Inventory.
- Chopra, Apaarjee. 2012. *Haplogroup Q marker M242*. Available online from <http://staging.apaarjeetchopra.com/genographic> [Viewed on 17 March 2017].
- Clegg, Johnny. 2017. 'Colour of my skin.' From the album *King of time* produced by Denholm Harding and John Paul De Stefani.
- Clifford, James & George E. Marcus. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley California: University of California Press.
- Cobbing, Julian. 1988. 'The Mfecane as alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo.' *Journal of African History* 29:487-519.
- Collenbrander, Peter. 1989. 'The Zulu Kingdom, 1928-79' in *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910*. Duminy, A. & B. Guest (Eds). Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.
- Crampton, Hazel. 2004. *The sunburnt queen*. Johannesburg: Jacana.
- Darwin, Charles. 1859. *On the origin of species by means of natural selection*. London: J. Murray.
- Davenport, T. R. H. 1977. *South Africa: A modern history*. London Macmillan.
- De Jongh, Michael.
- 2004. 'The Buysdorp conundrum: Constructing and articulating community and identity in Soutpansberg, Limpopo Province.' *Anthropology Southern Africa* 27(3-4):86-91.
 - 2006. 'Exclusivity, hybridity and community: Negotiating Place, Ethnicity and South African Realities.' *Anthropology Southern Africa* 29(3-4):74-83.

- De Kock, W.J., Daniel Wilhelmus Krüger & C. J. Beyers (Eds). 1968. *Dictionary of South African Biography*. Pretoria: Nasional Boekhandel Bpk. for National Council for Social Research, Department of Higher Education.
- De Sousa Santos, Boaventura (Ed). 2007. *Another knowledge is possible: Beyond Northern epistemologies*. London & New York: Verso.
- De Sousa Santos, Boaventura, João Arriscado Nunes & Maria Paula Meneses. 2007. 'Opening up the canon of knowledge and recognition of difference' in *Another knowledge is possible: Beyond Northern epistemologies*. De Sousa Santos, B. (Ed). London & New York: Verso.
- de Wet, Chris. 2016. 'Research, knowledge and power: A case study of interaction between an anthropologist and a 'community' over three decades' in *Postcolonial African Anthropologies*. Boswell, R. & F. Nyamnjoh (Eds). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- De Kosky, Robert K. & Douglas Allchin. 1999. *An introduction to the history of science in non-western traditions*. Notre Dame: History of Science Society, University of Notre Dame.
- Diamond, Jarred. 1998. *Guns, Germs and Steel*. New York: Vintage.
- Dileep, Vishnu. 2009. *The Place and Function of Non-coding DNA in the Evolution of Variability*. Available online from <http://www.hypothesisjournal.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/vol7no1-hj007.pdf> [Viewed on 12 May 2013].
- Donaldson, Andrew, Julia Segar & Roger Southall (Eds). 1992. *Undoing independence: Regionalism and the reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa*. Grahamstown: Rhodes University, Institute of Social and Economic Research.
- Duminy, Andrew & Bill Guest (Eds). 1989. *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910: a new history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press: Shuter & Shooter.
- Duncan, Grant 2000. 'Mind-Body Dualism and the Biopsychosocial Model of Pain: What Did Descartes Really Say?' *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy* 25(4):485-513.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1912. *The elementary forms of the religious life*. Translated by J.W. Swain. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Duster, Troy. 1996. 'The prism of heritability and the sociology of knowledge' in *Naked science: Anthropological inquiry into boundaries, power and knowledge*. Nader, L. (Ed). New York: Routledge.
- Dyer, S.J., S. Abrahams, M. Hoffman & Z.M. Van Der Spuy. 2002. 'Men leave me as I cannot have children': women's experiences with involuntary childlessness.' *Human Reproduction* 17(6):1663-1668.

- Ecks, Stefan. 2009. 'Welcome home, Descartes! Rethinking the anthropology of the body.' *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 52(1):153-158.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara & Janet McIntosh. 1997. 'The new creationism: Biology under attack debate.' *The Nation* June 9 1997.
- El-Haj, Nadia Abu. 2007. 'Rethinking genetic genealogy: A response to Stephan Palmié.' *American Ethnologist* 34(2):223-226.
- Elliott, Carl & Brodwin Paul. 2002. 'Identity and genetic ancestry tracing.' *British Medical Journal* 325 (7378):1469–1471.
- Familysearch. 2012. *England births and christenings, 1538-1975*. Available online from <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:J7QS-7VC> [viewed on 01 Dec 2014].
- Feyerabend, Paul. 1975. *Against method*. London: New Left Books.
- Finchilescu, Gillian. 2010. 'The changing landscape of intergroup relations in South Africa'. *Journal of Social Issues* 66 (2):223-236.
- Fischer, Arnold, Elisabeth Weiss, Ernest Mdala & Sonwabo Tshabe (Eds). 1985. *English Xhosa Dictionary*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1980. 'Two Lectures' in *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Gordon, C. (Ed). Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press.
- Fox, Richard G. & Barbara J. King (Eds). 2002. *Anthropology beyond culture*. Oxford & New York: Berg.
- Fox, Richard G. & Barbara J. King, 2002. 'Introduction: Beyond Culture Worry' in *Anthropology beyond culture*. Fox, R.G. & B.J. King (Eds). Oxford & New York: Berg.
- Frank, Andre Gunder.
 – 1966. 'The Development of Underdevelopment.' *Monthly Review* 18(4):17-31.
 – 1967. *Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America: historical studies of Chile and Brazil*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Franklin, Sarah. 1995. 'Science as culture, cultures of science.' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:163-84.
- Fullwiley, Duana. 2008. 'The biological construction of race: 'Admixture' technology and the new genetic medicine.' *Social Studies of Science* 38(5):695-735.
- Gadsden, R.J. 1974. 'Biography of Francis Farewell.' *Natalia* 4:8-13.
- Gay Y Blasco, P.G. & H. Wardle. 2007. *How to Read Ethnography*. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis.

- Geertz, Clifford.
- 1966. 'Religion as a Cultural System' in *Anthropological approaches to the study of religion*. Banton, M. (Ed). London: Tavistock Publications.
 - 1973. *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gehl, Lynn. 2010. From cognitive imperialism to indigenizing "the learning wigwam" in *Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Research*. Available online at <http://winhec.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/2010WINHECJournalreducedfile.pdf> [Viewed on 20 June 2016].
- Gifford Lectures (n.d.). *Over 100 years of lectures on Natural Theology*. Available online from <https://www.giffordlectures.org/> [Viewed on 5 March 2018].
- Godlo, Qaqambile. 2010. Research assistant and *sangoma*. Personal communication
- Goduka, Nomalungelo.
- 2005. '*Eziko: Sipheka sisophula*. Nguni foundations for educating/researching for sustainable development.' *South African Journal of Higher Education* 19(3):58-72.
 - 2012. 'From positivism to indigenous science.' *Africa Insight* 41(4):123-138.
- Goebel, Allison. 1998. 'Process, perception and power: Notes from 'participatory' research in a Zimbabwean resettlement area.' *Development and Change* 29(2):277-305.
- Goldenberg, Maya J. 2006. 'On evidence and evidence-based medicine: Lessons from the philosophy of science.' *Social Science & Medicine* 62(11):2621-2632.
- Gordon, R.E. 1974. 'Biography of Henry Ogle.' *Natalia* 4:23-24.
- Hall, Stuart.
- 1990. 'Cultural identity and diaspora' in *Identity: community, culture, difference*. Rutherford, J. (Ed). London: Lawrence and Wishart.
 - 1992. 'The west and the rest: Discourse and power' in *The formations of modernity: Understanding modern societies an introduction, Book 1*. Gieben, B. & S. Hall (Eds). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hammond-Tooke, W. David.
- 1968. 'The Morphology of Mpondomise Descent Groups.' *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 38(1):26-46.
 - 1974a. 'World-view I: A system of beliefs' in *The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa*. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. (Ed). London Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- 1974b. 'World-view II: A system of action' in *The Bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa*. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. (Ed). London Routledge and Kegan Paul.
 - 1975. *Command or consensus: The development of Transkeian local government*. Cape Town: Citadel Press.
 - 1984. 'In search of the lineage: The Cape Nguni case.' *Man* 19(1):77-93.
 - 1985. 'Descent groups, chiefdoms and South African historiography.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 11(2):305-319.
 - 1997. 'Whatever happened to /Kaggen?: A note on Khoisan/Cape Nguni borrowing.' *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 52(166):122-124.
 - 1998. 'Selective borrowing? The possibility of san shamanistic influence on Southern Bantu divination and healing practices.' *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 53(167):9-15.
 - 1999. 'Divinatory animals: Further evidence of San/Nguni borrowing?' *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 54(170):128-132.
- Hammond-Tooke, W. David (Ed). 1974. *The Bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Harraway, Donna J. 1994. 'A game of cat's cradle: science studies, feminist theory, cultural studies.' *Configurations* 2(1):59-71.
- Harris, Marvin. 1969. *The rise of anthropological theory: A history of theories of culture*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Hauser, Marc & Peter Singer. 2005. 'Morality without religion'. *Free Inquiry* 26:18-19.
- Hayward, Janet Mary. 2005. 'Who are you?' *Windows Southern Africa* 5(5).
- Henkel, Caesar C. 1903. *History, resources and productions of the country between Cape Colony and Natal, or Kaffraria Proper, now called the Native or Transkeian Territories*. Hamburg: Actien-Gesellschaft.
- Herbert, Robert K. 1990. 'The sociohistory of clicks in Southern Bantu.' *Anthropological Linguistics* 32(3/4):295-315.
- Herskovits, Melville J. 1926. 'The cattle complex in East Africa.' *American Anthropologist* 28(1):230-272.
- Hirschman, Charles. 2004. 'The origins and demise of the concept of race.' *Population and Development Review* 30(3):385-415.

- Hobbes, Thomas. 1651. *Leviathan or the matter, forme, & power of a Common-wealth ecclesiasticall and civill*. London: Andrew Crooke at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church-yard.
- Hoernlé, Winifred 1937. 'Social organisation' in *The Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa; an ethnographical survey*. Schapera, I. (Ed). London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd.
- Horai, S. & K. Hayasaka. 1990. 'Intraspecific nucleotide sequence differences in the major noncoding region of human mitochondrial DNA.' *American Journal of Human Genetics* 46(4):828-42.
- Horton, Robin. 1967. 'African traditional thought and western science part I: From tradition to science.' *Africa* 37(1):50-71.
- Hubberly, William. 1953. 'The journal and evidence of William Hubberly' in *A source book on the wreck of the Grosvenor East Indiaman*. Kirby, P.R. (Ed). Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society.
- Inskeep, Ray. 1978. *The Peopling of Southern Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Isaacs, Nathaniel. 1936. *Travels and adventures in Eastern Africa*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Jobling, Mark A. 2001 'In the name of the father: Surnames and genetics.' *Trends in Genetics* 17(6):353-7.
- Jobling, Mark A. & C. Tyler-Smith. 1995. 'Fathers and sons: The Y chromosome and human evolution.' *Trends in Genetics* 11(11):449-456.
- Johanson, Donald. 2011. 'Where do we come from: Who are we? Where are we going?' in *Life of bone: art meets science*. Brenner, J., E. Burroughs & K. Nel (Eds). Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press.
- Jordan, A.C. 1973. *Towards an African literature: The emergence of literary form in Xhosa*. California: University of California Press.
- Jorde, Lynn B., Michael Bamshad & Alan R. Rogers. 1998. 'Using mitochondrial and nuclear DNA markers to reconstruct human evolution.' *Bioessays* 20(2):126-136.
- Kay, Stephen. 1833. *Travels and researches in Caffraria: Describing the character, customs, and moral condition of the tribes inhabiting that portion of Southern Africa*. London: John Mason.
- Keegan, Timothy J. 1996. *Colonial South Africa and the origins of the racial order*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Kenyatta, J. 1938. *Facing Mount Kenya*. London: Martin Secker and Warburg.

- Keppel-Jones, Arthur. 1975. *South Africa: A short history*. London: Hutchinson.
- Kiernan, J.P. 1982. 'The 'Problem of evil' in the context of ancestral intervention in the affairs of the living in Africa.' *Man* 17(2):287-301.
- King, Turi E. & Mark A. Jobling. 2009 'What's in a name? Y chromosomes, surnames and the genetic genealogy revolution.' *Trends in Genetics* 25(8):351-60.
- Kipling, Rudyard. 1899. 'The white man's burden.' *McClure's Magazine* 12:290-1.
- Kirby, Percival R (Ed).
 – 1953. *A source book on the wreck of the Grosvenor East Indiaman*. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society.
 – 1954. 'Gquma, Mdepa and the amaTshomane clan: A by-way of miscegenation in South Africa.' *African Studies* 13(1):1-24.
- Klyosov, Anatole A.
 – 2009a. 'DNA genealogy, mutation rates, and some historical evidence written in the Y-chromosome: I. Basic principles and the method.' *Journal of Genetic Genealogy* 5(2):186-216.
 – 2009b. 'DNA genealogy, mutation rates, and some historical evidence written in the Y-chromosome: II. Walking the map.' *Journal of Genetic Genealogy* 5(2):217-256.
 – 2011. 'Biological chemistry as a foundation of DNA genealogy: The emergence of "molecular history".' *Biochemistry (Moscow)* 76(5):517-533.
- Kraai, Mcebisi & André Terblanche. 1998. *Land register for Dwesa-Cwebe: Participatory census for Dwesa-Cwebe, comprising a complete land register and baseline data for its 14 000 residents*.
- Krauss, Lawrence M. 2009. *An update on C. P. Snow's "two cultures"*. Available online from <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/an-update-on-cp-snows-two-cultures/> [Viewed on 16 August 2016].
- Krige, J.D. & E.J. Krige. 1943. *The realm of a rain-queen*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Kropf, Rev. D.D. 1915. *Kaffir-English dictionary*. South Africa: Lovedale Mission Press.
- Kuckertz, Heinz.
 – 1983. 'Symbol and authority in Mpondo ancestor religion part 1.' *African Studies* 42(2):113-133.
 – 1984a. 'Symbol and authority in Mpondo ancestor religion part 2.' *African Studies* 43(1):1-17.

- 1984b. *Authority, structure and homestead in an Mpondo village*. PhD in Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, University of the Witwatersrand.
- 1990. *Creating order: the image of the homestead in Mpondo social life*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Kuhn, Thomas S.

- 1985. *The Copernican revolution: Planetary astronomy in the development of western thought*. Cambridge Massachusetts & London England: Harvard University Press.
- 1962. *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kuper, Adam.

- 1982a. 'Lineage theory: A critical retrospect.' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11(71-95).
- 1982b. *Wives for cattle*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- 1996 [1973]. *Anthropology and anthropologists: the modern British school*. London Routledge.

Kuper, Adam & Jonathan Marks. 2011. 'Anthropologists unite!' *Nature* 470.

Kuse, Wandile. 1973. *The traditional praise poetry of the Xhosa: Iziduko and izibongo*. Masters of Arts, Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Wisconsin.

Leach, Edmund Ronald. 1969. *Genesis as myth and other essays*. London: Cape.

Leverton, B.J.T. 1974. 'Biography of John Cane.' *Natalia* 4(22).

Li, Xiaorong. 2007. 'A Cultural Critique of Cultural Relativism'. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 66(1):151-172.

Lieberman, Leonard, Blaine W. Stevenson & Larry T. Reynolds. 1989. 'Race and anthropology: A core concept without consensus.' *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 20(2):67-73.

Lock, Margaret 2000. 'Genetic diversity and the politics of difference.' *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 75:83-111.

Lock, Margaret & Judith Farquhar (Eds). 2007. *Beyond the body proper: Reading the anthropology of material life*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Lotz, Sutton, John Nels & Barbara Nels (Eds). 2008. *Making and moving knowledge: Interdisciplinary and community-based research in a world on the edge*. Canada: McGill-Queens University Press.

- Lusca, Emanuel L. 2008. *Race as a social construct*. Available online from <https://anthropology.net/2008/10/01/race-as-a-social-construct/> [Viewed on 14 October 2016].
- Lye, John. 2008. *The interpretive turn*. Available online from <https://brocku.ca/english/jlye/interpturn.php> [Viewed on 20 February 2017].
- Macbeath, A. 1952. *Experiments in living. A study of the nature and foundation of ethics or morals in the light of recent work in Social Anthropology*. London: Macmillan.
- Makuliwe, Mphumelelo. c.1990. *The Praises (izithutho or izinqulo) of South-eastern Bantu clans*. Unpublished Research.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw.
 – 1948 [1926]. *Magic, science and religion and other essays*. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
 – 1961[1925]. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.
- Mane, Jo. 2009. *Kaupapa Māori: A Community Approach*. Available online from <http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/viewFile/243/282>. [Viewed on 20 June 2016].
- Marcus, George E. 1995. 'Ethnography in/of the world system: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography.' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24(1):95-117.
- Marcus, George E. & Dick Cushman. 1982. 'Ethnographies as texts.' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11:25-69.
- Margulis, Lynn Sagan. 1967. 'On the origin of mitosing cells.' *Journal of Theoretical Biology* 14(3):255-74.
- Marks, Joel. 2012. *Ethics without morals: In defence of amorality*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Marks, Jonathan. 2009. *Why I am not a scientist: Anthropology and modern knowledge* Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Martin, Emily. 1998. 'Anthropology and the cultural study of science.' *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 23(1):24-44.
- Mayer, Philip. 1980. 'The origin and decline of two rural resistance ideologies' in *Black villagers in an industrial society: Anthropological perspectives on labour migration in South Africa*. Mayer, P. (Ed). Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Mayer, Philip (Ed). 1980. *Black villagers in an industrial society: Anthropological perspectives on labour migration in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

- Mbiti, John. 1969. *African religions and philosophy*. London: Heinemann.
- Mc Allister, Patrick. 1997. 'Ritual and social practice in the Transkei' in *Culture and the commonplace*. Mc Allister, P. (Ed). Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Mc Allister, Patrick. (Ed). 1997. *Culture and the commonplace*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- 1989. 'Resistance to 'betterment' in the Transkei: a case study from Willowvale district.' *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 15(2):346-368.
- Mc Carthy, Terrence & Bruce Rubidge. 2005. *The story of earth and life*. Cape Town: Struik Publishers.
- Mc Lennan, John Ferguson. 1886. *Primitive marriage: An inquiry into the origin of the form of capture in marriage ceremonies*. London & New York: MacMillan and Co.
- Meacham, Bill. 2014. *Ethics without morals: In defence of amorality* (Book Review). *Philosophy Now* 103. Available online from https://philosophynow.org/issues/103/Ethics_Without_Morals_by_Joel_Marks [Viewed on 6 March 2018].
- Mendel, Gregor Johann. 1996[1866]. Experiments in plant hybridization. Translated by C. T. Druery and William Bateson (1901). Available online from <http://www.esp.org/foundations/genetics/classical/gm-65.pdf> [Viewed on 28 April 2013].
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary. 2017. Available online from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/rhetoric> [Viewed on 14 December 2016].
- Mills, David. 2003. 'Anthropology and ethics.' In Caplan, Pat (Ed.) *The ethics of anthropology*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Mohan, Giles. 1999. 'Not so distant, not so strange: The personal and the political in participatory research.' *Philosophy & Geography* 2(1):41-54.
- Mokoena, Mduduzi Paul, Taurai Mutanda & Ademola O. Olaniran. 2016. 'Perspectives on the probiotic potential of lactic acid bacteria from African traditional fermented foods and beverages.' *Food & Nutrition Research* 60(1):29630.
- Mokrzan, Michal. 2014. 'The rhetorical turn in anthropology.' *Cesky* 101 (1):1-18.
- Morsy, Soheir A. 1991. 'Safeguarding Women's Bodies: The White Man's Burden Medicalized', commentary on Gordon (1991). *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 4(1):3-14.
- Mounolou, J. C. & F. Lacroute. 2005. 'Mitochondrial DNA: An advance in eukaryotic cell biology in the 1960s.' *Biology of the Cell* 97(9):743-748.

- Mqotsi, L. 2002. 'Science, magic and religion as trajectories of the psychology of projection' in *Indigenous knowledge and the integration of knowledge systems: Towards a philosophy of articulation*. Hoppers, O. (Ed). Cape Town: New Africa Education.
- Mullings, Leith. 2005. 'Interrogating racism: Toward an antiracist anthropology.' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34(1):667-693.
- Mzolo, Douglas. 1978. 'Zulu clan praises' in *Social system and tradition in Southern Africa: Essays in honour of Eileen Krige*. Argyle, W.J. & E. Preston-Whyte (Eds). Cape Town & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nader, Laura (Ed). 1996. *Naked science: anthropological inquiry into boundaries, power and knowledge*. New York: Routledge.
- Nader, Laura. 1996. 'Introduction: Anthropological inquiry into boundaries, power and knowledge' in *Naked science: anthropological inquiry into boundaries, power and knowledge*. Nader, Laura (Ed). New York: Routledge.
- Nash, M. D. 1987. *The settler handbook: A new list of the 1820 settlers*. Diep River: Chameleon Press.
- Nass, M. M. & S. Nass. 1963. 'Intramitochondrial fibers with DNA characteristics. I: Fixation and electron staining reactions.' *Journal of Cell Biology* 19:593-611.
- Newbury, David. 2007. 'Contradictions at the heart of the canon: Jan Vansina and the debate over oral historiography in Africa, 1960-1985.' *History in Africa* 34:213-254.
- Newell, William H. & William J. Green. 1982. 'Defining and teaching interdisciplinary studies.' *Improving College and University Teaching* 30(1):23-30.
- Niehaus, Isak A. 1997. 'A witch has no horn: The subjective reality of witchcraft in the South African Lowveld' in *Culture and the commonplace*. Mc Allister, P. (Ed). Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Nosilela, Bulelwa. 2010. Department of African Languages, Rhodes University, Grahamstown. Personal communication.
- O'Byrne Spencer, Shelagh. 1992. *British settlers in Natal 1824-1857: A biographical register. Vol. 4: Cadle - Coventry*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- O'Connell, M.C.O. 1981. 'Resettlement and development in Transkei.' *Africa Insight* 11(1):44-48.
- O'Malley, Pdraig. 2017. *1936 Native trust and land Act No 18*. Available online from Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory <https://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01646/05lv01784.htm>. [Viewed on 25 September 2017].

- Ommer, Rosemary E., Harold Coward & Christopher C. Parrish. 2008. 'Knowledge uncertainty and wisdom' in *Making and moving knowledge: Interdisciplinary and community-based research in a world on the edge*. Lotz, S., J. Nels & B. Nels (Eds). Canada: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Opland, Jeff. 1983. *Xhosa oral poetry: Aspects of a black South African tradition*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Oppenheimer, Steven. 2003. *Out of Africa's Eden: The peopling of the world*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.
- Ortner, Sherry B. 2016a. 'Dark anthropology and its others: Theory since the eighties'. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6(1):47-73.
- Ortner, Sherry B. 2016b. 'Historical contexts, internal debates, and ethical practice.' *HAU: Journal of ethnographic theory* 6(2):29-39.
- Pagani, Luca, Stephan Schiffels, Deepti Gurdasani, Petr Danecek, Aylwyn Scally, Yuan Chen, Yali Xue, Marc Haber, Rosemary Ekong, Tamiru Oljira, Ephrem Mekonnen, Donata Luiselli, Neil Bradman, Endashaw Bekele, Pierre Zalloua, Richard Durbin, Toomas Kivisild & Chris Tyler-Smith. 2015. 'Tracing the route of modern humans out of Africa by using 225 human genome sequences from Ethiopians and Egyptians.' *The American Journal of Human Genetics* 96(6):986-991.
- Palmer, Robin C.G. 2017. Professor emeritus, Department of anthropology, Rhodes University. Personal communication
- Palmié, Stephan. 2007. 'Genomics, divination, "racecraft".' *American Ethnologist* 34(2):205-222.
- Parfitt, T. 2003. 'Constructing Black Jews: Genetic tests and the Lemba - the 'Black Jews' of South Africa.' *Developing World Bioethics* 3:112-118.
- Peek, Philip M. 1981. 'The power of words in African verbal arts.' *Journal of American Folklore* 94(371):19-42.
- Peires, Jeffrey B.
- 1979. 'The Lovedale Press: Literature for the Bantu revisited.' *History in Africa* 6:155-175.
 - 1981. *The house of Phalo: A history of the Xhosa People in the days of their independence*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.
 - 1989. *The dead will arise: Nongqawuse and the great Xhosa cattle-killing movement of 1856-7*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Pels, Peter. 1999. 'Professions of Duplexity: A prehistory of ethical codes in anthropology'. *Current Anthropology* 40(2):101-136.

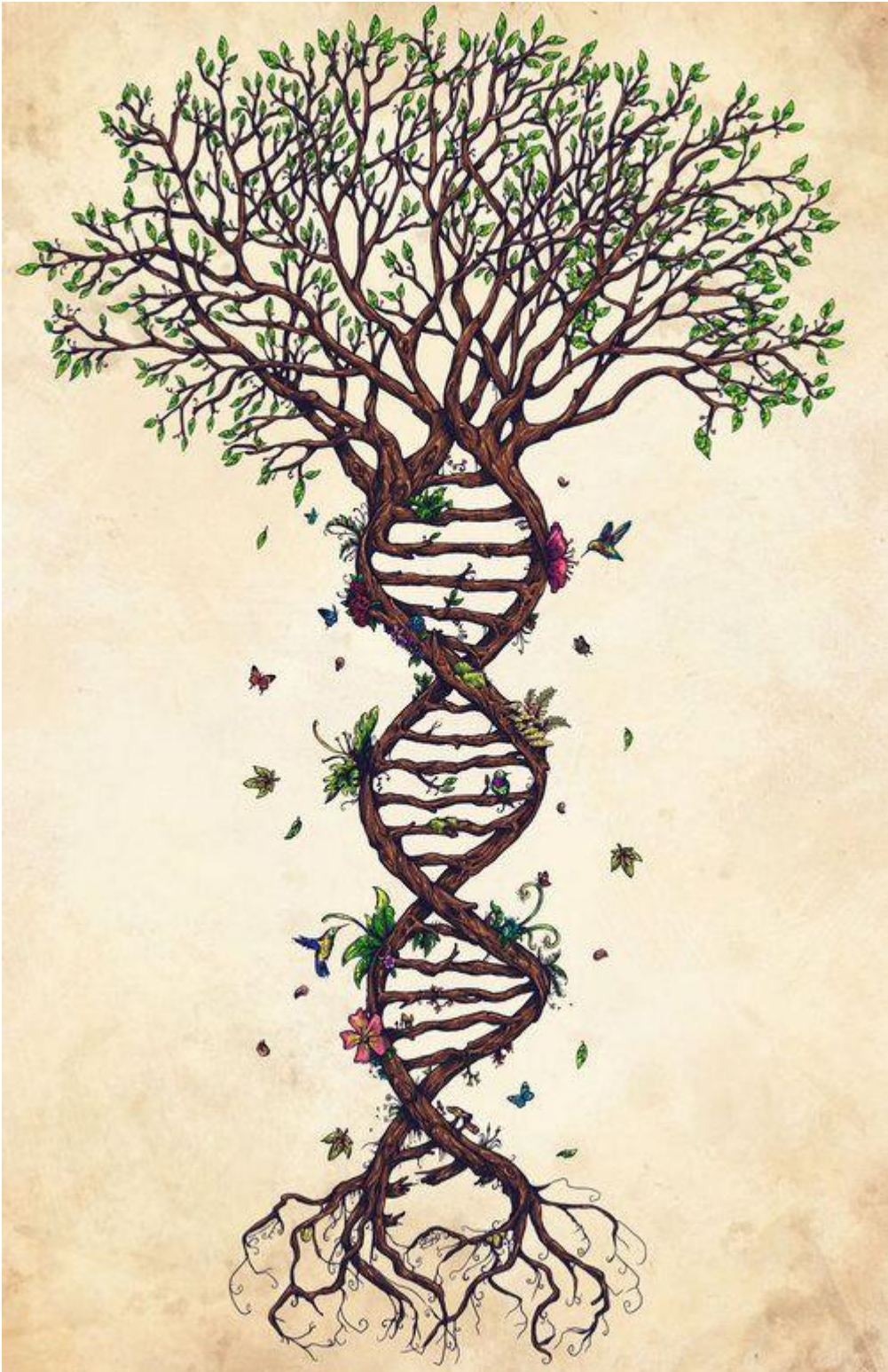
- Pihama, Leonie. 2010. 'Kaupapa Māori Theory: Transforming Theory in Aotearoa.' *He PuKenga Kōrero Raumati* 9(2).
- Pitika Ntuli, P. 2002. 'Indigenous knowledge systems and the African renaissance' in *Indigenous knowledge and the integration of knowledge systems: Towards a philosophy of articulation*. Hoppers, O. (Ed). Cape Town: New Africa Education.
- Posel, Deborah. 2001. 'Race as common sense: Racial classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa'. *African Studies Review* 44(2):87-113.
- Posel, Deborah and Fiona C Ross. 2014. 'Opening up the quandaries of research ethics: Beyond the formalities of institutional ethical review' in Deborah Posel and Fiona C Ross (Eds) *Ethical quandaries in social research*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Preston-Whyte, Eleanor. 1974. 'Kinship and marriage' in *The Bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa*. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. (Ed). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Pridmore, Julie.
 – 1994. 'The writings of H.F. Fynn: history, myth or fiction?' *Alternation* 1(1):68-78.
 – 2004. 'Diaries and Despatches: The Life and Writing of Henry Francis Fynn (1803-61) and Henry Francis Fynn Junior (1846-1915).' *Kleio* 36(1):126-147.
- Rabinow, Paul. 1996. *Essays on the anthropology of reason*. New Jersey, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Reynolds, Paul F.A. 2004. '*Nga Puni Whakapiri*: Indigenous Struggle and Genetic Engineering'. Doctor of Philosophy, School of Communication, Simon Fraser University, Canada.
- Rozhanskii, I. & Anatole A. Klyosov. 2011. 'Mutation rate constants in DNA genealogy (Y Chromosome).' *Advances in Anthropology* 1(2):26-34).
- Rutherford, J. (Ed). 1990. *Identity: Community, culture, difference*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Ryle, Gilbert. 2009[1949]. *The concept of mind*. London: Routledge.
- Said, Edward W. 2003 [1978]. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin
- Schapera, Isaac (Ed). 1937. *The Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa: An ethnographical survey*. London: G. Routledge & Sons, ltd.
- Schneider, David M. 1984. *A critique of the study of kinship*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Schoeman, Karel. 2009. *Seven Khoi lives: Cape biographies of the seventeenth century*. Pretoria, South Africa Protea Book House.
- Schroeder, Timothy. 2012. *Ethics without morals: In defence of amorality* (Book Review). Notre Dame Philosophical Reviews. Available online from <https://ndpr.nd.edu/news/ethics-without-morals-in-defence-of-amorality/> [Viewed on 6 March 2018].
- Scully, W.C. 1984. *Transkei stories*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Schwär, J. F. & B.E. Pape. 1958. *Deutsche in Kaffraria (Germans in Kaffraria)*. King William's Town: King Print.
- Searle, John R. 1995. *The construction of social reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- Seekings, Jeremy. 2008. 'The continuing salience of race: Discrimination and diversity in South Africa'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 26 (1):1-25.
- Shava, Soul. 2016. 'The application/role of indigenous knowledges in transforming the formal education curriculum: Cases from southern Africa' in *Africanising the curriculum: Indigenous perspectives and theories*. Msila, V. & M.T. Gumbo (Eds). Stellenbosch: Sun Media.
- Shih, Margaret, Courtney Bonam, Diana Sanches & Courtney Peck. 2007. 'The social construction of race: Biracial identity and vulnerability to stereotypes.' *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 13(2):125-133.
- Smedley, A. & B. D. Smedley. 2005. 'Race as biology is fiction, racism as a social problem is real: Anthropological and historical perspectives on the social construction of race.' *American Psychology* 60(1):16-26.
- Snow, C.P., 1990 [1959]. 'The two cultures and the scientific revolution.' *Leonardo* 23(2/3):169-173.
- Soga, John Henderson.
 – 1930. *The South-eastern Bantu (Aba-Nguni, Aba-Mbo, Ama-Lala)*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
 – 1931. *The ama-Xosa: life and customs*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Soga, Tiyo Burnside. 1937. *Intlalo ka Xosa*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Soodvall, Himla. 2013. 'Lemba origins revisited: Tracing the ancestry of Y chromosomes in South African and Zimbabwean Lemba.' *South African Medical Journal* 103(12).
- Spencer, Herbert. 1898[1876]. *Principles of sociology volume II – Part IV: Ceremonial institutions*. New York: D. Appleton and company.

- Sperber, Dan. 1985. *On anthropological knowledge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spurdle, A.B & T. Jenkins. 'The origins of the Lemba "Black Jews" of southern Africa: evidence from p12F2 and other Y-chromosome markers.' *American Journal of Human Genetics* 59(5):1126-33.
- Strathern, Marilyn. (Ed.) 2000. *Audit cultures*. London: Routledge.
- Strang, Pat. 2003. 'An appropriate question? The propriety of anthropological analysis in the Australian political arena' In Caplan, Pat (Ed.) *The ethics of anthropology*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Streek, Barry & Richard Wicksteed. 1981. *Render unto Kaiser: a Transkei dossier*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Taylor, Steven. 2005. *Caliban's shore: The wreck of the Grosvenor and the strange fate of her survivors*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Teresi, Dick. 2002. *Lost discoveries: The ancient roots of modern science from the Babylonians to the Maya*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Theal, George Mccall.
 – 1897. *History of South Africa under the administration of the Dutch East India Company (1652-1795)*. London: Swan Sonnenschein.
 – 1908. *History of South Africa since September 1795*. London: Swan Sonnenschein.
- Thomas, M.G., T. Parfitt, D.A. Weiss, K. Skorecki, J.F. Wilson, M. Le Roux, N. Bradman & D.B. Goldstein. 2000. 'Y chromosomes traveling south: the Cohen modal haplotype and the origins of the Lemba - the "Black Jews of Southern Africa".' *American Journal of Human Genetics* 66(2):674-86.
- Thompson, Michael Charles. 2009. *Traders and trading stations in the central and southern Transkei*. Ashburton KZN: Brevitas.
- Tobias, Phillip. 1974. 'The Biology of the Southern African negro' in *The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa*. Hammond-Tooke, W.D. (Ed). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 2002. 'Adieu, culture: A new duty arises.' *Anthropology beyond Culture*. Fox, R.G. & B.J. King (Eds). Oxford & New York: Berg.
- Tshabe, Sonwabo L. & F.M. Shoba (Eds). 2006. *Greater dictionary of isiXhosa*. Alice: University of Fort Hare Press.
- Tyler, S. A., 1982. 'Words for deeds and the doctrine of the secret world: Testimony to a chance encounter somewhere in the Indian jungle.' *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society*.

- Van Tromp, J. 1947. *Xhosa law of persons*. Cape Town & Johannesburg: Juta.
- Vermeulen, Hans 2015. *Before Boas: The genesis of ethnography and ethnology in the German Enlightenment*. Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Vernon, Gillian, 2013. *Even the cows were amazed: Shipwreck survivors in South-East Africa, 1552-1782*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Jacana Media.
- Vigilant, L. & L. F. Groeneveld. 2012. *Using genetics to understand primate social systems*. Available online from <http://www.nature.com/scitable/knowledge/library/using-genetics-to-understand-primate-social-systems-71223219>. [Viewed on 10 May 2013].
- Volk, Robert 2003. 'Red sales in the sunset.' *Safundi* 4(1):1-28.
- Wagner, R.G., 1974. 'Coenraad de Buys in Transorangia' in *The societies of Southern Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. 1974. *The modern world-system*. New York: Academic.
- Wasunna, Christine, Jemee Tegli & Paul Ndebele. 2014. 'Informed consent in an Africa context.' In Kruger, Mariana, Paul Ndebele & Lyn Horn (Eds.) *Research ethics in Africa: A resource for research ethics committees*. Stellenbosch: SUN Press.
- Watson, J. D. & F. H. Crick. 1953. 'Molecular structure of nucleic acids: A structure for deoxyribose nucleic acid.' *Nature* 171(4356):737-8.
- Watson, Peter. 2005. *Ideas: a history of thought and invention from fire to Freud*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Webb, Colin De Berri & John B. Wright (Eds). 1976. *The James Stuart archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Wenner-Gren_Foundation. 2002. *Culture and the cultural: New tasks for an old concept?* Available online from <http://www.wennergren.org/history/conferences-seminars-symposia/wenner-gren-symposia/cumulative-list-wenner-gren-symposia/w-149>. [Viewed on 27 July 2016].
- West, Martin. 1975. 'The shades come to town' in *Religion and social change in Southern Africa*. Whisson, M.G. & M. West (Eds). Cape Town: David Philip.
- Whisson, Michael G. & Martin West (Eds). 1975. *Religion and social change in Southern Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Wikan, Unni. 1999. 'Culture: A new concept of race.' *Social Anthropology* 7(01):57-64.

- Williams, Donovan. 1978. *Umfundisi: A biography of Tiyo Soga, 1829-1871*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Wiles, Rose, Graham Crow, Sue Heath & Vikki Charles. 2008. 'The management of confidentiality and anonymity in social research'. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 11(5):417–428.
- Wilson, Monica Hunter. 1979[1936]. *Reaction to conquest: Effects of contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip in association with Rex Collings, London.
- Wilson, Richard A. 2002. 'The Politics of culture in post-apartheid South Africa' in *Anthropology beyond Culture*. Fox, R.G. & B.J. King (Eds). Oxford & New York: Berg.
- Wood, William. 1965. 'The personal diary of William Wood, interpreter to Dingaan (1840)' in *Annals of Natal Volume 1*. Bird, J. (Ed). Cape Town: C. Struik.
- World Heritage Encyclopaedia.
- 2017a. *Haplogroup R1A*. Available online from http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Haplogroup_R1A [Viewed on 15 March 2017].
 - 2017b. *Haplogroup G-M201*. Available online from http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Haplogroup_G-M201 [Viewed on 15 March 2017].
 - 2017c. *Haplogroup I-M170*. Available online from http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Haplogroup_I-M170 [Viewed on 15 March 2017].
 - 2017d. *Haplogroup J-M172*. Available online from http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Haplogroup_J-M172 [Viewed on 15 March 2017].
 - 2017e. *Haplogroup R1B*. Available online from http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Haplogroup_R1B [Viewed on 15 March 2017].
- Wright, Susan. 1998. 'The politicization of 'culture'.' *Anthropology Today* 14(1):7-15.
- Zerjal, T., Y. Xue, G. Bertorelle, R. S. Wells, W. Bao, S. Zhu & C. Tyler-Smith. 2003. 'The genetic legacy of the Mongols.' *American Journal of Human Genetics* 72(3):717-721.



The image on the back cover depicts a tree, frequently used to represent genealogy. The combination of this image with the spiral double helix of DNA makes it an especially apposite metaphor for this research. The image was copied from https://www.google.co.za/imgres?imgurl=http%3A%2F%2Fmedia-cache-ec0.pinimg.com%2F736x%2F55%2Fb4%2Fe8%2F55b4e8e913ff2fca77935def88c9b789.jpg&imgrefurl=http%3A%2F%2Fflocksmithnyc.info%2Fkeywords%2F01%2Ffamily-tree-dna%2F&docid=kKTXxCvPI8JObM&tbnid=jchU_VVnKm-nPM%3A&vet=10ahUKEwjMt-iO-cDWAhVKFMAKHZqwBtcQMwjJASgRMBE..i&w=500&h=773&itg=1&bih=897&biw=1600&q=DNA%20FAMILY%20TREE&ved=0ahUKEwjMt-iO-cDWAhVKFMAKHZqwBtcQMwjJASgRMBE&iact=mrc&uact=8

APPENDIX TO

**“We are white”: Oral tradition, documented history
and molecular biology of Xhosa clans descended from
non-African forebears and their expression of this
ancestry through the idiom of ancestor religion**



A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of Rhodes University

by
Janet M Hayward

September 2017

The image on the front cover is a reproduction of an oil painting by George Carter entitled *The wreck of the Grosvenor* (1.1). The image is copied from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wreck_of_the_Grosvenor

Table of Contents

Introduction to Appendices	5
Appendix A: amaMolo	6
Appendix A1. Oral genealogy of amaMolo	7
Appendix A2. Transcriptions of amaMolo interviews.....	8
A2.1. Katutu Phangelo at Cingweni on 3 December 2009.....	8
A2.2. Mhlabunzima Mxhaka at Mamolweni on 4 December 2009	14
A2.3. Mhlabunzima Mxhaka & Katutu Phangelo at komkhulu Mamolweni on 12 February 2010. 19	
A2.4. Vicson Nompe at Cwecwe, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010.	22
A2.5. Nkosiphethe Jizani at Lucingweni, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010.....	23
A2.6. Mzizi Phangelo at Moniyi, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010.	23
A2.7. Mhlabunzima Mxhaka at Mamolweni, Mamolweni on 7 May 2010.....	24
Appendix A3. AmaMolo <i>izinqulo</i>	24
A3.1. Nqula of unknown amaMolo clan member at Xhuth'idwele, Lucingweni on 4 May 2010	24
A3.2. Nqula of unknown amaMolo clan member at Mamolweni, Mamolweni on 6 May 2010	24
A3.3. Nqula of Jingela Nyango at Mamolweni, Mamolweni on 6 May 2010.....	24
A3.4. Nqula of Ninhiza Nyango at Mpoza, Mamolweni on 6 May 2010.....	25
A3.5. Nqula of Vicson Nompe at Cwecwe, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010	25
A3.6. Nqula of Nkosiphethe Jizani at Lucingweni, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010	25
A3.7. Nqula of Mzizi Phangelo at Moniyi, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010.....	25
A3.8. Nqula of Mhlabunzima Mxhaka at Mamolweni, Mamolweni on 13 May 2010.....	25
Appendix B: abeLungu Jekwa.....	26
Appendix B1. Oral genealogy of abeLungu Jekwa	27
Appendix B2. Transcriptions of abeLungu Jekwa interviews.....	28
B2.1. Interview with Lawrence Nyekana at Mlungweni, Hobeni on 25 March 2010.	28
B2.2. Interview Mgqezengwana Quthwana at Ebelungweni, Xhora on 8 June 2010.....	28
B2.3. Interview with Mquba Ketwana at Sundwana, Xhora on 22 June 2010.....	30
B2.4. Interview with Vuthuza Sitwayi at Sundwana, Xhora on 22 June 2010.	31
B2.5. Interview with Albert Skiti at Xhora Mouth, Xhora on 7 April 2011.....	32
B2.6. Interview with Vuthuza Sitwayi at Xhora Mouth, Xhora on 8 April 2011.....	34
B2.7. Interview with Patawula Nokeku at Nqileni, Xhora Mouth, Xhora on 7 April 2011.....	35
Appendix B3. AbeLungu Jekwa <i>izinqulo</i>	38
B3.1. Nqula of Lawrence Nyekana at Mlungweni, Hobeni on 8 June 2010.....	38
B3.2. Nqula of Mgqezengwana Quthwana at Ebelungweni, Xhora on 8 June 2010	38
B3.3. Nqula of Mquba Ketwana at Sundwana, Xhora on 22 June 2010	38
B3.4. Nqula of Pukazi Dozekile (MaMlungu) at Sundwana, Xhora on 23 June 2010.....	38
B3.5. Nqula of Monika Venevene (MaMlungu) at Sundwana, Xhora on 23 June 2010	39
B3.6. Ngqula of Albert Skiti at Xhora Mouth, Xhora on 7 April 2011	39
B3.7. Ngqula of Vuthuza Sitwayi at Xhora Mouth, Xhora on 8 April 2011	39
B3.8. Nqula of Patawula Nokeku at Zwelitsha, Xhora on April 2011.....	40
Appendix C: abeLungu Hatu	41
Appendix C1. Oral genealogy of abeLungu Hatu	42
Appendix C2. Transcriptions of abeLungu Hatu interviews.....	43
C2.1. Interview with Tikana Mnyama and Chief Nceba Ngubechanti at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 8 July 2010	43
C2.2. Interview with Nomqho Same at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011.....	46
C2.3. Interview with Hobovu Nopili at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2010	53
C2.4. Interview with Alfred Moyisile at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011	55
C2.5. Interview with Tikana Mnyama at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011.....	56

C2.6. Interview with Mandlenkosi Ngqubethile at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 6 April 2011.....	56
C2.7. Interview with Mayilana Mnyama at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 6 April 2011.....	59
C2.8. Interview with Maplasi Dyubhele at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 8 April 2011.....	61
Appendix C3. AbeLungu Hatu <i>izinqulo</i>	61
C3.1. <i>Nqula</i> of Chief Nceba Ngubechanti at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 8 July 2010.....	61
C3.2. <i>Nqula</i> of Tikana Mnyama at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 8 July 2010.....	61
C3.3. <i>Nqula</i> of Nomqho Same at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011.....	62
C3.4. <i>Nqula</i> of Hobovu Nopili at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2010.....	62
C3.5. <i>Nqula</i> of Alfred Moyisile at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011.....	62
C3.6. <i>Nqula</i> of Ndidi Same at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011.....	62
C3.7. <i>Nqula</i> of Mandlenkosi Ngqubethile at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 6 April 2011.....	63
C3.8. <i>Nqula</i> of Mayilana Mnyama at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 6 April 2011.....	63
Appendix D: abeLungu Horner.....	64
Appendix D1. Oral genealogy of abeLungu Horner.....	65
Appendix D2. Transcriptions of abeLungu Horner interviews.....	66
D2.1. Interview with Mlungisi Horner at Mapuzi, Coffee Bay on 5 November 2009.....	66
D2.2. Interview with Cecil Horner at Mapuzi, Coffee Bay on 15 June 2010.....	67
D2.3. Interview with Martha Horner at Mapuzi, Coffee Bay on 15 June 2010.....	68
D2.4. Interview with Herbert Horner at Mapuzi, Coffee Bay on 15 June 2010.....	68
D2.5. Interview with Elsie Horner at Ntshilini, Ngqeleni on 16 June 2010.....	70
D2.6. Interview with Weldon Horner at Ntshilini, Ngqeleni on 17 June 2010.....	71
Appendix D3. AbeLungu Horner <i>izinqulo</i>	74
D3.1. <i>Nqula</i> of Herbert Horner at Mapuzi, Coffee Bay on 15 June 2010.....	74
Appendix E: abeLungu Fuzwayo.....	75
Appendix E1. Oral genealogy of abeLungu Fuzwayo.....	76
Appendix E2. Transcriptions of abeLungu Fuzwayo interviews.....	77
E2.1. Interview at the homestead of the second wife of Mfana Ntlangano at Tshani on 11 February 2010.....	77
E2.2. Interview with Nomlinganiso Smayile (née Ntlangano) at Tshani on 17 June 2010.....	78
E2.3. Interview with Nomlinganiso Smayile, MaNtshilibe (second wife of Mfana Ntlangano) and Moliyathi Ntlangano at homestead of second wife of Mfana Ntlangano at Tshani on 8 December 2010.....	78
Appendix E3. AbeLungu Fuzwayo <i>izinqulo</i>	83
E3.1. <i>Nqula</i> of Nodzeyi Ntlangano at Tshani on 11 February 2010.....	83
E3.2. Isiqula of Nomlinganiso Ntlangano (MaMlungu).....	83
E3.3. Isiqula of Moliyathi Ntlangano.....	83
E3.4. Isiqula of Mahatya Ntshidayi.....	84
Appendix F: amaCaine.....	85
Appendix F1. Oral genealogy of amaCaine.....	86
Appendix F2. Transcriptions of amaCaine interviews.....	87
F2.1. Interview with Mkhululelwa Caine at Magwa Tea Plantation on 18 September 2009.....	87
F2.2. Interview with Wellington Caine at Ngcambeni, Lambasi on 11 March 2010.....	88
F2.3. Interview with Wellington Caine at Ngcambeni, Lambasi on 3 August 2010.....	89
F2.4. Interview with Mpumelelo (Chillies) Caine at Dubhane, Lusikisiki on 3 August 2010.....	90
F2.5. Interview with Mkhululelwa Caine at Dubhane, Lusikisiki on 4 August 2010.....	91
F2.6. Interview with Siwela Magubha at Mzimpunzi, Mbotyi on 5 August 2010.....	92
F2.7. Interview with MaCaine at Mshayazafe, Lusikisiki on 5 August 2010.....	94
F2.8. Interview with John Caine and Ma Khambule at Hombe, Lusikisiki on 5 August 2010.....	97
F2.9. Interview with Mary Richards (nee Caine) and David Ogle at Mthatha on 10 September 2010.....	98
Appendix F3. AmaCaine <i>izinqulo</i>	99

F3.1. Isiqula of Wellington Caine at Ngcambeni, Lambasi on 3 August 2010.....	99
F3.2. Isiqula of Siwela Magubha at Mzimpunzi, Mbotyi on 5 August 2010.....	99
Appendix G: amaOgle	100
Appendix G1. Oral genealogy of amaOgle	101
Appendix G2. Transcriptions of amaOgle interviews.....	102
G2.1. Interview with Theresa Ogle at Rhole, Lambasi on 3 August 2010.....	102
G2.2. Interview with Hlomela Ngwevu (Ogle) at Mbotyi, Lusikisiki on 5 August 2010	104
Appendix G3. AmaOgle <i>isinqulo</i>	108
G3.1. Isiqula of Hlomela Ogle at Mbotyi, Lusikisiki on 5 August 2010.....	108
Appendix H: amaFrance	109
Appendix H1. Oral genealogy of amaFrance	110
Appendix H2. Transcriptions of amaFrance interviews	111
H2.1. Interview with Mrs France and her daughter, Velani at Ndengane, Msikaba on 10 December 2009	111
H2.2. Interview with Keke Dukuza at Khonjwayo, Lambasi on 11 March 2010	112
H2.3. Interview with Kutu Dukuza at Khonjwayo, Lambasi on 4 August 2010.....	113
H2.4. Interview with Enoch Richards at Ngobozana, Lusikisiki on 4 August 2010.....	115
Appendix I: amalrish	119
Appendix I1. Oral genealogy of amalrish.....	120
Appendix I2. Transcriptions of amalrish interviews.....	121
I2.1 Interview with Nicholas Beresford at Gogogo, Qandu on 15 August 2009.	121
I2.2. Interview with Monde John Moya at Mtalala, Tombo on 16 April 2010.....	121
I2.3. Interview with Nicholas Beresford at Noduva, Qandu on 17 April 2010.....	123
Appendix J: amaThakha	125
J1. Oral genealogy of amaThakha	126
Appendix J2. Transcriptions of amaThakha interviews	127
J2.1. Interview with Ma Thakha at Rhole on 10 December 2009.....	127
J2.2. Interview with mother and wife of Mtatiswa Nkunde at Rhole on 10 December 2009	128
J2.3. Interview with Mthathiswa Nkunde at Silaka, Port St Johns on 11 December 2009	130
J2.4. Interview with Mthathiswa Nkunde at Pantu, Port St Johns on 17 June 2011	132
Appendix J3. AmaThakha <i>isinqulo</i>	133
J3.1. Isinqulo of Ma Thakha at Rhole on 10 December 2009	133
J3.2. Isinqulo of Mthathiswa Nkunde at Silaka, Port St Johns on 11 December 2009	133
Appendix K: Combination of clan praises (<i>isinqulo</i>).....	134
Appendix K1. Means by which abeLungu <i>isinqulo</i> were combined.....	134
K1.1. Combination of abeLungu clan praises.....	134
K1.1.2. Requirements for inclusion in clan branch <i>isinqulo</i> :.....	135
K1.1.3. Requirements for inclusion in combined abeLungu <i>isinqulo</i> :.....	135
Appendix K2. Means by which amaCaine <i>isinqulo</i> were combined	136
K2.1. Requirements for inclusion in amaCaine clan <i>isinqulo</i> :	136
Appendix K3. Combined amaMolo <i>isinqulo</i>	136
K3.1. Breakdown of amaMolo <i>isinqulo</i>	136
K3.2. Chart showing combined amaMolo <i>isinqulo</i>	137
Appendix K4. Combined abeLungu Jekwa <i>isinqulo</i>	137
K4.1. Breakdown of abeLungu Jekwa <i>isinqulo</i>	137
K4.2. Chart showing combined abeLungu Jekwa <i>isinqulo</i>	138
Appendix K5. Combined abeLungu Hatu <i>isinqulo</i>	139
K5.1. Breakdown of abeLungu Hatu <i>isinqulo</i>	139
K5.2. Chart showing combined abeLungu Hatu <i>isinqulo</i>	140
Appendix K6. Combined abeLungu Fuzwayo <i>isinqulo</i>	141

K6.1. Breakdown of abeLungu Fuzwayo <i>izinqulo</i>	141
K.6.2. Chart showing combined abeLungu Fuzwayo <i>isinqulo</i>	141
Appendix K7. Combined abeLungu <i>izinqulo</i>	142
K7.1. Breakdown of abeLungu <i>izinqulo</i>	142
K.7.2. Chart showing combined abeLungu <i>isinqulo</i>	143
Appendix K8. Combined amaCaine <i>izinqulo</i>	144
K8.1. Breakdown of amaCaine <i>izinqulo</i>	144
K.8.2. Chart showing combined amaCaine <i>isinqulo</i>	144
Appendix L: DNA Ethics.....	145
Appendix L1. Genographic project ethical framework	145
Appendix L2. Informed consent.....	146
Appendix M: Cost of holding a ritual	148

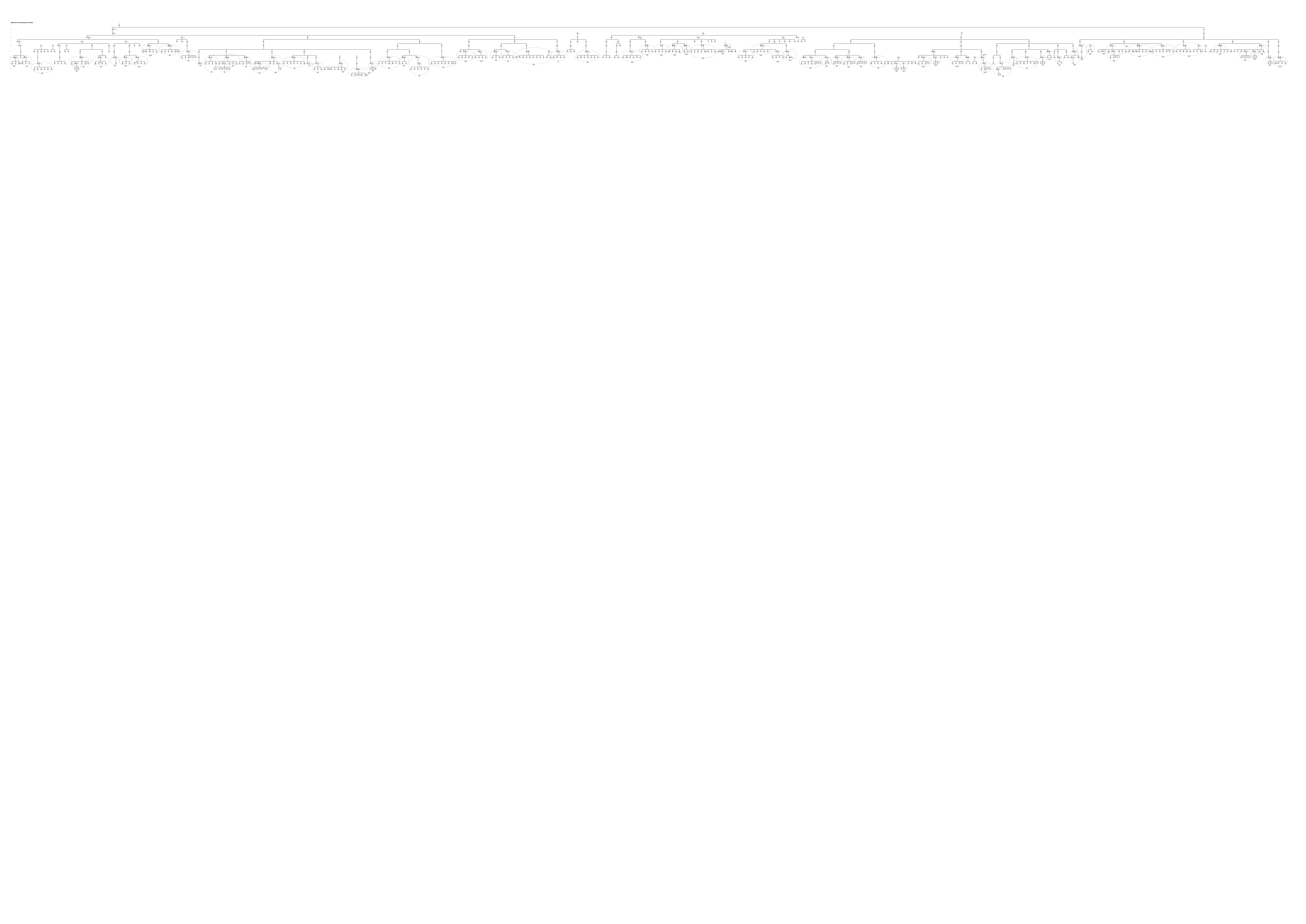
Introduction to Appendices

The appendices serve primarily as a repository for much of the raw data collected during the course of fieldwork. Interviews have been transcribed in full, as have clan praises. In the case of the latter, the original isiXhosa *izinqulo* have also been transcribed. Oral genealogies collected in the field have been used to construct kinship diagrams, which are reproduced in full. The interviews were conducted in isiXhosa and translated by my research assistant, Qaqambile Godlo. For the large part I have not edited his translations because while not always grammatically correct, they reflect the vernacular idiom. In certain cases the interview extracts used in the body of the thesis were edited for purposes of clarity which explains minor differences between the interviews recorded here and the extracts used.

The information recorded is occasionally incomplete. Sometimes it was not possible to decipher parts of interviews or clan praises from the recordings, which has been indicated through the use of question marks. In the case of genealogies, there are missing names, dates and sometimes the gender of children. Although many such genealogical omissions were rectified during subsequent field trips, it was not possible to do this in all cases. It was decided to record as much information as possible, even where it was incomplete. So for example the kinship diagrams record that a married couple have five offspring, even if the gender and names of some or all of the children are unknown. Similarly, a number of researched participants have died during the course of this work, and many children have been born. In some cases the kinship diagrams have been updated to reflect this, in others they have not.

The larger proportion of the appendix records the oral traditions of contemporary members of clans descended from foreign forebears. Other minor sections support or expatiate certain issues covered in the thesis.

Appendix A: amaMolo



Appendix A2. Transcriptions of amaMolo interviews

A2.1. Katutu Phangelo at Cingweni on 3 December 2009

K: From what I've been told, because I grew up without a father, I was told by other people of my clan, for instance my father's sisters. When we put them together, trying to find out this thing, they put it like this: It is the white people coming from other countries. These white people came out between Durban and Lusikisiki and these white people had a business that they were conducting and they continued with this business. Some left and two white people were left: a man and his younger brother. After these white men left, those who left, those who were left behind took black young girls to be their wives.

Q: Do you know their names?

K: I don't know but the younger one is said to be Peter and the older one, he was called Baai. That thing of saying "bye bye" because since black people did not know English, they called him Baai because he was saying "bye bye".

Q: Oh, that was not his name?

K: No, this thing of Baai was not his name. They were both called by the black people. The "Molo's" because black people were saying "Molweni" and they did not know isiXhosa and black people did not know English. When people asked them what race they were, they replied "Molo" because they did not understand the term so they were called Molos. They were imitating this thing of "Molweni".

Now then, these two who married these black girls, the young one (Pita) gave birth to one child also who was called Nobathana. The son of the old one (Poto) came to do what black people are doing, that is polygamy, he had many wives. The first wife gave birth to a man called Majundana. So all the girls of Mamolweni, (living now) call his name when (for example) they accidentally drop something (*ukufunga*). After they *funga* Majundana, they end with "Nikamtika" (also a person's name).

UMajundana is the one who gave birth to the Mxhaka house which was the great house. They are great. The second wife gave birth to Dluma. The Dluma house is the one that went to Njela. The third wife (*iqadi* / house) gave birth to Mkhabela and Phangelo and many others that I will not mention. Phangelo is the one who gave birth to my father. Like I say, Mxhaka is the great house. Even at Njela you will find Phangelos.

Q: Your surname is Phangelo?

K: Yes.

Q: Oh you use your grandfather's name?

K: Yes, Phangelo is the one who gave birth to my father. [...]

Q: You say these white men arrived and they found black people here who have their own way of living, they have customs. So you who are living now as the mLungu clan, this way of living of black people, how do you conduct it, if you do?

K: Well they imitate this thing of these people who are found here but their way is different. There's this thing that is done for a child when it is born called *mbeleko*. We don't do that. They differ in that rope they make that is tied around the neck. Their rope is not made out of cowskin but from beads. They wear white beads.

Q: These beads of *amaqhira*?¹

K: Yes, you'd say that is an *iqhira* when you see them but the difference is that it is just one string around the neck. A child must be quite big, must have achieved a certain stage of mental development before it is given that necklace. Keep in mind that this is something that they found here, this custom; it is not theirs, they found it here. That's how they start.

Q: Black people say praises. Do you do that?

K: Yes, they do that. There's this thing that I'm not sure of, of Jafлити. I don't know whether that was the real name of Baai or not. Jafлити appears when the praises are being said and it comes all the way to Poto. Poto is this person who I'm saying was the child of Baai. Maybe this Jafлити is that man that was not known by name who was called Baai. But this is just my own thought. Maybe others know him. That's where the praises start, with Jafлити, and it goes down.

Q: Do they have phrases that they say?

K: In the middle of all that, something that I do not know appears: A spear is a knife is a needle. Well maybe those are the things you are asking about. A woman with one breast, that part appears too. These are the things you are asking about?

Q: Every time you speak you are saying "they," why is that?

K: Yes I am saying "they" because it is something I have heard of, not that I know. What causes me to say that is because at this house we have never done that – never! You see all these customs that are being done, we have never done them at this house. There's nothing of *mbeleko*, nothing of the sort.

Q: Even *mbeleko* is not being done?

K: Well *mbeleko* is not done by us all (the whole clan). You see, these customs that have been adopted by others we have never done them in this house. My father never did anything like that.

Q: What were his ways?

K: We are born and we just grow and we just live. My father was like me now, alone. He was the one that was conducting things, everything came to him because his brothers were not there, they were dead. Those who had to perform customs or rituals that needed to be done, it was my father who did this for them. For example my sisters who were born by his brothers were helped by him with these rituals. But us, no we never performed any rituals (my father's children).

Q: Is it still like that?

K: Yes (pointing to his grandson). Here are the grandchildren; there is no one who ever performed a ritual here.

Q: Here you don't even say praises?

K: No. No. No. What we do here is just buy drinks, fizzy drinks or whatever and we go and sit by the sea and watch the ships. That is our ritual, there is nothing more. I don't know who this

¹ Sangoma / diviner.

woman is, but she is related to my father and she said “You adopted something that is very far from you, that is not yours.” Well my ritual is that thing I’ve said of sitting there watching ships with a drink. There’s no slaughter of any sheep or goat or cow. I just sit there and watch the ships.

Q: Is that because you are people who come from overseas?

K: Yes. But now, (some of) my people have adopted these customs from here.²

Q: We one day went to Coffee Bay and found mLungus there with the surname “Horner.” When I asked them about customs they said to me: “Because we were born in Xhosaland, we perform these rituals but we perform them a different way.” They said that instead of a spear, they use a knife. This is why I’m asking this question. It is clear that you as mLungu clan have different ways of living.

K: Yes, it is not the same because as I said we have adopted the ways of living of the people we live amongst. Others adopted the ways of living of people from Coffee Bay for example, people from Njela for example. We adopted different ways of living because we are scattered.

Q: So this means that it depends on the areas that you occupy?

K: Yes. I usually observe other people. They cut off their little finger (*ingqithi*). We do not do that. For example, this man Mphohlekana had *ingqithi* because that was the custom of his wife’s home. He even talked about it, he usually says, “Don’t be fooled by this *ingqathi* because it is not done at my home. We are the mLungus, we do not cut off our fingers.”

Q: I notice that among the different houses of mLungu, there are those who adopted the customs and there is this one, (yours) that did not. Among the ones that adopted, their ways of doing things differ because they settled in different areas (among different people, Pondo, Bomvana etc). Well that’s as far as history goes.

K: Yes, that’s as far as I know. Well we are doing what our fathers were doing, we are carrying it on. We don’t know how far back it goes, how and why it started (the adoption of customs). We continue what our fathers were doing because if we try and go back to find out how it was done it will cause difficulty because one will say one thing and others will say another. So it is better if we just follow the ways of our own fathers. That’s why I was saying that we should go to Mxhaka and sit down with him to find out how he sees this. Because I feel that even with him, there will be things that are different.

Q: Oh, he is of the Great House?

K: Yes. He is great.

Q: Well I’ve been making a mistake here, thinking that the clan of Molo is different from the clan of Mlungu.

K: No, the Molos are mLungus. It’s just that they were saying “Molweni” so that’s how it began. There beyond the Mthatha River, those who are there it is a girl who went away impregnated by Poto. So those who are beyond the Mthatha river, they divide themselves from us. They say that the baby that was carried by this woman who left here pregnant was Myuri by name. So if you ask them, they say “We are the Myuri’s”. Even Mphohlekana would say that. So those are the descendants of Myuri.

Q: Myuri who is a son of these two white men who were here?

K: Yes. They are found at Mqanduli and Xhorha.

Q: Oh so those who are at Mqanduli and Xhorha are of Myuri?

K: Yes.

Q: So children of this homestead (where we are) when they are asked their clan names, they just say mLungu, they are not able to say more than that?

K: Yes, exactly. Because we never really considered the thing of letting them know where we come from. For instance you asked me if we say praises here and I said "No." We never taught that in this homestead.

J: Do you know the genealogy from your forefathers to yourself?

K: (see kinship diagram). They (my sons) have no children but my daughters do,

Q: You differ in surnames according to the houses?

K: It depends because some change their surnames according to their fathers and grandfathers. For example, Mxhaka is still using an old surname. Mxhaka is the son of Majundwana. When I was born the surname that was used was Poto but it was changed later to Phangelo. I was the first to use Phangelo, my father and grandfather were using Poto.

Q: So you mean to say to me that you are mLungus as a clan and your surnames differ according to your fathers.

K: Yes, we differ according to these fathers and grandfathers. We were all supposed to be using Poto as a surname, including Mxhaka, because he was the son of Baai. As we are widely spread, we all come from Poto, all the Mlungus.

J: Can we come back again to ask more questions, and clear up any confusion that might arise? Can we have a phone number so that we can arrange a meeting together with Mxaka?

K: Well, my son is not always here so it will be better if you take my grandson,s number. Also his mother's number.

Q (J): I am aware that you have already told me that you do not do these things, but do you slaughter?

K: Not in this homestead but others do slaughter, do perform rituals. They even brew *mqombothi* in the cases of these *mbeleko* when the child is given beads. In other mLungu homesteads, they do hold these ceremonies. They were usually held at this homestead when my father conducted them for people who needed them, but never for a person of this homestead (my children and me). My father did that because he was the only person around who was old. My father's sister was the one who usually asked him to conduct these things for him. He even asked her why she was always sick even though he was performing these things. Why are these things not healing her whereas those who did not perform them stayed well? She would answer that it was because she started this performing of rituals. Others like my father do not perform them so they do not get sick. Well that's why I'm not doing these things, even with my children.

Q: You never had any child falling sick for that reason?

K: No. A child who falls sick, we take it to the doctor and then they get well. Even if I am sick, I just go to the doctor and then I get well. There is no ritual. I am 75, I will be 76 in 2010, I've never been sick (*ntwaso*).

Q: Did you never have somebody in your family that was sick with *ntwaso*?

K: It does happen and there are many abeLungu who have *twasa-ed*. Even the pure white Mlungus (whites) they do *twasa*, for example at Tsweleni there are white *iqhira*s. (Laugh). I mean to say that even amongst us mLungus and our children there are many that *twasa* and among our wives some do *twasa*. Well that kind of thing just pops up on its own, there is nothing that prevents it.

Q: As you said, you do not slaughter in this homestead. If it pops up in this homestead will you slaughter then?

K: Well what I wouldn't do is to be told by *iqhira* that there is this *ntwaso* thing here. I must be told by my ancestors, they must come to me and talk to me directly because they are my ancestors. That's what I told myself. If an ancestor appears and I recognise him, then there's no point in refusing. What I told myself is that I'll never be told by *iqhira*. Many people have died being told by *iqhira* whereas the thing was not like that.

J: Thank you. We will call and arrange a meeting with Mr Mxhaka.

K: Yes, we have spoken about you. I told him that I told you not to bother to go to Njela because those are children there. They know nothing and anyway they come from here. We are the only two that are old. I have boys here who have said that they want to be called when you come so that they can also learn about this.

Q: How would you like it if we took you and Mxhaka together with the old man from Coffee Bay so that you can all meet together to see what will be the result.

K: That would be no problem. It would even help us to know each other because we don't know each other. But you must make sure that Mxhaka is there. I wouldn't want him not to be there.

Q: Yes. Mr Mxhaka also said to me that he wishes that all the mLungu clan can meet and discuss this issue.

K: Ya.

Q: But I think little children don't have anything to do with this, they can first be there to listen.

K: That's why my boys here say that they want to hear and learn while we are talking about it. If I try and tell them about it alone here, there will be some things missing but if we are together they will be able to learn and those who want to write will be writing. Well if there's a point I'm missing then when we are together, the other elder can fill in this gap and then they (children) can teach their children something that is complete.

Q: Yes, we will try, we will phone you.

J: In the literature it is suggested that the amaMolo people descended from Asian shipwreck survivors.

K: No, they came from Portugal. When we were boys there were white people coming to the sibonda's place, doing research about this history. An old man of Jizani was called. He was even older than my father and he was the younger brother of Mxhaka himself. The first-born of Poto was Majundana and the younger brother of Majundana I never mentioned. He was Sikotoyi. This Sikotoyi was of Jizani. Those people doing this research wrote some books from what the old man told them. These learned people have a tendency of putting it their own way. Well these people put it that we are Portuguese. This whole thing is not straight, it has

turns it this direction and that direction. Back in those days this man's (our guide, of Khonjwayo clan) father was chief. Back then they sent for a very old man.

Q: This old man was a son of Poto?

K: This man was in the line of Poto. Poto had Majundana and Majundana's younger brother had his own children. The first born was Sikotoyi, the second was Thambo, the third was Jizani. This old man told the white people these things, he was old, even older than my father, he was born in the 1800's but I'm not sure exactly when. He was very old. It is him that gave all this information to the people. Time goes on and they keep coming (the white people). Now you have come.

Q: Do you know what information the old man gave the white people?

K: No, I was too young to know. During that time I had no father. My father died when I was 10 years old. Well this thing is very complex. We don't really know. We know that these white people came out between Durban and Lusikisiki. I don't know how others put it.

Khonjwayo: Were they on a ship?

K: Well we don't really know, we just know that they conducted some business. They were all under Poto, the people conducting the business.

Q: Oh, these men came out of the sea and conducted business? People say that there was a shipwreck.

K: Yes, some say that.

Q: People say that they were flushed out of the sea after the shipwreck.

K: Yes, some say that. Others say that they came out and saw a plant looking like banana (*Ikhamanga*) and they thought it was banana. This is why I say that this history has turns, it turns this side and that side.

Q: There's a book that I've read saying that these people who came out were two men and a woman. They didn't come out of the sea by choice, it was because their ship wrecked and the sea flushed them out still alive. Then they entered the local areas and married.

K: Well, we heard that, but as we were growing up; we heard that they saw this plant, *ikhamanga* and thought it was bananas. When we call these men, they don't put it like that. They say that these white people were many and they arrived and conducted business under this man. Now there's a part that I never mentioned purposefully. Baai went away and when he came back, a man among the white people who were many had slept with his wife and then he killed him. Then other white men came back from work and saw that this white man was dead and they asked what happened. They say that this place had a dam. Baai hid in the dam along with his brother. They (the white men) asked him to come out of the dam and he refused. Then they shot at him. They said that Baai had magic because they were unable to shoot him and then they gave up. After all that, the white men took their things and left him there in that dam.

The reason why I didn't want to mention this is because the story is not really concrete, it is the last story I heard (about Baai) when we called these men (Noposi and Mampukwini) trying to find out about this. They came with another story. Even this one you are talking about, that a ship wrecked, is another one.

Q: Well sir, this is the first time I'm hearing the story of the business. In the books there's nothing that says they arrived and conducted a business and it doesn't say that they were many. Well they say that some survived and did all the things they did and others never survived. In those who survived, others left with a ship that was passing by and they went back to wherever they came from.

K: That's why I'm saying this thing is not truthful, that's why I didn't want to say it before, that's why I hid it. Well this thing is really not concrete and that's why I wanted us to meet with Mxhaka because he himself grew up having people telling him these stories.

Q: The man Horner from Coffee Bay said that a ship wrecked that side and these people came out and spread and that this shipwreck didn't only happen at Hole in the Wall but that there were many shipwrecks along the coast. He was making the point that all mLungus did not necessarily come from one man as there were many shipwrecks. Do you see that there are many stories about this?

K: Yes.

Q: Even this one about the business is another one. There's even another story of a ship wrecking and the survivors being two men and a woman. There are many stories.

K: Well, with what you said before, I wish that we can get together with those stories so that we may know who came with what story so that each person can stay whether they got their story and how so that we can trace the truthfulness of the stories. If we can meet we will have to trace where Baai was buried where is his grave. Does Baai appear on the Coffee Bay side?

Q: No, they never said anything about Baai there. From what I know they came there because of the pregnant girl who returned to there.

K: Yes it's because they came from Baai's son Poto. They can't know Baai because they came from his grandson Myuri. They took their father's name.

Q: Eish, this thing is very long but let's trust that when we all meet this thing will be cleared up.

K: Yes, it will be clear, because even I'm telling something that I'm not sure of. I do not know it first-hand. It may be that even the person that was telling me this was told wrong.

A2.2. Mhlabunzima Mxhaka at Mamolweni on 4 December 2009

Q: From what we have seen mLungus can be found as far as Coffee Bay.

Mx: Yes, even beyond, to Xhora, all the way along the coast.

Q: How did this happen? Are they descended from many men or just two? Did they come from one ship or many ships?

Mx: (laughs). Our oral history says we are the mLungus as you say. These white people were travelling way back in the 1500's. They were on a ship but when it was somewhere near Port St Johns, it wrecked. I'm not sure the direction they were taking but they were Portuguese, even though we call ourselves mLungus from England, they were Portuguese. The people who came out of the sea were three white people, two men and a woman. This ship that wrecked, the sea was flushing out survivors in different places but these three came out here. Of the

three that came out here, the woman had no children. The two men married black women and they called the woman who came with them Presley.

Mrs Mx: Presley Bay is named after her.

Mx: Because men are men, their sons had wives and they were seeing local black girls and they got married. One of the sons made a girl pregnant but because he had other wives and this was not allowed, the girl went away to Mqanduli (her home) and had the child there. This son gave birth to children and the abeLungu at Mqanduli today are descended from him. We searched for each other for a long time and eventually we came to know each other. Now we know each other (Mamolweni and Mqanduli mLungus).

(Arrival of two Dumisani and Xolile, sons of Chief Mxhaka)

Q: What are the names of the two men who came out of the ship?

Mx: These two men were Baai and Peter.

Q: Which one of these two men went away to Mqanduli?

Mx: The one who went is the one who went away with his mother as a child. Once he got there, he started a nation that side. They called him Myuri. In the same way that Myuri started a nation, those who were left behind (Baai and Peter) also started nations of their own. In fact there were many people who were white here, over time we have become black. They were called coloured; they were no longer white people.

Q: The man who went to Mqanduli, was he white or coloured?

Mx: He was a coloured because he was born by a black woman.

Q: Was his father Baai or Peter?

Mx: Baai.

Q: So Baai arrived here and gave birth to this son and the son went away?

Mx: Yes but he left Baai here and Baai had another wife. She gave birth to Poto. That's how our history stands. History says that there were not many people around then, there were no towns back then, even Durban was not a town. All these towns - Port St Johns etc – that are along the coast were not there yet. People were few. What was here was only forest and many animals.

Mrs Mx: Did they (Baai and Peter) know how to speak Xhosa?

Mx: No, they only knew the word "Molo" and that is why we are called amaMolo. They were saying "Good Morning" and people took that word "Molo".

Q: So the name "Molo" came from that?

Mx: Yes.

Q: So are the Molo's Mlungu's or not?

Mx: Yes they are not two different clans, they are the same. Our history goes on and we are widely spread. Some went this way, others went that way; they crossed the Mzimvubu. We are those people who came out of the sea, the Molos.

Lungisa: Others crossed the Mthatha River and settled all the way to Xhora.

Mx: That is so. Then we came, us, the current people. We were got from local girls by the coloureds who gave birth to us. Even this surname that I use (Mxhaka) came from a coloured; he was white (unlike me who is dark). What changed them to look more black was their black mothers (laughs).

Q: These Mlungus here in this area, who is their ancestor, Baai or Peter?

Mx: It is Baai who gave birth to Poto and then Poto gave birth to us.

Q: What happened to Peter?

Mx: Peter didn't have many children, but his children are found among us here.

Lungisa: They are found on the other side of the Mtakatyi River.

Q: What about Presley, did she have many children?

Mx: No, she never had children.

Lungisa: She only had one breast.

Mx: The reason why these men married black girls is because Presley only had one breast and couldn't have children. Well I see that Portuguese had the same way of life as we do in that if a woman cannot have a child her husband should find another woman who can.

Q: So you say you are Mlungus here in this area?

Mx: Yes.

Q: Do you perform rituals?

Mx: Yes we do perform rituals because we have adopted it but when we arrived here, even our great-grandfathers, the reason why they got this land, they arrived here and the Xhosas living here were performing rituals. Their culture, their way of living was different from what was going on here. So the Xhosas saw these people had their own way of living and decided to give them their own land so that they could perform their own things in their own way.

Mx: There is still a difference, even now with regard to some things, because we have already adopted some customs. When we make our own rituals, there is a difference and people are amazed because when we perform the ritual feast (*idina*) of introducing a child to the ancestors (*mbeleko*) we usually do it in our way which is different from that of the Xhosas.

Mrs Mx: Even the time (of day) that we do it is different.

Mx: Amongst the Xhosa, a rope from a cow's skin is made to put around the child's neck, but we use white beads instead. You can even mistake him or her for *iqhira* because of these white beads.

Q: Are the beads put around the wrists too?

Mx: No, only the neck.

Lungisa: We just cut mealies to make bread which we pass on to the people and they pass it on to each other. And that is the end of our ritual.

Q: Amongst the Xhosa when they perform *mbeleko*, the mother and baby are seated behind the door and given a piece of meat cut off the left hand foreleg of the animal which the child must finish without sharing. So you do this?

Lungisa: No.

Mx: Well, nowadays some Mlungu homesteads do this because they have adopted it but it is not really our custom.

Mrs Mx: But here in this homestead we don't do it.

Q: When you are slaughtering in the Xhosa tradition, a spear is used. Do you use a spear?

Mx: Yes because we have adopted a lot of things. We have a spear here.

Q: When we visited Mlungus at Coffee Bay, they claimed to use a knife instead of a spear. They said that they just slaughter and eat without reciting praises. I understand that you have adopted more customs.

Mx: No they are correct to say they use a knife because even when we say our praises we say that a spear is a knife.

Q: I have heard that.

Mx: Oh you know that! Yes, that's how we say our praises, we say that a spear is a knife. So those at Coffee Bay are not lost in their ways of doing when they say they use a knife instead of a spear.

Q: When you are saying praises, does Baai's name appear?

Mx: Yes.

Q: It's only Pita who does not appear?

Mx: Even Pita appears in some Mlungu praises because they were together as a family.

Q: So your way of living is different from the black people here?

Mx: Yes it's very different.

Q: So you do say praises?

Mx: Yes we do.

Q: Those at Coffee Bay told us they do not say praises. They said that because they were born in Bomvanaland, they must perform rituals but they do them in their own way.

Janet: Apart from reciting names, are they any phrases you use?

Mx: Yes there are things like that because after we have said that a spear is a knife we say that we are the whites from overseas. We start at Baai because he is the one who came from overseas but we cannot go further back than that. But we do know that "Jaflit" was the father of Baai, overseas at Portugal before he came here.

J: If you have a ritual would you be prepared to contact us and let us attend.

Mx: Yes. It will be easy, we'll exchange numbers and we will phone you.

Q: Who was Baai's son again?

Mx: Poto and Myuri. Myuri is the one who went away to Coffee Bay.

Q: So he arrived and gave birth to two children only?

Mx: Yes.

Q: Do you know who you come out from because Poto had children too. [...]

Janet: Do you have any rituals coming soon?

Mx: Yes there might be in the month of December even though it will be a busy time for you. It might be in December.

(Numbers exchanged)

Mx: What do you want to do with this? Do you want to make a book or what?

Q: Yes, we do and we will leave a copy here so that the children of this house will be able to know where they come from because the oral history is disappearing with the old people.

Lungisa: The aim of this book is what?

Q: The aim is for this book to be in libraries because in the Afrikaner Library are books that talk about other clans for example the Tshomanes. There is not a single homestead that doesn't send a child to school. We are preparing for that, so they can know.

Lungisa: Will it be in English only or will it be translated into Xhosa.

Q: It will be in English first but we can try and get it translated.

Mx: I understand it takes a long time to translate a whole book into Xhosa. We will already be dead then, it will be our children reading it and they will be speaking English too much (all laugh).

Janet: What do you know about the Sukwini clan?

Mx: You will have to ask them themselves, they are coloureds and we will ruin it.

Q: Where are they found?

Mx: Hluleka.

Mrs Mx: Have you ever visited the Peters at Hluleka?

Q: No, well maybe, because we've been meeting with people along the way but not that we know of. As I was saying, we are going to go to all these places. You are the mLungu clan and you are widely spread. What we want to know is your way of living, how is it different? You are all mLungu but you are not all living the same. These are the things that will make us come back to you.

Mx: That will need us to connect with these people, we need to unite and be one and do one thing. We must gather as a clan.

Visitor: When you say a spear is a knife and then you use a spear that is not a problem to the ancestors because the word of mouth is enough for them. It is us who have adopted a spear.

Lungisa: Even here we were not using a spear, it is because we have adopted it that we now use it.

Mrs Mx: Even when they say praises, they say a spear is a knife. Even though they say that, they use a spear to cut.

Mx: It might be that it is us who are lost. Things like this want us to gather and unite and talk about these things and fix them.

Visitor: This thing doesn't need us to know who is lost or not because you (Mxhaka) never had a knife, you just decided to use a spear. It is enough to the ancestors just to say that a spear is a knife.

Mx: Baai and the others arrived here and found nothing, there were no people here, it was called a wild coast. There were just animals, there was no knife. Maybe they came only with one or two knives.

Q: Because a knife is something from overseas. One last question. I asked this question at Coffee Bay too. Many homesteads have traditional healers (*amaqhira*). Is there anything that has to do with *intwaso* in this clan?

Mx: Back then, they were criticising this thing very much but now there are *amaqhirha* but our grandfathers were criticising this thing, saying they don't know this thing, they have nothing to do with it, they are abeLungu. But now there are *amaqhira* who are abeLungu.

Lungisa: This thing was taken from black women who married into this clan. Our people caught it from them.

Mrs Mx: Here at Mamolweni – I will speak from my experience as a wife – Here at Mamolweni, when a ritual is performed for a child, he or she is not taken like the locals. The locals have *mbeleko*, that was not done here. A child grows up without any ritual unless a child

falls sick. Then they will think of performing a ritual. It is not done as a matter of course, only in case of illness.

Q: The reason I ask this question is because when you go around you see white people (like Janet) who are *iqhira*. (All agree).

Mx: Even when I went to *ntlombi* at Port St Johns, there were many white people who were traditional healers.

Q: Do you have any information as to how *intwaso* got into this clan?

Mx: No, I don't know.

Q: At Coffee Bay, the man we spoke to said that there are no traditional healers in his clan.

Mx: That is true, there are not.

Mrs Mx: It is the women. You see women have a tendency of inflicting things on men (all laugh) and by doing so they are changing customs.

Lungisa: Yes, mothers take their customs over there and bring them to us and make us catch them. (All laugh). We marry people from other races and remember that we as mLungus took black women and brought them to us. Then they came with things of their homestead and made us catch them.

Q: It is possible that a person being mLungu could marry *iqhira* and give birth to children who will have to answer to the calling of the maternal ancestors.

A2.3. Mhlabunzima Mxhaka & Katutu Phangelo at komkhulu Mamolweni on 12 February 2010.

(Also present: Mrs Mxaka, two other Mlungu *makhotis*,² Somzana Phangelo, Dumisani/Xolile Mxhaka.)

Mx: I think we can start.

Q: I will start by showing you the genealogies that we have here. I want you to look at them because we have spaces and people that we do not know, some people that have no names. So I need you to fix these mistakes.

Mx: I need you to lead us, I don't want to just do it. (Silence).

Q: We do have questions that we are going to ask, for example who was Jafleti?

(Silence)

Mx: Jafleti never came here, he remained at Portugal. The people that came here were Bhayi and Pita. He was left there overseas. He was just their father.

Q: How did you know about him?

Mx: We were told by Bhayi and Pita that their father is Jafleti.

Q: Who was the father of Sikotoyi?

² Recently married wives.

Mx: Sikotoyi was born by Poto, him and Majundana, they were both born by Poto. Majundana was the first born, Sikotoyi came after him.

Q: Did Sikotoyi give birth to Thambo alone?

Mx: He is the only one that is important to us.

K: He is of the great house because Sikotoyi had many wives so this is the important one.

Q: Do you know the names of any of the Mlungus or Molos who moved to Xhora?

Mx: Yes, we know them but cannot call them by name because we are very many and scattered, but we are one. But there are people around here (Mamolweni) that know the Xhora people by name. The ones who know them are the Myuris.

Q: Are they around here?

Mx: Yes but they are really children.

Q: Would they know their names?

Mx: Mmmmm.

Q: Well, we want to know their names because when we go that side to look for them we want to be able to ask for them by name and not be lost. Is there a person here that can know their names and maybe even take us to them?

(Silence).

Katutu: Well, Mphohlekana, Faltin and Nyango died. They were the ones who knew all of these things but they died.

(Silence).

Mx: Let's leave this point, let's move on to another one.

Q: We understand that the Molos and the Mlungus are belonging to the same clan but can you explain why some use Mlungu as a clan name and others Molo? Do you know when and why this occurred?

Mx: There is no difference. But when our grandfathers came here they did not know how to speak Xhosa because they were saying when greeting people, "Morning, Morning". Xhosas shifted that to Molo and so they were called Molos. So Xhosas took the name Molo from that saying of "Morning, Molo"...

Q: So how did it come about that some called themselves Molos and others called themselves Mlungus or does it depend on what the individual chooses to call them self?

Mx: I would put it that way; there is nobody that is forced to call themselves Molo or Mlungu. It is entirely up to you. For example we like being called Mlungus.

Somzana: For example I usually say "Mlungu, Molo." I use both of them.

Katutu: Well us here, we accept both names, if you say Mlungu you are talking to me, if you say Molo you are talking to me. But it may be that those across the Mthatha River differ from us. Maybe it's them that divide these things.

Q: Can you give us the names of Myuri's descendants and tell us the *lalis* where they can be found today?

Mx: Well, they are really scattered. You can find them somewhere around Kwayimani. You can find them all over that place there (Coffee Bay).

Katutu: Well I don't know anything about that place over there. I have never crossed the Mthatha River, I don't know anybody there.

Somzana: What about the people around here that know them, don't they know where they live?

Q: Aren't they at school if they are children?

Mx: Well there is someone but he's a child too. Isn't he at school too?

Others: Who?

Mx: Jingela.

Mrs Mx: Haai! Does Jingela know anything?

Mx: Well you know I'm looking for an old person here.

Katutu: What about those two who are working at the hospital at Ntlaza?

Mx: (Laughs.) No, those are children, they know nothing. Well I will try to find somebody, but not today.

Q: Do you know anything at all about Pita's descendants?

Katutu: That question needs me because they are staying on the other side of the Mthakaty River, they are with me there. While Bhayi was giving birth to Poto and Poto to Majundwana, Pita was giving birth to Nobathana and Nobathana gave birth to Mfoboza. Mfoboza gave birth to many children.

Q: Do you know their names?

K: I know them.

Q: Please, here we deal with names. Can you please call them by name?

Somzana: Hold on people, which Pitas are we talking about here?

Katutu: It's Bhayi's brother Pita we are talking about, not the coloured Pita's you know. (All laugh.) Well Mfoboza had many children so I'm not going to mention them all by name, just the important ones. The first one is Manyala, then Malfete, then Pawulo, then Nqabeni, he was the last of the important ones.

Q: Do they have homes here (at Hluleka)?

K: Yes.

Q: Will we be able to visit them?

K: Yes, but you will have to take me with you so that when you ask your questions I can clear up some things that they do not know.

Q: The other reason why we want to visit these homesteads is because we need to find their exact locations so that we can put them on our map. (Show and describe GPS)

K: Like I said, with the Mfobozas there next to me, you will have to take me with you and also when you visit those at Njela you will have to take me with you because they are children.

Q: We have seen that the Mlungus are very scattered, from Coffee Bay and Xhora to Hlukeka and Njela. Were they all coming from Mamolweni before they moved to all those other places?

(Katutu and Mxaka laugh)

Mx: I have a collection of information but it is not complete. I am still searching. (Produces Xhosa pamphlet.) The problem is that I am not really literate; maybe if I was I would have been further by now with this research of mine. So I don't really know the answer to your question, I am still searching for it myself. (Silence.)

Well in that paper it says exactly where the ship wrecked. But it further says that the

sea washed out people in different places, here at Presley Bay and also Coffee Bay. But it's not like that according to our oral history. The oral history just talks about the ship wreck and of white people coming out of the sea.

Q: So does this mean that if we are following the information on this paper, it would mean that you here are descended from different people from those at Coffee Bay?

Mx & K: Yes.

Q: While your oral history says that all of you, even those at Coffee Bay and other places come from one person?

Mx & K: Yes.

Somzana: I think that these people that wrote this paper heard stories from other people; they didn't even bother to come to us Molos here. They were just interested in the history of the Molo people and heard that there are people who are called Molos and they have such and such a history. So they decided to just write without even researching.

K: Well I've read a book on this and I found that this thing that I read is very different from the stories I heard from old men. When I was asking the old men, they said we came out between Durban and Lusikisiki and that Bhayi was running a business. Then other white people left, leaving behind Pita and Bhayi. I think I told you this before.

Q: Yes you did.

K: Ya. Even this thing of Portugal, I only heard it now. What I heard was that we came from overseas in England.

Mx: Well because knowledge is changing. We just know that we are coming from overseas and overseas to us is England. Even if it's India, to us it's still England.

K: And these white men came out of the sea and did all these things that we have already talked about.

A2.4. Vicson Nompe at Cwecwe, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010.

Q: Do you perform rituals?

V: Yes, we do.

Q: Are they different from the rituals of other clans?

V: Ours as Mlungus are the same.

Q: Are they different from other clans?

V: Yes, they are different.

Q: How are they different?

V: Some of the things they do, we do not do.

Q: Things like what?

V: *Mbeleko*. We put white beads around the neck.

Q: Do you say praises?

V: Yes, we do.

[See Appendix A3.5]

A2.5. Nkosiphethe Jizani at Lucingweni, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010.

Q: Do you perform rituals?

Nozuko: Yes.

Q: Do you perform them the same as the other clans here?

Nozuko: (No.) They are not the same.

Nkosiphethe: I will speak because this is a child. Yes we do perform rituals here. We perform them by a goat. We put beads around the neck and we even make mealie bread after we have slaughtered a goat.

Q: How do you slaughter?

N: We stab it with a spear here in front (pointing at belly button) then we do this, then we do this, then we slaughter it with a knife. Then we put the spear away. And then we talk to the person. We talk to him or her about this meat that they will be eating.

Q: Do you say praises?

N: Yes.

Q: Do you say praises while you slaughter?

N: We say praises before we slaughter.

Q: Could you please *nqula* for us?

[See Appendix A3.6]

N: [...] Then after that we say, "Yes, we have done this. Now this person must be healed"

A2.6. Mzizi Phangelo at Moniyi, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010.

Q: Do you perform rituals here?

M: Yes, but they are not the same as the Xhosas here.

Q: How do they differ?

M: They differ in that we do not use a cow's tail. We use a string and beads.

Q: What colour are the beads?

M: White.

Q: Where do you get these beads?

M: I buy them at the shop. [Pause] That's how I differ.

Q: Is that the only thing that makes you different.

M? Yes.

Q: When you perform your rituals, do you say praises?

M: No. [Katutu laughs.] No, I'm mistaken, we do say praises. [All laugh.]

Q: Can you please say praises for me?

M: This is how we say praises here among the Mlungu clan:

[See Appendix A3.7]

Q: Are you done?

M: I'm done.

A2.7. Mhlabunzima Mxhaka at Mamolweni, Mamolweni on 7 May 2010.

J: I've notice that many Mlungus and even Peters have tables and chairs in their houses. Is this a Xhosa thing?

M: No, it is an Mlungu / iLawu³ thing. It is also because our rituals require us to have a table.

J: Do you sit around it?

M: The family is too big to all sit around the table, just those close to the ritual or who relate most to it.

Appendix A3. AmaMolo *izingulo*

A3.1. Nqula of unknown amaMolo clan member at Xhuth'idwele, Lucingweni on 4 May 2010

<i>AbeLungu</i>	AbeLungu
<i>OoBhayi</i>	The Bhayis
<i>OoJafiliti</i>	The Jafilitis
<i>Umfazi obelenye phesheya komlambo</i>	The woman with one breast beyond a river
<i>KwaNokhepe</i>	At Nokhepe's

A3.2. Nqula of unknown amaMolo clan member at Mamolweni, Mamolweni on 6 May 2010

<i>Bhayi</i>	Bhayi
<i>Jafiliti</i>	Jafiliti
<i>Umkhonto yimesi</i>	A spear is a knife
<i>Isilanda yinaliti</i>	A blanket-pin is a needle
<i>Umfazi onebele elinye ovela phesheya kolwandle</i>	A woman who has one breast who comes from overseas, England

A3.3. Nqula of Jingela Nyango at Mamolweni, Mamolweni on 6 May 2010

<i>SingabeLungu</i>	<i>We are abeLungu</i>
<i>OoBhayi</i>	<i>The Bhayis</i>
<i>OoJafiliti</i>	<i>The Jafilitis</i>
<i>Oomkhonto yimesi</i>	<i>The spear is a knife</i>
<i>Isilanda yinaliti</i>	<i>A blanket-pin is a needle</i>
<i>Umfazi obelenye phesheya kweEngland</i>	<i>A woman with one breast across England</i>

³ Coloured.

A3.4. Nqula of Ninhiza Nyango at Mpoza, Mamolweni on 6 May 2010

OoBhayi baka Jafiliti

Umkhonto yimesi

Isilanda yinaliti

Umfazi omnye phesheya komlambo

Ithole likaTshamela

UJafiliti uzala uNyango

UNyango uzala uTshamela

UTshamela uzala uRhangayi

URhangayi uzala uMqwangqweni

*Mna igama lam ntingu Nhiniza, Mamolweni
Location.*

The Bhayis of Jafiliti

The spear is a knife

A blanket-pin is a needle

One woman across a small river

A call of Tshamela

Jafiliti gave birth to Nyango

Nyango gave birth to Tshamela

Tshamela gave birth to Rhangayi

*Rhangayi gave birth to Mqwangqweni who was
my father*

And my name is Nineza, Mamolweni location.

A3.5. Nqula of Vicson Nompe at Cwecwe, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010

Oo Jafiliti

Oo Bhayi

Umkhonto yimesi

Intombi ebele nye

The Jafilitis

The Bhayis

The spear is a knife

A girl with one breast

A3.6. Nqula of Nkosiphethe Jizani at Lucingweni, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010

Amabandl'akwa Bhayi

Koo Jafiliti

KooNokhephe

Islanda yinaliti

The masses of Bhayi

Of Jafiliti

Of Nokhephe

A blanket-pin is a needle

A3.7. Nqula of Mzizi Phangelo at Moniyi, Lucingweni on 7 May 2010

Ngamabandla a kwa Bhayi

Kwa Jafiliti

Kwa mkhonto yi mesi

*Zika umfazi omnye abele nye naphesheya ke
Iwandle*

The masses of Bhayis

Of Jafiliti

Of spear is a knife

Of one women with one breast from overseas

A3.8. Nqula of Mhlabunzima Mxhaka at Mamolweni, Mamolweni on 13 May 2010

Singoo Bhayi,

Jafiliti

Umfazi onebele elinye waphetsheya kolwandle

Abelungu

*Siphuma kuPricilla, lo waphuma apha ePresley
Bay*

Sonke apha kulendawo kuthiwa

yiMamolweni, singaMamolo, abeLungu

Umkhonto yimesi

Islanda yinaliti

Bhayi

Poto

Mxhaka

We are Bhayi,

Jafiliti

A woman with one breast from overseas

abeLungu

*We come from Pricilla, the one that came out
here at Presley Bay*

*All of us here in this place called Mamolweni, we
are amaMolo, abeLungu*

The spear is a knife

A blanket-pin is a needle

Bhayi

Poto

Mxhaka

Appendix B: abeLungu Jekwa



Appendix B2. Transcriptions of abeLungu Jekwa interviews

B2.1. Interview with Lawrence Nyekana at Mlungweni, Hobeni on 25 March 2010.

Lawrence: Our great grand-father came from England. He was in a ship on the sea and it wrecked there in Pondoland. When he came out he met up with people and they took him with them. He stayed with these people and married among them. That was our great-grandfather, Nogaya.

He had children there at Pondoland. It's his sons that went along the coast to come all the way over here to this place. His name was Nogaya. Nogaya gave birth to Gemfu and Gemfu gave birth to Bekwaphi. Begwaphi's brothers were Delo, Ndevu and Hlanganyane. The sons of the first wife of Delo was Mphengesi and the son of the second wife was Njova. The sons of Hlanganyane were Mayime, Fetman and Vays. The son of Mayime was Malela. The sons of Fetman were Jona and Mbono and there were also two girls, Ntozane and Manto. Begwaphi had two wives, from the first, Delo and from the second, Nakho and Nyekana. The sons of Nyekana were Gwinta and Swelindawu. That's as far as I can go.

Nyekana is the one who gave birth to Gwinta who gave birth to me and Mphohlela, my older brother and Lungisa, my younger brother.

JJ: What is your name?

L: I am Lawrence Nyekana.

J: Do your children use Nyekana as a surname?

L: Yes

JJ: Who are your children?

L: I have two children.

J: Do you perform rituals?

L: Yes.

JJ: Do you say praises.

L: Yes

J: Do your family marry the Bhayi's around here?

L: Yes, there is nothing that mixes us with them. We can marry them. They are Sothos, there is nothing holding us back.

JJ: Are there Mlungus at Mamolweni?

L: Yes, we came from there.

JJ: When you perform rituals are they different from those of others?

L: No, there is no difference. Only the praises are different.

B2.2. Interview Mgqezengwana Quthwana at Ebelungweni, Xhora on 8 June 2010.

Q: Please tell us your name.

M: My name is Mgqezengwana. My surname is Quthwana. Our history I do not know very well but we come from across the Mthatha River, Pondoland. A ship wrecked there from what I

hear, at Lambasi and then we never went back, we stayed there; there by the sea. Even now, there are abeLungu that we come from because our father, before he came here, his sites are across the Xhora River. Do you know this place *Pheshaya kwe Xhora*?⁴

Q: No.

M: Here by the sea. Because all the abeLungu are along the coast. The people who have all the information are those who are there at Nkanya. But where we come from, our roots are at Lambasi. We built there and then we grew and then we were called abeLungu. We were the first people here. Even the chieftainship was first signed to Nogaya. The first Bomvana chief that signed was an Mlungu chief. It was Nogaya. Our history says that we are coming from the sea, we are fishes. Other people (clans) here, they come from Tsolo, we came from the sea.

Q: From that shipwreck. I understand that it is your great grandfathers who came out from those wrecks.

M: Yes, it is like that.

Q: Do you perform rituals and are they the same or different from those performed by other clans around here?

M: Our rituals and the rituals of the Bomvanas here are the same because with us, our men, we do go to the circumcision school and rituals, all of them, they are the same.

Q: Can you please make an example of how Bomvana do their rituals?

M: A baby, when it is born, let me start there because you start from the beginning with a person. We take the baby and we slaughter a goat for the baby and then we burn the bones of that goat. And then we slaughter a cow for that baby and then we say "*Siyamqaba* (we smear red ochre)"⁵. And then, if it's a boy, we are done with him and then what is left is just for him to go to circumcision school and we slaughter a goat for him there. If it's a girl, we are done, there is nothing else. Those are the things that are done here, there isn't anything that we deviate from. We arrived here and we became people of this place. And we were the first people here, and that's what I think. That's why I'm saying the Tshezi chiefs were signed for by Nogaya.

Q: So what do you mean 'signed for'?

M: He (Nogaya) signed for them to get land. He's the one who signed because he was white. You know, knowledge came from here.

Q: Oh, Nogaya was a white man?

M: Yes, he's the one who was white. That's why when we say praises, we say:

[See Appendix B3.2]

Kokstad: They mean those girls, it's a girl that came here and then dropped us here.

M: It was not a man who came.

⁴ Across the Xhora River.

⁵ The *mbeleko* ritual is known as "*ukuqaba umntwana*" in Bomvanaland and involves the smearing of red ochre on the baby and its mother.

Q: Oh, it's a girl that came. So that's why you came here and did the rituals the same way they are done here?

M & K: Yes.

Waves are found at the sea. You see here, we came from across the Xhora River from the Mpame line.

Kokstad: Do you know of the C.V school? Or the hospital across the Xhora River?

Q: No, what is there?

M: Our father's site (*inxiswa*). Because he had three wives, one of his sites is there. He left one of his wives at Mpame. The other one beside Xhora River. And then he came her with his first wife.

J: So are there people there?

M: Yes, there are people there, and old people, and they are the ones who have all the knowledge. We are young.

Q: Is this place you are talking about Mpame?

M: No you turn at Madwaleni and then you go straight to the sea.

K: They call that place Sundwana. You can write that down.

J: Is this a *lali*?

M: Yes... There are old people there.

K: You'll find them at the sea fishing.

Q: So you say you came from a white woman?

M & K: Yes.

Q: So now how did it happen that you became Mlungus if it was from a white woman?

K: No, she was not alone. It's because she came here and spilled (*ukuchitha* - produced children). The man she was with, maybe was her brother. Or maybe she was his wife, we don't know.

M: But all these people there at Sundwana will tell you about this. They are very old; they know.

B2.3. Interview with Mquba Ketwana at Sundwana, Xhora on 22 June 2010.

M: I am Mquba. My father is Rhundansi. Rhundansi's father is Ketwana. Ketwana's father is Gaqelo. Gaqelo's father is Nogaya. Nogaya's father is Mbayela. Mbayela's father is Mbomboshe. Mbomboshe was borne by Bessie, a girl like you (points at Janet). A white girl like you. A girl coming from Lambasi.

J: Gquma, I know of her.

M: Yes, Gquma. Gquma was borne by Jekwa. And others, for example Bhayi and Ncenjana. They all came out at Lambasi and then they scattered. The girl, Gquma went to mBomvanaland, the Tshezi were given to her. This girl gave birth to men and girls and then they scattered. We came here, we have Gemfus, we have Nomrhotsho's, we have Nyekana's as you have mentioned. They all come from Nogaya. They are coming from different wives. Nogaya gave birth to Nomrhotsho, his first son of the first wife. And he gave birth to Gaqelo who gave birth to us here in this area, from *iqadi*, the third wife. From the second wife, he

gave birth to Dondi and Dondi's area is Bufumba. Gemfu came from Nomrhotsho. Nomrhotsho's mother died and then Gemfu's mother was taken (married). She (Gemfu's mother) brought up Nomrhotsho. We came from the third wife (of Nogaya). All of us, here in this house, we are the children of Nogaya. Some are there across the Xhora River. Some are at Hobeni. Some are at Bufumba. All of them come from Nogaya. All of them. Nogaya comes from Mbayela with his siblings. They are all scattered. As you go along the way doing your research like you do here, you'll get what I'm talking about. All of it to Mbayela. And it goes to Mbobhoshe, to Bessie, Gquma of Lambasi and it ends there.

Janet: I've heard about Jekwa before and I've been wanting to meet the people who come from him. Thank you.

Q: Do you perform rituals?

M: As we are, this white nation, we came and lived here among this black nation. We stayed here with it and we performed the rituals that were performed here. This is from here (pointing at *ngqithi*, ritual amputation of the distal phalanx of the little finger on the left-hand). It's not from Europe. We also circumcise. We lived among black people, we slaughtered goats with them, we did everything they did because we came here and when we became men, we took their girls and then we became this mix and performed the rituals that are performed by these people. We even do *ntonjane* (female puberty ritual). We do all the things that are done by Africans, black people to be exact. That's how we live. Like this man here (pointing at Colin Tiedt), this is the fourth year of him being here, he's living here with us. His children will perform these rituals, they will do *mbeleko*, they will do everything. I mean to say, we live with *abantu* (black people) and we do the things they do. If you were here in 2006, we had a big *mgidi* here, all of us here, even those from Hobeni and across the Xhora were here. We were gathered here. We were eating meat in the kraal. We were drinking *mqombothi*. Our girls were sitting right outside our kraal, near the entrance. We had white people, those from Bulungula, here, wearing *isitshuba* (traditional skirt made from sheepskin). We were working together with them. This man (Colin) was there. We are living among *abantu*.

J: Please will you *nqula* for us?

[See Appendix B3.3]

What sets us apart is that after the wreckage of the ship, these people came out and they were scattered. And then some were borne by men, for example the Baai's you were talking about. And we were borne by a woman. But we all come from Jekwa. All of us. What we know is that we came from a woman. In the old days there were many wars, people were moving all the time. This girl was given to the Tshezis and they went away with her. Then she was impregnated and no one asked who impregnated her because now she was with the Tshezis, so the child she was going to give birth to would be from that home.

B2.4. Interview with Vuthuza Sitwayi at Sundwana, Xhora on 22 June 2010.

Vuthuza: We are the Mlungus of Nogaya's house. These are two men, Nogaya was the firstborn. Madlo is the second one. [...]

This is Nogaya's house that you are seeing here, it is complete. They say we come from Lambasi on the mPondo side. We come from mPondoland. We broke, we were taken to Bangumhlaba (? chief) at Nqileni and they took Bangumhlaba across the Bulungula river at Mganu. We are complete here, we are of Nogaya's house. There is nothing else that we have, we are complete.

We came from Mpondoland and we came to build here. Even those that come from Gemfu's house, they come from here. They are our younger brothers. I am of the second house of Nogaya. (from the second wife). Gaqelo is *iqadi* (house of the third wife.) We are complete now, there is no other thing. Nogaya's house is complete.

Q: So you are here as Nogaya's house, you are complete as you say. What I want to know is, the way you are living, how do you perform your rituals, if you do? Do you do them the same as other clans and if you do, what are your reasons? If they are different, how are they different?

Vuthuza: I thank you. We, when we perform *mbeleko*, in the Xhosa ways a child is smeared with *mbola*, (red ochre) but we do not do that. That's the difference. We just cook for the baby. We don't smear the baby with *mbola*. With the Tshezi and other clans, the baby is smeared with *mbola* and they say they are changing the colour of the baby. Thank you.

Q: How do you perform *mbeleko* here?

Vuthuza: Well, we at first slaughter a goat for the child. And then after, we follow with a cow.

Q: When you slaughter it, what do you use, do you use a knife or a spear or something else?

Vuthuza: When we are about to catch it, while it is in the kraal, we say praises first, while we are carrying a spear. We say:

[See Appendix B3.7]

And then I say, "I am making this child with this (castrated goat). And then we enter the kraal. We catch it, we stab it with the spear.

Q: Thank you sir, but there is something that is not clear to me. That side, the mPondo side, they do not want the animal to cry when they are stabbing it because they say they are mLungus. So do you make it cry on this side?

Vuthuza: It is not suffocated, it is stabbed to cry. And then the mothers say "Camagu!" We cannot suffocate it because we are not stealing it, we are performing a ritual, it has to cry.

B2.5. Interview with Albert Skiti at Xhora Mouth, Xhora on 7 April 2011.

Q: Please tell us what you know about the history of the abeLungu clan.

A: Well us abeLungu, they say we come from overseas. Old people say it was 1820. When we came here we were travelling with a ship. It was three white people. They got off at Lambasi. The third one got back on the ship because he had forgotten something. Two were left, it was a man and a girl. The story goes that the kings from Dudumayo found them. At the Nyawuzas in the land of Mqanduli when you are going towards Coffee Bay. They took them and kept them. They stayed and stayed and then the male white person married a black girl. Then came us from that marriage. The girl was given a man and her children were called abeLungwana. That's what I know. They stayed and Ngcwanguba and they spread. It was Jekwa, Gquma, then

Somangxangashe. Then Yimatshe and Lufenu. Then came Nogaya, then Nogaya gave birth to Gemfu and Gaqelo. Then those people got old. Then we got a leader from the abeLungu clan, UGxoyiya. He's the eldest of the abeLungu that are here all the way to Hobeni. That's where my knowledge ends.

Q: Who were the first people, what were the names of the two people that were left behind?

A: I won't lie, I don't know whether it was Jekwa, because it is said that the first person was Jekwa. But when I think about it, I think it was Jekwa and I think his name was not really Jekwa, his name was Jack but because black people twist names, they called him Jekwa.

Q: What about the girl?

A: I won't lie. I haven't the slightest idea. I just heard that there were two and that the girl was given a man and I think it was that side because this Mlungwana clan is concentrated that side of Tsolo and Qumbu.

J: Do you know the names Buku, Mbali and Mado?

A: Yes, those names are of Nogaya's second house. Isn't it that you said you are coming from Ngubeanga's home (the chief)? These names are from there, they are the second house but because ancient people were not greedy they took the chieftaincy. Mbali took it. They are other abeLungu but we are one thing. The difference is that one man will come from the great house, another man will come from another house and so on. But Mbali came from the second house.

Q: Is Buku also from that side?

A: Buku? Buku? Is Buku also an Mlungu.

Q: Do you now know him?

A: No. Like I said, the firstborn here was Gxoyiya. He was borne by Nogaya, he's of the great house of Nogaya.

Q: Do you perform rituals here?

A: Because we grew up here, we do perform rituals but we do not cut our fingers, we do not do *mngqithi*. But we do slaughter. For example, in the case of where you have to cook for ancestors. I think back then they were called braais but because we are staying with black people now, we have changed.

Q: Do you do what is called *mbeleko* here?

A: No, we don't do that. (Asks wife): Do we do that here?

Ma ? : No.

A: What we do here when a child grows, we slaughter a beast for the child and then we say "siyamqaba" (we are smearing). It doesn't matter how old the child is, in some cases they even get married, but we slaughter a beast and we smear the child no matter how old he or she is. You combine children with a beast. But I've never heard of *mbeleko*.

Q: No, it's because I am Mpondomise, I speak the Mpondomise language. It's the same thing as smearing. Do you have anything in your rituals that makes you different from other clans?

A: No, we only differ when it comes to medicine, family medicine. When it comes to that, we gather in the great house of the abeLungu and we do that medicine thing. And we brew beer and we slaughter and we go to the sea to wash. Then we come back and drink beer and eat meat.

J: Please will you *nqula* for us?

[See Appendix B3.6]

I won't finish them all, let me stop there.

B2.6. Interview with Vuthuza Sitwayi at Xhora Mouth, Xhora on 8 April 2011.

V: What do you want this time?

Q: We are collecting views.

V: You see *abeLungu* come from two white men. We come from Nogaya. His younger brother was Madlo who was the grandfather of Nceba. Nceba is the chief from where you are coming from, Zwelitsa. He is the second house. This land is said to be Nogaya's land. History tells us that we come from Nogaya. We are of Nogaya. When you go to town and ask for a book, it will tell you exactly what I'm saying, it is Nogaya's land, we are the *abeLungu* of Nogaya. When we praise ourselves we say:

[See appendix B3.7]

Those are Nogaya's *abeLungu*. His younger brother was Madlo. He cries of:

[See appendix B3.7]

That is *isinqulo*. Madlo came after Nogaya and these are their praises. Do you see that they are not the same? The older brother was Nogaya. It's Mbayela. It's Gquma. Even when you check the book at Xhora, it will tell you exactly that.

Q: These two men are the ones that came out of the ship?

V: Yes.

You see we come from Pondoland at Lambasi. That's where we came out. At Lambasi. Even if we are chasing oxen we cry out "At Lambasi". When a woman is ululating, she shouts "At Lambasi, where we come from in Pondoland". During the times of war we went away and we came here. Nogaya met up with Tshezi and he helped Tshezi. It's Nogaya who bought land here. This is not the land of Tshezi. Even when you check the book at Xhora it will tell you that this is Nogaya's land, there is nothing to say that it is Tshezi's land. This is Nogaya's land. This whole thing has been buried. You see now when you are digging it up like this, the Tshezis will not like you. When you go to the town of Xhora you'll find a book there that says that this is Nogaya's land. During apartheid, the chiefs... This is Nogaya's land. Across there (Zwelitsha) there are children of the younger son of Nogaya. Nogaya was a chief. He made his younger brother reign. He gave him the land that you are coming from, Zwelitsha and he said "I am a hunter". This is Nogaya's land. That is his younger brother at Zwelitsha. It's two men, it's the younger brother who's reigning. We are coming from Lambasi in Pondoland.

J: Please clear things up for us regarding the birth order of the first men.

V: We wrote all this down at Sundwana, what do you want now? I thought Mquba helped you out. We spoke of this there, we finished it. This whole thing is written down, you wrote it.

MaMganu: He wants you to repeat it.

V: The first born was Gxoyiya. The second house of Nogaya is Sitwayi. The third house of Nogaya is Gaqelo at Sundwana. I am the second house of Zali. That's how it goes. We were at the third house of Nogaya when we were at Sundwana.

MaMganu: What about Madlo?

V: Well, that will need people from Zwelitsha.

MaMganu: Do you not know who Madlo gave birth to?

V: No, that will need people from Zwelitsha. At Zwelitsha they are the second house of Madlo. They take their problems to Mdaka, to Mphumanto (Ie: those are their ancestors). If we were all there it was going to be revealed. Nceba did not come to Sundwana, he was called but he didn't come. He's the one who is supposed to reveal Madlo's side, we just revealed our own side.

MaMganu: Who is Nogaya's son?

V: Gxoyiya.

MaMganu: Where does Ngomani fit in?

V: He is the second house of Nogaya and Gxoyiya is the first house of Nogaya. There at Sundwana that time when we met, we were the second house together with the third house. Even the first house was there. We were complete, all of us were there. The only people who were not there were the abeLungu who come from Madlo. All the houses of Nogaya were there. Nogaya's houses. And also that you met at Hobeni were not there, those who sent you to us. They are very young, that's why they sent you to us.

MaMganu: (asks Q). Are those at Hobeni coming from Gemfu?

Q: Yes.

V: Do you remember the man you were speaking to yesterday (Albert Skiti)?

Q: Yes.

V: That is the house of Gemfu.

Q: Yes, he said so himself.

V: From Gemfu comes Dladla.

Q: Also Dutyulwayo comes from Gemfu.

MaMganu: Who's Dutyulwayo?

V: That's Dlumcamo (eating urine). (All laugh).

This name of Dlumcamo is taken by this machine now.

B2.7. Interview with Patawula Nokeku at Nqileni, Xhora Mouth, Xhora on 7 April 2011

Q: Please tell us again what you were telling us earlier in the car?

P: I am going to tell you exactly as I did before. Us here in this land of Xhora, we came from across the Mthatha, that was Nogaya. He was with Gambushe. They reached a place called Tafalehashi. He was with a king. They wanted the land of Xhora across the Mbashe at the Tshawes. The king's horse got tired there, that's why it's called Tafalehashi. Nogaya left Gambushe there and walked across the Mbashe River. He got to the Tshawe land. He got to King Hintsas. He reported that he's with a king, King Gambushe. The king's horse got tired on the way at Tafalehashi. Hintsas said, "That land is okay, it is not old but the king can get that

land if I can get a beast that has colours that we are going to use to make the king's crown. Now you, you as they king's right hand man, you can make the first payment." Nogaya gave King Hintsa eight cows. By that he was buying this Xhora land, that's how Gambushe got this Xhora land. We, the Nogaya house, we built at Sundwana. There at Sundwana, Ngomani took a wife from the Dingata clan, from the lali of Xhora Mouth at Nqileni. Ngomane negotiated there at Sundwana and he had an ox called Isundu. I see that you are confused by this *isundu*. Do you see the river that is beneath the homestead where you are staying at Zwelitsha?

Q: Yes.

P: That river is Sundwana. Nogaya's ox was a Sundwana. The son of Nogaya, Ngomane, came to build here (Xhora Mouth). At Xhora Mouth, Nqileni. He was given land here by the home of his wife. We are here now in a lali called Xhora Mouth that is under Xhora. We are the abeLungu of Nogaya. That's how it is.

J: Please *nqula* for us?

P: At Sundwana we say:

[See Appendix B3.8]

We changed. Us who are at Xhora Mouth here, we changed. When we got here at Xhora Mouth, those of Nogaya married of those of Mbomboshe and those of Mbomboshe married those of Nogaya. And then their praise phrases differed. Us of Nogaya, we say:

[See Appendix B3.8]

Q: So what happened before you came here from overseas?

P: Well that's exactly what I do not know because people who have that type of knowledge are people who were beaten up at school (ie: are literate). But I hear that there was a shipwreck at Port St Johns and then we came out. We came from this woman with one breast.

Q: What was her name?

P: Well, I don't know but that woman was said to be a white woman. So that's how we got to be abeLungu. But I do not know the list of the old people.

Q: So do you have any difference in terms of ritual performance from the clans that you live with here?

P: We do not have any difference because we perform the same rituals. The Nyawuza's different because they are following Pondo ways because Nyawuzas are Pundos. Those that are here come from Pondoland. They do not circumcise in Pondoland but those that are here do circumcise. There is no difference with the Nyawuza that we live with here. Only those that are in Pondoland are different because they do not circumcise. We perform the same rituals.

Q: Please give me at least one example of a ritual that you perform?

P: For example, here in Xhora a boy is a boy. We slaughter a beast and we smear the boy. Then he grows. Oh, I'm leaving out something. A person is born. There is this thing that when we were born it was being performed, *ingqithi* (shows left hand with missing final joint). I don't know where the Nyawuzas perform the *ingqithi* ritual. (Asks Nyawuza) Do you have *ingqithi kwedini*?

Nyawuza: Well no, not at my homestead but it varies. Some do.

Patawula: *Ingqithi* is something that was being performed when we grew up. Secondly, the person is smeared with a beast but it varies according to homesteads because some

homesteads use a goat. But us abeLungu, we smear with a beast. When we are smearing children we start with a goat for each child and then we smear them all with one beast but before the beast it is a goat.

Q: At what age do you smear them with a goat?

P: From two years and older.

Q: When do they reach the stage of a beast?

P: When you see that your wife is still having children then you can take three of your children and smear them with a beast. By smearing the ones that already born, you have smeared even those that are still coming, you won't smear any child again. Then a child will grow. If it's a boy he will want to be a man. He will want to go to the mountain. When you are taking him to the mountain we perform a ritual called *umngcamo*. When he is at the mountain he will be made to eat *umthathi* (a tree). In *inthonto* (circumcision hut) all the *abakweta* (initiates) inside will be combined with one wether⁶. And then we say that we are making *umojiso* (ritual) for *abakweta*. Then after that a beast is slaughtered for them and that ritual is called *umnyatheliso* (stepping on). Beer is brewed. Nowadays people are not performing this ritual the correct way. Back then the wether was slaughtered at the circumcision hut but now it is slaughtered in the kraal of the homestead. After that a beast is slaughtered for them. Well now with this beast we say they (*abekwetha*) are stepping. That's all about circumcision. The girl, it is the same as the boy when you are smearing her. When she grows, *intonjane* ritual is performed for her. A sheep is slaughtered. That sheep is to take her inside the house (seclusion hut). After they have been taken in... (to the women) Help me out here because this is your business.

Women: *Izibande* (introductory ritual) is performed.

P: If the girls are three, each girl will have her own goat. After that, we perform what is called marriage. Not the marriage where a girl is going to another homestead but the one that means that a girl is now being secluded. So now it is called *intonjane*. If the girls are three, the beasts will be three. Each girl has her own beast. After that beer is brewed and then they are brought out of seclusion and then that is all about *ntonjane* ritual. Even with a man there is a ritual that is performed a year after he dies. People of the homestead are gathered and then a beast is slaughtered. They say (to the dead man in particular and the ancestors in general) that they are mourning the man with this beast. This beast is slaughtered in the morning. This beast must be eaten on that day, all of it. It has to be finished the same day.

Q: What if the people are unable to finish the meat, what do you do with the meat?

P: It is brought inside the house and then it is cooked again the following day and eaten. I mean to say, with these rituals, us abeLungu and other clans, for example, the Nyawuzas, we do them the same way, there is no difference.

⁶ Castrated goat.

Appendix B3. AbeLungu Jekwa *izingulo*

B3.1. Nqula of Lawrence Nyekana at Mlungweni, Hobeni on 8 June 2010

<i>Nkomo zika Yematshe</i>	Cattle of Yematshe
<i>Zika Mbayela</i>	Of Mbayela
<i>Zoo mkonto yimesi</i>	Of spear is a knife
???	???
<i>Zika Feni</i>	Of Feni
<i>Zika fenela emazweni</i>	Of Feni who went out into the world
<i>Aka nqanawa</i>	Of ship
<i>Zika nqanawa ka Noah</i>	Of Noah's ship

B3.2. Nqula of Mgqezengwana Quthwana at Ebelungweni, Xhora on 8 June 2010

<i>Tarhu nkomo zika Nogaya</i>	Look kindly on us cattle of Nogaya
<i>Zika Mbomboshe</i>	Of Mbomboshe
<i>Zoo mkhonto yimesi</i>	Of spear is a knife
<i>Zoo Nqulubhede</i>	Of Nqulubheda
<i>Zoo bafazi bathwal' iminqwazi</i>	Of women wear hats
<i>Zoo Mfazi obelenye</i>	Of a woman with one breast
<i>Nkomo zika Nogaya</i>	Cattle of Nogaya
<i>Umfazi obelelinye waphesheya kolwandle</i>	The woman with one breast from across the sea
<i>Zika Nogaya</i>	Of Nogaya
<i>Zika Mbomboshe</i>	Of Mbomboshe
<i>Zika mkhonto yimesi</i>	Of spear is a knife
<i>Zika Feni emazeni</i>	Of Feni at the waves

B3.3. Nqula of Mquba Ketwana at Sundwana, Xhora on 22 June 2010

<i>Nkomo zika Mbayela</i>	Cattle of Mbayela
<i>Zika Jekwa</i>	Of Jekwa
<i>Zike Yematshe</i>	Of Yematshe
<i>Zika Somangxangatshe</i>	Of Somangxangatshe
<i>Zika mkhonto yimesi</i>	Of spear is a knife
<i>Zika silanda yinaliti</i>	Of big safety pin is a needle
<i>Amadoda athwal'iminqwazi axel'abafazi</i>	Men wear hats like women
<i>NguQhina ka Qhonono</i>	Qhina of Qhonono
<i>Yintwan'encane yamaqhibelo engange ndotsh</i>	The small boy is last born
???	???
<i>Ngumfazi abele nye waphesheya ko lwandle</i>	A woman with one breast from across the sea

B3.4. Nqula of Pukazi Dozekile (MaMlungu) at Sundwana, Xhora on 23 June 2010

<i>Izihlobo zika Mbayela</i>	Friends of Mbayela
<i>Zika Jekwa</i>	Of Jekwa
<i>Zika Yematshe</i>	Of Yematshe
<i>Zika Mkhondwane</i>	Of Mkhondwane
<i>Zika Manxangashe</i>	Of Manxangashe
<i>Zika Madiba ka Chelo</i>	Of Madiba of Chelo
???	???
<i>Bafazi thwalani iminqwazi m'xel'amadoda</i>	Women wear hats like men

<i>Elwandle</i>	The sea
<i>Pesheya ko lwandle</i>	Across the sea
<i>Enqanaweni</i>	In a ship
<i>Siphuma enqanaweni</i>	We come out of the ship

B3.5. Nqula of Monika Venevene (MaMlungu) at Sundwana, Xhora on 23 June 2010

<i>Nkomo zika Mbayela</i>	Cattle of Mbayela
<i>Zika Mbomboshe</i>	Of Mbomboshe
<i>???</i>	???
<i>Zo mfazi obele nye waphuzu komlambo</i>	Of a woman with one breast at the river's edge
<i>Pesheya kwe Ntlonyane</i>	Across Ntlonyane
<i>Elwandle!</i>	The sea!

B3.6. Ngqula of Albert Skiti at Xhora Mouth, Xhora on 7 April 2011

<i>Tarhu nkomo zaseLambasi</i>	Have mercy on us cattle from Lambasi
<i>Zika Gquma</i>	Of Gquma
<i>Zika Jekwa</i>	Of Jekwa
<i>Zika Yimatshe</i>	Of Yimatshe
<i>Zika Lufenu</i>	Of Lufenu
<i>Zika bafazi thwalani iminqwazi</i>	Of women wear hats
<i>Zika Ngesi</i>	Of English
<i>Zika Ngesi eliyindoda</i>	Of an Englishman

B3.7. Ngqula of Vuthuza Sitwayi at Xhora Mouth, Xhora on 8 April 2011

Nqula of abeLungu Jekwa:

<i>Sikhala ngenkomo zika Mbayela</i>	We cry of the cattle of Mbayela
<i>Zika Gquma</i>	Of Gquma
<i>Zika Somangxangashe</i>	Of Somangxangashe
<i>Zento ka Betshane</i>	Of thing of Betshane
<i>Zoo Gxalaba mkhombhe</i>	Of pointing shoulder
<i>Zoo dad'ezibukweni</i>	Of swimming in a river
<i>Zika Mpalu</i>	Of Mpalu
<i>Zika tshayel'emqheni</i>	Of smoking at Mqheni
<i>Ubunene buka Nomrhotso</i>	Of second house of Nomrhotso

Nqula of abeLungu Hatu:

<i>Nkomo zika Matade</i>	Cattle of Matade
<i>Zika Jekwa</i>	Of Jekwa
<i>Zika Mbombotshe</i>	Of Mbombotshe
<i>Zika mkhonto yimesi</i>	Of spear is a knife
<i>Zika slanda yinaliti</i>	Of blanket pin is a needle
<i>Limani nonke nibenokutya, ongenakutya kukufa kwakhe</i>	Grow crops, all of you, so that you have food, those who don't have food die

B3.8. Nqula of Patawula Nokeku at Zwelitsha, Xhora on April 2011.

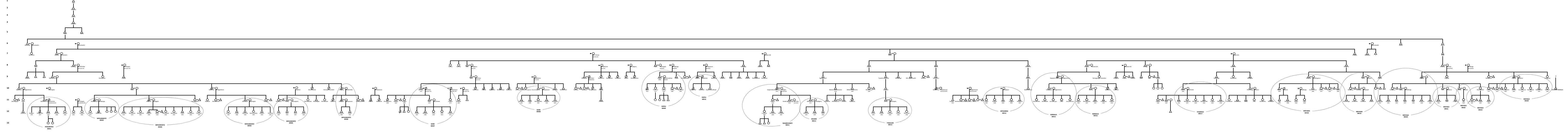
Nqula of 'Sundwana' abeLungu (abeLungu Jekwa):

<i>Nkomo zika Mbomboshe</i>	Cattle of Mbomboshe
<i>Zika Yimashe</i>	Of Yimashe
<i>Zika Mbayela</i>	Of Mbayela
<i>Zika manyoba ngezakhe</i>	Of bribe with your own things
<i>Zoo bafazi thwalani iminqwazi nixel'amadoda</i>	Of women who wear hats like men
<i>Zika Mbomboshe</i>	Of Mbomboshe

Nqula of 'Xhora Mouth' abeLungu (abeLungu Hatu):

<i>Nkomo zika Mbayela</i>	Cattle of Mbayela
<i>Zika Phenya</i>	Of Phenya
<i>Zika Gquma</i>	Of Gquma
<i>Zika Mangxangashe</i>	Of Mangxangashe
<i>Zika Manyoba ngezakhe</i>	Of bribe with your own things
<i>Zika Nontombi</i>	Of Nontombi
<i>Zika nontomb'andaliwa yiyo, ndaliwa ngu Natshi</i>	Of a girl who does not break up with me, instead of her breaking up with me its Natshi who will break up with me
<i>Zika umfazi onebele elinye waphetsheya kolwandle</i>	Of a woman with one breast from overseas

Appendix C: abeLungu Hatu



Appendix C2. Transcriptions of abeLungu Hatu interviews

C2.1. Interview with Tikana Mnyama and Chief Nceba Ngubechanti at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 8 July 2010

Q: Please tell us where the Mlungus came from.

T: Well, we do not really know but from what we hear, there was a shipwreck here at the sea. That's how Mlungus came to be. They are all along the coast. They are not in the interior. It is said that a ship wrecked for them to come to be here. I don't know who came out of that ship and built here. I don't know. Well, old aged people, people from those days, were afraid of a white person. They were not even speaking to a white person. This thing of interacting with white people is new. Before, a white person was scary. A white person never stayed in the same place with a black person, they never even held hands.

Q: Were they afraid of each other?

T: No, it was a white person who didn't want to hold hands with a black person, he called him "kaffir." When we asked what "kaffir" meant, they said, "it is a dog." (All laugh) From what I have heard, there was a shipwreck. This ship was coming from I'm not sure between Holland or Britain, but overseas. This ship, according to history wrecked at a place called Lambasi. Lambasi is at Nqeleni. That's where it wrecked. Now history is telling us that in that shipwreck, a girl was left behind. The girl was named Bessie. This girl was taken to the Komkhulu (Great Place / Chief's house) of that side. History goes on to tell us that this girl got married there in that Komkhulu, but I'm not sure really which Komkhulu it really was but it appears that she got married there. Now, that's how our thing, us Mlungus, started. You see, the old people who would be able to tell you exactly how it happened, are no longer with us, but that's how we became, from that shipwreck. It was from that ship that was carrying white people that wrecked there at Lambasi. Even now when we say praises, we say praises according to our houses...

J: Please say your praises, Father.

[See Appendix C3.1]

Nceba: You see, we call the place where the ship wrecked. Now that's where our history comes from. (Lambasi.) Now, it is said that old people (from back then) were travelling on foot. Other Mlungus were left there at Nqeleni. Ja, as you hear, they say Mamolweni, those are Mlungus there. Then others came this side, walking this side. On the way they were leaving some of them behind. There were no cars then. Other Mlungus are across that river (Xhora). That area there, all the way down to Nqileni, are Mlungus. They were left there. Then our great grandfather's crossed the river and came this side, came to build here where we are today. Now here, this side, we have a chieftainship. I don't know whether I can mention that.

Q: Yes, you can.

N: This chieftainship started with my great grandfather, Mbali. Then after Mbali died, Sidumo reigned. Sidumo died and Mtshazi reined and then Mtshazi's chieftainship name is Ngubechanti. Ngubechanti died when his time came and Bavumile reigned but he was temporary. He was holding for my father. Then Bavumile died. Then Jonginamba reigned. That's my father; Maqhekeza was his birth name. My father had died a long time ago. After he

died, Ngubelanga reigned, which is me who is Nceba by birth name. So, we have a chieftainship that is in that order. The Mlungus here have a chieftainship because of this house, because of Mbali's house. Mlungus reign here.

So I'm trying to say our history comes from overseas. So we are all along this coast, as this man (Tikana) was saying. You will never see an Mlungu that is not near the sea, all the way to Port St Johns. So that's how our history goes.

Q: So you are living among these people here who have their own ways of doing things and you are Mlungus here, with mixed blood. Even you when you were born, you were born here in this land of indigenous people who have their ways of doing things. How do you as Mlungus differ from these people in terms of rituals?

N: Because we just mixed with these people, we adopted the rituals that are performed in this land. For example, circumcision is the same. When you speak of *ntonjane*, we do perform *ntonjane*, it is the same. If you are talking about burial, it is the same, we bury the same way. So our culture was just the same from the start. We have nothing that differentiates us from other people. But that doesn't mean we are them. We are a different *sizwe* (nation) that stands on its own. We were not friends with these people, but we became friends through intermarriage. But when it comes to tradition and rituals, our things are the same. We never differed from the start. But there is a man from another house named Nogaya but he was an Mlungu (clan) himself. That man, history is telling us that he was a trader. He was trading skins and *amatantyisi* (?? seeds). He was going all around trading. Even he himself was coming from Pondoland. He was walking. He was going all around, all the way to Nqabarha near King Hintsa. Nqagarha was where he ended. From what I see, those things that he was trading are the things that were making us different from other people. Because when I think about it, those skins and *amatantyisi* were the things that we were supposed to be wearing because those were things that were used by Nogaya. So I'm sure that even though he was trading them, he was wearing them because during those times, there were no clothes, people were wearing skins. Maybe he himself was wearing skins. That's the thing that would set us apart from other clans maybe.

Q: If I hear you correctly, you are saying it is a woman called Bessie that you come from. If you look at the black nation, a clan name is followed through the male line. So what I want to know is how did you become Mlungus because this woman married a black man who had his own clan name. For example, if we say this woman was married to a Tshomane, that would mean her children would be Tshomane. So now, I'm confused when it comes to this. What I want to know is how it happened that you call yourselves Mlungus and not whichever clan she married into. How did it happen?

N: You see, my man, like I said, this thing of not having old people around who will tell you exactly what happened. I even want to accompany you when you are going up and take you to a very old man who is not our clan though, that knows exactly what happened. Because if you will talk about Jekwa, there are other Mlungus called Jekwa. If you are going to ask about their history, they were white, they were white, white, white, they looked like her (Janet). If you talk about, who's Jekwa's younger brother, I can't remember but you will find it in the books, it is written, you will find they were white, straight?

Q: Do you mean Mbomboshe?

N: Maybe. You will find that those were white people, white, white, white people. So that is our nation, those were our grandfathers. Even me as a young person, I am confused about how this happened, how we became Mlungus whereas we say that we came from a woman. With us, the only person that shined was Bessie. But if you talk about other Mlungus, you'll find that when these people came, they were white, they were not black. But it confuses me now that we came from a female then we were called Mlungus, I am confused when it comes to that. But we are truly Mlungus. You see, our blood is mixed. We are Mlungus but we differ according to houses. For instance, I take Mbali, others take Jekwa, others take Nogaya, etc. But we are one people, people are calling themselves according to their houses.

Q: Yes, I know what you mean because we have a genealogy here which shows the different houses that you are talking about.

N: Now here, another thing that has to be shown is thing that I'm talking about, this case of my homestead, of having a chieftainship. I don't know how you will do it but it has to appear. I wish that it has its own portion, that the Mlungus have this house that has a chieftainship.

Q: Yes, I understand, I will tell her. In this genealogy of ours, we have the Mlungu houses, we would like to see how you fit in here.

N: (Asks for *The Sunburnt Queen* to be fetched)

Q: We would like you tell us about how you perform your rituals, how you slaughter and so on.

N: Well, if we are going to slaughter, if we are going to perform a ritual, maybe we are going to slaughter a beast, men of this homestead... The beast is among others inside the kraal... The men of this homestead stand at the entrance (*emaxhantini*) in front of the kraal. People are here in front of the kraal, nephews, mothers, daughters, sons are in front of the kraal. Even friends are there. Then the father of the homestead tells the people what ritual is going to be performed. If maybe there was someone who dreamt of a great ancestor, he will say that somebody or he himself dreamt of such-and-such a person, saying whatever, so now I am doing whatever he has said. As he is telling all this, there will be a person among the people who will be constantly shouting saying "Hamba, Danke" (Go on, Thank-you) because lali people make many pauses when they speak. That time he is telling the people why he has called them, what is going to happen. After all is clear, then he says praises. By doing that he is calling the masses, he's calling old people, people who are no longer with us, those who are beneath, they must come closer, they must be near when this ritual is being performed, their spirits must be here. When he's done praising, he is carrying spears. When we are saying "Cattle of Gquma," it is because this mother came out of the sea and was taken to *Komkhulu* and was given a Xhosa name. She was called Gquma because she came out of the sea, the sea is a place where there is a lot of noise. He will say praises, facing the kraal. And then he will say that this beast is this kind and this colour, this beast that we are going to perform a ritual with. *Abafana* must go in and grab the beast and throw it down. After that, (removes two spears from the roof of the hut) these are the things he stands in front of the kraal holding. These things were present even before; our great grandfathers had these things. After the beast is held and thrown down, it is stabbed by the spear in the belly so that it will cry. After it

has cried, after it has said “Bhuuuuuu!” the ritual then has been successful. Then women will ululate, and then after that, something called *umxhelo* is taken out (spinal vein). And then it is skinned. And then we eat something called *umshwamo* (piece of meat taken from right front leg). It is eaten by the homestead. This piece of meat is eaten before anybody eats anything. It is braaied.⁷ Then thereafter, everyone else is allowed to eat. So it is like that.

C2.2. Interview with Nomqho Same at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011

N: We are the abeLungu. The first man was Hatu. Hatu gave birth to Yimatshe. Yimatshe gave birth to Lufenu. That’s how it goes. Those were the first people to be here. The abeLungu that are at Ngqeleni, nobody knew them, they just saw them there. Their ship had sunk, nobody knows where, and they came out of the sea and said they had come from overseas. When they came out, there were two of them.

Ndindi: Who were these two?

N: Hatu. Hatu was with a girl and she gave birth to the Nogaya lot, they are also the abeLungu. Hatu took a wife and gave birth to his own children. He came with this girl. This girl also fell in love here and gave birth to the Nogaya’s.

J: What was the girl’s name?

N: Her name was Bessie.

J: What’s her Xhosa name?

N: ???

J: Is it Gquma ?

N: ???Bessie was born by this girl.

Q: What is the name of this girl?

N: ???

Ndidi: Carry on if you can’t remember.

N: The first person was Hatu like I have said. It is said that Yimatshe was the first born to this man (Hatu). ...Yimatshe is of Lufenu.

Ndidi: Where does Lufenu fit in?

N: Lufenu was borne by Mbombo.

Ndidi: Who gave birth to Mbombo?

N: Tsholo.

Q: Who gave birth to Tsholo?

N: Tsholo was borne by Yimatshe.

Ndindi: Oow Old man, you saying it’s Hatu, Yimatshe, Lufenu, Gawuna wogubu.....

N: That’s Mbombo.

Ndidi: Who is face that does not have crumbs, that does not have dirt?

⁷ Barbecued.

N: That's Mbombo

Ndidi: Who is sprinkling of yellow? (*tshiza ngobhelu*)

N: Yimatshe.

Ndidi: Who gave birth to Yimatshe? (To Alfred): You see, face that does not have crumbs, that does not have dirt and sprinkling of yellow are one person.

N: Those are praise phrases, the man is praising himself. The person who had the most children was Tsholo.

Ndidi: Who gave birth to Tsholo?

N: Mngqithi.

Ndidi: Who gave birth to Mngqithi?

N: Yimatshe. Yimatshe was borne by Hatu.

Q: Please list them in order from Hatu until your generation?

N: When you go to Pondoland you will find that the abeLungu are not known, only the Nyawuzas are found there, but there are also abeLungu there. When you get there you are asked where you are from. The abeLungu that side point this side. When you cross the Ntlonyana River there are no abeLungu there, no one ever went that side. When you go that side no one knows an Mlungu, you are asked what is an Mlungu? We say it is Hatu of Yimatshi. That's where an Mlungu begins. Then came Mngqithi then Tsholo. It is Tsholo that had a lot of children. His eldest son is Mbombo. Mbombo gave birth to Ncalelo. Ncalelo's younger brother is Mbali. After Mbali comes Khepeyi. Those are of Mbombo. Then those of Mngqithi are Tsholo and Mpulu ... No, no, Mpulu is Tsholo's last born.

Ndidi: Who gave birth to Zinto?

N: He is Ncalelo's eldest son.

Q: Please list these people starting from Mngqithi and his children. The thing is, I want you to get to Madlo. I want to know where he fits in. The problem is that I want you to count until you come to Madlo so that I can see where Madlo comes from.

N: Madlo was borne by Tsholo. Mngqithi was the father of Madlo.

Q: Do you know about a person called Sidumo?

N: He was borne by Mbali. This is the group that was borne by Mbombo. Together with the ones from beyond the Xhora River, Nopili, Buthongo. They are also from here, they are the young ones. Nopili comes after Doki. This is Ncalelo's group. Doki is of Ncalelo's second house.

J: Is Mbombo a different person from Mbomboshe?

N: It's the same person.

[See *isinqulo* in Appendix C3.3]

Ndidi: Who is face that does not have crumbs, that does not have rubbish?

N: Khepeyi, the lastborn of Mbombo.

Q: That is all Khepeyi?

N: Yes.

Q: Are there any other phrases in your *nqula* that you can tell us who they refer to?

N: These people were being praised, you to begin with his name. When this lali grew the great person was Tsholo. He is the one that reined when they started to build here; he was with

them when they came from the sea. He is of Mngqithi. We never saw those men, we only hear about them in the praise phrases when they are being praised here at home. The abeLungu from across there (chief Ngubelanga's section), there at the Khobe abeLungu, are said to be coming from Madlo. That is the house of Tsholo. Those of Nogaya are illegitimate. This girl who was with Hatu fell in love and gave birth to men outside marriage.

Q: Can you please list these men she gave birth to.

Ndidi & MaTshawe: List the descendants of the woman who was with Hatu.

N: Nogaya was born by this girl and he stayed at home. When he grew his children called themselves by his name. Madlo is the brother of Mbombo.

MaTshawe: So you don't know who Nogaya gave birth to?

N: They are many.

MaTshawe: Who is the first?

Ndidi: Tell us just one, the visitors need them.

N: Gaqelo.

Ndidi: Who comes after Gaqelo? Is it Bhomboloza?

N: Bhomboloza? Bhomboloza is young.

Ndidi: Who comes after Gaqelo?

N: ??? (Thinking)

Ndidi: What about Mbethe? Who is his father? He seems to be great among the abeLungu.

N: Mbethe is of Venevene.

Ndidi: Who gave birth to Venevene?

N: Gaqelo.

Q: We have been to Sundwana and we know their Birth order; we know who gave birth to Venevene, Gaqelo and others, we have them written down. What we want to know is the birth order of Tsholo, Madlo, and others and how they link to those at Sundwana. We want to combine this whole thing because you all abeLungu.

N: Ok, no man married. It is this girl that fell in love that gave birth to the people that side (Sundwana). No man claimed her children. She made herself a man. She fell in love and gave birth. No man took her as a wife.

Q: Ok, if I'm hearing you correctly you are saying two people came out of the ship, a man and a girl. The man took a wife and gave birth to you here. The girl did not marry but fell in love and gave birth to those at Sundwana, meaning that you come from the man (Hatu) and those at Sundwana come from the girl.

N: Mhh.

Q: I hear you.

J: I hear you too.

Q: Do you perform rituals here.

N: Very much.

Q: Please give me an example of how you do them.

N: When someone is troubling you with their problems and the *sangoma* says you should make beer so the old people can drink. Sometimes when someone comes from Joberg they make beer here at home. Sometimes they slaughter a beast because there's this person who's

troubling them. And then they call people from the other houses. They also call other men who come and find them there because there were a few of them when they first came but they are growing now. UHatu is growing. Nogaya is also growing. Nogaya, they do their own thing because now they have grown men. They call themselves Nogaya but they also call themselves Mlungu which is Hatu. The rituals they came with and the circumcising of boys and building circumcision lodges (*amabhoma*) and they make beer and they get together. Those ones over there (Nogaya's people) just do their own thing, they don't call us and we don't call them. The people appeared bit by bit and they are from Mbombo. This person joined them with the Nogaya family while he is from Madlo.

Q: When you slaughter a beast, how do you go about it?

N: We stab it in the stomach first so that it can cry. We stab it with a spear. You stab it just above the penis. There is a spot where the hair ends, that's where we stab. When the spear has cut through, a person will put his hand inside the beast and grab a vein called *umxhelo* and the beast dies. A beast that is slaughtered just because people want to eat meat is stabbed in the neck. The one that they stab in the stomach is for a ritual.

Q: Is there a ritual where you slaughter a goat?

N: A lot.

Q: Which ones?

N: When someone has a pain that's troubling him, he has to get a goat, a ram or a ewe. They will stab it the same way as the beast, they also stab it so that it cries and then when it cries they say their praises (*ukunqula*).

MaTshawe: The question father is which rituals do you do with goats, why do you slaughter a goat for a baby for example or for a boy's circumcision?

N: When you slaughter for a baby, we say, "we are smearing" (*siyamqaba*). When you are smearing children you slaughter a beast. If you slaughter a goat you will have to slaughter another goat again. If you slaughter a goat, you slaughter one for every child as they come, but if you slaughter a beast you slaughter one for all of them.

Q: So anything that is slaughtered for a ritual, they stab it so that it cries, whether it's a beast or a goat.

N: Yes.

MaTshawe: Who stabs the beast?

N: *Intlabi* (family ritual slaughterer).

Q: Let's say for example you are smearing a child with a goat or a beast, are there things that will be done to the child or some clothes that the baby will have to wear?

N: No the baby does not wear anything when they are not being called to train as a *sangoma* (*thwasi*). The only thing that will be done to the baby, the mother will smear the child with *umdiki* (*mbola*, red ochre). They smear the face.

Q: What about the mother?

N: She will also be smeared, like the child. The grandmother will smear the mother of the child but the mother has smeared her child.

Q: Is there anything they are given to eat, the baby and the mother?

N: There is nothing they are given to eat except for the meat. From the meat has been slaughtered, a piece of meat is cut from the right front foreleg.

Q: Does it have a name?

Ndidi: *Umtshwamo*.

N: *Umtshwamo*. It is called *uzwembezi*. It is cut and made *umbengo* (a piece of meat made to be like a rope) and put on the fire to braai. The child is given to eat with the mother together with the children of the homestead.

MaTshawe: What about the girls who will be helping them to eat the meat, will they all have been smeared or will they eat it even if they haven't been smeared?

N: Yes, they eat.

Ndidi: After the child who is being smeared has taken a piece, then all the children take, smeared or not.

Alfred: Smeared or not, Nobonke (MaTshawe).

MaTshawe: Oo it is a Mlungu way.

Alfred: The one that is being smeared takes first then the rest follows.

Q: Do you put salt when cooking *umtshawamo*?

N: No they don't put salt, they eat it without salt. They put salt in the meat that will be eaten by everyone.

Q: So the rest of the meat will only be eaten by the crowd after the children have finished eating *umtshwamo*?

N: Yes.

MaTshawe: These two (to Ndidi and Alfred). Can you tell about the rituals because UDada is confusing them.

Ndidi: Where do I start?

Q: At the beginning.

Ndidi: We smear a child with a goat. We smear only one child with a goat.

Q: At what age do you smear a child?

Ndidi: From three years and above. You can only smear one child per goat. Secondly, you can combine you children, two or three of them, or four with a beast, we smear them. And then you will be done with smearing. Let's say now, you child is a boy, he's going to circumcision school. He will need the *umngcamo* ritual that is done with a goat. Even with this goat, *umtshwamo* is taken out, the same way (as when you smear) and we say that the person who is being circumcised is ritually tasting (*uyatshwama*). The children of his homestead will be called. It doesn't matter whether the child is circumcised or not, if that child is of the homestead they will help the one who is being circumcised to eat this *umtshwamo*, they will eat it finished. And then after that, the rest of the people start eating the meat. In the *ithontho* (circumcision hut), the *umojiso* ritual is performed with a goat and then again *umtshwamo* is cut out and then it is eaten the same way. After that *uyanyatheliswa* (stepping on) ritual is performed with a beast. *Umtshwamo* will be cut out the same way. *Umtshwamo* is taken out from the right foreleg. If my boy is being circumcised and other families decide to join in with their boys. If I perform the *umnyatheliso* ritual with my beast, it will mean that I have done it for them all.

Nomqho: The other boys when they came they came carrying their goat skins.

Alfred: Meaning that as you are circumcising your boy, other clans will come with their boys, for example a boy from Tshutsha will come and plead for a space carrying his own goat skin. The goat skins show that their own *umngcamo* ritual was performed where. This will mean that they have eaten their *umtshwamo* where they came from. They bring the goat skins with them, together with the goat head.

Ndidi: They are coming here to be *abakhwetha* of this homestead. Even *umojiso* ritual will be performed with a goat of this homestead. Even *umnyatheliso* ritual will be performed with a beast from this homestead that has never shown any problem up to this day. But if someone wants to perform his own *umnyatheliso* ritual he is free to do so.

Nomqho: He can even bring his beast here and slaughter it here in this homestead.

Ndidi: Even the girl rituals start with smearing, the same way we have said. And then before marriage, *ntonjane* ritual is performed for the girls. When a girl is *ntonjane*, there is a ritual called *izibande* that is performed with a goat. But if you are wealthy enough and you want to have enough meat to feed people, you'll add a sheep and pigs.

Nomqho: You are doing that for us to eat.

Ndidi: It doesn't matter how many girls there are, each girl will have her own goat.

Q: You mean to say that if there are ten girls there will be ten goats?

Ndidi: Yes. It's the same as *umngcamo* for the boys. The ritual for girls is that *umtshwamo* that is cut out and eaten by girls the same way as we said before. It doesn't matter if the ritual has been performed for the girl or not if she is of the homestead she will eat the *umtshwamo* together with the *ikhankhatha* (woman who looks after female initiates). Now, it is possible to take *ikhankhatha* from another clan but when she is here she can eat *umtshwamo*, together with the girls of the homestead. What is important that is kept safe by the *inkankhatha*, is the gall bladder of the goat that was slaughtered for the *izibande* ritual. It is hung above the girl.

Nomqho: When they wash they will wash with that bile.

Ndidi: Then comes marriage. Even with *umtshato* (*ntonjane* marriage), if the girls are ten the beasts will also be ten because each girl must have her own beast. There's no other meat that is eaten during that time; only the meat of these beasts and then there is beer. Then comes *umgidi* (celebration). After that comes the chasing of oxen. When the oxen are being chased the old men will be saying praises and the women will uncover their heads. The owner of the ox that gets into the kraal first will be standing at the gate saying his praises. He is praising that beast that just got in. And then the second one that comes next, the owner will do likewise. Each old man will say his own praises because when the oxen are being chased they are being chased by the whole lali many clans are there.

Q: This chasing of oxen, does it mean literally chasing the cattle or what?

Ndidi: Yes. The beasts are taken. Beasts of the whole lali are taken. Each and every homestead that has cattle, oxen are taken there. If for example I have three oxen that are going to be chased and you have two and this man (Alfred) has four and so on. Those oxen will be taken a considerable distance away from the homestead. They will be brought back being chased by somebody riding a gelding. Boys will be running in front of the oxen.

Alfred: These oxen are trained before this. If for example I am running there I will train them first I will take them some distance away and chase them to this homestead until they are used to being chased before the actual chasing. Each and every man must train his own oxen. After training them he must take them to the spot that has been chosen. Then when they are coming back from the spot there will be many of them and we will be looking for number one. There has to be number one. Old men who can no longer walk will be standing and watching for number one. They will be carrying their spears.

Q: Is this still the *ntonjane* ritual?

Alfred and Ndidi: Yes.

Nomqho: It doesn't matter whether the girl (*ntonjane* initiate) is married or not because sometimes the girls are married with children.

MaTshawe: The first person to *nqula* is the owner of the cattle that arrive first?

Nomqho: The first person to *nqula* is the owner of the homestead. It is the father of the girls. It doesn't matter whether the owner of the homestead has no oxen running, sometimes if he has it doesn't matter whether his oxen came last but he will *nqula* first. Then the owner of the ox that came first will *nqula*. After the old men have said praises, they go inside the kraal and the women come closer and sing songs called *amacilo* (ritual songs). After *amacilo* comes *umngqungqo* (ritual songs accompanied by ritual dance). After that they go to stand in front of the door of the hut where the girls are. The amakhankatha (one per girl) will curtain the door with a blanket. It is custom that the *ntonjane* must not be seen by *oomama* (married women with grown up children).

Q: So you say that *umngqungqo* are songs?

Ndidi: Yes.

MaTshawe: We start by doing some celebratory fun songs (*izidlalo*) and then we go to *umngqungqo*. *Izidlalo* are just songs to make us happy and to pass time. Songs of *umngqungqo* are serious songs.

Nomqho: It was done by *amagqirha* before.

Ndidi: They are just making themselves happy by *izidlalo* and then go on to the serious songs of *umngqungqo*. They will be going to stand in front of every house in the homestead to sing *umngqungqo*. The amakhankatha have to run in front and curtain each and every door with a blanket. After that they will go and sit down. Meat and beer is served.

Ndidi: Well now, let's come to a case where maybe someone has dreamt something. Maybe you dreamt that you have to cook for your father or mother. In that case you will slaughter whatever you have to slaughter. That ritual only needs the people of the homestead, it does not need any people from other clans. If the ritual is done during the day, the great men of the lali are called.

Q: At what time do you perform your rituals here?

Ndidi: If for example the ritual is being performed because of a dream, it will be performed after twelve. Then something like *izila* (mourning / *ukubuyisa*) is performed in the morning at about ten am. Something like *izila* is not a ritual but a custom. Rituals are performed during the day (after twelve) but if it's a custom it is performed in the morning.

Q: What about smearing?

Ndidi: Smearing is a ritual, it will be performed during the day. When doing this (a ritual), two men will stand there (near the kraal). Another one will keep people quiet and another one will speak about what is happening.

Nomqho: Do you not know any of what we are talking about as you are Mpondomise?

Q: There are some things that I know but most of the things I hear here are different.

Ndidi: Now, when you are talking about a ritual, you must face your kinsmen and tell them everything about what you are doing, why you are doing it, the colour of the animal you are using and if you are doing the ritual for someone you call that person by their first name no matter what their age. And then you turn around and face the crowd and do the same thing but now when you are facing the crowd you must first say praises. After that the animal will be seized. It doesn't matter how rancorous the animal was, after you have spoken to the ancestors, it will be soft. I think that is enough.

C2.3. Interview with Hobovu Nopili at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2010

Q: Please will you tell us what you know about your history.

H: According to what I know a ship wrecked. It was coming from... It was going to Durban.

Alfred: It was coming from Cape Town side, going towards Durban.

H: So now it was sinking. A girl came out. The ship was spitting them out. It was going along the coast because the abeLungu clan is found along the coast. This girl came and stayed here, like this one (pointing at Janet). She stayed here and she married a black person. That black person impregnated her and then this black person said, "The clan name of my children is abeLungu". This ship went along the coast spitting people out until it got to Pondoland, to a river named... Umzimvubu. Now, the grandmother of my grandmother saw this land and decided to build on it. They gave birth to many children. You see, back then people were taking wives, as many wives as they liked. Now their children have changed complexion, they are black now. So now it was said that a person who discovered this land is this one... meaning there at Zwelivumile's house. Now as you know, people grow up, one dies, one is born, one does his own thing. And then it was said that this house is the second house of Zwelivumile's house. My grandmother came from Zwelivumile's house to build her own house here. And then when she died, I was born. And so here I am. That's that I know as you see me here. What I do here is when I see that it's not straight; I go back to Zwelivumile's house where I came from. That's where I end.

Q: Do you know the names of the people that were spat out by the ship?

H: No, I do not know.

Q: But you know that a woman came out?

H: A woman came out there.

Q: Did a man come out?

H: No. A man came out at Ntsimbakazi.

Q: You are saying a woman came out here and a man came out at Ntsimbakazi? Does this mean that you are the children of a girl⁸?

H: I will say that because it is said that a woman came out here and a man came out at Ntsimbakazi and she is the one that germinated all the abeLungu here.

Q: Do you know her name?

H: No, I wouldn't know her name because this whole thing doesn't come to us with names. Names are only known by the first people, the people that experienced it. Even the grandmother of my grandmother, her name is not known.

Q: So do you perform rituals here.

H: Yes.

Q: How?

H:

Q: Please make an example of any ritual you perform here.

Alfred: He's asking him to tell you about when you have a child here, when you smear the child, how do you do it? Or for example, when you perform the *ntonjane* ritual for your daughter, how do you do it? He's asking something like that.

H: No... We do perform rituals. For example, say I have a daughter. Now I want to make it a human being. What we use is a spear. You stand at the kraal opening and you speak and you say, with this goat I am smearing this girl and you say if it's black or white or red. After that you perform an *ntonjane* ritual for the child. You start with a goat outside. You speak, you say, "today I performing *izibande* (ritual sacrifice) for this girl with this goat", and you say its colour. If you are wealthy you can perform it with a beast. I will end there, so ask another one.

Q: So when you are killing this goat, how do you do it?

H: When I take the spirit out of the goat, I first stab it slightly in its stomach with a spear and then the goat will cry out, "Baaaaaaahh". And then the women outside will ululate and say "It is successful". And then we tell a boy to come with a basin. We slit its throat and collect its blood in the basin. Then we take the blood and put it at the kraal entrance and then the goat is skinned. Then the child will eat first.

Q: What does the child eat?

H: *Ntsonyama*.

Q: What is *ntsonyama*?

H: The meat from the front right leg.

Q: What about the mother of the child, what does she eat?

H: She eats together with her child. Both of them have been smeared with red ochre as the name of the ritual suggests. They have to eat together with the children of the homestead.

Q: When they are eating this meat, are they already smeared with the red ochre or not?

⁸ le illegitimate.

H: Yes, they have already been smeared. The first thing is the smearing.

Alfred: Well, the smearing is done during the time when the family is gathered, talking about the ritual. They are smeared in the morning of the day of the ritual. The ritual is done in the evening. We first speak about what we are going to do in the homestead. After we agree on one thing the red ochre is already put behind the door of the great house of the homestead. That red ochre will smear the child and the mother. Then after that we will go outside to slaughter the goat. Carry on, I was just clearing that up.

H: No, I can't carry on. He (Q) must carry on, he was asking the questions.

Q: No, I cannot ask questions about your rituals because I do not know them. What you must do is just tell me about them. I can only find questions when you talk about them.

H: Oh. With this ritual, this child ritual that we are discussing... After the slaughtering, after the child has eaten the *umshwamo*, we go to the kraal and eat the meat that was cooked.

Q: Do you by any chance know how other clans perform this ritual?

H: No. No, I don't know because by law you don't go near (the great house).

Q: In Pondoland strips of goat skin (*iziphandla*) are put around the wrists of the child. Here, besides smearing the child with red ochre, what else do you do to the child?

H: No, there isn't anything else we do to the child. We only do something else if the child needs to wear white beads. If it's like that, we cut the strips of the skin and put them around the wrists of the child.

When you are talking about wearing white beads, do you mean *ukutwasa*?

H: Yes.

Q: Please will you *nqula* for us?

[See Appendix C3.4]

C2.4. Interview with Alfred Moyisile at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011

A: I belong to abeLungu as I've been told. I was told that there was a ship that sank at Ngqeleni. A white man came out. I don't know what he did there but the family there at Qatywa were from the Ngqeleni village. This village we have here was where the fields are now which is part of Qatywa. So our fathers moved to this new area (Zwelitsha).

Q: So you don't know about this white man?

A: No, I don't know about him.

Tikana: He's young. He wouldn't know more than what I know. He would know about education.

Q: Where you're staying, do you perform rituals?

Tikana: Yes.

A: Yes, they are performed where I stay. The rituals are performed in the way that abeLungu perform them. The rituals are usually the same for every family, they may differ here and there but mostly they are the same.

Q: What about the abeLungu because each clan has their own way of doing rituals. Is there a difference?

A: I don't see a difference between abeLungu and the other clans around here. Is there a difference that you have noticed Sir (to Alfred)?

Tikana: No. AbeLungu have the same rituals so whoever doesn't belong to abeLungu have their own way of doing things.

Q: Can we go to where you are staying?

A: Yes, there's no problem.

J: Please can you *nqula* for us?

[See Appendix C3.5]

C2.5. Interview with Tikana Mnyama at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011

J: Who was Mbali?

T: Mbali gave birth to my father. Mbali's father was Mbombo and his brother was Ncalelo. Ncalelo was the older brother of Mbali. After Mbali came Khepeyi. We are all living in this area.

J: Do you know who Madlo was?

T: Yes, we belong to the family of Madlo. I don't know who he is, I just know that we belong to Madlo. Those you started with, they belong to Nogaya.

Q: So you don't know who Madlo was, who gave birth to Madlo?

T: No, I don't know who gave birth to Madlo.

Q: Do you know who gave birth to Mbali?

T: Mbombo was his father.

Q: Who gave birth to Mbombo?

T: Tsholo.

Q: Continue from there.

T: Mngqithi. I can't continue from there. I don't know Mngqithi's father.

J: Do your people come from Jekwa?

T: I haven't heard of that person.

Q: What is the relationship between you and the abeLungu at Sundwana because they say they are coming from Jekwa.

T: I don't know.

C2.6. Interview with Mandlenkosi Ngqubethile at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 6 April 2011

Q: Please tell us your side of the story.

M: Here's what I know. They say that we came out from the sea here. A man along with his sister came out of a ship. UNogaya and Yimatshe, those are the people that came out of the sea. They built this nation.

Q: Which is the man of these names you gave me, Nogaya and Yimatshe?

M: The man was Yiimatshe. Nogaya was a woman. We built in this land after being quiet for a while. We built here on top. Nogaya was left near the sea. Yimatshe gave birth to his eldest

son, Tsholo. Tsholo's eldest son gave birth to Ncalelo. We came from Ncalelo.... That's where my knowledge ends. They say we came from England.

Q: I see. Do you perform rituals here?

M: We perform rituals a lot.

Q: How do you perform these rituals?

M: We gather as the abeLungu family. We gather and meet in a place. We drink beer if we have to drink beer, we eat meat if we have to eat meat, we slaughter if we have to slaughter and say praises.

Q: What do you say when you are saying these praises?

[See Appendix C3.7]

Those are our praises.

Q: Can you please make an example of a ritual that you perform?

M: Our first ritual... When a person grows up we slaughter a goat for that person and we say that we are smearing that person. That's the first point here in the abeLungu clan.

Q: When you slaughter this goat, how do you do it?

M: When we slaughter this goat, we take this child and put him or her outside with women and us men stand near the entrance (of the kraal). We take a spear, two of them (pointing to two spears planted in the thatch roof above his head) and then we take these goats inside the kraal. Then we report that we are smearing so-and-so and then we grab the goat and then we stab it with the spear.

Q: Where do you stab it?

M: We stab it in the stomach. That's our first ritual when we are performing rituals for a person.

(Mambane and Popayi Mphumanto enter (brothers.)

Q: Do you know any person called Buku?

M: No.

Q: You said that Nogaya and Yimatshe came out of the sea and that you people here came from Yimatshe, so where did Nogaya end up?

M: Nogaya's house is there by the sea.

Q: What's the name of that place?

M: Sundwana. The whole lali there is Nogaya's house.

Q: Do you know people called amaMolo?

M: We know people called amaMolo.

Q: Do you marry amaMolo?

M: No, we are one people.

Popayi Mphumanto: This Buku that you are talking about is at Mqanduli. The people at Mqanduli when they are saying praises, say "cattle of Buku, of Yimatshe..."

M: No, I don't know those people.

Popayi: They are the house that came from across the Mthatha.

Mambane Mphumanto: From Ngcwanguba. (All agree). This Buku, which abeLungu is he associated with?

Popayi: He's associated with the amaMolo abeLungu.

Q: The Molos from Ngqeleni?

Popayi: No, the Molos from Mqanduli, there are amaMolo at Mqanduli.

Q: Are there amaMolo at Mqanduli?

Mandlenkosi: No, I know those at Ngqeleni.

Popayi: It (amaMolo clan) came from Ngqeleni and came to Mqanduli where they say, “cattle of Buku, of Yimatshe...”

Q: Please pass the machine to Popayi so that he can give us his opinion about the abeLungu history.

Popayi: I don't have a lot.

Q & M: It doesn't matter, whatever you have, we want it.

Q: Please start by telling us your name so that we do not become confused.

P: Which name do you want, my lali name or my ID name?

Q: No, we want your name, we don't care about the ID.

P: I am Popayi Mphumanto. What do you want me to say?

Q: Just tell us what you know about the history of the abeLungu clan, what happened before, who did what...

P: Well we came from England, that's where we came from. We were on a ship. It seems as if that ship wrecked and we came out of the sea. It was a man and his sister. His sister was left down there by the sea. She gave birth to her own children there.

Q: What was her name?

P: It was Nogaya. Her brother was...

Mambane: It's Madlo, isn't it?

P: It's Madlo. Madlo then gave birth to Tsholo and then Ncalelo and we are of Ncalelo. Ncalelo's eldest son went to Pondoland.

M: What was his name?

Popayi: (to Mandlenkosi) Is it Mngqithi?

Mandlenkosi: No, it's Zinto.

P: When Zinto had children they spread all the way from Ngqeleni to Mqanduli and when they reached Mqanduli the place they lived in was called eMamolweni. It was Buku who came from Ngqeleni to Mqanduli. He was borne by Zinto at Ngqeleni and went to Mqanduli. That's why we are saying those from Mqanduli are from Buku. That's why they praise themselves saying:

[See Appendix C3.7]

But we say:

[See Appendix C3.7]

Q: Do you know a person called Hatu?

P: Yes I do, he's the person that we *nqula* here.

Q: How does he fit in with the first people?

P: He's a son to them.

Q: Who was his father?

Mambane: (asking Popayi) Don't you say “Hatu, Yimashe, Lufelu” in that order?

P: ...

Mandlenkosi: Hatu is the eldest, he's the firstborn.

P: Yimatshe comes after Hatu.

Q: Who gave birth to Hatu?

P: Who is it? (to Mambane) who did we say it was? Was it Madlo?

Mambane. Yes, Mado. It's Madlo.

Q: The first man that came out of the ship, when he arrived here, who did he give birth to?

P: He gave birth to Madlo.

Q: What was his name?

(Silence)

Mandlenkosi: (Laughs)

Mambane: That's a good question. (to Popayi). Do you hear that you are saying that Madlo came out and he was with Nogaya and you are saying that Nogaya is his sister?

P: Yes.

Mambane: So, what you do not know is who gave birth to Madlo.

P: Well we never heard of that.

(Silence)

Mandlenkosi: You really chose a bad time to come here because there are no longer old people who know.

C2.7. Interview with Mayilana Mnyama at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 6 April 2011.

Q: Please tell us what you know about your history.

M: Our history goes like this. It is said that we came out of a ship. Us, the abeLungu. We are [See Appendix C3.8]

(Silence)

Q: Who came out of the ship?

M: They say a girl came out, a white girl came out and she came here.

Q: Was she alone?

M: She was with her husband. He's the one that made us to be called abeLungu.

Q: What were their names?

M: Which ones?

Q: The ones that came out of the ship.

M: I don't know. I just heard. No, I don't know.

Q: Did you come from the man or the woman?

M: It is said that we came from the man. We came from the man.

Q: Do you, as abeLungu here perform rituals?

M: Yes, we do perform rituals, rituals that are associated with the sea?

Q: What do you mean associated with the sea?

M: We do something that is said...

Q: (asks someone else) What does he mean?

Alfred: I think he means for example when there is something called *isisusa* for instance, when there's a traditional healer who comes and says we need to go to the sea for something, then we do. I think he means that.

Q: How exactly do you do that?

M: Well, we do such a thing because it is said that we are the *abeLungu*, we came out of a ship at Lembazi. Do you know Lembazi?

Q: At Lusikisiki?

M: Yes at Lusikisiki. (Women laugh) We are the *abeLungu* that came from Lembazi.

Alfred: What he wants is for instance how you perform rituals for your children.

M: Rituals?

Alfred: Mmmm.

M: No, I perform rituals like anyone around here. I smear them. I smear them.

Alfred: He wants exactly that because he doesn't know what you are talking about when you say "to smear". He doesn't know what it means to smear a child. How do you start this ritual, what do you do?

M: When a child is born, we begin by making *ubulunga*, the cow's tail that is put around the neck. We seize a beast and then we take its tail and we make *ubulunga*. Before we put it around the neck we hang it in the hut where the rafters meet the wall and then we tell the child that there is your *ubulunga*, we have made it for you. *Ubulunga* is made by a woman from the homestead that is not married.

Alfred: Carry on old man, you are through with *ubulunga*, go to the smearing. Tell us how you smear your child, what are you smearing it with?

M: I use a goat, I smear them with a goat. It is stabbed with a spear in the stomach. If it does not cry then we know it's not successful. But most of the time it cries. When it cries we skin it and eat meat. We tell that child that we are smearing him or her today and they will eat first before us. If the child is young, too young, it is the mother that helps to feed the child the meat.

Q: Does the baby eat the whole goat or is there a special piece of meat that is cut for the child? (All laugh).

M: We cut a piece of meat from the front leg.

MaMgwevu: Which one, which leg?

M: The right one.

Alfred: Now then father, this piece of meat has been cut and the child has to eat it. Where exactly does the child sit to eat it?

M: The child sits in front of us men.

Alfred: Where, in the kraal?

M: No, no, no, here in the house.

Alfred: Yes, that's what we want to know, that's exactly what we want to know.

M: Then we say that child is ritual tasting (*ukutshwama*). After that, beer is brewed. Then we say that we are burning those bones of the goat that we were eating here. Then we drink that beer. That child drinks first. If the child does not want to drink, the mother dips her finger in

and puts it in the child's mouth. We are the abeLungu like that. We come from Lambazi, that's where we come from.

[See Appendix C3.8]

(Silence, children's laughter). I give up.

C2.8. Interview with Maplasi Dyubhele at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 8 April 2011

Q: Please give us your view on the history of your clan.

M: What will the benefit of this be?

Q: It will keep the knowledge so that your grandchildren and their children will know.

M: I am Maplasi Dyubele, I was borne by Maqhinga. Maqhinga was borne by Dyubhele.

Q: No, don't tell us that now; I'm going to write that down. Tell us about the history of abeLungu, where they came from?

M: From what I hear, abeLungu came from Lambasi. They say that's where a ship wrecked and a woman with one breast came out from that ship.

Q: Do you know her name?

M: No, I don't know the name. And now us here, according to my knowledge, the person who came to this land was Mngqithi. You see what I hear is that all of us here, as you see us, we come from that man. And Mngqithi that I can say and maybe we'll write them down. But this thing has already been said and written and I don't want to ruin it.

Q: No, you won't ruin it.

M: Ok then, that's why I'm saying that the person who came here was Mngqithi and he gave birth to many men here. He gave birth to two sons, he gave birth to Tsholo and Nyaka. Tsholo gave birth to Mbombo and Mbombo gave birth to Ncalelo and Mbali and Khepeyi and Mpulu, four men. And that's how my knowledge goes.

Q: Is there anything that makes you different as abeLungu from other clans, for example in terms of rituals.

M: Well people vary according to their homesteads in the way they do things but the rituals are the same. We also do the same rituals.

Appendix C3. AbeLungu Hatu *izinqulo*

C3.1. *Nqula* of Chief Nceba Ngubechanti at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 8 July 2010

Nkomo zika Jekwa

Cattle of Jekwa

Zika Mbayela

Of Mbayela

Zika mkhonto yimesi

Of spear is a knife

Zika Somanxangasi

Of Somanxangasi

Zika Gquma

Of Gquma

Zika Mbombose

Of Mbombose

Zoo buso abuna ngququ, abuna nkukuma

Of face that does not have crumbs, that does not have rubbish

Zika Lufenu
Zoo khamanga ali??milanga limile elwandle

Of Lufenu
Of Khamanga (Banana palm) that grows at the
sea at Balulu where we come from
At Lambasi!

Kwa Lambasi!

C3.2. Nqula of Tikana Mnyama at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 8 July 2010

Tarhu nkomo zika Yemashe
Zika mkonto yimesi
Zika silanda yinaliti
Zoo mbokodo yokusila
Zoo buso abuna ngququ, abuna nkukuma

Go easy on us, cattle of Yemashe
Of spear is a knife
Of big safety pin is a needle
Of brewing rock
Of face that does not have crumbs, that does not
have rubbish

Zoo khamanga ali??milanga limile elwandle

Of Khamanga (Banana palm) that grows at the
sea

Zoo maz'ibhokwe ibanjwa ngo phondo
Zoo ntsimbe'ebomvu endiyitsha s'umqaba
Zoo basela amaty'asentsimbakazi
Zento ka Mbombo

Of ewe goat grabbed by the horns
Of a red iron that I burn on the neck
Of rekindling the cooking stones of Ntsimbakazi
Of Mbombo

C3.3. Nqula of Nomqho Same at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011

Ndingu nkomo zika Hatu
Of Imatshe
Of Lufenu
Zika mkonto yimesi
Mbokodo yokusila
Mbokodo yokusila
Zika silanda yinaliti
Thwal'iminqwazi axel'abafazi
Into zika Mbom'enkulu
Zika Ganana wo Gobu
Zo buso abuna ngququ, abuna nkukuma

I am cattle of Hatu
Of Yimatshe
Of Lufenu
Of spear is a knife
Of brewing rock
Of grinding stone
Of blanket pin is a needle
Wearing hats like women
The things of great Mbombo
Of Ganana of Gobu
Of face that does not have crumbs, that does not
have rubbish
Of ewe goat grabbed by the horns

Ze maz'ibhokwe ibanjwa ngo phondo

I am happy when I am saying that and I am full of beer in the stomach. No matter where I
have been to drink, on my way home I praise myself like that.

C3.4. Nqula of Hobovu Nopili at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2010

OoYimatshe
Lufenu
Mkonto yimesi
Tshiza ngo bhelu
Buso abunangququ abuna nkukuma

Yimatshe
Lufenu
Spear is a knife
Sprinkling of yellow
Face has no crumbs, no dirt

C3.5. Nqula of Alfred Moyisile at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011

Ewe nkomo zika Yimatshe
Zika Lufenu
Zika Gayi no Gumbi
Zoo buso abuna ngququ, abuna nkukuma

Yes cattle of Yimatshe
Of Lufenu
Of Gayi and Gumbi
Of face that does not have crumbs, that does not

<i>Zoo khamanga alumilanga apha lumile elwandle</i>	have rubbish Of Khamanga (Banana palm) that does not here , it grows at the sea
---	---

C3.6. Nqula of Ndidi Same at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 5 April 2011

<i>Ndingu Yimatshi</i>	I am Yimatshi
<i>ULufenu</i>	Lufenu
<i>Gawuno???</i>	Gawuno ???
<i>UBuso abunanguqu abuna mkukuma</i>	Face that has no rubbish, has no dirt
<i>UTshiza ngobhelu</i>	Sprinkling of yellow
<i>USlanda yinaliti</i>	Blanket pin is a needle
<i>UMkhonto yimesi</i>	A spear is a knife
<i>Mbokod'okusila</i>	A grinding stone
<i>Bafazi thwalani iminqwazi nixel'amadoda</i>	Women wear hats like men
<i>Tshis'litye lase Ntsimbakazi</i>	Burn stones of Ntsimbakazi
<i>Khamanga alimilanga limil'lwandle</i>	Banana palm that grows at the sea

C3.7. Nqula of Mandlenkosi Ngqubethile at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 6 April 2011.

Nqula of abeLungu Hatu:

<i>Tarhu nkomo zaseNgilani</i>	Go easy on us, cattle of England
<i>Zika Rhana ixesha lihambile</i>	Of Rhana it's late
<i>Nkomo Zika Yematshe</i>	Cattle of Yematshe
<i>Zika Lufenu</i>	Of Lufenu
<i>Zika ???</i>	Of ???
<i>Zika tshiza ngobhelu</i>	Of sprinkling of yellow
<i>Zika amatye amnyama kaNtsimbakazi</i>	Of black stone from Ntsimbakazi

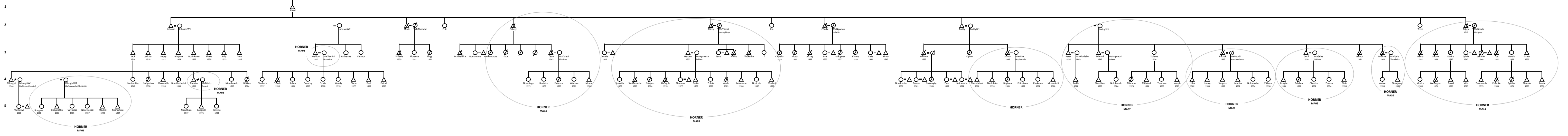
Nqula of abeLungu Buku:

<i>Sizinkomo zika Bhuku</i>	We are the cattle of Buku
<i>Zika Yimatshi</i>	Of Yimatshi
<i>Zika Lufenu</i>	Of Lufenu
<i>Zoo khamanga alimilanga apha lumile elwandle</i>	Of khamanga (Banana palm) that does not grow here, that grows at the sea.

C3.8. Nqula of Mayilana Mnyama at Zwelitsha, Xhora on 6 April 2011.

<i>Sizinkomo zika Yimatshe</i>	We are the cattle of Yimatshe
<i>Zika Lufenu</i>	Of Lufenu
<i>Zika mkonto yimesi</i>	Of spear is a knife
<i>Zika silanda yinaliti</i>	Of blanket-pin is a needle
<i>Mbokodo yokusila</i>	Of a grinding stone
<i>Zika enyoka eBukhwezeni</i>	Of snake from Bukhwezeni
<i>Xa indelela iyenyuka zisa iinkomo</i>	When the road goes uphill bring cattle

Appendix D: abeLungu Horner



Appendix D2. Transcriptions of abeLungu Horner interviews

D2.1. Interview with Mlungisi Horner at Mapuzi, Coffee Bay on 5 November 2009

H: The Sukwinis, Mlungus and Molos have no clan-name. They come from white men who came out from the shipwrecks. For example, Horner is the son of Henry who was a German soldier. Horner's ship was wrecked near Coffee Bay. He married a girl from the mLungu clan, a girl from Hlahla, Nompalo near Hayvill, near Hole in the Wall. Even those who call themselves Molo and Sukwini came out from these wrecks. We ourselves came from Horner. These men came out at many places: Coffee Bay, Hole in the Wall, Mdumbi, Cape Town and many places. They settled and married and there is now a nation of them. We do not have a real or deep clan name because we came from white people and white people don't have clan names.

Q: You are this nation with mixed blood living among indigenous people who have their own ways of living. How do you do it?

H: Well that's easy. We were born in Xhosaland and we are living among Xhosas. We have customs and traditions but we don't do our rituals like the Xhosas. For example when Xhosa people kill a goat they use a spear but we just slaughter it with a knife and enjoy the meat, that's it. We are white people so we don't perform rituals. We can even perform rituals with a chicken rather than a goat. We are not governed by the strong traditions of the true Xhosa people.

Q: When you are performing your rituals, do you recite praises and the names of your ancestors like the Xhosas do? If so, do you use the names of the ancestors who came out of the wrecks?

H: Yes, their names appear.

J: Do they have their own clan praises?

H: It is difficult to admit, but I don't want to lie to you. No, we don't have praises.

J: Are there any other kinsmen your age or older that we can speak to?

H: No, nobody else, I am the oldest.

Q: Do you know which specific man you descend from?

H: Well, as I said to you before, they came out of the sea and then scattered. We came from Horner who was not with his father – Henry – who was left behind. Horner came alone. Horner gave birth to Johnson who is my great-grandfather. And also George, Frank, Teddy, Regie, Ramsy and the last born Charlie who died in East London. Those are my grandfathers who gave birth to my fathers. They all founded this Mapuzi lali and their homesteads are still here.

J: What is your name?

H: I am a great-grandchild to Horner because he gave birth to Johnson who gave birth to Jack, that's my father. Jack gave birth to me, Mlungisi.

There is nothing beyond what you've heard from me that you can get from anywhere else. I am 68 years old, quite old.

D2.2. Interview with Cecil Horner at Mapuzi, Coffee Bay on 15 June 2010

Q: Please tell us the history of Alfred Horner.

C: When he came here he was a soldier. He came here during the wars of Dingane. I think it was 1934 or something. And then he never went back to England. He came from England. This I was asking my father. He came from England and came here and bought a shop there at Mapuzi. After that he stayed. In those times there was no *mnqushu* or rice, people were eating mealies. When he stayed there he bought a hundred and something sacks of mealies. After buying these he stored them and then a big rain came and then those mealies were ruined. After the mealies were ruined, he moved from there and went to build there by that house. Didn't the father of this boy (Mzimkulu) show you?

Q: No.

C: That's where his grave is (near to Mzimkulu's homestead). When he moved from where the shop was, he moved there and then he married a girl from Zithulele. It is this girl that gave birth to our fathers.

Q: What was her clan name?

C: She was MaMganu. What I do not know was whether she was black or not because I never saw their photos, I won't lie to you. Where Alfred was born, my father even told me the street. He said it was at Liverpool. He even told us the street but now I have forgotten it.

Q: So you descend from Alfred Horner?

C: Yes, but I come from Teddy.

Q: You say that Alfred was White.

C: Yes he was exactly white.

Q: So you are living here among black people who have their own ways of living. These people perform rituals. What about you, do you perform rituals?

C: Yes we do, exactly.

Q: What I want to know is, do you perform them the same way as other clans?

C: Well, we slightly differ, but when it comes to circumcision it's the same. You must know circumcision because you are from Mthatha and at Mthatha there is circumcision.

Q: Yes.

C: It is the same as the others here. When we do our thing, we slaughter a sheep, we do not slaughter a goat. But for a boy we slaughter a goat. When I think of cooking for my ancestors, I slaughter a sheep.

Q: Do you say praises?

C: Well we don't have a clan name, I don't want to lie to you. We just call ourselves Mlungu, Horner, that's it.

Q: You don't say praises, not at all?

C: No. It's our mothers who say praises.

Q: How do you perform *mbeleko*?

C: No, we don't have any *mbeleko* here.

Q: Oh, the only thing you do here is slaughter a sheep.

C: Yes, we just a slaughter a sheep and brew a little bit of *mqombothi* because our mothers are Xhosas. Let me say all our mothers from our grandfathers, our mothers are black Xhosas all the way. But *mbeleko* we do not have.

Q: When do you slaughter the sheep?

C: Well you see, I work at the mines. So when I think of doing something here at home, I brew *mqombothi* like the Xhosas and then I slaughter a sheep. And then I say, "Things have gone well for me at work, I thank you." We do not use a spear to slaughter the sheep, we just slit its throat.

Q: With a knife?

C: Yes, whichever knife. We don't have something special that we use to slaughter.

Q: Is that the only ritual you have?

C: Yes, there's no other.

Q: What do you call that?

C: We call it dinner.

D2.3. Interview with Martha Horner at Mapuzi, Coffee Bay on 15 June 2010

Q: Do you perform rituals? If so are they different from others around here. If they are different, how?

M: The rituals that we do here are called dinners. Dinners are for the English, white people. We slaughter a sheep or a chicken and we cook. And we drink tea or coffee. And then we eat and we call that dinner.

Q: Do you say praises?

M: No, I don't say anything. I don't see anything to praise because we are from the abeLungu, we are white. There are no praises. I don't know whether I am mistaken or not.

Q: What is your clan name?

M: We are abeLungu.

D2.4. Interview with Herbert Horner at Mapuzi, Coffee Bay on 15 June 2010

Q: Sir, do you perform rituals here?

H: Yes I do.

Q: How do you perform them, the same way as the other clans around here?

H: Well, the rituals I perform here, I even perform the English one.

Q: Which is the English ritual?

H: The English one is dinner.

Q: How do you perform your dinner?

H: I call all my fathers and their children and then tell them that I'm having a dinner for my child.

Q: Do you say praises?

H: I'm saying praises when I call my fathers.

Q: What do you say when you *nqula*?

H: When I *nqula* I say, "I'm calling my fathers, here is my child, he or she wants dinner so I'm making it now. So please, there mustn't be anything that bothers him or her."

Q: You don't say praises?

H: Well saying praises is there.

Q: Can you please say them for me?

[See Appendix D3.1]

(We say) "Hail "new circumcision name of initiate "you had *umgidi* (ceremony after coming out of seclusion) and now you are a man. That's where the spade breaks (That's the end of the story).

Q: Are you done?

H: Yes, I'm done.

Q: If somebody asks you what your clan name is, what do you say?

H: I say that I am Mlungu.

Q: When your daughters marry, what are they called?

H: They are called MaMlungu.

Q: Do you know the people called Molos?

H: I know Mamolweni, I know the Molos.

Q: Do you intermarry with those people?

H: The Molos, we know that they are Molos

Q: Do you intermarry with them?

H: Well there is something like that, that you meet with people and then you marry because there is a lot of this tendency of not knowing people. But we know the Molos.

Q: So do you and the Molos have the same blood?

H: We are combined with the Molos.

Q: Oh, you are the same thing.

H: Yes.

Q: So does that mean you can't intermarry?

H: Well, in our days maybe.

Q: Thank you.

H: Can I go on?

Q: Yes.

H: There is a ritual of boys. That ritual is purely Xhosa, Bomvana. We do that ritual, we perform it. Even with my sons, I slaughter a goat using a spear and then it cries and says "Baaaaah." And then I say, "It has been successful." The boy now is no longer a boy, he is a man. And then I brew *mqombothi*. And then all the Bomvanas come and they drink *mqombothi* and beers. Then they say, "This *mgidi* was big." Then after that, they praise him, they say "All hail (initiates new circumcision name) you had *mgidi*, now you are a man." That's when the spade breaks. (That's the end).

D2.5. Interview with Elsie Horner at Ntshilini, Ngqeleni on 16 June 2010

E: My father is Charlie. He's the son of Alfred Horner. He married with a girl named Bella Johnson. She also was born by a white person. It was her mother that was black, just like my mother's father. My father's father came from overseas. The ship that they were in wrecked at a place called Mpame. They came out from that ship and then they came to a *lali*. They saw these black people. They came from overseas and they married these black people and then they gave birth to our fathers. There were girls too from these unions. I don't remember correctly whether there were four girls or not. The girls were Aunt Ida, Aunt Theza (Feza), and then Elsie, the eldest. And then Sisi who married across the Mdumbi river.

Q: Is Sisi her name?

E: Yes. These people were born with a person (sibling) that was very white, her name was Flora. I don't know whether its Florence or Flora, but she was white. When they married with black people, they built their homesteads at the *lalis*. That shop that's written "Mapuzi" there, that's my grandfather's shop. It has closed down now.

Q: Is your grandfather Alfred?

E: Yes, my grandfather is Alfred Horner. After the shop closed down, he built there at that homestead where you started, at my *khayakhulu* (great home). (Near Mlungisi.) That's where their graves are. The sons of Alfred were Johnson, George, Ramsey, Teddy, Frank... I won't tell you their birth order because I don't know that because these people are old. The youngest was Regie. And then the girls were those four I've already mentioned. There were ten if I'm not mistaken.

J: Does she know how the original Horner came here?

E: I don't know because I was not yet born, but we just hear history like you, that they came here with a ship, coming from overseas and then their ship wrecked and then they were scattered in the *lalis* and then they married these black women. Our grandmother was from the Mlungu clan, from Nompalo. Well I don't know what brought them here, maybe it was because of wars that side or they came here because of work, I don't know.

Q: Oh, you are a girl from the Mlungus?

E: Yes.

Q: You were born by...

E: I was born by Charlie and Bella. They were both coloureds. The only black person in my line is my grandmother. I have married a black man, he is Nyawuza and I am MaMlungu.

Q: I do not have Flora in the genealogy.

E: Well, she was not borne by Alfred, she was his sister.

Q: As the Mlungus living among these people who have their own ways of doing things, how do you perform rituals?

E: We do have them but they are not the same. Ours are just birthdays. We slaughter a sheep and then we bake cakes. There's no other thing that we do, we just do birthdays.

Q: Do you have a spear?

E: No, we do not have a spear.

J: *Mbeleko*?

E: Yes, we slaughter a sheep for *mbeleko*.

Q: Do you do it when the child is young?

E: Yes, but we say that we are doing a birthday.

Q: Has there been a case where this was not done for a person and then the person fell sick for it?

E: No, never.

D2.6. Interview with Weldon Horner at Ntshilini, Ngqeleni on 17 June 2010

W: I'm starting now. My grandfather, Alfred Horner came from Scotland, German. He was travelling by ship and then they went and went and then a strong wind came when they were by Xhora mouth. The wind blew them out of the sea. And then they survived and they came out. And then when they came out they were welcomed by Africans.

And then they phoned back home. And then another ship came. Many others went back and my grandfather said, Alfred Horner, he said that he would not go back there, that land is too small, houses are being built on top of others. Here the land is beautiful and spacious and people are happy and the soil is fertile. And then he got a black girl from Hlahla, Nompalo and he stayed at her home, he was kept there. And then from there, he came here to Mapuzi and built a shop, it is still there. When he came there he already had sons, Johnson Horner and others. And then he lived. His firstborn son went around looking for jobs in the shops around here. And then he went away (Johnson). He went all the way to Pondoland. And then when he came back, the shop had died. Then he noticed that his father and mother were really going through hardship. He looked at this and decided that he would build a house here, near the dip where we grew up, saying it's our home (*kyaya khulu*). And then he was living there with his siblings, his brothers and sisters. After all that, my grandfather died there, even my grandmother, and they were buried there at *khaya khulu*.

And then my father (Johnson) took his wife and went away to build somewhere else, leaving his younger brothers behind, Uncle Regie and Uncle Ramsey. And he said when he was leaving that there must be no one entering the garden because the garden was so rich, there were bananas, oranges, lots of fruit. He said that whoever wanted to go in there must first ask permission from Uncle Regie or Uncle Ramsy who he was leaving behind because they had no wives while he had a wife and was moving to his own place. He also said the even he himself would kneel down before them and ask permission before going into the garden. The place that he went to build his house is where Mlungisi is now. Even Mlungisi went away and I told him to go back there.

My father built his own house and then he built this home for me here (Ntshilini). He was working this side, he was constantly crossing the (Mthatha) river. And then he got sick and died. And then his homestead fell down while he had sons. His sons were just spending their money around the world. It was my father who was buying clothing for them. I took this boy who sent you here called Mphikeni (Mlungisi). I took him and said to him, "Do not leave the old man and the old woman" (Johnson and wife). I said "Go and build there, I will help

you.” I even cleaned up the site before I sent him there. I took a cow and went there to perform a dinner. I put up two tents.

That’s how the (Horner) story goes.

Q: What was the purpose of this dinner?

W: It was because my father had been left alone there, so he felt like he was thrown away, his family must come back to him. A child in the family said they dreamt of an old man saying that he is cold, he has been thrown away, everyone is ignoring him.

Q: So you were performing this dinner for someone who is dead?

W: Yes, I took a cow from here and went to slaughter it there. I did everything inside tents because there were no houses.

Q: As you are these white people, do you perform rituals?

W: Girls that were married to our fathers were black. How can we then not know rituals?

Q: Do you perform them?

W: Yes. We say we are performing “dinner.”

Q: Does that mean that you perform them differently from other homes?

W: Yes.

Patrick: We slaughtered a sheep yesterday.

Elizabeth. That was just for food. That cow they slaughtered. It was like “bring back the family”. But now there’s a problem. The way I’ve looked at this in the family. I don’t want to start. I’m too scared to do something. So he took it in his hands I’ll do the dinner. Everybody came.

But if you actually look at the families, the people across the river were not really in favour of him. That was why he had to move across the river. He was on this side with three sisters. And on the other side it was... And they didn’t want to work, they just wanted to receive. So whatever they got, it got sold and it disappeared. And when the old man died... They opened. So we are family, but we know our boundaries.

Q: You are saying to us that someone dreamt of someone and then you took a cow and went there and slaughtered. I’m used to that, even at my home that has happened before. For example, if someone had died and then he was buried somewhere and no one was living there anymore, that person appears in dreams saying that they are alone and lonely and they want to be brought back to where the people are now. So people go there to where he or she is lying and then we go and stand by the kraal and say praises. So what I want to know, is how did you do it?

W: We never said any praises. What I said was that I am performing this dinner for my father.

Q: Oh, you just spoke about it.

W: Yes, I spoke about it in front of the people who were there. I said I want him to live here and rest in peace. Brandy and *mqombothi* was there, everything that is eaten and drunk by Xhosa people (at rituals) was there. My father is white. I said *mqombothi* must be there for the Xhosa people and brandy must be there.

Q: So the only thing that was different was when it came to saying praises, you didn’t say praises?

W: Well the saying praises part was just me saying to him, "I did this for you, do not feel cold any more." After that I've never heard anything from him. (Johnson) He's lying there, even my mother is lying there peacefully. I didn't want to see any tall grass there, I wanted it to stay clean.

Janet: So did he do it to satisfy the living or the dead?

Q: (to Janet) He did it for the dead. Is there anything else apart from that dinner that you have performed?

Wendy: Yes, there was a dinner performed here in this homestead (Ntshilini).

Q: Was it done the same way as before?

All: Yes.

Q: When you slaughter a beast, how do you do it?

W: I stab it in the back of the neck. The thing that I stab in the front of the neck is a sheep or a chicken.

Q: Oh, you only stab a cow at the back of the neck?

W: Yes, I only stab a cow there, I don't even stab it in the stomach.

E: A sheep and a goat, it's slitting the throats. And with a cow it's at the back of the neck.

P: It's only the maLawu's that go for the heart when slaughtering.

E: What's that?

Patrick: Well, that's what they called me.

E: Who goes for the heart when slaughtering?

Q: For example, at my home, we slaughter. When we slaughter a sheep, we slit its throat, but first we speak. We report what the sheep is for. If certain rituals require it to be taken to the kraal, then it is taken there before slaughtering and we speak there. We first say praises, reporting what the sheep is for. If the ritual requires the sheep to stand by the door of the house, then we take it there, report what it is for and say praises. Only an old person can report and say these praises. But a goat, no matter what ritual it is, no matter where it has been taken for reporting, it is stabbed in the stomach before we slit its throat because we want it to cry. So do you do all of that?

W: Ok, let me tell you. I'll tell you because there isn't anything I do not know. You see, if you (Qiks) had made one of my girls pregnant, and you get a child and then if the child requires a ritual, I won't do what we do here, I will perform your rituals, I will follow your ways. I will do everything you do, I will stab the way you stab, I will do everything you do, just your ways because what I want is for the baby to be well. Do you hear me?

Q: Yes. What if it is your son's baby, for example Patrick's son?

W: If it's like that, then we'll follow our ways.

Q: Do you mean the ways of not stabbing in the stomach, just slitting the throat.

W: Yes, if it's a sheep just slitting its throat and saying "I want this child to be well." But if the child needs the rituals of the mother's side, then we'll follow their ways.

Q: There's this thing called *mbeleko*, do you do it here?

W: That is what I'm talking about. That I will follow his or her mother's ways.

Q: Oh, you depend on the child, on the sickness of the child, what it is sick for?

W: Yes, because all I want is that the child must be well.

Appendix D3. AbeLungu Horner *izingulo*

D3.1. Nqula of Herbert Horner at Mapuzi, Coffee Bay on 15 June 2010

Ndihlobo lwase beLungwini

I am the Mlungu kind

Kwa Horner

Of Horner

Kwa tiki ayivimani ne pokotho

Of tickey is allergic to the pocket

Kufuneka iye evenkileni iphinde ibuye itsho

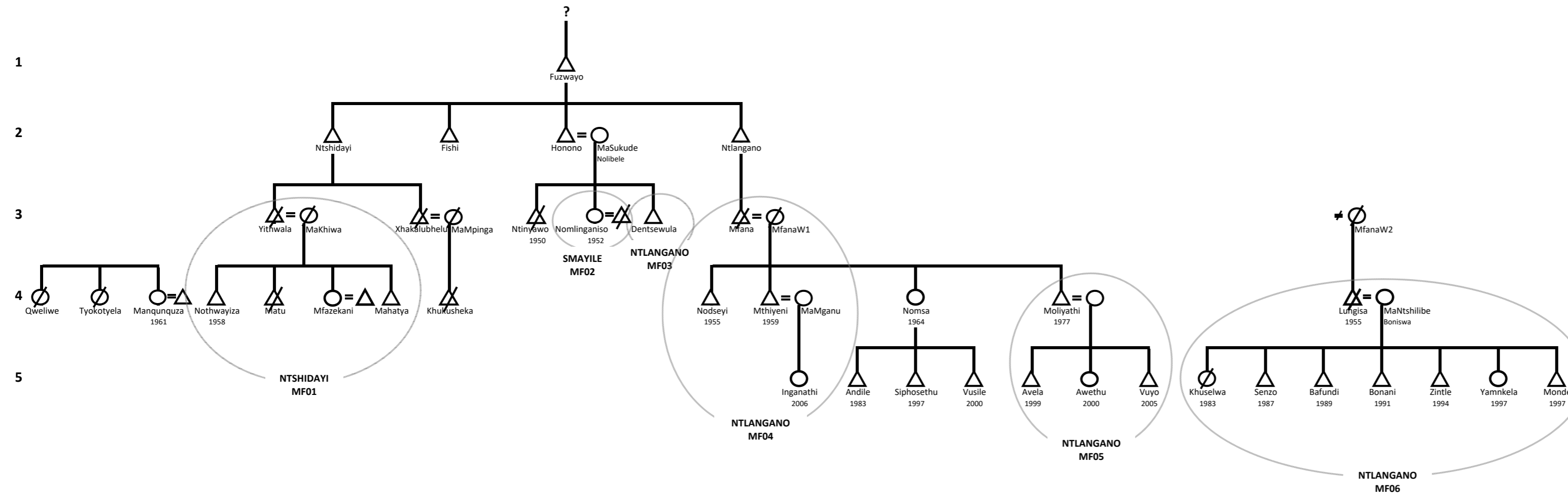
It has to go to the shop and then come back

ibuyel'ekhaya

and then go back home

Appendix E: abeLungu Fuzwayo

Appendix E1 Oral genealogy of abeLungu Fuzwayo



Appendix E2. Transcriptions of abeLungu Fuzwayo interviews

E2.1. Interview at the homestead of the second wife of Mfana Ntlangano at Tshani on 11 February 2010.

Nodzeyi: Well in my opinion, we became abeLungu – they say a ship wrecked and a man came out and that man met with blacks and they he stayed with them and mixed and then abeLungu came about. That’s what I heard. Well, I won’t speak again now because I am just telling you what I heard.

(Enter Gedasi (Mbasthewula,) an old man belonging to the Sukude clan who grew up with his mother in this homestead.

Q: Do you know the name of the man who came from the ship?

Nodzeyi: Well, I won’t lie to you. I really do not know. Why don’t you ask other people here? I am really confused.

(Silence)

Q: Ok, so in this homestead do you perform rituals? If you do, how are they different, if they are different, from those of other clans around here?

Mthiyeni: Well, I’ll answer you on that. Yes we do perform rituals in this homestead. Our rituals here are performed slightly differently from those of other clans. When we perform our rituals, we use a spear to slaughter. There is an owner of the spear who we call *ntlabi* and we speak before slaughtering an animal, explaining why we are slaughtering, who has dreamed what. And then we stab it. And after that the animal cries and then we speak, we say that the ritual has been successful. Yes, successful.

Our rituals here differ from others by one thing. When it comes to making that neck rope (*ntambo*.) We differ by *ntambo*. We don’t use the cow’s tail when making the *ntambo* and we don’t even check how the weather is. Other homesteads use a cow’s tail. We buy a rope in the shop and put beads on it. The girls of the homestead thread the beads. Even if they are grown up and married and have children, if they still have eyes they will come home to attend the ritual and they will thread the beads. It is their duty.

Q: Oh, so does this mean that some people in this homestead fall sick for certain rituals?

Mthiyeni: Yes, some people. Some even show by their behaviour for example, the symptoms of *mbeleko*. Well that needs to be quickly taken care of because in the long run it really bothers people. You can even say praises and apologise by word of mouth if you have nothing but you really need to take care of it quick. If you keep quiet, your child begins to shit himself while he is sleeping.

(Silence.)

Q: Why is it that in some homesteads of the mLungu clan, they don’t perform rituals but nobody falls sick but in others, they do perform rituals and people even fall sick for the rituals?

Mthiyeni: I do not know. I would be lying to you. When I was born and arrived here in my homestead, they were performing rituals, that was how they did it. So I really don’t know why others are doing it differently.

Q: Ok. I want to ask you where did your people come from before you built here?

(Silence.)

Mthiyeni: Yho! No. Don't you know Mbasthewula? (Gedasi). Do you know where we're coming from? Maybe we came from Pondoland or Bomvanaland. Because I hear that there are mLungu clans there by Cala and at Mamolweni.

Q: We now realise that the mLungu clan is really scattered. But we have found that those that are at Njela trace their roots to Mamolweni. So do you come from Mamolweni or do you have another place that you come from?

Gedasi: Here in my mother's home, I know the thing of the spear is a knife. I used to hear the old people saying praises, saying a spear is a knife. But I do not know where they come from. When I was born, these houses were already here. I do not know where they were before. I heard rumours of Xhora and I don't know where they were coming from before Xhora. Those who are of Mamolweni say Bhayi and Bhayi is a man who came from overseas. Well, that's what I heard when I was growing up.

(Silence)

Q: Is there anybody here who knows exactly how many white people came out of the sea?

Gedasi: We wouldn't have knowledge of that because as we said, we were young. We wouldn't know who started by doing what.

Q: So there is no one who knows the story of the man who came out of the ship?

(Silence)

Mthiyeni: No, no one here because we are all young.

(Silence.)

Q: Can you tell us the names of the family members who are still alive and their fathers and grandfathers, even if they are dead?

(Written down by a daughter in law because as a woman who married in, the *ukluhlonipha* (respect) custom prohibits her from saying the names.)

Will somebody please say the clan praises for us?

[See Appendix E3]

E2.2. Interview with Nomlinganiso Smayile (né Ntlangano) at Tshani on 17 June 2010.

Nomlinganiso: I do not know the father of Fuzwayo. What I know is that after the shipwrecked man came out of the sea, he gave birth to our forefathers. I knew all of this before. But because my fathers are no longer here and because I am old, I no longer know it. I did know, but now I have forgotten it. That is the whole story.

E2.3. Interview with Nomlinganiso Smayile, MaNtshilibe (second wife of Mfana Ntlangano) and Moliyathi Ntlangano at homestead of second wife of Mfana Ntlangano at Tshani on 8 December 2010.

Qaqambile: So what I want to ask, Ma, is that you say that you are abeLungu and you come from overseas but now you live with people who were born here who have rituals. So what I want to know is do you have rituals, do you perform rituals? If you do perform rituals, do you do so in the same way as the people from around here?

Nomlinganiso: We do perform them because with us (when we perform) *ubulunga*,⁹ we don't use a beast's tail, we use white beads that symbolise that we are abeLungu, we are not black people entirely, but a nation that changed (*kwajika uhlanga*). What I mean is we were created by a white person. His clan name was Mlungu and he mixed with the black people. We are abeLungu.

Qaqambile: White people like Janet do not have rituals, so how did you come to perform them?

Nomlinganiso: Well we perform them because we took it from that person that was black like us. That white person is the one that taught us to perform these rituals and how to perform them. But he said that we must use the white beads that we are using; but we must perform these rituals because that white person mixed with a black person that performs rituals, and then he taught us these rituals.

Qaqambile: This *ubulunga* ritual that you are talking about, when do you perform it here?

Nomlinganiso: Well we perform this ritual when there's a person sick and that person is sick for the *ubulunga* ritual. We perform the ritual to fix the health of that sick person. There is something that you as a sick person wear around the neck so that you are healed.

Qaqambile: How do you perform this ritual in this homestead?

Nomlinganiso: Well, when I begin the ritual, I brew *mqombothi*. After brewing that *mqombothi*, we grind mealies on a grinding stone and then we make what is called *unoqebengwana* (mealie bread) or it is called *isonka sothuthu* (bead of ash). And then we put the bread in the fire. When the bread is ready it is washed and cleaned of the ash. There must be no ash on your bread. Before we eat the bread it has to be sliced in to many pieces with a knife. And then we take the bread and eat. We as Mlungus, when we eat this bread, we keep quiet, no one is allowed to speak when we are eating. The room will be filled with silence, it will be as though there is nobody inside the house whereas there are people. All that you are doing is eating, we do not want any noise. When we have finished eating this bread we drink our *mqombothi*. That's how we do it.

Qaqambile: Oh, you were saying the room is filled with silence.

Nomlinganiso: Well yes, abeLungu are eating, how can you make noise?

Qaqambile: So then the ritual is finished?

??

Qaqambile: I hear you. But now, what about the white beads, where do they enter into all this? Do you have a specific way of putting the beads on the person during the ritual?

Nomlinganiso: When I put the beads on the sick person, we will turn our backs on each other. You will not look at me when I put the beads on you and I will not look at you.

⁹ *Ubulunga* is a ritual to cure a sickness (*ukugula*) manifested through physical pain and/or bad luck which involves making a necklace from the tuft of a beast's tail.

MaNtshilibe: You see when... (she indicates putting her hands backwards over her head (the beads will be passed in front of the (sick) person standing back to back with her) and the knot is behind her (and the sick person's) neck.

Qaqambile: Don't you strangle the person by doing that?

Ma Ntshilibe & Nomlinganiso: (Laugh). No, it can't.

Qaqambile: What is the importance of you turning your backs on each other, what does it mean?

Nomlinganiso: It is important because it is our tradition, it is our custom.

Qaqambile: Ok, I hear you. So I want to know, what are the stages of the ritual, what comes first and also what time do you start this ritual?

Nomlinganiso: We start by eating the bread. No, no, no. We start by putting on the beads and then we eat. All this time, there is no one speaking, there is silence.

Qaqambile: Even when you are putting on the beads?

Nomlinganiso: Yes, no one speaks at that time.

Qaqambile: Oh, you don't want any noise.

Nomlinganiso: No, why would you make noise? AbeLungu are eating, the Jafiliti are eating. When abeLungu eat, does anybody come and make noise? No.

Qaqambile: Ok, let me get this straight. You start by putting the beads on the sick person and then you eat bread.

Nomlinganiso: Yes.

Qaqambile: After all that, what happens next? Do you now say that you have finished performing the ritual and disperse or what?

Nomlinganiso: No, we don't disperse after that. Now it's party time. We enjoy ourselves and drink *mqombothi*. That bread, it is not all of it ours, it's the abeLungu family that eats first. We eat that bread here (pointing at the hearth), *esililini, iziko*. We surround the hearth and eat.

Qaqambile: Do you put the bread on top of the table or do you put it down on the ground?

Nomlinganiso: We use plates or trays, we don't put the bread on the ground.

Janet: Find out what time everything starts.

Qaqambile: At what time do you start this ritual, here in this homestead?

Nomlinganiso: Well we here at this homestead usually, by this time (11.am) we have started, by this time the mealie bread has already been baked. We take the beads and put them on the person, then we take the bread and put it on the hearth and eat. The bread is cut into many pieces, enough for everybody including the abeLungu family. After cutting the bread, we have to be careful not eat all of it. We take the left over bread and pierce the slices with sticks and push them into the thatch above the *entla* (sacred space at the back of the hut directly facing the door). We must not finish the bread, it is a must.

Qaqambile: What is the significance of that, why do you put the bread there?

Nomlinganiso: It is our custom, it is our tradition. It is the tradition of the abeLungu.

Qaqambile: Who are you keeping the bread for?

Nomlinganiso: We are keeping it for the ancestors.

Qaqambile: Alright, I hear you. This thing of keeping quiet, when does it start during the ritual?

Nomlinganiso: It starts when we are about to eat.

Qaqambile: You said that you start by putting on the beads. So when you are putting on the beads, are you quiet like when you are eating?

Nomlinganiso: We do not want noise when we are eating. Silence must fill the room when we are eating. This thing that I am saying to you, it comes from the abeLungu tradition which we are.

Qaqambile: Oh, it began with your ancestors.

Nomlinganiso: Yes.

Qaqambile: These ancestors that you are talking about, are they the ones with mixed blood or are they the white ones?

Nomlinganiso: It is the white ones, but they are a mixture now because a white person mixed with a black person.

Qaqambile: Did they (the white ancestors) come with that custom from overseas, or did they start it when they got here?

Nomlinganiso: Well, I wouldn't know that.

MaNtshilibe: I think it is a tradition that began after they mixed with the black people because the mixed person is the one who needs to have the rituals of this side performed. That's how the rituals were mixed

Qaqambile: Oh, it's not something from overseas.

MaNtshilibe: It's not something from overseas because they came here without rituals, not having rituals. And then they mixed with a black person and then a ritual was born.

Qaqambile: Another thing that I would like to know is whether there are any other rituals that are performed here in this homestead besides the one we were talking about.

MaNtshilibe: No, there's no other ritual here.

Qaqambile: What about circumcision? Do boys here go to circumcision school?

MaNtshilibe: Yes, but still we do the same thing, when they are in the bush they wear white beads, nothing is changed.

Qaqambile: Do you perform the ritual that is called *mbeleko* here?

MaNtshilibe: Yes, we do.

Qaqambile: What do you use to perform this ritual?

MaNtshilibe: We use a goat.

Qaqambile: How, because in other homesteads people put on strips of skin, what do you do here?

MaNtshilibe: We don't put on anything. What we do is we smear the child with *mbola* (red ochre).

Qaqambile: Tell me how you perform the ritual.

MaNtshilibe: *Dad'obawo* (my father's sister), you answer this. (All laugh). Now we are about to perform *mbeleko*, tell us what is done before slaughtering?

Nomlinganiso: No, there is nothing that we do before. What we do is in the afternoon...

Qaqambile: At what time?

Nomlinganiso: Round about three, we gather and speak about this child and we mention that *siyamqaba* – (we are smearing – ie - performing *mbeleko*). Then the mother of the child smears the child with *imbola* (red ochre) and then the mother smears herself too.

MaNtshilibe: Nobody speaks when we are eating the first meat.

Qaqambile: As women, you would not know how the goat is slaughtered, Moliyathi, please can you tell us, according to your knowledge how you slaughter a goat. Better still, tell us everything you know about this ritual, from the beginning to the end.

Moliyathi: Ok, according to my knowledge, when we are about to smear a child here at home, we take the thing that is called a spear and then we put it next to the kraal and it sleeps there (the night before the ritual). After that, old men of the home arrive and then they report about the issue, they report what we are here to do.

Qaqambile: Who are they reporting to?

Moliyathi: They are reporting to the people who are here.

Qaqambile: You mean the living people?

Moliyathi: Yes. Meanwhile we know what we are here to do. They even report the gender of the goat. Then we take the goat and put it down and stab it. By the time we stab the goat, women of the homestead have already been informed.

Qaqambile: Where do you stab the goat?

Moliyathi: In the stomach so that it cries. And then we kill it by slitting its throat. Then after that, there's a piece of meat called *umrhotsho* that's taken out from the right front leg. Then it is put in the flames and then before eating it, that's when the silence starts. It is people of the home that eat first before anyone else. Even then, the people that are married into the home do not eat that meat. It is eaten by us and our fathers and their sisters. For example, if we have a child here that hasn't been smeared, that child will not eat that meat, only us that have been smeared will eat that meat.

Qaqambile: Is all of this done in the kraal.

Moliyathi: Yes, all of this, the eating of meat and so on is done in the kraal.

Qaqambile: Is there anything that would require you to go inside the house?

Moliyathi: Well no, we only go into the house when there is left-over meat and that will be taken into the house.

Qaqambile: And then you have finished.

Moliyathi: Yes, that's the end of it.

Qaqambile: Is there anything besides smearing with red ochre that is done to the child?

Moliyathi: Well, there is a strip of skin taken from the right front leg that the child wears around the neck. That child wears that skin around the neck for two or three days and then it is taken off.

[See Appendix E3.3]

Nomlinganiso: When a woman married in here gives birth to a child, let's say maybe the child is born during the night. In the morning we send a child to fetch water from the sea. The water is given to the child to drink, not too much, before the child suckles from its mother. That is called *isicakathi*.

Qaqambile: What is *isicakathi*?

MaNtshilibe: It is the first medicine that the child gets after birth. Let's say for example that the child after birth does not defecate, then the medicine to cure that is called *isicakathi*. We here, do not go to the forest to pick medicine, we go to the sea for water.

Nomlinganiso: That's how we do things here.

Qaqamile: I have run out of questions now, but if there is anything that you think we would be interested in in terms of how you do things here, please tell us.

Nomlinganiso: Well now you can say things, Notusile (MaNtshilibe).

MaNtshilibi: Well, here in this homestead of abeLungu, a wife drinks milk here, there is no milk taboo (*ukuhlohipha*).

Qaqamile: Really?

MaNtshilibi: Yes. When we make tea with milk that comes from a cow, nobody says "no, you are a wife here, you can't drink this", we drink it.

Qaqamile: Oh, so you don't do the *udliso lwamasi*¹⁰ here?

MaNtshilibi: Well, there are some cases when the ritual is performed, for people who are forced by heredity to follow certain traditions, no matter where they are.

Qaqamile: Do you *hlohipha* the names of your husband's ancestors?

MaNtshilibe: Yes, I do. What makes us do that is that we are mixed blood.

Appendix E3. AbeLungu Fuzwayo *izingulo*

E3.1. *Nqula* of Nodzeyi Ntlangano at Tshani on 11 February 2010

<i>Ndingu Bhayi</i>	I am Bhayi
<i>Ndingu Jafiliti waphesheya kolwandle</i>	I am Jafiliti from overseas
<i>Ndingu umkhonto yimesi</i>	I am spear is a knife
And that's all.	

E3.2. Isiqula of Nomlinganiso Ntlangano (MaMlungu)

<i>Ndingu Jafiliti mna phesheya kolwandle</i>	I am Jafiliti across the sea
<i>E England</i>	In England
<i>Umkhonto yimesi</i>	The spear is a knife
<i>Umkhonto yinaliti</i>	The spear is a needle
<i>Amangilani ngaphesheya kolwandle</i>	The English across the sea
<i>Ndeza ngesikhitshane</i>	I came here by ship

E3.3. Isiqula of Moliyathi Ntlangano

<i>Bathi ndingu Jafiliti</i>	They call me Jafilliti
<i>Bathi ndingu Qhina ka Qhonono</i>	They say I'm Qhina of Qhonono
<i>Ndingu nkomo mayizale kuphum'isigqoko</i>	I am cow must give birth so that <i>isigqoko</i> ¹¹ (colostrum) will come out

¹⁰ Ritual performed to graduate a woman from *hlonipha* because she has been around long enough.

Ndingu khencekhence
Umfazi obele linye waphesheya kolwandle

I am jingle of metal
A woman with one breast from overseas

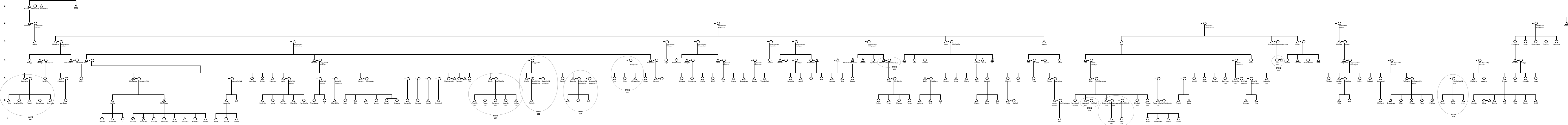
E3.4. Isiqula of Mahatya Ntshidayi

Umlungu
UMolo
UMbayela
UMBomboshe
UTilimane
UJafiliti
UQhina ka Qhonono
Umkhonto yimesi
Umabhal'egijima
Umntu wase England

Mlungu
Molo
Mbayela
Mbomboshe
Tilimane
Jafiliti
Qhina of Qhonono
The spear is a knife
The one that writes while running
A person from England

¹¹ More commonly known in isiXhosa as *umthubi*

Appendix F: amaCaine



Appendix F2. Transcriptions of amaCaine interviews

F2.1. Interview with Mkhululelwa Caine at Magwa Tea Plantation on 18 September 2009

M: The problem is that our parents are the illiterate people. So about our history, they knew very few things. So this I got from my aunty at Mbotyi.

Our parents have all passed away so nothing is going to be remembered. I asked from my aunty, where did we come from? She said that we came from Scotland. We came here by means of a ship which wrecked at Lambasi but the year is unknown. One old man told me the year but the paper I wrote it on is lost. I asked that old man where did you get that history and he told me that he got it from a book, The African Diary which was sold in Durban. But now he didn't have it. I decided to make a follow up by asking from my aunty because she was the only person who was very old.

She told me that there were two brothers that came from that ship. One was Kristjan, the other was Kruger. About Kruger I didn't get any information. But Kristjan fell in love with a black lady called MaNyawuse who bore a son called Lavutha. That Lavutha was our forefather, he fathered Magubha. Lavutha married two wives. He was the first person who got married because his father (Kristjan) fell in love with a black lady but their love was not lasting. Also she tried to have another love affair with a man of Mambilinini family, a Zulu man, and they had a son, Soyipha. So that family of Soyipha, we call them our relatives.

Lavutha married two wives, the first one was also a Zulu lady, MaMsani or MaMvuneni who gave birth to 5 boys and two girls. The first son, his name is unknown and he was having no wife. He was described as a man who cooked for himself and didn't want food cooked by a lady. The second one was called Ciyane and his two sisters Kazana and Mayena. The third son of Lavutha was called Mnukwa. The fourth son from that wife is Maghuba who is our forefather who bore my father. The last born son is Mgono who stayed at Ntlavukazi.

The growing family of this first wife was like this: Ciyani married the sister of Mgojani, MaRhotsha. The family of Mgojani is there at Hili. From my brothers house you carry on inland. He is still living there. MaRhotsha gave birth to four children, three girls and one boy. The boy has already passed away and the girls were called Bella, Selinah and Shalot. Bella gave birth to Grenah who was buried at Ntsimbini this year. Selinah gave birth to a boy, Ballet who married into the Ndlovu family and bore three sons: Makhaya, Zo-ee and I don't know the other ones name.

Shalot married into the Frank family and gave birth to seven children, that is 4 boys: Mayena, Duna, Mfene and Adam. And the girls are Gcinekile, Mqhoyi and Lucy. Now these 7 children, they are the Frank family and they are at Ndindindi near Port Grosvenor. Gcinikile was the mother of Khokoo, the sons of Gcinikile are Khokho, Bantu and Tolly. Tolly passed away last year. Khokho is along the road when you go to town, on the left side, there's so many skorokoro,¹² they've got some sort of a garage. Mqhoyi gave birth to Fanile who married into the Luthuli family to a Zulu lady. Lucy has got no child. All the girls of Shalot are in Durban.

The third son of Lavutha, was Mnukwa who married MaNjilo who gave birth to Maqhakeni. Maqhakeni married three wives, that is MaSibangweni, MaSitolo and MaLwalwa. From MaSibangweni,

¹² Old bettered vehicle.

two children, that is Vazidlule who has already passed away and Bulawa his sister. MaSitolo, the second wife of Mnukwa gave birth to Wellington and Nongxuzana. Wellington is still alive now, he's at Ncambeni one of the locations at Lambasi. So MaSitolo gave birth to Wellington and Nongxuzani his sister who gave birth to Mabhanti. MaLwalwa, that is the last wife, gave birth to Makhehle and Magamza, that is a girl.

The fourth son of Lavutha, called Maghuba married seven wives. The first one was MaNtusi, the mother of Bhengu, Mkhana-khana and Nomjiji. The second one was MaNdovelana who gave birth to Booi, Maqabi and Mqhathula. So Booi is our father's brother. Magqabi is our father. Mqatwa is the youngest, his son is still alive. Booi has no descendants; all his children have passed away. The third wife is MaNqoko who gave birth to Bayo who has also passed away. MaLutshabeni, her sons were Mandukwana, Martin and Sbham. Mandukwana has got no wife because his mentality is not yet good. Martin has already passed away, it is only his three children that are still alive. The eldest one is married at Venda and the second one is along the road to Lambasi. The last born is Joberg but is working overseas as a nurse.

The fifth wife is MaJuluka. There is MaJuluka and MaNgunyeni. Between those two wives I really don't know who has got which children. There are two children who are still alive but I don't know who their mother is but it is one of those ladies. The sixth wife, MaNcobo, was a Zulu lady and gave birth to Mpethu and Makhemese. Makhemese is the one who gave me this history. The seventh one, the last wife was MaGunyeni.

The fifth son of Lavutha, Mgono, gave birth to Ndlevana who has already passed away.

About the second wife of Lavutha, I know nothing. There is one lady at Ngombeni who is our aunt. Her father was Nweleni. I suspect because he was borne by the uneducated person, maybe he was Noël, but is called Nweleni. That lady is the only child for that man who is called Khedama. There are others at Ncambeni, next to Wellington. I suspect that they are also borne by Nweleni because they used be called "child of Nweleni."

Kruger and Kristjan were brothers and their surname was Caine, he was their father. All these people use Caine as a clan name.

In Durban people spell the name "Cane" and in East London, "Cain". Even though the name is spelt differently it is probably coming from the same man. Also Keyne, possibly a Scottish spelling.

Caine is used as surname as well as clan name. We were born from the illiterate people. Others, even our eldest brothers and sisters used Maghuba as a surname. But as the time goes on they want to exchange from that to Caine.

Q: When you/ if you slaughter which names do you use to call you ancestors?

Unfortunately, maybe my brother can know that because I'm not used to the customs. I just want to follow that I am a coloured man and we have no customs. And even my religion, I believe in that. As far as I see my brother's status now, it seems we are the same. He's not believing so much in the things that used to be done by the people.

F2.2. Interview with Wellington Caine at Ngcambeni, Lambasi on 11 March 2010

C: My ancestor fell from a ship at Durban and the ship left him there at Point, Durban. Then he went along the coast chasing this ship that had dropped him. He was really confused; he didn't know what to do because there was no way he could get back to the ship. The word is he turned at Port St Johns, he stopped chasing it. Then he came here, he came to Qawukeni to

look after cattle. There he met up with black women and then we came. I have no idea where he came from overseas.

Q: Do you know his name?

C: Lavith. As you have heard, my name is Wellington.

Q: What about Caine? Who is Caine that you are using as a surname?

C: It is him who we are speaking of.

Q: Do you perform rituals here?

C: Yes, I do perform rituals because my mother was performing rituals.

Q: Do you do them the way they are done in Pondoland?

C: Yes, I do.

Q: Are you the only Caine in this area? (Mngcambeni).

C: No, we are many.

Q: Is there a person who is as old as you or above?

C: No, there aren't any, I am the only one left.

Q: Oh, so you live like the people of this place and you don't do anything differently?

C: Yes.

Q: What surname do you use?

C: Caine.

Q: What clan name?

C: Caine. That's all we knew when we were growing up, Caine was being used.

F2.3. Interview with Wellington Caine at Ngcambeni, Lambasi on 3 August 2010

Q: What did you say your clan name is?

W: Caine.

Q: When you daughters marry, what are they called?

W: MaCaine.

Q: Do you perform rituals?

W: Yes. We don't perform rituals, but to satisfy the *lali*, we do perform rituals that have no problem to us.

Q: Oh, so what do you do exactly? Do you slaughter?

W: Yes.

Q: When you slaughter, what do you say you are slaughtering for?

W: Well I say I slaughter for something, for example, when I'm happy and I want my children to be happy, to know that I did something for them.

Q: What do you call that?

W: I call it a party.

Q: Can you please me in detail how you slaughter?

W: If it's a beast, I stab it here.

Q: Where is "here"? What do you call that?

W: *Isikhonkosi* (back of the neck).

Q: If it's a sheep?

W: I slit its throat.

Q: When do you slaughter a beast?

W: I slaughter it even if I'm happy. Or when I want to thank my ancestors that I have worked successfully. And when I'm burying someone and when I see that I don't need to buy any meat.

Q: If you have a party, this party you are talking about, do you have alcohol?

W: Yes.

Q: What kind of alcohol?

W: *Umqombothi* and bottles of brandy.

Q: Do you say praises?

W: No, I've never ever done that. I just slaughter.

Q: If a person asks you to say praises, what do you say?

W: I say, well, there is something that I've heard but I've never heard it from my grandfather, but I hear it from my contemporaries:

[See Appendix F3.1]

Q: When you say all this, where is the animal you're going to kill?

W: It is there by the door if it's a sheep. And if it's a beast, it has already been thrown down.

Q: In the kraal?

W: Yes.

J: Do you make the beast cry?

W: No, we just kill it. It cries if it feels pain, it's not that we make it cry. People that make a beast cry, stab it here.

Q: Where?

W: In the stomach. We stab it here.

Q: Where?

W: At the back of the neck.

Q: Oh, you just stab it to kill it only?

W: Yes, we do not make it cry. It does not cry because we make it. Like I said, it cries because it feels pain.

Q: Oh, to you, it shows no problems of any sort if it doesn't cry?

W: Yes, we just kill it and skin it. Then we eat meat.

Q: Do you do that thing of eating certain parts of the beast yourselves only before the *lali* eats?

W: No, we slaughter and everybody eats.

Q: We thank you.

F2.4. Interview with Mpumelelo (Chillies) Caine at Dubhane, Lusikisiki on 3 August 2010

Q: Please tell us what you know about the history of your family?

M: Well, young man, because we are young, there are old people who know this. But our history says our great grandfather was left by a ship. I don't know if it was at Durban, but I think it was at Durban. He went along the coast and he came here near Cuthweni. And then he was very tired because he was on foot. He was chasing a ship. The ship was very slow and it kept on giving him hope that he might catch it. And then he gave up here near Cuthweni. Then he met with (black) people there. But Durban (Wellington) must know this. Pholi is our great grandfather. Otherwise, when I hear it, our great grandfathers are white people.

Q: When we look at you, we cannot tell that you have mixed blood. You look like the people you are living among. These people have their own ways of living, for example they perform rituals. What are your ways, are they the same as the people you live among?

M: Well, we got mixed now with (black) people so we are black (people), even us now. With this part of rituals, no, we do not have rituals. Even if our daughter is married out, she's just MaCaine, there is no other thing that she is called, she is just MaCaine (laughs). Like the Cannons, the Bowers, those are other coloureds. Those are black coloureds, they are really black, you can't even say they are coloureds. Well with us, we can't even call ourselves coloureds because we don't look like coloureds. It's just our surname that makes us coloureds.

Q: When you slaughter, how do you do it, if you slaughter?

M: When we slaughter?

Q: Yes.

M: Well, we have parties. We make parties. We have nothing to do with rituals.

Q: Do you say praises?

M: No, no, no. For instance, I once slaughtered there at my house. I slaughtered a beast on Wednesday. I took it to the butcher to be cut up and then I put it in the fridge. No, we don't perform rituals. But others have things that they adopted from (local) people. Otherwise there are no rituals at all in the Caine family because we came from white people.

Q: Have you ever had a case whereby you have a sick child that needs a ritual to be cured?

M: No, no, no. These things of *mbeleko*?

Q: Yes.

M: No, no, no.

Q: Even you, as old as you are, you have never had *mbeleko* performed for you?

M: No, never. But I did *chaza* (parents make cuts on child's face). Because when we grew up, there was a thing of going to live with other people. Or the thing of having a group influencing you to do it. You'll see your peers having these cuts on their faces and then you want to do it too. Otherwise there is no such thing in our home.

Q: Oh. You don't even say praises?

M: No, no, no. (All laugh). You just say "Caine".

Q: Oh you use Caine as a surname?

M: Yes, as a surname.

Q: When a person asks you your clan name what do you say?

M: Caine. We don't have a clan name.

F2.5. Interview with Mkululelwa Caine at Dubhane, Lusikisiki on 4 August 2010

Q: Do you perform rituals?

M: No, I don't.

Q: Why not?

M: First of all, on the Caine side, I do not know them. I do not know how Caine's rituals are because even those who are performing rituals are performing rituals from the mother's side. Because when you try to find out and ask questions about these rituals they are doing, whether it's the cutting of the face of children, you'll find that they're cutting their faces because their mothers did it. So my Christian religion affected me. So I don't do them because there is nothing that tells me to do them in my Christianity.

Q: Oh so the first reason is that on the Caine side you do not know how they are performed?

M: Not at all. Even when I ask the old people, they do not know them. All they say is “well, we are doing them because so-and-so did them.” You will find that even those that have *umngquzo* performed for them, you’ll find that when you ask them why they’ll say “it’s because my mother did it”.

Q: What is *umngquzo*?

M: I don’t know what to say it is, but with boys it is called circumcision. (ie: puberty ritual).

Q: Do you slaughter?

M: When we want meat. When we want to make a braai.

Q: When do you usually make a braai?

M: We just buy a sheep and we eat.

Q: Do you buy a sheep already slaughtered or what?

M: No. In fact, we had sheep. We used to just go into the kraal and take one during December time.

Q: How do you slaughter?

M: We just take a knife and slit its throat.

Q: You don’t say anything?

M: No (emphatically).

Q: You don’t even say praises?

M: No.

Q: You don’t have a clan name?

M: No.

Q: Oh, so you only slaughter for food?

M: *Qha* (only). Even Chillies, last year he slaughtered a beast at his house and made a braai.

Q: How do you kill a beast?

M: We stab it here, at the back of the neck. And then we skin it and take it to town to be cut up (by the butcher) and then we put it in the fridge. Because when we search for the truth from the old people, we don’t get the straight truth from them. And because we went to school and because of the way that we see things, we realised that we are coming from whites. So we do not know anything that has to do with blacks. We usually talk among ourselves and say that we have to search for the real truth about us.

F2.6. Interview with Siwela Magubha at Mzimpunzi, Mbotyi on 5 August 2010

Q: Please tell us what you know about your history, where Caine came from, what happened before your time? Where did you come from?

S: Caine was coming from overseas, in England. When he came here, he came to Durban.

When he got to Durban, he gave birth to a son called Lavith and then Lavith died there in Durban. When he died he had already had children with a woman that he married there in Durban, a black woman called MaNgcobo.

J: Is Lavith coloured or white?

S: No, Lavith was a white man. He gave birth to children with MaNgcobo, but these children now were coloured. The first one was Magubha. And then Lavutha died. Lavith. There was his son now left, Magubha, and then his (Lavith’s) brother took his wife (*ngena/levirate*), there at Durban and she gave birth to children. These children were of Ngcobo. These children were

Magubha's siblings because they were borne of the same mother, but their fathers were different. Then the one that was born after Lavutha had died moved to Mbotyi. When he came here he saw beautiful land that he thought suited his brother Magubha.

Q: What's the name of this guy who saw the land here?

S: His name was Ngcobo. Then Ngcobo went back to fetch his brother, Magubha. He brought him back here to build, Magubha went to build at Mkhozi. Magubha is a coloured by now. His mother was MaCele. Magubha took eight wives, many of them were MaNgcwangules. These wives all gave birth, they gave birth to our fathers. They all gave birth, some gave birth to five children, some to three, some to two and so on.

J: Who was your grandfather?

S: It's Magubha that comes from Durban. His grandfather came from overseas.

J: What I really want to know is his line.

Q: Please tell us about your line.

S: Well I come from MaNgcwangule.

Q: Which wife was your mother?

S: The third wife.

J: Is Magubha his grandfather?

Q: Is Magubha your grandfather?

S: Yes.

J: So your father comes from the third wife?

S: Yes. Then they built and Magubha died. He saw that he was about to die and then he said he doesn't want to die here. He said he wanted to go back to Durban and die there, where he came from. He wanted to be buried where his father was buried. He collected men with horses and they took him along the coast. These men came back without him. And then that was the end. Then we came from our fathers here. My father took a wife and that wife died. Then he took another one, MaOgle and then she gave birth to us.

Q: So now, since you live here, do you perform rituals?

S: We do perform rituals because my father was performing rituals of his mother's side.

Q: Please tell me how you perform these rituals and which rituals do you perform and please specify how you slaughter, if you do slaughter.

S: When we slaughter, it starts from a child being sick and you'll find that this child has no physical pains. We grab a goat and then we speak and say that we are giving this goat to you. We take a spear, we stab it in the stomach. We take the goat hide from the right front leg and make it into a strip and we dry it. Then we put it around the neck of the child, or around the wrists. Then the child will come back to health. My father was performing his mother's rituals.

Q: Oh so what you mean is that this ritual that you are talking about is from your grandmother's side?

S: Yes, in actual fact, we Caine's do not have our own rituals.

Q: So you, in your house perform these rituals because your father performed them?

S: Yes.

Q: Is the only ritual you perform?

S: There is another ritual that we do for girls. After we see that now the girl is growing older, we give her a cow and then in the same way (as described before) we cut the strip of skin and put it around her neck or wrists.

Q: What do you call that ritual?

S: We call it *umngguzo*. (Mpondo term for *ntonjane*). My older sister did perform that ritual.

Q: At what age do you perform this ritual?

S: When the girl is fifteen years old, and above.

J: When they slaughter, do they make the animal cry?

S: Yes, we do, we stab it in the stomach. Every animal that we are going to cut a strip of skin from, we make it cry. A sheep is not made to cry because we do not cut off a strip of the sheep's skin.

Q: Oh, so a goat and a beast are stabbed in the stomach to cry?

S: Yes.

Q: So how do you kill it?

S: We stab it in the stomach till it dies. We stab it till the spear reaches the heart.

Q: Do you say praises?

S: We say praises.

Q: What do you say when you say praises?

[See Appendix F3.2.]

Q: This Nobhongoza, is it a name of a person?

S: We do not know what it is but we heard it from the old people, our fathers told us.

J: We thank you.

F2.7. Interview with MaCaine at Mshayazafe, Lusikisiki on 5 August 2010

Q: Please tell us the history of the Caines, where they came from.

MaC: Our history is not that long. I won't be different from the young ones you spoke to. What makes me say that I won't be different from them is that there are no more old people. But how they came is from this side, Natal. We were born this side. Our history is not that long. The person who came this side was Lavutha. When we got old we were hearing that his eldest son, Nkabeni died in a war. Lavutha's wives were three. I knew one of them because she was my mother, she was a girl from Natal of ?? (inaudible) clan. The other one was a girl from Mavuneni in Natal. Then these wives died. These wives died and then Lavutha took another wife in this lali that we were born in, the third one. Her sons – maybe Durban (Wellington) told you this – Nkabeni was left at a war. I don't know about this war but it was there but those that were born here, were here. There was Magubha of the great house and then my father...

Q: Who was your father?

MaC: Nweleni. But his name was Sam.

Janet: Please ask her to tell us which children came from which wife, if she can.

MaC: There were three from the third wife. But the sons of Lavutha were Nkabeni, Magubha, then Sam, then Mgono and then Ciyani, then Mpovane.

Q: Are all of these men from the same wife?

MaC: Mpovane and Pauli are of the same mother.

Q: Which wife?

MaC: The middle one. The younger wife was taken after the first two had died. When we grew up, there were these houses but we heard that all these people came from overseas. Well at that time when there were ships – I don't know what they are called now but then they were called *ziifolontiya* - these ships were used by people, they were being used to go backwards and forwards from here to Durban. There were ships like that then but now they are not here. But when we got a bit older they were there. Because there were young men who usually went to Port St Johns in these ships and then down to Durban. They were not really large ships. So now the way they came here, I'm not sure whether they used those ships or what but they were using a ship to come here.

Q: Do you know the names of the people that were in these ships?

MaC: These people we do not know because we grew up here with our father's older brother and we never even knew our grandfather.

Q: What's the name of your father's older brother?

MaC: Magubha.

Q: Is Magubha the son of the first wife?

MaC: Yes. We say that he's of the first wife because he is the one who was great. He's one of the people that married black people. Mgono's mother was of Xolo (? family / clan).

Q: Which of the three wives was she?

MaC: Well I'm not really sure because when I was born Mgono was no longer alive, Ciyani was no longer alive and Mnukwa was no longer alive. Mnukwa was the grandfather of Durban (Wellington). When we were born Durban's grandfather was no longer with us. Mgono, Ciyani – Ciyani had a son that he got in Durban called Jafta who came this side and went back to Durban. He had a home in Cape Town but he is no longer with us, only his children. Ciyani was Lavutha's son. All that we hear is that they came from overseas.

Q: Do you know where exactly overseas?

MaC: Oh no! Because we were born by these people that already lived here.

Q: Grandmother, these people married black women. So how did they live here? Did they live the way *abantu* live or the way that the English live?

MaC: They came and lived the way of *abantu*, young man. Because they got here and they did what was done here. They came here and they did what was done here.

Q: Do you mean they came here and adopted the rituals and customs of the people or did they get here and do their own thing?

MaC: They adopted rituals how? They never did their own thing, they did what was done here. Everything!

Q: You see, Mother, black people have praises, they *nqula* and they perform rituals. I'm trying to ask, when they came here did they say praises too? Did they have praises? Did they do all of that?

MaC: I don't know. I haven't seen anybody praise, my child. But when they got here they did what was done here. They did everything the Pondo's do. They ate what the Pundos ate. They

arrived here and found *abantu* and *abantu* had things that they were doing. So they just came and did whatever was done by *abantu*.

Q: Another example of a custom of the Pondos is *ukuchaza*...¹³

MaC: Well let me tell you about that part. Even though they didn't *chaza*, in the case of a child developing an itchy face and we said that this has come from the mother's side – we never said that it was of Lavutha – then that's why we would do *chaza* for a child.

Q: Oh, this means that when they came here they didn't strictly follow the rituals that were done here; they only followed them because of the wives they took.

MaC: Yes, they did what was done in the land they came to.

Q: Oh, so this means that there is no ritual that you can say that this ritual is of Lavutha's side or this ritual is of Caine's side.

MaC: Well Lavutha is a Caine himself. Well there is no place that has no ritual, every place has its own ritual because even white people have their own rituals because they do *twasa*. Well if they are able to become *sangomas*, then they have their own rituals. Do you see that?

Q: Yes.

MaC: You can put it right there. They (her forebears) were like these white people who *twasa*.

Q: Well Ma, what I'm really driving at here is that I want to know if the Caines perform rituals?

MaC: Listen here my boy, I'm saying to you, they came here and did what was done. Do you hear me when I say they came here and did what was done? They observed that oh, a person is doing this and a person is doing that... Do you get it? Because they arrived here and stayed here with these people.

Q: I've heard you.

MaC: Well, I've heard you too. (All laugh). You see when a person arrives at a place they do what is done by whoever is there. They were brewing *mqombothi* too. People would come and drink *mqombothi* because when they arrived here *mqombothi* was being brewed by people. They did everything.

Q: Black people say their praises. When they arrived here, black people were saying their praises. So did they say praises?

MaC: There's no one who went to Lavutha's house and said praises. There's no one who even asked for that. All that was known was that these people are of Caine. These are the Caines. But praising was never done when we did something (performed a ritual). I hear rumours... I've never seen a *sangoma* from the Caine clan. What happens is that a girl from Caine marries out and then she becomes a *sangoma* there where she's married.

Q: What?

MaC: Yes, she becomes a *sangoma* where she's married.

Q: Who is making her *twasa* then?

¹³ Ritual cutting of the face of children.

MaC: Now I'm from Caine but when I'm here I'm from here, I will *twasa* using this homesteads *ithongo*. But there is something that will want me at home but the *twasa* business is from here. But with these people (the Caines) I never ever heard or saw anyone becoming a *sangoma*. They never made anyone a *sangoma*. But there was something I heard of that there was something among the Caines but no one ever took any notice of it. If you can call the white *sangomas*, they can point it out but there's no one who ever took it into consideration and tried to do it. No one took note of it, it was just left hanging in the air, it is still like that. All that is happening is that a girl marries out and then the girl *twasas* there, that is all.

Q: I think I have asked everything I had to ask here.

MaC: What did the people that you asked before me say?

Q: About what?

MaC: About these questions you're asking me.

Q: The ritual ones?

MaC: Yes.

Q: Well they were saying different things but what they say is that the Caines have no rituals but those that do perform rituals have followed their mother's side.

MaC: Just as I said.

Q: Yes.

MaC: Ah! I didn't even hear them!

F2.8. Interview with John Caine and Ma Khambule at Hombe, Lusikisiki on 5 August 2010

Q: Please tell us the history of the Caines.

MaK: My husband had a bad accident and now he doesn't remember much. I also do not know very much.

Q: Please tell us what you know.

MaK: Well I will only tell you what I have heard. Caine came from Durban and he came here to Lusikisiki. When he came here he didn't have a wife. He saw a wife here. My husband's father had eight wives and he gave birth to many children. He stayed here. He built. He had livestock. He was living the Xhosa lifestyle. He stayed and stayed and then he got sick and died. Then, he was buried at Durban. His grave is at Durban.

J: What was his name?

MaK: (asks husband).

John: He was Magubha.

Q: Was he given that name by his father?

MaK: Maybe he came with that name from Durban.

John: We don't know.

Q: So you say he was living the Xhosa lifestyle. Does this mean that he had rituals that he was performing?

MaK: Xhosa rituals?

Q: Yes.

MaK: No. He never had a ritual. Even now there is no ritual in this family.

Q: Do you slaughter?

MaK: Yes, we do slaughter and we just make a braai.

Q: How do you slaughter?

MaK: Well, I wouldn't know that, my husband would. (To her husband) They are asking, do you slaughter here?

John: Yes.

MaK: How do you slaughter?

John: We slit its throat. And if it's a beast, we stab it in the stomach with a spear.

Q: And it cries?

John: Yes.

Q: Does it have to cry.

MaK: Yes. (to John) say yes.

John: Yes.

Q: Do you say praises?

Both: No.

Q: Do you have a clan name?

MaK: It's not there. (to husband) Say it, you don't have a clan name.

(silence).

MaK: Answer the question.

John: No, we do not have it, *mfondini* (friend).

Q: Even when your daughter's marry, they are not called by anything?

MaK: They are called MaCaine. (to husband) Say it, say that your daughter's don't have a clan name.

John: No, no, there's no English called here.

MaK: Hey, we are talking about the clan name here, not English.

Q: What are you saying, sir. Are you saying that there are no English ways of doing things here?

MaK: No, there are no Xhosa ways of doing things. Our daughters are called MaCaine. People call them *amalawu* (coloureds).

F2.9. Interview with Mary Richards (nee Caine) and David Ogle at Mthatha on 10 September 2010

Janet: What do you know about the history of the Caine clan?

Mary: There were three of them, Dean Ogle, Loveit Caine and Dukuza, Math who were left by a ship that was wrecked at Port St Johns. They went to Lusikisiki and mingled with black people and stayed behind. The black people say Lavutha, but they couldn't pronounce his real name, Loveit. After making all these babies, Loveit took his horse and went along the sea towards Cape Town.

Janet: Do you perform rituals?

Mary: We celebrate birthdays but we slaughter a sheep, not goats. At funerals, we slaughter a cow.

Janet: How do you slaughter the animal?

Mary: We stab the back of the neck or shoot it. We don't stab the stomach or anything like that. Sometimes we take it to the butcher to cut up.

Janet: Do you say anything when you are slaughtering?

Mary: No, nothing.

Appendix F3. AmaCaine *izinqulo*

F3.1. Isiqula of Wellington Caine at Ngcambeni, Lambasi on 3 August 2010

Caine

Mgeliza

Khayisan

Caine, bantu bakwa Caine, nantsi into endininika yona.

Caine

Mgeliza

Khayisan

Caine, people of Caine, here is something I'm giving to you.

F3.2. Isiqula of Siwela Magubha at Mzimpunzi, Mbotyi on 5 August 2010

Singoo Mginiza

SinguMakhasana

Umavuk'efile

Abaphetsya,abaseNgilane

Abawela ngentak'ezimaphiko

OoNobhongoz'omhlophe

We are the Mginizas

We are Makhasana

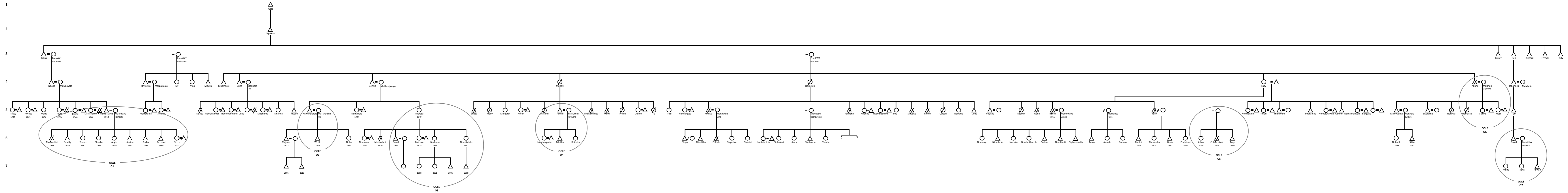
The ones that resurrect from death

Those that are from overseas, from England

Those who crossed on bird with wings

The white Nobhongozas

Appendix G: amaOgle



Appendix G2. Transcriptions of amaOgle interviews

G2.1. Interview with Theresa Ogle at Rhole, Lambasi on 3 August 2010

Q: Please tell us the history of the Ogles.

T: History says they came out of the sea by ship at Durban. At Durban, at a place called Sibubululu. And then they came out and stayed at *esixeni* (slopes down to the sea with trees). Then they were found by boys that were guarding cattle. Then the boys ran home and said they saw animals that looked like people. And then Shaka said, "Let's go there." When Shaka got there, he said, "These animals should not be killed because these animals are mine." Then he took them back home and gave them a beast. Then when Shaka said this beast must be captured (and killed), these white people said, "No, don't capture it." And then they shot it. Shaka didn't know anything about guns, he only knew spears. Back then, people were wearing things called *izigaga* (animal skins). These white men gave Shaka a blanket. Back then clothing was called *imibhalo*. Then I do not know what they did after that. But what I know is my grandfather Frank came this side to build.

J: Who are Frank's children?

T: My father was Dennis, son of Frank. Another one was Duna. Another one was Adam. Another one was Doda. The other one was Mnyayiza.

Teresa's niece: What about Grandmother?

T: Did you want me to mention all Frank's children?

Q: Yes.

T: Oh, I thought I was supposed to only mention men. It's Lucy, Mqhoyi, Gcinekile, Girly, Mhamhayi. And then Grandmother was Charlotte, Vina, Ivy.

Q: Do you know their birth order?

T: No, I do not know their birth order because they were not all of the same wife.

Q: How many wives did he have?

T: He had two wives.

Q: This homestead that we are in comes from which wife?

T: The younger wife, the second one.

Q: Where is the homestead of the first wife?

T: It's no longer there. They arrived at Mbotyi when they came from Natal. And then they came here. The first wife was MaNgcobo.

Teresa's niece: Who were the children of the first wife?

T: Well they are no longer here because they died. But they were Vina and Ivy.

J: Do you know which of the children came from the first wife and which from the second?

T: The ones that came from the first wife are Mnyayiza, Vina, Ivy and Mpuku. (Laughs). Second wife, Mhamhayi, Duna and Dennis, Mqhoyi, Gcinekile, Girly, Adam and Lucy.

Q: What is your name, Mama?

T: I am Theresa.

J: What is your clan name?

T: MaOgle.

Q: Who is your father?

T: Dennis.

Q: Oh, you did not marry?

T: No.

Q: You stayed at home?

T: Yes.

J: What do you use as a clan name?

T: We say we are the Ogles.

Q: Do you perform rituals?

T: No. Well, we do perform some sort of a ritual if there's a sick person. For example if someone needs something to be slaughtered for them. There's no other thing beyond that. When we perform a ritual we just slaughter and that's it.

Q: How do you slaughter?

T: We just slit its throat.

Q: Do you say anything when you slaughter?

T: No, we don't say anything.

Q: Which animal do you kill for rituals?

T: We use a sheep.

Q: Have you ever had a case where a person got sick for *mbeleko*?

T: Yes, we did have that case but we at this homestead do not wear skins.

Q: Can you tell me in detail about the ritual you do perform?

T: We just speak to tell that we are giving this person this sheep for this reason and then we want them to be healed.

Q: Where is the sheep when you are saying this? Is it still alive or is it dead?

T: Well the sheep is still alive when we are telling all this. The sheep is taken near the kraal and then we speak there and then that's it.

Q: Is it killed after that?

T: Yes.

Q: Is there anything else that follows?

T: No, there's no other thing. We do not wear *isiphandla* (thongs around the wrist).

Q: So you do not have any other ritual that you perform apart from this?

T: No, there is no other ritual that we have here.

Q: Have you ever had a person here that fell sick and then that person was diagnosed to be needing to *twasa*?

T: Well, yes, there were such cases but no one really ever took it into consideration. People that had it just went to church to calm things down. For example my sister who had such a sickness went to Zionist churches and then that whole thing went down, it became calm.

Q: Who is this (pointing to second girl)?

T: She is my daughter?

Q: Does she stay here with you?

T: Yes, all my children stay here with me.

Q: What do your children use as a surname?

T: Ogle.

J: So you use Ogle as a surname and a clan name?

T: Well, we don't have a clan name really.

J: When your daughter marries, what is she called?

T: She is called MaOgle.

J (to Qiks): Like the Caines.

G2.2. Interview with Hlomela Ngwevu (Ogle) at Mbotyi, Lusikisiki on 5 August 2010

Q: Please tell us what you know about the history of the Ogles.

H: Let me take a shot at telling you the history. My name is Hlomela David Ogle. I was borne by Ndoda who was borne by Frank. Frank was borne by Ngwevu. Ngwevu was borne by this man that was called Ogle. According to my knowledge, Ogle and Caine, if I'm not mistaken, and another man called Collis, and another man whom I forgot; they were four. They came out of the sea in a year unknown to me. They were four. They had nothing. White people usually came out of the sea carrying things like pens which they showed to black people but they came out with nothing.

When they came they associated themselves with black people. They had nothing to show to black people and they married black people. People that I know that came from Natal are Caine and Ogle, from a place called Natal midlands where they started to plough. He (Ogle) gave birth then to Ngwevu. Ngwevu gave birth to many boys. Those that I know are Frank, Freddy, Belly and others that were said to die young.

Frank grew up and took two wives there on the Natal side. He came this side with those wives. When they came this side, my father (Ndoda) already had a wife. My older sister, because I am the last born here, I came after girls, I am the only son. My older sister, when they came this side, she was carried on the back when they were coming from Natal, travelling with my grandfather, Frank and my father and my grandfather's brother, Freddy. They came to Lusikisiki and built. Frank came with two wives. The other wife is the one who gave birth to my father. She died here. The wife that gave birth to all these people you were mentioning, he got here, this side. All these people you were naming, Tolly, Nkwendlelele, Theresa, all come from the younger wife. My father arrived here with a wife and then he gave birth to children, six girls and me, the seventh. One of the girls got lost at the age of fifteen. Other girls are still alive, they are around and they are very old.

Frank came here and built in two places. When he built he already had this younger wife. He went to Lambasi to build for the younger wife. This younger wife was MaCaine. There (at Lambasi) he built a school. You see, when you're there where you were at Theresa's, it's a distance if I'm not mistaken, thirty meters away from Theresa's homestead to the place where he built this school. When he built this school the reason was that there was no school, there was nothing there. He was building this school for his son that he loved so much, his lastborn son called Adam. That was my *Tat'omncinci*. Adam was the lastborn, the last boy of the last wife. He built a school for him because he loved him but he never went to school. I think if you'd go there, you'd see traces of the school.

In our history, my grandfather Frank gave birth to many children, children that are different, children that do not even know each other. He had different wives. For example, those who you were speaking to do not know the children of other wives. From what I heard, these men who came out of the sea were not related. They were just people that were embarking on the same journey. That's why Frank was able to marry a girl from the Caines. There is no other house that I heard you speaking about.

Again, another house of Frank's brother, Belly, those that were borne by Ngwevu. A man from the Caines married an Ogle in one of Belly's houses. Then that would mean the Caines and the Ogles are related by marriage. Many of them are at Durban. Some of Frank's other brothers came this side and looked and looked and looked and decided, "no, we cannot stay here" and went back to Durban. Frank was going around building because there were no houses here. He was building in forests. I remember a place where Freddy built first, if I'm not mistaken, it is about two kilometres from here. He was with Frank. They cut planks and they used them. They were building with those planks and selling them. He went away to another place where he planted a lot of things. That's where he also built the school we were talking about.

Many are there at Durban. Even those that are not known and even those that do not know that they have relatives this side, they do not know at all.

Q: Is it only your grandfather that came this side?

H: He was with Belly and Freddy. They were three. Freddy was the one who was making the plank business. Here he (Freddy) gave birth to two children, a girl and a boy. That old lady (the girl) just recently died; if I'm not mistaken it's been two or three years now. Belly gave birth to one boy. That boy died many years ago. They all stay at Durban. They (Belly and Freddy) never gave birth to many children. The only person who gave birth to many children was Freddy. When he came here he had two wives, and then he took another wife and he had many children with her. They are the ones that are many here. I am the only one of this wife. Others are no longer with us. I come from a wife that he came with from that side. My father came with his father from Natal, but she was black, she was a Zulu lady, she was MaBhaka.

Q: So you say your grandfather came here and he built. You say there were no houses here when he came?

H: He came near Magwa and he left his younger brother Freddy there. He went on to build in another place. Then my father came from there where he was and built his own homestead.

Q: I hear you. Well the reason why I ask about the presence of homes is because you say these men that came out of the sea were white. But when you look at yourselves you are not white, you are black. And here, you live with black people. Even your houses are like those of the people who live around here. No one could tell that you have a white ancestor. So what I'm getting at is the performance of rituals, is it the same as these people you are living with or is it different?

H: We, because of circumstances, like I said, that Ogle, when they came out of the sea, they were different. They just told themselves that they would do away with the white ways because they had nothing. They came out and mixed with the Zulus and even other white people were criticising them because of the circumstances that they were in. We followed that path. Now, now, now, here with Frank, we lived the way of the black people. Even with

our children, there are children that are very dark and you will even ask yourself, “why is this child so black?” We live by the ways of black people here even though we don’t entirely do the exact things that they do.

Q: Can you please tell me, sir, when you perform rituals, what rituals do you perform? What kind of animals do you slaughter and how?

H: Rituals that we perform are not entirely different from the ones of Pondoland. For example, here in Pondoland, when a child is born, it is a must that this finger (little finger) must be cut (*ingqithi*). We never followed that. Secondly, all children, by tradition must be cut on their faces (*bachazwe*) here in Pondoland. The purpose is so that the blood will correctly circulate the body. This is done to all the children, it doesn’t matter who gave birth to the child, the child must be cut. Many, you cannot notice that they have been cut. Nowadays, this tradition is slowly fading away. You find that a child grows up and goes away to work and then that child will give birth to a child elsewhere, maybe with a person from Tekwini or from Tsolo. Then that child will grow there and then when they come back, his or her parents will not be still holding on to the tradition. But according to tradition here where we are, a child must be cut. But we, when we were born, we decided, “no, we will not do these things.” But in the case of my daughter getting pregnant, her child will be taken home (to the husband’s family) and then the child will be cut there. I’m not against that. But me, here, I have boys that have children.

When we have recognised that the child has our blood, even if the child is old, we perform what is called *mbeleko*. There is something that is taken near the sea, that we use to wash the child. When we perform this *mbeleko*, we may use a chicken or a goat or a sheep, whatever is available.

Q: Oh, so you do not have a specific animal that you use for *mbeleko*?

H: No, no. We use anything that is available.

Q: Please sir, tell me exactly how you perform this ritual because you’ll find in some homesteads there is this thing of time; that a ritual must be started by a certain time.

H: Well, we don’t have many things. If we have *mbeleko* for a child, I think there are old people, but I think they have died now, Lucy, not running away from the point, was born by Frank. She’s the one who is old. She’s the only one still alive. Usually, we request that old person to be present. When the person is there, the day of the *mbeleko*, we will speak. She will speak and then I will speak as the parent of the child. We speak about what we hope may happen to this child. When we are finished with that, we slaughter. And we take the bile of the animal and we put it somewhere. The next day at dawn, we will wash the child with that thing that we take by the sea, it is not itchy, you just put it in water. It is not itchy or anything, it is like putting clothes in the water. Then we wash this child and then after the sun has risen, then we smear the child with the bile. Then that’s the end.

Q: How do you slaughter?

H: When the animal is for a ritual, we use a spear. We don’t really stab it with the spear, we just fake the stabbing. It doesn’t matter if it’s a goat, sheep or a beast. We fake the stabbing in the stomach. We do not really stab it. After that, the person who is going to kill it, will kill it. Not forgetting this part. Since I am the only one left, it is me who fakes this stabbing and after

seeing that it's a long distance from here to Lambasi, we decided that there must be another one that side who will fake the stabbing. For example, this Saturday we have a funeral; it will be me who will fake the stabbing. For example, let's take a sheep. A person will just put the spear on the stomach and then whoever is going to kill it will take a knife and slit its throat.

J: Does the beast cry?

Q: With other homesteads, it is said that the beast must cry so that they will know that whatever they are doing is successful. So what I'm really trying to ask is, by this faking of stabbing, does the beast cry and do you need it to cry as other homesteads do?

H: Yes, I would say that, that the beast needs to cry but not always. What we understand and what usually happens, is that someone that is not supposed to stab the cow, let's say you (Q) stabs the beast, what will happen is that it will not die. If it's not the right person that stabs the beast, it does not die. We depend on the time it takes to die. In the case of a person stabbing a beast, who was not supposed to stab it, for it to die, someone who was supposed to stab it must come and fake the stabbing and then the beast will die. If the person who was supposed to fake the stabbing does not come, we will spend hours there, waiting for the beast to die and it does not die.

Q: I hear you. Above all, you do perform rituals here?

H: Yes, we do.

Q: Do you say praises?

H: What do you mean, do you mean praising the creator?

Q: No, the ancestors.

H: No, no, no, we don't do that.

Q: Oh, the only thing you do is just speak?

H: We just speak of what we are doing and hope for success. What we do is we combine it with the creator. We do not say praises, we don't put the dead first.

Q: Do you have a clan name?

H: Well, we just decided that our clan name would be Ogle. But some use Ogle as a surname. Some are using Ogle as both a clan name and surname.

J: If your daughter marries, what is she called?

H: She is called MaOgle.

Q: Which other names are used as surnames?

H: Some use their grandfathers as surnames. Like me here, I use my grandfather's name, Ngwevu as a surname. Even my children use Ngwevu as a surname.

Q: What do you say when you're saying praises?

H: You see, when it comes to that, we are not really in too deep. But there are things. I remember... my father when he used to praise himself, because he was into these things deeply. He never even went to school. He was in very deep because it was nice to hear him saying praises, because this thing of saying praises is very nice when you are hearing it. When we praise ourselves, we say:

[See Appendix G3.1]

Even when you get to *komkhulu* (the great place), they say Hohlo, Hohlo, Hohlo. Those (the *nqula*) are some of the things that you would find people saying because white people said never to come near them because we slept with black people.

Appendix G3. AmaOgle *isingulo*

G3.1. Isiqula of Hlomela Ogle at Mbotyi, Lusikisiki on 5 August 2010

Singabakwa Hohlo,

We are from Hohlo,

Kwa Mahlahla.

From Mahlahla.

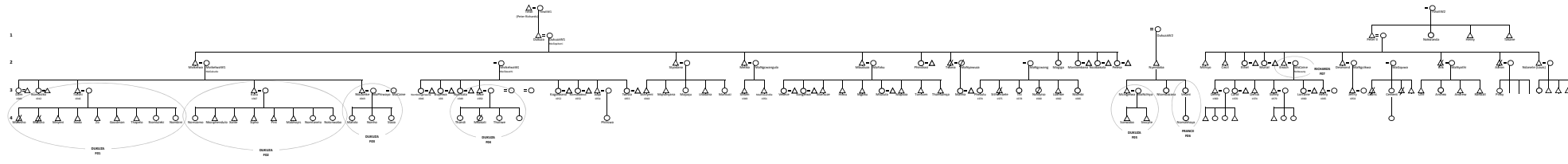
*Abantu abaxelelwa ngabelungu ukuba
bayanuka kuba balala nabantu abamnyama.*

People who were told by whites that they are smelly because they slept with black people.

*Apho badutyulwa khona kodwa baphinda
bakhwebuka babuya.*

Where they were shot at, but they turned and went back again.

Appendix H: amaFrance



Appendix H2. Transcriptions of amaFrance interviews

H2.1. Interview with Mrs France and her daughter, Velani at Ndengane, Msikaba on 10 December 2009

V: My grandfather was Tshali and he gave birth to Dukuza.

Q: Is Dukuza a coloured?

V: Yes, he had long hair but he was a coloured.

J: Did Tshali marry a black woman?

V: Yes.

J: Did Tshali come out of the sea?

V: Yes, by boat. They were washed out. After they were washed out they were discovered and then they married black people. And then, after marrying a black wife he gave birth to Dukuza. Dukuza also married black people and then Dukuza gave birth to our fathers. Then my father married my mother.

Buyiswa (our guide): What was your father's name?

V: Nyindaba.

Q: So that's as far as this history of this house goes?

V: Yes, it's like that. But it is said that Tshali was a German.

Q: So what do you call yourselves?

V: AmaFrance.

Q: That is your surname?

V: Yes. Because we have mixed ourselves with black people, we call ourselves by the black people's names now. Tshali does not appear any more. Well it's a mixture now. Some call themselves Dukuza, some call themselves Tshali.

Q: Ok, so you call the names of the people you descend from?

V: Yes.

Q: Do you perform rituals?

V: Yes, we do.

Q: The same as local people or different?

V: The same.

Q: Do you say praises?

V: Yes, we do say praises. We call France, Tshali, Math, those who gave birth to us. Then we call Rhole, Philwayo. They are from my mother's side. We mix clans.

Q: Oh, you mix the clans from your mother and fathers side at the same time?

V: Yes, we perform a ritual.

Q: Are the rituals you perform like those of the mother's side or are they different.

V: Well because my father was born by Ma Rhole, we take the rituals from the Rhole's and my mother's side (Philwayo) and we combine these with those of France when we perform rituals.

J: What do they use as a clan name?

V: The names of our fathers, (Tshali, France, Dukuza).

Q: Do you perform the *mbeleko* ritual?

V: Yes, we do, with a goat.

Q: Do you tie strips of goat skin around the neck?

V: Yes, they are around the neck and also the wrists which is called *isiphandla*.

Q (J): Do you have your own variations in how you perform the rituals?

V: No we do it the same way as others because we have mixed with them. I've watched other homesteads performing the rituals and we don't do it exactly the same. Because our black parents performed these rituals for us and we don't know how our fathers were doing it.

(Asks old lady): Did our grandfather do it the same as others?

Ma?: Yes. Well because Ndilingile was born by MaRhole, a black lady.

V: Even my grandfather was born from a black person.

Ma?: Ndilingile, when he had children he was still at Rhole's homestead. That is why they performed rituals like the Rholes. That's how they took the Rhole way of performing rituals and combined it with the France way.

Q: So that's why your ways of performing rituals are slightly different from the Xhosa way?

V: Yes, it is not the same because I notice that when I go to other rituals that it is not the same way we do here.

Q: Oh, in other homesteads they don't do this thing of *isiphandla*?

V: Yes, some do have *isiphandla* but it varies in how they do it. And some locals do not do it at all.

Q (J): Can you tell us your genealogy?

V: We do not know. All we know is that Tshali gave birth to Dukuza and Dukuza gave birth to our fathers. You should go to Kwa Goso because there are people there who might know.

J: Who should we ask for when we go there?

V: There is an old coloured person who can help you at Mbotyi who is from Ogle.

Q: Are there any old men of this homestead alive?

Ma ? : No, they are all dead.

Q: Are the Ogles and Frances related?

V: No, they are separate families.

Q: Is there any person who has the information that we want?

V: No, because even my brothers have died, it is only me and my mother left.

H2.2. Interview with Keke Dukuza at Khonjwayo, Lambasi on 11 March 2010

K: I am a child, but I know that as many as we are, we come from Mkweni (at Lambasi). My father is Mvikelwa of Dukuza. My grandfather's wife is MaSqabheni. Mkweni is the place where we were born, but we were driven away by whites for agricultural purposes. I do not know where my grandfather came from, but I saw him, he was a *lawu*. My grandfather had many animals.

Q: Did your grandfather perform rituals?

K: He performed rituals but the rituals were of the Nyawuza's because of his wife. So, we still do them that way. They even come in dreams to remind us how things are done. For example

when I have a trip somewhere they (grandfather and grandmother) appear and warn me of anything.

Q: Is Dukuza a coloured?

K: He had a white father and a black mother.

H2.3. Interview with Kutu Dukuza at Khonjwayo, Lambasi on 4 August 2010

Q: How did the Dukuza's come to be? Please tell us what you know.

K: Dukuza was borne by Tshali. Tshali was a white man. He came to the sea. He was with children. These children were boys. He kept on coming to the sea with these children. Dukuza (one of the children) made friends with black children. Dukuza got lost with the (black) children. His father looked for him and gave up looking for him. Tshali went back home and forgot about him because when he kept on coming back to the sea he was not finding him and so he forgot about him. Now black people called him Dukuza because he was a white boy that got lost wandering with black children. (*Dukuza* means wandering aimlessly). So he stayed with a man called Gavu. He grew up and got old. He didn't even go to school. He smeared some things on his face. When he went to town, there was a doctor called Betty, a white doctor. This doctor knew him. This doctor was saying, "This is the son of Tshali." This doctor would take Dukuza and make him wear suits and take the things he was wearing and put them in a plastic. And then when Dukuza went back home, he would take off the suits and put the things he was wearing before back on and carry sticks. That's how he became Dukuza and that's how we came to use Dukuza as our surname. He himself was borne by Tshali and got lost from his father when he came to the sea.

Q: Was Dukuza white or a coloured?

K: Well, Tshali was a white person and Dukuza, my grandfather was white like this (pointing at Janet). He had a long nose like this (still pointing). He had a long neck, very white. He's the one that mixed with blacks. He mixed with black people when he was very young.

Q: Where did his father (Tshali) come from?

K: I'm not sure, I'm not sure whether it was Kokstad or what. But white people that usually came here were coming from Kokstad usually. Or Port Shepstone, but Kokstad was the first place to have people coming here.

Q: Why did Tshali come this side? Did he come here because of trading for example, or what?

K: Tshali came here visiting the sea. He was like school children. He came here during the holidays and then went back again. Dukuza just got left here.

Q: Oh, you are his children?

K: Yes, we are his children. Dukuza was ten or twelve years old when he got lost.

Q: So, you are his children. You say he was white. From what I hear, from what you have told us, he loved the Xhosa ways.

K: Yes, he was just Xhosa, even his language was isiXhosa. He didn't even go to school.

Q: Ok, so what about the rituals now. Do you perform rituals?

K: Well, we do perform rituals. Because my grandfather's wife was black, she was MaNyawuza. When she had children, you'd find that her children cried a lot and they needed

to be cut on their faces (*chaza*). And also there would be a thong put on the child, whether it's from a sheep or a goat because we are not fussy, we use either because we are white people (*mbeleko*). Those were done because our grandmother was a black person. So we do perform rituals because Dukuza married a black person. He grew up among black people, he married a black person. He gave birth to children among black people and with a black person.

Q: Do you perform your rituals the same as other clans?

K: Well, all the clans here are different in their ways. Each clan has its own medicine that it uses to wash its people with when it's performing its rituals. Even us here at home, we have our own medicine that we use to wash with when we are performing a ritual.

Q: What about in the case of slaughtering?

K: We use a spear when we slaughter. I even have a spear here at home, inside the house. If the animal is for a ritual, we stab it here.

Q: Where?

K: In the stomach.

Q: Does it cry?

K: Yes, it has to cry.

Q: Do you say praises?

K: Well, no I don't hear anything from the old people that we are from who and who. I just usually hear people saying that we are from France, Richard...

Q: What did you say, you are from what?

K: We say we are from France, Richard.

Q: So when you are about to stab an animal, what do you do? Do you say praises?

K: No, when we are about to stab, we just have a meeting as the people of the home and we speak about what we are about to do and why we are about to do it. And then after we have spoken about it we take this medicine of ours and we go to the kraal and wash this person that we are doing something for. And then after that we stab the animal and then we eat.

Q: When you are doing this, where are the lali people?

K: Well, when we are meeting inside the house, they are outside waiting for us. And then we go to the kraal, they are still waiting there. And then they take part when we stab. And then we give them whatever is there, we give them alcohol and food, whatever is there. If the ritual, for example is on Saturday, we meet on Friday and discuss this and then on Saturday, we do all that I have said.

Q: So when you are speaking, where is this animal that you are going to kill?

K: It is where you are going to kill it, it is in the kraal. What we do is we wash this person and then kill the animal, in the kraal.

Q: Oh, so when you wash the person, the animal is still alive?

K: No, it will be stabbed first and die and then the person will be washed.

Q: What are your daughters called when they marry?

K: They are called MaFrance. Well because of illiteracy, they are called MaFulanisi. And those who are literate, for example my Tat'omncinci usually says that we lost to say that we are from Fulanisi. He says we are from Richard.

Q: Who is Richard? Is Richard an old person?

K: Well Richard... maybe he (Tat'omncinci) knew it from this doctor that I was talking about that knew Dukuza, that that Tshali was a Richard.

Q: Was 'Richard' Tshali's surname?

K: I think so. Because this person who says this, this person I'm calling Tat'omncinci was the son of Bhalangile, the brother of Dukuza. They were educated there in that house.

Q: Where can we find this person?

K: Near town (Lusikisiki). I have a daughter who has his number. He's the one that knows all this. He is called Gosa. But you must get his number. I told him yesterday and he said he would call me if he couldn't come here, but he didn't call me.

Q: Well, we will go to him then.

K: He is at Ngobozane.

Q: Is that a place?

K: Yes, near town.

Q: Is his number near here?

K: Yes, you will get it from Nomzamo.

Q: Oh, we know Nomzamo.

H2.4. Interview with Enoch Richards at Ngobozana, Lusikisiki on 4 August 2010

Q: Please tell us your history.

E: Oh, you want our history?

Q: Yes, sir.

E: My grandpa comes from Germany. How he came here was, there was a boat that came to Port St Johns. Then my grandpa came out from that ship and he came to build at Ntabankulu. Well, he gave birth to my father.

Q: Who was your father?

E: My grandfather was Peter. Peter Richards. And he named his son Peter. Yes. That's how it went. My father gave birth to children. I'm one of them. We schooled in Bantu schools.

J: What was your father's name?

E: Peter Richards. Richards.

J: Your grandfather?

E: Yes, my grandpa was Peter Richards. He named his son Peter Richards.

J: Oh, he gave his son the same name?

E: Yes the same man. That's how we came to be this family. You see, our family is Richard's Bay. All Richards there. All of my family is at Richards Bay. It's like that. We were borne by a white person, not a coloured, but he married a black person. My grandfather is what you call a European. Yes.

Q: Was your father born alone? Did you have any *tat'omncincis*?

E: Yes, I had some *tat'omncincis* but they are no longer with us. I am the only one who's left in the whole family. In fact we are three. My sister and my brother, two brothers. Only three now. I don't know how I will say this. These people called themselves Dukuzas (angry). That's

what's bothering me. They called themselves Dukuza. We are not Dukuza, we are Richards. Their father was a fisherman at the sea. He was going up and down looking for fish. Black people named him Dukuza and him (pointing at Kutu), he used Dukuza as a surname. I don't know this Dukuza thing, these are the children of my Tat'omncinci.

Q: What was his real name?

E: (thinks). I forgot the name.

Mrs Richards: It's difficult

E: Hmmm?

Mrs R: It's difficult.

E: Haaai man! No man, I know this name.

Kutu: Between your father and Dukuza, who is the oldest?

E: It's my father. Dukuza comes after a girl, that girl that is married there at Mgezwa, the mother of Butcher. Your (grand)father comes after that woman. It is my father that is old, you see. Then comes *udadobawo* (father's sister), then comes Dukuza. Then comes Takane. I mean then comes Tsheme's father, after Dukuza. Then comes Takane.

Kutu: Who is Tsheme?

E: It's that man who is called Nyawuza now. He stays at Hombe.

Kutu: Oh that one. I see.

E: Yes, that's him. They are four. It's my father, Dadobawo, Dukuza, Tsheme's father. Then Takane is the last born.

Q: So, what is this name Tshali all about?

E: Tshali?

Q: Yes, who is Tshali?

E: Haaai, uTshali? I don't know Tshali. (to Kutu) Who is Tshali?

Kutu: My grandfather said Tshali was his father.

E: His father? No, it's not Tshali, it's Peter. He's there at Ntabankulu, do you know Ntabankulu? I even know his place, near Cola in Ntabankulu. My grandfather had shops at Cola and Cacadu. This Tshali thing is something that he was called by black people, just like my father was called Bhalangile. It was a name given to him by *abantu*. Just because my father was called Bhalangile, we can't call ourselves Bhalangile. He was Peter.

Q: So, sir, you live here and you live with black people. Are you having the same lifestyle as them?

E: Yes, my boy.

Q: So do you perform rituals the same way they do?

E: We perform what we have to perform, only those that we have to perform. For example when a girl has died in this homestead, we will burn cloths. (Burning bereavement clothes when coming out of mourning). You see, I was circumcised. I was circumcised at Matatiele. I performed circumcision rituals at Matatiele. Children of this homestead go to circumcision school and I am the one who performs rituals for them.

Q: So which other ritual do you perform besides circumcision?

E: No, no. We don't have another ritual, it's only circumcision.

Q: You don't have *mbeleko*?

E: No.

Q: So you have that thing whereby someone cooks for dead people?

E: No, we don't do that thing.

Q: Do you say praises?

E: No, I'm a believer. I'm Seventh Day Adventist. I go to church on Saturdays. We have our own rituals there. We don't go to *umombulo*. We do not do *ukulanda* (bringing the dead person back home). We don't do that. We don't believe in that.

Q: What is *umombulo*?

E: You see, when my father died, after my mother came out of mourning, *umombulo* is that buying of new furniture, new stuff; taking old stuff out of the house and buying new stuff. We don't do that. Our rituals are not really many and they are not really near the black people's rituals. You see, we married black people, but not me, this is Caine (pointing to his wife). Mmm, she's a coloured. We usually perform some rituals in order to satisfy the wife who is on the black side. We do not cut our faces (*chaza*).

Q: When you slaughter, do you slaughter only for food or what?

E: Well, when we slaughter, we just slaughter the English way. Especially me. I grew up among white people. In 1949 I was with white people. And then I was circumcised in 1958. And then I performed that Bantu ritual. Well, when you go to circumcision, a beast is slaughtered for you but there is no speech, there are no praises said. Even now, when I slaughter a beast for my children, I just grab the beast and kill it, I don't say anything.

Q: You don't say praises?

E: No, no, no, no, no.

Q: How do you kill it?

E: We cut it.

Q: How do you cut it?

E: We stab it here, like it is done by black people?

Q: *Esiqolobeni*? In the back of the neck?

E: Yes. Or I shoot it and it dies.

Q: You don't make it cry?

E: No, no, no. We don't do that? You see, when I see that it is vicious, I shoot it. We skin it and then we eat meat. We are like white people. Our rituals are like white peoples, straight. Sometimes I take the meat and make bacon and not even give any to people. I have white friends. I give them meat too and they go away.

Q: Do you have a clan name?

E: Hey, I don't have a clan name, me. I am only called Richards.

Q: So the reason I ask this is because we've heard things like France, Tshali, Math... So I wanted to know about such things.

E: Well, it's black people, man. They call us different names. Because we came from Germany, the Bantu people called us Fulanisi. My sister was called MaGermany and they called her again, MaFulanisi. Now, these (pointing at Kutu) took this way I'm talking about, this way you see?

Q: Of black people?

E: Yes, of black people. They made it their own. They were there by the sea in the dark. They were born in the dark.

Q: So you mean to say, that in your ancestors, there was no one who was called Math or France.

E: Well, there is this Math thing, but I don't know how it came to be and I won't tell you about it. I don't know it, but it's there. People from the Math family call themselves Richards. We don't know where it got lost but its there in our parents, people from long ago. But I am following the way of the parents that I know.

Q: So, when your daughter marries, what do they call her?

E: No, she's not called anything because we don't have this thing of black people. My married girl is Carol. They call her Carol, *qha*.¹⁴ There are no cows, we do not do *lobola*. We don't do that. We live like white people. White people do not do *lobola*, isn't it?

Q: Mmm.

E: We don't do that either.

Kutu: You never *lobola*-ed?

E: No, not even a cent. (All laugh). She's my wife. She's my wife because we got married. We do marry.

Q: Oh, you had a white wedding?

E: Yes.

J: In church?

E: Yes. Well, we go to church on Saturday. We attend church on Saturday.

Q: This Saturday church you talk about sir, is it something you inherited from your father or is it something that you started yourself?

E: No, it was started by my father.

Q: And you followed in the footsteps of your father?

E: Mmm.

Q: So even your father was living like you are living, he didn't perform any rituals?

E: Yes, because when my grandfather died I was already born. So I know him, I saw him. People that did not see my grandfather are these ones (pointing at Kutu). But his father knew my grandfather. Because his father was older than me, was my older brother. He (Kutu) was not even born. But my father, when he died, they were already born.

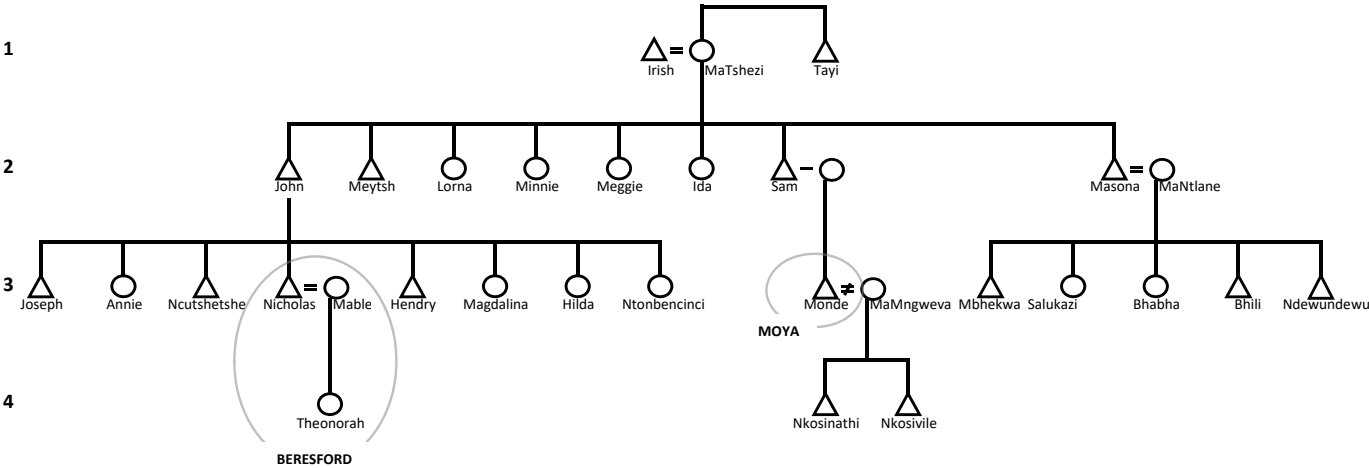
Q: Oh, so your father is grandfather to him (Kutu)?

E: Yes.

¹⁴ Only.

Appendix I: amaIrish

Appendix I1 Oral genealogy of amalrishi



Appendix I2. Transcriptions of amaIrish interviews

I2.1 Interview with Nicholas Beresford at Gogogo, Qandu on 15 August 2009.

Nicholas: Beresford was an Irishman who had a number of sons by a Xhosa wife. Some of the modern-day descendants of Beresford may be known as other surnames such as King As coloureds, the Beresfords do not have a clan-name as such. Our ancestor was Irish. The first Beresford came out of the sea somewhere near Mamolweni and he was involved with trade or transport. My great-grandfather was the first Beresford.

I2.2. Interview with Monde John Moya at Mtalala, Tombo on 16 April 2010.

JJ: Where did Beresford come from?

M: My grandfather was Irish Beresford at Qandu. When I was born he was no longer here. My father was the son of Irish Beresford and his name was Sam Beresford.

JJ: Hold on Tata, who gave birth to Beresford?

M: Beresford? The Irish Beresford came from overseas.

JJ: You don't know his father's name?

M: You want the name of the father of my father?

JJ: Yes.

M: Irish Beresford. Irish is the clan, Beresford is the surname.

JJ: Do you not know his name?

M: Well the name of my grandfather, I cannot know.

JJ: What about his mother?

M: Even her, I wouldn't know. But my grandmother was MaTshezi.

JJ: Was Beresford born alone?

M: Beresford... Do you know the surname Mantwityi?

JJ: Yes.

M: There was a shop there at Nyikimini called Masobho. That girl from there was borne by a boy that was borne by my father's younger brother there at Qandu, called Rita Beresford.

Irish, Beresford and Mantwityi, all of them are family and they come from Mamolweni...

JJ: Did Beresford have any siblings?

M: I don't know. There is another person who knew my grandfather but he won't know any more because he is a drunkard.

JJ: Who can tell us then?

M: Well I don't know who in the family can.

JJ: Who at Qandu can tell us?

M: There at Qandu, there are my father's younger brother's daughters. Because my father is Sam Beresford who died and he had his younger brother, Masona Beresford.

JJ: Who can we ask for at Qandu when we go there?

M: At Gogogo. A girl married into the Sithole family and her older sister, called Sabhokhazi is also there. And also a boy called Matshizolo - there is another person you can ask but I doubt that he will know anything because he is young.

JJ: What is your clan-name Tata?

M: My mother was not married to my father. My mother grew up in a family with the surname Moya and the clan-name Dlamini at Qandu and gave birth to me. She married into a family from Ndywabasini in Mpondomiseland. That homestead deteriorated and she came to Caguba. She died on 19 August 1972, she's here at Caguba. My father was Sam Beresford. They were not married.

JJ: What was the clan-name of your father?

M: My father is Irish Beresford.

JJ: Are you saying that you use "Irish" as a clan-name?

M: Yes. I was borne by the Irish, me myself.

JJ: The whole family of Beresford uses Irish as a clan name?

M: Yes... My disadvantage is that I'm not educated. My parents deprived me of education. I was borne of people who were educated but they did not educate me. That's why things are slow for me... I never saw my grandfather, my grandmother was MaTshezi, we are the grandchildren of the Tshezis. My father was borne by MaTshezi. He was not born alone, he was born with a man called Tayi, there at Gomolo. I was deprived of education so now I'm not able to give you enough. People who can give you enough information are no longer with us. Even there at Qandu, my younger brother of my father's younger brother cannot know. He won't know who my grandfather was. Even my grandmother, he won't know, like me now. But even the fact that I'm not educated counts and that causes me nerves.

JJ: What is your surname?

M: Beresford.

JJ: Your name?

M: Monde. But my identity document says Monde Moya, calling my mother's family. Moya is my mother's family where I grew up. My father is Sam Beresford who impregnated my mother. Beresfords are found at Qandu, I just came here and built. Even me, I came from there. I am Beresford from Qandu. All who know me, know me as Beresford. But in the id book they use Monde Moya John Moya, using my mother's family. My father's family is Irish, Sam Irish Beresford, that's my father's name, self.

JJ: Do you perform rituals?

M: No, we don't do any rituals. We do not. Do you see here? (shows missing joint from small finger). I got injured in the mines, we don't do rituals here. Well you see I joined a church so we don't do those things. Everything to do with rituals, we don't go along with it. Jesus only.

JJ: Do you know how to *nqula* Tata?

M: No, people who *nqula* are from the black line. The white line does not *nqula*. People who are called the white line do not have praises (*isinqula*). Praises are for the black line, the Dlaminis, the Qhirhas, the what what – black line. Even those who cut their children's faces, the children crying, black line.

JJ: What about your finger?

M: Well, I was injured in the mines. A stone fell on me underground in 1954 at the mines.

JJ: How old are you now Tata?

M: I was born in 1933.

JJ: Do you have children?

M: I am separated from their mother, she's from Dutywa. It's been ten years now. I have two boys, they went away with their mother. I stay alone. That does not bother me. I was forced to send them away because their mother was causing ructions with the great place (*komkhulu*). That's how they separated from me. It's been ten years now.

12.3. Interview with Nicholas Beresford at Noduva, Qandu on 17 April 2010.

J: Please tell me the history and genealogy of your family.

N: You want me to start with my grandfather?

J: Yes.

N: My grandfather is Beresford, that's his name.

JJ: What about the father of Beresford?

N: No, Beresford to us is a surname, but to my father, Beresford was his father. Then comes my father. My father is John Beresford.

JJ: Were Beresford's parents white or black?

N: Beresford was born overseas in the land of the Irish. He was Irish himself. He was English (white), he was not even a coloured. Then he gave birth to coloureds when he was here.

J: How did he get here?

N: He came with a ship. They wrecked at a place called Mamolweni. That place is still there. That's how they came this side.

JJ: Did he have siblings?

N: Yes, he had brothers.

JJ: Who was his first brother?

N: Well, Beresford, what he had was sons.

JJ: Ok, who were his sons?

N: John Beresford, Meytsh, Phathi, those were his three sons.

JJ: So who gave birth to you?

N: John Beresford.

JJ: How many are you to John?

N: Well, John gave birth to Joseph Beresford, a man. Then he gave birth to a girl named Annie Beresford. Then he gave birth to Ncutshetshe Beresford. And then he gave birth to me now, after this boy, Nicholas Beresford. Then he gave birth again to a boy that came after me called Hendry Beresford. Then he gave birth to again a girl now, named Magdalina Beresford. And then he gave birth to Hilda Beresford, that girl that was at the shop. And then he gave birth to a lastborn, a girl, her name was Ntombencinci. Well many of these are no longer here but they were there.

JJ: How many children to you have?

N: I have one child, Theonorah.

JJ: Do you have any that died?

N: No.

JJ: What is the name of your wife?

N: Mable Beresford.

J: What is your clan-name?

N: Irish. And my surname is Beresford.

JJ: Do you perform rituals?

N: Yes we do perform rituals because we live in this land but our rituals are really not as big as the people from here, they are really short and little.

J: Do you know how to *nqula*?

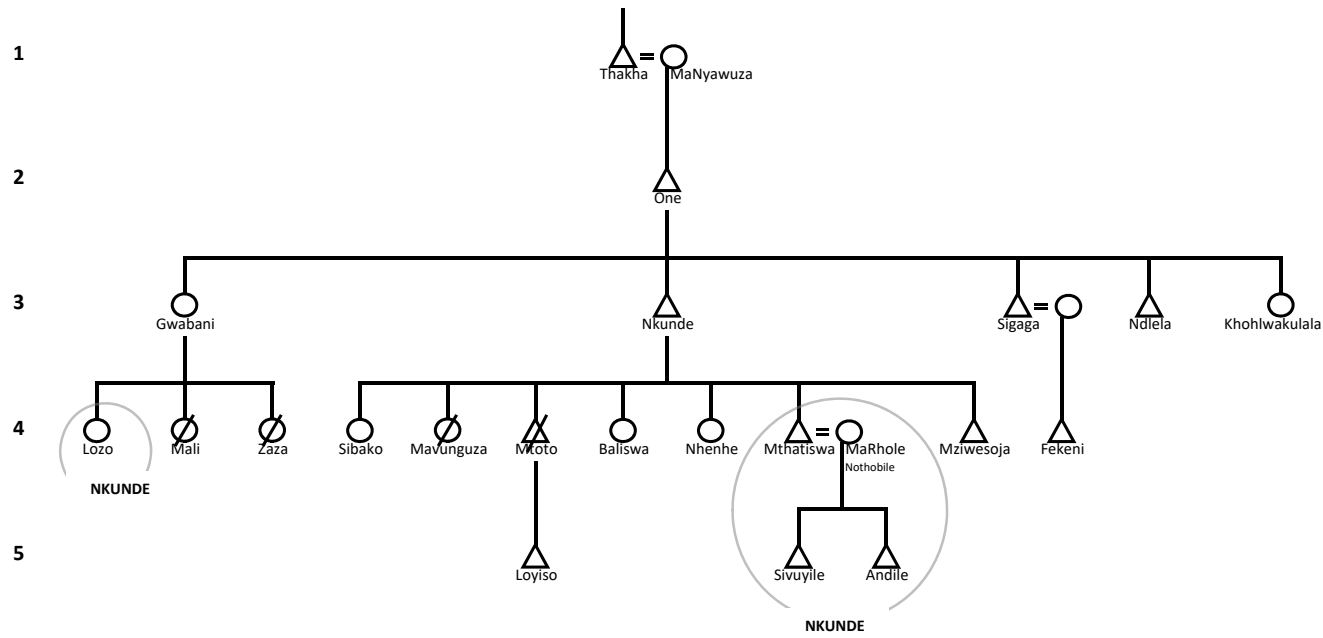
N: *uNqula* is not something that we do much, we don't do much of it because we were never like the indigenous people here that go for long and do the complex stuff of *nqula*. We just do it briefly because we live here. So even with the rituals, they are not a major thing for us, we just do them because we live among these people.

J: Would he mind doing that brief *nqula* for us?

N: We just call "Beresford" and "Irish" and then speak to them about whatever problem we have.

Appendix J: amaThakha

Appendix J1 Oral genealogy of amaThakha



Appendix J2. Transcriptions of amaThakha interviews

J2.1. Interview with Ma Thakha at Rhole on 10 December 2009

Ma Thakha: I don't know much because it's our mothers who know. What I do know is that the Thakhas are white people who were coloureds. They were at Thekwini. My grandfather's mother was a black person. My grandfather was a coloured from Thekwini.

Q: What was his name?

Ma Th: His name was One. He came from Thekwini to this side and then he married my grandmother. They gave birth to our mothers. When my grandfather died I was very young, but I remember him. He used to visit other coloureds at Khathu. Then he died and our mothers were left. Then they gave birth to us.

Q: Do you know the name of One's father?

Ma Th: Well my grandfather was born by Nkhontsela. Well I'm the only one who's old now. They all died, even our uncles, they all died.

Q: Who exactly was white here? Who was a white person?

Ma Th: Well, the white one was One's father, this is the one I do not know.

Q: Are there any other people who may know this?

Ma Th: Ma ?.

Q: We met up with her but she didn't know. She is the one who sent us to you.

Ma Th: One is her father-in-law (Ma?'s father-in-law)

Q: Yes, she told us that she is married into the family so she doesn't know. So you are these people living here with this mixed blood. Does that make your way of living different from others living here?

Ma Th: No, we are not living differently; even the rituals that are done here are the same throughout.

Q: Do you say praises?

Ma Th: Yes.

Q: When you are saying praises, do you call the names of your grandfathers?

Ma Th: Yes, we call their names and say their praises.

Q: Could you say them for us please?

[See Appendix J3.1]

Q: Do you leave out the names of the ancestors or do you call them?

Ma Th: Yes we do call them even if we don't know them. Because my grandfather died when I was young. The person we do not know is our grandmother (One's wife) because she died a very long time ago. She died first and then One followed.

Q: I'm requesting the names of the ancestors if you know them.

Ma Th: Well I'm locked outside that department, I'm not in there. I'm locked out of that department because you don't really care about these things when you are young so we never asked. We didn't care, not knowing that these things will be needed one day. (Repeats story of One coming from Thekwini and settling in Rhole.) When One came from Thekwini to here, he found other coloureds that he used to visit. These coloureds were Frank and France. These are the only three coloureds I know here.

Q: Are there any other Thakha homesteads apart from this one and the one we have come from?

Ma Th: Yes there are.

Q: Is there a person there who is old enough to know this information that we are seeking?

Ma Th: Besides Ma ?, it's only me who's old. There's no other.

Q: Do you think that the man of that house we are coming from (Mtetiswa) will know these things?

Ma Th: Well he's younger than me, but maybe because people's brains are not the same, he might have something.

J2.2. Interview with mother and wife of Mtetiswa Nkunde at Rhole on 10 December 2009

Ma ?: It is my husband's father's father who came from overseas. After that we do not know anything. We have only heard stories that have been told to us.

Q: So that's all you know.

Ma ?: Yes I don't know anything, I only heard the stories I have been told.

Q: You don't even know his name?

Ma ?: I used to know it but I have forgotten. It's only the clan name that I know a bit about, which is Thakha.

Q: What do you say when you are saying your praises?

Ma ?: When I say my praises? I am not of this homestead, I use my own clan name, I don't say the praises of this homestead.

Buyiswa: Oh, are you married into this homestead.

Ma ?: Yes I am married into this family. This is my son's home.

B: So what are you in the One family?

Ma ?: Well One is my father in law, father of Nkunde, my husband.

Q: Oh it's One's father that comes from overseas.

Ma ?: Yes it is.

Q: Oh, he's the one that you do not know by name?

Ma?: Yes.

Q: The clan name of this homestead is Thakha?

Ma ?: Yes, it's Thakha.

Q: Do you perform rituals?

Ma :? Well because our grandfather arrived here and found black people, he had no choice but to perform the black rituals.

Q: Did he change anything in the rituals?

Ma ?: No, he just arrived and did what was done.

Q: Do you think the wife of your son will have this information?

Ma ?: Well I don't know whether she knows.

Visiting Man: She's just a child, she won't know anything.

Q: How can we find a person with this knowledge that we need? Is there anybody?

Ma ? : Here? No, there is no one here; the only one here who is old enough is me. Because even the man who married me has died.

Q: Oh, your son wouldn't know?

Ma ? : Even he doesn't know everything, he will only be able to take you half way.

Q: So how can we get hold of him?

Ma ? : Oh, he's very far away, he's working at Port St John's.

Q: Does he have a phone?

Ma ? : Ask his wife, I wouldn't know.

Q: So you are the only old person left here?

Ma ? : No, there's no other old person, only me.

Q: Do you perform *mbeleko* here in this homestead?

Ma ? : Yes, we do.

Q: With a goat?

Ma ? : Yes.

(Mrs One enters, greetings all round. Q explains our research.)

Mrs One: Well I think from what my mother in law has said, it is One who came from overseas.

Ma ? : It's not One who came from overseas, it's his father.

Mrs One: Yes, I meant to say that. It is One's father who came from overseas. He came out here (points at the sea). He entered here and met black people and then there came our grand-father, One. One continued to spread his blood, up until this day, his descendants are still having children.

Q: Do you know the name of One's father?

Mrs One: No.

Q: Ok, we have already heard that as you are also married into this homestead you will not have this knowledge. So the only thing you can help us with is to tell us who we can talk to who know these things. Maybe even your husband will have this knowledge; I've heard that he is working at Port St John's. Can you help us with his number or is there some other way that we can meet up with him?

Mrs One: I can give you his phone number. Well I think my husband will know as far as his grand-father, One, but I don't know if he will know about One's father.

Ma ? : Well I doubt that he will have the knowledge of his great-grand-father.

B: Can you think of anybody that knows about other families like yours here at Rhole?

Mrs One: Well in those people who came out there, we have the Ogle family, this homestead and the France family and the Caines but the Caines are not here, they are at Mbotyi.

Q: Is this the only homestead of the Thakhas?

Mrs One: No, it's not the only one?

Q: Do you think that in the other homesteads there is a person old enough to know about these things?

Mrs One: Yes, there is another lady, the homestead I have just come from now. She's a bit old but she's not older than my mother-in-law here, but she's older than my husband.

Q: Is she married into this family?

Mrs One: No, she was born by a sister of One.

Q: Will she have this knowledge?

Mrs One: Well, since she's a person who likes to keep things, I think she might have something.

Q: Is her homestead around here?

Mrs One: Yes, it is near, I will show you.

Q: Thank you, we would like to meet with your husband because we think he may have something for us.

(Mrs One gives us his phone number and tells Buyiswa where to find the other One lady.)

J2.3. Interview with Mthathiswa Nkunde at Silaka, Port St Johns on 11 December 2009

M: The only problem here is that you grow up being told and you take all the views of these people. My grandfather One, I didn't see him. My father was Nkunde, I'm using his name as my surname. But I know where my grandfather was born because his father was Khatha and my grandfather's mother was Ma Nyawuza. Well when I grew up I built my house next to my grandfather's house. I grew up knowing my father only. I don't know my grandfather, I never saw him. But when we hear about where my grandfather's father came from, he's a person who came out of a shipwreck in a place called Gwegwe, near Mkhambathi.

Q: Oh, the person who was white was Khatha?

M: Well my grandfather was like this one (pointing to me).

Q: Was his blood mixed?

M: No, he was not at all mixed, he was purely white he was never mixed at all. He had long hair

Q: Oh he was not a coloured?

M: No, he was not a coloured, he was purely white, even if you looked him, you would see that he was purely white.

Q: Oh, the coloured here was your father?

M: Yes, my father was a coloured, but because my grandmother was a black person, her complexion was black. Nkunde was the product of this purely black woman and this white person. Nkunde was not born alone.

Q: What was the name of his brother?

M: The name of this brother is Sigaga.

Q: So it's Khatha who came out of the ship and he gave birth to One and he gave birth to Nkunde and then you came.

M: Yes.

Q: So do you know Khatha's origin, where he came from?

M: Well I don't know where he was from but I heard that he was Scottish. I don't really know this because I heard it from my father who was a drunkard. He used to say "I'm a Scotch man." I grew up knowing my father only. I had brothers and my younger brother is still alive and he's purely black, he has taken that complexion of my grandmother. When I was a child I

was very white in complexion, I used to be teased and called *ilawu* by my friends. I was the one who was clearly showing this white blood.

Q: Even your eyes are very light, I can see.

M: Well now the problem I have is working in the sun, it's giving my problems. Even while I'm working here I have a problem with the trees, they give me allergies and my body gets swollen. So my employers took me and put me here at the gate because of this problem. I grew and I married. I married a black person.

Q: Yes, we spoke to her yesterday.

M: I have two children, two boys.

Q: What about you, how many children were you from your father?

M: From my father we are nine.

Q: Are there any girls?

M: Yes, there are 6 girls and we are 3 boys. But my older brother died. But his son is still alive.

Q: Please tell me the names of your ancestors.

M: Khatha gave birth to One and One gave birth to Nkunde. Nkunde gave birth to Toto, my older brother, Mthatiswa (me) and my younger brother Mziwesoja. The son of Toto is Loyiso. My elder son is Sivuyile and the younger one is Andile.

Q: Was One born alone?

M: What we hear there at the Nyawuzas is that he was born alone. They even call us when they are performing rituals there and we call them too when we are performing our own.

Q: So does that mean that the rituals you perform are like those of the Nyawuzas or are they distinct?

M: They are the same as those as the Nyawuzas because that is where we were born.

Q: Was Nkunde born with his brother, were they two or were there others?

M: Well the third one died when he was very young, we did not even know him.

Q: Oh, there were three?

M: Yes. It was One, Sigaga and Ndlela. They were not the only children of Khatha, there were girls too, the eldest was Khohlwakulala.

Q: Do you say praises?

M: Yes, we try.

Q: Could you repeat them for us?

[See Appendix J3.2]

Q: Oh, that's what MaThakha told us also. So do you know how this phrase of the red rock came about?

M: No. We just heard our father when he was saying the praises and we never asked anything, we just continued to say it like that. Because we are not like other people, we are coloureds, we are mixed.

Q: When you really try to search in the patrilineal line, you are not really from here, you are from overseas.

M: Yes, it is like that.

Q: So that's as far as your knowledge goes?

M: Yes.

Q: At the France homestead we were told that when they say their praises, they are mixing those from their father's side with those of their mother's side. Do you also do that?

M: Yes we do, we mix them. We call those of Nyawuza but we start with ours.

Q: We thank you, but we might like to visit you again if that is alright.

J2.4. Interview with Mthathiswa Nkunde at Pantu, Port St Johns on 17 June 2011

Q: Do you perform rituals at your homestead?

M: Yes I do.

Q: Can you make an example of any ritual you perform, how you perform that ritual and how you kill whatever you are using for that ritual.

M: We use a knife when we slaughter.

Q: Do you make the animal cry?

M: We make the animal cry, we don't just kill it.

Q: Where do you stab this animal?

M: There's no place else that we stab but the throat.

Q: Can you name one of the rituals you perform?

M: When a child grows we say that we are performing *mbeleko* for the child. *Mbeleko* and *isiko le khaya* (ritual of the homestead).

Q: What do you use to perform *mbeleko*?

M: We use a sheep for *mbeleko*.

Q: What do you use to perform *isiko le khaya*?

M: We use a goat.

Q: When you are performing *mbeleko*, is there anything that you give to the child to eat or make the child wear or do you maybe smear the child with something?

M: We there is *muti* that we use to wash the child. There is nothing that we make the child wear except that the child sleeps on the skin of a sheep.

Q: What about the mother?

M: The mother will seep there with her child but the skin is made for the child.

Q: At what age do you perform *mbeleko*?

M: When the child is one year old.

Q: At what time do you perform *mbeleko*?

M: At around four or five pm.

Q: At what age do you perform *isiko le khaya*?

M: When the child is fourteen or fifteen.

Q: At what time?

M: Around four or five pm.

Q: Is there any other ritual that has to do with children after that one?

M: The only one that's there is the one that's called *umngquzo*.

Q: That one of girls?

M: Yes.

Q: Well, I don't know umngquzo, since I'm *mPodomise*, what I know is *ntonjane*.

M: That's exactly what I mean.

Q: Is there anything else you use besides a knife when you are performing a ritual.

M: No, there is nothing else, we use only a knife, even when we are skinning the animal. At first the child is taken to the kraal to be washed with the *muti* of the homestead. Then after that we gather as a family and discuss the ritual. Then the animal is slaughtered with a knife. When we have gathered, we talk about what we are doing.

Q: When you have gathered, do you say praises?

M: Yes, that's when we say praises.

Q: Please *nqula* for us.

[See Appendix J3.2].

Appendix J3. AmaThakha *isinqulo*

J3.1. Isinqulo of Ma Thakha at Rhole on 10 December 2009

Thakha

Thakha

Magayisi

Magayisi

Imbokodw'ebomvu

A red rock

J3.2. Isinqulo of Mthathiswa Nkunde at Silaka, Port St Johns on 11 December 2009

Thaka

Thaka

Phin'alikhothwa

The wooden spoon that cannot be licked.

Imbokodw'ebomvu yakwa Magayisi

The red rock of Magayisi that grinds

egay'ucumsi

(*ucumsi*)

Sizi zKotshi thina

We are the Scotch

Appendix K: Combination of clan praises (*izingulo*)

Appendix K1. Means by which abeLungu *izingulo* were combined

K1.1. Combination of abeLungu clan praises

Between four and nine renditions of clan praises were collected from each of the amaMolo, abeLungu Jekwa, abeLungu Hatu and abeLungu Fuzwayo branches of the abeLungu clan, transcriptions of which can be found in Appendices A3, B3, C3 and E3 respectively. The ancestral names and praise phrases recalled by contemporary members of each of these abeLungu clan branches showed much resemblance, and certain similarities also ran across all or certain of the abeLungu clan branch *izingulo*. By contrast, some phrases occurred only once among clan branch *izingulo*, which is not inconsistent with the broader tradition in which it is common to borrow poetic or apt phrases from the praises of other clans, or to simply make them up. This is not to deny that such singleton clan praise lines might be the lone remnants of otherwise forgotten clan praise phrases, but despite this risk, the decision was made to quantify the relative recall of the most repeated ancestral names and praise phrases, while eliminating those with limited recall. In the process, all *izingulo* collected from each clan branch were combined into one clan branch *izingulo* for the purposes of analysis. This was done according to strictly defined criteria which are delineated below. Thereafter, the four clan branch combined *izingulo* were combined with one another according to similar criteria in order to arrive at a kind of pan-abeLungu clan praise.

izingulo were combined by means of colour coding ancestral names and praise phrases:

- Clan branch ancestral names were coded according to colours already associated with each clan branch. Oral tradition was given preference over documented history, but documented history was used to validate oral tradition where necessary. For example, although Lufenu was recorded by Soga (1930) as an abeLungu Jekwa forebear, his name is absent from their oral genealogy but is significant in that of abeLungu Hatu, with the result that he was colour-coded purple, the colour representative of abeLungu Hatu. In the case of Mbomboshe who is recalled by both abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu, he was colour-coded cerise, the colour allocated to abeLungu Jekwa due to the fact that Soga recorded him as the son of Jekwa.
- Ancestral names not associated with particular clan branches but recalled across more than one clan branch were coded by the same colour.
- Each praise phrase was coded by a different colour, even where it included fairly large 'mistakes' such as the recall by a member of abeLungu Fuzwayo as 'spear is a needle' rather than the ubiquitous 'blanket-pin is a needle'.

- Praise phrases that combined two major themes, such as for example the phrase ‘I am Jafiliti from overseas’ which includes not only an amaMolo ancestral name but also a more general abeLungu praise phrase ‘from overseas’ were colour-coded twice, once for the name and once for the phrase.
- Where a single isinqulo repeated either an ancestral name or the same praise phrase, only one instance was colour-coded.

K.1.2. Requirements for inclusion in clan branch *izinqulo*:

- Key ancestral names such as Nogaya in the case of abeLungu Jekwa and Hatu in the case of abeLungu Hatu were included even if they were mentioned in only ONE clan branch *isinqulo*.
- Other ancestral names / praise phrases (or variations thereof) had to be mentioned in at least TWO clan branch *izinqulo* in order to be included. Where the pronunciation (hence spelling) of two or more ancestral names were considered sufficiently similar to one another, they were seen to refer to the same ancestor and hence to constitute as many mentions.
- Ancestral names / praise phrases (or variations thereof) that were mentioned in the *izinqulo* any OTHER abeLungu clan branch were included.

The number of clan branch members recalling each ancestral name and praise phrase was recorded so that the relative frequencies with which each was recalled could be compared, as can be seen in Appendices K2 (Combined amaMolo *izinqulo*), K3 (Combined abeLungu Jekwa *izinqulo*), K4 (Combined abeLungu Hatu *izinqulo*) and K5 (Combined abeLungu Fuzwayo *izinqulo*).

K.1.3. Requirements for inclusion in combined abeLungu *izinqulo*:

- Ancestral name / praise phrase (or variations thereof) had to have qualified for inclusion in at least TWO combined clan branch *izinqulo* as defined in Appendix K1.1 above.

The representation or otherwise of each ancestral name and praise phrase in the combined abeLungu clan *isinqulo* was recorded with reference to the frequency of its use within individual clan branch *izinqulo* so that the relative frequency with which each was recalled across all four abeLungu clan branches could be assessed. Construction of the combined abeLungu *isinqulo* is demonstrated in Appendix K6.

The process of combining clan or clan branch *izinqulo* necessitated the contraction and generalisation of praise phrases. In most cases this simply involved choosing the most common or most poetic rendition, only rarely were praise phrases actually edited, in which case this was done in order to reduce repetition, care being taken not to alter meaning.

Appendix K2. Means by which amaCaine *izingulo* were combined

It was only in the case of amaCaine that a combination of clan praises was called for, because amaLish and amaFrance claimed not to have clan praises, and only one was collected from amaOgle. AmaCaine participants provided only two clan praises, which made the basis for inclusion and exclusion of names and phrases potentially more difficult to quantify or justify. In the end it was decided that for the most part the same basic principles as those applied to the combination of abeLungu *izingulo* would be followed.

K2.1. Requirements for inclusion in amaCaine clan *izingulo*:

- Clan names were included even if they were only called in ONE *izingulo*.
- Ancestral names documented in historical literature were included even if they were mentioned in only ONE *izingulo*. Where the pronunciation (hence spelling) of two ancestral names were considered sufficiently similar to one another, they were seen to refer to the same ancestor.
- Praise phrases similar to incidents documented in historical literature or relating to the foreign origins of the clan founder were included even if they were mentioned in only ONE *izingulo*.
- Other ancestral names / praise phrases (or variations thereof) had to be mentioned in at least TWO *izingulo* in order to be included.

See Appendix K7 for the combined amaCaine *izingulo*.

Appendix K3. Combined amaMolo *izingulo*

K.3.1. Breakdown of amaMolo *izingulo*

Ancestral name/praise phrase	Repetitions	% use
We are abeLungu	3	38 %
[...] the Molos, the Mlungus.	1	13 %
Of Jafiliti	8	100 %
Of Bhayi	8	100 %
A woman with one breast from overseas	7	88 %
A blanket-pin is a needle	6	75 %
Of spear is a knife	5	63 %
A woman [...from] England	2	25 %
8 lines		

K.3.2. Chart showing combined amaMolo *isinqulo*

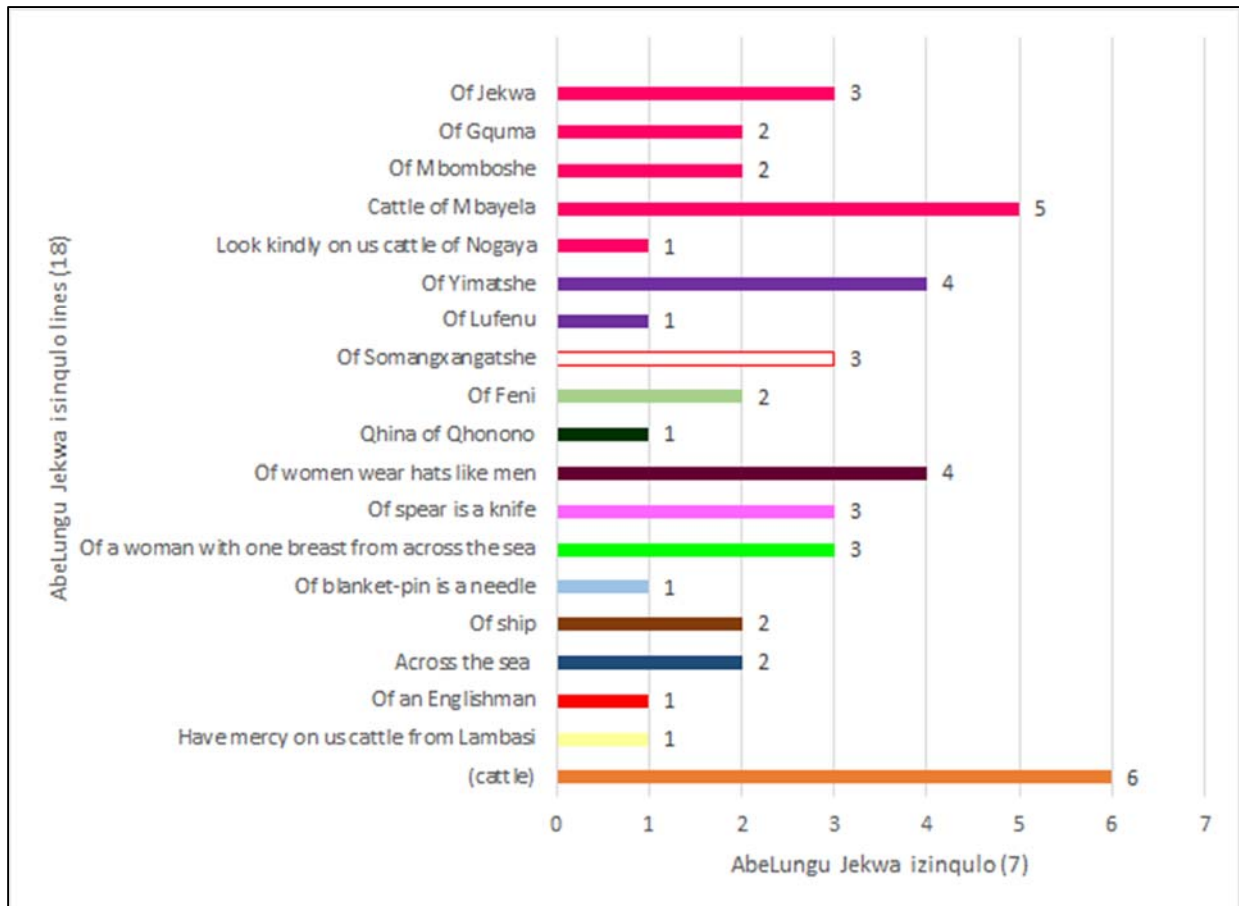


Appendix K4. Combined abeLungu Jekwa *isinqulo*

K4.1. Breakdown of abeLungu Jekwa *isinqulo*

Ancestral name/praise phrase	Repetitions	% use
Of Jekwa	3	43 %
Of Gquma	2	29 %
Of Mbomboshe	2	29 %
Cattle of Mbayela	5	71 %
Look kindly on us cattle of Nogaya	1	14 %
Of Yimatshe	4	57 %
Of Lufenu	1	14 %
Of Somangxangatshe	3	43 %
Of Feni	2	29 %
Qhina of Qhonono	1	14 %
Of women wear hats like men	4	57 %
Of spear is a knife	3	43 %
Of a woman with one breast from across the sea	3	43 %
Of blanket-pin is a needle	1	14 %
Of ship	2	29 %
Across the sea	2	29 %
Of an Englishman	1	14 %
Have mercy on us cattle from Lambasi	1	14 %
(cattle)	6	86 %
18 lines		

K.4.2. Chart showing combined abeLungu Jekwa *isinqulo*

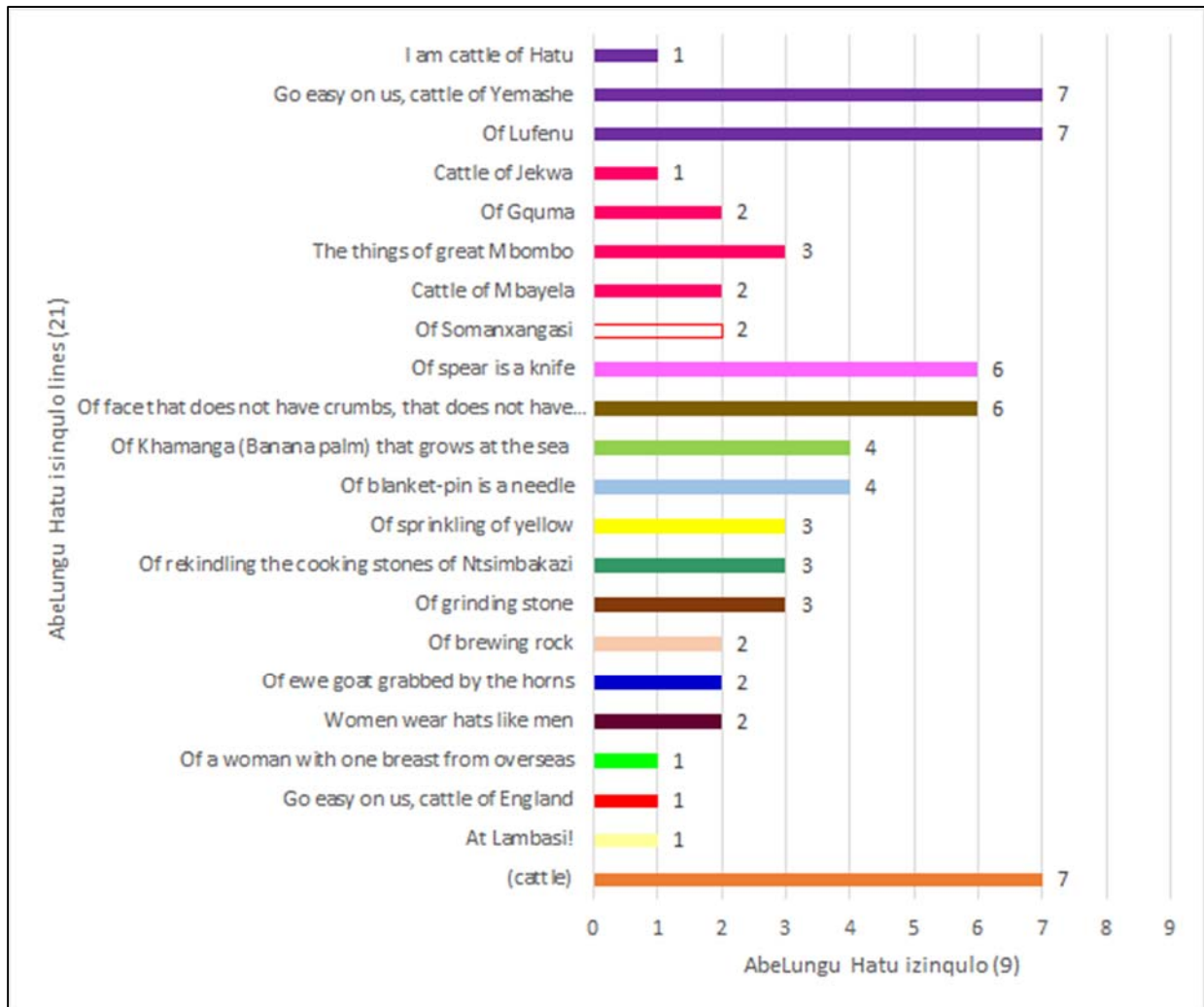


Appendix K5. Combined abeLungu Hatu *izinqulo*

K5.1. Breakdown of abeLungu Hatu *izinqulo*

Ancestral name/praise phrase	Repetitions	% use
I am cattle of Hatu	1	11 %
Go easy on us, cattle of Yemashe	7	78 %
Of Lufenu	7	78 %
Cattle of Jekwa	1	11 %
Of Gquma	2	22 %
The things of great Mbombo	3	33 %
Cattle of Mbayela	2	22 %
Of Somanxangasi	2	22 %
Of spear is a knife	6	67 %
Of face that does not have crumbs, that does not have rubbish	6	67 %
Of Khamanga (Banana palm) that grows at the sea	4	44 %
Of blanket-pin is a needle	4	44 %
Of sprinkling of yellow	3	33 %
Of rekindling the cooking stones of Ntsimbakazi	3	33 %
Of grinding stone	3	33 %
Of brewing rock	2	22 %
Of ewe goat grabbed by the horns	2	22 %
Women wear hats like men	2	22 %
Of a woman with one breast from overseas	1	11 %
Go easy on us, cattle of England	1	11 %
At Lambasi!	1	11 %
(cattle)	7	78 %
21 lines		

K.5.2. Chart showing combined abeLungu Hatu *isinqulo*



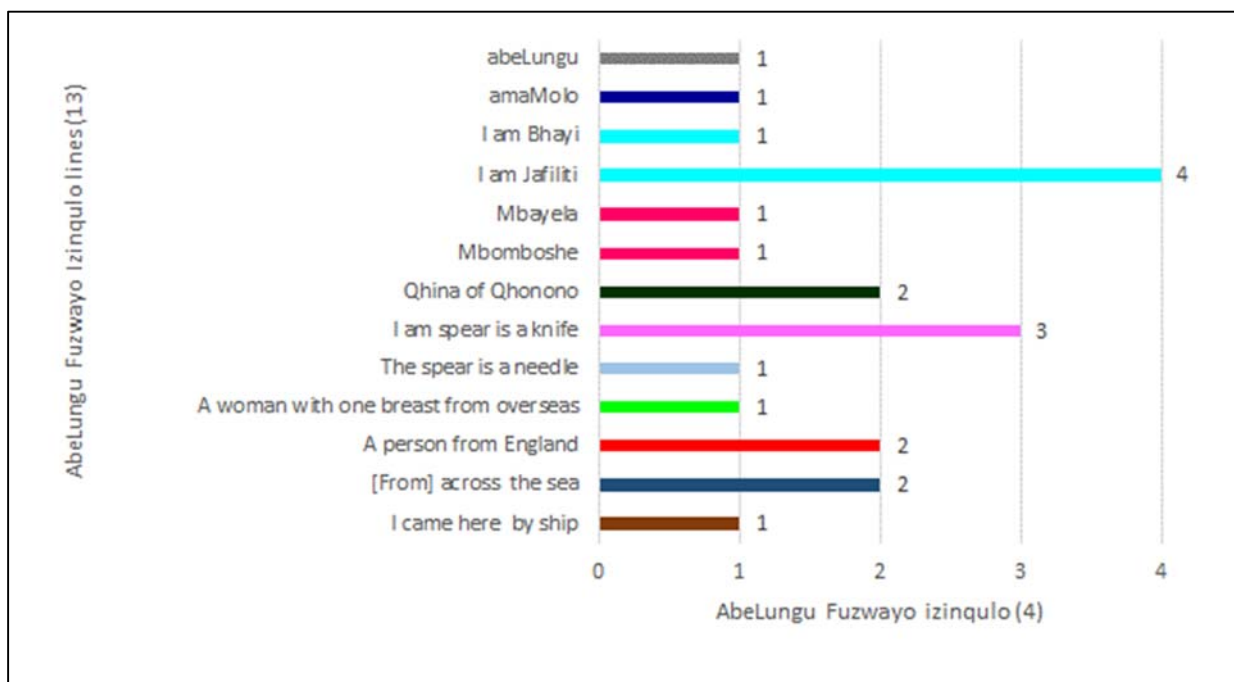
Appendix K6. Combined abeLungu Fuzwayo *izinqulo*

K6.1. Breakdown of abeLungu Fuzwayo *izinqulo*

Ancestral name/praise phrase	Repetitions	% use
abeLungu	1	25 %
amaMolo	1	25 %
I am Bhayi	1	25 %
I am Jafiliti	4	100 %
Mbayela	1	25 %
Mbomboshe	1	25 %
Qhina of Qhonono	2	50 %
I am spear is a knife	3	75 %
The spear is a needle	1	25 %
A woman with one breast from overseas	1	25 %
A person from England	2	50 %
[From] across the sea	2	50 %
I came here by ship	1	25 %

13 lines

K.6.2. Chart showing combined abeLungu Fuzwayo *isinqulo*

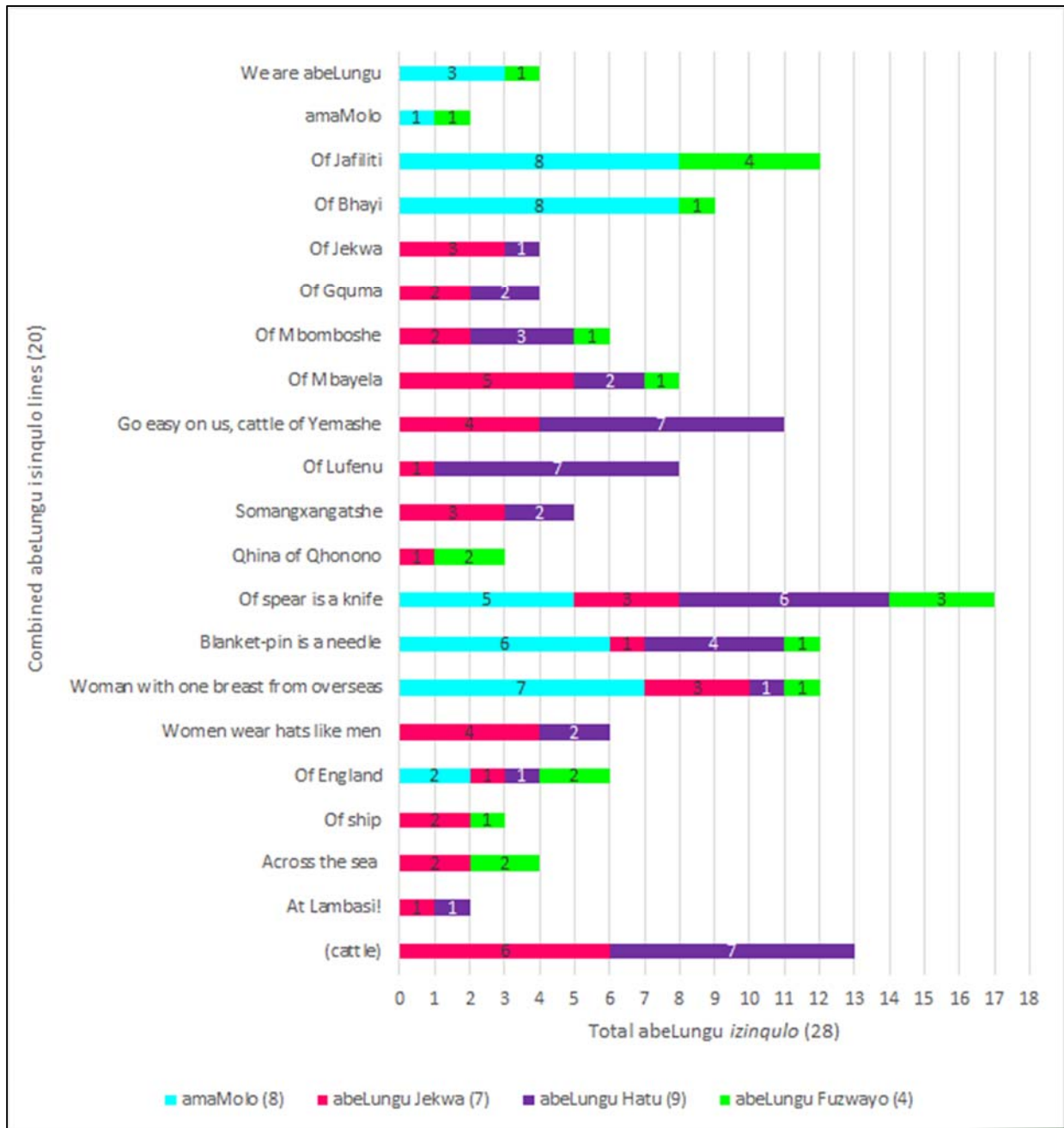


Appendix K7. Combined abeLungu *izinqulo*

K7.1. Breakdown of abeLungu *izinqulo*

	Molo (8)	Jekwa (7)	Hatu (9)	Fuzwayo (4)	Total (28)	
	No	No	No	No	No	%
We are abeLungu	3			1	4	14
amaMolo	1			1	2	7
Of Jafiliti	8			4	12	43
Of Bhayi	8			1	9	32
Of Jekwa		3	1		4	14
Of Gquma		2	2		4	14
Of Mbomboshe		2	3	1	6	21
Of Mbayela		5	2	1	8	29
Go easy on us, cattle of Yemashe		4	7		11	39
Of Lufenu		1	7		8	29
Of Somangxangatshe		3	2		5	18
Qhina of Qhonono		1		2	3	11
Of spear is a knife	5	3	6	3	17	61
A blanket-pin is a needle	6	1	4	1	12	43
A woman with one breast from overseas	7	3	1	1	12	43
Of women wear hats like men		4	2		6	21
Of England	2	1	1	2	6	21
Of ship		2		1	3	11
Across the sea		2		2	4	14
At Lambasi!		1	1		2	7
20 lines						

K.7.2. Chart showing combined abeLungu *isinqulo*



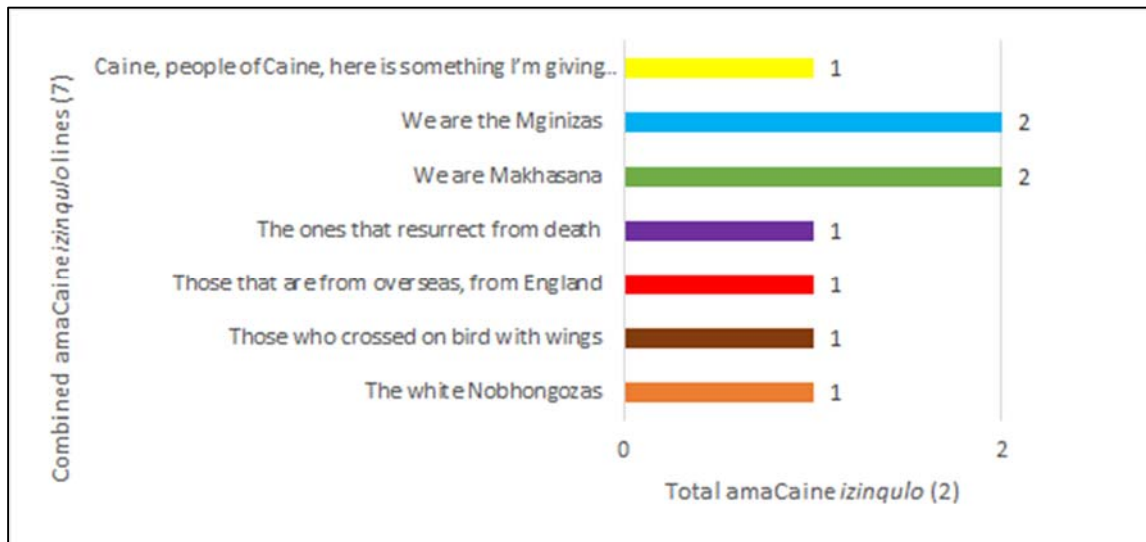
Appendix K8. Combined amaCaine *izinqulo*

K8.1. Breakdown of amaCaine *izinqulo*

Ancestral name/praise phrase	Repetitions	% use
Caine, people of Caine, here is something I'm giving to you.	1	50
We are the Mginizas	2	100
We are Makhasana	2	100
The ones that resurrect from death	1	50
Those that are from overseas, from England	1	50
Those who crossed on bird with wings	1	50
The white Nobhongozas	1	50

7 lines

K.8.2. Chart showing combined amaCaine *isinqulo*



Appendix L: DNA Ethics

Appendix L1. Genographic project ethical framework

Genographic Project research protocols include the following features:

- Informed consent procedures include the possibility of communal and/or individual consent.
- Informed consent to participate in the research implies a linked right to control the mode of communal or personal access to information arising from the research. For example, those responsible for giving communal consent may determine the extent (if any) to which research findings are conveyed to the community and the form in which this information is communicated. Where individuals provide informed consent, then they may determine the flow of information for themselves.
- The collection of blood samples is not a strict requirement of the project. Communities and individuals have a broad range of options to choose amongst in relation to the collection of DNA samples. While the collection of a blood sample will provide the greatest amount of DNA, alternatives include buccal (cheek) swabs the use of a noninvasive mouth wash (using ordinary water). Indigenous people may elect to provide a sample using any of the available techniques – or not to participate at all.
- Principal Investigators are required to be (and are) sensitive to the fact that knowledge generated by the project may give rise to narrative accounts that function as an alternative to some traditional accounts of the origin of the cosmos (including people).
- All project participants understand that scientific narratives do not have priority over other types of narrative – and that Indigenous communities will determine the extent (if any) to which such narratives might complement their existing world views.
- The Genographic Project has established the Genographic Legacy Fund. The purpose of this fund is to provide tangible benefits to Indigenous communities in support of their aspirations to promote and protect their cultures. The details of the operation of the Legacy Fund are contained in the Charter established for this purpose. The Charter provides considerable flexibility in the choice of applications that might receive funding. Thus, Indigenous communities can apply for financial support for a broad range of purposes that could assist their preservation and/or development. The process of selecting projects makes specific provision for advice from indigenous people who are an integral part of the steering committee.
- It is a requirement of The Genographic Project that all research protocols be approved by independent ethics committees established by institutions (typically universities) located in the regions occupied by the project's Principal Investigators.

- In some regions, approval by institutional ethics committees is just the first step. A number of countries also require formal approval by government appointed committees – some of which are established specifically to protect the interests of Indigenous people.
- To the extent the project includes the collection and analysis of ancient DNA, where kinship affiliations can be determined accurately, then samples will only be taken with the consent of the descendant community.
- Finally, given the explicit and limited objective of The Genographic Project its Directors have established core requirements that all project participants must accept as a formal condition of their involvement. The most important of these are that:
 - No medical research will be conducted using the DNA samples collected for this project
 - No patents will be sought as a result of this research
 - All research findings will be held for public benefit
 - All samples collected will be held under strict conditions maintaining confidentiality and may not be used for any purpose inconsistent with the strictly limited scientific objectives of the project.
 - Participants may, at any time, withdraw or modify their consent and may exercise discretion over the storage, return or destruction of their sample and/or any identifiable data arising from the project.

Appendix L2. Informed consent

Oral Information given to participants

The following information was given verbally in isiXhosa to participants by research assistant, Qaqambile Godlo:

Inside your blood is something called DNA. When your father's sperm joins with your mother's egg, the part of their DNA that is called Nuclear DNA mixes up together to determine how you will look and other things about you. You might look like your mother or your father or your siblings but unless you are an identical twin your Nuclear DNA will be different from everybody else's because each time a baby is conceived the Nuclear DNA of the father and mother mix together in a different way.

There is another kind of DNA called Y chromosome DNA. It is only found in men because women do not have Y chromosomes. It goes from father to son and this kind of DNA only changes very slightly and very occasionally. Otherwise it passes down from father to son through the generations unchanged.

The third kind of DNA is called Mitochondrial DNA. This is found in men and women but it passes along the female line. A woman will pass the Mt DNA that she inherited from her

mother to all her children whether they are sons or daughters but only her daughters will pass it on to their children. Like Y chromosome DNA, Mt DNA changes very little and very seldom over time.

By looking at those very small changes that sometimes happen in Y chromosome and Mt DNA, scientists who work with DNA are able to discover where the forefathers of the person carrying that DNA came from. Maybe they came from Africa. Or maybe they came from Europe or Asia or somewhere else in the world. But even those who came from the rest of the world came from Africa in the beginning. When they look at the information inside DNA, scientists can determine whether the forefathers of the person whose DNA they are studying stayed in Africa or moved to Europe, Asia, America and the rest of the world many many thousands of years ago. Your history says that your forefathers came from overseas. So now your DNA can show you whether this is true or not.

With these brushes we can brush the inside of your cheeks and collect a little bit of your DNA. There will be no pain and no blood. We will take the brushes and put them in these little bottles and send them to Johannesburg. There the scientists will take your DNA out of the brushes. Then they will take the information out of your DNA and put it into the computer. Then the computer will say where your father's father's father's father came from. And your mother's mother's mother's mother. That is the only information that the scientists are interested in. They won't use your DNA for any other reasons.

The information inside your DNA about where your father's people and your mother's people originally came from will be written down in a letter for you. We will bring it back to you and I will explain exactly what it means. I will do this with you alone and if you do not want to share that information afterwards that is up to you. Even if you don't want the scientists to use the information from your DNA or if you want them to give it back to you or throw it away – you can decide to do that at any time if you change your mind.

Before we can use these brushes, you need to sign this form. This form wants to know some information about your family, for example where your parents were born and what language you speak at home. You must also sign this form to say that you understand what this research is about and that we didn't force you to do something that you did not agree to. Also you must be eighteen years or older.

Appendix M: Cost of holding a ritual

Due to the fact that different rituals,¹⁵ tribal conventions, and individual clan traditions all impact on what needs to be procured in order to hold a ritual. The following serves only as a rough guide of the key ingredients and basic costs involved.¹⁶

For purposes of sacrifice: (possibly but not necessarily both).	
Beast	R 10 000.00
Goat ¹⁷	R 1 700.00
Transportation of beast	R 2 000.00
To brew <i>mqombothi</i>:	
10 kg sorghum meal	R 70.00
10 kg maize meal	R 70.00
Other alcohol:	
Beer and spirits	R 600.00
Additional foodstuff:	
6 chickens	R 600.00
Vegetables	R 100.00
10 kg stamped maize	R 85.00

These costs have been calculated on the basis of 2017 prices.

¹⁵ Such as *mbeleko* (to introduce children to ancestors), circumcision, female puberty rituals, *ukubuyisa* (bringing back the spirit of a deceased kinsman) etc.

¹⁶ I am grateful for the assistance of Qaqambile Godlo and Ian Goodes in compiling this list.

¹⁷ In the case of *mbeleko*, which is often performed on the same occasion for more than one child in the family, a goat must be provided for each child.