



**BAKALANGA MUSIC AND DANCE IN
BOTSWANA AND ZIMBABWE**

BY

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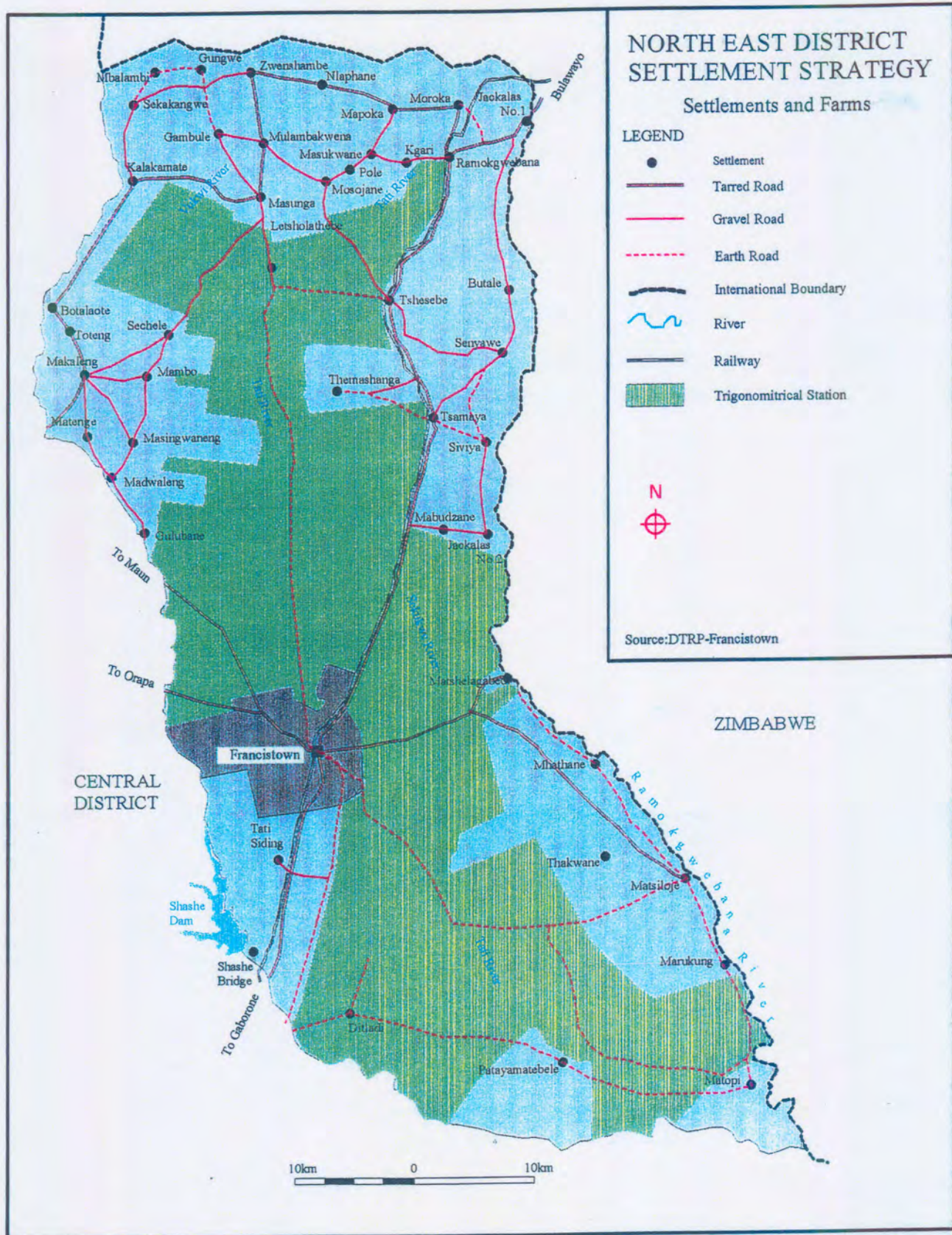
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THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA



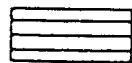
(From: Department of Town and Regional Planning - Francistown)



(From: Department of Town and Regional Planning - Francistown)



Ikalanga – a major minority language ⁱⁱⁱ



Speakers of Ikalanga in Botswana

(From: Janson 1997: 57)

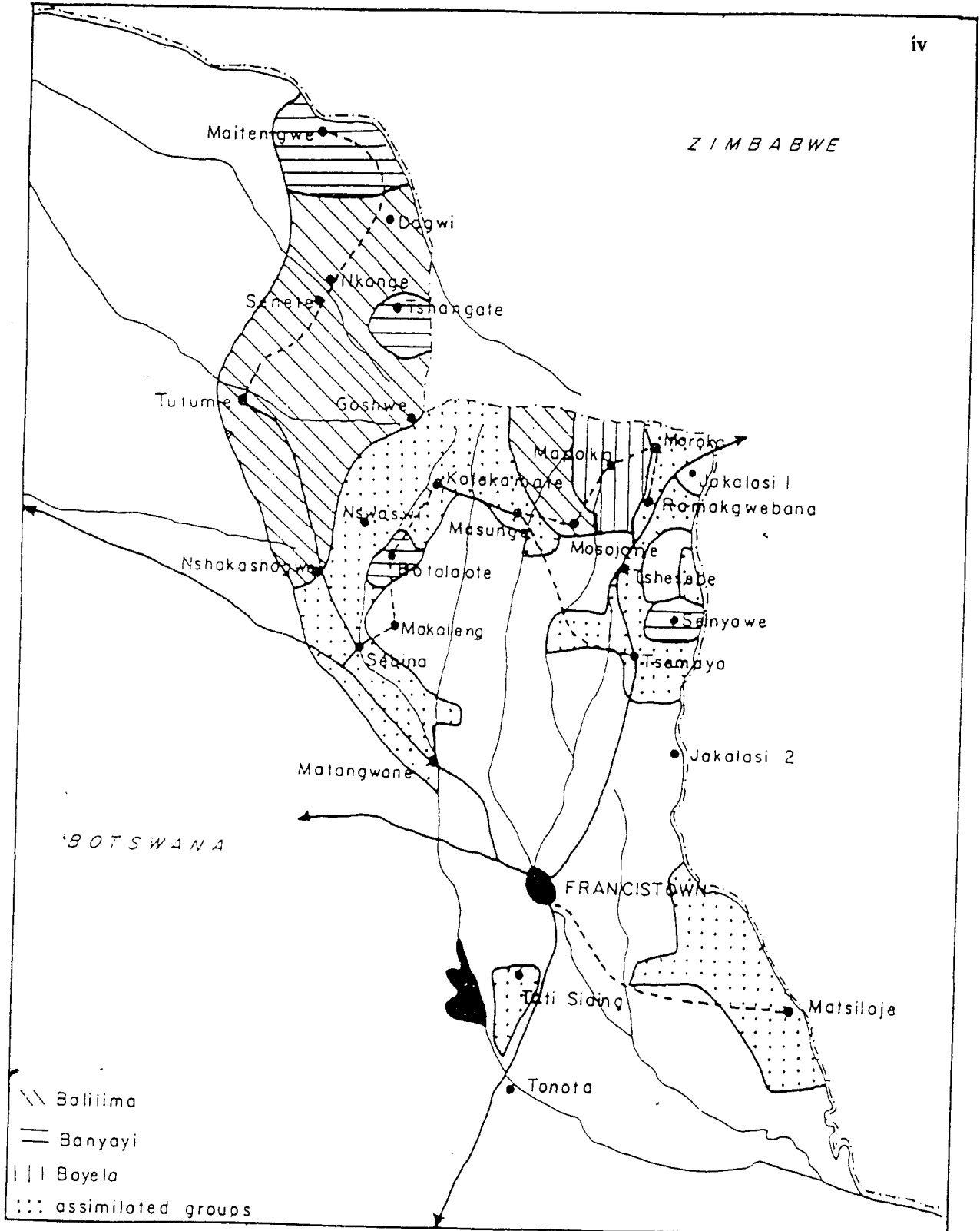
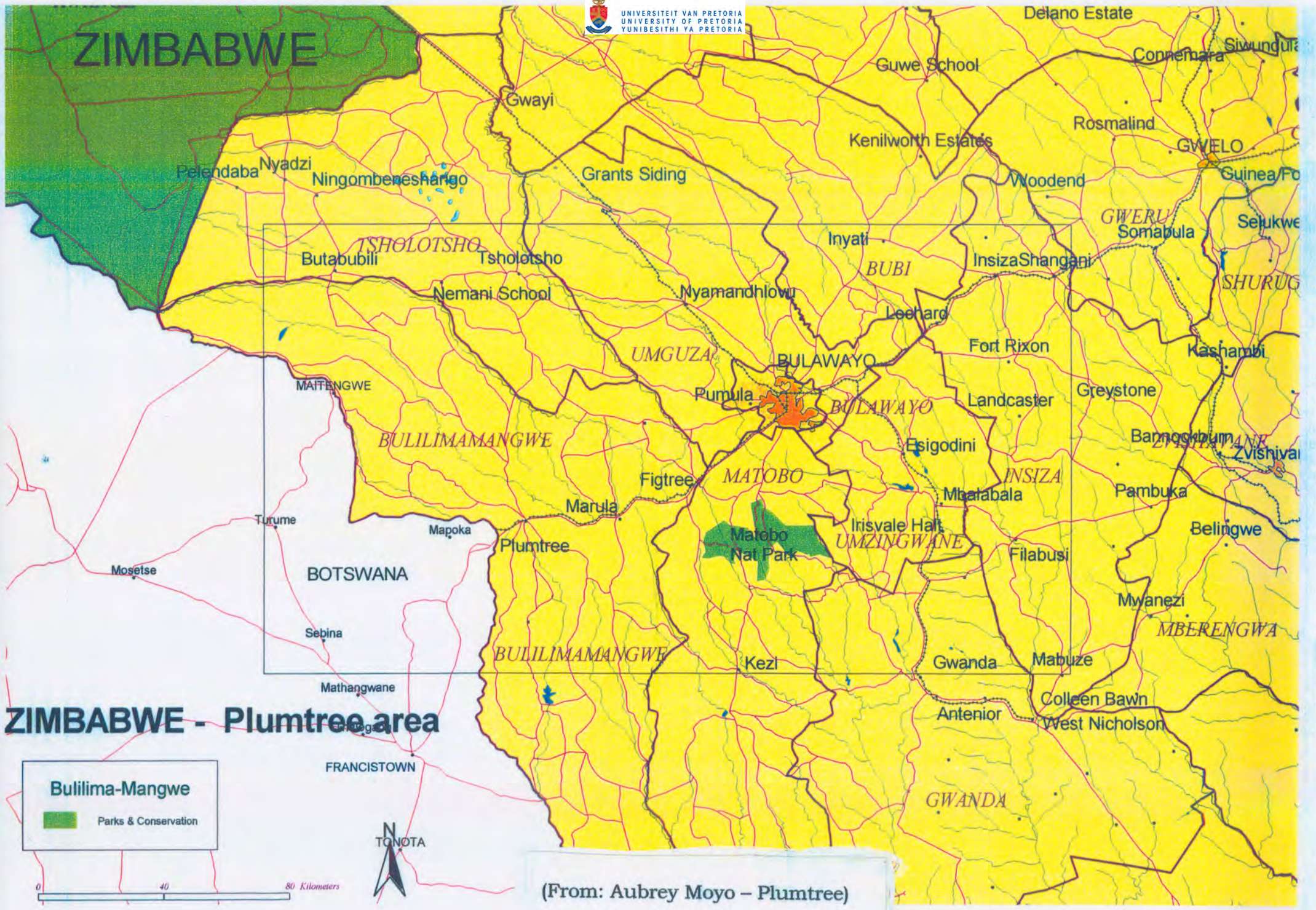


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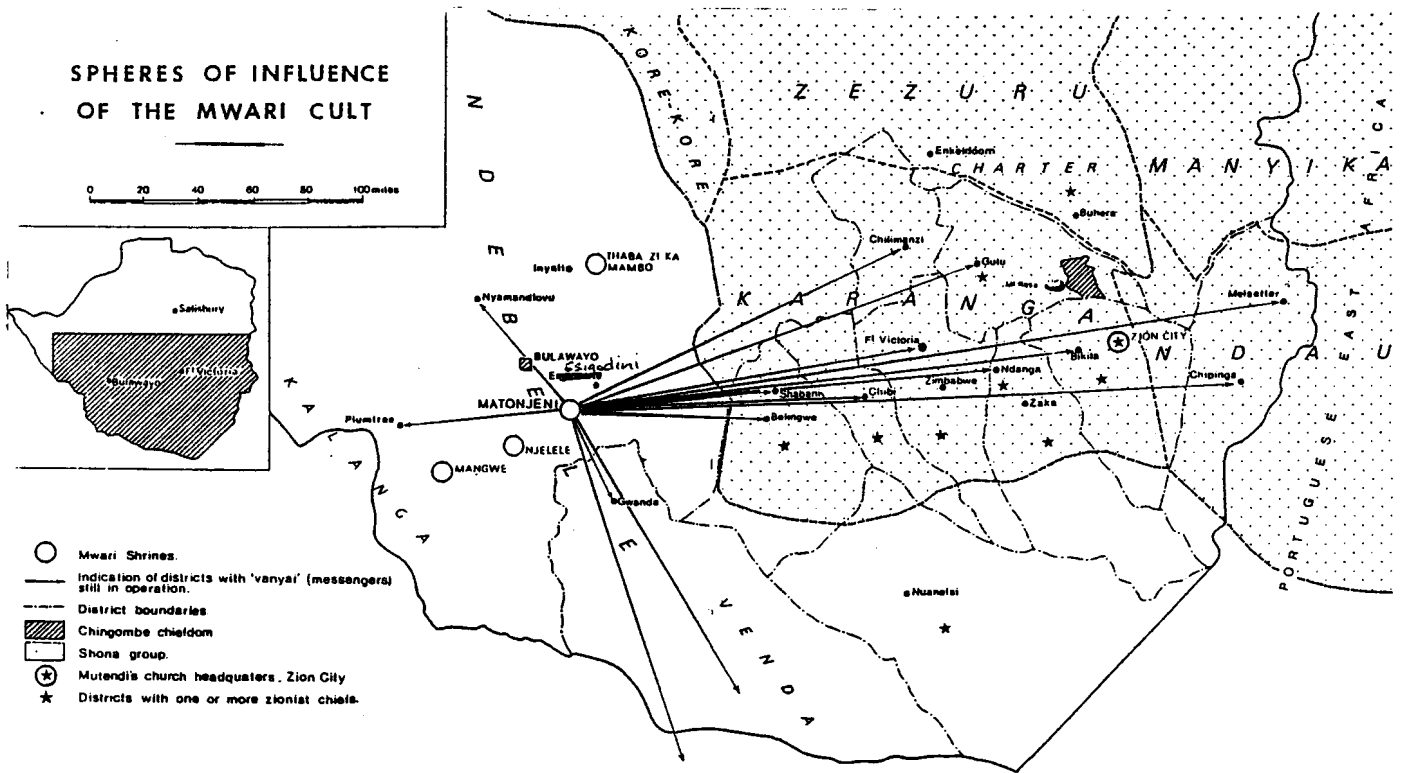
(From: Van Waarden 1991: 15)



ZIMBABWE - Plumtree area

Bulilima-Mangwe
 Parks & Conservation

(From: Aubrey Moyo – Plumtree)



(From: Daneel 1970: 56-57)



NJELELE IN THE MATOPOS, VIEWED FROM THE NORTH. THE CAVE OF THE 'MLIMO IS TO THE SOUTH. IT HAS NOW LOST MUCH OF ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE HILL DULA, OFF THE OLD GWANDA ROAD.

(Photo: H. A. B. Simons)

(From: Campbell 1972: 103)

DECLARATION

The whole of this work is a product of my original thought and research.

Where the contrary is found, this will always be acknowledged in full.

Phibion
OTUKILE SINDISO PHIBION



“BRING BACK THE PAST TO THE PEOPLE”- SIR SERETSE KHAMA, FOUNDED PRESIDENT OF BOTSWANA...WE WERE TAUGHT, SOMETIMES IN A VERY POSITIVE WAY, TO DESPISE OURSELVES AND OUR WAYS OF LIFE. WE WERE MADE TO BELIEVE WE HAD NO PAST TO SPEAK ABOUT...A NATION WITHOUT A PAST IS A LOST NATION, AND A PEOPLE WITHOUT A PAST IS A PEOPLE WITHOUT A SOUL” KIEKOPF, J. (2001: 15-19).

OUR HERITAGE IS THE SUM TOTAL OF THE PAST. IT IS A RECORD OF MAN'S ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES DOCUMENTED BY WORKS OF ART AND THE HISTORY OF NATIONS. TO EACH NEW GENERATION, THIS HERITAGE IS A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION AND WISDOM WITH WHICH TO BUILD A WAY OF LIFE.

OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE IS, AS THE WORD IMPLIES, AN INHERITANCE. EVERYONE HAS AN UNDENIABLE RIGHT TO IT, BUT IT IS NOT THE KIND OF INHERITANCE THAT ONE GENERATION CAN HAND OVER TO ANOTHER. YOU MUST REACH OUT FOR IT AND CLAIM IT. MUSIC IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THIS HERITAGE AND A SOURCE OF ENJOYMENT THAT CONTRIBUTES TO A SATISFYING WAY OF LIFE. WHAT DOES MUSIC MEAN TO YOU? WHAT EFFECT WILL IT HAVE ON YOUR WAY OF LIFE? THAT DEPENDS ON THE TIME AND EFFORT YOU SPEND IN MAKING THE MUSIC IN OUR HERITAGE YOUR OWN SERPOSS, E. H. (1969: INTRODUCTORY PAGE).

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SUMMARY

Botswana, formerly known as the Bechuanaland Protectorate, is a country with diverse tribal and religious cultures. *Bakalanga* are one of the tribes found in Botswana and also in Western Zimbabwe. The Western part of the Zimbabwean *Bukalanga* region was included in the then Bechuanaland Protectorate when its border with Zimbabwe was fixed.

To date, Botswana's traditional music has been passed from generation to generation, entirely orally. The main contribution of this study is collecting, documenting and preserving *Bakalanga* traditional music-making.

After abolishing official usage of the *Ikalanga* language, at independence in 1966, in the early 1990's the Botswana government re-discovered that a nation without culture is a lost nation. Funds were then set aside to be used annually for the development of culture. In using these funds to revive their culture and traditional music, *Bakalanga* of North Eastern Botswana declared 21 May to be their annual cultural day. Photographs and video footage of these annual cultural festivals were taken by the researcher to help illustrate certain aspects of *Ikalanga* music and dance in this thesis.

Several factors influencing *Ikalanga* traditional music were taken into consideration: the historical background of *Bakalanga*, their relationship with other tribes such as the *Amandebele*, their education, their language in relation to other languages and the missionary influence. *Ikalanga* traditional music instruments are described. The *Mwali* religion, which forms the basis of *wosana* music, linking *Bakalanga* of

Botswana and those of Zimbabwe through the Njelele sacred place joint annual ceremonies, is discussed at length.

Different *Ikalanga* traditional music types are addressed as follows:

- Rain Making/Praying music;
Wosana and *Mayile*

- Traditional Music for Happy Occasions and Entertainment;
Ndazula, *Mukomoto*, *Woso*, *Iperu*, *Tshikitsha*, *Bhoro* and
Ncuzu/Maskhukhu

- Traditional Music for Healing Purposes;
Mazenge (Shumba), *Sangoma* and *Mantshomane*.

All the above music types are practised within *Bukalanga* communities publicly, with the exception of *mazenge*, which is regarded as sacred and private. *Bhoro* is also extinct in Zimbabwe. The notation of *Ikalanga* traditional basic musical themes is provided, except for *mazenge* and *ncuzu* which were not found anywhere during this research.



KEY WORDS

Botswana, Zimbabwe, Njelele, *Mwali*, *Bakalanga*,
Music types, Traditional instruments, *Wosana*,
Gumbu, Religion

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CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH OUTLINE

All music making situations may be considered musical events. Musical events do not take place in isolation. The study of various musical concepts, ideas related to ensembles, songs and other parts of music study will clearly integrate with the study of the event. To support this idea Blacking (1976:48) has this to say:

“The chief function of music is to involve people in shared experiences within the framework of their cultural experience”.

1.1 PREFACE

Music reaffirms and enhances the social meaning of the institutions that it embellishes. Some musical traditions may have a long history, others a shorter one, and all are somewhat stable and unstable at the same time. That is to say, they have different life spans and, indeed, change at different speeds. Some have been subject to gradual and partial change throughout their history (Kubik 1987: 2).

Before Botswana's independence on the 30th September 1966, *Bakalanga* of Botswana had all the freedom to practise their traditional music. It was only after independence that *Ikalanga* speaking was forbidden in schools and other official places. As a result of this deprivation in cultural democracy, *Ikalanga* traditional culture in general started not being practised effectively. This was a result of Botswana's post-independence idealism against the so called minority tribes. Since language and culture are inseparable from music, the forbidding of *Ikalanga* affected the continuity in performing *Bakalanga* traditional music. This is supported by the following statement by Mr. Gobe Matenge, the Chairman of the Botswana Society, officially opening an *Ikalanga* Language and Culture Conference in Francistown on the 14th October 1989;

It is of interest to recall that, in the days of the Protectorate, *Kalanga* was taught in some primary schools. This dispensation was gradually eroded and today, after independence, this is no longer the case. In my view this is a retrogressive step and I would like to see a return to the concept of teaching *Ikalanga* in some primary schools considered appropriate.

Language is such a vital component of culture, that to discourage or inhibit its use is, practically, to stifle the culture itself. This is why I attach great importance to keeping the language alive and I would add that a language which is not taught will not stay alive (Van Waarden 1991:7).

Cultural diffusion brought about by Christianity deterred the practice of *Bakalanga* traditional music. For example, Christianity is against the use of African traditional beer. According to the *Bakalanga* culture, traditional beer is brewed and consumed during cultural singing and dancing. Other factors such as the prevalence of drought in successive years which led to lack of good harvest for traditional beer brewing had a negative effect on the performances of *Bakalanga* traditional music. This also led to brewing of traditional beer being replaced by modern *chibuku* (traditional beer brewed by the Kgalagadi Brewery in Botswana) depots now found all over Botswana.

In spite of the above detrimental factors, one type of *Bakalanga* music called *wosana* survived. This music survived because of the purpose it serves among the *Bakalanga* and *Batswana* at large. Both *Bakalanga* of Botswana and Zimbabwe use *wosana* music for annual rain prayers. However, it did not survive in the whole of *Bukalanga*. It survived mainly in and around the Tebgwe sacred place (Ka-Ntogwa) in Ramokgwebana village where *Mwali's* voice is believed to be heard. The adherents of the Tebgwe sacred place kept *Wosana* music alive.

It is essential to explain who the *Bakalanga* perceive as *Mwali*. *Mwali* is the *Bakalanga* Supreme Deity (High-God) who is believed to be the creator or originator of the universe and all its creatures. *Mwali* is also

believed by the *Bakalanga* to be concerned with peace, the fertility of the land and its people. Finally, *Mwali* is believed to be the giver of rain.

In North Eastern Botswana, *Bakalanga* hold annual rain praying ceremonies through singing and dancing to *wosana* music at Ramokgwebana and Mapoka villages. These annual ceremonies culminate at a place called Njelele in the Matopo hills in Zimbabwe. The Njelele gathering has representatives from Botswana and Zimbabwe. Njelele is the “headquarters” of the *wosana*, which is also believed by *Bakalanga* of Botswana and Zimbabwe to be *Mwali*’s place of abode.

Despite the difficulties and restrictions faced by *Bakalanga* of Zimbabwe during the colonial period, *Bakalanga* of Botswana and Zimbabwe met annually for their rain praying ceremonies. They met at Njelele and would only meet in Botswana on special occasions. It should also be noted that, before their independence on the 8th of April 1980, Zimbabweans were not a common sight in Botswana, as is the case nowadays. Most of them did not find any reason to own passports. A few Zimbabweans who were found in Botswana were there on political grounds.

Professor Richard Werbner of the University of Manchester in the United Kingdom is one of the author’s main sources. During his anthropological research in Botswana and Zimbabwe, Werbner had an opportunity of staying at the Tebwe sacred place with late Ntogwa Mathafeni Ncube.

In the early 1990’s, the government of Botswana re-discovered that a nation without culture is a lost nation. This was further expressed by the late Kgosi Seboko the second (Chief Seboko II) of the *Balete* tribe when he was invited to be a guest speaker at the 2000 North East District Council *Bakalanga* Cultural festival held at Tshesebe village. Kgosi Seboko emphasised that he was using Kgosi Lentswe of the Bakgatla people’s *Setswana* words thus:

“Ngwao ke thebe yame, ke ditlhako tsame tse ke binang mmamodikwadikwane ka tsone, batho kana chaba ee sa tlhokomeleng ngwao ya yone e felela e tshwana le mmamathwane a sa tlhaloganye gore a ke nonyane kana phologolo”.

This literally means:

Culture is my shield, my shoes that I perform ballroom dance with. People/a nation who do not look after their culture end up being like a bat not knowing whether it is a bird or an animal.

Having realised that Botswana’s culture has to be revived and sustained, the government of Botswana set aside funds to be used annually for the development of culture. The forgotten concept of education and culture amongst the so called minority tribes emerged once more. This task is the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, through the Department of Culture and Youth. The first cultural festival was held in May 1992 in Botswana, and North East District was one of the first districts to organise and celebrate this event. This district started organising this activity on an annual basis since 1994 in the form of *Bakalanga* traditional music and traditional food. North East District Council has set the 21st of May to be the annual date for the *Bakalanga* cultural festival. Since then, the *Bakalanga* indigenous music, which was forgotten, is being rediscovered. This can be considered as the seed bed for the “nationalisation or democratisation” of culture by the Botswana Government which will finally lead to unbiased traditional music osmosis amongst all Batswana.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

Currently, indigenous music in Botswana is either used for cultural and entertainment purposes in the community or as an extra-curricular activity in schools. There is, therefore, an urgent need for action backed up by research to alert the schools and communities to their

music's importance beyond entertainment and also to develop syllabuses that address Botswana's diverse musical cultures. It will be meaningless to speak of the four Botswana national principles of democracy, development, self-reliance and unity if the schools themselves show quite opposite tendencies.

The question on which this study was based is:

Why is *Bakalanga* indigenous music still only practised in communities, and/or used in formal institutions/institutional contexts as a form of entertainment?

Related to this major question, are the following sub-questions in connection with *Bakalanga* traditional music.

- Is data on *Bakalanga* traditional music available?
- Why does the community at large treat *Bakalanga* indigenous music as an entertainment activity?
- What are the views and attitudes of parents towards indigenous music being brought into the classroom?
- What is the relationship between Botswana *Bakalanga* music and that of Zimbabwe and the *Ndebele* people?
- What *Bakalanga* musical activities are currently taking place within the North Eastern Botswana communities?
- What role does *Bakalanga* traditional music play in the *Bakalanga* cultural activities such as Rain Praying, Entertainment and Healing?

1.3 AIM OF THE RESEARCH

The expected research outcome of this study is:

Discovering and identifying different *Bakalanga* music types and their uses found in Botswana and Zimbabwe communities and schools (Primary and Community Junior Secondary Schools).

Within the context of the present situation of musical performance studies and documentation in Botswana, this research aims to assist in retrieving the diminishing musical repertoire, genres, styles, notation and instruments within the culture of the *Bakalanga*, to be preserved for community cultural and educational use by current and future generations. The author of this document regards chapters four, seven and eight as fulfilling this contribution. Explanations of terminology used in this thesis are also essential. It is also hoped that this study will stimulate other groups of *Batswana* to cherish the country's indigenous music, and to study it in a systematic way, and keep on practising it as active traditions. Chapters four, seven and eight are regarded by the author of this document as fulfilling this contribution.

Some of the older instruments and songs are disappearing or are already obsolete. It is, however, important not only to try and collect, document and preserve these musical traditions, but to emphasize maintaining and strengthening of positive attitudes towards traditional music in the contemporary situation and to actively perpetuate these musics as live traditions and music making so that the valuable experience can be kept alive.

Means will be explored to use this musically rich environment for the basis of music education in support of the Botswana Government plans to have music education firmly implemented in Botswana schools. Indigenous music coupled with traditional music education would help most students to become "musically bilingual", to use the words of Rommelaere (1989:14).

1.4 RESEARCH METHOD/PROCEDURES

Research methodology entailed:

- Conducting oral interviews with Teachers, Education officers and parents; attending annual cultural festivals (organised on the 21st of May by the Botswana North East District Council); attending the annual September rain praying ceremonies.
- Questionnaires written in English and *Ikalanga* for those who could read and write in these two languages in Botswana and Zimbabwe.
- Video and radio cassette recordings carried out through the attendance of both the 21st of May Annual Cultural festivals and the September rain praying ceremonies. Some video recordings on *Bakalanga* traditional music were obtained from the Botswana North East District Council. See edited video accompanying thesis.
- Documented information on some aspects of *Bakalanga* music and history obtained mainly from the following information repositories: the University of Botswana, Potchefstroom University, University of South Africa and the University of Pretoria libraries.
- Taking photographs during field work, of school traditional dancing troupes, community groups and individuals.

1.4.1 TARGET GROUP

This thesis is addressed to all persons interested in the revival and preservation of indigenous music in Botswana and elsewhere. This research focuses on a particular community within the greater Botswana, i.e. the *Bakalanga*. These people are mostly concentrated in the North Eastern area and parts of the Central Districts of Botswana

(See map of Botswana showing districts on page I.) Through field trips, the research also reached parts of Western Zimbabwe where another group of *Bakalanga* resides, as a result of political boundaries. It is deemed necessary to compare their musical activities with those of the *Bakalanga* residing in Botswana.

This research covered the community music making groups as well as school-going children of ages six to fifteen. These are children in the Primary and Community Junior Secondary Schools. According to the National Development Plan (8:337), they all have a right to the ten-year basic education schedule.

Some of the community music making groups targeted in this research are those that still practise *Bakalanga* indigenous musics such as *wosana*, *woso*, *iperu* and *mukomoto*.

1.4.1.1 PLAN FOR COLLABORATION WITH THE SAMPLED SCHOOLS

A copy of the research permit from the Office of the President reached Primary Schools from the Regional Education Officer (REO) of this educational category in Francistown. He/she informed the school heads concerned accordingly through the Senior Education Officer (SEO). See appendix 1 for the research permit.

A copy of the research permit from the Office of the President in Gaborone to seek research permission for the candidate also reached the REO of the Secondary Education Office in Francistown. He/she informed the concerned school heads accordingly through the subject SEOs.

In the two requests above, the researcher also identified the primary and secondary schools at which he intended to carry out the research, looking at the degree of their involvement in indigenous music. The Junior Certificate Draft Music Syllabus Piloting Schools were included amongst the schools chosen for research.

1.4.1.2 PLAN FOR COLLABORATION WITH THE COMMUNITIES CONCERNED IN THIS RESEARCH PROGRAMME

A research permit from the Office of the President in Gaborone was sent direct to the North East District Council Secretary in Masunga to request permission to carry out research in the villages. He in turn informed the villages concerned accordingly through their headmen who to a large extent consulted with the PTAs and the Village Development Committees (VDCs). This covered the indigenous singing and dancing groups. The North East District Council Secretary also informed departments responsible for organizing such events like the one of Social and Community Development (S and CD) and the Department of Culture and Youth.

1.4.1.3 PLAN FOR COLLABORATION WITH GOVERNMENT INFORMATION REPOSITORIES

The Office of the President sent the research permit to request research permission on behalf of the candidate to have access to their relevant facilities. (See Appendix 1 for research permit.) The research permit was sent to the Directors of the National Museum and Art Gallery, the National Archives, the National Library Services, Central Statistics and the Botswana National Cultural Council.

1.4.2 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The researcher conducted oral interviews as well as gathered information through questionnaires to cater for both those who can and who cannot read and write. They were meant for four groups of people: education officers, school heads, teachers and community members. For this purpose, the questionnaires were written in both the English and *Ikalanga* languages.

The researcher attended the annual music festivals to ask oral questions, take photographs, tape record as well as make video recordings (see video accompanying thesis), where permitted. This

happened for both schools and communities, especially during their annual festivals.

Relevant informants were contacted either individually or as a group.

1.5 IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Very little research, documentation and preservation has taken place with regard to Botswana's indigenous musics. It is thus worthwhile to carry out a study on indigenous musics for the purposes of empowering music education derived from the indigenous culture.

Since the *Bakalanga* are among the few Botswana tribes who still have annual celebrations of their indigenous music, it is worthwhile to research, document and thus be able to share their traditional music with the world, apart from ensuring its continuation by including it in syllabuses. This study may help children to assert their cultural identity and learn more of how music functions in the community. This music may effectively serve to link the school and the community, and promote greater respect from the pupils for the traditions and people of the community.

1.6 DELIMITATIONS

This study is primarily concerned with retrieving, documenting (see chapters four, seven and eight and video accompanying thesis) and preserving different types of *Bakalanga* music from Botswana and Zimbabwe for use by present and future generations. The musical cultural links of the two countries were also looked into, but more concentration was on Botswana. Musical activities taking place in Primary and Community Junior Secondary Schools and communities were also taken into consideration. The influence of other cultures such as that of the *Ndebeles/Zulus* on *Ikalanga* music was also a factor to be considered.

1.7 RELATED LITERATURE

As stated under 1.5, not much research work has been carried out on Botswana's indigenous music. The research that the writer has encountered is on the music of the *Hambukushu* musical instruments by Larson (1984), and the *Bakgatla* Metaphors and the Bushmen Musical Instruments by Nurse (1972). Virtually no research has been carried out on the music of the *Bakalanga*. The only research that is documented on the *Bakalanga* is about the *Mwali* rain praying religion. Recommendation 31 (para. 5.4.24) of the Revised National Policy on Education states that the goals of the Junior Certificate curriculum are to develop in all children an understanding of society, appreciation of culture and sense of citizenship, so indigenous music education, such as that of the *Bakalanga*, could achieve this among its own people.

Tracey (1948:1) supported such a recommendation in his writing more than half a century ago:

Music is common to all races of mankind. In this respect it is like language; we all express our thoughts in words, but use a great number of different languages. So is it with music. There are a great many musics, but we are most at home when we sing or play our own mother-music, the music we, only, are able to compose and which we can perform better than anyone else.

The Revised National Policy, Recommendation 70 (d) (para.7.6.9) on Education states that a module of Botswana's culture and values should be included within the context of heterogeneous African cultures, noting the uniqueness and universals of Botswana's way of life. This recommendation further stresses the importance of Botswana's culture and values, which can well be passed on through indigenous music. Warren & Warren (1970:2) also support this recommendation: "Ranking high among the most important and exciting aspects of African culture, music is an essential of every facet of daily life".

The Botswana Government has set a recommendation that also authorizes parents to fully participate in the education of their children through Parent Teachers Associations (PTAs). This is reflected in Recommendation 118 (a) (para.11.6.3); it is accepted that PTAs provide an effective forum for schools to keep in close contact with the communities that they service, and therefore ensure that parents take an interest in, and contribute to the education of their children. Government will therefore mobilize communities to form PTAs to assist schools.

This recommendation assures community participation and involvement, which is one important aspect of indigenous music research. Community involvement will facilitate the success of such research because parents would not see this kind of work as affecting the school and not them.

For 81 years until 1966, Botswana was the Bechuanaland Protectorate under British rule. Not surprisingly the institutions and culture of colonial power were imposed on the country. To some extent the indigenous culture became submerged and many *Batswana* were encouraged to believe that their own cultural inheritance was inferior to that imported by the British (Botswana 1977: 12). Indigenous music was no exception. The following statement supports this idea:

Today we have come to a point where African musical values have thoroughly come into question again. They are recognised and perceived such as they are (eyeneer.com/world/af 2002: 2).

The Botswana National Development Plan 8, chapter 15, "Structure of the Education System", 15.4 states that: "The first ten years form the period of Basic Education to which all children of school going age have a right". If this is the case, most of the Government recommendations on culture would be achieved through indigenous music, which is part of culture at this level of Education. Teachers would take advantage of

this recommendation to have children master cultural values, including musical ones.

1.7.1 THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF MUSIC IN TRADITIONAL AFRICAN SOCIETY

Music in Africa, perhaps more than elsewhere, is an integral part of life. As a living art, music is religion, work, entertainment; it is associated with gesture and dance; it is closely linked to everyday life in traditional societies. As a means of communication between the visible and invisible worlds, music can play many roles of a semantic kind. Since it is very close to spoken language, supporting it or communicating with it, music becomes a rational and explicit language of its own when expressed through the mouth of a wooden “talking” drum. It acts as cement to social institutions. It is the means of identification with a particular group. Without music, many aspects of traditional African life would disappear (Duvelle 1972:145). The following information from the internet supports this idea:

Yet in many cases, a certain functionalism dictates African music, however improvised it may be. It obeys well defined reasons rooted in the social system. It has a role to fulfill, and despite the upheavals of this century, this music still keeps its mark of originality that also confers upon it all of its mystery (The music of Africa 2002: 1).

Music can be, in turn, a means of therapeutics (see chapter 7, 7.2), a means of long-distance communication, a means of expression for the Supreme Deities (see chapter 7, 7.1), a means of recreation (see chapter 8, 8.1), a symbol, a coat-of-arms and a working method. The practice of music is an urgent necessity for community experience. African music is an important element not to be separated from the living whole of the traditional society in which it is found. Its diverse aspects and variety of the forms it takes throughout Africa should be approached systematically. Thus, in order to avoid a dispersion of efforts, it would

be desirable to group studies according to cultural zones (Duvelle 1972: 145).

The fact that a culture was moulded at a period which seems archaic to us, does not imply that it necessarily represents less evolved institutions. A small country, even a poor one whose culture is kept under constant practice, radiates an influence and commands an importance that are far greater than those of a large country whose culture has been assimilated into some huge complex of cultural ingredients (Danielou 1972: 53).

The individuality and the "personality" of a country must not be sacrificed to gain apparent and immediate facilities and advantages. This individuality of a country or a culture represents the essential foundation of a real independence, of a real and equal place in the concert of nations (Danielou 1972: 54).

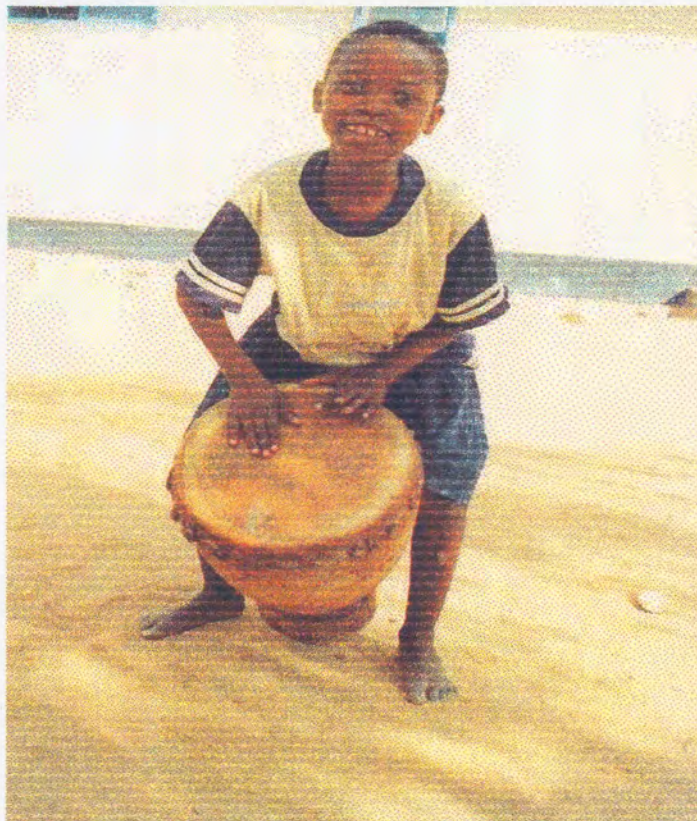
The re-evaluation of African cultural values was no easy task. This was so because the whole economic power of the modern occident was at the service of cultural, linguistic, religious and economic missionaries who all worked in most cases without knowing it toward one single aim. This aim was to destroy the originality of Africa in order to assimilate it, to subjugate or exploit it. Unfortunately it was very difficult for the Africans themselves not to collaborate in this action, for the price they would have to pay for their resistance was in most cases their own destruction (Danielou 1972: 54).

There are many popular theories about the origin of African music. There is a school which happily says that all music came from the birds - and African birds are certainly rich in different calls. We find in Africa a number of songs in which the imitation of birds is an integral part. Many African singers Tracey met, for example, were extraordinarily good at onomatopaeic sounds. Take the sound of a stone falling into water for example. Its sound is described as saying 'plonk'. In the former Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, Tracey heard one boy describe the sound as

“cho-pfu” because he also heard the second sound which we usually neglect, the sound of the water closing in over the stone (Tracey 1961:3).

For a *Nkalanga* child, the process of becoming an *Bukalanga* musician begins perhaps as early as the time when, in its mother’s womb, the unborn feels the rhythmic movements of her body as he/she moves with the song and feels the sounds of the song in his/her body. Certainly this process moves forward strongly when the child is carried, snug in its blanket, on the back of the mother or another woman or girl, as the carrier moves with the dance or claps as she sings. The two pictures below are a confirmation of early child involvement in *Bakalanga* music making.

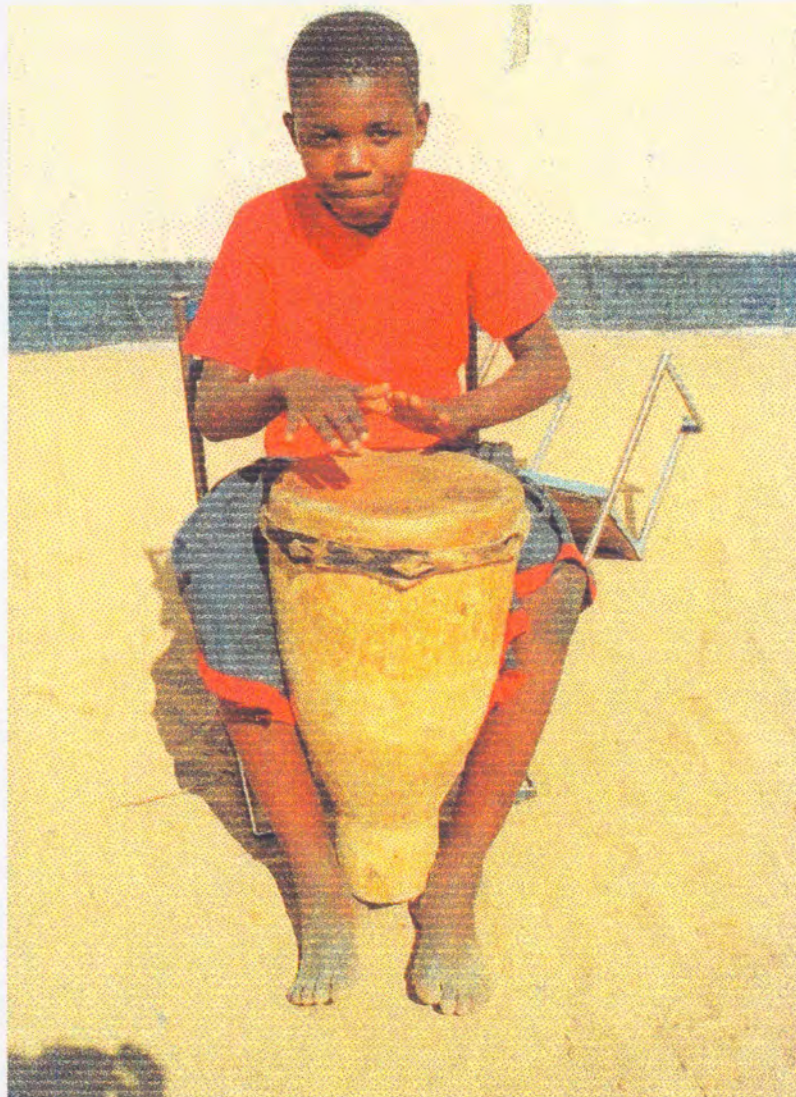
Plate 1



Seven year old girl Julia Lufu of Ditladi village playing a *wosana* drum

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at The North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival held at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

Plate 2



Ten year old boy Otsile Thomas of Jakalasi No 2 playing a *wosana* drum

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at Jakalasi No. 2 Primary School in 2001

In Africa there are no highly verbalised or systematic means of determining the nature of rhythm. Furthermore, the nature of music making varies considerably in the different areas of Africa, to the extent that many people would prefer to speak about the music of only one country (Kauffman 1980:393). African music has certainly been fit for the purpose for which Africans created it, even if it does not agree with one's sense of suitability from a different cultural background.

In the African culture, one's own music has to be made at the same time with dancing. Consequently dance music in Africa is highly repetitive (thematic) and very rhythmic as concentration is on the dance and not on the music. One only has to watch an African village crowd singing and dancing to know how effective the music is for its purpose. African music is also fit for the social conditions and events of a people who live an outdoor life. Most African music is not indoor music. African songs are mostly cheerful and very local in subject matter (Tracey 1961:9 and 14).

The whole process of music-making also involves the science of music which ancestors acquired through the centuries. This science has not yet to any extent been shared with others, but now the time has come. If music educators do not constantly point out all those cultural manifestations ancestors acquired and developed, they will soon be forgotten in the highly materialised 21st century global society. African culture may be choked unless it is taught to children so that they can respect and revere it, for its rich and fascinating character. The future of an African depends on the knowledge and understanding he/she acquired from the past; the wisdom of the past can be built and transformed to suit the present, which can then lead people into a prosperous future (Axelsson 1984:62). Since this local heritage is so rich in significance, it could, if it is kept alive, lead to exciting creative possibilities in the present and the future.

Great varieties of African traditional music are largely on account of the local environment. There is not an even quality in traditional music throughout Africa, because the environment changes so much. Where there are no trees, and little or no suitable wood with which to make instruments, nearly all the indigenous traditional music is vocal. Where there are the great forests we find the great instruments, xylophones and drums (Tracey 1961:14).

Indigenous music widely caters for differing social, economic and educational backgrounds. Many people have retained meaningful links with rural communities and therefore with varieties of indigenous music. According to Ballantine (1991:6), it was Mark Radebe who expressed the drift of this argument most profoundly. If “music is to be truly national,” he wrote in an article devoted to the topic, then “it must be based on the idiom of the people. Those most valuable achievements in musical history have been essentially national in spirit”.

1.7.2 WESTERN AND OTHER OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

Musical history must be regarded not only as a record of change, growth or development, but also as a record of continuity through time. Not all aspects of a musical culture change in any given period. Nor do those that change do so at the same rate or follow the same trends. Not all cultures place a high premium on innovations and radical changes. Hence the factors that make for stability or continuity deserve as much attention as those that make for change (Nketia 1972:43).

Pressure is sometimes brought to bear against the use of African traditional music by the more intellectual African groups in towns and elsewhere whose social ambition is to shine in competition with or emulation of white society. That is not altogether unnatural and has also been a feature of Negro social outlook in America (Tracey 1961:17). African music does not exist only on the African continent, but also in America. For example, in Brazil many kinds of traditional African music are reproduced in their original forms, while others have been transformed and developed in a new way there. In this case, too, exchanges of documents and information and meetings between African and American musicians are vital to a better knowledge of the musical links between Africa and America (Duvell 1972:146).

On the other hand, Tracey thought Africans are likely to be divided, musically speaking, into several camps. There will be the social aspirants who will continue to imitate outsiders for the prestige which it

will give them (Tracey 1961:20). This is largely under the control of upwardly-aspirant, mission-educated blacks who constitute what has been called a “repressed elite” (Ballantine 1995:6).

Traditional music may be cut off and its continuity broken for a number of reasons. It may be diverted because of a migration or a change of occupation. Industrialisation in Southern Africa is a typical case in point, where tribal communities have had their traditions broken because their occupations have been radically altered (Tracey 1961:10).

Another factor which militates against the successful propagation of African music is the tremendous drain upon African skill which modern industry has imposed. There are not enough musical instrument makers left in Botswana to satisfy the local demand. The men who are skilled with their hands have been snapped up by industry and instead of continuing with their village craft, they find better paying employment in the towns where they can use their craftsmanship to better economic effect. This is why there is hope to pay special attention to the question of the scientific production of African musical instruments in order to help conserve the continuity inspiration.

New contacts with other tribes may also modify traditions, and in Botswana, where there are representatives of over twenty tribes now working together, it must have considerable effect upon their traditions. On the other hand, contact with other people may give a spurt to the traditional forms of music as a matter of national pride or national unity. Continuity in musical tradition is very important. Tracey (1961: 8) defined tradition as the conglomerate of opinions and principles together with their social usage that have been evolved and handed on to you. You must proceed slowly with only gradual changes if the art of music is to flourish. It is quite useless to compose a piece of music and have no one sufficiently skilled to play it for you, or no one in your audience who is sufficiently ‘modern’ or *en rapport* with you to appreciate it (Tracey 1961:10).

In the case of *Bakalanga*, traditional music was affected by urbanisation and industrialisation. According to one informant, it was also affected by the Botswana government policy of the so-called minority and major tribes/languages. Since *Ikalanga* falls under the minority group of languages, many *Bakalanga* lost hope in using it. As a result, they suppressed most of their cultural values as well as the arts. This attitude has affected many *Bakalanga*. Tired of seeing the values of their culture ignored or misunderstood, they tended in the first place to keep them secret and then afterwards to forget them. In some cases *Bakalanga* would look for some kind of compromise, which inevitably brings about a degeneration of these values.

Already the people no longer take part in certain musical activities which their elders performed in the past. They neglect and sometimes even despise certain forms of music which they associate with out-of-date practices.

1.7.3 EDUCATIONAL (SCHOOL) RELATED FACTORS

Music is not just a luxury subject as it has often been looked upon in the past but from a black perspective and Western point of view, music or rather, all expressive forms of art, receive a high priority in education.

Vocational orientation obviously puts a premium on the perceived utility of various subjects. Subjects which are deemed to have little utilitarian value are generally neglected and music falls into this category. Furthermore, there is the widespread view that sufficient knowledge of, and skills in, music, can be acquired without the benefit of school instruction (Robinson 1984:56). Dargie (1995:24) calls this view a process of musical gestalt learning. It works very well with people who in their very way of life learn to become totally musical observant, and who have developed listening skills to a fine art. "Learning" in the Western sense was what took place in the school at the mission or the government school in the village.

Once a child ends up in a school situation he/she leaves his/her home environment where the music and social activities are an everyday matter, and moves further and further away from that situation. Once the child has grown up and moves into tertiary education, he/she often wants to be a teacher. By that time he/she has lost both the desire and willingness to go back and reassess this knowledge in the light of traditional society, customs and music, so his/her acquired knowledge as a child is not being further developed and used in order to bring it back to the new generations (Axelsson 1984:61).

Before independence, the missionaries themselves played a part in the teaching of music. They meant to teach the people to sing the hymns and to convert them to Christianity. This was a way of getting the Africans/Blacks nearer their religion and away from the African way of worshipping their Supreme Deity was to introduce a system of tonic sol-fa. Tonic sol-fa was a system that puts you in a sort of shell, a closed up shell from which you cannot escape (Robinson 1984:58). This view is also supported by Dargie (1995:23) when he wrote that, the sol-fa system of notation has proved an even more inadequate medium than staff notation, and it was Europe's gift to some of the most rhythmically talented people in the world.

Such attempts have been for the most part Western in orientation, as has been the whole education set-up itself, the whole concept of school as we know it now. This is not to say that there is anything apparently wrong about the Western approach to music. What is wrong is when this approach is seen as the only valid approach, to the detriment of the love of the traditional culture, for example, when the teacher attempts to impose certain musical criteria as essential truth relative to all music everywhere (Robinson 1984:57). This is usually done through the institutionalised music education system, that is, teaching according to some pre-determined syllabus. Western musical attitudes often create barriers between people and the music considered to be of the greatest value.

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The present day tendency in the teaching of music in schools has limited African, musical interest to the most part to the 'cow-boy' and revivalist level. Most African schools have started from the wrong end and instead of insisting upon a solid foundation of local traditional songs, educators recommend that promising African musicians should be taught European music (Tracey 1961:16).

The broadcasting organisations now have the chance to play an important role in African musical life, but they do not always give traditional music the place it deserves. The active participation of broadcasting in the development of traditional music would be one of the most sure ways of keeping musical traditions alive.

There are few primary and secondary schools where music is being taught as a subject. Where time is allocated for music it is usually for choir singing. The author of this document does not underestimate the value of choir singing. However, with many of the conductors this author knows, this is being done less with a view to the student's benefit in terms of their music development but more with a view to the school's prospects of success in choir competitions. In fact, choir singing is generally only pursued actively when a festival or competition is in the offing.

According to Nketia (1972:42), writing 30 years ago, the frontiers of musical knowledge could no longer be confined to one tribal group. They had to be expanded to include the aggregate of forms within each territory, so that the total heritage of traditional forms could be shared by all. It is not enough to get radio stations to broadcast the music of different tribal groups. The music should also be studied.

Admittedly the present generation brought up in schools with all the foreign influences that have been brought to bear upon them, is rapidly losing the virtues of the traditional musics of the previous generation. Appreciation of the others' artistic qualities must lead to appreciation of personality and understanding of character. For it is only through

appreciating speciality that one really gets on with one's neighbour. Of all specialities, music is very near the top of the list in Africa (Tracey 1961:23).

While some children and adults succeed in learning to appreciate or even perform music of foreign culture, this is obviously dependent on listening to that musical language. The time frame with which this process occurs, as with spoken language, is greatly influenced by the age at which such exposure begins (Morkel 1995:113). Change, gradual change, one must not forget, is the abiding factor in all music.

The first step is, undoubtedly, for Africans to know themselves as original thinkers, as original artists, and not just as imitators of others, a role which they are in great danger of adopting permanently. Tracey did not see the real African as a second-rate imitator. He knew far too much about their musicians to believe that that is their fate (Tracey 1961:24). The indigenous heritage needs to be preserved, yes, but not simply because it was rich in significance or because it could nourish and enliven creative enterprise. Rather, the argument goes on, it needs to be preserved for the sake of those not yet born who would otherwise know nothing about their roots (Ballantine 1991:6).

It is nonetheless true that there are not enough people capable of carrying out the audio-visual recording of traditional music properly. Professional training for such specialists is indispensable (Duvell 1972:147). Otherwise at some not too distant date people will have succeeded in wiping out traditional African music without putting anything of comparable value in its place (Dargie 1995:25).

1.8 GLOSSARY AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

This section supplies terms and abbreviations used in this study. These terms are in different languages (Afrikaans, Bushman (San), Dutch, English, *Ikalanga*, *Isindebele*, Latin, *Pedi*, *Setswana*, *Shona*, *Sotho*,

Swazi, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa, Zulu) and need to be explained to the reader.

1.8.1 LIST OF TERMS USED IN THIS RESEARCH WITH THEIR DEFINITIONS

In the context of this research, the following terms will be used unless otherwise specified:

Abalisa (*Isindebele*), (Plural), *Umlisa* (Singular) – *Abalisa* generally means herd boy. In this document it refers to keepers of the sacred cattle/herd at the Njelele sacred place.

Adze (English) – An axe-like tool with an arched blade, for trimming large pieces of wood. See *Mbezhwana*.

Aloe marlothii (Latin) – See *gonde*.

Amadlozi (e zulu) (*Isindebele*) – Rain or ancestral spirits (of rain). See *Midzimu*.

Amandebele (*Isindebele*) – The *Ndebele* speaking people of *Nguni* origin found in present day Zimbabwe.

Amathobela (*Isindebele*) – See *Mathobela*.

Amatwasa (*Isindebele*) – *Sangoma* novices. This word is also used in this thesis to mean *wosana* initiates.

Badeti – See *Bananzwa*.

Badzimu (*Ikalanga*) – Ancestors.

Bahurutshe – See *Bakhurutshe*.

Bakalanga/Kalanga – The *Ikalanga* language speakers found in North Eastern and some parts of Central Botswana and Western Zimbabwe.

Bakgatla – A *Setswana* speaking tribe found in the Kgatleng District of Botswana whose totem is a monkey (*Kgabo*).

Bakhurutshe – A *Setswana* speaking tribe mainly found in Tonota village in the Central District of Botswana whose totem is *Phofu*.

Balete – A *Setswana* speaking tribe found in the South East District of Botswana whose totem is a buffalo (*Nare*).

Bamangwato – An English way of pronouncing *Bangwato* (see *Bangwato*).

Banamdzwa – See *Nambya*.

Banandzwa – See *Nambya*. See *Badeti*.

Bango – A log/large piece of dry wood. As used in some parts of this thesis, it refers to a traditional doctor of an *Ikalanga* family.

Bangwato – A *Setswana* speaking tribe found in the Central District of Botswana whose totem is a duiker (*Phuti*).

BaNyamwezi – One of the tribes found around Lake Tanganyika.

Banyantjaba (*Ikalanga*) – The *Ikalanga* female manifestation of *Mwali*.

Banyayi (*Ikalanga*) – See *Rozwi*.

Banyusa – These are *wosana* who practise at home as opposed to those who practise at the Njelele sacred place in the Matopo Hills.

Barolong – One of the *Tswana* speaking people found in the Southern part of Botswana, mostly along the Ramatlabama border with South Africa. These people are also found in South Africa. Their totem is either Kudu (*Tholo* – *Setswana*) or (Iron – *Tshipi*).

Batswana – This word can mean one of two things. It can mean all the people of Botswana or it can mean people of *Setswana* descent.

Batswapong – See *Setswapong*.

Bgwe (*Ikalanga*) – Stone. This term is sometimes directly translated from *Isindebele ilitshe* to mean hill.

Bhepe (*Ikalanga*) – Calabash.

Bhoro (*Ikalanga*) – A type of music used for entertainment by the *Bakalanga* people. This type of music was adopted from the San people who originally used it to praise their God *Toro*.

Bonga (*Shona*) – *Mbonga*, Woman dedicated to the service of *Mwari* (Latham 1986: 235).

Boro – An *Ikalanga* word meaning a drill.

Boteti (*Setswana*) – This is an area in Botswana where the *Badeti* people are found. See *Badeti*.

Botswana – This is a landlocked Southern African country state of *Batswana*.

Branch – An area of the Botswana Teachers' Union demarcated by the Union for administrative purposes and comprising at least four schools.

Bukalanga (*Ikalanga*) – Location of the *Ikalanga* speaking people.

Bulilima (*Ikalanga*) – Location of the *Lilima* speaking people. See *Lilima*.

Changamire – See *Rozwi*.

Chikalanga - Western Zimbabwean *Ikalanga*. See *Ikalanga*.

Communities – Used to mean groups or individuals involved in indigenous music making outside school.

Cult adepts – See *wosana*.

Cultural pluralism – Cultural diversity in a democratic framework of human rights and freedom.

Culture – Here understood as the ideas, symbols, behaviours and values that are shared by a human group; the programme for survival and adaptation by a human group.

Daka (*Isindebele*) – The dancing ground for rain praying by *Bakalanga*. *Bakalanga* have also adopted this *Isindebele* word (*daka*). In *Isindebele*, the word *daka* literally means mud.

Dalaunde (*Ikalanga*) – People of the Western *Shona* cluster. It is one of the seven dialects of Western *Shona*.

Dantsina/Datsina (*Ikalanga*) – These are songs that were sung before *Bakalanga* were scattered by the *Ndebele* attacks. In *Ikalanga*, *datsina* is defined as: *Lumbo gwa ntolo shango itjigegwe isathu ika palala* meaning an old song which was sung long ago when the world was still stable (Van Waarden 1999:103).

Dati (*Ikalanga*) – Bow.

Datsina (*Ikalanga*) – See *Dantsina*.

Dende (*Ikalanga*) – This is a musical bow found among the *Bakalanga*. The *Xhosa* people call it *uhadi* (see picture in chapter 4, 4.4.2). Also see *ligubu*.

Dombo (*Ikalanga*) - Mountain/hill; *Bgwe* (*Ikalanga* for stone); *lintaba* (*Isindebele* for mountain); *Ilitshe* (*Isindebele* for stone). In *Isindebele* there are two different words for stone and mountain. For the *Ikalanga* then, pilgrimage is *enda ku dombo* “going to the mountain” rather than “going to the stone”.

Dukunu (*Ikalanga*) – The smallest drum with the highest pitch in the *Bakalanga* traditional music ensemble. Literal meaning = “small” or “small one”.

Dumba (*Ikalanga*) – This means a traditional *Ikalanga* drum.

Dutura spp - See *nfute*.

Dziba le vula (*Ikalanga*) – “Pool of water”. This is another one of the names of *Mwali* referring to the female character/nature.

eNjelele (*Isindebele*) – See *Njelele*.

Erythrina abyssinica – See *Nlidza dumba*.

Fupa (*Ikalanga*) – To give presents for ritual purposes. This word is also used to mean “bone” in *Ikalanga*.

Galufu (*Ikalanga*) - The ceremony of distributing the property of the dead (inheritance) to the living relatives.

Gapu (*Ikalanga*) – See *makapugwa*.

Gonde (*Ikalanga*) – *Aloe marlothii*. *Bakalanga* sometimes use the dry stem of this plant to make *nyele*.

Grewia flava salix – See *Ntewa*.

Gubo – The *Swazi* and some of the *Zulu* names enshrine the root *gubo* which conveys the idea of hollowness.

Gubuolukhulu (*Zulu*) – See *dende*.

Gumba-gumba – It means modern radio music that has replaced traditional music. This music is normally played in overnight weekend parties for individual or groups of families in fund raising. Also see *woso*.

Gumbu (*Ikalanga*) – An annual rain praying ceremony held in North Eastern Botswana during the first weekend of September.

Gwaba (*Ikalanga*) – Religious songbook.

Hambukushu – These people are found in the Ngamiland District of Botswana. They are also found in Namibia and Angola. According to oral tradition, their original home was along the Zambezi River.

Herero – See *Otjiherero*.

Hosho – A *Shona* word for a hand rattle called *woso* in *Ikalanga* (see *woso*).

Hossanah – See *wosana*.

Humbe – See *Lilima*.

Hwange – The name of a coal mining town in Zimbabwe found along the Victoria falls road when travelling from the city of Bulawayo.

Hwi (*Ikalanga*) – The “voice”.

Idlozi (*Isindebele*) – Ancestor.

Igubu (*Zulu*) – This is a *Zulu* word for the calabash used for *Zulu ugubhu* bow.

Ihosana (*Isindebele*) – See *wosana*.

Intaba (*Isindebele*) – See *dombo*.

Ikalanga/Kalanga – Language of the *Bakalanga*/Western dialect of *Shona* (Latham 1986: 236).

Ilanga (*Isindebele*) – See *langa*.

Iltshe (*Isindebele*) – See *bgwe*.

Iltwasa – One *sangoma* novice or one *wosana* initiate.

Ilizwe (*Isindebele*) – Land or country.

Ilizwi (*Isindebele*) – Voice.

Inkohlisa (Zulu) – See *dende*.

Inxwala (Isindebele) – The first fruits ceremony, often called the great dance.

Iperu (Ikalanga) – One of *Bakalanga* types of entertainment music. This music was initially meant to be danced by boys and girls of marriageable ages, normally after supper at a homestead of their choice.

Isangomas – This is an English version of more than one *sangoma*. See *sangoma*.

Isigubu (Zulu) – This can be used either to mean a *zulu* traditional drum or calabash used in drinking beer.

Isihlangu (Zulu/Isindebele) – The ox-hide shields of the *Zulu* warriors.

Isindebele (Isindebele) – A language spoken by a group of people living in Zimbabwe today. These are the descendents of the *Zulus* who broke away in the 18th century from the *Zulu* nation under the leadership of Mzilikazi.

Isinguni (Isindebele) – *Nguni* language or anyone belonging to the *Nguni* stock (*Zulu*, *Xhosa*, *Swazi* and *Ndebele*).

Itethela (Ikalanga) - This is a collective hunting expedition carried out by *Bakalanga* to remove unsightly objects which made the land ritually unclean, thereby causing rain not to fall.

Itinkani (Ikalanga) – This is a musical instrument similar to *dende* but without a resonator.

Izangoma (Isindebele) – More than one *sangoma*. See *sangoma*.

Izhuba (Ikalanga) – This is an *Ikalanga* word meaning “is the sun”.

Izithethelo (Isindebele) – “What one prays with”. Offerings or tribute to *Mwali* (also see *lunamoto* and *zvipa*).

Izwari – See *langa*.

Jukwa (*Isindebele*) – This is an ancestral spirit found among the *Amandebele*. Anyone who has this spirit is liable to be possessed by the spirit when the appropriate ceremonial dance is held. When under possession a person allegedly forgets how to speak *Ndebele* and must be addressed in a *Shona* dialect, and can only converse in that tongue. Such individuals are addressed not by their own names but by that of the possessing spirit. They should, when under possession, put on various sorts of clothing and bead decoration suitable for the particular type of spirit (Kuper 1954:106).

Kalanga – An English pronunciation of *Ikalanga*, a Western dialect of *Shona*.

Ka Ntogwa (*Ikalanga*) – At Ntogwa's place.

Karanga (*Shona*) – Southern dialect of *Shona*.

Kgabo (*Setswana*) – Monkey.

Kgosi (*Setswana*) – Chief.

Kgotla (*Setswana*) **Khuta** (*Ikalanga*) **Lubazhe gwa mambo/she** (*Ikalanga*) –The chief's court in Botswana villages and nowadays found in towns as well.

Khurutshe (*Setswana*) – This is a shortened English people's way of pronouncing *Bakhurutshe*. See *Bakhurutshe*.

Khuta (*Ikalanga*) – See *Kgotla* and *lubazhe gwa she*.

Khwela (*Isindebele*) – See *Umkhwezi*.

Kilimani (*Ikalanga*) – This is an *Ikalanga* word for the present day Mozambique.

Kodobholi (*Ikalanga*) – Giant.

Kopje (Dutch) – A granite knoll.

Ku dombo (*Ikalanga*) – At the hill (meaning at Njelele hill).

Ku dustwa kwe mbewu (*Ikalanga*) – Seed blessing.

Ku fupa bazani (*Ikalanga*) – To show appreciation to the dancers through throwing some money on the dancing ground.

Kuranga (*Shona*) – To punish.

Langa (*Isindebele*) – Sun. See also *Ilanga* and *Izwari*.

Ligubu (*Swazi*) – See *dende*.

Lilima/Humbe (*Ikalanga*) – This is a Western *Shona* dialect mainly spoken in Botswana in the Central and North East District.

Loba mayile (*Ikalanga*) – Sing and dance to the Supreme Deity *Mwali* for rainfall.

Lombe (*Ikalanga*) – This means somebody who very creative in dancing and does it to entertain people. *Lombe* is a praise-singer.

Lozwi - See *Manchomane*.

Lubazhe gwa Mambo (*Ikalanga*) – The village (nowadays also in Botswana towns) traditional chief's court. Also see *Khuta*.

Lubazhe gwa she (*Ikalanga*) – See *Khuta*.

Lukwezha (*Ikalanga*) – Finger millet used for brewing *Ikalanga* traditional beer.

Lunamato (*Ikalanga*)/**Zvipa** (*Shona*)/**Izithethelo** (*Isindebele*) – Gifts to *Mwali* in the form of money contributed by each homestead. Artefacts such as clay pots, axes and hoes are also contributed as gifts to *Mwali*. “What one prays with” (offerings to *Mwali*). Supplicants also traditionally brought these along in the form of tobacco or snuff and one

or more pieces of black cloth (see Nthoi 1995: 209). The term “tribute” can be applied to such offerings.

Lunji (*Ikalanga*) – An awl – small pricking tool/The son of the High-God, who as the shooting star runs errands between *Shologulu* and *Banyantjaba*. *Lunji* “needle” is used as one of the names to refer to *Mwali*, the *Bakalanga* High-God. This name is used for God as revealing himself in lightning: a needle which does not sew cloth but unites heaven and earth. *Lunji* is also described as the son and preserver, on whom *Bakalanga* bestowed the praise name “needle that sewed not cloth, but stitched the earth” (Daneel 1971: 84).

Luswingo (*Ikalanga*) – The name, which is an *Ikalanga* term referring to ruins, means “fenced enclosure”.

Lutshinga gwe ngombe gwa ka koshiwa (*Ikalanga*) – Twisted sinew from the back of the ox.

Mabvumela – One of the sacred places in the Matopo Hills.

Madumilano (*Ikalanga*) – These are songs sung in agreement at the Njelele sacred place by the selected *wosana* who get possessed. *Wosana* sing *madumilano* songs hand clapping to show respect to the Supreme Deity.

Makalaka - A derogatory word meaning *Bakalanga* by *Setswana* speakers.

Makalanga - *Isindebele* word for *Bakalanga*.

Makapugwa (*Ikalanga*) – This is a name given to *Ikalanga* traditional food eaten by *mazenge* dancers. During the *mazenge* rituals, dancers eat nothing else but *makapugwa* from a large traditional mud pot called *tjilongo*. This *Ikalanga* traditional dish is preferably a mixture of samp, beans (*shanga*) and bean leaves (*nlibo we nyemba waka khabutegwa*) cooked in crushed ground nuts. *Bakalanga* sometimes shorten the word *makapugwa* to *gapu*.

Makavu (*Ikalanga*) – Tender palatable gourds/squash.

Makwaya (*Isindebele*) – This means choir singing which blends traditional and Western singing styles for example call and response patterns in Western four-part harmony.

Malombe (*Ikalanga*) – Praise singers.

Malovu (*Ikalanga*) – Pulps.

Mambo (*Ikalanga/Shona*) – Chief, King. Past *Rozwi* title for their rulers (Latham 1986: 236). This is the *Shona* title for the *Rozwi* kings of the *Rozwi* dynasty which followed on (or broke away from) the *Mwene-mutapa* dynasty in 1693.

Mammani (*Ikalanga*) – Beads worn by *Bakalanga* maidens.

Manchomane (*Ikalanga/Isindebele*) – This is the nearest *Lozwi* equivalent to *izangoma*, but their powers are said to be far less than those of their Southern counterparts. They lack the power of true *izangoma* to find lost or hidden objects. Both *Bakalanga* of Botswana and Zimbabwe use the word *manchomane* to refer to the music performed by this group of people.

Mancomane (*Ikalanga/Isindebele*) – See *manchomane*.

Mantshomane (*Ikalanga/Isindebele*) – See *manchomane*.

Manyika (*Shona*) – Eastern dialect of *Shona*. This word is also used to mean the first wife of a chief.

Mapothoko (*Ikalanga*) – This is the Western *Shona* name for the *Ndebele*. The different tribes often have their own names for other tribes which sometimes is the cause for misunderstanding.

Marula tree – *Sclerocarya caffra*.

Mashabi – See *Shave/Shavi*.

Maskhukhu (*Ikalanga/Isindebele*) – Gumboot dance.

Matabele – This is the English people’s way of pronouncing *Matebele*.
See *Matebele*.

Matebele – This is a *Sotho/Setswana* word meaning the *Ndebele* speaking people. See *Amandebele*.

Mathobela – This is one of the *Venda* praises of the *wosana*. The use of the term *Mathobela* used to be limited to *wosana* (cult adepts) who could perform anywhere within the cult domain (Werbner 1989: 248). The use of the term to include all categories of pilgrims spirit mediums and any suppliant to the cult centre is a recent innovation. At the Tebgwe sacred place (in Botswana), the form of greeting *amaThobela* is used by and for *wosana*, and not by mere suppliants or visitors.

Matombo (*Ikalanga*) – Mountains.

Matumba (*Ikalanga*) – This is an *Ikalanga* word for drums.

Mayile (*Ikalanga*) – This is an *Ikalanga* type of music performed for rain by women only at the village chief’s court.

Mazenge (*Ikalanga*) – This is a type of *Ikalanga* traditional music performed for healing rituals behind doors by women alone. It is sometimes called *shumba*.

Mbedzi – This is one of *Mwali*’s praise names. Today *Mbedzi* is a totem which is common among the *Venda*, as well as among Western *Shona* groups.

Mbezhwana (*Ikalanga*) – Adze (English). This is an axe-like tool with an arched blade, for trimming large pieces of wood.

Mbizi ye shango (*Ikalanga*) – Zebra.

Mbonga – See *Bonga*.

Mbukushu – See *Thimbukushu*.

Mhandara (*Shona*) – This means a girl of marriageable age.

Mhondoro (*Shona*) – Senior lineage spirit; Supra spirit; lion spirit.

Midzimu (*Ikalanga*)/**Amadlozi** – plural **Idlozi** - singular (*Isindebele*)

Midzimu yapa musha (*Shona*) – Ancestral spirit(s).

Mikabo (*Ikalanga*) – Calabashes.

Minority groups – Microcultural/smaller groups within the
Macroculture/larger cultural group or nation.

Mipululu (*Ikalanga*) – Ululations.

Mishwayo (*Ikalanga*) – Rattles (both leg and hand).

Misisi (*Ikalanga*) – Traditional *Ikalanga* dance costume made from
baboon tail skins.

Mlimo/Umlimo – *Ndebele* name for *Mwari*.

Mocarangas – This is an early European (Portuguese) mis-pelling for
Bakalanga.

Monomotapa – See Mono-mutapa.

Mono-mutapa – (*Mutapa*), the king, ruler of North East Shona i. e. the
Monomotapa or *Munhumutapa* from the verb *tapa*, pillage.

Motalaote – *Kalanga* – See *Dalaunde*.

Moyo – See *Rozwi*.

Mpakatilo (*Ikalanga*) – Sash to be used by the medium for ritual
purposes. The colour of the *wosana* sash does not seem to be
negotiable. It is always black.

Muali – See *Mwali*.

Mhubhe (*Ikalanga*) – This is one of the mouth resonated friction traditional *Ikalanga* musical bows.

Mukaranga (*Shona*) – Junior wife.

Mukomoto (*Ikalanga*) – A type of an *Ikalanga* entertainment music which is commonly used in weddings.

Mulimo – See *Mwali*.

Multicultural education – Education in which cultural diversity is valued and respected; the education and cultural enrichment of all children, with the preservation of cultural identity and diversity.

Multicultural society – A society consisting of various cultural groups based on race, tribe, religion, language, traditions and nationality.

Multicultural teacher education – Teacher education and training designed to help teachers function effectively in a society which is culturally diverse.

Munhumutapa – See *Mono-mutapa*.

Musvina – See *Shonas*.

Mwali/Ngwali(*Kalanga*)/**Mwari**(*Shona*)/**Muali**/**Mlimo**/**Mulimo**/**Umlimo** (the High-God's names) – *Mwali* is the High-God of the *Bakalanga*.

Mwari (*Shona*) – See *Mwali*.

Mwenemutapa – See *Mambo*.

Nambdzwa – See *Nambya*.

Nambya (*Nanzwa*)/**Bananbdzwa**/**Badeti** – This is another dialect of the *Kalanga* cluster which is still a “living” language. The dialect is spoken in the North-Western parts of the Western *Shona* area as far

North as the banks of the Zambezi at the Victoria Falls, including the Wankie Game Reserve and Wankie and Nyamandlovu Districts. This language is also spoken in the Chobe and Boteti Districts in Botswana.

Nare (*Setswana*) – Buffalo.

Ncube – One of the *Isindebele* totems meaning monkey.

Ncuzu (*Isindebele/Zulu*) – Gumboot dance. It is also known as *maskhukhu* in Botswana and Zimbabwe.

Ndale (*Ikalanga*) – *Ikalanga* traditional beer (drinking session).

Ndau – South Eastern dialect of *Shona* – heavily infused with *Nguni* and *Tsonga* words but still distinguishable from other dialects.

Ndazula (*Ikalanga*) – This is a type of entertainment music performed *Bakalanga* elderly men and women normally after drinking sessions.

Ndebele – See *Amandebele*.

Ndilo ye lukuni (*Ikalanga*) - Wooden basin.

Ndjele (*Tsonga*) – This is a traditional percussive musical instrument. It is called *woso* in *Ikalanga*. Also see *woso*.

Ndlukulu (*Isindebele*) – An ostrich feather hat for *Ikalanga* and *Isindebele manchomane* traditional dancers. This hat is similar to that worn by the traditional *Zulu* warriors.

Nfute (*Ikalanga*) – *Dutura spp.* Its seeds are normally used to make beads for decorating *Ikalanga* traditional dancers.

Nganga (*Ikalanga*) - Diviner, herbalist, traditional healer.

Ngoma (*Ikalanga*) – *Schinziophyton rantanellii*. This tree is used by *Bakalanga* to make traditional drums.

Ngombe (*Ikalanga*) – Cow.

Nguni – See *Singuni*.

Ngwali (*Ikalanga*) – See *Mwali*.

Ngwao Boswa (*Setswana*) – Literally meaning that culture is heritage, but in North Eastern Botswana it is used to describe an annual event where all the groups come together to sing and share their indigenous music and cultural ideas.

Ngwato – This is a word shortened by the English speaking people to mean *Bangwato* who are a tribe in Botswana. See *Bangwato*.

Njelele (*Ikalanga*)/**Njerere** (*Shona*) – This means an eagle, whose sighting is believed by the *Kalanga* [*Karanga*] to herald “the coming of good rain”. The word *Njelele/eNjelele* (*Isindebele*) is also used as a name of the hill (*Mwali* “headquarters”) in Zimbabwe where *Mwali* is believed to have manifested himself. In the Matopo(s) hills in Zimbabwe there is a remarkably dense population [of eagles], possibly the most concentrated eagle population known anywhere in the world (Werbner 1977a:184).

Njimbo (*Ikalanga*) – Songs.

Nkalanga – One *Ikalanga* speaking person.

Nkukubuyu (*Ikalanga*) – Baobab tree.

Nkwasha (*Ikalanga*) – Son in-law.

Nlidza dumba (*Ikalanga*) – *Erythrina abyssinica*, used for making *Ikalanga* traditional drums.

Nlidzo (*Ikalanga*) – Dental whistle.

Nlongo (*Ikalanga*) – Daughter in-law.

Nshwayo (*Ikalanga*) – One leg rattle.

Nsi (*Ikalanga*) – This is a holy day on which *Bakalanga* should rest and not do any work associated with ploughing or rainfall.

Ntewa (*Ikalanga*) – *Grewia flava salix* species. This is a tree with flexible wood used to make bows for *dende*.

Nthula (*Ikalanga*) – See *Marula*. This is a tree used for making traditional drums by *Bakalanga*.

Ntshomane (*Ikalanga/Isindebele/Zulu*) – This is a tambourine or frame drum, primarily associated with the *Tsonga*. Other meanings follow from this. The word is a diminutive form of *ngoma*, the widespread word for drum.

Ntungamili (*Ikalanga*) – Leader. See *Umkhwezi*.

Nyamwezi – A language spoken by the *BaNyamwezi* people. See *BaNyamwezi*.

Nyayi – See *Rozwi*.

Nyele (*Ikalanga*) – Transverse reed-flute. See *gonde* and *Aloe marlothii*.

Nzeze (*Ikalanga*) – *Peltophorum Africanum*. This is the tree under which *Bakalanga* hold their annual rain prayers.

Okalange (*Nyamwezi*) – “Slave” or “slaves”.

Otjherero – This is a language spoken by one tribe found in the Ngamiland in North Western Botswana. These people are also found in Namibia.

Pedi – Northern *Sotho* people found in the South African province of Limpopo.

Pemba (*Ikalanga*) – A river reed flute/referee’s whistle.

Peri (*Ikalanga*) – This is a branch of *Lilima* in Botswana. The speakers of this language are believed to originate from the Limpopo province of

South Africa, hence *Peri* being the *Kalanga* pronunciation for *Pedi* (see *Pedi*).

Phandala (*Ikalanga*) – A girl of marriageable age.

Phende (*Ikalanga*) – Flywhisk. See *tshoba* (*Isindebele*).

Phofu (*Setswana*) – Eland. This is the totem of the *Bakhurutshe* tribe in Botswana.

Phola ye monga (*Ikalanga*) – A sticky substance used to block unnecessary holes in making *pemba*.

Phuti (*Setswana*) – Duiker. This is a totem of the *Bangwato* tribe in Botswana.

Pkhwizha (*Ikalanga*) – Eland.

Ranga (People called *Nyamwezi*, found on the River Rufifi south of Lake Tanganyika) – Sun.

Region – An area of the Botswana Teachers' Union demarcated by the Union for administrative purposes and comprising at least six branches.

Ronga – This is a tribe found near Delagoa Bay.

Rozvi – See *Rozwi*.

Rozwi (*Nyayi*) – This is a *Kalanga* dialect of the *Rozwi/Moyo* dynasty which was spoken by the people of a once powerful dynasty (known as the *Rozwi* or *Changamire* or *Mambo* dynasty). This dialect has almost completely fallen into disuse. It is, however, still spoken by small, scattered groups in Zimbabwe in places like Bikita and Wedza.

Sangoma (*Ikalanga*) - These are people subject to a particular type of possession induced by dancing, in which they can divine and “smell out” witches.

Schinziophyton rantanellii – See *Ngoma*.

Sclerocarya caffra – See *marula* tree.

Segwana (*Setswana*) – See *dende*.

Sekgapa (*Sotho*) – Calabash.

Sengwato – A language (*Setswana* dialect) spoken by *Bangwato* in Botswana. See *Bangwato*.

Setswana – The National Language of Botswana. The culture or language of the people of Botswana. The prefix *Se-* is used to construct language names in *Setswana*. There has been a European tradition of disregarding prefixes in talking about languages, peoples and cultures for example, *Kalanga* for *Ikalanga*, *Tswana* for *Setswana*, *Mbukushu* for *Thimbukushu* and *Herero* for *Otjiherero*.

Setswapong (*Setswana*) – A Northern Sotho dialect spoken in the easternmost Botswana (part of the Central District), close to the borders of both Zimbabwe and South Africa. People who speak this language are called *Batswapong* entered Botswana from South Africa in the 17th and 18th century.

Shangana ne shumba (*Ikalanga*) – The medium size drum in the *Ikalanga* traditional music ensemble. Literal meaning = “meeting with a lion”.

Shave/Shavi (*Shona*)/***Mashabi*** (*Kalanga*) – Alien spirits associated with activities such as healing, hunting and dancing (not all of them are benign spirits).

She (*Ikalanga*) – Headman/Chief.

Shoko (*Ikalanga*) – Vervet monkey (totem – See *Kgabo*).

Shologulu (*Ikalanga*) – The *Bakalanga* male manifestation of *Mwali*.

Shona(s) – It was popularly believed that the word was a derogatory term applied to the *Karanga/Shona* peoples by the *Nguni*. This was then

adopted by the early administrators (who were almost all *Isinguni* speakers) and became almost synonymous with *Musvina* (dirty person) and consequently a deliberate insult (Latham 1986: 3). The second possible meaning is that *Shona* derives from *Isindebele* (*Isinguni*) *Tshona* – SET, as in sunset. The fact is, however, that the word *Shona* pre-dates the *Nguni* invasion.

Shoshong – The name of one of the villages in the Central District of Botswana.

Shumba (*Ikalanga*) – Lion.

Sotho – See *Pedi*.

Stokfel (*Afrikaans*) – Stokfels were and are credit rings in which each member contributes a set amount each week in anticipation of receiving the combined contributions of all the other members at regular intervals. Commonly, each member in her turn uses the lump sum she receives to finance a stokfel party, at which other members and guests pay admission and buy food and liquor and even musical entertainment. Profits go to the hostess of the week (Coplan 1985: 102).

Sungwa (*Ikalanga*) – This is when a *wosana* falls into a trance (“possession”), when they are said to be “tied” (*sungwa*) by the High-God. They become stiff, and roll agonizingly about in the dust.

Swazi – One of the *Nguni* dialects mainly spoken in Swaziland and some parts of South Africa.

Talaunda – These are *Ikalanga* speaking people whose totem is a *moyo*.

Tapa – See *Mono-mutapa*.

Tebgwe (*Ikalanga*) – The *Bakalanga* sacred place found in Ramokgwebana village in the North Eastern District of Botswana.

Thimbukushu – See *Mbukushu*.

Thobela (*Ikalanga/Venda/Pedi*) – This is *Mwali's* praise, meaning “Your Highness”. The *Pedi* today use the word *Thobela* as an everyday form of praise and greeting being aware of what the origin of the word is. It is a form of greeting (as in *Pedi* today) which refers to a highly respected person.

Tholo (*Setswana*) – This is a *Setswana* word for kudu.

Thomo (*Sotho*) – See *dende*.

Tjakatjaka (*Ikalanga*) – Sound produced by rattles.

Tjamabhika (*Ikalanga*) – The largest drum with the lowest pitch in the *Ikalanga* traditional music ensemble. Literal meaning = “ what you have cooked”

Tjigogoro (*Ikalanga*) – A cocoon for making *Ikalanga* leg rattles.

Tjikitja (*Ikalanga*) – See *tshikitsha*.

Tjilenje (*Ikalanga*) – This is an *Ikalanga* word meaning culture.

Tjilongo (*Ikalanga*) – An *Ikalanga* traditional pot made of a hard special type of mud.

Tomo (*Bushman*) – This word means voice among the Tati Bushmen.

Toro (*Setswana* word for dream) – This is the name given to the San God whom they praise through singing *Bhoro* music.

Torwa – The early rulers of the *Butua* dialect of the *Bakalanga*. See *Mambo*.

Tradition – A tradition is that which is handed down. A new type of music invented by someone is not yet a tradition. However it may become a tradition from the moment others imitate and carry it on.

Tribe - A microcultural group or collectivity, with shared history and culture, values, language and identity.

Tshala (*Isindebele*) – See *Ndlukulu*.

Tshikitsha (*Isindebele*) – This is a type of entertainment music adopted by *Bakalanga* from the *Ndebele*. This music is sung when people send the bride to her place of marriage.

Tshipi (*Setswana*) – This is a *Setswana* word meaning iron. It can also be used to mean the the totem of the *Barolong* tribe also found in Botswana.

Tshitendje (*Tsonga*) – See *dende*.

Tshivenda – See *Venda*.

Tshoba(*Isindebele*) – See *Phende*.

Tshogu (*Ikalanga*) – This is a colourful soil used for facial decorations and also for decorating clay pots after they are burnt.

Tshona – See *Shona*.

Tsonga(s) – One of the South African tribes found in the Limpopo province. These people are popularly known for playing the *manchomane* drums in chasing evil spirits.

Tswana – See *Setswana*.

Ugubu (*Zulu*) – See *dende*.

Ugumbu (*Zulu*) – See *dende*.

Uhadi – One of the *Xhosa* musical bows. See *dende*.

Ukuzila (*Isindebele*) – In this document, this term is used to mean abstaining from sexual activities prior to and during the whole duration of the *wosana* initiation rite.

Umhadi (*Xhosa*) – A deep pit.

Umhubhe (*Isindebele*) – See *mhubhe*.

Umkhwezi (*Isindebele*) – This is a person responsible for leading people up the Njelele hill, where the *Bakalanga* sacred place is located. In *Ndebele* the word *khwela* means to climb or ascend. The notion of ascension to high places and therefore towards the High God is captured by the *Ndebele* terms *Khwela* and *Umkhwezi*. In *Ikalanga*, this officer is called *ntungamili*, “leader”.

Umlimo (*Isindebele*) – Conceived as a High God (See *Mwali*).

Umlisa (*Isindebele*) – See *Abalisa*.

Umphathi we nkezo (*Isindebele*) – *Bakalanga* messenger to *Mwali* residing at Njelele (the sacred place).

Umphehleli (*Isindebele*) – “The one who stirs” (for cult adepts) who is responsible for initiating *wosana*.

Umrhubhe (*Xhosa*) – See *muhubhe*.

Umthanyeli (*Isindebele*) – Caretaker/keeper of the sacred place.

Uranga – This was the country of the northern *Vakaranga*, situated on the River Rufifi, east of Lake Tanganyika.

Vakaranga (*Shona*) – See *Bakalanga*.

Varozwi (*Shona*) – See *Rozwi*.

Vashona (*Shona*) - See *Shona*.

Venda - This is a place found in the Limpopo province of South Africa. The people living in this place mainly speak *Tshivenda* language.

Vula (*Ikalanga*) - Rain/Water.

Vumba (*Ikalanga*) - Wildebeest/gnu or hartebeest.

Wakaranga – A Bantu-speaking community east of Lake Tanganyika, which probably was the oldest community to move south of the Zambezi.

Wosana/Hossanah/Thosana/cult adept(s)/ - (*Bathumbi be vula*) - Rain surveyors/seekers/one dedicated to *Mwari* (Latham 1986:236).

Wosana music - This is music performed by rain seekers.

Woso (Ikalanga)/Hosho (Shona) - A gourd rattle/a dance performed for recreation and ridicule at rituals and also beer parties. It is the dance *Mwali* prefers to the *gumba-gumba* and pop music on records (Werbner 1977a: 205).

Xhosa(s) - One of the South African *Nguni* people mainly occupying the Eastern Cape Province.

Zambezi - This is the name of a river found at the borders of Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Namibia.

Zezeru - Central *Shona* dialect.

Zhambuko (Ikalanga/Isindebele) - This is a substance for treatment of seeds, which was prepared by elderly men and given to religious messengers for the general treatment of seeds in the home communities. This substance was also used as protective medicine for infants at the beginning of each ritual year.

Zhizha (Ikalanga) - First fruits from the fields.

Zhizo - Old historical *Bakalanga* farmers.

Zulu - The *Zulu* race is originally from the South African Kwa-Zulu Natal province. In the Zimbabwean *Isindebele*, *Zulu* can also mean rain.

Zvipo (Shona) - See *Lunamoto*.

Zwamwi/Ku dusa zwamwi (Ikalanga) - “To remove the standstill” (ritual cleansing of the land). In this ritual, men go out to the chief’s court. The roasting and consumption of meat at the sacred place is believed to be an offering to the High-God.

Zwikei (Ikalanga) - Cattle yokes.

Zwilidzo (Ikalanga) - Musical instruments.

Zwingwango (Ikalanga) - Concussion plaques.

Zwipo (Ikalanga) - See *lunamoto*.

Zwitimbi (Ikalanga) - Beads for decorating *Ikalanga* traditional music dancers.

1.8.2 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS RESEARCH WITH THEIR EXPLANATIONS

BNA	Botswana National Archives.
BOG	Board of Governors.
BTU	Botswana Teachers Union.
CJSS	Community Junior Secondary School.
KBTP	<i>Kalanga</i> Bible Translation Project.
LMS	London Missionary Society.
MLGLH	Minister of Local Government Lands and Housing.
MOE	Ministry of Education.
NDP	National Development Plan.
OAU	Organisation of African Unity.
PTAs	Parents Teachers Associations.

REO	Regional Education Office(r).
RNPE	Revised National Policy on Education.
S and CD (O)	Social and Community Development (Officer(s)).
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist.
SEO	Senior Education Office(r).
UCCSA	United Congregational Church of Southern Africa.
VDCs	Village Development Committees.
VHC (s)	Village Health Committee(s).
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association.
ZCC	Zion Christian Church.

1.9 NOTES TO THE READER

This section gives the reader some information on the use of sources, people's names and the research questionnaire.

1.9.1 USE OF SOURCES

The author of this thesis gives the assurance that, as far as possible, he endeavoured to use primary sources. Where secondary sources are listed, it is because the primary sources were not available.

1.9.2 INFORMATION AND SOURCES

On certain topics (e.g. chapter two) information could only be found in one particular book or article. In such cases, extensive reference will be found to that publication. However, in all other cases an effort was made to synthesise information obtained from as wide a variety of sources as possible.

1.9.3 USE OF PEOPLE'S NAMES

In writing this document, real people's names were used and not pseudonyms (fictitious names, especially ones assumed by an author) as is often done to protect personal identities. This was in consultation with the concerned people.

1.9.4 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was designed in such a way that the aims highlighted in chapter one would be successfully achieved. The interviewer completed the questionnaire during the oral conversations/interviews through written notes, audio and video recordings of information and performance the informants gave. The questionnaire together with probing questions in vernacular language (*Ikalanga*), required the interviewers to make observation of the key information sought and to formulate their own opinions. This was found to be the best approach because the author's assumption was that a majority of informants would be illiterate. The questionnaire was divided into three sections as follows:

SECTION A:

Questions 1-9 were aimed at deriving musical knowledge on the various categories of *Bakalanga* traditional songs from adults. This section also aimed at finding out who composers of *Bakalanga* traditional songs are. The question of accessories used in performing *Bakalanga* music and who makes them was also taken into consideration.

SECTION B:

Questions 10-12 were intended to get informants to explain and describe the dancing process in relation to drumming. It also went

further to probe the informants to explain from what trees the drums used in performing *Bakalanga* music are made.

SECTION C:

Questions 13-25 formed the longest section and required interviewees to give information about the rain praying process under the following sub-headings; ecological concerns (*zwamwi*), the dancing ground (*daka*), the holy day (*nsi*), seed blessing as well as the dancers. This section also gave the informants an opportunity of expressing their personal views about the degree of performing *Bakalanga* music and how performance affects its preservation.

In total about fifty key informants responded to the questionnaire. Except the chiefs and music teachers, the remainder of the informants were chosen on a random basis. With the help of the North East District Council personnel and chiefs, names of active musicians were considered for selection. Below is an example of the research questionnaire, followed by a table showing the names of key informants and their respective villages in Botswana and Zimbabwe.

This questionnaire was meant to be answered by Primary and Secondary School practising teachers, primary and secondary school retired teachers, education officers and community members.

SECTION A

1. List the uses of each of these *Bakalanga* music types/styles;

Kwala mishingo ye milenje ino ye njimbo dze Bakalanga;

- A. *Wosana*
- B. *Woso*
- C. *Mukomoto*
- D. *Mayile*

- E. *Datsina*
- F. *Kodobholi (the giant)*
- G. *Ndazula*
- H. *Sangoma*
- I. *Iperu*
- J. *Mazenge*
- K. *Bhoro*
- L. *Maskhukhu/Ncuzu*
- M. *Tshikitsha/Tjikitja*
- N. *Mancomane/Mantshomane*

2. (a) It looks like these days other *Bakalanga* music types/styles are becoming obsolete.

Why is this?

Mazhuba ano njimbo dzimwe dze Bakalanga adzi tja mbiwa kwazo Ko etiwa neni?

(b). Despite this fact, *wosana* music seems to be more lively. What is the reason for this?

Kene dzimwe njimbo dze Bakalanga dzi singa mbiwe, wosana idzo dzaka dwilila kwazo. Ko yekhwa neni kuti kube kwaka jalo?

3. Who composes new songs for the *Bakalanga* traditional music?

Njimbo tshwa dze tjilenje tje Bakalanga dzo thamwa ndiboyani?

4. List any *Bakalanga* children's games with songs you know.

Kwala mizano ye Bakalanga ina njimbo ya uno ziba.

5. List any *Bakalanga* songs you know by names according to their types/styles e.g.

Song type - Song name

Mukomoto – mwanangu wa yenda.

Kwala njimbo dze Bakalanga dza uno ziba ne milenje yadzo nenge mazina dumbu?

*Nlenje we lumbo- Zina le lumbo
Mukomoto - Mwanangu wa yenda*

6. What are *mishwayo* made of ?

Mishwayo ino thamwa neni/ngeni?

7. What animal tail is *phende (tjoba)* made from and why?

Phende kene tjoba , lo thamwa ne mwise we phukani?

8. What is *tshogu* and how is it associated with virgins and rain praying?

Tshogu ko dwiwani? Lo zwalana tjini ne baanadi ne nge mitembezelo ye na kwe vula?

9 (a) Why do most *Bakalanga* traditional dancers put on beads (*zwitimbi*)?

Ini bazani be njimbo dze Bakalanga be mbala zwitimbi/ndalama?

(b) Who is responsible for bead making?

Zwitimbi zwino mbagwa ku mbiwa, zo thamwa/lukwa ndiyani/ndiboyani?

SECTION B

10. Is the dancing ground also like a drum to the *Bakalanga*?

Pasi pano zanigwa njimbo dze Bakalanga, ko togwa bo se dumba kene?

11. What types of drums are used during different *Bakalanga* singing sessions?

Ndi api matumba ano shingisiwa mu ku zana njimbo dze tjilenje tje Bakalanga?

12. Do *Bakalanga* drums have any language or message(s)?

Matumba e Bakalanga ana ndebeleko nenge matama kene?

SECTION C

13. What are *zwamwi* and how do they affect the falling of rain?

Zwamwi ko dwiwani? Zo dzibila na kwe vula tjini?

14. What is *itethela* and what animals are people allowed to kill during this event?

Itethela ko dwiwani ? Phuka dzino bulawa ku itethela ndi dziipi?

15. What is *daka*?

Daka ko dwiwani?

16. What is “*nsi*”?

“Nsi” ko dwiwani?

17. Why was the *nzeze* tree chosen for rain praying sessions?

Ini nti we nzeze waka shalugwa kuti vula I tembezelegwa kusi kwawo?

18. What is the purpose of seed blessing?

Ku dusiwa kwe mbewu ko etigwani mu tjilenje tje Bakalanga?

19. (a) How is the bird *njelele* associated with *Njelele*, a place in Zimbabwe?

Nyunyi inoyi njelele ino zwalana tjini ne nzi we Njelele uku Zimbabwe?

(b) How is this bird associated with the falling of rain?

Nyunyi ye njelele ino zwalana tjini ne na kwe vula?

20. What is *lombe* and how does this differ from *wosana*?

Lombe ko dwiwani ene lo leyana tjini ne wosana?

21. Draw the Ntogwa’s family tree up to Robert Vumbu.

Longolosa ludzi gwa ka Ntogwa ku dza u swika pana Robert Vumbu.

22. What is your opinion about *Bakalanga* traditional music being included in the music syllabus, not as an extra curricular activity as it is now in *Bukalanga* schools?

Ipa mazwiwo awo nekwe diywa kwe njimbo dze tjilenje tje Bakalanga mu zwikwele zwe Bukalanga, dzi singa togwe se nzano sekwa dzino togwa mazhuba ano.

23. Give your opinion on the idea that *Bakalanga* traditional music be taught together with Western music.

Ipa mazwiwo awo ne kwe nkumbulo we kuki njimbo dze tjilenje tje Bakalanga dzi diywe mu zwikwele ne dza seli?

24. Does the posting of teachers to the *Bukalanga* area affect the preservation of the area's traditional music in any way?

Ku esiwa kwe badiyi be bana mu zwikwele zwe Bunandzwa bhezhuba ko tshonyonga tjini mbigilidzo ye njimbo dze tjilenje tje Bakalanga?

25. If your suggestion is that *Bakalanga* traditional music be taught in schools, who should teach it? Is it school teachers or knowledgeable parents or other adults from the community?

Ha u duma kuti njimbo dze tjilenje tje Bakalanga dzi diiwe mu zwikwele zwe Bukalanga, ndiyani waka fanila ku dzi diya?Dzi diiwe ne badiyi be bana kene ne bazwadzi bana luzibo?

NAME: -----

PROFESSION:-----

AGE:-----

1.9.5 LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

NAME	VILLAGE/TOWN	SEX
Botshelo, Boseja	Zwenshambe (Botswana)	F
Buzwani, Margaret Taloba	Musojane (Botswana)	F
Chabale, Elinah	Mabudzaani (Botswana)	F
Dodzi, Masole	Maitengwe (Botswana)	M
Dube, Jabulani	Tjehanga (Zimbabwe)	F
Dupute, Joseph	Thekwane (Zimbabwe)	M
Fanikiso, Nyaladzo	Mathangwane (Botswana)	M
Gadibolae, Nontsikelelo	Maitengwe (Botswana)	F
Kealotswe, Obert	Mapoka (Botswana)	M
Letsholathebe, Jey	Tsamaya (Botswana)	M
Madala, Banabotlhe	Malambakwena (Botswana)	F
Mamu, Basetse	Jakalasi No. 2 (Botswana)	F
Maphorisa, Ephraim	Tshesebe (Botswana)	M
Matombo, Caseline	Jakalasi No. 2 (Botswana)	F
Matopote, Ellen	Ramokgwebana (Botswana)	F

Continued on the next page

Continued from previous page

NAME	VILLAGE/TOWN	SEX
Matshameko, Lilian	Zwenshambe (Botswana)	F
Mongwa, Mbako	Marapong (Botswana)	M
Mbulawa, Botshelo	Tsamaya (Botswana)	M
Mbulawa, MudongoTapela	Sebina (Botswana)	M
Mbulawa, Patson	Tsamaya (Botswana)	M
Mlilo, Mavis	Kezi (Zimbabwe)	F
Monnaanoka, Siphwe	Mathangwane (Botswana)	F
Monyatse, Ofaletse	Tsamaya (Botswana)	M
Monyatse, Seolatheng	Tsamaya (Botswana)	F
Moswela, Monty	Mapoka (Botswana)	M
Mosweu, Sylvia Tukunu	Nkange (Botswana)	F
Mothibi, Modisaotsile	Marobela (Botswana)	M
Mudongo, Mukani	Nlapkhwane (Botswana)	M
Ndebele, Selinah	Matjinge (Zimbabwe)	F
Ndlovu, Soneni	Tjehanga (Zimbabwe)	F
Ngwenya, Shadreck	Ngwanyana (Zimbabwe)	M
Nleya, Morrison	Dombodema (Zimbabwe)	M
Nthoi, Leslie	Mosojane (Botswana)	M
Nzula, Christinah	Jakalasi No. 1 (Botswana)	F
Phike Njaki	Marapong (Botswana)	F
Sabeni, Esnath	Tjehanga (Zimbabwe)	F
Seleka, Toteng	Masunga (Botswana)	F
Siwawa, Angelinah	Tsamaya (Botswana)	F
Tambula, Shathiso	Tutume (Botswana)	M
Tapela, Lutho Addington	Dombodema (Zimbabwe)	M
Thapisa, Priska	Masunga (Botswana)	F
Thusani, Caiphas	Jakalasi No. 2 (Botswana)	M
Tibone Margaret	Mabudzaani (Botswana)	F
Tibone, Ngada	Zwenshambe (Botswana)	M
Tshandu, Lydia	Moroka (Botswana)	F
Tshuma, Sponono	Tjehanga (Zimbabwe)	F
Vumbu, Robert	Ramokwebana (Botswana)	M

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF *BAKALANGA* FROM 1000 AD

This chapter is about the history of the *Bakalanga*. It discusses their stay in the present day Zimbabwe and their movement into present day Botswana. During their stay and movement, *Bakalanga* were involved in mineral trade as well as Agriculture. The influence of Christianity and education are also discussed in this chapter.

2.1 ORIGINS OF *BAKALANGA*

The true *Makalaka*, as the derivation of their name (*Baka-Langa*) people of Langa (Sun) would seem to suggest, were in all probability members of the Eastern group of tribes, of whom they formed the rear column in the Southward migration. They were, however, cut off from the East Coast tribes by considerable gaps of space and time, and came, in customs at any rate, very much to resemble the Bechuana tribes. It was with these people that the Portuguese came into contact three and a half centuries ago. They were the subjects of the famous Monomotapa dynasty (Molema 1920: 67).

2.1.1 LEOPARD'S *KOPJE* CULTURE

Van Waarden (1999:4) has noted that the *Bakalanga* seem to have arrived in what is now Western Zimbabwe and North Eastern Botswana as early as about 1000 AD. From that time on, there have been settlements of the "Leopard's *Kopje*" culture (named after an archaeological site). The Leopard's *Kopje* people were probably descendants of the *Zhizo* farmers, but *Kopje* people were ancestors of the *Vashona* and *Bakalanga*. They were the first people to mine gold, and the imported glass beads found on the sites indicate that they participated in the trade with the Arabs.

Van Waarden also postulates that the archeological remains indicate that this time, the people preferred to live on hilltops. They had large cattle herds; there was some mining and the gold was traded for goods

that came from the East Coast. Of the 200 gold workings in the North East district, all except one had been mined in pre-historic times. Ivory was probably another export product.

Sixteen Leopard's *Kopje* sites are known in the North East District, but many more probably exist. The chiefdom stretched as far west as the Makgadikgadi Pans and salt may have been another trade item (Van Waarden 1999: 4).

2.1.2 ZIMBABWE STATE

Whether the Leopard's *Kopje* chiefdom was fully integrated into Great Zimbabwe or whether its chiefs were fairly independent, is not known. It is not known, for example, if the rulers in the local stone walled sites were Leopard's *Kopje* chiefs or administrators sent by Great Zimbabwe.

Around 1300 A. D. the area came under the influence of the empire that had its centre in Great Zimbabwe. However, around 1450 it seems that the *Bakalanga* area broke away from the Great Zimbabwe State or confederacy, and that it began to send its trade goods via the *Zambezi* valley to the coast (Van Waarden 1999:5).

2.1.3 BUTUA

From the late 15th century onwards there was an important *Bakalanga* state in what is now Western Zimbabwe and North Eastern Botswana. According to a Portuguese source, its name was "Butua". Butua was first ruled by the *Torwa Mambos* from the capital Khami, west of Bulawayo (1450-1830). The state was prosperous and peaceful. There seems to have been active trade with the coast through the Mutapa State in the *Zambezi* valley.

The citizens of Butua became known as *Bakalanga*. For four centuries Butua was the greatest state in Southern Africa, a time of peace and prosperity as harvests were good and the cattle fat, and even simple

farmers owned glass beads, copper bracelets and cotton garments (Van Waarden 1999: 5).

Around 1680, an important change took place. The state came under the leadership of the *Varozwi*. It is not clear how this happened. In any case, the *Varozwi*, who were named the *Banyayi* by the *Bakalanga*, became the leading group, and a dynasty of *Varozwi* took over the chieftainship. This happened at the same time when the capital was transferred from Khami to Danan'ombe. It seems that after those changes the *Bakalanga* in Botswana became more independent of the Butua capital, which was now further away. In the late 18th century, there was a governor of the Western province, called *Bulilima*.

Throughout the 18th and early 19th century, it seems that *Bulilima* was a peaceful and expanding state. In this period, several minor groups of foreigners that were originally *Bapedi*, *Bakhurutshe*, *Bahurutshe* and *Barolong* settled in this area. They paid tribute to the *Mambo* in the form of furs of spotted animals. These groups were assimilated into the *Bakalanga* culture and began to speak *Ikalanga*. They now form an important part of the *Bakalanga* in Botswana (Holonga; Mannathoko in Janson 1997:59).

The Butua state collapsed in the 1830s, when the *Amandebele* settled in what is now Western Zimbabwe and subjected most of the *Bakalanga* to their rule. The Western part of the *Bakalanga* region was included in the Bechuanaland Protectorate when the border between it and Zimbabwe was fixed. Bechuanaland Protectorate is the name that preceded the present-day Botswana.

2.1.4 THE AMANDEBELE

The last group of invaders, the *Amandebele* or '*Matebele*' settled at Kobulawayo and forced the *Bakalanga* and others in this area to pay tribute through grain, cattle and children. Many people hid in the hills during this time, or fled to the *Bangwato* or *Shoshong* for safety. In

1893 the British South Africa Company in Bulawayo defeated the *Amandebele*. After that threat had been removed, the *Bakalanga* returned, only to find their land taken over by the Tati Company.

In 1894 the Tati concession was officially incorporated into the Bechuanaland Protectorate as the Tati District and Francistown soon became the centre of the concession. The Protectorate government in 1911 officially acknowledged the Tati Company's claim to the land. The local people were forced to pay tax on what had been their traditional lands. As a result many were moved into the Native Reserve in the North and West of the concession, which the government leased from the company for 1000 pounds annually. Since then, the Tati Company has sold large tracts of the land to the government for tribal use, and to white and black ranchers. The majority of the population of the North East District lives, however, still on the former "Native Reserve" (Van Waarden 1999: 6). Others lived in the *Bangwato* Reserve, presently known as the Central District and were subordinated to the chief of the *Bangwato*.

In this way, the *Bakalanga* were doubly divided. First, the *Bakalanga* in Rhodesia were separated from those in Bechuanaland, and second, the *Bakalanga* within Bechuanaland were partly under the Tati Company, partly under *Bangwato*.

2.1.5 EDUCATION

Bakalanga were introduced to Western education around 1899 when chief K. Nswazwi and *Bakalanga* of Kalakamati village requested the establishment of schools in their areas (Botswana National Archives S240/2). Western education was introduced early among the *Bakalanga*, in the form of mission schools. Khama III sent three London Missionary Society missionaries to the *Bakalanga* (BNA S240/2). Reverend Motiki went to Nswazwi's people, the Rev Mmereki went to Madandume (Tutume) and Rev Tshube to Nkange. In the Tati Reserve,

London Missionary Society (LMS) schools were established in Masunga, Mapoka, Moroka and Tshesebe in about 1920 (Mannathoko 1991: 38).

Bakalanga provided the funds and labour for the construction of these primary schools. For its part the LMS paid the teachers. The schools did not just teach the bible, reading, writing and arithmetic, but also taught carpentry, bricklaying and vegetable gardening (BNA S240/2). Generally *Bakalanga* eagerly embraced Western education, but there were instances when some *Bakalanga* stayed away from schools (especially girls), because the schools were associated with Christianity, which was eroding *Kalanga* customs such as initiation schools and polygamy (BNA S240/2) (Mannathoko 1991: 38).

In the schools in the Tati Reserve *Ikalanga* was taught until independence in 1966, whereas in *Bukalanga* (*Bangwato* Reserve) the *Bangwato* made *Setswana* the medium of instruction even for *Bakalanga* children. Reverend M. Reed and Rev Matebesi of the LMS helped to develop an *Ikalanga* orthography. *Ikalanga* school textbooks were obtained from Southern Rhodesia where the language was also taught in schools. Some *Bakalanga* teachers were trained in Dombodema in Southern Rhodesia where *Ikalanga* was taught in the teacher training institute. In the 1930s some of these teachers came back to Bechuanaland to teach in *Bukalanga* schools. They were surprised to find that *Ikalanga* was not taught in the region. Occasionally some of these teachers taught it without authority (Mannathoko 1991: 38).

One result of the establishment of primary schools in *Bukalanga* communities was that several *Bakalanga* went for further education to either Southern Botswana (St. Joseph's College – Kgale), Southern Rhodesia or South Africa. In Southern Rhodesia, *Bakalanga* went for further education to institutions such as Empandeni, Inyati and Hopefountain. Those who went to South Africa went to institutions such as Tigerkloof, Lovedale and Mariazale (Mannathoko 1991:38).

Kgalemang Motsete was a *Motalaote-Kalanga* from Serowe, whose hard work and brilliant mind earned him bursaries, which allowed him to become a teacher and eventually obtain three bachelor degrees from the University of London (Theology, Music and Arts). Because of his education he was considered a threat by *kgosi* Tshekedi and was not welcomed back in the *Bangwato* Reserve. Therefore, he accepted the invitation of the *Bakalanga* chiefs and Tigerkloof students to start a school in the Tati Reserve (Van Waarden 1999: 41).

In 1931 Kgalemang Motsete, one of the first graduates in Bechuanaland, established a college namely the Tati Training Institute (Bakalanga College) at Nyewele in Malambakwena village. This was the first secondary school in Bechuanaland Protectorate (Mulale 1977: 5). It offered post standard six and secondary school courses. The *Kalanga* responded to Western education positively and in large numbers, and that is why at independence in the 1960s the *Bakalanga* dominated the elite class (Mannathoko 1991: 39).

Two *Nswazwi* regiments built the Tati Training Institute and many *Bakalanga* contributed cattle and grain. An annual grant from the Carnegie Corporation of America of 5000 dollars was received to develop the school. This meant that school fees could be kept as low as 5 pounds per year, which was affordable for most families.

The school started with 50 students, but eventually had 100 at a time. It was set up as a boys' school, but later girls also attended. As there was no African secondary school in Rhodesia, students from Bulawayo also attended until 1938.

Most of the teachers were from South Africa. The school was so successful that chiefs like *kgosi* Isang Pilane of the *Bakgatla* asked the government to give financial support so that it could be equivalent to the well-known Tigerkloof school in Vryburg South Africa and so that sons of the chiefs could be allowed to attend at government expense.

The school aimed to teach self-reliance. Classes were taught in English and all communication outside class was also in English. It offered post standard six and secondary school courses. The curriculum included subjects such as commerce, english, *Ikalanga*, arithmetic, history, geography, agriculture, prayers and scripture, hygiene, moral lessons and singing (Van Waarden 1991: 42). It offered the junior certificate of the University of South Africa, bricklaying, carpentry and biology (BNA 3444). At the time primary school went to standard two and at the Tati Training Institute were standards three to six and forms one to three, after which students wrote a junior certificate examination from the University of South Africa (Mafikeng).

The school was supported by all *Bakalanga* in Bechuanaland. This support for the school upset Tshekedi the *Bangwato* ruler. He interpreted the setting up of the secondary school as a threat to *Ngwato* political might (Mulale 1977: 10). However, kgosi Tshekedi considered educated *Bakalanga* a political threat and forbade *Bakalanga* students from *Bangwato* Reserve to attend. These were students from villages such as Sebina and Nswazwi.

In 1936 the government made a grant to the school, but Tshekedi soon persuaded the government to discontinue support for the school. Van Waarden (1999:42) goes on to say that Motsete moved the school to Francistown in 1938 because of a disagreement with the chief over expansion, and also to be closer to medical facilities. The *Bakalanga* did not want to send their children to a boarding school in a rowdy urban place like Francistown, however, and he lost their support.

By 1939 the school had produced three hundred and twenty two graduates, many of whom became teachers, policemen, store managers, clerks and politicians. The institute was closed down in 1942 by the government for financial and political reasons (Parsons 1984: 36).

Motsete went on to be one of the founders of the Bechuanaland People's Party and composed the national anthem, which is still used in present Botswana '*Fatshe leno la rona*'.

At independence in 1966 *Setswana* was declared the national language and English the official language. Botswana National Language Policy states that the reason for having a national language (*Setswana*) is for ultimate realization of social and political unity (Sir Seretse Khama 1972). *Setswana* and English were to be used as mediums of instruction, in parliament and in the mass media. This meant that a district such as the North East, where *Ikalanga* had been taught in school during the colonial era was no longer allowed to do so. Moreover, the Botswana Information Department (Botswana Government Radio Station, newspaper and magazines) only used *Setswana* and English as mediums of communication. *Bakalanga* were devastated by this decision, which had been taken without their consultation. In the North East District, *Bakalanga* protested at *Kgotla* meetings (Mannathoko 1991: 41). In neighbouring Zimbabwe, *Ikalanga* is taught from grade one to grade three in Bulilima Mangwe District.

In *Bukalanga*, children grew up with the misconception that *Ikalanga* as a language was subordinate to *Setswana*. The fact that by the 1960s many *Bakalanga* in *Bukalanga* spoke *Setswana* gave rise to another fallacy, that since the *Bakalanga* spoke *Setswana* and their culture had been submerged by *Bangwato* culture, they were a minority tribal group which had settled in Bechuanaland from Southern Rhodesia (Mannathoko 1991: 38).

Bakalanga rulers and their communities earnestly believed that education would enable them to win back their political autonomy. Indeed restrictions on *Bakalanga* political and socio-economic life generally stimulated interest in Western education (Mannathoko 1991: 39).

2.2 THE MEANING OF THE NAME *KALANGA/KARANGA*

The name *Kalanga/Karanga* (the use of l versus r is merely a minor difference in the sound systems of some Western *Shona* dialects in contrast to the other dialects) is of very early origin and the original meaning of the name should throw light on the region where the people who spoke this language originated. A number of suggestions worthy of note as to what the meaning of *Kalanga* (more often seen in writing as *Vakaranga* or more similar spelling; i.e. the plural form of the noun referring to the people) might be, have been offered in various publications through the years.

A great deal about the history of the *Bakalanga* is known from various sources. Written sources are abundant only for the last 100 years or so. For earlier periods, there are some references in Portuguese documents, as the Portuguese were established on the coast of present-day Mozambique as early as 1502, and paid attention to trading partners in the interior. There are also the oral traditions of the *Bakalanga* (and other groups). Important material is available in Wentzel (1983c). There is also a great deal of archeological evidence from Van Waarden (1988 and 1999). By combining evidence from these sources, one can arrive at a fairly clear picture of the early history.

The following statements from Wentzel (1983c) are representative of these:

Liesegang (1977: 172 & 180 note 41) published the very old documents known as Mahumane's Account of 1730 in which Mahumane gave his version of the meaning of the word *Kalanga* when he says:

And it seems that the *Kalanga* which is nearby is looked upon as a despised nation, because they only call it *Okalange*, that is "slave" or "slaves" which they sell here and are taken from there (Liesegang 1977: 172).

About this statement (Liesegang 1977: 180, note 41) the author was biased since his passage only reflects certain tribal attitudes of the *Ronga* near Delagoa Bay. This interpretation from Mahumane's account is thus not taken into consideration here.

Theal (1910:225) says that the *Mokarangas*, as termed by the Portuguese, call themselves *Makaranga*. He found that in his time most modern writers took it to mean 'the people of the sun'. He did not agree with this point of view because in *Kalanga* the word 'sun' is not *ilanga*, but *izhuba* or *izwari*. He suggested that the first chief may have been named *Karanga* or else that it may be derived from *Karanga*, a word no more in use, but which meant 'honey guide'. Support for these two suggestions could not be found anywhere else.

In the last instance Theal refers to a Bantu-speaking community, the *Wakaranga*, east of Lake Tanganyika, which probably was the oldest community to move south of the Zambezi. By the time the Portuguese came into contact with them, they had already stayed at that original spot for over a hundred years.

Marodzi (1924: 88) says that the name '*Mukaranga*' means the son of a young wife or little root.

Posselt (1935: 137) claims that according to Native interpretation the word *Mukaranga* means a junior wife. Consequently the offspring of the junior wives of the paramount rulers may have been called generally '*Vakaranga*'. But it would be misleading to dogmatise on this point. It has been asserted by several writers that '*Makalanga*' means 'the people of the sun', derived from '*Langa*' the sun. It may be definitely stated that this is a wholly erroneous interpretation, for '*Langa*' is not the *Chikalanga* name for sun, '*Makalanga*' being the Zululised (sic) form of the name of the people.

Posselt mentions in support of his statement that no form of sun worship has been shown by modern investigations. He was supported

by Sicard (1953 a: 56) when he said it is extremely doubtful if *Kalanga* has anything to do with the sun.

Chinyandura (1947: 47) argues that *Vakaranga* means the punishers (arbiters) as derived from the verb *Kuranga* 'to punish'. Abraham (1959: 62 and 75) presents the following annotation about the tribe to which Mutota and his clan belonged:

An ancestral branch of the *Vakaranga* appears to be still in existence in Tanganyika, dispersed among the *BaNyamwezi* and other tribes to the east and south of Lake Tanganyika. The country of these northern *Vakaranga* was apparently *Uranga*, situated on the River Rufiji, east of Lake Tanganyika, '*ranga*' being the *Nyamwezi* word for 'sun' and '*Uranga*' meaning 'land of the sun'. The word '*Vakaranga*' would mean then 'people living in the land of the sun' (cf the Swahili prefix '*Muka*', plural '*Vaka*' meaning inhabitant(s) of) (Abraham 1959: 75).

Abraham then refers to Posselt who rejected this interpretation on the grounds that *iLanga* ('sun') is a *Zulu* word which does not appear in *Shona*, overlooking the fact that *ranga* which means 'sun' does occur in the Bantu language of East Africa. He also shows that as far back as 1706 Aguiano observed the tribal similarity between the northern *Karanga* and those to the south in the Kingdom of Mwene-Mutapa.

Wilmot (1969: 145) supports the interpretation that the word means 'children of the sun'. He says that as early as 1560 reference was made in a letter to the '*Mocarangas*' west of Inhambane (in the southern coast of Mozambique) and he also draws attention to the fact that '*Mocaranga*' was used in early records as reference to the people, their language and the country they lived in (Wilmot 1969: 164 and 145).

Hayes (1977: 386) does not present an acceptable interpretation when he says that the word is derived from the verb stem *rangana*, 'cooperate, confer'.

Wentzel (1983c: 12) goes on to say, considering the above mentioned interpretations, that one must come to the conclusion that one should make one's choice between possibilities:

a) The point of view held by Marodzi and Posselt above, namely that it means the son (offspring) of a young (junior) wife. Compare in this regard Hannan (1947: 380) for the entry *Mukaranga* that in *Manyika* means 'first wife of chief' and in *Karanga* and *Zezuru* 'wife in addition to first wife'.

b) The point of view that the word means 'people living in the sun' or rather 'people of the sun'.

It may be concluded that Abraham has made a strong enough case for the last mentioned interpretation. Finally it may be mentioned that Theal, though rejecting the 'sun' theory, comes very close to Abraham's interpretation as far as the origin of the people - and therefore the meaning of the name - is concerned.

What these people who reject the 'sun' theory do not seem to bear in mind either, is the fact that the names of tribes are often derived from what other tribes call them so that it does not necessarily mean that the word *ranga* 'sun' must be a *Kalanga/Karanga* word.

The fact that there is a tribe in East Africa with the same name which is obviously derived from their word *ranga* for 'sun' and together with the knowledge that the Southern people with the same name have originated from the same region, lends more validity to this interpretation. It can therefore be argued that *Bakalanga/Vakaranga* means 'people of (the land) the sun'.

2.3 THE PRESENT BAKALANGA SITUATION

According to Van Waarden (1988:1), the *Bakalanga* of Botswana live in North East District and in the Central District from Mathangwane-Sebina to Maitengwe, with small groups scattered in Serowe, Shoshong,

Mmadinare and along Boteti. Before the present border was drawn, they formed one group with the *Bakalanga* of Western Zimbabwe and as such they are the Western branch of the *Shona* people.

The present number of *Bakalanga* in Botswana comprise about 11% of the total population of 1.35 million, or between 150 000 and 200 000 (Janson 1997: 60).

As for the *Bakalanga* living in Zimbabwe, Janson (1997:58) cites Hachipola (1996:5) reporting that *Ikalanga* is spoken mainly in Bulilimangwe District, but it is also found in Nyamandlovu, Kezi, Matopo and Tsholotsho districts. He adds that the latest Zimbabwean census of 1992 gives the figure 158 143 *Bakalanga* people in Bulilimangwe district. But this figure excludes the *Bakalanga* people found in other regions. In addition, *Nambdzwa*, which may be regarded as a separate language or as a dialect of *Ikalanga*, is used by about 50000 people in Hwange district Hachipola (1996:55-60).

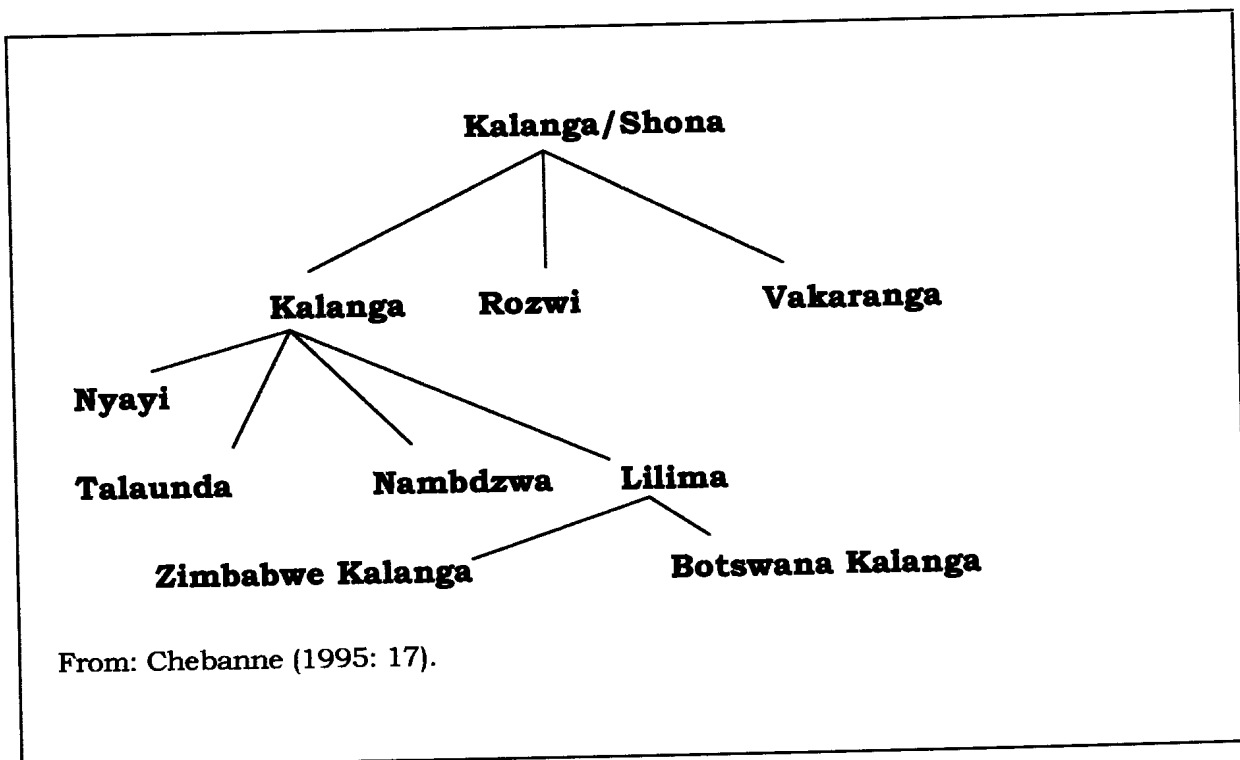
2.3.1 IKALANGA AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER LANGUAGES

According to Chebanne (1995:17), the *Bakalanga* in Botswana are linguistically closely related to a number of ethnic groups in both Botswana and Zimbabwe. Two of these groups, the *Vakaranga* and *Rozvi*, are now considered to be varieties of *Shona* while the remaining four are not. These four are referred to in linguistic and historical writings as *Lilima*, *Nyayi*, *Talaunda*, and *Nambdzwa*.

The *Lilima*, *Nyayi* and *Talaunda* people were all a part of the historical Butua State of the *Kalanga* people. When it collapsed in the late 17th century, some of the *Nyayi* and *Talaunda* people moved into the *Lilima* region. In addition, the *Peri* people who originally spoke a language related to Northern *Sotho* moved into the *Lilima* region (Chebanne 1995:17). All of these people eventually began speaking the *Lilima* language as their own. The *Lilima* people and those who joined them are

today most commonly known as *Bakalanga* and live in Eastern Botswana and Western Zimbabwe.

The *Ikalanga* spoken in Zimbabwe differs slightly in pronunciation, words and grammar from the *Kalanga* spoken in Botswana but they are more similar to each other than to any of the other *Kalanga/Shona* sub groups. The *Nyayi* and *Talaunda* people who did not move into the *Lilima* region have retained their own variety of speech as have the *Nambdzwa*, *Vakaranga* and the *Rozvi*. The chart below summarizes the relationship between these languages and dialects.



Ikalanga's relatively close relationship with the *Setswana/Sotho* languages could be attributed to the long proximity between *Sengwato* (a *Setswana* dialect) and the *Ikalanga* speakers. On the other hand, one could explain this relationship through the 11th century Limpopo exodus as suggested by Janson (1991/92). *Ikalanga* was, in fact, one of the first Bantu languages to enter Botswana, as it arrived around A. D. 1000 from present-day Zimbabwe (Anderson & Janson 1997:58).

2.3.2 BOTSWANA'S AND ZIMBABWE'S IKALANGA COMPARED

The *Kalanga* dialects in Botswana and Zimbabwe seem to have equal sociolinguistic status; neither is considered to be more correct than the other. Before the colonial period, the *Bakalanga* had among themselves a very respectful relationship of who was senior to another. Had this attitude been retained up to the present, it would perhaps have brought about a single accepted *Ikalanga* language based upon this seniority and not one based upon differing linguistic forms (Hologna 1991:35-56).

Because most of the *Ikalanga* alphabet systems were designed to be used by either the Botswana dialect or the Zimbabwe dialect, but not both, the consonants, which are unique to one, are missing in the list of consonants for the other. When this is considered, only the Zimbabwe *Ikalanga* has a written formal alphabet history (Chebanne 1995:17).

2.3.3 A HUNDRED YEAR HISTORY OF WRITTEN IKALANGA

In 1985, the Zimbabwe Ministry of Education National committee for minority languages produced reading books for use in schools for the *Ikalanga* speaking areas of the country. This orthography was the first to be officially established for the *Ikalanga* language as spoken in Zimbabwe.

In 1989 the *Ikalanga* orthography conference held in Botswana tentatively decided upon an alphabet for writing *Ikalanga* in Botswana. This alphabet was based upon the phonological recommendations of J. Eans who was then the coordinator of the *Kalanga* Bible Translation Project (KBTP) in Francistown (Chebanne 1995:17). This alphabet was subsequently used by the KBTP in publishing several bible portions.

The latest alphabet was adopted by the second *Kalanga* Orthography conference in 1994. This alphabet built upon previous alphabets and subsequent research into segmental representation by Dr. A. M. Chebanne of the University of Botswana and Mr. K.W. Pahlen of the

KBTP. In addition, decisions affecting word divisions and other writing conventions were formalised at the conference.

2.4 MISSIONARY INFLUENCE ON *IKALANGA* MUSIC AND CULTURE

Efforts of the early missionaries have also influenced people's lives in Botswana. These pioneer missionaries were part of the colonial movement and their methods had a decided effect on the cultural patterns of the people. As a reaction to some of these methods, the independent, indigenous, churches arose as an option for African Christianity (Rader 1991: 31).

Added to the government's neglect of developing indigenous music is the historical influence of Christian missionaries among the *Batswana*. Missionaries saw drumming as woven into the fabric of pagan life, so they were determined to exorcise it. Despite the scarcity of instruments, *Batswana* refused to forsake their musical traditions and an outstanding vocal musical culture evolved. Drums are among the limited number of musical instruments found in Botswana, especially amongst the *Ikalanga* speaking people.

African music was regarded as not sufficiently artistic and spiritual by the missionaries. The majority of the people appear to have lost interest in their traditional music and musical instruments as a result of contact with modern civilisation and the influence of missionaries. Missionaries have taught them to regard their own musical traditions as inferior and to accept Western church music instead. Christian activities were brought into Africa together with the main colonial activities; both were closely linked, and they were of course, foreign.

2.4.1 MISSION CHURCHES

The first category of churches to be introduced in Botswana consists of those churches known in literature as historic, mainline or mission

churches. Missionaries introduced these churches in Botswana from England, Scotland and Germany and sometimes through South Africa (Amanze 1998:34). Generally speaking, mission churches are extensions of the churches in Europe and the mother churches in their country of origin control them directly or indirectly.

One of the distinctive characteristics of the history of Christianity in Botswana is that the church was introduced and developed along tribal lines. The missionaries concentrated their efforts first and foremost on converting tribal chiefs whom they taught how to read and write. Having obtained their sympathy, they baptised them. Consequently their subjects followed suit and gradually Christian communities began to grow in and around the *kgotlas* (village courts) of chiefs (Amanze 1998:35). In this way tribal chiefs in Botswana played a major role in the development of the churches in the country.

The first missionary body to bring Christianity to the *Batswana* was the London Missionary Society (LMS). This society was formed in London in 1795 by individuals from several denominations mainly Independents, Presbyterians, Methodists and Anglicans.

The roots of missionary work among the *Bamangwato* can be traced back to Robert Moffat's visit to Shoshong along with an African evangelist in 1857. In 1859 Rev Christostpher Schulenberg of Hermannsburg missionary society established a mission station at Shoshong and baptised Kgama and Kgamane in 1860. In 1862 his work was taken over by Roger Price and John Mackenzie at Shoshong. In their mission endeavours they were assisted by Chief Kgama III who promoted many Christian ideals and forbade the observance and practice of many traditional beliefs and practices among his people (Amanze 1998: 36-37).

In 1967 the three main congregational groups in Southern Africa, namely the LMS, the Bantu Congregational Church (born out of the American Board of Missions) and the congregational Union of Southern

Africa were united and together formed the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA). This body was divided into regions spread over South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

The Methodist church was introduced in Botswana between 1836 and 1840 from South Africa. No single individual was responsible for the introduction of the church in the country. What is known is that some *Barolong* from Botswana spent some time with Methodist missionaries at Thaba-Nchu in the Orange Free State on the Lesotho border. Other *Batswana* came under the influence of the Methodist Church at the mines and schools in South Africa.

Another growth of Methodism was registered in the North around 1975. Congregations grew out of the Matsiloje *Barolong* community who had moved from Thabu-Nchu in the 1880s and 1890s into North Eastern Botswana. The Rhodesian District of the Methodist church served these societies which stretched as far north as Ramokgwebana and south to Francistown.

Amanze (1998:40) states that another group of missionaries who came to evangelise in Botswana were members of the Anglican Church. It is, however, conjectured that the first contacts between the Anglican church and *Batswana* was through the LMS missionaries, some of whom were Anglicans such as John Mackenzie and others, as seen in their doctrines and the use of catechism in their baptismal classes. In Northern Botswana the introduction of the Anglican Church is attributed to the *Bakhurutshe* who came from central Transvaal and settled in Zeerust where the Ndebele of Lobengula troubled them. They asked Kgama for protection. He settled them in Tati Reserve together with *Barolong*. By this time the diocese of Ndebele was developing its work by moving southward to Zeerust in the West Transvaal from Zimbabwe (South Rhodesia).

The Tati Company in Francistown was able to accommodate the *Bakhurutshe* who were coming from Kgama Reserve after they had been slaves of the *Ndebele* at Selepeng. Selepeng is credited to be the place where Anglicanism was first practised. By the time the *Bakhurutshe* were settled in *Bangwato* Reserve they had already been taught Anglican values.

The *Bakhurutshe* of chief Rauwe were living in Tati Reserve as early as 1907. In 1913 Rauwe, chief of the *Bakhurutshe*, moved to Tonota with his people on the condition that they would not introduce the Anglican Church in the *Ngwato* territory. The presence of Anglicans in the area, however, caused a great deal of conflict between them and the tribal chiefs. For example at one point the Anglican *Bakhurutshe* at Tonota were forced to abandon their church and join the LMS for fear that the two denominations in the area would divide the people.

It was only in the 1950s that Anglicans were admitted in *Ngwato* territory on condition that they would build hospitals and schools.

2.4.2 PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES

The second category of churches, which has been engaged in missionary work in Botswana, consists of Pentecostal churches. These are a group of protestant churches that trace their origin to a charismatic religious revival that began in the United States of America in the 19th and 20th centuries. Pentecostal churches advocate that all individual Christians should experience 'baptism in the Holy Spirit'. Proof of baptism by the Holy Spirit is manifested when an individual receives the gift of speaking in tongues, that is, in an unknown language. They also place great emphasis on the notion of 'being born again', baptism by immersion and being filled with the holy spirit.

Pentecostal churches were introduced in Botswana from America and Europe, mainly through South Africa. Like the mission churches they, too, are carbon copies of the mother churches overseas. They have also

retained the doctrines, church structures, church practice, church governance and spirituality of the mother churches in their country of origin. They, too, are directly or indirectly controlled from outside through financial support, spiritual guidance, the presence of missionaries from the mother churches and moral support. These churches also have universal membership across racial boundaries.

One of the early Pentecostal churches to be introduced in Botswana was the Africa Evangelical church. Rev. J. Molawa introduced it in Botswana. He became a member of this church when he was working as a migrant labourer at the YWCA in Johannesburg in 1945. The first congregations grew up in Tonota and Shashe among workers of the Tati Company. The church met great opposition from Okane Sedimo who favoured the London Missionary Society, but it survived after a long struggle.

Another important Pentecostal church in the country, which needs special mention, is the Apostolic Faith Mission of Africa in Botswana. The church was introduced in Botswana in 1958. It started its operations in Kanye and Francistown where the first church buildings were erected.

In 1972 the Swede Berth Axkle, an evangelist from the Holiness Union Church of Botswana, conceived a plan to start missionary work in Botswana. A team of missionaries was sent from Sweden to Botswana to investigate the possibility of establishing the church in the country. This team of missionaries visited Francistown, Mahalapye, Gaborone and Sefhare. Finally Sefhare was chosen as the appropriate place where missionary work could begin. For four years Berth Axkle spent much of his time preaching in Sefhare, Lerala and Francistown, at the end of which he returned to Sweden. During his absence, missionary work in the country was carried on by Pastor Lief Ericksson and his wife Babro. In 1976 Berth and Marian Axkle returned to Botswana to become full time evangelists.

This list of Pentecostal churches would be incomplete without mentioning the Baptist Mission in Botswana. Baptist missionaries introduced Baptist missions in Botswana from Zimbabwe, crossing the border at Ramokgwebana and established a preaching point and Sunday school there.

Missionary work began officially with the appointment in 1967 of the first Southern Baptist convention missionaries. These were Rev. Marvin Reynolds and his wife Bertha. They arrived in Francistown in 1968. The first Baptist Church was organised in Francistown in 1970. Since there was no dentist at the time in North Eastern Botswana, a couple was appointed in 1970 to start a dental mission in order to strengthen missionary work in the area. Consequently a Baptist Dental Clinic was opened in Francistown in 1971.

2.4.3 AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES

The emergence of church independence in Botswana resulted as a reaction against the negative approach of the missionaries towards *Setswana* cultural heritage. At present, African Independent Churches in Botswana constitute a gigantic Christian movement, unprecedented in the history of Christianity in the country. In belief and practice the African Independent Churches constitute a major challenge to the teachings of the mainline churches as well as the Pentecostal churches because of their adaptation of Christianity to the African way of life. They have taken African culture seriously and their spirituality has preserved most of the *Tswana* aspects that were vehemently condemned by the missionaries (Amanze 1998:63).

Harold Turner, as cited in Amanze (1998:63), has pointed out that African Independent Churches “may be described as having been founded in Africa, by Africans, for Africans to worship in African ways and to meet African needs as Africans themselves feel them”. Kofi Appiah-Kubi (Amanze 1998:63) in his article titled ‘Indigenous African

Christian Churches: signs of authenticity' has defined these churches as:

Churches founded by Africans for Africans in our special African situations. They have all African membership as well as all African leadership. Africans founded some in reaction to some feature of the Christianity of missionary societies; most were found among those people who had known Christianity the longest.

In the context of Botswana as stated by Amanze (1998:68), the formation and proliferation of African Independent Churches are attributed, to a great extent, to religious and social factors rather than political and economic factors. The majority of the African Independent Churches in the country have been formed in order to meet peoples' spiritual and social needs which they felt were not addressed by other churches. These include faith healing, divination, and prophecy, worshipping god in African ways and preserving certain aspects of *Tswana* culture. In these churches people experience Christianity in the context of their culture. Church members are not required to give up their Africanness in order to become Christians. They are first and foremost Africans and secondly Christians. Those who have been attracted to the new religious movements have done so as a reaction against an over-Europeanised Christianity, which rejects almost every aspect of *Tswana* cultural life as unchristian. This is evidenced by the fact that the majority of African Independent Churches in Botswana have retained a great deal of *Tswana* beliefs and practices such as polygamy, sacrifices, divination and other cultural ceremonies of social, economic and religious nature.

2.5 THE EARLY MISSIONARIES' ATTITUDES TOWARDS TSWANA CULTURE

Onyango, as cited by Amanze (1998:52), said: "It is the greatest souls that sometimes make the greatest blunders. The missionary forgot that this was a cross-cultural marriage. Not a mono-cultural marriage. He therefore packed the gospel in his own culture, without thought of the Africans. The time honoured, time-tested, African culture thence on was to become backward, archaic, and yes heathen! This included the African's song, African's social system, African's rich history, concept of god, ethics and all that made him an African. In essence to be an African Christian meant to denounce the whole African".

The issue of songs is evident among the *Bakalanga*. Most *Bakalanga* use an *Ikalanga* songbook called *gwaba* entitled *njimbo* for church and funeral singing. This songbook contains songs with *Ikalanga* lyrics sung to Western tunes. It is mainly used by members of the UCCSA, which is originally from the London Missionary Society.

It is apparent everywhere in Africa that the encounter between Christianity on the one hand and African culture on the other has never been a good one. The African peoples were asked to confess their sins in order to be born again and truly saved. Salvation was only possible if they renounced their African past, that is, their cultural beliefs and practices, and showed willingness to live according to the Christian principles. This involved a wholesale transformation of the African way of life, for Africanness or blackness was, to the Europeans, a symbol of evil (Amanze 1998:52).

Their destiny was eternal hell where they would weep and gnash their teeth. In the context of Botswana, Christianity dealt a death blow to many *Tswana* cultural values, ironically with the assistance of some *Tswana* chiefs who were supposed to be the guardians of the traditions and moral values of *Tswana* society. With a stroke of a pen much of *Tswana* cultural heritage was destroyed.

Robert Moffat's attitude towards *Tswana* culture, for instance, was very negative. It is claimed that he clung to the view that *Batswana* "had no religious ideas at all, or at least none worth bothering about...." He also felt that all their customs were wicked; the only proper response to them was denunciation.

This is a significant change from traditional religion, which was little concerned with what we would call ethics. It is true that traditional religion reinforces the observance of certain taboos, against incest, for example, or ploughing on holy days. Traditional religion also demands a certain co-operation and concord within a community, be it a gathering of kin for a ritual in honour of a family spirit elder or a neighbourhood community honouring of territorial spirit guardian (Bourdillon 1976: 332)

By and large the early missionaries assumed airs of cultural superiority, which were essentially Eurocentric. They propagated a brand of Christianity that expressed Western cultural values and which was set totally against any form of indigenisation. In their view, to accommodate African institutions and customs within Christianity was not only unthinkable but also ungodly. Quite often the missionaries' zeal to stamp out *Tswana* beliefs and practices was sanctioned by the British administration. British officers, for instance, supported the London Missionary Society's endeavour to make *Batswana* an ideal Christian country where people led their lives in accordance with Christian morals (Amanze 1998:53).

According to Amanze (1998:54), one of the institutions identified for abolition concerned the initiation ceremonies. The missionaries maintained that these initiation ceremonies subjected boys and girls to physical hardships such as circumcision by crude instruments, which were not sterilised, lack of proper medical care after operation, exposure to severities of weather in a state of nakedness and death of the novices.

The whole system was criticised by the missionaries and British officials as inhuman.

The missionaries and the British officials were critical of polygamous marriages. Missionaries called for the abolition of this practice because it was against the Christian ideals of marriage, which advocates monogamy. Polygamists were not allowed to join the church. This being the case, they were required to divorce their wives and re-marry one of them in church in a Christian ceremony. Penalties were established for taking another wife without permission from the chief who granted permission to do so only if the first wife was childless. Coupled with this, the missionaries were opposed to the ancient custom of *malobolo* (bride price). To the critics of this system, *malobolo* was a form of buying a woman like a chattel or piece of furniture, which was considered inhuman. Those who supported the system argued that this was merely a form of cementing the relationship of the two families being drawn into the marriage contract.

Amanze (1998:55) states that the missionaries' attacks on *malobolo* (bride price) were received with mixed feelings among the people. Payment of bride price was later restored in one form or the other because of public displeasure. These shifting positions by the church only show how serious this issue was among *Batswana* who feared that outlawing bride price would destabilise the marriage and family institutions in *Tswana* society. Missionaries forbade people from indulging in rainmaking ceremonies and told them to depend on the Christian god alone.

The missionaries also attacked beer-drinking. Chirenje has pointed out that the missionaries did not take into account that to *Batswana*, beer drinking was one of the highest forms of enjoying their leisure time and of extending hospitality to strangers and friends alike. Culturally, beer was also offered to ancestral spirits as a form of prayer for rain, healing, for reconciliation and for other earthly and spiritual blessings. It is,

however, indicated that beer-drinking was one of the things that missionaries were not able to stop easily because it was an important item of diet and it was drunk at social occasions such as marriages and social ceremonies involving *badzimu* (ancestral spirits) (Amanze 1998:57).

One of the difficulties here is that mission churches tend to emphasize the individual rather than family or neighbourhood groups. Prior to the advent of Christianity there was only one religion with a simple system of belief working to keep communities together. Initially, the basis of conversion to Christianity was a personal decision, ideally based on personal conviction and without overt reference to other members of the community. Christian rituals thus tend to breakdown rural communities and the social and communal aspects of traditional religion are impaired (Bourdillon 1976: 336).

Die-hard traditionalists clung to their ancient customs and tried hard to revive and perpetuate them at all costs. The *Bakalanga wosana* are an example. They never gave up their rain praying ceremonies. Instead other *Bakalanga* traditional music groups followed their example, and hence the establishment of the annual festival of the 21st May in the North East District.

2.6 SUMMARY

Van Waarden (1999: 4) has noted that the *Bakalanga* seem to have arrived in what is now Western Zimbabwe and North Eastern Botswana as early as about 1000 AD. They were the first people to mine gold, and the imported glass beads found on the sites indicate that they participated in the trade with the Arabs. In those days, people preferred to live on hilltops for fear of being attacked. They had large cattle herds. The *Bakalanga* chiefdom stretched as far west as the Makgadikgadi Pans and salt may have been another trade item.

The Butua state collapsed in the 1830's, when the *Amandebele* settled in what is now Western Zimbabwe and subjected most of the *Bakalanga* to their rule. The Western part of the *Bukalanga* region was included in the Bechuanaland Protectorate when the border between it and Zimbabwe was fixed. Bechuanaland is the name that preceded the present-day Botswana.

In 1894 the Tati Concession was officially incorporated into the Bechuanaland Protectorate as the Tati District and Francistown soon became the centre of the concession. The local people were forced to pay tax on what had been their traditional lands. The majority of the population of the North East District lives, however, still on the former "Native reserve". Others lived in the *Bangwato* Reserve, presently known as the Central District and were subordinated to the chief of the *Bangwato*. In this way, the *Bakalanga* were doubly divided. First, the *Bakalanga* in Rhodesia were separated from those in Bechuanaland, and second, the *Bakalanga* within Bechuanaland were partly under the Tati Company, partly under *Bangwato*.

Western Education was introduced early among the *Bakalanga*, in the form of mission schools. The schools were comparatively successful, and attendance was higher than in most other parts of the Protectorate. The formation of the Tati Training Institute, even though short lived, was a key factor for the *Bakalanga* Education.

The name *Kalanga* is of very early origin and the original meaning of the name should throw light on the region where the people who spoke this language originated. A number of suggestions worthy of note as to what the meaning of *Kalanga* might be, have been offered in various publications through the years.

The *Kalanga* dialects in Botswana and Zimbabwe seem to have equal sociolinguistic status; neither is considered to be more correct than the other. In 1989 the *Ikalanga* orthography conference held in Botswana tentatively decided upon an alphabet for writing *Ikalanga* in Botswana.

The impact of the early days of Christianity in present Botswana is discussed in this chapter. People who were not satisfied with the influence of Christianity on their culture formed African Independent Churches where their culture was better catered for.

CHAPTER 3

BAKALANGA MUSIC IN BOTSWANA AND ZIMBABWE

The author of this document has chosen Bulilima-Mangwe District as his research area in Zimbabwe because of its location of the Njelele sacred place whose activities are shared by both *Bakalanga* of Zimbabwe and Botswana. To support the choice of this research area by the author, one of the most comprehensive first-hand accounts yet written, as cited by Kuper (1954: 41), deals with Mangwe District. It describes it as an area still known as “Bhukalanga” (the land of the Kalanga), where *Kalanga* customs and language have survived to a greater extent than in most other parts of the Ndebele area. This writing might have been published a long time ago but from the author’s personal experience as an *Ikalanga* cultural insider, it is still valid. This current 2001 *makwaya* type *Ikalanga* song can further prove this fact from Tjehanga village in Bulilima-Mangwe District:

SONG TITLE: BANHU BE BUKALANGA

Call: *Banhu be Bukalanga* – People of *Bukalanga*

Response: *be Bukalanga* – of *Bukalanga*

Call: *Batanani maboko* – Join each other’s hands

Response: *nani maboko* – each other’s hands

Call: *Hango yedu ya buda mu halima* – Our land is out of darkness

Response: *yedu ya buda mu halima* – ours is out of darkness

Call: *Tjebukani mu bone* – look back and see

Response: *kani mu bone* – back and see

Call: *Etjiya tjedza tja swika* – there comes light

Response: *tjedza tja swika* – light is coming

Call: *Hango yedu ya buda mu halima* – Our land is out of darkness

Response: *yedu ya buda mu halima* – ours is out of darkness.

3.1 THE INTERFACE OF BAKALANGA TRADITIONAL MUSIC IN BOTSWANA AND ZIMBABWE

Most of the *Bakalanga* traditional music types practised in Botswana are the same as those practised in Zimbabwe. In this chapter the author discusses school and community musical activities of the *Bakalanga* of both Botswana and Zimbabwe. *Bakalanga* of Botswana occupy the North Eastern part of the country while those of Zimbabwe are found in the Bulilima-Mangwe District in Matebeleland Province.

3.1.1 FIELD TRIP TO TJEHANGA VILLAGE

Having no opportunity of going to conduct his research at Njelele in the Matopo Hills in Zimbabwe, the author of this document found an alternative route to Tjehanga village. This village is found in Bulilima-Mangwe District in Matebeleland Province (Zimbabwe). It was also interesting to learn from Mr. Dupute, the headmaster of Thekwane High School, that the village Tjehanga was named after a river rich in reeds. This river passes through this village and joins the Thekwane River in the process.

Njelele is considered a sacred place because *Mwali* has manifested himself through his voice at this place. The sanctuary is an enclave within the Njelele hill. However, the whole area surrounding the hill, including the priest's homestead, is considered part of the sacred area. The Njelele hill is the "headquarters" of the *wosana* where *Mwali's* voice is heard. Due to reasons such as financial constraints and inaccessibility to the hills without prior arrangements, the researcher went to Tjehanga village where the Manyangwa sacred place is. In addition the researcher also visited the Thekwane village and Plumtree town. Through this process, he covered a wide range of informants representing different areas of Zimbabwe *Bukalanga*.

The trip to Tjehanga village was a success through the help of Mr. J. N. T. Dupute. He is the headmaster of a Methodist Mission High School

called Thekwane situated about eight kilometres West of Plumtree town. Mr. Dupute, a renowned Zimbabwean composer and *Isindebele* teacher, initiated the organisation of a *Bakalanga* traditional singing group at Tjehanga village for this researcher's visit. The aim of this gathering was to assist the author in learning about Zimbabwean *Bakalanga* musical styles through observing the group singing, dancing and also through conducting oral interviews. The researcher also had questionnaires to be completed.

Since nowadays it is very difficult to travel from one village to the next using public transport in Zimbabwe, Mr. Dupute arranged transport to Tjehanga with Mr. Nleya, the headteacher of Thekwane Primary School from the same Methodist Mission. The two accompanied the researcher to Tjehanga Primary School where the singing group had agreed to meet. It should also be noted that no arrangements were made to visit the Manyangwa sacred place whose owners were said by Ms. Mavis Mlilo of Dingumuzi Primary School in Plumtree to be in an interregnum period. Despite this fact, most of Tjehanga village parents are also involved in the Manyangwa sacred place activities.

The researcher and his two travel companions received a very warm welcome by the Tjehanga Primary School headteacher, Mr. Ngwenya, in his office. A short introductory meeting took place, which led to the transference of the trio to Ms. Mutandabari, the deputy head who was directly communicating with the host *Bakalanga* singing group. Ms. Mutandabari in turn handed the group to Ms. Sponono Tshuma, the traditional singing group leader. During these performances, Ms. Soneni Ndlovu offered to be responsible for photographic shooting on behalf of the researcher. This was meant to give the researcher a chance to participate in the performances.

Plate 3



Tjehanga village group with researcher second from right in performance

Photographed by Soneni Ndlovu at Tjehanga Primary School in Zimbabwe at an interview session organised to meet the author in June 2001

When watching the performance, Mr. Dupute was mesmerized by the music and joined in the dancing. He became a motivational factor to the group when he joined the performance since he is regarded as a senior person in this community because he heads Thekwane High School. Mr. Dupute performed *ndazula* music with his walking stick, to enhance the dance.

Plate 4



Mr. Dupute of Thekwane High School Performing *ndazula* dance

Photographed by Soneni Ndlovu at Tjehanga Primary School in Zimbabwe at an interview session organised to meet the author in June 2001

Since the Manyangwa sacred place is found in Tjehanga village, its importance cannot be underestimated when discussing *Bakalanga* traditional music, especially *wosana*. This should be the case because most local parents take part in the annual rain praying ceremonies as well as other activities occurring at the sacred place. The Manyangwa sacred place is situated about three kilometres from the village Primary school.

According to Ms. Sponono Tshuma, who was appointed as the leader for the Tjehanga traditional songs group, their group is not a permanent one. It only comes together when there is a performance needed. So in this case, the group came through the request of the researcher. In confirming this point, instead of using three drums, as is the case in most performances of *Bakalanga* traditional music, Ms. Tshuma's

group managed to secure only two for this event. Ms. Esnath Sabeni and Ms. Jabulani Dube played these two drums respectively. Ms. Soneni Ndlovu was blowing the whistle.

When interviewing her, the author discovered that Ms. Tshuma was an *Ikalanga* speaker originally from Mapoka village in Botswana along the Zimbabwean border. She is now a Zimbabwean through marriage. With the knowledge of the two country's *Bakalanga* musical repertoire, Ms. Tshuma and her group members confirmed the likeness of Botswana and Zimbabwe *Bakalanga* music types. This was with the exception of the San *bhoro* music, which is said to be obsolete in Zimbabwe. During these musical activities, Ms. Tshuma also displayed her knowledge of *bhoro* music, which she acquired in her country of birth (Botswana) during her youth through dancing. During this performance, Mr. Nleya, the headteacher of Thekwane Primary School, submitted that in the olden days, Zimbabwean *Bakalanga* traditional dancers used to dress in baboons' tail skins known as *misisi*.

The musical types found amongst the Zimbabwe *Bakalanga* can according to this author be categorized and listed as follows:

- Rain Praying music; *Wosana* and *Mayile*
- Entertainment or happy occasions' music; *Ndazula*, *Mukomoto*, *Woso*, *Iperu*, *Tshikitsha*, *bhoro* and *Ncuzu/Muskhukhu*
- Traditional music for healing purposes; *Mazenge* (*Shumba*), *Sangoma* and *Mantshomane*.

In addition to these traditional *Bakalanga* music types, *Bakalanga* of Zimbabwe also have another type without drumming or hand clapping called *makwaya*. These songs are sung with a different choreography from the traditional ones. The discovery of the researcher is that, most of the *makwaya* tunes were adopted from the Zimbabwe liberation struggle songs.

During the performance at Tjehanga School, a positive atmosphere emerged for the completion of the researcher's questionnaires by both teachers and parents present at this event. After watching this performance, Tjehanga Primary School pupils were enthused and showed this through crowding at the drums all wanting to beat at the same time. This showed how interested these pupils were in this traditional music although no one offered it to them.

3.1.2 BULILIMA - MANGWE DISTRICT SCHOOLS (ZIMBABWE)

In 1985, the Zimbabwe Ministry of Education National Committee for Minority Languages produced reading books for use in schools for the *Ikalanga* speaking areas of the country. This orthography was the first to be officially established for the *Ikalanga* language as spoken in Zimbabwe (Chebanne 1995:21). This was a good foundation for teachers to have people who are knowledgeable in teaching *Ikalanga* songs to school children as well.

Although *Ikalanga* is supposed to be taught from grade one to three, most of the knowledgeable teachers have retired, so most schools do not have anyone to handle the subject. This fact was expressed by the headteacher of Tjehanga Primary School, Mr. Ngwenya. Nevertheless, information gathered at Tjehanga and Dingumuzi Primary School in Plumtree revealed that, in Zimbabwean schools, *Bakalanga* traditional music is not practised. This is despite the presence of wellknown resources such as the Manyangwa and Njelele sacred places that specialise in practising *wosana* music.

Ms. Mavis Mlilo who was the deputy headteacher of Dingumuzi Primary School, although on transfer to Hillside in Bulawayo City, gave a possible cause for this weakness. Among other causes of *Ikalanga* traditional music not being practised in schools, Ms. Mlilo observed that the sacred places of Manyangwa and Njelele were regarded by the local people and sacred place priests as holy places, not allowing frequent visits by non-suplicants. Ms. Mlilo pointed out

that this factor is a traditional music learning barrier to the non-suplicants. The researcher found this to be unlike the Botswana *Bakalanga*, amongst whom schools and communities carry out annual cultural festivals. Zimbabwean *Bakalanga* parents mostly practise *Ikalanga* music (*wosana*) at the sacred places. Another fact that Ms. Mlilo pointed out was the lack of interest or persuasion of teachers and parents by individual headteachers to teach children *Ikalanga* traditional songs. Some of the reasons Ms. Ndebele also pointed out as contributory factors to the negligence of *Bakalanga* music are: schools, television sets, newspapers, radios, and churches mostly use *Isindebele* and English, not *Ikalanga*. Schools are not an exception to this influence.

At Dingumuzi Primary School in Plumtree town, the author of this document was greeted by the sound of a *Bakalanga* traditional drum used for assembly marching. This raised the researcher's wish of hoping to find this music practised on a large scale in this school. This turned out not to be the case since Ms. Mlilo earlier confirmed that in classroom teaching, teachers only use songs from any language to facilitate teaching other subjects. This fact was also supported by Ms. Selinah Ndebele who was regarded to be a *Bakalanga* cultural expert at Dingumuzi School by Ms. Mlilo. She kept on referring to her as "gogo", which is a *Sindebele* term for grandmother, to emphasise her expertise in this field. Ms. Ndebele completed both the researcher's questionnaire and at the same time answered oral questions.

Schools in Bulilima – Mangwe District hold annual music and drama competitions every third term, sponsored by the private company Colgate Palmolive. If there is any assistance from the Zimbabwean Government, the informants had no knowledge of it. This is unlike the Botswana situation where the schools festivals are sponsored by the Botswana Teachers Union (BTU) and in most cases with Government subsidy. Zimbabwe Schools' music and drama annual competitions

are held at three levels namely: District, Province and Inter-Provincial (National).

Mr. Nleya, the headteacher of Thekwane Primary School, stated examples of themes given to schools for these annual music and drama competitions. For the year 2000, as Mr. Nleya stated, the theme was *Ingoma ze zulu* meaning rain songs. In the year 2001, the theme was *Ingoma zoku sebenza* meaning working songs. Both themes are in *Isindebele* language. This theme is meant to be developed by the teachers with songs and drama. As the language indicates, the tendency is that most of the themes are finally presented in *Isindebele*.

Information received from Ms. Mlilo proved that Matjinge Primary School was dominating the winning of Music and Drama annual competitions in Bulilima-Mangwe District. This group excels under the leadership of Mr. Lucious Ncube, a *Ndebele* speaking teacher originally from Kezi district. Mr. Dupute also submitted an addition of Matjinge Secondary School, which is still under the leadership of the same teacher, Mr. Ncube.

Even though the Manyangwa sacred place is in Tjehanga village, there is conflict of interest among the villagers. These interests are the Methodist Church religion and that of the Manyangwa sacred place. Some of the Tjehanga villagers belong to the Methodist Church, which conducts its services at the local Tjehanga Primary School. The author of this document witnessed this during his research visit at Tjehanga Primary School. Whilst the village traditional music group was performing its songs on this day, a Methodist Church service was also going on within the same school. An oral interview held with Dr. Leslie Nthoi of the University of Botswana also portrayed the same state of affairs to be taking place at the Njelele sacred place. Dr. Nthoi confirmed that the Seventh Day Adventist Church (SDA) is responsible for running Njelele Primary School.

The observation is that the Methodist Church also has a large following in the Tjehanga area, which competes with the cultural norms of the Manyangwa sacred place. The Methodist Church runs a large mission in this area, which also owns Thekwane High School. This shows a strong counteraction to the possible success and prosperity of the sacred place activities.

3.2 BOTSWANA IKALANGA COMMUNITY MUSIC

Bakalanga of Botswana practise traditional music in three forms that are the same as those of Zimbabwe. These are:

- Rain Making/Praying Music;

Wosana and Mayile

- Traditional Music for Happy Occasions and Entertainment;

Ndazula, Mukomoto, Woso, Iperu, Tshikitsha, Bhoru and Ncuzu/Maskhukhu

- Traditional Music for Healing Purposes;

Mazenge (Shumba), Sangoma and Mantshomane.

All *Bakalanga* traditional music listed above is practised within Botswana *Bukalanga* communities publicly, with the exception of *mazenge*, which is regarded as sacred and private. *Ncuzu/maskhukhu* music is also not practised because of lack of interested men who are supposed to take the lead in its performances. However, at Jakalasi No. 2 Village there is Mr. Caiphus Thusani practising *ncuzu/maskhukhu* music. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 (under section 6.1.7, *ncuzu/maskhukhu* music).

Bakalanga of North Eastern Botswana have annual traditional competitive festivals that take place on the 21st of May. The Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, through the Department of Culture and

Youth of the North East District Council, sponsor these festivals. During these traditional music festivals, all participating groups are provided with free return transportation to the venue, accommodation and food. First, second and third prizes are awarded to the winning groups for every type of *Bakalanga* traditional music competed in. In addition to the annual festivals, there are also musical rituals that take place during the course of the year such as those of rain praying. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 (under section 5.3 and 5.4, Rain Praying music).

Bakalanga traditional music is mainly practised in the North East District and some parts of the Central District in Botswana. This is because this is a predominantly *Ikalanga* speaking area. It is difficult to bring *Bakalanga* music into schools for teaching. This is due to problems such as lack of *Bakalanga* music knowledge from the young teachers. Another problem is the Botswana constitutional barrier that discourages the use of the so-called minority languages at the expense of major languages in schools.

Some schools in this region practise traditional music as an extracurricular activity. These are mainly schools found around the Tebgwe sacred place in Ramokgwebana where *wosana* music is being practised. Examples of these schools are Ramokgwebana Primary, Jakalasi No. 1 Primary and Ramoja Community Junior Secondary School. Most children in these schools come from *wosana* families where *wosana* music is being practised. *Wosana* children are more advantaged than children who come from families not practising this type of music. This is because they are also involved in performances at home with their parents.

Nowadays schools invite parents to coach children in *Bakalanga* traditional music. Examples of schools observed by the author of this document being coached by local parents are: Jakalasi No. 2 school under Ms. Basetse Mamu, Mabudzaani Primary School under Ms.

Margaret Tibone, Ramokgwebana Primary under Ms. Ellen Matopote and Jakalasi No. 1 School under Ms. Christinah Nzula. These parents do teach *Bakalanga* traditional songs to school going children as well and the teacher in charge of the traditional troupe also learns through the process. North Eastern Botswana Schools take part in annual traditional music competitions. In 2001 the North East regional music committee for their schools' competitions prescribed *wosana* music for competitions.

3.3 BOTSWANA AND ZIMBABWE IKALANGA TRADITIONAL MUSIC TOGETHER

Of all the music types that are common in Botswana and Zimbabwe, *wosana* is the main one that the *Bakalanga* of these two countries annually meet to perform together. This is because of the September annual rain ceremonies and the April thanksgiving held at the *Mwali* "headquarters" at Njelele in the Matopo Hills. During these annual gatherings, *wosana* of Botswana and Zimbabwe sing their songs and those of other spirit mediums present at the oracle.

Evidence suggests that the *Bakalanga* of Northern Botswana did not establish any permanent sacred place before the break-down of the *Ndebele* hegemony. It can then safely be suggested that the establishment of permanent sacred places in Botswana dates from 1896. Before this date, the Mangwe sacred place seems to have controlled all the other *wosana* in the area South-West and West of the Gwai River but North of the Shashe River (Mtutuki 1976: 7).

Because oral tradition has it that the *Bakalanga* brought their religion from Great Zimbabwe via Matonjeni or Dula, it is necessary that this study should constantly refer to the main sacred places in Zimbabwe which will have links with the Ntogwa sacred place (Mtutuki 1976: 1).

In other words, Ntogwa consulted with Manyangwa on matters of common interest or concern. Ntogwa's consultants occasionally

traveled to Manyangwa on private missions. In fact, the *Bakalanga* who live along the Botswana side of the Zimbabwean border do not consider themselves different from the people who live on the other side in Zimbabwe. They have kept their cultural history intact. This cultural link becomes more pronounced religiously after the death of Ntogwa. *Bakalanga* of Botswana turned more and more to Manyangwa, even on national matters. This was due to the fact that during the interregnum period the Ntogwa sacred place was inactive (Mtutuki 1976: 8).

3.3.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF NJELELE

According to Nthoi (1995: 137–8), Njelele is the most important religious centre in the religion's domain. It is referred to (in the press, by religious staff at Njelele; some supplicants who visited the centre and by some prominent people in Matabeleland South Province) as either the “father” or “mother” of all centres. It has fondly been referred to as the “fontanelle of the nation” by some important politicians in Zimbabwe, and also as “the nation's umbilical cord”. Nthoi (1995: 140) continues to say, Njelele became well-known and acclaimed *umthombo we lizwe (Isindebele)* “the fountain of the world”, owing to its association with *Mwali* as the giver of rain, or as the *Kalanga* put it, *Ka Mwali*.

Although the Njelele sacred place remains the most important sacred place in the religion's domain, there is no conception among either the pilgrims or the religion's leadership of a hierarchic religious organisation. Religious centres are viewed by many people as being owned and run by particular families, and as operating fairly independently of each other (Mwanza 1973). For example, the old sacred place at Dula is commonly referred to as *Ko Maswabi*, “at the Maswabis” (the Maswabi's sacred place which has been run by the Maswabi family since its inception); *Ko Manyangwa* (Manyangwa's sacred place); *Ka Ntogwa* (Ntogwa's sacred place). There is no meeting

of priests at which general policy is discussed. Pilgrims rank sacred places differently, so that no universally acceptable pecking order emerges.

Most people in Zimbabwe, including the priests, still see Njelele as belonging to Zimbabweans, although other people are free to consult the oracle there. This is indicated, for example, in the manner in which the priest to the sacred place is appointed. There are numerous other such examples, which show that to a large extent, some major sacred places in Zimbabwe are viewed as belonging to small communities around them, and in some cases as belonging to the “nation” (Nthoi 1995: 89).

In each region there are numerous sacred places of varying sizes. Each region has an oracle where *Mwali* can be talked to directly, and where his voice can be heard. Both individuals and congregational supplicants throughout the year visit any sacred place of their choice both within and beyond their regions.

3.3.2 USE OF THE NJELELE SACRED PLACE BY WOSANA

In the past, *Wosana* from all over the religion’s domain also visited the sacred place, particularly during the rain ceremony in September. They often, but not always, accompanied the religion’s messengers to the religious centre to ask for rain from *Mwali* (Werbner 1989: 255). *Wosana* are dedicated to *Mwali*. Amongst the *Kalanga*, they are also referred to as *bathumbi be vula* “rain seekers”. They dance for rain both at minor regional centres and at the Njelele sacred place in September. During this public ceremony, only the messengers, the adepts and elderly people (past childbearing age), who were expected to observe a state of sexual abstinence or avoidance, were allowed to enter the sacred place. This requirement expressed an understanding of sacred centrality that sacred space must be entered only by the ritually clean (Nthoi 1995: 167).

The Njelele sacred place is also visited in April for the harvest ceremony. During this ceremony, messengers and adepts accompanied by other villagers went to Njelele to make offerings to *Mwali* as thanksgiving for the past harvest. They carried with them small amounts of whatever food they produced in their fields. This entire foodstuff was collected and stored in a public granary at the sacred place for using during ceremonies at the sacred place. Part of the foodstuff was consumed during the harvest ceremony itself. People were not allowed to eat *zhizha* (fresh food/first fruits) from their fields before the fruits ceremony (*inxwala – Isindebele*).

The sacred place was normally opened for sweeping in August, and remained open until November. During this period elderly people consulted the oracle about problems of fertility, on behalf of their children. Youths were not allowed to visit any sacred place. The sacred place was also opened for the harvest ceremony in May. During all other times, it remained closed and no one consulted the oracle there. The Njelele sacred place was associated neither with healing nor *abantu ba madlozi* (*Sindebele*) “the people of the spirits”, i.e. any type of spirit mediums. Not even *wosana* were allowed to undergo their initiation at Njelele.

Today both young and old people visit the Njelele sacred place. Owing to the high demand of its diversified services throughout the year, the oracle now remains open all year round, and offers ritual services for healing and the alleviation of different types of afflictions. Most of the supplicants who visit the sacred place are spirit mediums, mainly women who consult the oracle on problems of fertility and health. Some are spirit mediums and healers who accompany their patients and novices as part of their initiation and healing. Male supplicants mainly consult the oracle to make requests about business and promotions at work; to solve problems of unemployment, their relations with colleagues at work, and lost livestock. They also

accompany their wives who come to consult the oracle on a variety of personal problems.

Controversy has grown about the way in which the sacred place at Njelele is currently being used. It is a debate, mainly between the sacred place keepers and "traditionalists". The traditionalists, who include chiefs and other village elders, insist that the sacred place should be closed after the rain ceremony, and that it should not be involved in healing. They are totally against the presence of other spirit mediums apart from the *wosana*. They believe that the presence of the "people with spirits" (*abantu ba madlozi*) is objectionable to the High-God.

On the other side are sacred place keepers and supplicants who believe that *Mwali* is associated with healing and ancestral spirits and who see nothing wrong with the present usage of the sacred place. Since they consider Njelele to be the major and most powerful sacred place, it is only reasonable and proper, they insist, that all serious problems should be brought here. The priest, who has very little control over the supplicants' use of the sacred place, finds himself caught up in this conflict. In practice, he accepts all supplicants and all their problems.

3.3.3 JOURNEY AND RECEPTION AT NJELELE

Pilgrimage to Njelele involves a journey from home to the sacred place in the Matopo Hills. The length and nature of the journey depends on the mode of travel chosen. There is no specified mode of transport recommended for all pilgrims. For the most part, the journey from home to Njelele does not involve any ritual activity. Of course, pilgrims know that they should abstain from sexual activity when they prepare to undertake pilgrimage to Njelele. In the past, pilgrims were required to spend a night at the priest's centre before approaching the sacred place to consult the oracle. This ensured that all supplicants were ritually clean when they eventually entered the sanctuary. While some

pilgrims prefer to walk the last kilometre of their journey to Njelele, others do not mind driving all the way into the priest's homestead. In fact, pilgrims do so many different things that it is impossible to characterise a single mode as the proper conduct for the journey to Njelele.

Pilgrims travel to the sacred place as individuals or in the company of friends and relatives and in small groups of people who know each other very closely. There is a general requirement that either their in-laws or husbands should accompany women supplicants when visiting Njelele. Spirit mediums are also expected to visit the sacred place in the company of close relatives or close associates. During possession, the spirit medium is believed to be unaware of what *izinyoka* say. Therefore, the person accompanying the spirit medium has the responsibility of listening carefully to the instructions of *izinyoka*, and later repeating them to the medium after the séance.

According to Nthoi (1995: 152), a group of four or five people carrying bags and knob-kerries and sometimes small drums under their armpits or on their heads, was a usual sight most afternoons at Dewe. Their last stop before arriving was at a local shop, two kilometres away and conveniently stocked with pilgrimage supplies. Here they bought snuff, tobacco and black cloths for offering when consulting the oracle, and, for consumption at the sacred place, drinks and food (Nthoi 1995: 152).

When about three hundred metres away from the homestead, most supplicants, particularly spirit mediums (*wosana*, *jukwa*, *mhondoro* and *sangoma*) normally pause, wrap themselves with distinctive cloths, indicating their possessing spirits, and take off their shoes, although some do so only upon reaching the gate. They sing, ululate, play drums and wield their ritual knob-kerries on their way into the homestead. All of this announces their arrival (Nthoi 1995: 152).

On hearing the drumming, singing and ululations, women (including other supplicants) in the homestead start running towards the entrance also ululating and shouting “Thobela”, “Shoko”, to meet the new arrivals. They are led to a reception hut, which is near the gate. On reaching the door of this hut, they all kneel, bow their heads and clap their hands, also chanting “*Thobela*”. They then crawl into the hut, where they are later served with refreshments (Nthoi 1995: 152).

Plate 5



Wosana group kneeling down in the same manner they would when crawling in the hut

Photographed by the author at the annual *Gumbu* Rain Praying Ceremony in Mapoka village September 1995

The wives of the religion’s priests play a very important role at the centre. Their responsibilities include receiving and playing hostesses to all supplicants who visit the sacred place. They also ensure that all

visitors are well catered for during the whole period of their stay at Njelele. The wives are also responsible for cleaning the hut, which is used as the sacred place. They are always present at the evening dances where they keep an eye on possessed spirit mediums. (See song *Uboni Njelele* 1.1.2 in video accompanying thesis.)

On most occasions, spirit mediums get possessed on entering the homestead. When this happens, the host is called to talk to the spirit that has just “arrived”. At this stage, the ancestral spirits normally have very little to say apart from greeting the priest and all those present, and express gratitude for the safe journey of the supplicants. Otherwise the sacred place keeper normally meets the supplicants (*ama Thobela*) after they have had their refreshments. This is an informal meeting to exchange greetings and find out how they travelled from home to the sacred place. The priest takes this opportunity to find out whether there are any supplicants who are visiting the sacred place for the first time. If so, as often is the case, they are told of the procedures followed for consulting the oracle in the early hours of the morning before dawn. In his discussion with the supplicants, he constantly refers to them as *amaThobela*, and they clap their hands and bow submissively throughout the discussion (Nthoi 1995: 156).

3.3.4 THE EVENING DANCES

In the early evening, at about seven o'clock, when supper is prepared by female supplicants, the men are summoned to the communal kitchen where it is served. Before they start eating, they all bow their heads and shout “Thobela” and the women ululate. In the communal kitchen, the men sit on one side of the hut (the North) while the women sit on the other (Southern side). This seating order is always maintained. After the meal, comes the usual ululating, clapping of hands and shouting of “Thobela” (Nthoi 1995: 156).

After supper, when the kitchen utensils have been washed and stored away, the supplicants start dancing in the communal kitchen. They

dance to *wosana*, *jukwa*, *mhondoro* and *sangoma* songs and drums, each with a distinctive choreography. Everyone is invited and local villagers occasionally come to join these nocturnal dances, during which several spirit mediums may get possessed. By putting participants in a mood of fervour and ecstasy, the dancing prepares the supplicants for the special communication in consulting the oracle early the following morning (Nthoi 1995: 156-7).

Many mediums can be possessed at once during these dances. Whenever a spirit medium is possessed, all singing and dancing stops. The medium becomes the centre of attention: the spirit, gracing this human gathering with its presence, is given audience and respect (Nthoi 1995: 157). When the spirit is ready to leave, it asks for water to drink, from the calabash, after which it washes its hands and faces, or spills it on the floor and drinks it like a wild animal. Others wash their hands and faces after drinking from the calabashes. Afterwards elders lead the medium out, holding onto their ritual knob-kerries, somewhat like a blind person, out of the hut. Outside, the medium falls on his/her back, signaling that the spirit is gone. Of course, variations on this description occur (Nthoi 1995: 158).

3.3.5 CONSULTING THE ORACLE

The climax of every pilgrimage is reached when the individual supplicant consults the oracle. In the early hours of the morning, around four o'clock, the priest wakes the supplicants up, wearing a black cloth and black headgear (*ndlukulu/tshala – Ndebele*) similar to that used by *sangoma* and ancient *Zulu* and *Ndebele* warriors.

The spirit mediums among them wear their distinctive cloths and headgear, and carry their knob-kerries to the hut used for consulting the Deity. They take along with them all the goods needed for the offerings to God Above. Usually included are a piece of black cloth and tobacco. Supplicants are not allowed to wear shoes, jewellery or carry

any money into the sacred place. No lighting is allowed in the hut, and all consultation must finish before the sun rises (Nthoi 1995: 158-60).

3.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the author discusses music activities shared by Botswana and Zimbabwe. *Bakalanga* music is practised in the North Eastern District of Botswana and the Bulilima-Mangwe District of Zimbabwe. The annual rain praying ceremonies that take place at the Njelele “headquarters” in Zimbabwe where *Mwali’s* voice is heard strengthens music activities of these two areas. This ceremony is held two times annually in the months of April and September. In addition, *Bakalanga* of Botswana have annual cultural festivals held on the 21st of May for cultural preservation.

Having had no opportunity of going to Njelele to find out about the music activities taking place there, the author of this document went to Tjehanga village. Similar activities take place at the Manyangwa sacred place in Tjehanga village. Interviews conducted at Tjehanga village revealed that *Bakalanga* music types practised in Zimbabwe are the same as those practised in Botswana. This information was obtained from the Tjehanga *Bakalanga* traditional singing group led by Ms. Sponono Tshuma.

Ms. Mavis Mlilo of Dingumuzi Primary School displayed her knowledge of the past existence of *bhoro* music, which is now obsolete in Zimbabwe, in Plumtree town. Ms. Sponono Tshuma also displayed her knowledge of *bhoro* music through dance. She acquired this knowledge from her country of birth, which is Botswana.

Bakalanga of Zimbabwe have another type of music called *Makwaya*. This type of music is different from the *Bakalanga* traditional music. Most of the *Makwaya* tunes were adopted from the Zimbabwe liberation struggle songs.

The author of this document also looked at the *Bakalanga* music activities taking place in Zimbabwe and Botswana. Zimbabwean Primary Schools have a provision for *Ikalanga* to be taught from grade one to three whereas Botswana has no such provision. When coming to *Bakalanga* music activities practising in schools, Botswana has more whereas Zimbabwe has only *Isindebele* activities.

This chapter finally examines the activities taking place at Njelele and how both *Bakalanga* of Botswana and Zimbabwe inculcate the music into them.

CHAPTER 4

BAKALANGA TRADITIONAL MUSIC INSTRUMENTS (ZWILIDZO)

Several types of traditional instruments are used in performing *Bakalanga* music. Among these are percussion, rattles, wind instruments and musical bows. Of these instrumental groups, some are still used by the *Bakalanga* and some are not.

4.1 MEMBRANOPHONES

According to Barker (1992:124), rhythms are beginning to appear in Western music, which are directly borrowed from Africa and have not been developed within Western culture. Like language, music can be enriched by borrowing from other cultures.

4.1.1 TRADITIONAL BAKALANGA DRUMS/MATUMBA

Drums are considered by many people to be the most representative African instruments. Drums have been known for thousands of years. References to them go back almost to the beginning of recorded history (Scholes 1989:120). Almost all African societies possess drums. With a few exceptions, the drum is the most popular instrument south of the Sahara (Kebede 1982:64). In Africa drums may be played singly, in pairs, in large ensembles or as part of an orchestra. Many drums can only be played on specific occasions such as at weddings, various religious rites, cultural festivals and rituals. After use they will be stored carefully away, often in a room or small houses that have been specially built for them. Others, as with many African musical instruments, are played purely for pleasure.

Despite the huge variety of drums available, each society tends to specialise in only a small number and the instruments that are used and their playing techniques differ from region to region. Drums come

in all shapes and sizes, but they all have one thing in common: a skin or membrane that is stretched tightly over some kind of hollow vessel. This is beaten with a stick, or with hands. The skin vibrates, and the hollow vessel beneath amplifies its vibrations.

Bakalanga traditional music uses a maximum of three drums. These drums have special *Ikalanga* names. The first and largest drum having the lowest pitch in the ensemble is called *tjamabhika* - literally meaning "what you have cooked". The second drum, medium in size and pitch among the three, is called *shangana ne shumba* - literally meaning "meeting with a lion". The third and smallest drum having the highest pitch is called *dukunu* - meaning "small one" or just "small". The names have no special significance and are only meant to differentiate the three drums.

Plate 6



Ramokgwebana *wosana* drum players from left to right: Basiti Lidzembo Playing small drum (*dukunu*), Nelly Timothy playing the large drum (*tjamabhika*), and Thenjiwe Ntogwa playing the medium drum (*shangana ne shumba*)

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at the North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival held at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

Nguni dancing often used the ox-hide shields of the warriors (*isihlangu Isindebele*) as drums, hitting them against the ground or striking them with knobkerries. Today the *Amandebele* resident in Matabeleland use some of the musical instruments of indigenous *Bakalanga* and *Tsonga* peoples. Some dances performed by *Amandebele* as well as *Bakalanga* people use an ensemble of three drums, small, medium and large in size (Jones 1992:149).

In *Bakalanga* culture, there are no specific drums for different ceremonies. For example, the same drum can be used for rainmaking and for weddings.

In the wooded Northeast District of Botswana lives Botswana's second largest tribe, the *Bakalanga*, who are locally famous for their drumming. It is very similar to the drumming of their cousins, the *Karanga* of Zimbabwe. Both of these tribes were historically part of the *Shona* kingdom, which was spread across Southern Africa in the days before European colonization (Waters 2000:32).

There are two distinct types of drums. The first has only one skin membrane and is open at the bottom (single membrane drum). This is the type used for *Bakalanga* traditional music. Skin membranes at both ends (double membrane drum) cover the second type. The skin may be attached by glueing, nailing with thorns (pegs) or nails or laced down with leather, gut or string thongs to a tension ring at the bottom or, in the case of a double membrane drum, to the skin at the opposite end.

Not all drums are beaten. There are also friction drums played by rubbing the drum-head, with a stick on which powder or wood ash has been sprinkled. When the stick is rubbed or pulled, the vibrations communicate with the skin and are in turn amplified by the vessel over which it is stretched. *Bakalanga* use this type of drumming in playing *woso*, *ndazula* and *mukomoto* music.

4.1.1.1 HOW TO MAKE A TRADITIONAL BAKALANGA DRUM

The traditional *Bakalanga* drum (*dumba*) has a wooden resonating shell about two centimetres in thickness. It is basically shaped on the pattern of a Greek vase with a wide upper opening narrowing towards the base, closed only at the upper end with a skin drum-head held in position by wooden pegs and thonging. During her research in the Northeast and Central districts of Botswana, Waters (2000:34) discovered a goblet-shaped drum at Tati Siding village and a barrel-shaped one with a small extension at the bottom that is open at Senete village constructed by Kaisara Gambo. Another *Bakalanga* music drum constructor (Mr. Mpakila Ndabambi-Ta Libala) can be found at Nlapkhwane village in the North Eastern District of Botswana.

While women are players of the *Bakalanga* traditional drum, it is the men who make it. The wood used is soft, preferably from *ngoma* (*schinziophyton rantanellii*), *nliidza dumba* (*erythrina abyssinica*) and *nthula* (*marula – sclerocarya caffra*) trees. This type of wood was used for making chairs (stools), weapons, plates and cups in previous eras. Wood from any of these trees is cut and left for a few days to half dry for easy carving. A section of a tree trunk is cut to a desired height and then hollowed out. The drum makers use wooden pegs, preferably from a *mopane* tree because it has hard wood. The skin placed over the upper end to form a drum-head is usually of ox-hide. Wild animal hides are sometimes used. Jones (1992:150) gives the information that zebra skin was once considered the very best in Zimbabwe. This fact was also supported by Van Waarden (1991:104) when she wrote that *Bakalanga* drum-heads were always made of zebra skin in the olden days. According to Waters (2000:35), the drum-head at Senete village in the Central District of Botswana was said to be made of cow or donkey hide. She also got the information that before the Botswana Government prohibited the killing of wild animals, antelope skins were also used.

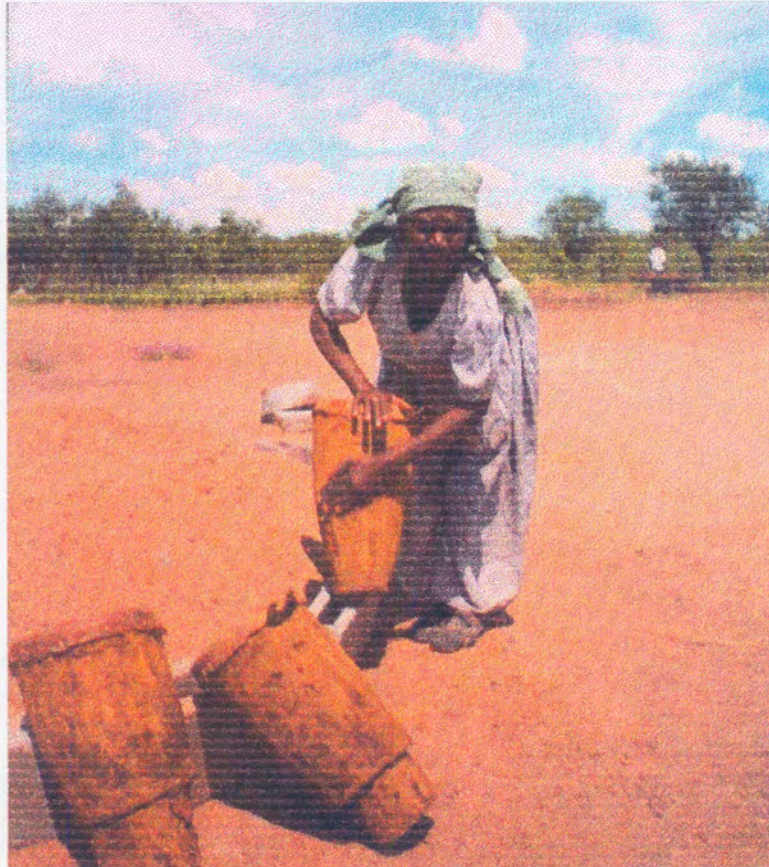
4.1.1.2 EQUIPMENT REQUIRED FOR MAKING A *BAKALANGA* TRADITIONAL DRUM

The following equipment is required for making a *Bakalanga* traditional drum:

- Adze (*mbezswana*) (an axe-like tool with an arched blade, for trimming large pieces of wood), chisel and mallet, or heavy blade mounted on a long piece of wood
- Rasp (a coarse kind of file having separate teeth)
- Sandpaper
- Drill (*boro*) and large bit, or rod to burn holes
- Sharp knife
- Pencil.

The skin is drawn over the top of the drum while still wet, pegged into position and then strained taut by means of the heat of either the sun or a fire. When the drum yields the required tone, it will be delivered to the person for whom it has been made. As many craftsmen are now away doing some work for a living either in the villages or in towns, the art of drum-making seems to be very slow and almost dying out. The advantage *Bakalanga* have is that there are almost enough trees for the construction of their traditional drum. During his field research, the author of this document requested Mr. Ndabambi Mpakila, popularly known as Ta-Libala of Nlapkhwane village in North Eastern Botswana, to construct three drums for him. Ms. Elina Chabale is seen smearing cowdung on the wooden part of the drums with the belief that they could not crack or be destroyed by wood eating pests.

Plate 7



Ms. Elina Chabale treating new drums with cowdung

Photographed by the author at his home in Mabudzaani village in March 2002

When the cowdung is dry, a traditional grass broom is used to remove, through sweeping, the rough cowdung remains.

Plate 8



Ms. Elina Chabale (the author's mother's elder sister) clearing cowdung from the author's newly purchased drums

Photographed by the author at his home in Mabudzaani village in March 2002

4.1.1.3 METHOD OF PLAYING THE *BAKALANGA* DRUM

The players adopt an astride sitting position with the drums placed between and held by the legs, drum-head uppermost, usually beating them with the hands.

Plate 9



The researcher in the middle is seen drumming with Basetse on the left and Fikile on the right with the Jakalasi No. 2 Primary school *wosana* group

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at Jakalasi No. 2 Primary school in May 2001

These players normally sit on traditionally carved stools. The pressure exerted by the fingers on the drum-head is altered, at will, to vary the tone quality (i.e. heavy or light) of the sounds produced. There are numerous drum-beats and those women (and even men) who are knowledgeable on the subject immediately recognise the beats associated with the various dances. It is seldom that fewer than two drums will be playing at the same time (the number is usually three), and their beats, each distinct from the other, fuse into a complex inter-rhythmic whole. It is so perfectly blended and dovetailed that it is often difficult to accurately ascertain, when listening, which beats belong to a particular drum.

When the drum-head becomes slack, due to moisture in the air, the drum cannot be played until the skin is dry, causing tightening and a return of the desired tone. The drum is held, with its head turned towards the heat (fire), given an occasional bang to see how the skin is progressing, and finally pronounced fit to play.

4.1.2 SPECIAL TYPE OF DRUM USED ON A SPECIFIC OCCASION (MANTSHOMANE TSONGA DRUM)

In addition to the *Bakalanga* drums described previously, there is one drum of distinctive character. It is used during the exorcising of evil spirits.

The *mantshomane* traditional music does not originate from the *Amandebele*, as most of the *Bakalanga* informants have indicated. It is a culture of the *Tsonga* people. According to Kirby (1968:16), the *Tsonga* have a drum of a very different nature, which is associated with chasing away of evil spirits, and is, moreover, characteristic of their race.

Bakalanga therefore play *mantshomane* music as an intrusive culture to them. In playing this music, certain aspects are omitted without proper knowledge and guidance. *Bakalanga* use their three different sized drums for *mantshomane* music when in actual fact they are also supposed to have *ntshomane* drums. These people's *mantshomane* music and dance is very close to *sangoma*. Some dancing groups sometimes confuse the two music types.

4.1.2.1 METHOD OF MAKING MANTSHOMANE DRUMS

The *mantshomane* is shaped like a European tambourine. The hoop is made from some pliable wood like *ntewa (grewia flava)*, bent into position while wet. The ends are skived away, lapped and joined by iron wire in a hoop. The shaping of this hoop is done with the usual African adze (*mbezswana*). The single head is usually of ox-hide, goat or buckskin with the hair removed, the outer side of the skin being uppermost. The pegs, varying in number with the specimens, are driven

through the hoop, holding the skin of the drum-head taut and firm. Thongs, made from the hide, secure the edges of the overlapping drumhead skin and meet like the spokes of a wheel in the centre.

The skin, too, is put on while wet and left to dry. The overlapping portions are cut into strips which are twisted into cords and laced over the under side to hold the head firmly in its place as well as to afford a grip for the hand. In addition to this, lacing pegs are driven through the skin into holes that have been made round the rim of the hoop. Should it become slack, in wet weather, it has to be heated to contract back to firmness and consequently produce the desired tone quality. The sizes vary considerably but are generally those of a dinner plate, larger and smaller specimens being found.

4.1.2.2 METHOD OF PLAYING *MANTSHOMANE* DRUMS

According to Huskisson (1958:16), the *mantshomane* drums are struck with either the palm or the fingers of the hand, or with a short stick not capable of breaking the drum-head. The players hold their instruments, according to whether they are left or right-handed. The right-handed player will hold his/her *mantshomane* by the thongs with the left hand and beat with the right, sometimes pressing the fingers of the left hand against the drum-head to alter the pitch slightly.

These *mantshomane* are to be seen and heard, at a 'dance of the possessed', the players squatting on their haunches, in a semi-circle, beating their instruments, in company with hand rattles and traditional drums.

4.2 IDIOPHONES

Rattles fall under musical instruments in which the source of sound is produced within itself (i.e. idiophones). They may be of indefinite or definite pitch (these may or may not be tuned to a chosen pitch), and may be classified as shaken, struck or rubbed.

Rattles are the most common and widely used rhythm instruments and vary considerably in form, size and the way they are played. *Bakalanga* music uses two types of rattles. These are leg rattles (*mishwayo*) and hand-held rattles (*woso*). Additionally, *Bakalanga* dancers sometimes use several sorts of both rattle types to bring out the rhythm of their steps.

4.2.1 LEG RATTLES (MISHWAYO)

Like many traditional African instruments, leg rattles are made entirely of natural materials.

The Northern highveld zone is predominantly covered in mopane tree savanna, while the area from Francistown southward is middleveld with mixed mopane acacia tree savanna (Van Waarden 1999:3). This is the vegetation on which caterpillars feed and the *Bakalanga* get the cocoons of these caterpillars within their vicinity to make leg rattles. These cocoons are collected from mopane tree branch stems using protective material, such as gloves, to prevent the cocoon collector from being injured by small brittle thorns protecting the cocoon cover. To remove these thorns, the cocoons are then put and shaken in a sack for some time. During this shaking, the friction between the cocoons removes all the thorns. One end of each cocoon is cut open to remove the pupa.

Each dried cocoon (*tjigogoro*) is filled with pebbles or small stones. A pair of cocoons is sewn to a long cord of plaited fibre or strung on strips of leather. A great number of them are threaded together and wound around the ankles of each performer and securely tied in position. Girls normally gather these cocoons and then women make the leg rattles.

Plate 10



Ramoja Secondary School *wosana* group putting on *Bakalanga* leg rattles

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at Ramoja Secondary School in Ramokgwebana village in June 2001

Musicians wearing leg rattles dance with synchronized movements in a circle, repeating an embellishing rhythmic theme. They are free to improvise their dance steps, but they dance at the same tempo as the drums and hand-clappers.

4.2.2 A HAND HELD RATTLE (WOSO)

A hand-held rattle (*woso*) is made from small gourds *makavu* (squash) with naturally curved stems which are used as the handles. Some are traditionally made of a hollowed gourd or fruit shell with hard seeds or stones inside. The pulp (*malovu*) is removed and the hard seeds or pebbles placed inside. This is to create their characteristic sound (*tjaka-tjaka*) that serves for step-emphasis during intricate movements. Hollowed fruits mounted on sticks are also used. At each end of the

calabash is a circular hole, through which a stick is passed. This projects from the lower end and serves as a handle.

Rattles are never played alone, but always as an accompaniment to other instruments and singing. Their musical role within an ensemble will differ, according to the type of music or dance. In many traditional dances, each player has a rattle with which he or she sounds a basic rhythm while singing or dancing (Jones 1992:78).

Some musicians say that physical movement is important while playing. Frequently players, particularly the older musicians, tilt their heads slightly and nod them subtly up and down to the main beat of *woso* accompaniment. Others occasionally sway to the music. Moving one's body while playing *woso* is said to increase the player's interest in the music. How a musician expresses this movement, however, is a matter of personal style.

4.3 AEROPHONES

There are three types of wind instruments that are found amongst the *Bakalanga*. These are *nyele* (transverse reed-flute), *pemba* (river reed-flute) and *pemba* (referee's whistle).

4.3.1 NYELE (TRANSVERSE REED-FLUTE)

This flute, held transversely across the face in line with the mouth, consists of naturally stopped reed pipes with an embouchure hole through which the flute is blown at the one end, and three finger-holes, spaced to suit the player's fingers, at the other. The name given to this type of flute by the *Bakalanga* is *nyele*. The *Bakalanga* boys used to play these flutes whilst herding cattle.

Plate 11



A Shona boy playing his *nyere* (Shona) or *nyele* (Ikalanga)

(From: Tracey 1961: 52)

In the olden days, *nyele* used to be a common instrument, yet today they are hardly ever seen, let alone heard. Younger boys growing up seem to have no knowledge of what a *nyele* is or even how it looks.

4.3.1.1 HOW TO MAKE NYELE

These *nyele* transverse flutes are made from river reeds, which must be ripe before cutting. River reed forms a closed pipe, naturally stopped by a node at either end. Larger reeds are always chosen, as the players believe that they have a better and more satisfying tone quality than the thinner reeds. Other materials used by the *Bakalanga* in making *nyele* are an old bicycle pump, *nfute* (*dutura spp*) plant stem and *gonde* (*aloe marlothii*) plant stem. In cases where a plant does not have naturally

stopping nodes at the ends, a sticky substance is used to block these ends. *Bakalanga* use a sticky substance called *phola ye monga*. In the absence of this, other sticky substances such as bostik glue can also be used.

Near the one end, the *nyele* players bore the mouth (embouchure) hole and at the other end, spaced to suit the player's fingers, are three finger holes, all bored similarly by means of a red-hot piece of wire. The embouchure hole is larger than the finger holes. In making the pipe, the tone is tested in the 'open' position (i.e. without stopping any of the holes), with a stream of compressed air being directed from the player's lips against the edge of the mouth hole. The holes are made gradually larger, until the tone produced is in accordance with the taste and wishes of the maker. If, through an error of judgement, the holes have been accidentally made too large, and the tone goes "wrong", then the maker will throw away the pipe and start from scratch, using a new piece of reed.

As there is no set spacing for the finger holes or number bored and no specified or uniform thickness of reed chosen, there must be as many scales produced by these *nyele* flutes as there are flutes made.

4.3.1.2 HOW TO PLAY NYELE

The player holds the *nyele* horizontally, level with the mouth, with the finger holes facing towards the left or right shoulder, according to the player's preference. The one hand automatically supports the end with the embouchure hole, while the fingers not needed for stopping the finger holes steady the other end. It is usually the second, third and fourth fingers which are used for stopping, although this is a matter of flexibility.

According to Huskisson (1958), with her research experience among the *Pedi*, transverse flutes were formerly played in bands of six, whose

flutes were made as uniform as possible as regards thickness of reed and positioning of holes.

4.3.2 PEMBA

This instrument is made from three river reeds of different sizes. These river reeds are nicely cut so that they can fit into each other. The sticky substance called *phola ye monga* is used to block the ends of the reeds.

The instrument is laid on the hollowed tongue and blown. A blast of air strikes the open end at an angle, causing it to sound.

The shortage of reeds caused *Bakalanga* to make a departure from using a river reed to using the referee's whistle. *Bakalanga* call the referee's whistle *pemba*. The referee's whistle is used in some types of *Bakalanga* traditional music such as *mukomoto* and *iperu*. This whistle is blown rhythmically with the dancing by the lead singer. When blowing the referee's whistle, the dancer is normally expressing the climax of his/her dancing capacity.

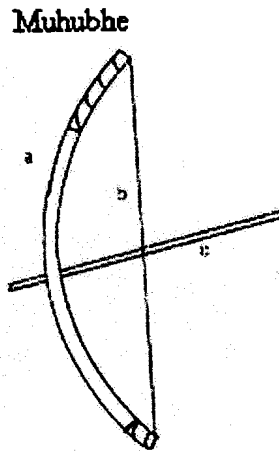
4.4 CHORDOPHONES

There are two musical bows found among the *Bakalanga* people. These are *muhubhe* and *dende*.

4.4.1 MUHUBHE

Muhubhe is one of the traditional *Bakalanga* musical bows. It is a mouth resonated friction bow.

Plate 12



(From: Dargie 1988: 47)

4.4.1.1 DESCRIPTION AND ORIGIN OF MUHUBHE

As with all other traditional African musical bows, it is not clear where *mhubhe* originated. What has been established is that *mhubhe* is found among the *Bakalanga* of Botswana and Zimbabwe, the *Xhosas* of South Africa and the *Amandebele* and *Shonas* of Zimbabwe.

4.4.1.2 HOW TO MAKE MUHUBHE

Mhubhe is one of the traditional *Bakalanga* musical bows. Elderly people who used to make and play it are able to provide all the information about *mhubhe*. *Mhubhe* is also found among the *Xhosa* people of South Africa and they call it *umrhubhe*. It is also found among the *Amandebele* of Zimbabwe who call it *umhubhe*.

Mhubhe is a mouth-resonated friction bow. The stick or bow (*dati*) is of flexible *ntewa* (*grewia flava*) wood or river reeds. These are bent whilst wet so as to dry with the desired bow shape. The string called *lutshinga gwe ngombe gwaka koshiwa* is of twisted sinew from the back of the ox. It is bowed with a twig.

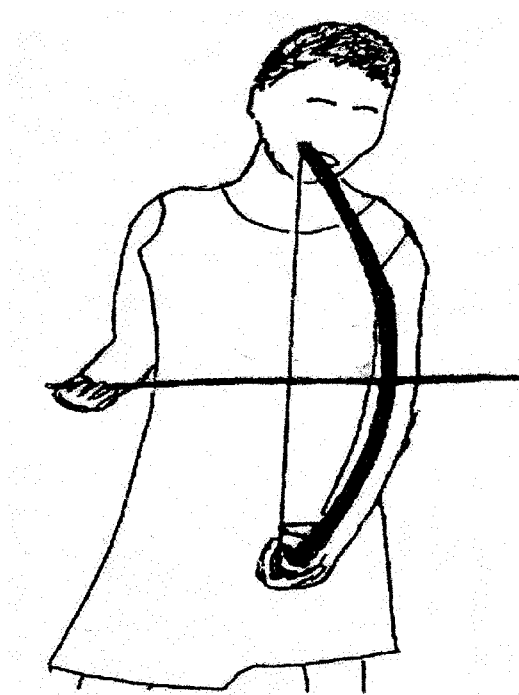
According to Dargie (1988:48), there is another method of constructing the *umrhubhe*, described by Kirby. In this form, a short bent stick is inserted into a hole in one end of a thicker, straight stick and the string

is attached from the end of the straight stick to the end of the bent stick. Both instruments produce musically identical results. Kirby regards this as “undoubtedly” the “earlier form” of the instrument.

4.4.1.3 HOW TO PLAY MUHUBHE

According to oral tradition, as also confirmed by Dargie (1988:53), one hand holds the bow at its further end, holding the near end against the side of the mouth. The string is stopped with either the thumb-nail or the middle finger of the hand holding the bow. The other hand holds the twig, bowing it against the string, usually passing over the string and under the bow stick. The player amplifies the melody overtones by shaping the mouth, the bow stick pressing firmly through the cheek against the teeth. In order to produce good tone, the player may scrape the bowing twig or rub it in the dust. See picture below.

Plate 13



The method of holding and playing the muhubhe

(From: Dargie 1988: 53)

The player may also whistle out of the side of the mouth, while continuing to bow the string. The technique then is to play the leader part using overtones, and play the follower parts using both overtones and whistling.

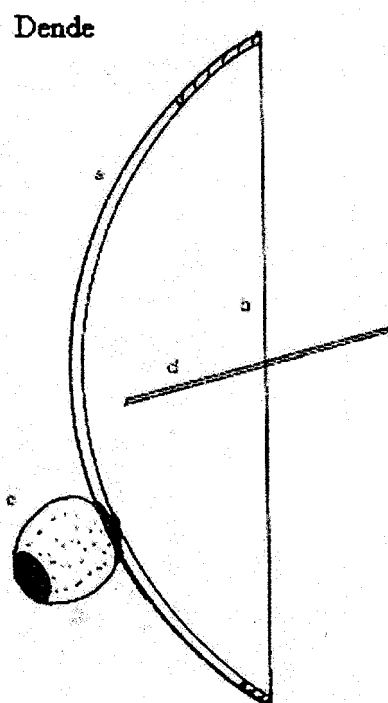
The *dende* player suppresses the unwanted upper overtones; the *muhubhe* player amplifies the selected overtone. Dargie goes on to say the *muhubhe* produces not only melody and fundamental tones, but in fact six tone chords may be heard almost constantly at times. Even when the *muhubhe* player changes mouth shape to whistle, the overtone chords are as a rule audible.

According to the information gathered from some *Bakalanga* informants, *muhubhe* was played by boys and men whilst herding cattle. Whereas in solo *dende* performance the player sings, the solo *muhubhe* performer does not sing, and does not break to sing. Like the *dende*, the *muhubhe* may be used to lead group singing, a good player producing a penetrating tone.

4.4.2 DENDE

Dende is another musical bow found among the *Bakalanga*. It is also found among the *Tswana* (*segwana*), *Tsonga* (*tshitendje* or *dende*), *Sotho* (*thomo*), *Swazi* (*ligubu*), *Zulu* (*ugubu*, *ugumbu*, *gubuolukhulu*, or *inkohlisa*) and the *Xhosa* (*uhadi*).

Plate 14



(From: Dargie 1988: 47)

4.4.2.1 DESCRIPTION AND ORIGIN OF *DENDE*

Some *Bakalanga* informants believe that *dende* came to them with the people called *Badeti*. These people are presently found in the *Chobe* and *Boteti* Districts of Botswana. The *Badeti* are believed to be of one *Ikalanga* dialect known as *Banambdzwa* originating from *Hwange* in Zimbabwe. *Dende* is one of those *Bakalanga* traditional instruments that are no longer available. Despite this fact, elderly people still have a lot of information to offer about the construction and use of *dende*.

Kirby (1968:193) believes that these stringed instruments would appear to have originated, directly or indirectly, from the bow of the hunter. According to Kirby, this practice has been observed among the Kalahari Bushmen. A hunter, after having made a kill, would, to pass the time while waiting for his companions to come up to him, lightly tap his bow-string with an arrow. Rycroft in Papers presented at the Second Symposium on Ethnomusicology (1981:70) argues that a note of

caution is needed regarding Kirby's consequent assumption that all types of musical bow found in Southern Africa must therefore have evolved from this source. One should note that, apart from the San, many of the other peoples in this area play bows which bear little or no resemblance to a shooting bow, and furthermore have no history of ever using bows and arrows for hunting.

The *Tswana* term, *segwana*, means a calabash, and so also does the word used by the *Sotho* of the Transvaal, *sekgapa*. The term used by the *Sotho* of Lesotho, *thomo*, suggests the Bushman *tomo*, which means, among the Tati Bushmen, the voice. The *Swazi* and some of the *Zulu* names enshrine the root *gubo* which conveys the idea of hollowness, the *Zulu* word *isigubu*, previously noted as the name of a drum, being actually the word for a calabash used in drinking beer. Though the *Xhosa* also used the word *igubu* for the calabash resonator, the instrument itself is called *uhadi*, with which may be compared with *umhadi*, a deep pit.

The *dende* is a much larger bow, calabash-resonated, stick-struck, and has its cord divided unequally so as to produce two tones a minor third apart. The performer may vary tone quality by raising and lowering the calabash opening against his/her chest, all the while singing and dancing to his/her own accompaniment. There is yet another *Bakalanga* instrument called *itinkani*, similar to *dende*, but without a resonator.

4.4.2.2 HOW TO MAKE DENDE

The *Bakalanga dende* is made from a branch of flexible wood such as *ntewa* (*grewia flava salix* species) or other suitable wood. The string *lutshinga gwe ngombe gwaka koshiwa* is of twisted sinew from the back of the ox. Other suggested materials for making *dende* are twisted strands of hair from a cow's tail or even brass wire. Honey or saliva is used to lubricate the string. The open calabash is secured to the bow by a piece of sinew which is looped round a small piece of twig, passed

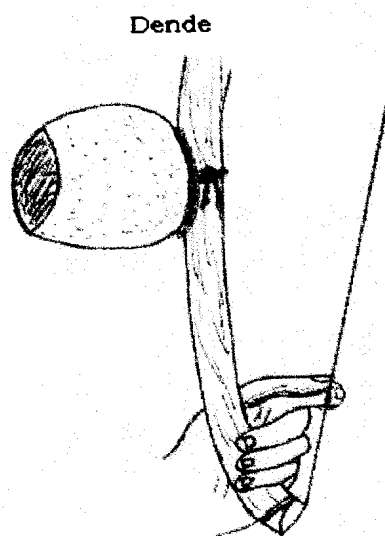
through a tiny hole in the closed end of the calabash, and tied round the wood of the bow. Between the bow and calabash is a small circular insulating pad like a quoit (a ring thrown at a mark to encircle a peg), woven from tender twigs. Other insulating materials suggested are a pad of bark, grass, coarse cloth, or similar materials.

Bakalanga had an earlier form of *dende* which they called *itinkani*. This is merely a bow of wood with a string of sinew but without a resonator. It is held to the shoulder exactly as the *dende* is held. It is played only by the young boys, requiring little skill, and is regarded more as a toy than as a real musical instrument.

4.4.2.3 HOW TO PLAY DENDE

The instrument is held upright with the opening of the resonator close to the left breast. The second, third, and fourth fingers of the left hand grasp the lower end of the bow in such a manner as to leave the first finger and thumb free to pinch the string, and so raise its pitch. The string is struck near the lower end of the bow with a thin twig, grass or reed held in the right hand. The action of striking is staccato, for good tone depends upon the reed quitting the string with the utmost rapidity.

Plate 15



(From: Dargie 1988: 52)

Dende is always used singly, as an accompaniment to the voice, and it is played by males only, either men or boys of about sixteen years of age or over. It is made by the player himself, who learns how to do so and also how to play it from the older men. The *Bakalanga* recognise that, in playing *dende*, different players may produce different results from the same instrument. This actually means that different “touches” give different tones. Tightening or loosening can vary the pitch of the string. It is adjusted to suit the voice of the performer, as this is a typical instrument of accompaniment.

4.5 SUMMARY

The focus of this chapter is on the *Bakalanga* music instruments. There are three types of music instruments used by *Bakalanga*.

These are:

Percussion instruments under which there are traditional *Bakalanga* drums (*matumba*), hand rattles (*woso*) and leg rattles (*mishwayo*).

The second type of music instruments found among the *Bakalanga* is wind instruments comprising:

Nyele (transverse flute), *pemba* (river reed-flute) and the referee’s whistle (*pemba*).

The third type of music instruments found amongst the *Bakalanga* is the *Bakalanga* traditional musical bows. These are:

Muhubhe and *dende*.

Bakalanga music instruments are used as accompaniments to the singing and dancing.

CHAPTER 5

THE *MWALI* CONCEPT IN RELATION TO *WOSANA* AND THE RAIN PRAYING ACTIVITIES

African culture reflects traditional religions in ancient folklore, dances, art, and other cultural expressions, which show a rich background in religious beliefs. These indigenous religions do not conduct regular services nor construct special buildings as other religions do, but they express their beliefs in ceremonies, traditions, legends and art forms. They do not send missionaries nor make proselytes. Their strength lies in being fully integrated in all areas of life. Each Bantu language expresses definite concepts of God, understood for centuries (Rader 1991: 25).

For generations the African people have believed in some form of higher being. All African people believe in God. It is the centre of African religion and dominates all its other beliefs. While it is not known how this belief came into existence, it is unquestionably ancient. Many African people call upon the Supreme Being in times of sickness or crisis (Rader 1991: 24). In the case of *Bakalanga*, their Supreme Being is *Mwali* who is known as *Mlimo* among the *Amandebele*. *Mlimo* is accepted as existing at Njelele Hill in the Matopos many years before Mzilikazi arrived in the country. One never saw *Mlimo*, for, he would not allow himself to be seen, but tobacco and beer were permitted to be placed at the foot of the hill, from where they disappeared during the night (Gelfand 1962: 142).

5.1 THE *MWALI* RELIGION

This chapter is largely a review of the literature on the *Mwali* religion. It provides background information, largely on the organisation of the *Mwali* religion, which is needed for an understanding of *wosana* music

and its activities. It also highlights some of the long-standing debates in the literature, about the nature and organisation of the religion.

The evidence found suggests that the *Bakalanga* of Northern Botswana did not establish any permanent sacred place before the break down of the *Ndebele* hegemony. It can then safely be suggested that the establishment of permanent sacred places in Botswana dates from 1896. Before this date, the Mangwe sacred place seems to have controlled all the other *wosana* in the area south-west and west of the Gwai river but north of the Shashe river.

5.1.1 TRANSCENDENCE AND IMMANENCE OF MWALI

As one commentator on African concepts of god suggests, God is far (transcendent) and men cannot reach him; but god is also near (imminent), and he comes close to men” (Latham 1986: 85).

In the literature by recent scholars, no less than by early travelers, the Supreme Deity emerges as *Mwali/Mwari/Ngwali/Nwali/Muali/Mulimo* or *Mlimo*. But the nature of the interaction between people, having different cultures or origins, remains largely unexamined.

In his doctoral thesis, Nthoi (1995:38) observed that various sources represent *Mwali*, as the creator or originator of the universe and all its creatures (Werbner 1989:247; Ranger 1967:21). He is believed to be concerned with peace, the fertility of the land and its people. As the giver of rain (Nobbs 1924:55 cited by Ranger 1967:22), *Mwali* is referred to as *Dzivaguru* (*Shona*) “the great pool” (see Daneel 1970:16) and *dziba le vula* (*Kalanga*) “a pool of water” (fountain or source of rain/water). From this concept, it can be concluded that the following *wosana* song was composed in connection with this concept:

SONG TITLE: DZIBA LE VULA

Call: *Eliya dziba le vula* - there is a pool of water/rain

Response: *Woya eliya dziba le vula wole* – *Woya* that's a pool of rain *wole*

Call: *Ka Ntogwa dziba le vula* - At Ntogwa's place there is a pool of water/rain

Response: *Woya ka Ntogwa dziba le vula wole* – *Woya* at Ntogwa's place there is a pool of water/rain *wole*

Call: *Tol'bona dziba le vula* - We see a pool of water/rain

Response: *Woya tol'bona dziba le vula wole* – *Woya* we see a pool of water/rain *wole*. (*Woya* and *wole* have no English equivalent translations. The effect of these words would be cheering expressing happiness).

Mwali has been understood by many writers and scholars as more especially the God of the seasons and crops, who was propitiated by offerings of cattle, traditional beer and other products and food (Ranger 1967:22). *Mwari* is the spiritual owner of the earth and creator of mankind; he intervenes actively in human affairs and has an established and powerful human priesthood. He punishes acts, such as incest, which are considered contrary to nature and the perpetuation of the tribe, with pestilence and famine. He manifests his power in such great natural phenomena as volcanic eruptions and lightning. *Mwari* was probably of *Kalanga* origin, but the religion spread to other *Shona* and to the *Ndebele* (Kuper 1954: 32).

Mwali was believed to be a spirit who is “invisible to the human eye, who sometimes elected to speak from trees (preferably hollowed baobab), stones and caves”. Fry (1976:19) argues that *Mwali* is far removed from the day to day life of the people, and that among the *ZeZuru* of Chiota, his supremacy is more theoretical than practical. Therefore, *Mwali* is believed to be both transcendent and immanent (Werbner 1989:248; Ranger 1967:21). While *Mwali* is ever present in his creation, he is also a God above; only accessible through the mediation

of senior spirit mediums and religion's priests (Daneel 1970:17). His priesthood is composed of men and women believed to be emanations of his spirit, who act as his mouthpiece. These "children of *Mwari*" live in the Matopos hills in the heart of Matabeleland and their oracular voices emerge from the caves. Male and female priests have women consecrated to them normally as wives of *Mwari*, and they are subject to various religion's regulations (Kuper 1954: 320). Nobbs (1924:57) argues that *Mwali* is worshipped under various names, and that in fact there is a mystical trinity.

Although *Mwali* is known to be a benevolent provider and sustainer of life in the universe, he is an ambivalent God, capable of showing both great kindness, and anger when offended. He is, therefore, both feared and respected. To the *Bakalanga*, the concept of *Mwali* is no different from the Christian concept of God beyond the politics of race, intelligence, culture and religion. This Deity is believed to have three manifestations. The male manifestation of *Mwali*, *Shologulu (Kalanga)* "the big-headed one", is believed to be associated with the creation of the universe. He is the powerful and transcendent manifestation, who is feared and respected. He manifests himself through natural phenomena like thunderclap and meteorite. When a thunderstorm passes, *Kalanga* women normally crepitate/ululate, and men appeal to *Mwali*, and ask him to restrain his anger, and mind the children. A thunderstorm is believed to be a manifestation of *Mwali*, moving across the land. The power of the thunderstorm is symptomatic of *Mwali's* power.

Banyantjaba (Kalanga) "the woman who defecates the nation" which is a metaphor for mother of tribes/nations, or in Werbner's terms, "the mistress of tribes" (Werbner 1989:248), is the female manifestation of *Mwali*, associated with the sustenance of the universe. She is the goddess of fecundity, responsible for providing rain and sustenance of the universe, its creatures and the general welfare of the people.

The third manifestation is *Lunji (Kalanga)*, “The Big Needle”, the Son of the High-God, who, as the shooting star, runs errands between *Shologulu* and *Banyantjaba*. When *Kalanga* women see the shooting star they crepitate/ululate, bow their heads in respect and either offer a short prayer to *Mwali*, or call out one of his numerous praise names. It should be noted that *Kalanga* bury a corpse with its orientation in accord with The Trinity: its face towards the South, its head to the East, and feet to the West, along the sun’s path (Werbner 1977a: 190).

5.1.2 *HWI (THE VOICE): ORACULAR CENTRES*

While there is general belief in the transcendence of *Mwali*, the *Mwali* religion is founded on the belief that there are certain places, normally at caves in mountains, and at any other place of his choice, where *Mwali* has chosen to avail himself and speak to his people (Werbner 1989:248). The people consider such places sacred because of the manifestation of the Deity there.

An almost similar view emerges from Daneel’s work (1970). His concept of a *mbonga* is a very interesting one. The youth is “dedicated” to the service of *Mwali* on the basis of the parent having had an “inspiration” from *Mwari* himself. Through this dedication, the youth becomes the “child of *Mwari*”. A *mhandara* – *Shona*; *phandala* – *Kalanga* (girl of marriageable age) becomes the “wife of *Mwari*”; as an adult, and after receiving training at the *Mwali* religion’s sacred place, the *mbonga* becomes the medium (*svikiro*) of a senior tribal spirit of her home District, or of one of the numerous Matonjeni *midzimu*. During performance at rain ceremonies, the *mbonga* “become possessed and speak on behalf of the group’s *mhondoro* or lesser ancestral spirits (*midzimu*)” (Daneel 1970: 49–50). Later on, after reaching the postmenopausal stage, the *mbonga* (if married to the high priest) becomes the “voice of *Mwali*”.

In the past, *Mwali*’s voice was the most important manifestation associated with pilgrimage to major religious centres. Consulting the

oracle at these centres was the only way in which supplicants had direct communication with the High-God. The religion's officials only visited such places and supplicants who seek contact with the sacred soil or wish to consult the oracle itself. At these places, the terms *Hwi (Ikalanga)* or *Ilizwi (Isindebele)* "voice" and *Mwali* or *Mlimo* are used interchangeably. The sacred places are not used for any other purposes than for religious rituals.

Among the *Bakalanga*, there is a concept of spirit possession, in which the ancestral spirits come to inhere in an individual, who becomes a medium and their mouthpiece. Apart from belief in the High-God, there is belief in the existence of lesser divinities, mainly territorial and ancestral spirits, on whom man relies for his daily existence. These divinities are believed to care for and provide for the needs of their descendents very much like they did when they were still alive. Consequently, they are accorded great respect and love.

5.1.3 THE MWALI RELIGION/CONCEPT

According to *Kalanga* tradition, following human movement, the oracle of *Mwali* came from: 1) Lutombo lutema to 2) Bambudzi, 3) Zhomba, 4) Chizeze, 5) Mavula Majena, 6) Njelele, 7) Dula, 8) Manyangwa, 9) Njenjema, 10) Ntogwa (Werbner 1977a: 184).

The *Mwali* religion is a non-textual traditional religion, which in Werbner's terms, is a regional religion of the middle range; one which is never global and is more limited than a world religion even in its most limited form (Werbner 1977a:IX; 1989:247). The religion's domain extends across international boundaries from Zimbabwe into Botswana, the Republic of South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia and possibly into Tanzania. Consequently, its domain encompasses people of different nationalities and tribal identities. Some tribal groups such as the *Venda* (Cobbing 1976:247; Werbner 1989:282), *Kalanga* (Hole 1929:67; Ralushai 1994:20), *Shona*, *Karanga* and *Rozvi* (Daneel 1970:15), claim special privileges and religion's offices on the basis of ancient history

and long association with the religion. Others such as the *Khurutshe*, *Ndau*, and *Ndebele* are newcomers, but at least one of these, the *Ndebele* (in the narrow sense of the term), claim a distinct leadership role in wartime.

Werbner's idea of describing *Mwali* as a non-textual traditional religion is negated by Phambuka in Mpaphadzi through the following quotation:

Mr. Moilwa Phambuka (80), one time advisor to the former sect's priest, Vumbu Ntogwa, says *Mwali* is the same as God to the Christian, and Allah to the Moslems. The only difference, he added, is that *Mwali* is worshipped in the African context (Mpaphadzi 1995: 13).

The "headquarters" of the religion are in the Matopo Hills and Matobo District of the Matabeleland South Province (Zimbabwe). The following description of the Matopo hills by Hole would give the reader a picture of the hills, bearing in mind the issue of *Mwali's* residence. The Matopo hills stretch for fifty miles (about eighty kilometres) from east to west like a vast jagged scar across the face of the country. No pen-picture can do justice to the riotous grandeur of this extraordinary range, which nature has constructed in one of its most freakish moods.

Huge boulders are balanced in grotesque positions which seem to defy the laws of gravity; grey domes and peaks emerge naked out of a disorder of granite and tangled vegetation through which trickle streams, rising from nowhere and losing themselves in treacherous swamps. On every side are dark and forbidding caverns, half-hidden by the growth of centuries-strumous boabab trees and prickly cactuses with roots straggling down the walls of granite like gouty fingers clutching for support. The whole effect is of some monstrous rock-garden, built by a forgotten race of giants, whose faces and forms seem to be reproduced in colossal outline in the surrounding cliffs, as though they were still there brooding over their handiwork (Hole 1929: 65–66).

The Njelele hill lies between the villages of Dewe and Halale, about eighty kilometres south of Bulawayo, the Provincial City of Matabeleland South, and forty kilometres north of Kezi, the administrative centre of the Matobo District. The accepted centre of

Mwari worship is the Matopos. This does not distract from the general access to or presence of *Mwari* throughout the plateau. *Mwari* is appealed to as the ultimate authority, a being supreme over all the spirit world, whose influence is manifested in all things, but who is more concerned with national matters than the problems of individuals (Latham 1986: 92).

The *Mwali* religion has a diverse staff. Among the religion's officials are: priests, who are chosen from specific lineages of a particular tribal group (especially *Kalanga* and *Venda*); adepts and other lesser religion's officials who may be chosen from any tribal group. The religion's organisation is relatively independent of any political system (Werbner 1977a). There is someone who, covertly, acts as the medium (voice) of *Mwari*. This person is usually a woman (Latham 1986: 95). Werbner (1977a; 1989) also stated that the religion's organisation is hierarchical, so that seniority of religious centres and regions declines as one moves away from the centre. In each region there are numerous sacred places of varying sizes. Each region also has an oracle where *Mwali* can be talked to directly, and where his voice can be heard (Nthoi 1995:1). Around these centres flow the movement of people, goods and services, directed, within a recognisable catchment area, to and from one or more hinterland peripheries. This movement or traffic is itself based on, and controlled by, the people's conceptualisation of sacred centrality (Nthoi 1995:4). The major sacred places are at Njelele, Dula (*lembu libomvu/hloka li bomvu*), Zhilo in Tjokodo, Bembe Ntaba-Zika-Mambo, Pupu and Manyangwa in Tjehanga village near Plumtree (in Bulilima-Mangwe District) in Zimbabwe. In Botswana the major sacred place is Tebgwe, popularly known as *ka Ntogwa* near Ramokgwebana village in the North Eastern District.

Although reports and comments about the constant traffic between villages and the central sacred place at Njelele are abundant in the literature on the *Mwali* religion, no musical study has ever been carried out in this religion. However, researchers who have had an opportunity

to stay for some years at Njelele, such as Nthoi in 1995, have made some comments in passing on the musical activities taking place there.

5.1.4 ORIGIN OF THE RELIGION

A substantial part of the literature of the religion is devoted to the question of origins. In part this is because the claim to be a part of the past of the religion is indeed a contested reality of the present day religion. It is also a basis for claim for one's further involvement in the religion's affairs restricted to the original group. The cultural debate about origins is linked to the changing tribal composition of the religion and the differential contribution of tribal groups to religious change. Different writers (as cited by Nthoi 1995:63) have attributed the roots of the religion to either *Rozwi/Shona*, *Venda*, or *Kalanga* origin.

While it may be possible to attribute the origin of the *Mwali* religion to one tribal group or the other, the usefulness of such an endeavour is very limited, because of the linkages and inter-connections, not only of the tribal groups themselves, but also of the various traditional religions historically associated with the individual groups.

Nthoi (1995:64) has argued that an analysis of succession disputes at Njelele reveals the holding of the priesthood of the centre by priests of different tribal identities. Consequently, it is not possible to convincingly attribute the origin of the religion to a particular tribal group from among a number of other tribal groups, which are known to have a long history of association with the religion. Secondly, is the difficulty of accurately differentiating the various tribal groups, which are known to have had a long-standing association with the *Mwali* religion. The on-going process of re-creation of tribalism renders useless any such attempts to establish the origin of the religion.

5.1.5 KALANGA ORIGIN

Available sources agree that the origin of *Mwali* is *Kalanga* in Southern Zimbabwe. At the time of *Nguni* invasion, the worship of

Mwali was already in practice among the *Makalanga*. Hole (1929: 43-45) also argues that the *Mwali* religion was associated with the *Bakalanga*, and was already in existence when the *Amandebele* first arrived in what later became Southern Rhodesia. The *Kalanga* tribes had been worshipping *Mwali* "from time immemorial" (Nthoi 1995: 67). Nobbs (1924) expressed the same sentiments as Thomas and Hole by saying that, although the word *Mlimo* is the *Matabele* form of the *Sesotho Morimo*, signifying a spirit, the *Mlimo* (*Mwali* or *Ngwali*) religion is not of *Ndebele* origin. The term was applied to the Deity known to the original inhabitants as *Ngwali* (*Mwali*), who was the Supreme Deity of the *Bakalanga*. Though new to the *Matabele*, *Mwali* was the ancient God of the *Makalaka*, whose personal presence was manifested by his voice which was made to emanate from caves, rocks, trees (preferably large hollowed baobabs), or even the bowels of the earth. The belief in *Mwali* (*Mlimo*) was widespread and long standing. Historic reference to the worship of *Mwali* dates back to 1500 (Nobbs 1924:54-57).

Ralushai (1994: 11), a scholar of *Venda* history in South Africa, also attributes the origin of the *Mwali* religion to the *Bakalanga* of Southern Zimbabwe. This is despite the fact that the *Venda* of the Limpopo Province have a long history of association with the religion of *Mwali*. *Venda* rulers like Modjadje and Luvhimbi established contact with *Mwali* by sending their messages to the *Mabvumela* sacred place in Matopo Hills. According to one of my *Venda* informants, Thelma Marole, Modjadji died at the beginning of the year 2001 so her people are still in the interregnum period. *Mwali* is also believed to have visited the Tshivhadinda cave in Venda, from Malungudzi in Southern Zimbabwe (Nthoi 1995:19).

5.1.6 ORGANISATION OF THE RELIGION

The religion's organisation is hierarchical, so that the formal or official seniority of the religious centres and regions declines as one moves away from Njelele, the "headquarters" of the religion in the Matopo hills of Southern Zimbabwe (Werbner 1977a:180-181). There is a fairly strict

and well defined hierarchy and line of communication from the periphery to the centre, i.e. from Ntogwa (in Botswana) to Manyangwa through Dula to Njelele (in Zimbabwe). *Wosana* and priests observed this line of communication (Werbner 1989: 286-7), although individual pilgrims visit a sacred place of their own choice.

Although the departure of the voice does not affect the sacredness of the centre, it does, however, affect the virtual services rendered by the centre, and accordingly, its ranking. Above all, the presence of the voice at two or three “junior” centres within the Matopo District; and at Manyangwa and Tebgwe sacred places in Western Zimbabwe and North Eastern Botswana, makes the current hierarchic ranking of such centres problematic, at least, on the basis of the central place theory only. This is because the central place theory is a model for explaining the relationship between the periphery and the centre.

This means that the existing order of movement from one centre to another, observed by religious adepts, messengers, and priests themselves, may differ from that used by individual supplicants on the basis of their personal preferences (Werbner 1977a: 180; 1989: 279). The model of the ordering of sacred centres arrived at through the use of the central place theory is turned on its head by the impermanence of the voice at major religious centres, a fact that constantly necessitates re-ordering (Nthoi 1995:81).

While this hierarchy and line of communication may be observed by a fraction of religion’s participants, especially officials such as priests, and messengers, it is no longer accepted, if it ever was, by a majority of pilgrims who frequent sacred places in Zimbabwe. This basically stems from the nature of the religion, which Werbner himself correctly spells out. The very fact that the religion encompasses a variety of tribal groups, and its centres draw a clientele from a wide hinterland—a clientele that holds different conceptions of sacred centrality—means that such an organisational conception is contested. Any attempt to

rank sacred places by pilgrims is futile. Since pilgrims hold divergent views on all these issues, the ranking of pilgrimage centres by pilgrims is a daunting task. What Werbner presents, as the model of the *Mwali* religion, is only one of the numerous possible conceptions of the ranking of sacred places (Nthoi 1995: 81-83).

As part of an on-going struggle for power and control, priests at various sacred places also rank religious places differently. Seldom can any priest be found who does not claim the primacy of his own sacred place over others. Historical narratives and claims of possession of some mystical powers by the religion's priest are often basis for the priest's claims of primacy of his particular sacred place.

Although the Njelele sacred place remains the most important sacred place in the religious domain, there is no conception among either the pilgrims or the religion's leadership of a hierarchic religion's organisation. Religious centres are viewed by many people as being owned and run by particular families, and as operating fairly independently of each other. For example, the old sacred place at Dula is commonly referred to as *Ko Maswabi*, "at the Maswabis" (the Maswabi's sacred place which has been run by the Maswabi family since its inception); *Ko Manyangwa* (Manyangwa's sacred place); *Ka Ntogwa* (Ntogwa's sacred place). "*Ko*" is an *Isindebele* word for "at" and "*ka*" is an *Ikalanga* word for "at". There is no meeting of priests at which general policy is discussed. Pilgrims rank sacred places differently, so that no universally acceptable priority order emerges.

Most people in Zimbabwe, including the priests, still see Njelele as belonging to Zimbabweans, although other people are free to consult the oracle there. This is indicated, for example, in the manner in which the priest to the sacred place is appointed. There are numerous other such examples, which show that to a large extent, some major sacred places in Zimbabwe are viewed as belonging to small communities

around them, and in some cases as belonging to the “nation” (Nthoi 1995: 89).

Among the religion’s officials are the *umkhwezi* (priest) and *umthanyeli* (keeper or caretaker). Holders of these two offices are chosen from specific priestly houses of a particular tribal group (*Bakalanga* and *BaVenda*). Other religion’s officials are; *umphathi we nkezo* (messengers) *wosana* (adepts) and *umlisa* (keeper of the sacred cattle/herd, in the singular form). In ancient times, it is said that Mzilikazi and Mambo donated twenty herd of cattle annually for the rain ceremony. The religion always had a standing herd of cattle, which were left in the custody of *abalisa* – plural for *umlisa*. The herd represented a communal aspect of the sacred place. Pilgrims and other people in the vicinity of the sacred place for both the annual rain and harvest ceremonies donated some of these cattle, goats and sheep (Nthoi 1995: 148).

In each region there are numerous sacred places of varying sizes. Each region has an oracle where *Mwali* can be talked to directly, and where his voice can be heard. Both individuals and congregational supplicants throughout the year visit these sacred places. Individual supplicants visit any sacred place of their choice, both within and beyond their regions.

5.1.7 USE OF THE NJELELE SACRED PLACE IN THE PAST

In the legendary or long remembered past the Njelele sacred place is said to have been mainly concerned with rain. It was therefore visited by *abaphathi be nkezo* (*Isindebele*) messengers and *wosana* (*Ikalanga*) adepts who came twice a year. In *Isindebele* the word *nkezo* means a water calabash. So the messengers are “the holders of the water calabashes”, and it was their duty mainly to ask for rain from *Mwali* who is referred to as *dziba le vula* (*Ikalanga*), “the pool of water/rain”. There is a fountain or pool on top of the Njelele hill itself, from which the priest was expected to draw water, which he later would pass on to

messengers at the rain ceremony normally held in September. The messengers, who were essentially representatives of different local communities, neighbourhoods or chiefdoms, came from all over the religion's domain to ask for rain. They also consulted the oracle in connection with natural calamities like drought and pestilence.

Wosana from all over the religion's domain also visited the sacred place, particularly during the rain ceremony in September. They often, but not always, accompanied religious messengers to the religious centre to ask for rain from *Mwali* (Werbner 1989: 255). *Wosana* are dedicated to *Mwali*. Amongst the *Kalanga*, they are also referred to as *bathumbi be vula*, "rain seekers". They dance for rain both at minor regional centres and at the Njelele sacred place in September. During this public ceremony, only the messengers, the adepts and elderly people (past childbearing age), who were expected to observe a state of sexual abstinence or avoidance, were allowed to enter the sacred place. This requirement expressed an understanding of sacred centrality that sacred space must be entered only by the ritually clean (Nthoi 1995: 167).

The Njelele sacred place was also visited in early April for the harvest ceremony. During this ceremony, messengers and adepts accompanied by other villagers went to Njelele to make offerings to *Mwali* as thanksgiving for the past harvest. They carried with them small amounts of whatever food they produced in their fields. This entire foodstuff was collected and stored in a public granary at the sacred place for use during ceremonies at the sacred place. Part of the foodstuff was consumed during the harvest ceremony itself. People were not allowed to eat *zhizha* (fresh food/first fruits) from their fields before the first fruits ceremony (*inxwala* – *Isindebele*).

The sacred place was normally opened for sweeping in August, and remained open until November. During this period elderly people consulted the oracle about problems of fertility, on behalf of their

children. Youths were not allowed to visit any sacred place. The sacred place was also opened for the harvest ceremony in April. During all other times, it remained closed and no one consulted the oracle there. The Njelele sacred place was associated neither with healing nor with *abantu ba madlozi (Isindebele)*, “the people of the ancestral spirits” - any type of spirit mediums. Not even *wosana* were allowed to undergo their initiation at Njelele.

What is prohibited at Njelele could be done at other lesser sacred places, particularly at Dula. Personal problems like afflictions and misfortunes, and other national problems were reported by individuals and religious messengers at Dula. The sacred place at Dula was associated with healing, and all *shave/shavi* spirits (these are alien spirits associated with activities such as healing, hunting and dancing). It was to Dula rather than Njelele that *n’ganga* and other traditional spirit mediums went. Daneel (1971:83) reports that religion’s messengers brought all issues of national importance, including tribal and village political issues, to the attention of the sacred place at Wirirani.

5.1.8 CURRENT USE OF THE SACRED PLACE

Today both young and old people visit the Njelele sacred place. Owing to the high demand of its diversified services throughout the year, the sacred place now remains open all the year round, and offers ritual services for healing and the alleviation of different types of afflictions. Most of the supplicants who visit the sacred place are spirit mediums, mainly women who consult the oracle on problems of fertility and health. Some are spirit mediums and healers who accompany their patients and novices as part of their initiation and healing. Male supplicants mainly consult the oracle to make requests about business and promotions at work; to solve problems of unemployment, their relations with colleagues at work, and lost livestock. They also

accompany their wives who come to consult the oracle on a variety of personal problems.

Controversy has grown about the way in which the sacred place at Njelele is currently being used. It is a debate, mainly between the sacred place keepers and “traditionalists”. The traditionalists, who include chiefs and other village elders, insist that the sacred place should be closed after the rain ceremony, and that it should not be involved in healing. They are totally against the presence of any other spirit mediums apart from the *wosana*. They believe that the presence of the “people with spirits” (*abantu ba madlozi*) is objectionable to the High-God.

On the other side are the sacred place keepers and supplicants who believe that *Mwali* is associated with healing and ancestral spirits and who see nothing wrong with the present usage of the sacred place. Since they consider Njelele to be the major and most powerful sacred place, it is only reasonable and proper, they insist, that all serious problems should be brought here. The priest, who has very little control over the supplicants’ use of the sacred place, finds himself caught up in this conflict. In practice, he accepts all supplicants and all their problems.

5.1.9 ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE PILGRIMAGE TO NJELELE

Traditionally, supplicants are expected to bring with them tobacco or snuff and one or more pieces of black cloth as *izithethelo* (*Isindebele*) “what one prays with” (offerings to *Mwali*), known in *Kalanga* as *lunamoto*. The term “tribute” can be applied to such offerings. In the past, some pilgrims used to offer hoes and cattle to *Mwali*, when they came to consult the oracle. The priest as a broker in sacred exchange, played an important redistributive role (Ranger 1967: 22). Each year, he was expected to reallocate to visiting supplicants the cloths, hoes and snuff/tobacco brought to his centre as *lunamoto*. Some of the items offered to praise *Mwali* were listed by Wentzel (1983a: 45) as; *busukwa*

– beer, *shogwana* – crushed sorghum or millet, *shomu* – nuts of the marula tree and *shanganya ngubo dze zwibanda* – the decorated blankets made of animal skins by mixing different kinds of skins (karosses).

In this way, as a broker in sacred exchange, he put the otherwise independent or hostile persons and communities in direct, metonymic communion with each other and under the shared protection of the sacred place. However, the priest is not expected to levy any charge on pilgrims for consulting the oracle. It is nevertheless understood that the priest has to eat and send his children to school. Therefore, the priest is allowed to receive donations and gifts from supplicants, in kind or cash.

Concern with the economic aspect of pilgrimage in the *Mwali* religion should not lead to overlooking an important aspect of this giving to the priest and *Mwali*; i.e. the redistributive role of the priest. Redistribution of objects turned into accomplishments in sacred exchange is an act of protective generosity, well beyond mere reciprocity. These donations to the priest have enhanced value in moral no less than transactional or commodity terms; and the moral and economic are deliberately merged. The priest is involved in far more than mere accumulation of income. Storing and allocating it, he keeps and creates trust. The very fact that the sums are large is a matter of trust and symbolic capital.

5.2 ECOLOGICAL CONCERNS

The *Mwali* religion is concerned with ecological matters such as drought, floods, blights, pests and epidemic diseases affecting both cattle and people. In fact, cult policy concerning ecological issues has remained conservative (Werbner 1977a; 1989). The *Mwali* religion still remains a fertility religion that emphasises keeping peace with the land and among people (Werbner 1977b: 214; Mwanza 1973). If this peace is destroyed, calamities befall the individual offender, the whole community, or the whole religion's domain. In order for normality to be

restored, certain rituals are performed to cleanse *zwamwi* (standstill) (unsightly objects which make the land ritually unclean).

Bakalanga elders often spoke of *Mwali* having ordered men to go out and remove from trees and the ground itself *zwamwi* or any unsightly objects which made the land ritually unclean, thereby causing rain not to fall. Men moved around the village in a large group to remove objects from treetops such as bird's nests, stones, sticks and any hanging papers. This collective hunting is called *itethela*. It has to be understood that a similar hunt used to take place any other time for the purposes of relish for food such as porridge.

In this hunting, men also cut down all trees that have been struck by lightning. Ruins were also destroyed since they were believed to accommodate evil spirits that interfere with the falling of rain. The trees struck by lightning were cut down and heaped together with all objects collected from the environment to be burnt. Among these objects, there were also animal carcasses. When burning this heap, wet *nzeze* trees were cut and added to the heap. A small *bhepe* (calabash) full of water was broken on top of the heap. The pile was finally burnt to produce large clouds of smoke. The belief was that this smoke would purify or cleanse the polluted air and after this process, rain was expected to fall. According to one of my informants, Ms. Selinah Ndebele, a teacher at Dingumuzi Primary School in Plumtree, originally from Matjinge village (Zimbabwe), a certain ritual was performed. This ritual is in connection with dead elderly men whose *galufu* (property not yet ready for the distribution to the living relatives) had not yet taken place as it was customarily done in *Ikalanga* after somebody's death. The rooftop of such a hut was partly unthatched to allow rain to fall. The writer of this document has neither seen nor heard about this happening with the Botswana *Bakalanga*.

Whilst men were out at the *zwamwi* hunt, women gathered at the *khuta/lubazhe gwa she* (chief's court) to *loba mayile* (sing and dance to

the Supreme Deity, *Mwali*) in supplication for rain. On their way home, to where women were left performing the *mayile* rain dance, men killed wild animals they came across.

During this hunting expedition, men avoided killing dangerous animals like leopards and lions. They only managed to kill animals that could be caught by dogs and those that could be killed by the use of knobkerries and spears. Other small animals killed during this ritual hunt were brought to the chief's court. All men gathered there for a celebration, roasting the flesh of the animals they slaughtered for consumption. This was some sort of purification ritual. However, since the enforcement of the law that forbids the illegal killing of wild animals, this part of the event has had to be omitted.

5.3 MIDZIMU/BADZIMU (ANCESTRAL SPIRITS)

In addition to belief in a Supreme Being and spirits, Bantu people also believe that the spirits of departed ancestors have considerable power both for good and evil. Spirits of departed ancestors may cause all kinds of misfortunes if they are offended by some action of a living relative. In such a case, the offender must make a sacrificial offering to appease the ancestral spirit. It is not unusual at a burial ceremony for an individual to talk to the corpse, to persuade the spirit not to trouble the family or village (Rader 1991: 25). These days, such messages are normally conveyed through sympathy cards.

Ancestor veneration/worship is a widespread phenomenon among the *Bakalanga* of Botswana and Zimbabwe. The *badzimu* (*Ikalanga*) *midzimu*; *amadlozi* (*Isindebele*) (ancestral spirits) play an important role in the lives of many people. Ancestral spirits are generally believed to be benevolent and concerned about the welfare of their descendents. However, when offended, they can kill and maim their own proteges. Therefore, people always seek to maintain the closest possible relationship with these divinities. This includes heeding their requests and instructions.

Ancestral and territorial spirits communicate with the living in two ways, through dreams and visions, and through possession. Dreams (particularly unnatural and persistent ones) are considered very important among *Bakalanga*. It is believed that during one's sleep, two things can happen. Through dreams one travels to the land of the dead to have contacts with ancestral spirits, or the ancestral spirits themselves visit the living and communicate with them. Consequently dreams play an important role in divination, and in the revelation of divine selection to office. Apart from their different divining tablets, spirit mediums and other traditional healers/diviners depend on their own, and on their patients' dreams.

In fact, while ordinary people consult their elders, traditional healers and spirit mediums about the meaning of their dreams, traditional healers/diviners themselves consult the oracle at major *Mwali* religious centres on why they no longer have dreams and visions. Often a novice or patient is asked by the initiator to pay particular attention to his/her dreams. In some cases, people even cancel appointments or postpone planned journeys on account of their dreams, which are often interpreted as a message from *amadlozi* of the dangers that lie ahead (Nthoi 1995: 48).

5.4 TRADITIONAL HEALERS/DIVINERS

Normally people use a traditional healer who has been recommended to them by relatives, friends and close acquaintances. Personal networks of relations existing between the two healers determine referral of clients by one traditional healer to another. Individual members of these traditional healing associations often refer serious problems to *Mwali* sacred places. It is also common for afflicted supplicants to be referred to some known traditional healers by the *Hwi* (voice) (see Masendu 1979:20; Mtutuki 1976:22 and Werbner 1989: 274). This backward and forward referral of patients between traditional healers and *Mwali* religious centres requires a close relation between traditional healers

and religious officials (on Ntlogwa's relationship with traditional healers and other important people in northern Botswana, see Werbner 1989).

This suggests and underlies the importance of personal linkages between senior religious officials and members of traditional healing associations. The voice refers afflicted supplicants to traditional healers who are known to, or are associates of, senior religious officials. In this way, healers' associations and their individual members are very important in directing and maintaining a flow of people, goods and ideas from the periphery to the central places of the religion, and for drawing some flow from the centre to the periphery (Nthoi 1995: 53).

5.5 SUMMARY

Bakalanga traditional music performance is based on cultural and traditional religious activities. This chapter provides background information, largely on the organisation of the *Mwali* religion. This information is needed for an understanding of *wosana* music and its activities.

Bakalanga understand *Mwali* as the creator or originator of the universe and all its creatures. Although *Mwali* is known to be a benevolent provider and sustainer of life in the universe, he is an ambivalent God, capable of showing both great kindness, and anger when offended. He is, therefore, both feared and respected.

Mwali is believed to have three manifestations. The male manifestation is *Shologulu*, believed to be associated with the creation of the universe. *Banyantjaba* is the female manifestation of *Mwali*, associated with the sustenance of the universe. The third manifestation is *Lunji*, the son of the High-God, who runs errands between *Shologulu* and *Banyantjaba*.

There are places from which *Mwali* chooses to speak to his people. Examples of such places are caves in mountains. *Bakalanga* consider such places sacred because of the manifestation of the Deity there.

The *Mwali* religion is believed to be extending across international boundaries from Zimbabwe into Botswana, the Republic of South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia and possibly into Tanzania. The “headquarters” of the *Mwali* religion are in the Matopo hills and Matobo District of the Matabeleland South Province (Zimbabwe).

The origin of the *Mwali* religion is attributed to either the *Rozwi/Shona*, *Venda* or *Kalanga*. Hole (1929: 43-45) argues that the *Mwali* religion was associated with the *Bakalanga*, and was already in existence when the *Amandebele* first arrived in what later became Southern Rhodesia.

The seniority of the *Mwali* religious centres declines as one moves away from Njelele. *Wosana* observe a defined hierarchy and line of communication from the periphery to the centre; i.e. from Ntogwa (in Botswana) to Manyangwa through Dula to Njelele (in Zimbabwe).

Among the *Mwali* religion’s officials are the *umkhwezi* (priest and *umthanyeli*/ keeper or caretaker) chosen from either *Kalanga* or *Venda*. Other religious officials are: *umphathi we nkezo* (messengers), *wosana* (adepts) and *umlisa* - for one (keeper of the sacred cattle/herd).

Since the Njelele sacred place is mainly concerned with rain, it is therefore visited by *abaphathi be nkezo* (*Isindebele*) messengers and *wosana* (*Ikalanga*) adepts who come twice a year. They visit Njelele hill during the rain ceremony in September and early April for the harvest ceremony. The oracle is also visited in connection with natural calamities like drought and pestilence.

Traditionally, supplicants are expected to bring with them tobacco or snuff and one or more pieces of black cloth as offerings to *Mwali*. Each year the priest was expected to reallocate to visiting supplicants offerings brought to his centre.

Ancestor veneration is a widespread phenomenon among the *Bakalanga* of Botswana and Zimbabwe. *Bakalanga* always seek to maintain the closest possible relationship with the ancestors. Some traditional

healers often refer serious problems to *Mwali*. It is also common for afflicted supplicants to be referred to some known traditional healers by *Mwali's* voice.

Wosana have composed songs that praise *Mwali* using different names such as *dziba le vula* which means a pool of rain/water. When visiting all sacred places and some traditional healers, relevant musical types are performed.

CHAPTER 6

THE MWALI INTERMEDIARIES AND THE TEBGWE SACRED PLACE ACTIVITIES

The transcendence and inaccessibility of the High-God obviously necessitates powerful intermediaries between the living and the Supreme Deity. Through the mediatory roles of both the religion's messenger and the *wosana*, congregations in the hinterland maintain communion with the High-God. In Botswana, such communion is carried out through the messenger Robert Vumbu of the Tebgwe sacred place in Ramokgwebana village (North Eastern Botswana).

6.1 INTERMEDIARIES: WOSANA AND THE MWALI

RELIGION MESSENGERS

Mwari is everywhere and is in everything. He is thus party to, and in an indefinable way, part of all the spirits throughout their hierarchical structure. The most senior spirits thus become merged with *Mwari* and in this sense make him/her a syncretic God. As one commentator on African concepts of god suggests, "God is far (transcendent) and men cannot reach him; but God is also near (imminent), and he comes close to men" (Latham 1986: 85 quoting Mbiti 1970: 12).

The transcendence and inaccessibility of the High-God obviously necessitates powerful intermediaries between the living and the Supreme Deity. These intermediaries facilitate communion with *Mwali* or are themselves routes of worship, to the High-God himself. This is due to the dialectical nature of the religion itself; i.e. its macrocosmic (inclusiveness) and microcosmic (exclusiveness) tendencies. The conception of *Mwali's* transcendence (macrocosmic) allows no restriction in terms of affliction and supplication to the High-God (Werbner 1989: 246-257). The microcosmic nature of the religion limits its control to an elite leadership chosen from a specific priestly house within a particular tribal group (Werbner 1989: 257).

Through the mediatory roles of both the religion's messenger and the *wosana*, congregations in the hinterland maintain communion with the High-God. The religion's messenger is the main link between the communities in the periphery, the religion's priesthood, and *Mwali* at the oracular religious centres. Congregations send their tribute (*lunamoto* or *zvipo*) to *Mwali* through the religion's messenger (Werbner 1977a and 1989; Daneel 1970: 53 and 1971; Ranger 1967: 220). From the communities they represent, the messengers carry *Mwali's* response and his comments on the moral condition within these communities to the petitioners in the home communities and his comments on the moral condition within these communities.

Apart from these regular ritual festivals the spirits may be consulted in the event of some misfortune affecting the whole community, the most common being late or insufficient rainfall (Bourdillon 1976:304).

Werbner's view (1989: 261) of the *wosana* as a sacred go-between underlies the transcendence of the High-God. Through the female klipspringer (symbolic of the ritual role of the religion's adept) caught in a ritual, the congregation establishes communion with the transcendent High-God, even at places where there is no oracle. The fullest communication between mankind and *Mwali* depends on communion rather with an immanation. The klipspringer (*wosana*) as a mountain creature is believed to mediate through communion, between mankind and *Mwali*. Through pilgrimage to major religious centres, local communities establish communion with *Mwali* without necessarily communicating with him. The *wosana* brings the sacred soil on his/her body, collected during ritual participation and possibly by rolling on the ground in a trance, back to local communities. The sacredness of such soil is believed to cool the land and bring the much-needed rainfall. In so far as the local communities at the periphery are concerned, *Mwali* still lives far away *ka-Mwali (Ikalanga)* "at *Mwali's*" (place of abode) i.e. at distant sacred centres. Despite the spatial proximity of the sacred centre, *Mwali* is still removed from local communities and communion

with him is through the mediation of a sacred-go-between (Werbner 1989:2).

At the numerous local religious centres, rain ceremonies are conducted, at which the *wosana* sing to *Mwali* in supplication for rain.

The spirit, through its possessed medium may announce the cause of the trouble. It might simply say that the people have been forgetting their ancestors and should honour the guardian spirits of the country with sorghum beer. It may name some offence as the cause of the trouble, particularly a violation of any tradition that is particularly associated with the greater tribal spirits such as incest, ploughing on their holy days, any violation of the medium or his sacred place property and quarreling at the sacred place. When such an offense is cited as the cause of the trouble, some punishment or fine is demanded from the guilty party (Bourdillon 1976:304).

In Botswana, for example, during periods of drought, women gather either at local religious centres or at the *khuta/lubazhe gwa she* (chief's court) to *loba mayile* (sing and dance to the High-God) in supplication for rain. An example of a very popular *Ikalanga mayile* song is written below:

SONG TITLE: SHANGO YA PALALA/ TJEMA YEU

Dalaunde, *Mapothoko hawo* – Dalaunde, there are the *Matebele*

Kene wa tizha – Although you run away

Shango ya palala – The country is taken

Dalaunde, *a! wole*, - Dalaunde, alright: go,

Kene u tizha, - although you run,

Shango ya palala. – The country is taken

Call: *Tjemayeu*

Response: *Yeu*

(James Kagiso Habangana, 15 December 1983 in Van Waarden 1988: 17). See song 1.2.3 on video.

This *mayile* song is a medley. The first part of the song is explained. The second part has its call *Tjemayeu*, and response as *Yeu*. One of my informants, Basetse Mamu, explained that these lyrics resemble a give and take type of play for the two groups involved in communion. In this song, the dancers also resemble the *njelele* bird dance, which is associated with the falling of rain. Attendance at both *wosana* and *mayile* dances is open to all women. Through participation at these local level rituals, contact is established between communities and the High-God.

Other people visit the sacred place as religious messengers or representatives of communities and chiefdoms. This category of pilgrims is associated with the two main annual ceremonies of the religion; the annual rain and the harvest (thanksgiving) ceremonies, which take place at Njelele.

The religion is essentially concerned with propitiation of *Mwali*, the High-God, for rain and fertility of the land. Every year, a rain ceremony or festival is held at Njelele, attended by many people. This festival is normally held in either September or October. Before this festival, between July and August, the sacred place is opened for *abaphathi be nkezo*, “the holders of the calabashes” (messengers). These messengers are expected to come on behalf of their congregations, communities or chiefdoms, to ask for rain from *Mwali*. After consulting the oracle, they would normally be told of the date of the forthcoming annual rain festival at Njelele, at which they would be invited to attend with *wosana* from their areas. They would then pay money to the *umkhwezi (Isindebele)*, “the one who makes people climb” (the mountain) (the religion’s priest). Since they come on behalf of communities, they would usually be expected to pay more money than individual pilgrims do.

After a day or so, they would return home. It is not unusual for these messengers to consult the oracle on their individual and personal problems as well, although this is not the main reason for their visit to the sacred place.

Each group has its leader, who is responsible for making travelling arrangements to and from the sacred place. He therefore has to know the way to the sacred place. In the past, when there was no public transport to Njelele, it was important that the group leader should know the short cuts to the sacred place. As a spokesperson of the group, he is also responsible for *uku bika* or *ukukhuleka (Isindebele)* “to report” or “to pray” (to make their request) at the sacred place, and pay for consulting the oracle. On arriving back home, the leader is responsible for reporting to the chief. If necessary, the chief calls a public meeting to inform the people of the demands of the oracle, or of the date of the annual rain ceremony. The chief messenger often addresses this meeting to give a report of his visit to the sacred place. It is common for an old messenger to recommend a younger man as his successor. The person recommended as messenger must also enjoy the favour and support of the community.

The responsibility of the head messenger does not end with his pilgrimage to the sacred place. He, together with other community leaders, mobilises people in their respective wards to prepare for the annual rain ceremony. Sorghum is contributed by each homestead within the local community (see Werbner 1989: 279), and traditional beer is brewed at a given place.

As in family rituals the whole kinship group gathers for the good of the larger community. In these ceremonies the larger community, whether it be a small neighbourhood associated with a particular spirit or the whole chiefdom, must co-operate to obtain from the local spirit guardians what is necessary for the good of all. The chief or senior man of the spirit domain makes the arrangements for the ceremony and

often decides (possibly with the prompting of the possessed senior mediums) if and when the ceremony is to be held. All heads of families in the domain must provide grain for the sorghum beer. If the whole chiefdom is involved, this is done through the village headmen. Long standing families in the domain have tasks to perform appropriate to their traditional relationship with the spirits. All in the domain should attend (or at least be represented) in honour of the spirit. So ancestral spirit guardians help to bring and keep local communities together (Bourdillon 1976: 303).

On the given day or a day before, depending on the distances involved, women carry this beer to the sacred place.

Plate 16



Ms. Siwani (right) and Violet Makhala (left) arriving at the annual *Gumbu* carrying calabashes of *Bakalanga* traditional beer

Photographed by the author at the Annual *Gumbu* Rain Praying Ceremony in Mapoka Village in September 1995

A band of dancing *wosana*, and messengers, with the head messenger leading the way, should accompany the women carrying the beer. The

different pilgrim groups, with their calabashes of beer, converge at the priest's centre, where other groups driving black oxen from the district chiefs join them. Every chief affiliated to the particular major sacred place is expected to donate at least one black beast for this occasion. Those who cannot afford to contribute a beast, often donate money, which is used to buy whatever is required for the feast.

The beasts should be slaughtered near the Njelele hill, where much feasting is expected to take place the whole day. All the food and beer ought to be consumed at a special courtyard at the foothill of Njelele. Porridge is not served at this ceremony. People feast on meat and beer alone. This is not ordinary feasting. It is a communion offering to seal contractual obligations. Members of the public are also invited and partake of the feasting. Young girls carry the beer, and young men carry drums to the foothill, where they also participate in the eating, singing, drumming, hand clapping and dancing. However, they are not allowed to proceed beyond this place. Only older people (possessed senior mediums) are allowed to enter the sacred place during the rain ceremony. Abstinence from sexual contact is emphasized for all those who intend visiting the sacred place. This is because everybody who comes to this place is expected to be ritually clean.

Leftovers should not be carried home, although the priest may order that some meat portions be given out to honour some people. Any meat or beer that has not been consumed is left there to feed the wild animals and vultures. This emphasizes the redistributive aspect of the religion of the High-God, in which religious officials return to the attendants, a portion of what has been offered to the High-God. The sacred centre is thus a place of sacred exchange, where supplicants give unto God and, in turn, expect to receive from him.

Just before midnight, the feasting stops. The *umkhwezi* then leads *abaphathi be nkezo* to the mountain where they are allowed to draw water from a little pool near the sacred place, to carry home. In fact, in

Ikalanga the conventional formula for asking for rain from the High God is *ku kumbila khawa*, “to beg for dew” or “*ku kumbila nkombe we vula*”, “to beg for a gourd of water”. Therefore, the water, which the messengers carry home, is a metonym or synecdochy for the rain, which they have come to ask for from *Mwali*: a part given in anticipation of the whole. The seeds, which they have brought from home to Njelele hill, are blessed, treated with *zhambuko* (*Isindebele/Ikalanga*) and given back to them to take back home. These are meant to guarantee a bountiful harvest, since it is believed that ants and other pests cannot eat such seeds. According to Basetse Mamu, water from Njelele is customarily sprinkled on seeds back home for a blessing. If the dancing ground is too dry and there are no clouds, some of this water is sprinkled on the ground before rain dancing commences. The belief is that after dancing on the ground sprinkled with water from Njelele, clouds will gather and rain will fall.

The climax of the rain ceremony is reached when the messengers draw water from the little pool and the seeds are blessed. In the past, when the Voice spoke during people’s gathering at the bottom of the hill in the early morning, it would admonish people on the fulfilment of their obligation in the forthcoming season. The messengers return to the priest’s centre where they assemble in the morning to thank him in cash or kind, and then return home.

6.2 BOTSWANA WOSANA AND THE NTOGWA (TEBGWE) SACRED PLACE

During Werbner’s research period, he spent lots of times staying and travelling with Ntogwa who was the *Bakalanga*’s messenger to *Mwali* at the time. So, most of the information Werbner gave was actually obtained from Ntogwa. In the region that Werbner knew best, the priest Ntogwa succeeded his mother’s sister’s son, Fulele. He also claimed that Njenje was his maternal grandfather. Ntogwa claimed *Venda* origin for his patriline in a zebra clan (Dube or Ntembo). Njenjema, a priest of the Northwest, was of Njenje’s clan, a monkey (Shoko or Ncube, praise

name Luvimbi). Manyangwa, the northern priest, is a Leya (Werbner 1977a:184).

6.2.1 NTOGWA'S CAREER AND HIS REGION'S DEVELOPMENT

During Ntogwa's long career as a priest, high rates of individual mobility (Werbner 1975: 99) have swelled into great tides of emigration towards the West and South. Partly, this has been due to a high rate of human and animal population increase with resulting greater pressure on land and, in places, severe scarcity of land. Fundamentally, it has been due to the expropriation of the central highlands of Botswana and Zimbabwe for European ranches. These divided or displaced numerous chiefdoms and led to the founding of others, such as Habangana and Musojane. Most importantly, the land available to the people was restricted, both in Zimbabwe and in Botswana (Werbner 1977a: 198).

Expansion from one chiefdom, Habangana in North Eastern Botswana, and migration from it to various others as much as a hundred miles away provided a main stem around which the South Western region developed. As a youth, the priest himself, Ntogwa, had been an immigrant from Zimbabwe, though after settling in Habangana chiefdom he came to be known as "a man of Habangana". Between 1914 and 1940, the Bechuanaland Protectorate administration repeatedly had to allow this chiefdom to take over territory along with people from its weaker neighbour, Musojane chiefdom.

The region's staff and oracle were thus drawn along with the chiefdom into problems of territorial encroachment and expansion. The expansion and emigration enabled Ntogwa to extend his religion's connections widely yet retain some control over them through the selection of adepts with close kin or origins in his home chiefdom. However, a halt to Habangana's expansion, for various reasons, became a threat to the further development of Ntogwa's region.

Ntogwa tried to overcome this late in his career, somewhat unsuccessfully, through a more direct commitment to other areas of the region. What he did not do, though his children did, was marry anyone from the chiefdoms in the region's heartland other than Habangana. In his old age he took his other wives from the periphery of the region in the west (from Tonota, Chadibe and Mathangwane in the central district, where he also established a hamlet) just as earlier he had married eastern wives (from the areas of his youth in Zimbabwe).

Throughout the region's heartland, he spread his points of access strategically, in two ways. First, he distributed his wives and children in hamlets at frontiers of each of the heartland's chiefdoms, and his oracle at a site accessible to a railway station. Second, he established an alternative oracle with its own regional sacred place in the only chiefdom that had much room for immigration or more livestock, i.e. Habangana's greatest rival, Ramokate chiefdom. However, this strategic placement and wide division of his family brought its own pressing problems, mainly due to local instability and succession disputes. After less than a decade, he retreated to Habangana, with his entire family except for his Far Western wives and children. Until his death, four or five years later, he continued to devote himself much more to the Western areas than any others, and admitted new adepts from there almost exclusively (Werbner 1977a: 198-9). Much of Ntogwa's region was defined relatively in a competition for congregations between his region and at least one other, mainly the north region of Manyangwa II. Significantly this competition was absent in the far South West, which may have been a further reason for Ntogwa's preoccupation with this area late in his life. He largely withdrew from the main areas of established competition. Yet it was Ntogwa himself who perceived quite early in his career that there had to be another region besides his in the whole of the West. Within his region alone he could not manage the total area covered by several regions now.

Using a customary formula, Ntogwa reported to the cardinal oracle at Njelele that “all these people are too heavy for me”. He requested another priest, “Give me another to help me”. Ntogwa then ensured that this other was a protege of his own and closely bound to him. He trained his protege, apparently a son of Manyangwa I. He brought him for confirmation at Njelele; installed him in the north; took Manyangwa II’s sister and gave his own daughter in marriage and continued to visit and help him for long periods (Werbner 1977a: 199).

Bakalanga themselves spread far and wide among tribally different people and beyond the religion’s domain into the borderland’s nucleated villages. Moreover, they have done so for at least one century and perhaps several. However, *Bakalanga* have not managed to establish religious congregations in the borderlands, with perhaps one peripheral exception, although as individual supplicants they come to the oracles even from Serowe, the central district’s sprawling capital (Werbner 1977a: 199-200).

There is an apparent exception on the periphery of the South Western region at Tonota, the Northern most of the large nucleated villages. The messenger there, Radipitsi, holds the most senior title amongst the *Khurutshe*, who are *Tswana*-speaking. He is currently the chief of Tonota village. Radipitsi claims direct descent from a chief Rauwe who sent religious messengers to an oracle, while he lived among *Bakalanga*. Under the colonial Tati Company this chief (Rauwe) was paramount over *Bakalanga* in the region’s heartland from about 1898 until he and other *Khurutshe* were compelled to withdraw south to Tonota in 1913 (Werbner 1971a: 33).

However, Radipitsi’s interest in the North is not a matter of past history only. He approached his *Khurutshe* cousin chief Ramokate during his term as head of the Tati Land Board, which is now responsible for much of the company’s former land in the North. Radipitsi expressed

his desire to return North soon in order to settle in state lands near Ntogwa's daughter, the late Galani, at Themashanga village. In the meantime, as messenger, Radipitsi continues to assert a political claim, seniority, and a connection with the North and the region's heartland. He acts as messenger, however, on behalf of villagers from his own immediate locality. It is a distinct, and somewhat independent part, rather than the big village as a whole, which participates in the South Western region. In Radipitsi's small and exceptional congregation the South Western region has reached an outer limit of the religion's domain (Werbner 1977a: 200).

One further point about expansion must be made here. Just as tribal and historic ties are inadequate as a basis for the extension of a region, so, too, in the religion's history tribal differences in themselves have not been a barrier to expansion. At a moment of time, however, certain enclaves may be defined tribally, but this may not be permanent. An example of such an enclave is in the heartland of the South Western region. It is the whole chiefdom of Moroka which has no adepts or sacred place, though the regional sacred place in Habangana is virtually on its borders.

The founders of Moroka chiefdom and their descendents along with a main body of *Barolong* immigrants who arrived in 1915 have largely remained tribally separate from and, in some respects, opposed to *Bakalanga* amongst whom they live. The tribal separation is modified through marriage, the more likely is the incorporation (or re-incorporation) of this area into the religion, a process already well advanced, as shown by the marriage of the priest's late son Vumbu to a *Barolong* wife (Werbner 1977a: 200 – 1).

Ntogwa kept ten wives and their children, for whom he paid heavily in bridewealth, a personal man-servant, and many retainers as herdsmen. At the time of his death in his eighties in 1972, he left an estate of

hundreds of head of cattle, numerous two – hundred pound sacks of grain, a substantial bank account and large sums in small change, a donkey cart, a ruined tractor, and a greater assortment of consumer goods than most *Bakalanga* could afford (Werbner 1977a: 202).

Even in very old age, Ntogwa visited most of his congregations at least once a year, and annually danced, for payment, at places hundreds of miles apart, from Botswana's capital (Gaborone) to Bulawayo in Zimbabwe. Ntogwa's case illustrates the opposition between inheritance and personal achievement, and its consequences (Werbner 1977a: 204).

6.2.2 NTOGWA'S RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT WITH LAHLIWE, GALANI (DAUGHTERS) AND VUMBU (SON)

For various reasons, Ntogwa relied more heavily, for religious purposes, on two of his daughters, Lahliwe and Galani, than on his senior son and main heir, Vumbu. Lahliwe was his first wife's first born who married and then separated from the Northern region's priest. She went with her father on trips to the oracles. Galani was his third wife's first born, and she accompanied and helped her father on most of his other trips. She regularly took charge, on his behalf, of performances at sacred places, and she became, after him, the region's most famous dancer. Indeed, her father often sang, at sacred places, "*Galani i wola*" (Galani is the senior) (i.e. of the *hosana* adepts). For the late Galani's example of performance, see song 2.1.2 on video accompanying thesis. In contrast, Vumbu, an accomplished dancer though not an *hosana*, almost never accompanied his father. He knew little about his father's traditional medicines, and he kept away working on the railway in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe), except for brief visits to his wife and children in his father's hamlet. According to Mtutuki (1976: 27), Vumbu came back from Zimbabwe (former Rhodesia) in August 1974 to succeed his late father.

After Ntogwa's death Vumbu was chosen to succeed his father by consensus of the region's messengers and their rulers, led by chief Habangana from Ntogwa's home chiefdom. However, some important messengers and rulers did not go to the selection meeting, notably chief Ramokate from the chiefdom that rivals the Habangana territory in size and other respects. For confirmation and installation, Vumbu was sent, along with Habangana's messenger and porters, to the cardinal oracle at Dula in Zimbabwe. He returned triumphantly with *mpakatilo ntema* (a black sash), given by the cardinal oracle as a badge of recognition. When he addressed his own region's oracle at Habangana chiefdom, in the presence of a great assembly of messengers, he failed to get a response from *Mwali's* voice. On his visit to Dula to establish himself as the next people's messenger, neither of his prominent sisters, Lahliwe and Galani, accompanied him. A quarrel and bitter recriminations between him and Galani had already become public knowledge. Despite having not qualified by being answered by *Mwali's* voice, since Vumbu was the senior son and main heir, he was kept as *Mwali's* messenger.

In the meantime, Galani had been increasing her prominence in the region through her continued circuits around it and by establishing a new, personal base of her own. After a year's pause to mark her father's death, she resumed charge of performances at the *Bakalanga* and *Bakhurutshé* sacred places (Mathangwane, Tonota, Mmadinare) to the South West, in the central district. To the South East, she chose a site suitable for a new oracle. She left her father's hamlet in Habangana chiefdom, and moved South to an area of growing settlement - indeed, the region's area of greatest growth in settlement where she built her own hamlet at Themashanga. This site is next to a rocky kopje (a granite knoll) with Bushmen cave paintings and thus, as she told a confidante, especially suited to impress supplicants with its ancient significance.

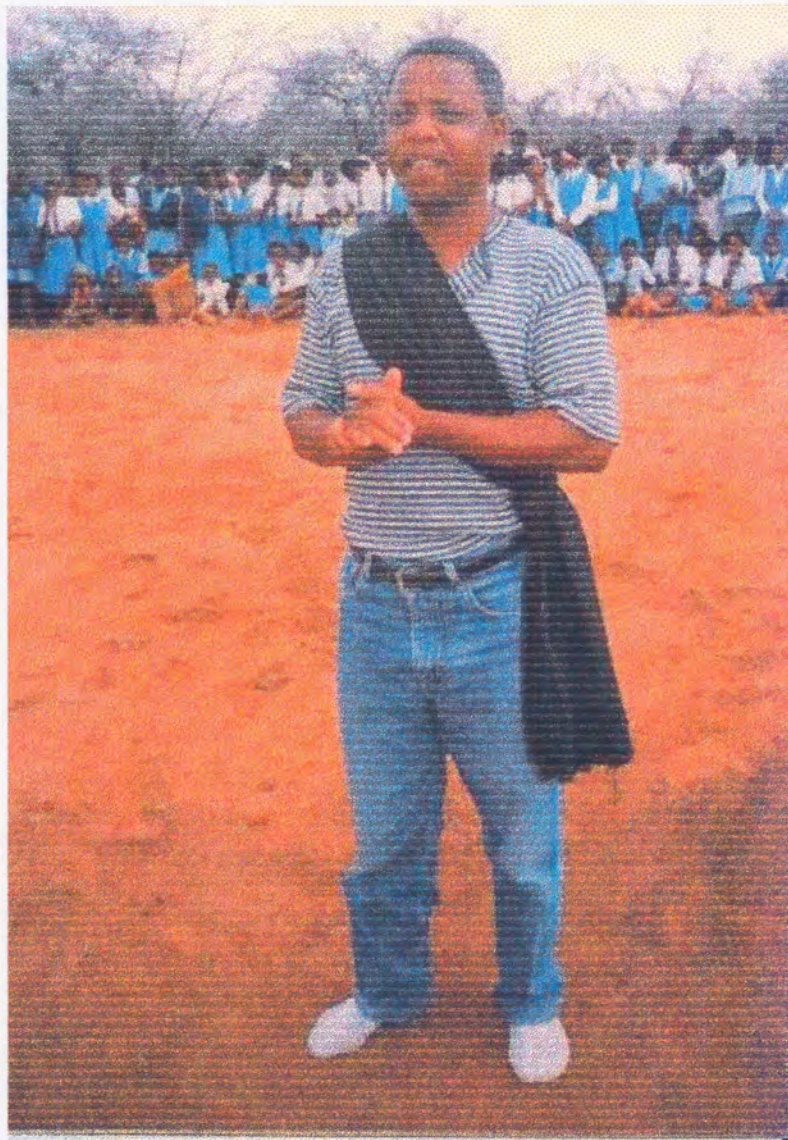
Besides her great organisational expertise, she had an important advantage due to her widespread reputation for mastery of her father's traditional medicine, which she is said to have taken in great sacks to her own hamlet. So far she was able to attract to her for treatment not only supplicants but would-be adepts also. Since her father's death, she continued to initiate some acolytes from the region's periphery in the central district, though not from its old heartland to the east in the former Tati Reserve.

Priests related to the *Mwali* religion have been known to charge pilgrims exorbitantly. The late Vumbu Ntogwa, priest of Tebgwe sacred place in Botswana, used to charge each supplicant a sum of seventy pula (P70.00) for the first visit, and two hundred pula (P200.00) on any subsequent visit. Vumbu, like his father, was indeed a rich man by the time he died. He owned more than two mini buses operating as public transport between Ramokgwebana and Francistown; two tractors; a small general dealer's shop in Ramokgwebana; a big and beautiful home for one of his wives in Ramokgwebana; and had built himself a second house for another wife in Francistown (Nthoi 1995: 209). The people regard these charges as exploitation because customarily, priests are not supposed to charge.

6.2.3 ROBERT VUMBU NTOGWA

Robert Vumbu, Ntogwa's grandson, is currently the priest of the Tebgwe sacred place based in Ramokgwebana village in the North East District of Botswana, which he inherited from his father. Though not yet formally installed, a gathering of *wosana* from all over North East and Central Districts took place to permit him to resume carrying out his duties as the people's messenger to the *Bakalanga* Supreme Deity *Mwali* on the 14th of October 1995. Dressing Robert with a black sash across the shoulders marked this occasion as can be seen below:

Plate 17



Robert Vumbu Ntogwa: The *Bakalanga* messenger to *Mwali*

Photographed by the author at the Ntogwa family's home in Ramokgwebana during the late Vumbu Ntogwa's a hut opening ceremony (For Robert to resume the duty of the people's messenger) after the death of Vumbu Ntogwa his father in October 1995

Robert Vumbu Ntogwa, the *Bakalanga* messenger (priest) to the *Bakalanga* Supreme Deity *Mwali*, is also responsible for the observance of *Nsi* (a ceremonial day), a day set aside as a holiday for the whole community. In the past, it was sacriligious to plough, weed or cut down trees from the fields on this day, which is normally a Friday. But, nowadays, different religious denominations have introduced different holy days according to their interpretations of the bible. This has

caused difficulties in getting the people to observe one and the same day in every region. The result is that most *Bakalanga* (adherents of Tebgwe sacred place) in the Central District observe Wednesday as their *Nsi* whilst in North East a Friday is observed.

The first person to become a *wosana* amongst the *Bakalanga* of Botswana was called Ntogwa Sekani Kavimba. According to his grand daughter Margaret Tibone, Ntogwa was her grandfather's *Ikalanga* nickname meaning "a person who is taken". Ntogwa was always taken to go and dance in different places. Nobody has any information about Ntogwa's ancestors. However, Margaret claimed that her grandfather's origins are believed to be *Venda* in the Limpopo Province of South Africa opposite the Beitbridge area of Zimbabwe from the Kavimba family. When coming to Botswana, Ntogwa left some of his relatives in Zimbabwe where he also had some connections with the Njelele sacred place.

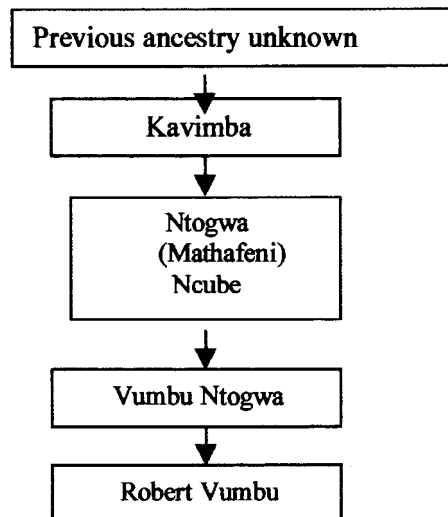
According to Mtutuki (1976:10), Ntogwa arrived from Bango's area, South-Western part of modern Matabeleland. Ntogwa Ncube was still a young man and was mistaken for a young girl because of his height, small stature and thin voice. One of my informants, Reverend Mothibi, also added that Ntogwa used to dress in skirts. One can also conclude that perhaps this is why the present male *wosana* dancers still dress in black skirts today.

During this time, Ntogwa was not yet a *wosana*. He was a *lombe* or an ordinary entertaining dancer. Suffice it to say that Ntogwa wandered in the area of this study without settling permanently in one place for a long time. Mtutuki goes on to say that Ntogwa settled at Masunga, Musojane and Mapoka villages successively as a *lombe*. As a *lombe*, Ntogwa attracted a large following from among women. They followed him from homestead to homestead in his dancing itinerary to sing, drum and clap hands for him when dancing. Ntogwa used to share the same room as these young women because everybody thought he was a girl or young woman.

Ntogwa, by virtue of his daily contact with the people, became an authority on *Bakalanga* mores, norms, and customs. He remained the embodiment of the conservation of the *Bakalanga* Society. Ntogwa himself remained in his traditional regalia till he died in 1972. His eyesight was then poor, so he wore pince-nez. This was the only thing which was not traditional in his dressing habit (Mtutuki 1976: 22).

Ntogwa resided at the present day *Jakalasi No. 1* village in North Eastern Botswana. This village is situated on the borders of Botswana and Zimbabwe. He later moved to *Jakalasi No. 2* village and resided at a hilly place called *Mambindi*. This is still in the same district and border of Botswana and Zimbabwe. Ntogwa next moved to *Mbalambi* village, still in the same district. He built *liswingo* at a place called *Tumbapalale* next to a tree called *nkukubuyu* (boabab). This was his place of prayer where he took everybody who came in connection with *Mwali*. The *Tumbapalale* prayer place was built of rocks. The rock building was attached to the tree and *mwali's Hwi* (voice) could be heard from this place. One boy purposely cut the *nkukubuyu* tree down to see what would happen. It is said that *Mwali's* voice came from the hill to say this boy would suffer to death and so it happened (Mothibi 1999: 34). *Mwali's* voice was never heard at *Tumbapalale* anymore.

Ntogwa finally settled at *Ramokgwebana* village at a place called *Tebgwe*, still in the North East district. This place was once part of *Mapoka* where Ntogwa, in agreement with chief *Habangana*, established the *nzeze* rain-praying place. Ntogwa's family still resides at this place and the rain-praying hillock is located just behind the home. Robert Vumbu, Ntogwa's grandson, is currently the priest of the *Tebgwe* sacred place in Botswana. His sister *Margaret*, who is one of the *wosana* leaders, has settled in *Mabudzaani* village where the author of this document also lives. This is still in the same district. Ntogwa's male lineage family tree is as follows:



According to Basetse Mamu, Ntogwa's children became *wosana* through possession (*sungwa*) in this order:

Lahliwe, Galani, Vumbu, Siyangaphi, Palalani and Ndziili. Siyangaphi decided to leave this vocation along the way and she is now currently mentally sick. Basetse Mamu was the first *wosana* in Mapoka village from outside the Ntogwa family. Other Ntogwa's daughters who dance and are not mentioned in this list have not yet been possessed and are not allowed to do certain things such as going to Njelele unless they are virgins.

6.3 KU DUSIWA KWE MBEWU (SEED BLESSING)

Prior to the seed blessing, a *njelele* bird (eagle) squeaks, passing through the villages. When this happens, *Bakalanga* believe that this bird has come to *tola lushanga gwe thunde* (collect a sorghum reed) to send to the Supreme Deity *Mwali* for the next season's rain to fall. About this rain concept, Vaughan has this to say:

Every year between September and January there takes place that most important of rituals, the rain making ceremony. The ceremony has roots in the distant past but is still performed today in many rural villages. As soon as the slightest sign of rain promises to punctuate the long dry spell, beer is brewed and everyone is summoned to a sacred place, usually on a nearby hill.

Traditional dances are then performed, generating a hysteria which can be quite literally entrancing for the participants, and the sweet, innocuous brew is consumed in large quantities (Vaughan 1991: 148).

This is followed by an annual ritual conducted in the form of a *wosana* procession, which lasts for seven days sometime in mid-September. Day one is normally a Wednesday, running through to a Tuesday. Days one and two are meant for rain prayers held at the hillock situated behind Robert Vumbu Ntogwa's home (home of the *wosana* leader/priest) in Ramokgwebana village in North East District Council. On day three, the *wosana* go for their rain prayers at the village court called *khuta or lubazhe gwa she*. All people from surrounding villages go to the Mapoka *Khuta* for this occasion.

All village churches are represented at this ceremony which is held at the village court in their uniforms for prayers. These churches pray together with the *wosana*. Songs from all present religious denominations are sung, e.g. United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA), Roman Catholic Church and Zion Christian Church (ZCC).

Plate 18



Ms Tiny Gunda leading a multi-denominational congregation

Photographed by Ms Maggy Tema at the annual seed blessing ceremony held at the Mapoka village *kgotla* in September 1995

Mwali's praise poem related to rain praying is recited by a selected good poet. *Mwali's* praise poem below shows a general understanding and appreciation of the Trinitarian view of this High-God by *Bakalanga*. This Trinitarian is believed to be found in the hills with *Mwali's* voice: to the South is the Father *Shologulu*; to the North the Mother *Banyantjaba*; and to the East the son *Lunji*. The praise poem is as follows:

MWALI'S PRAISE POEM

Mazebuta, Mbedzi, Thobela – Praise names

Gabi laka pomba nyika – the string that surrounds the earth

Mbumbi we butale – Creator of the universe

Baka - lunji gusi thume ngubo – mother of *Lunji* (big needle) that does not sew a blanket

Guno tshindila thuma pasi – but prefers to sew the ground/down

Nkadzi we zhamu lingompela – the woman with a single breast

Uno mwisa bana baka wanda – who is able to satisfactorily breast-feed all her children (Nthoi 1995: 59).

After the praise poem, different church groups and *wosana* sing a few songs and hymns. The chief of Mapoka village, passes a word to the audience to declare the ploughing season officially opened. This declaration is called *ku dusiwa kwe mbewu* (seed blessing) and permits the villagers to start ploughing after the rains. It is taboo among the *Bakalanga* people to plough before the chief gives permission. This is strictly adhered to, because the consequences of disobeying would befall not only that particular individual, but also the whole innocent community. This is a fairly universal pre-planting ceremony in agricultural societies.

6.4 **KU NZEZE/KU GUMBU/KU DAKA (THE RAIN PRAYING RITUAL)**

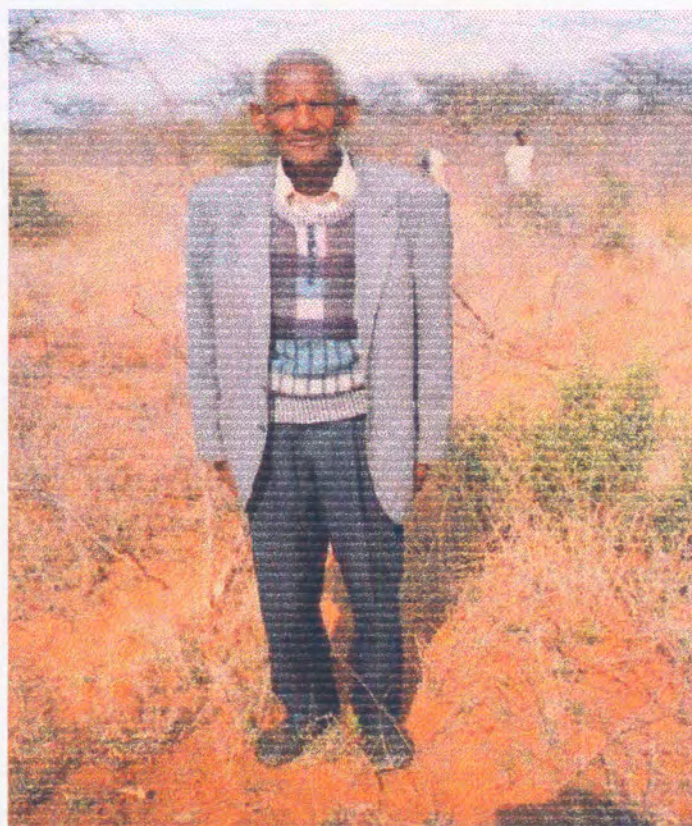
After seed blessing on day three when everybody disperses, this rain prayer dancing group leaves the *lubazhe gwa she* (chief's court), walking to their special dancing area called *ku nzeze*. This place is a few kilometres South-West of Mapoka Primary School. It is situated near a big *nzeze* (*Peltophorum Africanum*) tree. According to the village elders and the *wosana*, this tree was selected for the purpose because of its shady leaves to protect the dancers from the sun's heat.

Ms. Selinah Ndebele of Dingumuzi Primary School in Plumtree (Zimbabwe) submitted an addition of *Nhahanyama* – (Zimbabwe *Ikalanga*) and *Nsasanyama* – (Botswana *Ikalanga*) tree to be serving the same purpose in Zimbabwe. This tree is also used as traditional medicine for blood purification. Certainly one of my most venerable old informants was quite clear on this point. She was Ms. Basetse Mamu, born in 1937, and is a *wosana* music performer. She grew up at Ntogwa's home as a *wosana* since the age of ten. Where the *nzeze* tree is situated was chief Habangana's (kgosietsile Habangana's or *Ta-Bakwali's*) field. Chief Habangana of Mapoka village received instructions from *Mwali*, together with Ntogwa, that the field should be used for annual *wosana* rain prayers. There was a granary that fed the village population during years of poor harvest. This granary had a special name: *zhunde*. In those days, the chief's field used to be ploughed by his people. A special day for this kind of ploughing was set aside by the villagers and also named *zhunde*. The word *zhunde* was also used in a different context, saying *she wa baha zhunde*, meaning that the chief has given his people some harvest shares from the village communal granary *zhunde*. According to one of my Venda informants, a music lecturer at the University of Venda, Takalani Tjivhango, the same occasion of ploughing the chief's communal field used to take place in the past amongst the *Venda* people of South Africa and it is called *dzunde* in *Tshivenda*.

Every family ploughed, weeded and harvested the *zhunde* communal field. The proceeds were used to brew communal traditional beer, which was given to the people who attended the *nzeze* ceremony (Mtutuki 1976:20).

Anybody offering the *wosana* transport is allowed only to carry their luggage, since traditionally the group has strictly to walk to this place. Gifts in the form of food are allowed to enable the *wosana* to sustain their long stay at *ku nzeze*. The rain-praying group strictly reserves this place for use in mid-September. It has to be cleared like any other residential place under the supervision of *Umthanyeli (Isindebele)* (keeper or caretaker) who in this case is Setlhare Mmopi (Ta-Masikati).

Plate 19



Setlhare Mmopi Ta-Masikati one of the sacred place caretakers at Mapoka

Photographed by the author at the Annual *Gumbu* Rain Praying Ceremony in Mapoka village in September 1995

Other volunteering elderly village men and women using *nshangule* (*euclea undulata*) tree branches carry out the clearing. *Wosana* cook for themselves, in their respective residential temporary shelters, built by men from different village wards. Since the *wosana* come from different villages, they are grouped according to their respective troupes. People from different village wards bring with them some animals such as goats and cattle to slaughter for relish during this rain prayer week.

On day four, which is normally a Saturday, villagers carry *Bakalanga* brewed beer in very big *mikabo* (calabashes) to the *nzeze* tree (*wosana*-dancing place).

Plate 20



Ms. Ndibali in the middle carrying a calabash with *Bakalanga* traditional beer. She is with Unami Gazi (right) and Sylvia Peter (left)

Photographed by the author at the Annual *Gumbu* Rain Praying Ceremony in Mapoka Village in September 1995

Every family is expected to bring with it a calabash of beer to this rain praying ritual. This beer is meant for the village elders and the *wosana* present at the ritual to drink happily, marking the success of the occasion. Other elderly women who arrive earlier at the dancing place welcome women carrying *mikabo* (calabashes) in a rejoicing manner through *mipululu* (ululations). When reaching this place, everybody is expected to take off shoes since all activities at this ritual are carried out barefoot to mark the holiness of the place.

Plate 21



Mr. Mbutjili Clement Jorosi (the retired headmaster of Selibe Phikwe Senior Secondary School) taking part in *wosana* music performance. At the time of this performance, Mr Jorosi was the headmaster of Masunga Senior Secondary School

Photographed by Maggy Tema at the annual Gumbu Rain Praying Ceremony held at Mapoka village in September 1995

Mu thanga (in the dancing arena) it is the *wosana* only who are allowed, whilst the audience surrounds them, to assist with singing and hand clapping. However, nowadays some people just join the *wosana* in dancing as can be seen with Mr. Jorosi in the photo. The rules are more

strict at the Njelele hill at a holy place where only the possessed are allowed to dance. For loud and effective clapping, sometimes *zwikei* (cattle yokes) and *zwingwango* (concussion plaques of iron) are struck together to produce a louder sound. While *wosana* dance rhythmically in turns, in small groups of about five to six, they become thirsty. Water is provided in buckets for them to drink. If they want to drink, they do it from small *ndilo ye lukuni* (wooden basins) constructed from *nthula* (*marula*) tree trunks.

The music sung at this ceremony is not notated but perpetuated through oral tradition. It has cyclical lyrics, which are easily learnt by rote. Some people watching the dancing would throw any amount of money to show *ku fupa* (appreciation).

Plate 22



One of the *wosana* participants picking up the gifts from the audience in the form of money

Photographed by Maggy Tema at the annual *Gumbu* Rain Praying Ceremony held at Mapoka village in September 1995

Day five, which is normally Sunday, is partly spent at the *nzeze* tree and partly at Robert Vumbu Ntoga's home in Ramokgwebana village where the hillock is for the final rain prayers before dismissal. On day six, which is normally a Monday, *wosana* hold their last rain prayers for

the week at this place. The seventh and last day (Tuesday) of these prayers is meant for the *wosana* to disperse and travel back to their homes and villages.

There is yet another date set later for the journey to *Mwali's* bigger hill Njelele in Zimbabwe. The Njelele sacred place is visited in early April for the harvest ceremony.

In most places a similar ritual takes place in thanksgiving after harvest, a very festive occasion, especially if the harvest has been a good one. In some chiefdoms the thanksgiving ceremony occurs only after a particularly good harvest and includes feasting on the meat of oxen killed by the chief for the occasion. At a particularly large festival, people may be asked to brew the sorghum beer in their homes and contribute beer on the day of the festival instead of grain before it.

If the spirit guardians failed to provide a good harvest the previous year, they are not so lavishly honoured and the celebrations cease when the attendants have consumed what little beer they could afford to brew (Bourdillon 1976: 303).

During this ceremony, messengers and *wosana* (adepts) accompanied by other villagers, go to Njelele to make offerings to *Mwali* as thanksgiving for the past harvest. They carry with them small amounts of whatever food they produced in their fields. This entire foodstuff is collected and stored in a public granary at the sacred place for use during ceremonies at the sacred place. Part of the foodstuff is consumed during the harvest ceremony itself. People are not allowed to eat *zhizha* (fresh fruits) from their fields before this ceremony. The trip to Njelele is taken by a special group of selected *wosana* who are normally old members of the sect. These people accompany *Mwali's* messenger, Robert Vumbu Ntogwa. This is the time the *wosana* go to communicate the people's problems, pleas and requests to *Mwali*.

According to Basetse Mamu, virgins accompany the old women. They are sent to move around the village looking for muddy water. When found, this water is put in a small calabash covered with *nzeze* tree

leaves. This is because *nzeze* is used as a flywhisk (*tshoba*) to pray for rain. The calabash with muddy water is brought and broken onto the dancing ground with the belief that people dancing on this ground will make rain fall when returning to their respective villages.

Basetse also explained the music activities taking place at Njelele. The Njelele sacred place is divided into two categories. The first place is called *Ku thanga* (the dancing arena). At this place, *ndazula*, *woso* and *mukomoto* music are performed by all people including *wosana*. *Wosana* music is performed by possessed *wosana* only (*baka sungwa*). The second place is called *Kuno butjiligwa* (hand clapping to show respect area). This place is only attended by *wosana dzaka sungwa* (possessed *wosana* only). Songs sung at this place are called *madumilano* (singing in agreement). In the *madumilano* songs, the lead singer sings different lyrics whereas the respondents' answer is always *iye iye*.

Following the author's interview with Robert Vumbu Ntogwa, who is the present *Mwali's* messenger (priest), these responses were established. It is not everybody from the *wosana* group or Ntogwa's family who receive the vocation of being the people's messenger to *Mwali*. Women are not allowed for several reasons. One of these reasons is that, when a woman gets married, she adopts the husband's surname. This could result in the disappearance of the family name. The other reason is that women are not allowed to go to the hill during days of menstruation. Women are also not allowed to go to the hill when they have small toothless babies since it is believed that they might die. These obstacles could also be detrimental to the female messenger's duties in times of urgency.

Despite Robert Vumbu's description of the succession of the *Mwali* priests, ambiguities in rules and practices of succession have been a factor in the endemic leadership disputes in the religion of *Mwali*. In North Eastern Botswana, the leadership dispute between Vumbu Ntogwa and his sister Galani Ntogwa lasted more than twenty years

(Monyatsi 1984: 28; Mtutuki 1976: 27; and Werbner 1977a: 188 and 1989: 275-9). In the course of this dispute, Galani opened her own rival sacred place in Themashanga village, still in North Eastern Botswana. Leadership disputes are known to have existed at Njelele, Dula, Zhilo and Ntunjambili.

Ku dombo (at the hill), *Mwali's* voice is heard by all *wosana* at the scene. However, it is difficult to understand the message because it sounds like a mixture of three languages: *Ikalanga*, *Tjizezuru* and *Tshivenda*. *Mwali's* messenger is the only person from this group who is able to get the message clearly. All the *wosana* have to face the West, turning their backs to the hill. During their stay there, the group has to visit the hill two times a day, in the mornings and in the evenings before sunset. According to Robert Vumbu Ntogwa, *Mwali's* voice becomes very clear in the mornings. Sunday is a resting day, so nobody goes to the hill. *Wosana* are not allowed to go to the hill when it is cloudy and when there is no moonlight. One big *nkabo* (calabash) full of *Bakalanga* traditional beer has to be taken to the hill for drinking by this group of *wosana*.

6.5 NSI

Nsi is a holy day on which *Bakalanga* should rest and not do any work associated with ploughing or rainfall. This day is also meant to ask for forgiveness from the High-God *Mwali* for whatever wrongs have been done. If a strong wind, lightning or hail occurs in the village, people take it that *Mwali* was checking on his people and no work is done on that day as well. In the past, this was signaled through a *wosana's* drum.

If somebody ploughed during such times, he/she was reported to *Mwali* and made to pay either a black goat or a cow. These black animals are associated with the ancestors. *Mwali* would invite such a person for a warning through the *Bakalanga* messenger. If this person refused, birds or any pests that destroyed all crops would attack his/her field. Other

people in the area would be attacked. *Nsi* is observed either on Wednesday or Friday in different parts of *Bukalanga*.

6.6 SUMMARY

The transcendence and inaccessibility of the High-God obviously necessitates powerful intermediaries between the living and the Supreme Deity. These intermediaries facilitate communion with *Mwali* or are themselves routes of worship, to the High-God himself. The religion's messenger is the main link between the communities in the periphery, the religion's priesthood, and *Mwali* at the oracular religious centres.

The *wosana* is believed to mediate through communion, between mankind and *Mwali*. In so far as the local communities at the periphery are concerned, *Mwali* still lives far away at distant sacred centres. Despite the spatial proximity of the sacred centre, *Mwali* is still removed from local communities and communion with him is through the mediation of sacred-go-between.

The *Bakalanga* of Botswana's first messenger to *Mwali* was Ntogwa Mathafeni Ncube. After his death, his son Vumbu Ntogwa inherited the post of *Mwali's* messenger. Vumbu died and his son Robert Vumbu also inherited the post of *Mwali's* messenger. So, Robert Vumbu is the current *Bakalanga* of Botswana's messenger to *Mwali*. Among the *Mwali* related activities, Robert Vumbu is also responsible for the supervision of the annual seed blessing, praying of rain and the observance of *Nsi*, the holy day for *Bakalanga*.

CHAPTER 7

BAKALANGA MUSIC FOR RITUALS

Bakalanga ritual music can be divided into two types: rain praying and healing music. Rain praying consists of *wosana* and *mayile* music whilst healing music consists of *sangoma*, *mantshomane* and *mazenge*.

7.1 TRADITIONAL MUSIC FOR RAIN PRAYING AND WOSANA INITIATION RITUALS

The following introductory statement was made when the *Ndebele* were following *Kalangas* at the Dokonobe mountains during their fightings:

So then the Ndebele did as they were ordered by their coucillor. But the Kalanga did not at all consider (think of) that what was spoken by the Ndebele. They who held the Gumbu (music calabash), danced for the Gumbu; those who danced for Kodobholi (the giant), being of Kodobholi; those who danced for Datsina were of Datsina. Also they who danced for Ndazula were of Ndazula, or for Hosos, were of Hosos. All names of different kinds of dances (Wentzel 1983a: 265).

Rainmaking rituals in one form or another continue in the present day Botswana, and more particularly among *Bakalanga* in Northern Botswana, under the auspices of *Mwari* religious officials commonly known as the *wosana*. It has to be noted that *wosana* music bears the same name as the functionaries. It appears that *Bakalanga* are not the only people in Botswana who engage themselves in rainmaking rituals. For example, the *Batswapong* of *Moremi* village (*Komana* religion) in the Central District of Botswana continue to observe rainmaking rituals during drought (Amanze 1998:32).

There are mainly two types of *Bakalanga* rain praying music. They are *wosana*, which is performed by men and women. The second type of rain music performed by women only is called *mayile*. In this discussion, these two music types will be treated separately, starting

with *wosana*, which seems to be the most practised. For someone to be a *wosana*, he/she has to undergo an initiation.

7.1.1 WOSANA TRADITION AND INITIATION

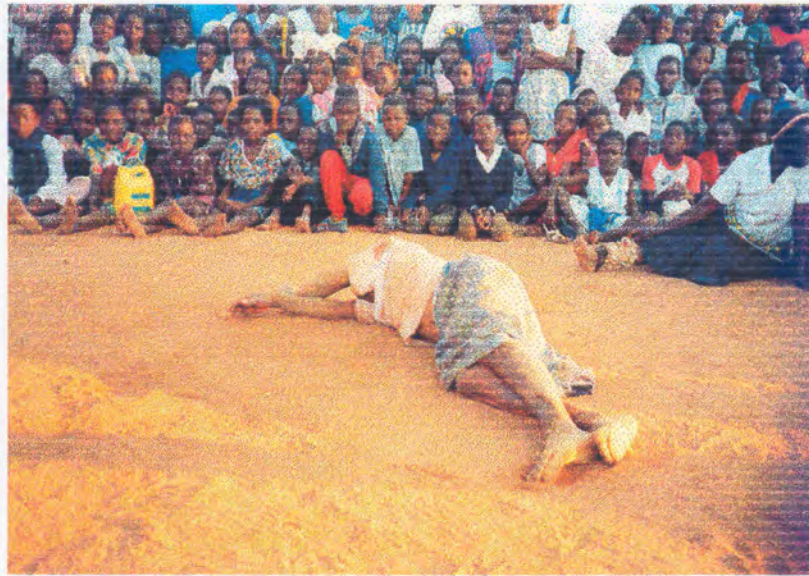
In many of *Mwari*'s districts there are others who are regarded as his special children (*vana va Mwari*). These are *banyusa* and *hosana* who practise at home as opposed to at the Matopos sacred places.

There are various conceptions about the *hosana*. They are described as virgins dedicated to *Mwari*. More commonly, these women and girls are called *bonga* and live at the sacred places in the Matopos, sometimes from as early as birth in response to some covenant of their parents. As virgins they are seen as being married to the god and as such there are strong sanctions against forming sexual liaisons with mortal men. The author finds these *hosana/bonga* similar to the Roman Catholic nuns. Others see *hosana* as local girls or women who display a tendency towards spirit possession. Because of this they are dedicated to *Mwari* and may be sent for a time to one of the sacred places at the Matopos. Here they serve the religion's officials, performing and dancing at ceremonies, cultivating their fields and attending to domestic chores around the village. In return they are helped to identify their host spirits and to develop their perceptual powers and the quality of their performance as mediums. They eventually return to their home districts unless, as occasionally happens, they are selected by male religious officials to remain as wives or associates (or both). There is a contradiction here, as *hosana* are perceived of as taboo to all men, but their entering into sexual union or becoming the wives of religious sacred place leaders is not only accepted, but is perceived as a prestigious and powerful position (Latham 1986: 96).

A *wosana* is *Mwali*'s messenger by initiation. For a *wosana* to be initiated, it is believed that *Mwali* has chosen her/him. In some cases, a *wosana* starts by being thrown on top of a tall tree or a house by *Mwali*

so that people can know her/him. This happens to a *wosana* in a state of total collapse.

Plate 23



One of the newly called *wosana* in total collapse

Photographed by Maggy Tema at the annual *Gumbu* Rain Praying Ceremony held at the Mapoka village *kgotla* in September 1995

This is comparable to *ukuthwasa* in the case of the *sangomas* when a call from the ancestors selects one to his/her state of life to become a medium for the ancestors. A *wosana* is not a diviner or traditional doctor. However, this fact does not rule out the dealings of *wosana* with traditional healers or their use of African traditional medicine. Vumbu Ntogwa, the late priest of Tebgwe sacred place in Ramokgwebane in the North East District of Botswana, in addition to his knowledge of traditional medicine, had such a link with certain traditional healers in the area (e.g. Flaka in a small village of Letsholathebe, Mzingwana: in the fringes of Masunga village and Thubu in Sekakangwe village). These healers, who were acquaintances, had their own respective specialties, and therefore often referred patients to one another. Apart from frequently referring sick people who consulted him to Tebgwe, they also regularly visited the sacred place itself for consultation, thereby establishing a relationship with the priest. Often, sick pilgrims who

visited Tebgwe through other means were referred to these healers by the voice at Tebgwe (Nthoi 1995: 60).

The only power a *wosana* has been given by *Mwali* is to pray for rain to fall, or to stop it. A *wosana* prays for rain to fall through dancing. *Wosana* comes after *Mwali's* messenger (Robert Vumbu the intermediary). A *wosana* also tells people about *Mwali* and teaches them his expectations from them. When a *wosana* grows up, he/she might be deprived of a number of things such as schooling, working, getting married or having children. Some start dancing in their childhood and some are given the exceptional dancing talent later in life.

Before discussing what happens during the whole rain praying process, the author of this document found it necessary to discuss other factors that precede it such as *wosana* initiation, selection of a *wosana*, place and value of place, coolness versus heat, up versus down and the role played by intermediaries.

7.1.1.1 WOSANA (BATHUMBI BE VULA - RAIN SURVEYORS/SEEKERS) INITIATION

Nthoi (1998:64) has noted that *wosana* initiation is the only initiation allowed at Njelele sacred place by the Provincial chiefs. The Provincial chiefs have also argued, following a popular belief, that the sacred place most prominently associated with asking for rain should not be visited by *abantu ba madlozi*, i.e. mediums of ancestral spirits. It is also reported that, in the past, even the initiation of *wosana* was not carried out at Njelele.

However, prior to their visit to Njelele, traditional healers informed these supplicants that their afflictions were the manifestations of their selection as *wosana* by *Mwali*, i.e. they are possessed by *amadlozi e zulu* (rain spirits). They only come to Njelele for this initiation after they have been convinced of, and have accepted, their selection as *wosana*.

There is also the office of *umphehleli* (*Isindebele*) “the one who stirs” (for cult adepts), who is responsible for initiating *wosana*.

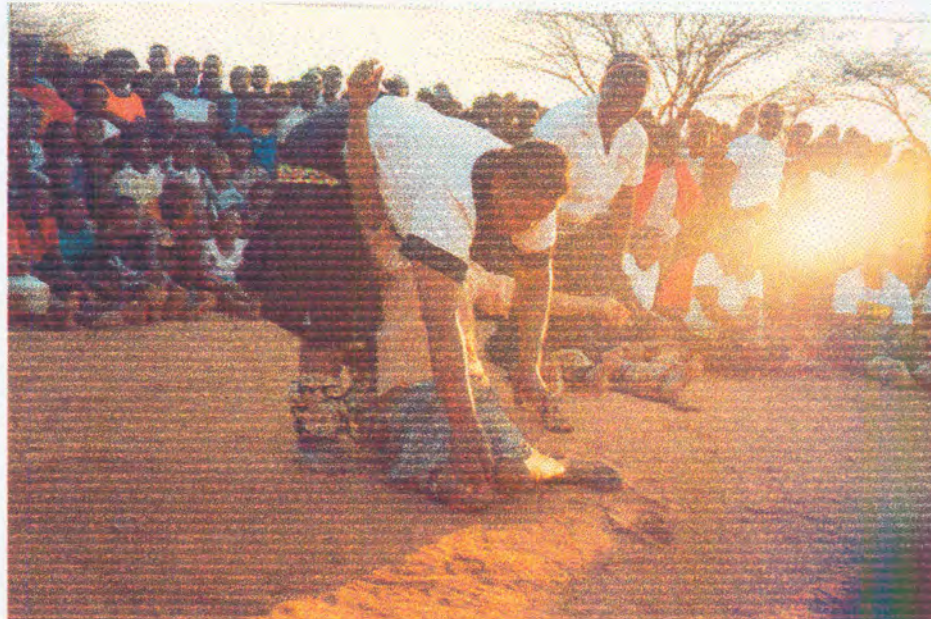
The interpretation of the *wosana* initiation rite is based on personal knowledge of the *wosana*; interviews and discussions with different categories of informants and from reading the literature on the religion. Nthoi’s research conducted on the initiation of the *wosana* at Njelele established that this is a private and secretive ritual to which no stranger was invited. Most of the information Nthoi gathered at Njelele on the initiation of *wosana* was a result of discussions with people who either had some dealings with *wosana* or had witnessed this ritual before.

Religion followers in Northern Botswana hold a conception of a *wosana* and his/her initiation rite, which is different from that of their counterparts elsewhere. Even within Zimbabwe itself, there is no uniform conception of the nature and function of the *wosana*. This very important point must be seriously taken into account in this study.

7.1.1.2 SELECTION OF A WOSANA

The *wosana* initiation rite is the culmination of a whole series of events, which start with the affliction of the individual as a manifestation of his/her selection as *wosana* by some divinity. The religion’s belief is that *Mwali* chooses each adept to succeed a close relative, and makes his choice known through possession after a more or less severe affliction.

Plate 24



Palalani Margaret Ntogwa-Tibone assisting the collapsed *wosana* newly called initiate

Photographed by Maggy Tema at the annual seed blessing ceremony held at the Mapoka village *Kgotla* in September 1995

The symptoms in the roughly sixty cases which Werbner observed and recorded were severe anxiety, persisting headaches, attacks of hysteria, swelling of the elbows and aches all over the body, constant fatigue and weakness, crippling illness, and infertility (Werbner 1977a: 190). This is in contrast to Daneel's view in which the youth is dedicated to *Mwali* because the parent has experienced a special inspiration from *Mwari* himself. Daneel does not tell us whether or not this "inspiration" entails affliction of some sort (Nthoi 1998:75).

According to one of my informants, Basetse Mamu, most female *wosana* have fertility problems as an affliction. As in other cases of selection in other religions, the individual first seeks healing of the affliction in vain, and through some specialists comes to know the meaning of this affliction. In most cases revelation of the meaning of affliction is followed by reluctance to accept the vocation. The deterioration of the

individual's condition, however, makes him/her to accept the call, and undergo the initiation. An initiation is often expressed by the *wosana* in Botswana through singing this *Isindebele* song:

SONG TITLE: NGINGEDWA

Call: *Ngingedwa khona le Njelele ngingedwa 'mamu ya gaula* - I am alone at Njelele, I am alone, mother is suffering (2x)

Response: *Khona le Njelele ngingedwa 'mamu ya gaula* - At Njelele I am alone, mother is suffering (2x)

Call: *Idlozi lakhe khona le Njelele ngingedwa 'mamu ya gaula* - Because of her ancestral spirit I am alone, mother is suffering (2x)

Response: *Khona le Njelele ngingedwa 'mamu ya gaula* - At Njelele I am alone, mother is suffering (2x).

Metaphorically, the *wosana* initiate is expressing maternal love to her mother she left at home. The initiate has a feeling that when she is away from home, her mother is suffering.

The successful performance of the initiation rite establishes a new human/divine relationship which gives the individual a new "personhood"; that of a *wosana* in this case. The *wosana* is associated with a special type of spirit, which derives from *Mwali*. These spirits are manifestations of *Mwali* himself and not of "a lesser or ancestral divinity" (Werbner 1989: 258). This is what makes them "special".

Nthoi (1998: 77) noted during his research that the *wosana* is often a medium of other spirits. More often than not, an individual is frequently the medium of different types of spirits: i.e. *manchomane*, *sangoma* and *wosana*. That is why it becomes difficult to study a particular type of spirit without having to mention others. The *wosana* spirit or *mweya* (*Shona*) (breath or soul) has never lived as a human being, but rather emanates directly from *Mwali*. The *wosana* to whom Nthoi talked, understand their possessing spirit as linking them both to a shade who

was a former medium of this spirit, and to *Mwali* from whom this *wosana* spirit originally emanated. This partly explains why the *wosana* spirit is linked to ancestral spirits.

However, the initiation rite itself does recognise the association between the *wosana* and *Banyantjaba*, the female manifestation of *Mwali*. A woman who has infertility problems can only conceive if she allows herself to become a “stool” of *Banyantjaba*. In other words, she has to surrender herself to *Banyantjaba*, the God of fecundity. The idea of total surrender of oneself, and being completely taken over by the Deity, runs through the *wosana* initiation ritual.

Historically *Mwali* manifested his presence at these sacred places through (although not exclusively) his voice. The very seizure of the *wosana* is another manifestation, as is the *wosana*'s affliction in being thrown from place to place. Other manifestations include harbingers like the little red *Mwali* bug (*ndzimu*); thunder-clap; meteorite and the shooting star; and the light rain when *Mwali* is said to have come “courting” or “visiting” (*Kumba koga - Ikalanga*) (see Daneel 1970; 16 and 18). The presence of the voice, and access to communication with *Mwali*, comes as a consequence of preparations in ritual; in other words, from the making of sacred space. Much has to be done in accord with a ritual division of labour between men and women to make the site ready. Only then does *Mwali* “reside”. The obligation on the people's side, is to make the place fit to receive *Mwali*; and thus “sacred”. Other preparations include clearing the entrance of the sacred place, the placement of logs that open and close the entrance of the sanctuary, and construction of the priest's homestead.

It is at such places that *Mwali* chose and chooses to manifest himself. *Mwali* was believed to be a spirit who is “invisible to the human eye, who sometimes elected to speak from trees, stones and caves”, he is in fact pointing to the immanence and presence of *Mwali* at such places. At any other place, he remains transcendent, and has to be approached

by some other means. *Mwali's* omnipotence and omnipresence, and his concern with the fertility of the land and the general wellbeing of his people, explain why pilgrims visit these sacred places.

7.1.1.3 THE PLACE AND ITS VALUE IN INITIATION

Different rituals are performed at different locations, which are not arbitrarily chosen. Part of the symbolic meaning of a ritual is linked to the locality preferred for the given ritual. Failure to appreciate the value attached to a particular locality may inhibit the understanding of the ritual itself. While certain rituals are performed indoors, others are performed far away from home (sometimes at crossroads or in uninhabited places and mountains). The choice of locality is determined by the people's understanding of the characteristics of the deities involved in such rituals, and what the ritual itself is intended to achieve.

The *wosana* initiation rite is carried out at a special place slightly removed from the homestead, in the open countryside. This is indicative of the variable distance between humanity and different manifestations of divinity. *Mwali* the High-God in one manifestation is removed from the daily lives of the people, yet the female manifestation of *Mwali* attends to the welfare of the people and can be approached for the sake of human fertility. This is why the ritual takes place in the wilds (removed yet near the homestead) and next to a small pool. The small pool is *Banyantjaba* herself who is referred to as *dziba le vula* by *Bakalanga*.

When the ritual specialist and participants approach this pool, they show a deference, which indicates that they are now in the presence of an important Deity. This includes the usual taking off of shoes, the short prayer and the spilling of snuff. The ritual specialist even offers a short prayer to *Mwali* as the pool of water/rain (*Dziba le vula*). He wears a black skirt, which is normally worn by the *wosana* and other religious officials, but not messengers when they enter *Mwali's* sacred

place for supplication or any other performance of ritual. The place where this rite is held is indeed a sanctuary or sacred place of *Mwali* (Nthoi 1998: 78).

7.1.1.4 THE CONCEPTS OF COOLNESS AND HEAT

Underlying the *wosana* initiation ritual is the juxtaposition between the coolness of *Banyantjaba* and the heat of the land. *Uku phehlelwa* (*Isindebele*) takes place at a small pool, very early in the morning, and in the late evening, when the land is cool. In Nthoi's view, *Mwali* and all that is associated with him are considered cool: the cool water of the pool, the *wosana*'s concern with cooling the land and *Mwali*'s rain as cooling the heat of the land. It is also insisted the bowl and bucket for drawing and carrying the ritual water should have had no contact with fire. This further indicates the importance of maintaining coolness and purity in this rite (the coolness of *Banyantjaba*). In everyday life, the pot or calabash is associated with fire and cooking.

A ritual is essentially a transformative experience, which is symbolised by the cooking image in this ritual. The image of the bubbling calabash on the head of the initiate suggests that the *wosana* is being cooked. However, this is a different type of "cooking" (anti-cooking symbolism) without fire because *Mwali* is associated with coolness (Werbner 1989: 312). The white and cold froth that flows from the calabash onto the head and shoulders of the initiate is symbolic of the purity and coolness of *Banyantjaba*. In this rite, therefore, *Banyantjaba* does not only cover (takes over), but also cools the body of the initiate. The cooled *wosana* assumes a new relationship with *Banyantjaba*, having been transformed into a new being (Nthoi 1998: 79).

The symbol of the obliteration of the human/divine divide does not only end here with the froth flowing down the head and shoulders of the initiate. The pot is then placed between the legs of the initiate who is sitting on the ground with legs outstretched in front of him/her.

He/she completes the act of giving him/herself over to the divinity by rubbing the froth on all his/her joints using both hands. In this ritual *Mwali* purifies and takes over the whole body (both exterior and interior) of the initiate. This is achieved by systematically capturing the individual parts of the body: the head, shoulders and all the joints of the initiate's body. On the other hand, the initiate also fully embraces the divinity through the ritual of eating the lather, which he/she has created by stirring the contents of the pot (Nthoi 1998: 80).

The process of *Mwali's* taking over and incorporation of the *wosana* begins with the froth flowing on the head and shoulders of the initiate, the placing of the pot between the legs, and the rubbing of all the joints with the froth. All these are exterior parts of the body. The cleansing, cooling and conversion of the exterior cannot bring about total identification of the initiate and *Mwali*. This must be complemented by an inner transformation, which is achieved through the ingestion of the froth by the initiate. All this symbolism shows that the *wosana* initiation rite enables the development of an intimate human/divine relationship, which facilitates the performance by the initiate of special functions later on in his/her career (Nthoi 1998: 81).

The *wosana* initiate has to abstain from sexual activities (*ukuzila-Isindebele*) prior to and during the whole duration of the rite itself. This restriction is also observed in all other ritual activities in the religion of *Mwali*.

7.1.1.5 THE CONCEPTS OF UP AND DOWN

Mwali is associated with the mountains and high places. The rain that he gives his people, and that cools the land, comes from the sky. The klipspringer, leopard and the genet, which are associated with *Mwali*, are all mountain creatures whose pelts are given as offering to him. The klipspringer in particular, which lives near to *Mwali* on the mountain top, is captured and brought down to the village. It is believed to carry on its body the coolness of the mountain and that of

Mwali down to the people. In the village, it is rubbed with cold hearth ash (that which has had contact with heat and is potentially dangerous), before being returned to the mountain where it is released. On its downward journey, the klipspringer brings coolness from *Mwali* to the people, while it carries the heat of the land to the cold mountains. In the symbol of the klipspringer, we see the up/down contrast clearly. Symbolically, the klipspringer is a *wosana*, and it is referred to as such by the priest. The symbolism of the ritual hunt reveals the symbolic role of the *wosana* (Nthoi 1998: 79).

The up/down contrast is inseparable from the cool/heat dichotomy. During the initiation rite, the ritual specialist places the calabash on the head of the initiate. The initiate supports the calabash with both hands while the ritual specialist vigorously stirs it. The flow of the froth is obviously from top to bottom. The froth cools the initiate as it flows down his/her head and shoulders. The cold calabash is sitting on top of the warm head of the initiate. Through these two pairs of contrasting images of cool/hot and up/down, we understand the initiation rite as a ritual in which the initiate is essentially cooled so that the difference (in terms of temperature) between him/her and the possessing divinity is minimized (Nthoi 1998: 80).

7.1.2 WOSANA MUSIC

Wosana music will be discussed under the following sub-headings: *wosana* songs, *wosana* dancers (performers), *wosana* costume (past and present) and finally instruments.

Wosana songs are sung by a special group of people called *wosana*. According to some informants, individual group members compose *wosana* songs in different ways. Any *wosana*, who is gifted and can think of a tune he/she can sing, dance and teach the group, is free to do so. The writer was made to believe through oral interviews that some members catch the song when sleeping in the form of a dream. Some tunes are copied from other places and relevant lyrics are fitted in.

Tapela Mudongo Mbulawa who was born in Mapoka village in 1939 and who unfortunately passed away in June 2002 stated that *Bakalanga* artists who are concerned about the dying away of their language and culture nowadays compose new *Ikalanga* songs.

Wosana songs are a plea, request and praise to the *Bakalanga* Supreme Deity *Mwali*, who is communicated to and pleased through song and dance. *Wosana* music is sung to ask for rain and good life for the *Bakalanga* people in general. *Wosana* ritual music and dances are performed when rain does not come at the expected time of the year, which in Botswana is usually September to October.

According to Bourdillon's (1976: 301) observation of the *Shona* people in Zimbabwe, the rain praying ceremony is held at the beginning of the wet season to request adequate rains – either too much rain or too little can spoil the crops and lead to famine. Although the time for performing this ceremony may be as early as September or as late as February (the rainy season normally lasts from October to March), some ceremony to request good rains is an annual event throughout most of the *Shona* region. In some places, people may delay organising the ceremony until there is reason for anxiety because the rains are late or sparse, but the early months of the rainy season are always an anxious time and the slightest abnormality in the weather can inspire people to hold the ceremony if it has been omitted earlier in the season.

Wosana songs are also sung to praise the Supreme Deity *Mwali* as a *Bakalanga* traditional thanksgiving or appreciation belief, especially during years of good harvest. *Wosana* have special songs related to thanksgiving such as “*amnandi amabele*”:

SONG TITLE: AMNANDI AMABELE

Call: *Amnandi amabele* – Sorghum is nice/ tasty

Response: *Amnandi* – It is nice/ tasty

Call: *Amnandi siya wa dla* – It is nice/ tasty we are eating it

Response: *Wo wole ha woye amnandi* – *Wo wole* it is tasty

Call: *Amnandi siya wa dla* – It is tasty we are eating it

Response: *Amnandi* – It is tasty.

The sorghum referred to in this song is traditional beer made from sorghum. So this is an *Isindebele* song literally meaning “sorghum is nice or rich/plentiful”: harvest is good. It has to be understood that most of the *wosana* songs are in the *Ikalanga* language. Some are in *Isindebele* which is an intrusive culture to the *Bakalanga* of Botswana from the *Bakalanga* of Western Zimbabwe across the border, who seem to have been acculturated by the *Isindebele* speakers in their country. This acculturation of the *Bakalanga* of Zimbabwe by the *Isindebele* speakers is also expressed by Wentzel (1983c:25) when he was comparing Zimbabwe *Ikalanga* with *Nambdzwa*. He has this to say; This is another dialect (*Nambdzwa*) of *Ikalanga* cluster which is still a “living” language. It is in lesser danger of falling into disuse than perhaps even *Ikalanga* (the speakers of which are inclined to lean towards the use of *Ndebele*).

Some of the *wosana* songs are even a mixture of the two languages, *Ikalanga* and *Isindebele*. This influence comes from Njelele hill in Zimbabwe, which is the headquarters of Botswana *wosana*. This is the talking hill in which *Mwali* is believed to be living. Njelele hill is also known as *Ka Mwali*.

7.1.2.1 WOSANA DANCERS (PERFORMERS)

Wosana music performers, who are named after their music, are believed by *Bakalanga* to have been specially chosen by their Supreme Deity *Mwali*. Except for a few cases, *wosana* normally come from the same families, i.e. descending from adults to the offspring. The example

is that of the Ntogwa family in Ramokgwebana village in North Eastern Botswana.

The majority of *wosana* music performers are usually women and only very few men take part. When the *wosana* start dancing, they all converge in the direction of sunrise towards the three drummers. This symbolises that when they send messages and gifts to the *Bakalanga* Supreme Deity *Mwali*, they do not look elsewhere. They have a particular direction to face at a specified period. During the dancing process, anybody who feels highly entertained from the audience of the non-*wosana*, can throw or place some money on the dancing ground. This is normally done for the dancer whom one feels is the best entertainer. This process is called *ku fupa bazani* (to show appreciation to the dancers) in the *Ikalanga* language.

7.1.2.2 THE WOSANA COSTUME

The manner of costume varies from region to region. The occasion on which the dance is going to be performed also determines the design as well as the colour of the dancer's costumes. For example, professional mourners throughout Africa clothe themselves in black togas. A black band of cloth around the arm or black feathers worn in a tuft on the head is a sign of mourning (Kebede 1982:103).

Wosana costume is elaborate. According to oral sources (informants), in the past, *wosana* used to wear costumes made of wild animal skins, beads and ostrich eggshells. Nowadays the *wosana* costume has changed because of the newly enforced wildlife laws concerning protection and conservation of wild animals. According to one informant, Mbako Mongwa, the *wosana zwitimbi* (beads) were locally made out of ostrich eggshells. After the arrival of the Portuguese and Arabs, *zwitimbi* (beads) were bought from *Kilimani* (Mozambique). Van Waarden (1999: 5) also confirms this fact in her research about the origins of the *Bakalanga*.

Besides being used by *wosana* dancers to revere *badzimu* (ancestors) who are believed to have invited the *wosana* into the profession, *zwitimbi* (beads) can also be used to ornament *malombe* (praise-singers) and small children's hips. In the past, *zwitimbi* (beads) were placed around the breasts of virgins. These had a special name known as *mammani* in the *Ikalanga* language. *Mammani* beads were not supposed to be touched by boys without an intention of getting married to that particular maiden who is wearing them. *Bakalanga* maidens had a cultural right of not taking the *mammani* back anymore if a boy forcibly touched them without aiming at marrying her. Touching *mammani* beads on the body of a maiden was equated to the proposal of marriage.

Wosana costume is basically the same for men and women. During their rain praying rituals, the *wosana* could be singled out from the whole audience by black skirts with black cloths covering their heads before dancing commences. *Wosana* also put on *zwitimbi* (beads) for decorations on the head and hips, and percussive *mishwayo* (leg rattles) made of the *zwigogoro zwe mababani* - plural (cocoons) of a certain inedible type of *mopane* worm called *babani* - singular. These worms are associated with the *mopane* tree because they feed on its leaves. A few small stones are placed inside these cocoons for them to produce a highly percussive sound. A great number of them are threaded together and wrapped around the dancer's ankles. The rhythms produced amplify the dance rhythm. Inter-rhythm improvised rhythms may emerge when a virtuoso dancer executes rapid stamping movements, interwoven with the basic rhythm of a dance in inter-rhythmic patterns.

7.1.2.3 WOSANA DANCE ACCESSORIES

Wosana use a good number of accessories in performing their music. The *phende* (flywhisk) is made from any of the following available animal tails: *mbizi ye shango* (zebra), *n'gombe* (cow), *pkhwizha* (eland) and *vumba* (wildebeest/gnu or hartebeest). The zebra tail is mostly preferred because it is big and well decorated to attract the audience.

The zebra is also regarded as a fast and rare animal. This tail, compared to the other two, satisfies the whole purpose of a *phende* (flywhisk) in the dance, which is to be decorative and to attract the audience.

In their dance, *wosana* also use three drums of different sizes (*tjamabhika*, *shangana ne shumba* and *dukunu*). The *wosana* drums are made from two different trees of light wood. These trees are *nlidza dumba/mpiti* (*erythrina abyssinica*), *ngoma* (*schinziophyton rantanellii*) and in some cases *nthula* (*marula - sclerocarya caffra*). These light drums enable performers to carry them around with ease.

7.1.2.4 WOSANA MUSIC PERFORMED DURING FESTIVALS

The North East District Council of Botswana, which mainly constitutes *Bakalanga*, hosts a cultural festival normally held on the 21st of May annually. The event is called *Ngwao Boswa* in the *Setswana* language, literally meaning "culture is heritage". This event is organised by the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs through the Department of Culture and Youth. Before this department took responsibility, these activities were organised by the Department of Community Development and Social Welfare.

The *tjilenje* (*Ngwao Boswa*) cultural festival is composed of any *Ikalanga* singing groups from all over North East and Central Districts. All kinds of *Bakalanga* community and school cultural groups are allowed to attend this festival. Schools hold their own cultural festivals at different times and venues. They are sometimes invited to the adults' performances as entertainers during short breaks.

Plate 25



Jakalasi No. 2 Primary school practising *wosana* dance with Basetse shooting her toy gun on the extreme right and the researcher clapping on the extreme left

Photographed by Moleti Seleti with the author on a field trip at Jakalasi No.2 Primary school in May 2001

Ritual music such as *wosana*, *mayile* and *sangoma* serves a different purpose in these festivals. They are meant to entertain people and promote/preserve the *Bakalanga* culture.

Bakalanga cultural competitions also have cultural dishes (food) for competitions. These cultural dishes are aimed at teaching the youth about how they were prepared, who they were prepared for as well as the nutritional value they provide. Some of *Bakalanga* traditional food the researcher observed at Tshesebe village in the 2000 competitions was:

Shadza le zembwe – Porridge prepared from millet

Shadza le mathunde – Porridge prepared from sorghum

Shogwana – Porridge prepared from refined millet grains

Tjimone – A mixture of samp, beans and ground nuts

Tjimone tje mathunde matjena – A mixture of sorghum mealie meal, beans and ground nuts

Kendenge – No English equivalent name

Dhitima - Pumpkin

Bhobola – Pumpkin leaves

Delele - Okra

Manongo - Peanuts

Dobi – Meat cooked with ground peanuts

Mashonja – Mopane worms.

Groups of other cultural backgrounds from any part of the country are welcome to perform in these festivals, mainly for cultural exchange. The most popular group that attends this festival from outside North East District and the *Bakalanga* culture is called *Dipitse tsa Bobonong*, literally meaning “horses of *Bobonong*”. This group comes from *Bobonong* village in the Central District and it is a non-*Ikalanga* speaking group. Their costume resembles the colours of a zebra.

It has to be noted that this annual cultural festival gives all performing groups an opportunity of practising and presenting each other’s music types outside the ritual concept. This also helps in the cultural and musical cross-fertilization as well as preservation from one group to the other. It becomes very interesting, for example, to see a *wosana* dancing a different music type such as *sangoma* or *mukomoto* and vice versa. The author finds this interesting because *sangoma* and *wosana* music belong to different rituals that are not related. *Wosana* is for rain praying whereas *sangoma* is for healing so one would not think these

two different groups would be interested in each other's music. This shows a sense of musical appreciation among these cultures.

BASIC WOSANA THEMES

Drums, pulse and embellishment

Claps (phrasing referent)

Arms

Torso

Feet (shuffled in continuous quavers)

R L R

R: right foot
L: left foot

(Density referent 12 x)

The *wosana* drums are sometimes used as speech surrogates to the *Bakalanga* Supreme Deity. Their language is centred on the rain *wosana* are praying for. According to Ms. L. L. Tshandu of Moroka village, a primary school teacher at Jakalasi No. 1, the following messages are conveyed by *wosana* drums in the form of drum sounds:

DRUM 1 (*tjamabhika*)

This drum produces the lowest pitch.

The message communicated is:

Zwitimbi, Zwitimbi

Beads, Beads.

DRUM 2 (*shangana ne shumba*)

This is the middle pitched drum.

The message communicated is:

Matshime, Matshime

Water fountains, Water fountains.

DRUM 3 (*dukunu*)

This drum produces the highest pitch of the three.

The message it is said to be delivering is:

Vula, Vula

Rain/Water, Rain/Water.

Hand clapping is regarded as a body percussive accompaniment that helps to bring out the simultaneous rhythms of *wosana* music. The singing, which is carried out by both performers, is another instrument of paramount importance in *wosana* music.

In some cases, the main dancers in *wosana* music dance with a *ludozo* (*Ikalanga* word for a walking stick). In other instances, some *wosana* dancers use a gun-like stick. Both types of sticks are acceptable and simply meant to decorate the dance.

Adepts pray and chant laments to *Mwali* and sing of oracles and famous adepts of the past and present. They mime things and memorize events of broad significance to every congregation in the cult's domain. They dance with a stick or a wildebeest tail in a sacred place's clearing or ring, sometimes imitating a fatted cow, an eagle, a game animal or horse, an elder bent with age, a marksman or hunter with a gun, a soldier on military drill with a rifle, or an afflicted victim (Werbner 1977a: 189).

7.1.3 *MAYILE* (CIRCLE DANCE) RITUAL MUSIC

Mayile is the second type of rain praying music. Only women perform this music. Unlike *wosana* music, which is performed by *wosana* dancers only, *mayile* accepts any woman who feels like joining the dance.

Mayile performers sing and dance, running and clapping in a circulating manner. The Botswana Society (1991:100) calls *mayile* a passing dance because one woman approaches the opposite and passes her moving round in a circular form. Whilst running, hand clapping and singing, the performers also criss-cross in turns around this circle. This criss-crossing style is said to be imitative of some birds associated with rain such as *njelele* (eagle), *nyenje* (white stork), *makololwani* (stork birds) and *nyenganyenga* (swallows). These birds are seen around the rainy season. The picture below visually explains *mayile* dance.

Plate 26



Mulambakwena village Cultural Group performing *mayile* dance

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at The North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival held at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

Unlike *wosana* music where nobody is allowed in the dancing circle, in *mayile*, *wosana* are allowed to join. However, men and young children, both boys and girls, are not allowed in the dancing ground. They can only be spectators. The *Mayile* rain-praying dance normally takes place at the local village chief's court called *lubazhe gwa she/khuta*. Sometimes this dance takes place at the *nzeze* (*peltophorum africanum*) tree where the *wosana* normally perform their dance.


Mayile songs are short and repeated. The singers are divided into two groups of call and response. Hand clapping results in a communion pattern because of these two groups that clap interchangeably.

According to Waters (2000:32), traditionally women would perform the rainmaking songs called *mayile*. In these songs, the words are not important; the hand-clapping and dancing are the primary focus. In fact, words can be added or dropped at the discretion of the performers. Despite the fact that *wosana* music is performed by men and women, *mayile* by women only, these two music types finally converge by serving the same purpose of rain praying.

BASIC MAYILE THEMES

The musical score consists of six staves, each with a 12/8 time signature. The staves are labeled as follows:

- Drums 1:** A series of eighth notes.
- Drums 2 (Pulse and embellishment):** A series of eighth notes with some accents.
- Drums 3:** A series of eighth notes with some accents.
- Claps in communion: Part 1 (as performed) Part 2:** A series of eighth notes with some accents.
- Perceived claps:** A series of eighth notes.
- Dance:** A series of eighth notes.

At the bottom of the score, there is a density referent: (Density referent 12 x ) followed by a sequence of 12 eighth notes.

7.2 TRADITIONAL MUSIC FOR HEALING PURPOSES

Bakalanga traditional music for healing purposes is of three types: *mazenge (shumba)*, *sangoma* and *mantshomane/mancomane*. *Sangoma* and *mantshomane/mancomane* music types are intrusive cultures to *Bakalanga*, but have been adapted to form part of the culture from the neighbouring *Amandebele* in Zimbabwe.

7.2.1 MAZENGE MUSIC

This is music performed by ladies who have been confirmed to be *shumba*, literally meaning lion. These ladies are believed in the *Bakalanga* culture to have powers of communicating with the ancestors for healing sick people. *Mazenge (shumba)* music is performed by chosen old women to appease the ancestors to heal the sick person.

Children are allowed to attend *mazenge* rituals. However, they are cautioned not to sing *mazenge* ritual songs out of the ritual place. Children strictly adhere to this because it is believed that when *mazenge* songs are sung outside the ritual place the sick person (*zenge*) who is under treatment during this ritual can die. It is also believed that after dying this person's corpse is eaten by termites and turns into an ant hill.

During *mazenge* rituals, all participants eat cooked *Bakalanga* traditional food known as *makapugwa* (*gapu*) only. *Makapugwa* is a *Bakalanga* traditional dish which is preferably a mixture of samp, beans (*shanga*) and bean leaves cooked in crushed ground nuts (*nlibo we nyemba waka khabutegwa*). This dish is eaten from a *Bakalanga* traditional mud pot called *tjilongo*.

Mazenge (*shumba*) music is private and personal, and has great emotional appeal - it can make people cry. It is usually sung at night to a select audience in the singer's hut. It is believed that when this music is performed, the sick person normally gets healed.

7.2.2 SANGOMA MUSIC

The *sangoma* religion is today found all over Southern Africa, mainly among the *Nguni* people (*Zulu*, *Swati*), although occurrence of this religion has been reported as far as Tanzania. In Zimbabwe it is common among the *Amandebele* and *Bakalanga*. Other people who have links with either the *Amandebele* or *Nguni* are known to belong to this religion of affliction (Nthoi 1995: 49). Oosthuizen has noted that:

The *sangoma* emerges as a person, usually a woman, who is called to the profession by her ancestors rather than by inheriting it. Dance, symbolic garb and ritual are vital and divination forms an essential part of the *isangomas* practice (Oosthuizen 1986: 97).

The possessing spirit normally manifests itself through affliction; mainly through protracted illness: e.g. dizziness, stomach problems and

headache. A traditional healer/diviner called in to determine the cause of the illness attributes affliction to the desire of a particular *idlozi* (*Isindebele*) “spirit” to possess the afflicted individual. Eventually the afflicted accepts his/her calling and is attached to a renowned specialist (usually *sangoma* far away from the novice’s home) for *ukutwasa* (*Isindebele*) “initiation”. The initiation often takes a period no less than a year. The *sangoma* (*amatwasa*) novices, who undergo a year long initiation, also abstain from sex for the whole duration of their initiation rite (Nthoi 1998: 87).

During, and certainly before the successful completion of the initiation, *ilitwasa* (*Isindebele*) “the novice” is expected to fall into a trance, during which the *sangoma* spirit reveals its identity and the geneological link between its former medium and the present one (Nthoi 1995: 50).

Besides that, they would opt for a family traditional doctor called *bango* (log). *Bakalanga* of Botswana are not fond of *Izangoma* because they are believed to be an intrusive culture from the *Amandebele* or *Mapothoko* as they are commonly called. The name *Mapothoko* is a gossip term that was devised during the Nguni raids among *Bakalanga*. The name *Amandebele* was avoided because they could be alert that the discussion was about them. These people come from across the Botswana border in Western Zimbabwe. *Sangoma* songs are believed to belong to *Isindebele* speakers, which is why they are sung in *Isindebele*, which is their language. One can also conclude that the *Bakalanga* of Zimbabwe have nonetheless accepted wider the *Amandebele* tribal identity.

Plate 27

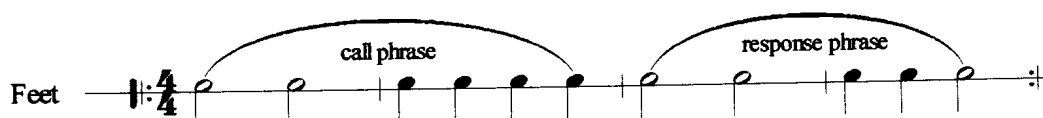


Basadi Ndoda of Ditladi village performing *sangoma* dance

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at The North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival held at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

Both men and women perform *sangoma* music. Despite this fact, most of the *Izangoma* found in *Bukalanga* are women. These *Izangoma* attend to sick people through singing, asking for the healing power from the ancestors as well. It is through these songs that these *Izangoma* (traditional healers/diviners) have special powers to identify the source of misfortunes, diseases and other negative things afflicting an individual. According to one of my informants, Mr. Mbulawa, in the past, when the *Izangoma* visited a certain family to heal someone, anybody sick from the neighbourhood was allowed to attend for free treatment. There is singing, hand clapping, drumming and dancing in *sangoma* music. In most cases, the *Izangoma* in Botswana do not use drums, for reasons to which the author has not been alerted. However,

SANGOMA (SEE VIDEO – SONG 2.1.2)



7.2.3 MANTSHOMANE/MANCOMANE (MASHABI) MUSIC

Bakalanga practise *mantshomane* traditional dancing. When interviewed, they explained it was an intrusive culture from the Zimbabwean *Amandebele*. The *Bakalanga mantshomane* dance is not very different from that of the *sangomas*. The dressing is almost the same throughout, marked by *tshala/ndlukula* (ostrich feathers) on the forehead and a python vertebra crossing each shoulder down the waist. According to the *Bakalanga mantshomane* dancers, this type of music serves the same purpose of healing as that of the *Izangoma*. The *Bakalanga mantshomane* dance uses three drums like most of the dances in this tradition.

Plate 28



Basetse Mamu and the Jakalasi No. 2 Group Performing *Mantshomane* dance

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at The North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival held at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

In actual fact, *mantshomane* is originally a *Tsonga* dance, which is used in the exorcism of the evil spirits, which are believed to “possess” certain of the *Tsonga* from time to time. The *woso* (*ndjele* - *Tsonga*) is used, with *mantshomane* drum, in the exorcism of evil spirits that are supposed to inflict certain unfortunate individuals.

BASIC MANTSHOMANE THEMES

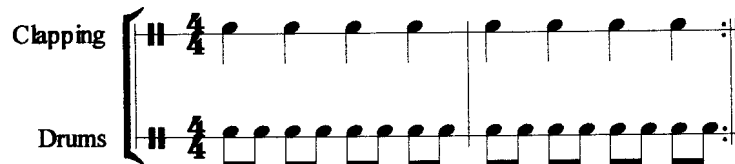
(Density referent 4 x)

MANTSHOMANE (SEE VIDEO - SONG 2.2.1)

MANTSHOMANE (SEE VIDEO - SONG 2.2.2)

MANTSHOMANE (SEE VIDEO - SONG 2.2.3)

MANTSHOMANE (SEE VIDEO – SONG 2.2.4)



7.3 SUMMARY

There are two types of *Bakalanga* ritual music: rain praying music and music for healing purposes. Rain praying music consists of *wosana* and *mayile* music, whilst healing music consists of *sangoma*, *mantshomane* and *mazenge*.

Rain praying music is prospering under the performance of the *Mwali* religious officials known as the *wosana*. *Wosana* music is performed by men and women, whilst *mayile* is performed by women only.

A *wosana* becomes *Mwali's* messenger through initiation. For a *wosana* to be initiated, it is believed that *Mwali* has chosen him/her. *Wosana* initiation is the only initiation allowed at the Njelele sacred place. Nthoi's research conducted on the initiation of the *wosana* at Njelele established that this is a private and secretive ritual to which no stranger is invited. The *wosana* initiation rite is the culmination of a whole series of events, which start with the affliction of the individual as a manifestation of his/her selection as a *wosana*. The initiation rite itself recognises the association between the *wosana* and *Banyantjaba*, the female manifestation of *Mwali*.

Different rituals are performed at different locations, which are not arbitrarily chosen. Failure to appreciate the value attached to a particular locality may inhibit the understanding of the ritual itself. The *wosana* initiation rite is carried out at a special place, slightly removed from the homestead, in the open countryside.

Underlying the *wosana* initiation ritual is the juxtaposition between the coolness of *Banyantjaba* and the heat of the land. It is also insisted that the bowl and bucket for drawing and carrying the ritual water should have had no contact with fire. In this rite, therefore, *Banyantjaba* does not only cover (takes over), but also cools the body of the initiate.

Mwali is associated with the mountains and high places. The rain that he gives his people, and that cools the land, comes from the sky.

This chapter also covers *wosana* music under the sub-headings of *wosana* songs, *wosana* dancers (performers), *wosana* costume (past and present) and instruments. Traditional music for healing purposes is discussed under the three sub-headings of *mazenge*, *sangoma* and *mantshomane*.

CHAPTER 8

BAKALANGA MUSIC FOR ENTERTAINMENT

Bakalanga entertainment music is as follows: *ndazula*, *mukomoto*, *woso*, *iperu*, *tjikitja/tshikitsha*, *bhoro* and *ncuzu*.

8.1 TRADITIONAL MUSIC FOR HAPPY OCCASIONS AND ENTERTAINMENT

There are seven main types of *Bakalanga* happy occasion and entertainment music: *ndazula*, *mukomoto*, *woso*, *iperu*, *tjikitja/tshikitsha*, *bhoro* and *ncuzu*. Men and women perform *ndazula*, *mukomoto*, *woso*, *tjikitja/tshikitsha*, *bhoro* and *ncuzu*. *Iperu* is only meant to be performed by young men and women. Nowadays, since boys and girls lack interest in traditional music, *Bakalanga* elderly women perform *iperu* to preserve culture.

While both men and women sing, another vocal style, called *pululudza* (ululate), is exclusively the province of women. It is an expression of approval or encouragement for all the performers and it adds to the excitement of the music. In response to the ululation, participants put more of themselves into whatever part they are playing in the total music event. The counterpart of ululation for men, a powerful, rhythmic dental whistle called *nlidzo*, is also heard periodically throughout the music.

8.1.1 NDAZULA MUSIC

Ndazula music is normally performed when there is good harvest. This is happy music also performed on occasions such as *bukwe* (engagements), *ndobolo* (marriages), *ndale* (beer drinking sessions) and other feasts that are meant to praise the *Bakalanga* people. The most effective occasion on which *ndazula* music is performed is after a good harvest.

In the past there was a short growing crop called *lukwezha* (finger millet) in the *Ikalanga* language, specially grown for traditional beer brewing. When there was a good harvest, *ndale* (traditional beer) would be brewed from the *lukwezha* crop. The purpose of this was for elderly people to rejoice and show appreciation to the ancestors for this good harvest. During the day, these people would be drinking traditional beer without much singing. *Ndazula* songs were meant to be sung after supper. This was done at this time to allow children to go to bed so that adults could sing these songs, some of which are metaphorically vulgar, with freedom. It is permissible to sing abusive songs about named members of the group, whose conduct is deemed unsatisfactory.

These songs also have a high degree of sexual jargon referring to both men and women. This jargon does not imply that there is a fight or some form of misunderstanding. This is carried out in a happy, descriptive, provocative mood between men and women. None of the two parties would be offended since they know the intention of the songs. It is from these types of musical sessions that creative singers and dancers would be identified.

Ndazula songs also carry important messages in addition to the vulgar jargon. When *ndale* (traditional beer) was tasty, *ndazula* songs were performed to express happiness and appreciation to the brewer who is always a woman. In the *Ikalanga* culture, traditional beer brewing is a woman's job.

8.1.1.1 NDAZULA DANCERS (PERFORMERS)

Despite the fact that men and women perform *ndazula* songs, it is evident that men take the lead. Women mostly do drumming and hand clapping. Men, depicting what wealth they have, especially cattle, would perform some songs. This would be demonstrated by shaping cattle horns through hand movements. In cases where a cow was slaughtered, real horns were used for *ndazula* dance as demonstrated below.

Plate 29



Botlhe Madala of Mulambakwena performing *ndazula* dance

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at The North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival held at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

Because *ndazula* music is initiated by beer drinking sessions, there is no special costume for it. Anybody can appear the way they came dressed from their homes in their normal clothes. In most cases, it becomes interesting when men are putting on their boots. The excitement arises when they jump up and strike their boots together, imitating *ncuzu* dancers.

Ndazula singing involves a limited number of instruments. It has two drums of different sizes and pitch (*matumba mabili a singa lizane*), *woso* (hand rattles) and *pemba* (referees whistle) that acts as an accompaniment. The two drums are beaten at a slow speed to

determine the tempo of *ndazula* music. In situations where drums are not available, improvised materials such as tins are beaten on.

8.1.1.2 THE ADVERSE EFFECT OF DROUGHT AND TECHNOLOGY MECHANISATION ON *NDAZULA* MUSIC PERFORMANCE

Lukwezha (finger millet) has been gradually replaced by sorghum for traditional beer brewing. Nowadays African traditional beer is mostly brewed from sorghum. Ladies no longer have an opportunity of enjoying pounding of *lukwezha* or sorghum accompanied by rhythmic singing as it used to be in the past. Grinding machines have taken over this activity.

Drought that continued for years in Botswana also had a negative effect on traditional beer brewing. People do not produce enough crops to brew traditional beer. As a result, modern breweries have taken over the task of traditional beer brewing. Nowadays, people go to *chibuku* depots to buy this traditional beer. In the past, they used to drink at their homes, brewing beer in family turns. In these drinking sessions, people used to sing and rejoice together. Apparently, stereos and jukeboxes have replaced this singing.

Plate 30



Mr. Maphane Mukhopo with a box of *chibuku* beer in his hand

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at The North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival held at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

While other people enjoyed *Ikalanga* traditional beer supplied by the North East district Council Cultural Festival at Nlapkhwane village in 2001, Mr. Maphane Mukhopo was drinking his *chibuku* bought from a nearby depot, as can be seen in the above photograph.

At the modern *chibuku* depots, people have very little or no opportunity to sing traditional songs. *Chibuku* beer is expensive for the villagers who are mostly unemployed. So, it is not easy for one to get drunk and be merry to dance *ndazula* as it used to be in the past. It should also be noted that when elderly people are drunk and happy, they perform *ndazula* songs.

BASIC NDAZULA THEMES

Drums $\frac{4}{4}$

Drums $\frac{4}{4}$

Drums (on viewer's right) $\frac{4}{4}$

Drumming with embellishment $\frac{4}{4}$

Claps (phrasing referent) $\frac{4}{4}$

Other claps $\frac{4}{4}$

(Density referent 4 x)

8.1.2 MUKOMOTO MUSIC

Mukomoto is a happy type of music performed by men and women during occasions such as *bukwe* (engagements), *ndobolo* (marriages) and other feasts. This music is used for entertainment and most of the performers are women. *Mukomoto* music can also be used as a source of entertainment at beer drinking sessions. Other happy feasts that

mukomoto music is usually used at, are those of *Bakalanga* praises. *Mukomoto* is a fast type of music, comparable to *wosana* in speed.

Men and women perform *mukomoto* music. Normally men become very reluctant and women dominate the dancing. The costume for *mukomoto* music has no specific restrictions. The concerned dancers agree upon clothes. *Mukomoto* performers also put on *mishwayo* (a type of leg rattles).

Plate 31



Ndziili Ntogwa of Ramokgwebana Performing *mukomoto* dance

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at the North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

The performers of *mukomoto* use three drums of different sizes. In cases where performers run short of drums, two are acceptable even though the effect would not be the same. *Mishwayo* (leg rattles) and *pemba*

(referees whistle) are also used as rhythmic accompaniments for *mukomoto* music. The dancer, who is also the lead singer for that particular song, blows the whistle.

BASIC MUKOMOTO THEMES

The image displays five staves of musical notation for Mukomoto themes, all in 4/4 time. The staves are labeled as follows:

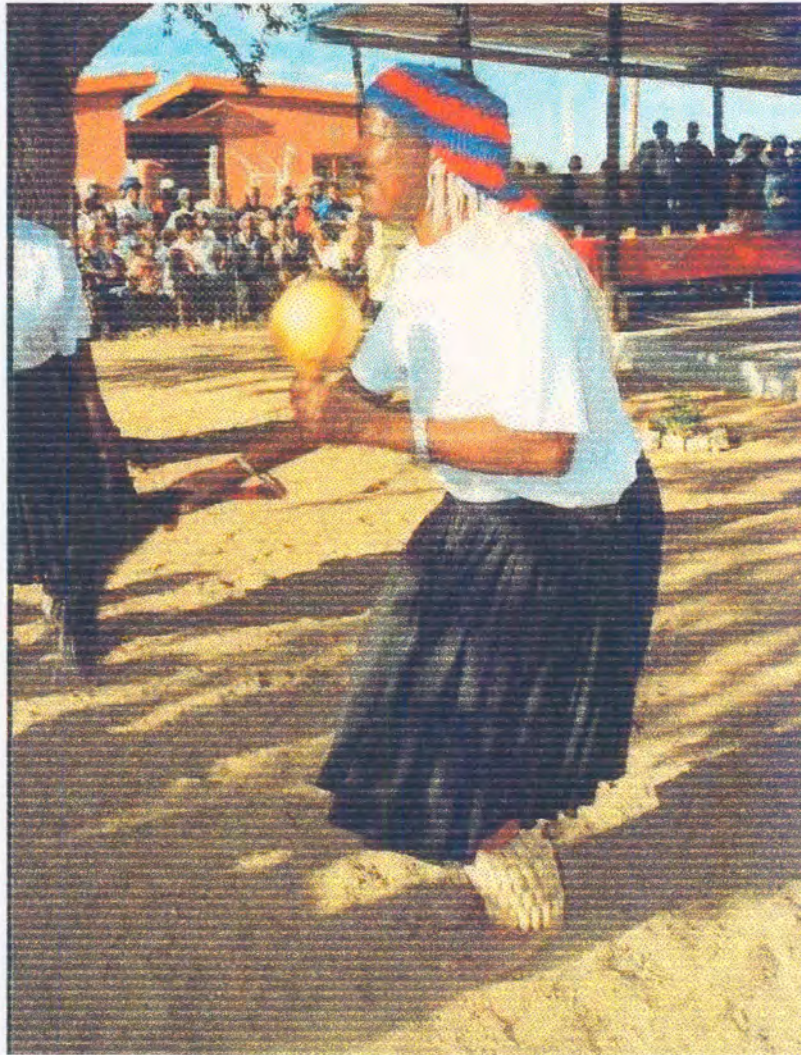
- Drums:** A series of quarter notes with stems pointing down, grouped in pairs by horizontal lines.
- Claps (Phrasing referent):** A series of quarter notes with stems pointing up.
- Dancing and rattles:** A series of quarter notes with stems pointing down, some with a small 'v' shape above the stem.
- Foot patterns:** A series of quarter notes with stems pointing down, grouped in pairs by horizontal lines.
- Rattle patterns:** A series of quarter notes with stems pointing down, grouped in pairs by horizontal lines.

Below the staves, the text "(Density referent 4 x p)" is written, followed by four eighth notes.

8.1.3 WOSO MUSIC

This music is meant to entertain people in happy occasions such as *bukwe* (engagements), *ndobolo* (marriages) and *ndale* (beer drinking sessions). *Woso* music is sometimes played to entertain people at *wosana* ritual dances. *Malombe* - plural/*lombe* for one (praise-singers) who are *woso*, sometimes lead *wosana*-dancing groups when they enter the dancing ground. These dancers also entertain the audience when *wosana* have their resting breaks.

Plate 32



Makwala Stanley Seleka of Letsholathebe performing *woso* dance

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at The North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival held at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

The main dancers of *woso* music are men with their hand-held rattles, also called *woso*. This rattle is traditionally made of a hollowed gourd with hard seeds or stones inside. It is sometimes called *lende*. Women are occupied with drum beating, hand clapping, singing and ululating. There are three drums of different sizes and pitch in *woso* music. Leg rattles are another percussive instrument used. The concerned singers decide upon *woso* music uniform. In *woso* music, the lead singer would be creative and just sing about what is happening in that area.

It is true with *woso* that, in traditional songs, the words seem to take precedence over the tune. The good lead singer is the one who does not have to repeat words he/she has already sung. Instead, he goes on improvising new words, which closely fit the pattern of the singing and also make musical sense. Because of this practice, the melodic line does not receive the attention it deserves, and very often the same type of short phrases are repeated time after time, without the melody developing any further.

BASIC WOSO THEMES

Drums as played (Motor pattern)

Drums as heard/perceived (Theme)

Perceivable drum pulse

Clap patterns same as Wosana

Clap pattern embellished Peak of music

Woso (Hand rattle)

(Density referent 12 x )

8.1.4 IPERU MUSIC

Iperu music is meant for entertainment on occasions such as *bukwe* (engagements), *ndobolo* (marriages) and *ndale* (beer drinking sessions). There is drumming, hand clapping, singing and dancing in *iperu* music.

The main aim of iperu music is young men and women's evening games in the moonlight. "As a social activity, dance brings men and women of marriageable age together" (Kebede 1982:102). Young people perform this music after finishing the household chores such as cooking and dish washing. These teenagers meet at their chosen playing area from different families. They make two lines, one for boys and the other one for girls. These two groups face each other to start playing and singing. The leading young woman sings and blows a whistle while the rest respond. Young men answer by producing frog-like sounds or overtones. These two groups sing, provoking each other. In most cases young men and young women from these groups ended up getting married. Since young men and women nowadays lack interest in performing *iperu* music, old ladies have taken over the event to preserve the *Ikalanga* culture as can be seen below

Plate 33



Mapoka village *tjilenje* group performing *iperu* dance.

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at The North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival held at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

Here is an example of their song:

SONG TITLE: TJIBHAKE

Call: *Wa tola uwe nga tole wole* -- The one who takes his/hers should take

Response: *Tibone wa tola* – For us to see who has taken

Call: *Wa tola hema towo seka* – If you take a fool we will laugh

Response: *Tibone wa tola* – For us to see who has taken

Call: *Wa tola gamu tjilengwe* – The one who takes a relative is a fool

Response: *Tibone wa tola* – For us to see who has taken

Call: *Wa tola hema towo seka* – If you take a fool we will laugh

Response: *Tibone wa tola* – For us to see who has taken

Call: *Wa tola gamu tjilengwe* – The one who has taken a relative is stupid

Response: *Tibone wa tola* – For us to see who has taken

Call: *Tjibhako* – Snuff container!

Response: *Tjawila mu jokotjoko* – It has fallen into the bush

Call: *Tjibhako!* – Snuff container

Response: *Tjawila mu jokotjoko* – It has fallen into the bush

Call: *Tjibhako* – Snuff container!

Response: *Tjawila mu jokotjoko* – It has fallen into the bush

Call: *Tjibhako* – Snuff container!

Response: *Tjawila mu jokotjoko* – It (snuff container) has fallen into the bush

Call: *Tjibhako tjangu banana* – My snuff container oh girls!

Response: *Tjawila mu jokotjoko baisana tja wila mu jokotjoko* – It has fallen into the bush boys it has fallen into the bush

Call: *Tjibhako tjangu banana* – My snuff container oh girls!

Response: *Tjawila mu jokotjoko baisana tjawila mu jokotjoko* – It has fallen into the bush it has fallen in the bush

Call: *Tjibhako tjangu banana* – My snuff container oh girls

Response: *Tjawila mu jokotjoko baisana tjawila mu jokotjoko* – It has fallen into the bush boys it has fallen in the bush

Call: *Mu jokotjoko baisana* – In the bush boys

Response: *Tjawila mu jokotjoko baisana tja wila mu jokotjoko* – It has fallen into the bush boys it has fallen in the bush

Call & Response: *Tjawila mu jokotjoko* – It has fallen in the bush.

Iperu is similar to a *Xhosa* dance called *intlombe*. *Intlombe* dance-songs are meant for marriageable young men and women. These dance songs show the change in attitude, for these are young adults of marriageable age. The two-part structure is still discernible, but the style of movement is different. The men keep their feet fairly close together, lifting their heels, using their knees to feel every nuance of rhythm. The young women remain on the outside of the circle, the young men inside (Honore 1988: 14-21).

Blacking in Malan (1982:460-461) has this to say about the *Venda* people music, which is also similar to *iperu*. On moonlight nights during autumn and winter, and especially during “the time of staying home” (*madzula-haya*), unmarried people of both sexes come together to dance

on an open piece of ground. The dances are known by different names, according to the areas in which they are performed. They may be called *dzhombo*, *nzekenzeke*, *tshinzerere* or *tshifase* (a *Tsonga* word). It is surprising that they are most popular in areas where *Tsonga* live amongst the *Venda*, because the *Tsonga* prefer to settle in flat, open country, which is ideal for this type of dance. One is inevitably reminded of the similar scene depicted by the song, “Boys and girls come out to play”. Drums are not used. Hand-claps and the foot-stamps of the dancers accompany songs. Boys stand opposite girls and at some distance from them. One of them dances out and touches a girl, who then dances back with the boy and touches another boy; this boy dances out with the girl whilst the first boy takes his place with the other boys. The dance continues in this fashion and boys and girls naturally like to touch a partner in whom they are interested, as they can dance provocatively close to each other while moving from one group to the other.

Blacking goes on to say that the songs are rhythmically and melodically more advanced than the children’s songs proper, though their texts are brief and repetitive. Their brevity gives young people an opportunity to try improvising new words to the basic pattern. They may attempt no more than repeating the names of persons and places, but it is good training in the art of fitting words to a given pattern. When they dance, they must stamp and jump in time to the rhythms in the same way that adults dance to beer-songs. Thus the play-dances lead a *Venda* child towards mastery of the techniques, and appreciation of the ethos of adult music. An evening of dancing is sometimes enlivened or terminated by a musical game. There are little songs that accompany the antics of people in various types of disguise, or a game in which boys tie ambers to their limbs and then dance in the dark.

BASIC *IPERU* THEMES

(Density referent 12 x ♩)

8.1.5 *TSHIKITSHA/TJIKITJA* MUSIC

The statement below was made when the *Amandebele* were following the *Bakalanga* at Dokonobe Mountains during their fightings:

So the Ndebele stayed at the foot of the mountain, eating, drinking being without cares; dancing, also dancing for those of their home a Ndebele dance (called “Zwichikicha”) (Wentzel 1983a: 265).

Tshikitsha is another entertainment music from the *Isindebele* culture. *Bakalanga* sing *tshikitsha* songs when they are taking a bride (*nlongo*) to her place of marriage (*njimbo dzi no kotosa nlongo*). This music depicts some *Bakalanga* traditional chores the bride is expected to perform at her place of marriage. Such activities include sweeping with a bunch of grass, which is a typical traditional *Bakalanga* broom. A bride in the *Bakalanga* traditional culture is expected to sweep the whole yard every morning before people wake up. She is also expected

to make fire and warm up water for the whole family to bath. So these are some of the activities demonstrated in *tshikitsha* music. Women dancing *tshikitsha* music are easily recognised by their multicoloured sashes across shoulders. In the *Bakalanga* culture, such a sash is a sign of respect to either a daughter-in-law (*nlongo*) or a son-in-law (*nkwasha*).

Tshikitsha dancers put on different coloured sashes, which are a sign of respect to either the daughter-in-law or son-in-law.

Plate 34



Basetse Mamu of Jakalasi No. 2 Performing *tshikitsha* dance

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at The North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival held at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

BASIC TSHIKITSHA THEMES

Claps 1 $\frac{4}{4}$

Claps 2 $\frac{4}{4}$

Foot pattern $\frac{4}{4}$

Dance steps $\frac{4}{4}$

Hops or skips $\frac{4}{4}$

(Density referent 4x $\frac{1}{4}$)

TSHIKITSHA CLAP THEME (SEE VIDEO SONG - SHELENI)

Clapping $\frac{4}{2}$

introductory theme

main theme

8.1.6 BHORO MUSIC

In some villages, the San used to live side by side with the *Bakalanga*. According to the elders of villages, their songs and dances mingled (Waters 2000:32).

Bhoro is an intrusive traditional music practised by the *Bakalanga*. It is a San culture. San sing *bhoro* songs when they are satisfied from lots of milk at the cattle post. They also sing these songs when they are drunk and happy. One of the informants, Reverend M. Mothibi, explained that *bhoro* music is for entertainment as well as for praising the San's Supreme Deity called *Toro*. Another informant, Ms. Mavis Mlilo of Dingumuzi Primary School in Plumtree (Zimbabwe), gave an additional view of *bhoro* dancing. In *bhoro* dance, each man dances in front of his wife to avoid interference with each other's wives after drinking, as it is common with the San people. This fact also confirms the past presence of *bhoro* music, even though it is now obsolete in Zimbabwe.

Plate 35



Pole village group performing *bhoro* dance

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at The North East District Council Annual Cultural Festival held at Nlapkhwane village in May 2001

Bakalanga traditional music groups have no full knowledge of *bhoro*. For instance, the San put on their costume called *misubelo* (animal skins covering the bottom part of the body) when they dance. This attire is made from animal skins. *Bakalanga*, on the other hand, dress normally when performing *bhoro* music. The San use *zwingwango* (concussion plagues of iron) instead of hand clapping. In the absence of these short hoes, San use *zwikei* (cattle yokes). In performing *bhoro* music, *Bakalanga* use hand clapping only as an accompaniment.

BASIC BHORO THEMES

Drumming $\frac{12}{8}$

Claps 1 Pulse $\frac{12}{8}$

Claps 2 $\frac{12}{8}$

Dances $\frac{12}{8}$
RT W RT RT W RT LT Hop RT LT W LT RT W LT LT Hop LT

Dances $\frac{12}{8}$
R R L L R R

Dances $\frac{12}{8}$
R R R L L L

Dances $\frac{12}{8}$
R L R L R L

Key:
RT: right toes
LT: left toes
W: Walk
R: right
L: left

(Density referent 12 x ♪)

8.1.7 NCUZU/MASKHUKHU (GUMBOOT DANCE-ISICATHULO) MUSIC

Ncuzu is another type of entertainment music, mainly danced by men. This music was practised among the *Bakalanga* of North Eastern Botswana, adopted from the *Amandebele* people of neighbouring Zimbabwe. It is now becoming obsolete. However, a similar dance called *phatisi* is flourishing in Kweneng District of Botswana. Unlike other types of entertainment musical styles that are being revived through cultural festivals, *maskhukhu* has not taken off the ground. *Ncuzu* music is predominantly a men's dance with women responding to the men's call, through singing, drumming and hand clapping. Women also shake their shoulders and breasts vigorously (*tshitshimba-Isindebele*) to encourage/excite the men to dance more lively. Nowadays, there are very few men taking part in *Bakalanga* traditional music. This is either because they are shy to perform indigenous songs, or because of being occupied with other forms of work, most probably in towns removed from their home setting, or because they are not interested in taking part at all. Performance of *maskhukhu* music might also have been affected by the absence of traditional beer (*Ndale*) brewing and drinking sessions as it used to be the case in the past. Men usually performed *maskhukhu* music after the excitement during these traditional beer-drinking sessions.

There are several elements of gumboot dance that are characteristic of precolonial *Nguni* music and dance practices. These include: the call-and-response interaction between dance teams and within the teams, as it occurs between individual dancers (this is particularly so in the improvised solos that team members perform). This shows the importance of audience community support in performance (drawn from both traditional and minstrel performance) and the manner in which gumboot dance engages with, and is constituted from, the substance of everyday life and experience (Muller 1999: 93).

During his field work, the author of this document had an opportunity of meeting one *ncuzu* dancer by the name of Mr. Caiphaz Thusani at Jakalasi No. 2 village. Mr. Thusani was born in the year 1936 in Bulilima-Mangwe District (Matabeleland South Province) of Zimbabwe. A farmer called Malingers owned the place he was born at. This place was popularly known as Home Farmer. Mr. Thusani started dancing *ncuzu/maskhukhu* when he was a young boy. Being given tickets after dancing in stokfels motivated him. The more coins thrown, the better the spectacle. The practice of throwing money has a long tradition in black performance culture. Mr Thusani came to reside in Botswana in 1947 after the death of his father in Zimbabwe in 1946. He worked in Johannesburg for forty two years. He was residing at Montgomery Park where he acquired skills in performing different types of music such as *marabi*, *kwela*, *bump jive* and *ncuzu* (gumboot dance).

The author finds it necessary to explain what stokfel means to the reader of this document. According to Coplan (1985: 102), the term stokfel appears to derive from the rotating cattle auctions or “stockfairs” of English settlers in the Eastern Cape during the nineteenth century. Cattle had been a principal form of currency in precolonial South African societies, serving, like cash, as a standard of value, a store of wealth, and a medium of exchange. Cape Africans brought the stokfel to Johannesburg, where the word came to refer to small rotating credit associations based on African principles of social and economic cooperation.

Coplan goes on to say stokfels were and are credit rings in which each member contributes a set amount each week in anticipation of receiving the combined contributions of all the other members at regular intervals. Commonly, each member in her turn uses the lump sum she receives to finance a stokfel party, at which other members and guests pay admission and buy food and liquor and even enjoy musical entertainment. Profits go to the hostess of the week.

For most *Bhaca* migrants to eGoli, the City of Gold, work and leisure were continually controlled by structures of authority and surveillance in the form of mine bosses, managers and police. In this context, all space was public. There was little room for individual expression or privacy. The nature of this experience gave rise to the particular aesthetic of gumboot dance performance, regardless of who now performs the dance (Muller 1999: 91).

The gumboot style of dance draws on a variety of dance sources: *Bhaca* traditional dances such as *ngoma*; minstrel performance; popular social dances such as those that accompanied jazz music performance in the 1930s and 40s. The jitterbug, for example, and most obviously, the tap dance popularised through films of Fred Astaire and Gene Kelly. Gumboot dancers may have been influenced by touring black tap dance groups (Muller 1999: 100).

Erlmann (1991: 99-100) argues that *isicathulo* or gumboot dance was developed around mission stations in KwaZulu Natal with the introduction of footgear to African peoples by missionaries in the late 19th century (Muller 1999: 92).

Isicathulo means shoe, boot or sandal; it also refers to a boot dance performed by young boys since the first contact with Europeans (Muller 1999: 94).

In their search for aesthetic models and expressions of self-conscious urban status, workers first became interested in the dances and songs developed in and around the mission stations. Interestingly, it was on rural mission stations that *isicathulo*, one of the first urban working-class dance forms, developed. Tracey maintains that the original *isicathulo* dance was “performed by *Zulu* pupils at a certain mission where the authorities had banned the local country dances”. The name *isicathulo*, “shoe”, “boot” or “sandal”, reflects the introduction of footgear at the missions, the sharp sound of boots and clicking of the heels contrasted with the muffled thud of bare feet in more rural dances such as *indlamu-Zulu* (Erlmann 1991: 99).

Coplan (1985: 78) argues that schools picked up new urban influenced rural dances, even though missionaries forbade them. One such dance, *is'cathulo* ("shoe") was adopted by students in Durban; from there it spread to dock workers who produced spectacular rhythmic effects by slapping and pounding their rubber Wellington boots in performance. All this rhythm made it popular with mine and municipal labourers elsewhere, especially Johannesburg. There it became the "gumboot" dance, divided into a series of routines and accompanied by a rhythm guitar. By 1919, gumboot had filtered back into school concerts. It soon became a standard feature of urban African variety entertainment, and a setting for satirising characters and scenes drawn from African worklife.

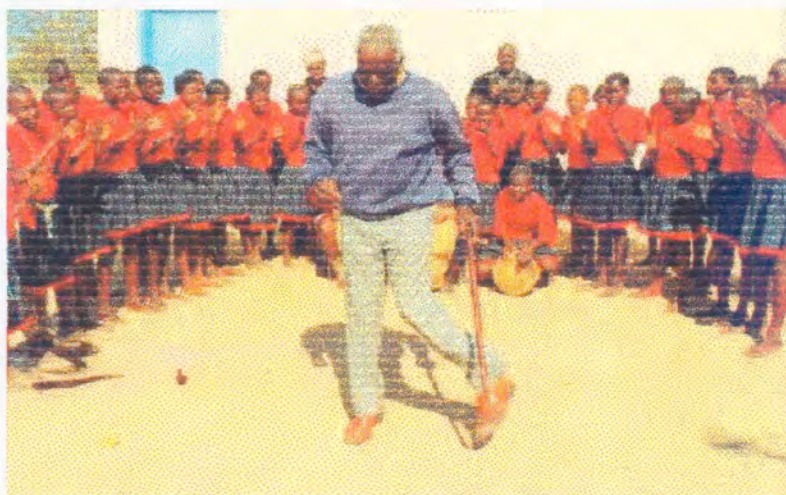
What clearly distinguishes all gumboot dance from earlier rural practices is its use of footgear for its performance. Precolonial dance forms are generally thought to have been performed barefoot. One *Zulu* name given to gumboot dance, *isicathulo*, provides the first indication of innovation. The root of the word *cathama* means to walk softly, quietly and stealthily. It has been incorporated into two kinds of black performance culture in South Africa: *isicathamiya* and *isicathulo*. The first is the style of music and dance performance recently made famous by Joseph Shabalala and Ladysmith Black Mambazo. In this context it means to walk softly and stealthily, like a cat. The second refers to the opposite, gumboot dance, which is characterised by louder stepping in gumboots, the clapping of hands and slapping of the boots (Muller 1999:93).

Perhaps the most revealing source, however, is the dance as practised by these older *Bhaca* dancers and transmitted to their sons in KwaZulu Natal. Unlike the autonomy of many dance forms in the Western world, gumboot dance engages and comments on the exigencies of everyday experience in mine culture (Muller 1999: 98).

During the researcher's visit to the Jakalasi No. 2 Primary school traditional dancing troupe, he also arranged to meet Mr. Caiphas Thusani for a *ncuzu/maskhukhu* dance oral interview. Currently Mr. Thusani is a farmer in his home village of Jakalasi No. 2. He does not have any permanent group to dance with. He normally dances to entertain people in local village ceremonies such as weddings and other community related happy gatherings. According to Mr. Thusani's experience, whenever he dances, his audience appreciates his presence and they sing, drum and clap hands for him (i.e. acting as his supportive singing group).

During his meeting for an interview at Jakalasi No. 2 Primary school, Mr. Thusani took advantage of the school traditional dancing troupe to sing, drum and clap hands for him while he performed his *ncuzu* dance. This group was with its leader (Basetse Mamu) who is also a local parent in this village. She had also come for the interviews concerning *wosana* music she is teaching to the school-dancing troupe. The group sang one *wosana* song which Mr. Thusani took advantage of to display his *ncuzu* dance skills. Occasionally, he punctuated his movement by hitting his boots together at the ankles in a quick rhythmic pattern.

Plate 36



Mr. Caiphas Thusani of Jakalasi No. 2 village performing *ncuzu* dance

Photographed by Moleti Selete with the author on a field trip at Jakalasi No. 2 Primary School in May 2001

8.2 SUMMARY

This chapter focuses on *Bakalanga* entertainment music. For entertainment, *Bakalanga* use the following types of music: *Ndazula*, *mukomoto*, *woso*, *iperu*, *tshikitsha*, *bhoro* and *ncuzu*.

Adults during beer drinking sessions, engagements and weddings perform *ndazula*, *mukomoto* and *woso* music types for entertainment. Both men and women perform *ndazula*. *mukomoto* music is dominated by women and *woso* music by men.

Iperu music is used for beer drinking, engagements and weddings. The main aim of *iperu* music is to bring young men and women of marriageable age together. This music is carried out in the form of evening dances and games in the moonlight.

Tshikitsha, *ncuzu* and *bhoro* are believed by *Bakalanga* to be intrusive cultures. *Tshikitsha* and *ncuzu* (*isicathulo*) are from the *Amandebele* of neighbouring Zimbabwe whilst *bhoro* is from the local San people.

Bakalanga sing *tshikitsha* music during beer drinking sessions (*ndale*), engagements (*bukwe*) and weddings (*ndobolo*). *Tshikitsha* music is actually meant to be sung when taking a bride (*nlongo*) to her place of marriage. When singing *tshikitsha* music, performers depict some *Bakalanga* traditional chores the bride is expected to carry out at her place of marriage.

Ncuzu (*isicathulo*) is another entertainment music type *Bakalanga* adopted from the *Amandebele* of Zimbabwe. This music is believed to be originally from the *Zulus* of Natal in South Africa. Because of lack of practice, *ncuzu* music is becoming obsolete among the *Bakalanga* people.

Bhoro is an intrusive culture among the *Bakalanga* from the Botswana San people. Even though *Bakalanga* use *bhoro* music for entertainment, the San use it for different purposes. The San sing *bhoro* music when they are satisfied from lots of milk at the cattle post. They also sing *bhoro* songs

when they are drunk and happy. The San sing *bhoro* music when praising their Supreme Deity called *Toro*.

Despite the origins and differences in these seven musical types, *Bakalanga* use them all for entertainment.

CHAPTER 9

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS OF THIS STUDY, FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Since Botswana was a British Protectorate for eighty-one years, it is of both the African and the Western world. It has its feet in both cultures. It is, however, not a cultural outpost of Europe, and maintains cultural traditions that are unique to its people.

9.1 RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS OF THIS STUDY

The main question on which this study is based was asked in Chapter 1 section 1.2:

Why is *Bakalanga* indigenous music still only practised in communities, and/or used in formal institutions/institutional contexts as a form of entertainment?

Indigenous music in Botswana is still used as a form of entertainment because people seem not to be seeing its importance. They still think western music is more superior than indigenous music. After Botswana's independence in 1966, *Ikalanga* speaking was forbidden in schools and other official places. As a result of this deprivation in cultural democracy, *Bakalanga* traditional culture in general started not being practised effectively. This was a result of Botswana's post-independence idealism against the so-called minority tribes. Since language and culture are inseparable from music, the forbidding of *Ikalanga* affected the continuity in performing *Bakalanga* traditional music.

Related to this major question, are the following sub-questions in connection with *Bakalanga* traditional music.

- Is data on *Bakalanga* traditional music available?

Information that was obtained on *Bakalanga* music came from different sources ranging from people in villages through oral interviews, questionnaires, video recordings and tape recordings. Some music types were notated during this process for use by present and future generations.

- Why does the community at large treat *Bakalanga* indigenous music as an entertainment activity?

Music in Botswana as a whole is not a teaching subject in government Primary schools/Setswana medium schools, as stated in Chapter one. Out of a large number of Community Junior Secondary Schools in Botswana, only fifteen have been selected for music pilot teaching. Besides lack of class music teaching in these two categories of schooling, which is the focus of this study, *Bakalanga* traditional music in North Eastern Botswana is only practised as an extra-curricular activity. It is the responsibility of one or two teachers who are responsible for the school traditional dancing troupe in each school. Since *Ikalanga* is not an official language in Botswana, schools and communities have also been discouraged from practising *Ikalanga* music in schools.

- What are the views and attitudes of parents towards indigenous music being brought into the classroom?

Since Botswana is a multicultural country, parents' views are widely divided. The *Ikalanga* speaking parents are very interested to see their traditional music being part of the school curriculum. The non-*Ikalanga* speaking parents are against this view. The second category of parents is backed by the Botswana constitution, which classifies the country's languages as major or minor. Besides this fact, Botswana as a whole has not perceived traditional music as music that can be formally taught in the classroom. Parents assume that

since traditional music is practised within the daily activities of the community, everybody can do it, hence finding no need for its classroom teaching. Most parents still perceive choral singing and Western music teaching as the only music suitable for classroom teaching. In the true sense, the western notation system and all that it stands for should be used as a point of departure in the teaching of theoretical aspects of African music.

- What *Bakalanga* musical activities are currently taking place within the North Eastern Botswana communities?

The North East District Council through the Department of Social and Community Development started annual *Bakalanga* traditional festivals in 1994 that are held on every 21st of May. This activity has been currently handed over to the Department of Culture and Youth of the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs.

Most of the villages in North Eastern Botswana have *Bukalanga* traditional dancing troupes specialising in different types of *Bakalanga* music. They meet in different villages on an annual rotational basis to compete in *Bakalanga* traditional music and traditional dishes (food types). In these competitions, traditional music groups and individual traditional dish competitors are adjudicated for first, second and third prize.

- What is the relationship between Botswana *Bakalanga* music and that of Zimbabwe and the *Amandebele* people?

Through his research, the author of this document found that *Bakalanga* of Botswana and Zimbabwe practise the same traditional music. Both *Bakalanga* of Botswana and Zimbabwe have three categories of music: Rain Praying, Healing and Entertainment music. Songs sung by these two groups of people mainly contain two languages, *Ikalanga* and *Isindebele*. Traditional music of these two groups is further strengthened by their joint annual *wosana*

ceremonies carried out at one place called Njelele in the Matopo hills in Zimbabwe.

- What *Bakalanga* musical activities are currently taking place within the North Eastern Botswana communities?

Bakalanga of North Eastern Botswana hold annual rain prayers at the *Gumbu* in Mapoka and Ramokgwebana villages that end up at Njelele in Zimbabwe. They also hold annual cultural music festivals every 21st of May that started in 1994 which also rotate with villages. School children include *Bakalanga* songs in their annual traditional music competitions.

- What role does *Bakalanga* traditional music play in the *Bukalanga* cultural activities such as Rain Praying, Healing and Entertainment?

There are annual rain praying ceremonies held in Botswana around September. Groups from both countries further jointly hold them at the *Mwali* “headquarters” (Njelele) in Zimbabwe. There are also *sangomas* who use their music for healing purposes in North Eastern Botswana. Other community activities such as beer drinking sessions and weddings are marked by *Bakalanga* traditional music for entertainment.

9.2 FINDINGS

These findings were drawn up after attending a number of the North East District Council cultural festivals. A follow up of obtaining the annual festival minutes was very useful in determining these findings.

Through involvement with this study, the writer observed that there are three main categories of *Bakalanga* traditional music namely:

- Music for Rain Praying

Wosana and *Mayile*

➤ Music for Healing

Mazenge, Mantshomane and Sangoma

➤ Music for Entertainment

Ndazula, Mukomoto, Woso, Iperu, Tshikitsha, Bhoru and Ncuzu/Maskhukhu.

Twelve musical types amongst the *Bakalanga* were thus discovered through this research. However, not every village in the area practices all these twelve types. Certain villages specialise in different types as can be seen below from the cultural competition results of 2000, whereas other villages specialise in cultural dishes:

Results for 2000 *Ikalanga* traditional music held at Tshesebe Village in North Eastern Botswana;

➤ Rain Praying Music

Wosana

1 st prize: Jakalasi No. 2	281 points
2 nd prize: Ramokgwebana	279 points
3 rd prize: Ditladi	249 points

Mayile

1 st prize: pole	175 points
2 nd prize: Mulambakwena:	166 points
3 rd prize Masukwane:	161 points

➤ Healing Music

Sangoma

1st prize: Ramokgwebana: 282 points

2nd prize: Jakalasi No. 2: 257 points

3rd prize: Ditladi: 251 points

Mantshomane

1st prize: Ramokgwebana: 279 points

2nd prize: Jakalasi No. 2: 275 points

3rd prize: Ditladi: 245 points

➤ Entertainment Music

Ndazula

1st prize: Mosojane: 271 points

2nd prize: Pole: 267 points

3rd prize: Kgari: 263 points

Mukomoto

1st prize: Ramokgwebana: 263 points

2nd prize: Kgari: 260 points

3rd prize: Masukwane: 250 points

Woso

1st prize: Jakalasi No. 2 270 points

2nd prize: Tshesebe: 265 points

Iperu

1st prize: Pole: 254 points

2nd prize: Mapoka: 252 points

3rd prize: Masukwane: 241 points

Tshikitsha

1st prize: Ramokgwebana: 279 points

2nd prize: Jakalasi No. 2: 271 points

3rd prize: Tshesebe: 231 points

Bhoro

1st prize: Pole: 193 points

2nd prize: Botalaote: 184 points

3rd prize: Nil

No group competed in *Ncuzu* music, as revealed from the above results.

Villages that did not participate in traditional music sent some representatives to participate in traditional dishes. The results can also be seen below:

Prizes were as follows:

Shadza le Mathunde matjena – Sorghum porridge

1st prize: Mpone Tabengwa: Sekakangwe

2nd prize: Khungwani Bobi: Shashe Bridge

3rd prize: Mbulo Thogo: Botalaote

Shogwana – Millet porridge

1st prize: Khungwani Bobi: Shashe Bridge

2nd prize: Mbulo Thogo: Botalaote

3rd prize: Ompeni Tabuthiwa: Kalakamati

Tjimone – No English equivalent found

1st prize: Mbulo Thogo: Botalaote

2nd prize: Barei Hepu: Butale

3rd prize: Monang Joba: Kalakamati

Tjimone Tje Mathunde – No English equivalent found

1st prize: Babatshi Masala: Makaleng

2nd prize: Sefelani Masala: Makaleng

3rd prize; Goitshasiwang Motshabi: Makaleng

Kendenge

1st Prize: Monang Joba: Kalakamati

2nd prize: Ndu Seven: Kalakamati

3rd Prize: J. Tshupoeng: Kalakamati

Dhitima – Pumpkin

1st prize: Babatshi Masala: Makaleng

2nd prize: Sefelani Masala: Makaleng

3rd prize: Sefelani Mojamela: Makaleng

Bhobola – Pumpkin leaves

1st prize: Sefelani Masala: Makaleng

2nd prize: Babatshi Masala: Makaleng

3rd prize: Mbulo Thogo: Botalaote

Delele – Okra

1st prize: Monang Joba: Kalakamati

2nd prize: Mbulo Thogo: Botalaote

3rd prize: Sefelani Mojamela: Makaleng

Manongo – Peanuts

1st prize: K. Bubi: Shashe Bridge

2nd prize: Mpome Tabengwa: Sekakangwe

3rd prize: Balebi Blackie: Sekakangwe

Dobi – No english equivalent found

2nd prize: Sefelani Masala: Makaleng

Prizes for both competitions were as follows:

Traditional dance

1st prize P60.00

2nd prize P50.00

3rd prize P40.00

Traditional dishes

1st prize P20.00

2nd prize P15.00

3rd prize P10.00.

Mashonja (mopane worms) is one of the *Bakalanga* traditional food types which no competitor brought to the competition.

9.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations of this thesis are divided into three categories, namely education related, research related and media related.

9.3.1 EDUCATION RELATED

Education related recommendations are further divided into pre-service and in-service.

Music pre-service training:

- Possibilities of using retired teachers and parents who are knowledgeable in traditional music as resource persons to conduct workshops for both schools and communities should be explored.
- Culture related thinking should be stimulated among parents, teachers and students towards indigenous music composers.
- There should be an establishment of “satellite” teaching programmes with parents and teachers rendering their services either free of charge, or for a small honorarium.
- An interdisciplinary studies subject for cultural studies and music education should be developed. This could promote a culturally relevant, sound music education programme with indigenous musical traditions forming the basis of educational programmes in all schools in Botswana. A variety of African cultures as well as Eastern and Western cultures exist in Botswana. It is therefore essential to be aware of all these cultures and to make provision for them in music education. The different cultures can learn from one another, and the use of many styles of music can enrich pupils’ musical experiences and understanding,
- When it comes to changing the approach to music education in primary or secondary level schools, people who are going to do it

have to be taken into consideration. In other words, it has to be started at the tertiary level, training teachers in a new manner.

- Song books with indigenous songs that are representative of the many different languages in Botswana should be compiled for use in the classroom. This will encourage music educators to use music/songs of different cultural groups in music education wherever they are in Botswana as is suggested in the Community Junior Secondary Schools (CJSS) syllabus. A multicultural approach would make it clear that a wide variety of music should be brought into the classroom. In the selection of the teaching content the criteria of each music tradition should be used and the idea that specific music traditions are better than others, be rejected.
- Many more guidance and support systems are needed to assist teachers in the teaching of African and Western music side by side in organised lessons. As many music teachers in Botswana are mostly familiar with the tonic solfa system of notation, it is desirable to notate songs in staff notation as well as tonic solfa. Some teachers may find themselves insufficiently skilled in reading staff notation and may be unable to use the wealth of African song material in staff notation.
- In addition to the fifteen music teaching pilot Community Junior Secondary Schools, more schools should absorb the currently trained (degree holders) music teachers. Some music teachers who were trained at the Universities of Pretoria and Natal in South Africa are presently not teaching music. This is because the fifteen music pilot schools could not accommodate them all.
- School teachers are encouraged to use information in this thesis for their learning and teaching situations.

Music in-service training courses for serving teachers and college lecturers:

- Teachers and lecturers already in service need to be constantly helped in music through in-service training courses that may be facilitated by music subject advisors, universities and other stakeholders.
- The Ministry of Education through its various sections should bear the cost of such in-service courses and workshops. Cheaper venues such as colleges, Education Centres and other government places should be used.
- Part time and full-time programmes such as Further Diploma of Music Education can be obtained by serving teachers from institutions like the University of Pretoria. This might be another way of recruiting more music teachers to specialise in music teaching.
- With the introduction of indigenous music into schools, instruments unfamiliar to the teacher, using unfamiliar playing techniques may now be introduced into the classroom. The teacher may be required to teach African drumming and interpret drum notation. With ever-increasing financial restraints and larger classes, the teacher may have to be skilled in the making of simpler, cheaper traditional instruments.

9.3.2 RESEARCH RELATED

- Identify knowledgeable persons in the construction and playing of indigenous instruments, i. e. both children and adults.
- Carry out further research and documentation of Botswana traditional music types.
- Investigate the relationship of *Bakalanga* traditional music with other tribes such as the *Shona*, *Venda*, *Zulu* and *Ndebele*.
- Develop music research and publication habits among college lecturers. College lecturers should be encouraged to involve themselves in music research within their colleges. The research

findings should be shared among the institutions and may also be published in music journals.

- Undertake further research on indigenous music in *Bukalanga* and the rest of Botswana.

9.3.3 MEDIA RELATED

The active participation of newspapers, radio broadcasting and television in the development of traditional music would be one of the ways of keeping musical traditions alive.


9.4 CONCLUSIONS

The diversity of *Bakalanga* musical styles reflects a diversity that underlies the apparent homogeneity of the *Bakalanga* culture, and expresses the cleavages and alignments in the *Bukalanga* society, and hence both the historical process which has brought them about, and their meaning in contemporary *Bakalanga* life.

The impact of *Bakalanga* music on its audiences depends as much on its social significance as on the music itself. The expressive meaning of the same song may vary from one occasion to another.

Bakalanga music is always a language of communication and not just an expression of form. The content of the music is social, and the form expresses this content most adequately: the music has the greatest impact on those to whom the social content is most meaningful. *Bakalanga* mostly sing about events related to a particular type of music. For example, in *wosana* music which is meant for rain praying, the lyrics are rain oriented.

Nobody is excluded from music making in the *Bukalanga* society, except by virtue of membership of the “wrong” social group. *Bakalanga* sing *Ikalanga* and *Isindebele* songs or a mixture of the two languages. This is

due to the Njelele sacrifice  al joint ceremony held in neighbouring Zimbabwe in which the dominant language is *Isindebele*.

In this research, the author of this document reached a number of conclusions from his findings. There are twelve music styles found among both *Bakalanga* of Botswana and Zimbabwe. These styles are classified under three major categories according to the purposes they are meant to serve among the *Bakalanga* communities. The *Bakalanga* music categories and styles are as follows:

The first category comprises two styles of traditional music for rain praying rituals namely:

wosana and *mayile*.

The second category comprises three styles of traditional music for healing purposes namely:

mazenge (shumba), *sangoma* and *mantshomane*.

The third category comprises seven styles of traditional music for happy occasions and entertainment namely:

ndazula, *mukomoto*, *woso*, *iperu*, *tshikitsha*, *bhoro* and *ncuzu* (gumboot dance).

Out of all the twelve *Bakalanga* music styles, only two are not available on the video accompanying this thesis. These are *ncuzu* and *mazenge*. *Ncuzu* music is near extinction so there was no particular group to perform it for the researcher. *Mazenge* was not recorded because of its private performance in compliance with the *Bakalanga* cultural norms.

Three common elements have been found to be present in all twelve *Bakalanga* music styles. These are:

Hand clapping, dancing, singing (with a call from the lead singer and a response from the whole group). In most *Bakalanga* music styles, the

lead singer also plays the role of a master dancer. This is reflected in the ten *Bakalanga* music styles on the video accompanying this thesis. Drums, leg rattles and other accessories are found in some music styles, but not in all. In most cases, it is only dancers who are allowed to wear leg rattles.

The author has found *wosana* music to be the most practised in the *Bukalanga* area because of the purpose it serves (rain praying), since everybody needs rain. For the past two years, *wosana* music has found its way into Primary, Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary schools in the *Bukalanga* area in Botswana.

Presently, annual *Bakalanga* traditional competitions are only carried out in the North East District despite the fact that there are some *Bakalanga* in some parts of the Central District.

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APPENDIX AI

TELEGRAMS: PULA
TELEPHONE: 350800
TELEX: 2655 BD



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
PRIVATE BAG 001
GABORONE

OP 46/1 C (21)

19th September, 2002

Mr. Otukile Phibion
P.O Box 967
Francistown

Dear Sir,

**RE: APPLICATION FOR A RESEARCH PERMIT EXTENSION: MR.
O.S.PHIBION**

Your application for a research permit extension refers.

We are pleased to inform you that your permit OP 46/1 LXXIX (65) has been revalidated by one (1) year effective September 19, 2002. You are requested to ensure that the project is completed within the stipulated period. Please note that other conditions remain valid and binding.

Thank you

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M. Mosweu'. Below the signature is the printed name 'M. Mosweu'.

for/PERMANENT SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT

TELEGRAMS: PULA
TELEPHONE: 350800
TELEX: 2655 BD



REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
PRIVATE BAG 001
GABORONE

OP 46/1 LXXXVII (36)

19 March 2001

Mr. Otukile S. Phibion
P.O. Box 967
Francistown

Dear Sir

RE: APPLICATION FOR A RESEARCH PERMIT RENEWAL:
MR. O. PHIBION

Your application for a permit extension refers.

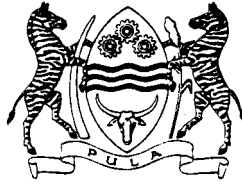
We are pleased to inform you that your permit OP 46/1 LXXIX (65) has been extended by one (1) year effective April 1, 2001. The permit is further extended to cover Gaborone. Please note that other conditions remain valid and binding.

Yours faithfully


J. Mosweu

For/PERMANENT SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT

cc. District Commissioner, Gaborone
City Clerk, Gaborone



REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

OP 46/1 LXXIX (65)

17 March, 2000

Mr. Otukile S. Phibion
University of Pretoria
Huis Jakaranda 2-38
478 Festival St.
Hatfield 0083
Pretoria
Republic of South Africa

Dear Sir,

RE: GRANT OF A RESEARCH PERMIT: PHIBION

Your application for a research permit dated March 2, 2000.

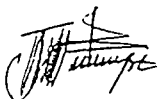
We are pleased to inform you that you have been granted permission to conduct "The Relationship Between Bakalanga Community Music Making and School-Going Children in Botswana." The study will be conducted in the North East, Central and Chobe Districts. The permit is valid for a period not exceeding twelve (12) months, with effect from April 2000.

The permit is granted subject to the following conditions:

1. Copies of any papers written as a result of the study are directly deposited with the Office of the President, National Archives (2 copies each), National Institute for Research, Botswana National Library Service, University of Botswana Library, National Conservation Strategy Agency, National Assembly and Ministry of Education.

2. The research team comprises only Mr. O. Phibion.
3. You work in liaison with local authorities at the place of study.
4. You obtain permission from private concessionaires if the intention is to go into these area.
5. The permit does not give authority to enter any premises, private establishment or protected area. Permission for such entry should be negotiated with those concerned.

Yours faithfully



J. Sethibe

for/PERMANENT SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT

cc: Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Education
Director

- Botswana National Library Service
- National Institute for Research

Government Archivist
Librarian, University of Botswana
Clerk of the National Assembly
Executive Secretary, National Conservation Strategy Agency
District Commissioner, Kasane, Serowe, Masunga
Council Secretary, Kasane, Serowe, Masunga

APPENDIX A2

**N.E.D.C [EVALUATION FORM]
NGWAŌ BŌSWA COMPETITION
TRADITIONAL DANCE**

VENUE: _____

DATE: _____

GROUP NO: _____

	POSSIBLE POINTS	COMMENTS	SCORE
<u>VOICE PROJECTION AND MELODY</u> -Clarity and balance -interpretation -Harmony/sweetness of voice. -Mood	20		
<u>RHYTHM DANCING AND STYLE.</u> Leg and body movement Hand clapping Dancing shape and formation -Speed -Drumming -Coherence	40		
<u>ACCOMPANIMENT</u> <u>S</u> <u>OR PROPS IF ANY</u> -Effectiveness of drums -Mathowa. Phala -Lonaka. Seditse -Rattles. Mogolokwane e.t.c	20		
<u>GENERAL APPEARANCE</u> -Attire and suitability of formation and shape.	20		
GRAND TOTALS	100		

Time taken _____

Name of adjudicator _____

✓

APPENDIX A3

BAKALANGA MUSIC MAKING IN BOTSWANA AND ZIMBABWE VIDEO SONGS ACCOMPANYING Ph. D. THESIS

These songs were compiled from video collections taken either by the researcher or the North East District Council of Botswana. This video collection was carried out from 1995 up 2001. Nothing was recorded in 2002 because the North East District annual *Bakalanga* cultural festival was cancelled due to the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in the district.

Different sections of music comprise different song numbers. Sections with more songs show that the musical type is more practised by the majority of the groups. Sections with few songs show that the musical type is being revived and is not as yet practised by many groups. It should also be noted that microphones that appear in the video recordings are not part of the *Bakalanga* tradition but were meant to amplify the songs.

The vernacular's English equivalents of the song words, written in Italics, have not been found any from the informants during translating by the author of this document.

1 TRADITIONAL MUSIC FOR RAIN PRAYING RITUALS (SEE THESIS CHAPTER 7 (7.1))

1.1 WOSANA MUSIC

1.1.1 HLANGABEZA (*Ikalanga & Isindebele*)

Call: *Hlangabeza sesi fikile* – Meet us we have arrived.

Response: *Wo iya woye hlangabeza – Wo iya woye meet.*

Call: *Hlangabeza sesi fikile – Meet us we have arrived.*

Response: *Wo iya wo mayi wole hlangabeza – Wo iya wo mayi wole meet.*

Call: *Kwe tjinga kwata kumbila – We have since been begging.*

Response – *Wo iya woye hlangabeza – Wo iya woye meet.*

Call: *Kumbila kwata kumbila – The begging we have been begging.*

Response: *Wo iya wo mayi wole hlangabeza – Wo iya wo mayi wole meet.*

Call: *Tate bati pe masimba – Father give us power.*

Response: *Wo iya wo he hlangabeza – Wo iya wo he meet.*

Call: *Tate bati pe masimba – Father give us power.*

Response: *Wo iya wo he mayi wole hlangabeza – Wo iya wo he mayi wole meet.*

Call: *Tate bati sunungule – Father free us.*

Response: *Wo iya wo he mayi wole hlangabeza – Wo iya wo he mayi wole meet.*

Call: *Kumbila kwata kumbila – The begging we have been begging.*

Response: *Wo iya woye hlangabeza – Wo iya woye meet.*

Call: *Kumbila kwata kumbila – The begging we have been begging.*

Response: *Wo iya wo he mayi wole hlangabeza – Wo iya wo he mayi wole meet.*

Call: *Tate towo buya nabo – We will bring the father with us.*

Response: *Wo iya woye hlangabeza – Wo iya woye meet.*

Call: *Tate towo buya nabo – We will bring the father with us.*

Response: *Wo iya wo he mayi wole hlangabeza – Wo iya woye mayi wole meet.*

Call: *Ndzimu ati pe masimba – God give us power.*

Response: *Wo iya woye hlangabeza – Wo iya woye meet.*

Call: *Ndzimu ati pe masimba – God give us power.*

Response: *Wo iya woye mayi wole hlangabeza – Wo iya woye mayi wole meet.*

Call: *Kwe tjinga kwata ka yenda – We have long gone.*

Response: *Wo iya woye hlangabeza – Wo iya woye meet.*

Call: *Kwe tjinga kwata ka yenda – We have long gone.*

Response: *Wo iya wo he mayi wole hlangabeza – Wo iya wo he mayi wole meet.*

Call: *Nasi towo buya nabo – Today we will bring him (father) with us.*

Response: *Wo iya woye hlangabeza – Wo iya woye meet.*

Call: *Nasi towo buya nabo – Today we will bring him (father) with us.*

Response: *Wo iya wo he mayi wole hlangabeza – Wo iya wo he mayi wole meet.*

Call: *Ndzimu ati sunungule – God free us.*

Response: *Wo iya woye hlangabeza – Wo iya woye meet.*

Call: *Ntogwa towo buya naye – We will bring Ntogwa with us.*

Response: *Wo iya woye hlangabeza – Wo iya woye meet.*

Call: *Ntogwa towo buya naye – We will bring Ntogwa with us.*

Response: *Wo iya wo he mayi wole hlangabeza – Wo iya wo he mayi wole meet.*

1.1.2 UBONI NJELELE (*Ikalanga & Isindebele*)

Call: *Njelele Dziba le vula – Njelele a pool of water/rain.*

Response: *Uboni Njelele woya uboni Njelele* – She/he has seen Njelele
woya she/he has seen Njelele.

Call: Njelele *vula ino buya* – Njelele water/rain is coming.

Response: *Uboni Njelele woya uboni Njelele* – She/he has seen Njelele
woya she/he has seen Njelele.

1.1.3 PHIKAPU (*Isindebele*)

Call: *Nansi yani phikapu nanka mapholisa sengiza botshwa* – There is a
police van there are the police I will be arrested.

Response: *Woye – Woye.*

Call: *Siya woye* – We are *woye*.

Response: *Woye siya wela woye* – *Woye* we are falling in *woye*.

Call: *A siya wela* – A we are falling in.

Response: *Woye siya wela woye* – *Woye* we are falling in *woye*.

Call: *Nansiyani phikapu naka mapholisa sesiza banjwa* – There is a
police van there are the police we will be arrested.

Response: *Woye – Woye.*

Call: *Izulu liyana* – It is raining.

Response: *Liyana liyana sesiza lima woye* – It is raining raining we will plough *woye*.

1.1.4 HLANGABEZA MTAKA BABA (Ikalanga & Isindebele)

Call: *Hlangabeza mtaka baba* – Meet my father's child.

Response: *Ye mayi wole hlangabeza* – *Ye mayi wole* meet.

Call: *Hlangabeza mtaka shoko* – Meet Shoko's child.

Response: *Yiya wo yeee* – *Yiya wo yeee*.

Call: *Hlangabeza mtaka Thobela* – Meet Thobela's child.

Response: *Yiya wo Yeee* – *Yiya wo Yeee*.

Call: *Hlangabeza mtaka baba* – Meet father's child.

Response: *Ye mayi wole hlangabeza* – *Ye mayi wole* meet.

Call : *Ta pinda ti buya naye* – We passed through fetching him.

Response: *Yiya wo yeee* – *Yiya wo yeee*.

Call: *Ta buya pana Masunga* – We have come to chief Masunga.

Response: *He mayi wole hlangabeza* – *Ye mayi wole* meet.

Call: *Ta pinda naka Masunga* – We passed at Masunga village.

Response: *Yiya wo yeee – Yiya wo yeee.*

Call: *Ta pinda ti buya naye – We passed through fetching him.*

1.1.5 NDA LOBGWA NE HANA (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Nyunywani ino lila – A bird (njelele) is squeaking.*

Response: *Ya lila imusa balele nda lobgwa ne hana – It is squeaking to wake up the asleep. I am shocked.*

Call: *Nda lobgwa ne hana mmewe – I am shocked, my mother.*

Response: *A wole woye nda lobgwa ne hana – A wole woye I am shocked.*

Call: *Laluka ndi saka lima – Spending a year without ploughing.*

Response: *Wee nda lima mathunde matshwa nda lobgwa ne hana – Wee I have ploughed a new harvest I am shocked.*

Call: *Nyunywani ino lila – A bird is squeaking.*

Response: *Wo ya lila imusa balele nda lobgwa ne hana – Wo is squeaking to wake up the asleep. I am shocked.*

Call: *Ililani? – Squeaking for what?*

Response: *Wo ilila imusa balele nda lobgwa ne hana – Wo squeaking to wake up the asleep I am shocked.*

1.2 MAYILE

1.2.1 NDEWELE (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Dzawela dzawela kokoma dzawela dzawela kokoma* – The bosses have arrived, the bosses have arrived.

Response: *Ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndwejana ndewele – Ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndwejana ndewele.*

Call: *Ka masunga ka Masunga ka Masunga ka Masunga kuna danga le ngombe* – At Masunga village there is a cattle kraal.

Response: *Ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndwejana ndewele – Ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndwejana ndewele.*

Call: *Ndino wo fa mundi tshile pa shongwe mundi tshile pana danga le ngombe* – When I die, bury me where there is a rock; bury me where there is a cattle kraal.

Response: *Ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndwejana ndewele – Ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndewele, ndwejana ndewele.*

1.2.2 FILA PA MOYO (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Fila* – Keep.

Response: *Aye yee – Aye yee.*

Call: *Fila* – Keep.

Response: *Aye fila pa moyo – Aye keep it to your heart.*

Call: *Fila wee – keep it wee.*

Response: *Aye yee – Aye yee.*

Call: *Fila wee – Keep it wee.*

Response: *Aye fila pa moyo – Aye keep it to your heart.*

Call: *Woye – Woye.*

Response: *Aye yee – Aye yee.*

Call: *Woye – Woye.*

Response: *Aye fila pa moyo – Aye keep it to your heart.*

1.2.3 DALAUNDE (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Dalaunde Matebele hawo – Dalaunde here comes the Matebele.*

Response: *Kene wa tizha shango ya palala – Even if you run away, the country/land is taken.*

Call: *Dalaunde, a! wole, - Dalaunde, a! wole.*

Response: *Kene wa tizha shango ya palala – Even if you run away, the country/land is taken.*

Call: *Tjemayeu – Tjemayeu.*

Response: *Yeu – Yeu.*

2 TRADITIONAL MUSIC FOR HEALING PURPOSES (SEE THESIS CHAPTER 7 (7.2))

2.1 SANGOMA

2.1.1 DLALA NYAWO (*Isindebele*)

Call: *Ungabo dlalisu nyawo lami – Do not despise my foot.*

Response: *Dlala nyawo lami – Dance my foot.*

2.1.2 JUBA 'MBOLEKA (*Isindebele*)

Call: *Juba 'mboleka maphiko – Dove lend me wings.*

Response: *Ye juba'mboleka ye juba 'mboleka maphiko – Ye dove lend me
ye dove lend me wings.*

Call: *Juba 'mboleka ngi phaphe – Dove lend me wings to fly.*

Response: *Ye juba 'mboleka ye juba 'mboleka maphiko – Ye dove lend me
dove lend me wings to fly.*

2.1.3 DLALA NYAWO (*Isindebele*)

Call: *Dlal'u hambe dlal'u khatshana – Dance and go dance from afar.*

Response: *Dlala dlala wo dlal'u khatshana* – Dance, dance, dance from afar.

Call: *Abako Ncube sebe hlangana' madlozi bo* – The Ncube (monkey) family people are meeting the ancestors.

Response: *Dlala dlala wo dlal'u khatshana* – Dance, dance, dance from afar.

Call: *Abako Ncube sebe gida nga madlozi bo* – The Ncube family are dancing through the ancestors.

Response: *Dlala wo dlal'u khatshana* – Dance, dance from afar.

2.1.4 MATHAMBO (*Isindebele*)

Call: *Liya wa bona mathambo ezinyoka?* – Do you see the snake bones?

Response: *Siya wa bona mathambo ezinyoka* – We see the snake bones.

Call: *Lela lalela lela lalela* – Listen listen.

Response: *Siya wa bona mathambo ezinyoka* – We see the snake bones.

Call: *Mathambo ezinyoka mathambo ezinyoka* – Snake bones snake bones.

Call: *Lithi sangoma si qhoki 'zinyoka* – You say a *sangoma* dresses in snakes.

Response: *Siya wa bona mathambo ezinyoka* – We see snake bones.

2.2 MANTSHOMANE

2.2.1 IFUREMACHINA (*Isindebele*)

Call: *Ifuremachina ilo mgwaqo nga phezulu lele* – An aeroplane has a route in the sky there.

Response: *Wayi memeza wayi memeza wayi memeza wayi memeza* – It has been announced, it has been announced, it has been announced, it has been announced.

Call: *Ifuremachina iya ndiza nga phezulu lele* – An aeroplane travels in the sky there.

Response: *Wayi memeza, wayi memeza, wayi memeza, wayi memeza* – It has been announced, it has been announced, it has been announced, it has been announced.

Call: *Ngubani wa ku tshela wath'u nvundla ule dobi lele?* – Who told you a hare can make *dobi* (kind of relish)?

Response: *Wayi memeza, wayi memeza, wayi memeza, wayi memeza* – It has been announced, it has been announced, it has been announced, it has been announced.

Call: *Isitshebo sa maswina idobi le gundwane lele* – The relish of the *Shona* people is *dobi* made from a rat.

2.2.2 EMKHAYENI (Isindebele)

Call: *Dlal'e mkhayeni iya dlala* – Dance at the *mkhaya* (a thorny tree which grows very tall) tree, is dancing.

Response: *Ingqungqulu (ipungu – Ikalanga) iya dlale mkhayeni* – An eagle is singing on the *mkhaya* tree.

Call: *Nansi yana* – There it is.

Response: *Ingqungqulu (ipungu – Ikalanga) iya dlal'e mkhayeni* – An eagle is singing on the *mkhaya* tree.

Call: *Mayibabo – Mayibabo.*

Response: *Ingqungqulu iya dlal'e mkhayeni* – An eagle is singing on the *mkhaya* tree.

2.2.3 DLALA NYONI (Isindebele)

Call: *Phezulu dlala nyoni yami* – Up, dance my bird.

Response: *Aye dlala nyoni yami bambela phezulu* – Aye dance my bird hold up.

Call: *Awu dlala mgani wami* – Awu dance my colleague.

Response: *Aye dlala nyoni yami bambela phezulu* – Aye dance my bird hold up.

2.2.4 BAISANA (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Swimbo dzangu baisana bangu* – My knobkerries my boys.

Response: *Woza phezulu wee* – Come up *wee*.

Call: *Ndzimu wa tate izha u bone* – My father's ancestor come and see.

Response: *Woza phezulu wee* – Come up *wee*.

Call: *Ayi khale baisana bangu* – Let us dance my boys.

3 TRADITIONAL MUSIC FOR HAPPY OCCASIONS AND ENTERTAINMENT (SEE THESIS CHAPTER 8 (8.1))

3.1 NDAZULA

3.1.1 HELE WOYE (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Hele woye* – *Hele woye*.

Response: *Aye ye wole* – *Aye ye wole*.

3.1.2 WOYA WOYE (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Heya woye* – *Heya woye*.

Response: *Hee woye, woye, woye, woye* – *Hee woye, woye, woye, woye*.

3.1.3 GUMBO (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Ikukwana the gumbo lingompela* – A chicken with one leg.

Response: *Huwe, huwe, yaa, huwe, zwa lobana, helele wole huwe – Huwe, huwe, yaa, huwe, zwa lobana, helele wole huwe.*

3.1.4 ZHA U BONE (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Zha u bone zha u bone* – Come and see, come and see.

Response: *Woye zha u bone* – Oh come and see.

3.2 MUKOMOTO

3.2.1 DELELE LANGU (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Delele langu lipa moto* – My okra is on fire (cooking).

Response: *Delele langu lipa moto* – My okra is on fire.

Call: *U li bhike uli longe mowa* – Cook it and dilute it with *mowa* (another *Ikalanga* vegetable which is added to okra to reduce its slipperiness).

Response: *Delele langu lipa moto* – My okra is on fire.

3.2.2 BANOZHA (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Kwayi banozha* – It is said they are coming.

Response: *Bano, bano zha* – they are, they are coming.

Call: *Kwayi bano zha* – It is said they are coming.

Response: *Bano zha beni be magalo bano zha* – The owners of the place (dancing arena) are coming.

Call: *Iswi to dumilisa* – We are greeting.

Response: *Bano, bano zha* – They are, they are coming.

Call: *Kambe bano zha* – Truly they are coming.

Response: *Bano zha beni be magalo bano zha* – The owners of the place are coming.

Call: *Toba sala shule* – We come after them.

3.2.3 HAMBALOLIWE (*Isindebele, Xhosa & Ikalanga*)

Call: *Hamba loliwe loliwe* – Move train, train move.

Response: *Hamba loliwe, loliwe* - Move train, train move.

Call: *Hamba loliwe zana ko ndi kona* – Move train, I am not able to dance.

Response: *Hamba loliwe loliwe* – Move train, train move.

Call: *Ndati ndi wo bona pa gele mwana* – I have come to see where my child stays.

Response: *Hamba loliwe loliwe* – Move train, train move.

3.2.4 BAYALA (*Isindebele*)

Call: *Bayala* – They are refusing.

Response: *Bayal'u ku landel'u malukazana bayala* – They are refusing to follow the daughter-in-law, they are refusing.

Call: *Nge ndaba ye tshukela bayala* – Because of sugar (liking tea by the mother in-law) matters they are refusing.

Response: *Bayal'u ku landel'u malukazana bayala* – They are refusing to follow the daughter-in-law, they are refusing.

3.3 WOSO

3.3.1 HE NTULE (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *He ntule wee* – The animal *ntule*.

Response: *Ntule – Ntule*.

Call: *He ntule wee* – The animal *ntule*.

Response: *Tjina nda watjo* – It has its own field.

Call: *We manongo* – Of ground nuts.

Response: *Tjina nda watjo* – It has its own field.

3.3.2 KA BHIKE (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Ye wole wee tshayi sikwamulo* – *Ye wole wee* strike the shoe.

Response: *Kwamulo* – Imitation of a shoe sound in dance.

Call: *Kutjema ka bhike wee* – *Kutjema* get married.

Response: *Kwamulo* – Imitation of a shoe sound in dance

Call: *Ku sale Palalani* – Let *Palalani* remain.

Response: *Kwamulo* – Imitation of a shoe sound in dance.

Call: *Palalani ka bhike wee* – *Palalani* get married.

Response: *Kwamulo* – Imitation of a shoe sound in dance.

Call: *Ku sale manka wee* – Let *Manka* remain.

Response: *Kwamulo* – Imitation of a shoe sound in dance.

3.3.3 ZHONGOLOLO (*Ikalanga*)

Call: *Zhongololo* – A millipede.

Response: *Zhongololo a lina mano zhongololo* – A millipede is not clever, a millipede.

Call: *Lo tobela zila* – It follows the road.

Response: *Zhongololo a lina mano zhongololo* – A millipede is not clever, a millipede.

Call: *Lo wila mu dzete* – It falls into a large hole.

Response: *Zhongololo a lina mano zhongololo* – A millipede is not clever, a millipede.

3.4 *IPERU*

3.4.1 *DONKANA (Ikalanga)*

Call: *Donkana ye wole* – Small donkey *ye wole*.

Response: *Iye wee donkana zwa lobana* – *Iye wee* small donkeys have met.

3.4.2 *NINI WEE (Ikalanga)*

Call: *Nini wee izha koroni* – *Nini wee* get crowned.

Response: *Izha koroni* – Get crowned.

Call: *Hayi wole izha koroni* – *Hayi wole* come crown.

Response: *Ha ye wole izha koroni – Ha ye wole come crown.*

3.4.3 ZWA LOBANA (Ikalanga)

Call: *He helele – He helele.*

Response: *He wole helele zwa lobana – He wole helele they have met.*

Call: *Helele – Helele.*

Response: *He wole zwa lobana – He wole they have met.*

3.5 TSHIKITSHA

SHELENI (Isindebele)

Call: *Sheleni lami – My shilling.*

Response: *Heee – Heee.*

Call: *Sheleni lami – My shilling.*

Response: *He umnandi wa masheleni – He the niceness of shillings (Lobola/bride price).*

Call: *Ilobola – Bride price.*

Response: *Heee – Heee.*

Call: *Sheleni lami – My shilling.*

Response: *He umnandi wa masheleni* – *He* the niceness of shillings.

3.6 BHORO (*Ikalanga*)

3.6.1 SENA MOLOMO (*Setswana*)

Call: *Sebono saga RraNthonokwe* – *RraNthonokwe's* anus.

Response: *Aye sena molomo* – *Aye* has a mouth.

Call: *Se na le mokoti wa kgamelo* – It has a hole of a milking can.

Response: *Aye sena molomo* – *Aye* it has a mouth.

Call: *Mpatliseng kea batla* – Help me find something.

Response: *Aye sena molomo* – *Aye* it has a mouth.

Call: *Ke lathile sebokolodi* – I have lost a millipede.

Response: *Aha sena molomo* – *Aha* it has a mouth.

3.6.2 BOMME (*Setswana*)

Call: *Bomme bomme hehe* – My mother, my mother, *hehe*.

Response: *Bomme kanakana bomme he* – My mother *kanakana* my mother *he*.

Call: *Bomme batsile bomme he* – My mother has come my mother *hehe*.

Response: *Bomme kanakana bommee he* – My mother *kanakana* my mother *he*.

N. B. See 3.6.1 for the words of 3.6.3 and 3.6.4.