

A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE USE OF SKIN AS A FORM OF
IDENTITY IN ZULU CULTURE

BY

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is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the
author, and are not necessarily to be attributed to the National Research Foundation.

I declare that this dissertation is my own work and has not been submitted for any
degree or examination at any other institution.

/ Langa P. Magwa

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PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Professor M.Kunene. Glenwood, Durban

Vela Zondi. KwaMagoda Village, Richmond

Velbisi Shabane. Slangsrut, Pietermaritzburg

J. Ngubane. Dalton Hostel, Durban

Nozipho Sikhakhane. Greytown

Emmanuel Nkosinathi Gwala. Endaleni, Richmond

Julia Zondi. Ntuzuma near Durban

Bongani Zuma. uMlazi near Durban

Nkosinathi Mchunu. Clermont near Durban

Simonyo Mzimela. Durban Herb Market, Durban

Tholakele Mkhize Clermont near Durban

Bhekisizwe Zulu. Whewhe Village near Tongaat

ABSTRACT

The aim of this dissertation is to investigate and critically evaluate the use of skin as a form of identity in Zulu culture. This investigation will focus on the historical and contemporary practices of scarification and ear – piercing in Zulu culture.

In Chapter One, Section One the candidate will discuss the scarification and tattooing techniques, and refer to the decline in the practice of scarification in contemporary Africa.

The scarification and tattooing techniques have the following elements in common; incisions made on the body or skin to create scar patterns or shapes.

In Chapter One, Section Two the candidate will discuss the different purposes of scarification practiced by people in Africa. Scarification has traditionally been used for any different purposes, such as rite of passage, tribal/clan identity, civilizing, beauty, sexual attraction, healing and medicinal.

In Chapter Two, Section One the candidate will discuss the concepts of culture and identity and propose a definition of identity and culture for the purposes of this dissertation.

In Chapter Two, Section Two the candidate will write a personal history and describe the origins of his identity. Chapter Two, Section Three will discuss the historical formulation of Zulu identity and culture. Chapter Two, Section Four will investigate how internal and external influences have changed Zulu identity and culture over time.

In Chapter Three, Section One the candidate discusses the historical and contemporary use of scarification in Zulu culture. There is limited written information relevant to the practice of

scarification in Zulu culture. This lack of information is the result of limited documentation by colonial historians, as well as the oral nature of communication in Zulu culture. **Chapter Three, Section Two** consists of interviews with nine members of Zulu clans which provide information relating to the historical and contemporary practice, and technique, of scarification in Zulu culture. In **Chapter Three, Section Three** the candidate compares the historical and contemporary practice of scarification in Zulu culture to establish changes that have taken place in the practice of scarification.

In **Chapter Four, Section One** the candidate discuss the *ukuqhumbuza* (earpiercing) custom, and not *iziqhaza* (earplugs), as a form of identity in Zulu culture. **Chapter Four, Section Two** consists of interviews three members of Zulu families to which provide information relating to the historical and contemporary practice and technique of ear piercing in Zulu culture.

Conclusion. The candidate concludes by noting that most of the information relating to scarification and ear piercing has been written by Europeans; the lack of writing about scarification and ear piercing by Zulu people is due to the oral nature of Zulu culture.

In addition, the candidate concludes by noting that the practices of scarification and ear piercing are declining, due to Western influences such as religion, education, urbanization and government intervention. However, it is evident that when practiced by contemporary Zulus, scarification and ear piercing ceremonies and techniques have changed little over time.

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PREFACE

The following conventions have applied to this dissertation:

- The Harvard system of referencing has been used.
- Double indentations and single spacing indicate direct quotations.
- “...” are used for direct quotations.
- ‘...’ are used for quotations within quotations.
- Titles of publications and works of art are underlined.
- Illustrations are referred to by their figure number in brackets.
- In the works illustrated the height measurement precedes the breadth.

THE USE OF SKIN AS A FORM OF IDENTITY IN ZULU CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this dissertation is to investigate and critically evaluate the use of skin as a form of identity in Zulu culture. This investigation will focus on the practices of scarification and ear-piercing in historical and contemporary Zulu culture. This study will not investigate the use of skin as a form of identity in Zulu culture in terms of clothing and medicine. This area has been comprehensively investigated by writers such as Tyrrell (1974, 1983) and Kennedy (1988). This research is a continuation of research on scarification done by the candidate as part of his Bachelor's Degree in Technology.

There is limited written information relevant to the practice of scarification in Zulu culture. This lack of information is the result of limited documentation by colonial historians, as well as the oral nature of communication in Zulu culture. In addition, this dissertation will add to the body of knowledge relating to scarification and ear piercing in Zulu culture. This body of knowledge has mostly been written from a European perspective by writers such as Brain (1970), Tyrrell (1974, 1983), Kennedy (1993), Fynn (1969), Bryant (1967), Bird (1888), Mayr (1906) and Hammond Tooke (1974). The dissertation will, through interviews with contemporary Zulu practitioners, provide information on scarification and ear piercing from a Zulu perspective. The information provided by these people has been handed down through generations as oral history.

The dissertation will discuss the concepts of identity and culture and will propose definitions for use in this research. The research will explore how Zulu culture and identity were formed, and how external and internal influences brought about change in

Zulu culture. The research will focus on issues relating to identity in the context of changing traditions in Zulu culture, because "culture is not regarded as something with which one is born, but as being learned...it is therefore important that you do not think of culture as being static. Rather it is dynamic, being subtly or radically transformed or changed over time by the actions of people" (Craig et al, 1994:56).

This research will include a personal history of the candidate which will allow the candidate to reflect on, and reclaim, his identity; in addition, it will provide the reader with an insight into the relationship between the candidate's identity and his practical work.

The dissertation will investigate the changes and influences surrounding the decline of the traditional practice of scarification and ear piercing as a form of identity in Zulu culture.

The dissertation will critically analyze and compare information collected from interviews with Zulu people and from historical sources, to establish changes that have taken place in the practices of scarification and ear piercing among the Zulu people. In addition, the dissertation will explore the decline of scarification and ear-piercing, and the reasons for the decline.

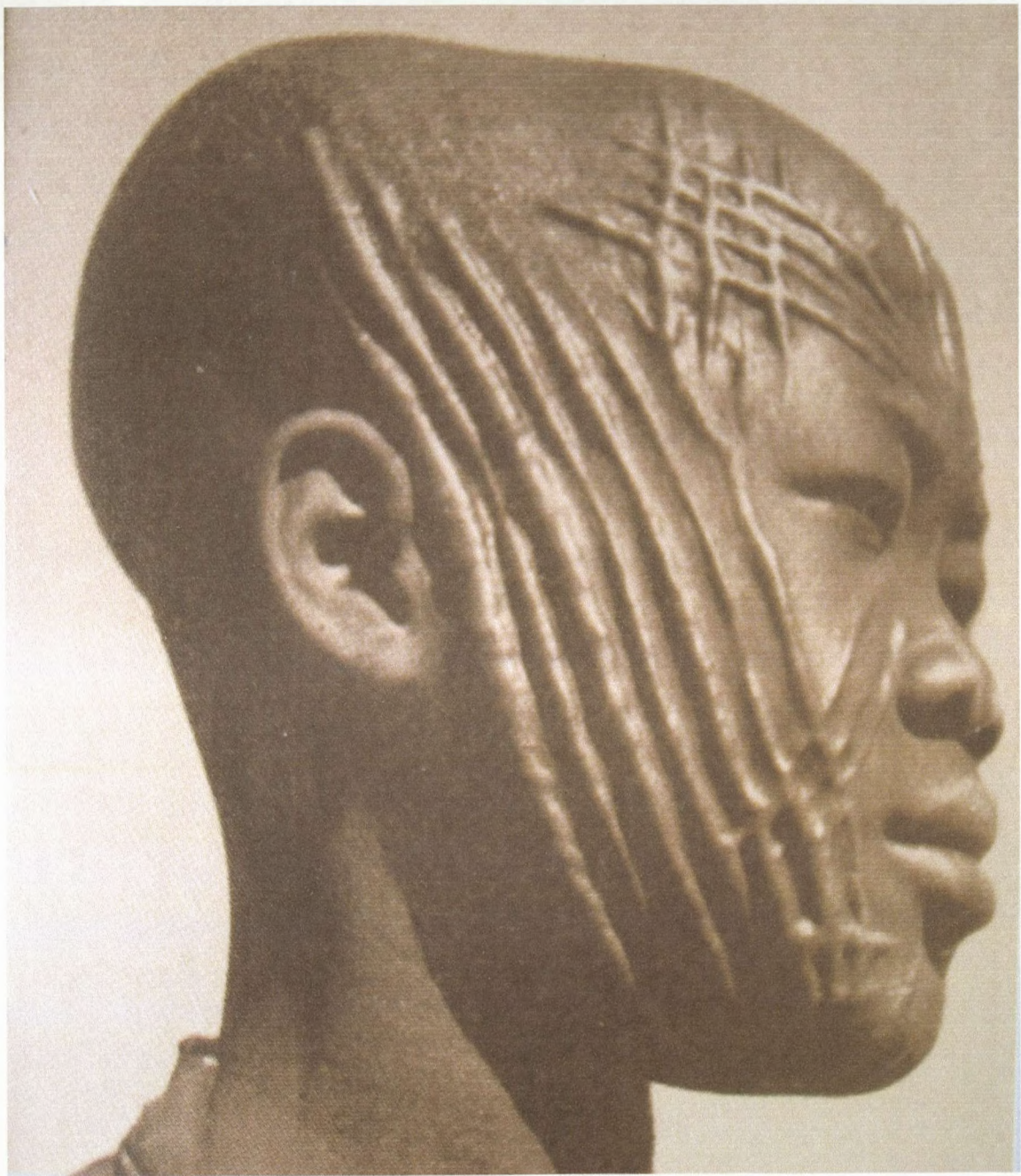


Figure 2. Raised Scars (Keloids), Man from Chad

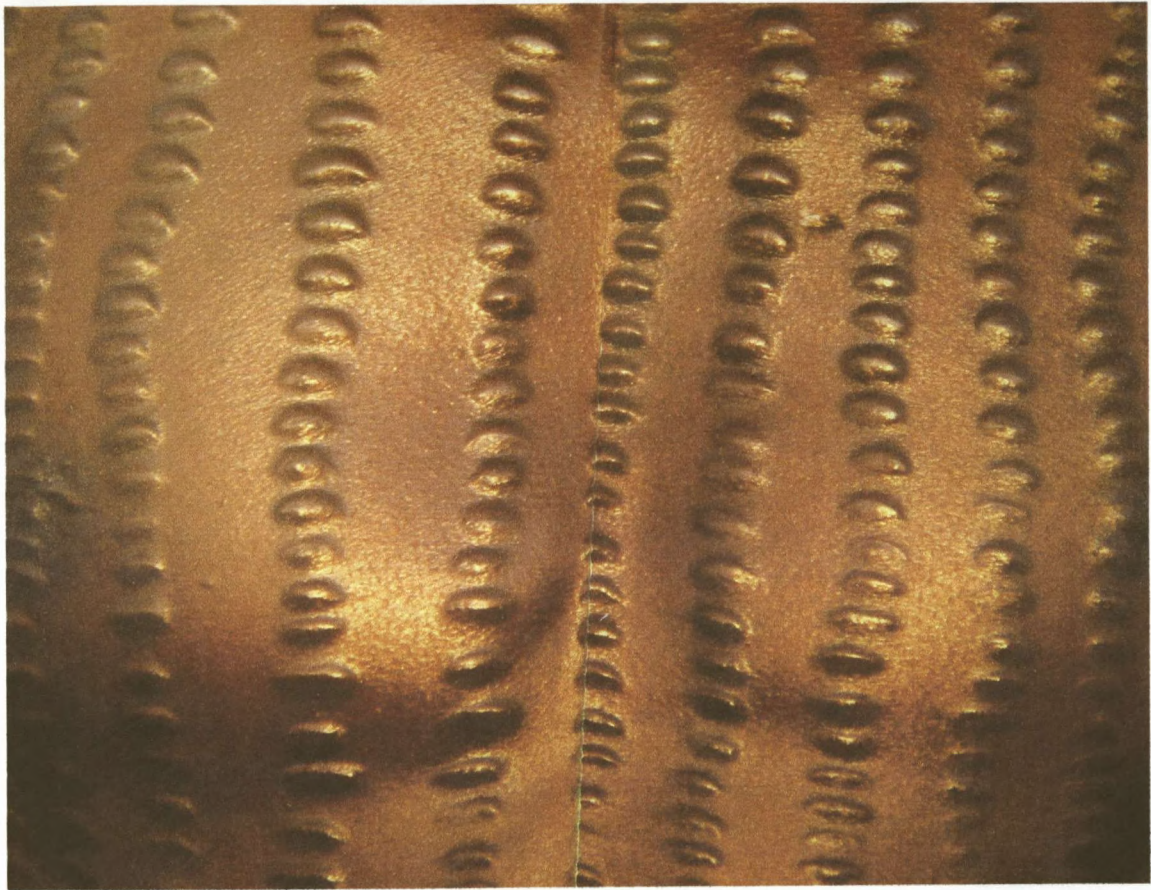


Figure 1. Raised Scars (Keloids), Bumi Male Scarification



Figure 3. Raised Scars (Keloids), Tabwa Woman from Zaire



Figure 4. Linear Scars Man from Zondi Clan in KwaMagoda near Richmond

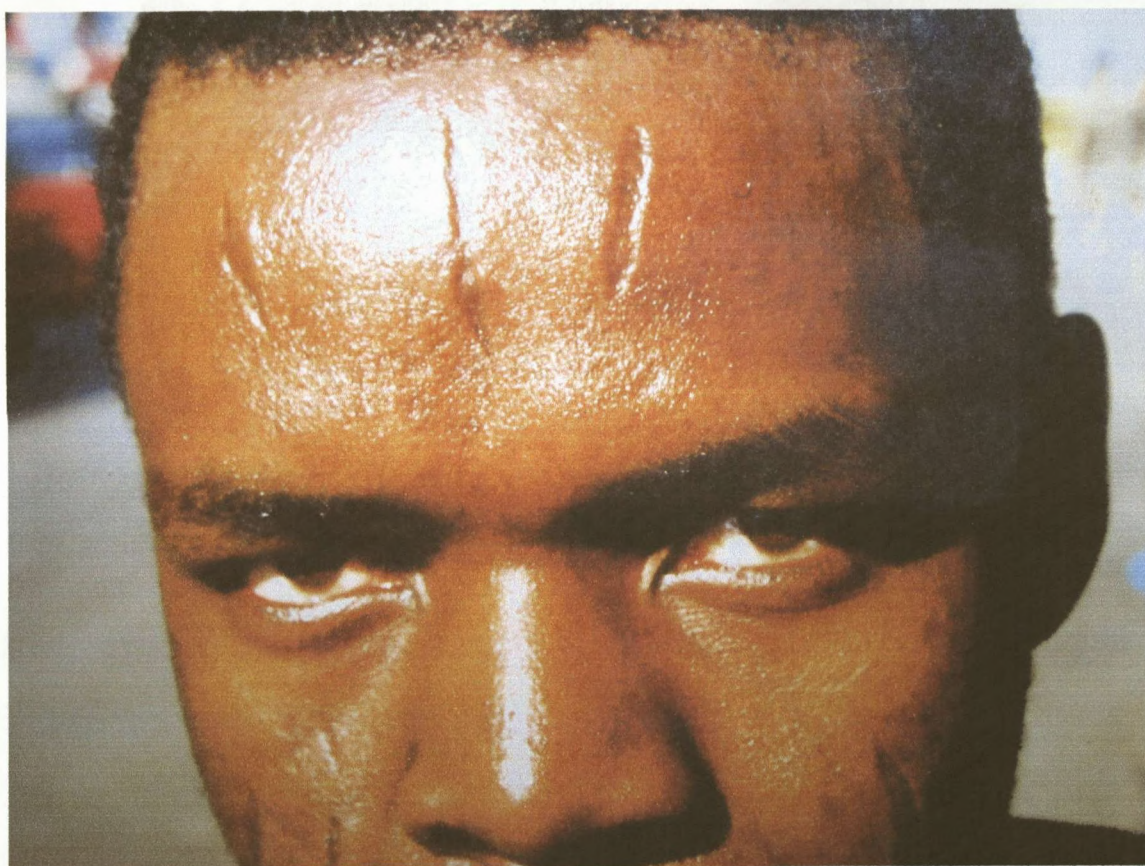


Figure 5. Linear Scars Man from Zondi Clan in KwaMagoda near Richmond



Figure 6. Linear Scars, Girl from Mchunu Clan in Clermont



Figure 7. Linear Scars, Tabwa Woman from Zaire

CHAPTER 1: SECTION 1

SCARIFICATION AND TATTOOING

In this section, the candidate will discuss the similarities and differences between scarification and tattooing techniques, and refer to the decline in the practice of scarification in contemporary Africa. The scarification and tattooing techniques have the following elements in common; incisions made on the body or skin to create scar patterns or shapes.

Brain (1979: 70) defined scarification “as incisions on the body, but most specifically the face. These marks range in size, number and pattern. The marks are predominantly incised on the forehead, the cheeks and chin”. Ayeni defines scarification as a process of creating a wound that eventually heals to form a scar (2004). Coleman defines scarification as the practice of incising the skin with a sharp instrument, such as a knife, glass, stone, or coconut shell in such a way as to control the shape of the scar tissue on various parts of the body (Coleman, 2002). However, different types of marks can be made depending on the tools and techniques used, and the types of substances introduced to the wound. Scars can be raised or indented, globular or linear, depending on the use of different techniques. Raised scars (keloids) (Fig 1, Fig 2 and Fig 3) are made using two instruments. “A hooked thorn to lift the skin and pull it up, and a small blade with which the raised skin is sliced to produce a protruding scar. The more the skin is pulled up before cutting the higher the resulting keloid”(Brain, 1979: 70). Indented scars are made by using a sharp instrument or blades to cut into the skin. These are called linear scars (Fig 4, Fig 5, Fig 6 and Fig 7).

Ayeni stated that “the term keloid was introduced by Alibert in 1806 and it evolved from the word cheloid. The term is derived from a Greek word meaning a crab claw

which refers to the manner in which the lesions grow literally into normal tissue” (2004).

Brain (1979: 73-74) described these two different scarification techniques when he said:

Tribal marks are usually cut on the face and may be ‘hollow’ or ‘raised’ according to the treatment of the wounds. The open – style flat scars which are not raised by colorants or irritants allow the best work, and are found among the Bateke, where facial scarification follows the lines and structure of the face and is as delicately wrought as Maori *moko*. ... The ‘raised’ method, which uses scarification to make the welts and lumps known as keloids, allows a greater variety. It can also produce patterns, although some techniques result in ugly scars.

Coleman (2002), in describing the technique that produces raised scars, said that:

Cicatrization is a special form of scarification, whereby a gash is made in the skin with a sharp instrument, and irritation of the skin caused by applying caustic juices forms permanent blisters. Dark pigments such as ground charcoal or gun powder are sometimes rubbed into the wound to provide emphasis. These cuts, when healed, form raised scars, known as keloids.

A raised scar as opposed to a flat or sunken scar, was created by the people living in the East and middle regions of Nigeria; raised cuts were made by making the line of cuts on the body or face, then stretching them open and inserting pads of palm leaf or other padding beneath the skin. Soot or oil in and the treatment as repeated until the keloids attained the desired size and protrusion (Ayeni, 2004). Groning confirmed this technique of forming raised scars, or keloids, when he described the scarification technique as being “usually carried out by specially trained experts, recognized for their skills who may be either men or women. The technique varies very little; small cuts are made with razors or thorns, and the wounds are then covered with charcoal. When they have healed, raised scars are visible, sometimes showing the blue-black colouring of the incised lines (1997: 136).

In discussing the difference between the scarification and tattooing techniques, Ayeni



Figure 8. Tattoo, Wodabe Woman from Republic of Niger

(2004) said:

“Tribal marks” is an all – encompassing term that is used to describe several methods of changing the appearance of skin. Under this broad category one finds two specific practices: tattooing and scarification. On one hand, tattooing and scarification are similar in that they are both intentional and potential irreversible forms of skin alteration where instruments are used to disrupt the surface of the skin. On the other hand, an examination of the literature on tribal marks reveals that they represent two distinct processes, which produce visibly different results, even though slight variations of the practices occur among ethnic groups.

Ayeni continues by saying that tattooing has had a long history, starting in prehistoric times where sharp tools were dipped into pigment and then used to pierce the skin (2004) (Fig 8). Discussing scarification in Africa, Brain said that “scarification is common in Africa, since tattooing is not effective on dark pigmented skins, and the resulting scars vary from rough, ugly keloids to complex and delicate patterns” (1979: 70).

Ayeni (2004) contradicts Brain when he says:

There is a misconception that tattooing was not popular in darker skinned individuals because tattooing, which often involves using dark ink to transfer images into skin, would not be as visible on dark skin. There is strong evidence, however, that tattooing was popular throughout Africa and dark skinned Africans readily took part in the practice; in fact, many of them bore tattoos that remained visible long after they were drawn.

Groning (1997: 93), in discussing the difference between the tattooing and scarification techniques, said:

The English word ‘tattoo’ comes from a Tahitian root *tatau* (‘to inflict the wounds’). Tattooing involves making patterns in the skin with a needle or an adze shaped implement (‘the tattooing comb’) dipped in colouring matter, which penetrates the subcutaneous tissue and colours it permanently. For colouring matter the Polynesians used oily soot, obtained by burning seeds and mixing it to a fine paste with coconut oil. This pricking or colour tattooing is very different from scarification – which in Oceania is mainly confined to the Melanesian Islands – in which the skin is incised or burned to form the patterns.

Reid confirms this description of tattooing when he said “among the Maori of New Zealand, highborn males endure an elaborate and painful form of tattooing called Moko. Moko is cutting and chiseling away the skin and filling it with a pigment to create elaborate designs used to show status within the tribe and intimidate their enemies in battle (2004). Ayeni (2004) summed up the differences between scarification and tattooing when he said:

Scarification involves cutting or making an incision into the skin, and then allowing the wound to heal, leaving a permanent scar. At times, pigment would be incorporated into the scar, and this is where the distinction between tattooing and scarification blurs. The main difference between the two practices, then, is that the goal of tattooing was to introduce colour, either under the skin or the skin surface.

It is evident from the above descriptions that there are three different techniques that produce different kinds of scars. The first technique results in linear scars, the second technique results in raised scars (keloids), and the third technique results in coloured marks, either under the skin or on the surface of the skin (tattoos).

From information obtained in interviews, and observations made in the field, the candidate has noted that in Zulu culture scarification scars are linear scars, not raised scars (keloids) or coloured marks (tattoos).

It has been noted by writers that scarification is in decline as a practice in contemporary Africa. Coleman said that “the art of scarification is changing in Africa. In many communities, scarification patterns can now be seen only on the elderly” (2002). Lutge-Smith said that amongst the Makonde of Mozambique scarification is no longer practiced, but many of the older Makonde still bear scarification markings on their face and bodies (2002).

Groning noted that "many African governments have banned so-called 'tribal marks', scars denoting membership of a particular local group or kinship. But even in the countries where it is banned the practice continues in secret" (1997: 137).

Ayeni (2004) stated that:

The practice of scarification is changing in Africa and elsewhere. On one hand, "Pressure by church and State, the encroaching urban values, and the wide spread adoption of clothing contribute to the dwindling of this practice. In many communities, scarification patterns can now be seen on elderly".⁶² On the other hand, in the later part of the twentieth century, some young girls in Nigeria cut small marks under their eyes for the sake of decoration⁶³. Thus, just as there is evidence of a decline in the proportion of sub-Saharan Africans that bear or desire facial markings⁶⁴, in other parts of Africa and the world, scarification has emerged or has continued to be vogue.

Brain (1979: 70) said that "scarification, like tattooing, is disappearing, having been highly disapproved of by missionaries and banned by colonial governments. In contemporary Africa 'tribal marks' have been outlawed by such governments as the Ivory Coast as manifestations of 'anti patriotic tribalism and primitive survival'". The different purposes of scarification will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

CHAPTER 1: SECTION 2

THE DIFFERENT PURPOSES OF SCARIFICATION IN AFRICA

In this section the candidate will discuss the different purposes of scarification, practiced by people in Africa.

Coleman said that scarification is a long and painful process, and a permanent modification of the body which transmits complex messages about identity and social *status (2002). Scarification has traditionally been used for many different purposes, such as rite of passage, tribal/clan identity, civilizing, beauty, sexual attraction, healing and medicinal.

Groning (1997: 133), in discussing the purpose of scarification, said:

In many African societies people decorate themselves with striking scars, ornamenting their bodies with a wide variety of patterns. The purpose and the *function of these body markings can only be understood in the context of the social background. In many cases the scarification denotes a particular age group, but elsewhere it might signify membership of a particular local group or kinship.

Coleman said that scarification is a long and painful process, and a permanent modification of the body which transmits complex messages about identity and social *status (2002). Scarification has traditionally been used for many different purposes, such as rites of passage, tribal/clan identity, civilizing, beauty, sexual attraction, healing and medicinal.

Is also discussed individually in detail.

RITE OF PASSAGE

Cunningham said that in African societies a person is able to enter the social stages of the community through scarification (Cunningham, 2005). Groning (1998: 133), in discussing the purposes of scarification in African societies, said:

Each stage in a person's life is associated with scars; children are often given the first incisions immediately after birth. Further scarifications are then added at regular intervals – in the case of women, for instance, on their first menstruation, after the birth of the first child or after they finish breast feeding.

Fisher (1984:16) said that “for the Dinka, scarification such as this signifies initiation into adulthood, and also helps to distinguish between the various sub-tribes”. Scars are marks that document and record important stages in a person's life. But the absence of skin decoration can also indicate a person's social status, because expert practitioners are often too costly for everyone to be able to afford their services (Groning, 1997:135).

Groning (1997: 146), in discussing the scar patterns of the Nuba women, said:

The scarification reflects their role in society and indicates their responsibilities. In fact exactly when particular parts of a women's body may be decorated with the appropriate patterns are strictly laid down. Scarification is applied in three stages. Firstly, on the torso at the age of about ten, and under the breast after the first menstruation; after the first child is weaned further scarifications are added on the back, arms and legs.

Groning (1998: 133) said that in many African societies “each stage in a person's life is associated with scars: children are often given the first incisions immediately after birth. Further scarifications are then added at regular intervals – in the case of women, for instance, on their first menstruation, after the birth of the first child or after they finish breastfeeding”.

Body marks can indicate a specific role in the community, the passage into sexual maturity or confirm sexual experience (Cunningham, 2001). Scarring is often associated with growing fertility in early adolescence girls. They receive their first body scars, gaining more complex ones as they mature, and when they give birth. It is clear then, that in terms of rites of passage, scarification in Africa plays a major role in defining an individual's sexual and social status and position in the family and society.

GROUP IDENTITY

There are numerous ethnic groups that exist on the African continent. One of the best-documented reasons for scarification in Africa was for the purpose of identifying people (Ayeni, 2004).

Ayeni (2004) said that:

In a comprehensive account of the Yoruba people of Nigeria, Samuel Johnson includes twenty-four face sketches with different types of Yoruba marks and then describes each of these patterns. According to Johnson, the marks were used to distinguish members of Yoruba royal families.

In many African societies people decorate themselves with scarification, through the ornamentation of their bodies with a wide variety of patterns. The purpose behind each pattern may vary according to each clan or particular family group, and is broken down according to the person's age and gender (Bryant, 1949: 72).

Scarification links the individual to a social group as an insider, by setting a shared scarification language. Scarification or body marks can also distinguish outsiders, by proclaiming a separate identity. In a complex and diverse society, when someone shuns certain types of body marks, they can become the norm, they lose their power to define group membership and instead express individual choices and life experiences. (Craig et al, 1994: 60).

Tribal marks in the form of scarification, tattooing or bodily mutilations become, by usage, characteristics of the group and represent the associational and emotional part of the group (Thomas, 1904). In most African countries, scarification was used to avoid the shame of intermarriages between related families. From the particular patterning created through scarification one is able to place the individual as belonging to a certain clan or surname, whether they are related or not (Reid, 2004).

Groning (188:133) said that:

Many African societies decorate themselves with striking scars, ornamenting their bodies with a wide variety of patterns. The purpose and the function of these body markings can only be understood in the context of social backgrounds. In many cases the scarification denotes a particular age group, but elsewhere it might signify membership of a particular local group or kinship.

In the context of group identity, the practice of scarification is widely used in Africa to identify individuals as belonging to a particular group of people, clan or surname.

MARKS OF CIVILIZATION

Scarification was practiced by the Baule people of the Ivory Coast who believed scarification was the highest mark civilization. Without these marks a person was not considered to be part of the community (Reid, 2004). Scarification and other forms of body decoration were traditionally considered marks of civilization. They distinguished the civilized, socialized human body from the body in its natural state and from animals (Vogel cited in Coleman, 2002). "For the Baule people scarification is one of the signs of a civilized human being, and represents man's order imposed on nature" (Vogel cited in Cunningham, 2001).

Cunningham (2001) said that:

Vogel's findings relate to the earlier quote from Thevoz who says that a naked ape or animal is transformed into a human being through scarification, transporting them "from meaningless to symbolic order", or in Vogel's opinion from the bush to civilization. However Vogel insists that the Baule do not use this contrast to distinguish between human beings and animals, they just restrict the meaning of what is civilized.

In relation to scarification and its perception in Southern Africa, communities have mixed reactions towards the practice. Some see it as an uncivilized act of body

mutilation; others believe it is a respected form of identity, which denotes one's origin and sense of belonging, and still practice it today in some communities.

BEAUTY

Coleman said that scarification is used in West Africa not only for the identification of groups, families and individuals, but also to express personal beauty. Scarification marks can assist in making females more attractive to men, as the scars are regarded as appealing to touch as well as to look at (2002). Coleman (2002) gave examples of the above when she said:

The Tiv of Nigeria value women with raised scars as mates because they consider scarified women more sexually demanding and therefore, likely to bear more children. The Tiv claim the raised scars stay sensitive more many years and they produce erotic sensations in both men and women when touched or stroked.

Groning, in discussing the relationship between scarification and beauty, said that "amongst the Luluwa of Zaire decorative scars are both aesthetic and symbolic. Primarily emphasizing the health and the beauty of the skin, they also reflect a woman's exemplary moral and physical attributes" (1998:167).

Groning (1997: 133) continued by saying that in many African societies:

The painful decorations are seen as a way of improving physical appearance, and they are erotic in their sensual connotations. The main purpose of the scars is to ensure success with the opposite sex, because a person is not a 'real man' or 'real woman' without them.

The Kaleri women of Nigeria are very proud of their decorative scars. They undergo considerable pain in the making of the scars. These signs of their femininity make them attractive and desirable (Groning, 1997: 133). According to Delegorgue, girls with

'decorative' patterns of scars were highly valued when acquired by a suitor (Delegorgue cited in Kennedy 1993:116). Tyrrell said that in Africa "today scars on face and body are signs of beauty" (1974: 150).

It is evident that scarification historically has been used, and is still used today, by individuals in Africa to decorate the body for aesthetic and symbolic reasons.

MUTILATION

In discussing the relationship between scarification and mutilation Ayeni (2004) said that "scarification would elicit both positive and disapproving responses because it could cause others to either embrace or reject the bearer of the scars". Ayeni (2004) cites de Negri who said that: *citing a quote within a quote.*

When slavery was rife, facial cuts were given in order to make it easier for relatives to recognize their lost children should the possibility of reclaiming them occur; individuals would know to which tribe they belong. [In addition] marks were used to distinguish the various families within a tribe In the case of heavy mutilation of the face practiced by some tribes, it was possibly thought that those so marked would appear less attractive and thus escape some of the evils of slavery.

Scarification played a dual role, on the one hand in uniting members of an ethnic group and facilitating their identification, while on the other hand having the potential to make the bearer of the scars undesirable to non group members.

Theresa Lutge-Smith (2005), in discussing the Makonde in Mozambique, stated that:

The Makonde are also known to have scarred their bodies in order to avoid being taken as slaves. While this is no longer practiced, many of the older Makonde still bear scarification markings on their face and bodies. They cut their skin and rub ashes into the cuts to create a geometric pattern. This can be seen in the art they create for their carvings.

Tyrrell linked the act of scarification to body mutilation, when she said “the custom of scarification throughout Africa is said to link with the days of the Arab slavers, when beautiful girls mutilated their faces and limbs in order to reduce their value as prizes for the slave market” (1974: 148-150).

Mutilation through scarification was used as a strategy by Africans in an attempt to avoid being taken into slavery, as the physical appearance of individuals was an important selling factor.

SPIRITUAL

Scarification has played a central role in the spiritual world of different cultures. In some cultures the body is an avenue of social and spiritual meaning (Cunningham, 2001). In many African nations, body marks serve as a link with ancestors, deities or spirits and mediate the relationship between people and the supernatural world. In some Zulu people scars are sometimes used as a protective shield against evil. African figure sculptures in wood or stone often display scarification marks that sometimes identify them as specific ancestors or deities (Craig et al, 1994: 60). Schildkrout (2001: 6) discussed the relationship between scarification and spirituality when she said that:

Body art takes on specific meanings in different cultures. It can serve as link with ancestors, deities, or spirits. Besides being decorative, tattoos, paint, The and scars can mediate a relationship between people and the supernatural world. Decorated body can serve as shield to repel evil or as means of attracting good fortune.

Camphausen said that “among the most ancient culture that has somewhat survived into the twentieth century, a person uses pain as a means of transcending ordinary consciousness, of opening the heart and mind to realities beyond everyday life” (1997:

84-86). Tyrrell, in discussing the relationship between scarification and ancestors amongst South African tribes, said "many rites must still be observed to placate ancestors, such as a slitting of the baby's face, a tribal custom which must be honoured or the child prove ailing and restless. This must done at full moon, cuts treated with beer and cow dung and the gall of the goat" (1974: 160).

Scarification has been used in Africa to placate, and serve as a link with, the ancestors, and to repel evil spirits.

HEALING AND MEDICINAL

Scarification is used for medicinal purposes in different cultures. Groning (1998:135) said that:

By no means all scars have a symbolic meaning or social implications. Many are simply the result of medical treatment - bloodletting or the introduction of medical protective substances into the skin - or the marks of burns deliberately administered to particular parts of a sick person's body to stimulate the immune system." He gives the example of the Nuba, who make incisions over the eyes to improve eyesight, while incisions in the temples are believed to relieve headaches.

Scarification as a form of identification has a long history in Africa; however it is evident that the practice also had medicinal applications. The person that created the scars would be both artist and medicinal practitioner and would combine artistic skills with knowledge in the areas of scar healing to produce a specific type of scar (Ayeni, 2004:3).

As can be seen, the purposes of scarification are very diverse. However, this dissertation will focus on the cultural use of scarification for the purpose of identity.

Issues of culture and identity will be discussed in the next section.

→ the researcher narrows down the focus to the aim of the dissertation after a vast scope of discussing scarification.

CHAPTER 2: SECTION 1

CULTURE AND IDENTITY

In this section the candidate will discuss the concepts of culture and identity and propose a definition of identity and culture for the purposes of this dissertation. In addition, the candidate will write a personal history and describe the origins of his identity.

There are many different concepts and definitions of culture and identity. Kidd (2002: 2-3) said that:

sociologists use the word culture to mean 'the way of life of a group' and by identity we usually mean 'knowing who you are' and.....there is great controversy over the precise definition of these key concepts. The study of culture and identity therefore involves debates on a wide range of important issues.

He says one of the important issues is the issue of the relationship of the individual to the wider group (Kidd, 2002:3). However, there are strong links between culture and identity. Kidd says that culture and identity should not be seen as being exactly the same. He says that culture represents the macro or 'big picture', and identity represents the smaller, micro meanings we have as individuals (Kidd, 2002: 7).

CULTURE

Kidd (2002: 5-6) describes culture as "the way of life of a group of people. In other words - how they live their lives". Kluckhohn (1965: 25) spoke of the differences between what is learned and what is hereditary in culture, when he said:

Culture, then is one facet of human life. It is that part which is learned by people as the result of belonging to some particular group, and is that part of learned behaviour which is shared with others. It is our social legacy, as contrasted with our organic heredity. It is the main factor which permits us to live together in a society, giving us the ready made solutions to our problems, helping us to predict the behaviour of others, and permitting others to know what to expect of us.

The sociologist Raymond Williams (cited in Kidd, 2002: 9) said:

Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. This is partly so because of its intricate historical development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought.

Abbott says there are many definitions of culture, but he argues that there are two main definitions (Abbott: 1998, 7). Abbott (1998: 7-8) described the two main definitions of culture when he said:

A general definition comes from structural theories and defines culture as the 'way of life' of a society. This view assumes that there is a shared way of life within a society, with shared norms and values, which binds the society together. A more specific definition of culture comes from interpretivist theories, which see it as comprising the shared meanings and symbols, which people use to convey meaning.

The interpretations of these shared meanings and symbols can be seen as a form of cultural practice. These cultural practices can include the use of language, where members of a society develop a certain dialect or jargon that is distinctly theirs. Societies develop certain symbols, such as types of clothing and body marks, which communicate certain messages to other members of the same culture. These symbols are read as signs which then guide a person's behaviour in particular situations. In defining who we are ^{as} people go as far as altering their physical appearance, in order to communicate and re-enforce their sense of origin or belonging (Abbott, 1998: 7-8). For example, in Zulu culture, certain individuals scarify their faces as a cultural practice to emphasize their sense of belonging within a certain clan (surname).

Culture is not static; socio-economic and socio-cultural factors have a major impact on how culture evolves. Craig et al (1994: 56) said that:

Culture is not regarded as something with which one is born, but as being learned...it is therefore important that you do not think of culture as being static. Rather it is dynamic, being subtly or even radically transformed or changed through time by the actions of people.

Kidd (2002: 5-6) supported this view when he said that "for example, simply because social life, for us, happens to be structured in a particular way, does not mean that it has to be like this, nor that it was like this in the past".

Culture is vital to society in the sense that it is interlinked with our historical development. Culture is part of what we do and who we are. It is clear that then society is generally formed by individuals who share the same culture, which is constantly exposed to other cultures whose different beliefs and practices can either influence, or be imposed on, the shared culture. For the purposes of this research culture will be defined as:

The way of life of a group of people, consisting of learned patterns of behaviour and thought passed on from one generation to the next. The notion includes the group's beliefs, values, language, political organization, and economic activity, as well as its equipment, techniques, and art forms (referred to as material culture). (Crystal, 1990: 309).

As noted above, culture has a very complex nature that evolves, or transforms, and adapts to different circumstances and influences. Zulu society has witnessed numerous influences, which have played a significant role in shaping what we today call Zulu culture. These influences will be discussed in the section titled Zulu Culture and Identity: Formulation and Change.

IDENTITY

Identity is negotiable as it allows us to see humans as active, thinking beings, Rather than the passive victims of the culture that controls them (Kidd, 2002: 25-26). There are

many forms of identity, but Kidd (2002: 26) said that it is possible to distinguish between three related, but subtly different, forms of identity:

Individual identity. Although in one sense this sort of identity is social since it is believed by many to be created through social interaction with others, individual identity is the unique sense of personhood held by each social actor in her or his own right.

Social identity. By 'social identity' many sociologists mean a collective sense of belonging to a group, of individuals identifying themselves as being similar to or having something in common with the other members of the group.

Cultural identity. This concept refers to a sense of belonging to a distinct ethnic, cultural or sub cultural group.

quote within a quote

Kathryn Woodward (cited in Kidd, 2002: 27) noted that difference is as an important part of identity as similarity. She said that the 'essentialist' and 'non-essentialist' definitions of identity are:

Essentialist definitions. Such definitions suggest that each ethnic/ cultural ^{group} has an absolute and rigidly fixed set of historical characteristics that make up its identity and are shared by all members of the group. Furthermore each cultural identity has one important and essential defining characteristic.

Non-essential definitions. These focus on the characteristics shared by those in an ethnic/cultural group and the differences within the group-and between this group and others. These definitions also take into consideration the fact that identities can change over time.

Identities of individuals and groups are not simple, static, definitions. They are, like the people they represent, complex, multifaceted, flexible, and not predetermined. All human identities have their origins in biological and cultural conceptions. They are formulated in relation to the identities of others. They are formed in response to changing economic, political, and cultural conditions (Boram-Hays, 1997: 38).

Boram-Hays (1997: 38), in discussing the identities of individuals and groups, said:

Like a kaleidoscope, the identities of individuals and groups simultaneously embrace multiple, changeable representations. Group and individual identities can interpenetrate, overlap, and influence each other. At the same ^{time}, the interaction between individuals, groups, and groups and individuals serve to help

determine identities and, thereby, define them. In other words, identities are tied to difference.

In discussing issues of identity within Zulu culture, the candidate will define Identity as:

the set of behavioral or personal characteristics by which an individual is recognizable as a member of a group (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 1996: 986).

CHAPTER 2: SECTION 2

LANGA MAGWA: MY PERSONAL HISTORY

In the context of this research, the candidate believes that there are two reasons for him to provide a personal history. Firstly, the writing of a personal history will allow the candidate to reflect on, and reclaim, his identity; secondly it will provide the reader with an insight into the relationship between the candidate's identity and his practical work.

I am known as Langa Magwa; this is an abbreviation of Velalangaletu Magwa. The name Velalangaletu was given to me by my father, Bhikheni Samson Shabane, a Zulu from *kwaMagoda* (Richmond) in KwaZulu-Natal. He was the son of Nzondweni, who was the son of Phishela, who was the son of Bhoti, who was of Swazi origin. My father was baptized as a Roman Catholic and was educated up to Standard Two. He attended church up to the time that he left school.

Today, there are many Shabanes living in KwaZulu Natal who have embraced Zulu culture and do not associate themselves with the Swazi people. My father's family is an example of such a family.

My mother was Julia Magwa, a Xhosa woman from Adelaide in the Eastern Cape. Julia was the youngest daughter of Popo Magwa and Nontsokolo Nonight Ndonga from Adelaide. My mother belonged to the Congregational Church and was educated up to Standard Five. When she lived in Durban didn't go to church often because of shift work. So my first name, *Velelangalethu*, is Zulu. My surname, Magwa, is Xhosa.

This has meant a confusion of identities in my life.

My mother left the farm called *Buffelskloof* (Eastern Cape) in 1968 for KwaZulu-Natal in search of work. She then found residency in Clermont (near Pinetown) Durban,



Figure 9. Langa Magwa, Facial Sars (right cheek)



Figure 10. Langa Magwa, Facial Scars (chin)



Figure 11. Langa Magwa, Facial Scars (forehead)

where she met my father who had also traveled down to Durban from kwaMagoda for the same purpose of finding employment. The two lived in informal settlements in *Mvuzane* (Clermont).

I was born out of that union in 1970 at King Edward Hospital in Durban. The family went to live in Richmond while my mother was still nursing me. During that time I received the traditional marks of Zulu scarification at the age of three. This was done by my aunt Hleza Shabane, my father's younger sister.

I have a total of fifteen scars, six on the right cheek (Fig 9), five on the left cheek, one on the chin (Fig 10) and three on the forehead (Fig 11). These were done with a razor blade, very early (before sunrise), on a clear day. I spent the first years of my life at Richmond, until the terrible split between my parents.

My mother and myself then moved back to Clermont, but there was no one to look after me, as she had to go back to work. She took me to her parents on the farm *Buffelskloof* in the Eastern Cape. I stayed with my grandparents until I started schooling. It was a big family with all my cousins and uncles.

At seeing my scars, the family expressed their disapproval towards my mother for allowing the Shabane family to scarify my face, because she was never married to my father, and so according to tradition I didn't belong to him.

When I reached the farm, I really felt like an outsider as I was the only child with scars on the face. I was even given names, and teased, because of my scars. Also the fact that I was from KwaZulu Natal, of Zulu origin, alienated me even further. Adjusting to the language was a challenge but, because I was young, I soon caught on.

The teasing carried on for years, and I even tried to remove the scars from my face just so I could fit in. One day I took wax from a tree and tried rubbing it on the scars. Another incident was when we had a slaughtered chicken at home. I remember trying to glue the chicken on to my face in order to hide the scars. All these were attempts to try and cover the marks on my face. My maternal grandfather saw this, and he was very angry, and accused me of going against my father's custom and he said, "These scars show you who you are and where you are coming from and you need to love them, because they are permanent on your face and they will never be taken out". At that age I didn't understand what my grandfather was saying.

I grew up constantly asking myself questions like: why am I the only one with scars, why am I cut like this? These questions didn't disappear. I always had these questions; why am I different from other people, why am I Zulu, while others are not Zulu? My mother worked in a cotton factory and was only allowed two weeks leave every Christmas, this meant that I only saw her once a year for two weeks. Whenever she came I would ask her to explain the marks on my face. She didn't know much about the scars, except that they were a customary practice done while I was at my father's home in Richmond.

I lived in *Buffelskloof* for seven years and it became home. The people in *Buffelskloof* got used to my scars. When the farm's owner Malcolm Pringle was tragically assassinated in 1984, the whole family had to move to Adelaide. We had start all over again. This meant being introduced to new people, who again alienated me because of my scars and associations with the Zulu clan. To them I was linked to the Inkatha

Freedom Party.

Schooling also became a problem because of my name Velalangaletu. The other students called me 'Sentence' because there was a teacher who said that my name was too long and it wasn't a name, it was a sentence. Due to teasing, I was forced to shorten my name to just Langa. I stayed in Adelaide until I finished my schooling, enduring all the insults and sarcasms. Things got more serious with the influence of politics. I was identified as a scarified Zulu person (all Zulu people were identified with the Inkatha Freedom Party) living amongst Xhosa speaking people who were strong ANC supporters. I was given dreaded nicknames such as 'Nkatha' (Inkatha Freedom Party), 'Gatsha' (Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party), 'Nzule' (translated into English this means a cow with no horn. This is a word used to insult Zulu people), and 'Tap-Tap' ('Tap Tap' refers to Tap Tap Makhathini, a Zulu boxer in the 1980's). The list goes on but, all these were names given to me denoting my Zulu origins.

After finishing my matric, the family had a big debate about whether I should partake in the Xhosa custom of circumcision. As a son of a Zulu man, and an unmarried Xhosa woman, I was caught between two worlds, because Zulus do not practice the custom of circumcision. However, my grandfather thought it would lead to more alienation if I didn't undergo circumcision, as I would be regarded as a 'boy' amongst men. Being a senior member of the Congregational Church, my grandfather was a very spiritual man, and would even quoted from the bible that circumcision should be done after having been baptised. So he advised me to partake in the practice, and go for circumcision. Because I had been living under him for all my life (and had been a Baptist under his

authority, he regarded me as part of the Xhosa family, as I still use his surname Magwa. So I went for circumcision.

After completing my matric in 1992 I couldn't study further due to lack of finance. I decided to come to Durban, stay with my mother, and look for work so I could subsidize my studies. When I first came to Durban, I saw a number of people bearing scars similar to mine on their faces. That made me feel at home, like I finally belonged, and no one was going to tease me about my scars.

Shortly after arriving in Durban my mother took me to see my father, whom I hadn't seen for over sixteen years. When I saw him, I saw the scars on his face. He then took me back to Richmond to meet the rest of his family, who also had the same scars. Then I started asking questions about the scars; who does them? why are they done? what significance do they have? what would happen if one does not do the practice?

My father explained a great deal about the meaning of the scars, and from his explanations I finally understood the meaning behind my scars. My father told me that our scars are for identity. Our great grandfather, Bhoti, came from Swaziland and he wanted his children to be identified with the Shabane family.

I got more than interested in my scars. I actually started loving and appreciating them, and wanted to know more. It made me remember my grandfather's words when he told me my scars are an explanation of where I come from, and that I should love and respect them. Whenever I got a chance to meet with family members I would constantly ask them, inquiring about the scars. It became a passion to me. This curiosity didn't just limit itself within the Shabane family. I now wanted to find out more about the

numerous scars that I could see around me, from people of different clans. Some had long scars, many short scars or even a few deep scars. I then started asking questions of people with scars that were different to mine; some people didn't take well to my questions, wanting to know why I wanted to know. I think it was because of the period we were in the 1980's, and political unrest made things difficult.

Things were not easy at all during that time as it was during the violent conflicts between the ANC and IFP. Again I found myself caught up in a situation of alienation. I looked like a Zulu person but, because I had spent all my life in the Eastern Cape, my Zulu language usage was different. I didn't sound Zulu at all, and that posed a number of problems for me within the area and its surroundings. Several times I was stopped by hostel dwellers and IFP people who asked me to name things (like elbow and mealies) in isiZulu. The isiZulu words and the isiXhosa words for elbow and mealie are different, and they were testing me to see if I was a Xhosa or a Zulu.

An example of this was my membership of a soccer club in Clermont. In Adelaide I had played a lot of soccer and when I came to live in Clermont I joined a soccer club. My mother told the coach that she didn't want me to play soccer, because when we played fixtures in Clermont other teams would make remarks about me speaking bad isiZulu.

This was a problem. I remember our team losing several soccer matches due to the fact that I didn't play. When the team played in violent stricken areas, our coach wouldn't take a chance of me playing in the team, as people were being killed for belonging to the African National Congress (ANC). People knew that I came from the Eastern Cape

because of the way I spoke the Zulu language, and the Eastern Cape was an ANC stronghold. There were no grey areas; if you spoke Xhosa you were regarded as an ANC member, whereas if you spoke Zulu you were an IFP member.

I use to make small decorative wall hangings with text, mostly religious quotes, and sell them in the community. This also raised eyebrows as the text was in Xhosa; some individuals wouldn't buy them and would give me suspicious looks of disapproval.

After moving from job to job, I eventually ended up in an old age home called Martin Hall in Pine Town, where I was employed as a technician. I was exposed to a lot of different people. Again language became an alienating factor; even though I spoke Zulu, my Zulu had a Xhosa accent. Finding out about my scars was a revelation, and I wanted to share it with the whole world. It was like being born for the first time. My mother became my confidant, with whom I could share all my discoveries, but that was not enough.

In 1994 I received news that my father had taken ill, so I went to visit him. On my way to *KwaMagoda*, a woman approached me in Richmond at the taxi rank asking whether I didn't belong to the Shabane family. Pointing at the scars she said "These are our scars!" I then mentioned my father's name; amazingly they were related, and she then took me to where my family had moved to. Today I still find that experience truly magical; the power of scarification. Being recognized without question gave me a sense of belonging. I thought to myself, "I have identity."

I registered to study Fine Art at Technikon Natal in 1995. This provided me with the opportunity to express what I had discovered. It was during my second year of study that I seriously started to investigate more about the custom of scarification. I have met

students from other African countries who also have scars. Talking to them, I discovered similarities in the process of scarification which include the slaughtering of an animal and the significant reason of identification behind the act of scarification. A Burundian man acknowledged the presence of other Shabane's in Burundi who also scarify, although he couldn't tell me the specifics.

Since my second year of study, I haven't looked back. I'm constantly finding ways to express my culture, more specifically my customs, through my art making. I started using animal skin as a canvas. This medium has allowed me to come very close to the actual practice of scarification. For example, the slaughtering of a certain animal forms part of the scarification ceremony, and certain parts of the skin are used, such as *isiphandla*. This is a hide bangle which is made from the hide of the slaughtered animal, and is worn on the wrist by Zulu people to connect them to their ancestors.

The process of working with the medium of skin is important, as it links me directly to the act of scarification; burning or cutting the skin, shaping it as a form of communication and identity. Gule (2004: 214) said:

many traditional knowledge systems or symbols, like traditional scars or *izingcabo*, speak volumes to those who can read them, but remain largely silent in today's society, which is also oblivious to their functional and regional variations.

It is thus not surprising that some observers have interpreted *izingcabo* as body art. This ignorance even extends to people who have these markings. It is precisely such a lack of knowledge about his own *izingcabo* that prompted Langa Magwa to investigate his family history and the purpose of these scars. Magwa's artistic intervention seeks to give visual expression to this endeavour.

I will describe the relationship between the scarification process and the making of an artwork using scarification techniques. I will use an artwork titled New Identity, 1999, (Burnt Skin and Ink, 138 x 94.5 cm) (Fig 12) to describe the process, beginning with the



Figure 12. Langa Magwa, New Identity, 1999, 138 x 94.5cm, Scarification on Goat Skin

sourcing, selecting, buying and preparation of the skin (This process was filmed and recorded onto a DVD. This recording accompanies the dissertation as Appendix A.)

This work is about myself. I chose to describe it, because it speaks about my identity. It goes back to the explanation that my father gave me about my facial scars; about the identity embedded within my scars and their traditional meaning. The work is a quest to reclaim my identity. Paul (2001: 9) said that New Identity “examines the crisis of the young South African male post-Apartheid. His self portrait on a goat hide reflects his traditional origins, but the barcode across the image alludes to the more modern issues of surveillance and control of a population and the loss of individual identity.”

I chose to work with a goat skin because of its connection with the scarification process. It is difficult to buy the skin of a goat, because a goat is killed as part of a ancestral ritual and the skin is used by members of the family. However, it is easier to buy a cow skin because cows are slaughtered for weddings and eating. Cow hides are used for making drums and shields. I sourced the goat skin from my aunt at mKomazi. I told her the reason for using the skin. She discussed my request with her brother who said that I could use the skin. I selected the skin from a number of skins in her storeroom and I started preparing the skin. I didn't use modern methods of preparing the skin. I went to the Dalton Skin Tanners. There Mr Ngubane told me the traditional way of softening the skin. I learnt this technique from my grandfather who used it to remove the hairs from the skin. I then scraped the hairs off the skin with a spade. I then softened the skin by rubbing cooking oil into the skin and twisting the skin. Raw mealie meal was then put onto the skin to absorb the oil. I then stretched the skin on a board

and dried it. The skin was ready to work on. I burnt the skin using heated metal and then drew back into the skin using a razor to make it lighter.

The piece has two faces, one above the other. Both these faces are mine. The one face on top has scarification marks, while the other has a bar code (identity number) running across the face. The faces are burnt and scraped. The bar code is drawn using ink. This work is about the combination of the new and old; the identity document as a form of identification as well as my traditional scars. Both images define who I am as a Zulu South African.

A more recent work is titled *Esibayeni*, 2005, (Burnt and stained wood, 1.2 x 90 cm) (Fig 13). The work is shaped like a stretched animal hide. It is made of carved wood with wooden pegs protruding. The images are carved, burnt and stained into the wood. The work is about scarification; the process of scarification as a mark of identity has traditionally been done inside the kraal. This practice was done to identify children as a member of the family. This work contests the western notion that scarification was only done for the purpose of beauty.

During scarification a cow is slaughtered in order to alert the ancestors about the new member of the family. *Impepho* is burnt as a communication with ancestors. The whole process takes place inside the family kraal, where the ancestors are believed to reside when they visit the family.

In this work, the child crawls towards the center of the kraal, a very significant spot within the kraal, as it is where the main speaker addresses the family (ancestors). This area is regarded as the main focus, and it usually has a pole with cow horns on top. The bottom of the pole is where *impepho* is burnt. The ancestors will then gather around the



Figure 13. Langa Magwa, Esibayeni, 2005, 1.2 x 90cm, burnt and stained wood

pole when called. When an animal is being slaughtered the same area is used; the animal is tied to the pole and slaughtered.

The child is seen handling an *ishoba* (ox tail). Normally an adult would hold the *ishoba* when talking to the ancestors. The work signifies the loss of guidance and continuity when it comes to the tradition of scarification, as the child unknowingly approaches the center of the kraal without adult supervision and guidance. When a child has not been scarified the child behaves in strange ways; the behaviour by the child in this work is an example of strange behaviour.

CHAPTER 2: SECTION 3

THE FORMULATION OF ZULU CULTURE AND IDENTITY

This section will discuss the historical formulation of Zulu identity and culture. The formulation of Zulu culture and identity has its historical origins in the formation of the Zulu kingdom under Shaka. Boram-Hays (1997), in an article titled Borders of Beads: Questions of Identity in the Beadwork of the Zulu-Speaking People, gave a very good account of the way in which the Zulu-speaking people have long appreciated the importance of issues of identity, and how Zulu identity was formed when he said:

Starting with the formation of the kingdom from a number of independent clans during the reign of King Shaka Zulu (r.1817-1828), the royal court put forth a concerted effort to construct and promote a unified Zulu identity. The nation adopted the clan name of the founder, and as clans came to be incorporated into the kingdom they were required to send all young men to serve in the military and some young women to support the military and the court. This type of national service not only provided a standing army and labor for the court; it also promoted a sense of national unity and a common national culture. In addition, the court promoted interregional marriages to encourage political and cultural unity. Yet in spite of all these efforts, regional identities as well as divisions based on age, gender, marital status, and wealth remained significant forces (1997: 38-39).

The broader impact of the formulation and articulation of identities has proved to be particularly relevant to the study of southern Africa. The nature, changes, and boundaries of these identities have been contested by those who both claim and disclaim them, and have been used to empower as well as oppress those they represent (Boram-Hays, 1997: 38). It is clear that issues of identity are central to southern African history.

In any study of those people who in the course of history who have considered themselves, or have been considered by others, as Zulu, the term 'Zulu' requires clarification Kennedy (1993:3). In this regard, Kennedy (1993:3) said that:

In its strictest sense Zulu is a clan, named for a son of Malandela, its founder, who lived several hundred years ago. His descendants moved from Babanango hill into the Mhlathuze valley and settled in the area of the middle reaches of the white Mfolozi river. Under Shaka ka Senzangakhona, numerous chiefdoms were incorporated into the Zulu kingdom and their members were known to outsiders by the name of the dominant Zulu clan. By the later part of the nineteenth century many Zulu had moved south and settled in the colony of Natal. These people spoke the same language which later came to be known as Zulu or, more correctly, isiZulu and shared a common history prior to the Mfecane, the period of political upheaval resulting in the wide dispersal of peoples which accompanied the rise of the Zulu kingdom in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Today there are over 7,000,000 Zulu living primarily in KwaZulu and Natal.

The *Zulu*-speaking people of southern Africa have lived in volatile circumstances during the past two hundred years, in which the formulation and articulation of identity at the levels of both the individual and group have been important, as well a complex (Boram-Hays, 2005: 38).

Boram-Hays (2005: 38) continued by saying that:

The construction and assertion of a variety of identities have given the *Zulu*-speaking people a visible presence in the wider region and also served to represent the multiple voices that make up *Zulu* society. These identities and the nature of their borders were expressions that became vital in the complicated struggle for recognition and power that characterized southern Africa society for such of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Lowe, in a University of Pennsylvania African Studies Centre background paper, titled Talking About "Tribe" : Moving from Stereotypes to Analysis, describes Zulu identity in South Africa as being historical, not static. What it means to be 'Zulu' has changed over time, and means different things to different people today (1997). Dlamini, in discussing Zulu identity, supported this view when he said that "ethnic identities are not static but change over time, depending on political and other consequences" (2001:198).

Lowe (1997) described the origins and formulation of Zulu identity when he said:

Before the nineteenth century, "Zulu" was the clan name of the kings of a small kingdom, which was tributary to the Mthethwa kingdom. Beginning around

1815, the Zulu kingdom displaced the Mthethwa kingdom and conquered dozens of other nearby small kingdoms which gradually took on Zulu identity on top of older local identities.

Culturally these communities already had much in common. Similarities of culture and mutually intelligible language extended south to the Xhosa, Mpondo, Thembu, Xesibe and Bhaca kingdoms, as well as north to many but not all of the political communities in what are now Swaziland and Mpumalanga province in South Africa. Ethnic identities within this continuum of culture and language came mainly from political identification with political communities. The expansion of political powers, such as the Zulu and Swazi kingdoms, created new identities for many people in the 19th century.

White colonization began in the 1830s, when the Zulu was still quite new. White conquest took decades. Many chiefdoms remained in the independent Zulu kingdoms while others came under the British colony of Natal. Many people and chiefs only recently conquered by the Zulu kingdoms fled into Natal, rejected political Zulu identity, although retaining cultural affinity. But as all Zulu-speaking people came under white South African rule, and as white rule became more oppressive, evolving into apartheid, the Zulu identity and memories of the powerful independent kingdom became a unifying focus of cultural resistance.

The unifying focus of cultural resistance in KwaZulu was Inkatha, which re-activated in 1975 under the leadership of Mangosuthu Buthelezi. "Membership was determined through the acceptance of the notion of a Zulu cultural solidarity, which was linked to a territory – the KwaZulu homeland" (Mare cited in Zegeye, 2001: 9). Being a black Zulu speaker and a resident of KwaZulu was not enough to qualify as a 'Zulu'. In order to qualify as a Zulu, people had to show allegiance to the KwaZulu 'state', the Zulu monarchy and to Inkatha. This allegiance was shown through participation in Inkatha's political and cultural activities such as Shaka Day (Dlamini cited in Zegeye, 2001: 9). In essence, Inkatha appealed "to traditionalism, ethnic loyalties, patriarchal and hierarchical values, discipline and a Zulu nationalism"(McCaul cited in Zegeye, 2001: 9). However, as a result of Zulu history and culture being promoted by a limited number of politicians and intellectuals, "Zulu identity became more narrowly defined and standardized that it had been previously and, as in many places throughout Africa, was adapted to meet the economic and political conditions of the modern world"

(Appiah, cited in Boram-Hays, 2005: 40). In discussing what constitutes contemporary Zulu identity, Dlamini (2001: 198) said:

Zulu identity in KwaZulu-Natal centered around four criteria of identification: birthplace, descent, language, history. In addition to these criteria, what I will 'conventionalised' ways of identification, the familiar and understood ways *hlonipha* (literally, to respect) and of *ukukhonza* (literally, to worship) which are customarily associated Zulu people.

In discussing birthplace and descent as criteria of identity, Dlamini said that "people were, or are, able to trace their Zulu ancestry because the tribes of the Zulu-speakers are mostly known by the family or clan names (*izibongo*) of their chiefs" (2001: 204). The practice of scarification in Zulu culture is used to identify people as belonging to a certain clan. Mzolo (Argyle and White, 1978: 207) quoted Bryant as saying that a Zulu clan is "a magnified family, consisting of off spring of a single forefather, the clans founder". Mzolo (1978: 207) continued by saying that the clan identity is preserved by such "practices as piercing and extending the ear-lobes (*ukuklakla*) or making incisions on the face (*ukuklakla ebusweni* or *ukugcaba*), because members of certain clans are nowadays more likely than others to retain these practices.

Vilakazi, in a book titled Zulu Transformations: A Study of the Dynamics of Social Change (1965), investigated the cultural changes brought about by western influences amongst the Nyuswa and Qadi clans in the Nyuswa area in the valley of a Thousand Hills, in KwaZulu Natal. In discussing the cultural baseline from which changes took place, Vilakazi (1965: 136) said:

This pattern of life was essentially tribal, familial, patriarchal and was polygynous, if not in fact, at least in intention and spirit. It was marked by a high degree of face-to-face relationships. The knowledge of one's neighbours who were very often kinsmen involved an understanding of their "undergarments," i.e. their relationships were coloured by close personal touch, intimacy and concreteness. There were certain presuppositions in the culture which were of

fundamental importance for the general well-being of everybody, the unity of the lineage and its patterns of mutuality and reciprocity, the supremacy of the ancestral spirits, who were the malevolent or benevolent deities according to whether they were pleased or displeased with their descendants, and the certainty that the old traditional methods of rearing children or of enculturation would make for cultural stability. This ensured the acceptance of a common worldview, a common tribal sentiment, common allegiances and common interests.

Vilakakzi concluded by noting that the introduction of new forces, in the form of Christianity and education which always went together, "disturbed this Yin-state of cultural equilibrium and ushered in the Yang-state of change" (1965: 136) which resulted in the people's beliefs in diviners, Bantu medicine, in the ancestral spirits and in their marriage institutions, and even their entertainments, being attacked (ibid). These are some of the core elements of Zulu culture that were effected by external influences.

CHAPTER 2: SECTION 4

CHANGES IN ZULU CULTURE AND IDENTITY

In this section the candidate will discuss internal and external influences that have contributed to changes in Zulu culture and identity over time. Speaking about change in Africa today Mazrui said that "the most important cultural conflict occurring in Africa is between Western civilization and indigenous forces (1986: 21). Zulu society has witnessed numerous influences which have played a significant role in shaping what we today call Zulu culture. Twentieth century changes in Zulu culture brought about social divisions between those who advocated a traditionalist lifestyle as opposed to those who preferred a more westernized one (Boram-Hays, 2005: 47). Lugg said that:

the Zulu tribal system established a way of life that was timeless and unchanging. In fact, change was seen as a threat to the peaceful and even tenor of life. Consequently the Zulus were never great inventors or instigators of new ideas. The tribal system embraced a complete way of life that would not allow for change. The intrusion of the European with his modern ways rocked the tribal system, but as far as was possible change continued to be resisted (1975: 3).

Krige points out that one of these influences was the early western influence of the Christian Missionaries, preoccupied with bringing about a change in faith and an implementation of Christian principles (1950: 80). Tyrell said that from the beginning Christian denominations in South Africa have "imposed on African society an incongruous system of middle-class values" and the "African has been challenged from the first to reject his culture's values and customs, his self, to embrace a foreign and, to him, unreasonable system" (1983: 76).

Vilakazi, in discussing causes of change amongst the Zulu, supported Krige's view when he said "that although there are multiple factors that have been operating to bring

about culture change, Christianity and education, which always went together, have, beyond doubt, been the most conspicuous factors of change" (1965: 136). The missionaries could not convert the Zulus into Christianity within a Zulu cultural environment, and therefore they had to destroy everything that was Zulu (Vilakazi, 1965: 128). Vilakazi gave examples of this when he said:

Bantu music was taboo; Zulu marriage customs were condemned, the levirate was declared unlawful and sinful and the Zulu traditional communities were thoroughly uprooted. Some missionary societies decided to stress evangelization and to teach useful trades, while others thought that book learning and a general civilizing policy were part of their work (1965: 128).

As noted by Vilakazi, the missionaries brought with them book learning in the missionary schools. In this regard Vilakazi said that "the Zulu make a clear distinction between socialisation (growth patterns) which they call *imfundiso* or *inkuliso* and Education (*imfunundo*)" (1965: 123). Vilakazi gave a detailed explanation of the differences between *imfundiso* or *inkuliso* and *Imfunundo*, when he said:

The words *imfundiso* or *inkuliso* are used to mean the upbringing of a human child, the growth patterns, it's nurturing from childhood to where it is considered an adult person (*esekhulile*) and when it can be expected to be fully equipped with values and the requisite knowledge and skills of the culture; in other words, fully socialized. ... *Imfunundo*, on the other hand, is education in the western sense of the word, and is designed to pass on to the child book learning and Christianity and all the things that are characteristic of western civilization. Its aim is and always was to civilize or to westernize (1965: 123).

The result of this change "is a new form of upbringing for a new world whose value systems are diametrically opposed to those of the traditional Zulu world. It now dominates the life of the child during all the years of childhood and carries its influence over the childhood years into adulthood" (Vilakazi, 1965: 123). The candidate has observed that, in Zulu society today, there are two groups of people with different educations. On the one hand, a person who is *fundile*, is associated with western education. As a result their behaviour, language, dress and music is heavily influenced

by contemporary western culture. On the other hand, if a person has been *khulisilwe*, it means that, in addition to a school education, they have had a traditional education within the family. For example, they will have knowledge of Zulu idioms, traditional Zulu rituals, and will on occasion adopt traditional dress.

Vilakazi (1965:133) summarized the changes resulting from school education that have worked to produce new social classes in Zulu society today, when he said:

These new social classes are of the utmost political and sociological importance; for not only are they changing the whole pattern of Zulu culture. They have changed altogether the basis of generalisation about the Zulu people as to how or where they live, eat or behave. They have produced a group of people who form a community with its own standards, its own goals and expectations of life which differ widely from those of the traditional Zulu.

But, perhaps the strongest and most persistent influence has been the urbanization of Zulu culture, in the form of migrant labour under colonial rule. Vilakazi (1965: 143) highlighted this influence when he said that:

In discussing the changes that have taken place among the Africans in Natal and Zululand or anywhere in South Africa, one cannot ignore the important role played by secular forces like the white Government, industry and migratory labour in the lives of the people. They have brought about far – reaching changes which we would be remiss to overlook.

Coetzee (1978: 53) said that:

unavoidably, urbanization is coupled to cultural development and results in a new way of life, which is closer to the Western way of life. There is, however, no abrupt and total shedding of traditional culture. Even in black, ethnically-homogeneous society, new comers are subjected to feelings of insecurity. Maintaining traditional customs serves as an intermediate support and security mechanism for a safe transition.

Lugg (1975: 3) said that “in recent times, however, many Zulus have become urbanized. This process has presented a perplexing challenge to the traditional moral and cultural values of the Zulus. In many instances this challenge has led to disturbing social and psychological problems”. Vilakazi said that the one major result of urbanization that

needs to be emphasized was the new economic system which made it necessary for men to go away from home for spells of time to the cities (1965: 145). This meant “a total reorganisation in the patterns of life for everybody and a redefinition of the functions of men and women in the families. Whereas in the old culture, the woman was the person who produced food for the family or for her ‘house’, or the economic hub of the whole family, the men are now the providers to whom everybody looks for food” (Vilakazi, 1965: 145). However a different effect of urbanisation was noted by Boram-Hays. As industrialization and urbanisation increased, women were attracted to the city. However, many Zulu men wanted their wives and daughters to remain in the rural areas away from what they believed to be the corrupting influences of the city (Boram-Hays, 2005: 47). Zulu men, especially those involved in Zulu cultural activities, believed that in order to preserve traditional values and culture, it was important to maintain a rural homestead and make sure that the women obeyed the rules of *hlonipha* (Marks cited in Boram-Hays, 2005: 47).

In discussing the influences of modernization and industrialization amongst the Zulu people, Dlamini (2001: 198) said that:

Operating alongside, and often in conflict with..... Zulu cultural practices were those commonly associated with western modernisation and industrialization. The association of industrialization with urban sectors of the community, and with modernity and economic progress, resulted in Zulu cultural practices being associated with the rural areas, poverty and backwardness, creating a rural-urban or modern-backward dichotomy, which added complexity to an already diverse setting.

“The adjustment for the black who has not yet bridged the gap between tribe and city is exceptionally difficult. It means the changeover from a regimented, cultural uniformity to a strange, disrupted environment. In addition a black comes into contact with an involved and largely-unknown Western materialistic way of life” (Durand cited in du

Preez, 1978: 83).

Relocating from a rural area to an urban area changes a person's entire way of life, including language, relationships, and governance structures. Vilakazi concludes his 1961 study of the Nyuswa and Qadi in the Nyuswa area, in the Valley of Thousand Hills, by noting that, in 1965, it was possible to observe three different categories of people that had resulted from the influences of western religion, education and economic systems. The three categories were traditionalists, Christians and *amagxagxa*. Vilakazi said that "there is no westernized Zulu who is not a Christian. And, as western culture is essentially an urban or city culture, the Christian missionaries who taught the Zulus passed on with their religion aspects of their culture which they thought were essential for Christianity" (1965: 140).

Vilakazi gives examples of characteristics which identify the traditionalists and Christians. The Christians more easily adapt to new conditions as witnessed in the way *lobolo* has been made to suit the new conditions (Vilakazi, 1965: 141). The westernised Christians are prepared to marry inter-tribally more than the traditionalists and they are prepared to break with the customs and the norms of their social group, which makes them ant-social and selfish to traditionalists (ibid).

The *amagxagxa* are "different from either the traditionalists or Christians in terms of values because they adhere to neither the old tribal values nor to the new Christian ones" (Vilakazi, 1965: 110). Vilakazi quotes an old man as saying that "they are people without addresses", not in the sense of being vagrants, but that culturally people had no expectations about them, and no one could predict their behaviour under any one situation (ibid). Vilakazi's study provides evidence of the influences and effects of

Christianity and education on the culture of Zulu people living in the Nyuswa area, is a rural area.

Tyrrell, however, believes that there is a category of Africans in South Africa, living in towns, who embrace both western and traditional values. Tyrrell (1983: 76) said of this group:

for most blacks the contrast between the power wielding Western culture and traditional belief necessitates the development of a lively awareness of both. And the attitude of deliberately embracing traditional belief and custom – in part at least – constitutes the second type of response to culture shock. This approach by most traditionalists, urban or rural, can best be described as a survival tactic, the alternative to self – alienation.

This is supported by Tando Bonga (2006: 21) when he said “we religiously follow our customs and traditions. Without these, we would be lost. As urban as we are, we know *imvelaphi yethu*”.

In a book titled SA Tribes (2002), Burgess studied how South Africans were changing. Nearly 15,000 South African were interviewed during the period 1997 – 2001. This study identified, and provided a detailed portrait of a number of contemporary South African ‘tribes’ called the Rural Survivalists, Emerging Consumers, Urban Middle Class and Urban Elite. In describing Rural Survivalists, Burgess (2002: 48) said that:

One in four (26%) South Africans are *Rural Survivalists*. Rural Survivalists generally live far from the major metropolitan areas of South Africa and they conduct their lives much as their grandparents conducted theirs. Some 77% of them reside in the deep rural areas. They tend to live agrarian or subsistence lifestyles, providing their own food and participating in much informal trade and barter. Almost all Rural Survivalists are black South Africans and traditional tribal life and customs often remain very important to them.

Burgess identified other groups within the Rural Survivalists; Agrarian Lifestyles, Border Survivalists, Highveld Survivalists and KZN Survivalists. Burgess describes the

category of Agrarian Lifestyles as black people who live in rural areas. They comprise of 12.8% of the entire South African population and 36% live in KwaZulu Natal. Thirty nine percent of this group live in traditional huts. They have received very little education. Fifty-six percent have not completed primary school and 20% have received no formal education at all. They placed above average importance on tradition and conformity (Burgess, 2002: 51-52).

KZN Survivalists are black South Africans who live in shacks and reside in rural KwaZulu Natal, with 13% living near a metropolitan area. Fifty-four percent of percent of this group live in shacks. The majority of them practice a form of Christianity; 20% are Roman Catholic and the largest number belong to an African Christian church.

Thirteen percent have completed matric or a higher qualification, but 45% have not finished primary school. Ten percent have never has any formal education. They place a high importance on conformity, but their ratings of tradition are lower than might be expected (Burgess, 2002: 55).

The characteristics of the people who make up the Rural Survivalists, and the sub groups Agrarian Lifestyles and KZN Survivalists, are very similar to those of the people in the Nyuswa area described by Vilakazi in 1965 as being traditionalists; traditional tribal life and customs often remain very important to them.

The biggest difference is in peoples' membership of religions; in Vilakazi's study the difference between the traditionalists and Christians was the membership of a church, which brought with it education and westernization. However, in contemporary KwaZulu Natal, despite their membership of churches, 45% of people have not finished primary school and 10% percent have never had any formal education.

As noted above, Burgess identified other categories of people which he called the Emerging Consumers, Urban Middle Class and Urban Elite. A sub section of Emerging consumers was a group Burgess called Matchbox Suburban Youth; one third speaks Zulu in the home and the majority (27%) of this group reside in KwaZulu Natal. The average age of this group is twenty six. The majority of this group live in large cities, small cities and towns outside the major metropolitan areas. They are primarily members of African Christian Churches (48%), Protestant churches (22%) and the Roman Catholic church (14%). Sixty-one percent have some high school and 25% have matriculated and or have a higher qualification.

Burgess identified a sub section of Urban Middle Class which he called Suburban Challenge. He described this category of people as being between the ages of 25 and 34 and 8% are black. They are well educated and upwardly mobile. Sixty-four percent have matriculated, or have a higher qualification. For the most part they reside in urban homes, but also in matchbox house (12%) and flats (6%). This group is primarily Christian, and rates religiosity higher than most groups. They are characterised by the higher relative importance they place on the openness to change values and place much lower importance on conformity (Burgess, 2002: 63-64).

The majority of people, belonging to the Urban Matchbox Youth and Suburban Challenge groups are either educated, or well educated, live in urban areas and belong to African Christian or other churches. The characteristics of the people belonging to these groups, many of whom live in KwaZulu Natal, are similar to those of the characteristics of the Christians described by Vilakazi. It is evident, from the research done by Vilakazi forty years ago and Burgess in 2002, that the influx of rural Zulus into urban areas has resulted in exposure to western religion, education and economic

systems. For some black South Africans this has resulted in a break with traditional practices and the adoption of new attitudes to culture and identity that reflect an urban identity. These attitudes were well described by Fikile-Ntsikelelo Moya (2006: 20) when he said:

My roots are in Dobsonville, Soweto. True, my grandparents could trace their ancestral homes back to what was the Cape Colony. I cannot. My parents' ethnic origins are not enough to make me honestly say that I belong to the same community. Speaking a language or having a name that suggests a certain ethnic lineage is just not enough for one to become a member. ... The life I know is that of other urban blacks whose identities have little to do with ethnicity.

Africans with rural their roots firmly in place will continue to exist and flourish. I am happy for them and often envy them, if only for the fresh air they can call their own. But that does not mean that those of us who have no 'ancestral homes' to speak of are any less African. Nor does it mean that we are less in tune with our national identity or that we have necessarily forsaken our solidarity with our kith in the diaspora.

Don't ask me about my roots again. I am urban and black, finish and *klaar*. It does not make me any better or worse. It just makes me – me.

However, Lugg (1975: 3) said that "many Zulus have, however, successfully accommodated the western way of life with their own traditional beliefs and have established a new culture and new values". This attitude is clearly shown by Bonga (2006: 21) when he said:

I was born and bred in Port Elizabeth, lived in East London, studied in Cape Town and now working in Jozi. My parents were born and bred in Port Elizabeth. PE has never been part of any Bantustan, and the PE *kasies* are as urban as Soweto. ... My clan name identifies my being. As urban as I am, I cherish anyone from the AmaMpinga, AmaMpadla, Amabele, AmaGqwashu, AmaTshawe or Amahlubi clans as much as I bond with Kaizer Chiefs or Barcelona FC fans. ... I went to *Esuthwini* (circumcision school) like any Xhosa boy. With my first pay cheque, my mother prepared *umqombothi* and my uncles bought a goat and we remembered *izinyanya*. When my son was born we made *intambo* for him, slaughtering a goat and wrapping a piece of skin around his neck.

For me, and friends from eKoloni, this is our heritage, passed on to us by our parents and grandparents, our identity and our being. We religiously follow our customs and traditions. Without these, we would be lost. As urban as we are, we know *imvelaphi yethu*.

CHAPTER 3: SECTION 1

THE HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY USE OF SCARIFICATION IN ZULU CULTURE

In this section the candidate will discuss the historical and contemporary use of scarification in Zulu culture. There is limited written information relevant to the practice of scarification in Zulu culture. This lack of information is the result of limited documentation by colonial historians, as well as the oral nature of communication in Zulu culture.

Kennedy (1993), in surveying literature relating to scarification in Zulu culture, referred only to observations by colonial writers. Kennedy (1993:115-116) said that:

Body cicatrization was widely practiced on young girls, with references to the custom dating as early as the formative period of the Zulu kingdom. Henry Francis Fynn noted that "it is the custom of [the Zulu] which originated from the Qwabes [neighboring Nguni speaking peoples] to tattoo the body." ⁶ Champion discussed the practice in an early 1838 journal entry (1967:124), and it is similarly mentioned by Adulphe Delegorgue in 1847 (Bird 1965 I: 475-476). Mayr mentioned cicatrization in an article published in the early twentieth century (1907:645), while in 1949 Bryant referred it as a custom "practiced by unmarried females in earlier times" (1967:165).....The primary purpose of cicatrization appears to have been to ornament or beautify the body. Champion indicated that girls with their arms covered with scars were considered "surpassingly beautiful" (1967:124), and Mayr noted that "scarring" was done for sake of ornament (1907:645). According to Delegorgue, girls with decorative patterns of scars "above the region of the loins," had "a greater value when a bargain [had] to be made for their acquisition by a suitor" (Bird 1965 I: 475-476).

Kennedy qualified Fynn's erroneous statement relating to 'tattooing' by saying that "although Fynn referred to the custom of tattooing the body, he almost certainly meant cicatrization, since the Zulu are not known for adding colour to their scarification patterns" (1993: 146 endnote ⁶). Delegorgue referred mistakenly to the practice of tattooing amongst the Zulu when he said "some trace of tattooing is found among the

Zulus, but only among the women" (1888: 475). Bryant (1967:294) also erroneously referred to 'tattooing' when he said that "it is the custom of the Zulus, which originated from the Qwabes, to tattoo the body". It is interesting to note that all of the writers quoted by Kennedy said that scarification amongst the Zulu people was done for the purpose of beauty and ornamentation.

Stuart (Wright and Webb, 1982: 40) quotes an informant, Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli, who confirmed that scarification was not only used as a distinguishing mark:

The Qwabe people *marked* themselves with three or four rows of *incisions*, beginning on the small of the back, both sides, and going up five or six inches; also at the base of the stomach, both sides and going up a few inches. The Embo people did not do this. Both males and females did this. This was not a *distinguishing mark* but from inclination. This practice was however very common among the Qwabe people.

Krige, (1950:375) when discussing the purpose of scarification in Zulu culture, said that "young men and women practice scarification of the body, known as *iMpimpilisa*. This is done simply for ornamentation, and there are no ceremonies connected with it

Girls indulge in this form of decoration more than boys, and it is particularly common among light skinned individuals, on whom the darker scars show up well". In terms of placement of the scars Kennedy (1993:115 -116) said that "the parts of the body most frequently scarified include the arms, cheeks, hips and loins". Krige (1950:375) confirmed this when she said that scarification "consists of little round scars in rows on the cheeks, upper arm and hips made at about the age of sixteen".

In terms of technique and number of scars Kennedy (1993:115-116) said that in Zulu culture:

Descriptions of the method employed are essentially consistent: a small cut was made in the skin with a needle or razor-like piece of metal and the wound rubbed with red clay, or more commonly dry cow dung. A live ember was then placed on top of the wound. Fynn noted that the number of cuts made ranged

from 200-300 (1969: 294), resulting in a series of raised scars, keloids, which Mayr later described as resembling "dark brown beans" (1907:165). The cuts were made so as to produce a decorative pattern of scars. Mayr indicated that the patterns were made "without fixed rules," but that they rarely exceeded "three rows with six scars in each row" (1907:165). Delegorgue noted that the scars generally were arranged "in the shape of two squares, joined at opposite angles, as on a draft-board" (Bird 1965 I: 475). The patterns created by the scars were similar to raised decorations seen on examples of old pottery and, indeed, the Zulu term *inhlanga* (pl. *izinhlanga*) is defined as an incised pattern, "whether on face, body or pottery"⁷.

Krige (1950:375) documented a Zulu scarification technique that is similar to the technique described by Kennedy:

The scars are made by making slight cuts about half an inch long in the skin with a knife. A pinch of dry cow dung is put on the cuts and the whole surmounted with a tiny live cinder, which burns through the manure and scorches the flesh beneath. Sometimes the manure is placed on the skin without making any incision, in which case the cinder scorches the skin, causing it to peel off and leave a little round scar.

Stuart was given a detailed description of the purpose of scarification and the scarification technique by an informant, Mqaikana ka Yenge, who said that:

At the birth of a child, i.e. when first carried, it is taken to the cattle enclosure. He or she is then cut on the tips of the little finger of each hand; the infant is also cut (scratched) on the cheeks about the cheek bones, forehead, and on either side of the chin. Bleeding results. The child's face is then smeared with ochre; this done so that the cuts could heal. The clay is put on only at the time of the child being cut. This is the distinguishing mark (upawu) of the Zondi people. If the child is not done, it will cry greatly, and may defecate indoors (i.e. void). The reason is it wants to be treated as above (Webb and Wright, 1986: 6).

This was confirmed by an informant, Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli, who in 1904 told Stuart that "the amaPumulo people cut a child that cries on both cheek bones - slightly. They *dabula* them, i.e. make slight marks. This practice is dying out. When a child cries too much it is said to be needing or wanting an *upawu*, or mark, and it is thereupon cut (Webb and Wright, 1982: 39). Delegorgue said that, in the scarification process used by Zulus, scars are made by "numerous incisions effected with the sharp point of a weapon,

and the scars of these rise in relief of a darker colour" (Bird, 1888: 475). In describing the scarification technique used by Zulus, Fynn said that "the operation is performed by the use of a Kaffir needle, the point being covered for the purpose, by which the skin is held up while it is cut moderately deep with a razor, having being first marked with red clay, representing the figure as fancy dictates. ... On its healing, it is perceptible by its having risen above the other parts" (Fynn, 1996: 294).

It is interesting to note that there is a contradiction between the scarification technique described by Kennedy, Fynn and Delegorgue, and the type of scars on the bodies of Zulu people described by Fynn, Mayr and Delegorgue. The descriptions of the scarification technique by Kennedy, Fynn and Delegorgue refer to a technique that results in incised, linear scars; however, Fynn, Mayr and Delegorgue describe the Zulu as having scars that are raised scars, or keloids. Scars such as this are made using a different technique, the cicatrisation technique. As noted above, this is a form of scarification in which a cut is made in the skin with a sharp instrument, and irritation of the skin is caused by applying caustic juices to form permanent blisters. These cuts, when healed, form raised scars, known as keloids.

The information on the purpose of scarification and the scarification technique contained in this section will be compared to information obtained from Zulu people who practice scarification, interviewed in the next section. This comparison will highlight any changes that have taken place in scarification in Zulu culture, and the reasons for these changes.

CHAPTER 3: SECTION 2

THE CONTEMPORARY USE OF SCARIFICATION IN ZULU CULTURE: INTERVIEWS WITH PRACTITIONERS

The candidate interviewed nine members of Zulu clans to collect primary data relating to the historical and contemporary practice and technique of scarification. All the people interviewed were members of families who practice the custom of scarification, and who have become the family custodians of the custom in ensuring the continuity of scarification in contemporary times. Before the people were interviewed, the candidate gave them a Letter of Information explaining the research project. This was written in English (Appendix B) and *isiZulu* (Appendix C).

In addition, the candidate gave the people an Informed Consent Form to be completed. This was written in English (Appendix D) and *isiZulu* (Appendix E). Some of the people interviewed completed the Informed Consent Form, whilst others said that it was not necessary for them to complete the form.

The candidate used a semi-structured approach to the interviews in which a core set of structured questions were used (Appendix F). The candidate followed these up these structured questions with less structured questions, to explore the responses in greater depth. The candidate recorded the interviews on tape and wrote down responses in *isiZulu*. At the end of each interview the candidate has highlighted information relating to scarification under the following headings:

1. Purpose of Scarification
2. Markings (location, size and number)
3. Age at which scarified
4. Practitioner (who did the scarification?)
5. Geographical location of scarification: ??
6. Time of day of scarification

7. Scarification Technique
8. Treatment of cuts after scarification
9. Spiritual connection to scarification
10. Reasons for the decline of scarification

INTERVIEWS

1. Mr Vela Zondi

Interview with Mr Vela Zondi at KwaMagoda village, Richmond on 12 May, 2004. Mr.Vela Zondi is a 68 year old male scarifier from Richmond at KwaMagoda village. Zondi has 8 children and 12 grand children, and recalls scarifying many members of his family including relatives.

Zondi described scarification scars in his family as a specific Zondi mark of identity. He said that “we scarify in order to differentiate ourselves from other clans”. Scars, especially Zondi scars, are a mark of identity and acknowledgement to other members that bear the same scars. When asked specifically who in the family is scarified, Zondi explained that it is all family members, including children born outside of marriage, provided the father is a Zondi clan member. Both male and female members of the Zondi clan are scarified and they have distinctive marks setting them apart from other clans, Scarification scars in different clans vary in terms of number, size and where they are situated within the person’s face. Zondi clan members have five incisions on each cheek and one incision on the forehead.

When asked who does the scarification in the Zondi family, he said that the person who does the scarifying is normally an elderly person chosen by elders within the family because he/she has certain qualities. The scarifier will choose a successor (due to old-age and illness) to take over the practice and the responsibility is then handed over. Zondi said that “within our family, my aunt was responsible for the practice of

scarification, who then handed over the responsibilities to me to carry on. Being a male person chosen to scarify was not well received by certain family members as in the past female members have mostly been responsible for scarification. This issue is still being debated to date by the family, although it does not pose any problems within the actual practice as I do carry on scarifying family members”.

When asked what materials the Zondi family use to scarify, he answered ”we use broken bottle pieces, while others use razors even though our forefathers used reed split in half for easy cutting. Scars are not treated, but are smeared with red clay and left to heal on their own.” In the Zondi family the practice of scarifying is not done indoors, but is carried out in the kraal or along the borders of the yard (*Ezeleni*). Zondi said that scarification takes place at any time during the day, but not at night. Zondi said that according to Zulu custom blood spilt within the home is bad luck and can cause conflict which should be avoided at all costs, therefore the practice is done outside the house. Zondi continued by saying that when blood is spilt in the yard, the ancestors should be informed. In the Zondi clan scarification is carried out in numerous ways, for different occasions. Infants are not scarified before reaching the age of six months or until they can crawl. The reason for early scarification in infants is that babies heal quicker than adults so children are scarified early in their lives. It is believed that through scarification bad blood is extracted to avoid bad habits like screaming in your sleep that may occur if the child is not scarified. Girls are scarified again when they reach puberty. This scarification is not about identifying a person as being a member of the Zondi clan. When the girl gets ready for marriage she is then scarified again on her neck (front and back). This makes her stronger and protects her from any evil spirits that she might encounter in her new home. This practice is purely for protection and has

nothing to do with the clan marks of identity. Some people do not practice this within the Zondi clan, as it is not as important as the marks of identity.

When asked about the consequences of the lack of the practice of scarification amongst current Zondi clan members Mr. Zondi said, "*Hamba juba bayokuchutha phambili ...to those who do not follow the practice anymore*". When translated this instruction means that the person must change his ways or suffer the consequences.

1. Purpose of Scarification: All male and female members of the Zondi clan are scarified for identity purposes. All females when they reach the age of puberty and when a female is ready for marriage are scarified for rite of passage purposes.
2. Markings (location, size and number): five incisions on the cheek and one on the forehead
3. Age at which scarified: more than six months old, and females when they reach puberty.
4. Practitioner (who did the scarification?): adult family member, usually female.
5. Geographical location of scarification: in the kraal, on the borders of the yard.
6. Time of day of scarification: any time of the day, but not during the night.
7. Scarification Technique: use pieces of broken bottle or razor, but traditionally a split reed (*umhlanga*).
8. Treatment of cuts after scarification: smeared with red clay.
9. Spiritual connection to scarification: burn *impepho* during the scarification ceremony. The ancestors should be informed whenever blood is spilt in the yard.
10. Reasons for the decline of scarification: strong belief in the continuation of the practice of scarification.

2. Mr Velibisi Shabane

Interview with Mr. Velbisi Shabane at Slangspruit, next to Imbali township outside Pietermaritzburg on 28 March 2005. Mr Shabane is 48 years old and has nine children

from his two wives. Although Mr. Shabane is not a scarifier he knows a great deal about the practice. He is an advocate of the dying practice who is very passionate about his customs. Shabane describes "scarification as an old custom of cutting the face in order to identify our family members from other families to avoid intermarriages between related individuals, which is regarded as a disgrace in our nation." He said the custom dates back many years, and was practiced by his forefathers. He was not certain exactly when the custom started as he never asked. He indicated that all his family members bearing the same surname and sharing the same ancestors are scarified in the same way.

Mr Shabane said "our ancestors cannot acknowledge an un-scarified person as a member of the family, and they can't protect him or her until he or she gets '*isiphandla*' and scars which are customary practices". When asked, who was responsible for scarifying in his family, he said the person entrusted with the role of scarifying "must be somebody from the family, either male or female. The person is not chosen by the family. He or she is chosen by the person who is or was responsible for scarification. The person needs to be brave and must not shake, as the number and the size of the scars have to be constant for all family members". He said that the incisions are done on the face (forehead, both cheeks and chin) and not on the body. There are six incisions on each cheek, three on the forehead and one on the chin; a total of fifteen incisions on the entire face.

When asked about when scarification takes place he said "usually family members are scarified when they are young (approximately 5months – 2 years). Children heal faster than old people". In the Shabane family scarification takes place outside the home,

preferably in the kraal in the absence of other children; this is done very early in the morning during sunny days. When more than one member of the family is to be scarified, a goat is slaughtered and family members all need to wear *isiphandla*.

Mr Shabane said "if the child is born at home, the umbilical cord is kept safely. This will be ground into powder and rubbed into the scars of that child to help the healing process. But these days children are born in hospitals and they cannot use that now".

Mr Shabane said that women get their second scarification after *umemulo* (coming of age rite of passage) to inform the ancestors that their daughter is ready for marriage. One cut is made on each cheek. These cuts are then smeared with a black oily substance called *umhlabelo*. Other people smear the cuts with red clay called *ibomvu* to help the healing process.

When asked what materials were used for scarification Mr Shabane said "We use razors but in the olden days a piece of a reed broken from a reed stem, freshly cut and used on the same day."

When he was asked about the contemporary practice of scarification and its decline, he said "these days people don't do their custom because of the so-called civilization which came with *amakholwa*, the believers who are the church goers. People say that our customs are outdated and they don't do them. Nothing is outdated, custom can never be outdated as long as we know about our custom. Education and civilization do not say people should stop their customs. People choose not to do it themselves. Some people say it is not good to cut people's faces for customary purposes".

Shabane said strongly believes that each person is defined by their customary background, that were passed on from generation to generation without any opposition. He continued by stating that there is a Zulu saying "*Inyathi ibuzwa kwabaphambili*" (when you are new to something you seek information from the elders) which means to consult the elders about customs. He then said "the youth of today do not ask from the old or the elders. That is why they don't do things right". Shabane said "yes, it (scarification) is declining but some of us do it because it is part of our custom and we can't do what other people do. They do not see the importance of it, but they end being ill because of that. They only think of themselves and not their children. It is not choice in our family to scarify a child, it is a compulsory thing. That is why it is difficult to scarify a grown-up person who will oppose the custom. If children in our family are not scarified they don't live a healthy life and they do peculiar habits, like urinating while they are asleep, even though a child is old".

1. Purpose of Scarification: Male and female members of the Shabane clan for purposes of identity, and female members of the family when they reach puberty (*umemulo*) as a rite of passage.
2. Markings (location, size and number): sixteen marks, six on each cheek, three on the forehead and one on the chin.
3. Age at which scarified: from five months to two years and for females at puberty.
4. Practitioner (who did the scarification?): male ^sor female member of the family.
5. Geographical location of scarification: outside the house, preferably in the kraal.
6. Time of day of scarification: early in the morning, on a sunny day.
7. Scarification Technique: use a razor, but traditionally freshly cut reed (*umhlanga*).
8. Treatment of cuts after scarification: rubbed with red clay (*ibomvu*).
9. Spiritual connection to scarification: inform the ancestors that daughter is ready for marriage.

10. Reasons for the decline of scarification: scarification is in decline because of the influence of the church, but he strongly believes that it should continue.

3. Mr J Ngubane

Interview with Mr J Ngubane at Dalton Hostel on the 20th of May 2005. Ngubane is in actual fact his mother's surname. Zuma is his paternal father's surname. Mr. Ngubane works with skin at the Dalton Skin Dealers Centre making traditional functional objects and clothing. Ngubane is a member of the Nazareth Baptist church¹ and has a Standard Five education. The 57 year old has the Zuma clan scarification marks on his cheeks. The marks were made by his father's family. Ngubane said that as long as the scars on the cheeks were visible, the number of scars didn't matter.

They must be prominent and clearly visible. If the scars are not deep they fade". Ngubane mentioned that scarification was also used for letting out the dirty blood from a child for health purposes. Ngubane said in the Zuma clan, a child born outside of marriage (where the women's children have a different father) does not have the same scars as a Zuma clan member. Ngubane said that the scarifier has to come from the Zuma clan and this is normally an elderly male person.

In discussing when a person is scarified Ngubane said that within the Zuma family both girls and boys are scarified when they are between the age of five and ten years. If a child is not scarified within that time he, or she, wont be strong health wise and can

¹ The Nazareth Baptist Church (popularly known as the Shembe Church) was founded by Isiah Shembe in 1913 and has more than three million followers throughout the country (Mthembu, 2006). The church's structure is a mixture of Christian dogma and the tenets of Zulu culture. The founder of the church inculcated in his followers a belief that closely mirrors the traditional norms of social and moral behaviour among the Zulu people (Nyathikazi, 2006).

develop a strange habit of cutting themselves. This is a plea to be scarified. In this case the child is no longer in control but the custom itself takes over. He continued by saying that the custom of scarification is a practice of excreting bad blood from the child. In the case of twins, Ngubane said "when scarifying twins, the older one is scarified first but not in the presence of the other twin. The older one is the last one to come out". Ngubane said that when scarifying a goat is slaughtered, not a sheep. Each member to be scarified has his or her goat and has to wear *isiphandla* (skin bangle) on the right hand arm from the slaughtered goatskin. Ngubane said "we do not scarify on cloudy days; we scarify on sunny days. The practice is done during the day and not at night inside the kraal".

When asked about the scarification technique, Ngubane said that "nowadays razors are used whereas our forefathers used to use reeds to scarify. Scars are not washed for two days. After scarifying a protective *muthi* is smeared into the scars to protect the individual from evil spirits and it also informs the ancestors of a new family member". He continued by explaining that during this period any use of any medicine, whether traditional or western, to heal the scars is strongly forbidden. Only the use of *ibomvu* (red clay) is allowed. Some people smear ash on the wounds to prevent flies from irritating the scarified individual.

In discussing the decline in the practice of scarification, Ngubane says "customs do not die out. For those who refuse to continue the practice to scarify their children there's not much we can do; they are punishing their children who will not do well in life, like in school". Ngubane said that "the main causes of the decline in this practice are civilization and religion. Civilization does not say that the people should stop this

practice, but people chose to neglect this practice because they said they were churchgoers. Most religions go against our traditional customs. Some religions are totally opposed to the customs. That is why in the case of religious believers, some choose to neglect some of the traditions, some continue with certain practices and some don't do it at all".

1. Purpose of Scarification: ^{identification} identify and health.
2. Markings (location, size and number): scarification scars are short and wide. They must be prominent and clearly visible.
3. Age at which scarified: within the Zuma family both girls and boys are scarified when they are between the age of five and ten years.
4. Practitioner (who did the scarification?): normally an elderly male family member.
5. Geographical location of scarification: inside the kraal
6. Time of day of scarification: on sunny days, not on cloudy days. During the day, not at night.
7. Scarification Technique: scarification is done using razors, and not a reed (*umhlanga*) as was the tradition.
8. Treatment of cuts after scarification: Only the use of *ibomvu* (red clay) is allowed to heal the scars. It is forbidden to use any medicine, whether traditional or western, to heal the scars.
9. Spiritual connection to scarification: after scarification *muthi* is smeared into the scars to inform the ancestors of a new family member
10. Reasons for the decline of scarification: religion is cited as one of the main reasons for the decline in the practice of scarification in contemporary times.

4. Ms Nozipho Sikhakhane

Interview with Nozipho Sikhakhane of Greytown on the 28th of September 2004. The interview took place in Clermont, Durban. Sikhakhane belongs to the Methodist church

and was educated up to Standard Seven. Sikhakhane, aged 48 has prominent long scars on her face, six on each cheek, and two on the forehead. Sikhakhane said that in her family her brother does the scarifying of all family members.

Although Sikhakhane is unmarried, she has two children who are scarified differently to the Sikhakhane clan. They belong to an Mpondo clan, and hence their scars are different. When asked about the practice of scarification in her family, Sikhakhane said "I don't know who started the practice of scarification but I know about it, because we were told by our grandfather". Sikhakhane explained that if a member of the family was not scarified he, or she, cannot take part in other traditional ceremonies unless they are first scarified, even if a person is old". Scarification takes precedence over any other ceremony.

When asked about the reasons for scarification, Sikhakhane said that "we scarify ourselves to identify our family members to avoid problems of not knowing who we are (for example marriages), to prevent habits that might be problematic within the family and to maintains peace within the family. She quoted an example of a male relative, born out of marriage, whose father was from the Sikhankhane clan and whose mother was from another clan. He was not scarified and when he lived with the Sikhakhane family he fought with the family members, until he was scarified by Sikhakhane's grandfather. After scarification he stopped fighting with the family members.

When questioned about the age for scarification Sikhakhane said that "it is better to scarify a child than when somebody is old because children heal faster than adults. The right age is three to six years old". Sikhakhane explained that when a girl reaches

puberty, after the first menstruation, she is scarified on the chest (between the breasts) and on her back (between the shoulders) and below the neck. This takes place at the girls' house, called *ilawu*. The *Inyanga* (traditional healer) also uses the same spots when healing his patients.

When asked who does the scarification in her family, Sikhakhane said that it can be "an adult person of the same surname, it can ^{be} your father or grandfather, or their brothers or sisters, or unmarried female persons from the same surname. Our grandfather did it to us" Sikhakhane said that when you scarify you don't call the whole family, only a few members and the elder responsible to burn *impepho*, to ask or tell the ancestors about the process. The mother of a child being scarified is not allowed to enter the kraal or witness the practice as she is not blood related. Sikhakhane explained that scarification is not a lengthy process as it is done by individuals who know the practice and can do it quickly. Sikhakhane continued by saying that the practice is done while both the scarifier and the candidate sit on the floor, on a grass mat or goatskin. They do not sit on any elevated surfaces i.e. chairs, stools. She said it is done at any time of the day as long as it is during the day and not at night.

Sikhakhane said that "we use razors now, but our grandfather told us that a reed was used. We rub ash and some *muthi* on the scars, and also rub *ibomvu* on the whole face for a certain period. An adult will tell you when to stop. No other western medicine is used". Sikhakhane explained that scars can be repeated if they are not clearly visible because a person will not be recognised as a member of the family by other family members. To keep the same number and appearance, they are done on the same spot.

Sikhakhane said that one person or more can be scarified simultaneously. This can be done inside or outside the house (in the kraal). The house must belong to a Sikhakhane male family member.

She continued by saying that “when somebody is sick the *inyanga* scarifies him or her and rub *umhlabelo* in the scar. The scars are not on the face, they are on the body”.

When asked about the decline in the practice of scarification, Sikhakhane said that most people do not undergo scarification as they claim cutting oneself goes against Christianity.

1. Purpose of Scarification: all members of the family are scarified to identify members of the Sikhakhane family and for rite of passage for female members of the family at puberty.
2. Markings (location, size and number): six on each cheek, and two on the forehead. At puberty female is scarified on the chest (between the breasts) and on her back (between the shoulders) and below the neck.
3. Age at which scarified: three to six years old.
4. Practitioner (who did the scarification?): an adult male or female from the family.
5. Geographical location of scarification: on the floor, on a grass mat or goatskin, outside the house (in the kraal). The house must belong to a Sikhakhane male, family member. The scarification for girls at puberty takes place at the girls house, called *ilawu*.
6. Time of day of scarification: at any time of the day as long as it is during the day and not at night.
7. Scarification Technique: razors are used, but traditionally reed was used.
8. Treatment of cuts after scarification: ash and some *muthi* is rubbed on the scars, and *ibomvu* is rubbed on the whole face for a certain period. No other western medicine is used.
9. Spiritual connection to scarification: the elder who is responsible for burning the *mpepho*, asks or tells the ancestors about the process.

10. Reasons for the decline of scarification: people do not scarify as they claim cutting oneself goes against Christianity.

5. Mazisi Kunene

Interview with Mazisi Kunene at his residence in Macdonald Road, Glenwood, Durban on the 14th of October 2003. Professor Mazisi Kunene is a renowned Zulu poet.

When asked about scarification in Zulu culture, Kunene explained that scarification was an old custom of cutting the skin in different places on the body. He said that “this is done for various reasons as customs vary from family to family. Some people scarify to make a mark of a certain family so that they can know each other and see each other as the families are expanding. Some people scarify to avoid intermarriage as this is something that is not acceptable; for people sharing the same surname to fall in love.

This is done in order to avoid intermarriages”. For example, the Mpondo scars are all the same for all Mpondo clans whereas each family within the Zulu clan has specific scars, authentic to that particular family”.

He continued by saying that some of the scarification done by the Bantu people is done when the girl is entering puberty as part of a family service. Certain members who scarify will utilize this event in making incisions on the girl’s body, notably on her chest and her back (just below the neck).

The candidate then asked Kunene about how far back can scarification be dated. Kunene said “the custom of scarification goes back a long way and I am not certain of the exact dates and who started it, but what I can say is that here in South Africa it came from the North with the Nguni speaking people. Some families have abandoned the practice due to various reasons. It’s not all Nguni’s who scarify; some of the Nguni

families do not scarify, and they never did it before. Like us in the Kunene family, we do not scarify, but we have our own way of doing rituals that have no associations with scarification”.

When asked who normally does the scarifying, Kunene said it differs from family to family. However, most rituals tend to be similar in procedure. In most cases the scarifier is a family member chosen by the elders. When asked about the technique of scarification, Kunene said that:

Due to the delicate nature of the scarification process extra precautions need to be taken as far as creating the marks, or making the incision is concerned. Practitioners are specially recognized for their skills. They are the only people allowed to practice and carry out scarification. The practitioners are traditionally older men and women. Herbal practitioners, ‘Izangoma’ and ‘Izinyanga’ also perform this skill.

When questioned about the age at which a person is scarified Kunene said that scarification is done at an early age when the person is still a child (three to ten years old). However in cases where people are born away from home, live/grow up away from home, these individuals can still undergo the custom irrespective of age. In normal circumstances scarification is done quite early in life while the individual is still young to speed up the healing process. In the case of a polygamous family, all children can be scarified on the same day, as they all share the same father and the same ancestor. However the first born child from the first wife is scarified first.

In reply to a question about what types of tools are used to scarify, Kunene said “something sharp like a razor, glass from a broken bottle or even a tool that is made by the scarifier. No western medicine is used. They use African *muthi* or *ibomvu* (red soil). Usually whatever they do African people ask it from the ancestors, or they inform

the ancestors about the ceremony they are going to do. They slaughter an animal, usually a goat and they also burn *imphepho* (incense) which is part of informing the ancestors of the ritual”.

Kunene said that he believed the cause leading to the decline of the practice of scarification is due to many things: one of which is civilization and another is children who are born out of wedlock, hence they don't practice the father's customs. Another is violence where people were constantly on the run and migrating to cities, where people end up disdaining their traditional customs either by choice, or being forced by city regulations and boundaries. He said that nowadays it is possible to meet a Zuma or a Zondi who does not bear the traditional marks of scarification on his face.

1. Purpose of Scarification: clan and family identity and rite of passage for females.
2. Markings (location, size and number): at puberty on the girl's body, notably on her chest and her back (just below the neck).
3. Age at which scarified: three to ten years old.
4. Practitioner (who did the scarification?): said it differs from family to family. In most cases the scarifier is a family member chosen by the elders; the practitioners are traditionally older men and women. Herbal practitioners, '*Izangoma*' and '*Izinyanga*' also perform this skill.
5. Geographical location of scarification: not stated.
6. Time of day of scarification: not stated.
7. Scarification Technique: something sharp, like a razor, glass from a broken bottle or even a tool that is made by the scarifier.
8. Treatment of cuts after scarification: no western medicine is used. They use African *muthi* or *ibomvu* (red soil).
9. Spiritual connection to scarification: burn *imphepho* (incense) which is part of informing the ancestors of the ritual.
10. Reasons for the decline of scarification: civilization and migration.

6. Emmanuel Nkosinathi Gwala

Interview with Mr Emmanuel Nkosinathi Gwala at Endaleni in Richmond, KwaZulu Natal on the 20th of May 2005. Gwala was baptised a Roman Catholic, but didn't attend church. He was educated up to Standard 8. Gwala is a 55 year old who practices the custom of scarification within his family. According to Gwala, infants in the Gwala family are kept indoors until they have been scarified. This is done during the first months (three – six months). No other ceremony is performed for the child prior to scarification.

In the scarification procedure, the right thumb of the father and child is cut. The two thumbs are then joined together in union, after which the child's face will be scarified. This is done for every child of the family. Gwala said that "they start from the forehead and go down the face. We don't count the scars as long as the scars are prominent. This is done while there are other children around, but not inside the house. It is done towards the end of the yard (*ezaleni*) and not inside the house. The right cheek is scarified first while members sing the family song. The child is then smeared with *ibomvu* (red soil) and no additional medicine is applied".

Gwala said that a special brew that does not make you drunk is given to the child to drink in keeping with the ritual, a beast is slaughtered and traditional beer is brewed. Gwala said that when the child is fully-grown, he or she goes through a second form of scarification which, is defined as '*ukuqaga igazi*' (let the blood flow). This is done on top of the previous scars to make sure that they are visible.

Gwala said that because of geographical separations certain variations of markings have occurred within the same family (same surname). In these instances problems may occur and the family elders are called upon to remedy the problems.

If children are not scarified, Gwala said that they will do mischievous deeds. This can also be understood as a plea for scarification to be performed on that particular child. A child can be disturbed in numerous things if he/she did not receive these marks of identity.

When asked who does the scarifying Gwala said "the father of the child can scarify his child if the grandmother has died. It is normally done by the grandmothers." Gwala said that scarification should take place during the day, when it is sunny. In terms of technique, Gwala explained that previously reeds were used to scarify, but nowadays razors are used and not a knife. He explained that nowadays some people in the family ask that scars should not be big. Some of the family elders accepted this. This is another cause of different scars within the same Gwala clan (family).

Gawla said in his family they burn *impepho* when they scarify a child. When asked about the reasons for the decline in scarification amongst the Zulu people, Gwala said people do not practice the custom because they say it is outdated and its old.

1. Purpose of Scarification: family or clan identity. When the child is fully-grown, he or she goes through a second form of scarification to make sure that the scars are visible.
2. Markings (location, size and number): from the forehead down the face. Scars are not counted as long as the scars are prominent. The right cheek is scarified first.
3. Age at which scarified: three to six months.

4. Practitioner (who did the scarification?): normally grandmothers.
5. Geographical location of scarification: It is done towards the end of the yard (*ezaleni*) and not inside the house.
6. Time of day of scarification: during the day when it is sunny.
7. Scarification Technique: historically a reed (*umhlanga*) was used to scarify, but nowadays razors are used and not a knife.
8. Treatment of cuts after scarification: the cut is smeared with *ibomvu* (red soil) and no additional medicine is applied.
9. Spiritual connection to scarification: *impepho* is burnt during the ceremony.
10. Reasons for the decline of scarification: an outdated custom.

7. Julia Zondi

Interview held with Julia Zondi, a 57 year old female scarifier, at Ntuzuma on the 18th March 2005. Zondi is a member of the Nazareth church and was educated up to Standard Four. She is known by all people in the area as MaZondi.

MaZondi said that "scarification is a Zondi custom and you get ill if you are not scarified. Scarification is an old Zondi custom of identity, and when a child has not done this practice he/she will be sick and do silly things like wet their beds". When asked if scarification is done to beautify the body, Zondi said that it is not done for beauty, but she has heard some people saying that this person or that person's scars are beautiful. But this does not mean that this is the purpose of scarification.

She said that as the eldest in her family, she was given the responsibility of scarifying, because within her family the first born daughter does the scarifying. She said that "the person who is scarifying should not be somebody who is going to sleep everywhere, it must be somebody who is close to our ancestors".

MaZondi said that scarification should take place inside the *kraal*, early in the day when it is sunny. She said that *mpepho* is burnt during the ceremony to communicate with ancestors. When asked about the age that children are scarified, she said "children are scarified from 5 months onwards". MaZondi said that when scarification takes place *bomvu* (red soil) is smeared on the scars; this is done in order to make the marks more prominent and also to avoid 'ukubhibha' (infection).

When she scarifies MaZondi uses a piece of broken glass from a clear bottle, not a coloured one. She said that "scars made by a razor blade disappear very quickly". MaZondi said that the reason for scarifying is "to let the blood come out. If the blood is not let out, nothing will ever go right in that child's life. It is the law to let that blood out". MaZondi said that a chicken is slaughtered as part of the scarification custom and the family doesn't wear '*isiphandla*' as part of the ceremony. The mother should not be present if she is sensitive. All children are called to witness the ceremony.

In terms of the number of scars, maZondi said that "the Zondi scars go as follows: five on each cheek and one on the forehead, which is a total of eleven scars on the face". Zondi said that the practice of scarification is declining because of Christianity and because people believe that scarification scars are ugly.

1. Purpose: family identity and health.
2. Markings: five on each cheek and one on the forehead
3. Age: scarification is done from five months onwards.
4. Practitioner: somebody who is close to our ancestors.

5. Location: the scarification process takes place inside the kraal
6. Time of day: early in the morning on a sunny day.
7. Technique: cuts are made with a piece of clear glass.
8. Treatment: *ibomvu* (red soil) is smeared on the scars; this is done in order to make the marks more prominent and also to avoid 'ukubhibha' (infection).
9. Spiritual connection: *impepho* is being burnt for communication with the ancestors.
10. Reasons for the decline of scarification: Christianity and people believe the scars are ugly.

8. Bongani Zuma

Interview held with Bongani Zuma, a 55 year old herbalist, at uMlazi on the 12th of May 2005. Zuma is married with three children. When asked why scarification is done in his family Zuma said "scarification is a Zuma family custom which protects the child from bad spirits that the child might encounter while growing up and to avoid unusual behaviour (for example, urinating inside the house).

Scarification is the same with boys and girls (they are all scarified the same way). Children born out of wedlock carry their father's family scars and not from their mother's side. The '*isiphandla*' worn is cut from goatskin. Zuma said that scarification is used to differentiate the person with a certain surname, from people with other surnames.

Zuma said that when scarification takes place an animal is slaughtered, preferably a goat, either male or female. The colour of the goat should not be black. Scarification takes place in the morning.

Zuma said that the person doing the scarifying should be an elderly woman. In terms of technique Zuma said that within the family they use only broken pieces of glass, not razors, as they make more pronounced marks. Only *ibomvu* (red clay) is applied to the cut, and then the cut washed with water in which herbs have been soaked.

Zuma said "firstly we burn *imphepho* to announce the custom to our ancestors. The practice is done outdoors and not inside the house". In terms of the markings she said that the incisions are done on the forehead and on the cheeks. She said that "we don't count the scars so long as the scars are prominent or clearly visible".

Zuma said that scarification is declining because of "government things and Chritianity".

1. Purpose: identity of family members and health.
2. Markings: on the forehead and cheeks. No particular number, but they should be prominent.
3. Age: from the age of six
4. Practitioner: an elderly woman.
5. Location: outside of the house.
6. Time of day: in the morning.
7. Technique: broken pieces of glass, not razors, as they make more pronounced marks.
8. Treatment: *ibomvu* (red clay) is applied to the cut, and then the cut washed with water in which herbs have been soaked.
9. Spiritual connection: burn *impepho* to communicate with the ancestors.
10. Reasons for the decline of scarification: because of changes, like new government structures, and Christianity.

9. Nkosinathi Mchunu

Interview held with Nkosinathi Mchunu, a herbalist, from the Mvuzane area in Clermont on 18 June, 2005. Mchunu is 71 years old. He is married and has five children.

When asked about the significance of scarification Mchunu said "it is a symbolic mark within the Mchunu clan so we don't lose contact with each other as families expand, or when a family member goes to start a home in another area they must not forget their origins. It's to avoid intermarriages and to get rid of the unwanted blood from children, because when it's not excreted that child will be weak when faced with evil spirits along the way".

When asked how scarification is performed Mchunu said that "firstly we don't scarify inside the house, the practice is done in the kraal. During scarification the *impepho* is kept smoking throughout the process. All genders undergo scarification. An animal from the Mchunu herd is slaughtered when the practice is performed to a Mchunu family member. This to inform the ancestors of the Mchunu clan that the custom is happening and the relatives are invited, especially those that will perform the practice in their own homes. This is done in order to spread the knowledge as they will also perform the ritual. This is done in order to teach them and keep the custom going".

Mchunu said that the practice "is mostly done by Mchunu males, but even an elderly women, with the Mchunu surname, has got the mandate to scarify if they have been given the authority by members of her family because of certain characteristics they saw in her".

Mchunu said that in terms of technique "I can recall a piece of glass from a white broken bottle being used to scarify, but nowadays many Mchunu people are using razors". When asked about the number and position of scars, Mchunu said that "some families have three incisions on each cheek and one on the forehead. Other people say the number is not important as long as the scars are prominent, especially the one on the forehead. The chin is not scarified at all within the Mchunu clan". He said that the scars are not to be washed for two days; only *ibomvu* (red soil) is applied to the scar.

Mchunu said that if you have never been scarified you cannot take part in any other ceremony until you undergo scarification first. He said "you are not allowed to take a wife if you have never been scarified, and you are not allowed as a girl to get married if you have not been scarified in the Mchunu family". Mchunu said "these days members of the Mchunu family are quarreling because some families do not do their custom because of the following reasons; civilization, education, religion and the settling in cities".

1. Purpose: identity and health (mental and physical).
2. Markings: three incisions on each cheek and one on the forehead.
3. Age: from six years before schooling.
4. Practitioner: normally Mchunu male, but can be elderly female with Mchunu surname.
5. Location: not inside the house; in the kraal.
6. Time of day: early in the morning.
7. Technique: Mchunu clan uses razor blades.
8. Treatment: *ibomvu* is used to treat the cut.

9. Spiritual connection: an animal is slaughtered to inform the ancestors of the scarification of the child.
10. Reasons for the decline of scarification: civilization, education, religion and urbanization.

CHAPTER 3: SECTION 3

A COMPARISON OF HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SCARIFICATION IN ZULU CULTURE

In this section the candidate will compare the historical and contemporary practice of scarification in Zulu culture. The interviews contain common information which gives us a clear idea of the practice of scarification, and the reasons for scarification, in contemporary Zulu culture. The candidate will compare this information with the information from historical sources. This comparison will be done using the following headings:

1. The purpose of scarification
2. Markings (location, size and number)
3. Age at which scarified
4. Practitioner (who did the scarification?)
5. Geographical location of scarification:
6. Time of day of scarification
7. Scarification technique
8. Treatment of cuts after scarification
9. Spiritual connection to scarification
10. Reasons for the decline of scarification

1. The Purpose of Scarification

Identity

All of the nine people interviewed by the candidate said that the practice of scarification was done for the purpose of identity; to identify people (males and females) from the same families or clans to avoid problems, for example intermarriage. For example Vela Zondi (2004) describes scarification scars in his family as a specific Zondi mark of identity, He said that they scarify in order to differentiate themselves from other clans. Sikhakhane (2004) said that her family scarify themselves to identify family members so as “to avoid problems of not knowing who we are (for example marriages)”.

None of the historical writers mention that scarification was done for the purpose of identity; they all said that scarification was done for the purpose of beauty and ornamentation. African informants such as Mqaikana ka Yenge (Webb and Wright, 1986: 6) and Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli (Webb and Wright, 1982: 39), told James Stuart that scarification was done as a distinguishing mark (*upawu*) of a clan. However, Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli (Wright and Webb, 1982: 40) informed Stuart that scarification was not used as a distinguishing mark (*upawu*) amongst the Qwabe, but was done from inclination. Mqaikana ka Yenge said that the "the infant is also cut (scratched) on the cheeks about the cheek bones, forehead, and on either side of the chin This is the distinguishing mark (*upawu*) of the Zondi people (Webb and Wright, 1986: 6). Here Mqaikana ka Yenge is talking about clan identity. Both the historical Zulu sources, and the Zulu people interviewed, said that scarification was done for the purpose of identity; they made no mention of scarification being done for the purpose of ornamentation and beauty.

It is clear that scarification has been, and is being, used to signify group identity by some groups amongst the Zulu people.

Health

Four of the people interviewed by the candidate said that scarification is also done to ensure the mental and physical health of a child, and they said that if a child is not scarified he/she will not live a healthy life. Of the historical writers, only Stuart mentioned a relationship between scarification and mental and physical health. Stuart was told by Mqaikana ka Yenge that if the child is not scarified it will cry a lot and may defecate indoors. The reason for this is that the child wants to be scarified (Webb and Wright, 1986: 6). People interviewed by the candidate confirmed this. For example,

Zuma (2005) said that scarification was done to avoid unusual behaviour (for example, urinating inside the house).

Julia Zondi (2005) said that if the blood is not let out, nothing will ever go right in that child's life; and when a child has not been scarified he/she will be sick and do silly things like wet their bed. Vela Zondi (2004) said that when a child is scarified, bad blood is extracted to avoid bad habits like screaming in your sleep. Gwala (2005) said that if children are not scarified they will do mischievous deeds. This can also be understood as a plea for scarification to be performed on that particular child. Ngubane (2005) said that if a child is not scarified within that time he, or she, will not be strong health wise and can develop a strange habit of cutting themselves. This is a plea to be scarified.

There is evidence from both historical and contemporary sources that scarification is related to the health of a child, and if a child is not scarified it will become ill or develop bad habits.

Rite of Passage

Another reason for scarification given by five of the people interviewed by the candidate, was a rite of passage for females when they reach puberty or are ready for marriage. Some historical sources, such as Groning (1997,1998), Cunningham (2001), and Fisher (1984) agree that scarification in Africa was done for the purpose of rite of passage. Speaking of scarification amongst the Zulu people, Kennedy (1993) said that scarification was widely practiced on young girls. Bryant referred it as a custom "practiced by unmarried females in earlier times" (1967:165). Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli (Webb and Wright, 1982: 31) said that "Bobobo used to proclaim either that girls

should cut and mark themselves, or that children were to be weaned, i.e. on a particular year". Vela Zondi (2004) said that girls are scarified when they reach puberty, and when a girl gets ready for marriage. Shabane (2005) said that women get their second scarification after *umemulo* (coming of age rite of passage) to inform the ancestors that their daughter is ready for marriage.

The historical sources don't mention specifically that scarification amongst the Zulus was done for the purpose of rite of passage for females. However, the people interviewed make specific reference to girls being scarified at a young age (puberty) and when they are ready for marriage, as a rite of passage.

2. Markings

All of the nine people interviewed said that the markings are made on the cheeks, the forehead and the chin (for purposes of identity), on the chest and back below the neck (for the purposes of rites of passage for females at puberty) and below the neck on both sides (when a woman is ready for marriage).

Most of the people interviewed indicated that the number of scars ranged from six to twelve, depending on the clan. Fynn noted that the number of cuts made ranged from 200-300 (1969: 294). Delagorgue noted that the scars generally were arranged "in the shape of two squares, joined at opposite angles, as on a draft-board" (Bird 1965 I: 475). Kennedy (1993) and Krige (1950) both said that marks were made on the arms, cheeks and hips. Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli (Wright and Webb, 1982: 40) said marks were made by the Qwabe on the small of the back and at the base of the stomach, but not as a distinguishing mark. Mqaikana ka Yenge said that when a child is scarified it is cut on the cheeks, forehead and on either side of the chin (Webb and Wright, 1986: 6).

Shabane (2005) said that for identity purposes in the Shabane clan the marks are made on the face (forehead, both cheeks and chin) and not on the body; six cuts are made on each cheek, three on the forehead and one on the chin; a total of fifteen incisions on the entire face. Shabane (2005) said that when a woman is ready for marriage she is then scarified again below the neck (front and back).

There is agreement by the historical and contemporary sources that scarification marks for the purpose of identity are made on the face, and for rite of passage purposes are made on the body of young females.

3. Age

Seven of the people interviewed said that scarification for identity purposes should take place when people are young, because the cuts heal more quickly. The range of ages given for scarification was between 3 months and 10 years. Groning said children in Africa are often given the first incisions immediately after birth. (1997: 146). Mqaikana ka Yenge said that scarification is done in the Zondi clan when a child is born (Webb and Wright, 1986: 6).

Hence, there is agreement by historical and contemporary sources that scarification is done when a child is young.

4. Practitioner

All of the nine people interviewed said that scarification was carried out by elderly members of the family. They could be either male or female. The historical sources did not mention anything about the practitioner or the scarifier.

5. Location

Eight of the people interviewed indicated that scarification should take place outside of the house. Two respondents said that the process occurred on the edge of the yard, near the kraal, and six respondents said that it occurred inside the kraal. Mqaikana ka Yenge said that "*At the birth of a child, i.e. when first carried, it is taken to the cattle enclosure*" (Webb and Wright, 1986: 6). Vela Zondi (2004) said that, in the Zondi family, scarification is not done indoors, but is carried out in the kraal or along the borders of the yard (*Ezalezi*). Shabane (2005) said that in the Shabane family scarification takes place outside the home, preferably in the kraal.

Historical and contemporary sources confirm that scarification was done outside of the house, in the *kraal*.

6. Time of day

Eight of the people interviewed said that scarification took place during the day; four said it should happen in the early morning, and two of them said it should be sunny. The historical sources do not mention the time of the day when scarification should take place.

7. Technique

Four of the respondents said that in contemporary times they use broken pieces of glass to scarify. Some said that it should be clear, or colourless, glass. Seven people interviewed said that they use razor blades. However, a number of respondents said that when razor blades are used, the scars disappear. Gwala (2005), Shabane (2005) and Sikhakhane (2004) said that, traditionally, a piece of broken reed was used to make cuts. However, Krige said that scars are made by making slight cuts about half an inch long

in the skin with a knife (1950:375). Delegorgue said that in the scarification process used by Zulus, scars are made by “numerous incisions effected with the sharp point of a weapon (Bird,1888: 475), while Fynn said that the skin is held up while it is cut moderately deep with a razor (1996: 294). None of the historical sources mention the use of a broken reed to make cuts.

8. Treatment

There was consistent agreement amongst all nine people interviewed that the cuts are treated with *ibomvu* (red soil), and not western medicine. Kennedy (1998) the wound is rubbed with red clay, or more commonly dry cow dung. A live ember was then placed on top of the wound. Krige (1950: 375) said that a “pinch of dry cow dung is put on the cuts and the whole surmounted with a tiny live cinder”. Contemporary sources made no mention of cow dung being used in the treatment of scars in the scarification technique.

9. Spiritual connection

Six people interviewed said that *impepho* was burnt when a person is scarified to inform the ancestors of the scarification of the family member. Krige (1950) said that no ceremony was associated with scarification, whereas two historical sources mentioned the relationship between ancestors and scarification.

Schildkrout (2001: 6), in discussing the relationship between scarification and spirituality in Africa, said that body art can act as a link with ancestors, as a shield to repel evil, and scarification scars can mediate a relationship between people and the supernatural world (2001: 6). Tyrrell, in discussing the relationship between

scarification and ancestors amongst South African tribes, said "many rites must still be observed to placate ancestors, such as a slitting of the baby's face" (1974: 160).

There is evidence of agreement between historical and contemporary sources that the practice of scarification has a spiritual connection.

10. Reasons for the decline of scarification

Seven of the people interviewed said that religion, education, civilization and urbanisation were the main causes of the decline in the custom of scarification amongst the Zulu people. Two for the people had a strong belief that scarification should continue. One of the historical Zulu sources, Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli, told Stuart in 1904 that the practice of scarification was declining when he said "this practice is dying out" (Webb and Wright, 1982: 39). Groning (1997: 137) said that "many African governments have banned the so-called 'tribal marks', scars, denoting membership of a particular local group or kinship. But even in the countries where it is banned, the practice continues in secret". Ayeni (2004) noted that the practice of scarification is changing in Africa and elsewhere when he said that "pressure by church and state, the encroaching urban values, and the widespread adoption of clothing contribute to the dwindling of this practice. In many communities, scarification patterns can now be seen only on the elderly".

There is evidence that the practice of scarification is declining and the reasons given for this decline are religion, education, urbanization and government intervention.

CHAPTER 4: SECTION 1

THE HISTORICAL USE OF EAR PIERCING AS A FORM OF IDENTITY IN ZULU CULTURE

In this section the candidate will focus discussion on the *ukuqhumbuza* (ear piercing) custom, and not *iziqhaza* (earplugs), as a form of identity in Zulu culture. Stuart gave an account of the possible origins of ear piercing in Zulu culture based on information he obtained from an informant, Ndukwana:

Tshaka once caused Ngqengelele to *have his ears pierced*. His words were 'Seize the *isancute* and pierce his ears.' He was then caught and *had his ears pierced*. Tshaka after this proclaimed that not a single person was to fail to *have his ears pierced* through the length and breadth of the land, as Ngqengelele, *the chief of the land*, has *had his ears pierced*. And every soul thereupon *had his or her ears pierced*, not excluding the oldest woman. *Isancute* is a person who had not *had his or her ears pierced*, and therefore, according to Tshaka, could not hear, i.e. dull of apprehension (Webb and Wright, 1986:282).

In discussing the purpose of ear piercing in Zulu culture, Krige (1950: 81) said that:

The development of the Zulu from childhood to manhood or womanhood is not, as among Europeans, a gradual, almost imperceptible change, but consists rather of a series of clearly marked steps, each of which brings it increased status and greater responsibilities. The first of these is the *ukuqhumbuza* or ear piercing ceremony followed by the puberty ceremony and, in the case of a boy, the *ukubuthwa* or enrolment into a regiment and the *khehla'ing* or putting on the head ring.

The symbolic character of *ukuqhumbuza* (ear piercing) as a rite of passage is further demonstrated by the fact that it could only take place at new moon or full moon. Krige (1950: 81-82) quoted her sources as saying, "when the new moon appears it is time to begin making a new person, or adding a new unit to the family."

The piercing of the ear in Zulu culture was also used for medicinal purposes. Stuart, quoting an informant, Mini ka Ndhklovu, said that "should one of our children cry incessantly, our practice is to cut a hole in its ear and pass through a piece of the

ubendhle plant (Webb and Wright, 1986: 129). Krige continued by saying that a child who has their ears pierced was able to hear and understand, and if a child did not have their ears pierced they would remain foolish and childish (1959: 85). Ear piercing is defined as piercing the lobe of an ear, or any other part of the ear for the purpose of inserting certain objects into the hole. The size of the hole may vary considerably (Mutwa 1954: 540). Jolles (1997: 47) gave a detailed description of the ear piecing technique when he said that:

Ear-piercing was widely practiced the communities living in the eastern and southern parts of South Africa. In most regions it involved little more than using a thorn to make a small hole in the earlobe into which an earring or pendant could be inserted. Among the Zulu, by contrast, the holes were progressively enlarged until they could accommodate earplugs. Ear-piercing developed into an important ceremony Qhumbuza, which was performed "on every Zulu child before reaching puberty" (Krige, 1950: 81). It involved making an incision in each lobe with a sharpened piece of iron and placing a small piece of corn stalk into a newly made hole. As the ear healed, larger and larger pieces were inserted until the hole was big enough – an inch or more in diameter – for a piece of a reed to be used (Krige, 1950: 84).

In Zulu culture the sexes are represented as opposites; women are generally associated with the left side and therefore occupy the left side of their homes. Men are associated with the right side. The same principle applies to most rituals performed at home. The men take the right side while their partners take the left. It is a matter of opposites, which complement each other. Discussing ear piercing in the context of Zulu culture, Berglund (1989: 363) stated that "when the lobe of the ear is pierced, the right ear is pierced first in the case of boys, followed by the left. In the case of girls the left ear is treated first thereafter the right."

Jolles, in speaking of the ceremony, said that "the officiator had to be ritually clean. This meant he or she had to abstain from sexual intercourse and avoid funerals or contact with corpses before the ceremony (1997: 47). Jolles noted that by the 1950's

the ear piercing ceremony had lost its ritual significance, but it continued for cosmetic purposes on girls who wanted to wear earplugs (1997: 50).

CHAPTER 4: SECTION 2

CONTEMPORARY EAR PIERCING IN ZULU CULTURE: INTERVIEWS WITH PRACTITIONERS

The candidate interviewed three members of Zulu families to collect primary data relating to the historical and contemporary practice and technique of ear piercing.

The people interviewed were members of families who practice the custom of ear piercing, and who have become the family custodians of the custom in ensuring the continuity of ear piercing in contemporary times.

Before the people were interviewed, the candidate gave them a Letter of Information explaining the research project. This was written in English (Appendix B) and *isiZulu* (Appendix C). In addition, the candidate gave the people an Informed Consent Form to be completed. This was written in English (Appendix D) and *isiZulu* (Appendix E). Two of the people interviewed completed the Informed Consent Form, whilst the third person interviewed, Mr Mzimela said that it was not necessary for him to complete the form.

The candidate used a semi-structured approach to the interviews in which a core set of structured questions were used (Appendix G). The candidate followed these up with less structured questions, to explore responses in greater depth. The candidate recorded the interviews on tape and wrote down the responses in *isiZulu*. At the end of each interview the candidate has highlighted information relating to ear piercing under the following headings:

- Purpose of ear piercing
- Age at which ear piercing is done
- Time of day of ear piercing
- Geographical location of scarification
- Practitioner (who did the ear piercing?)

Ear piercing technique
 Treatment of holes after ear piercing
 Spiritual connection to ear piercing
 Reasons for the decline of ear piercing

INTERVIEWS

1. Simonyo Mzimela

Interview held on the 2 June 2005 with Simonyo Mzimela, a herbalist in the Durban Herb Market. Mzimela is 49 years old. He is married with no children. When the candidate told Mzimela that the interview was going to be about ear – piercing he said “I hope you won’t mind if I exclude the *Iziqhaza* (*earplugs*) from our interview. When he was asked him the reason for this, He said that “I know a little about *Iziqhaza* because in my family we were not allowed to wear them. My father and my other relatives in our family did not allow us to wear *Iziqhaza* because they are not our custom”.

Mzimela said *ukuqhumbuza* is done for a number of reasons; some of them are connected to a family custom, when children in the family get the same illness they go to the herbalist and their ears are pierced. He said that another reason for *ukuqhumbuza* is to identify all family members. Mzimela said that for identity purposes “some people scarify and some cut certain fingers and some do ear piercing.” Mzimela said that “if a child did does not get pierced, he will get ill and he will always be weak until he/ he does it”. Mzimela said “a child becomes stubborn and naughty until we pierce him/ her. Sometimes people pierce when they are being healed for certain diseases”. Mzimela said that “people in the olden days were using a thorn to make a incision, but now they are using any sharp thing like *isipeletu* or safety pin. After making the hole they rub certain muthi, or in some families, the saliva of the person (the owner). Every

morning they are told to use the first saliva for quick healing". Mzimela said that after the piercing, the ears are not washed for two days, only the face. Mzimela said that scarification should take place at any time during the day, and that *impepho* was burnt during the ceremony to communicate with the ancestors.

When he was asked about rules for *ukuqhumbuza*, Mzimela said "the law is very strict on the people who are piercing other people, and if someone does not obey those laws, he or she cannot pierce anyone. When asked about the laws, Mzimela said "firstly he must not do any sexual intercourse with any female person or visa versa for three to four days prior to the day of piercing. Secondly he/she must not go to a funeral or touch a dead body during the days of *ukuqhumbuza*. The law is very strict on the people who are piercing other people and if someone does not obey those laws he / she can not pierce anyone".

He said that females or males can perform the ear piercing as long as he/she is authorised by the family. It can be done inside the house or some people do it inside the kraal. He said that "if it is a girl, it is done on the left hand side of the house and the boys on the right side, and if it's the girl, the left ear is done first followed by the right one and the boys, the right one first. This is done because in most of our communities as Zulu people the left side is taken as the female side and the right one for males; *hayi kabi* (this not say that the left hand side is negative)".

Mzimela said "I don't want to talk about organisational earplugs because I am *Inyanga*. I heal all people of different political organizations, IFP, ANC" Here he is

referring to the use of earplugs by political parties in their election campaign. Jolles (1997: 59) confirms this when he said that:

the cultural associations of the earplug were directly invoked by Inkatha in their choice of symbol for the 1994 elections: an earplug of a classical 1950's design, displaying the IFP colours, which happened to coincide with the beadwork colour convention of the region associated with the Zulu royalty around Nongoma. It combines a modified version of the Sunbeam polish motif of the rising sun, with the letters IFP and a family group with two children.

When asked about the decline in ear piercing Mzimela said that "it is not declining at all, what is declining is those ones that are for beauty, like iziqhaza (earplugs)".

1. Purpose of ear piercing: to identify all family members and for health reasons.
2. Age at which ear piercing is done: at a young age.
3. Time of day of ear piercing: at any time of the day.
4. Geographical location of scarification: outside the house (left hand side for girls and right hand side for boys) or inside the kraal.
5. Practitioner (who did the ear piercing): male or female authorized by the family, subject to strict rules.
6. Ear piercing technique: traditionally done with a thorn, but now with a sharp instrument like a safety pin. Left ear first for girls and right ear first for boys.
7. Treatment of incision after ear piercing: *muthi* or saliva.
8. Spiritual connection to ear piercing: communicate with ancestors by burning *mpepho*.
9. Reasons for the decline of ear piercing: ear piercing is not declining, but the use of earplugs is declining.

2. Tholakele Mkhize

Interview held on 5 March 2005 with Tholakele Mkhize in KwaDabeka in Clermont. Mkhize is 50 years old, and has three children who died in *Mkhomazi* (Umkomaas). They were killed in one day during the political violence in the early 1990's by unknown people. She is a widower. Her husband died of diabetes (*Ushukela*) in 1991.

Mkhize said that “the *ukuqhumbuza* custom is old. I can not tell you when it started, and who started it, because people are doing it for many reasons. Some people do it because it is a family custom that everybody in the family must be pierced. Some people do ear piercing for healing when you are ill and you go to the herbalist (Inyanga); he can say the process of healing needs the patient to be pierced depending on how he sees the illness. Other people do it to help or to aid their eye sight; if you have an eye problem, people pierce their ears and put something inside the hole to keep the hole open especially when it is fresh”. Mkhize said that scarification should take place inside the *kraal*.

When asked about *Iziqhaza*, Mkhize said that *Iziqhaza* are used for many different reasons, like decoration. But sometimes a message is communicated when you give some one earplugs decorated with certain colours that are saying something to the receiver. She continued by saying that “another important reason why people are wearing *Iziqhaza* is to identify themselves as people of a certain region; usually you see them or you identify them by the type of earplugs they wear or the image on their earplugs”.

Mkhize said that “*Iziqhaza* are not connected to the custom of *ukuqhumbuza* and they were not connected even in the time of our forefathers. But if it is *ukuqhumbuza* for customary reasons or illness people are careful of who is doing it”. There is no gender in who does the piercing, but people are careful about who does it and when, with what and how. She said that usually for customary piercing people burn *impepho* and make a

beer for the service. Mkhize said that “in my husband’s family it does not matter if you do not put anything like earrings in the holes, as long as you have the holes. My husband’s surname is Tokwe from *Mkhomazi*”.

She said that when her children were pierced they started with the oldest boy and all the children were done the same day. Mkhize said that “the weather must be clear when *ukuqhumbuza* is performed, not on a cloudy day. It must be a member of the family who does the piercing. When they pierced my boys, they used a needle but their father said when it was done to them a thorn was used, but the boys chose needles and nothing like medicine was rubbed; they must heal on their own”.

She said that if a child’s ears were not pierced they will find themselves scratching their bodies, and some even cut themselves. When asked if she thought the practice of *ukuqhumbuza* was declining she said “yes, it is declining. Some people don’t do it these days and some they confuse it with fashion. Some say it is an outdated custom”.

1. Purpose of ear piercing: health and family custom.
2. Age at which ear piercing is done: at a young age.
3. Time of day of ear piercing: clear weather, not on a cloudy day.
4. Geographical location of ^{piercing}scarification: in the kraal.
5. Practitioner (who did the ear piercing): a member of the family.
6. Ear piercing technique: traditionally done with a thorn, but now with a needle.
7. Treatment of incision after ear piercing: no medicine is used, incisions must heal themselves.

8. Spiritual connection to ear piercing: burn *impepho*, and make beer.
9. Reasons for the decline of ear piercing: customary ear piercing is declining as people think it is an outdated custom.

3. Bhekisiwe Zulu

Interview held with Bhekisizwe Zulu at Whewhe Village, near Tongaat in 2005. Mrzulu is a 57 year old man staying with his wife and 6 grandchildren. His ears are pierced. Zulu said that “we were told by our grandfather that we must never lose or stop doing our custom, because it is something that connects you with your ancestors and it also connects you with God (*umVelinqangi*). When ever we are doing our ceremonies, we inform our forefathers (ancestors). So when people are pierced, we inform our ancestors”.

When asked the reason for ear piercing, Zulu said that people pierce for healing purposes and they also pierce as a custom of marking the family members, and for beauty.

When he was asked what happens if you do not do the custom of piercing, Zulu said “you have to do it otherwise your ancestors will be angry and they will turn against you because you will be defying them. Bad things will happen to you”.

Zulu said that the ear piercing custom (*ukuqhumbuza*) is important because it is something that’s known by his ancestors. It is the custom that identifies the piercing family from the families that do not practice the custom. When asked at what age people have their ears pierced, Zulu said “at any age before the age of ten, because they heal

faster when they are young. But this must be done at his or her home not another place or another home”.

In terms of technique, Zulu said that people usually use needles sharpened on a stone.

In terms of treating the holes after piercing Zulu said “yes, people use different *muthi* depending on the reason for piercing. Some use certain fat, some use western ointment like Vaseline”. Zulu said that “in my family there is no slaughtering of an animal when you pierce a child; you just burn *impepho* and talk to the ancestors, and after that the piercing can start”.

Zulu said that the piercing for customary purposes is done outside, or inside, the house by someone appointed by the elders of the family. It can be a male or female person. Usually in some families a person sleeps in the same house with the child and pierces the next day if the day is clear. This used to take place early in the morning before sunrise. She continued by explaining that “some people pierce when they are told to do so by the healers when they are sick. The incision must be kept open by putting something inside, usually a small stick or a piece of a dry grass stalk”.

Zulu said that the reason for a decline in ear piercing is that the custom is old and outdated.

1. Purpose of ear piercing: health, identity and beauty.
2. Age at which ear piercing is done: before the age of ten.
3. Time of day of ear piercing: clear day, before sunrise.
4. Geographical location of scarification: at the family home: inside or outside the house.
5. Practitioner (who did the ear piercing): male or female appointed by the elders of the family.
6. Ear piercing technique: needles are used.
7. Treatment of incision after ear piercing: fat or Vaseline.
8. Spiritual connection to ear piercing: burn *impepho* and talk to the ancestors.
9. Reasons for the decline of ear piercing: custom is old and outdated.

CHAPTER 4: SECTION 3

A COMPARISON OF HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY EARPIERCING IN ZULU CULTURE

The historical sources and the interviews contain common information which give a clear idea of the practice of ear piercing in traditional and contemporary Zulu culture. A comparison of information from the historical and contemporary sources and the interviews will be compared using the following headings:

1. The Purpose of Ear Piercing

There is agreement between Krige (1950) and the people interviewed that ear piercing was, and is being done, as a family custom to mark new members of the family. People interviewed, Mini ka Ndhlovu (Webb and Wright, 1986), and Krige (1950) said that ear piercing is also done for health purposes. Two of the people interviewed said that there is a relationship between ear piercing and the ancestors. This is not mentioned by historical sources.

2. Age

There is agreement between Krige (1950) and the people interviewed that ear piercing is done at a young age. Zulu (2005) was specific about the age when he said that ear piecing could take place "at any age before the age of ten, because they heal faster when they are young before the age of ten".

3. Time of Day

There is no mention by historical sources of the time of the day that ear piercing should be done. Mkhize (2005) and Zulu (2005) agreed that the ear piecing should be done on a clear day. Mkhize (2005) said that it should be done before sunrise.

4. Location

Historical sources make no mention of the location where ear piercing should take place. Mzimela (2005) said that ear piercing should take place outside the house (left hand side for girls and right hand side for boys) or inside the kraal. Zulu (2005) said that it should take place inside or outside the house.

5. Practitioner

The people interviewed said that ear piercing should be done by a male or female authorized by members of the family. Mzimela (2005) and Jolles (1997) state that a person who pierces ears must not have sexual intercourse, avoid funerals and not touch a dead body before the ceremony.

6. Technique

Jolles (1997) said that the ear piercing technique involved making an incision in each lobe with a thorn or sharpened piece of iron, and placing a small piece of corn stalk into the newly made hole. All of the people interviewed said that today a needle or safety pin was used to pierce the ear lobe. Mkhize (2005) and Mzimela (2005) agreed with Jolles (1997), when they said that traditionally a thorn was used to pierce the ear lobe. Mzimela (2005) and Berglund (1989) agree that when the lobe of the ear is pierced the right ear is pierced first in the case of boys, and the left ear is pierced first in the case of girls.

7. Treatment

Historical sources made no mention of the treatment of incisions after ear piercing. The people interviewed gave three different methods of treating incisions, ranging from

from *muthi* or saliva (Mzimela, 2005), no mdecine (Mkhize, 2005) and fat or Vaseline (Zulu, 2005).

8. Spiritual Connection

There is no mention in historical sources of a spiritual connection to the ear piercing ceremony. All three people interviewed said that *impepho* is burnt during the ceremony.

9. Reasons for Decline in Ear piercing

Jolles (1997) said that the ritual significance of ear piercing has declined since the 1950's, but that it continued amongst girls for cosmetic reasons. Two of the people interviewed said that the ear piercing custom is declining because it is outdated. Mzimela (2005) said that the custom of ear piercing is not declining, but the wearing of earplugs is declining.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate and critically evaluate the use of skin as a form of identity in Zulu culture. The investigation focused on the practices of scarification and ear-piercing in historical and contemporary Zulu culture.

There are commonalities and differences between the practices of scarification and tattooing. Both techniques involve incisions made on the body or skin to create scar patterns or shapes. However, in scarification colouring is not normally used. In scarification, two kinds of scars are produced; raised scars (keloids) and linear scars. An investigation into the purposes of scarification in Africa showed that there are a number of different reasons for scarification. The three main purposes of scarification are identity, rite of passage and health.

The investigation by the candidate of his personal history revealed a confusion of identities, both because of his parent's different backgrounds, and his movement between Kwa Zulu Natal and the Eastern Cape.

Boram-Hays (1997), Kennedy (1998) and Lowe (1997) said that the formulation of Zulu culture and identity had its origins with the formation of the Zulu kingdom from a number of independent clans during the reign of King Shaka Zulu (1817-1828), and (Dlamini, 2001) said that it centered around four criteria of identification: birthplace, descent, language, history.

Changes to Zulu culture and identity were caused by factors such as urbanization, education, religion and government structures (Krige, 1950), Vilakazi (1965), (Tyrrell, 1983) and (Dlamini, 2001).

Descriptions of the traditional practice of scarification and ear piercing by writers such as Brain (1970), Tyrrell (1974, 1983), Kennedy (1993), Fynn (1969), Bryant (1967), Delegorgue (Bird, 1965), Mayr (1906), Stuart (1986) and Hammond Tooke (1974) were written from a European perspective. The only information from Zulu sources, identified by the candidate, was that given to James Stuart (Bird, 1968) by informants such as Mqaikana ka Yenge and Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli. In order to supplement the limited information from historical sources with information from a Zulu perspective, the candidate interviewed Zulu scarification and ear piercing practitioners. The information provided by these people has been handed down through generations as oral history.

Nine members of Zulu clans were interviewed in order to collect primary data relating to the historical and contemporary practice and technique of scarification. The interviews revealed a clear idea of the practice of scarification, and the reasons for scarification, in contemporary Zulu culture. The information from the interviews was compared with the information from the written texts, in order to understand what changes, if any, had taken place and the reasons for the changes.

There is strong evidence provided by both Mqaikana ka Yenge (Webb and Wright, 1986) and Mbovu ka Mtshumayeli (Webb and Wright, 1982) and the Zulu practitioners interviewed that, historically, and in contemporary times, the primary reason for scarification was for identity purposes, and was done at a young age (from birth to ten years). In contrast, writers such as Mayr (1907), Champion (1967), and Delegorgue (Bird, 1965) said scarification was done for the purpose of ornamentation and beauty, not identity.

In addition, there is evidence provided by the people interviewed, and Mqaikana ka Yenge (1986) that scarification was done for the purpose of health. Both the historical sources, and people interviewed, said that scarification was carried out on young females as a rite of passage, and that scarification marks for the purpose of identity are made on the face, and for rite of passage marks are made on the body. The strong oral tradition in Zulu culture that has been handed down from generation to generation is evident in the common information provided by Stuart's Zulu sources, and the people interviewed.

There is evidence of consistency amongst all people interviewed that the scarification cuts are treated with *ibomvu* (red soil), and not western medicine. However, both Kennedy (1998) and Krige (1950) said that the wound was rubbed with dry cow dung and a live ember was then placed on top of the wound. Contemporary sources made no mention of cow dung being used in the treatment of scars in the scarification technique.

There is very little evidence of agreement between contemporary and historical sources about the traditional use of tools used to make cuts in the scarification process. Krige said that scars are made with a knife (1950:375). Delegorgue (Bird, 1888) said that in the scarification process used by Zulus, scars are made with the sharp point of a weapon. Fynn (1996: 294) also mentioned the use of razor. Three of the people interviewed said that a piece of broken reed was traditionally used for scarification. None of the historical sources mention a broken reed being used. All of the people interviewed said that in contemporary times either broken pieces of glass, or razors, are used to scarify.

It is interesting^{to} note that all of the people interviewed stated that scarification took place during the day, while the historical sources do not mention the time of the

day.

In terms of where the scarification takes place, six of the people interviewed and Mqaikana ka Yenge (Webb and Wright, 1986) said that it occurred inside the kraal.

There is strong evidence from both historical and contemporary sources that there is a decline in the practice of scarification in Africa, and amongst the Zulu people. Reasons given include the influences of religion, education, urbanization and government intervention. It is important to note that when practiced by contemporary Zulus, the scarification ceremony and techniques have changed very little from those described by historical sources.

The historical and contemporary sources provide common information which gives a clear idea of the practice of ear-piercing in traditional and contemporary Zulu culture. There is evidence provided by Krige (1950) and the people interviewed that ear piercing is done at a young age as a family custom to mark a new member of the family. Both Ndukwana (Webb and Wright, 1986) and Krige (1950) provide evidence to suggest that if a person does not have their ears pierced they will be dull and foolish. In addition, there is evidence from historical and contemporary sources that ear piercing has, and is being done, for health purposes.

Information provided by historical and contemporary sources indicate that there has been a change in the ear piercing technique. Jolles (1997) and contemporary informants said that a thorn was traditionally used to make the incision in the ear piercing ceremony. However, the majority of people interviewed said that, today, a needle or safety pin is used.

There is evidence from Jolles (1997) and the people interviewed that the practice of ear

piercing is declining. The reason given for this is that the practice is outdated and only done for beauty.

The research into scarification, which began in the candidate's fourth ^{year's} years of study, has provided the candidate with information relating to issues of identity, culture and technique that have been incorporated into the practical component of this research. For example, the candidate has used skin, and has made reference to skin, as a form of identity. Examples of this are in the works titled Iziphandla, New Identity, Uphondo and Chapter One: Scarification. In the artworks the candidate has used scarification techniques of cutting in the treatment of the skin. In addition, the candidate has used branding, burning and staining techniques. *Ibomvu* (red clay) was used in the work titled Umvambo (Rite of Passage) for colouring purposes.

The most important thing the candidate has learnt from the research, especially the information given by the people interviewed, is the valuable knowledge about Zulu culture that exists in the form of oral history, handed down from generation to generation. This oral history is in danger of being lost due to the urbanisation and westernization of Zulu people, especially the youth. The candidate believes that the main reason for this decline in knowledge of Zulu culture amongst the youth is the lack of *khulisilwe*, which provides young people with a traditional education within the family. This provides young people with knowledge of Zulu idioms, traditional Zulu rituals, and traditional dress. The candidate thus believes it is essential for further research to be done in this area in order to preserve oral knowledge.

APPENDIX A

DVD. Hot Spot Durban, Eine Kultur produced by Eichel, M. 2002.

APPENDIX B**LETTER OF INFORMATION****DURBAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF FINE ART**

TOPIC OF RESEARCH: THE USE OF SKIN AS A FORM OF IDENTITY IN ZULU CULTURE

Dear Participant

I am currently undertaking a research project which aims to investigate and critically evaluate the use of skin as a form of identity in Zulu culture for the purposes of:

1. Scarification
2. Ear piercing.

The research will be under taken at Inanda, Umzinto, Claremont, Port Shepstone, Richmond and Eshow.

The study will involve being interviewed by the researcher. I therefore would like to appeal to you for your assistance by participating in this study by agreeing to be interviewed. The interview will take approximately one hour of your time.

Participation in the study is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time.

The information you give will only be used for research purposes.

It is intended that this study will benefit the Zulu community at large because it will show how traditional cultural practices have change over the years and will provide reasons for this change.

Your willingness to cooperate will be helpful.

Yours faithfully

Mr Langa Magwa

Contact details:

Cell no: 0839501108

Home no: (031)2011445

APPENDIX C

**INCWADI YESAZISO
EPHUMA ENATAL TECHNIKON
UMNYANGO WEZOBUCIKO**

ISIHLOKO SOPHENYO: SIMAYELANA NOKUSETSHENZISWA
KWESIKHUMBA NGAMAZULU NJENGOPHAWU LWESIKO

Mbambi qhaza ohloniphekile

Kumanje ngenza ucawningo engihlose ngalo ukusetshenziswa kwesikhumba njengophawu lwesiko ngamaZulu

Ngihlose ukucwaninga mayelana nokubaluleka kanye nesiko lokusetshenziswa kwesikhumba emikhakheni emibini:

1. Ukusetshenziswa kewsikhumba ekumbatheni, ekwelapheni, nasezinhlosweni zenkolelo.
2. Ukusetshenziswa kwesikhumba ezinhlosweni zokugcaba nokuchambuza.

Ucwaningo luzokwenziwa eNanda, eMzinto, eClermont, ePort shepstone, eRichmond naseShowe.

Ucwaningo luyokwenziwa ngokubuza imibuzo, bengicela ukubambisana nawe ngokuba uzinikele lapho kubuzwa imibuzo. Ucwaningo luyothatha ihora elilodwa esikhathini sakho.

Abantu abaphoqelwe ukuphendula imibuzo nokunika izimpendulo ezingabacaceli eziyosetshenziswa kulolu cwaningo.
Unelungelo lokuhoxa noma inini uma uthanda.

Ucwaningo luyosiza umphakathi wamaZulu ngobuningi bawo ekucaciseni izizathu zoshintsho olwenzekile emasikweni kuleminyaka edlulile nolusaqhubeka nokwenzeka.

Ngiyojabula kakhulu uma uzinikele ngokubambisana nami.

Yimi Ozithobayo
Mn. Langa Magwa

Imininingwane yokuxhumana
Inombolo kamakhalekhukhwini: 0839501108
Inombolo yocingo lwasekhaya: (031)2011445

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

DURBAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF FINE ART

Date:-

(To be completed by)

Title of Research Project: The Use of Skin as a Form of Identity in Zulu culture.

Name of Supervisor : A. Starkey MA(FA) University of Witwatersrand.

Please circle the appropriate answer

Yes No

- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| 1. Have you read the research information sheet? | Yes | No |
| 2. Have you had an opportunity to ask questions
Regarding this study? | Yes | No |
| 3. Have you received satisfactory answers to your
questions? | Yes | No |
| 4. Have you had an opportunity to discuss this study? | Yes | No |
| 5. Have you received enough information about this
study? | Yes | No |
| 6. Do you understand that you are free to withdraw
from this study? | Yes | No |
| a) at any time | | |
| b) without having to give any reasons for withdrawing? | | |
| 7. Do you agree to give voluntarily participate in this study? | Yes | No |

If you have answered No to any of above, please obtain the necessary information before signing.

Please print in block letters:

Name:

Signature

Subject/Guardian:

Signature

Witness Name

Signature

Research Student Name:.....

Signature

APPENDIX E

IFOMU LWESIVUMELWANO ESIXOXIWE
(Gwalisa lemininingwane)

Usuku:

Isihloko socwaningo: Ukusetshenziswa kwesikhumba njengophawu esiZulwini.

Umpathi: A. Starkey MA (FA) University of Witwatersrand.

Faka uphawu(x) kwimpendulo ekuyiyo	Yebo	Cha
1. Sewulifundile yini iphepha elinemininingwane yocwaningo?	Yebo	Cha
2. Uyibuzile yini imibuzo ephathelene nocwaningo?	Yebo	Cha
3. Uthole izimpendulo ezigculisayo yini emibuzweni yakho?	Yebo	Cha
4. Ukhe walithola ithuba lokuxoxisana nabanye ngalolucwaningo?	Yebo	Cha
5. Sewuthole ulwazi olwanele yini ngocwaningo?	Yebo	Cha
6. Uyaqonda ukuthi lolu cwaningo ungalushiya?	Yebo	Cha
◦ Noma nini?		
◦ Unganikanga sizathu?		
7. Uyavuma yini ukuzinikela kulolucwaningo?	Yebo	Cha

Uma ungahambisani neminye yemibuzo engenhla, thola imininngwane eyanele ngaphambi kokusiyina.

Igama	Sayina
Umzali	Sayina
Ufakazi	Sayina
Umcwaningi	Sayina

APPENDIX F**SCARIFICATION INTERVIEWS
CORE STRUCTURED QUESTIONS**

1. What is the practice of scarification (*ugcabo*)?
2. When did the practice of scarification begin?
3. Which families/clans practice scarification?
4. Why does your family practice scarification?
5. At what stage in a person's life do you scarify?
6. Who has the authority to scarify in your family?
7. What technique is used in the scarification process?
8. Where on the body are people scarified?
9. What kind of scars are made in the scarification process?
10. What happens if a person is not scarified?
11. Where does scarification take place?
12. What time of the day does scarification take place?
13. Is the practice of scarification declining, and if so, why?

APPENDIX G**EARPIERCING INTERVIEWS
CORE STRUCTURED QUESTIONS**

1. What is the practice of ear piecing (*ukuqhumbuza*)?
2. When did the practice of ear piercing begin?
3. Which families/clans practice ear piercing?
4. Why does your family practice ear piercing?
5. At what stage in a person's life do you pierce ears?
6. Who has the authority to pierce ears in your family?
7. What technique is used in the ear piercing process?
8. What happens if a person does not have their ears pierced?
9. Is the practice of ear piercing declining, and if so, why?

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