

**A Cultural Biography of
Mantombi Matotiyana and Maxanjana Mangaliso
Two Contemporary African Musicians**

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Music at the University of Stellenbosch.



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December 2001

The financial assistance of the Centre for Science Development (HSRC, South Africa) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the Centre for Science Development.

Declaration

I the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:

Date:

Samevatting

Hierdie studie poog om 'n kulturele monografie van die twee kontemporêre Suid-Afrikaanse musici Mantombi Matotiyana en Maxanjana Mangaliso voor te lê. Beide kunstenaars word as gevolg van hul buitengewone musikale bekwaamhede besonder hoog aangeskryf en gerespekteer, sowel binne hul eie breë gemeenskap asook in die buiteland. Terselfdertyd poog hierdie studie om 'n bydrae te maak tot die vestiging van die sg. "experience-based" tipe etnomusikologiese veldwerk in Suid-Afrika.

Dienooreenkomstig word die inligting wat deur middel van persoonlike onderhoude met Matotiyana en Mangaliso versamel is, in verhaalvorm aangebied. Dit is gebaseer op hul eie herinneringe en perspektiewe, asook hul opvattinge t.o.v. hul liedere, alle aspekte van hul komposisie, hul instrumente en opvoerings. Die studie kyk gevolglik na die wisselwerking tussen die twee musici se lewens en hul musiek en bring hul eie ervarings in hierdie verband ter sprake. Verder verskaf die analitiese studie m.b.t. die liedere van Matotiyana insig in haar unieke styl en bydrae tot eietydse Xhosa boogmusiek, veral binne die breër konteks en tradisies van Xhosa musiek in die algemeen.

Abstract

This study aims to present a cultural monograph of two contemporary South African musicians, Mantombi Matotiyana and Maxanjana Mangaliso. Both musicians are highly regarded and respected for their exceptional musical abilities within their community and society, as well as abroad. This study furthermore wishes to make a contribution towards the establishment of 'experience-based' ethnomusicological field research in South Africa.

In keeping with these aims, the material, which has been assembled from personal interviews with Matotiyana and Mangaliso, is in narrative. It is based on their personal memories, recollections and perspectives, as well as their views about and attitudes towards their songs, all aspects of composition, instruments and performance. The study therefore looks at the interaction between the lives and the songs of Matotiyana and Mangaliso and relates it to their relevant experiences. The musicological study of Matotiyana's songs further illuminates her particular style, as well as her contribution to contemporary Xhosa bow songs in general, especially within the broader context of Xhosa musical traditions.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the assistance of everyone who in any way contributed towards my research for this thesis, or who supported me in more personal ways. In particular I would like to thank:

Mantombi Matotiyana and Maxanjana Mangaliso without whom this thesis would obviously not have been possible. Their dedication to music has been an inspiration to me and I wish them all the best for the future.

Lungile Plaatjies who acted as contact person with my two informants, putting in time and effort into the venture without regard for personal recompense or remuneration.

Paul Rommelaere who in the role of supervisor provided invaluable assistance and guidance and even general advice that will stand me in good stead for life.

Dr Deirdre Hansen who, as special advisor, selflessly assisted in the difficult task of coming to grips with the technical aspects of musical analysis and transcription. Her cultural insight and long experience in the field was also always available despite a busy schedule.

Lulu Mfazwe who in her spare time helped me with the translation of the Xhosa text.

Marais Visser whose technical explanation of the construction of concertinas provided insight when it was much needed.

And since no task so large can be accomplished alone, to my friends and family thank you for the many ways, small and large in which you have supported and assisted me.

Introduction

According to Lenneberg (1994: 1546), a musical biography should present the reader with a “*lebendiges Gesamtbild*” of the artist. Music, in African society, pervades everyday life fully and is a strong and influential form of cultural expression. Although the closeness between the arts and utilitarian in daily living varies, they are close enough that one may consider there to be a “...fusion of music with life...” (Wachsmann and Cooke 1980: 148). Exponents of African music, like Mantombi Matotiyana and Maxanjana Mangaliso, consequently regard their ‘artistic life’ as encompassing every action, reaction, thought, idea, reflection and activity that is connected to their songs (and by extension their instrument) in any way, where the said ideas and so forth have been formulated, extrapolated and experienced in their daily existence in accordance with the norms and values of their culture. A researcher conducting a biographical study of an African artist therefore has a duty to present the reader with the “*lebendiges Gesamtbild*” as seen and perceived in the terms and context of the artist.

An emerging trend in ethnomusicology is to stress the need for field research in which the researcher obtains musical knowledge through experiential knowledge, which is the product of a researcher-informant relationship (Hansen 1998: 1). According to Rice (1994: 9), this trend can be traced in the work of ethnographers like James Clifford, Mary Louise Pratt, Stephen Tyler and Vincent Crapanzano where they wished to draw attention to the fact that research and writing is “situated in experience”. Consequently, they aimed to make personal experience the locus for investigation and research, in particular experience pertaining to the interaction with

others (Rice 1994: 9). An ‘experience-based’ ethnomusicology is therefore called for where the study reflects the views, statements and explanations of the informant, obtained in narrative. Although musical analysis and interpretation is still included, the researcher does not ‘fixate’ upon them, as has often been the case in African musical studies (Hansen 1998: 1 and DjeDje 1992: 151). This type of research therefore “...posits a paradigm for knowing based in knowing persons” (Titon 1997: 257). According to Titon (1997: 257) we are therefore dealing with a more humanistic approach, as opposed to the scientific approach of earlier, where the purpose of ethnomusicological research has now moved towards “knowing people making music”.

Rice already called for the move towards a more humanistic approach in his article *Remodeling Ethnomusicology* in 1987. Drawing from Geertz’s statement in *The Interpretation of Cultures* that “symbolic systems...are historically constructed, socially maintained and individually applied” (Rice 1987b: 473), Rice devises a model for ethnomusicology whereby history, society and the individual are all interrelated. He proposes that ethnomusicologists should “ask and attempt to answer...how [do] people historically construct, socially maintain and individually create and experience music?” (Rice 1987b: 473). With regards to the “historical construction”, Rice identifies two processes, namely “the process of change with the passage of time” and “the process of reencountering and recreating the forms and legacy of the past in each moment of the present” (Rice 1987b: 474). The former deals with the “diachronic, ‘out-of-time’ study of musical change” and according to Rice places the issue and study of “change” at the top of the model (Rice 1987b: 475). The latter is concerned with the “synchronic, ‘in-time’ studies of music in a particular

place at a particular time”, i.e. where historically constructed forms are studied as a “legacy of the past”. The individual, operating in the society, has to come to terms with these forms, learn them and select the ones he wishes to follow (Rice 1987b: 474). “Social maintenance” looks at the way systems of belief and socially constructed institutions alter, maintain and sustain music (Rice 1987b: 475). Various systems are listed, including ecology, economics and music patronage; performance contexts and conventions and the social structure of music and musicians (Rice 1987b: 475). The third part of the model, that centres on the individual is, according to Rice (1987b: 475) “...the most recent and as yet weakest area of development in ethnomusicology”. Rice (1987b: 475) notes that although historical musicology has busied itself with the study of individual composers and the act of creating a musical work (by an individual) for many years, ethnomusicology considered such studies rather suspect until fairly recently. He in fact does acknowledge that his model brings ethnomusicology closer to historical musicology and the humanities, but firmly believes that the field’s interest in the social bases of musical life and experience has not been compromised at all (Rice 1987b: 475). Rice furthermore hopes that an increased growth in the interest of the individual and his experience will lead to ethnomusicology studies that regard the individual in history and society very highly (Rice 1987b: 476). As Titon (1997: 253) states: “We can’t know much about groups without understanding the experiences of individuals...” Areas of investigation that fall under this category include “emotional, physical, spiritual and multisensory experience mediated by music”; “composition, improvisation and performances of particular pieces, repertoires and styles” (Rice 1987b: 476).

The trend towards focusing and studying the individual can already be traced back to the 1960s. According to DjeDje and Carter (1980: 39), this was particularly evident in studies regarding African music because African performers and listeners were able to offer insights regarding their society and culture that many Westerners would not discover by themselves. The “creative individual” was consequently given greater importance and biographical studies that offered information and understanding regarding the interrelationship between the individual and his society, as well as the pressures that shape them became highly valued (DjeDje and Carter 1989: 40). According to DjeDje and Carter (1989: 42), this interest has continued ever since and still forms an important part of the current trends evident in African musicology.

Researchers, like Hansen, have discovered that most people like talking about music and since music completely pervades the daily social life in African society, ethnomusicologists are in a very good position to gain valuable insight into the (musical) culture. ‘Experience-based’ ethnomusicological fieldwork is therefore very valuable for intercultural understanding and as Nketia (1970a: 8) mentions, “...there can be no better way of fostering international understanding and mutual respect than by providing opportunities for people to get to know one another better through the appreciation of their musical cultures.” This is especially important in South Africa since African musicians have been largely overlooked and marginalised in the broader South African musical research till now. Never before has any detailed research been conducted on an *umrhubhe* player (only Rycroft conducted a small study on a Zulu bow player) yet through the efforts of people like Mantombi Matotiyana, instruments that were fast disappearing are slowly reappearing. ‘Experience-based’ case studies of contemporary musicians are therefore important because they not only provide

valuable insight and information regarding musical culture, but impact upon it as well. In this regard Rice (1994: 33) reminds us that “Since, however, individuals appropriate, activate, and manipulate the social and historical world of symbols – that is, traditions – and in the process give to culture and history whatever expressive force they have, some way must be found to introduce them into a study of music.”

The objectives of this study are therefore:

1. To give a monograph of Matotiyana and Mangaliso (both personal and musical) to establish the interaction between their lives and their songs and to understand the role their songs (and instruments) play in their lives. Also, the way they create and experience music is thoroughly investigated.
2. To investigate the extent to which any changes to their social world has impacted upon them, as well as the role they have played as people and music-makers within their environment.
3. To give an account of the construction, theory, social contexts and projected future of Matotiyana and Mangaliso’s two respective instruments, the *umrhubhe* and *ikonsetina*.
4. To analyse the songs of Matotiyana musicologically, so that the underlying structure can be exposed and to establish whether a general style emerges.

By drawing heavily on Rice’s model and Hansen’s “experience-based” fieldwork, I chose to realise these objectives in the following way. I decided to assemble as much information as I could from personal interviews on the life histories, experiences, (current) way of life, attitudes and ideas of Matotiyana and Mangaliso, including the views they hold on their songs, compositional processes, performances and

instruments and also to record as many of their songs as possible. The research would therefore be of an exploratory nature because the material would be assembled from the conversations, memories and recollections of the two primary sources. Since informants like talking about music (as discovered by Hansen), I felt assembling information from personal interviews and conversations would be a good way to conduct my fieldwork. The resulting information could then be looked at as a whole and by applying Rice's model, various relationships could be sought and divulged from the views, statements and explanations of Matotiyana and Mangaliso. As Rice states (1987a: 516), his model not only finds relationships between seemingly unrelated lists (of questions), but in fact "shapes" them. However, I also consulted secondary sources to establish where both informants conformed to general African practices and where they departed, as well as to corroborate, illuminate and aid information obtained from them where necessary. Here I was guided by Nketia (1970b: 45) and DjeDje (1992: 153), who remind the researcher that the huge amount of information obtained through oral tradition has to be corroborated and examined thoroughly because the circumstances under which it was given and the situation and perspective of the person giving it does make a difference.

According to Rice (1987b: 479), the researcher may choose whether he wishes to concentrate on one, two or all three parts of the model, but one cannot be separated from the others due to their interrelatedness. In this study I have decided to concentrate on the third part of the model, i.e. the individual, especially the way the individual creates and experiences his music. However, I have also investigated how pressures and changes in the social sphere affected and influenced the (musical) experience and creativity of the individual and also the way historically constructed

forms and modes of behaviour (that were learnt, performed and modified) determined and influenced it. Although the study is a monograph of two individuals, all three parts of the model have therefore been addressed. By doing this I hope to show how the interaction and interrelationship between the individual and society (in this case Matotiyana and Mangaliso) and the pressures that shaped and shape them led them to become the musicians they are today. Why do Matotiyana and Mangaliso create and make music the way they do? What are the changes that shaped and shape them? What should they be referred to? By attending to the interaction and interrelationship between the individual and society and addressing and answering these questions, I aim to offer valuable insight and information regarding musical culture and ultimately to show that “a concern for the individual in history and society” (Rice 1987b: 476) has an important role to play in ethnomusicology studies.

Although these objectives were in my mind at the outset of my study, albeit in an inchoate form, my personal experiences and circumstances in the field determined my approach to a large degree. Firstly, my two informants were introduced to me through Dizu Plaatjies, the leader of Amampondo (an internationally acclaimed contemporary neo-African group based in Cape Town), whom I had previously worked with when I wrote an essay on his life and involvement with Amampondo.¹ When I started working with them, I consequently decided to let my informants tell me about themselves, their memories and play the songs they chose to play as a means of establishing rapport and getting to know them. When this course of action proved fruitful, I pursued it. Secondly, as various events, obstacles or problems presented

¹ He knew both musicians and agreed to act on my behalf and ask them if they would be willing to act as my informants, as well as explain the vital role and function they would play in my thesis. Since neither of them had any telephones near their homes and were living in an area Dizu Plaatjies felt was too dangerous for me to venture into at this stage, he suggested that he act as a “go-between” because it

themselves during the course of my research, I would review and reappraise the situation seeking and often following a new or different course of action. Thus I drew up a list of questions pertaining to biographical information, as well as questions pertaining to the construction and technical skill needed to play the *umrhubhe* and *ikonsetina*, when it became clear that my informants and contact person expected me to work through a set of questions during the interviews. (As the research progressed and we were more familiar with each other, both musicians volunteered more information regarding their views on life, their songs, how they composed and the role their songs played in their lives. This in turn engendered further questions.) Also, when Matotiyana undertook her first tour abroad and I simultaneously discovered that my second informant would not be able to work with me, I immediately started looking for another musician and began working with Mangaliso, an *ikonsetina* player, straight away. When I was unable to complete my research with him, due to the volatile situation which caused Mangaliso to return permanently to the Eastern Cape before I had completed my fieldwork, I contacted an European concertina player and repairer to find out about the mechanics of the instrument. Therefore, my fieldwork situations played a significant role in my approach.

Research Experiences

Although I only had limited experience in African music until I started my thesis, I have always enjoyed the songs of the African people, especially the women's songs, and liked the challenges my previous fieldwork experiences had presented. When I therefore decided to further my studies, African music immediately came to mind. Furthermore, I also wished to study an area that had not been investigated extensively

would be easier for him to make the necessary arrangements.

and since many of the older instruments are fast disappearing, a study undertaken at this time would be very valuable. I therefore chose to study two exponents of the musical bow who resided in the Western Cape.

After I chose my area of study, my supervisor and I approached Dizu Plaatjies to act on my behalf and approach the two prospective musicians. He readily agreed and I heard within a week that Matotiyana and Madosini² were willing to assist me. Within a month all the preliminary details had been finalised, but since Dizu Plaatjies had to travel abroad for a month, he asked his brother Lungile Plaatjies to act on his behalf. Lungile Plaatjies was keen to get started right away, so we made all the necessary arrangements and the first interview was set for Saturday 19 April 1996 at 11h00. It would take place at the College of Music, University of Cape Town.³ Since Madosini was out of town at the time, the interview would be with Matotiyana only. My supervisor provided me with an access card and also advised me to provide food and drink and offer Matotiyana some money in acknowledgement of her time, effort and skill. I had to stress that I was not buying her music, but *only* acknowledging her skill and mastery. I was also to discuss details of copyright and offer Lungile Plaatjies something for his time, effort and travelling expenses.

When I arrived the Saturday morning my Access Card did not work, so I went to meet Matotiyana and Lungile Plaatjies at the steps of the College, where we consequently settled down under the trees and proceeded with the interview. I mentioned that I had

² No surname given for Madosini.

³ Since the two ladies and Lungile Plaatjies lived and worked in Cape Town, we decided to hold the interviews in town. Lungile felt it would be easier to conduct the first few interviews at the College of Music, since it was too dangerous to conduct the interviews in the townships at the time and because we all knew where it was. Once conditions improved (and I was familiar with Matotiyana and Madosini) the interviews would move to the townships so that I could observe how my informants

brought along some sandwiches and they suggested we first eat and then start the interview. (All the subsequent interviews took on this form as well). Although I had prepared a list of questions pertaining to biographical details, I left it at home since I felt it might stiffen the atmosphere and stifle communication. I knew what I wanted to ask, but decided to let myself be led according to the direction and flow of the conversation. This method had delivered good results during my study with Dizu Plaatjies, so I decided to follow a similar course for this interview. Unfortunately there was hardly any spontaneous conversation because we were unfamiliar with each other and I was operating mostly through a translator. (At this time I was still learning the Xhosa language and therefore required the assistance of a translator – my contact person, Lungile Plaatjies, kindly fulfilled this task)⁴ Lungile Plaatjies and Matotiyana, on the other hand, were expecting me to arrive with a sheet of prepared questions that I would systematically work through and at this point actually suggested that in future I draw up a list of questions dealing with a specific area or aspect. My embarrassment was not to end here. To break the mounting tension I decided to ask Matotiyana to play one of her songs. I was keen to hear her play and hoped it would put her at ease. However, I soon realised that my equipment was not up to recording Matotiyana's bow songs at all: when I replayed the tape to hear if it was recording I could hardly hear the *umrhubhe*, let alone the harmonic partials Mantombi was resonating in her mouth. In addition to this, I started feeling cold and while reaching for my denim shirt, I tripped over the plastic bag containing the food, kicked over the cooldrink and buttoned my shirt incorrectly. At this point I became

functioned as musicians within their society.

⁴ Although working through a translator can be problematic, I was able to establish early on that the quality of my information was not being compromised unduly: Since my first inquiries were biographical, the information did not leave much scope for interpretation or elaboration and by the time I was investigating areas that could be problematic, I had already ascertained that my translator was reliable and accurate.

rather despondent because I felt that neither Lungile Plaatjies nor my informant would be interested in pursuing any further relationship. However Matotiyana kindly called me closer and buttoned my shirt. The rest of the interview went off quite smoothly and when I inquired about subsequent interviews, they both agreed. Although I felt utterly embarrassed at my morning's display and realised that I had a lot to learn about working in the "field", I went home feeling positive and encouraged.

Once I started arriving with set questions, the interviews progressed satisfactorily from an informative viewpoint, but I felt the inter-personal relationship was not developing as well. Although Matotiyana was answering my questions, she seemed ill at ease, which in turn made me nervous. Both Matotiyana and Lungile Plaatjies sensed this and tried to explain the fears and apprehensions African people feel when working with strangers from a different race. Not only has South Africa's political past caused enmity between Black people and White people, but many foreign European musicians have also misused and mistreated African artists in the past. In addition to this, non-Africans react differently to African songs, which is often disconcerting for the African performer. Matotiyana explained that it was difficult for her to work closely with me for these reasons, but that she nevertheless liked coming to the interviews because she enjoyed having someone genuinely appreciate her songs. Although I was troubled by this revelation, I drew strength from the fact that Matotiyana was still prepared to meet me and my genuine interest in her songs gladdened her and I hoped for a breakthrough sometime soon.

Luckily, my breakthrough came about almost immediately. The morning I arrived for my fifth interview, an ethnomusicologist friend of mine, Glenn Morton, who is fluent

in Xhosa and an acquaintance of Lungile Plaatjies' was building instruments at the College of Music. This meant that someone knowledgeable could join in the music making and help ease the tensions. Since my friend is a very spontaneous person who loves African songs he joined in right away, dancing, clapping and singing along in the chorus, which made Matotiyana beam. She thoroughly enjoyed having her songs appreciated openly and her performance became more spontaneous and relaxed. Consequently the music making became vibrant and energetic and the terse atmosphere lessened considerably. After this episode, the informant-researcher relationship improved tremendously and I was able to obtain a considerable amount of information. The relationship was furthermore helped along by my use of public transport because I was able to discuss the difficulties, inconvenience and even danger of using trains and minibus taxis. Using public transport therefore meant we had something in common that was a huge concern to all of us, which brought us closer together. Commuting by train and taxi also helped bridge the economic gap because I was offering my informants money for their time, effort and travelling expenses. Many awkward feelings were therefore systematically being eliminated. Eventually the sound equipment I ordered arrived and by the end of June I was able to go on holiday having accomplished a considerable amount of research.

When I returned from my holiday, I phoned Lungile Plaatjies to arrange another series of interviews, but learnt that Matotiyana was going on an overseas tour with Amampondo for approximately two months. The news came as a total surprise and dealt my fieldwork schedule a severe blow.

As mentioned, I was initially going to work with Madosini and Matotiyana, but now heard that Madosini would not be returning to Cape Town. My supervisor and I discussed the situation and decided to study someone who played a different instrument because it would make my thesis more varied. I was naturally keen to start working with a second person straight away and since Dizu Plaatjies had been talking about a very good accordion player for some time, we decided that I should meet with him or her in view of including them in my thesis. I spoke to Lungile Plaatjies, explained that I needed to study two people for my thesis and that I would like to meet with the accordion player. Lungile agreed and an interview was set.

By this time I was more knowledgeable regarding fieldwork and therefore felt more confident as I departed for my first interview. I also knew that Lungile Plaatjies would debrief my informant fully on how the interviews were structured and what would take place. I was determined that this first interview would not be as chaotic as my first one with Matotiyana, so I prepared myself as well as I could and drew up a detailed list of biographical questions. I also prepared questions pertaining to the instrument, i.e. how he came to play a western instrument, if and how he combined with other musicians, how he composed, what his songs meant to him and so forth. My first interview went well, but the accordion player turned out to be a concertina player! I was very eager to hear him play, so after a couple of minutes of questions, I asked for a song. I was immediately struck by the sound of Mangaliso's songs. They were beautiful and lively with a catchy rhythm that made a person want to get involved. Initially Maxanjana looked quite serious when he started playing, but the more he played and became absorbed in the songs, the more he relaxed. It was obvious how much he enjoyed his music. The first time Mangaliso played to me, I

started clapping the minute he finished his song. He immediately relaxed and broke into a broad smile. For the rest of the interview I found myself joining in whenever Mangaliso started singing and playing. He liked the spontaneous reaction his songs evoked and a good working relationship was formed right from the start.

When I met Mangaliso, he mentioned that he was trying to obtain a new *ikonsetina* because his present instrument was very old and beginning to fall apart. He had saved a large sum of money for this purpose but had been unable to find an *ikonsetina* yet – Mangaliso had even travelled to Durban and Johannesburg already, but to no avail. During my undergraduate studies I had written an essay on *boeremusiek* and was therefore acquainted with concertina players who sold second hand instruments. So I promised to contact Mr Pierre Retief, who lived in Bellville, Cape Town, since he might be able to provide Mangaliso with a new instrument.

Shortly thereafter Mangaliso dreamt about the new *ikonsetina*. An unidentified ancestor appeared in a dream and gave him explicit instructions regarding the use and care of the instrument he was about to obtain. The dream had excited him tremendously because Mangaliso now knew conclusively that he would receive a new *ikonsetina*, but the dream had also lent a seriousness and urgency to the situation. Therefore Mangaliso immediately inquired about my progress at the subsequent interview, but since I had been unable to contact Pierre Retief in the interim I had nothing to report back. I was then told about the dream and given instructions to “hurry up” or incur the wrath of Mangaliso’s ancestors. I visibly flinched at the comment! Lungile Plaatjies (my contact person) immediately mentioned that I had nothing to worry about, adding that everything would work out perfectly. Lungile

Plaatjies' comment did not lessen my fears and I resolved to contact Pierre Retief as soon as possible. Fortunately he had returned from his travels and had an older instrument that he was willing to give to Mangaliso. All he asked in return was that Mangaliso play with his band at an upcoming festival⁵. I immediately passed on the news and was told that Mangaliso was very excited about his *ikonsetina* and was keen to play with the band.

Unfortunately Mangaliso and I started working together at the time of renewed minibus taxi warfare in the Cape. It was a volatile situation and therefore extremely dangerous to all commuters, especially when travelling to and from the townships. Both Lungile Plaatjies and Mangaliso had been shot at and were therefore justly concerned about their safety. They mentioned that if the situation got too dangerous, they would prefer the interviews be postponed for a while. I agreed and said that they should contact me if they wished to cancel. The following interview was cancelled as a result of the violence and an interview was set for the next Saturday. During that week nothing serious happened and we decided to go ahead with the interview, but on the day a violent fight erupted at the taxi rank. Lungile Plaatjies tried to get hold of me to cancel the interview, but was unsuccessful since I had already left home. As they did not want to disappoint me by simply not arriving, they hired a taxi at their expense for R65 to get to UCT. I was very touched by this and once again realised what difficult circumstances many people have to go through on a daily basis. Mangaliso and Lungile Plaatjies looked very worried and were visibly anxious, even depressed at the present situation. They mentioned how safe and peaceful their youth had been in comparison with the present life in the townships. At the end of the

⁵ Pierre Retief is very active in promoting all the various concertina and folk music styles and was keen to get Maxanjana Mangaliso involved. If the concert proved successful, future collaboration was

interview I offered to pay for the hiring of the taxi. Both Lungile and Maxanjana said it was not necessary but I insisted and mentioned it was the least I could do. They thanked me and the three of us parted on a sombre note. I was not surprised the following week when Lungile Plaatjies asked if the interviews could be put off for a while. Once again my research was being interrupted, but this time I did not find myself fretting about a schedule that was falling behind because my studies had caused the violence to become a part of my life too. The taxi warfare was no longer just news. Mangaliso's stories and songs had made me aware of the pain and suffering in a very poignant way and although I could never hope to understand this fully, I was beginning to view things differently.

The renewed minibus taxi warfare unfortunately prevented me from personally presenting Mangaliso with his instrument, so I dropped it off at the Castle in Cape Town where Lungile Plaatjies worked. I was particularly sad that I would not experience Mangaliso's excitement when he saw the *ikonsetina* for the first time, since I had enjoyed finding him an instrument and had become excited about the new *ikonsetina* too. I was therefore very happy when Lungile Plaatjies phoned me to convey Mangaliso's thanks and appreciation and mention that his instrument was playing well. I had also hoped to see Mangaliso make the structural changes he had mentioned in the first interview when he obtained this instrument. Observing the procedure would have given me vital clues regarding the pitch sequences of his songs, but due to the volatile situation this was not to be. Mangaliso was also naturally very keen to start playing and since we did not know when we would resume the interviews, he decided to go ahead and make the changes. The violence also

prevented Mangaliso from playing with Pierre Retief's band. In the meantime I started looking for pictures and diagrams illustrating the interior of the *ikonsetina* and after I had assembled a few diagrams, I asked Mangaliso at a later interview if he would be able to describe the process by referring to the diagrams. He said it would not be a problem and I was confident that the 'mystery' would be resolved. However, this never happened because Mangaliso decided to return to the Eastern Cape for good because of the crime, violence and poor living conditions before I had the opportunity of showing him the diagrams. Since I was also still investigating his particular technique and style, I could not include any transcriptions of his songs because all this information was necessary to ensure a reliable transcription.

It was December by the time I conducted my next interview. This time Matotiyana and Mangaliso came together. Although I was a little apprehensive it went well and the three of them had an enjoyable time, singing, dancing, clapping, chatting and so forth. I had to be careful how I divided my time so that neither of them would feel excluded. At one point Matotiyana mentioned that she was getting tired and hungry and I suddenly realised I had been working only with Mangaliso for a while. Luckily she was not upset when I apologised and after stopping for a little "eating" break, we continued without further ado. In the course of the morning my supervisor also came to UCT and popped in to say how much he enjoyed listening to the songs on my cassettes and that it was a privilege to finally meet the performers. Both Matotiyana and Mangaliso smiled proudly at the compliment after Paul Rommelaere left. A little while later he reappeared with a big fruitcake for all of us. Lungile, Mantombi and Maxanjana thanked him profusely and we immediately set down to eat it!

Since Matotiyana and Mangaliso were going to the Eastern Cape for Christmas, the interviews would resume when school restarted. When I phoned Lungile Plaatjies again in mid-January, I was told that he had been brutally attacked on New Year's Day while buying a cooldrink. A group of men came up from behind, hit him with a brick and ran away with his wallet. All he was carrying on him at the time was the change left after paying for the coca-cola with R20! The left side of Lungile Plaatjies' face had been crushed and he was unconscious for a week. At this stage he was still hospitalised and his family were not sure if there had been permanent brain damage. When I heard the news it came as a severe shock. By this time Lungile Plaatjies had become much more than my contact person and I reacted to the news as any friend would. As I had telephoned to Lungile Plaatjies's work, on hearing about the attack, I immediately phoned his family to tell them I was thinking of him. The family was all very shocked and could not believe what had happened, but mentioned that Lungile Plaatjies was recovering well and they were confident of a full recovery. His family promised to convey my best wishes to him. It would be March before I would be able to conduct another interview.

All subsequent interviews with Matotiyana and Mangaliso went well. By mid-1997 the interviews had long ceased to be a work session between the interviewer and interviewed. We met and made music like friends and every re-acquaintance was a renewal of our friendship. Some of my friends, who had at times brought me to the interviews, had also become familiar faces and both parties would often inquire as to the welfare of the other. By now I had come to know Matotiyana as a friendly, devoted, selfless and motherly person who, from the start, set her own fears and apprehensions aside and threw herself wholeheartedly into the task at hand. Although

she had been ill at ease during the earlier interviews, Matotiyana never complained nor showed any displeasure at participating in the discussions and music making. At times she even smiled and expressed great pleasure that her music was being well received and obviously enjoyed. As the interviews progressed, so too did our personal relationship: I was privileged to get to know a truly sincere and caring person who expressed motherly concerns for my health and well being. This also shone through the time when Lungile Plaatjies' son, who liked coming to the interviews, was ill and tired. Matotiyana took the little three-year-old in her arms, wrapped him up warmly and rocked him to sleep. For the duration of the interview she tended to him like a mother would tend a sick child.

I also came to know Mangaliso as a friendly, well-mannered and proud person who regards manners and respect very highly, especially the way he learnt it as a child in the Eastern Cape. He becomes very annoyed when people are disrespectful, badly behaved and do not take commitments seriously. Mangaliso believes in setting high standards for oneself that you work hard at maintaining. If you have committed yourself to a particular task then you must do it to the best of your ability. Due to his views regarding work and life in general, we had got on from the start and I was therefore sad to learn that Mangaliso would not be returning to Cape Town at the beginning of 1998. He was never happy in town, for the reasons given above, and felt he could lead a happier and more secure life with his family in the Eastern Cape. Although I was sad when my research finally came to an end, I was pleased that it had afforded me the opportunity to get to know and exchange ideas with three lovely people whom I will always remember fondly.

My research material is therefore presented in the following way:

The Introduction offers the reader an account of the research strategies and methodology followed, including a detailed account of my personal experiences, which were central to the formulation and implementation of my strategies.

Chapter 1 deals exclusively with my first subject Mantombi Matotiyana. A biography, compiled from her memories and recollections, as told and revealed to me during the various interviews, serves as an introduction to the person Matotiyana and provides a reference point for the rest of the chapter. An in depth study of the *umrhubhe*, the favourite instrument of Matotiyana and for which she became famous, follows the biography. Since very little research has been conducted on the *umrhubhe* or its exponents exclusively, it was felt that a detailed account of its nature, construction, description, social context and projected future should be included as recounted by one of its major exponents.

Chapter 2 is devoted to Mangaliso and follows the same format and methodology as chapter one.

Chapter 3 deals with Matotiyana and Mangaliso as musicians. It is presented in two sections. The first section looks at the role the songs play in their lives, their actual compositional process, as well as the approach, attitudes, aims and ideals they hold towards their art, whereas the second section looks at both informants as “composers”. It attempts to describe and ultimately classify and define them according to what they do and how they do it, including the approach and attitudes they hold, as well as any social and cultural changes that have impacted upon them.

Chapter 4 deals exclusively with the songs of Matotiyana. A short discussion on aspects of form and style at the beginning of the chapter shows the formal and structural parallels between the vocal and bow songs of the Xhosa-speaking people. The bow songs of Matotiyana constitute the rest of the chapter. Actual transcriptions and analyses of Matotiyana's recorded songs provide the reader with musicological information. A summary of findings particular to Matotiyana and her songs concludes the chapter.

Chapter 5 is the conclusion to the thesis.

To remain as true as possible to the spirit of Matotiyana and Mangaliso I chose to use the same words, names and terms they did when referring to places, objects and so forth. Therefore the word '*ikonsetina*' is used for concertina (except when referring to a Western context) and so forth. All words and terms borrowed from the Xhosa language appear in italics, as well as any direct quote spoken by my informants. Lastly, it should be mentioned that the information contained within this study has been written down as told by Matotiyana and Mangaliso. It is therefore a reflection of their understanding, explanation, opinion and knowledge regarding the cultural life and songs of the Xhosa-speaking people.

Chapter 1 Mantombi Matotiyana

1.1 Introductory Biography

Mantombi Matotiyana, daughter of Nqweniso and Maqhangase Matotiyana was born approximately 50 years ago in Tsolo, a Mpondomise town situated in the Jenca district of the Eastern Cape. She belongs to the Mpondomise chiefly clan Jola⁶ and identifies her lineage as Mpankomo, Somarhwarhwa, Majola, Ngwanya, Qengeba and Pahla.⁷ Her father, a migrant labourer working in the Johannesburg mines, named her “Mantombi” (“girl”) after he discovered the sex of his first born. Since he was hoping for a boy, he simply named the new baby girl “Mantombi”. Matotiyana has one younger sister called Silungwana.

At the time of Matotiyana’s birth non-literacy was prevalent among many rural Xhosa and dates of birth were not recorded, particularly those of women. A person’s birth date was usually associated with a significant event or the known age of another person, which means that today people like Matotiyana only know their approximate age. Matotiyana mentioned that she too never attended school and is also non-literate.

Matotiyana was raised in the former Transkei⁸ according to Xhosa and Mpondomise customs and institutions. For example at a young age the first joint of the little finger on her left hand was amputated in order to evoke the protection of the ancestors. (The

⁶ Mpondomise chiefs came from this clan only.

⁷ The lineage is calculated through the paternal line and works from the most recent member to the earliest. The last name will therefore be the root name of the clan and the first one will be the person’s grandfather.

⁸ The new name for the former Transkei is the Eastern Cape.

amputation is a symbol of the offered protection and aids and protects the amputee in times of trouble.)⁹ As a young girl, she was also expected to perform various tasks like cleaning the house, washing the clothes, fetching wood and water and help with the cooking. She particularly enjoyed playing her *umrhubhe* (a mouth resonated friction bow) between these chores and when walking long distances because it made them more fun. Matotiyana's mother, who was a keen *umrhubhe* player, showed her how to play the *umrhubhe* and *isitototolo* (the "jaw harp") when she was approximately 5/6 years old and she started making her own *imirhubhe* from the age of 10/11.

Matotiyana has many fond memories of her youth because of the way of life in the Eastern Cape and refers to life in the countryside as being "wonderful". She enjoyed travelling to social events like gatherings and marriages because there would be lively activity and music. Matotiyana and her friends also visited regularly over weekends, especially Saturdays.¹⁰ Here they would sing songs, such as morality songs learnt at home and share views about expected social behaviour, which would often be turned into songs as well, like *Molweni* (example no. 7). Matotiyana explained that because music played an important part in the house, children learnt through music: music was what you did - everything was music – therefore you learnt to live and love through music. These events were one of her greatest sources of pleasure and Matotiyana misses them terribly. She explained that in townships today people no longer travel, or attend gatherings regularly because of the escalating violence and stress of

⁹ According to Botha (1997), certain lineages adhere to this institution. The other cultural institutions of the Mpondomise conform to the Southern Nguni practices, like cutting parts of the body, slaughtering goats and oxen and attending the boys' initiation schools. All these practices must be maintained to ensure a healthy relationship with the ancestral spirits.

¹⁰ Smaller gatherings were held during the week with the main ones taking place over weekends. Children and adults had separate gatherings.

urbanisation. Music has furthermore become a means to make money for many people and when gatherings are now held, people get invited and often have to pay to attend.

Other pleasant memories dating from this period of Matotiyana's life include her first romantic encounters, but since she was rather shy about her memories Matotiyana did not wish to elaborate further. Instead she mentioned that one of her songs, *Mfanandini* (example no. 2) composed when she was an adolescent, recalls this period. Matotiyana did however mention that her youth was not without some pain and hardship and she consequently began composing songs, like *Ihambonzima* (example no 13), that could help her express and deal with the pain she saw and experienced.

Music therefore not only played an important part in Matotiyana's life right from the start, but it played a significant role too. As a youngster, Matotiyana was already discovering that music afforded the opportunity to learn and share (good) values, as well as being a source of joy, amusement and personal expression, albeit pleasant or painful. She believes that these lessons stood her in good stead in later years.

Matotiyana met her husband at a social event when she was in her late teens, while playing her bow at that event. They were married when she was in her early twenties and had five children, four girls and a boy. Their respective names, from eldest to youngest, are Ntombizandile, Thenjiwe, Ntombisilungile, Ncedile and Ncediswa. I asked Matotiyana if she ever played the *umrhubhe* for her husband after their initial meeting. At this she burst into an embarrassed giggle and admitted to playing for him

on a regular basis. Matotiyana is also a grandmother and has three grandchildren: Ntombizandile's four-year-old daughter Khanyiswa (who Matotiyana has taught to play the *umrhubhe*) and Thenjiwe's two children, Asanda and one who is not yet named.

Matotiyana did not have a trouble-free marriage and after several years they separated. She and all five children returned to her parents and resumed the family name of Matotiyana. By moving back home, Matotiyana's parents could help care for the children and provide a similar upbringing to the one that she had, i.e. a fair and disciplined youth where love is emphasised. They would also hear the teachings that made her the strong, determined yet caring person she is today. Matotiyana stressed that because she came from a happy, loving and caring home she was able to uplift herself and face troubles in later life with courage and she wished the same for her children. She loved her parents dearly and since they were one of the most important influences in her life, teaching her valuable lessons about respect, acceptable behaviour and love, she led a good purposeful life. Going home therefore meant an improvement in the quality of her life and that of her children. It was also during this period that Matotiyana especially grew to love making music because it became a personal source of consolation and inspiration, since she could express her worries and concerns through the songs. This in turn provided necessary understanding and emotional release and, as her songs became known and appreciated, they contributed to her recovery. The words to *Andilalanga*, one of Matotiyana's songs composed during this period, clearly illustrates her difficulties and concerns:

Andilalang' ebusuku

I do not sleep at night

Ndizabalazela bant'a bam I am working for my children

Matotiyana lived with her parents until they passed away and she moved to Cape Town in 1984 to support her children.

The move to Cape Town was an enormous step for Matotiyana because she had never left the safe and secure environment of her home area and could speak only Xhosa. Although she would have to fend for herself amidst strangers Matotiyana was totally committed towards her family and was determined to succeed to ensure the welfare of her children. After being unable to secure work as a domestic worker, due to her age and language, Matotiyana began watching what people around her were doing to earn money, and decided to follow suit. She started a self-reliant business with two friends from Nyanga, Mabhukhwana and Madosini¹¹, that still operates today. The three ladies buy items, like meat, to sell at a profit and they also make and sell African beer and beaded necklaces. Mantombi, Madosini and Mabhukhwana do not distribute each day's profits equally, but the profits made from the sales of that day go to one of the three. The next time the profits will go to somebody else and the following time to the remaining person. In this way each one will get a day's sales.

Like many Xhosa-speaking people who originally came from the Eastern Cape, Matotiyana returns regularly to visit her family and children, maintain and strengthen her cultural ties and obtain the materials needed to make her instruments. While returning from one of these trips in January 1993, she was severely injured in a bus accident that left her with a permanent limp in her left leg. The accident occurred

¹¹ No surnames given for either of the ladies.

between Laingsburg and Beaufort West in the early hours of the morning when their bus driver swerved to miss a mini-bus taxi and hit an oncoming truck. Matotiyana was taken to Leeu Gamka hospital and transferred to Tygerberg on the following day, where she spent five months in traction. Thereafter she was moved to J.G. Jooste Hospital in Heideveld where she remained another month. During the six months in hospital many of her friends and loved ones came to visit her and they would all sing together, often singing her own songs. This warmed her heart and made her convalescence easier to endure because her mind would be taken away from the pain. Matotiyana admits happily that her songs and her friends helped her to recover. Once again her songs were playing an important role in her life.

Today Matotiyana is a proficient composer, performer and instrument maker, making instruments for herself and other *umrhubhe* players.¹² She feels the most important aspect is, and always has been, the quality of the sound. Matotiyana stressed that she always sets out to make an instrument with a “perfect” sound, and is consequently always very particular regarding the materials she uses to make the instruments. Matotiyana will not perform on an instrument if she feels it isn’t up to standard and will continue to work on the *umrhubhe* until she is happy with it.

In 1992, the University of Cape Town’s ethnomusicology department wished to make a concert presentation of the African musical life in Cape Town. The project was called *From Homestead to Township* and took place in the Baxter Concert Hall. With the assistance of Dizu Plaatjies, the leader of Amampondo, many local artists were approached to take part. Just prior to this event Matotiyana had played informally

¹² Mantombi is also a very good player of the *isitotolo*, or jaw harp.

with some of Amampondo's members at a social gathering at her home. She thoroughly enjoyed the day and both parties developed a love for each other's music. When Dizu Plaatjies needed musicians for the video, he immediately approached Matotiyana. Thus began collaboration between Matotiyana and Amampondo and today she is recognised as a "permanent guest artist" of the group and appears on their compact discs and also tours with them locally and abroad. Matotiyana has consequently become a respected musician¹³ abroad having been well received in countries like Japan, the United Kingdom, Scandinavia and Zimbabwe. This year (1999) she will once again be travelling with the group, taking part in concerts throughout Europe during the summer. Matotiyana's reputation is not based on her involvement with Amampondo only; she is also recognised as an artist in her own right and travelled to France in October 1997 to perform as a solo artist at a festival in Nice in the south of France.

1.2 Umrhubhe

1.2.1 Description and Construction

The *umrhubhe* is a friction-sounded unbraced mouth bow.

¹³ In contrast to Western society, having an exceptional additional ability in music does not have any bearing on one's social position and one is therefore not necessarily elevated within the society (Botha 1997: a). Consequently when a person refers to himself as a musician he is merely describing what he does, since the indigenous classification of a musician is any person who sings and dances or plays an instrument - it is not a professional title. When Matotiyana describes herself as a musician, it carries the indigenous connotation. Musicians also did not earn a living through music because it was practised purely for the enjoyment thereof. Today, this attitude has changed due to the commercialisation of all the musical styles.

According to Rycroft (1966: 85), the *umrhubhe* is uniquely different from all musical bows found in Southern Africa because its sound is produced by friction: a bowing stick is rubbed against a wire to produce a sound. Inland equivalents can be found amongst the San and Basotho. The Swazi and Zulu are also known to have played a musical bow of this variety, but it is still unclear whether this particular playing technique was borrowed or developed indigenously in the Eastern Cape.

The first person to write about musical bows was Percival Kirby. In his book *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa* (1934) he mentions two cases where the San employed their hunting bows to make music. In the first example, Kirby writes that a hunter would tap his arrow against his bowstring after a successful kill, while waiting for his fellow companions to arrive and in the second case, he mentions a painting where a large number of San dancers are accompanied by a musical bow player (Kirby 1965: 193-194). Rycroft (1980: 811) also notes that the various musical bows were used regularly for individual music making, or simply played on their own for recreational purposes. Although they were previously readily available throughout the area south of 10° S, musical bows disappeared rapidly during this century and are rarely heard today. In 1964 David Rycroft wrote, "...it was seldom that one encountered a traditional musical bow at all" (Rycroft 1966: 84). At the time he only encountered four types, one of them being the *umrhubhe* (Rycroft 1966: 84). Rycroft's research also led him to conclude that friction chordophones without tuning nooses, with or without attached resonators were found in the Eastern Cape. These instruments were played either for amusement or personal comfort (Rycroft 1966: 85).

Matotiyana classifies the *umrhubhe* (pl. *imirhubhe*) as an indigenous instrument. She mentioned that the mothers and grandmothers especially play it at night to lull the children to sleep and by the young Xhosa-speaking girls to pass the time. Thus it is mostly women who play the *imirhubhe*; girls normally starting between the ages of 5 and 6.

The word “*umrhubhe*” is the general name used by the Xhosa-speaking people to describe the instrument and according to Matotiyana, refers to the goe-goe (rhu-rhu) like sound it produces¹⁴. (The “rh” is pronounced “ch” as in “loch”). Since the wire of the *umrhubhe* is twisted, its characteristic sound results from friction caused by rubbing the spiral wire with a bow stick.¹⁵ The type of stick and mouth cavity is also important for sound production because the mouth acts as a resonator and consequently governs everything, especially the choice of pitches. Different types of wood influence the volume and clarity of the sound. The *umrhubhe* produces a clear and audible tone, albeit quite soft.

¹⁴ According to Kirby (1934), the instrument we know today as *umrhubhe* was played by the Pondo and called *umqunge*. Although played in the same way, the *umrhubhe* had a bipartite stave and therefore had a different structure. It therefore seems that the name *umrhubhe* was taken over by the Pondo instrument.

¹⁵ The *inkinge*, an instrument that looks very similar to the *umrhubhe* but has a straight wire and also uses the mouth as a sound box, will serve as a good illustration regarding the difference between an instrument with a spiral wire that is rubbed and one with a straight wire that is plucked. According to Lungile Plaatjies, the word *inkinge* means trouble: “When you have trouble you call it *inkinge* and when you are asked to play the instrument, you also have trouble because you don’t know what will come out of it, or how to play it.” In other words, the instrument dictates the music since the player must play around to find out how to get a tune out of the *inkinge*. This is naturally a troublesome process, thus *inkinge*. As mentioned, the instrument has a straight wire and consequently emits a “ching-ching” like sound when hit, due to the vibrations of the straight wire. The *inkinge* was traditionally played by young men when they danced. *Igwijo*, the song sung at a gathering of young or even old men, was the song frequently played on the instrument. Due to the song’s nature, the *inkinge* could be added to it easily - the instrument will simply imitate the song – and the men consequently simply composed the song and sang it. Unfortunately, like many of the instruments of the older traditions, the *inkinge* is seldom seen or heard anymore.

The *umrhubhe* is approximately 70 to 75 cm long. It consists of a curved wooden stick or shaft (Xh. *indonga*), a spiral wire (*incingo*) attached to each end of the shaft and a bowing stick (*umcinga*). According to Matotiyana, the name for the bow shaft, *indonga*, is the common word used to refer to stick, whereas *incingo*, is the common word for wire. The *umcinga* gets its name from its straight (vertical) shape. Since the *umrhubhe* has a curved shaft, many Xhosa people often refer to other objects with a similar (curved) shape as “the object with the *umrhubhe* shape”.

Although the length of the bow stave is more or less standard, no two instruments will be exactly the same because the shape and size of the player’s hand determines the size of the instrument, enabling the performer to hold her *umrhubhe* comfortably. Consequently the instrument maker first checks the size of the person’s hand before she makes the *umrhubhe* so that the shaft will not be too long or too wide. Another contributing factor is the overall pitch desired by the player. If an *umrhubhe* with a higher range is desired, a smaller instrument is made and a larger one for lower overall ranges.

As mentioned, young girls normally start playing the *umrhubhe* when they are 5/6 years old. Generally an instrument is made the minute a girl decides she wants to learn to play *umrhubhe*. Since 5/6 years olds are quite small one condition must be met: they must be able to handle their instrument. In other words their hands must be large and strong enough to hold the *umrhubhe* and manipulate the string to obtain the two bow fundamentals. The instrument will naturally be somewhat smaller so that a child of six can handle it.

The learning process is one of observation, assimilation and imitation whereby the girl watches her mother and copies her. This is the typical traditional Xhosa way of learning. According to Dargie (1987: 35), it is expected that the person learning to play the instrument will be very aware, have intense concentration and exceptional hearing, so that the skill being taught will be absorbed as a whole. Initially the girls merely “play around” on their instruments - they pick up their *umrhubhe*, recall what their mother did and simply begin to play. During this stage they are merely getting accustomed to the feel of the instrument, discovering how to make a (good) sound and learning the techniques involved. In other words, they remember the visual image of their mother playing and progress from there. The mother/grandmother and daughter/granddaughter always interact throughout the learning process. For example, if the mother is playing and the little girl comes along with her instrument, the mother will show her how to move her mouth, produce the harmonic partials and how she must bow. Furthermore, the mother also makes her aware of any technical errors, like moving the bow stick skew across the wire, pressing too hard with the bow or producing a scratchy sound.

Since the little girls are still very young and only beginners, the sound they produce is not very good and the instrument is therefore more a toy. Once they are presented with the *umrhubhe*, it is constantly at their side, wherever they go, regardless of the activity. Even when playing a game of hide-and-seek, the *umrhubhe* is taken along and often hidden as well.

Although the nature of the *umrhubhe* is such that no ritual is involved - when a child wants to learn to play the instrument, one is made. To make a good *umrhubhe* takes

time, practice and skill and only people with exceptional ability for making *imirhubhe* usually do so¹⁶. Such women have already distinguished themselves as *umrhubhe* builders and players of note and are known for making instruments with exceptional tones. Their reputation spreads by word of mouth and through their playing since a good player is always remembered and a well made *umrhubhe* with a good sound denotes a good maker. Furthermore because a proficient player displays an instrument better than a poor player does, it follows that makers are good players.

According to Matotiyana, who is considered an expert, the art is learnt from the expert closest to you. In the beginning it takes about three weeks to make the instrument, from acquiring the wood to playing the newly built *umrhubhe*, but with time and practice one becomes more skilful. In fact it is viewed as an ongoing process whereby the aspiring maker normally works and practices every night. Even skilful builders continually work on improving their *imirhubhe* because one always strives to build better-sounding instruments. It is interesting to note that Matotiyana, who learnt the art from her mother, already started making instruments when she was ten/eleven years old, yet only felt she was a good maker at the age of eighteen.

Matotiyana proudly admits that her mother, who was considered an excellent *umrhubhe* player and maker by the ladies of her district, played the most important role in her development because she taught Matotiyana to take pride in her work and value good craftsmanship. If you are not satisfied with an instrument, you simply keep working at it until you are because the instrument is a reflection of yourself: a well-crafted *umrhubhe* reflects a maker that takes pride in her work and in herself.

¹⁶ As musicians and instrument makers are not professional titles elevating a person within their social context, an expert is simply the person who is better at making *imirhubhe* than others.

Matotiyana also views building an instrument as a labour of love and therefore believes you keep working on the *umrhubhe* until it has a good sound because you love your instrument and your music.

The learning process again involves observation, interaction, and assimilation and takes place naturally. Since the *umrhubhe* needs regular attention to keep it in a good playable condition, the players often make regular adjustments, affording the little girls an opportunity to watch their mothers and then imitate them as a means of amusing themselves. The mothers also show and explain what they are doing and begin telling their daughters about the assembly and construction of the *umrhubhe* once they show an interest. This all forms part of the initial learning process. When the *umrhubhe* is in need of more serious attention an expert is called in or visited. Often the little girls will accompany their mother to the home of the *umrhubhe* maker and see how the new instrument is being made or the old one fixed. Occasionally the little girl is asked to fetch a component or assist the expert with a small adjustment and in this way she observes and becomes familiar with the process.

The instrument can be made anywhere, provided the materials needed are readily available. The first step is to select a branch that is the right thickness, determined according to the size of the person's hand, and therefore it is frequently one of the side branches of a tree. If it is a little dry, the instrument maker first soaks the branch so that it will not break when being bent. According to Matotiyana, one cannot simply cut a branch from any tree, as only the *umbangandlela*¹⁷ tree (*Heteromorpha*

¹⁷ According to Matotiyana, the translation of the word *umbangandlela* is "causing the cause of events". In this case undesirable events are being implied: it is believed that if one burns any part of the tree in the house it will lead to famine. Not only burning causes problems, since even hitting an animal or person (that can give birth) with a branch will lead to bareness and famine. (Taboos are

arborescens) is of the right weight and shape, gives the correct sound and can be bent.¹⁸ Matotiyana mentioned that the tree stalk is normally distinguished by its yellowish colour, which is especially pronounced on the inside. The tree also has yellow flowers.

Once the branch has been selected and cut from the tree, the leaves are removed and the branch taken home, where the outer layers are stripped.¹⁹ After the layers have been removed, the bare stick is ready to be bent into the characteristic *umrhubhe* shape. This is done by bending the stick into the desired form and tying the ends together with a piece of twine to keep it in shape. The stick is then left in this position for a day or two until it is set. Once the instrument maker is satisfied with the shape of the stick, she will attach the wire. According to Matotiyana, the wire used for the *umrhubhe* is the same type used to make the bracelets for the ankles, wrists and especially the waist. It can be either brass or copper wire that has been coiled. She added that one could use any wire for other instruments, like the *uhadi* (the Xhosa gourd bow), but for the *umrhubhe* this is the best. The wire used to be freely available in shops, but since such shops no longer exist, the wire is impossible to find and so *umrhubhe* makers have started using electrical wire instead. They normally remove the outer plastic covering, take out the (coiled) copper wire and then proceed as normal. Hansen (1981: 179) mentions that picture wire or fencing wire is also used. Matotiyana explained that she fortunately still has enough bracelets remaining

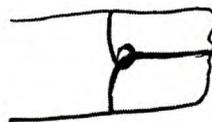
often invented to prevent certain negative results from happening, such as asphyxiation in this case. Famine might therefore be such a taboo (Botha 1997). Since the trees are not found in Cape Town, Matotiyana always brings back branches when she has visited her family in the Eastern Cape. She usually removes the leaves and then places the branches in a bag ready for transportation.

¹⁸ It should be mentioned that Hansen (1981: 179) states that the shaft can be made from any wood that is suitable and readily available. Matotiyana also mentioned that other wood is used, but she stated that the wood she uses gives the best sound.

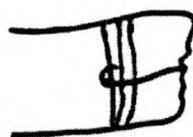
¹⁹ The instrument is generally made at home. As the outer (protective) covering of the branch is removed, the instrument is especially susceptible to damage from the elements and pollution. It is

that she can uncoil and use for her *imirhubhe*. When I asked what will happen when she has no more bracelets left, Matotiyana replied that another (new) type of wire will have to be sought, which could result in an instrument with a different sound.

When the wire is purchased it is still coiled and must therefore first be stretched before it can be attached. This is achieved by burning the required length in the fire to make it soft and pliable and when sufficiently soft, the red-hot coiled piece of wire is picked up by the bare fingers (one end held in each hand), stretched and put back into the fire. This process is repeated until the wire is straight and takes place very quickly to prevent the wire from cooling down. Once this task is complete the wire is ready to be attached to the shaft by twisting the wire around the stick, approximately 7 cm from the end, and then taking it over the edge and making sure that it cuts firmly into the shaft. Next the end piece is folded under the wire leading to the edge, bent back and pressed flat at the point where the two meet to secure it, i.e.



Lastly, the wire is led straight across to the opposite end, once more cutting into the edge, and wrapped around the stick several times approximately 1 cm from the edge. The end of the wire is then twisted several times around the point where the wire cuts into the stick's edge, i.e.



therefore considerably fragile and must be covered at all times, especially when transported.

It is now time to select the friction/bowing stick and since it is the key to the instrument, the instrument builder makes her choice very carefully. According to Matotiyana, the best sound is obtained from the shaft of the grass reed used to thatch the roofs of the houses in the Eastern Cape. Once again she mentioned that other stalks could be used, but the sound would not be quite right. This fact was actually demonstrated to me quite by chance in an interview conducted on 7 December 1996. On the way to the interview, Matotiyana's bowing stick fell out of her bag and because she did not want to disappoint me, Matotiyana picked up a long thin stick and stripped its layers with a piece of glass so that she could use it for the interview. When she started playing, however, the difference in sound quality was immediately apparent: although the stick was producing a clearly audible tone there was a lot of scratching and squeaking. Matotiyana was very dissatisfied with the resulting sound and apologised immediately, explaining what had happened, and then flatly refused to play the *umrhubhe* for the rest of the interview!

Once the bowing stick has been selected the actual test of the instrument's quality takes place because it is now played for the first time. The instrument builder normally plays a well-known song that she has practised and polished when putting the new instrument to the test because its sound can be measured, compared and judged according to the sound she is accustomed to. Normally a few tiny changes are made, like twisting the string even more to tighten a wire that is too slack. The correct tension of the string is also very important: unless the tension is absolutely perfect the sound will not be satisfactory. Once the sought after sound is achieved, the process is complete and the instrument is ready to be played. Since the most important quality

of the musical bow is its sound, a new *umrhubhe* is accepted if the songs played on it sound good. However several other specifications must also be met: the bowing/friction stick must be able to reach and extend beyond the string and centre of the stick it rubs against and the player must feel comfortable. (The bowing stick's length is therefore determined by the size of the *umrhubhe*.)

The entire manufacturing process can take anything from a few days to a few weeks, depending on the amount of time the maker has available. Only two implements are used: a knife to cut the shaft and strip the outer layers of the branch and a pair of scissors to cut the wire. The instrument also does not undergo any special treatment, like painting, or varnishing and since none of the materials are treated, the *umrhubhe* is very fragile and sensitive. It must therefore be looked after extremely carefully, but if it is handled with care, one will be able to play it for many years.

Matotiyana is extremely careful when handling her *umrhubhe* and prefers to hang it high up against the wall and out of harm's way when it is not being played. When transporting the *umrhubhe*, she wraps it up in newspaper and plastic bags to protect it from the elements²⁰. Since the outer (protective) layers have been stripped from the branch, rain is especially dangerous because it will not only stain the wood but also cause it to crack, split and strip. Furthermore, rain also causes the wire to rust. Another danger is the oil secreted by one's skin. The string and bow are highly sensitive and the slightest touch can render them useless, therefore the minute someone touches the bow or wire, the oily build up left behind results in too little friction and consequently a poor sound. In some extreme cases an absence of sound

²⁰ Matotiyana expressly stated that if you love your instrument, you naturally look after it and therefore no harm can come to it.

has even been noted. Performers therefore always carry around two or more instruments and a selection of friction sticks in the event of an accident occurring. Matotiyana added that if an *umrhubhe* or bow stick is touched, a hard severe rub in dry sand or against a hard shorthaired carpet normally repairs any damage incurred.

1.2.2 The Social Context

The *umrhubhe* is mostly played in informal contexts because of its soft sound and intimate nature.

Amongst the Xhosa-speaking peoples it is the duty of the young women and mothers to put the children to bed. Since the *umrhubhe* has a soft and soothing sound, it is an ideal instrument to use for this purpose and consequently, the mothers and grandmothers play lullabies on their *imirhubhe* to the children so they can become drowsy and go to sleep. Bedtime stories are also told regularly, often incorporating the *umrhubhe*.²¹

As discussed, once the little girls are presented with an *umrhubhe*, it never leaves their side irrespective of task or activity. This gives rise to another informal context where the *umrhubhe* is actually used to make their daily chores more fun. The tasks performed by young girls often involve travelling, like fetching water and one regularly sees a girl playing her *umrhubhe* while walking from one place to another. If

²¹ Lungile Plaatjies also told me an *intlombe*. His story went as follows:

"There once was a dinosaur who tried to grab a child. An old woman came past and saw what was happening so she began playing a song on her umrhubhe (the mother/grandmother will then play the song). The dinosaur started listening to it and fell fast asleep. Quietly the old woman got up and

other little girls accompany her on her walk they will sing along while she plays. In this way, the playing and singing helps them forget about the distance they have to cover - their *umrhubhe* has thus helped them pass the time and made the entire activity more enjoyable. The *umrhubhe* is also incorporated in many of their games. For example, if playing a game of hide and seek, the *umrhubhe* will often be hidden as well.

The *umrhubhe* is also played at social gatherings. When local people get together, music and games form an integral part of the activities and although the musicians normally get invited to play, everyone participates in the singing and dancing which is often accompanied by games and pranks. One of these games involves the *umrhubhe* exclusively:

*One person is asked to take out his shoelaces, for example, and then leave the room. During this time, another person will hide them and when the owner returns, he has to find his laces with the aid of clues played on the umrhubhe. When the person is close to the laces, the melody will be played loudly and when he is far away, it will be played softly. Naturally the closer or further away he gets, the louder or softer the playing will be and if he is far off the mark there will be no sound at all. When the owner eventually finds his laces, there will be much clapping, cheering and singing.*²²

chopped off the dinosaur's head with an axe and took the child home. On the way back she started playing her umrhubhe again. (Once more a song is played)".

²² In early 1998 I attended an *umrhubhe* and *isitotolo* performance by Madosini. After the performance there was some time available for questions and during the course of discussions Madosini mentioned this very same game. Dr Hansen was very intrigued, so we played the game: Madosini hid a piece of porcelain and Dr Hansen was chosen to find the place of hiding. The clues were played on the *umrhubhe* and when the porcelain was found, there was excited clapping and Madosini also played her bow.

The life Xhosa-speaking people lead today is completely different to the one they used to live. This has had an adverse effect on the older type of instruments, like musical bows, that have largely become obsolete. The *umrhubhe* is hardly played at all nowadays, especially in the cities and whereas young girls previously played the instrument before they married, today older women mostly play it.²³ Furthermore, city children prefer to play contemporary music on instruments such as drums, guitars, or simply listen to popular music. Even in the characters of the *intsomi* we see a change: the (more fashionable) dinosaur has replaced the *izimu*, a monster and mythological figure that had cannibalistic tendencies. In addition, the game played with the shoelaces has become merely a game. Before, it was imperative that a personal item be taken because it was believed that the owner had a mystical attachment to it enabling him to find the item. The actual process of finding it was important as well, whereas nowadays it has simply become an item to be found in a game²⁴. Even attitudes to music amongst Africans have undergone a shift. Previously songs were sung or played for “fun”, today it is viewed as a commodity and consequently “music that makes money” is played, rather than the older (indigenous) songs and instruments²⁵.

²³ It is interesting to note that the jaw harp, a Western instrument that is played in much the same way as the musical bow (i.e. by using mouth resonance) has become a popular substitute for the musical bow (Rycroft 1980: 199).

²⁴ Lungile Plaatjies attributes this change to the overall shift in focus that has taken place amongst black South Africans. Western norms, customs and values have replaced the indigenous ones and the displacement caused by city life has only increased the process of integration.

²⁵ Lungile Plaatjies added that “Some people have stopped playing - they have become too confused”.

Another area that has become effected is the cultural lifestyle of the people. Previously the Mpondomise had institutions of pre- and post-initiation, called *umtshotsho* and *intlombe* respectively, that were attended by every girl and boy. During this period there would be associational meetings where the initiates and young promoted girls would get together. Since everyone did not dance at the same time, the young girls would sit and play their *umrhubhe* to pass the time while waiting for their turn to dance. The girls would also accompany the boys on *imirhubhe* while they were stick fighting (Broster 1962: 23). An interesting development took place as a result of this practice. Although women traditionally played the *umrhubhe*, young men would often pick up the instrument and start playing it during these get-togethers. The men generally used the instrument more as a conversation piece and a means to impress the girl they were talking to. However, this practice has also largely disappeared, particularly in the cities.

According to Matotiyana, the *umrhubhe* and its songs hold a particular place and affection for the composer and performer. When one plays older songs on the instrument, it reminds you of past times and transports you back to them. Or it may help one recover from an illness, mishap or hardship, or simply improve your mood if feeling depressed. For instance, if someone is ill or hospitalised, friends and relatives regularly pay them a visit and often sing for them as well. Due to the soothing effect of the songs on the person, it is believed that the convalescent hearing them, especially their own compositions and signature tune²⁶ will become rejuvenated and recover from the illness. This is however a more isolated context because it depends

²⁶ A signature tune is a song that has become synonymous with the composer. It is generally their favourite song and when played, will immediately identify the composer. Even if the composer is not present when the song is sung, those present will still classify it as the composer's signature tune, adding "that is 'Mantombi's song'". *Molweni* (e.g. nos. 6 - 9) is Matotiyana's signature song. She sings

on the convalescent, the family and friends (and hospital authorities). In general when the signature tune is played it is believed that the person will become healthy if ill, warm if cold, return to peace of mind if disturbed and become even happier and satisfied if already happy.

1.2.3 The Future of the *Umrhubhe*

At this stage, the future of the *umrhubhe* does not appear very promising. Although the mouth bow has been around for many years, it is hardly played nowadays because the materials are not that easily and readily available and youngsters are not interested in the older instruments or songs. This is especially the case if they have been educated fully according to the modern Western education system, since it cultivates an acceptance of Western values (Mensah 1992: 16; Wachsmann and Cooke 1980: 151). The younger generation also regards the older ways as old fashioned, even embarrassing, which does not bode well for indigenous instruments associated with rural and tribal living.²⁷ Rycroft (1980: 151) mentions that the urban African actually considers a traditional instrument to be a highly “negative status symbol”. Furthermore, the *umrhubhe* was played in informal contexts (i.e. not intended for an audience) and generally discarded after marriage. The nature of the instrument and its songs per se therefore meant that it could never hold a central position in communal music-making, which means that it has to survive through the efforts of dedicated individuals. However, through the efforts of Matotiyana (and others like her), the

or plays it whenever she is recovering from an illness or wishes to improve her mood.

²⁷ This is not only limited to Xhosa musical bows. Princess Constance Magogo, a Zulu lady and excellent *ugubhu* (a large musical bow with attached calabash resonator and single undivided string) player, mentioned this in one of her interviews with David Rycroft. Although it pains her to say it, she accepts that the younger generation are no longer interested in the type of music and instruments that she plays (Rycroft 1975/6 : 58). Furthermore, traditional dances also seem to be declining in popularity.

umrhubhe has gradually undergone a change in function and stature and as such there might be hope for its continued existence for a while yet.

Mantombi Matotiyana performs extensively, whether locally, nationally or internationally and has been recorded on compact disc a number of times as well. She is respected for her skill at playing *umrhubhe* and regularly receives invitations to play at gatherings, festivals and so forth. Consequently Matotiyana has many opportunities to foster an interest in the *umrhubhe*. As mentioned, the *umrhubhe*, like most other musical bows, is fast disappearing. However, through the efforts of Matotiyana (and others like her), the *umrhubhe* is still being heard and actively promoted and the younger generation, especially ethnomusicology students, are beginning to take a new interest in the *umrhubhe*²⁸.

Through Matotiyana's international travels, the *umrhubhe* is being heard throughout Europe, as well as the Far East. Matotiyana and her *umrhubhe* were very well received and as a consequence, the instrument is gaining in popularity and stature abroad. Furthermore, overseas audiences are becoming increasingly aware and interested in the older songs and their exponents, which is in turn promoting an instrument like the *umrhubhe* and, according to Matotiyana, fostering a love and pride for the older African styles. She therefore feels that through her efforts she can contribute to its existence for some time yet. Matotiyana also believes that as long as there are still *umrhubhe* players, they should continue playing the instrument the way

According to Honore (1987: 18) this is a direct result of the disappearing traditional (Xhosa) social life due to the changing economic and social conditions.

²⁸ Hansen has mentioned that University of Cape Town ethnomusicology students are increasingly showing greater interest in the *umrhubhe* (and similar older instruments), due to the exposure the students are getting in class from live performances by visiting players like Matotiyana and others like her.

they did so that local youngsters who are interested, have the opportunity to learn. Matotiyana hopes that she too may play a continued role in this regard.

Despite the current worldwide interest in African music and increased interest from some youngsters, Matotiyana feels that the *umrhubhe* will ultimately disappear from the scene because the materials are difficult to obtain and most of the current exponents are older women. Although the players are investigating and using alternative materials, Matotiyana feels that these alternatives may well result in a new instrument developing because the particular type of twisted wire used is the most important feature determining the characteristic sound of the *umrhubhe*. The majority of replacements or alternatives will therefore most likely alter the sound, possibly resulting in a new instrument. Furthermore, the increased interest amongst youngsters is still minimal and many local youngsters are also not interested in learning to play. Which means that the *umrhubhe*, as it is known and played today, may well cease to exist at some point in the future. This prediction saddens Matotiyana, but she regards it as a reflection of the times and feels that modern life should not be forced to accommodate traditions from the past. If people today feel they cannot express themselves and their needs through (older) instruments like the *umrhubhe*, then it is their right to find a form of expression suited to their needs. Mantombi Matotiyana is therefore pleased she still has the opportunity to promote her art and hopes that she has made a contribution to the musical bow tradition through her efforts as *umrhubhe* player.

Chapter 2 Maxanjana Mangaliso

2.1 Introductory Biography

Maxanjana Mangaliso, son of the late Qiyongo and Nokhavali Mangaliso was born in Engcobo, a town situated in the Sentube district of the Eastern Cape, in 1943. He belongs to the Thembu clan and identifies his lineage as Dlomo of Ntsundu of Velabambhentsele of Yemyem of Zondwa. (Since Mangaliso is descended from a very long lineage he mentioned the latter clan names only). He is the youngest of the four children and has two brothers, Malungisa and Stongwana, and a sister called Nontyi. His father was a migrant labourer and his mother a foreman at the plantation in Sentube.

Mangaliso, who was named by both his parents, has an interesting explanation regarding the origin of his name. Since he was a very small baby at birth, Mangaliso's parents decided to name him after the small 2,5-kg packets, like sugar, that are called *ixanjana* because this would reflect his size. Mangaliso also has a nickname, *Zadeki* that was given to him as a youngster because he was good at playing fighting sticks.

Mangaliso was raised in the former Transkei, spending his early years and youth exclusively in Engcobo where he led a tribal lifestyle. As a young boy he was expected to perform various duties, which included tending the sheep and cattle. He especially enjoyed playing his *umtshingo* (a flute) and *umrhubhe* when out in the

fields because it helped pass the time and made his day more enjoyable²⁹. Mangaliso has many fond memories from this period and regards it as being the happiest time of his life. He liked being a shepherd because he could wander around in the bush or simply rest. With a twinkle in his eye, Mangaliso recalled how he would take the herds out to graze at a distant pasture if he had not slept much the previous night. Once there he would choose a comfortable place and fall fast asleep. Mangaliso particularly enjoyed this peaceful existence of his youth. He enjoyed walking and playing with his friends and when they became hungry there was always plenty to eat and drink - all one had to do was go into the house and fetch what you wanted.

At 17 years of age Mangaliso dreamt about the *ikonsetina* for the first time. He was immediately fascinated by the instrument and resolved to find out more about it. He first asked his mother, but she declined to answer him since they could not afford one. Further inquiries were also fruitless. Mangaliso however continued his search, but would only be successful some years later.

This dream was a huge moment in Mangaliso's life because he regards it as the awakening of his life as a musician. Although it would be some years before he would begin playing the *ikonsetina*, this was his first introduction to the instrument and therefore a turning point in his life.

In 1963 Mangaliso left for Johannesburg to seek employment on the mines. As a migrant labourer he could help support his family, so for the next five years Johannesburg became his home. Shortly after his arrival, Mangaliso saw an *ikonsetina*

²⁹ Mangaliso explained that boys might also play the *umrhubhe* to pass the time when tending sheep, for example.

for the first time in the window of a mine shop. He inquired about the price and immediately began saving to buy his own instrument. In the meantime, Mangaliso purchased a harmonica (mouth organ) so that he could at least play an instrument. Mangaliso further explained that he also feared the older *ikonsetina* players. He felt that they might think him too young to be able to afford an *ikonsetina* and damage his instrument.

Mangaliso clearly remembers the day he purchased his first *ikonsetina*. It had taken five years to save enough money to afford one and he was extremely happy and excited as he left the shop. Mangaliso immediately went to visit a fellow mineworker and noted *ikonsetina* player called Nombajana. After he helped Maxanjana adjust his wristbands, Nombajana began to play for him. Maxanjana watched very closely and the following day he picked up his *ikonsetina* and started playing. From this day forward, Mangaliso practised fervently to achieve and maintain a high standard. He soon became a noted player and achieved considerable success at the *ikonsetina* competitions held in the mine compounds.

Although Mangaliso had played Xhosa indigenous instruments for many years, he explained that the change to Western instruments was a natural progression. Since he lacked the materials needed to make his indigenous instruments and desperately wanted to learn to play the *ikonsetina*, it was inconceivable to continue playing non-Western instruments. He further mentioned that since he was now living in (Western) Johannesburg, it was appropriate to switch to the instruments of the Western world.

The move to Johannesburg, especially after the purchase of Mangaliso's first *ikonsetina*, can be seen as the true practical start of his musical career. It not only influenced his approach to his music, but also gave him his first *ikonsetina*. Although he had played indigenous instruments as a child, he believes his life as a musician started in earnest when he obtained his first *ikonsetina*. From now onwards, music began taking an important place in his life. Mangaliso's songs not only offered an emotional outlet, but as his fame began spreading through the *ikonsetina* competitions, music started becoming more than something to pass the time and make his day more enjoyable. Mangaliso also started working at his performance and musical style in earnest, which raised his overall level of composition and performance. In this way, the first five years spent in Johannesburg can be regarded as a setting of the scene for his later years as an *ikonsetina* player (and musician) of note.

Mangaliso regularly returned home after his contract work was completed. (He mentioned that although he has lived and worked in various places, Engcobo is still his home). During one of these breaks he married his wife, Nonayine Mangaliso, who hails from Cofimvaba. They were married in 1975 and are still happily married today. The couple have 5 children: Zwelomhlaba, their 21 year old son, Nombonelelo, their married daughter, Nondiyephi, a 15 year old girl, Thozamile, a boy of 7 and Yalezwa, a girl of 4/5. Nombonele has her own daughter called Akhona. Mangaliso is considerably older than his wife and has known her since she was a toddler. He told me rather shyly that he saw Nonayine for the first time when she was very young and liked her immediately. Mangaliso consequently watched her grow to maturity and when she was old enough to be married, married her. In fact Mangaliso told me he

proposed to Nonayine Mangaliso in the following way: when she was fully-grown, he simply told her he would love her to be his wife, and that was that.

Nonayine Mangaliso and their 5 children all live in the Eastern Cape, where she works in the plantation in Sentube. (Mangaliso was not sure regarding the exact nature of her work, but mentioned that Nonayine Mangaliso also travels with the fire brigade engines). Zwelomhlaba Mangaliso originally came to Cape Town to become a minibus taxi driver, but decided to return home after the taxi violence erupted in 1996 and with the exception of the married daughter Nombonelelo, the other children are still attending school.

Although it is not easy living so far away, due to the violence, poor living conditions and lack of social education in the townships, Mangaliso felt it was a better option to leave his family behind in Eastern Cape. He does not like city life because of the suffering people have to endure. As a result of unemployment people lack the money and resources to provide for themselves and are forced into the streets to beg. Knifings, fights and gun attacks are also commonplace in township streets today making it dangerous to move about. In addition crime and violence is creating a fear barrier between people and according to Mangaliso, results in city children lacking the type of social education and support they need to live good purposeful lives. Mangaliso thus strongly believes that the city is destroying family life – the family ties are no longer as strong as they used to be; neither is the family support because a more Westernised lifestyle has been adopted. He was not prepared to let his children grow and mature in this manner, so a separation was inevitable.

Mangaliso continued by explaining that tribal life among the Xhosa-speaking peoples used to be very structured. Everyone had specific tasks and when these were done it was time to discuss the days' events, the family's well being, sing songs, tell stories and so forth. The children thus grew up in a nurturing, supportive and caring environment where their upbringing was in the hands of their parents, grandparents and the village. The children growing up in the cities are no longer exposed to this type of existence. The township inhabitants do not live in specific clan related areas either. In other words the tribal structures that kept the societies in check during centuries past are no longer that strong and operative in today's urbanised society (Botha 1997). Thus children are no longer learning important lessons that will help them live their life correctly, like respect, learning to talk to the elders and sorting out problems. Mangaliso regards this support and education as integral to a child's upbringing and the sole responsibility of the parents. He is therefore concerned about the way the youth of today are growing up, especially those living in the cities. This coupled with the poor living conditions results in the (poorer) youths becoming more and more detribalised, disrespectful, ill-mannered, depressed and often turn to a life of crime and begging. For many Africans life in the townships is thus one of pain and misery. Mangaliso is adamant that the absence of the support and education coupled to the disintegration of family and tribal life, as he knew it, has caused many problems because it lead to misbehaviour, especially among the youth. Mangaliso mentioned that looking back now, he could see how happy his childhood had been because everything he wanted or needed was available. He would never have believed there would be so much suffering and pain in his later years.

Whenever Mangaliso returns to the Eastern Cape he makes a concerted effort to play an active role in educating all the children. He assembles all the three to sixteen year olds and then shows them how to sing and dance and talks to them about social concerns. Mangaliso always aims to convey his message through his teachings, stories and the words of his songs and by simply singing and dancing together. Mangaliso once told me proudly that the minute he begins playing his *ikonsetina* the children begin to sing and dance and clap.

Today Mangaliso is a proficient composer and player and performs with Amampondo, his own group, his children, as well as playing solo engagements. Through his collaboration with Amampondo and Dizu Plaatjies, Mangaliso has performed locally, nationally and internationally. One of his highlights was taking part at a festival in Nice, France where he played on his own and was very well received. He thoroughly enjoyed his performance and stay and hoped that similar opportunities would present themselves in the future, especially since it afforded Mangaliso the opportunity to expose and promote foreign audiences to his (Xhosa) style of playing the *ikonsetina*.

Mangaliso and his children are especially enjoyed in the Eastern Cape where they are noted for their skilful singing and dancing. Mangaliso told me proudly that whenever they can't play at a gathering people always ask, "Where is Zadeki and his children because they can do this". Normally Mangaliso plays the *ikonsetina* and sings the solo phrase and his children sing the chorus. The children will frequently dance, clap, and play drums or other instruments (like shakers, whistles and so forth), as

demanded by the occasion. Although the oldest child can play the *ikonsetina*, he normally sings along with the others because he does not have his own instrument yet.

Mangaliso and his group, who do not have a name, play for functions, social gatherings, or just for fun. They were formed by Mangaliso after he had played with Amampondo a number of times, realised that Amampondo was unfamiliar with the songs he knew from Sentube and could not provide the type of responsorial singing he desired. Mangaliso then decided to form his own group consisting of members who knew him and his songs. (The format of their performance is very similar to the format Mangaliso and his children follow). They are quite popular and play mostly in and around the Cape Town area, coming together to play whenever they are needed. Since the members are scattered all over the townships they simply pass the message on from one member to another when they wish to meet to discuss issues pertaining to the group, perform or play for enjoyment. They also rely on word of mouth for invitations, obtaining all the relevant details and transport. Mangaliso mentioned that this was a tedious process and gave rise to misunderstandings amongst the members and had even resulted in a missed opportunity, as well as a performance without a member. The group's performances are furthermore subject to invitations because they only play at social gatherings if they have been invited. Missing an opportunity can be disastrous since they frequently have a chance to earn a little money – the host levies an entrance fee that pays the performers - and regular performances lead to further bookings. Mangaliso explained that this principle now applies to performances in the Eastern Cape as well.

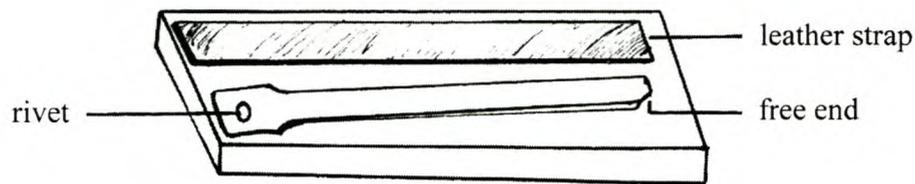
Mangaliso never went to school and is barely literate. He also speaks very little English. While staying in town he tried to learn to speak English more fluently and liked mentioning words and phrases in our interviews, he also expressed an urge to become more literate. Up until his return to the Eastern Cape, Mangaliso used to live in the informal settlement of Nyanga East and worked for a construction firm in Cape Town.

2.2 The *Ikonsetina*

2.2.1 Introduction and Modification

According to Romani and Beynon (1980: 625), the concertina is defined as follows:

“A portable instrument of the reed organ family. It has two hexagonal casings connected by bellows, each casing containing a small button keyboard, played by the left and right hand respectively held in position by thumb- or hand-straps, which operates a spring palette mechanism to allow the air to actuate the free reeds set around the edges of the hexagon on outward or inward movement of the bellows.”

Diagram Depicting the Reeds of the *Ikonsetina*:

When the performer depresses the buttons on the keyboard, the air valve opens to let the air supply through. The air supply then moves over the free reeds (that are either brass or steel strips) and they begin to vibrate, producing the characteristic sound of the instrument. The diagram above demonstrates this process: The reeds only vibrate when the wind supply travels over them from one direction, i.e. fixed to free end. As the air passes over the reed it sets the reed in motion, which produces the sound. The sound then escapes via the cavity below the reed. A second reed, tuned to the same pitch as the one above it, is attached to the underside of the block in reverse position. This second reed is set in motion when the air supply travels from the opposite direction. Lastly, every single reed has a hinged flap that closes off the reed cavity from underneath, preventing any air from escaping while the reed on the reverse side is vibrating. This ensures that only the chosen note(s) are heard (Visser 1999).

The first concertina developed in 1825 was little more than a “mouth organ with free reeds governed by a small button keyboard”, but by 1844 the concertina had undergone several improvements and possessed a strong tone and chromatic range entirely governed by the performer (Romani and Beynon 1980: 625). Today there are

two kinds of concertina commonly found, namely the English and German models (Romani and Beynon 1980: 625).

Mangaliso plays on a German model, called *boerekonsertina* in South Africa. This particular type produces two different diatonic notes when the instrument is moved in and out respectively. As far as I could determine, Mangaliso's particular model is a 40-note instrument with two rows of 5 buttons each attached to the Left hand and Right hand board (c.f. diagram below). This particular diagram is in the key of G and D major, but other key combinations available are D and A major and E^b and B major (the B^b is replaced by a B on the row).

Diagram representing the note distribution on the fingerboard:

LEFT HAND

ROW 1 (TOP)

IN G D G B D
-----1-----2-----3-----4-----5-

OUT D F# A C E

ROW 2 (BOTTOM)

IN D A D F# A
-----1-----2-----3-----4-----5-

OUT A C# E G B

RIGHT HAND

ROW 1 (TOP)

IN G B D G B
 -----1-----2-----3-----4-----5--
 OUT F# A C E F#

ROW 2 (BOTTOM)

IN D F# A D F#
 -----1-----2-----3-----4-----5-
 OUT C# E G B C#

(Diagram courtesy of Marais Visser 1999)

According to Botha (1997), Africans were able to obtain an *ikonsetina* from the mine shops- and traders (also called “Jew shops”) fairly easily and consequently people living in the urbanised (mining) areas mostly played it. It appears that Xhosa and Zulu dancing was accompanied by the *ikonsetina* in the mine compounds as early as the 1920s and 1930s (Clegg 180: 3). Blacking (1980: 201) also mentions this and elaborates that the songs played on the *ikonsetina* actually served to encourage the dancers. Clegg (1980: 3) comments that the tradition which developed was born out of “acculturation”, since the migrants who left their rural homes for the city were exposed to new ideas in the townships. This meant that the performers generally played in the style prevalent in the townships current at the time, but still adhered to the general (musical) traits of their nation. Mangaliso explained that a listener would immediately know if a composer were either a member of the Zulu, Sotho or Xhosa

nation, since each one has a particular song style that can be distinguished regardless of the type of instrument. Mangaliso further explained that it was mostly the rhythm and tempo of the songs played on the *ikonsetina* that revealed the identity of the composer. Since the performers tried to maintain as much of their particular style as possible, they consequently started effecting structural changes to ensure rhythmical and melodic similarities. According to Clegg (1980: 3) performers from Ndwedwe were the first to introduce structural changes. They began playing songs in the pentatonic mode that necessitated changing the “buttons” around and ultimately changed the way the instrument is played. Today, these changes are made automatically by every player when a new instrument is purchased. In fact, the modification has become imperative for playing Black African songs nowadays because it has become impossible to play said songs without effecting the structural changes.

Mangaliso explained that the “reconstruction” is a long and intricate procedure and can take as long as 8 to 12 hours, depending on the condition of the instrument. These changes naturally effect the sound of the *ikonsetina* and therefore Mangaliso is forced to play in between the adjustments so that he can hear if the desired sound has been achieved. He described it to me in the following way:

“I strip and tone down the harmonicas inside. I open up the harmonicas and tune them inside. What happens is I open the ikonsetina and those harmonicas inside, they have a little platelet which I take out and turn them over and paste them down with glue. I do this to all of them and then listen if this is exactly the sound I want”

(Personal interview with Mangaliso, 31 August 1996).

After Mangaliso obtained his current *ikonsetina* he again made the necessary alterations. When I asked him what was done this time round, he explained it as follows:

“What I did was to strip the whole ikonsetina. I opened it up and inside there are some “flappies”, the ones that give the nice Xhosa sound. I changed them, put them over, sharpened some other parts so it would conform to my sound. It took me the whole Saturday. I started early in the morning (08h00) till the afternoon. I opened it up and stripped it. Inside the main frame, it is where the sound comes from, it looks like a piano” (Personal interview with Mangaliso, 7 December 1996).

I was unable to obtain more information from Mangaliso but further inquiries from a (European) concertina repairer shed some light on the subject. Any modification made to the instrument immediately impacts upon its pitch, but there are only certain changes that can be made because of the (original) structure of the instrument. The most common change is to file the reed at either its tip or its base, which either raises or lowers the pitch by a semitone respectively. Since filing at the end makes the reed lighter, it oscillates faster which consequently raises the pitch. By filing at the base or riveted end the reed becomes heavier and causes the oscillation to slow down and lowers the pitch. A diagonal scratch across the face of the reed creates a waver (vibrato) effect, which is used extensively amongst African performers. One may also change the order of the reeds so that the sequence of notes on the row changes (Visser 1999). Once the changes to the mechanism have been made it is nearly impossible to

reverse them and consequently only the performer (who made the changes) will be able to play the instrument.

According to Mangaliso 'African' songs can be played on the *ikonsetina* easily once the necessary structural adjustments have been made. Thereafter, one simply has to listen to the song and play. Even combining with older songs played on older (indigenous) instruments is simple because once you have listened and ascertained the appropriate pitch, you can play along without further ado.

2.2.2 The Social Context

Although the *ikonsetina* is not a traditional indigenous instrument of the Xhosa-speaking people, its social context does not differ from the older indigenous instruments completely. As Rycroft (1980: 199) pointed out, when an individual makes music, it will be for the purpose of self-expression only. Even though an individual may play western instruments, it will still be used as a form of self-expression and self-enjoyment. It is therefore not strange to see Africans walking down the street and playing instruments like the harmonica, *ikonsetina* or guitar (Rycroft 1980: 199). Mangaliso views his playing in the same light and mentioned countless times that he likes to sit and relax and play for the enjoyment thereof.

The *ikonsetina* is not only used a means of self-expression, but is heard at social gatherings and on stage as a part of a group as well. Mangaliso mentioned that he and players like him regularly perform as part of a larger ensemble or existing group. He further mentioned that because of him and his fellow players (who play regularly at

social gatherings), the *ikonsetina* is more widely disseminated and growing in popularity. Today there are three *ikonsetina* players in the Western Cape alone. Mangaliso hastily assured me that although this may seem like a small percentage, for a more “specialised” instrument like the *ikonsetina* it is rather exceptional and proof that the *ikonsetina* is quite popular, as a form of self-expression and for communal music making. The (western) concertina has therefore been adopted and fully assimilated by Black Africans to the point where it can be classified as an indigenous African instrument (when played by Black Africans). Not only does it have an indigenous name, i.e. *ikonsetina*, but it also undergoes extensive structural change before the instrument is deemed playable. Furthermore, the social context of the *ikonsetina* corresponds to the social context of indigenous African instruments as well.

Mangaliso also mentioned that people who play the *ikonsetina* are respected and *ikonsetina* players are mostly older men. He further explained that a young person who plays and owns an *ikonsetina* often faces opposition from the elder players because they will consider him too young and immature to be able to own and play his own instrument. Clegg (Burger 1992: 39) mentions this as well. According to him, the *ikonsetina* has become a symbol of respect in Zulu society and as such is generally linked to old men. He argues that it

“... has actually been incorporated into the traditionalist value system because we see that old men play concertinas, and you will find amakehla, old men sitting back home in their rooms playing songs. One of the reasons for this is that in the farmlands in Weenen, Colenso, Msinga area, as well as further south, the influence of the boere-

orkes, the influence of the whole Afrikaans homestead life, the role of the head of the household who would on Friday night, or Saturday night, haul out his concertina and play for his children, play for everybody, was seen by the farm labourers and became associated with being a umnumzana, being somebody of substance, somebody who could have a home above his head, who could sit down at the end of a week's labour, call his children together and play the concertina for them so that they could dance and sing, and it became associated with this kind of value" (Burger 1992: 39).

The *ikonsetina* has also been used as a tool to create political awareness. Mangaliso mentioned that singing and dancing has always been a form of self-expression. In the past, people used to sing and compose songs as an outlet for their frustrations against the previous political dispensation. These songs not only aroused people's feelings, but also brought them together. At the time various *ikonsetina* songs of a political nature were heard in the mine compounds expressing the player's frustration, anger and dissatisfaction. *Ikonsetina* players, like the other singers, were concerned with evoking emotions and delivering their messages and considered their instrument to be a tool for creating political awareness amongst their fellow inhabitants.

There were also regular *ikonsetina* competitions in the mine compounds where players from all the different nations would come together and compete. The *ikonsetina* players were judged on dexterity, as well as personal style. Mangaliso mentioned that he was regarded as a tough competitor and regularly excelled. These competitions raised the level of the performance and ultimately the level of *ikonsetina* playing per se, making it possible for performers like Mangaliso to develop their potential as musicians fully and take the *ikonsetina* to new heights.

2.2.3 The Role of the Ancestors

Ancestors and dreams have played an important part throughout Mangaliso's life as an *ikonsetina* player. Not only did the instrument first appear to him in a dream, but he also believes he was instructed by his ancestors to play the *ikonsetina*. The ancestors have also guided him with regards to the treatment of his *ikonsetina* and he has made offerings to them in return.

2.2.3.1 The Role of the Ancestors in General for Xhosa-Speaking People

The ancestors are the deceased members of a descendant's kinship grouping who are still actively interested in their descendant's business (Hammond-Tooke 1989: 59). Descent is acknowledged through the paternal line only but ancestors from the mother's side have been known to appear, for example in dreams (Hammond-Tooke 1989: 60, 61-62). These ancestors are generally benevolent and maintain a constant presence, following the descendant wherever he chooses to go. When they wish to make themselves and their wishes known, the ancestor(s) may appear in a dream and demand sacrifice (Hammond-Tooke 1989: 61).

2.2.3.2 The Role of the Ancestors in Maxanjana Mangaliso's Life as *Ikonsetina* Player

Mangaliso became acquainted with the *ikonsetina* for the first time at the age of 17 when the instrument appeared to him in a dream. The next morning when he asked his mother what he had dreamt of she kept silent and three weeks later, when he dreamt the same dream, his mother again declined to answer. It was only after he arrived in Johannesburg and saw one for the first time that Mangaliso discovered he had dreamt of an *ikonsetina*.

The next appearance was shortly after Mangaliso purchased his first *ikonsetina*. That night while he was sleeping, Mangaliso saw his own *ikonsetina* being played by an old man, but he noticed it had holes on all four corners of the folds in the bellows. Mangaliso listened to the tune the man was playing and when he awoke from his dream, went outside and played it on his *ikonsetina* in the outhouse. Mangaliso tried very hard to discover the identity of his ancestor but was unsuccessful because none of his family could identify the old man. As a result of his dreams, Mangaliso mentioned that he not only started playing the *ikonsetina* because he liked the instrument, but also believes very firmly that his ancestors actually instructed, even forced him to play.

As mentioned, when I started working with Mangaliso, his *ikonsetina* was already quite old and he had started searching for a replacement. Since I had previously been acquainted with an Afrikaans-speaking concertina player, I felt I might be able to assist Mangaliso in his search and offered to help him look for a new instrument. On

the night of 12th September 1996 Mangaliso had another dream. This time his ancestors informed him that the instrument he was going to receive could not be played at a gathering of any kind, but that Mangaliso was only permitted to focus on what he was currently doing. The ancestors also explained that the instrument was not his, but belonged to his great grandfather and consequently he had to look after it very carefully. I had not obtained an *ikonsetina* yet, so Lungile Plaatjies and Mangaliso told me to hasten my search to prevent any misfortune happening to me.

Besides these three appearances, Mangaliso mentioned that his ancestors had made their presence felt on two more occasions. The one occasion Mangaliso was instructed to make traditional beer and slaughter an animal for them and announce his name. The other occasion the ancestors appeared to his sister and instructed Mangaliso again to make an offering of traditional beer and slaughter an animal. Thereafter the ancestors did not appear until the dream of 12 September 1996. When I asked Mangaliso if he had made an offering after he received his *ikonsetina* in 1997, he answered that he could only do so in the Eastern Cape because that was the home of his ancestors.

The ancestors have therefore been very closely involved with Mangaliso's life as *ikonsetina* player: They were the first to introduce him to the instrument and consequently responsible for his awakening as musician, demanded sacrifice at various times and furthermore gave explicit instructions regarding the treatment, care and use of his latest instrument. This ancestor involvement has leant seriousness to Mangaliso's *ikonsetina* playing and his development as musician because a degree of urgency was added, since the ancestor's wishes have to be obeyed to prevent any

misfortune befalling the descendant. Although Mangaliso personally strove to become a good musician, the ancestor involvement meant that he could not waver from the path he chose to take as musician. This is especially true after the explicit instructions given in the dream of 12 September 1996.

Mangaliso mentioned that although his ancestors never influenced nor intervened in his actual composing and performance since the ancestor played for him in the dream, they have nonetheless played a very definitive role. By being the first to introduce him to the *ikonsetina*, instructing him to play, as well as instructing him regarding the care and use of his instrument, the ancestors set him on his course as *ikonsetina* player and ultimately moulded him to become the renowned musician he is today. However, these influences have been strictly non-musical since they have left him alone regarding his actual songs and musical style. Mangaliso assured me that all his songs are his own compositions (unless particularly borrowed from somebody else) and not the product of the ancestor(s).

2.2.4 The Future of the *Ikonsentina*

Mangaliso is very positive about the future of the *ikonsetina* because he believes that its dissemination and popularity has increased since it was first introduced. He feels this is due to the efforts of *ikonsetina* players like himself who have worked hard at improving their skill, as well as the fact that the older songs fit readily on the *ikonsetina*.³⁰ Mangaliso also believes that the effects of urbanisation and modern life have helped promote the instrument. Previously *ikonsetina* playing was restricted to

³⁰ What Maxanjana Mangaliso is referring to is the following: because of the way the instrument is played, characteristic patterns of traditional harmony and tonality can be produced on the *ikonsetina*

mining areas, but as these players moved elsewhere in search of work and took their instruments with them, playing became more widespread. Mangaliso also mentioned that he (and other players like him) continued developing their skill after they left the mining industry, which in turn increased their popularity as composers and players. As their fame spread and they were invited to play at gatherings and so forth, more people got to hear an *ikonsetina* performance of a high standard and Mangaliso therefore feels that in this way he and his fellow players helped contribute towards its development and popularity.

Mangaliso feels he still has a role to play in this regard, especially now that African music is currently popular worldwide. Through his travels abroad, he has been able to expose foreign audiences to the songs of the *ikonsetina* as performed and interpreted by African musicians. Since the instrument originated in the European countries and is still alive in the folk music of Europe today, Mangaliso and his style drew a keen interest when he performed in France. He was very happy to be appreciated and enjoyed by new audiences, but also liked promoting this style of *ikonsetina* playing to the rest of the world. Mangaliso therefore decided to pursue this course more extensively, as long the possibilities presented themselves. He would also try and create more opportunities to disseminate the *ikonsetina* locally.

For these reasons, Mangaliso believes that the *ikonsetina* will not disappear from the scene totally. Since it is a Western instrument, it will always be available and now that it has moved into the larger folk music scene, due to overseas travels and compact disc recordings, it is highly unlikely that the *ikonsetina* will disappear. Also, as the

readily and easily. Research by Hansen (1980) endorses this fact.

level of playing is improving and more opportunities are presenting themselves to players of note, the *ikonsetina* will definitely survive as long as there are people who can afford to buy one, since the interest is there and currently increasing. Mangaliso did however mention that the *ikonsetina* would never become as widely played as other Western instruments gaining in popularity because new instruments are very expensive and second hand ones are not that easy to come by. He is therefore happy to be able to continue playing for as long as he can and in this way keep promoting the songs of the *ikonsetina*.

Chapter 3 Mantombi Matotiyana and Maxanjana Mangaliso: Contemporary African Musicians

This chapter, which is presented in two sections, deals with Mantombi Matotiyana and Maxanjana Mangaliso as musicians. The first section looks at the role the songs play in their lives, their actual compositional process, as well as the approach, attitudes, aims and ideals they hold towards their art. The data has been assembled from Matotiyana and Mangaliso's personal accounts, but secondary sources are also included to establish where they conform to other African musicians and where they depart. The second section looks at both informants as "composers". It attempts to describe and ultimately classify and define them according to what they do and how they do it, including the approach and attitudes they hold, as well as any social and cultural changes that have impacted upon them. By drawing from the personal accounts of Matotiyana and Mangaliso, as well as other sources, it is hoped that as accurate a definition as possible has been found that best suits and describes them, their particular set of circumstances and methods.

3.1 The Songs, Compositional Process, Approach, Aims and Ideals of Mantombi Matotiyana and Maxanjana Mangaliso

Matotiyana, who loves playing and regards it as an everyday activity, started composing when still a pre-teen youngster. She found composing came easily and naturally to her and today Matotiyana's songs are such an integral part of her

existence that she cannot imagine life without them. Mangaliso too considers his songs to be one of the most important and intrinsic parts of his daily existence. Although he only started composing seriously in his very late teens, Mangaliso could compose quickly and easily and his songs soon became an important part of his life. Today he composes a new song very quickly because the whole process of composing a new song is spontaneous, automatic and natural. Both musicians furthermore regard their entire compositional process as uplifting and feel that their art helped them cope with the many difficulties they had to face, and still do.

Both musicians compose easily. According to Matotiyana, this is because children are exposed to music from birth in her culture and as they grow older, the songs are assimilated fully and the children begin to compose as well – a trait that is common to Africa as a whole. Since the children learn through social experience, exposure to musical situations and participation in Africa is extremely important (Nketia 1974: 58 – 59). The introduction and “training” starts right from birth when the mother sings to the child, rocking him to the songs which creates an awareness of movement and rhythm. As soon as the child is old enough, he starts joining in the singing and tapping of the song’s rhythm. (The latter normally takes place when he has sufficient control over his arm (Nketia 1974: 60).) Further development takes place through stories and games that incorporate songs (Nketia 1974: 60). In other words, the child “learns to sing in the style of his culture, like he learns to speak the language” (Nketia 1974: 60). The learning process is further enhanced by the child’s exposure to “adult” music when he accompanies his mother to ceremonies, rites, traditional dance arenas and so forth. The mothers generally dance with the babies on their backs, but as soon as the child is old enough, he will take part in the dance himself (Nketia 1974: 60).

By the time the child reaches adolescence, he can participate fully in all aspects of making music (Nketia 1974: 60). The process whereby the individual acquires his musical knowledge therefore takes place in stages over many years with his musical experience being widened by the activities he partakes in, as well as the social group he gets absorbed into (Nketia 1974: 59 – 60). Since music is an integral part of life, everyone thus has the opportunity to become versed in his or her musical culture, where the informal “education” aims to create active musical participants, as well as integrating all members into the culture (Omíbfyí-Obidike 1992: 29). Consequently, composing is viewed as a natural and automatic process, even a spontaneous phenomenon. Matotiyana also mentioned that all people are believed to be musical and since we are inspired by what we see, experience and think of, anybody can write a song. (This does not mean that every composer and song will be acknowledged as good or successful). Lastly, it should be mentioned that because Africans believe everyone is musical, they do not embark on a formal or systematic approach regarding musical training – all that is needed is “natural endowment” and the ability to develop on your own (Nketia 1974: 58).

According to Matotiyana, anything can give rise to a song, or is a song per se: nature, events, emotions, thoughts, experiences and way of living. Here the lyrics describe the event, underlying emotion or lesson to be learnt. For example, if a gathering has taken place over the weekend Matotiyana will remember the event and begin composing songs about it. Often these songs will remind her of something else and be incorporated into the song, or used as material for another one. This too is common to African music. Bebey in fact writes that

“...The objective of African music is not necessarily to produce sounds agreeable to the ear, but to translate everyday experiences into living sound...Any individual who has the urge to make his voice heard is given the liberty to do so, singing is not a specialized affair. Anyone can sing, and, in practice, everyone does” (Brown 1992: 130).

According to Matotiyana remembering the songs is also seen as a natural process: if you are asked to play, you simply think about the song and as it comes into your head, you play it. Matotiyana further explained that since the songs play an integral role in her daily existence, everyday events and circumstances become the subject matter of her songs and in this way her life becomes a part of the songs and vice versa. She therefore believes a song comes from within a person who releases his emotion and understanding of a situation or story through his mouth. According to Nketia (1974: 189) this explains why Africans regard the song as a “form of speech utterance”. In other words, the song’s ability to communicate personal and social experiences makes it a powerful form of expression. Songs therefore centre around matters of concern, common interest, events, everyday life, customs, beliefs, history and tradition, i.e. covering the full scope from cradle songs to songs associated with certain rites and ceremonies (Nketia 1974: 189).

Mangaliso’s songs are also based on the surroundings. He explained that his songs, like African songs, speak of a specific event, occurrence or situation. In other words, if a sad event like a mishap has occurred somewhere around the township, the song is based on that, or if a wedding has taken place the song will be about the wedding. Mangaliso also explained that if he is happy, he is compelled to compose a cheerful

song that cheers him and when he is sad, the song must be in line with his sadness because he only composes according to the present circumstance and its emotion. Mangaliso furthermore believes his songs represent history because they reflect his life story, clan and ancestral history, as well as refer to past events. He explained that the songs are therefore a reminder of your life. When you play them, you remind yourself of the life back at home: the good or the bad, the sufferings and happiness, especially the things you experienced as a child. Singing about it therefore transports you once again to those times and fills you with longing. In this way, the songs

“...serve as depositories of information on African society and their way of life, as records of their histories, beliefs and values” (Nketia 1974: 204).

Mangaliso however stressed that the songs he performs are a combination of his own compositions, as well as songs copied or borrowed from others, to which he has added an *ikonsetina* part. He explained that when he was a youngster he regularly listened to the gramophone, copied all the songs he heard and then sang them – some he still sings today. But after he obtained his first *ikonsetina*, which he viewed as his gramophone, Mangaliso told himself that he would now “sing” on it. Although he played musical instruments before he changed to the *ikonsetina*, Mangaliso only started composing in earnest when he obtained his first *ikonsetina*.

When Mangaliso composes a new song, he first configures the words, which are a reflection of his current mood and state of mind, and then he composes the melody and *ikonsetina* part. If Mangaliso is angry or upset, he calms down first and then starts composing because he explained that he generally composes when he has been

hurt, saddened, or angered or when he is happy and having a good time. By composing his words and melody separately, Mangaliso appears to depart from the norm because most (traditional) African composers tend to work on both simultaneously (Turkson 1992: 74).³¹

According to Mangaliso the solo phrase and chorus is composed automatically and instinctively. He believes that any African living in Africa could compose and sing it provided he had been exposed to his roots, since the songs are so similar in style. Therefore, any person would be able to compose a song or join in the singing. But, Mangaliso added, this does not imply that he would automatically be a composer of note.

Despite being able to compose quickly, Mangaliso was very adamant that he is extremely particular about the quality of his finished product and works continually at a new song until he is entirely happy with it. He considers the art of composing to be a significant synthesis between singing and *ikonsetina* playing where he, as composer, has to find a way of combining the two elements smoothly. Since he views the interplay taking place between the two components as a dialogue with both constituting the song, Mangaliso feels it is imperative that there may not be any gaps in the piece. Mangaliso explained that this is not merely a question of musical skill, but technical mastery also plays a vital role. Since the sound produced on the *ikonsetina* relies on a constant air supply, the musician must know when to expand

³¹ The Ghanaian composer, philosopher and teacher Ephraim Amu mentioned the following in this regard: “I was once asked whether in writing my songs the words came first or the melody. I replied: I don’t know. It is my practice to work (on) both words and tune together...” (Turkson 1992: 74).

and contract his instrument to ensure a continued air supply. This movement has to be incorporated in the song because it affects the notes, since different notes of the diatonic scale are sounded when the bellows expand and contract.

Mangaliso also explained that when he plays a song he automatically hears the chorus in his head. Even if he performs on his own, he still “hears” the whole song, as if there is a group singing it, and consequently always conceptualises his part as part of a greater whole. Mangaliso furthermore considers his voice to be the source of strength that enables him to play and excel when performing.

Whereas Mangaliso is happy to compose a song long after an event has taken place, Matotiyana explained that she cannot wait to start composing because she likes the process to take place as the event is unfolding³². She reiterated that the melodies are created on the spot (“they just come”) and the words configured as she goes along³³. When composing for her *umrhubhe*, Matotiyana prefers to work in a quiet corner where she first configures the root progression and melodic partials and then tests the new song on the instrument, to ensure a convincing unified whole. Since the “vocalisation” of a song is related to the tuning of the bowstring, i.e. the amplification of partials for melodic purposes, the tuning must ensure this is at all possible in order for the song to sound good. Although Matotiyana has perfected the song in her head

³² I asked Matotiyana if she had composed any songs about our Saturday morning interviews. She told me she had not because the song must be created here and now – it cannot be composed later.

³³ Lungile Plaatjies (the go-between) drew the following comparison to further illustrate the point:

“If one watches a group of marimba players, you will notice that they simply sit down behind their instruments and start – the music grows from there. If you feel flu-ish, the music will be flu-ish and if you feel good, the music will be good.”

(The leader will play the melody and the other members elaborate on their respective instruments. Naturally they interact and deliberate, but the final product remains a work born out of an improvisatory background). The process is no different in the case of Matotiyana’s songs.

before she plays it the aural experience is the most important aspect and consequently left till last. If Matotiyana is not happy with the sound of the new song at this stage, she will continue working at it until she is entirely pleased with the new song.

Matotiyana also feels that her basic approach to her songs has not undergone any changes since she first started composing because her exposure to singing and dancing took place in the Eastern Cape. She explained that her love for her songs and *umrhubhe* were fostered as a young girl growing up in Tsolo and consequently she still prefers to play songs that are stylistically similar to the songs of the Xhosa-speaking people, despite having been exposed to diverse styles during her travels. Matotiyana did mention that other performers might copy her songs and embody them in their own compositions possibly resulting in a new or different style.

Like other players of the musical bow, Matotiyana has a vocal version for many of her bow songs. When I questioned her about this, she mentioned that any song could be played on the *umrhubhe* provided it suits the instrument. She also mentioned that at times she prefers to sing her songs, especially when her *umrhubhe* is not close at hand, or the task she is performing does not permit her to work and play at the same time. Matotiyana further added that when she plays her *umrhubhe* amongst people, they always start singing the words of her songs automatically. I was told “*You just jump on the note and off you go!*” If Matotiyana performs the vocal version only, when at a gathering or amongst friends, she always sings the first (solo) phrase herself and the others join in the complementary response phrases. They will start singing either at the end of the solo or at the beginning of the second phrase, as can be heard

on the cassette recording³⁴. Since Africans hear this type of music from birth they can sing together automatically often adding clapping, stamping of feet and dancing to the complementary response phrase and chorus. Drums or shakers are also regularly incorporated. Enjoyable responsorial singing relies heavily on the interaction between the various performers and their energy and excitement levels because the volume, participation and inclusions of instruments are directly proportional to their intensity and enjoyment. If the singers are enjoying themselves the leader is encouraged to sing even louder or add to the phrases resulting in an enthusiastic, loud and boisterous performance. The body movements, especially of the feet, are never rigid and militaristic but fall in between the beats and clapping, creating a swaying movement.³⁵

According to Nketia (1974: 33)

“...the presence and participation of an audience influence the animation of a performance, the spontaneous selection of music, the range of textual improvisation and other details; and this stimulus to creative activity is welcomed, and even sought, by the performer. A physically present audience, however, is not always necessary... where an audience is present, there is usually not a wide gulf or a clear-cut boundary between them and the performer, except where the nature of the performance requires this...participation differs with respect to performance roles, and the skills and knowledge that individuals playing a given role bring to bear on a performance”

(Nketia 1974: 33, 55).

³⁴ When I asked Lungile Plaatjies how he knew to sing the response, he said it is done instinctively and regards it as being “*in the blood*”.

³⁵ Amla Sarbah, an *adaawe* song poet, mentioned the following regarding movement:

“...Song comes from the human mouth. If you sit down when we are singing it, you will feel prickling under your feet and you (must) get up and dance” (Hampton 1992: 139).

Matotiyana often sings and plays at gatherings and her songs regularly draw lively and spirited participation, which she thoroughly enjoys. Although many join in with singing when she plays her *umrhubhe*, Matotiyana mentioned that more often they become peaceful and passive – taking on the role of an audience – when she plays due to the intimate nature of her bow songs.

The “*jump on the note and off you go*” phenomenon was demonstrated to me during one of our interviews. I asked Matotiyana and Mangaliso if they would show me how the principle works and they readily agreed, deciding that Matotiyana would sing one of her songs and Mangaliso would play the *ikonsetina*. After a very short deliberation, where Matotiyana sang the opening “phrase” so that Mangaliso would know what pitches to play, she started and Mangaliso immediately began playing a chordal accompaniment on the *ikonsetina*. His style stayed exactly the same, but one was left with the distinct impression that Mangaliso was initially following Matotiyana. Especially in the beginning he simply elaborated Matotiyana’s melodic line and only after a couple of phrases did he play more intricate solistic figures on the *ikonsetina*. What I found very interesting was that both parties felt they had followed the style and structure of the song and not the other performer. In other words, both parties had performed the song according to the basic stylistic tenets operating in the songs of the Xhosa-speaking people. Mangaliso was accompanying Matotiyana’s melody by harmonising on *izihlobo* tones in much the same way as the chorus phrase would harmonise with the solo phrase.³⁶ Both Matotiyana and Mangaliso assured me this was the first time they performed the song together, yet it did not sound like an experiment because both parties knew instinctively what to do.

³⁶ *Izihlobo* tones (Eng. companion tones) are the notes sung by the group members accompanying the leader.

Mangaliso explained that he could play any style and therefore combined with other musicians freely and automatically. He merely has to listen to their composition before he can join in such a way that no “gaps” will appear in the song. Mangaliso further explained that by the time the other performers have sung the song, it has already taken shape in his mind and when they restart he simply starts playing because he knows how to work the finger settings and can combine immediately to their satisfaction.

As mentioned by both musicians, anyone can compose a song, but it does not mean that the person will be a good composer, since the various musical elements have to be combined skilfully to ensure a unified whole. Furthermore, the performance itself must also be of a high standard because listeners are always quick to judge a poor performance. The songs are therefore practised until the person is entirely satisfied with the song and his performance thereof. In fact, both informants mentioned that the (good) performance of a song is the most important aspect of the whole process. Nketia (1974: 205) mentions that often the spirit of the performance or character of the occasion is expressed or defined by the music, while the words of the songs are responsible for changes in feeling, mood or thought. It is therefore important that the performance be good. If, however, the listeners feel a song needs improvement, they can make suggestions of a structural nature or simply add to the song themselves (normally in the chorus part). Although these suggestions are mostly done without malice, performers still feel pressurised to perform well. Mangaliso reiterated that in African music the composer consequently does not always have the last say.³⁷ The

³⁷ This can range from the more informal context mentioned above to the very formal context seen amongst the *adaawe* song poets, where the composer never has the last say. Once she has composed a

changes or “add-ons”, which can be instrumental, vocal, humming and/or vocables, are considered part of the structure of the song and are continued until everyone is completely satisfied with the result. In addition, the song may also change when it is played at a social gathering because the people, their numbers and instruments will not always be the same resulting in a different overall sound. Also, the nature of the performance and venue may be such that a different rendition is needed, or the performer may be moved to play the song in a particular way or simply feel like playing a different version of the song on that day.³⁸ The same rule applies when recording at a studio: If the performer/s are unhappy with a recording of a particular song they will introduce certain changes or “add-ons” until everyone is satisfied with the finished product.

Both musicians explained that the process is no different when a song is to be performed by a group. When the song is learnt initially, the composer sings it first and once his fellow performers are familiar with the song, they join in and copy him, adding or making suggestions as they see fit. Thereafter the song is repeated until everyone is satisfied with the performance. Lastly, it should be mentioned that a song is also judged on its own merit. It will be considered successful if it not only sounds good, but is also played for many years, whether the original composer of the song is known or not.

new song, she sings it to the other women who then assist her further with the compositional process, paying special attention to the structure of the text and melody (Hampton 1992: 142).

³⁸ This applies to a public performance as well as playing at home.

Both Matotiyana and Mangaliso regard their songs as being one of the most important positive influences of their lives. Matotiyana experiences her bow songs as uplifting because she feels better the minute she starts playing, especially if she is unwell, sad or depressed. If she is in a good mood, her songs naturally enhance her mood and experience.³⁹ Matotiyana repeatedly told me that she likes to sing and play mainly for the love and enjoyment thereof. She believes music is and should be a “fun” activity and that one sings and plays because you love it. Mangaliso too loves his songs and *ikonsetina* and still believes in singing and playing for enjoyment. He dislikes being without his *ikonsetina* intensely because he feels happy and contented when he can play – even just talking about it brings a smile to his face. Mangaliso consequently starts looking for a new *ikonsetina* as soon as his present instrument starts breaking.

Both musicians therefore disagree with the increasing commercialisation of all music. Matotiyana mentioned that she finds it difficult to charge money for a labour of love and therefore does not sell her *imirhubhe*. If someone is interested in obtaining an *umrhubhe*, Matotiyana will present him or her with a new instrument and the owner is welcome to present a gift to her as a token of their appreciation, provided it is a sincere gift from the heart and not a form of payment.

Matotiyana is extremely adamant about this. When I wanted to buy an instrument from her she became visibly upset and told me the following story. An American wished to purchase one of her instruments for R500 after he saw and heard her play.

³⁹ Lungile Plaatjies added the following in affirmation:

“Music is seen as a joy; where there is music, there is love. People speak through their music. Even if different people with different backgrounds and languages are put together and they start making music, the differences do not matter because they are speaking through music. Music has a positive

When he offered Mantombi the money she burst into tears because she felt he simply wanted to purchase an instrument for aesthetic reasons and was not concerned about the musical or emotional aspects involved. Moreover she explained he was obviously overpaying her, which caused her further embarrassment.

Mangaliso also stressed that although he earns money through his playing and has toured both locally and abroad, he still regards music as a pleasurable activity and likes to play his *ikonsetina* because he enjoys it. (He likes expressing his joy openly and always laughs and smiles when he has played a song particularly dear to him). Mangaliso also does not have a favourite song and in fact likens his songs to the love he has for his children, where each one is loved and appreciated individually yet equally. Mangaliso further explained that his *ikonsetina* has a calming and rejuvenating effect on him and he consequently plays it whenever he is upset or angry because it calms his nerves and revives his spirits. He finds it especially consoling if there is a disruption or a commotion around him, since his singing and playing regularly restores the peace and order. For this reason Mangaliso always reaches for his *ikonsetina* whenever drunks approach him, or enter his house and cause a disturbance: The minute Mangaliso starts playing, the drunks begin singing and dancing and cease being a problem.

Matotiyana and Mangaliso therefore feel that the value system of the younger generation is significantly different from their own. As discussed, they believe that the value of songs lie in their enjoyment and cannot be measured in commercial terms. One therefore sings because it provides personal satisfaction on an emotional

influence, is positive and brings joy and happiness to all who partake, which is seen in the singing, clapping, dancing, and so forth."

level, a realm where money should not even enter into consideration. This view is integral to their existence as musicians and is a belief they would like to engender amongst the new young African performers currently arriving on the scene. Matotiyana mentioned that although she has received payment, whenever she sings or plays she performs from the heart. Consequently the respect and love she has for her song shines through, whether playing at a gathering or on stage overseas. In this way, Matotiyana wishes to bring happiness to other people, but also hopes that her attitude will show that material reward and benefit cannot override emotional and personal joy. Mangaliso agreed with this statement and added that economic benefit is welcome, but should not be the sole reason for playing. The minute this happens, your songs suffer because you cease composing according to your style and feelings, but follow the trends attracting money at the time.

Several themes characterise this section:

Firstly, their songs deal with everyday events, emotions, experiences, situations, way of living, and so forth, both past and present. The life of both informants is therefore reflected in their songs. But the songs become more than that through the process of composing and performing: They become a reflection of Matotiyana and Mangaliso's life as a whole, including the emotions, understanding, insight and experience gleaned along the way, which the songs often afforded the opportunity to arrive at. This could be either through the enjoyment of singing and playing or through the process of composing, where the songs helped them come to an understanding of a situation, event, and so forth, or provided the necessary emotional release. In this way, their songs not only act as a vehicle of personal expression, but also helped them cope with life and still do. This is why both musicians regard their songs as integral to their

daily existence, consider the compositional process as uplifting and stress the positive role their songs play. For Mangaliso, his songs furthermore act as a reminder of his past and fulfil a nostalgic role.

Secondly both informants believe their songs have the ability to bring about change. This may be a direct change in circumstance (Mangaliso playing his *ikonsetina* when the drunks invade his house to restore peace and order, for example) or an emotional change (where singing one of their songs immediately makes them feel better when they are sad). Their songs therefore enable them to alter their circumstances and emotions for the better. Furthermore, both Matotiyana and Mangaliso consider their songs as vehicles of social change. Not only do they use music as a means of instructing the younger generation about life and appropriate behaviour, but they also feel that their attitude and ideals to their art in particular and life in general, as perceived by others when playing, may contribute to the younger generation making good (original) music and living a worthy and purposeful life.

Lastly, the accounts highlight Matotiyana and Mangaliso's character and general attitude. It illustrates how their view of life and music is intricately linked to the extent that

"...African music pervades life...African music is tantamount to enactment of life, that is, without music there cannot be life" (Mthethwa 1987: 31, 28).

In this way their social reality (experienced on a day to day basis) is reflected in their songs and affords them the opportunity to express their views, attitudes and emotions either directly in the song texts, or indirectly through their persona when performing.

3.2 Musician, composer-performer or composer?

Both informants have composed and performed extensively and their songs are well known, but what should they be classified as? Should one refer to them as musicians, composer-performers or composers?

According to Matotiyana and Mangaliso, the current definition of a good composer amongst fellow Africans is the following: He must be able to combine the various musical elements skilfully to ensure a unified whole, as well as perform his songs well. The songs must naturally be of a very high standard and the composer's skill and reputation should also be widely acknowledged. Furthermore, a good memory and concentration is essential because it ensures that the performer will stay in time and tune, as well as enter at the appropriate place (Nketia 1974: 55). A good and pleasing voice is also important (Nketia 1974: 54). The musicians must also be able to improvise, making suitable references to a situation then and there (Nketia 1974: 56). This ability is actually regarded as a reflection of the musician's "alertness or presence of mind" (Nketia 1974: 56). Furthermore, the musician must be sensitive to a current situation, or at least show an awareness thereof. He must also not be shy when performing because he is playing in public and involved in "dramatic communication" (Nketia 1974: 56). Other important qualities include being able to act, express and convey his musical feeling to the audience, articulate the beat through body movement, as well as involving the audience at suitable times and places in the song (Nketia 1974: 56). Even a solo performance, without any backing, must be able to inspire the listeners to sing along in the chorus every now and then (Nketia 1974: 56). It therefore takes a lot of time and effort to reach this level. Mangaliso explained

that since a person's reputation grows by word of mouth, becoming well known takes patience, dedication and skill and that people who have attained this can be justly proud. He mentioned that once one receives an invitation to play at a gathering, you are heard by a large number of people who get to know you, your (*ikonsetina*) style and songs and if they enjoy the performance they will talk about it and your reputation spreads. Generally performers, who are judged on technical mastery, personal style, type of sound produced, the songs they compose and their voices, are appraised by the people attending social gatherings and later on by audiences and fellow musicians. Mangaliso reiterated that to become well known is therefore quite an achievement.

This definition however pertains to people who do not earn their keep solely through music. Furthermore, both Matotiyana and Mangaliso's point of reference is fundamentally traditional. Not only do they write songs that are more traditional in nature, especially with regards to the song texts and musical style, but also their attitude is traditional. They still believe in making music for enjoyment. Despite performing on stage, both informants also still play their songs (and instruments) in much the same contexts as the songs have always been played, i.e. making music on an individual basis for personal enjoyment or when doing tasks. We are therefore not dealing with a specific title, but rather with a description and as Rycroft (1980: 210) pointed out, "Outstanding composers or performers are admired, but there are no professional musicians."

However, the changes in the social and cultural environment have impacted upon Matotiyana and Mangaliso. To refer to them only as musicians in the "traditional"

sense does not seem entirely accurate. A broader definition is needed that encompasses not only what they do and how they do it, but also includes their approach, attitude and the social and cultural changes that have impacted upon them.

What are these social and cultural changes? What effect have they had upon Matotiyana and Mangaliso? Both informants grew up traditionally. Their introduction to music was therefore within a tribal context, where music making was generally organized as a social event. Public performance took place when everyone from the community came together for recreational activity or simply to enjoy and relax together (Nketia 1974: 21). Although Mangaliso changed to a Western instrument upon leaving the Eastern Cape, his style is more of the older type and he still adheres to the traditional tenets of the Xhosa-speaking people. Matotiyana not only adheres to these older tenets, but also still plays a traditional instrument. When they therefore moved from a rural (and tribal) life to one in the city, many changes took place, both personal and musical. Both informants started adopting a more (Western) urban lifestyle. Their time for making music therefore not only had to fit in around this “new” lifestyle and its schedule, but also impacted upon the music per se. Many of the songs they composed now dealt with the new social reality that they faced living in a city township, like the suffering people have to endure. As Eúbà (1992: 48) mentions, the “life style” and “cultural experience” of the society’s members are always reflected in their song texts. Thus their new urban experiences were accordingly incorporated in their songs. Matotiyana also had the added complication of finding the materials needed to make her *umrhubhe*, as well as dealing with the lack of interest among the youth for her art of playing the musical bow, a reality that saddened her greatly. Furthermore, both found themselves faced

with Western musical values and new performance realities, which in Mangaliso's case included music competitions. They, their songs and instruments consequently had to now operate within new (Western) social contexts. (This was a totally new environment in the case of Matotiyana and her (traditional) *umrhubhe*). By the mid to late nineteen nineties both informants were dealing with compact disc recordings, local, national and international concert tours where they appeared as soloists, as well as playing on centre stage, receiving remuneration for their art and being judged according to Western performance standards.

Although Matotiyana and Mangaliso remained true to their own (musical) style and are still anti-commercialism in music, they did yield to these outside influences to some extent. Matotiyana started adding introductions and formal endings to her bow songs after she began performing on concert stages overseas and Mangaliso tried to co-ordinate his local group more successfully, since they were being paid to perform. He also began working at his musical style and performance in earnest. Due to the national and international exposure, the intimate and informal nature of the *umrhubhe* and its bow songs became public and more "formal" and the *ikonsetina* increased in popularity, despite being an expensive instrument. (Matotiyana, on the other hand, hopes that the interest generated through her performances will keep the *umrhubhe* tradition alive for a while yet). Whether consciously or not, both informants therefore raised the level of their performance and musical style, due to the changes brought about in their new social and cultural environment.

According to the description of an African composer given earlier, Matotiyana and Mangaliso are definite matches. Not only are they recognised locally as being good

composers and performers, but their representation is national and international as well. Matotiyana is furthermore widely recognised and applauded for her songs and skill at playing the *umrhubhe*, and also for her effort. Although most girls stop playing the *umrhubhe* after marrying, people like Matotiyana, who chose to continue playing, are acknowledged for their effort (and mastery). However, both also depart from this definition because they have moved beyond a “good performance” of their compositions. By touring abroad, performing on concert stage and appearing on compact disc, as well as receiving remuneration, they have also become performers in the Western sense – a fact that deserves due recognition. Could one then refer to them as composer-performers?

Hampton (1992) considers composer-performers to be people who compose and perform (their) songs along traditional (*adaawe*) lines, including the emotional expressions and attitudes they hold. The women come together at the end of their usual day to sing their songs, which have been composed and performed in the same way for 200 years. (The composer-performers do not receive any payment either, but earn their keep through “traditional occupational skills” (Hampton 1992: 136.) Although they do maintain ties with Western-trained performers and composers, their performances remain distinct (Hampton 1992: 136). The *adaawe* performers furthermore always perform their songs in the village clearing, i.e. an “informal” gathering as opposed to a performance on stage. Hampton’s definition therefore clearly refers to a “traditional” context, where Western influences and contexts have not played any role and still don’t. To label Matotiyana and Mangaliso as “composer-performers” will therefore not suffice either because the full extent of their social and cultural changes is not taken into account.

According to the *New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, the definition of a composition is:

“Composition (fr. Lat. componere, to put together). The activity of creating a musical work; the work thus created. The term is most often used in opposition to improvisation, implying an activity carried out prior to performance of a work whose features are specified in sufficient detail to retain its essential identity from one performance to another...” (Randel 1996: 182).

It therefore follows that a composer would be the person who creates the musical work in the manner described above. Both informants fit the description with regards to the “activity” that takes place before a work is performed, where the work can be defined according to its sufficiently distinct “features”. This is especially true in the case of Matotiyana, who has added definite introductions and endings to all her bow songs. However, improvisation also plays an important role in their creative process and performance, a feature that is typically African. The *New Harvard Dictionary of Music* in fact mentions that due to the “pervasiveness of improvisation” Africans do not attach as great an importance to the initial process of creating the musical work (Randel 1996: 18). The performance of the work is in fact far more important than the actual process whereby it was originally created (Randel 1996: 18). In addition, most African musicians do not distinguish between improvisation and composition: both are rather combined into one (Randel 1996: 18). Songs are therefore seldomly performed in exactly the same way at each performance; one finds that the performers are actually encouraged to perform different versions of their songs (Randel 1996:

18). Both Matotiyana and Mangaliso operate in this manner, as can be seen from the discussions in section 4.1 and also heard on the cassette recording. In addition both informants do not distinguish between the different versions of their songs, but regard them as being one and the same. They therefore fit the above description of a composer in some respects, but depart in others.

How have (African) scholars and ethnomusicologists defined composers? Could an answer be found here? Eúbà (1992), Mensah (1992), Omíbiyí-Obidike (1992), Turkson (1992), Rycroft (1980), and Wachsmann and Cooke (1980) all label someone who has undergone classical musical training and composes African “art music”, stage music or music for the church as a composer. Although African elements are found in the works, they are still western in conception and form and always performed in concert halls, theatres or churches, never in a tribal context. This description clearly does not fit either Matotiyana or Mangaliso.

It is evident from the above that Matotiyana and Mangaliso appear to operate on a different level. Although they do fit the various categories discussed above, not one single category covers their full (musical) extent, which makes it very difficult to classify them under one single category or title. An alternative definition must therefore still be sought that encompasses all their musical attributes and activities, as far as possible, for them to be valued and evaluated fully.

Several facts have come to light in the above discussions. Firstly, Matotiyana and Mangaliso are “traditionally” Xhosa in their musical style, attitude and approach to their art. Although they have been affected by the changes to their social and cultural

environment (due to Westernisation), this has not altered their basic (African) approach. Secondly, despite retaining the older approach, Matotiyana and Mangaliso are musically active right now. One therefore cannot escape the fact that the changes currently taking place have impacted upon them and continue to do so. As Rice (1994: 13) mentions, “everything that one experiences seems contemporary”. Consequently they are not only “traditional”, but also “contemporary” and will remain so, judging according to the way they have responded to date to the various changes. Lastly, they are not only musicians according to the current definition amongst Africans, but have started becoming “composers” and performers too. However, they do not receive sufficient remuneration to earn their keep solely through their music and neither informant views their art (or performance thereof) in that way. Although Matotiyana and Mangaliso have started becoming performers and are displaying characteristics of a “composer”, they are not such exclusively or fully and since they do not regard themselves as such either, merely raising the issue at this stage seems sufficient. For the purpose of classification, referring to them as “musicians” therefore still appears appropriate. I therefore propose that they are classified and referred to as “contemporary African musicians” because this seems to be the most accurate definition.

Chapter 4 The Bow Songs of Mantombi Matotiyana

Although aspects of form and structure in Xhosa songs have been discussed at length, I have included a brief synopsis to show the formal and structural parallels between the vocal and bow songs of the Xhosa-speaking people.

4.1 Aspects of form and structure in Xhosa songs

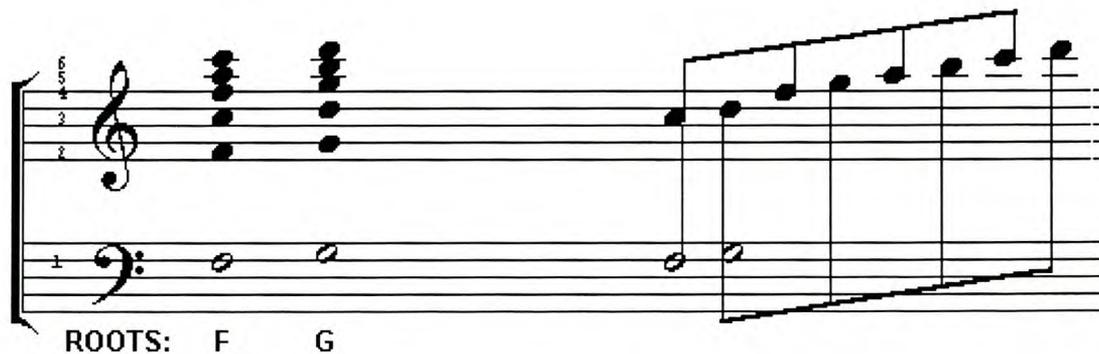
The form of Xhosa songs is cyclic, where a pattern of fixed length is repeated. The strophe (i.e. the cyclic pattern) is the basic structure of all the songs and consists of a pair of complementary phrases that are usually contrasting but musically interdependent. The second phrase (the chorus phrase) answers the first phrase (the solo phrase) thereby establishing an antiphonal relationship between the two, which are musically interdependent.⁴⁰ The pair of complementary phrases furthermore undergoes repetition and variation throughout the song with the variation generally being restricted to the first phrase. The structure can therefore be represented in the following way:



⁴⁰ This solo-chorus form is in fact regarded as a re-enactment of the interplay existing between individuals in communal life (Wachsmann and Cooke 1980: 148).

This structure is observed in the *umrhubhe* where the bow pattern of fundamentals simulates the role of a chorus phrase and the harmonic partials and whistling simulate the role of a solo phrase. The bow pattern is commonly played ostinato and without variation, whereas the harmonic partials and whistled phrases are subject to variation during performance. In this way the solo and chorus phrases of Xhosa songs are present in effect in the bow songs.

The melodies of the older traditional Xhosa songs of the Xhosa-speaking people are based on a hemitonic mode (i.e. with one semitone interval).



It is evident from the diagram that the mode consists of the same notes which are yielded by the roots and partials in Xhosa *umrhubhe* songs (and bow songs generally). The two roots constitute bow tuning, which is 200 cents. When playing a musical bow like the *umrhubhe*, the instrument is held by one end in the left hand, being gripped between thumb and fourth finger, so that the fingers may be used to stop the string. (C.f. plate no. 2). The other end rests against the cheek and chin, in such a way that that end of the string passes across the mouth, the lips being stretched widely and slightly parted. The string is largely clear of the lips and entirely so of the teeth, and is bowed with a friction-stick to make it vibrate (Kirby 1965: 237). (C.f. plate no.3). The technique used by Matotiyana to stop the string is unique in the context of

Xhosa friction bows. Neither Rycroft (1966) nor Hansen (1981) has reported the string stopping by means of pinching between the thumb and index finger. According to them, this string stopping is done with the thumb only. Dargie (1984 and 1988) has however reported that string stopping can be done with fingers other than the thumb. He has seen *umrhubhe* players use the thumb or forefinger for finger stopping.

To produce a melody of partials, the player will alter the size of the mouth and cheek cavity to resonate the chosen harmonic partials. These are obtained from two fundamentals, i.e. the note of the open string and the stopped string, which are a whole tone apart (Rycroft 1969: 2). The two bowed fundamentals and their amplified harmonic partials produce the notes of the Xhosa hexa mode, in which most Xhosa vocal songs are also set.

The principle of shifting tonality dominates all Xhosa songs. Any Xhosa bow song consists of an underlying root progression sequence (of the two fundamentals) and the simultaneous, selective amplification of their partials. These produce “chord” progressions, which provide the tonal-harmonic foundation of the song. These “chords” are therefore the basis of the melodic line and they ‘shift’ from the one tonality to the other through the song, hence the term “shifting tonality”. The main melody of the bow song fluctuates above this harmonic progression to which it is of course tonally related.⁴¹

⁴¹ The two fundamentals have names related to the Xhosa homestead plan. The terms are therefore sociological (Hansen 1980: 683). The lowest tone is called the “at home tone” (*Xh. ekhaya*) and the one immediately above it the “side” or “right house tone” (*nene*). According to Hansen (1980: 683) this may be translated as the tonic and the counter tonic respectively.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that the basic metres of Xhosa songs are based on either duple or triple beats (producing divisive patterns) or a combination of the two, producing additive metrical patterns. Most of the bow songs of Matotiyana demonstrate divisive patterning.

4.2 Transcriptions and Analyses

The songs of Matotiyana are so intricate that the said songs require durational values when transcribing and discussing them. I have therefore used these values in my transcriptions, but recognise that these Western rhythmic symbols reflect the external sounds only.

From the start ethnomusicologists used an adapted form of the notational system of Western art music, as they found that the system in its existing form was inadequate for the purpose of transcribing non-Western music (Nettl 1980: 4). To this end, symbols were generally added to convey phenomena that were either unimportant or non-existent in Western music (Nettl 1980: 4). Blacking (1967: 27) also mentions that the first and foremost concern when doing an analysis is to ensure that the transcription represents the intention of the person playing the song. In my transcriptions, I have tried to achieve this by presenting Matotiyana's songs in the following way:

The number and title of the song follows the same order of appearance on the tape recording. (The counter number of every song is included below the title and its relevant composer, to facilitate the finding thereof on the tape). The Xhosa words and

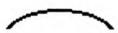
their translations, i.e. the literal meanings, have been written down first with the relevant idea, story, history, meaning and explanation appearing below, as told to me by Matotiyana. I have also included more than one recording for some of the songs, since these examples illuminate a difference in structure or style. In addition, the bow song always appears first because every time I asked Matotiyana for a song, she always played it on her *umrhubhe* and then sang the song.

The transcriptions are extracts from the songs, which present the repetitive and salient features of each song. Some of the songs therefore only represent the strophe, with variations listed below, i.e. only the main phrases and variations on which the structure of the song is built, have been transcribed. However, some songs have been represented more fully. The transcriptions also commence at a point where the beat was established beyond doubt, which means that many of the opening ‘bars’ are not included. Although I have omitted time signatures, I included ‘bar lines’ (which do not imply metrical accents) to orientate the reader and facilitate the reading of the transcription. However, the ‘bar lines’ do not fully cover the staves so that they do not interfere with the cyclic form of the song.

The bow songs have been written over three staves in order that each part – whistled patterns, harmonic partials and root progression – may be identified clearly. Since the whistled phrases often overlap with the bow pattern, the stems and bows connecting the notes are written over the ‘bar lines’ to convey this. The songs have also been transposed from the original pitch to eliminate accidentals, thereby facilitating their reading. For this reason the whistled phrases and harmonic partials are also written an octave below the sounded pitch. The number of repetitions of phrases and patterns is

indicated above the relevant voice in brackets. If only the previous bar was repeated, the repetition appears at the end of the relevant bar, but if a phrase or pattern longer than a bar was repeated, repetition signs with the number of repetitions have been included above the relevant section.

Lastly, the symbols used in the transcriptions, with their relevant explanations and meanings, are included below:



Slur: indicates that Matotiyana played the notes in a ‘legato’ way.



A note of very small duration: a very short soft note found at the end of a slur, but clearly distinguishable as a definite note.



Accent: indicates an accented note.



Glissando: in performance it sounds very similar to a ‘scoop’ – Matotiyana rapidly glides from the one pitch to the next, but also sings notes falling between first and last note.



“Sprechstimme”: indicates that Matotiyana produced an interjection on a note of indefinite pitch.

Example no. 1**Recorded on 15 June 1996 at the College of Music, University of Cape Town****(UCT)****Title:** Mfanandini (*You young man*)**Composer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Tape Counter Number:** 002**Performer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Instrument:** *umrhubhe***Pitch:** present c = original B**Mode:** hexa-based pentatonic mode on roots F and G

3rd (B) of G-root is omitted

Strophe Length: 8 x  ((24))**Tempo:** MM  = 66

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Whistled Phrases". The score is organized into four systems, each consisting of three staves: a top staff for the main melody, a middle staff for "Harmonic Partials", and a bottom staff for the "Root Progression".

- System 1:** The top staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a time signature of 3/4. It features a melodic phrase starting on G^{8va} (marked *8va*), followed by a whole rest, and then a phrase marked "X3". This is followed by another whole rest and a phrase marked "X9". The system concludes with a phrase marked "X4".
- System 2:** The top staff starts with a whole rest, followed by a phrase marked "X4". The middle and bottom staves show corresponding harmonic and root parts.
- System 3:** The top staff contains a continuous melodic line with eighth notes and a fermata at the end. The middle and bottom staves provide harmonic and root support.
- System 4:** The top staff begins with a whole rest, followed by a phrase marked "X4", and ends with a phrase marked "X2".

Throughout the score, the middle and bottom staves provide harmonic and root support for the whistled phrases. The bottom staff consistently uses a bass clef and shows a steady progression of roots. The middle staff uses a treble clef and contains harmonic partials of the whistled notes. The top staff uses a treble clef and contains the whistled phrases themselves.

8va

X3

8va

8va

This system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a *8va* marking above it. It contains a sequence of eighth notes with a '7' (accidental) above each note, followed by a triplet of eighth notes marked 'X3'. The middle staff is in treble clef with a *8va* marking above it and contains a sequence of quarter notes. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a sequence of eighth notes.

8va

8va

This system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a *8va* marking above it and contains a sequence of eighth notes with a '7' (accidental) above each note. The middle staff is in treble clef with a *8va* marking above it and contains a sequence of quarter notes. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a sequence of eighth notes.

8va

8va

This system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a *8va* marking above it and contains a sequence of eighth notes with a '7' (accidental) above each note. The middle staff is in treble clef with a *8va* marking above it and contains a sequence of quarter notes. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a sequence of eighth notes.

8va

X2

8va

This system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a *8va* marking above it and contains a sequence of eighth notes with a '7' (accidental) above each note, followed by a triplet of eighth notes marked 'X2'. The middle staff is in treble clef with a *8va* marking above it and contains a sequence of quarter notes. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a sequence of eighth notes.

8va

X4

8va

8va

X3

PARTIALS

8va

8va

X3

8va

8va

etc.

The structure of this bow song evolves from the repetition and variation of the short basic rhythmic pattern of 6 pulses made up of the two roots (G and F), that constitute the root progression of the song. The G –root is the secondary root or counter tonic of the song and F – root the principal root or tonic. There are two basic motives that vary tonally:



Motive a



Motive b

and provide an ostinato accompaniment to the melodic patterns (i.e. the harmonic partials and whistling) of the song. Motive **a** is present at the beginning of the song and returns briefly before the respective entries of the whistled phrases. (It therefore “announces” the entry of the whistled part). Motive **b**, the dominant root progression, appears throughout the song except at the very beginning. An iambic rhythm, with emphasis on the upbeat, prevails but the general rhythmic intention of the song appears to be $2 \times \text{♪} \cdot$, i.e.



The song opens with a short “introduction”, where Matotiyana establishes the pitch and rhythm of the song, with root progression **a** below the whistled phrase. By the fourth repetition of the 6-pulse root progression, Matotiyana has settled in fully and she introduces the harmonic partials for the first time, which continue throughout the song, even below the whistled phrases. This is possible due to the technique of playing the mouth bow: The performer resonates the selected partials, obtained from the bow string, in her mouth by varying the (mouth) cavity while whistling out of the

side of her mouth. This technique frees the performer to play more than one melodic pattern at a time, which results in a multi-layered polyphonic texture that imitates the role of the chorus phrase and consequently emphasises the communal experience.

Matotiyana shows a predilection for the 3rd partial in this song. The pattern of partials C and D provide a 'melodic' ostinato-like pattern above the root progression and follows its rhythm very closely. This continues until the very end, whereupon the partials assume the 'chorus' role (polyphonic texture) entirely on their own.

Since Matotiyana does not vary the melodic pattern of her partials considerably, melodic independence and variation falls almost exclusively to the whistled phrases. This practice is easily obtained and maintained because the whistled notes do not need to correspond to the bowed roots or their partials. This explains the presence of harmonic intervals of a 2nd, 11th and 7th between the root progression and whistled parts. However, Matotiyana regularly keeps the whistled notes to the tonality prevalent at the time. The whistled phrases also overlap with the bow pattern and harmonic partials throughout the bow song.

The principle of shifting tonality is at work in this bow song. An overall shift of counter tonic (G) to tonic (F) is seen with the falling 2nd interval featuring prominently, often sequentially. The melodic line is generally descending.

Example no. 2**Recorded on 15 June 1996 at the College of Music, UCT****Title:** Mfanandini (*You young man*)**Composer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Tape Counter Number:** 049**Performers: leader:** Mantombi Matotiyana**chorus:** Lungile Plaatjies**Instrument:** voice**Pitch:** present c = original e**Mode:** hexa-based pentatonic mode on roots C and D3rd (F#) of D-root is omitted**Strophe Length:** (4 x \bullet) x2 ((24))**Tempo:** MM \bullet = 126**Text: Leader:**

<i>He Mfanandini</i>	(<i>Hi young man</i>)	x4
<i>Yho-huy-yo-yo-ho</i>	(<i>Vocables</i>) ⁴²	x2
<i>Yho-huy-yo-he-he</i>	(<i>Vocables</i>)	
<i>Hm he-hm</i>	(<i>Humming</i>)	
<i>He-hm he-hm</i>	(<i>Humming</i>)	x3
<i>He Mfanandini</i>	(<i>Hi young man</i>)	x4

⁴² Non-lexical syllables (vocables), which cannot be translated precisely, are frequently used in songs. Characteristic ones included in my transcriptions are *he-ma*, *hi*, and *yhe-he*. However, the song text may be interspersed with interjections as well, acting mostly in the same way as the non-lexical syllables although they are lexical items. The purpose of these interjections is to reinforce an expressed sentiment, rather than conveying a literal meaning (Joseph 1987: 187). Often some of these syllables (which I have called vocables) can be linked to segments of meaningful words in a song's text.

<i>Lo Mfanandini</i>	<i>(This young man)</i>	x3
<i>———— he-he</i>	<i>(Unclear Vocables)</i>	x2
<i>Hm-m-m-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	
<i>He-hm he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x7
<i>He Mfanandini</i>	<i>(Hi young man)</i>	x5
<i>Yho-huy-yo-yo-ho</i>	<i>(Vocables)</i>	x3
<i>'mfo lo</i>	<i>(That young man)</i>	x8
<i>'mfo lo hm</i>	<i>(That young man, humming)</i>	
<i>He-hm he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x4
<i>He Mfanandini</i>	<i>(Hi young man)</i>	x2
<i>Yho-Huy</i>	<i>(Vocables)</i>	
<i>Hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x9
<i>'mfo lo</i>	<i>(That young man)</i>	
<i>Yho-huy-yo</i>	<i>(Vocables)</i>	
<i>'mfo lo</i>	<i>(That young man)</i>	x7
<i>He-hm he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x4

Chorus:

<i>He-he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x6
<i>He-hm he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x3
<i>He-he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x9
<i>Hm hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	
<i>He-hm he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x7
<i>He-he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x17
<i>He-hm he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x2
<i>He-he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x3
<i>He-hm he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x5
<i>He-he-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x13
<i>He-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x6

He mfa- nan-di- ni He mfa- nan-di- ni He mfa- nan-di- ni

LEADER

BEATS x x x x

He- he- hm He- he-

CHORUS

Yho- huy-yo-yo- ho Yho- huy-yo he- he Hm He- hm

hm He- he- hm He- he- hm He- hm

He- hm He- hm

He- hm He- hm

He mfa- nan- di- ni (Solo Variant Number 1)

LEADER

BEATS x↓ x↓ x↓ x↓

hm He- he

CHORUS

He- hm He- hm (Solo Variant Number 2)

He- hm He- hm

Matotiyana's Textual Explanation: *When girls go to fetch water from the fountain and normally when young men see the girls, they know that's the time for meeting the girls. The young men are not allowed to be alone with the girls in front of the elders, so they go to the fountain where the girls are.*

The song was composed when Matotiyana was an adolescent and recalls her first tentative romantic encounters. She always enjoyed singing it and used to get a twinkle in her eye when she performed the song because it reminded her of those early happy romantic rendezvous.

The structure of the song arises from the repetition of the opening phrase, a rhythmic-melodic motive sung by the leader, that is harmonised by the chorus using izihlobo tones (companion tones) selected from the overtone chords generated by the two roots C and D. The chorus effectively sings a variation on the last half of the leader's phrase, moving in parallel motion to the melody of the leader. Symmetry therefore plays an important role in the piece – the solo and chorus phrases sing very similar rhythms – due to the limited amount of off-beat phrasing between the leader and chorus.

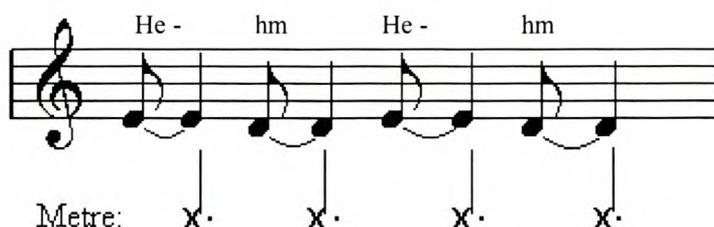
There are only two variations in the solo (leader's) phrase:

1. Melodic Variation

The image shows a musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The melody consists of eight notes: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4, and F4. The lyrics 'He mfa - nan - di - ni' are written above the notes. Below the staff, the word 'Metre:' is followed by four vertical lines, each ending in an 'x' with a dot (x·), indicating a specific rhythmic pattern for each note.

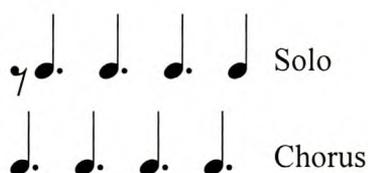
The only function is to provide melodic interest, i.e. keep the song interesting for the listener and performer.

2. Melodic and Rhythmic Variation



Variation 2 fulfils the same function, but provides melodic and rhythmic interest.

There is also a variation in the rhythm of the emphatic humming, which serves to provide melodic and rhythmic interest through variation. The two singers combine the pattern in the following way:



Although the beat is not physically expressed by clapping (it is physiologically generated), the triple beat division is enforced by the chorus phrase that enters and vocalises on the beat. The soloist's phrase off-beats to the beat of the song (termed "near miss relationship"), but comes together for the last two beats. The metre is therefore established at the end of the strophe.

Once again there is a descending melodic line constructed according to the principle of shifting tonality. The overall tendency is from tonic to counter tonic with the

chorus continuing onto the first triple beat of the soloist's next phrase. The falling 2nd interval features strongly and is treated sequentially between the opening of the solo and chorus phrase.

Mfanandini is very similar to the *indlamu*⁴³ songs of the Bhaca, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Xesibe and Hlubi clusters of the Xhosa-speaking peoples. (Although Matotiyana did not expressly mention this herself, the resemblance is so close that it merits mentioning). Firstly the characteristic rendition and tempo of the song immediately draws the listener's attention to the similarity, but other similarities include the 4 + 4 ♩ rhythmic pattern, the structure of the song, i.e. the opening melodic-rhythmic pattern that is repeated and harmonised by the chorus, the (emphatic) humming and the rhythmic symmetry. In *indlamu* performance, the actual stamping steps are performed during the humming, which explains its relatively simple rhythm. The nature of the dance (steps) also prevents an overall complicated polyrhythmic texture. Therefore the rhythmic symmetry (where all the voices adhere to the same rhythm simultaneously) lies in the nature of the song type.

⁴³ *Indlamu* is the name for the strenuous and vigorous stamping dance associated with *iindlavini*, the "neo-pagans", who wear Western clothes and have relinquished many of their tribal characteristics, like polyrhythm (Hansen 1980: 392, 400 and 401). The dance developed with Zulu migrant workers and became adopted by all the other nations, even the Basotho. Each nation however performs the dance in their own way.

The bow song and its vocal version both have the same metre, i.e. 4 x . In the bow song the metrical pattern is rendered on the  . In the vocal song, the rhythm is more complex because Matotiyana makes use of a characteristic feature of Xhosa music, i.e. off-beat phrasing, which is not found in the bow song. Matotiyana has also instrumentalised the melodic contour of the vocal version of *Mfanandini* in her bow song:



8va ||: X4: ||

Whistled Phrases
8va

Harmonic Partial

8va Root Progression X4: || Duplet figure

8va 7 X5: ||

8va

¹ Notes G and D seem to sound through.

8va

The structure again evolves from the repetition and variation of a 12-pulse root progression. The variation is both rhythmic and tonal. An interesting feature is the divisive rhythm at the end of the root progression, which creates an “uneasy” almost nervous feeling. This quality is further highlighted by the duplet figure and the tempo of the song.

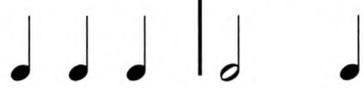
The metre is iambic with two rhythmic patterns constituting the root progression:

a:  b: 
 T CT T CT T CT T CT

The former is definitely the dominant pattern since the latter only occurs at the first appearance of the whistled phrases. However, pattern **b** appears in the harmonic partials at the opening. The two generating rhythmic patterns of the song are therefore introduced simultaneously, albeit in two different voices.

The principle of shifting tonality again governs the harmonic organisation, but in this version of *Mfanandini* the partials are used to greater melodic effect and harmonic intervals of a 3rd, unison, 5th, 3rd, unison + 5th are heard. Partial G and D (pulse 11 and 12) also seem to sound simultaneously throughout the song. This ‘chordal’ effect is not entirely unheard of, but the practice is not widely spread. The overall movement is from tonic to counter tonic, which is similar to the song *Mfanandini* (example no. 2).

The most important difference and also main feature of this bow song, is the rhythm. The divisive rhythm has been mentioned above, so too the duplet figure. However, this song is unique because it demonstrates what is known as African hemiola rhythm involving a change in pulse groupings, from 2 x  to 3 x . When the latter occurs, the root progression retains the double beat () on the F-root, as in the opening divisive pattern, but the tonal progression has now moved from tonic-counter tonic, to tonic-counter tonic-tonic. There is a quick change back to the iambic metre and then back to the 3 x . The whistled phrases also lean towards off-beat phrasing against the 3 x  metre of the root progression:

Whistled Phrases:		
Root Progression:		
	Example 1	Example 2

Even in this section, Matotiyana strives towards the polyphonic texture prevalent in the songs of the Xhosa-speaking people.

8va X7 X11

Whistled Phrases

8va

Harmonic Partials

Root Progression

8va X8 X7

8va

8va X8 X5

8va

Detailed description of the musical score: The score is organized into three systems. Each system consists of four staves. The top staff is the melody line, with a *8va* marking above it. The second staff is labeled 'Whistled Phrases' and contains a series of empty rectangular boxes. The third staff is labeled 'Harmonic Partials' and contains a sequence of notes. The bottom staff is labeled 'Root Progression' and contains a sequence of notes with a *7* marking below it. Chord diagrams are indicated by 'X7', 'X11', 'X8', and 'X5' above the melody line. The first system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots. The second system ends with a double bar line. The third system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

This version, recorded after Matotiyana had toured abroad extensively and performed to many diverse audiences as a soloist on centre stage, has a more ‘polished’ appearance. Although it is very similar to the first example of *Mfanandini*, this bow song is much shorter, has a beginning (introduction) and definite ending. (Previously, Matotiyana used to fade away after an undetermined number of repetitions).

The order of appearance of the harmonic partials and whistled phrases also differs: the harmonic partials prevalent at the end of the first example has been moved to the beginning of the song and is considerably shorter, as well as on a far smaller scale. The first whistled phrase of no. 4 corresponds to the second phrase of no. 1, but has been considerably condensed. In fact only the essential components, without extensive repetitions, have been included in the whistled phrases and indeed the entire bow song. For this reason the root progression, which remains unchanged throughout the song, starts with motive **b** from *Mfananandini* no. 1 only.

The song moves from counter tonic – tonic – counter tonic – tonic, but the end (that flows directly from the preceding root progression and harmonic partials) moves from tonic – counter tonic – tonic.

Example no. 5**Recorded on 19 April 1997 in Goodwood, Cape Town****Title:** Mfanandini (*You young man*)**Composer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Tape Counter Number:** 144**Performers: leader:** Mantombi Matotiyana**chorus:** Lungile Plaatjies**Instrument:** voice**Pitch:** present c = original B^b**Mode:** hexa-based pentatonic mode on roots C and D3rd (F#) of D-root is omitted**Strophe Length:** (4 x ) x2 ((24))**Tempo:** MM  = 160**Text: Leader:**

<i>He mfanandini</i>	(<i>Hey young man</i>)	x10
<i>Molo, ndixelile</i>	(<i>Hallo, I've slaughtered an animal</i>) ⁴⁴	x4
<i>He mfanandi'</i>	(<i>Hey young man</i>)	
<i>Tyhini mfanandi'</i>	(<i>Really! Young man</i>)	x7
<i>He-ma he he-ma he</i>	(<i>Vocables</i>)	
<i>Hi-khu ma-ma</i>	(<i>Vocables</i>)	
<i>Hi-he ma-ma</i>	(<i>Vocables</i>)	x6
<i>Khu-hm-hm-hm-hm</i>	(<i>Vocables, Humming</i>)	

⁴⁴ Does not specify which animal.

hm-hm-hm-hm (Humming) till end

Qho! (Interjection)

Chorus:

He-he-hm (Vocables, humming) x9

He-he-hm zha-na-a (Vocables)

Ndi-ndi-ndi-me-le-na zha-na-a (Vocables) x12

He mfa- nan-di- ni He mfa- nan-di- ni He mfa- nan-di- ni

LEADER

BEATS x x x x : :

He- he- hm He- he- hm zha- na -

CHORUS

Mo-lo ndi- xhe- li- le Mo-lo ndi- xhe- li- le He mfa- nan-di- ni

-a Ndi- ndi- ndi-me-le- na zha- na - -a Ndi- ndi-

Tyhi-ni mfa- nan- di - i' Tyhi-nimfa- nan- di - i' He- ma He- e

ndi-me-le- na zha- na - a Ndi- ndi- ndi-me-le- na zha- na -

He- ma He - e Hi - khu ma-ma Hi - he ma-ma

a Ndi - ndi - ndi-me-le- na zha - na - a Ndi - ndi -

Detailed description: This system contains two staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The lyrics are written above the treble staff. The music consists of eighth and quarter notes with rests. There are two measures in the first part, followed by a double bar line and a repeat sign. The second part also consists of two measures.

Hi - he ma-ma X3 Khu - hm-hm- hm - hm hm-hm- hm-hm- hm - hm

ndi-me-le - na zha - na - a Ndi - ndi - ndi-me-le- na zha - na -

Detailed description: This system contains two staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The lyrics are written above the treble staff. The music consists of eighth and quarter notes with rests. There are two measures in the first part, followed by a double bar line and a repeat sign. The second part consists of two measures.

Although the words have changed, indicating a change in meaning, Matotiyana did not elaborate or explain. In fact, when I questioned Matotiyana about the words and their meaning, she answered that this song was no different to the other versions because she is still addressing the young men. (Presumably Matotiyana was referring to a specific function).

This song is very similar to the previous sung version (*Mfanandini* no. 2) regarding the structure and rhythm, but the chorus phrase has been harmonically enriched to a longer melodic phrase that is melodically independent of the solo part, through the addition of the second half of the phrase. There is also a marked increase in tempo between this song and *Mfanandini* no. 2.

Example no. 6**Recorded on 15 June 1996 at the College of Music, UCT****Title:** Molweni (*Hallo pl.*)**Composer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Tape Counter Number:** 161**Performer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Instrument:** *umrhubhe***Pitch:** present c' = original B^b**Mode:** full hexatonic mode on roots F and G**Strophe Length:** 8 x  ((24))**Tempo:** MM  = 108

8va X4 X2 X3

Whistled Phrases

8va

Harmonic Partials

Root Progression

8va X4

8va

8va X2 X7 X3

8va

8va X4 X7

8va

motive a

8va X2

8va

8va

8va

8va X2

8va

8va

8va

8va X2

8va

8va

8va

8va

8va

8va

8va

The structure evolves from the repetition (without variation) of the root progression, which provides an ostinato accompaniment to the melodic voices and is an 8-pulse pattern. The song is performed in a lively enthusiastic way, obviously conveying the ‘friendly’ (greeting) nature of the subject.

This bow song is the first example of Matotiyana’s I recorded with a duple beat. Although not uncommon, many of her earlier songs show a predilection for the iambic beat⁴⁵. The rhythm of the song is very simple, with the harmonic partials carrying the only diverse rhythmic pattern found in the song:  found throughout the piece. This rhythmic motive features prominently from beginning to the end and is combined with and woven into the melodic fibre in such a way that it contributes to the evolution of the structure of the bow song. Both melodic motives are combined with this rhythmic one:

a



b



⁴⁵ Mantombi Matotiyana composed *Molweni* when she was 5/6 years old.

The falling 4th interval + raised 2nd (motive **a**) appears in the rhythmic motive at the very beginning, but is subsequently extended (at the third statement of the 8-pulse root progression) where the rhythm changes to a  pattern. It retains this appearance for the rest of the song. Motive **a** is important as a melodic motive as it is the opening melody of the song (c.f. *Molweni* example no.7). In fact the motive appears very briefly in the whistled phrase in the exact form as seen in the vocal version (c.f. p. 130). Motive **b** on the other hand appears exclusively in the  rhythm and therefore has melodic and rhythmic significance.

An interesting feature of *Molweni* is that it is in the full hexatonic mode. Not many bow songs appear in the full hexatonic mode; this is also true of Matotiyana's bow song repertoire. In fact I recorded only two examples played in the hexatonic mode. The overall shift in tonality is from tonic (F-root) to counter tonic (G-root) and the partials amplified are the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th. They are combined in such a way that a lively almost 'busy' quality is perceived by the listener. The harmonic partials are also responsible for the melody almost entirely, as there are very few whistled phrases.

Molweni is the signature tune of Matotiyana and also her favourite song. She has taken great care to practise and perfect this song, which may explain the unique qualities presented in it: The most significant feature is the full hexatonic mode and duple beat, but the prominence of the rhythmic motive also deserves special mention. Matotiyana seldom incorporates 'triplet' rhythms, especially in the harmonic partials, since she prefers to extend the rhythm and character of the root progression to the harmonic partials as well. But in this song, she has virtually excluded the whistled

voice and instead given the harmonic partials melodic and rhythmic prominence. This short basic rhythmic motive recurs strongly throughout *Molweni* and is repeated sufficiently to contribute significantly to the evolution of the structure of the song.

Example no. 7**Recorded on 15 June 1996 at the College of Music, UCT****Title:** Molweni (*Hallo pl.*)**Composer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Tape Counter Number:** 195**Performers: leader:** Mantombi Matotiyana**chorus:** Lungile Plaatjies**Instrument:** voice**Pitch:** present c' = original e^b**Mode:** hexa-based pentatonic mode on roots C and D3rd (F#) of D-root is omitted**Strophe Length:** (8 x ♩) (24)**Tempo:** MM ♩ = 200

Text: <i>Molweni</i>	(<i>Hallo pl.</i>)	
<i>Who molweni molwe'</i>	(<i>Interjection, hallo</i>)	x5
<i>Hm-hm-he-he-he-e-e</i>	(<i>Humming, vocables</i>)	x2
<i>Who molwe' he-he</i>	(<i>Interjection, hallo, vocables</i>)	x3
<i>Yhem-he-he-he-ya</i>	(<i>Vocables</i>)	x3
<i>Who molwe' he-he</i>	(<i>Interjection, hallo, vocables</i>)	x2
<i>Who molweni he-he</i>	(<i>Interjection, hallo, vocables</i>)	x5
<i>Nkqo molweni</i>	(<i>Knock hallo</i>)	x4
<i>Who ndiyabulisa</i>	(<i>I am greeting</i>)	x3
<i>Hm-hm-he-e-e-hm</i>	(<i>Humming</i>)	
<i>Hm-he-he-he</i>	(<i>Humming</i>)	x5

<i>Who molweni</i>	<i>(Interjection, Hallo)</i>	
<i>Nkqo molweni</i>	<i>(Knock hallo)</i>	x2
<i>Hm-hm-he-he-he-e</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	
<i>Nkqo molweni</i>	<i>(Knock hallo)</i>	x3
<i>Who ndiyabulisa</i>	<i>(I am greeting)</i>	x3
<i>Nkqo nkqo molweni</i>	<i>(Knock-knock hallo)</i>	x3
<i>Who molweni</i>	<i>(Interjection, Hallo)</i>	x2
<i>Yho molweni</i>	<i>(Interjection, Hallo)</i>	x4
<i>Yho molwe'</i>	<i>(Interjection, Hallo)</i>	x4
Chorus:		
<i>Molwe'</i>	<i>(Hallo)</i>	
<i>Yha molwe'</i>	<i>(Interjection, Hallo)</i>	x13
<i>Yha-hi</i>	<i>(Interjection, vocable)</i>	x4
<i>Yha molwe'</i>	<i>(Interjection, Hallo)</i>	x4
<i>Yha-hi</i>	<i>(Interjection, vocable)</i>	x3
<i>Nkqo molwe'</i>	<i>(Knock hallo)</i>	x3
<i>Yha molwe'</i>	<i>(Interjection, Hallo)</i>	x10
<i>Nkqo molwe'</i>	<i>(Knock hallo)</i>	x2
<i>Yha molwe'</i>	<i>(Interjection, Hallo)</i>	x2
<i>Nkqo molwe'</i>	<i>(Knock hallo)</i>	x3
<i>Yha molwe'</i>	<i>(Interjection, Hallo)</i>	x4
<i>Nkqo molwe'</i>	<i>(Knock hallo)</i>	
<i>Yha molwe'</i>	<i>(Interjection, Hallo)</i>	x10

Who mol-we - ni mol-we' Who mol-we - ni mol-we'

Leader

Claps

Yha mol-we'

Chorus

Hm - hm-he-he- he- e - e Who mol-we - he - he

Yha mol-we'

Yhem-he - he - he - ya

Yha mol-we'

Hm - hm-he - he - he - e - e (Solo Variant Number 1)

Yha mol-we'

Nkqo nkqo mol-we - e - e- ni (Solo Variant Number 2)

Yha mol-we'

Who mol-we' he - e - he (Solo Variant Number 3)

Yha mol-we'

Matotiyana's Textual Explanation: *The song is about greeting people, saying "hallo" to people and them greeting you back. It is first greeting people when passing them in the street and later it is going to their house, knocking, greeting and going inside.*

As mentioned, *Molweni* is Matotiyana's favourite song and her signature tune. She composed the song when she was six years old and was learning about people - how to get to know them and how they should be addressed. Whenever Matotiyana is happy and excited she sings [or 'plays'] *Molweni*. Every performance is enjoyed and accompanied by a gesture expressing her satisfaction and joy. Matotiyana also mentioned that when she is upset, depressed or feeling ill, it is *Molweni* that will be played or sung because her favourite song always restores her mood.

The structure of the song arises from the repetition of the opening phrase, a rhythmic-melodic motive sung by the leader, that is harmonised by the chorus using *izihlobo* tones (companion tones) selected from the overtone chords generated by the two roots C and D. The song is very symmetrical regarding the rhythm since the solo and chorus phrases sing the same rhythm. An interesting feature is the notable absence of off-beat phrasing, since the vocal versions always have off-beat phrases. The only occurrence being *Nkqo-Nkqo* (knock-knock) and in the vocables.

There are not many variations in the solo phrase. The rhythmic phrase (figure 1) below changes to figure 2 (c.f. variation no. 3).

Figure 1



Figure 2



The other variation occurs where the change of words effects a rhythmic change as well (c.f. solo variant no. 2). The only melodic variation occurs in the second half of the vocable section where a double G substitutes the G – E interval. The melodic outline/contour is much the same though – a falling 4th.

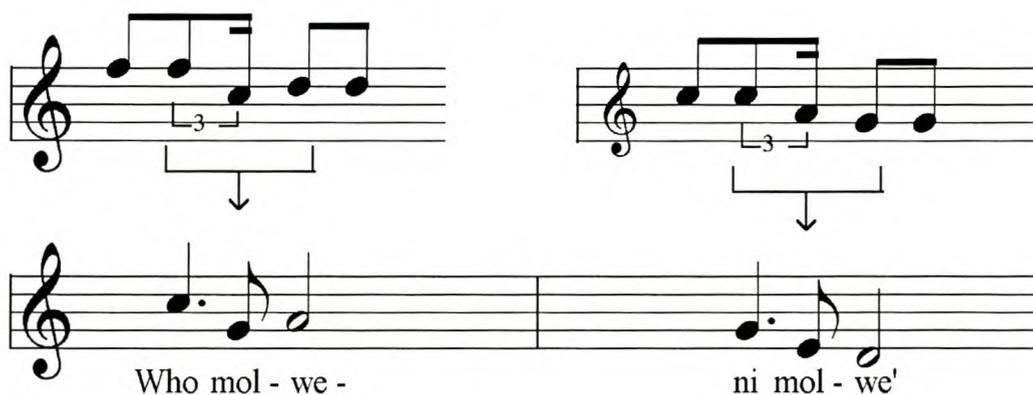


This particular sequence (motive **a**) is very prominent throughout the song and is treated sequentially between the solo phrase and chorus phrase.

Solo: 

Chorus: 

The similarity between the bow song and its vocal counterpart is of a structural nature. The most significant similarity occurs between the motive **a** and **b** from the bow song and the melody of the song. These two motives placed next to each other reflect the melody and rhythm of the strophe:



Who mol - we - ni mol - we'

Therefore, Matotiyana reflects the structure of the song in the bow song by placing the solo and chorus phrases prominently throughout the bow song, adhering to the order of appearance of the two phrases as well.

Other similarities include the tonic-counter tonic-tonic-counter tonic movement of the tonality, the eight duple beats underlying both songs and the limited use of off-beat phrasing.

Example no. 8**Recorded on 19 April 1997 in Goodwood, Cape Town****Title:** Molweni (*Hallo pl.*)**Composer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Tape Counter Number:** 226**Performer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Instrument:** *umrhubhe***Pitch:** present c' = original B^b**Mode:** hexa-based pentatonic mode on roots F and G3rd (B) of G-root is omitted**Strophe Length:** 8 x  ((24))**Tempo:** MM  = 104

8va

Whistled Phrases

Harmonic Partial

Root Progression

X5

X3

Detailed description: This system contains three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking, showing a whistled phrase with a repeat sign and a double bar line. The middle staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking, showing harmonic partials with a L_{3-4} marking. The bottom staff is a bass clef showing a root progression of eighth notes.

8va

X9

X5

8va

L₃₋₁

L₃₋₁

L₃₋₁

Detailed description: This system contains three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking, showing a phrase with a repeat sign and a double bar line, and an *X9* marking. The middle staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking, showing harmonic partials with L_{3-1} markings. The bottom staff is a bass clef showing a root progression of eighth notes.

8va

X11

8va

L₃₋₁

L₃₋₁

Detailed description: This system contains three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking, showing a phrase with a repeat sign and a double bar line, and an *X11* marking. The middle staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking, showing harmonic partials with L_{3-1} markings. The bottom staff is a bass clef showing a root progression of eighth notes.

8va

X3

X12

8va

L₃₋₁

Detailed description: This system contains three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking, showing a phrase with a repeat sign and a double bar line, and *X3* and *X12* markings. The middle staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking, showing harmonic partials with L_{3-1} markings. The bottom staff is a bass clef showing a root progression of eighth notes.

In this version, Matotiyana has retained the duple beat, but elected to play in the hexa-based pentatonic mode rather than the hexatonic mode of *Molweni* example 6. Once again the rhythm is quite straightforward, with the  motive and a few whistled phrases again accounting for much of the rhythmic interest.

The structure resembles example 6 quite closely, but the melodic voice parts (i.e. the whistled phrases and harmonic partials) at the beginning of the song remind one of the call and response phrase structure of the strophe in Xhosa songs: The basic melody of *Molweni* is divided between the whistling and harmonic partials. The first half of the sung phrase (motive **a** from the previous examples of *Molweni*) is whistled, while the second half is resonated on the harmonic partials. The second half has, however, been altered slightly, due to the repetition of the first note replacing the falling 3rd interval⁴⁶.

An interesting feature is the ‘link’ between the harmonic partials and whistled notes. The melodic pattern generated by the partials flows directly into the whistled phrase, but still creates a multi-layered effect because it is ‘thrown about’ between the two voices. The tied note in the whistled phrase further enhances the polyphonic (and polyrhythmic) effect. Matotiyana therefore uses the partials, together with the whistled notes, to create the impression of communal singing.

These changes evident in this recording of *Molweni* correspond well to the changes Matotiyana effected in the later recording of *Mfanandini*. Once again there are many similarities regarding the phrases in the various voice parts, but the order of

⁴⁶ Matotiyana used this present ‘alteration’ as a melodic variation in example no. 7.

appearance has again been changed. Matotiyana has also elected to change the actual phrase distribution between the voices: the whistled phrases contain melodic material previously ascribed to the harmonic partials. Another similarity is the definite ending found in the last four “bars” of the song. Matotiyana comes to rest on a ♮ F-root (the longest note value in the song) after a brief flurry of ♯ activity, moving from tonic – counter tonic – tonic – counter tonic – tonic. This is very similar to the Western idea of a cadence where the music comes to rest on a tonic harmony after a dominant one. Thus the tension – release/ V – I idea has been evoked in this example.

Example no. 9**Recorded on 19 April 1997 in Goodwood, Cape Town****Title:** Molweni (*Hallo pl.*)**Composer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Tape Counter Number:** 244**Performers: leader:** Mantombi Matotiyana**chorus:** Lungile Plaatjies**Instrument:** voice**Pitch:** present c' = original B \flat **Mode:** hexa-based pentatonic mode on roots C and D3rd (F#) of D-root is omitted**Strophe Length:** (8 x ) (24)**Tempo:** MM  = 104**Text: Leader**

<i>Molweni</i>	(<i>Hallo pl.</i>)	
<i>Yha molwe'</i>	(<i>Interjection, hallo</i>)	
<i>Nkqo molwe'</i>	(<i>Knock hallo</i>)	
<i>Who ndiyabulis'</i>	(<i>Interjection, I am greeting</i>)	x2
<i>Hayi molwe'</i>	(<i>Interjection [surprise], hallo</i>)	x3
<i>Hayi molwe' hm</i>	(<i>Interjection [surprise], hallo, interjection</i>)	x3
<i>Hayi molweni hm</i>	(<i>interjection [surprise], hallo pl., interjection</i>)	
<i>Hayi ngulewu hm</i>	(<i>No, it's a womaniser/playboy, interjection</i>)	x2

<i>Hayi hayi-ma-hi</i>	<i>(Interjection, vocables)</i>	x4
<i>Hayi molwe' hm</i>	<i>(Interjection [surprise], hallo, interjection)</i>	x4
<i>Molo umfaz' hm</i>	<i>(Hallo woman, interjection)</i>	
<i>Hayi ndiyabulis' hm</i>	<i>(Interjection, I am greeting, interjection)</i>	x2
<i>Hayi molwe' hm</i>	<i>(Interjection, hallo, interjection)</i>	x5
<i>Hayi molweni</i>	<i>(Interjection, hallo)</i>	x3
<i>Hayi molwe'</i>	<i>(Interjection, hallo)</i>	
<i>Nkqo!</i>	<i>(Knock!)</i>	
Chorus:		
<i>Molwe'</i>	<i>(Hallo)</i>	x4
<i>Yha molwe'</i>	<i>(Interjection, hallo)</i>	x5
<i>Hayi molwe'</i>	<i>(Interjection [surprise], hallo)</i>	x5
<i>Hm-hm-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	till end

Yha mol-we'

Leader

Beats x' x' x' x' Yha mol-we' :

Chorus

Who ndiya-hu-lis'

(Solo Variant Number 1)

Yha mol-we'

Hayi mol-we' hm

(Solo Variant Number 2)

Hayi mol-we'

Hayi mol-we' hm

(Solo Variant Number 3)

Hayi mol-we'

Hayi mol-we hi hm

(Solo Variant Number 4)

Hm - hm

Hayi mol-we' hm (Solo Variant Number 5)

Hm - hm

Ha - yi hayi-ma - hi (Solo Variant Number 6)

Hm - hm

Hayi mol-we' hm (Solo Variant Number 7)

Hm - hm

Mo - lo um-faz' hm (Solo Variant Number 8)

Hm - hm

Hayi mol-we - ni (Solo Variant Number 9)

Hm - hm

Although the words have changed, indicating a change in meaning, Matotiyana did not elaborate nor explain. In fact, when I questioned Mantombi about the words and their meaning, she answered that this song was no different to the other versions because it is still about greetings.

The main difference in this recording is the change in tempo (it is considerably slower). The 6th variation has an interesting change where Matotiyana sings an upward variation of the preceding phrase. This is the only time she ever does this.

The resemblance between the bow song and its vocal counterpart is again of a structural nature. Although not as extensive, the opening melody again reflects the opening phrase whistled in the bow song. An interesting feature of this recording is the similarity in tempo to the bow song (example no. 8). This is the only recording I have of Matotiyana where both the bow song and its vocal one are exactly the same tempo. Other similarities include the duple beat and hexa-based pentatonic mode.

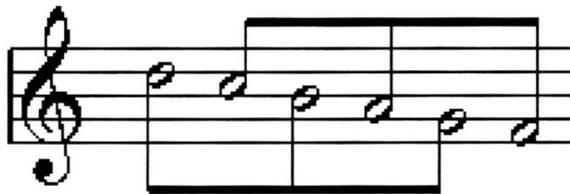
Example no. 10**Recorded on 1 March 1997 at St. Cyprian's School, Cape Town****Title:** Wathakatha Ungendanga (*Witching Unmarried*)**Composer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Tape Counter Number:** 260**Performer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Instrument:** *umrhubhe***Pitch:** present c' = original B \flat **Mode:** hexa-based pentatonic mode on roots F and Gboth 3rds (B and A) of F-root and G-root omitted**Strophe Length:** 4 x **Tempo:** MM  = 66

The structure again evolves from the repetition (without variation) of the 6-pulse root progression in iambic metre with the accentuation being . The overlapping technique is quite extensive and although the whistled voice is responsible for most of it, the harmonic partials also contribute. Already in the second statement of the bow pattern, the harmonic partials enter after the root progression, creating a multi-layered texture between the whistling, root progression and partials. It is interesting to note that the harmonic partials only overlap when they appear in conjunction with the whistled voice. For the rest of the bow song they are yet again rhythmic extensions of the root progression.

An interesting feature of this bow song is the absence of the 3rd of either tonic (F) or counter tonic (G) in the harmonic partials. The only 3rd ever present is found in the whistled phrase but instead of a “major” 3rd interval, a “minor” 3rd (G – B^b) is observed. The first of the two B^b’s however coincides with the F-root and is therefore in conflict with the tonality prevalent at the time, but the repeated B^b always coincides with the G-root and can therefore be considered as the 3rd of the G-chord. (Rycroft and Hansen have noted this practice in Xhosa music). The overall shift in the song is from counter tonic (G-root) to tonic (F-root).

Wathakatha Ungendanga, like the later recordings of *Mfanandini* and *Molweni*, also has a formal ending. The interview where I recorded this song was the first interview I conducted with Matotiyana after she returned from her travels abroad. It was also the first time she had ever played a definite ending to her bow song and did not simply stop or fade away after she had played the song for a sufficient number of times. After hearing a few of her songs altered in a similar way, it became quite clear

that since Matotiyana had performed as a soloist on centre stage, she had been forced to adapt her style to incorporate a 'Western' closure because songs performed for an audience need a definite ending. The ending, again in a faster rhythmic value and contrasting rhythm (i.e.  ; ) shifts from tonic – counter tonic – tonic and fulfils a similar role as the western cadence moving from I – V – I harmony.

Example no. 11**Recorded on 7 December 1996 at the College of Music, UCT****Title:** No title given**Composer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Tape Counter Number:** 282**Performer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Instrument:** *umrhubhe***Pitch:** present c' = original a**Mode:** full hexatonic mode on roots F and G**Strophe Length:** 8 x **Tempo:** MM  = 200

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking and contains two whole rests. The middle staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking and contains a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes: a triplet of eighth notes, followed by a quarter note, a quarter note, and a quarter note. The bottom staff is a bass clef and contains a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes: a quarter note, and a quarter note. A box labeled "SCRATCHINGS (Unclear)" spans the middle and bottom staves. Below the first system, the text "3 + 3 + 2 → Additive Rhythm" is written. The second system also consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking and contains a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes: a quarter note, and a quarter note. The middle staff is a treble clef with a *8va* marking and contains two whole rests. The bottom staff is a bass clef and contains a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes: a quarter note, and a quarter note. The word "etc." is written to the right of the second system.

Matotiyana lost her *umcinga* (bow stick) on the way to the interview. Although she made another one from a branch picked along the way, it did not produce a good clear sound and consequently Matotiyana refused to play her *umrhubhe* for the rest of the interview. (She was so upset with the poor sound quality that Matotiyana stopped playing mid-song and refused to name the title of the bow song as well.) Although the recording is very scratchy and indistinct, (one can hear Matotiyana trying a different approach to produce a clearer sound), I included a short excerpt because this is the only bow song I recorded with an additive rhythmic pattern in the root progression: $3 + 3 + 2 = 8$  beat, i.e.



This additive bow pattern is rather unique since most bow songs appear in divisive patterning. This bow song is the also the only other song of Matotiyana's I recorded that is played in the full hexatonic mode.

Example no. 12**Recorded on 7 December 1996 at the College of Music, UCT****Title:** Makoti (*The Newly Weds.*)**Composer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Tape Counter Number:** 288**Performers: leader:** Mantombi Matotiyana**chorus:** Lungile Plaatjies**Instrument:** voice**Pitch:** present c = original B**Mode:** hexa-based pentatonic mode on roots C and D3rd (F#) of D-root is omitted**Strophe Length:** (8 x ♩.)**Tempo:** MM ♩. = 132**Text: Leader:**

Who makoto sawutshel 'endlin' (*Interjection, newlyweds we'll burn in the house*)

Who makoti (*Interjection, newlyweds*)

Who makoto sawutshel 'endlin' (*Interjection, newlyweds we'll burn in the house*) x2

Yho makoto sawutshel 'endlin' (*Interjection, newlyweds we'll burn in the house*) x3

Yho makoti sawutshel 'endlin' (*Interjection, newlyweds we'll burn in the house*)

<i>Yho mako' hi 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Interjection, newlyweds, interjection, we'll burn in the house)
<i>Yho mako' heyi 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Interjection, newlyweds, interjection [drawing attention] we'll burn in the house)
<i>Who mako' heyi 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Interjection, newlyweds, interjection we'll burn in the house)
<i>Yho ————— 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Interjection, unclear vocables we'll burn in the house)
<i>Yho mako' heyi 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Interjection, newlyweds, interjection we'll burn in the house)
<i>Yho mo! bini 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Interjection, really! two of them [implied] we'll burn in the house)
<i>'Oti makoti 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Newlyweds, newlyweds we'll burn in the house)
<i>'Oti mako' heyi 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Newlyweds, newlyweds, interjection we'll burn in the house x3)
<i>Yho makoti 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Interjection, newlyweds we'll burn in the house) x2
<i>Sobabinu 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Two of them we'll burn in the house)
<i>Sobabini heyi 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Two of them, interjection we'll burn in the house)
<i>Who makoto 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Interjection, newlyweds we'll burn in the house)
<i>Who mako' heyi 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Interjection, newlyweds, interjection we'll burn in the house) x3
<i>Sobabi' heyi 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Two of them, interjection we'll burn in the house)
<i>Sibabini 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Two of us we'll burn in the house)
<i>He 'babini 'tshel 'endlin'</i>	(Interjection, two of them we'll burn in the house) x2
<i>Who mako' heyi heyi sawutshel 'endlin'</i>	(Interjection, newlyweds we'll burn in the house)
<i>Ewe</i>	(Yes)

Sawutshel 'endlin'

(We'll burn in the house)

Chorus:

Sawutshel 'endlini kamamoo

(We'll burn in your mother's house)

x8

Sawutshel 'endlini sibabini

(We'll burn in the house two of us)

x23

Sawutshel 'endlin'

(We'll burn in the house)

x2

Who ma - ko - to - o sawu-tshel 'en - dlin'

Leader

Claps

Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' ka - ma - mo -

Chorus

Beats

Who ma - ko - to - o sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' Yho

o - o - o Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' ka - ma - mo -

ma - ko - to - o sawu-tshel 'en - dlin'

o - o - o Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' ka - ma - mo -

Yho ma - ko' hi 'tshel 'en - dlin' Who

(Solo Variant Number 1)

o - o - o Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

ma - ko' heyi 'tshel 'en - dlin'

(Solo Variant Number 2)

ni - i - i Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

[Yho] _____ (unclear) 'tshel 'en - dlin'

(Solo Variant Number 3)

ni - i - i Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

Yho ma - ko' heyi 'tshel 'en - dlin'

(Solo Variant Number 4)

ni - i - i Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

Yho mo! bi - ni 'tshel 'en - dlin' 'O -

(Solo Variant Number 5)

ni - i - i Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

ti ma - ko' heyi 'tshel 'en - dlin'

(Solo Variant Number 6)

ni - i - i Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

Yho ma - ko - ti 'tshel 'en - dlin'

(Solo Variant Number 7)

ni - i - i Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

So - ba - bi - nu - u 'tshel 'en - dlin'

(Solo Variant Number 8)

ni - i - i Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

[Who-] o ma - ko - to - o 'tshel 'en - dlin' (Solo Variant Number 9)

ni - i - i Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

Who ma - ko' heyi 'tshel 'en - dlin' (Solo Variant Number 10)

ni - i - i Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

He 'ba - bi - ni 'tshel 'en - dlin' (Solo Variant Number 11)

ni - i - i Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

Who ma - ko' heyi-heyi sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' (Solo Variant Number 12)

ni - i - i Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' si - ba - bi -

Matotiyana's Textual Explanation: *The husband went to the mines to work. Now behind are his brother and his wife. Now the house is burning and this chap is saying, "The house is burning, we are going to burn together."*

Matotiyana did not give further clarification other than the explanation given above. When I asked her for a more detailed explanation, she mentioned that she was only retelling the story of the two people being trapped in the house.

After an introduction by the leader the chorus joins in the song and an antiphonal structure is observed. The leader sings the solo phrase and the chorus answers. The solo phrase is subject to variation of a melodic and/or rhythmic nature. For example, Matotiyana frequently starts her phrases just before the commencement of the strophe. She shifts her point of entry (in the solo phrase) so that her vocal phrases do not commence at the same spot, which is a typical feature of Nguni bow songs. At times Matotiyana even starts her phrase in the first beat (c.f. variation no. 11). The rhythmic and melodic variations tend to coincide for the majority of the song, however there are exceptions, like variation 9. Matotiyana also adds a new element in this song, i.e. the interjection indicated as a \times in the solo phrase. When I questioned her regarding this technique, Matotiyana said its function was to "add spice" and keep the performance alive.

The chorus phrase always enters at the exact same place in the strophe and continues onto the second beat of the subsequent solo phrase. It is never varied and emphasises the counter tonic tonality, so that the song shifts from tonic to counter tonic.

The interval of a falling 5th is prominent throughout the song and treated sequentially in various ways. Most of the solo phrases are based on the interval (E – A), which is then duplicated in the outline of the chorus phrase. (The interval also occurs in the middle of the chorus phrase). Lastly, the interval encompassing the beginning and end of the total pattern is also the falling 5th and ultimately indicates the tonic (C-root) to counter tonic (D-root) shift in tonality of the song.

Another interesting feature is the off-beat phrasing found in the chorus phrase, with the three clapped beats emphasising the off beat and the falling 5th motive.

Example no. 13**Recorded on 7 December 1996 at the College of Music, UCT****Title:** Ihambonzima (*Suffering*)**Composer:** Mantombi Matotiyana**Tape Counter Number:** 311**Performers: leader:** Mantombi Matotiyana**chorus:** Lungile Plaatjies

Maxanjana Mangaliso

Instrument: voice**Pitch:** present c' = original e**Mode:** hexa-based pentatonic mode on roots C and D3rd (F#) and 5th (A) of D-root is omitted**Strophe Length:** (8 x )**Tempo:** MM  = 192**Text: Leader:**

<i>Ihambonzima</i>	(<i>suffering</i>)	
<i>Nd'yayibon' ihambonzima 'oliwe</i>	(<i>I saw suffering on the train</i>)	
<i>Ihambonzima</i>	(<i>suffering</i>)	
<i>Ndiyabon' ihambonzima</i>	(<i>I am seeing suffering</i>)	x2
<i>Ndo ndi-bon' ihambonzima</i>	(<i>I see suffering</i>)	x3
<i>Nd'yayibon' ihambonzima</i>	(<i>I saw suffering</i>)	x5
<i>Ndibonile ihambonzima</i>	(<i>I've experienced suffering</i>)	x6
<i>Ndiyayibon' ihambonzima</i>	(<i>I saw suffering</i>)	x4

<i>Ndibonile ihambonzima</i>	<i>(I've experienced suffering)</i>	x3
<i>Ndo-ye-o-o ihambonzima</i>	<i>(Vocables, suffering)</i>	x2
<i>Ndo'wo ihambonzima</i>	<i>(Vocables, suffering)</i>	x3
<i>Ho! Ndo-yo ihambonzima</i>	<i>(Interjection, vocables, suffering)</i>	x2
<i>Ndibonile ihambonzima</i>	<i>(I've experienced suffering)</i>	x5
<i>Ndiyayibon' ihambonzima</i>	<i>(I saw suffering)</i>	x3
<i>Ndiyabo' ihambonzima</i>	<i>(I am seeing suffering)</i>	x5
<i>Ndibonile ihambonzima</i>	<i>(I've experienced suffering)</i>	x5
<i>Ho-mo ihambonzima</i>	<i>(Vocables, suffering)</i>	
<i>Ho-yo ihambonzima</i>	<i>(Vocables, suffering)</i>	
<i>Nd'yayibon' ihambonzima</i>	<i>(I saw suffering)</i>	x2
<i>Ndiyayibon' ukunzima</i>	<i>(I saw the bearing of the suffering)</i>	x4
<i>Ndo'wo ihambonzima</i>	<i>(Vocables, suffering)</i>	x2
<i>Yhe-he ihambonzima</i>	<i>(Vocables, suffering)</i>	
<i>Hm-hm-ho ihambonzima</i>	<i>(Humming, suffering)</i>	x2
<i>Hm-me-me ihambonzima</i>	<i>(Humming, suffering)</i>	x4
<i>Nd'yayibon' ihambonzima</i>	<i>(I saw suffering)</i>	
<i>Nd'yayibon' hm-hm-hm-hm</i>	<i>(I saw, humming)</i>	x2
<i>Hm-me-me hm-hm-hm-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x10
<i>Hm-me ——— hm-hm-hm-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x4
<i>Hm-hm-hm-hm-hm</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	x3
<i>Hm-m-m ———</i>	<i>(Humming)</i>	till end
Chorus:		
<i>Ihambonzima</i>	<i>(Suffering)</i>	x3
<i>Ihambonzima 'lol'</i>	<i>(Suffering train)</i>	x2
<i>Ihambonzima 'loliwe</i>	<i>(Suffering train)</i>	till end

Ndi-ya - bon' iham - bon - zi - ma Ndo ndi-bon' iham - bon - zi - ma

Leader

Iham - bon - zi - ma Iham - bon - zi - ma lol'

Chorus

Nd'ya-yi - bon' iham - bon - zi - ma

Claps

we Iham - bon - zi - ma 'loli-

bo - nile iham - bon - zi - ma Ndi-

(Solo Variant Number 1)

we Iham - bon - zi - ma 'loli-

Nd'ya-yi - bon' iham - bon - zi - ma

(Solo Variant Number 2)

we Iham - bon - zi - ma 'loli-

Ndo-ye - o - o iham - bon - zi - ma (Solo Variant Number 3)

we iham - bon - zi - ma 'loli-

Ho! Ndo- yo i - ham - bon - zi - ma (Solo Variant Number 4)

we iham - bon - zi - ma 'loli-

Ndi-bo-nile iham-bon - zi - ma (Solo Variant Number 5)

we iham - bon - zi - ma 'loli-

mo iham - bon - zi - ma Ho - (Solo Variant Number 6)

we iham - bon - zi - ma 'loli-

Nd'ya-yi - bon' iham-bon-zi - ma (Solo Variant Number 7)

we Iham - bon - zi - ma 'lo-

hm-ho iham - bon - zi - ma Hm -

we Iham - bon - zi - ma 'lo-

Hm-me - me e hm - hm - hm - hm

we Iham - bon - zi - ma 'lo-

hm-me - e hm-hm - hm - hm

we Iham - bon - zi - ma 'lo-

Matotiyana's Textual Explanation: *When your life is hard – it's just that. In short, just call it tough times. When it's tough times, let's say you are home and some people don't exactly say why life is tough. I'm saying, "I have seen tough times."*

Matotiyana composed this song in her late teens (16/18 years old). By then she had already witnessed and experienced hardships and suffering. Composing *Ihambonzima* therefore provided an outlet to express her pain and suffering.

After a short introduction by the leader, the song starts with the solo phrase, but is joined by the chorus phrase on the 4th beat singing in parallel motion to the soloist. Both phrases sing the same rhythm when appearing simultaneously, but the chorus phrase is carried onto the first beat of the subsequent phrase. The strophe therefore consists of a solo phrase (sung by the leader) and a chorus phrase (sung by Lungile Plaatjies and Mangaliso). These two phrases are repeated throughout the song.

The chorus phrase always appears (unaltered) on the beat at the same place in the strophe, thereby enforcing the beat of the song. The solo phrase however starts within the last beat and consequently off-beats to the main beats of the song. The variations are also predominantly restricted to the first half of the cycle (i.e. the solo phrase) and are mostly rhythmic. For example, a note may be anticipated (variation no. 1). These variations are aimed at creating variety in the song so that the performance remains alive. Once again the melodic variations are based on *izihlobo* tones. The overall shift in tonality is from tonic (C) to counter tonic (D).

4.3 Conclusion

Very definite characteristics have emerged in the bow songs and their vocal counterparts from the analyses above. These will now be discussed further to ascertain whether they conform to a general style.

The form of all Matotiyana's songs is cyclic. Every song consists of a basic pattern that is repeated, comprising a root progression (consisting of two roots), which generates the song (i.e. it is the basis of the bow song) and forms an ostinato pattern. This forms the basis for a melody of harmonic partials that vary according to the specific variations selectively amplified. The root progression, plus melody of partials, create a structure that is always antiphonal in effect, i.e. a pair of contrasting phrases that are musically interdependent. In the songs produced vocally, this antiphony is achieved literally by complementary solo and chorus phrases and can occur with or without overlapping, e.g. figure 1 and figure 2 respectively. Occasionally, Matotiyana also sings along in the chorus phrase (figure 3).

Figure no.1: from *Mfanandini*

The musical score for Figure no.1 from *Mfanandini* is presented in two staves. The top staff is for the LEADER, and the bottom staff is for the CHORUS. The LEADER part consists of three identical phrases of the lyrics "He mfa- nan-di- ni" set to a melodic line of eighth notes. Below the first phrase, four vertical lines with 'x' marks indicate the BEATS. The CHORUS part begins with a rest, followed by the lyrics "He- he- hm He- he-". The melody for the chorus is a simple line of notes, with the "hm" part being a longer note. The score is enclosed in a box with a double bar line at the end.

Figure no. 2: from *Makoti*

Who ma - ko - to - o sawu-tshel 'en - dlin'

Leader

Claps

Sawu-tshel 'en - dlin' ka - ma - mo -

Chorus

Beats

Figure no. 3: from *Ihambonzima*

Ndi-ya - bon' iham - bon - zi - ma

Leader

lham - bon - zi - ma

Chorus

We therefore find two complementary phrases that are repeated throughout the song, commencing at a set position within the strophe and adhering to the antiphonal principle.

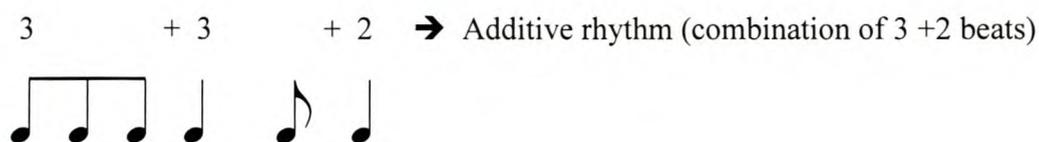
With regards to the bow songs, the antiphonal principle operates between the root progression (simulating the leader) and the melody, i.e. the harmonic partials and whistled voice phrases (simulating the chorus phrase). This principle can be seen very clearly in *Molweni* no. 8. Here the song commences with a 4-pulse pattern on two roots (F and G) presenting the basic rhythm of the song. This is followed by an alternation of whistling – harmonic partials, which in themselves create antiphony.

Almost as if within ‘antiphony’, producing a polyphonic texture involving three distinct parts. However, in most of Matotiyana’s bow songs, the root progression (plus harmonic partials) will play alone and the melodic pattern (mostly the whistled phrases) enter at a later stage. In this way, Matotiyana has attempted to create the antiphonal structure and polyphonic harmony prevalent in the songs of the Xhosa-speaking people, which are collective/communal in performance.

The metrical patterns in Matotiyana’s songs are typical of the Xhosa traditional songs generally. She shows a marked preference for a strophe length of eight beats. In fact twelve of the thirteen songs transcribed all have eight-beat strophes (form no. ①6) and physiologically generated off-beat phrasing is prevalent in most of her vocal songs, although the extent varies from one song to the next. Matotiyana also shows a preference for the triple beat in her songs, but examples with duple beat are evident, like *Molweni*, *Ihambonzima* and *Wathakatha Ungendanga*. Additive and divisive rhythms are incorporated within her songs, for example *Mfanandini* (figure 4) and the untitled bow song (figure 5).

Figure no. 4



Figure no. 5

The tempo of her bow songs generally range between MM \downarrow = 66 and 69 for triple beats, whereas bow songs with a duple beat are much faster, ranging between \downarrow MM =100 and 200. Her vocal songs are generally fast and also range between MM \downarrow / \downarrow =100 and 200. The differences in tempo depend on the type of category of the song (e.g. *Mfanandini*, which is an *indlamu* dance song) where Matotiyana wishes to convey this in her performance.

The principle of shifting tonality, which is a ‘deep’ structure of Xhosa music, applies to all Matotiyana’s songs. Matotiyana shows a preference for the 2nd and 4th partials in her bow songs, but the 1st and 3rd feature strongly in certain songs. While many of the whistled phrases correspond to the tonality of the song, occasionally they do not, i.e. Matotiyana introduces whistled tones that are not root related to the bow notes, e.g. *Wathakatha Ungendanga*. The tonality of her songs adheres to the tonality of the older Xhosa songs generally, being based on harmonies with *izihlobo* tones. The use of ‘foreign’ tones is infrequent and most of her songs are set in a hexa-based pentatonic mode, but there are instances where the full hexatonic mode is used, e.g. *Molweni*.

Matotiyana generally composes falling melodies that have sequential treatment of intervals. She shows a preference for the 2nd, 4th and 5th interval, which corresponds to the structure of the overtone chords.

Matotiyana has stretched the boundaries of her performance to the limit to achieve the effect of communal singing. She not only perceives her bow songs as if they were sung by many people, but employs her *umrhubhe* to create solo and chorus effects. (Compare the discussions above where the root progression played on the *umrhubhe* simulates the solo phrase and the harmonic partials and whistling simulate the chorus). Her whistled phrases mostly overlap with the root progression and together with the harmonic partials is responsible for creating the multi-layered (polyphonic) texture. She even plays the root progression, amplifies the partials and whistles simultaneously to exploit the “chorus-effect” fully.

While the root progression and harmonic partials adhere to the same rhythmic pattern, rhythmic independence is given to the whistled phrases, which are not bound to the shift in tonality evident in the root progression. Matotiyana therefore sets the whistling apart on a rhythmic, harmonic and melodic level thereby creating a full and varied contrapuntal texture.

The most important innovation introduced by Matotiyana is undoubtedly the formal endings to her bow songs. Before touring abroad, Matotiyana used to start her songs in a tentative way, i.e. ushering them in by establishing the rhythm and tonality. Then she would progress to the main body, which consisted of harmonic partials alternating with whistled phrases, played around for an indefinite period until Matotiyana

gradually faded away. However, after returning from an extensive world tour in 1996, a new 'polished' style emerged whereby a short(er) song was played that consisted of a well-defined introduction, body and ending. The introduction still served the same purpose, but the emphasis seemed to shift from the performer establishing the rhythm and tonality for herself, to an establishing of these aspects for the benefit of the listener. The body was no longer an indefinite repetition and playing around of melodic phrases, but a very carefully thought out middle section where only the essential phrases were played without much repetition, and the closure to the song was a definite ending rhythmically and melodically distinct from the rest of the song. In fact, in many of Matotiyana's post-1996 bow performances, the idea of tension and release underlying the Western cadence could be detected right at the very end of the bow song. I was consequently left with the distinct impression that these bow songs were very carefully planned, well-rehearsed and thought-through, as opposed to a personal expression or utterance rarely intended to entertain a large audience. Matotiyana had thereby elevated the *umrhubhe* and its songs to a 'centre-stage' instrument with a repertoire of set form and proportion. In this way she had been forced to adapt her style to incorporate a 'concert' concept in keeping with standards required when performing on centre stage. Therefore, the cultural milieu to which she was subjected and in which she had to perform strongly influenced her musical style.

At the beginning of this chapter, I posed the question if one could conclude that the songs of Matotiyana do in fact conform to a general style that is all her own. It is evident from the discussions above that her songs carry certain stylistic traits that are a hallmark of her individual style. Matotiyana has introduced and incorporated her

own innovations, such as her special treatment of interlinked partials and whistled phrases and the endings to her bow songs. Apart from this, her songs demonstrate the formal and structural principles of Xhosa music, especially cyclic form, antiphony, repetition and variation, shifting tonality within a hexa mode, which leads me to confirm that a definite general style can therefore be identified within the broader style of the songs of the Xhosa-speaking people.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

By applying Rice's model to the information assembled directly from Matotiyana and Mangaliso's personal accounts, I was able to discover the following. As the social circumstances of both musicians changed during their lives, they sought and chose various means to come to terms with their new reality, yet drew upon their tribal upbringing and the older tenets of the Xhosa-speaking people to do this. Both Matotiyana and Mangaliso were born in the Eastern Cape and raised according to the customs and institutions of their clan. This is where they learnt about good behaviour, to work hard at what you do and how to lead a good and purposeful life. These values and customs have remained with them ever since and still govern their lives and actions. Both informants were also introduced to music within this tribal context and played the older instruments as children. Here they learnt that music should be a fun activity and pursued because you love and enjoy it, as well as its value for instruction regarding behaviour and so forth. But, whereas Matotiyana continued playing her (traditional) *umrhubhe* (even after leaving the Eastern Cape for Cape Town and being faced with a lack of materials and opposition to an older instrument), Mangaliso changed to the harmonica and *ikonsetina* when he left the Eastern Cape for urban Johannesburg. (He regards this change as a natural progression because he was now living in the urban Western world and furthermore felt his ancestors had instructed him to play the *ikonsetina*.)

Mangaliso moved to Johannesburg at the age of 17 and has spent most of his life to date living in urban areas. Although he did not enjoy urban living, which contrasted severely with his happy, peaceful and carefree youth due to the violence, poverty,

destruction of family life and a lack of supportive environment, he persevered because he could earn a (better) living. These social conditions, however, encouraged Mangaliso to instruct the youth regarding the (older) good values he learnt as a youngster so that they might lead a better life. The instruction took place either through the medium of his songs, or story telling and talking, i.e. the way he learnt it as a child. Furthermore, Mangaliso also uses his performing persona in this way: When others observe his enjoyment and love for his older songs when performing, they will hopefully come to realise that creating music for the love thereof and not for commercial purposes, should be the main motivation. Although Mangaliso was not happy in the urban world, it gave him his instrument and the opportunity to become the musician he is today, as well as a means of coming to terms with his urban living conditions. Since he believed that you should remain true to your own style and continually strive for a higher standard of playing, i.e. lessons he learnt as a youngster in the Eastern Cape, Mangaliso performed well at the mining competitions and as his fame spread, was encouraged to work even harder at his playing. This in turn furthered his reputation and fame. Mangaliso's songs also served as an emotional outlet for his pain and suffering, as well as for pure enjoyment. By either composing new songs that dealt with his present social circumstances, or singing older songs that reminded him of his (happier) past, or simply by just playing his *ikonsetina* for personal enjoyment, Mangaliso was able to come to terms with his new and present social reality. Furthermore, he was able to calm himself, and others who misbehaved around him, through his *ikonsetina* playing.

Matotiyana also moved to urban Cape Town to be able to provide for her family. She too found she missed the way of life she had known back in the Eastern Cape,

especially her life as a youngster where communal music-making had been central to life, albeit a means of making your daily tasks more enjoyable, educating the youth regarding behaviour, bringing people together or simply being part of the activities you enjoyed with your friends. This loss encouraged Matotiyana to convey the values, lessons and so forth she had learnt as a child to the younger generation. Matotiyana mentioned that she particularly wished to convey that the enjoyment and love for one's art is the most important aspect and should be the reason for wanting to make music. To this end she uses the texts of her songs to convey her message, which is how she learnt it as a child, as well as her performing persona. However, in Matotiyana's case, she furthermore uses this persona to promote a love for her *umrhubhe*, since urban Africans are not interested in the older instruments or songs. By showing that the instrument can still bring personal enjoyment and be successfully played on stage, Matotiyana hopes to promote and generate greater interest for the musical bow. For this reason she is keen to play her *umrhubhe* and talk about her art to all interested parties, both locally and abroad. She also performs to ethnomusicology students during lectures for the same reason. Matotiyana has furthermore started showing her grandchild how to play the *umrhubhe* in the same manner she learnt about her instrument. Lastly, Matotiyana also uses her songs as an emotional outlet: By composing and performing songs that deal with her circumstances, she is able to come to terms with her present social world in much the same way she has since childhood.

Both musicians therefore reacted in similar ways to their changing social world. They were also similarly affected in the way their changing world influenced their experience and creation of their songs, i.e. the interaction and interrelationship

between them and their society and the pressures that shaped and still shape them. As seen from the above, moving from a rural to an urban environment greatly affected Matotiyana and Mangaliso. Both musicians not only created songs that dealt with their new or changed social circumstances, where the songs' texts dealt with their present life, but also helped them cope with it and still do. They were also encouraged to educate and instruct the younger generation regarding the values and so forth they learnt within their tribal upbringing. Furthermore, both Matotiyana and Mangaliso especially experienced their songs as uplifting after they moved to an urban environment because it helped them cope and come to terms with their new life.

Urbanisation also brought about a change in context. Whereas both had grown up within a tribal musical context, they now functioned within Western society and its norms. Recordings, broadcasts, concert tours, remuneration, competitions, playing when invited, paying to attend gatherings, becoming solo artists and so forth meant that they had to create songs that would be accepted according to urban (western) standards. This became especially evident after their fame and reputation spread during the mid-1990s. Matotiyana consequently introduced a definite (formal) structure to her bow songs and Mangaliso took the *ikonsetina* style to new heights by further developing his own unique style. (This included incorporating praise singing and other Xhosa stylistic traits.) In this way, their interaction and interrelationship with society effected certain musical changes regarding their individual creativity. However, even here both musicians still drew upon their tribal upbringing because their basic approach to their songs and style remained much the same since their youth: Matotiyana still composed her songs according to the style of Xhosa bow songs; Mangaliso too preferred to remain true to the Xhosa *ikonsetina* style.

It is clear from the above, as well as throughout the text, that the notion of change is central to this thesis. According to Brown (1992: 123) this is a natural course of events for a creative activity and art form and is brought about by the creativity of individuals, social changes, the availability of new technology and accident. Furthermore, Brown (1992: 123) regards the characteristics of African music to be a set of choices for creating and using music, where the musician(s) choose which ones they wish to use or not. Therefore, whether a particular characteristic is used or not depends upon the lived experience of the musician, as well as individual creativity and chance and reflects not only the diversity in musical sound, but also conceptualisations about and behaviours in relation to it (Brown 1992: 123). In the case of Matotiyana, she consciously effected a change in her bow songs because of a change in performance. In other words, the (traditional) *umrhubhe* and its bow songs underwent a change due to the creative decision of the individual after she experienced a new set of social circumstances touring abroad. Since the *umrhubhe* moved from an informal performance context to a formal one, Matotiyana needed to effect a creative change in her bow songs so that they would be more suited to performing on stage. Although she effected structural changes, she still continued composing her songs according to the older Xhosa style, i.e. employing shifting tonality and cyclic form and in fact still regards her musical style as being the same. Matotiyana therefore chose to continue the tradition on the one hand, while bringing about innovations on the other – recreating and modifying it – through individual creative action and experience that flowed directly from the change in the pattern of her social environment.

Mangaliso, on the other hand, helped take the *ikonsetina* and its music out of the mining compound and into the general music arena and concert stage through his conscious and continued effort to keep playing and raise the standard and level of performance of the *ikonsetina* and its music. Here the individual's decision to continue playing and raising the standard of his instrument after he left the mining world meant that the instrument became more widely disseminated and played in different contexts. Also, by working on his style and performance, due to the new demands placed upon him through a change in performance context, meant that the *ikonsetina* tradition was expanded. Thus a change in the social environment contributed to the extension of a (musical) tradition, where the individual's creative ability and experience thereof facilitated the change.

Lastly, Matotiyana and Mangaliso parallel the tensions and changes between the old and the new; the rural and the urban world. Both musicians grew up in a tribal environment, were exposed to music in this context and still prefer to live and make music accordingly. They therefore form a part and continuance of the stream of "older" (traditional) musicians who would like to see a continuance of the older Xhosa music for a while yet. But, due to their changed social circumstances where the urban Westernised world affected them and their songs, they form a part of the contemporary scene as well. They therefore gradually moved away from being "traditionalists" and ruralists to Westernised urbanites. This change is evident throughout Southern Africa, due to the encroachment of the modern (Western) world upon the rural areas, particularly in the arts and music (Mensah 1992: 19 and Honore 1987: 18). Today even rural Africans are becoming urbanised and Westernised. According to Mensah (1992: 15), the "new arts" are spreading and growing rapidly at

the cost of the older traditions. They also speak to modern Africans in a way they prefer because they address modern needs and tastes. Furthermore, this “new music” is commanding most of the artistic resources (Mensah 1992: 15). Both Matotiyana and Mangaliso clearly feel the change, but despite lamenting the fact that the “new” ones are replacing the “older arts”, they feel that modern life should not be forced to accommodate the past. Instead they try to find a medium whereby they can still practice their art within their changing world. In this way, their individual creativity and experience ensures that they not only keep their values and art alive, but also play a significant role in the present changing cultural environment. It is therefore imperative that research be conducted with individuals, like Mantombi Matotiyana and Maxanjana Mangaliso, currently practising the older arts because they will not only ensure that a record exists of their work, but also reveal the way they are being affected by their changing social and cultural world. Valuable insight and knowledge will consequently be gained in this way, since the research will be able to reveal how people are reacting, recreating, modifying, interpreting and even reinventing themselves and their tradition amidst their changing social world.

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Software

Musical examples produced with the aid of *Music Publisher 32* from
Braeburn Software (www.braeburn.co.uk)

Plates

Plate 1: Mantombi Matotiyana playing her *umrhubhe*.



Plate 2: String stopping by means of pinching between the thumb and index finger.



Plate 3: Mantombi Matotiyana whistling out of the side of her mouth while resonating in the mouth cavity.



Note the end of the bow resting against the cheek and chin.

Plate 4: Maxanjana Mangaliso playing his *ikonsetina*.



Plate 5: Maxanjana Mangaliso, Mantombi Matotiyana and Lungile Plaatjies singing.



Mantombi is indicating the beat with body movement (shoulders).

Plate 6: Here the beat of the song is indicated by clapping.



Plate 7: Making music