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A HISTORY OF ZULU BEADWORK 1890-1997: ITS TYPES, FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

Volume I

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
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The Ohio State University
2000

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History of Art Graduate Program
ABSTRACT

Beadworking is an important art form both historically and contemporarily for the Zulu people of South Africa. While being an expression of Zulu aesthetic concepts, beadwork also has important roles in the economy; regulation of society; healing and divination practices and display of wealth, religious and political affiliations, and political power. Additionally, regional and sequential variations in the names and types of items produced, the color combinations and design motifs used on beadwork items, and the symbolism associated with various motifs and colors serve to identify an individual's age, social status, and region of origin. As such, the historical study of Zulu beadwork between 1890-1997 provides insights into the historical events, movements of people, social practices and their changes, religious beliefs, structure and changes of the economy, political climate, and artistic trends within Zulu society of this period, as they were experienced at both the individual and group level. Assuming such a broad range of roles, beadwork becomes then a symbolic embodiment of the common circumstances and interests that define Zulu ethnicity during the period under consideration.

As such, this study examines the art historical development of Zulu beadwork from 1890-1900 in twenty year intervals to determine: 1) the various major regional styles and their developments and 2) the functions of beadwork within Zulu society and how these functions are adapted to historical and social changes. It will show that while there are certain common elements to beadwork forms and functions that serve as the basis for
the expression of a unified ethnic identity, artists are continually experimenting with colors, materials, shapes, and beadworking methods to create unique objects that reflect their unique position within Zulu society. It reveals some of the social, political, religious, and economic changes that have come to have an impact on these stylistic developments; and conversely, how these changes are expressed in beadwork. In short, this study will show the history of beadwork to be a materialization of the contemporary and historical experiences that define the ethnicity of the Zulu people as a united yet diverse people. On a broader level, this investigation will also increase the appreciation of the deep significance of the role of body arts within the context of African art as a whole.
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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: History of Art
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Chapter 1 lays down the foundations for the study of the history of Zulu beadwork as an expression of ethnic identity. It begins with a general introduction to the subject of the study and an examination of the background and need for such research. A review of the resources available for an investigation of Zulu beadwork and the circumstances of its creation then follows. To conclude this chapter, an outline of the research design used for this study and presentation of its findings is given.

The Zulu people of South Africa are famous for their resistance to European domination. They are well known for their skilled army, which was able to fend off aggressors until their final defeat at the hands of the British in 1879. Furthermore, both missionaries and colonial officials found the Zulu notoriously loyal to their traditional ways of life. This strong sense of pride in ethnic traditions and identity was brought with the Zulu people into the twentieth century, and it is a pride that remains with them to this day. One of the most visible forms of the expression of ethnicity is dress, and beadwork is one type of ornamentation strongly associated with Zulu dress. Beadwork, therefore, has become an art form that is frequently invoked as an embodiment of Zulu ethnicity.

Beadworking is an important art form, both historically and contemporarily, for the Zulu people of South Africa. While being an expression of Zulu aesthetic concepts, beadwork also has important roles in the economy, the regulation of society, healing and divination practices, as well as the display of wealth and social status. In addition, regional
variations in the names and types of items produced, and the design motifs and their symbolism serve to help to identify an individual's area of origin. As a result, Zulu beadwork can provide insights into historical events, movements of people, social practices and their changes, religious beliefs, economic structures and changes, the political climate, and artistic trends within Zulu society; all of which are elements that inform ethnic identity. Thus, a historical examination of beadwork and its changes reveals the nature and character of Zulu ethnic identity, and the way in which this identity has been altered to suit the contemporary circumstances and needs of the people.

1.1 BACKGROUND AND NEED

In this section, the background and need for a study of the history of Zulu beadwork in relationship to Zulu ethnicity is explored. After a definition for ethnicity has been established, an examination of the way in which ethnic identity has been treated in the Zulu kingdom and among the Zulu people after the kingdom lost its independence is presented. A general discussion of the role of art in the formation and maintenance of ethnicity then follows. Overall, this section is designed to show how a study of the history of Zulu beadwork can provide information about the cultural, social, religious, political, and economic nature of Zulu ethnic identity and how it changed over time.

The study of the formation, maintenance, and uses of ethnic identity is very relevant to our contemporary world. Fearing that increasing globalization, especially since World War II (Eriksen 2-3), will subsume them, many groups of people throughout the world have begun to forcefully assert their ethnic identity using both violent and nonviolent means. Yet, as ethnicity has come to play a prominent part in geopolitics, the concept of ethnic identity or ethnicity is still a matter of some debate. While the body, language, culture, political organization, kinship relations, history, religion, and nationality
can be part of the elements of an ethnic identity, all of these elements can also vary, to one degree or another, within an ethnic group. As a result, definitions of an ethnic group such as the one proposed by De Vos, which defines ethnic group as, "a self-perceived group of people who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by others with whom they are in contact" (9), are not sufficiently broad. According to Eriksen:

Ethnicity is an aspect of social relationship between agents who consider themselves as culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have a minimum of regular interaction. It can thus also be defined as a social identity (based on a constant vis-a-vis others) characterized by metaphoric or fictive kinship (Yelvington, 1991:168). When cultural differences regularly make a difference in interaction between members of groups, the social relationship has an ethnic element. Ethnicity refers both to aspects of gain and loss in interaction, and to aspects of meaning in the creation of identity. In this way it has a political, organizational aspect as well as a symbolic one. (12)

Thus, the definition for ethnic identity must be flexible enough to permit variations and changes within a group, and still have elements that allow for the identification of a group of people and which distinguish them from others. In other words, ethnic identity is a concept that is delimited by the group in relation to those outside of the group and, therefore, is a concept that can accommodate some forms of diversity and changes over time.

The formation and nature of Zulu ethnic identity has been a subject of interest to those both within and outside of Zulu culture. From the inception of the Zulu kingdom, there was a concerted effort to formulate a unified ethnic identity for members of the kingdom. This was done through a system of public service, which brought much of the youth into contact with the culture of the capital. Still, the identity created by this system was not monolithic and did allow for change. After the kingdom lost its independence to the British, efforts to maintain a sense of ethnic unity continued and even became more intense during certain periods. Faced with subordination to British rule and, later, the apartheid system, the Zulu people and their leaders used ethnicity as a means of asserting
their presence. Yet, it was not only the Zulu people who established the boundaries of Zulu ethnic identity, but also other black ethnic groups within South Africa and, especially, the white minority governments\(^1\). The white governments of both the British and the Nationalists, classified people by their real or perceived ethnicity and, in doing so, reinforced the boundaries of the various ethnic groups in South Africa. Thus, political and economic concerns as well as social ones have impacted the formulation, maintenance, and usage of the ethnic identity of the Zulu people. It is an identity that has been used to keep the Zulu people’s presence visible, as well as to subjugate them.

1.1.1 ETHNIC IDENTITY IN THE ZULU KINGDOM

Starting with its formation under the reign of King Shaka Zulu (1818-1828), the Zulu kingdom, as a nation forged by uniting a number of independent clans, was composed of a variety of social classes and local cultures. At the social level, Zulu society was arranged hierarchically. The king occupied the top of the social ladder\(^2\), followed by his court, advisors to the king (*amankosi*), military heroes, local headmen (*izinduna*), married men, married women, unmarried people, and children. As one moved down the social ladder access to power and wealth decreased, creating a series of social classes. There were also regional differences within Zulu society. As clans became incorporated into the kingdom, they were required to send young men to serve in the military and young women to serve the court at the king’s *isigodlo*\(^3\). This type of service not only provided a standing army and labor to support the royal court, it was also designed to promote a sense of national unity. After their service, when these young men and women returned home, they brought the culture of the court back to their home locales. This helped to create a national culture. Nevertheless, in spite of these attempts to unite the clans, there remained local variations on cultural practices and language pronunciations.
There existed also a hierarchy of the clans. The clans that were the original core of the kingdom enjoyed much more power than did those that were newly incorporated.

These regional differences were particularly evident between the court in the north and people living south of the Tugela River. Before King Shaka conquered the southern area between 1820-1824, the Tugela River formed a border between the Zulu-speakers of the north and south. Because of this division, the southern Zulu-speakers had slightly different cultural customs and their language pronunciations differed from their northern counterparts. The southern people softened the enunciation of their consonants. According to Stephen Taylor, the northerners believed that this difference was the result of the fact that the tongues of the southerners lay flat (lala) in their mouths, and referred to them as the *amalala* or *lala* (68). These differences led to prejudices against people from the south. To quote one of James Stuart's informants, "Shaka said they had dirty habits and did not distinguish between good and bad. They did not pay respect to chiefs, nor wash, nor keep neat" (Webb and Wright 2:55). Indeed, the people of the north saw themselves as the true "Zulus" (Taylor 68) and superior to the people of the south. In turn, the southerners bemoaned their conquest, referring to it as the *izwekufa* ("death of the nation") (Webb and Wright 3:80). So, while these southern clans were part of the kingdom, they occupied a low position in the political hierarchy and were reluctant in their union.

Over time, the alliance of the federation of clans that made up the Zulu kingdom varied in strength. King Dingane, who succeeded King Shaka, did not possess the ability to inspire the same level of respect that served King Shaka, nor did he have the military skills of King Shaka. As a result, the federation of the kingdom became weaker under King Dingane's charge. People began to move away from the Zulu capital to regions south of the Tugela River, and some even began to form alliances with British traders and Voortrekkers. In 1840 King Mpande overthrew his brother, Dingane, and ceded part of
the southern region of the kingdom to the British in return for their assistance in his brother's defeat. Although people continued to move south under Mpande's rule, these losses were offset by an increase in the population and wealth that accompanied this peaceful time (Omer-Cooper 46). The peace and prosperity of Mpande's 32 year reign probably allowed more time for the pursuit of cultural activities. Also by this period, several generations of young men and women had done their service at the court and had come home. This meant that by this time the culture of the capital had probably become part of the local cultures, including the art of beadwork. Clans still maintained local power and retained a certain local identity, but the intermarriage promoted by the isigodlo had made them less discrete units. After 1856, the southern part of the kingdom came under the control of the British as the colony of Natal. Along with the British citizens who lived there, there was also a population of people who had once been part of the Zulu kingdom but who had been taken over by the British or had fled the kingdom. While these people came under British political control, they were still considered to be ethnically Zulu. As Patrick Harries noted:

Although it seems unlikely that many people living south of the Tugela would have identified themselves as Zulu, migrant workers employed beyond the borders of the colony readily did so. "Zulu" was a classificatory label, used by both employers and workers in the diamond and gold fields, that could be exploited to the benefit of migrants arriving from Natal/Zululand. These men not only saw themselves reflected as a group in the eyes of their employers and peers; they also found a valuable source of community, respect and assistance in the title. (110)

So, when it became obvious to the people living in the south that they were not going to be assimilated into the British culture, they again began to identify themselves as Zulu to avoid complete subjugation. As these southerners would still have had cultural, language, religious, and historical alliances with the people of the north, this re-identification with Zulu ethnicity would not have been overly problematic. People that identified themselves as ethnically Zulu thus lived both within and outside of the borders of Zululand.
1.1.2 ZULU ETHNIC IDENTITY SINCE 1880

The Zulu kingdom's loss of independence in 1879 and the disruptions that accompanied it, strained the ethnic solidarity of the Zulu people (Klopper, "The Art of the Traditionalists of Zululand-Natal" 33). They were without a monarch until 1883, when King Cetshwayo was allowed to return from exile. This left the group without a central figure around which they could rally. Yet, even when the king returned, neither he nor his successor, King Dinuzulu, was able to inspire the overwhelming support of their subjects. The military defeat of the kingdom and the failure of the Bambatha Rebellion of 1910 were further blows to the power of the king. Not only did these events make people question the ability of their leader, they probably also made people avoid outward displays of ethnic identity to shun trouble. The partitioning of the territory of the kingdom into thirteen regions, which occurred under British rule, probably served only to reinforce old regional divisions. In fact, some local chiefs even proposed holding their own First Fruits Festivals (Carton 147), which were events that had previously been the privilege of the king alone. Furthermore, while the advent of migrant labor served to encourage ethnic unity of people away from home, it began to undermine the family and traditional power structures that were the foundations of unity at home. In addition, the impact of Christian missionary activities began to significantly impact the Zulu community during this period. As a condition of their conversion, the Kholwa community (those who had converted to Christianity) renounced many Zulu cultural practices including, lobola, polygyny, and the wearing of traditional style clothing. While missionaries had long been active with the Zulu people, as more people converted, differences between converts and traditionalists became more pronounced, causing further divisions in communities. Overall, the events of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, generally worked to strain the unity of the Zulu people and undermine elements of their ethnic identity.
Faced with the disruption of rural communities and the implementation of increasingly racist laws, the Zulu people again began efforts to reassert their ethnic identity in the 1920s. These efforts came from several different levels in society. King Solomon began the Inkatha Movement as both to attempt to unite the Zulu people culturally and socially, and to politically re-empower the Zulu royal house. Zulu intellectuals also began other cultural and social movements to promote ethnic consciousness among the Zulu people. Most of the people that were involved in these movements were individuals who had grown up in Christian homes and had been educated in mission schools. Many of these individuals were people who had sought to become full participants in the colonial society. Yet, in spite of all of their efforts, the passage laws designed to subjugate the black population made it clear that whites were not going to give them equality. As a result, these intellectuals turned their attention toward stimulating a new sense of cultural and social pride among the Zulu people. They did this through organizations, such as Albert Luthuli’s Zulu cultural society; by publishing newspapers and books which addressed issues such as Zulu traditional culture, history, and contemporary concerns of the Zulu people; and by staging historical dramas. In this way, they sought to assert some control over the way in which Zulu culture and history was presented; in contrast to the negative images promoted by the white sector. Describing these efforts in his book, The New African: A Study of the Life and Work of H. J. E. Dhlomo, Tim Couzens wrote:

'The 'New African' must thus reclaim parts of the past from which he has been cut off by numerous methods such as educational indoctrination and counter-ideology. This is done by claiming for one's group the ancestors, the historical heroes, and by claiming them as one's own, one gains legitimacy (154).

These positive representations of Zulu culture and history could then be used to promote a social and political unity, designed to give the Zulu people a more visible presence in South African society. As James Kellas observed:
Yet, as the promotion of Zulu history and culture was being conducted by a limited number of politicians and intellectuals, it was their interpretations of Zulu traditions that were being encouraged. This meant that Zulu culture and identity probably became more narrowly defined and standardized than they had been previously. Exemplifying this propensity is Albert Luthuli's statement, "We did have an intense wish to preserve what is valuable in our heritage while discarding the inappropriate and outmoded" (Luthuli 37). For instance, when the Natal Department of Education tried to place "Bantu Dancing" on the syllabus in 1948, there were many Zulu intellectuals involved with the ethnic consciousness movements who disapproved of this idea (Marks, "Patriotism, Patriarchy and Purity" 230-234). This has led some scholars to argue that an idealized version of Zulu cultural unity and history has become the basis of twentieth century Zulu identity. Yet, it cannot be denied that the people found some common ground in the culture and history promoted by these movements, since the messages carried by these movements found resonance in both the rural and urban segments of the Zulu populations. Still, divisions in Zulu society between people of different regions, religions, and classes still remained; although these movements did help to bridge differences and begin to help to bring some sense of unity to the Zulu people.

When the National Party was elected in 1948 and began to implement the apartheid system, the issues of race and ethnic identity took on a new importance, as they were used to further divide South African society. According to the policies implemented under this system, most of the Zulu population was required to live in areas set aside as "homelands" and travel outside of these regions was strictly regulated. In these homeland areas, people came under the control of traditionalist leaders who were, in turn, subordinate
to South African law. In addition, the king gained the official recognition of the government, but was not given any real power. Although this system gave the Zulu people some sense of self-rule; the government did not provide any economic support for the homelands. This left these homeland areas undeveloped and impoverished. On the other hand, the restored importance of traditional figures of authority under this system did provide the people with some sense of a renewed ethnic unity. It is a unity that was also reinforced by the establishment of Shaka's Day in 1954 and the Reed Ceremony in 1984. Shaka's Day is a yearly festival at which King Shaka is remembered and the authority of the Zulu kingship is celebrated. The Reed Ceremony serves as a celebration of the yearly renewal of the powers of the Zulu king and traditionalist values. The establishment of both of these public celebrations helped to further invigorate interest in a Zulu ethnic identity. Nevertheless, the policies of the apartheid government silenced attempts to bring Zulu ethnic identity into the mainstream of South African society. Although the Zulu language newspaper, *Ilanga Lase Natal*, continued to be published, support for publications that celebrated Zulu culture and history became limited. Organizations and other forms of political speech that challenged the government's policies were banned, and education in Zulu history and culture was not offered. This meant that the control over the promotion of Zulu ethnic identity was primarily limited to the king and traditional leaders. The policies of the apartheid system also worked to reinforce old divisions in Zulu society. The poor economic conditions, poor quality of the land, and shortage of land, brought on by an increasing population, led to tensions between the people living in the homeland areas. These tensions combined with other social and political issues worked to inflame the old divisions between the various clans that lived within these regions. This resulted in sporadic violent confrontations. Regional divisions were also fortified by the fact that the Zulu homeland was not a single continuous unit but physically divided into forty-three parcels of land. This physical separation compounded by restrictions on travel,
especially by women, hindered communications between people of different regions. So, while the policies of the apartheid government, which restricted people to the homeland areas under the control of traditional leaders, acted to help to promote a sense of ethnic unity among the Zulu as a people suffering a similar fate; these policies, likewise, reinforced old divisions between people of different regions and classes.

Although the promotion of Zulu ethnic identity, ever since the formation of the Zulu kingdom, has had political as well as social objectives, from about the late 1970s to the mid-1990s Zulu ethnic identity became highly politicized by Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). In 1975, Buthelezi founded what he referred to as a "cultural liberation movement" known as Inkatha ye KwaZulu ("The Ring That Binds the Zulu People"), which was later changed to Inkatha ye Nkululeko ye Sizwe ("The Ring That Binds the Nation"). Inkatha bills itself as a black liberation movement. Its stated aim is to, "foster unity among the people of KwaZulu throughout southern Africa, and between them and all their African brothers" through the, "eradication of all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racialism, imperialism, discrimination and to strive for the attainment of African unity" (qtd. in Taylor 347). Yet, the IFP has focused its appeals, almost exclusively, on the Zulu people. The movement has used symbols derived from traditionalist Zulu culture and history, most of their political interests have focused on the KwaZulu/Natal province, and Buthelezi has drawn upon his connection to the Zulu royal house in order to reaffirm his position (Golan 21). For instance, IFP members are encouraged to wear traditionalist clothing and carry traditionalist weapons to rallies, and Zulu history is often invoked in IFP rhetoric. Buthelezi himself frequently appears in elements of traditionalist dress and, before their 1994 split, liked to be seen with King Zwelithini. As observed by Barth, in his analysis of the formation and maintenance of ethnic groups, "much of the activity of political innovators is concerned with the codification of idioms: the selection of signals for identity and the assertion of value for
the cultural diacritics, and the suppression or denial of relevance for other differentiate" (35). Buthelezi has gone so far as to equate the IFP with the Zulu people with statements such as, "I want to make it quite clear that ANC (African National Congress) attacks are not only attacks against Inkatha. They are attacks against Zulu people just because they are Zulu" (qtd. in Jung 85). Indeed, Buthelezi has repeatedly appealed for the ethnic solidarity of the Zulu people and has even suggested a separate Zulu state. Most of the support for IFP was/is found in the rural regions, where the party has helped to buoy the position of chiefs by providing them with resources during difficult times. While the true number of IFP supporters is hard to access, it is certain that the party does not represent the views of all the Zulu people. IFP support decreases as one travels south in the KwaZulu/Natal province. The break with the king after the 1994 elections has also been detrimental to support for the party. In her article, "'He is My King, but He is Also My Child': Inkatha, the African National Congress, and the Struggle for Control over Zulu Cultural Symbols" (1996), Klopper documented the work of several Zulu writers who have openly contested the IFP's use of Zulu symbols. As such, Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party politicized Zulu ethnic identity to an extent that had not been seen previously, but it was not an identity that was embraced by all Zulu people.

In addition to the king, traditional leaders, intellectuals, and politicians, the Nazareth Baptist Church has also become a force for the promotion of traditionalist Zulu culture in the later part of the twentieth century. Founded in 1911 by Isaiah Shembe, by the 1940s the church had begun to attract a substantial group of followers. The beliefs of the church fuse traditionalist Zulu cultural and social values with Christian doctrines. Church members follow practices such as wearing traditionalist style clothing during worship services, being married in traditionalist style wedding ceremonies, and upholding Christian and traditional Zulu practices of strict respect for elders. Though not politically inclined, the organization's exclusively Zulu members are dedicated to following many
traditionalist cultural and social customs, as a means of living a righteous life. As a result, both Zulu and non-Zulu South Africans hold up followers of the church as representatives of "traditional" Zulu culture and customs. Contemporarily, the number of members and the influence of the church seem to be growing. This makes it also a strong vehicle for the promotion of Zulu ethnicity.

Thus, since the founding of the kingdom, the encouragement of a unified Zulu ethnic identity was a concern. Such an identity was necessary to create political unity and distinguish members of the kingdom from outsiders, especially in the volatile climate of South Africa in the early years of the kingdom. As noted by Barth, "If a person is dependent for his security on the voluntary and spontaneous support of his own community, self identification as a member of this community needs to be explicitly expressed and confirmed" (36). Nevertheless, the Zulu society was never monolithic. Differences in classes gave people variable access to wealth and power. Regional identities were also maintained and served to remind the king of the various factions of which the kingdom was composed. After the kingdom lost its independence, what ethnic unity the kingdom fostered among the people was threatened by a breakdown in the traditional power structure. But, the problems brought about as a result of colonial domination gave the people an impetus, once again to unite, so as to prevent their total subjugation. As observed by Cohen and Middleton:

...the greater the pressure in a group from a surrounding hegemony (or hegemonies) then the greater is the possibility that such a group, no matter what its own multiethnic history, will form into a newly emergent ethnic unit in reaction to such pressure (27).

In response to the oppression of the colonial and apartheid governments, Zulu intellectuals, politicians, and certain religious leaders attempted to present positive images of Zulu culture and history around which people could rally. These movements were
designed to provide a social and political unity in order to give the Zulu people a sense of worth and a political voice. As stated by Shula Marks:

Using the building blocks of past history, language and 'custom', twentieth century ethnic consciousness has been the product of intense ideological labour designed to confront new and dangerous social conditions ("Patriotism, Patriarchy and Purity" 217).

The voices in the processes used to construct a Zulu identity have always presented a myriad of contesting images of Zulu ethnicity, in an attempt to embrace the various religious, class, and regional identities that are part of the Zulu people as a whole. Yet, in recent years the control over Zulu ethnic identity has become particularly politicized. Striving to control the way in which the Zulu people will fit into post-apartheid South Africa, a number of different forces, including the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Zulu Royal House, the Nazareth Baptist Church, various commercial interests, and scholars, are currently presenting their own versions of Zulu ethnic identity for consideration. It is from these presentations, as well as others that have yet to arise, from which the Zulu people themselves, vis-a-vis the rest of South Africa, will continue to negotiate an ethnic identity that gives them a historical legitimacy, is suited to their contemporary world, and provides for their future variations.

1.1.3 THE FORMATION AND EXPRESSION OF ETHNICITY THROUGH ART

The visual arts play a significant role in the formation and maintenance of ethnic identity, especially among the Zulu. As Barth noted, ethnic difference is often expressed in two ways: 1) through overt signals such as differences in dress and language, and 2) in basic value orientations (14). As objects that allow an individual and/or group to individualize their body and their environment, works of art can be used to transmit overt signals about the inclusion or exclusion of an individual in relation to an ethnic group. More subletly, as works of art are often, aesthetically and conceptually, rooted in the basic
value orientations of artists as member of their society; art both reflects and helps to form the value orientations that distinguish a community. As such, art is an important element in both the formation and articulation of ethnic identity. Gavin Smith also observed that, "the production of culture increases at historical moments of heightened resistance and rebellion, because the valued components of culture are challenged, threatened from without and so must be articulated within" (182). In this usage, art becomes especially vital to maintaining the ethnic identity of people, such as the Zulu, whose existence is under threat. As such, the production and reproduction of art can serve both social and political purposes in defining, articulating, and maintaining an ethnic identity.

Still, art is not simply an expression of the boundaries of an ethnic identity; instead art also is reflective of the nature of that identity. The art produced by a group of people can reveal their value orientations as well as the character of their cultural, social, political, economic, and religious life. It also reveals the variations in these characteristics that are allowed within an ethnic group, and how these characteristics are adapted to changing historical circumstances.

Thus, the substance and production of art is an integral part of the ethnic identity of a people. It both defines and reflects ethnic identity. In this way, it is both active and passive. Visual art makes tangible the characteristics that help to define an ethnic group and reveals the variations in these characteristics. Art helps to define the boundaries of an ethnic identity, but is also active in helping to change these boundaries to suit contemporary needs. Moreover, art has the ability to reveal the vitality of the characteristics of an identity and also their weaknesses. Indeed, art is inextricably bound to ethnic identity.

Dress, as a form of art, is one of the building blocks that is frequently employed in the formulation, articulation, and maintenance of an ethnic identity. As defined by Joanne Eicher, "dress is a coded sensory system of non-verbal communication that aids human
interaction in space and time" (1). Dress can communicate the location and historical moment in which one exists. Dress can reveal the ethnic identity of an individual and his or her social, cultural, political, religious, and economic positions within that ethnic group. And dress can help individuals to negotiate their place within these changeable worldly realities, as well as their relationship to otherworldly realities. As with other forms of art, dress acts, both actively and passively, to help to define and reflect the nature of the ethnic identity of the wearer.

The beadwork created by Zulu artists are good examples of items of dress that embody expressions of ethnic identity. Through their forms and functions, beadwork objects provide insights into Zulu ethnic identity at both an individual and group level. For the individual, beadwork communicates information about the Zulu ethnicity of the wearer and his/her position within that Zulu culture. When seen as a whole, the beadwork of the twentieth century helps to reveal how the borders of Zulu identity were drawn as well as the cultural, social, religious, political, and economic nature of this identity. Moreover, the changes observed in this art form, over the years, are indicative of the ways in which Zulu identity and its boundaries have changed to suit contemporary conditions. At both the macro and micro level, beadwork helps to reflect and define Zulu ethnic identity in both space and time, especially through visual cues and practices.

1.1.4 BEADWORK AND COURTSHIP

The processes through which Zulu individuals become fully participatory adult members of their ethnic group are often articulated by the customs associated with courtship. The stages of the courting process serve as a transition between childhood and adulthood and help instill notions of the extents and limits of adult responsibilities which are tied to membership in the community. As such, the courtship process is a time during
which the nature and boundaries of ethnic identity are both defined and expressed in order

to unite the young people with each other and with the wider adult community. In Zulu

society, beadwork is a fundamental part of the courtship rituals. Although Zulu children

wear little, if any, clothes when they are young, as they grow older, boys and girls begin to

wear an increasing number of beadwork ornaments based on their age grade. The exact

types of these ornaments function to distinguish individuals of one age grade from

another. Zulu youths are generally divided into the age-grade allotments of children,

minor courting aged people, junior courting aged people, senior courting aged people, and

engaged people, which lead to full adult status with marriage.

After reaching puberty a girl's coming of age is celebrated by a ceremony called

ukuwomula. This ceremony is meant to officially announce that a girl is of marriageable

age. After this ceremony, a girl is then allowed to adorn herself with a profusion of

beaded ornaments to attract the attention of young men. Such ornaments include a wide

variety of necklaces, belts, anklets, and legbands, which are generally worn in large

numbers. Similarly, after puberty young men are no longer required to look after their

fathers' cattle (Krige, The Social System of the Zulus 117) and they are allowed to spend

their time courting. In preparation for courting they will also adorn themselves with

colorful cloth, leather and metal ornaments in order to attract the attention of girls. But

before a girl can pick a sweetheart, she must pass through three stages. The lengths of

each of these stages are determined by senior courting aged girls (Krige, The Social

System of the Zulus 104-105), who oversee their younger counterparts as age grade

leaders. Indeed, a young girl must get permission from the head of her age grade to

proceed with any stage of the courtship process, even telling a young man that she has

affection for him. During the first stage, call amaqhikiza, she must not talk to or take

notice of boys. In the second stage, called ukujutshwa, she may talk to boys but is not

allowed to choose a lover. It is only during the third phase that a girl is allowed to select a
sweetheart. According to Eileen Krige in *The Social System of the Zulus*, the older girls, "call the younger girls to the river where they hold a meeting call *intandi*. Here they say Phumuzanzi abafokazi - Give the men a rest, by which is meant that the younger girls may now choose a sweetheart and tell the men whom they love that they have affection for them" (105).

Among the traditional Zulu, when a young woman decides to tell a young man that she wants him for a sweetheart, she does not use words, instead she uses beads. To express her desires, a traditional young Zulu woman will give the boy of her choice a string of white beads, meaning that her heart is full of love (Vilakazi, 1962, p. 50). She uses beads because, "Love among the Zulu people is a very private matter a typical Zulu traditional woman will never say 'Yes, I love you', because love must always be kept secret. To utter the 'love' is in fact, to defeat the secret nature of it" (Mthethwa, 1988, p. 34). Upon receipt of such a gift, the young man will return home and hoist a white flag over the homestead in order to announce his good news. Indeed, it is a source of pride for both a young man and his family when he has been chosen by a young woman. Young women are only allowed to choose one young man. Yet, a young man can be chosen by any number of girls. As a result, the more girls a young man can attract the higher his prestige and the prestige of his family. Sometimes a young man will give these white beads to his grandmother to wear as a symbol that she has produced a family with desirable offspring (Brindley, 1982, p. 89). Thus, the string of white beads given by a girl to a young man is the first serious step of a courtship.

Once a young woman has chosen a young man to be her sweetheart, she and the young man are allowed to have a type of external intercourse referred to as *ukuhlobonga* or *suma*. At this time a young woman is required to begin wearing a genital covering called an *isigege*. It is also at this stage in the relationship that the young woman begins to make beaded ornaments for her sweetheart. These beaded gifts are often used to convey
information from the young woman to the young man about how their relationship is progressing. For instance, lavender beads are sometimes used to send the message that a woman is looking forward to marriage, or pink beads can be used to tell a young man that she wants to marry him in spite of the fact that he is poor. These messages are conveyed through the sequence of colors used in a particular work and also to a certain extent, the shape of the piece. During the past twenty-five to fifty years or so, many young women have also begun to use letters and words in their beadwork to communicate with their suitors. This use of letters and words can be seen, for example, on the necklace in Figure 55.1 that features the phrase, "lithini ilali phansi amagamethu shidi", meaning, "what stranger lays between our sheets"; where the young woman is telling the young man that she suspects him of cheating on her. Young women will give young men these beaded messages throughout the length of their courtship and their engagement, if the relationship sustains itself. As seen in the example above, these gifts communicate a young woman's hopes, fears and emotions, both positive and negative, about her relationship with a young man.

Among the traditional Zulu, men generally married in their mid-twenties and women in the early twenties. When a man and woman decide to marry their families get together and negotiate how much lobola (how many cattle or brideprice) will be paid. After this has been decided a young woman is considered engaged and she may go to live at her husband-to-be's homestead for period of several months at a time. During this period, which may last up to several years, the two families exchange gifts periodically and the groom and his family gradually, depending on their abilities, pay off the lobola. While engaged young women begin to observe hlonipha customs. These customs are a set of rules that a married woman must follow to show respect for her husband's family and their ancestors. Part of these rules include covering her head and shoulders with either beadwork (as observed in the Southern Natal head ornament in Figure 53.6) and/or cloth
(as seen in the cape from the Estcourt region in Figure 48.4), depending on the region of origin and generation of the wearer. In some areas the bride-to-be also wears beadwork that symbolize how much lobola has been paid. For instance, in the Ndwedwe area in the 1970s every time part of her lobola was paid, the engaged women got to add a black and multiple colored beaded ornament to her headdress. Thereby, the number of beaded ornament on a woman's hat indicated how much lobola her husband-to-be had paid. Also in the Bhaca region slightly south of Durban, an engaged woman would wear a beaded legband with patches attached (Figure 59.1) to it indicate how much lobola had been paid. On this ornament, the number of patches indicated the amount of lobola which has been paid. In these ways, beadwork sometimes made public the amount of lobola that a young man had paid for an engaged woman. This, in turn, acted to subtly put pressure on the husband-to-be to keep up with his lobola payments and, therefore, regulated the engagement phase of courting.

So beaded ornaments, in many forms helped to regulate the courtship between a young man and woman in traditional Zulu culture. In a society that considered it improper to openly discuss matters of the heart in romantic terms, beadwork helped to communicate the fact that a young man or woman was ready for courtship, it was used by a young woman to indicate her choice of a boyfriend, it told how many young women were trying to court a young man, it was used as a means of communicating a woman's feeling about how a relationship was progressing, and in some regions it was used to indicate how the payment of the lobola was preceding. Thus, beadwork is an essential element of social control which helps to regulate the courting and engagement phases of traditional life.

Yet, despite the importance of beadwork in Zulu cultural traditions, there is no known study that examines the totality of the chronological development of beadwork as an art form. There are publications that deal with beadwork as part of a survey of traditional Zulu art, but these studies tend to treat the beadwork in a generalized manner.
On the other hand, there are specific studies that concentrate on a regional variation of beadwork or on one of the functions of beadwork. Still, based on the literature reviewed for this study, there has not been a survey that describes the regional stylistic variations, aesthetic implications, and the full variety of the functions of beadwork as an expression of the experience of Zulu ethnicity.

1.2 REVIEW OF SOURCES

The primary challenge to the African art historian trying to come to grips with the historical imagination of the artists and cultures who created works of art, is the lack of written material concerning the subject, especially by the Africans who are the most familiar with the culture. It is necessary, thus, to rely on a wide variety of materials when undertaking this kind of research. In the following section, a review of the resources available for the study of the history of Zulu beadwork is presented. The materials consulted for this study include works that establish beadwork objects as valid subjects for art historical research, survey traditional Zulu art, present anthropological and ethnographic treatments of the Zulu people and their art, and studies of contemporary Zulu beadwork. In addition, travelers' diaries, collections of oral histories, socio-political studies of South Africa and the Zulu people, studies of Zulu religion and philosophy, popular literature on Zulu culture and beadwork, museum and private collections of Zulu art, photographic archives, and interviews proved useful for this study.

Art historical research, African or otherwise, is a complex undertaking. In such research, not only is it important to create a record of the visual appearance of works of art over time, but it is also necessary to develop an understanding of: 1) the cultural, social, and historical contexts in which the works were created; 2) the role the objects played within the culture; 3) the aesthetics of the works of art; and 4) the overall message the
works conveyed within the culture in which they were created and to those outside of that culture. As such, it is important to draw on a variety of resources in order to develop an understanding of the place and time surrounding the creation of the art objects. Whether looking at works of art produced in eighteenth century Europe, twentieth century America, or nineteenth century Zululand, it is important to realize that the social, historical, and cultural environment in which the objects were produced was unique and different from the world of the contemporary viewer. This is not to say that those that do not have this depth of understanding cannot appreciate works of art. Indeed, one of the hallmarks of a great work of art is that it is able to speak to the viewer, on some level, across culture and time. But, in order to apprehend the worldview embodied in works of art and grasp their full significance, one must place, to the best of one's abilities, his or herself into the imagination of those who created and originally viewed the objects.

1.2.1 BEADS AS WORKS OF ART

Early art historical research on traditional African art focused on art forms, such as sculpture, that fit into western concepts of "high art"; while utilitarian and body arts have been perceived as "low art" and, therefore, less worthy of serious consideration. But in 1972, Roy Sieber, with the exhibition, African Textiles and Decorative Arts, presented works of traditional African decorative and body arts in the context of the art museum. The exhibition and accompanying publication approached the study of these objects in a very broad manner and did not focus on the art of a particular ethnic group or region. Still, they did help to bring notice to the value of approaching the study of these types of objects in an art historical fashion. Also in 1989, Philip Ravenhill, with the exhibition, "The Art of the Personal Object", at the National Museum of African Art in Washington, D.C., presented works of traditional African utilitarian and body arts in the context of the art museum. This exhibition also approached the study of these objects in a very broad
way and did not focus on the art of a particular ethnic group or region. Yet, it did help to further shed light on the value of approaching the study of these objects with an art historical method. So, with these exhibitions and publications, Sieber and Ravenhill established that all art forms within the traditional African context are valid subjects for art historical studies. Nevertheless, even since this time, only a handful of narrowly focused, art historical studies of traditional Zulu beadwork have been published.

Until rather recently, African art historians have not accorded Zulu traditional art with much attention. According to Anitra Nettleton in her article from *African Arts*, "History and Myth of Zulu Sculpture", this dearth of information has been the result of the belief that the ethnic groups of southern Africa have no traditions of figure sculpture comparable to the peoples of West and Central Africa (48). She claimed also that the apartheid government that ran South Africa for so many years exacerbated this lack of study by creating the artificial notion that the blacks of South Africa, "have some ability on crafts such as beadwork and pottery, but not figurative art" (Nettleton 48). In other words, there were no Zulu art traditions that fell within the western concept of "fine art". This led to the idea that there was no Zulu artistic expression that deserved the attention of art historians. Despite these prejudices, there are a few anthropologists and art historians who have devoted their concerns to the art of the Zulu people.

1.2.2 ART HISTORICAL STUDIES OF TRADITIONAL ZULU ART

Primary Sources

The primary scholar conducting art historical research on traditional Zulu beadwork is Frank Jolles. To date, Jolles, a professor of German at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, has written five articles on the subject. Two of these articles were published in 1991, two in 1993, and one in 1994. The traditional beadwork of the Msinga region, especially the names, symbolism, and variation of bead colors and color
combinations of the works, have been the subject of two of the articles written by Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" (1993) from African Arts and "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another look at Msinga Beadwork" (1994) from Oral Tradition and its Transmission. In "Traditional Beadwork of the Msinga Area" Jolles identified four, standardized color combinations, examined how these combinations were applied, and looked at the changing fashions of beadwork colors and patterns in the Msinga region. Jolles revisited the subject of the Msinga color combinations and their meanings in "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another look at Msinga Beadwork". In this article he examined the "historical and regional relationships" between color schemes and how the pattern called isishunka was used to convey messages. Jolles also examined when text first began to appear in traditional Zulu beadwork and the processes by which the text began to replace colors as a vehicle for communication in the article, "Interfaces Between Oral and Literate Societies: Contracts, Runes and Beadwork" (1991), from Oral Traditions and Innovation: New Wine in Old Bottles. "Comments on Bead Literacy" (1991) from the Natal Journal of the Humanities, also by Jolles, looks at some of the symbolism of the colors found in traditional Zulu beadwork. And, in the article from Democratising Art and Art Historical History in South Africa, "Zulu Beadwork As a Record of Historical Events - Some Theoretical Considerations" (1993), Jolles investigated methods of analyzing beadwork patterns, some of the color combinations of the Msinga and Mvoti areas, and how analyzing traditional beadworking color combinations and patterns can provide insight into the historical movements of people. Yet, questions about the aesthetics of Zulu beadwork and regional, stylistic variations outside of the Msinga and Mvoti region were still unanswered.

Other sources for the study of Zulu beadwork, that utilize an art historical approach, include the article, "Symbolic Significance of Traditional Zulu Beadwork"(1965), by Rhoda and Morris Levinsohn from the journal Black Art. In this
work the Levinsohns explored the symbolism of bead colors and beadwork forms. Unfortunately, much of the article covers the same material as Schoeman's anthropological work in the area of Ngoye Hills from 1968. Although this work was interesting for its time, Schoeman's later, anthropological publications cover, more extensively, similar material. Another article on the subject is "Zulu Beadwork" (1973) by Bronwyn V. Brottem and Ann Lang from the journal *African Arts*. In this work, Brottem and Lang reviewed the collection of traditional Zulu beadwork at the Robert Hull Fleming Museum at the University of Vermont Burlington. They described the items in the collection and discussed some of the color symbolism of Zulu beadwork. The items in this collection are from the period between 1847 and 1910, making it one of the oldest known collections of Zulu beadwork. As such, "Zulu Beadwork" is a useful review of this valuable resource. Bongani Mthethwa's article, "Decoding Zulu Beadwork" (1988), from *Catching Winged Words: Oral Traditions and Education* is an interesting study of the symbolism of various bead colors and beadwork forms. As part of this study, Mthethwa also examined the linguistic roots of the traditional system of color symbolism and the consistency of the symbolism across various regions. Mthethwa's work provides a look at the relationship between the visual and verbal arts, and gives insights into the aesthetics of traditional Zulu art. In the article, "The Stepped Diamond of Mid-Century Beadfabric - Aesthetic Assimilation Beyond the Second Izwekuфа" (1994), from *Oral Tradition and its Transmission - The Many Forms of Message* Robert Papini explored the origins of the stepped rhomboid design that is frequently seen, in various forms, in traditional Zulu beadwork. Papini posited that this design has its origins in India and was brought into Zulu beadwork by young women who were exposed to it when working for Indian families as domestic workers. Although this is an interesting idea, Papini did not present any hard evidence to support his speculation. Last, the Yvonne E. Winters' article, "Contemporary Traditionalist Bhaca and Khuze Beadwork from the Southern
Natal/KwaZulu Areas" (1988), from the *Southern African Museums Association Bulletin* is an excellent source of information about the beadwork of the regions south of Durban. In this article, Winters explored various symbolic aspects of contemporary traditionalist beadwork, the range of items produced for each age grade, and some of the aesthetic concerns of the bead artists. Overall, it is a very good summary of the beadwork presently being done in this area. Thus, the art historical studies of traditionalist Zulu beadwork have been focused on a variety of subjects including: the symbolic significance of certain colors and color combinations, the history of certain motifs and color combinations, the investigation of the appearance and significance of text in beadwork designs, the review of museum collections, and the symbolic functions of beadwork in Zulu society.

Secondary Sources

In addition to studies that focus solely on beadwork, general surveys of Zulu art are also important sources of information. The two most comprehensive examinations of the whole of traditionalist Zulu art are the two Ph.D. dissertations: "The Art of the Zulu-Speakers in Northern Natal-Zululand. An Investigation of the History of Beadworking, Carving and Dress from Shaka to Inkatha" (1992) written by Sandra Klopper at the University of Witwatersrand and "Art, Architecture and Material Culture of the Zulu Kingdom" (1993) written by Carolee Kennedy at the University of California, Los Angeles. Klopper's work examines how a variety of objects of art have been used in one region of Zulu territory, over time, to promote ethnic identity among the Zulu people. For instance, she asserted that a decorative element called *amasumpa*, which appeared on traditional Zulu wooden and ceramic objects throughout the kingdom, was a design that originated with a king. So, by using these designs people were identifying their links to the king (Klopper, "The Art of the Zulu-Speakers in Northern Natal-Zululand" 125). Kennedy's work, on the other hand, provides an overview of all of the art from the
historical Zulu kingdom, with special attention to the manner in which ideas of prestige were expressed. In the concluding chapter of her work Kennedy stated, "Contrasts between the art and architecture of the Zulu hierarchy and those of the general population were achieved by several means. Foremost among them was size, but the use of special materials, select prestige objects and workmanship all served to reinforce the power and prestige of the king and his entourage, as well as other high ranking members of Zulu society" (Kennedy, "Art, Architecture and Material Culture of the Zulu Kingdom" 287). In neither work did the authors present, nor intend to present, a complete discussion of beadwork with historical dimensions. Instead, these scholars addressed beadwork only as it related to the issues investigated in their dissertations. So, while each of these scholars presented information that is both directly and indirectly relevant to a complete understanding of Zulu beadwork, neither work provides a comprehensive art historical survey of this art form.

Most of the other secondary sources that examine the totality of traditional Zulu art were created as texts to accompany museum exhibitions. The most significant of these works are the four exhibition catalogs: 1) Zulu Treasures: Of Kings and Commoners - A Celebration of the Material Culture of the Zulu People (1996) published by the KwaZulu Cultural Museum and the Local History Museums, 2) The Zulu Vision in Art: An Exhibition on View at the Standard Bank National Arts Festival (1988) by Jill Addleson, 3) The Geometric Vision: Arts of the Zulu (1983) by M. W. Conner and D. Pelrine, 4) The Art and Material Culture of the Zulu Speaking Peoples (1978) by Carolee Kennedy, and the book, Zulu Crafts, (1973) by J. W. Grossert. Of the four exhibition catalogs, Addleson's, Conner and Pelrine's, and Kennedy's are all relatively small and are limited in the amount of information that they contain. Addleson's work contains some references to both contemporary and traditional Zulu art. In addition to the standard discussion of the function of the beadwork as it relates to courting, Addleson noted that the names of items
vary from region to region. She also observed that the triangle is the predominate motif in beadwork designs, while zigzags and squares appear with less regularity (Addleson 18). Kennedy's book (1973) generally describes traditional Zulu art and how it relates to the culture. Although the catalogue includes some black and white photos of beadwork that are of limited use, most of the text concerning beadwork is quite generalized. Conner and Pelrine's catalog (1983) contains review articles on traditional Zulu dress and the domestic arts. Although well written, these articles are also very generalized. Nevertheless, the captions in the catalog feature useful information about the style of the items and possible symbolism of one of the motifs. Grossert's book (1973) is primarily a descriptive work that gives a detailed list of the objects traditionally made by Zulu people, including the Zulu names for these items, descriptions of how they were used, and line drawings of each of the items. Yet, Grossert did not discuss the aesthetics of the art, the symbolism of the objects, nor the regional variations of the works. Finally, the most recent and the most significant of these works is the catalog *Zulu Treasures: Of Kings and Commoners - A Celebration of the Material Culture of the Zulu People* (1996). This work consists of a series of thirteen articles written by sixteen authors that cover subjects dealing with the totality of Zulu culture. Of these thirteen chapters, nine of them deal with specific visual art traditions and are accompanied by photographs of the objects from these traditions which were part of the exhibit. The chapter on beadworking, "Zulu Beadworking", by Marilee Wood looks at the historical development of Zulu beadworking as an art form, the evidence available for studying this development, the stimulus for the diversification of later beadworking styles, and some of messages communicated with beadwork. However, this chapter does not cover the totality of the chronological development of Zulu beadwork as an art form. Accompanying the text there are small color pictures of all of the beadwork in the exhibition with captions containing any information that was collected with the objects. In short, this catalog contains useful photos, a discussion of some of the
sources available for research on the topic, and good summary information. Overall, these exhibition catalogs and the book provide good sources of summary and general information on Zulu beadwork, but do not present a complete art historical survey of any period of Zulu beadwork.

1.2.3 ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES

Primary Sources

There have been, over the years, a good number of useful anthropological studies, conducted by trained cultural anthropologists, and ethnographic accounts, provided by amateur students of culture, that focus solely on Zulu beadwork. The first written study devoted solely to the study of traditional Zulu beadwork is "The Language of Colours Amongst the Zulu Expressed by Their Beadwork Ornaments and Some General Notes on Their Personal Adornments and Clothing" by Rev. Father Franz Mayr. This work was published in *The Annals of the Natal Government Museum* in 1907. Mayr worked at the mission at Mariannhill, slightly to the west of Durban. In this work, Mayr briefly examined the history of the glass bead trade, described other types of materials that were used as beads, and then gave the Zulu name for several colors of beads and some of their associated meanings. Although this is not a detailed study, it provides invaluable, early information about bead color symbolism.

More recently, H. S. Schoeman has written four articles (1968 and 1971) which concern traditional Zulu beadwork. Two of them, "A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in The Mkhwananzi Area of the Mtunzini District of Zululand: Parts One and Two" (1968), from *African Studies* are excellent investigations of the beadwork of a particular region. These works are especially informative with regards to: the types of ornaments made and worn, the symbolic functions of these pieces, the symbolism of the colors of the beads, the color preferences of the artists, and even some discussion of Zulu
aesthetics. Unfortunately, these studies are limited to one region. Schoeman's other two articles, "Beadwork in the Cultural Traditions of the Zulu: Parts One and Two" (1971), from the *Lantern* once again focus on the beadwork of the Mtunzini district. Although Schoeman briefly mentioned the color preferences of the Eshowe, Nkandla, Nongoma, and Hluhluwe regions and the symbolism of the colors of some of the beads (Schoeman, "Beadwork in the Cultural Traditions of the Zulu" 1:37-38), the larger part of these articles is focused on the descriptions and names of various beadwork items from the Mtunzini area. These latter articles are much more limited in scope than the first two. While none of these articles provides a comprehensive examination of traditional Zulu beadwork, they do provide in-depth examinations of certain aspects of the overall picture of traditional beadwork in specific regions.

There are also many other anthropological studies of Zulu beadwork that can be found dating to the middle and latter parts of the twentieth century. These include the works by Regina Twala (1951), Wolfgang Wickler and Uta Seibt (1989, 1990, 1991, and 1995), and Jean Morris and Eleanor Preston-Whyte (1994). Twala's article, "Beads as Regulating the Social Life of the Zulu and Swazi", was published in *African Studies*. It looks at how beadwork functioned as a means of communication in traditional Zulu culture and how color symbolism played a role in this communication. In this article Twala explained the meaning of a large number of colors and what they symbolize, but did not consider the aesthetics of the objects or regional variations in styles. Wickler and Seibt have published a series of four articles primarily concentrated on the beadwork of the Msinga region. These articles are: "Studies in Bantu People's Bead Language: A Special Colour Convention from Msinga District (Natal, South Africa)" (1989) from *Bassler-Archive, Neue Folge*, "Zulu Bead Language and its Present Alphabetization" (1990) from *Bassler-Archive, Neue Folge*, "Structural and Semantic Constituents of Mchunu Bead Language (Msinga District, Natal, South Africa)" (1991) from *Bassler-
Archive, Neue Folge, and "Syntax and Semantics in a Zulu Bead Colour Communication System" (1995) from the journal Anthropos. All of these articles focus on the traditionalist beadwork of the Msinga area as a means of communication. While these articles are very useful for understanding the intricacies of the beadwork language of the Msinga area, other aspects of the beadwork are not addressed. The book, Speaking with Beads: Zulu Arts from Southern Africa (1994), with text by Eleanor Preston-Whyte and photographs by Jean Morris is a more extensive publication that focuses on the function of beadwork within traditional and contemporary Zulu culture. This book also contains information about the history of the bead trade (Morris and Preston-Whyte 9-19) and many excellent photographs of beadwork and people wearing it throughout. Yet, this book does not fully address the artistic aspects of these objects nor provide a systematic examination of the variations in the beadwork styles. So, while this work contains valuable information, it does not fully capture the variety, artistic qualities, and symbolism of traditional Zulu beadwork. Thus, Zulu beadwork has been the subject of several ethnographic and anthropological publications that provide very good information regarding the beadwork of specific regions and/or the functions of the beadwork within its cultural context. However, these works do not provide an overview of the variations in the beadwork, nor do they address, in depth, the aesthetics or art historical point of view on this art form.

Secondary Sources

Generalized anthropological and ethnographic studies of the Zulu people often address beadworking and/or help to illuminate the cultural context in which the works were created and functioned. Das Trappisten Missionskloster Mariannhill Oder Bilder aus dem Afrikanischen Missionsleben (1907) by Dominices Frey provides a look at early beadwork, as well as the Mariannhill mission station slightly south of Durban where he
worked. Frey was especially interested in the beadwork of the Zulu. In this book, he photographed, documented the Zulu names, and the manner in which the objects were worn for about seventy items of beadwork. The book also includes several photographs of people wearing considerable amounts of beadwork. As such, Frey's work provides important details about the forms, ornamentation, functions, and names of beadwork items from a period where there is limited information. Still, his study is limited to a small geographic region and, therefore, does not investigate any possible regional variations in beadwork. Additionally, the author did not investigate fully the function of these beadwork items or any possible symbolism of the decorative motifs or colors that adorn the items.

From about 1900 onward, detailed anthropological and ethnographic accounts of the Zulu people and their culture began to be published. Several of these works were written by members of the Christian clergy, like Frey, who had come to the region to convert the Zulu people to Christianity. In addition to information about the daily habits of the people, many of these works contain information about traditional Zulu art. One of the most significant of these early works is *The Zulu People: As They Were Before the White Man* by Alfred T. Bryant, based on work he conducted in the first part of the twentieth century and first published in 1949. Bryant's book is a fairly good overview of the totality of Zulu culture, including descriptions of many objects of utilitarian art, their general functions, and methods of manufacture. About beadwork, in particular, Bryant noted that there were changing styles of beadwork items and preferences for certain colors of beads, and that colors of beads conveyed specific meanings. Yet, he did not describe the meaning of each of the colors, the full range of beaded items worn by the Zulu people, the types and possible meanings of the decorative motifs on these items, or any regional variations in beadworking. Still, Bryant's observations about traditional Zulu beadwork
are significant, and his book provides good descriptions of the general social and cultural atmosphere in which the objects were made and used.

During the first half of the twentieth century professional anthropologists began to study the Zulu people and publish works with information relevant to the study of traditional Zulu beadwork. Eileen Krige's *The Social System of the Zulus* (1938), A. M. Duggin-Cronin's *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies, Volume 3, The Nguni Section III the Zulu* (1938), and M. Kohler's *Marriage Customs in Southern Natal* (1933) are the three most informative of these texts. Krige's work has excellent descriptions of the symbolic function of the beadwork worn during the marriage ceremonies and that of a young bride. Duggin-Cronin reiterated that beadwork could serve as a means of communication between individuals who are intimate. In addition, his book has ten photographic plates that show Zulu people in traditional dress. Although these photos have descriptive captions, only one of them is labeled with the location at which it was taken. Finally, Kohler's work contains brief mentions of the use of beadwork during courting and marriage ceremonies, as well as information about the customs related to a new bride's display of *hlonipha* customs. Krige and Kohler's studies, therefore, deal with some of the symbolic functions of traditional Zulu beadwork, but neither provides detailed descriptions of the appearances of these works. Moreover, Krige did not acknowledge regional variations in cultural practices, and had a tendency to amalgamate and generalize regional differences in her descriptions of aspects of culture. On the other hand, Duggin-Cronin's book reveals the appearance of some of these beaded items and how they were worn, yet does not discuss, in depth, the symbolic or aesthetic aspects of the items. So, while these publications are helpful, they do not treat the artistic aspects of the objects nor do they investigate any regional variations in beadwork.

Anthropological interest in traditional Zulu culture also remained strong during the later part of the twentieth century. The book, *The Zulu*, by Alice Mertens and H. S.
Schoeman is an example of such interest. Published in 1975, with photographs by Mertens and text by Schoeman, this book looks at the whole of Zulu culture. Concerning art, Schoeman described the physical appearance of traditional Zulu objects, how they were made, and how they generally functioned. He also made the observation that the geometric motifs that decorated the objects had a symbolic significance that revealed how the items were used and to whom they belonged. Yet, he did not pursue this observation in depth, nor did he discuss the aesthetic qualities of the items or any regional variations in styles. Besides this work, there are also a number of publications that appear during this period, relating specifically to traditional Zulu beadwork as well as addressing other areas of Zulu culture, which offer insights into the beadwork. Works such as Max Gluckman's book, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (1955); Marianne Brindley's Ph.D. thesis, "The Role of Old Women in Zulu Culture With Special Reference to the Three Tribes in the District of Nkandla" (1982); and O. F. Raum's book, *The Social Functions of Avoidance and Taboos Among the Zulu* (1973) help to provide a sense of the culture in which the beadwork was produced and functioned. Furthermore, Raum's book also presents some enlightening material on the historical function of beadwork as it related to royal prestige. And last, Absolom Vilakazi's book, *Zulu Transformations: A Study of the Dynamics of Social Change* (1962), looks at how Zulu traditions were changing over time, including traditions relating to the functions of beadwork. So, while these texts have only small sections directed specifically at beadwork, if any at all, they contain knowledge that is helpful for understanding the beadwork and the culture which stimulated its production.

While anthropologists and clergymen recorded their observations about Zulu society with words and photographs, there were also two artists who documented Zulu culture in drawings, prints, and paintings. George French Angas' *The Kafirs Illustrated* (1849) is the first example of such artists' depictions. Angas traveled in South Africa for about a year and, although his exact travels are not well documented, it is known that he
spent some time at King Mpande's court, visited the Inanda and Umlazi areas around Natal, and the region of the Cape. From these travels Angas produced a large format collection of lithographs depicting the people of these regions. The illustrations are quite finely done, containing much detail, and are believed to be relatively accurate. For the purposes of examining traditional Zulu beadwork, the most notable illustrations include two depictions of King Mpande, a portrait of "Utimuni/Nephew of Chaka", a depiction of two young women at the royal court, a picture of a youth from Inanda, a picture of a kraal at Umlazi, and an illustration of a kraal at an unspecified location on the Tugela River. Another illustration of note depicts Zulu metalsmiths and wood carvers at an unknown location. All of these plates include descriptive captions, but their real value lies in the attention to detail with which Angas treated his subjects. While Angas presented two illustrations that suggest the development of regional styles of beadwork, he only dealt with three areas outside of the royal court. These illustrations, therefore, do not contain enough information from which to develop an overall sense of the range of Zulu beadwork in the mid-nineteenth century. From the twentieth century, the accounts and illustrations of Barbara Tyrrell are very valuable for the study of traditional Zulu beadwork. Working in the later half of the twentieth century, Tyrrell traveled extensively throughout many regions of South Africa and recorded the dress of traditional people. Tyrrell is a formally trained artist who made an extensive number of illustrations depicting the attire and postures of the people of many different ethnic groups. Tyrrell's illustrations are extremely detailed and are highly accurate. In 1968 she published the book, *The Tribal People of Southern Africa*, which includes some of her illustrations and observations about the traditional practices of many South African ethnic groups, including the Zulu. Many of her paintings are also in the Killie Campbell Collection at the University of Natal. In each of these paintings, Tyrrell noted the date when the painting was done and from where the subject matter came. Thus, Tyrrell's book and illustrations provide good
information about the various types of clothes worn by people of different ages and in
different areas of Zululand. Her illustrations in this book and elsewhere are an invaluable
record of various regional and sequential variations in dress among the Zulu.

More general anthropological studies provide important information on the
formation and articulation of ethnicity. Although many art historians have recently written
about the art of ethnic groups or "border cultures", few of these scholars define these
terms, nor their constitutive elements. It was, therefore, necessary to turn toward the
writing of anthropologists and sociologists, who have explored these issues in depth.
Frederick Barth's Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (1969) is the seminal work on this
subject. Since this time other authors have built on Barth's original thesis. Eriksen, in
Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives, explored issues of ethnicity and
nationalism. Abner Cohen looked at ethnicity in the urban context in Urban Ethnicity of
1974. African ethnicity is the subject of Ronald Cohen and John Middleton's From Tribe
Ethnicity in Modern Africa (1978). The use of art in the formation of ethnicity is partially
explored in the article, "The Production of Culture in Local Rebellion" (1991), by Gavin
Smith from Golden Ages, Dark Ages: Imagining the Past in Anthropology and History.
In addition, there are a great number of other books and articles that address the subject of
ethnicity with a variety of different foci. These works were essential in helping to define
the concept of ethnic identity, exploring how such an identity is formulated and expressed,
and identifying the functions of such as identity.

1.2.4 STUDIES ON CONTEMPORARY ZULU BEADWORK

As shown by Eleanor Preston-Whyte and Jean Morris in the anthropological
work, Speaking With Beads: Zulu Arts from Southern Africa (1994), beadwork remains
an important art form in Zulu culture to this day. In some areas, such as the Msinga
region, some people continue to dress in traditional style clothing on an everyday basis, while others adorn themselves in traditionalist style clothing only for national festivals and special events. Beadwork is also created for people outside of Zulu society. Items made for the tourist trade as well as the fashion industry provide many women with an important source of income. Furthermore, the development of a new art form, usually referred to as bead sculpture (Preston-Whyte (1991); Thorpe (1994)), has recently expanded the boundaries of traditional Zulu beadwork as an expressive art form. As such, the new inspirations for Zulu beadwork, made in the past 35 years or so, have led to the creation of a body of works that reach beyond traditional forms and functions, and so are considered under the separate category of contemporary beadwork.

Primary Sources

The primary sources of information concerning the contemporary commercial beadwork are the chapter, "Bead-Cloth Sculpture", in the book, It's Never too Early - A Personal Record of African Art and Craft in KwaZulu Natal 1960-1990 (1994), by Jo Thorpe; Speaking With Beads: Zulu Arts from Southern Africa (1994) by Eleanor Preston-Whyte and Jean Morris; and the article, "Zulu Bead Sculptors" (1991), from African Arts by Eleanor Preston-Whyte. All three of these works provide discussions on aspects of contemporary commercial beadwork. The book by Thorpe and article by Preston-Whyte provide a history of bead sculpture and describe the variety of this art form. Morris and Preston-Whyte's book, Speaking With Beads, contains a nice discussion of the development of the commercial beadwork trade as well as good information about beadwork workshops and bead sculpture. Furthermore, all three of these texts include excellent photographs of the works of art being discussed.
Secondary Sources

Secondary sources of information, on contemporary, commercial beadwork include a manuscript by Karin Janse Van Vuuren and articles by Frank Jolles and Eleanor Preston-Whyte and Jo Thorpe. The unpublished and undated manuscript in the Killie Campbell Collection, "Talking Beads", by Karin Janse Van Vuuren looks primarily at the symbolism of colors and color sequences in traditional beadwork. Nevertheless, it is most helpful for its report of how contemporary Zulu beadwork became part of the lines of the fashion designers Yves Saint Laurent and Ungaro. In the article, "Dolls in Profusion: Bead Sculpture From the Valley of a Thousand Hills", from Diversity and Interaction: South African Association of Art Historian, 5th Annual Conference, Eleanor Preston-Whyte and Jo Thorpe examined the history and variety of forms of bead sculpture. Finally, the article, "Contemporary Zulu Dolls From KwaLatha: The Work of Mrs. Hluphekile Zuma and Her Friends" (1994), from African Arts by Frank Jolles looks at the history of Zulu dolls made for the commercial market. It discusses the origins and development of this art form, how the dolls were marketed, and the variety of forms these dolls assumed. Unfortunately, all of these works on contemporary beadwork deal only with the history of the art form and variety of forms in which these contemporary works are made. Nevertheless, these articles reveal the continuing vitality of beadwork as an artistic medium that addresses the needs of and contemporary interests in Zulu society.

1.2.5 OTHER SOURCES

In addition to the publications discussed above, that are focused on Zulu art and/or beadwork, works that include references to Zulu beadwork or related information as part of a broader subject are also very important in the study of beadwork. Moreover, non-written sources of information are important sources for the study of beadwork. Such
sources include: explorations of Zulu religion and philosophy, travelers' diaries, oral histories, socio-political historical studies, general surveys of African art, archeological studies, ships records, personal communications, bead sample cards, museum and private collections of Zulu art, photographic archives, and interviews.

1.2.5.1 Examinations of Zulu Religion and Philosophy

Studies of African religion and philosophy, including investigations of Zulu theology, collections of Zulu tales and traditions, and works on Zulu healing and divination practices provide information about the cultural context that helped to inspire beadwork. John Mbiti's *African Religions and Philosophy* (1969) provides a good introduction to religion and philosophy in Africa. His chapter on time is an especially enlightening examination of African perceptions about the flow of time and the impact of these views on African religious beliefs. Nevertheless, as a Christian minister, Mbiti's interpretations of African religious beliefs tend to have a Christian bias. Moreover, this is a generalized study that does not provide information about the beliefs of specific groups of people. Rev. Canon Callaway was the first author to publish information specifically related to Zulu religion and philosophy. Callaway, working during the later part of the nineteenth century, recorded oral traditions related to Zulu religion and folklore. He published this information in the two books, *Religious System of the Amazulu* (1870) and *Nursery Tales, Tradition and Histories of the Zulu* (1896). Both of these works include the traditions as they were told in Zulu and their English translations. Although Callaway's books contain only passing references to beadwork, they are important early records of Zulu religious beliefs. From the twentieth century, the works on Zulu religion and philosophy by Harriet Ngubane and Axel Berglund are the most relevant to the study of beadwork. While Harriet Ngubane's *Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine* (1977) has no mention of beadwork, her discussion of color symbolism provides substantial insights
into the symbolic function of colors in traditional Zulu culture. This work is especially relevant to the beadwork of diviners. Likewise, Axel Berglund's discussion of color symbolism in *Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism* (1976) also provides information and insights into the symbolic function of the beadwork of diviners. In addition to these two books, Ngubane and Berglund have also written numerous articles on the subjects of Zulu religion and philosophy. In a broader context, the works of Callaway, Ngubane, and Berglund, therefore, provide information about the religious functions of beadwork items, as well as the culture in which these items were created and in which they were designed to function.

1.2.5.2 Travelers' Diaries

Other valuable resources for examining the art of the Zulu kingdom are the written reports and illustrations of European travelers who visited the region. As these works were written by people from outside of the Zulu culture, they do not provide much insight into the cultural context in which the works of art functioned or knowledge of the specific symbolism of the objects and their decorative elements. Furthermore, as most of these travelers were usually primarily interested in establishing diplomatic, trading, and/or missionary relationships with the Zulu people, they only treated art with a passing interest. Nevertheless, these writings do provide some eyewitness accounts of the appearance of some types of works of art and, in some instances, provide descriptions of the contexts in which the works appeared. Thus, these travelers' accounts and illustrations can provide useful insights into the aesthetics and basic functions of works of art.

From the earliest time of the Zulu kingdom there are three extensive eyewitness reports that recount the period of the 1820s: 1) *The Natal Papers of John Ross* edited by Stephen Gray and published in 1992, 2) *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa: Descriptions of the Zoolus, Their Manners, Customs, etc. etc.* by Nathaniel Isaacs and
published in two volumes in 1836, and 3) The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn: Compiled from Original Sources edited by James Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm and first published in 1951. All three of these works give descriptive accounts of the beadwork at King Shaka's capital. Isaacs also gave a report on King Dingane's beadwork and his control over the bead trade. So although these accounts do not provide much information about beadwork outside of the royal homestead or information about the specific meanings and functions of these works, they remain important as the only eye-witness accounts of the actual appearance of the beadwork from the earliest moments in the Zulu kingdom.

The Zulu kingdom during the reign of King Dingane is also the subject of relatively few travelers' accounts. In addition to the Isaacs account mentioned above, Captain Allen F. Gardiner's Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country of 1836 provides a look into the art and beadwork specifically at King Dingane's court. Most notably, Gardiner's book includes frontispiece illustrations of "Dingane in his Ordinary and Dancing Dress", which present fairly detailed depictions of the beadwork worn by the king. These plates were supposedly based on sketches done by Gardiner when visiting the king. Also, in the text of his book Gardiner provided written descriptions of beadwork and discussed King Dingane's personal interest in beads. The accuracy of Gardiner's illustrations and descriptions of the king's beadwork were confirmed in another traveler's account of this time, Diary of Francis Owen, M.A.: Missionary with Dingane in 1837-1838, edited by Geo. E. Cory and published in 1926. In his diary, Owen claimed to have shown King Dingane Gardiner's illustrations. Although the king was not impressed with the depiction of his physical appearance, Owen reported that, "He called me back to see with my own eyes the beads and the various ornaments in which Capt. Gardiner had depicted him, to show me their resemblance to his drawing" (54). In addition to this confirmation of the accuracy of Gardiner's illustrations, he also described the posts in the king's home as being covered in beads of various colors. The American missionary
George Champion noted King Dingane's control over the bead trade in his 1888 accounts in *Journal of the Reverend George Champion, American Missionary in Zululand 1835-1839* edited by Alan Booth. Nevertheless, the only reference to beadwork outside of the royal court was made by Andrew Smith in *Andrew Smith and Natal Documents Relating to the Early History of the Province* edited by P. R. Kirby and published in 1955. In this work Smith noted that King Dingane's subjects wore few beads. These travelers' accounts, therefore, provide some illustrations and descriptions of the physical appearance of the beadwork of the Zulu royal court of the 1830s, descriptions of the value of beads to the Zulu monarch, and a small hint of what type of beadwork was worn by the common people. Yet, information regarding the function and symbolism of these works is lacking.

Other travelers' accounts from this time that have some references to beadwork include, John William Colenso's *Ten Weeks in Natal: A Journal of a First Tour of Visitation Among the Colonists and Zulu Kafirs of Natal* of 1855; Catherine Barter's 1855 travel diary, *Alone Among the Zulus*, published in 1995; and Reverend Lewis Grout's *Zululand or Life Among the Zulu-Kafirs of Natal and Zululand, South Africa* of 1861. Grout's account includes descriptions of actual beadwork ornaments, while Barter and Colenso provided information about what types of beads were popular and for what kind of things beads were traded. Nevertheless, none of these authors provided much information concerning the function, symbolism, creation, or importance of beadworking in the Zulu kingdom for this period. Additionally, these accounts give little sense of the cultural context in which the works were made and used, do not record any regional stylistic agreements or variations, and do not provide any insight into the symbolism of the works of art.

From the reign of the next Zulu king, King Cetshwayo (1873-1883), there are several written accounts that provide insights into the beadwork of the period. Probably the most valuable works of this type are Captain W. R. Ludlow's *Zululand and Cetshwayo*
of 1882 and Joseph Shooter's *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* of 1857. Neither Ludlow nor Shooter gave any descriptions of the beadwork of the time, but Ludlow made the observations that beadwork styles varied from region to region and that the amount of beads worn indicated a girl's age and wealth (78). Moreover, Ludlow gave an account of a young girl repairing a beaded skirt (126-128). Shooter reported that brides gave grooms a present of beads before a wedding (75). Thus, the written accounts of this period do not provide much information concerning the appearance of beadwork, but they do provide some insights into the cultural context in which the works functioned and indicate that there were regional variations in beadworking styles.

Even though King Cetshwayo's reign did not officially end until 1883, the defeat of the Zulu kingdom in the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 ended the independence of the kingdom and made the king subservient to British rule. This meant that the king no longer had any control over the admission of Europeans into the Zulu territory. As a result, an increasing number of missionaries and settlers began moving into the region. With this larger influx of people, travel diaries from this part of the world seem to have become less popular and were written with less frequency. Although some settlers wrote about their experiences, these books have little information about traditional Zulu beadwork. The primary value of these works, for information about traditional beadwork, lies in the photographs that are included in some volumes.

1.2.5.3 Oral Traditions

Although there were forms of writing developed within areas of the African continent, most societies within Africa have historically relied on oral communication for the transmission of knowledge. While many early scholars chose to ignore these oral histories, there were a few individuals who had the vision to appreciate the historical value of these records. In the case of the historical Zulu kingdom, the four primary researchers that recorded oral traditions were Canon Callaway, Alfred T. Bryant, Theophilus
Shepstone, and James Stuart. Callaway's work focuses on religion and is discussed above. Alfred T. Bryant, working in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Theophilus Shepstone, working in the late nineteenth century, both collected traditions relating to the history of the Zulu people. Shepstone collected information connected to the historical events of the early Zulu kingdom, which were collated, translated, and published in "The Early History of the Zulu-Kaffir Race of South-Eastern Africa" in Annals of Natal of 1888 edited by John Bird. Alfred T. Bryant collected the oral histories of family lineages and the movements of them. These were translated and compiled into the 1929 book, Olden Times in Zululand and Natal. James Stuart, working during the early part of the twentieth century, collected oral traditions relating to a variety of topics. Stuart's work has only recently been translated and published by C. de B. Webb and J. B. Wright in the four volume series, The James Stuart Archives of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighboring Peoples. These volumes contain the material as it was collected in Zulu accompanied by an English translation. While none of these researchers collected information specifically relating to the art of the Zulu kingdom, the works of Callaway and Stuart do contain references to works of art, and beadwork in particular. These references do not include interviews with the artists themselves and they are too scant to provide a sense of the role of art within the early Zulu kingdom. The University of Natal has also published Paulina Dlamini's Servant of Two Kings (1986) translated by S. Bourguin. Paulina Dlamini served in the isigodlo of King Cetshwayo's court. Though her remembrances do not provide any descriptions of beadwork, they do provide information about life at the court during this period. All of these remain important sources of information about the cultural and historical contexts of the art created during the period in which they were written which, in turn, provides insights into the background of twentieth century beadwork. So in spite of the fact that the voices of
the traditional Zulu artists working during the early period of the Zulu kingdom were not recorded, some of those that shared their time and culture have been preserved.

1.2.5.4 Socio-Political Historical Studies

Studies of the history of South Africa, the Zulu people, and/or the bead industry provide information about the historical events surrounding the production of the items of beadwork art. Although these studies may not address beadwork specifically, they examine issues, such as changing political relationships and the movements of groups of people, which can and did affect the types, styles, and functions of beadwork items. Numerous books and articles have been written on South African history. Some of the most noteworthy of these are: The Zulu Aftermath (1966) by J. D. Omer-Cooper; Southern Africa Since 1800 (1984) by Donald Denoon and Balam Nyeko; The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom (1982) by Jeff Guy; "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolombo" (1988) by Julian Cobbing from the Journal of African History; The Oxford History of South Africa (1969) edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson; Natal and Zululand: From Earliest Times to 1910 (1981) edited by Andrew Duminy and Bill Guest; Shaka's Children: A History of the Zulu People (1994) by Stephen Taylor; and To Bind A Nation: Solomon kaDinzulu and Zulu Nationalism 1913-1933 (1993) by Nicholas Cope. Of special interest to the study of traditional Zulu beadwork are the dissertation, "Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries" (1978), by David Hedges; the article, "Through the Barrel of a Bead: The Personal and Political in the Beadwork of the Eastern Cape" (1993), by Andre Proctor and Sandra Klopper from Ezakwantu: Beadwork from the Eastern Cape; the article, "Towards a History of Glass Beads" (1993), by Sharma Saitowitz from Ezakwantu: Beadwork from the Eastern Cape; and the article, "Bibles and Beads: Missionaries as Traders in Southern Africa in the Early Nineteenth Century"
(1989), by Roger Beck from the *Journal of African History*. All four of these studies provide investigations into the bead trade in Southern Africa. They include information about the sources of beads being used in works of art and their value in relation to other trade goods at various points in history. Furthermore, Klopper and Proctor wrote a short discussion about the use of beadwork as a symbol of political resistance to the intrusion of European culture. Beck discussed the exacting demands for certain bead types and colors made by the Africans, as well as the changing fashions of these colors and types. Thereby, historical studies help to provide information about the socio-political and economic contexts in which beadwork items were produced, the monetary value of such works, the source of the beads being used, the age of the beads in objects and the age of the styles of particular works, as well as numerous other subjects.

1.2.5.5 Popular Literature

In addition to scholarly interest, there has long been popular interest in the Zulu people and their culture. This is an interest that is shared by both those within and outside of Zulu culture. Such interest has resulted in the publication of several noteworthy newspaper articles concerning the traditional Zulu culture. H. I. E. Dhlomo wrote a series of three articles on Zulu "tribal culture" for the Zulu and English language newspaper, *Ilanga Lase Natal*: "The Zulu and His Beads" published in 1947, "The Shield in Tribal Life" also published in 1947, and "Zulu Life and Thought" written in 1951 but never published. The articles, "Zulu Life and Thought" and "The Shield in Tribal Life", provide interesting information about traditional Zulu philosophy and about the traditional symbolic functions of the shield. The article, "The Zulu and His Beads", has some information on the bead trade, the symbolic functions of beadwork, and the inspiration for some of the decorative patterns found in beadwork items. Two other articles written for popular consumption are "Fascinating Secrets of Zulu Love Letter, Stories Behind
Patterns and Colors of the Language of Beads" (1954) and "Zulu Maid's First Love Letter is a Great Event" (1954), both of which were written by Regina Twala for South Africa's Sunday Times. In these two articles Twala presented limited discussions of the symbolism of some of the shades of blue beads, the overall forms, and some of the geometric motifs that appear in traditional beadwork. Probably most significantly, Twala reported that some of the forms of beadwork are invested with symbolism. A pamphlet, "Beads from South Africa: With Special Reference to Their Use in Love Letters", written by Margaret Ford sometime in the 1960s is another example of writing produced for the common man. The pamphlet was written as a general introduction to traditional Zulu beadwork for collectors who were shopping at Ivy's Curios in Durban, South Africa. Although this is a small work, it gives a short history of the bead trade, describes some of the functions of the beadwork, and describes the symbolism of some of the colors of the beads. Moreover, Ford acknowledged that there are regional variations in beadwork by stating that every village and district has its own code. Still, the discussion in the pamphlet is limited and there are only a few examples of actual beadwork items illustrated. Additionally, there are no explanations as to the specifics of the regional variations that the author speaks about. So the works by Dhlomo, Twala, and Ford all contain some interesting bits of information. Yet since the writings were directed toward a popular audience, they are relatively short and display only a slice of the total picture of Zulu beadworking traditions. They do not present any detailed information about regional variations in these traditions, nor do they give a complete picture of the aesthetics of the beadwork as art forms. Nevertheless, these articles are important because they are the first to acknowledge that the forms assumed by beaded items can have a symbolic function.
1.2.5.6 General Art Studies

There are many generalized, art historical writings that have been published during the latter half of the twentieth century which, indirectly and directly, have contributed to the study of traditional Zulu beadwork. Generalized studies, such as "Ancient Glass Beads of East and Central Africa and the Indian Ocean" (1958) by W. G. N. Van der Sleen from the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, A Handbook of Beads (1970s) also by W. G. N. van der Sleen, The History of Beads: From 30,000 B.C. to the Present (1987) by Lois Sherr Dubin, "Towards a History of Glass Beads" (1993) by Sharma Saitowitz from Ezakwantu: Beadwork from the Eastern Cape, and "Classification of Glass Trade Beads" (1988) also by Sharma Saitowitz from the Southern African Museums Association Bulletin, all provide valuable information about the general history of beads and beadworking. They also examine how to define and describe various bead types and styles, how various types of beads are made, and what types of beads were available to traditional Zulu beadwork artists at various points in history.

Studies concerning the beadwork of other ethnic groups in South Africa can provide some possible insights into the traditional beadwork of the Zulu. Sandra Klopper's article, "Women's Work, or Engendering the Art of Beadwork in Southern Africa" (1993), from Ezakwantu: Beadwork from the Eastern Cape focuses primarily on Xhosa beadwork. In this work, she raised the question of who pays for the beads used in works that are given to suitors as tokens of affection and communication, and the issue of the function of elaborate beadwork as a means of communicating a young woman's industriousness. While Klopper only discussed these issues in relation to Xhosa works, they are discussions that provide insight into these issues in the Zulu context. Dawn Costello's book, Not Only for Its Beauty: Beadwork and its Cultural Significance Among the Xhosa-Speaking Peoples of South Africa (1990), contains some useful information about beadworking methods that are common to both traditional Zulu and Xhosa works of
art. Moreover, W. M. K. Sobahle's article, "Xhosa Beadwork from Victoria East and Middledrift District" (1977), from Fort Hare Papers contains some generalized information about the bead trade in southern Africa. So, while art historical texts that address the generalized history of beads and the beadwork of ethnic groups other than the Zulu may not contain information specifically relating to traditional Zulu beadworking, they provide insights into the styles, functions, and symbolism of Zulu works. This is information that can help to establish a date for objects and methods for describing beads and beadwork items in a consistent manner.

General art historical texts that survey the art of the whole or large regions of the African continent can also be sources of information about traditional Zulu beadworking. Unfortunately, few of the books of this sort include beadwork. Nevertheless, there are two of these survey texts that contain a substantial amount of information about traditional Zulu beadworking. These works are The Art of Africa (1958) by Walter W. Battiss, G. H. Franz, J. W. Grossert and H. P. Junod, and The Beads and Beadwork of East and South Africa (1986) written by Margaret Carey. Probably the reason Zulu beadworking was included in The Art of Africa was that it was published in South Africa and that three of its authors, Junod, Battiss, and Grossert, have experience with various types of art in southern Africa. This work includes a useful discussion of how traditional Zulu beadwork can be divided into five categories based on their method of construction. On the other hand, Margaret Carey discussed bead types, gave a summary of the bead trade in southern Africa, presented the general aspects of the communicative function of beadwork between a young courting couple, and offered some of the symbolism of the colors. Thereby, although neither of these works provides a complete picture of the stylistic variations, functions, and aesthetics of Zulu beadwork, they do offer some generalized information on the subject matter.
There have also been several art historical articles that focus on a single Zulu art form other than beadworking. Anitra Nettleton examined Zulu sculpture in the 1988 article, "History and Myth of Zulu Sculpture", from *African Arts*. Carolee Kennedy explored brass body ornaments in the 1992 article, "Prestige Ornaments in the Zulu Kingdom", from *African Arts*. Calabash carving is the subject of the article by H. E. Bohme, "Some Nguni Crafts, Part 1 Calabashes" (1976), from the *Annals of the South African Museum*. Bone, horn and ivory working are the subjects of Patricia Davison's article, "Some Nguni Crafts, Part 2 The Uses of Horn, Bone and Ivory" (1976), from the *Annals of the South African Museum*. Woodcarving is addressed in "Some Nguni Crafts, Part 3 Wood Carving" (1981) from the *Annals of the South African Museum* by Lindsay Hooper. Skin working is examined in the article, "Some Nguni Crafts, Part 4 Skin Working Technology" (1984), from the *Annals of the South African Museum* by Lindsay Hooper, Patricia Davison, and Gerald Klinghardt. Additionally, pottery and basketry are examined in "Amacunu Beverage Containers" (1983) by Rhoda Levinsohn from *African Arts*. Nettleton's article on Zulu sculpture focuses on the incorrect attribution of many objects of art to Zulu artists. This informative article places these incorrect attributions of the arts of South Africa within the context of historical attitudes toward the Zulu and other southern African peoples. Kennedy's article on brass ornaments examines the prestige value of brass ornaments, the source of the metals for these ornaments, the methods used for making these items, historical observations of these ornaments, the position of the metalsmith in society, physical problems associated with wearing some of these ornaments, and the gradual replacement of many of these ornaments with glass bead objects. The series of four articles on "Nguni crafts" all follow a similar pattern in that they all describe the technical aspects of working in the various materials and have descriptions of the types of items made with each material. In the article on wood working Hooper identified the Zulu name for a style of interlocking
wooden beads and in the article on calabash working Bohme discussed the types of gourds that were decorated with beads. In the 1983 article, "Amacunu Beverage Containers", Rhoda Levinsohn explored Zulu beverage containers and their accessories. She examined the beer brewing process, the appearance and symbolism of different types of pots, and the etiquette of beer drinking. In addition, Levinsohn discussed beer pot covers, called imbenge (pl. izimbenge), which are sometimes covered in beads. She examined izimbenge with regard to variations in their appearance based on the region and age in which the works were created, and the perceived value of these items. As such, Levinsohn's article contains information about regional beadworking styles and the value of beads within Zulu society. So while these articles only address beadworking very minimally, they are useful for helping to place Zulu beadworking in the context of the whole of traditional Zulu art, provide insights into the symbolism of traditional Zulu dress, and for reviewing previous scholarship on traditional Zulu art.

1.2.5.7 Archaeological Excavations

In addition to formally published works about Zulu art, society, and history, there are numerous other resources that are valuable for the study of the history of twentieth century Zulu beadwork. Specifically, archaeological excavations, ship records, personal communications, bead sample cards, photographs, museum and private collections of Zulu art, and interviews with Zulu artists are all significant sources of information. While none of these resources offers a complete overview of the subject, each one helps to provide a unique piece of the puzzle.

Archaeological evidence provides information into the historical background of twentieth century Zulu beadwork with insights into the forms and functions of nineteenth century beadwork. Archaeological investigations have been carried out at King Dingane's capital, Mgungundlovu, and at King Cetshwayo's capital, Ondini, by N. J. Van der Merwe,
S. J. Saitowitz, F. Thackery, M. Hall, and C. Poggenpoel. Mgungundlovu was occupied from 1828 to 1838 and Ondini from 1872 to 1879. As such, materials recovered from these sites provide information about the royal households during limited spans of time. While no beadwork items were recovered intact from either site, a substantial number of loose beads were found. These beads provide information about the colors, types, and sizes of beads that were popular, and about the source of the trade that was bringing the beads into the kingdom. Still, this evidence must be used with caution. As mentioned above, these finds are only representative of the beadwork of the royal homesteads and do not necessarily represent the colors, types, and quantities of beads that may have been used in other areas of the Zulu kingdom. Both of these sites were occupied for relatively short periods of time and, therefore, the finds made at them represent the beadwork of very short intervals. With the exception of a cache of beads found in a termite mound near Mgungundlovu, most of the beads recovered were items that had simply been worked into the ground over time. This presents the possibility that some beads, especially larger ones, were destroyed or carried away. This is particularly true for Mgungundlovu which, after serving as the capital, was used as an outspanning and cattle grazing area, where cattle's hooves could have churned up the dirt and crushed many beads (Wood 148). Finally, although it is very likely that the beads found at these sites represent the beads actually being used in beadwork, they provide no insights into the percentage of colors used on the objects nor do they provide information about what the finished items would have looked like. Moreover, it is possible that these beads were not actually being used in the beadwork of the court, but were used for other purposes, such as for trade with or gifts to local authorities. Thus, archaeological evidence does offer some information about nineteenth century Zulu beadwork at the royal courts of Kings Dingane and Cetshwayo, and the trading relations of the Zulu kingdom during the periods that the sites were
occupied. Yet, this information has the drawbacks of being limited in time and area, and
the fact that no actual beadwork items were recovered.

1.2.5.8 Ships Records

Ships' records can be another source of information about traditional Zulu beadwork. They can be used for providing information about the quantities of beads coming into a region, for what beads were being traded, the suppliers of the beads, and, at times, they can also contain sailors' observations about the people with whom they were trading. Prior to about 1840 most of the beads coming into the Zulu kingdom came from the Portuguese trade at Delagoa Bay. Therefore, Portuguese shipping records are the most relevant to the early period. After about 1840 most of the trade with the Zulu people was conducted by the British and concentrated at Port Natal. Unfortunately, the Portuguese records present several problems. The most obvious difficulty is that the records are all in Portuguese, presenting language difficulties. Secondly, very few of these records have survived in their original form. Most of them have been rewritten and, so, present uncertainties about the accuracy of the texts (Hedges 100). And third, there were other ethnic groups trading with the Portuguese at the bay and it is not always possible to determine what references apply specifically to the trade with the Zulu kingdom. Nevertheless, some of these obstacles were removed by John Bird who published some of the relevant records in The Annals of Natal 1495-1845, Volumes 1 and 2 (1888). In 1824 the British established a trading center at Port Natal (today in the city of Durban), but it appears that it was not until about 1840 that Port Natal became the primary source of beads for the Zulu Kingdom. So, after about 1840 the records of the ships visiting Port Natal become helpful for providing information about the quantities of beads being imported and the sources of the beads. Still, it must be noted that in addition to the Zulu many other ethnic groups in southern Africa made extensive use of beads in
their art. As such, this information is about the beads coming into the whole of the eastern part of southern Africa, not just beads used exclusively by the Zulu people.

1.2.5.9 Personal Communications

Information about beadwork from the early Zulu kingdom can also be found in personal communications. As brought to light by Roger Beck in the article, "Bibles and Beads Missionaries as Traders in Southern Africa in the Early Nineteenth Century", missionaries often conducted a trade in beads with the local population so as to obtain necessary supplies. In Alone Among the Zulus Catherine Barter mentioned that settlers also brought beads to trade for supplies. But simply bringing beads into a region did not necessarily mean that they could be traded easily. Zulu artists were very particular about the colors and types of beads they wanted, and would not trade goods for beads that did not meet their standards. As a result, the letters sent back to Europe by missionaries often included detailed descriptions of the size and colors of beads they needed (Beck 219). The same is probably true for the letters of settlers using beads to help them to supply their needs, but such correspondence is available only in a limited number of cases. As such, the archives of missionary projects can be a source for personal correspondence containing information about the types and colors of beads that were in demand in the Zulu kingdom.

1.2.5.10 Bead Sample Cards

Bead sample cards are yet another source of information about the types of beads that were used by Zulu artists at various times. In order to allow traders to see samples of the beads available to them for purchase, bead companies prepared cards onto which were fastened samples of various colors and sizes of beads. Knowing the type and colors of beads generally preferred by people of various regions, bead companies sometimes
marked the cards with the regions for which they were intended (i.e. Natal). From this evidence, combined with the knowledge of which companies controlled the market, it is possible to put together a series of these sample cards that reflect the beads available to traders during much of the twentieth century in the KwaZulu/Natal. When viewed collectively, therefore, these bead sample cards provide excellent information about when certain colors or types of beads became popular and/or when certain types or colors of beads were discontinued. Still, while these cards indicate the types of beads available in a region, they provide no information about the popularity of particular bead types or colors. Moreover, the dates of the beads in an item will not always reflect the date of the entire object, because it has been a common practice for Zulu artists to reuse beads from older items. Yet, bead sample cards are very useful for helping to date individual types of beads and providing clues about the age of certain items.

1.2.5.11 Photographic Archives

Photographs also proved to be helpful in the study of Zulu beadwork. From the collections observed, photographs of Zulu people began appearing around 1880. These early photographs seem to fall into two categories: photographs done in the field and photographs done in the studio. In the first category, photographers went into the countryside and photographed people in their environment. In the second category, photographers brought people into the studio and photographed them in controlled settings. In both instances, copies of the photographs were often made and sold to colonists as curios for their photo albums. This is made plain by the fact that when surveying photo albums in the Killie Campbell Collection copies of photographs often reappeared in more than one album. Additionally, as pointed out by Virginia-Lee Webb in the 1992 article, "Fact and Fiction: Nineteenth-Century Photographs of the Zulu", from African Arts, researchers can not always accept these photographs as completely truthful.
documents of traditional Zulu life. Whether taken in the field or in a studio, these photographs were almost always staged. Often the same individuals will appear in different photographs and, most significantly for the study of beadwork, the same beadwork ornaments will reappear worn in different manners in different photographs. This leads to the conclusion that while the photographs provide visual records of the appearance of the beadwork items, they do not always accurately depict the fashion in which the items were worn, the sex of the people that wore them, or the age groups that would have worn them. Another factor that must be noted when using these photographs for reference purposes is that the locations at which the photographs were taken and/or the origins of the people being photographed was often not noted. This makes it difficult to determine if the variations in the beadwork items pictured are regional and/or chronological. Nevertheless, these early photographs are still extremely useful for examining the types of objects made, the variety of beadworking styles used, and the appearance of the objects.

Both the Local History Museum in Durban, South Africa and the Killie Campbell Collection at the University of Natal contain numerous photographs of Zulu people wearing beadwork from the latter half of the twentieth century. These photographs tend to be one of two types: 1) photographs taken in the field by researchers, or 2) photographs done or commissioned by the people, or family of the people, in the photographs. This second category of photographs usually shows people dressed in their finest attire for special events. Indeed, many of these photographs were taken as formal portraits in photographic studios and show individuals in their special occasion or wedding attire (see for instance Figures 46.1 and 46.2). These later photographs, whether taken by a photographer with a camera at home or in the studio, tend to depict beadwork objects and the manner in which they were worn in an accurate manner. Furthermore, many of these photographs are labeled with regard to the region where they were taken and what they
The only real drawback of these photographs is that most of them are in black and white, which limits their use for detecting what colors are being used in the beadwork. As such, photographs are a useful record of the visual appearance of the beadwork items, how they were worn, what other types of items would have been worn with them, and the overall visual aesthetics created with the works. Yet, the usefulness of these records can be limited by the amount of information with which they are accompanied and the fact that many of them are in black and white.

1.2.5.12 Museum and Private Collections

Museum and private collections provide a good visual record of Zulu beadwork. For this study, the writer was able to review the collections of beadwork from the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) at The University of Natal in Durban, South Africa; The Local History Museum (1870-present) in Durban, South Africa; the Natal Museum (1880-present) in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa; The Zululand Historical Museum (1930-present) in Eshowe, South Africa; The NPA Museum (1950-present) in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa; The KwaZulu Cultural Museum (1880-present) in Ondini, South Africa; and two private collections (1930-present). In the collections examined the largest number of items created in the nineteenth century was found at The Killie Campbell Collection, The Local History Museum, The Natal Museum, and The KwaZulu Cultural Museum. Unfortunately, most of the items from the nineteenth century in these collections are vaguely dated and only provenanced to either Natal (meaning the southern part of the Zulu kingdom) or Zululand (referring to the northern part of the kingdom). It is, therefore, difficult to determine, on the basis of these attributions, any sequential or regional stylistic variations for this early period. One collection of nineteenth century beadwork that is fairly well documented, as far as the dates and regions from which the pieces originated, exists in the United States at the Robert Hull Fleming Museum at the
University of Vermont in Burlington, Vermont. This collection contains beadwork items collected by Lewis Grout, who worked as a missionary in Zululand from 1847 to 1862 at the American Presbyterian Mission. So, it is known that the items collected by Grout date to a period no later than 1862 and probably came from the area around Umsunduzi where the mission was located. Yet, most of these collections of nineteenth century Zulu beadwork are relatively small and include little information concerning the date the objects were produced or the location from which they originated. As such, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to draw any conclusions about sequential or regional stylistic variations on the basis of these collections. Nevertheless, these museum and private collections are useful for general information about the visual appearance, beadworking techniques, and the types of beads present in objects that predate the twentieth century.

Museum and private collections of twentieth century Zulu beadwork were extremely useful for this study. Almost all of the collections surveyed contained large numbers of examples of Zulu beadworking that were in excellent condition. Most of these collections contained objects representing many different regions, but tended to be strongest in the beadwork from regions closest to the collections. In addition, most of the works in these collections are dated to a period from about 1950 to the present, while works from the period of 1900 to 1930 are extremely rare. The quality of information that accompanies each item is very variable. Some of the items were donated by private, non-Zulu collectors and are only labeled with the date of donation and a probable area of origin. Other works are accompanied by information about the Zulu name for the items, the function of the object, the date when the object was made, and sometimes the name of the original owner or artist. In the best case scenario, at the Killie Campbell Collection, some works are accompanied by the name for the item, the date the item was made, the other items of beadwork and clothing that were worn with the item, the function of the item, the interpretation of the work, and, in some cases, even a photograph of the owner in
the entire outfit. Any combination of the information listed above can be found to accompany objects of beadwork in museum and private collections. But in most cases, objects are labeled with the Zulu name for the item, the general function of the work, the area where it was made, and the date it came into the collection. So, the use of these collections of twentieth century Zulu beadwork is limited by the fact that they contain little information about beadworking from the period of 1900 to 1930, and the lack of information that accompanies many of the items. Nevertheless, these collections do provide invaluable information about stylistic variations, functions, methods of manufacture, materials, and aesthetics of Zulu beadwork. These collections were vital to this study.

1.2.5.13 Interviews

Finally, field interviews are another excellent source of information about traditionalist Zulu beadwork. For the purpose of this study, the writer conducted formal interviews with seven women from the regions of Umbumbulu, Eshowe, and Mtubatuba. Each of these interviews was conducted with the assistance of a female interpreter and was recorded. Interviewees worked with actual beaded works and photos of beaded objects from museum collections. They answered questions about the dates of particular styles, the Zulu names for particular items, the function of the works, the symbolism of various aspects of the pieces, the aesthetics of the works of art, and other types of objects that would have been worn with the work or works they were discussing. Unfortunately, during the author's stay in South Africa many rural areas were still suffering from outbreaks of political violence related to the 1994 transition from the apartheid system of government to democracy. Furthermore, because of the legacy of apartheid policies designed to keep black South Africans out of the major cities, transportation systems into the rural regions were underdeveloped. As a result, traveling to rural regions proved to be
slightly more difficult and expensive than expected, and limited the number of interviews
the writer was able to gather. In addition to interviews with beadwork artists, interviews
with museum curators, field collectors, private collectors, and artists working in other
media proved to be good sources of information about a range of issues related to
beadwork. Such interviews provided information about the uses for beadwork objects,
dates of items, regional variations of items, the history of some beadwork styles, the
symbolism of various elements in the works of art, and other types of information. As
such, the interviews conducted were an extremely rich source of information concerning
traditional Zulu beadwork.

1.2.5.14 Summary of Review of Sources

There are many different types of written works that are useful to the study of the
history of twentieth century Zulu beadworking. Collections of oral histories, early
travelers' accounts, and socio-political historical studies provide information about the
historical and societal backdrop for the development of twentieth century beadwork, as
well as some of the beadworking forms and functions that preceded the twentieth century.
Anthropological and ethnographic works are extremely useful for their documentation of
the names and functions of many beadwork items, pictures of the objects by themselves or
being worn by individuals, descriptions of aspects of the symbolism of the beadwork, and
descriptions of the society in which the objects functioned. Articles and pamphlets
published for popular markets tend to provide good information on the functional and
symbolic aspects of traditional Zulu beadwork. Art historical articles that focus on
traditional Zulu art forms other than beadwork provide insights into the culture
surrounding the beadwork and Zulu aesthetics. General surveys of African art, exhibition
catalogs from shows featuring Zulu art, and art historical articles focusing on traditional
Zulu beadwork provide, to varying degrees, photographs of works of art, information
about collections that have beadwork, descriptions of some of the stylistic variations and
symbolism of Zulu beadwork, information about the history of traditional Zulu beadwork, and insights into the aesthetics of traditional Zulu art. Ph.D. dissertations dealing with a range of Zulu art forms are very useful for placing beadworking in the context of the whole of Zulu traditional art and culture, and for their review of research resources. Art historical studies and anthropological works dealing with contemporary Zulu beadworking show how beadworking continues to be an important source of Zulu artistic expression and how it has gained a new function as a source of economic empowerment. As such, all of these works provide information relevant to understanding the historical development of twentieth century Zulu beadworking; the practical and symbolic functions of traditional and contemporary beadwork, and how these functions changed over time; the relationship of beadworking to other art forms; and some of the regional stylistic variations in traditional beadwork. Still, none of these works examines the totality of twentieth century Zulu beadworking with regard to the identification and development of major, regional, stylistic variations; the variety of functions fulfilled by these works; and the aesthetics of these objects as works of art.

Beyond formally written works, archaeological excavations, ship records, personal communications, bead sample cards, photographs, museum and private collections of Zulu art, and interviews are all resources for investigating Zulu beadwork. Archaeological excavations, ship records, personal communications, photographs, and museum and private collections of Zulu art are all sources that provide information relevant to nineteenth century Zulu beadwork. It is knowledge that is useful for understanding the sources from which twentieth century beadwork developed. On the other hand, bead sample cards, photographs, museum and private collections of Zulu art, and interviews are resources that allow insights directly into the regional and sequential stylistic variations, the names, functions, symbolism, and aesthetics of twentieth century Zulu beadwork.
1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

To date there has not been a study that examines the totality of twentieth century Zulu beadwork with regard to its major regional and sequential stylistic variations, its functions, and its aesthetics. So, for this study it is necessary to draw upon a range of sources for information. Museum and private collections of Zulu art, bead sample cards, photographs, illustrations, interviews, and previous studies relating to Zulu art and culture were all used to develop a visual record of the works of art. Although none of these sources alone contained examples of beadwork representing all major regional divisions and variations over time, when combined, a large number of regional and sequential stylistic variations could be identified. Yet, there are still gaps in this history because no examples of beadworking from various regions and/or times could be located. Interviews, museum and personal collections of Zulu art, and other studies of Zulu art and culture provided information about the function and aesthetics of the objects. Nevertheless, as Zulu beadwork takes innumerable forms, the symbols used by the artists are always in the process of evolving, the exact symbolism of a particular work is often rooted in the personal experiences of the individual artist, and with limited resources and time with which to conduct the study it was impossible to determine the intricacies of the function and symbolism of every type of beadwork object produced by Zulu artists of the twentieth century. Moreover, because of the personal nature of the symbolism of some of the items, it would be necessary to speak to the artist of every object, living or dead, to determine fully the exact symbolic significance of each item - an impossible task. Finally, travelers diaries; studies of Zulu history, art, and culture; museum and private collections of Zulu art; archaeological excavations; and personal communications were all sources regarding the origins of and the culture that surrounded twentieth century beadwork. Although the most knowledgeable voice, that of Zulu people, is usually lacking from these sources,
these references are still important to consider. So while there are certainly gaps in this present study, this work provides an overview of the historical development of Zulu beadwork of the twentieth century as an expression of Zulu ethnic identity, upon which further study can be conducted.

This study considers twentieth century Zulu beadwork in twenty year intervals within seven major geographic regions (see Figure 1.1) to show the impact of these intersecting divisions on the development of beadwork styles and functions and their changes. A beadwork work style, for the purpose of this study, is defined by the unique set of color combinations and motifs that are applied to the beadwork objects. For instance, the isishunka style, popular in the Msinga from about 1925-1965, features seven colors, green, black, pink, light blue, red, yellow, and white, often arranged in simple blocks of colors along the length of a work; the beadwork style of the Nongoma area from about 1950-1997 is characterized by arrangements of rhomboids and triangles in red, white, black and green; and the beadwork from the Eshowe area from about 1930-1960 features small arrangements of stripes, rhomboids, and triangles in blue, green, black and red on large white fields. So, in all of these examples red, black, green, and white beads are used, but these colors are placed into designs featuring unique motifs and distinctive arrangements of elements and they sometimes have colors added to this basic color combination. These beadwork styles are correlated with particular regions and specific generations of artists.

The twenty year periods into which this study is divided approximately coincide with the reigns of the Zulu kings and the generational changes of the women who created the works of art. While many of these regional styles changed in approximately twenty year cycles, the twenty year divisions into which this study is divided are primarily functional and are not intended to be rigid divisions. Certainly the impact of historical events on
works of art are not limited in time and, in some instances, styles will be employed for a period a little less than or greater than twenty years.

Furthermore, the seven major geographic style areas used in this study are denoted on the map in Figure 1.1 on page 524. These style regions are manifestations of a degree of historical unity among the clans that live in these regions. In general, in these territories beadwork styles have a tendency to be more unified and stable in the center and be more prone to variations at the edges, this is why these areas are denoted with diffuse boundaries on the map. While generally fairly stable, these geographic style divisions, can sometimes be subject to fluctuations as people move from one area to another. In spite of their variables, these regional and sequential divisions provide a good framework for the examinations of: 1) the various major regional styles and their development, and 2) the functions of beadwork within Zulu society as well as how these functions have adapted to societal changes as expressions of Zulu ethnic identity.

A survey of Zulu beadwork was undertaken for several reasons. First, most of the work that has been done previously on Zulu beadwork by Jolles, Schoeman, Winters, Wickler and Seibt, and others have concentrated on the beadwork style of a single region and have given the reader little sense of the vast diversity of styles present within the wider Zulu community. Indeed, only the books, *Speaking with Beads* by Morris and Preston-Whyte and *Zulu Treasures* published by KwaZulu Cultural Museum and the Local History Museums, present a range of regional styles. Still, these two books do not deal with these variations in a systematic manner. Second, through a survey of the regional variations a more thorough assessment of the commonalties in the expression of Zulu aesthetics through beadwork was able to be made. This, in turn, allowed for a more complete evaluation of the cultural milieu and values expressed by and reflected in beadwork. Overall, this survey approach builds a foundation upon which more detailed regional studies can be undertaken.
This study is based primarily upon library and archival information available through The Ohio State University and The University of Natal, Durban; the collections of beadwork in the Killie Campbell Collection at the University of Natal in Durban, South Africa; the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa; The Zululand Historical Museum in Eshowe, South Africa; The NPA Museum in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa; The Local History Museum in Durban, South Africa; and two private collections, as well as field interviews conducted in Mtubatuba, Eshowe, and Durban, South Africa during a six month long stay in South Africa. Unfortunately this study is not comprehensive. Owing to the limitations of the collections surveyed and the writer's lacking of funds for further travel, there are some gaps in knowledge concerning the development of beadwork styles in several regions. Furthermore, while major stylistic trends are identified, there are minor stylistic trends that developed between these major regions, of which there is too little information presently available to sufficiently isolate and fully study. Nevertheless, the dating of objects was objectively pursued as much as possible, even when there were overlaps. For example, there are objects whose style falls outside of their assigned time period that serve as transitional elements in the study. Works that fall out of their typical periods could represent the very beginning of a style, an individual artist maintaining an older style, and/or an uncertain date for an item. This study, nevertheless, provides an historical overview of the expression of Zulu ethnicity through the styles, functions, and aesthetics of twentieth century Zulu beadwork.

Specifically, this study considers the Zulu beadwork from the period of 1890-1997 using a historical approach. Although the Nguni people were united in the early part of the nineteenth century to form the Zulu kingdom, they shared a similar culture that predated the formation of the Zulu kingdom. For the purposes of this discussion, the Zulu kingdom and the culture that it developed is considered to have been founded when King Shaka successfully conquered the region which the kingdom occupied at the height
of his reign. Besides, while no longer independent after 1879, the Zulu kingdom still maintains today a unique political identity and royal house, which, more or less, conserves their ancestral traditions, customs, and culture, especially in beadwork. Within the area occupied by the Zulu kingdom at the height of their powers, the writer has isolated seven major beadwork style regions: Msinga, Ndwedwe, Maphumulo/Mvoti, Eshowe, Estcourt, Southern Natal and Nongoma. Each of these areas, as well as important towns and rivers, is shown on the map in Figure 1.1.

Based on the discussion above, this study is presented in 7 chapters. Chapter 1 provides i) a discussion of the nature of ethnicity, as a concept, and looks at the role of art in relation to this concept, ii) a brief history of the formation and expression of ethnicity in Zulu society, and iii) a review of the literary and archival resources, archaeological studies, museum and private collections of Zulu art, and personal interviews that were used in this study. Chapter 2 examines the beadwork of the period of 1890-1920. In this chapter, there is i) an exploration of the growth of beadwork as an art form practiced by the common people; ii) a look at the various types of beadwork forms created by artists and the functions of these items; and iii) an examination of the consistency and variety of the beadwork in terms of types of forms, functions, and symbolism. Chapter 3, concentrating on the beadwork from the period of 1920-1940, determines i) the historical conditions of this period and the impact of these on the beadwork; ii) the range of beadwork objects created during the period; and iii) the stylistic, functional, and symbolic similarities and differences in the beadwork produced during this time. Chapter 4 investigates the beadwork from 1940-1960 in the context of i) the historical events of this period and how these events influenced the development of beadwork from this time; ii) the types of beadwork worn by Zulu people of this time; and iii) the similarities and differences in styles, functions, and symbols of the beadwork. Chapter 5, addressing the period of 1960-1980, examines i) the historical situations of this period and their impact on the
beadwork; ii) the forms, functions, and symbolism of the beadwork of this era; and iii) constants and variables within the styles, functions, and beadwork symbols. Chapter 6 investigates the beadwork from 1980 to 1997. It determines the i) historical conditions of this period and how they impacted the evolution of the beadwork; ii) the range of beadwork of the time; and iii) consistencies and variables in the styles, functions, and symbols of this beadwork. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes with a comprehensive analysis of the importance of beadwork in Zulu society. In particular, it examines the ways in which beadwork reflected and helped to formulate Zulu ethnic identity over the years.
Notes

1. This was also the case for Native American groups in the United States. White discrimination created very real social boundaries that helped to reinforce the unity amongst those who were discriminated against. See The Mashpee Indians: Tribe on Trial (1991) by Jack Campisi, especially page 55, for a Native American example.

2. The king was not just a political leader, but was also seen as a spiritual leader and an embodiment of the nation.

3. The *isigodlo* consisted of young women who were sent to the king as part of a system of tribute. These young women would stay at the royal kraal for a period, performing duties such as singing and dancing for the entertainment of the royal homestead. Upon reaching the appropriate age, the young women would be married off and the king would collect the *lobola*. This system allowed the king to help strengthen political alliances with marriage.

4. The Bambatha Rebellion of 1906 was begun when a riot broke out in protest of a poll tax. It was led by a chief Bambatha ka Mancinza and lasted about two months before being put down by the British. This rebellion claimed the lives of 24 whites, while 3-4,000 Zulus were killed and about 7,000 taken prisoner (Marks, The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa 29). Although King Dinuzulu did not voice open support for the rebellion, in the aftermath he was brought to trial in 1909 and accused of harboring rebels. He was convicted, but he was released when Natal became part of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

5. When young women got married, the family of the groom gave the father of the bride a number of cattle called *lobola*. Cattle were given to the bride's family in order to compensate them for the loss of a productive family member. Further, the payment of *lobola* was done as a spiritual act. Cattle are associated with the ancestors. So, the exchange of cattle for the women served as an act combining the family lineages and consoling the ancestors. Under this system, when a young man and woman decided to marry the two families met together and negotiated the number of cattle that would be paid as *lobola*. The number of cattle paid for *lobola* usually was dependent, among other factors, on the prominence of the woman's family, the tenacity of her father, and the wealth of the man's family.

6. Such laws included the Urban Areas Act of 1952, which forbid all but a very small number of blacks from living in the towns. Another example of such rules is a series of laws enacted in the late 1950s that reserved some types of jobs for whites, forbid black workers from having authority over whites, and made labor unions have separate black and white branches.

7. The newspaper *Ilansa Lase Natal: Magema Fuze's 1922 Abantu Abamnyama - Lapa Bayeka Neakona*, which was the first history of the Zulu people written in the Zulu language; and the biographical novel, *uShaka* (1937) by Rolf Dhlomo, are all examples of publications which were written by Zulu people that addressed Zulu history and contemporary concerns.
8. For instance, H. I. E. Dhlomo wrote historical dramas about King Cetshwayo, King Dingane, and the Sotho leader Moshoeshoe. In addition to the themes of these plays, Dhlomo also drew on traditional styles of dramatic presentation. "Dhlomo believed that it was essential to dig back into the past - into history and into the forms of expression - in order to create a full unity, the past in the present. 'Tribal drama', he wrote, 'was national'. Thus it provides models for the national unity in the present. It was 'national' because it was on a large communal scale. It treated matters that concerned the people as a whole. Its patrons were the tribe. Its stage, communal lands. Its actors, 'the people'. The old forms, because the ancestors were in touch with the origin and name of life, must be incorporated in the new forms, the past made present in order that all things be unified" (Couzens 151).

9. The Reed (Umhlanga) Ceremony had not been practiced since the kingdom lost its independence until King Goodwill Zwelithini revived it. The Reed Ceremony recalls the Zulu story of creation where God (Nkulunkulu) created the world, the people in the world, and the nations of the world by breaking off a reed. At this ceremony, held in the spring, virginal young women dance with reeds to celebrate this creation. It is a time of yearly renewal for the kingdom and the powers of the king.

10. Even the name "Inkatha" is derived from the inkatha yezwe. The original inkatha yezwe was a sacred coil of grass that was said to contain bodily dirt (insila) from important people from all regions of the kingdom. It was started by King Shaka and kept in the royal house. It symbolized the spiritual and national unity of the Zulu nation. The original inkatha yezwe was destroyed when Cetshwayo's capitol at Ondini was burnt.

11. This is because in areas where the IFP has a strong hold some people join the party to avoid conflict with IFP supporters. In other instances, if the local authorities are IFP members they can undermine non-supporters opportunities for education, employment, etc. The registered number of IFP members is, therefore, not always an accurate assessment of actual party support.

12. Although the writer agrees with Smith that times of rebellion can stimulate the production of art, it must be acknowledged that in times of extreme stress, such as war, artistic production is often difficult if not impossible.

13. Isishunka is the Zulu name of a color combination found in the Msinga region that employs seven colors: white, light blue, dark green, pale yellow, pink, red and black (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 43). See Chapter 3, pages 129-134, for more information about isishunka.

14. See Chapter 2, note 26, for an explanation of the age grade system

15. The amasumpa ("wart") design in traditional Zulu art appears as a raised nodule. These nodules generally appear in multiples that are arranged into geometric patterns, such as zigzag lines or rectangles. See the left arm and chest of the woman in Figure 1.2 for an example of the amasumpa design.
16. When a woman first married into a homestead she was considered to be somewhat of an outsider and was subservient to her husband's family. She was required to behave according to the *hlonipha* ("respect") customs. *Hlonipha* rules applied restrictions on a woman's dress, action, and speech (Krige, *The Social System of the Zulus* 30). The *hlonipha* customs dealing with dress require a woman to cover her body from the armpits downward, cover her shoulders, cover her head, and wear a band of beadwork (*umnwazi*) around her hair or hat to shield her eyes. *Hlonipha* customs dealing with action require a woman to keep her eyes downcast in the presence of her in-laws, forbid her from walking in front of her mother-in-law's home, forbid her from eating in the presence of her in-laws and chewing food while standing, and forbid her from being seen by her in-laws on the fifth day after her wedding (*qubuzela*) or after giving birth. *Hlonipha* customs dealing with speech forbid a woman from using the surname of her in-laws or words in which the sound of the family name appears. Instead, she will use different words for the objects in which the sound of the family name appears. As the length of time a woman lived at her husband's kraal increased, she gave birth to children, and her husband married more wives her seniority increased. As her seniority increased, a woman was released from the *hlonipha* restrictions on action, but she was never released from the restrictions on speech.

17. There are several forms of writing which were developed historically within the African continent, for example the Nsidibi and Vai scripts.

18. Delagoa Bay is located along the coast of Mozambique. Even before the Nguni-speaking peoples were united into kingdoms, they enjoyed indirect access to trade goods brought to Delagoa Bay, first by the Swahili and later the Portuguese. This was the contact that first brought glass beads to the region. This is also where maize, which eventually replaced millet as the staple Nguni crop, was introduced to this region of the world. There was also a trade in slaves run out of this port, but the Zulu did not participate in this slave trade.

19. See Appendix A for more information about the companies that provided beads for the South African trade.
CHAPTER 2
BEADWORK 1890-1920

The Zulu beadwork created between the years of 1890-1920 is the subject of this chapter. I. This section will begin with a brief overview of the social, economic, and political climate of the period. II. The variety of beadwork forms created and the functions they fulfilled during this period will be the next subject addressed. III. This discussion is then followed by a comparative analysis of the similarities and differences observed in the works of art. IV. Last, the ways in which information about the historical, social, economic, political, cultural, and religious life of Zulu people of this time period, is revealed in beadwork is presented. Unlike the succeeding chapters, this chapter will address a thirty year period of artistic production. This slight deviation in approach was made to approximately coincide with King Dinuzulu's reign of 1884-1913. Moreover, works from this time were relatively scarce and the dating of them, in the collections surveyed, was much looser than in later periods. These factors made it more difficult to develop an overall picture of beadwork within a period as narrow as twenty years. As such, the time frame being presented was expanded to thirty years so as to develop a more detailed description of the overall range of works being made in the earliest part of the twentieth century.
2.1 HISTORICAL EVENTS: AN OVERVIEW

After their defeat in the Anglo-Zulu War (1879), the Zulu people were allowed to keep most of their land, but the power of the king was nullified, the military system destroyed, and the territory was divided into thirteen chiefdoms. This made the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a difficult time for the Zulu people. Under the reign of King Dinuzulu (1884-1913), wars and colonialism disturbed the traditional power structure of Zulu society. These events compromised the political unity and loyalty of the Zulu people. Furthermore, social changes and the policies of the colonial government disrupted the traditional Zulu way of life. In spite of these difficulties, many people tried to maintain their cultural traditions, especially in the homeland areas into which they had been moved (Brookes and Webb 254). Still, cultural traditions often became modified because of these social and political changes. For example, in some areas men began having to pay lobola\(^1\) all at once instead of over a period of time, as was traditionally done (Guy, "The Destruction and Reconstruction of Zulu Society" 181). These social and political changes were also reflected in the artwork, especially the beadwork, produced during the period.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries beadwork became a more ubiquitous part of traditionalist Zulu dress. Gone was the king's control over the distribution of beads and restrictions on the types of beads that could be worn by people. In this new political, social, and economic climate access to beads increased. In turn, the amount of beads worn by the common people and the complexity of their beadwork items also increased. While there had always been regional divisions within Zulu society\(^2\), the fragmentation of the kingdom into the thirteen chiefdoms helped to reinforce these divisions. This set of circumstances set the stage for the development of regional beadwork styles. Moreover, the increase in the number of beads available also meant that

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the roles beads played within Zulu society was also able to expand. Beads and beadwork pieces went from being objects that indicated the wealth and social status of an individual, to objects which also came be part of the system of social control as well as the healing and divination practices of the Zulu people. Near the end of this period, the outbreak of World War I led to a great rise in the costs of the raw materials from which beads were made. This resulted in a decline in bead production in Europe (Francis, *The Glass Trade Beads of Europe: Their Manufacture, Their History and Their Identification*, 16). The decline in production and rising costs, in turn, limited the number of works that could be created by Zulu artists. Still, overall, the period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the time when beadwork, as an art form, began to burgeon among the Zulu people.

### 2.2 BEADWORK ORNAMENTS

In the period of 1890-1920, it was primarily people of courting age, married women, and diviners (*isangoma*, pl. *izangoma*) who wore beadwork. Courting aged young women wore beadwork to attract the attention of young men. Young women also created beadwork as gifts for their suitors. These gifts indicated a woman's romantic intentions and could communicate information about the progress of the relationship between her and her boyfriend. In addition, Kloppper suggested that women's efforts in beadworking alluded to their willingness and industriousness in domestic matters. She stated:

> After the 1830's, when it became increasingly easy to obtain beads, this trade item probably would have been purchased by the bride's father, but there is evidence to suggest that, at least in the early twentieth century, women went so far as to enter employment with the sole intention of earning enough money to procure the beads needed to make beadwork for their future husbands (*Women's Work, or Engendering the Art of Beadwork in Southern Africa*, 30).
Married women wore beadwork to appear beautiful for their husbands and to fulfill their *hlonipha* requirements of dress. And, *izangoma* wore beadwork as part of the regalia that helped them to perform healing and divination rituals. In a wide variety of forms, beadwork was used to adorn almost every region of the body. The most commonly adorned regions were the neck, limbs, and waist. To a lesser degree, the head and chest were also subject to decoration. Thus, in the discussion that follows, beadwork is treated according to the categories of: 2.2.1) neck ornaments, 2.2.2) limb ornaments, 2.2.3) waist ornaments, and 2.2.4) head and chest ornaments and beaded accessories.

Based on photographic records and the ethnographic writing of missionaries, such as Alfred T. Bryant (1949), Father Franz Mayr (1907) and Dominices Frey (1907), it is known that the art of beadworking had become popular throughout the Zulu kingdom by the period of 1890-1920. Until about the middle of the nineteenth century, the use of beads in the kingdom was reserved exclusively for the king, women of the court, and officials of high rank. Klopper ("The Art of Zulu-Speakers in Northern Natal-Zululand" 72) suggested that as female members of the court were married and relocated to new homesteads they took their knowledge of beadworking with them. This system helped to spread beadwork throughout the kingdom. This spread also allowed for the rapid development of a diversity of beadworking forms, especially as beads became more widely available during this time. Even in this early period, Zulu beadwork showed evidence of great skill and innovative design.

2.2.1 NECK ORNAMENTS

Between 1890-1920, beadwork items worn around the neck were part of the dress of courting aged men and women, and married women. Based on collections of beadwork at the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present), The Local History Museum (1870-
present), The Natal Museum (1880-present), and The KwaZulu Cultural Museum (1880-present); the photographic archives of the Killie Campbell Collection; and the photographic survey of beadwork items in Frey's *Das Trappisten Missionskloster Mariannhill oder Bilder aus dem Afrikanischen Missionsleben* (1907) it is known that neck ornaments assumed at least five basic different forms in this period. These forms\(^7\) are: 1) thick tubular necklaces called *umgingqo* (pl. *imigingqo*) and *umbhijo* (pl. *imibhijo*); 2) necklaces composed of one or more beadfabric\(^8\) tabs attached to a neckband and referred to by a variety of names depending on their specific forms, such as *incwadi* (pl. *izincwadi*), *ujibilili* (pl. *ojibilili*), *iqabane* (pl. *amaqabane*), and *ulimi* (pl. *izilimi*); 3) necklaces composed of multiple strings of beads ornamented with fringes or tassels of beadwork, referred to in Frey as *umazitike* (pl. *omazitike*); 4) hollow containers covered in beadwork and attached to a neck band to form necklaces used to carry snuff, known as *ishungu* (pl. *amashungu*); and 5) beads attached to a fiber backing to create choker style necklaces, called *ungqi* (pl. *ongqi*)\(^9\) and *ipasi* (pl. *amapasî*) Unfortunately, examples of *amashungu* and *ongqi* were only available in the photographic records of the period. Each of these forms could be worn singly, in multiples, or in any combination with each other, allowing each individual to create a unique aesthetic expression, see Figure 1.2

### 2.2.1.1 *Umgingqo* (pl. *Imigingqo*) and *Umbhijo* (pl. *Imibhijo*):

**Thick Tubular Necklaces**

*Imigingqo* and *imibhijo* are tubular necklaces. They were made by a beadworking method, called *gongqoloza*, that involves wrapping beads around a core of cloth or grass (see also Appendix A). These necklaces varied in width from about 1.5 to 2 centimeters and were made in lengths long enough to go loosely around the neck, so that when worn they would rest on the chest. Frequently, *umgingqo* were worn in multiples of varying lengths and could be seen as part of the dress of courting aged young men and women as well as married women.
Examples of three *imigingqo* can be seen in Figures (2.1, 2.2, and 2.3). This set of works is from the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present) and, according to accession records, dated to the period of 1890-1900. All three of these necklaces are composed of blue, black, white, red, and light yellow beads. Made by the drawn method and rounded with flattened sides, the beads are all glass. The black, white, and blue beads have a simple structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster (that has become slightly dulled with age and wear), and no surface decorations. The red beads also share similar characteristics except they have a compound structure which consists of a translucent layer of reddish-brown glass laid upon a core of opaque white glass. These types of reddish-brown beads are called *umgazi* ("blood"). The light yellow beads are also slightly different in that they have a semi-opaque translucency. These light yellow, *incombo* ("grain of sorghum"), and red, *umgazi* beads are significant in establishing the age of these works. Looking at the bead sample cards in the collection of the Killie Campbell Collection and the collection of bead trader and collector Howard Balcolm, *umgazi* beads disappear after about 1940. Moreover, *incombo* beads are no longer seen in the beadwork in most regions after about 1950\(\text{a}1\), except in the Msinga area where they continued to be used by some artists until the early 1970s. Another indicator of the age of these works is the fact that the beads are strung on cording made from sinew. According to information gathered by Carey (14) and a survey of Zulu beadwork items conducted by the writer in museum and private collections, works produced before 1945 were frequently strung on sinew or locally produced vegetal cording. Consequently, the materials used in these works place them within the time frame being discussed.

Looking at a number of *imigingqo* in museum collections, the decorative elements on these works are fairly typical of beadwork items of this era. The motif employed on these ornaments is a simple striped pattern (Figures 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3). In the first two works (Figures 2.1 and 2.2) single bands of white beads flank two rows of blue beads and
single rows of *incomo* beads flank two rows of *umgazi* beads. These two combinations then alternate along the length of the necklace, each combination being separated from the next by two rows of black beads. In the third work (Figure 2.3), rows of white beads flank a single row of blue beads and *incomo* stripes flank a single line of *umgazi* beads. On either end of this *umgingqo*, three bands of the blue and white combination are alternated with two bands of the *incomo* and *umgazi* combination; each separated by a single band of black beads. Toward the center, each of the striped regions on the ends is separated from two, centrally placed, striped areas by about fifteen rows of black beads. In the central region, the two striped sections, which consist of four blue and white combinations alternating with three *incomo* and *umgazi* combinations, are divided by a single rows of black beads. Finally, a group of about ten stripes of black beads separates these two central regions from each other. Overall, these works are ornamented with a series of stripes, done in a limited number of colors, and placed on a black background in a manner that was often utilized in beadwork objects from this period.

The use of stripes and the colors of beads employed in these works helped to complement the body of the wearer and call attention to the head. When worn, the colors of these pieces would have worked nicely with the skin tones of the person or people who wore them. As observed in South Africa, the Zulu people tend to have relatively fair skin with yellow and red casts. Traditionally these natural tones were sometimes further highlighted by dressing the body with a powder of red earth (Bryant, *The Zulu People* 153), and married and engaged women used red ochre when dressing their hair (Bryant, *The Zulu People* 538). The *umgazi* and *incomo* beads would have, therefore, brought out these natural red and yellow tones of the skin. The black beads, being dark in color and smaller than the rest of the beads, would have almost disappeared against the skin, while the blue and white beads would have stood out against the body, acting to grab the eye of the viewer. In this way, the colors of these works were used to accentuate the
healthy tones of the skin and draw the attention of the observer. Furthermore, stripes as a motif helped to draw attention to the head of the wearer. Placed in a symmetrical arrangement, the stripes on these works have regular rhythms that create visual interest along the lengths of the pieces. When lying on the body, the stripes of these works would angle in toward the neck. These lines would then lead the eye to the head of the person wearing the item. So, the colors and motifs of these works both helped to draw attention to the face of the person or people who wore them and help them to be noticed by a suitor or husband.

Solid colored stripes, in varying widths and in a limited number of colors, were very typical of the decorative treatment of imigingqo of this period. For instance, this use of stripes can be observed on the collection of imigingqo in Figures 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6. These three works are also from the collection of the Local History Museum, where they are recorded as having come from this period. At times, additional designs were sometimes added to the stripes used on these imigingqo. For instance, the imigingqo in Figures 2.4 and 2.6 have overall striped patterns of wide regions of design separated by white areas, yet the artist or artists of these works also employed diagonal stripes and a v-shaped motif to give the broad areas more decorative qualities. So, while simple stripes were probably the most popular decorative treatment for this type of item, artists were already beginning to explore a wider variety of more complex motifs on imigingqo of this time. The use of the black base for the design was also relatively typical for this period. Although not the predominate background color of the period, black did appear regularly (for example see the isigege in Figure 10.2). After this era this heavy use of black showed up very rarely until the 1970s, when it again became popular within certain areas, such as Umbumbulu11. Research conducted by Wood (150)12 suggests that the variations in bead color combinations of this era were indicative of regional stylistic differences, but since the original location of these objects is simply noted as Zululand it is difficult to
connect these works, with certainty, to a particular regional style. In addition to the bead colors and decorative motifs, the artist or artists of these imigingqo also employed different sizes of beads to add more visual and textual interest to their works. The umgazi, yellow, blue, and white beads that make up the decorative areas of the work are of about size 0 while the black beads are of a slightly smaller size of about 00\(^{13}\). This means that the striped regions are raised slightly above the black areas. This acts to highlight these decorative regions and adds textural interest to these works. Once again, based on the author's survey of museum and photographic archives, this technique of combining beads of various sizes in the body of a work to give the item textural and visual variety was relatively unique to the beadwork of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

When used by courting and married women, the imigingqo seen in Figures 2.1-2.6 helped to reveal the wealth and social status of the women or men who wore them. When given to a man by a suitor, these works acted as a means of social control that helped to regulate the relationship between the two\(^{14}\). It is not possible to know if these works were worn by a man or a woman, or if these pieces were worn together as a set, separately, or combined with other types of imigingqo or other types of ornamentation; since this information was not gathered with the objects. Nevertheless, they do reveal a variety of the colors, textures, and design elements being used in this type of ornament in the period of 1890-1920.

2.2.1.2 *Incwadi* (pl. *Izincwadi*), *Ujibilili* (pl. *Ojibilili*), *Iqabane* (pl. *Amaqabane*), and *Ulimi* (pl. *Izilimi*): Tab Style Necklaces

The category of tab style necklaces encompasses an array of forms that all have one or more beadfabric tabs attached to a neckband. Like the imigingqo, tab style necklaces of this period were worn by courting age men and women, and married women. They could be worn singly, in multiples, or combined with other neck ornaments. The
specific names for these items are dependent on the number and size of the tabs on the works, the specific function of the items, and the way in which they were worn. For instance, necklaces with large rectangular tabs are often called *ulimi* ("tongue") (Figure 3.1) and necklaces with multiple tabs are frequently referred to as *iqabane* (Figures 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5). There were many variations on this basic form and there are many examples of these types of works in museum collections.

The tab style necklace in Figure 3.6 is called *incwadi* ("letter") because of its function as a means of communication between a young man and his suitor. It can be found in the Local History Museum (1870-present) and is dated in museum notes to a period of 1890-1900. The central panel was made by the stacking beadfabric method described in Appendix A, using white, pink, and blue beads. It features a checkerboard pattern of pink and white beads across which a diagonal line of blue beads is placed. It is a relatively simple geometric pattern, similar in complexity to other examples of designs for tabs on works dated to this period in the Local History Museum (Figures 3.7, 3.8, 3.9, and 3.10). The neckband to which it is attached consists of a blue upper band, two beads thick, and a single lower band of *umgazi* beads. A zigzagging line of *incombo* beads joins these elements. All of the beads in the work are drawn glass beads of a round form with flattened sides. The pink, white, and blue beads all have a simple structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and have no surface decorations. In contrast, the *incombo* beads have a semi-translucent clarity and the *umgazi* beads have a compound body with a semi-translucent clarity. The beads are strung on a cording made from sinew indicating, along with the *incombo* and *umgazi* beads, that this work dates to the period before 1940. As in the *imigingqo* previously discussed, the artist of this work has combined beads of different sizes for visual interest. The *incombo* beads of the interior of the neckband are of about size two while the rest of the beads are of about size 00. The materials and the
use of simple geometric motifs in the *incwadi*, thereby, have parallels with those of the *imigingqo*.

The name of this work, "*incwadi*" ("letter"), is indicative of its function as a means of communicating a message. *Izincwadi* are items made by courting aged young women to be given to their male suitors. Using a system whereby every bead color is associated with a specific proverb\(^\text{15}\), women could use beadwork to communicate information concerning their feelings about the progress of the courtship between them and their boyfriends. This symbolic use of color in beadwork is a trait that can be found throughout the beadwork of all regions and almost all periods in Zulu art. Mthethwa claimed that this symbolic use of color dates to, "the heyday of the Zulu and earlier kingdoms, (when) important military messages would sometimes be coded in beads or grass mats" (34). Yet, Bryant was one of the first Europeans to note this symbolism in *The Zulu People: As They Were Before the White Man*, first published in 1949, when he observed that the colors of beads carried a meaning (158-159). The issue of color symbolism in the Zulu beadwork is explored more extensively in Reverend Father Franz Mayr's 1907 work, "Language of Colours Amongst the Zulus Expressed by Their Beadwork Ornaments: And Some General Notes on Their Personal Adornments and Clothing". In this article, Mayr examined the names and symbolism of various colors of beads as well as the types of ornaments worn by Zulu people.

Although Mayr is the only researcher to have addressed the issue of color symbolism in beadwork actually during the period of 1890-1920, scholars presenting information in later publications have reported a similar system of color symbolism all throughout areas of Zululand. Moreover, the symbolic meaning of the colors reported by Mayr are almost identical to those listed by Princess Magogo Constance Buthelezi in her 1963 translation of a "love letter" in the Killie Campbell Museum (see Appendix B). Princess Buthelezi, the daughter of King Dinuzulu, was born around the turn of the
twentieth century. As such, the symbolism of the beads that she noted was probably learned from her mother and other women of the royal court as she was growing up in the early part of the twentieth century. So, it is known that the symbolic use of color and a consistency in their meanings could have been found at least in the areas between Durban, where Mayr was working, and Nongoma, where Princess Buthelezi grew up. This region represents most of Zululand, indicating this system could probably be found throughout the kingdom at least as early as the turn of the twentieth century. Although Mthethwa did not explore the issue of the age of the symbolic use of color in beadwork in depth, he did argue, convincingly, that the symbolism of the colors of Zulu beads is imbedded in the Zulu language\(^{16}\) and, so, is consistent throughout the whole of Zululand. In this way, beadwork items, such as this incwadi, were used as a means of regulating the relationship between courting aged men and women throughout Zululand during this period. Still, it is difficult to know if a particular item was part of this specific system of social control, because these works not only took the form of tab style necklaces but many other forms as well. In the case of the incwadi, the name of the item identifies its function, yet this is not the case in every item that was designed to carry a message. In order to determine, with certainty, that an item was used for this purpose its history must be known.

Just as not every item that carried a message took the form of a tab style necklace, not every tab style necklace necessarily carried a message. Other examples of tab style necklaces from the Local History Museum which, according to accession records, date to this period can be seen in Figures 3.11, 3.12, 3.13, and 3.14. In these works the tabs come in a variety of sizes, shapes, and numbers. The tabs can be large or small; take the shape of a long rectangle, a wide rectangle, or a square; and appear singly or in multiples as numerous as eight. Artists generally employed three or four colors in each work, yet they sometimes used more. The designs, all of which are relatively simple arrangements of basic geometric units, include: stripes, checkerboards, diagonal lines, triangles,
rhomboids, "plus" signs, "X's", and zigzags. These designs are then placed on white, black, or other solid colored fields. Finally, the neckbands to which the tabs are connected can assume a variety of forms, from a simple single string of beads (Figure 3.9) to more complex forms with lace-like trimmings (Figure 3.10). These variations in forms, color combinations, motifs, and beadwork methods suggest the possibility of regional variations in beadworking styles. Still, as the locations where these objects were made were only recorded in a few instances, it is difficult to say if and how these variations specifically expressed themselves and to what areas they belonged. In spite of these differences, the tab style necklaces of this period had commonalities in their use of a beadfabric tab, a limited number of bead colors, and relatively simple geometric motifs.

2.2.1.3 Umazitike (pl. Omazitike): Multiple string Necklaces

According to information collected by Frey, necklaces composed of multiple strings of beads and ornamented with fringe are called umazitike (pl. omazitike). Unlike imigingqo and tab style necklaces, there are relatively few examples of omazitike in museum collections and in the photographic record. As a result, less is understood about these items. Based on Frey's work, it is known that these types of works were worn as part of the wedding dress of bride (123) (they were probably also worn on any number of special occasions). In addition to being worn on the neck, these forms were sometimes worn on the head.

The umazitike in Figure 4.1, from the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present) and, based on museum records, dated to 1890-1900, consists of a wide neckband that fastens in the front and two sections of fringe flanking each side of the fastening. The entire work is composed of blue, white, and pink glass beads strung on a sinew cording using different variations of the multiple string beadworking method (see Appendix A). All of the beads are round in shape with flattened sides and were made by
the drawn method. They have a simple body, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. All of the beads are about size 00, with the exception of the two red beads used as fasteners. Two horizontal rows of pink and umgazi beads at the top and a horizontal row of black beads at the bottom frame the neckband. This feature of the neckband runs the entire length of the necklace and ends at the large beads that form the fasteners. The central region of the neckband is then created by a series of vertical lines that are strung between these two bands. These vertical lines have a single white bead at the top and bottom between which are placed about five blue beads. The fringed region of the necklace comprises a small section of the length of the work at its front and center. Like the central part of the neckband, the fringed region is composed of a group of strings attached perpendicularly to the double row of pink beads. These fringes are decorated with a series of black, pink, and white beads placed in the same order on each string. This gives the fringed area the appearance of having horizontal stripes. So, both the fringe and neckband regions utilized horizontal stripes as their primary decorative motif.

Other examples of omazitike, also from the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present) and, according to accession records, dated to 1890-1900, can be seen in Figures 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4. These three works represent some of the stylistic variations found in this type of item. The work in Figure 4.4 features only black and dark amber colored beads and is fastened at the back with a conical, brass button. Unlike the complex neckband of the previous work, the neckband of this piece consists of three strings of black and amber beads. The three strings are brought together in the front of this piece. At this central area the black beads are alternated with amber beads to create a series of stripes. From this striped region hang a series of strands of black beads that end in bow-like structures of amber beads. In the work in Figure 4.3, three strands of alternating black and amber beads are joined at five places along the length, demarcating the change of color along the length. Each of the gathered areas is then grouped by two,
larger, red beads; two, white beads; and one, black bead. At each end of the necklace, where it fastens on the front of the wearer, there is a fringe of beads. As in the first umazitike analyzed, these fringes are decorated with a horizontal series of stripes formed by large red, white, and black beads. Last, the necklace in Figure 4.2 is comprised of a neckband formed by a string of back beads wound around a thin, tubular structure and adorned with loops of black beads. At the edges of the neckband there are two, conical, brass buttons used to fasten the item at the front of the neck. Off the end of the neckband there hangs a fringe of red beads decorated with large, blue beads. The large, blue beads are particularly numerous near the bottom of each fringe where a single strand branches into three strands. Overall, these three works demonstrate a diversity of beadworking methods as well as bead color combinations.

Yet while there was diversity among omazitike, there were elements that unified them with each other and with the wider body of Zulu beadwork of this period. In particular, the form of these items as neckpieces with a central ornament of beadwork fringe and the use of stripes as a decorative motif were common to all omazitike observed. The use of a limited number of colors, sinew or vegetal cording materials, beads of different sizes, and simple geometric motifs were characteristics shared by these omazitike as well as other items from this period. Moreover, the heavy use of black in some of these works is a design feature that was fairly unique to certain pieces of this era. In general, these omazitike reveal some of the diversity of forms assumed by Zulu, beadwork neck ornaments of the period of 1890-1920, while maintaining similar aesthetic presentations.

2.2.1.4 Ishungu (pl. Amashungu): Snuff Containers

In addition to imigingqo, tab style necklaces, and omazitike there were two other styles of neck ornaments commonly worn during this period. The first type of ornament is beaded snuff containers. Snuff was a favorite indulgence of both Zulu men and
women. It was used both for personal pleasure and at social occasions. People of both sexes often carried a container of snuff and a small snuff spoon on their person. Snuff containers took a wide variety of forms and included a form that was worn around the neck, called *ishungu* (pl. *amashungu*)\(^{18}\). These works were made by covering a small, hollow container with glass beads and attaching it to a beaded neckband. The hollow container was then used for holding snuff. Based on *amashungu* in the collection of the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) and in pictures in Frey, the hollow containers of these works were the primary focus for the application of decorative features. These were usually ornamented with geometric designs such as stripes, checkerboards, and rhomboids. For example, the *ishungu* from the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) in Figure 5.1, dated to this period in the museum records, is made of a hollow section of reed decorated with pink, black, and white beads placed in a slanted, checkerboard design. The pink and black beads are used for the squares of the checkerboard and the white beads run down the horizontal edges of these squares. The whole design is set at an angle, giving it an active, spiral appearance. Generally speaking, it is an elaborate and elegant design that imbues the work with a sophisticated air. The bamboo container is then connected to a neckband of four strands of beads that have alternating regions of black and white beads separated from each other by a red bead. Made by women for themselves or given to suitors as tokens of affection, such snuff containers were probably used as items of prestige and alluded to the wealth and social status of a person. Slightly less elaborate examples of *amashungu* appear in Figures 5.2 and 5.3. According to the accession records of the Killie Campbell Collection where these works are housed, these items also date to the period being discussed. Instead of a checkerboard motif, these pieces employ a much simpler stripe motif. Yet, even with a less elaborate motif, the use of beads to cover a snuff container would have been an extravagance and, therefore, given such works the status of items of prestige. (Although, the more elaborate design in the
first *ishungu* discussed would have made that work more prestigious than the later works because of the greater degree of skill involved.) Overall, *amashungu* are examples of beadwork objects that were connected primarily to the wealth and social status of the wearer.

2.2.1.5 *Ungqi* (pl. *Ongqi*) and *Ipasi* (pl. *Amapasi*): Choker Style Necklaces

A final type of neck ornament seen in Zulu beadwork of the period of 1890-1920 is a choker style necklace. They were formed by wide bands of beadwork that fit tightly around the neck. These works, called *ungqi* (pl. *ongqi*) ("hold tight") and *ipasi* (pl. *amapasi*), were created by attaching beads to a fiber backing in lengths about four beads wide. These lengths were then combined to form a wide band of beadwork. At times these *ongqi* were also ornamented with beadfabric tabs on the front, central region of the work. Unfortunately, observations of these types of ornaments were limited to the photographic record. This made detailed stylistic analyses of these objects very difficult. Still, from the examples observed, these works were comparable to other types of Zulu beadwork ornaments of the period. The similarities were particularly notable in terms of the use of simple, geometric, design motifs, especially stripes, and the use of larger beads attached to the surface of the works for added visual and textural interest. Like *umgingqo*, tab style necklaces, and *amashungu*, *ongqi* were worn by courting aged men and women and married women, with no obvious differences in the colors, design motifs, and/or forms worn by these different groups.

2.2.1.6 Summary: Neck Ornaments

The categories of *imigingqo*, tab style necklaces, *omazitike*, *amashungu*, and *ongqi* are the primary categories of complex, Zulu, beadwork neck ornaments found in museum collections and photographic archives with items dated to the period of 1890-1920. In
addition to these types of objects, the photographic record reveals that single strands of beads were also worn around the neck. But, probably owing to the fact that these types of ornaments were not as outwardly elaborate as other items, they do not appear in museum or private collections. Taken as a whole, it can be seen that Zulu, beadwork neck ornaments assumed a fairly wide diversity of forms. The artists that created these works employed a variety of beadworking techniques, including the single strand method, the multiple strand method, the gongqoloza method, the beadfabric method, and beads attached to a hide or fiber backing method. They made use of a range of design motifs and arrangements of design elements such as stripes, checkerboards, arrangements of triangles and/or rhomboids on solid colored backgrounds, and motifs placed on a field with an all over design. Moreover, artists used different color combinations of beads, possibly indicating their unique, regional origins. Still, these ornaments were unified by the limited range of the forms that these works assumed; the use of about three to five colors in each work, especially white, black, blue, umgazi and incombo; relatively simple, symmetrically arranged, geometric designs; and the incorporation of different sizes of beads for visual and/or textural interest. Overall, in spite of the diversity of their formal presentations, these works all showed a similar artistic aesthetic.

The diversity of formal presentations seen in these works also mirrors the diversity of functions that these items served. In their various forms, neck ornaments served to aesthetically enhance the body, could act as a form of social control between courting aged men and women, alluded to the wearer's wealth and social status, and helped to identify the region from which the wearer came. When worn by diviners, neck ornaments also assisted the diviner in the performance of his or her duties and helped them to be recognized within the community. Thereby, neck ornaments had important roles within Zulu society and, in turn, reflect characteristics of Zulu society from this period.
2.2.2 LIMB ORNAMENTS

The limbs are also regions of the body that were frequently ornamented with beadwork as part of the traditionalist dress of the Zulu people from the period of 1890-1920. As with ornaments of the neck, information about specific forms of limb ornaments comes from the photographic record collected by Frey, museum collections of Zulu beadwork, photographic archives, and, to a lesser extent, the ethnographic work of Bryant and Mayr.

Like beaded neck ornaments, beadwork ornaments that were made to adorn the limbs were worn by courting men and women and married women. Moreover, there do not appear to have been any apparent differences between the forms or color combinations of the limb ornaments worn by men and women nor married and unmarried people. These types of works were generally worn in matching pairs, but sometimes were combined with other types of limb ornaments. When worn together, pairs of limb ornaments were usually made to be identical in form and decoration to each other. There were no apparent differences between the ornaments worn on the wrist and those worn on the ankle. The names for these items vary both with the forms the works assumed and the regions in which they were made.

Limb ornaments of this period assumed three basic forms: 1) cuff shaped ornaments made using the *gongqoloza* method, called *isigqizo* (pl. *izigqizo*) and *idavathi* (pl. *amadavathi*), 2) cuff shaped ornaments made by sewing beads onto a fiber backing, called *idavathi* (pl. *amadavathi*), and 3) single or multiple strands of beadwork wound around the length of an appendage numerous times, called *isigqizo* (pl. *izigqizo*). Regardless of the exact forms, all of these ornaments were worn on the limbs to help to define the horizontal and lower boundaries of the body. These areas of the body are also some of the most animate parts during movement. Ornaments at these regions would,
therefore, have helped to draw attention to these active parts and visually accentuated them, especially during dance routines.

2.2.2.1 Isigqizo (pl. Isigqizo) and Idavathi (pl. Amadavathi): Cuff Shaped Works

There were two types of cuff shaped ornaments worn as part of the traditional dress of the Zulu people during the period of 1890-1920. These two types of ornaments, isigqizo and amadavathi, were very similar in appearance but differed from each other in the means by which they were made.

Isigqizo, such as the pair seen in Figure 6.1 from the Auld Collection of the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) and dating, according to museum records, to the late nineteenth century, were made by wrapping beads around tubular sections of grass or cloth using the gongqoloza method (see Appendix A). These sections were then sewn together to form a wide band. In the example illustrated in Figure 6.1 the artist wrapped each tubular section with black, umgazi, yellow, blue, white, and pink beads in the same sequence along the length. When put together, these tubular sections form a series of vertical stripes. The stripes are arranged in a symmetrical fashion. In the center is a blue stripe flanked by sets of yellow, umgazi, and black stripes of equal widths. On either side of this center sequence there is a white stripe that is equal in width to the central series of stripes. Moving outward, beside the white beads there is a second series of stripes. In this second series, a medium sized, pink band is flanked by narrow stripes of umgazi beads followed by a second set of narrow stripes of black beads and a second set of wide, white stripes. At the end of each work the central series of stripes is repeated. Finally, the ends of these works are finished off by two rows of white beads and a series of larger, umgazi beads that are used fasteners. Overall, this pair of works has a symmetrical, lively, syncopated series of stripes that give them a sense of vitality. Symmetrically organized, vertical stripes appear to be a characteristic design of isigqizo of this period, as seen in the
second set of examples in Figure 6.2. This set of works is also from the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present), where they are dated to the late 19th century. In these pieces, a large, central stripe of yellow beads is flanked by a set of stripes of umgazi beads, which are, in turn, flanked by successive stripes of blue, umgazi, white, umgazi, and blue beads. Each of these colored sections is separated from the other by thin stripes of black lines. As such, while being symmetrically organized, the stripes of this second set of izigqizo have a much more regular rhythm.

Like the beads used in the neck ornaments, the beads used in these izigqizo are glass and were constructed by the drawn method. With the exception of the umgazi beads, all of the beads in these works have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, shiny luster, and no surface decorations. In contrast, umgazi beads have a compound body structure, a semi-translucent clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. All the beads in the works observed are of size 00, excluding the large beads used as fasteners. Still, based on the observations made of other beadwork items from this period, the use of larger beads in the body of these items was possible. The beads in both sets of these izigqizo are strung on vegetal cording and wrapped around a cloth core. Finally, these works use six and five colors in their designs. This is a slightly greater number of colors than was generally seen in the neck ornaments. The increase in the number of colors used in these designs, as compared to the neckpieces, possibly indicates a regional difference in the area from which these works originated. Nevertheless, the characteristics of these works, especially the gongqoloza beadworking method, the types of beads used, and the use of a relatively simple, symmetrical, geometric designs are in keeping with the neck ornaments previously discussed.
Another method for making *amadavathi* entailed sewing beads into a fiber backing to create rows that are several beads in width. These bead-covered lengths of fiber were then connected in numerous places so as to create a wide band of beadwork, as seen in Figure 7.1. As with the *izigqizo* discussed above, these *amadavathi*, from the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present) and dated, from museum records, to the period of 1890-1920, are ornamented with a set of symmetrically arranged stripes. This was achieved by attaching the beads in the same color sequence down the length of each strip and combining the lengths so that the colors lined up. This creates a series of vertical stripes. Furthermore, the ten locations along the length of these ornaments where the strips are connected are marked by vertical rows of beads, which add the impression of additional vertical stripes.

These works are made of drawn glass beads of black, *incombo*, *umgazi*, and pink. As in other works, all of the beads, except for the *umgazi* beads and *incombo* beads, have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The *umgazi* beads have a compound body structure, a semi-transparent clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations; and the *incombo* beads have a semi-translucent clarity, shiny luster, no surface decorations, and a simple body structure. The stripes of the works are arranged so that a wide, central stripe of black beads is flanked by two, medium sized stripes of *incombo* beads, followed by two, wide stripes of *umgazi* beads. Moving outward, there are medium sized stripes of pink beads, small stripes of black beads, small stripes of *incombo* beads, small stripes of black beads, medium sized stripes of pink beads, large stripes of *umgazi* beads, medium sized stripes of *incombo* beads, and large stripes of black beads. The large and small stripes are made with beads of about size 00 while the medium sized stripes are made from slightly larger beads of about size one. It is a combination that brings both visual and textural interest to the work. In addition, the
medium sized stripes are placed at the points at which the strips of beadwork are sewn together. This makes these stripes solid in appearance. This is in contrast to other regions of the work where there are slight horizontal breaks in the stripes. This combination of solid and broken stripes, with the syncopated rhythm created by the interplay of the small, medium, and large size stripes, gives this pair of amadavathi a delicate and lively appearance. This delicate and lively appearance seems to be a characteristic of this particular form, as can be seen in other examples of amadavathi from the era pictured in Figures 7.2 and 7.3.

Thus, there were at least two styles of cuff shaped ornaments used to decorate the ankles and wrists of courting men and women as well as married women of this time period. Vertical stripes appear to have been a popular design motif for both of these types of works. These striped motifs would follow the length of the arm or the leg and visually add length to these regions. As items used to increase the aesthetic appeal of the person wearing them, these ornaments would have also signified the wealth and social status of the person (or in the case of a courting man, the wealth and social status of his suitor), and possibly the regional origins of the individual wearer. By wearing such pieces a person would be revealing his or her social status, while the complexity and extravagance of the items would have been an indicator of the wealth of the individual or his suitor. Further, the materials, the symmetrical striped patterns, and the combinations of bead colors used in each work would have spoken of the fact that the individual who wore the items was a Zulu person and, most likely, from which area in Zululand the wearer came. So, works like these were used to increase the beauty of a person and communicate information about their place in Zulu society.
2.2.23 *Isigqizo* (pl. *Isigqizo*): Strings of Beads

The third type of ornament used to adorn the limbs were long strings of beads called *izigqizo*. Worn by being wrapped around the appendages numerous times, such items formed a wide band of color at the forearms/wrists and/or calves/ankles. Like cuff style ornaments, *izigqizo* were worn as matching pairs on the ankles or lower legs and/or forearms or wrists to call attention to these body parts during movement. But unlike cuff-style ornaments, there were no *izigqizo* in the collections observed. This is probably due to the fact that they do not appear to be as outwardly complicated or as ornamental as other types of beadwork and, so, were of lesser interest to museum and private collectors of the time. As a result, information about these works comes primarily from Frey and photographic archives.

Based on the records of Frey and other photographic evidence, it appears that *izigqizo* could be made from a single strand of beads or from multiple strands that were braided together in ropes. In either case, they were made into a large circle. These strands were quite long, allowing them to be wrapped around a limb numerous times. It is known that the works could be made from a single color, as seen by the white wrist ornaments of the diviner in the photograph from the Killie Campbell Africana Library found in a scrapbook dated to 1879 in Figure 8.1, or could be made with two colors of beads, as observed in the photographic records of Frey (126). Still, it is unclear whether these were ever made from more than one size of beads. A complete artistic analysis of *izigqizo* was, thereby, difficult because of the lack of examples available for first hand study.

As items worn by courting men and women and married women, *izigqizo* functioned in the same manner as cuff shaped ornaments. But when worn by *izangoma*, *izigqizo* formed part of the beadwork used to help them perform their healing and divination rituals, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Such beadwork articles would also have helped to communicate information about the abilities of the *isangoma* to
others in the community. Izigqizo, therefore, served the needs of both common people and izangoma.

2.2.2.4 Summary: Limb Ornaments

Taken as a whole, the beaded limb ornaments that served as part of the traditionalist dress of the Zulu people during the period of 1890-1920 shared many formal and functional characteristics with the neck ornaments of this time. In particular, limb ornaments and pieces designed for the neck were all made using similar types of materials and beadworking methods. The artists of these pieces employed relatively simple, symmetrically organized, geometric motifs; generally utilized a limited number of colors in a work, especially umgazi, incombo, blue, black, and white; sometimes used larger beads to add decorative interest; and made heavy use of black beads in some items. These artists were, therefore, applying the same aesthetic principles as those seen in the neck ornaments. Limb ornaments also served a similar range of functions. Specifically, limb ornaments were used to beautify the body, help to reveal the wealth and social status of the wearer, and the region from which a person came. When given as gifts from a young woman to a young man, such works would have communicated information about a romantic relationship between the two and, when worn by diviners, helped to enhance the diviners' abilities and communicate information about these abilities to others.

2.2.3 WAIST ORNAMENTS

A third category into which Zulu beadwork ornaments of the 1890-1920 period can be grouped are objects that were worn around the waist. Based on information from museum collections of Zulu beadwork, photographic archives, Frey, Bryant, and Mayr, these works fall into two basic categories: belts and skirts. The category of belts includes
ropes or bands of beadwork worn around the waist or hips. These works are called various names, including isibamba (pl. izibamba), ixhama (pl. amaxhama), umutsha (pl. imitsha), umumba (pl. imimba), udidla (pl. izindidla), ulutsha, umbhijo (pl. imibhijo), umgingqo (pl. imigingqo), and isitimane (pl. izitimane), depending on their form and the area from which they came. Skirts, called isigege (pl. izigege), isiheshe (pl. iziheshe) and umutsha (pl. imutsha), are composed of bands or strings of beadwork that have a beadfabric panel and/or fringes of beadwork attached to them. Bryant (The Zulu People 195) claimed that the term, isigege, refers to a skirt with a panel and the word, isiheshe, refers to a fringed skirt, while umutsha is a generic term that is used to refer to any type of beaded pubic covering. Nevertheless, Frey used the word, umutsha, to distinguish a skirt with a certain type of waistband. According to Frey (125) and the museum and photographic archives, belts were worn by courting men and women and married women. On the other hand, skirts were only worn by unmarried and, possibly, newly married women. At times women wore both belts and skirts together. Cloth skirts with beaded decorations, called itete (pl. amatete), were only worn by some engaged and married women. In this way, beaded waist ornaments served as indicators of an individual's social status, especially with regards to their marital status.

1. Isibamba (pl. Izibamba), Ixhama (pl. Amaxhama), Umutsha (pl. Imitsha), Umumba (pl. Imimba), Udidla (pl. Izindidla), Ingusha (pl. Izingusha), Ulutsha, Umbhijo (pl. Imibhijo), Umgingqo (pl. Imigingqo) and Isitimane (pl. Izitimane): Belts

Ropes or bands of beadwork worn around the waist or hips of a person helped to draw attention toward the central region of the body. Belts were made in several different forms. The type of belts worn by a person was dependent on their age and marital status. The most common styles of belts observed in the beadwork from this period were wide bands of beadwork made by: 1) attaching beads to a grass backing in bands to make belts, called isibamba (pl. izibamba), ixhama (pl. amaxhama), and umumba (pl.
imimba)\textsuperscript{21}; and 2) wrapping beads around a tube of grass or cloth using the gongqoloza technique to create belts, called umbhijo (pl. imihijo) and umgingqo (pl. imisingqo), and combining these tubes into wider belts, called umutsha (pl. imitsha).

A representation of the belt form called umumba can be seen in Figure 9.1. It is a piece from the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present) and is one of the few examples of works from this period that is relatively well provenanced. According to accession records, it came from the Hlanganani region and is dated to 1910. It is also recorded that belts of this type from this area are called umumba (pl. imimba). As described briefly earlier, umumba such as this were made by attaching a section of beadfabric to a backing made of imizi grass (Wood 156). This is in contrast to the more common ixhama and isibamba belts that are made with incema\textsuperscript{22} grass. At times, the entire grass backing was covered with beads, as in this example. In other instances, sections of grass were allowed to remain visible as part of the total design. The work in this figure is composed of white, pink, yellow, umgazi, black, and blue beads. They are all rounded glass beads with flattened sizes, made by the drawn method, and have the same characteristics previously observed. All of the beads in this work are of about size 00. In addition to the glass beads, the artist has also made use of one, conical, brass button on each end of the belt. These act as fasteners with which to attach the belt around the waist. The design created by the beads is a relatively simple arrangement of diagonal lines on a white field. This design is in contrast to more complicated arrangements of geometric elements, like the ones observed in the umumba in Figure 9.2, also from the Hlanganani region and found at the Local History Museum. On the piece in Figure 9.1 the pink beads are used to border the belt. Diagonal lines angled in alternating directions are then placed on the central, white field of the belt. Two sets of lines, in umgazi, white, and blue beads, are used to form a "V". These are alternated with two sets of lines of yellow, umgazi, and black beads, also forming a "V". This creates a zigzag pattern that runs the
length of the belt. As the white beads are the dominant color of this piece, the belt would have stood out dramatically against the skin. With its active design placed in regular intervals around its length, this *umumba* would have been an effective means of drawing attention to the body of the courting man or woman or married woman who wore this work.

An example of a second, commonly found, belt form is the *umutsha* seen in Figure 9.3. Both courting aged men and women could wear *umutsha*, such as the one in Figure 9.3, on their hips or waist. This *umutsha*, from the Local History Museum (1870-present) and, according to museum records, dated to the late nineteenth century, is a fairly average sized example of a work of this style. Composed of five, bead-covered tubes, it is much narrower than the *umutsha* in Figure 9.4, which is made up of ten tubes. Nevertheless, the *umutsha* in Figure 9.3 is wider than some of the two tube examples of such works seen in the photographic record were. As in other works of this period, the artist of the *umutsha* in Figure 9.3 employed *umgazi*, white, blue, black, and yellow beads in a vertical, striped design. Although the full belt is not visible in this photo, it is known that the colors and sizes of these stripes are arranged in a symmetrical fashion. Moving from one end, there is a narrow field of *umgazi* beads, followed by a narrow field of white beads, a wide field of black beads, a wide field of blue beads, a wide field of black beads, a narrow field of white beads, a wide field of *umgazi* beads, a narrow field of white beads, a wide field of black beads, a wide field of blue beads, a wide field of black beads, a narrow field of white beads, and a wide field of *umgazi* beads. This sequence is mirror imaged on the other half of the work. The succession of colors in this belt creates a regular rhythm, with the black beads in every other large field keeping a steady beat. All of the beads in this piece are round with flattened sides and are made from drawn glass. With the exception of the *umgazi* beads, all of the beads have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and have no surface decorations. As previously indicated, the
*umgazi* beads have a compound body structure, a semi-translucent clarity, a shiny luster, and have no surface decorations. There are large, yellow beads, of about size two, placed at regular intervals on the surface of the black field that create the impression of large raised spots. Otherwise, the rest of the beads in this work are of about size 00. As such, the color combinations, beadworking methods, and materials of this piece were in keeping with other types of Zulu beadwork items from this period.

As a work of art used to draw attention to the body, the red and yellow beads of the belt in Figure 9.3 would have worked well to complement these naturally warm tones in the skin of the wearer. In contrast, the blue and white beads would have stood out against the body. Taken as a whole, the colors and motifs of this work would have acted together effectively to bring attention to the body of a courting aged young person and help to catch the eyes of people of the opposite sex.

Belts made from a single tube of grass or cloth covered in beads were also found as part of the beaded ornaments created by Zulu artists of this period. Such items are called *umbhijo* (pl. *imibhijo*) and *umgingqo* (pl. *imigingqo*). These belts, for example as seen in Figure 9.5, were almost identical in form to the necklaces of the same name (see Figures 2.1-2.6), except that the belts were longer than the neck ornaments. Like the necklaces, *imibhijo* were frequently decorated with stripes and were worn by courting aged girls. In addition to *imibhijo*, *izibamba*, *imimba*, and *imitsha*, there were also other types of beaded belts worn as part of the dress of the Zulu people of this time. For instance, there were belts made by attaching beads to a fiber backing in strips and then combining these strips into bands. These works, called *udidla* (pl. *izindidla*) and *ingusha* (pl. *izingusha*) (Figure 9.6), were worn by very young, Zulu maidens as part of their special occasion wear (Wood 159). *Izitimane* were another form of belt worn during this period. This type of belt took the form of a group of strings of beads gathered, in a decorative manner, at each end and in the center. They were worn by unmarried women only (Frey
123). These additional styles of belts are found less frequently in museum collections. This is probably because they were worn by a more limited group of people and, therefore, were more limited in number within society. Nevertheless, the range of belt styles seen in Zulu society reflects the various age-grades into which people were divided and the numerous ways used to draw attention to central region of the body.

2.2.3.2 Isigege (pl. Izigege), Isiheshe (pl. Iziheshe), Umusha (pl. Imiśhe): Beaded Skirts and Ite (pl. Amate): Cloth Skirts with Beaded decorations

According to Frey (124) and Bryant (The Zulu People 156), skirts made by attaching a beadfabric panel or fringe to a band or string of beadwork were worn by unmarried women. Yet Krige, writing in 1936, reported that some women continued to wear such items over their izidwaba (the black leather skirts of married women) until the birth of their first child (The Social System of the Zulus 371). This suggests that this use of skirts may have also continued for a short period of time after marriage during the period of 1890-1920, but was just not the fashion in the regions where Bryant or Frey were working or was not noted. These items were worn low on the hips with the panel or fringe oriented so that it covered the genital region. Such works were used to call attention to the ideally full and firm hips and buttocks of a young woman while providing her sex with a covering.

A skirt with a beadfabric panel attached to a band or string of beads, called an isigege, was an important piece of clothing. Not only did it provide covering and protection for the genital area of the young women who wore it, it also indicated her status as an unmarried girl. The example of the isigege in Figure 10.1 comes, according to its museum accession record, from the Hlanganani area slightly south of the town of Pietermaritzburg and is dated to 1910. Presently, it can be found in the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present). It consists of a waistband and a beadfabric panel. The waistband is made of white beads threaded in a complex, lacy structure. The central
panel is made from umgazi, white, and blue beads. The white beads provide the field upon which the umgazi and blue beads are arranged in an abstract, geometric design. In the center of the panel there is a rectangle of umgazi beads above and below which are placed two, blue rectangles. Flanking these rectangles are two, vertical stripes of umgazi beads which are intersected by three, diagonally oriented, white lines that appear in three places along the length. Centrally located in the upper, two, white stripes there are single lines of blue beads. In the lower, four, white stripes there are single lines of umgazi beads. Moving outward, there are two, diagonally placed lines of umgazi beads positioned in corresponding orientation to the lower, two, white, diagonal lines. Finally, the two sides of the panel are lined with stripes of blue beads and the lower edge is trimmed with a short fringe of umgazi, white, and blue beads. All of the beads in this work are rounded glass beads with slightly flattened sides made by the drawn method. They all have a simple body structure, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, no surface decorations, and are of about size 00; with the exception of the umgazi beads that have a compound body structure and a semi-transparent clarity. In the fringe the beads are slightly larger in size, being about size one.

The Hlanganani works from this period in the collection of the Local History Museum are rare examples of works that's dates and region of origin were noted at the time of their donation. Using this information, Marilee Wood traveled back to the original village and questioned local women about these pieces. In the process of her research she found that the people of this area from this time had preferred white backgrounds for their works, as in the isigege in Figure 10.1. This is in contrast to works from regions slightly outside of Hlanganani, in the same collection, where artists preferred a black background. She stated that the, "Hlanganani people used only a white background, while the black background predominates in other groups" (Wood 150) living slightly outside of the Hlanganani region. Moreover, she found that Hlanganani artists preferred the use of,
"small blocks of diagonal lines, some triangles, and diamonds and occasionally stripes, especially in smaller tabs" (Wood 150). While the other groups of people, whose works were included in this collection, used, "vertical or diagonal zigzag-rows of small triangles, vertical rows of outlined diamonds, or checkerboard patterns" (Wood 150). Once again, comparing the izigege in Figures 10.1 and 10.2 shows this. The differences in color combinations used on these works, thereby, reflects regional differences between the origins of these works. When worn, the form of the works would have indicated the social status of the wearer while the bead color combinations and motifs would have helped to signify her area of origin.

A different version of a panel style skirt can be seen in Figure 10.3. At the Local History Museum where this piece is located, records indicate that this work was made between about 1890-1900. This type of skirt, called an umutsha, consists of a waistband and a panel. The waistband is composed of two tubes of fabric or grass covered in umgazi beads. The pubic covering of the umutsha is a beadfabric panel made by the alternating beadfabric method (see Appendix A) with umgazi, incombo, white, black, and blue beads. The section of the waistband that is not occupied by the panel has a short fringe of black beads tipped in white beads. All of the beads in this work are rounded, glass beads with flattened sides made by the drawn method. Furthermore, they share the same characteristics with the beads described in other works of art in this chapter.

Because of its vibrant design, the panel is the most notable feature of this umutsha. Occupying the central three fifths of the panel, there is a vertical, zigzag pattern of white, umgazi, black, and blue beads. The colors of the zigzag lines appear in the order of umgazi, black, blue, umgazi, black, blue, etc. with white lines separating each color. On either end of the zigzag section there is a black field upon which six, small rhomboids are placed in a vertical line. The upper and lower rhomboids consist of four, white beads. The two, central rhomboids are slightly larger and have umgazi centers surrounded by
incombo beads. Each outer end of the panel is trimmed in a band of white beads while the lower edge has a short fringe of incombo, black, and blue beads. Overall, it is an energetic design that is visually contained by the rhomboids. Taken as a whole, this umutsha would have nicely complemented the body of the courting aged young girl who wore it.

The primary identifying features of umutsha style skirts, recorded to be of this period, are that their waistbands are composed of one or more tubes of grass or cloth covered in beads using the gongqoloza method (see Appendix A). At times, fringes (Figure 10.4) or large beads (Figure 10.5) were added to the waistbands of these pieces for decorative interest. In other examples, multiple sections of bead-covered tubes, with beads arranged in geometric patterns, were combined to form the waistband (Figure 12.2). But whatever the exact form and decorative treatment of the imitsha of this period, they were all worn by courting aged girls to complement the region of the hips and buttocks while shielding the genitals from view.

Fringed style skirts dating to this era are relatively rare in museum collections. This can possibly be attributed to Bryant's observations about this style being replaced with the panel style skirts. Yet, this assertion is still speculative. Like panel style skirts, fringed skirts were worn by courting aged women and, possibly, newly married women.

Fringed style skirts fall into two categories based upon the forms they assumed. Fringed skirts, called izigege, were similar to panel styled skirts of the same name. They had a waistband of a single strand or band of beads to which a fringe of beads, that covered the genital region or ran the length, was attached. Unfortunately, no examples of these were available in museum collections for full analysis. And example of the second form of fringed skirts, called isiheshe (pl. iziheshe), can be seen in Figure 10.6. Dated, according to museum records, to the 19th century and found in the MuseuMAfrica, this work has a waistband of three tubes of grass or cloth covered in pink beads with the gongqoloza technique. Along the entire length of this work there is a thick fringe of
beads. The upper and lower edges of the fringe are trimmed in blue beads and the central region is ornamented with a checkerboard design. The checkerboard region of this work is composed of areas of umgazi beads alternated with squares adorned in black and white horizontal stripes. All of the glass beads in this work were made by the drawn method and are round with flattened sides. They are all about size 00 and have the same characteristics as the beads in the items discussed earlier. The beads are strung on sinew cording and have a leather tie for securing the skirt around the waist. The combination of the checkerboard and stripe motifs makes for a dynamic design that is interesting when observed both at close range and from afar. When worn, the fringe structure that forms the skirt of this work would have responded to the movements of the wearer and complemented the form of the body in a flowing, sensuous manner. Thus, both the form and the design motifs would have helped this work to fulfill its role as a means of drawing the attention of potential suitors to the wearer.

Finally, engaged and married women sometimes wore skirts made of cloth with beads sewn onto them, called itete (pl. amatete). Amatete usually covered the region of the body between the waist and the knees, and they sometimes featured beads sewn onto their hem. Unfortunately, examples of amatete from this period were only observed in the photographic record of the Killie Campbell Africana Library (1870-present), yet they were not found in the photographic catalog of beadworking items of Frey. This suggests that these types of works were not worn in every region of Zulu territory. It also makes a stylistic analysis of these objects difficult. Still, based on the information available, it appears that these works would have acted as signifiers of the engaged or martial status of a woman, as they seem only to have been worn by engaged and married women.
2.2.3.3 Summary: Waist Ornaments

Seen in totality, beadwork ornaments worn around the waist as part of the traditionalist dress of the Zulu people between the years of 1890-1920 can be grouped into two categories based on their general forms: belts and skirts. Different forms of belts, including imitsha, izibamba, imimba, izindidla, and izingusha, were restricted to different age groups of both males and females. Beadwork skirts, including izigege, imitsha, and iziheshe, were worn only by unmarried girls and, possibly, newly married women; and cloth skirts with a beaded trim, amatete, were only worn by engaged and married women. As such, the variety of types of waist ornaments worn by people of a particular social status was generally much more limited than with the neck or limb ornaments. This factor made waist ornaments important indicators of the social status of a person, especially with regard to their courting or marital status. Nevertheless, like neck and limb ornaments, the colors, patterns, and forms of the waist ornaments worn by a person would have also been indicative of their area of origin and their wealth. Moreover, when given as gifts from a young woman to a young man, belts also served as a means of communicating romantic intentions.

Formally, waist ornaments shared many of the same characteristics seen in other beadwork items of this period. As with items previously seen that were made to adorn the neck and limbs, waist ornaments were created with glass beads made by the drawn method. With the exception of umgazi and incombo beads, all of the beads have a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body structure, and no surface decorations. The umgazi beads have a compound body, a semi-translucent clarity, shiny luster, and no surface decorations and the incombo beads have a shiny luster, a simple body, a milky clarity, and no surface decorations. While most of the beads used in the body of these works are of size 00, larger beads were sometimes employed for textural and visual variety. Moreover, all of the other materials used in these works, especially the vegetal or sinew cording and
the brass buttons, were found in other categories of Zulu beadwork of this era. The artists of these works also made use of the beadworking techniques seen in other types of works, particularly the beadfabric, multiple string, and gongqoloza methods. In the waist pieces observed, artists used a limited number of colors in a variety of color combinations with these variations suggesting regional stylistic differences. Furthermore, the patterns used as decorative motifs tended to be relatively simple arrangements of geometric shapes on solid colored backgrounds. These types of color combinations and motifs were akin to those seen in other types of works. Thus, the methods, materials, colors, and patterns of these waist ornaments were all similar to other Zulu beadwork ornaments of this time.

2.2.4 HEAD AND CHEST ORNAMENTS AND BEADED ACCESSORIES

Although, neck, limb, and waist ornaments made up the majority of beadwork items created by Zulu artists during the period of 1890-1920, artists also created a range of other beadwork items that could be worn on the body or carried by an individual. Such works include ornaments worn on the head and torso, dancing sticks, snuff containers, and fly whisks. Like other objects from this period, the works worn on the body were used to enhance the beauty and prestige of the wearer, and they could indicate an individual's martial status and regional origins. Such items could also help a woman to fulfill her hlomiphana obligations, which, in turn, assisted her in maintaining a good relationship with her husband's living and dead ancestors. The beaded dancing sticks and snuff containers carried by average people were used primarily as objects of pleasure and prestige, while the beaded fly whisks carried by izangoma advertised the abilities of the diviners and helped them to perform their spiritual duties.
2.2.4.1 Umqelo (pl. Imiqelo), Umnqwazi (pl. Iminqwazi), Amajombolo, Amacici, Ujobe (pl. Ojobe), Uphaca (pl. Ophaca): Head Ornaments and Ingcayi (pl. Izingcayi), Ibulezi (pl. Amabulezi): Chest Ornaments

The heads of courting men and women were sometimes adorned with various forms of headbands called umqelo (pl. imiqelo) and umnqwazi (pl. iminqwazi), earrings known as amajombolo or amacici, and bunches of beadwork pinned in the hair referred to ujobe (pl. ojobe) (Figures 11.1 and 11.2). Married women also wore beaded earrings and headbands, and sometimes a piece of beadwork that ran across the top of the head called uphaca (pl. ophaca). The head coverings and headbands of married women had the special function of helping the women to fulfill their hlonipha obligations to keep their eyes diverted and their head covered in the presence of their in-laws. During pregnancy, married women also wore special hide aprons with beads and, sometimes, brass buttons sewn onto them. These aprons are called ingcayi (pl. izingcayi). As with other works that indicated that a woman had given birth to children, the donning of an ingcayi would have given a woman the increased status that came with being pregnant. Large bands of beadwork made by the beadfabric technique were often worn by courting aged men diagonally across the chest (Figure 11.3). These torso ornaments are known as ibulezi (pl. amabulezi). Amabulezi of narrower widths or in the form of cords could also be worn by courting men either diagonally or horizontally across the chest. Such torso ornaments were associated with wealth and social status. Based on the examples observed, all of these items employed the same type of materials, beadworking methods, motifs, and color combinations seen in other Zulu beadwork pieces from this period.

2.2.4.2 Beaded Accessories

Finally, beadwork was used to adorn objects not worn on the body, such as snuff containers, dancing sticks, and fly whisks, during the period of 1890-1920. Small gourds
used for holding snuff, called *ishungu* (pl. *amashungu*), were sometimes covered in a mesh of beadwork. These works could be used on social occasions by men as well as women and were associated, primarily, with pleasure and prestige. Knobkieries (*iwisa*, pl. *amawisa*) (wooden poles with balls on their end) or simple poles (*induku*, pl. *izinduku*) that were often carried during dances were sometimes covered in beads to help increase their value as prestige items. According to Nettleton, Zulu women did not begin to carry beaded sticks during dance routines until a relatively recent period ("The Not-so-New': 'Transitional Art' in Historical Perspectives" 55). As such, beaded sticks from this period were the property of men. Diviners also carried beaded objects as part of their regalia. Flywhisks (*ishoba lobungoma*, pl. *amashoba obungoma*) made from wildebeest tails into which beads were placed (see Figure 8.1) served as an essential part of the regalia of diviners. They helped *izangoma* to display their abilities and perform their divination and healing rituals. Objects carried by a person generally took on the same characteristics as those worn by a person, especially in terms of the colors, patterns, materials and beadworking methods, symbolism, and functions of the works. Thus, items that fall outside of the primary categories of neck, limb, and waist ornaments were, nonetheless, similar to this main body of ornaments.

### 2.3 Constants and Variables: Beadwork of the Period 1890-1920

The analysis of the variety beadwork styles produced in the Zulu kingdom from the period of 1890-1920 is problematic. As discussed above, information regarding the dates and locations of the creation of works of art as well as the functions and names of these items is lacking. Examples of works that can be securely dated to the period are also relatively few in number. This makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the consistent and variable elements in the works, which help to determine stylistic variations in the
objects of art. Nevertheless, there is enough information available to determine that there is a body of beadwork that have enough similar characteristics that they can be identified as being the work of the Zulu people. Furthermore, there is also enough diversity within this body of works to determine that there was some stylistic variation in beadwork during this period. As such, the following sections explore the constant and variable elements of the whole of beadwork that appear between the years of 1890-1920.

2.3.1 CONSTANTS

Zulu beadwork from the period of 1890-1920 has a number of characteristics that unify it as an artistic expression. In particular, the general type of items, the symbolism of the works, and the functions of the works within society remained consistent throughout these objects. Furthermore, the body of beadwork from this time shared similarities with regard to materials and methods used in the creation of the works and the color combinations, motifs, and design arrangements applied to these works. These similarities in the beadwork identify them as being Zulu and distinct from the works of other ethnic groups.

1. There was homogeneity in the types of items that are dated to this period. Neck ornaments in the forms of *imigingqo, omazitike, ongqi, amashungu*, and a wide variety of tab style necklaces appeared frequently in collections and photographs from this period (Figures 2.1-5.3). Limb ornaments in the forms of bands (*izigqizo and amadavathi*) and ropes of beads (*izigqizo*) were found regularly as part of the traditionalist dress of the period (Figures 6.1-7.3). Wide belts known by various names, including *isibamba, umumba, umutsha, udidla*, and *isitimane*, were worn by various age grades of males and females (Figures 9.1 and 9.3). Belts made from tubes of fiber covered in beads were also part of the body items produced during this time (Figures 9.3 and 9.4). Fringed and
paneled skirts, called *isigege*, *umutsha*, and *isiheshe*, were worn by unmarried and, possibly, newly married women throughout the kingdom (Figures 10.1-10.6). In addition, a variety of chest and head decorations as well as bead-covered accessories, such as snuff containers and dancing sticks, could be seen in the Zulu beadwork of this era (Figures 11.1-11.3). Zulu beadwork from the period of 1890-1920 was, therefore, associated with the types of items described above. These items could be worn alone, but were often combined into elaborate combinations, especially by young courting men and women.

2. The symbolic use of color in beadwork was a trait that was found throughout the work of all regions in Zulu beadwork of this period. Based on primarily on the research of Mthethwa and Mayr, it appeared that a symbolic use of color was present in at least some of the beadwork items made throughout the kingdom during this time. The research of these two scholars also suggests that the symbolism of the colors was determined by a set of proverbs. In this system each color was associated with a particular set of negative and positive proverbs and this system remained relatively consistent throughout the various regions of the kingdom. As such, the use of colors to symbolize various concepts and the similarities in the symbolism of the colors were factors that united all Zulu beadwork from the period of 1890-1920.

3. Another characteristic that unified Zulu beadwork from the period of 1890-1920 was a similarity in the methods and materials of creation. All of the beads in the works from this period showed certain commonalities in source of production, method of manufacture, clarity, luster, structure, decoration, and size. Venice or a French factory owned by the Venetians were the primary sources of beads used during this time. But, this was also a period during which the Venetian bead industry was facing challenges from Bohemia. So, some of the beads that appeared in Zulu beadwork items from this time may have had Bohemian origins. British merchants brought these beads into Zululand primarily through Port Natal. The beads that were used during this period are all
glass. They were, almost exclusively, made by the drawn method. They were always opaque, with the exception of umgazi beads that had a translucent layer of red glass placed upon an opaque white core and incombo beads that were semi-transparent. The umgazi beads were also the only types of beads used by Zulu artists of this period to have a layered structure. All other types of beads were made of a single layer of glass. The beads always had a shiny luster, but some appeared to be dull because of age and wear. Furthermore, none of the beads in the works of this period, from the collections observed, had any type of surface decorations. Finally, most of the beads used in the works of this period were small beads of size 00, yet sometimes larger beads of varying sizes were used as decorative highlights within the bodies of works, as part of a decorative edging, or as fasteners for works. Thus, there was a certain homogeneity to the source, method of manufacture, structure, clarity, decoration, luster, and size of the beads used in Zulu beadwork during the period of 1890-1920.

4. Also, the methods used to create Zulu beadwork items appeared to be relatively consistent between the years of 1890-1920. Although commercially produced glass beads were widely available, commercially produced cording of cotton or other materials was not so accessible. As a result, most of the beads in works produced during this time were strung on sinew or locally produced vegetable fibers (Carey 14). In addition to simply stringing beads in a single row along a section of cording, Zulu artists of this period also employed a number of more complex methods for creating works of art. In particular, the following methods were found to have been used in works from this time: 1) the single strand method, 2) the multiple strand method, 3) gongqoloza method, 4) beads woven into a beadfabric, 5) using a mesh of beads to cover a solid object, and 6) beads sewn onto hide and/or fiber. The single strand method was most frequently used to form the neckbands for necklaces. The multiple strand method was found being used for the fringe of belts, skirts (Figures 10.3, 10.2, and 10.6), and necklaces (Figures 4.1-4.4); and as part of the
neckbands of tab style necklaces and umazitike (Figures 3.7, 3.11, 3.12, 3.14, 4.3, and 4.4). The gongqoloza method was employed to form the bands of imigingqo, imitsha, and iziheshe (Figures 2.1-2.6, 9.1-9.2, 10.2-10.5, and 6.1-6.3). Moreover, the technique of covering a solid object with a mesh of beads was used to make free standing, snuff containers as well as snuff containers on necklaces (Figures 5.1-5.3). Tightly woven beadfabrics were found being used to construct the panels on izigege (Figures 10.1 and 10.2) and imitsha (Figure 10.3), on tab style necklaces (Figures 3.6-3.14), and to form bandolier style ornaments (Figure 11.3). Loosely woven beadfabrics were found, in a few instances, being used to create the neckbands for necklaces (Figures 3.1). The method of sewing beads onto hide appeared in the form of pregnancy aprons (ingcayi, pl. izingcayi), sewing beads onto cloth was used to produce skirts (itete, pl. amatete), and sewing beads onto fiber was commonly used to construct limb ornaments (idavathi, pl. amadavathi) (Figures 7.1-7.3) and choker style necklaces (ungqi, pl. ongqi). Thus, while Zulu bead artists used a wide variety of techniques to make these works of art, all of the objects observed were created within the bounds of the techniques described above. As such, it could be seen that there was a consistency to the methods of construction observed in beadwork items made between the years of 1890-1920.

5. There was also a certain consistency in the color combinations, motifs, and design arrangements in beadwork items from this period. While the exact nature of the colors combined in various works was subject to regional variations, the number of colors used in a single item was usually limited to no more than five or six colors. The colors of umgazi, white, and black appeared to have been the most popular colors of this time while incombo and blue beads were also seen with great frequency. The decorative motifs used on these works were always geometric, with squares, rectangles, triangles, lines, and rhomboids being especially popular. These geometric elements were placed on the works in relatively simple, symmetrical arrangements. Some of the most commonly seen
arrangements were checkerboards, stripes, and zigzags. As such, the qualities of symmetry and a certain degree of boldness of design appeared to have been characteristics favored by Zulu beadwork artists of this time.

6. Finally, the consistency of the functions that beadwork items played within society was another factor that unified the Zulu beadwork of the 1890-1920 period. Throughout all regions, beadwork functioned to reflect the wealth and social status of the individual, as part of healing and divination rituals, as part of social control, and to identify regional affiliations. As in the periods that precede and succeed 1890-1920, beadwork was used as an indicator of the wealth of an individual. Although the king no longer restricted the circulation of certain types of beads (which would have served as indicators of prestige because they would have denoted the king's favor), beads, as imported items, remained expensive. So, the quantity of beads worn by an individual communicated information about the wealth of the person. In the case of a young man, they could also indicate the wealth and number of the women who were wooing him. Beadwork additionally functioned in healing and divination rituals as part of the costume and regalia of izangoma. In spite of the fact that there were very few works that were part of diviners' regalia and costumes in museum or private collections, there were many examples of these items in the photographic archives, particularly at the Killie Campbell Collection. These items functioned to help to strengthen the abilities of izangoma and provide them with protection from forces, both spiritual and physical, that could interfere with their abilities to perform their duties. Moreover, the beadwork of izangoma helped them to communicate information about their abilities to potential clients. The types of beadwork worn by a person served to indicate if the person was of courting age, was being courted, or was married. For women, various types of ornaments were used to indicate through which stages of marriages she had passed. Beadwork also served as an important means of regulating the courting relationship between two people. It did this by acting as a
means of communication. Using the system of color symbolism discussed previously, young women could use beadwork to tell their suitors how they felt about the progression of their relationships. So, in these ways, beadwork functioned as a type of social control regulating the relationships between men and women. Last, as regional variations in beadworking styles had developed by this period, these different styles would have served to differentiate a person of one area from a person of another. As such, beadwork fulfilled the functions described above throughout the whole of Zululand during this period.

The beadwork objects created by Zulu artists between the years 1900-1920 shared a number of characteristics that unified them as having had a common cultural source. Specifically, there were similarities in the general types of items made, the color symbolism of these works, the methods and materials used in their creation, and the functions that these works had within society throughout the various regions in Zululand. These commonalities indicated that there was interaction between people from different regions which allowed for the spread of the various beadworking methods and similarities in types of items made. The consistency in the color symbolism and the functions of the beadwork indicated that this was an art form that addressed common social, political, economic, and cultural concerns, values, and systems. Thereby, Zulu beadwork from the period of 1890-1920 is an artistic expression that could clearly be associated with a people who shared a common ethnic identity.

2.3.2 VARIABLES

Although there were many similarities in the Zulu beadwork from the period of 1890-1920 in terms of form, symbolism, materials, and functions, there were also variations within this body of work. These variations seem to be manifested primarily in the color combinations of beads and decorative motifs used on the works. There was also
evidence that strongly suggested that there were some minor variations in beadworking methods between different regions. Overall, it appeared that the regional variations in Zulu beadwork that began to develop in the late nineteenth century became more distinct during the period of 1890-1920.

The lack of documentation concerning the dates and the exact origins of beadwork objects and photographs in museum, archival, and private collections, made the identification of specific regional and sequential variations from this period extremely difficult. Nonetheless, it is known that these types of variations did exist during his period.

1. As early as 1882 Ludlow noted that beadwork styles varied from region to region (78) and Bryant also wrote about the changing fashions of color combinations (The Zulu People 158-159). Collections of beadwork in museums that are dated to this time additionally show a wide range of color combinations. For example, the belt from the Auld Collection of the Killie Campbell Museum (Figure 12.1) employs a combination of bright turquoise, blue, umgazi, and white beads while another belt from a similar time uses a combination of blue gray, brown, golden brown, and white beads (Figure 12.2). Other combinations of colors found on the items from this time include umgazi, pink, blue, and white (Figure 12.3). The works in the Auld collection from the period being discussed showed an extremely wide range of bead color combinations. These varied from combinations that emphasized bright, contrasting colors to ones that used more muted combinations. Furthermore, these color combinations were very different from the colors of beadwork pictured in the Frey book. Although the pictures recorded by Frey are in black and white, so they do not provide exact information about colors, it could be seen that white was used much more extensively in the works around the Mariannhill region, as opposed to those in the Auld and MuseumAfricA collections. Thereby, this body of works suggested that there were regional and/or sequential variations in color combination
preferences. Another museum collection that provided evidence of these regional, color combination variations is a group of works from the Hlanganani region, dated to 1910, found in the Local History Museum in Durban, South Africa. Using these works, Wood (150), was able to determine that the differences in the colors of the backgrounds of these items were an indication that they were the work of artists from slightly different regions. Wood's work supports the notion that differences in bead color combinations were the result of regional variations. So, while there was not enough evidence to specifically identify all of the regional and sequential variations in color combinations that occurred in Zulu beadwork during the period of 1890-1920, there was clear evidence to indicate that these variations did exist.

2. Similarly, there appeared to be regional and sequential variations in the decorative motifs that were employed in Zulu beadwork from 1890-1920. As with the color combinations, these works showed the use of a wide variety of different patterns and motifs. These patterns were sometimes simple designs, such as a checkerboard with a diagonal stripe used on the necklace in Figure 3.6 or the application of "plus sign" designs on both the belt and the panel of the umutsha in Figure 12.3. In contrast, more complex designs, such as the use of arrangements of triangular shapes to develop more elaborate patterns like those in the vertical stripes on the belt in Figure 12.2, were also found. The decorative designs on the works in the Auld and MuseuMAfricA collections could also be contrasted with the motifs that were seen on the works pictured in the Frey book. On the objects from the Mariannhill collection, stripes, zigzags, rhomboid shapes, and various simple arrangements of triangular forms seemed to be the predominate motifs. While the use of the triangle could be found in the works from Mariannhill, MuseuMAfricA, and the Auld Collection, the use of the triangle on the MuseuMAfricA and Auld collection objects was much more complex, as these triangles were combined in elaborate designs. As such, the patterns developed in the beadwork of the Mariannhill
collection differed from those in the other collections. Marilee Wood's research with the Hlanganani works also supported the presence of regional and sequential variations in design motifs. She found that the Hlanganani artists used motifs and arrangements of design elements that varied from their neighbors. Although the same difficulties that made it difficult to assign specific color combinations to specific regions or times in the Zulu beadwork of 1890-1920 made it difficult to determine the exact preferences in design motifs, it could be seen, from the evidence above, that there were indeed variations in these motifs at least regionally and, probably, sequentially as well.

3. Finally, minor variations in beadworking methods and forms were found in Zulu beadwork dating to the period of 1890-1920. This evidence came primarily from the work of Marilee Wood. Working with the Hlanganani pieces, Wood found that the pieces done by people slightly outside of Hlanganani were characterized by the use of a more open style of beaded fabric in the band of necklaces (Wood 150). She went on to suggest that this lacy type of band was the result of influences from groups from the southern Natal regions, as this type of open work was frequently seen in the beadwork of the Xhosa. According to Wood (150), the southern Natal groups, such as the Bhaca, picked up these techniques from the Thembu and Pondo, who for a while, lived near the Xhosa-speaking people but had come into southern Natal during the time of King Mpande. Wood concluded that there were minor variations in beadworking techniques between people of different regions during this period that developed as a result of these influences from people outside of the kingdom. Overall, minor variations in the beadworking techniques of people in northern and southern Zululand could be observed during this time. Yet, the exact nature of these variations was difficult to access, owing to the lack of documentation in museums and private collections of Zulu beadwork, and archives.
Thus, artists creating items of Zulu beadwork from 1890-1920 employed a diversity of color combinations, design motifs, and some variations in beadwork methods and forms. From the evidence available in ethnographic accounts, art historical research, museum and private collections of Zulu beadwork, and photographic archives, it appeared that these variations occurred between works that were produced in different regions and/or during different time periods. These variations were especially evidenced in terms of bead color combinations. Nevertheless, the variations seen in the works produced during the period of 1890-1920 probably represented a continuation of the diversification of beadworking styles and functions that began after King Mpande loosened the restrictions on the bead trade. These variations became even more pronounced after the defeat of King Cetshwayo, when all restrictions on bead types were lifted. Still, the beadwork of this period was relatively homogeneous when compared to the diversification that occurs later in the twentieth century. This indicated that the development of the extreme diversification of beadworking styles that was to occur later was still beginning to emerge during the period of 1890-1920.

2.4 FINAL SUMMARY: BEADWORK OF THE PERIOD OF 1890-1920

The period of 1890-1920 was a time of upheaval for the Zulu people. Their kingdom had lost its independence and many of the institutions of Zulu society were destroyed. The forces that had previously united the people were waning. Under the rule of the British, the king had lost all of his political power and the people were placed into a number of reserves, isolating populations from one another. This resulted in a great stress on the ethnic solidarity of the Zulu people. With the imposition of British rule came also the imposition of a European based economic system, which also strained the traditional Zulu way of life. The new system brought with it factors, such as the hut tax and the
migrant labor system, that diminished the solidarity of the Zulu family unit. Thus, the social and political lives of the Zulu community at the individual, local, and national level were seriously altered by the historical events of the late nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries.

The events and circumstances of this period had a direct impact on and are reflected in Zulu art, especially works of bead art. Most significantly, the loss of authority by the king, the isolation of people from one another after being forced into homeland areas, and the strains on the political and ethnic solidarity of the people, as a result of the defeat of the kingdom, probably led people to identify more strongly with regional affiliations and less with national ones. In addition, more widespread contact with British merchants gave people easier access to beads, and contact between the Xhosa and Zulu peoples in the south brought in new styles and techniques of beadworking. These conditions, combined with the fact that the king no longer had any control over the bead trade nor restricted the types of beads people could wear, probably led to more regional variations in beadwork forms, beadworking methods, and styles. Although these variations had probably begun to develop as early as the middle of the nineteenth century, these new circumstances would have given artists more opportunity and desire to experiment with different styles. Unfortunately, evidence of beadwork from 1890-1920 is relatively scant and problematic in terms of documentation. This made the identification of specific regional and sequential variations very difficult in most cases. Yet, it could be seen from this evidence that these variations did exist.

The works of this period also shared certain similarities in form, methods and materials of construction, symbolism, and functions that allowed them to be identified as Zulu and reflected the fact that there was still a certain degree of cultural unity among the Zulu people. Evidence for the division of Zulu society into age grades for the purpose of social organization was seen in the fact that people of differing ages wore different types
of beadwork ornaments. The significance of wealth and martial status as an indicator of social prestige was also revealed in the differences in dressing styles between people of different social levels. Some of the social rules of courting and the common concerns of young women of this time were found in the bead color and proverb system. The importance and nature of some traditional religious beliefs could be seen in the beadwork worn by diviners and that worn by women as part of their hlonipha obligations. All of these things, combined with commonalties in the colors, beadworking methods, materials, and symbolism, could be found in the beadwork of this period regardless of its region of origin. Furthermore, while there were regional and sequential variations in the beadwork of this period, they were still relatively minor in comparison to the variations that will be seen later in the century. This led to the conclusion that the changes brought about by the historical events of the period of 1890-1920 probably exacerbated artistic trends that were already present in Zulu beadwork, but were not so serious that they completely disrupted the ties that these forms shared with similar ones of the past. As such, the beadwork of this period and the culture that inspired it were still rooted in the culture of the Zulu kingdom. Yet, they also showed that some of the hierarchical structure of authority that was part of the kingdom had been broken down and that regional identities were becoming more important.
NOTES

1. See Chapter 1, note 5, for an explanation of *lobola*.

2. The Zulu kingdom was formed by uniting different clans into a federation. Although all of these clans considered themselves part of the Zulu kingdom, they maintained a certain degree of control in their regions. In addition, there were slight differences in cultural practices between these regions. See Chapter 1 for a more extensive discussion of how this federation was formed and maintained.

3. See pages 80-82 for a description of how this information was communicated.

4. *Hlonipha* (respect) customs are a set of rules that governed a married woman's speech, dress and actions. For a married woman, these rules are an expression of respect for her husband and his family. See Chapter 1, footnote 16, for a more complete description of this practice.

5. See Chapter 3, pages 173-176, for a description of how beadwork functioned as part of the dress and regalia of *izangoma*.

6. Like most African monarchs, King Shaka exercised strict controls over the trade in his kingdom, especially the long distance trade (Hedges 227). Nevertheless, once beads entered the kingdom there seems to be conflicting information about how much control he exercised over their circulation. Fynn reported that beads were used as a sort of currency (39). He claimed that he bought provisions and services with them, as well as used beads to pay tribute to local *izinduna* ("chiefs"). Furthermore, Fynn asserted that beads were used in the commerce between Africans. In other words, Fynn gave the impression that beads did enjoy a wide circulation, if not particularly in large amounts. On the other hand, in his book, *The Zulu People: Before the White Man*, Bryant claimed that until the mid 19th century beads were reserved exclusively for the king, women of the *isigodlo*, and officials of high rank (156). As such, Bryant suggested that the circulation of beads was more limited and closely controlled by the king. Whichever the reality was regarding the extent to which King Shaka controlled the circulation of beads within the kingdom, what is clear is that beads and beadwork were valued items and functioned primarily as a reflection of the wealth and social status of an individual during this period.

Like King Shaka, his successor King Dingane also maintained strict control over the economy and especially the import and export of goods (Hedges 227). Hedges claimed that, "Dingane's interest in and use of beads and brass, with which he could reward his *izinduna*, were probably greater than Shaka's" (241). When meeting with American missionary George Champion, King Dingane reportedly asked whether it would be possible to get a bead maker to come and live at the royal court (Klopper, "The Art of Zulu-Speakers in Northern Natal - Zululand" 70). Reverend Allen F. Gardiner in his book of 1836, *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa*, also mentioned that King Dingane asked, in referring to beads, "Where do they come from?", "What are they made of?", "How are they made?", and "Cannot we learn to make them?" (164). Moreover, in the frontispiece to this book are paintings that Gardiner did while traveling. In these illustrations King Dingane is depicted dressed in a beaded headdress, one necklace, two chest
pieces, armlets, leg bands, and a belt. In other words, these illustrations indicate that King Dingane was a consumer of beads and beadwork. Finally, it is known that King Dingane also exerted some control over the circulation of beads within the kingdom. Hedges reported that, "Dingane publicly emphasized his royal authority by decrees limiting the type and color of beads worn" (241). Dingane also took care to specify to the traders the sort of beads he required, as noted in the Grahamstown Journal, April 6, 1832, letter by C. J. Pickman, and "Extracts from the Journal of Reverend G. Champion" in The Annals of Natal (Bird I: 208). Thus, during the reign of King Dingane, the primary roles of beads continued to be as objects of value that served to enhance the prestige of their owners.

It was under the reign of King Mpande that the Zulu kingship's control over the bead trade began to diminish. As more Europeans began to come to Natal it became more and more difficult to control trade. European settlers often used beads (and other imports) as payments for goods and services. In addition, King Mpande himself loosened the restrictions that regulated European traders and missionaries who entered the Zulu kingdom (Wood 149). As a result, the general population had much more access to luxury items. Nonetheless, King Mpande did restrict the use of particular types of beads for distinguishing people of rank. So, while still being considered objects of value and prestige, the role of beads and beadworking in Zulu society probably began to expand during the time of King Mpande.

This situation was little altered by King Mpande's successor King Cetshwayo, until the British defeated the Zulu kingdom in 1879. Once the Zulu kingdom was destroyed, the British established a system of indirect rule. This meant that the colonial officials appointed local headmen to administer the day-to-day affairs, such as the collection of taxes and minor legal disputes, in local communities. Although, the Zulu kingship was allowed to continue, the king now came under the power of British rule. One of the results of this loss of power was that the king lost control over the trade in the Zulu kingdom, including the trade in beads. Moreover, the defeat of the Zulu kingdom also challenged the ethnic solidarity of the kingdom (Klopper, "The Art of the Traditionalists of Zululand-Natal" 33) which weakened, if not destroyed, the king's power to restrict the types and colors of beads worn. As such, access to beads probably became even less restricted both from an economic and socio-cultural point of view.

7. The names of these forms are based on the descriptions of Frey (123-127).

8. The term "beadfabric" is used to describe beads that are strung together to form a sheet or "fabric". This is in contrast to beads that are sewn onto a cloth backing. The term beadfabric was first used by Robert Papini, curator of the Local History Museum, in his 1994 article, "The Stepped Diamond of Mid-Century Zulu Beadfabric Aesthetic Assimilation Beyond the Second Izwefuka". For a description of how beadfabric is constructed see Appendix A.

9. According to Morris and Preston-Whyte, this is the name for this form in the Msinga region by (46).

10. Occasionally older beads will appear in works made at a later time. This is because beadwork items are sometimes taken apart and restrung into works of a contemporary style. Yet, this is relatively rare for these colors of beads, because these colors also fell out of favor at the times mentioned.
11. See Chapter 5, pages 278-279, for a discussion of the beadwork of the Umbumbulu region of the 1970s.

12. See pages 101-102, for more information about this research.

13. See Appendix A, pages 491-492, for an explanation of the sizing system.

14. The way in which beadwork can communicate a message is described in the discussion of incwadi style necklaces on pages 80-82.

15. See Appendix B for a list of colors and their associated proverbs.

16. The consistency of the meaning of colors is based on the fact that this system of color symbolism is rooted in the Zulu language and its idiomatic expressions, which do remain consistent throughout the various regions (Mthethwa 35). The Zulu people group colors into four families based on the following colors: red, white, black, and green (of which blue is a part). Secondary shades of these colors retain the name of their color family and are distinguished by the use of a reference to nature or an ideophone (Mthethwa 35). Then it is this distinguishing ideophone or reference to nature that is the basis for the idiomatic expression that is associated with that particular color. For example, bottle green, being a shade of green, belongs in the green family of colors. This shade of green in Zulu is indicated as inyongo yenkukhu, literally, "the gall bladder of a chicken". This color is then associated with the phrase, "Usuyosala usungithela ngayo inyongo yenkukhu, ("Since you are so destitute and have neither big or small stock which are needed for qholisa rites, if we marry at all, I suppose even the fowl's gall will suffice to sprinkle over me to satisfy customs"). Which in a shortened form means, "I am determined to marry you even if you are poor" (From a translation of a beaded necklace by Princess Magogo Constance (kaDinzulu) Buthelezi done in 1963). Another example of this system can be observed using the color lavender as an example. In Zulu, lavender is distinguished by the word ijuba, which is also a type of dove. The expression associated with this color is, "Liyajabula ijuba Iona licoha izihlamvu emnyango kwenu" ("I envy the dove that picks up corn grains near the door of your mother's hut") meaning, "How I wish I was already your wife" (also from the translation by Princess Magogo). For a full list of colors and their associated proverbs in Princess Magogo's translation see Appendix B.

17. The name for these items is based on Frey (123), but Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana, and Vilakazi define umazitike as, "a string of beadwork with small square hanging there from, worn around the waist, neck, head, etc." (489).

18. This is the name for these items, based on the records of the Killie Campbell Collection, given in the exhibition catalog, Zulu Treasures. Frey refers to these items as simply umhlanga ("reed") (123).

19. See note 5.

20. This is the name given by Frey (125).

21. This is the name given to these belts in the records of the collection of works.
from the Hlanganani region at the Local History Museum (Wood 162).

22. For a discussion of the significance of this type of grass in these works see pages 160-161.

23. See note 4.

24. See Chapter 3, pages 160-161, for a more extensive discussion of the how prestige is symbolized in izingcayi.

25. See note 5.

26. Zulu society is organized into age grades. This means that all male and female children born within about a ten year period share the same grade (although males and females have their own organizations). Within each grade, members go through various stages of life together and attend to the affairs of their peers under the leadership of an age grade leader and in consultation with older age grades. For instance, if a young woman wants to court a young man she must obtain permission from her age grade leader. See Chapter 1, pages 16-21 for a discussion of beadwork in relationship to age grades.

27. The best way to research the origins of a particular bead type is to compare the individual beads to the bead sample cards found in some museums, such as the Killie Campbell Collection. See pages 54-55 for more information about these cards.

28. See note 5.

29. The impact of the hut tax was strongly felt in Zulu society. By 1888-1889, large numbers of Zulu men began to leave Zululand to work as migrant laborers in the gold mines (Guy, "The Destruction and Reconstruction of Zulu Society" 176). This meant much of the male population was absent from their families in the rural areas for considerable periods of time. Some young men even began to move to the cities permanently. This led to a breakdown of the traditional family unit, (Callinicos 28) and a decrease in the homestead production. A series of natural disasters, which occurred in the 1890s, also contributed to the devastation of the traditional homestead. During this ten year period Zululand was hit by drought, swarms of locusts, and rinderpest. This forced even more people to leave the farm and enter the wage labor economy. In this way, the hut tax, compounded by the devastation of the traditional economy, began to destroy the traditional Zulu way of life and customs.
CHAPTER 3
BEADWORK 1920-1940

Chapter 3 focuses on the beadwork created between the years of 1920-1940. I. It begins with a brief description of the historical circumstances that accompanied King Solomon's rule, between 1913-1933, and impacted the development of beadwork from this period. II. An overview of the range of beadwork objects created, followed by a detailed discussion of the forms and symbolic functions of these works, is then presented. III. An analysis of the consistent and variable elements in the beadwork of this time is the next subject addressed. IV. To conclude the chapter, the characteristics of these works of art are correlated with the social, political, historical, economic, religious, and cultural conditions of the artists to show how this art form both reflects and helps to define Zulu ethnicity during this period.

3.1 HISTORICAL EVENTS: AN OVERVIEW

1920-1940 was a period of renewed activism in the Zulu community. King Solomon ka Dinuzulu and the royal house as well as a group of Zulu intellectuals began a series of political and social movements designed to inspire an awareness of Zulu history and cultural traditions1. The destruction of the traditional Zulu way of life and the disappearance of social and cultural traditions that had accompanied colonial rule concerned many within these groups. They also observed a need to politically unite the
Zulu people to fight against governmental policies that were becoming increasingly oppressive. To this end, political and social movements that sought to promote a sense of ethnic consciousness and social unity among the people arose. The leaders of these movements hoped that this social unity could be harnessed into a political unity. As a result, there developed a new interest in traditional Zulu culture, including beadwork. As seen later in this chapter, the interest spawned by these movements as well as other factors appears to have stimulated more experimentation by many bead artists. Yet, in spite of the fact that these movements were seeking to unify people, the regional variations in beadworking styles became more distinctive during this time.

3.2 BEADWORK ORNAMENTS

Beadwork was used in the period of 1920-1940 as part of the traditionalist dress of courting aged men and women as well as married women, as in the previous time period. Usually worn in relatively large quantities (Figure 13.1), beadwork was used to adorn the neck, limbs, waist, and, to a lesser degree, the head and chest. Furthermore, beadwork was also used to ornament works carried by an individual. As such, the succeeding sections explore the range of forms and functions of beadwork according to the following categories: 3.2.1) neck ornaments, 3.2.2) limb ornaments, 3.2.3) waist ornaments, and 3.2.4) head and chest ornaments, dancing sticks, and the beadwork of diviners. Beadwork items in these categories helped to beautify the body and fulfilled other important functions. In particular, these items acted as mediators between an individual and others in society, communicating information about the wearer to others. The quantity, forms, and decorative details of these works transmitted information about the wealth and social status of a person, his or her region of origin, and his or her religious and political affiliations. For diviners, beadwork also communicated information about
their professional abilities. Beadwork given to a young man by a young woman was often used as a means of communicating information about the relationship between the two, serving as a means of social control. Last, the beadwork worn by izangoma as well as some of the beadwork of courting and married women served as mediators between the body of the wearer and the spiritual realm. In these cases, beadwork was used as a means of encouraging interactions between the body and the spiritual realm and protecting the body during these interactions, so as to aid with reproduction or divination and healing practices. Yet, while the general forms and functions of these items remained similar to those seen in the previous time period, evidence from museum collections and other sources reveals that beadwork artists of the period of 1920-1940 developed new bead color combinations, design motifs, as well as some new forms. These changes reflect the ethnic identity of the Zulu people of this time, as embodied in the new social, political, and economic climate, and set this work apart from the art of the previous period.

The available materials for the study of Zulu beadwork from the period of 1920-1940 are much more numerous and well documented than the materials available for the preceding decades. The primary sources of knowledge about this beadwork came from museum and private collections of Zulu art. In addition, art historical and anthropological studies and photographic archives also provided information about the beadwork of certain regions within Zulu territory. Probably because of the shortage of beads created by a shortage of raw materials connected to World War I, as discussed in the previous chapter, most of this information concerns the beadwork of the 1930s. This made it difficult to develop a clear understanding of beadwork created during the 1920s. Nevertheless, it is known, from the available evidence, that beadworking continued to be a popular art form that developed rapidly in response to new fashions and new social conditions.
3.2.1 NECK ORNAMENTS

Beadwork items that were worn around the neck were an important part of Zulu traditionalist dress for courting aged men and women and married women during the period of 1920-1940. The collections of beadwork from the KwaZulu Cultural Museum, The Natal Museum, and The Killie Campbell Collection all have numerous examples of these works. The anthropological studies, Social Systems of the Zulu of 1936 by Eileen Krige, Marriage Customs in South Natal of 1933 by M. Kohler, and Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproduction of Photographic Studies, Volume 3. The Nguni Section III the Zulu by A. M. Duggin-Cronin of 1933, provide photographs and discussions of the function of beadwork items from this period. Moreover, the numerous art historical articles by Frank Jolles and Wolfgang Wickler and Uta Seibt as well as the photographic archives of the Killie Campbell Collection are all significant sources of information about these types of items. From these and other sources, it appears that Zulu beadwork neck ornaments from this era assumed about five different forms, based on the way in which they were made. These five basic forms are: 1) necklaces composed of multiples strings of beads, including works called isijumba (pl. izijumba); 2) tubular necklaces, called umgingqo (pl. imivingqo) and umbhijo (pl. imibhijo), created using the gongqoloza method (see Appendix A); 3) necklaces with a beadfabric tab attached to a string or band of beads referred to be various names, including ijikazi (pl. amajikazi), iqabane (pl. amaqabane), ujibilili (pl. ojibilili), isibhebhe (pl. izibhebhe), and incwadi (pl. izincwadi); 4) choker style necklaces made by attaching beads to a fiber backing, called ungqi (pl. ongqi) and ipasi (pl. amapasi); and 5) necklaces made from a single or double strand of beads, called ucu (pl. ocu), and bands of beads, known as ijikazi (pl. amajikazi). As in the previous period, these items could be worn singly, in multiples, or in various combinations, as seen in Figure 13.1.
3.2.1.1 *Isijumba*, (pl. *Izijumba*): Multiple String Necklaces

Necklaces made with the multiple string beadworking method were found in many areas of Zulu territory during the period of 1920-1940. This method of beadworking was especially popular in the Msinga region, where it was used to make necklaces such as the ones in Figures 14.1 and 14.2, known as *isijumba*, (pl. *izijumba*) (meaning "large package or parcel"). *Izijumba* consisted of a large number of single strings of beads joined at each end and then into bundles at one or more places along their lengths. Helping to emphasize the fullness of these bundles, the locations at which the strings of beads were bundled were usually accented with rounded, brass buttons. Overall, *izijumba* are dramatic examples of the multiple string beadworking method.

The *isijumba* in Figure 14.1, from the Natal Museum (1880-present) and dated, according to museum records, to the 1930s, is composed of multiple strings of beads joined at the ends and gathered into two bundles in the center. At the region where the strings are bundled the strings of beads are ornamented with rounded, brass buttons. When worn, the ties at the back would have secured the necklaces so that the buttons were front and center in the piece. Each strand of beads is strung with equal lengths of green, white, red, *umgazi*, pink, light blue, and *incombo* beads in the same order. When put together, all of the strands form a series of blocks of colors that run the length of the necklace. All of the beads in this work are size 00, round glass beads with flattened sides that were made by the drawn method. The white, dark green, black, pink, and light blue beads all have a simple body structure, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. The *incombo* beads have similar characteristics, except that they have a semi-translucent clarity. The *umgazi* beads have a compound body, a semi-translucent clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. On this *isijumba* the colors, starting from the upper left, fall in the following order: dark green, *incombo*, dark green, black, pink, light blue, pink, dark green, black, *umgazi*, black, dark green, white, and dark green. It is a color
combination and method of sequencing colors that has been identified by Jolles as *isisunka* or *isisunki* ("Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 44). As a color combination and pattern, *isisunka* was used exclusively in the Msinga region and can be found in various forms on many different types of beadwork ornaments, including limb ornaments (Figure 21.1) and belts (Figure 22.1).

The beadwork of the Msinga region is the best documented regional style of Zulu beadwork from the period of 1920-1940. Most of the museum and private collections surveyed contain beadwork items from this region dating to this period. Furthermore, the research conducted by Jolles ("Comments on Bead Literacy", "Interfaces Between Oral and Literate Societies", "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area", and "Zulu Beadwork as a Record of Historical Events") and Wickler and Seibt ("Studies in Bantu Peoples' Bead-language", "Zulu Bead-language and its Present Alphabetization", "Structural and Semantic Constituents of Mchunu Bead Language", and "Syntax and Semantics in a Zulu Bead Colour Communication System") provide great insights into the Msinga area beadwork of this time.

According to Jolles, the *isisunka* pattern is one of the oldest styles of beadwork that has been traced to the Msinga region. The only style that is older than *isisunka* that has thus far been connected to the Msinga area is a style called *uvalivali*, derived from the word *umvalo* meaning a crossbar to a gate (Jolles, "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork" 50). The *uvalivali* style is characterized by bands of red and black or blue and black beads, whereby the black bands frame the colored bands (Jolles, "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork" 50). According to Jolles' interview with beadwork artist Mrs. Ndebele, this arrangement is a reference to the gate of the cattle kraal, and red refers an adult, blue signifies a young person, and black represents the denial of access Jolles, "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork" 50-51). Taken as a whole,
this style of beadwork probably communicated ideas about prohibitions on sexual behavior tied to courting and marriage. Nevertheless, most likely on account of the age of this style, examples of beadwork in the *uvalivali* pattern are rare in the collections surveyed. The oldest example of the *isishunka* style that has thus far been identified is a piece found in the Killie Campbell Collection dating to 1927 (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 44). This indicates that this pattern was at least in the process of being developed before this date. As such, based on the research of Jolles ("Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork" 48) and the survey of beadwork conducted by the writer, it is probably safe to assume that the *isishunka* pattern dates to at least the early to mid 1920s. Furthermore, it continued to be used beyond 1940. *Isishunka* is based on the seven color combination: white (*umhlophe*), black (*umnyama*), light blue (*olwandle*), dark green (*uluhlaza*), pale yellow (*incombo*), pink (*umpofu*), and red (*umgazi*). These colors are then arranged within a beadwork item according to two types of color fields:

*...umngamulo* (pl. *imingamulo*), meaning boundary, or limit and *isiqaba* (pl. *iziqaba*), meaning "a plot of ground like a number of rows of beans in a field, or a bed of flowers in the middle of the lawn ". Between one and three *imingamulo* lead up to an *isiqaba*, which completes a sequence. The next field, again an *umngamulo*, has to take up the color of the previous *umngamulo*, thus enclosing the *isiqaba* with the two fields of the same color, as the name suggests. The whole process is then repeated. A sequence cannot begin with an *isiqaba* though it may end with one. It is also possible to have "notional" *isiqaba* one that is not enclosed by two other fields of the same color; in this case the idea of a sequence overrides that of the triplet (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 44-45).

For the full expression of *isishunka* the colors should appear in the following order in seventeen fields: red, black, red, green, pink, blue, pink, black, green, yellow, green, blue, black, blue, green, white, and green (Jolles, "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork" 47). Yet, attenuated or altered expressions of this style are not uncommon. Although there are seven colors that can be used in the *isishunka* pattern, they are not all necessarily employed at once. It is green and black that
form the basis of the isishunka, while the other colors appear with less frequency. According to a survey conducted by Wickler and Seibt, the popularity of the secondary colors used in the isishunka pattern decrease as follows: light blue, pink, red, yellow, and white ("Syntax and Semantics in a Zulu Bead Colour Communication System" 399). In the works dated to the period of 1920-1940 the isishunka pattern was primarily expressed as stripes or blocks of color placed adjacent to each other down the lengths of objects, as in the necklaces in Figures 14.1 and 14.2. But on occasion, they were given a slightly more complex treatment, as in the inset series of squares that appear on the wristlet (ingusha pl. izingusha) in Figure 213. So, while the artistic expression of the isishunka pattern in the works of the period of 1920-1940 was relatively simple, the order in which the colors were placed within this design scheme was based on a complex organizational system.

The symbolism of the isishunka pattern in the works from the Msinga region is still a matter of some debate. It is known that the colors used in the isishunka patterns do have meanings associated with them. The meanings connected with these colors are similar to those found in other areas of the Zulu kingdom. Wickler and Seibt reported the meanings of these colors, as found on a list in the Natal Museum compiled by a woman named Salafina who was born in the Msinga region in 1921, as follows:

1) green - I am still a virgin (untried), like a fresh shoot, 2) black - I am ready for the marriage skirt, 3) blue - I would go even to the ends of the earth with you, 4) pink - you are very poor, without cattle (unable to pay lobola), 5) red - my heart is on fire for you, 6) yellow - do not gossip about us, let's keep the relationship a secret, and 7) white - my heart is pure (clean) ("Syntax and Semantics in a Zulu Bead Colour Communication System" 396).

They also noted that these colors have alternative negative meanings. For instance, black can also symbolize anger at floundering marriage arrangements and green may also indicate a woman's sorrow that she remains a virgin (Wickler and Seibt, "Syntax and Semantics in a Zulu Bead Colour Communication System" 396). This means that beads
could be used to construct messages that could be read by those who understood the contexts surrounding the message. Nevertheless, this system of color symbolism would have been a bit limited by the restrictions on the order in which colors could be placed within a work of art established by the isishunka pattern. To overcome this limitation, Wickler and Seibt suggested that deviation from the basic isishunka pattern might also have been used to supplement the message encoded in the beads ("Syntax and Semantics in a Zulu Bead Colour Communication System" 399-404). In particular, they suggested five ways in which the isishunka pattern could be altered to convey a message:

1) From the total sequence only a part that most closely covers the intended message may be selected; 2) Omitted colors, conspicuous by their absence may convey negative messages; 3) A color symbolizing an important message may be presented in a prominent position, for instance to start an individual sequence; 4) Selected part of the sequence may be repeated emphasizing that message; 5) Parts of the sequence may be inverted with respect to the rest (Wickler and Seibt, "Syntax and Semantics in a Zulu Bead Colour Communication System" 396).

While these speculations sound plausible, Wickler and Seibt only present evidence that these deviations occur but none supporting their interpretations of the symbolism. These concepts are, therefore, still speculative. On the other hand, Jolles acknowledges that the colors of bead have meanings associated with them. Still, he has found no evidence that the patterns and colors that are used to form isishunka were intended to convey messages (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 44), though he has suggested that there may be a link between the concept of a gate as it is portrayed in the uvalivali style with the blocks of colors used in the isishunka style (Jolles, "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork" 53). A third view on this question is that the color symbolism may have been only employed to send messages when the beadwork was given as a gift from one person to another. This possibility is based on information obtained from beadwork artists, Mrs. Mpugose and Mrs. Sukethini, from the Eshowe region during a discussion concerning the manner in which color symbolism was employed in their region. Nevertheless, the exact manner in which the
color and pattern symbolism of beadwork from the Msinga area worked during the period of 1920-1940 remains an unresolved issue.

Worn by both courting men and women and newly married women (umakoti), izijumba, such as the ones seen in Figures 14.1 and 14.2, would have worked as signifiers of the wearer's wealth and social status. Such a lavish use of beads would have been a show of wealth. When given to a man, these types of necklaces would have been a sign of affection and possibly would have communicated information about the relationship of the artist with her suitor (as discussed above). In this way, these items could have also acted as a means of social control. Because of the differences arising between people who were converting to Christianity and those who were not, the wearing of beads also spoke of the wearer's religious and cultural orientations. Furthermore, with the rising political solidarity of the Zulu people, the wearing of beads could be interpreted as an act that alluded to a political allegiance to the Zulu royal house. Finally, the isishunka pattern of such necklaces would have identified their wearers' as being from the Msinga region. These izijumba are, thus, good examples of the manner in which the multiple string method was employed in Zulu, beaded neck ornaments from the period of 1920-1940.

3.2.1.2 Umgingqo (pl. Imigingqo) and Umbhijo (Imihijo): Tubular Necklaces

As in the previous time period, thick tubular necklaces made by the gongqoloza method (see Appendix A) were found as part of the traditionalist dress in many regions of Zululand. This style of necklace was worn by courting age men and women and also by married women. Works of this type could be worn singly, in multiples, or with other types of neck ornaments.

The imigingqo in Figures 15.1 and 15.2 are examples of tubular necklaces from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region. These works were found in a private collection and the notes that accompanied them dated them to the 1930s and placed them in the
Maphumulo/Mvoti region. Adorned with beads of multiple colors, the motifs used in these works are much more complex than those previously observed. On the work in Figure 15.1, the length of the necklace is divided into nine fields of equal sizes, which are symmetrically arranged according to colors. In the center there is a field of white beads flanked by two, red fields, followed by white fields, green fields, and two more white fields. In the green fields there is a motif executed in two color combinations: 1) black, white, blue, and pink, and 2) red, white, black, and pink. This motif consists of central square with four, equal sized squares of different colors placed along each side. This cross-shaped element is then enclosed by eight, equally sized squares which are, in turn, surrounded by eight more squares. The motif is then finished off by six triangular elements placed on the upper and lower edges of the outer squares. The motif found in the red fields is done in the two color combinations: 1) green, white, and black, and 2) black, yellow, and blue. In form, the motif is similar to that used in the green fields, having three layers of squares; but the red field motif has no triangular projections. In the white fields there is a motif based on a rhomboid form in two color combinations: 1) black, blue, yellow, and red, and 2) green, red, black, and white. The design element formed by these colors consists of a central rhomboid of one color with rhomboids of equal size, of another color, placed at each corner. The four, rhomboid shaped spaces that are formed by this configuration are then filled in with a third color. All together this forms one large rhomboid. Then, there are a series of lines that run parallel to the edges of the large rhomboid and extend beyond its edges, so that they frame the large rhomboid and create crossed lines at its four corners. The motif based on the rhomboid can also be seen in the umgingqo illustrated in Figure 15.2. The basic elements of the cross shape and the rhomboid appear to have been popular with the beadwork artists of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region of the time. They form the basis for the motifs used on these two necklaces as well as the waist ornament seen in Figure 22.3 and the dancing sticks in Figure 24.2. The
blocks of colors that make up the background for these works is reminiscent of the manner in which the isishunka pattern is represented in the Msinga area izijumba found in Figures 14.1 and 14.2. Yet, there do not appear to be the same rules governing the placement of colors in the Maphumulo/Mvoti works. Although the decorative motifs of these items are based on geometric units, as seen in the previous period, the motifs used on these imigingqo are more complex than the patterns observed in previous works. The motifs engaged in the Maphumulo/Mvoti imigingqo take different forms and were made by combining elements of different sizes. This is in contrast to the motifs of the previous era, which were primarily composed of independent geometric elements. Further, while it is known that the color symbolism found in other regions of Zulu territory was found in this region during this period (personal communication, Howard Balcolm, bead trader and collector, May 1997), it is not known if the symbolism was used in these particular works or if the motifs have any symbolic value.

As with other beadwork items previously observed, the Maphumulo/Mvoti imigingqo were made with rounded, glass beads with slightly flattened sides made by the drawn method. All of the beads are of about size 00 and have an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. Unlike other works thus far seen, the red beads in these items are not the two-layered, umgazi beads. Instead, the red beads have a simple body structure consisting of a solid shade of bright red. Overall, the colors and motifs used in these works make them appear very lively. The bright primary colors and the white of the fields of the works are quick to catch the eye of the viewer. Upon closer inspection, the changing nature of the motifs in each field becomes apparent. This makes the viewer to want to look around the lengths of the works to observe all of the variations. Still, the artist or artists skillfully maintained visual continuity by utilizing the colors of adjacent fields within the motifs. The artist or artists of these pieces also employed more colors in their designs, seven in each, than was seen in the previous era.
Interestingly, the seven colors of these designs are the same seven colors utilized in the *isishunka* pattern, pink, black, white, red, blue, white, and yellow, but in different tones. The artist or artists of these Maphumulo/Mvoti *imigingqo* were, therefore, using color and pattern in a complex and lively manner on ornaments that helped to call attention to themselves or the gifts that they have given to a suitor.


Worn by courting age men and women and married women, tab style necklaces of many different varieties continued to be very popular in the Zulu beadwork of the period of 1920-1940. The names for these items differ on the basis of their forms, the regions in which they were produced, and their functions. These items are generally characterized by a one or more beadfabric tab attached to a neckband of some sort. The neckbands could be made from beads sewn onto a fiber backing, as in Figure 16.1, or could be made from a beadfabric structure, as in the work in Figure 16.2; both from the Maphumulo/Mvoti area. In some instances, beadwork artists made extremely elaborate neckbands for their pieces, such as in the example of a necklace, called an *ijikazi*, in Figure 16.3. According to accession records, this work was made in 1927 in the town of Loskop, situated along the Little Tugela River between the towns of Bergville and Estcourt, and is now in the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum (1880-present) in Ondini. It is one of a group of works from this collection that was made by the Hlubi people. The Hlubi were once an independent people, but some of them came under the influence of the Zulu kingdom during the reign of King Cetshwayo when the British moved them to a reserve area around the Mooi River in 1849. Over the next hundred years, the Hlubi people of this region retained some of their cultural distinctiveness, but they also came to be associated with their Zulu neighbors. Although this area was not officially part of the
Zulu kingdom at this point in history, its inhabitants identified themselves, primarily, as Zulu. The Hlubi style of beadwork of the period of 1920-1940 was characterized by a predominance of white beads. A common decorative motif was a series of thin stripes, the width of a single bead, placed at an angle, in narrow fields of white beads; as observed in the *ijikazi* in Figure 16.3. The work in Figure 16.3 has a beadfabric neckband composed of white beads that is ornamented with a series of diagonal stripes of dark green, turquoise, yellow, pink, black, and red beads (also recalling the *isishunka* color combination) in the typical pattern of Hlubi beadwork of this era (see also Figures 18.3 and 23.7). The top of the neckband has a line of large white beads of about size five. The bottom of the band is ornamented with eight, openwork beadfabric triangles between which are strung lines of black beads. In the front of the necklace, on either side of the narrow tab, there are two, rounded, brass buttons off of which hang bundles of long, white, bead fringes. It is an extremely elaborate necklace that takes a form that is unique in the Zulu beadwork surveyed.

The two necklaces, called *iqabane* (pl. *amaqabane*)\(^9\), in Figures 16.4 and 16.5 represent the type of tab style necklaces more commonly observed in museum and archival sources dated to this period. Both of these works were also made by Hlubi artists living in Loskop in 1927, as noted in the museum records, and are part of the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum (1880-present). The necklace in Figure 16.4 shows the same predominance of white beads in the band of the necklace and in the field of the tab that was seen in the *ijikazi*. The design on the tab is a motif developed by placing rhomboid, partial rhomboid, and triangular elements around a central red rhomboid. The necklace in Figure 16.5 also has a motif on its tab that is based on the repetition of rhomboids and triangular shapes. But what is of greatest interest in this work is what appears to be an attempt to use white letters as decorative or communicative symbols on the black field\(^{10}\) of the neckband. Some of the letters are identifiable but others are not.
This leads to the assumption that these letters were probably being used more as decorative elements than as an actual attempt to use them as a form of communication. The heavy use of black in this neckband is also relatively unusual for this period. This is the earliest example of a beadwork object, observed by the writer, that contains lettering. These letters were possibly used to communicate a message to the viewer, but they were also motifs that alluded to the wealth of the person making the piece as an individual who had the leisure time and, possibly, money to afford an education. As such, these works represent how even when beadwork forms remain relatively unchanged over time, the artists were adapting the motifs used on them to suit new social needs and reflect new social values.

The types of beads and other materials used in the creation of these items were very consistent. Although most of the beads in these works are of about size 00, the artists also made extensive use of size five beads for borders. The size five beads were made with the mold method, but the rest of the beads are of the drawn variety. In either case, the beads have a simple body type with no surface decorations. They all have an opaque clarity and a shiny luster. In addition to beads, the artists also incorporated rounded, brass buttons in their works. All of these materials were strung on imported and/or locally produced cording. From the items available for study, it can be determined that the artists were masters of a variety of beadworking methods including, open and closed weave beadfabric (see Appendix A) and the single strand method. In this way, these works represent a range of the forms that tab style necklaces from the period of 1920-1940 assumed.

Another example of a tab style necklace, found in the collection of the Natal Museum where it is provenanced to the Maphumulo/Mvoti region and dated to the 1930s, can be seen in Figure 16.2. This work, called ujibilili (pl. ojibilili), isibhebhe (pl. izibhebhe), or incwadi (pl. izincwadi), consists of a beadfabric tab attached to a
beadfabric neckband with a lacy edge. The beads used in this work are primarily drawn glass beads of size 00 with a simple body, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. Larger red beads, of about size five, and conically shaped, brass buttons are used for fasteners on the necklace. The conically shaped brass buttons appear to be unique to the beadwork of this region during this time. The color combination used on this necklace is red, black, blue, white, and yellow. Red beads are used to construct the neckband for the work while the tab of the necklace has a design of red, blue, yellow, and black beads placed on a white field. The design on the tab is a complex arrangement of triangular and rhomboid shaped elements combined with motifs that are reminiscent of the club symbol that appears on playing cards. Although the design on the tab is very symmetrical in nature, its complexity makes for a lively presentation. The primary shades of blue, red, and yellow, as well as the black used in the design stand out nicely against the white background. Moreover, the combination of angular and curvilinear elements keeps the eye moving around the design. Taken in totality, the complex design of the tab, in concert with the lacy neckband, make for a detailed work of art that would have distinguished its wearer.

The necklaces from the Hlubi and Maphumulo/Mvoti region are, thus, good representations of the diversity seen in the tab style necklaces of this period. Although these works all assumed the form of a neckband with a beadfabric tab, there were variations on the forms and ornamentation of both the neckbands and the tabs. This made tab style necklaces one of the more formally diverse categories of beadwork produced during this period.

3.2.1.4 Ipasi (pl. Amapasi): Choker Style Necklaces

Unfortunately, interest in Zulu beadwork at this time in history was still limited to a few anthropologists and missionary/ethnologists. Collections of beadwork, such as those found at the KwaZulu Cultural Museum (1880-present), Killie Campbell Collection
(1860-present), and Natal Museum (1880-present), dating to the period of 1920-1940 are, therefore, still uneven with regards to the diversity of forms and regional variations represented. As a result, choker style necklaces, called *ipasi* (pl. *amapasi*), were only found amongst the beadwork from the Msinga regions in the collections observed. Nevertheless, these types of items were found in other regions both in the period before and the periods after this one, suggesting that *amapasi* were also produced in other areas during this expanse of time.

*Amapasi* were worn by courting aged men and women during this era. At times a woman made a matching set of necklaces for her and her suitor to publicly announce the bond between the two (personal communication, Yvonne Winters, curator of the Killie Campbell Collection, May 1997). Although, it is not known if this was the case with the two matching *amapasi* from the Natal Museum in Figures 17.1 and 17.2, it is certainly a possibility. According to accession records, both of these *amapasi* date to the period between 1930-1950 and were made in the Msinga region. They were made by attaching beads to strips of a fiber backing, creating lengths that are four beads in width. These strips of fiber were then combined to form bands that were worn secured snugly around the neck. All of the beads used in these works are about size 00, glass beads made by the drawn method and are round with flattened sides in form. The green, blue, and black beads have a simple body structure, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. The *incombo* (light yellow) and *umgazi* (red) beads have similar characteristics, except the *incombo* beads have a semi-translucent clarity and the *umgazi* beads have a semi-translucent clarity and a compound body structure. The beads in both of these necklaces were strung on a combination of imported and locally produced vegetal cording. In both of the examples, the artist or artists arranged the beads so that when the beaded fiber strips were placed together they formed a pattern of a series of triangles placed in alternating up and downward orientations. In the work in Figure
17.1 the colors of the triangles, from left to right, are dark green, light blue, black, umgazi, incombo, dark green, light blue, black, umgazi, and incombo. The colors of the triangles in the necklace in Figure 17.2, from left to right, are dark green, light blue, black, umgazi, incombo, dark green, light blue, black, umgazi, incombo, and dark green. So, these amapasi are identical, except that the piece in Figure 17.2 has an additional dark green triangle on one end. The arrangement of colors in these works is very interesting. At first glance the colors appear to fit into the isishunka pattern, described by Frank Jolles and discussed previously. But, upon closer inspection, the colors are not arranged in the triplet pattern that is part of the isishunka arrangement of colors and pink and white have been left out of the color scheme. In general, the colors of these pieces appear to fit into Jolles description of a pattern called isithembu (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 43). Jolles described the isithembu pattern as the color sequence light blue, green, bright yellow, red, and black (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 43). Still, the yellow and red of the isithembu pattern are solid, bright colors, and not the more muted incombo and umgazi beads seen in these works. Thus, the patterns and color combinations on these works seem to fall between the isishunka and isithembu styles, suggesting that this work may be a transitional style or a variation of the isishunka pattern. Yet, with the limited amount of information that accompanies these works it is difficult to determine which, if any, of these was intended by the artist or artists.

Whatever the exact pattern used in these works, the sequence of alternating triangles in changing colors makes for dynamic works of art. The active, zigzag lines that are formed by the triangles keep the eye moving along the lengths of the items, while the changing colors provide the viewer with surprises that further help to propel the eye forward. It is a pattern that would certainly enliven the neck of the wearer. The pattern, being a sequence of triangles, falls within the general tendencies so far observed that Zulu beadwork artists of this time employed geometric elements in symmetrical arrangements.
Still, the colors of the piece are not arranged in a symmetrical pattern, showing some deviation from these tendencies. Overall, these amapasi reveal some of the variations in beadwork neck ornaments from this period as well as variations in the application of color sequences and designs in the beadwork from the Msinga region.


Courting aged men and women and married women also wore simple forms of necklaces made from single or double strands of beads or, sometimes, single bands of beadwork worn loosely around the neck. Examples of these items are relatively rare in museum collections, but can be observed frequently in the photographic records of the period (see Figure 18.1).

Among the most culturally significant of the single/double strand necklaces are works called ocu. According to Zulu cultural traditions, when a young woman decided to tell a young man that she wanted him for a sweetheart she did not use words, instead she used beads. This was because, "Love among the Zulu people is a very private matter, a typical Zulu women will never say 'Yes, I love you', because love must always be kept secret. To utter 'love' is in fact, to defeat the secret nature of it" (Mthethwa 34). So, to express her desires, a young Zulu woman gave the boy of her choice a string of white beads, meaning that her heart is full of love (Vilakazi 50; Bryant, The Zulu People 535)\textsuperscript{14}. This string of beads is known as an ucu (pl. ocu). Upon receipt of such a gift, the young man would return home and hoist a white flag over his homestead to announce his good news. It was a source of pride for both a young man and his family when a young woman chose him. Young women were only allowed to choose one young man, but a young man could be chosen by any number of girls. As a result, the more girls a young man could attract the higher his prestige and the prestige of his family. Sometimes a young man would give his ucu to his grandmother to wear so that she could share in this status
(Brindley 89). Probably because of the very personal nature of these types of works and their lack of decorative detail, no opaque white ocu were seen in the collections observed.

In the Msinga area ocu made from a single or double strand of beads in the isishunka pattern can be found. An example of one such work, dated to the 1930s on the basis of the age of the beads and information gathered by field collector Mapastoli Mzila, can be seen in Figure 18.2. This piece, from the collection of the writer, consists of two strings of large, glass beads of about size seven (although the sizes of these beads are somewhat variable). The beads in this work were made by the drawn method. The green, black, and pink beads have a simple body structure, an opaque transparency, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The red (carmelian) beads have similar qualities expect that they are semi-transparent and have a compound body structure (a bright red layer of clear glass laid upon an opaque core, as opposed to the reddish brown glass of the umgazi beads). In addition to the glass beads, the two strands of beads are joined with rounded, brass buttons at six places along the length of the necklace. The colors of the beads have the same sequence in each strand so that when they are put together the colors are aligned. The red, black, green, and pink colors of this work are four of the seven colors typically seen in the isishunka pattern. They are also arranged in triplets of red and black, and green and pink in keeping with the isishunka pattern. As such, the use of the isishunka pattern on this type of work communicated the regional affiliations of the wearer as well as the status of his romantic life.

Necklaces made from single bands of beadfabric, called ijikazi (pl. amajikazi), were found as part of the Hlubi beadwork in the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum (1880-present), as seen in Figure 18.3. This work, dated to 1927, is approximately rectangular in shape and has two fields of white beads separated by a narrow field of green beads running down its length. The white fields are bordered by a series of white, size five beads on the outer edges and two, raised rows of smaller, white
beads on the interior. About one fifth of the way down the work from either end, the artist placed a series of stripes, the width of a single bead, in both of the white fields. These four sets of stripes are set at an angle of about forty-five degrees and are all slanted in the same direction. The colors of beads used for the stripes match from top to bottom and are mirror imaged on either end. From left to right the colors are as follows: dark green, black, turquoise, green, yellow, green, black, turquoise, pink, turquoise, black, dark green with this sequence mirrored on the right side. Overall, the angular nature of the small motifs set on a white background give the work an elegant dynamism. Textural interest is also achieved by the elevated nature of the borders of white field. Little is known about what kind of person wore such a work or what its function may have been, aside from a general display of wealth. Nevertheless, it is stylistically in keeping with other Hlubi works from this era, as seen in Figure 16.3.

3.2.1.6 Summary: Neck Ornaments

When comparing the neck ornaments of the period of 1920-1940 with the beadwork neck ornaments of the period of 1890-1920 certain similarities and differences were observed. Many of the forms produced in the previous period reappeared. In particular, umgingqo, tab style necklaces, ungqi, and single strand necklaces could be seen throughout both periods. On the other hand, the necklaces with fringes, omazitike, seemed to fade in popularity, while necklaces made from large numbers of single strings of beads, izijumba, appeared. Amashungu, snuff containers, were not found in museum collections of beadwork from the period of 1920-1940, yet the form reappears later. This indicates that it was a form that was still being produced by beadwork artists, but was simply not present in the collections surveyed. Thus, there was relatively little change in the types of neck ornaments being created by Zulu artists.

The materials and methods used in the beadwork neck ornaments from the period of 1920-1940 were also similar to those used in the beadwork of 1890-1920. They were
all created with glass beads made by the drawn method. The primary characteristics of the beads are an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. *Umgazi* and *incomo* beads also continued to be used in this more recent period. Red, white, green, and black were the most popular colors used in these neck pieces, while blue and yellow also appeared frequently. In both time periods beads of about size 00 were used for most of bodies of the works. While sinew was less commonly used for cording in this more recent time, based on the examples observed by the writer in museum and private collections, locally produced vegetal cording continued to be used frequently. Furthermore, both generations of artists made use of brass buttons as additional decorative elements in their works. Nevertheless, the artists of the Maphumulo/Mvoti area used conical buttons as opposed to the rounded forms seen elsewhere. Overall, artists of both eras used similar beadworking methods to create their neck pieces, especially the *gongqoloza* method (Figures 15.1 and 15.2), the beadfabric method (Figures 16.1-16.5 and 18.3), the single string method (Figure 18.2), the beads attached to a fiber backing method (Figures 16.1, 17.1, and 17.2), and the multiple string method (Figures 14.1, 14.2, and 16.3).

While the artists of the period of 1920-1940 continued to use decorative motifs based on geometric elements, their arrangements of elements were sometimes more complex than their predecessors (Figures 15.1, 15.2, and 16.2). The younger artists also incorporated a larger number of colors of beads in one work than was generally seen before. Furthermore, the Hlubi artists made use of lettering as motifs in their works, showing the impact of changing social conditions and new sources of prestige. In general though, the symbolism and function of these items changed relatively little. Although lettering appears in the one work, the system of color and proverb associations still seemed to be the primary method for transmitting a message in beadwork. In addition, the socio-political movements promoted by Zulu politicians and intellectuals of this period
imbued the wearing of beadwork items, including neck ornaments, with connections to traditionalist social, religious, and political forces. Still, these works continued to have functions primarily associated with revealing a person's wealth and social status, and as items of social control.

Thus, Zulu beadwork artists of the years 1920-1940 incorporated new colors, a wider varieties of colors, and new motifs into their neck ornaments works to speak to new social conditions and fashions. Yet, their works addressed similar functions and assumed similar forms to the works of artists from the previous generation.

3.2.2 LIMB ORNAMENTS

Limb ornaments are the second basic category of Zulu beadwork body adornments made during the period of 1920-1940. Worn by both courting aged men and women as well as married women, such pieces were usually worn as matching pairs and had color combinations and motifs that were similar to other types of beadwork worn by the individual. Such works were used to help to call attention to these very active parts of the body and help to add dramatic emphasis to these areas and their movements, especially during dance routines. The limb ornaments of this time were made in four basic forms, based upon the beadworking methods that were employed in their construction. The names for these forms do not depend on the exact form or beadworking methods used, but on the area in which they were made. These four forms are: 1) anklets and leg ornaments made by combining tubes of beadwork created with the *gongqoloza* method, called *ingusha* (pl. *izingusha*); 2) wristlets and anklets, known as *idavathi* (pl. *amadavathi*), made by attaching beads to strips of fiber then combining the strips into wider bands; 3) wristlets and anklets in the form of bands of beadfabric attached to a fiber structure, called *ingusha* (pl. *izingusha*) and *isigqizo* (pl. *izigqizo*); and 4) ropes of plaited
strings of beads that were wound around an appendage numerous times, also called isigqizo (pl. izigqizo). Although all of these works took the general form of bands that ornamented the limbs, the application of these various methods allowed artists to create different visual effects in their works within this theme.

3.2.2.1 Ingusha (pl. Izingusha): Anklets made using the gongqoloza method

Based on the collections surveyed, izingusha made by combining tubes of beadwork created with the gongqoloza method (see Appendix A) were only found as part of the beadwork from the Eshowe region. These works were worn by courting aged and married women as part of their special occasion wear. They were worn in conjunction with beadwork ornaments, also called izingusha, which were placed just below the knees (personal communication, Mrs. Sukethini and Mrs. Mpugose, beadwork artists, April 1997). Two examples of sets of izingusha from the Eshowe region can be in Figures 19.1 and 19.2. Both of these sets are from the Zululand Historical Museum (1930-present), and are provenanced to the Eshowe region and dated to the 1930s on the basis of accession records. These leg ornaments are very similar in appearance to izingusha worn at the knee, in that they are made from bands formed by tubes of beadwork. Yet, the works worn at the knee were narrower. Although it is known that both types of izingusha were made as pairs, it is unclear whether izingusha worn at the knee matched those worn on the lower leg.

The Eshowe region izingusha worn on the lower leg and made by the gongqoloza method were very broad, usually about 8 inches in width (Figures 19.1 and 19.2). In addition to their method of construction and their width, another notable feature of these pieces was the predominance of white beads (Figures 19.1 and 19.2). All of the works from the Eshowe area observed had a large field of white beads onto which a small design of colored beads was placed. In their simplest form these colored designs took the form
of a series of small colored stripes, as seen in the izando in Figure 19.1. In more complex designs, artists combine rhomboid shaped elements (umcijwane\textsuperscript{16}) with triangular shaped motifs and colored stripes, as in the izando in Figure 19.2. But regardless of which patterns were used, the colors of the patterns and the order in which the colors appeared within a work remained consistent. The color of beads used for the motifs were a bright or forest green, black, dark blue (which is sometimes accompanied by a slightly lighter blue as in Figure 19.1), and red or orange, as in Figures 19.1 and 19.2. This color combination was first identified as being associated with the Maphumulo/Mvoti area by Frank Jolles on page 66 of his 1993 article "Zulu Beadwork as a Record of Historical Events - Some Theoretical Considerations". In contrast to the umgazi or carnelian beads of the Msinga area, the Eshowe artists showed a preference for solid red beads without the white centers, as in the Maphumulo/Mvoti works. The colors within the motifs presented themselves in the sequence of green, black, blue, and red/orange (Figures 19.1 and 19.2). Red/orange appeared to be used as the color that focuses the attention of the viewer. Red/orange was frequently used as the central color around which the other colors were placed in mirror image sequences. For instance, on the design used on the izando in Figure 19.1 the colors are displayed, from left to right, in the following order: green, black, blue, red, blue, black, and green. Similarly, it is orange that appears in the center of the motifs on the izando in Figure 19.1. These works were made, almost exclusively, with beads of about size 00, with larger beads, of about size five, only appearing as fasteners. Most of the beads used in these works are glass beads manufactured by the drawn method. The exception to this are the larger, size five beads that are used as fasteners, which are made by the mold method. According to bead trader and collector Howard Balcolm, these large, molded beads are sometimes referred to as Basotho beads because of their popularity with the Sotho people (personal communication, May 1997). They can be identified by the prominent mold mark that runs
down the center of the beads. The body of all of these beads consists of a single layer of
glass, so that they have a simple body structure. They all have an opaque clarity and a
shiny luster. The color of the beads is solid and uniform, having no other types of
decorations. The beads are strung on what appears to be linen cording and are wrapped
around a core of cloth using the *gongqoloza* method (see Appendix A).

As with the beadwork of the Msinga region of this period, the symbolism of the
beadwork of the Eshowe region appeared to operate on two levels: 1) in the symbolism
attached to the colors of the beads used in the work and 2) the symbolic function of the
entire work of art. The colors of beads that used in these works are associated with the
following meanings: black - "I have become black like the rafters because I miss you";
blue - "I long to be like the dove that picks up corn grains near the door of your mother's
hut"; yellow - "I have anointed myself for your sake, not on the exterior part of my part of
my body but inside in my heart. I shall go on loving you"; red - "my heart bleeds for
you"; and white - "my heart is pure and clean" (personal communication, Mrs. Sukethini
and Mrs. Mpugose, beadwork artists, April 1997). But, according to Mrs. Sukethini and
Mrs. Mpugose, this symbolism was not relevant in all works of art. Instead, the color
symbolism of the beads was only used when a woman made a work to give to a man. The
beadwork worn by women was not used to convey messages with the symbolic use of
colors associated with proverbs. The system of applying specific colors associated with
particular proverbs to convey messages was, thereby, only used in a limited number of
cases in the beadwork of the Eshowe area from this period. Mrs. Sukethini and Mrs.
Mpugose also indicated that the motifs used in these works were purely decorative and
carried no particular meaning. This is not to rule out the possibility that these motifs had,
at one time, a symbolism that was not known to these artists. As works of art worn by
only courting aged and married women, *izingusha*, such as the two sets discussed, would
have indicated a woman’s social status and her wealth. In addition, they would have alluded to her region of origin as well as her political and religious affiliations.

These tall izingusha made by the gongqoloza method were characteristic of the beadwork of the Eshowe region of this period. As large ornaments with a predominance of white beads, when worn these items would have dramatically accented the region of the ankle and lower leg. While the size and brightness of these works would have caught the eye from afar, the small motifs in the center of the pieces would have drawn the viewer closer to the wearer. Moreover, the broadness of these works would have helped to visually enlarge the calves of the wearer. As large calves were observed by the writer to be an aesthetically desirable physical trait for Zulu women, this effect would have been quite pleasing. Thus, these large izingusha were used to help to aesthetically and symbolically accent some of the physically and socially desirable qualities of wearer.

3.2.2.2 Idavathi (pl. Amadavathi) and Isigqizo (pl. Izigqizo):
Wrist or anklets made by attaching beads to strips of fiber and combining these strips into bands.

Amadavathi and izigqizo are bands of beadwork that were made by attaching beads to strips of fiber and combining these strips into cuff shaped ornaments that were worn on the wrist or ankle. Works worn at the wrist and those worn at the ankle could both be identical in form. So, if information about where the items were worn was not gathered at the time the works were collected, it is difficult to tell exactly how such items were worn. This is the case of the wristlets/anklets made in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region from the Natal Museum (1880-present) seen in Figures 20.1, 20.2, and 20.3.

These items come from a group of beadwork pieces in the collection of the Natal Museum that were made in the 1930s and donated to the museum in 1978. Although well dated and provenanced, this collection is a bit problematic. According to the records of the
museum, the works were from the collection of the father of the donor. The father had run a trading store in the Maphumulo region that sold beads as part of their goods where:

A young hunchback Zulu girl sorted the stock of beads and also made items for sale or for the local population. Mr. Taylor (the owner of the store) would often ask her to make identical items or he’d buy an item from her stocks she made for current demand (records of the Natal museum, accession number 3333).

As such, this collection represents a style of beadwork that was produced for a commercial market and not, as with other works, made by the artists for personal use or the use of family members or intimates. Yet, as this market consisted of people from the local Zulu population, these can be considered a style of beadwork that was used by the people of the Maphumulo region. In this way, these works not only serve as examples of the types of forms and decorative nature of works of art from the Maphumulo region of this period, but they are also the earliest direct evidence, observed by the writer, of beadwork that was made solely for a commercial market. These items reflect a changing Zulu economy where women began to become involved in a money based economic system, and the emergence of a new role for beadwork as a way of earning a living within this system.

All three of these works were made by sewing beads onto a fiber backing in strips four beads in width. These strips were then combined into a band. Decorative interest was applied to these items by placing the beads along the lengths of the strips in specific orders so that when aligned with each other they created a pattern. In all of these pieces the artist has used a tripartite arrangement of space where there is a central region flanked by two side regions. This tripartite division of space also reappears in the wristlets and anklets of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region from the 1960s (see especially Figures 44.1, 44.2, and 44.3). The predominate motifs of these works are stripes and rectangles. For instance, the anklet/wristlet in Figure 20.1 is made from red, black, white, and blue beads. These beads are all glass. The size 00 beads in the core of the piece have a simple body, a
shiny luster, an opaque clarity, no surface decorations, and were made by the drawn method. The beads on the end of the piece, used as fasteners, are of about size five. These larger beads were made by the molded method and have a simple body, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. When put together, the body of the work is framed in white beads. The divisions between the three sections of the field are also executed in white beads. On the right and left ends of the work, there are two, rectangular sections of blue beads that are about twice the width of the central section. In the middle of the central section is a vertical line of blue triangles. Flanking this line of triangles are two, vertical lines of inverted, black triangles. Then, on either end of the region, there are two, vertical lines of red triangles. Although these lines are composed of triangles, since they are stacked, they take on the appearance of lines. This combination of vertically stacked triangles and large, rectangular sections of solid colors also appears in the other two Maphumulo/Mvoti anklets/wristlets in Figures 20.1 and 20.3 (even though the striped regions appear in the outer regions of these items). The artist's use of large, bright red beads as fasteners on these rows further serve to visually define the ends of the work, like a period at the end of a sentence.

The symmetrical nature of the pattern used in these wristlets/anklets makes for a stable and balanced visual presentation. Still, the use of narrow, striped regions in combination with broad planes of a solid colors creates an uneven visual rhythm that concentrates the attentions of the viewer in the center of the work. The bright primary shades of blue and red along with the white and black also give the works a sense of energy. Yet, it is an energy that is contained by the white borders. When worn as part of the special occasion attire of courting aged men and women and married women, these wristlets/anklets would have added an extra vitality to these active regions of the body and helped to draw attention to the wearers and their movements.
3.2.2.3 Ingusha (pl. Izingusha) and Isigqizo (pl. Izigqizo): Beadfabric Wristlets and Anklets

A third form of limb ornament found as part of Zulu traditionalist dress of the period of 1920-1940 is works that are comprised of beadfabric bands. In the case of items from the Msinga area, these bands were attached to a fiber structure. Based upon the collections surveyed, wristlets and anklets that were constructed on a fiber structure were most commonly seen associated with the beadwork of the Msinga region during this time. These items were generally worn by courting aged and married women, but were also sometimes worn by courting aged men.

As with other beadwork items from the Msinga region of this period, the isishunka colors and patterns were applied to these izingusha or izigqizo. An example of the isishunka pattern applied to izigqizo can be observed in the set of anklets seen in Figure 21.1 from the Natal Museum and dated to this era on the basis of museum notes. These works were made by stringing lines of beads vertically between two, horizontal strings. This structure was then sewn onto a series of horizontal, fiber bands, making the whole structure slightly rigid. The upper band of this set is made of pink, light blue, dark green, black, and umgazi glass beads. The lower band is composed of light blue, pink, black, umgazi, dark green, and incombo glass beads. All of the beads in these works are about size 00. The umgazi and incombo beads have the same characteristics as those previously described. The pink, black, dark green, and light blue beads all have a simple body structure, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. The cording on which the beads are strung and the supporting fiber structure are all locally produced vegetal products. While the arrangements of colors in this pair of works are not identical, they fit into the isishunka scheme. The top work has triplets of umgazi and black, and pink and light blue; while the bottom work has triplets of umgazi and black, and incombo and dark green. The colors are placed in fields, running lengthwise down the works, that are approximately equal in size, except for the dark green field at the right end of the upper
work and the light blue field at the left end of the lower work. These evenly spaced fields have a steady rhythm that keeps the eye moving along the length of the piece. Still, the changing colors help to add visual interest to this steady rhythm.

In addition to being placed in equal sized blocks of color down the length of an item, the *isishunka* color combination was also applied in other types of arrangements of geometric elements. For example, the *ingusha* from the collection of the writer, dated to the 1930s on basis of the age of the beads and notes of the field collector, in Figure 21.2 is decorated with the *isishunka* pattern presented in centrally placed, narrow stripes of white, dark green, black, and pink beads on a field of light blue. According to Jolles, this arrangement of thin stripes in the center of a field is a variation of the *isishunka* pattern associated with the Nobamba clan (Jolles, "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork" 55). The beads in this work are strung with a combination of locally produced vegetal and imported cording. In a second example seen in Figure 21.3, also from the collection of the writer and dated to the late 1920s/early 1930s on the basis of the same criteria as above, white, dark green, black, and light blue beads are arranged in a series of concentric squares and placed in a field of *umgazi* beads. While this second work does not seem to have the triplet type pattern associated with the *isishunka* pattern, it is possible that the white central square serves as the *isiqaba* and the surrounding colors act as the *umqamulo*. As such, these examples show some of the variety of ways in which beadwork artists from the Msinga region applied the *isishunka* pattern.

Another variation on the form of beadfabric *izigqizo/izingusha* from this time can be found in the beadwork of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region. As seen in the *isigqizo* in Figure 21.4 from the collection of the Natal Museum (1880-present), the artists of this region employed a stacking beadfabric method that was embellished with a series of raised lines in the creation of their works. Unlike the pieces from the Msinga region, the
Maphumulo/Mvoti piece is not attached to any sort of fiber backing. Yet, as with the limb ornaments from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region discussed above, this item features a tripartite division of space. It contains a combination of stripes and rectangles of solid colors, and has large beads on the ends that act as fasteners. So, even though the form of this item has some similarities to the pieces from the Msinga area, stylistically this work is akin to the other pieces from the Maphumulo/Mvoti area.

Thus, based upon the collections observed, izingusha and izigqizo made by the beadfabric method appear to have been popular in both the Msinga and Maphumulo/Mvoti regions. Nevertheless, the artists of both of these regions made these items using slightly different construction techniques, bead color combinations, and decorative motifs. So when in use, these items would not only have helped to aesthetically enhance the body, but also would have communicated information concerning the region from which a person came as well as their wealth and social status, and political and religious affiliations.

4. Isigqizo, (pl. Izigqizo): Plaited Ropes of Beads

Although the three types of Zulu beadwork ornaments discussed above represent the major forms of beaded limb decorations from the period of 1920-1940 seen in museum and private collections, the photographic records of the Killie Campbell Collection indicate that long strings of beads interwoven to form a type of beadwork cording were also popular as limb ornaments. Such items are known as isigqizo (pl. izigqizo). They could be worn as either wide or narrow bands at the wrists and/or forearms and/or at the ankles and/or calves. From the limited information available, it appears that these works were generally made from a single size of beads, but as no examples of these types of items were available for first hand study it is difficult to say for certain. Such items were worn by courting age people, married women, and izangoma.
As with other styles of limb ornaments, these izigqizo served to beautify the body with color, which, in turn, brought attention to the decorated areas and gave them visual bulk. Such works would have also alluded to the wealth, social status, region of origin, and political and religious affiliations of the average wearer. For diviners, this type of ornament was part of the beadwork body adornments and regalia that identified their abilities and helped them to perform their work. Although isigqizo could cover larger areas of the body than the other limb ornaments discussed, they still had many similarities to the other cuff-shaped ornaments, both aesthetically and functionally.

5. Summary: Limb Ornaments

As in the period of 1890-1920, limb ornaments took the form of both cuff shaped ornaments and strings of beads wrapped around the arm or leg. Nevertheless, regardless of the exact form that these items assumed, when worn they all adorned the body with bands of color on the appendages and helped to draw the attention of the viewer to these parts of the body. As in the previous period, the artists of this time employed the single string method, the gongqoloza method (Figures 19.1 and 19.2), and sewing beads onto a fiber backing method (Figures 20.1-20.3) for creating limb ornaments. Yet, the artists of this latest period also made wrist and ankle ornaments using the beadfabric method (Figures 21.1-21.4). As in the past works, the items of this era were made primarily with beads of about 00, but these later artists did not seem to incorporate as many larger beads into the body of their works. The types of beads used and the materials employed to string them changed relatively little, except that sinew cording was found much less frequently in examples observed from this time and molded beads were used as fasteners. The later artists sometimes employed a greater number of colors of beads in their items, seem to have preferred brighter colors, and used more complex motifs than the older artists. Still, designs based on symmetrical arrangements of geometric elements and
stripes remained popular. Because of the changing political, religious, and social climate in which the Zulu people were living, beadwork items, including limb ornaments, also began to become more important as signifiers of regions of origins, and political and religious affiliations of the wearer. Moreover, the works produced by the artists from the Maphumulo/Mvoti area are evidence of the beginnings of a new economic role for the creation of beadwork as a means of earning a living. Yet generally speaking, the limb ornaments of both this and the previous generations appear to be addressing similar aesthetic and symbolic issues.

3.2.3 WAIST ORNAMENTS

As in the period of 1890-1920, the beaded waist ornaments worn as part of the traditionalist dress of the Zulu people between the years of 1920-1940 fall into two basic categories: 1) belts and 2) skirts. While both males and females could wear belts, only females wore skirts. Different forms of belts were worn by courting aged men, courting aged women, and married women. The type of skirt worn by a young woman was also correlated to her courting or marital status. Beaded belts could assume several different forms. Probably, the most commonly seen form were belts made by attaching beads to a plaited grass backing, called isifociya (pl. izifociya), isibamba (pl. izibamba), or ixhama (pl. amaxhama). Other forms of belts observed included narrow lengths of beadfabric attached to a fiber backing, called imfacane (pl. izimfacane), and belts constructed from multiple sections of bead-covered tubes of fabric, called umutsha (pl. imitsha). Skirts also took several forms, such as beadfabric panels attached to bands of beadwork, called isigege (pl. izigege) and isibijane (pl. izibijane); beadfabric panels attached to belts composed of multiple, bead-covered tubes of fabric, known as umutsha (pl. imitsha); and beads sewn onto a cloth backing to form apron-like works, called itete (pl. amatete) and
isicwayo (pl. izicwayo). Thereby, there was much diversity in the forms that beaded waist ornaments assumed during the period of 1920-1940.

3.2.3.1 IXHAMA (pl. AMAXHAMA), ISIBAMBA (pl. IZIBAMBA), ISIFOCIYA (pl. IZIFOCIYA), IMFACANE (pl. IZIMFACANE), UMBHIJO (pl. IMIHJO), UMGINGQO (pl. IMIGINGQO) and Umutsha (pl. Imitsha): Belts

Belts made by attaching beads to a grass backing, called ixhama, isibamba, and isifociya, were the most commonly observed form of belt dated to this period in the collections of beadwork surveyed. Amaxhama were worn by married women after they had given birth to their first child (Klopper, "The Art of Zulu-Speakers in Northern Natal-Zululand" 160). As giving birth was a highly valued act, the wearing of such items would have increased the prestige of a woman. Amaxhama were, therefore, important indicators of a woman's status (Klopper, "The Art of Zulu-Speakers in Northern Natal-Zululand" 137).

One example of an ixhama from the Msinga region and dated, from museum records, to the 1930s can be seen in Figure 22.1. In this work, from the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present), the backing is made from incema grass. Atop the grass base, there are pink, light blue, white, black, dark green, umgazi, and incombo glass beads along with a group of rounded, brass buttons. The beads are all about size 00 and have the same characteristics of beads used in other works from the Msinga area of this period. The belt takes the form of an elongated rectangle with rounded ends. At each end there is a small region where the grass base of the belt is visible and is decorated with a set of brass buttons. Along the rest of the length of the belt run two lines of white beads. In the center of the region lined with white beads the grass under structure of the belt is again allowed to show through. This area is ornamented with eighteen, brass buttons arranged in three, horizontal lines of six buttons each. The rest of the work is covered with vertical lines of beads in a striped pattern. The multiple colored stripes of the work have the color
combination and sequence of the *isishunka* pattern. The colors are also arranged in sequences that mirror image each other on either side of the central area, making the overall design symmetrical. Thus, this work can clearly be linked to the Msinga region.

Although the possible symbolism of the *isishunka* pattern is still the subject of research by Jolles, Wickler and Seibt, and others\(^{17}\), there are other aspects of this work that have symbolic value. In particular, the *incema* grass (*Juncus maritimus*), from which the base of the belt is constructed, and the brass buttons both have symbolic associations that are relevant to this work. The *incema* grass of the base of this and other *amaxhama* is also the material from which sleeping mats are made. Because of the Zulu belief that the ancestors sometimes communicate with the living in dreams, the mats that are connected with sleeping are believed to have symbolic associations with the ancestors (personal communication, Isaac Khanyile, artist, February 1997). Research conducted by Klopper ("The Art of Zulu-Speakers in Northern Natal-Zululand" 159) has also found that natural fibers are often linked to ideas of fertility. It is possible, therefore, that the use of *incema* grass in these works helped to provide the wearer with a symbolic connection to the ancestors for the purpose of helping to promote her reproductive abilities. In addition, the brass buttons of this item probably also help to increase its value as an emblem of prestige. In the early Zulu kingdom the highest ranking members of Zulu society wore brass ornaments as symbols of wealth and social status. Kennedy ("Prestige Ornaments: The Use of Brass in the Zulu Kingdom" 55) suggested that the use of brass studs on the hide aprons worn by pregnant women (*isibhodiya* (pl. *izibhodiyi*) and *ingcayi* (pl. *izingcayi*)), such as the one in Figure 22.2, is related to the older use of brass armlets and necklaces as objects which denote people of high status. Extending this idea, it is possible that the brass buttons on *amaxhama* are an expression of the prestige associated with giving birth to children. As such, the *ixhama* seen in Figure 22.1 served as an expression of the region from which the wearer came. But, most significantly, it had important
symbolic associations that signified the social status of the wearer as a married woman who had given birth and, possibly, also helped to enhance her spiritual connections to the ancestors.

In contrast to the *amakhama* worn by married women, the *imitsha*, *izimfacane*, *imibhijo*, and *imigingqo* worn by unmarried men and women appear to have had fewer symbolic associations. An example of an *umutsha* from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region from the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present) and dated, in collection records, to the 1930s, can be seen in Figure 22.3. This work is composed of three, thick tubes of cloth covered with beads in the *gongqoloza* method. The beads used to cover these tubes are all glass beads of about size 00 made by the drawn method with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body structure, and no surface decorations. Each of the tubes has a pair of designs composed of red, black, blue, pink, yellow, and white beads that alternate down the length of the tubes. The pair of designs is the same on each tube and they are joined so that the designs are aligned vertically to each other. Both of the designs are based on the geometric unit of the square. This simple square is then expanded into a cross. It is a motif commonly seen in the beadwork of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region in this era (see Figure 15.1 and 15.2) and also in later time periods (see Figures 33.1, 34.2, 35.7, and 36.9). The first motif that appears in the center of the work consists of a central, pink square around which four, blue squares are placed adjacent to the four sides of the original pink square. This pink and blue form is further expanded with six, yellow squares placed on either side of the upper and lower, blue squares and at the corners of the central, pink square. Last, one black triangle is placed on the outer sides of each of the four upper and lower, yellow squares and there are two, black triangles placed on the outer edge of each of the central, yellow squares. This combined motif is then placed on a field of white beads. The second motif consists of a central, pink square surrounded on four sides by black squares. These black squares are, in turn, surrounded six, white squares and the whole is
placed on a red field. When these alternating motifs are vertically aligned into a belt, a very strong graphic effect is created. The repeated triangles on the ends of the first motif point the eye to the neighboring motif. This carries the gaze of the viewer forcefully around the work. Furthermore, the fact that both of the motifs are wider than they are tall emphasizes the horizontal lines. When worn on the body, especially the body of a woman, these lines would have helped to make the hips look wider and so accented this area of a courting aged young woman. In this manner, this work would have been effective when used by courting aged individuals to draw attention to themselves.

A second example of a type of beadwork belt worn by courting aged men and women is the imfacane, umbhijo, or umgingqo pictured in Figure 22.4. This work, in the collection of the Natal Museum (1880-present), is from the Msinga region. According to accession records, it dates to the period between 1930-1950. It takes the form of a long, narrow, bead-covered tube of fiber. The colors of beads used in this piece are the light blue, pink, white, black, dark green, umgazi, and incombo beads of the isishunka pattern. All of the beads in the piece are about size 00, drawn glass beads. The white, dark green, light blue, pink, and black beads all have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The umgazi beads have a compound body, shiny luster, semi-translucent clarity, and no surface decorations. The incombo beads have a milky clarity, a simple body, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The beads are arranged in solid colored stripes, ranging from three to five beads in width, in a repeating sequence of colors, seventeen stripes long. The colors, types of beads, and the sequence of colors all fit into the isishunka pattern. This meant that the person who wore this item was not only calling attention to him or herself, but also identifying the region from which they came.

Thus, the type of belt worn by a person helped to identify their courting and marital status. For women, the donning of an ixhama or isifociya signaled that they had
achieved the status of a married woman who had given birth. These works of art, therefore, not only indicated the social status of a person, but also helped to convey prestige on the wearer. Furthermore, amaxhama had important functions associated with traditional religious beliefs as items that served to provide the wearer and her reproductive capabilities with the spiritual protection of the ancestors. Other types of belts, such as imitsha and izimfacane, were used to indicate that a person was of courting age and to bring attention to the body.

3.2.3.2 Isigege (pl. Izigege), Isibijane (pl. Izibijane),
Umuthsha (pl. Imitsha), Itete (pl. Amatete), and
Isicwayo (pl. Izicwayo): Skirts

Although only worn by females, the type of skirt worn by a person was also an indicator of their courting or martial status. Based on the research conducted by this writer, the beadwork skirts of this period appeared in at least three basic forms: 1) a band of beadwork to which a beadfabric panel is attached, called an isigege (pl. izigege) or isibijane (pl. izibijane), depending on the region from which it came; 2) a beadfabric panel attached to a belt made from tubes of beadwork created with the gongqoloza method, known as umuthsha (pl. imitsha); and 3) beads attached to a cloth background in the form of an apron, called itete (pl. amatete) and isicwayo (pl. izicwayo). Unmarried young women wore izigege, izibijane and imitsha, while amatete and isicwayo were worn by married women.

According to research published by Krige in the 1930s, a courting aged girl replaced her skirt of ububendle leaves with a beadfabric skirt, called an isigege, when she became betrothed (The Social System of the Zulus 124). Still, Mayr ("Language of Colours Amongst the Zulus Expressed by their Beadwork Ornaments" 124) found that young women began to wear izigege at puberty. As such, it appears that the age at which a girl began to wear an isigege varied slightly from region to region; but, in any case, it
was an item that was worn by unmarried young women. Two examples of this type of beadwork skirt can be seen in Figures 23.1 and 23.2. These two skirts came from the Eshowe region, where they are referred to as isibijane, and can be found in the collection of the Zululand Historical Museum (1930-present). According to collection records, both of these items date to the 1930s. The isibijane in Figure 23.1 consists of a band of white beads that has stripes of red, blue, black, and dark green beads placed in two locations. The beadfabric panel of the work has two, mirror imaged, zigzag patterns that form a central rhomboid (umcijwane²⁰). The zigzag is composed of three parallel lines of blue, black, and dark green beads. In addition, there are lines of red beads on the outer right and left edges. These red lines help to define the boundaries of the design and keep the eye focused on the center of the work. The isibijane in Figure 23.2 shows many similarities to the piece in Figure 23.1. The panel of the work in Figure 23.2 also has a design composed of blue, dark green, black, and red beads on a white field. There are two, zigzag lines that run vertically on the right and left sides of the work. In the lower, central area there is an inverted triangle composed of lines of dark green, black, and blue beads atop of which is placed a second, inverted triangle of red beads. As in the first isibijane discussed, the artist of this work also employed a zigzag motif, placed the colors in the same order, and used the red beads as a highlight color to focus the eye on the center of the design. The primary difference between the works in Figures 23.1 and 23.2 is that the piece in Figure 23.2 has a more elaborate waistband, which takes the form of a series of openwork beadfabric triangles. Placed all around the waistband, these straight-lined triangles would have served as a gentle contrast to the rounded hips of the young woman who wore the item. A third type of decorative treatment for a waistband can be seen in the example of an isigege from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region in Figure 23.3. In this work the artist adorned the waistband with a fringe that would have flowed over the hips of the wearer and responded to the movements of the body. As such, these works of art, worn
by unmarried women, would have drawn the attention of the viewer by providing a
decorative covering for the pubic region, and highlighted and complemented the hips and
buttocks of the wearer. In addition, these items alluded to the political and religious
affiliations of the wearer, denoted her social status, and indicated her region of origin.

A second form of beaded skirt worn by unmarried, Zulu women during this period
was an umutsha. An umutsha features a beadfabric panel attached to a belt composed of
tubes of beadwork made by the gongqoloza method. One example of such an umutsha
from the 1930s is found in Figure 23.4. This work is present of the collection of the
Natal Museum (1880-present) and is part of the works donated to the museum by Mr.
Taylor\textsuperscript{21}. This skirt consists of a wide waistband, comprised of nine, bead-covered tubes
of fiber. It has a narrow beadfabric panel that runs along the sides and back of the work,
and a larger panel on the front and center of the waistband. The waistband has a
decoration of squared off, stepped triangles, placed on their sides, running down the length
of the belt. The colors of the triangles fall in the order of red, black, red, green, red, black,
etc. on a white field. Set along the sides and back of the skirt, there is a very short
beadfabric panel ornamented with vertically striped rectangles. Blue and black striped
rectangles are alternated with yellow and red striped rectangles. The front panel of the
work is much larger and very visually complex. It is divided horizontally into three
sections. In the lower part of the central section two, mirror imaged, red crescents are
placed. Between these crescents is an inverted, red triangle. Above this set of designs are
two, vertical stacks of three design elements that resemble the clubs motif from playing
cards. These alternate red, yellow, and red. All of this is placed in a white field. The two
regions that flank this central area are mirror images of each other and are divided
vertically into a half red and half green background. In these fields there is a small, yellow
and red, striped rhomboid inset into another larger, blue and black, striped rhomboid. This
large rhomboid then has white lines that frame its edges and extend outward at the right,
left, and bottom points. At the bottom, the white lines are connected on their ends by another horizontal white line, forming a red triangle outlined in white in the space below the large rhomboid. In the space adjacent to the four sides of the rhomboids are placed four triangles; the two at the top pointing downwards and the two at the bottom pointing upward. In the areas with a red background the triangles are green outlined in black and in the green regions the triangles are yellow outlined in red. Below the two, bottom triangles are placed two, smaller triangles. These smaller triangles are black in the red region and red in the green region. When combined, the larger and smaller triangles take on an appearance similar to that of the spade motif seen in playing cards. Finally, there is a second set of short, black lines that run parallel to the white frame of the rhomboid in the green region. Overall, this is an extremely complex pattern that appears to make use of the diamond, club, and spade motifs seen in playing cards.

Such a visually complex work of art would have been a source of pride for the owner. The bright colors and intricate patterns of the piece would have been effective in grabbing the eyes of observers from both afar and at close range. Unfortunately, the symbolic value of the motifs from playing cards is uncertain, yet these are motifs that reappear on other items produced by this artist (see Figures 16.2 and 24.1). Still, this work, when worn, would have spoken about the wearer's wealth and social status as well as her region of origin and religious and political affiliations. Moreover, as a work probably directed toward a commercial market, this is another example of a piece of beadwork that was made for the economic benefit of the artist.

A third type of beadwork skirt created by Zulu artists during this period was aprons, called izicwayo and amatete, made by attaching beads to a cloth background. Married and, sometimes, engaged women wore these types of works over their leather skirts (isidwaba, pl. izidwaba)\textsuperscript{22}. According to Krige (\textit{The Social System of the Zulus} 372), a woman wore her isigege over her isidwaba until the birth of her first child, yet she
did not mention when a woman would begin to wear these cloth aprons. This suggests that this type of work was not worn in all regions. It is, therefore, uncertain if these aprons were used to replace an *isigege* at the birth of a child, if the time at which women began to wear such works was variable from region to region, or if these types of items were worn throughout the whole of Zulu territory during this period of time.

Two examples of *izicwayo* from the Estcourt region can be seen in Figures 23.5 and 23.6. The work in Figure 23.5 can be found in the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) and is dated in the accession records to the 1930s. The *isicwayo* in Figure 23.6 is from the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present) and is also dated in his collection notes to the 1930s. The work in the Mikula collection is still attached to an *isidwaba*, but the other apron is displayed by itself. In the case of both of these examples, the aprons were made by sewing together sections of cloth in layers so that the lower edge of each cloth section is exposed. Each of these lower edges is then decorated with two, narrow, white, beadfabric bands. One of the bands trims the lower edge of each fabric layer and is bordered with a line of size five beads. This first set of bands is composed entirely of white beads. The other set of bands is placed on top of the fabric at the lower edge. This second set of bands is decorated with a series of motifs that take the form of a black rectangle decorated with a repeated design. The design that is repeated in these black rectangles is a vertical line intersected by a series of four, horizontal, staggered lines and topped off by a square or triangle. On the work from the Mikula collection (Figure 23.6) these designs appear in multiples of three (with the exception of one section) within each black rectangle. The combined motif of the rectangle and the branched elements are then repeated three times along the width of each of the beadfabric strips. On the work from the Killie Campbell Collection (Figure 23.5) this design is repeated in multiples of five, and then the combined motif of the rectangle and the branched elements are repeated five times along the width of each of the beadfabric strips. The colors of beads used for these
designs are yellow, pink, dark green, light blue, red, and dark blue. Generally speaking, within each group on the black rectangles the designs do not involve more than three colors and the colors of the designs are arranged symmetrically. Moreover, the color combinations of these motifs are the same down the length of each white strip. For example, on the top row of the apron in the Killie Campbell Collection the colors of the designs in the black rectangles appear in the following order: yellow, pink, dark green, pink, and yellow. This sequence is repeated down the entire length of this row. On the skirt from the Mikula collection, a second type of motif appears on two lengths of beadwork that hang vertically on each end of the isidwaba. This motif, which also appears on a rectangular, black field, consists of a series of rhomboid shaped areas of solid colors arranged so that they give these areas a woven appearance. The colors of beads used in this motif are black, dark green, pink, dark blue, and dark yellow. As such, the designs that are observed on these izicwayo, characteristic of the Estcourt area of this time, appear on black rectangular sections within narrow white fields and take the form of branched, abstract figures and woven fields. Furthermore, the artists of these pieces appear to have employed a limited number of colors of beads.

All of the beads used in the body of these pieces are of size 00 and size five beads are used as decorative borders. The smaller beads are made by the drawn method and the larger ones are made by the mold method. In both cases, the beads have a simple body, an opaque translucence, an undecorated surface, and a shiny luster. The cloth onto which the beaded borders are attached and the materials used to string the beads are both imported. The beadworking methods used in these items are limited to the beadfabric method and the method of attaching beads to cloth. Although izicwayo were made by women from other areas, for instance the apron from area around the town of Loskop seen in Figure 23.7, the technique of creating a skirt using layers of fabric with beadwork borders was
distinctive to the work of the Estcourt region. It is a construction technique that continues to be used to this day and is also used to make capes (see Figure 48.4) as well as aprons.

The symbolism of these works involves at least the motifs used in the works and the nature of the item itself. It is probable that the same color symbolism found elsewhere in Zululand was applied in this area. But, if, when, and how this system may have worked in this area remains uncertain. Still, it is known that only married women wore these types of aprons. As such, these items of beadwork symbolically functioned as indicators of a woman's marital and social status. Moreover, it is known that the design with the vertical line, intersected by branched lines, and topped with a square or triangle is called isibaya (meaning "cattle kraal") (accession records of the Killie Campbell Collection). The cattle kraal is where the cattle are kept at night to keep them safe from harm. As cattle have associations with the ancestors and it is women who are responsible for bringing back ancestors by bearing children, the isibaya motif on these aprons probably served to provide symbolic protection for the women who wore them and their reproductive capabilities. The cattle kraal is used to encircle the cattle, keep them safe from harm, and concentrate the presence of ancestral forces, in the form of cattle, to a region. Thus, this motif symbolically evokes the kraal, encircling the women with a protective presence and concentrating the presence of the ancestors in the region of the body where they can assist in the process of conception. The possible symbolism of the areas with a woven appearance in sections of the work in the Mikula collection is still unknown. There may also be other aspects to the symbolism of these pieces than those presently understood. Nevertheless, from the information available, it is known that the works functioned to help to identify the martial and social status of the wearer as a woman who was married and had, possibly, given birth to a child. Additionally, the motifs used in the beadwork designs symbolize protective forces that keep a married woman's abilities to bring back ancestors, through the act of giving birth to children, safe from harm. In this way, izigege or
isibijane, imitsha, and izicwayo or amatete, as different forms of beaded skirts, were all used as important signifiers of a woman's courting or marital status and could serve religious functions as well.

3.2.3.3 Summary: Waist Ornaments

As with the beaded waist ornaments of the years of 1890-1920, the beaded waist ornaments that were produced between the years of 1920-1940 were divided into two groups: belts and skirts. In both of these periods, both men and women wore belts, but only women wore skirts. Furthermore, the specific forms of items worn by an individual was often dependent on the courting or martial status of that person. Belts assumed similar forms to what they had in the previous era, especially belts made from beads attached to a grass backing (Figure 22.1), known as ixhama (pl. amaxhama), isibamba (pl. izibamba), and isifociya (pl. izifociya), and belts composed of tubes of beadwork made by the gongqoloza method (Figures 22.3 and 22.4), called umutsha (pl. imitsha). Skirts in the forms of izigege and imitsha could also both be found in this and the previous period. In contrast, izicwayo and amatete (Figures 23.5 and 23.6) are forms of beadwork ornaments that seem to have become more popular between 1920-1940. This is probably related to an increasing availability of imported cloth. The methods and materials used by artists of this time to create waist ornaments were similar to those used by their predecessors. The beadfabric method, the beads sewn onto a fiber backing method, the gongqoloza method, and the multiple string method were all employed in waist ornaments in this and the previous period. Nevertheless, the development of the isicwayo form brought large amounts of cloth and the beadworking method of sewing beads onto cloth into greater popularity. There was, additionally, an increase in the use of imported cording materials and a decrease in the amount of locally produced materials for stringing beads. While drawn glass beads of size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations were found throughout all Zulu works, the use
umgazi and incombo beads seems to be confined to the Msinga region in these later pieces. Moreover, rounded, brass buttons were favored in the Msinga and Estcourt areas, while conical, brass buttons appeared in the Maphumulo/Mvoti area. As in other works produced during this time, the bead color combinations tended to be brighter, with red, white, black, and green being the most popular colors. The motifs were, furthermore, more complex than those previously seen.

Although the general symbolism of these belts and skirts, as works of art that signify the wealth and social status of the person, did not change from the previous period, the symbolic value of some aspects of these later works is better understood. With the changing social conditions, the symbolism of beadwork as a type of body ornamentation also took on new meanings. In addition to the symbolism of colors in association with proverbs, the grass of amaxhama and the motifs on the aprons from the Estcourt region are related to concepts of spiritual and physical protection for the reproductive functions of the wearer. This indicates that such items may have had religious as well as aesthetic and social functions. As such, they reveal the importance of traditional religious beliefs in the lives of the Zulu people as well as the place of the ancestors and cattle in their theology. The works from this later period were made using bead color combinations and motifs that were distinctive to their region, which indicates that the artists had a desire to express the differences in the regions from which they hailed. On a broader level, as missionaries began to gather more converts and the Zulu royal house began to reassert itself, the wearing of any sort of beadwork could be seen as an expression of support for the traditionalist political and religious forces in Zulu society. Last, these waist ornaments, both past and present, have artistic qualities that were used to effectively draw attention to the hips and waist of the wearer and enhance the aesthetic appeal of the body.
3.2.4 HEAD AND CHEST ORNAMENTS, DANCING STICKS, AND THE BEADWORK OF DIVINERS

In addition to the general categories of beadwork discussed above, Zulu artists of the period of 1920-1940 also created beadwork items to adorn the head and torso and beaded items that were carried as part of traditionalist regalia. Unfortunately, it is not possible at this time to construct a detailed listing of these additional items based on the collections surveyed, as there are relatively few examples of these additional forms in museum and private collections. Nevertheless, some examples of such works do exist.

3.2.4.1 Chest and Head Ornaments

For instance, the object in Figure 24.1 is an example of a back or chest ornament from the collection of the Natal Museum. It is part of the Taylor collection, which came from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region, and is dated to the 1930s. The colors and motifs used in this work are similar to the other items from this collection. This is especially true for the green and black motifs that resemble the clubs motif on playing cards (see Figures 16.2 and 23.4). The function of this item would have been to adorn the chest or back of a courting aged man or woman or a married woman. Other examples of beadwork items from this period were seen in the photographic archives. An additional type of item viewed in the photographic records is beadwork ornaments placed diagonally across the chests of men, as seen in Plate CXVII, "Chief Siphose Mphungose", in The Bantu Tribes of South Africa - Reproductions of Photographic Studies, by Duggin-Cronin. Courting aged people also adorned their heads with earrings and bands of beads to attract attention to themselves or to show off the attention of their girlfriends. On the other hand, married women wore bands of beads on top of and/or around their heads in accordance with the hlonipha rules that required them to keep their heads covered and eyes diverted.
3.2.4.2 Dancing Sticks

Dancing sticks, such as the one illustrated in Figure 24.2, are examples of a type of beadwork accessory seen during this period. These works can be found in a private collection and, from collection notes, it is known that they were created in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region during the 1930s. Used as items of prestige by men during dances, these beaded dancing sticks (induku, pl. izinduku), like the back ornament, display the use of bead colors and motifs seen in other works from this time and region (see Figures 15.1, 15.2, and 22.3). Of special interest is the design on the top cane. The motif used to decorate this work is based on the expansion of the square into a cross. It is a motif that, in this and other variations, appears in the beadwork of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region of this period (Figures 15.1 and 22.3) and will also reappear in later beadwork items in this region (see especially Figure 33.1). The artist of this work created this motif using both opaque and translucent beads, as well as some striped beads. This is the earliest seen use of translucent or striped beads in the Zulu works observed by the writer. When the location from which these accessory works can be determined, as with the dancing sticks above, they appear to fit stylistically with the other items from their region and period. These additional types of beadwork ornaments, therefore, shared similar characteristics with other pieces from this period.

3.2.4.3 The Beadwork of Diviners

Still, one category of beadwork did not seem to show any regional or sequential variations is the beadwork worn by diviners (isangoma, pl. izangoma). The symbolism of the colors of beads worn by diviners is rooted in traditional Zulu religious beliefs and, so, is closely connected with the functions that these works serve for their wearer. To the viewer, the beaded works of izangoma reveal the types of skills that izangoma possess. For izangoma, the beaded works help them to attract the ancestors (amadlozi) to assist
them in their duties, but also protect them from harm during these spiritually powerful encounters. As such, the religious importance of such works superseded any regional affiliations or any generational differences.

Beadwork that mediates the relationship between the ancestors (*idlozi, pl. amadlozi*) and diviners is represented in the dress and regalia of the *isangoma* pictured in Figure 24.3. The beadwork of *izangoma* was traditionally composed of red and/or white beads, colors associated with the ancestors²⁷ (Berglund, *Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism* 371; Ngubane *Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine* 87) (although contemporary *izangoma* sometimes wear beadwork of other colors²⁸). They wore beads in their long headdresses; adorned themselves in strings around their ankles, wrists and necks; and sometimes donned horns or bottles containing ritual medicines in beaded neckpieces. They also carried beaded flywhisks as part of their regalia (Figure 24.3). This is the type of dress that can be seen in the photographs of diviners taken a hundred years ago (see Figure 8.1) as well as on diviners today.

White is, by far, the most common color seen in the dress and regalia of *izangoma*. The *amadlozi* are thought to be white in color and so are associated with white beads (Berglund, *Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism* 371). Two other concepts associated with the color white are goodness and purity. According to Berglund, "good things are spoken of as *izinhlophe*, the white ones" (Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism 364). Ngubane reports that white medicines are used by *izangoma* to promote their state of purity (Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine 87). This encourages possession by the *amadlozi*, which is good and desired. So, white symbolizes three important and interrelated concepts in the costume and regalia of *izangoma*, i) purity, ii) connections between the *amadlozi* and the diviner, and iii) goodness. Purity is required of the *isangoma* for them to be possessed by good (white) *amadlozi* and, thereby, be capable of divination. It is only in this state of purity that the *amadlozi* choose the *isangoma* for
bodily possession and only then will they direct the actions of the *isangoma*. Finally, the actions of *isangoma* are considered good because they are possessed by *amadlozi* who direct them to act in positive ways. For *isangoma* the white beads fulfill three interrelated functions. The beads promote their purity, help to draw the ancestors to them, and protect them from harm. The white beads, as symbols of purity, help *isangoma* to keep their immediate surroundings and bodies cleansed from forces in the outside world which may spiritually pollute or physically harm them and interfere with their abilities to communicate with the *amadlozi*. In addition, the white beads draw the *amadlozi* to *isangoma* and help to protect *isangoma* from being harmed by the powerful forces that they encounter in their contacts with the spiritual world. The use of white beads promotes the connection between the *amadlozi* and *isangoma* by helping to provide *isangoma* with purity and goodness. But, the power of the *amadlozi* is quite substantial. Bodily encounters with them, therefore, open *isangoma* to potential harm, even when the *amadlozi* are acting beneficently. As such, *isangoma* also use the symbolic actions of the white beads as a means of promoting goodness and purity to protect the body during these spiritual encounters. Like a lightning rod, white beads are used to attract the *amadlozi*, but also to prevent their powers from bringing harm to the bodies of *isangoma*. For instance, the fly whisk (*ishoba lobungoma*) studded with white beads and carried by the *isangoma* in Figure 24.3 acts to help to cleanse the space around the diviner, call the *amadlozi*, and help to protect the diviner during interactions with the *amadlozi* all through the symbolic functions of the white beads. In this way, white beads have an especially vital function in the traditionalist dress of *isangoma*, for they mediate the interactions between the bodies of *isangoma* and the *amadlozi* to both attract and control the forces of the spiritual realm.

The second most popular color in the beads and beadwork of *isangoma* is red. Like white, red is also strongly associated with the *amadlozi*. Ngubane asserts that red is the color of transformation and transition which mediates between the opposites of white
and black (Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine 117). Red marks the mid point between two opposite states such as good and evil, spiritual and physical, and purity and defilement. Berglund suggests that red is associated with blood, menstruation, and pregnancy (Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism 356). But this interpretation does little to explain the red beads of izangoma, because izangoma are expected to abstain from sexual relations so as to avoid ritual pollution (Ngubane, Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine 148). It appears more probable that menstruation and pregnancy are considered times of transformation and transition, when human life can be brought from the spiritual realm of the amadlozi into the physical realm. In fact, Berglund himself indirectly supports Ngubane's interpretation when he related the training of one isangoma. In describing the training of this isangoma he stated that the novice was required to dress in red. This is unusual, as most novice izangoma wear white to promote their purity and connections with the amadlozi. When asked about this unusual practice the senior isangoma explained that, "My children must wear red because they are blood clots which have not yet been born. They know nothing except the womb" (Berglund, Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism PL. II, between pages 164-165). In other words, the senior isangoma is equating the novice's transformation and transition into an isangoma with the transformation and transition of conception, pregnancy, and birth. Seen as a symbol of transition and transformation, the function of red in the costume and regalia of izangoma becomes apparent. Izangoma, as possessed by ancestors of the spiritual world, are in a transient state between the physical and spiritual realms. The red beads in the dress of an isangoma are, thereby, intended to promote the transitional state of the body used by the amadlozi to cross between the physical and spiritual realms. Thus, beadwork is an important means by which izangoma mediate the impact of the encounters between their bodies and the spiritual world.
3.2.4.4 Summary: Head and Chest Ornaments, Dancing Sticks and the Beadwork of Diviners

As such, the beaded head and chest ornaments and dancing stick used by average people had similar decorations and functions to works from the primary categories of head, limb, and waist ornaments. In particular, they were made with similar materials and methods, were adorned with similar color combinations, and fulfilled the same types of functions. Such functions included identifying the wearer's social, economic, marital, social, political, religious, and regional status; serving as a means of social control; and helping an individual to maintain harmony with the spiritual realm. In contrast, the beadwork carried and worn by izangoma did not show regional variations. Yet, the beadwork of izangoma also spoke of the abilities and social status of the wearer and helped the wearer to maintain harmony with the spiritual realm. Works that fall into this category of head and chest ornaments, dancing sticks and the beadwork of diviners were, therefore, an important part of the body of objects created by Zulu beadwork artists of this time.

3.3 CONSTANTS AND VARIABLES: BEADWORK OF THE PERIOD 1920-1940

In the Zulu beadwork of the period of 1920-1940, one could see that there were differences between the beadworking styles of different regions with regards to the motifs and bead color combinations used, beadworking methods and materials employed, the forms the items assumed, and the symbolic elements of the pieces. When examining the ways in which these works functioned within society, these variations could be seen to be indicative of the variations in Zulu society in terms of regions, social status, wealth, religious beliefs, and political affiliations. Nevertheless, these various styles also had similarities in terms of the same aspects. This suggested that while there were divisions
within the society in which these were created items, they were the products of common artistic traditions and sources of inspiration. Considering these factors, the following sections explore the consistent and variable elements in the beadwork of 1920-1940.

3.3.1 CONSTANTS

The beadwork of this period had numerous types of similarities that pointed to the fact that it was an expression of a shared ethnic identity. These similarities were examined in terms of motifs, bead color combinations, methods and materials used to create the works, forms, functions, and symbolism.

1. Although the motifs used in the various beadworking styles seen during this time were very diverse, they all took the form of abstract geometric patterns with elements used singly or in a variety of combinations. As in the previous period, squares, rectangles, triangles, and rhomboids were all shapes commonly observed in designs and motifs. With the exception of the club shaped elements on some of the Maphumulo/Mvoti works (Figures 16.2, 23.4, and 24.1), it should also be noted that all of these motifs had straight-line edges. Using these geometric motifs, artists almost always created designs that were symmetrical along both the horizontal and vertical axes of their works.

2. While there was much variability in the colors of beads used in the various regions, white, black, red (umgazi or solid), dark green, and dark and/or light blue beads were used in the works of all regions. Pink and yellow were also very popular colors. White was the predominant color used for the fields upon which designs were placed (Figures 16.1-16.4, 19.1, 19.2 and 23.1-23.7). Furthermore, artists of this generation appeared to prefer color combinations that utilized many colors. This was observed, for example, in the seven colors of the isishunka pattern on items from the Msinga area (Figures 14.1, 17.1, and 17.2), the multiple colors of the Maphumulo/Mvoti area works
(Figures 15.1, 15.2, 16.1, 16.2, 20.1-20.3, 23.3, and 23.4), and the five color combination used in the Eshowe area beadwork (Figure 19.1, 19.2, 23.1, and 23.2). Such similarities in colors, color combinations, and design motifs indicated that although each regional style had its own expression, there were common themes which ran throughout their design preferences.

3. There was quite a bit of similarity in the methods and materials used by artists from all the various regions. Opaque glass beads made by the drawn method with a simple body structure, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations appeared in the beadwork from all of the various regions examined in this period. Size 00 beads were used consistently in the bodies of the pieces, while larger beads were employed for edgings and fasteners. But, the use of larger beads for textural interest in the bodies of the pieces, as was seen in the previous period (Figures 7.1, 7.2, 9.3 and 10.5), was not observed in this later time. The beads in the works of 1920-1940 from all of the regions studied were generally strung on a combination of imported and locally produced fibers. The use of imported materials was also evidenced in the use of brass buttons (Figure 14.1, 14.2, 16.1-16.5, 22.1, and 22.2) and cloth (Figure 23.5 and 23.6). This similarity of materials revealed common aesthetic preferences and the increasing presence of imported goods throughout Zulu society.

4. The beadworking methods used to construct these items showed certain similarities across regions and time. The bead-fabric method was found to be used in the items from all regions (Figures 16.1-16.5, 18.3, 21.1, 23.1, 23.2, 23.5, and 23.6). Moreover, the **gongqoloza** method (Figures 15.1, 15.2, 22.3, 22.4, and 23.4), attaching beads to a fiber or hide background (Figure 16.1, 17.1, 17.2, 22.2, 23.5, and 23.7), the single strand method (18.1 and 18.2), and the multiple strand method (Figure 14.1, 14.2, and 16.3) were all observed in two or more of these areas. The forms that the finished items assumed shared features that linked them together. Ornaments decorating the neck,
limbs, and waist were found as part of the traditionalist dress of the people of all regions. In addition, the particular types of works worn by people of different courting ages during this period varied little between regions.

5. Last, a good deal of the symbolic and functional aspects of the works remained consistent throughout the kingdom in this time period. The first similarity in the symbolic and functional aspects of these works was that colors were associated with specific proverbs and these associations were akin to each other throughout all regions; although, this symbolism is not necessarily applicable to all works of art. As a system firmly embedded in the Zulu language, this communicative function of beadwork was a sure sign that these works shared a common cultural basis. Furthermore, the types of issues to which these proverbs refered provided insights into the common concerns of Zulu women of this period. Second, when worn the works of art in all of these areas had symbolic functions that indicated the wealth and status of a person as well as his/her religious and political affiliations, helped the izangoma to perform healing and divination rituals and advertise their abilities, and distinguished a person of one region from those of another. These were concepts that were communicated by the quantity, form, colors, and/or designs of beadwork worn by a person.

These commonalties would have allowed beadwork to be effective as a means of differentiating the Zulu people from their neighbors and identifying the social status of an individual within the wider community. The simple act of wearing beadwork also communicated that one was not a Christian and was also inclined to support the king. In this way, similarities in the forms and beadworking methods of these items helped to communicate the boundaries of Zulu identity in relation to others, as well as the boundaries between people within the group. Thus, the constants in the motifs, bead color combinations, materials and beadworking methods, forms, functions, and symbolism of these various beadworking styles revealed that: 1) these works shared a common artistic
heritage, 2) were inspired by common cultural sources, and 3) were designed to fulfill common cultural functions. In other words, these commonalties provided evidence that there was a certain ethnic unity among the Zulu people of this time and some of the features that were important to this shared identity.

3.3.2 VARIABLES

The fact that there were differences in various regional beadworking styles was very obvious in the Zulu beadwork of this time.

1. The difference in motifs used in these works was probably the feature that most readily distinguished the work of one area from another. Some of the motifs were visually simple, as in the case of the four, small stripes on a white background seen in the Eshowe region (Figure 19.1). At the other extreme, there were motifs that were very visually complex, as in the case of the extended square motif of the Maphumulo/Mvoti area (Figures 15.1, 22.3, and 24.2). There was also a difference in the area of the field occupied by these designs. For example, the artists of the Msinga region often allowed the design to take over the entire field (Figures 14.1, 14.2, 17.1, 17.2, and 22.4). In contrast, artists of the Maphumulo/Mvoti area placed large designs onto a white field (Figures 16.1, 16.2, and 23.3) and Hlubi artists and artists from the Eshowe area employed small designs in large fields of white (Figures 16.3, 18.3, 19.1, and 19.2). These great variations in designs appear to have been one of the primary areas of innovation for beadwork artists of this period. Such differences in the boldness of the designs gave each of the regional styles a very distinctive appearance that would have easily visually distinguished a person of one region from another.

2. The combination of bead colors used in beadwork of this time also varied between regions. These combinations could be fairly limited, as in the five color
combination seen in the Eshowe pieces (Figures 19.2, 23.1, and 23.2), or they could be more numerous as in the case of the seven color combination from the Maphumulo/Mvoti and Msinga objects (Figures 15.1, 15.2, and 14.1). In some instances, such as in the Eshowe and Msinga areas, there were rules that governed the placement of one color next to another. Yet in other areas, such as Maphumulo/Mvoti (Figures 15.1, 15.2, 16.1, 16.2, 20.1, 20.2, 20.3, 22.3, 23.3, 23.4 and 24.2), there did not appear to have been such strictly followed rules of color placement.

3. The beadworking methods and materials used in the different regions tended to be less variable than the motifs and color combinations, yet there were still variations. For instance, the beadfabric method appeared to have been very popular in the Estcourt region (Figures 23.5 and 23.6), but not so commonly used in the Msinga area. The materials used in these works could also differ slightly from region to region. Conical shaped, brass buttons appeared in items connected with the Maphumulo/Mvoti area (Figures 16.2 and 23.3), while rounded, brass buttons were found in the Msinga and Estcourt areas (Figures 14.1, 14.2, and 16.3-16.5) area. Moreover, translucent and striped beads were only used in some works from the Maphumulo/Mvoti works of this era (Figure 24.2). These variations in the beadworking methods and materials also helped to give the works of artists from different areas unique appearances.

4. The particular forms that various items took could sometimes be unique to each region during this period. For example, the skirts made of layers of fabric were only found in the Estcourt area (Figures 23.5 and 23.6) and the leg ornaments composed of multiple, bead-covered, tubular structures (Figures 19.1 and 19.2) were unique to the Eshowe region. There were also variations in the types of items worn by people of different social classes and of different degrees of wealth during this time. For example, courting aged men wore beadwork that was given to them by their suitor or suitors, but married men wore little, if any, beadwork. Courting aged girls wore items such as izigege.
Imitsha (Figure 23.4) to indicate their unmarried status, while married women wore items such as amatete (Figures 23.5-23.7) and amaxhama (Figure 22.1) to signify their martial status and the prestige of having given birth to a child. Differences in wealth were found to be displayed by the amount of beadwork worn by an individual. Additionally, their unique beadwork ornaments and regalia distinguished izangoma. Even the difference between those that wore beadwork and those who did not could signal who was a Christian and who is not, and alluded to the political leanings of these individuals. In these ways, differences in the types of ornaments created and worn were manifestations of the different divisions present within Zulu society of this period.

5. Finally, there were some of the aspects of the symbolism and functions of these works that also varied from area to area in this time. The best examples of this were the symbols of the isibaya that appeared solely in the work of the Estcourt area (Figures 23.5 and 23.6) and the use of lettering, as a symbol of status indicating that the artist was educated and/or a Christian (Figure 16.5), from the Hlubi work of the Estcourt region. Another example of this was seen in the possible symbolic associations, suggested by Wickler and Seibt, that alterations in the isishunka pattern (Figures 14.1, 17.1, and 17.2) of the Msinga area may have held. Finally, the function of beadwork as a means to help an artist to earn a living was seen only in the Taylor collection of works from Maphumulo/Mvoti region (Figures 16.1, 16.2, 23.3, 23.4, and 24.1).

As such, the differences between beadwork in different regions during the period of 1920-1940 was expressed in terms of variations in motifs, bead color combinations, beadworking methods and materials, forms, functions, and symbolism. While these differences culminated in various regional styles, they were also important as expressions of the multiple divisions that were occurring within Zulu society. These divisions included regional, social, financial, occupational, religious, and political differences that were part of the varied nature of Zulu ethnic identity in the period of 1920-1940.
3.4 FINAL SUMMARY: BEADWORK OF THE PERIOD OF 1920-1940

For the Zulu community, the period of 1920-1940 was characterized by a renewed appreciation of Zulu ethnic identity in both cultural and political terms. After the defeat of the kingdom in 1879 and before about 1920, the community suffered from both physical and political fragmentation, as the people and land were divided into smaller, isolated units. In addition, under colonial rule the king was prevented from fulfilling his role as a centralized leader. Missionary activities and capitalism were undermining traditional modes of authority, the family structure, and the self-sufficiency of the homestead unit. Furthermore, the colonial government began passing laws that increasingly restricted the Zulu people's access to political and economic power. But in the 1920s, the Zulu royal house, under the leadership of King Solomon, was able to regain the broad support of the Zulu people. King Solomon also organized the first Inkatha Movement directed toward the preservation of Zulu culture. Zulu intellectuals, moreover, began efforts to educate people about Zulu history and cultural traditions, so as to reinvigorate ethnic pride and inspire political unity. As part of these movements, an awareness and pride in cultural traditions, including beadwork, was promoted. This new awareness, combined with a slight improvement in economic conditions, led to more interest in beadwork as an art form. Still, because of the political motives associated with the promotion of ethnic awareness, beadwork and other expressions of traditional cultural became increasingly to be interpreted as having an underlying political significance. By wearing beadwork one was demonstrating a type of support for the forces of traditionalism, in opposition to the forces promoting westernization and European based Christianity.

The effects of the social and political climate were reflected both explicitly and implicitly in the beadwork of this period. In particular, the dramatic differences in regional variations in beadwork styles spoke of the fact that the regional identities that had existed
during the time of the Zulu kingdom, and were exaggerated by the subdivision of the
kingdom by colonial forces, continued to be important in Zulu society. By making and
wearing beadwork of different styles people clearly indicated their regional identities,
implying that these were important distinctions. The very different beadwork styles that
emerged also suggested that this art form experienced a reinvigoration. The range of these
styles in terms of the different motifs, bead color combinations, beadworking methods and
materials, forms, functions, and symbolism appeared to have been greater than in previous
times. This indicated that the period of 1920-1940 was one of innovation and
experimentation, probably stimulated by a renewed interest in this art form and a desire to
develop unique styles that could be associated with specific regions and/or generations.
The use of letters and pseudo-letters in the neckband of the one Hlubi work indicated that,
in spite of some attempts to stop the forces of change in Zulu society, western style
education and the missionary activities that accompanied it were having an influence in
Zulu society. Finally, the fact that the works in the one style from the Maphumulo/Mvoti
region were made to be sold (Figures 15.1, 16.1-16.3, 23.3, 23.4, and 24.1), provided the
earliest evidence for a beadwork artist becoming specialized and using her work to
financially support herself. Although this economic use of completed beadwork items
may have possibly dated back further, this was the first evidence for this practice,
suggesting the increasing impact of a capitalist based economy where one must earn
money to survive. So, the variations present in society and the impact of changes on Zulu
society could be seen in the diversification of styles, motifs, and functions of the
beadwork.

Yet, it was obvious that the beadwork of this time remained rooted in a common
artistic and cultural heritage. When comparing all of the various beadwork styles, it could
be seen that there were similarities in the types of motifs used, methods and materials
used, bead color combinations employed, the types of items made, as well as in the
functions and symbolism of the objects. Beadwork revealed that Zulu society was still stratified on the basis of age, martial status, and wealth; spoke about social rules and the common concerns of the artists; reflected the importance of traditional religion in the lives of people; and showed a common aesthetic for the body and its ornamentation. Beadwork of this period showed itself to be a living art form that was rooted in the traditions of the original kingdom, yet was responding to changes in society. Overall, the characteristics of beadwork from the period of 1920-1940 showed it to be an art form that: 1) addressed the common aesthetic, cultural, social, political, economic, and religious needs of the Zulu people as a whole; 2) helped to provide a sense of unity and identity for the people; and 3) showed how this identity was being adapted to changing conditions.
NOTES

1. For more detailed information about these political and social movements refer to Chapter 1, pages 7-14.

2. See pages 173-176 for a description of how beadwork functions as part of the dress and regalia of izangoma. For information about the spiritual aspects of the dress of women see especially pages 160-161, 169-170, 308-310, and 336-338.

3. The word "pattern", used here in the context of the beadwork of the Msinga region, refers to specific color combinations and orders in which the colors are placed, because these two aspects of the designs of the Msinga works are inseparable. In contrast, Jolles separates these elements and uses the words "color scheme" and "pattern" to describe them (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 42).

4. The marriage skirt refers to the black, leather skirt (isidwaba) traditionally worn only by married women.

5. See pages 150-151 for a description of the manner in which color symbolism is applied in the Eshowe region.

6. An umgingo is called an umbhijo in the Msinga area.

7. See Appendix A, pages 490-491, for information about the drawn method and other methods used for creating glass beads.

8. Both of these works are from the Taylor collection at the Natal Museum. This collection has an unusual provenance that is discussed in detail on pages 151-152.

9. Amagabane is the term given for these works according to the records of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum, but this term generally refers to necklaces with more than one tab. Necklaces with a single, small tab, such as those seen in Figures 16.4 and 16.5, are usually referred to as ujibili (pl. ozibili), isibhebhe (pl. izibhebhe), or incwadi (pl. izincwadi).

10. The use of a black field in the context of beadwork that carries messages is generally associated with a negative message, for example, signaling the end of a relationship (personal communication, Josta Twala, Sabina Khumalo, Nomusa Mkwanazi, Monique Mkhwanazi, beadwork artists, May 1997).

11. The comparison between this motif and the clubs on playing cards is supported by the fact that when asked the Zulu word for rhomboid, Mrs. Mpugose and Mrs. Sukethini, beadwork artists from the Eshowe region, responded with the word umcijwane. According to the Zulu/English dictionary complied by Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana, and Vilakazi, the word umcijwane is used to designate the diamond on playing cards (119).
12. The Zulu/English dictionary compiled by Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana, and Vilakazi, indicates that the word *isithembu* also designates a plurality of wives or qualities or characteristics of the Thembu people (791).

13. This is a theory that is being proposed by the present writer.

14. Although Vilakazi's observations were not made until 1962, Bryant also witnessed a similar ritual in his 1949 account, *The Zulu People*. This strongly suggests that this ritual has changed little over time. Vilakazi's description of this courting practice is more detailed than is Bryant's.

15. The collections surveyed for this study are the Killie Campbell Collection at the University of Natal in Durban, South Africa; the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa; The Zululand Historical Museum in Eshowe, South Africa; The NPA Museum in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa; The Local History Museum in Durban, South Africa; The KwaZulu Cultural Museum in Ondini, South Africa, the collection of Paul Mikula and a second anonymous private collection.

16. See note 11.

17. See pages 129-134 for a discussion the *isishunka* pattern and its symbolism.

18. The *ububendle* plant (*Gazania longiscapa*) is a shrub with edible yellow flowers and dangling leaves.

19. In her book, *Social Systems of the Zulus* (1936), Krige combines observations from several different areas in Zulu territory. It is therefore difficult to access to which regional traditions her observations apply.

20. Refer to note 11.

21. For a discussion of the circumstances surrounding the works donated to the Natal Museum by Mr. Taylor see pages 151-152.

22. *Izidwaba* are made from the hides of cows. As cows are closely associated with the ancestors, Klopper asserts that these skirts are used to provide a physically and spiritually protective shield for the regions of a woman's body involved in reproduction (Klopper, "The Art of Zulu-Speakers in Northern Natal-Zululand" 155).

23. It is uncertain whether these vertically hanging lengths of beadwork were part of the original apron and skirt or whether they were added later. These types of lengths of beadwork do not appear on the other aprons from the Estcourt region observed by this researcher.

24. Although the collection notes of the Zululand Historical Museum place this work in the Eshowe region, this writer believes the work should be provenanced to the Hlubi style of the Estcourt region. This belief is based on a comparison of the bead types, color combinations, motifs, and the use of brass buttons in this work with those works from the KwaZulu Cultural Museum seen in Figures 16.3-16.5 and 18.3.
25. The cattle kraal is considered a highly sacred place and women are generally not allowed into the kraal.

26. Cattle are the most important vehicles used for communing with the ancestors (amadlozi). They are slaughtered as sacrifices to the amadlozi on special occasions. In return for all of this attention, the amadlozi help their descendants to prosper. Some cattle, especially those of old clan stock, are believed to be the possession of the amadlozi. These cows are either kept at the homestead or are exchanged between families at weddings to symbolize the mixing of the ancestors (see Chapter 1, footnote 5). Cows are, therefore, extremely important in Zulu religious thought. To this day, Zulu people will still keep one or more cows if they can afford them. While in South Africa, the writer even observed a cow being kept in a suburban township neighborhood.

27. In addition to evidence presented by Berglund and Ngubane, beadwork artists Josta Twala, Sabina Khumalo, Nomusa Mkhwanazi, and Monique Mkhwanazi confirmed the connections between red and white and the ancestors (personal communication, May 1997).

28. For example, recently diviners associated with independent churches have added to blue to their dress and regalia. See Chapter 5, pages 339-340, for information about the symbolic functions of these blue beads.

29. After taking over Zululand, the British imposed a hut-tax system designed to, "substitute the civilizing influence of wage labour for the barbaric demands of Zulu military service" (Guy, "The Destruction and Reconstruction of Zulu Society" 173). In reality, the hut tax served as a check on the growth of the homestead economy, because the greater the wealth of the homestead the more women and children it contained and the greater the number of individual homes. It also forced men to move outside of Zululand to seek employment where they would be paid in money and could, in turn, pay their taxes. (See also note 29, Chapter 2) This further decreased homestead production and the ability of the homestead to remain self-sufficient.

An increasing presence of missionaries also began to disrupt the traditional Zulu way of life. Although the number of Zulu people converting to Christianity was comparatively low, some people did leave their traditional homes to go to live at the mission stations. Once converted, people gave up their traditional customs and kept apart from the traditionalists. The mission stations also worked to undermine traditional methods of social control and discipline. This is because the mission stations often took in people who, for whatever reason, were being sanctioned by their communities. These mission policies made it more difficult to uphold traditional societial rules. Thereby, the presence of missionaries also added to the disruption of traditional Zulu life.
CHAPTER 4
BEADWORK: 1940-60

Zulu beadwork from the period of 1940-1960 is the subject of this chapter. I. A brief overview of the historical circumstances that impacted the beadwork of the period is presented and then the artwork is discussed. II. The art objects are examined, within categories based upon where the various objects were worn on the body, in terms of both their forms and functions. III. Following this section, an overall discussion of the similarities and differences in beadwork of this time is presented. IV. In the final summary of this chapter, the constants and variables discovered in the art are related to the historical conditions that help to define the diversity and limits of the concept of Zulu ethnicity for this period.

4.1 HISTORICAL EVENTS: AN OVERVIEW

The period of 1940-1960 brought new challenges for the Zulu royal house and community. In 1948 King Cyprian succeeded King Solomon. Although the first Inkatha Movement had died with King Solomon in 1933, attempts to promote a Zulu ethnic identity continued. To this end, efforts to raise an awareness of Zulu history and cultural traditions were sustained by members of the royal house as well as Zulu intellectuals. The establishment of a yearly Zulu national festival to honor King Shaka in 1954 and the
publication of more works about various aspects of Zulu history and cultural traditions were some of the results of these efforts.

The National Party came to power in South Africa in 1948 and began enacting the series of laws and policies that formed the apartheid system of government. This new system of government led to even further racial discrimination against and exploitation of the people of the Zulu community. With the passage of the Bantu Authorities Act, most of the black population was required to live in homeland areas, where they were allowed a certain degree of self rule under the supervision of the white government. The laws of the apartheid system also restricted the ability of black South Africans, especially women, to travel; thereby, leaving many women in the rural regions living a semi-traditional way of life. These limitations on travel acted to reinforce the regional divisions in Zulu society that were already in place.

As such, the historical events of the period of 1940-1960 impacted the art of beadworking both negatively and positively. On one hand, beadwork was promoted by attempts to raise awareness of the historical and cultural traditions that underlie this art form from within the Zulu community. Furthermore, the policies of the apartheid system kept women in the rural areas where they were more likely to learn, practice, and pass down this art form. These policies also reinforced the regional divisions that had earlier given rise to a variety of beadworking styles. On the other hand, the family and economic setting in which beadwork functioned continued to suffer a decline under the apartheid system, discouraging the development of beadwork. In addition, missionary activities continued to impact the development of this art form. Individuals who converted to Christianity often gave up wearing any form of beadwork, while young women who were educated at mission schools sometimes incorporated lettering and words into their beaded works of art. As such, there were a variety of forces acting upon the Zulu beadwork of this time.
Beadworking, as an art form, appears to have flourished during this period. Artists continued to experiment with new color combinations and motifs in the creation of new styles. These styles not only visually distinguished the people of one region from another but also distinguished people of different generations. While people continued to wear neck, limb, and waist ornaments as part of their traditionalist dress, these items became larger and more complex. Moreover, ornaments worn on the torso of both men and women and beaded works that were worn on the head or carried also seem to appear more frequently in collections of beadwork dated from this period. As such, the beadwork of this time is discussed in the following categories: 4.2.1) neck ornaments, 4.2.2) limb ornaments, 4.2.3) torso ornaments, 4.2.4) waist ornaments, and 4.2.5) dancing stick, hatbands and hat pins, church regalia, household items, and commercial beadwork.

In spite of these changes, the functions of beadwork remained similar to those of the previous period. In particular, beadwork of this time helped to signify the wealth and status of a person, acted as a means of social control by serving as a mediator between courting men and women, provided spiritual and physical protection for the body, identified an individual's religious and political affiliations, and communicated information about a person's region of origin. Moreover, in the case of izangoma, beadwork helped to enhance the wearer's abilities to perform healing and divination rituals and served to advertise these abilities. Still, the artists of this time developed unique beadworking styles that set their works apart from the predecessors. Thus, beadwork of this period, as in others, reveals the unifying elements of Zulu ethnicity as well as the diversity within this identity, and how this concept evolved over time.

Information about the Zulu beadwork of the period of 1940-60 is much more abundant than for that of previous eras. There is a relatively plentiful supply of beadwork
from this time in museum and private collections in South Africa. In the collections surveyed, the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present day), the Natal Museum (1880-present day), the NPA Museum (1950-present day), the Zululand Historical Museum (1930-present day), the KwaZulu Cultural Museum (1880-present day), the Local History Museum (1870-present day), and two private collections (1930-present day) all contain beadwork items that are dated to this period. Interviews with beadwork artists Josta Twala, Sabina Khumalo, Nomusa Mkhwanazi, Monique Mkhwanazi, Mrs. Sukethini and Mrs. Mpugose; bead trader and collector Howard Balcolm; and field collector Mapastoli Mzila were also important sources of information about Zulu beadworking of this period. There is, additionally, a fair amount of library and archival materials available that concerns the beadwork of this time. As popular interest in Zulu culture both within and outside of Zulu society increased, articles about Zulu beadwork began to appear in the popular press. Newspapers of the time published articles on this subject matter by Twala and Dhlomo. The academic work of Twala, Wickler and Seibt, Jolles, and Morris and Preston-Whyte also covers aspects of the beadwork of this period. Furthermore, the sociological study of Zulu culture conducted by Vilakazi provides insights into the culture surrounding the beadwork. Yet, there are still gaps in a full appreciation of the range of Zulu beadwork that was being produced between 1940 and 1960. In particular, evidence gathered by the writer relating to the beadwork of the regions of Southern Natal, Estcourt, and Ndwedwe is too scant to develop a full picture of the beadworking styles of these areas from this period.

A. NECK ORNAMENTS

Beadwork neck ornaments, in various forms, continued to be a popular part of the traditionalist dress of the Zulu people during the years of 1940-1960. As in the past, these
types of works were worn by courting aged men and women and married women. In addition, more married men began to don these and other types of beadwork items. As more men began to be involved in migrant labor, women began to use beadwork to communicate with their absent husbands. Whereas in the old days women generally stopped giving their husbands items of beadwork after they were married, women increasingly used beadwork to send messages to their husbands when their husbands started to leave the homestead for extended periods of time to perform migrant labor² (Mthethwa 30). As such, during this period it was not uncommon to find married men wearing beadwork.

Beadwork neck ornaments of this period, as in the years between 1920-1940, assumed five basic forms: 1) necklaces made from multiple strings of beads and hollow structures, known by various names depending on their exact forms and regions of origin, such as ujantshi (pl. ojantshi), iyelasi (pl. oyelasi), isijumba (pl. izijumba) and isipalana (pl. izipalana); 2) tab style necklaces, also known by a variety of names, including ulimi (pl. izilimi), isibhebhe (pl. izibhebhe), ujiza, and ugcemeshe, depending on the exact form and region from which they came; 3) choker style necklaces, called ipasi (pl. amapasi) and ungqi (pl. ongqi); 4) tubular style beadwork necklaces, referred to as umgingqo (pl. imigingqo) and umbhijo (pl. imibhijo); and 5) necklaces made from a single or double strand of beads, called ucu (pl. ocu). These items could be worn singly, in multiples, or in any combination. This allowed for variety in the dress of the individual.

4.2.1.1 Ujantshi (pl. Ojantshi), Iyelasi (pl. Oyelasi), Isijumba (pl. Izijumba), and Isipalana (Izipalana):
Multiple String Necklaces and Necklaces made from Hollow Structures

Necklaces made from multiple strings of beads were very popular in the Msinga and Maphumulo/Mvoti regions during this period. Artists in these regions created a wide variety of different necklace forms using this method. According to Twala and Mthethwa,
some of the forms that these multiple string works assumed have a symbolic value. For instance, a necklace form that features strands of beads formed into hollow, tubula, structures at several places along the length represents a beer strainer (Twala, "Fascinating Secrets of Zulu Love Letters" 5). Works in this form were worn by a young man as an invitation to his friends to come to his home for a beer drinking party (Mthethwa 36). In another example, a necklace composed of a hollow tube of beads is made to represent a python. According to Twala, this conveys the message, "I have been waiting all these months coiled up like a python"("Fascinating Secrets of Zulu Love Letters" 5). Mthethwa interprets such works as, "Ngiyamamba indleni kwenu, uma ungaqibulali ngizokubulaba ("I am a mamba inside your bedroom, if you do not kill me, I will kill you"); meaning, "Since we are now lovers, you had better make love to me or else I shall make love to you" (Mthethwa 36). Other examples of multiple string works are the ujantshi necklace seen in Figure 25.1, the chief's necklace (iyelasi) in Figure 25.2, and the isijumba necklace in Figure 25.3.

The beadwork of the Msinga region from this time shows the use of six color combinations: isishunka, isithembu, isilomi, isiphalafini, umzansi, and isinyolovane (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 43; Jolles, "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork" 48). The isishunka color combination, described by Jolles in the 1993 article, "Traditional Beadwork of the Msinga Area", and discussed on the previous chapter, is used in the same manner as it was employed in the previous twenty year period. Still, its popularity begins to decline during the later part of this period. The second color combination, isithembu, appears to begin to develop in the 1940s and can be found being used in many works dated to the 1950s. As seen in the ujantshi (literally meaning railway line) in Figure 25.1, from the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present) and dated to 1950-60 on the basis of collection notes, the isithembu color combination involves the use of five colors: light green, yellow, red, black,
and light blue (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 43). Three of these colors, red, light blue, and black, can be found in the *isishunka* color combination convention; although the red used in *isithembu* is always a bright red and not the dull, layered *umgazi* of the *isishunka* convention. Unlike the *isishunka* style, the placement of the colors in the *isithembu* style features simple strings of colors in fixed positions with no complex rules governing their placement.

The *ujantshi* in Figure 25.1 is a good example of the *isithembu* pattern. This work is composed of beads formed into a hollow, squared tube of beadwork. The necklace is decorated with equal sized sections of blocks of color running down the length of the necklace in the order of light blue, green, yellow, red, and black. All of the beads in this piece are about size 00 glass beads made by the drawn method with a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. This is the proper combination of colors and order of placement for the *isithembu* pattern. The possible symbolism of this color combination is unknown. Yet, while the surface design of this work is relatively simple, the beadwork technique used to construct the work is complex. Using nothing more than beads and string, the artist created a three dimensional structure that imbues the object with both weight and texture and adds a subtle complexity to the work. In this way, the form of the beadwork complements, but does not overwhelm, the decoration of the object and makes this *ujantshi* effectively attractive.

A second example of a multiple string neck ornament from the Msinga region, seen in Figure 25.2, shows an extravagant use of beads and beadwork that helped to display the prestige of the person who wore it. This work can be found in the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum, where it is labeled as a chief's necklace, given the name *iyelasi*, (pl. *oyelasi*), and dated to the 1940s. It has a neckband made of beads attached to a fiber backing. The central region features white beads and the side areas are done in white, green, light blue, black, and red beads. Hanging in the center of the necklace there

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is a half oval shaped structure made of loops of strings of beads. The three outer loops are joined at three places along the length. These combined loops are decorated with equal sized sections of colors. Going around this band, the colors appear in the following order: green, light blue, black, red, white, green, light blue, black, red, yellow, green, white, red, black, light blue, green, white, red, black, and light blue. The loops in the interior of this oval form are white, except for the region in the very center where they feature red and blue beads. In this section of many inset loops, the centralized position of the red beads flanked by the blue beads creates the impression of a set of vertical, blue stripes on either side of a vertical, red stripe. As in the work discussed above, all of the drawn glass beads in this piece are about size 00 and have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The color combination used in this work is known as isinyolovane, meaning a thorough mixture (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 43). Jolles defines this pattern as, "any combination of colors that is not consistent with one of the above (other) schemes" ("Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 43). When worn on the body, the bright colors would have stood out against the skin of the wearer, and the looping strands of beads that form the center part of the necklace would have draped across the chest and served to highlight the muscularity of this area of the body. Overall, it is an extravagant and unusual work that would have set its owner apart.

Still not all multiple string necklaces produced in the Msinga region were composed of combinations of bead colors. At times, artists used just one color of beads in their works. An example of such an item is the isijumba (pl. izijumba) (meaning "large package") necklace from the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present) seen in Figure 253. This work is dated to this period and provenanced to the Msinga region on the basis of the form of the work, types of beads and buttons used, and on collection notes. Necklaces in the isijumba form are composed of multiple strings of beads that are
joined at one or more places along their length, forming bunches called *izizumbulu* (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 48). In this example, the strings of beads are all blue in color and are grouped into bunches at twenty-two places along their length. Two, rounded, brass buttons mark each of these groupings. The effect created by the artist is very elegant. The bunching of the beads gives the work a richness and the brass buttons help to draw attention to the fullness of the bundles. This Msinga *isijumba* was worn by a courting age or married woman, and it would have served as an understated expression of the wealth of the individual who wore it. The grouping of strings of beads into bundles can also be seen on the necklace from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region seen in Figure 25.4, called *isipalana* (pl. *izipalana*). But instead of grouping the strings into bundles, like the Msinga work, the artist from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region grouped her strings into elaborate, hollow, beadwork structures. These types of bunches are called *izihlahla* and are symbolic of the bushes brides stand behind when they are preparing for their wedding ceremony.

Thus, beadwork necklaces made by the multiple string method assumed a variety of forms and were worn by a diversity of types of people during the period of 1940-1960. But regardless of the exact form and the type of person who wore them, they served as indicators of the wearer’s wealth and social status, region of origin, and political and religious affiliations. And when given as gifts from a woman to her suitor or husband, these types of works were used as tokens of affection and/or to communicate messages about the state of the personal relationship between the two, thereby acting as a form of social control.

4.2.1.2 *Ulimi* (pl. *Itilimi*), *Isibhebhe* (pl. *Itibhebhe*), *Ujiza*, and *Ugcemeshe*: Tab Style Necklaces

As with the multiple string necklaces of this period, tab style necklaces came in a variety of shapes and sizes, differing from each other on the basis of the exact forms they
assumed, the region from which they came, and/or their function. Tab style necklaces are distinguished by having one or more panels of beadfabric attached to a neckband composed of a string or band of beads. The beadfabric tabs on these necklaces were done in a range of sizes and shapes and could appear alone or in multiples. One example of a very long tab can be seen on the ulimi ("tongue") necklace in Figure 26.1. This work, from the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present), was made, according to collection notes, in the Msinga region in about 1950 and is an example of the use of the isishunka pattern. The isibhebhe in Figure 26.2, from the collection of the Zululand Historical Museum (1930-present), is an example of a necklace with a wide, beadfabric tab. According to museum records, this work was made in the Eshowe region during the 1950s. It features a design in red, blue, black, dark green, and pink beads on a white background in a style that is typical for works of its time and place. Also from the Eshowe region according to museum notes, the isibhebhe in Figure 26.3, from the collection of the Zululand Historical Museum (1930-present), is an example of a necklace with multiple beadfabric tabs. This work has an elaborate neckband of white beads, that is designed to fit snugly around the neck of the wearer, on which four tabs are placed. The tabs are ornamented with three different designs based on the geometric units of the rhomboid and triangle in blue, black, pink, and red beads, in keeping with other works from the Eshowe region of the period. From these examples a sense of the range of forms that tab style necklaces of this period assumed can be seen.

One particularly interesting example of a tab style necklace can be observed in Figure 26.4. The strings of beads that would have secured the tab around the neck are no longer extant so, unfortunately, only the tab of this work remains. This work is housed in the KwaZulu Cultural Museum. According to accession records, it was made in the Nongoma region about 1950. It features a large tab in the form of an openwork beadfabric triangle with two, smaller triangles placed along the edges near its apex. This
tab was originally placed on a string of white beads. It is composed of red, white, green, and black glass beads of about size 00 made by the drawn method. All of these beads are round with slightly flattened sides, have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. They are strung on imported cording.

In this work, called an *ujiza*, the triangular shape of the tab informs its use as an ornament that signifies a young woman's readiness for courting and to announce engagement. This symbolism is connected to the fact that the Zulu word for triangle is the same as the word for heart, *inhliziyo*, indicating that this work deals with affairs of the heart (personal communication, Josta Twala, Sabina Khumalo, Nomusa Mkhwanazi and Monique Mkhwanazi, beadwork artists, May 1997). In practice, a young woman put on this ornament when she began to court. When she found the young man that she wanted to marry she had one of her age grade members give the strand of white beads that held the pendant around her neck to the parents of her suitor. She also sent the *ujiza* to her age grade leaders to indicate that she wanted to give her heart to the young man. If all was approved, she would then make a new neckband for her *ujiza* and a matching *ujiza* for her boyfriend. This was a major event in the lives of young people and their families. After the interview with beadwork artists Josta Twala, Sabina Khumalo, Nomusa Mkhwanazi and Monique Mkhwanazi, an older man fondly recalled to the writer the day that he received his *ujiza* with glee. He spoke of and demonstrated how he danced and danced ("Ngiyagjima, gjima") on the day that he got his *ujiza*. From this point until after the marriage ceremonies the couple wore matching *ujiza* to advertise their love and engagement. In this way, the triangular shape of the ornament symbolized the hearts of the courting individuals, as an expression of their emotional commitments to each other.

The symbolism of the colors of this work is also important. The necklace is decorated with a series of concentric triangles in red, green, black, and white. These are the colors of the beadwork of the Nongoma region. As this region is where the Zulu royal
house and the founding clans of the Zulu kingdom reside, these colors are associated with high prestige. These colors also have associations with spiritual concepts. According to Nongoma area beadwork artists Josta Twala, Sabina Khumalo, Nomusa Mkhwanazi, Monique Mkhwanazi, Mrs. Sukethini and Mrs. Mpugose, red and white are colors strongly associated with the ancestors (personal communication, May 1997). Axel Berglund, writing in 1976 and working in the Maphumulo/Mvoti area (Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism 364), and Harriet Ngubane, writing in 1977 and working in the Ndwedwe area (Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine 117), also found similar connections. According to Berglund, "shades (ancestors), like the cattle of the underworld, are thought to be white" (Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism 371). Moreover, Ngubane wrote that white represents the goodness of life as well as purity (Ngubane, Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine 127). Ngubane asserted that red is the color of transformation and transition which mediates between the opposites of white and black (Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine 126). This notion of the association of red with the idea of transition is also shown in an interview conducted by Berglund with a diviner. In this interview, Berglund asked a diviner why her apprentice was dressed in red and she replied, "my children must wear red because they are blood clots which have not yet been born" (Berglund, Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism PL. II between pages 164-165). In other words, the diviner was indicating that her apprentice was in a stage of transition from a novice to a diviner. Ngubane and Berglund also have found that black has special symbolic significance. The black is the color of "excretion, death and darkness" (Ngubane, Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine 120). Thereby, black, red and white represent various stages of the life cycle (Ngubane, Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine 127). Ngubane has further discovered that green has important symbolic connections. It is associated with, "the grass that is food for the sacrificial animal - food which sustained its life" and the color of, "the gall as food for the ancestors" (Ngubane, Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine 125).
short, it is a color that symbolizes the continuation of the life cycle and is used to invoke the presence of the *amadlozi*. In combination, the colors white, red, green, and black represent, then, the cycle of life that is sustained through the cooperation of those in both the spiritual and physical realms. Thus, the symbolism of this *ujiza* speaks of the continuation of life that will be made possible with the marriage of the two people. It is also of interest to note that the symbolic connections of these colors with spiritual concepts, especially white and red, are be found throughout Zululand and across time, as evidenced in the popularity of white and red beads with diviners since at least 1880 in all regions\(^6\). Yet, the color combination of black, white, red, and green is only found in the Nongoma area (but does not change over time as do the color combinations seen in the beadwork of other regions), although these colors, used with others, are routinely popular in all areas over all periods of time.

A second set of tab style necklaces that are of special interest are the examples that are seen in Figures 26.5, 26.6, and 26.7. These works, from the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum, were made, according to museum records, in the Msinga region in the 1950s and are called *ugcemeshe*. They represent a relatively rare stylistic variation in the beadwork of the Msinga area that features complex arrangements of triangles and rhomboids in the *isishunka, isithembu, isiphalafini, and isilomi* color combinations set on a solid colored background. At times, artists working in this style also incorporated zigzagging lines, such as those seen in work in Figure 26.5. This stylistic variation was developed by artists living in the southwest region of the Msinga area, but traveled northward where it came to be used by members of the Bathembu clan using their *isithembu* color combination (Jolles, "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork" 48). Indeed, according to museum records, women from the Bathembu clan made these examples.
On the three *ugcemeshe* in Figures 26.5, 26.6, and 26.7 the *isilomi* color combination was used. Based on the beadwork in the collections surveyed, the *isilomi* and *isiphalafini* color combinations first began to appear in the beadwork from the Msinga region dated to about 1950. Research conducted by Jolles indicated that these combinations probably originated in the region of the Mbaso clan, which is situated in the middle of the Msinga district and north of the Tugela River (Jolles, "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork" 50). The *isilomi* and *isiphalafini* color combinations are very similar. *Isilomi* style works use six colors in the following order: dark blue, light blue, light green, white, red, and black. *Isiphalafini* simply leaves out the light blue so that the colors follow the sequence dark blue, light green, white, red, and black. The *isiphalafini* convention is relatively rare (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 47).

The decorations on the tabs of the necklaces in Figures 26.5, 26.6, and 26.7 are all complex designs based on arrangements of triangles and rhomboids. The designs in all three of these works are symmetrically developed around both the horizontal and vertical axes and are placed on a white background. They are also all made with glass beads of about size 00 manufactured by the drawn method with a simple body structure, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. Instead of the blocks of color frequently used on beadwork from the Msinga region, the elaborate arrangements of triangles and rhomboids made the designs on these works were quite distinctive. While the color combinations would have linked the artists of these pieces to the Msinga region, the designs would have easily identified the artist as having come from a particular area within that district. As such, the tabs on these necklaces are good examples of the ways in which artists from the Msinga region explored the design possibilities of the established color combinations.
Thus, the tab style necklaces of this era were a very diverse group of works. They assumed many different forms, including works with long tabs, wide tabs, a single tab, or multiple tabs. The various bead color combinations and design motifs reflect the variations in the beadwork of different regions during this time. Finally, the ujiza from the Nongoma area shows how these necklaces could not only function in a decorative manner, but could also have symbolic functions. The variety of forms developed within a theme, as seen with these tab style necklaces, reveals the creativity of the beadwork artists of the period.

4.2.1.3 Ipasi (pl. Amapasi) and Ungqi (pl. Ongqi): Choker Style Necklaces

A third type of necklace seen in Zulu beadwork of this period is choker style necklaces, called amapasi and ongqi. These works were made to fit tightly around the neck and were usually put on singly or with other types of necklaces, but could also be worn in multiples. Unlike tab style necklaces and necklaces made from multiple strings of beads, choker style necklaces only came in one form. Yet, like other beadwork objects, they were ornamented with a variety of color combinations and patterns that were linked to the time and region in which they were made. Amapasi were worn in many different regions of Zululand, including the Nongoma and Msinga regions. They were made by sewing beads onto strips of fiber. In all of the examples observed these strips are four beads in width. Groups of these strips, ranging anywhere between four and ten, were then attached at a number of places along their lengths to form a band of beadwork. The beads in each strip were sewn on the fiber in such a way that, when combined, they formed patterns. At one end of these necklaces there were sets of size two beads that ran along the vertical edge. On the other end there were a series of loops that were meant to go around the large beads to secure the item to the neck. At times, these works were also decorated with a small tab.
Examples of three *amanapasi* from the Nongoma region in collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum are pictured in Figures 27.1, 27.2, and 27.3. Based upon the types of beads, stringing materials, patterns, styles, and wear of these pieces all three of these works were probably made in the 1950s. They were made by the method described above and are ornamented with small beadfabric tabs. The *ipasi* in Figure 27.1 consists of eight, bead-covered strips of fiber and a beadfabric tab. The strips are secured together at several places along their lengths and are woven into a solid, beadfabric structure on the left hand of the work. The body of the neckband is decorated in red, green, black, white, blue, and yellow beads. The addition of the yellow and/or blue beads into the red, black, green, and white color combination usually seen in the Nongoma area indicates that this item came from the Ceza and/or Mahlabatini region in the northern part of the Nongoma area. Aside from the connections with certain proverbs in the context of courting and their associations with the Ceza/Mahlabatini area, it is unfortunately unclear what, if any, additional symbolism these colors may have. The beads in the body of the work are all glass beads made by the drawn method. They are about size 00 and are rounded in form with slightly flattened sides. They all have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The pattern formed with these beads is a series of rhomboid shapes interspersed with triangles. Along the horizontal center of the work there is a line of small rhomboids. The two on either end are blue and the rest are black. Surrounding these rhomboids is a set of ten, red triangles. A group of fourteen, yellow triangles are interspersed around these red triangles, once again forming a rhomboid. A black line frames these larger rhomboids, so that they touch each other at their side tips. In the triangular spaces formed by this series of rhomboids there are green triangles into which smaller, red triangles are placed. The beadfabric structure that supports the tab is made of white beads and the fastener beads are all black. The tab has a design of two triangles, mirror-imaged on the horizontal axis. These triangles are made up of diagonal
stripes of green, red, blue, and black beads. Overall it is a very visually complex work that combines active, zigzagging lines with stable, centralized, rhomboid shaped elements. The two other amapasi in Figures 27.2 and 27.3 are also ornamented in the colors of the Ceza/Mahlabatini region and feature designs based on the elements of the triangle and rhomboid. The necklace in Figure 27.2 is adorned with a design of alternating triangles in layers of green, black, red, and yellow on a white background. Off of the lower, right edge there is a beadfabric tab featuring a small, red triangle surrounded by three, smaller, green triangles within a larger, black triangle; all placed on a white background. Similarly, the necklace in Figure 27.3 has a tab with an identical design in yellow, red, and blue beads. The neckband of the work is decorated with a series of rhomboids in blue and black stripes between which are placed a series of mirror-imaged triangles of red and yellow stripes. All of the elements of the design in this work are placed on a white background. Like the necklace Figure 27.1, the amapasi in Figures 27.2 and 27.3 feature stable designs in red, green, white, yellow, and blue beads that spoke of the wearer's prestigious heritage from the Nongoma region.

Although women sometimes wear amapasi, they were frequently given as gifts to suitors or husbands. So, the geometric pattern of these works may be related to that function. As discussed above, the triangle is associated with the heart and, therefore, emotions. As such, the triangles on the tabs of these necklaces may be associated with a message about affairs of the heart. According to Morris and Preston-Whyte, the rhomboid motif, "is said to represent a shield, which symbolizes protection" (51). This symbolism of the rhomboid in the beadwork of the Nongoma area was also confirmed by this writer in an interview with beadwork artists Josta Twala, Sabina Khumalo, Nomusa Mkhwanazi, and Monique Mkhwanazi in May of 1997. It is a motif that was very common in this region of Zululand, for instance as seen in the works in Figures 29.1 and 34.3. When combined, the use of the triangle and rhomboid motifs, as see on the ipasi in
Figure 273, may possibly convey notions of protection for a loved one; which would have been in keeping with its function as a gift of affection. When worn, the design on this necklace would have kept the eye moving around the work. The zigzagging lines created by the white outlines of the rhomboids keep the gaze of the viewer in motion, while the rhomboids return the eyes to the center of the work. The repeating pattern prevents the design from becoming too complex, and the centrally placed blue rhomboids and the tab help to direct the viewer toward the center of the work. This focusing of the attention to the central portion of the necklace would have also helped to draw notice to the face of the person wearing the object. This ipasi, therefore, served not only to not communicate a message of affection, as part of a mechanism of social control regulating the relationship between a young man and woman, but also to aesthetically enhance the neck and face of the person who wore it. In addition, it was a sign of the wearer’s wealth and social status, and was an indicator of his or her region of origin and political and religious affiliations.

4.2.1.4 Umgingqo (pl. Imigingqo) and Umbhijo (pl. Imibhijo): Tubular Style Necklaces

*Umgingqo* or *umbhijo* are thick tubular necklaces made by wrapping beads around a fiber core using the *gongqoloza* method. *Imigingqo* and *imibhijo* of this time were identical in form to the seen as part of the beadwork of previous eras. Based on the museum collections surveyed, this form of necklace, worn by courting and married men and women, was particularly popular in the Msinga region during the period of 1940-1960. These works were worn either closely or loosely around the neck, and could be worn singly, in multiples, and/or in combination with other types of neck ornaments.

Two examples of *imibhijo* from the Msinga region that are part of the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) can be seen in Figures 28.1 and 28.2. The museum records indicate that these works were created in the Msinga area in the 1950s. Both of the works were made by the *gongqoloza* method, described in Appendix A, using
rounded, glass beads with slightly flattened sides. The beads were all made by the drawn method and are about size 00. They all have a simple body structure, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. Both of these imibhijo are adorned with designs of zigzag lines and triangles in established Msinga color combinations and placed on a white background. This type of patterning is consistent with works from the Msinga sub-style that was developed north of the Tugela River and later brought further south. These works were produced by artists from the Bathembu clan, as with the ugcemesho of this sub-style discussed above (see Figures 26.5, 26.6, and 26.7). The necklace in Figure 28.1 appears to feature the isinyolovane color combination, as the color combination does not comply with the isishunka, isithembu, isilomi, isiphalafini, isinyolovane, or umzansi styles. In this piece a design of dark blue, light blue, light green, red, yellow, and black is placed on a white background. The design on the work is arranged symmetrically along the length of the necklace. In the center there is a black stripe of beads flanked by two red stripes. On either side of the red stripes there is a small white area followed by a set of zigzagging lines in the isilomi colors. The colors of these lines are green, light blue, black, red, yellow, and light green. Two regions of white flank these lines on either side of the necklace. In these white areas three, dark blue triangles are set so that their tips are touching. The triangles form a tripartite, clover-like motif. At the ends of this necklace, there are sets of zigzagging, red lines into which are placed a series of black rhomboids. Seen as a whole, the designs on the necklace are a dramatic combination of rapid and slow lines. The stripes in the center of the work are slow, stable lines that forcefully focus the attention of the viewer into the center of the umbhijo. The rapid, zigzagging lines on either side of these stripes add a sense of energy to the item. This is balanced by the peaceful, white areas on which the stable configurations of triangles are placed. The work is then finished off by a second set of vigorous, zigzagging lines in the strong colors of red and black. Overall, the artist alternated regions of rapid and slow lines around the necklace,
creating an extremely uneven rhythm around the work in spite of its symmetry. This is the same combination of rapid and slow regions, forming an uneven rhythm, seen in the *umbhijo* in Figure 28.2.

When worn, the bright, eye-catching colors of these *imibhijo* would have stood out against the skin. The symmetrical designs on the works would have focused the attention of the viewer on the center of these pieces and the faces of the wearers. The dramatic and varied designs seen along the lengths of these works would have carried the eye around the pieces. Yet, the very uneven rhythms created by the placement of these designs would have led the eye back to the centers. As items that were sometimes given as gifts from women to men, these necklaces may have contained messages communicated with the color and proverb associations. But because the exact history of these works is not known, it is difficult to say if this was the case with these items. Nevertheless, it is known that this form was used to aesthetically enhance the body, allude to the wealth and social status of a person, indicate their region of origin, and tell of their religious and political affiliations. So, as works of art that would have dramatically stood out against the body of the wearer, these *imibhijo* would have been effective in fulfilling these functions.

4.2.1.5 *Ucu* (pl. *Ocu*): Single/Double String Necklaces

Neck ornaments made from single or double strands of beads were also worn during the period of 1940-1960 as part of the traditionalist dress of the Zulu people. Unfortunately, no example of these objects were found in the museum and private collections surveyed. Yet, evidence of these works was found in the photographic archives of the Killie Campbell Collection (1870-present), photographic postcards collected by the writer, and in written works, such as Bryant's 1949, *The Zulu People* (535). As in the previous time period, single strings of white beads, called *ucu*, were given to a man from a courting aged woman to signify her formal romantic intentions. Twala, in her article,
"Fascinating Secrets of Zulu Letter: Stories Behind Patterns and Colors of the Language of Beads", also reported that a twisted string of beads given by a woman to her husband or suitor symbolizes the long winding road to Johannesburg where many men worked in the mines as migrant laborers (3). Such a work was intended to convey the artist’s sorrow at missing her companion. Still, other information regarding the exact nature of the forms and the symbolic functions of these types of neck ornaments remains unknown.

4.2.1.6 Summary: Neck Ornaments

Beaded Zulu neck ornaments from the period of 1940-1960 assumed the same five basic forms as those created as between the years of 1920-1940. These forms were multiple string necklaces, choker style necklaces, tab style necklaces, tubular necklaces, and single and double strand necklaces. These five forms were made using the same basic beadwork methods seen in the previous time period, including the beadfabric method, the single string method, the multiple string method, and gongqoloza method. In addition, the later artists began to employ the beadwork method of weaving beads into hollow structures, as seen in the ujantshi in Figure 25.1. The materials used for making beadwork items in this era were also similar to those seen in previous works. Glass beads made by the drawn method of about size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations constituted the primary materials of the bodies of the works. Yet, larger glass beads made by the molded method were found being used in increasing numbers, especially as fasteners. By this later period, Zulu artists also, almost exclusively, used manufactured cording for stringing their beads.

The neck ornaments found in museum collections from this era tended to be accompanied by more information than their predecessors were. There was also an increase in the number of writings that dealt with beadwork from this era. Moreover, there are still people alive, for example beadwork artists Josta Twala, Sabina Khumalo, Nomusa
Mkhwanazi, Monique Mkhwanazi, Mrs. Sukethini and Mrs. Mpugose, who have first hand knowledge of the beadwork from this time. Therefore, much more information about the function and symbolism of these works is available than for items done in the previous time. The patterns used on the works produced between 1940-1960 continued to be based on geometric units and organized in a symmetrical fashion. Still, some of the combinations of geometric elements employed by artists in this later time, especially as observed in the Eshowe and Nongoma areas and Msinga sub-style found north of the Tugela, were more complex than the designs used by their predecessors. Jolles also reported that the use of lettering, as decorative motifs in neckpieces, spread into the Msinga region during this time ("Interfaces Between Oral and Literate Societies" 270). This reflects the growing impact of missionary and European style educational programs in Zulu society. Moreover, there seems to have emerged, in the beadwork of the Nongoma area, a symbolic link between the colors used on necklaces of this particular area and spiritual concepts of ancestral protection. Yet, in spite of these changes, the neck ornaments of the period of 1940-1960 continued to fulfill functions similar to those of previous eras; as items which beautified the body, signified the wealth and social status of the wearer, acted as part of the mechanisms of social control between courting and married people, identified the owner's region of origin, alluded to the political and religious affiliations of the individual, and, in the case of neck ornaments worn by izangoma, helped to advertise the abilities of the individual and assist them in their healing and divination rituals.

4.2.2 LIMB ORNAMENTS

Courting aged men and women as well as married men and women wore beaded limb ornaments as part of their traditionalist dress during the period of 1940-1960. As in
the past, these works were worn in matching sets. Still, based on photographic records, it does not appear that the works worn on the arms necessarily matched those worn on the legs. Limb ornaments assumed several different forms. The name of each form is dependent on its final shape, manner of construction, and the region from which it came. From the collections and photographic records surveyed, the most frequently observed forms of beaded limb ornaments were: 1) wide bands of beadfabric formed into cuff-shaped structures, called ingusha (pl. izingusha), isigqizo (pl. izigqizo), and idavathi (pl. amadavathi); 2) cuff shaped ornaments composed of multiple, bead-covered tubes of cloth or fiber, also called ingusha (pl. izingusha); and 3) single or multiple strings of beads that were wrapped around the lower legs or forearms, called isigqizo (pl. izigqizo).

As such, the basic forms of limb ornaments of this period were very similar to those of the previous period.

4.2.2 Ingusha (pl. Izingusha), Isigqizo (pl. Izigqizo) and Idavathi (pl. Amadavathi): Beadfabric Anklets and Wristlets

Anklets and wristlets made with the beadfabric method were constructed so that a wide band of beadwork was wrapped around the wrist or ankle and dramatically marked these regions of the body. As with other types of beadwork ornaments, these items were usually ornamented with color combinations and motifs that were unique to their particular region. For example, the color combination of red, green, black, white, and blue and/or yellow and the designs based on the geometric units of the triangle and rhomboid identify the izingusha in Figure 29.1 as coming from the Nongoma region. In particular, accession records note that these works came from the area of the White Mfolozi River. Found in the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present day), these pieces were created by Phumzile Zulu in 1958. They were made by sewing together three lengths of beadwork constructed with the alternating beadfabric method (see Appendix A). Each of the pieces of beadfabric is the same width, but were created in three lengths.
When they were put together the shortest lengths were placed at the bottom. This arrangement of graduated lengths allowed for the izingusha to fit snugly around the ankle and lower leg, as the width of the leg increases with the beginning of the calf muscles. The items were secured to the leg with the lengths of cord that emerge from the upper and lower edge of each length of beadwork. All of these ties were adorned with small squares of white beadwork. Unfortunately, as a result of wear, these squares are missing from the ends of some of the cords. The designs in the body of the work are complex arrangements of triangular and linear elements in green, red, black, yellow, and blue beads on a white field. As stated previously, the black, red, green, and white color combination is associated with the Nongoma region, and the addition of blue and/or yellow beads is connected to works from the Ceza/Mahlabatini area. All of the beads in these pieces are drawn glass beads of about size 00. They all have a simple body structure, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations.

The decorations on these two izingusha are almost, but not quite, identical. On both, each of the three strips of beadfabric that make up each ingusha is decorated with three, triangular motifs oriented in alternating directions. In the work on the left, the top two strips are arranged so that the middle triangles have their flat edges meeting to form a rhomboid. The lowest length is then arranged in the same manner as the middle length. In the work on the right, the bottom two strips are oriented so that the central triangles meet to form a rhomboid, and the upper strip of beadfabric is oriented in the same direction as the center strip. The triangular motifs at the ends of each of the strips are identical. They consist of a small, blue triangle surrounded by four, white triangles outlined in red. These blue and white and red triangles are then enclosed by larger, green triangles. Around the larger triangle is placed a set of nine, small, yellow triangles outlined in black. The yellow and black triangles are encompassed in yet a larger, blue triangle. Around this blue region is placed a final set of twelve, small triangles, which are green.
outlined in red or are a solid red. In the work on the left there are, additionally, blue and black, diagonally striped triangles placed in the white fields on the ends of the upper and middle strips. The design of the central triangle also differs in each work. In the anklet on the left, the center motif consists of a black triangle surrounded by six, yellow triangles. At the top of this structure sits a red triangle. Interspersed with the rest of the yellow triangles are blue triangles outlined in red. This combination of elements forms a larger triangle that is surrounded by a green line. Around this green line is then placed a set of eleven, small, black triangles. On the anklet on the left, the central, triangular motif features a black triangle enveloped by three, yellow triangles and four, white triangles outlined in red. At the peak of these yellow triangles, interspersed with white triangles outlined in red, sit a set of red triangles. As in the previously described motifs, the larger triangles formed by these elements are then surrounded by a green line followed by set of eleven, small, blue triangles outlined in black.

Although they feature slightly different designs, both of these izingusha are unified by their use of the same colors; the same three tiered form; the repetition of the triangle as the primary element of design; the placement of three, alternating triangular elements on each strip; and the fact the triangular motifs on the ends of the strips are identical. The regular repetition of both the small and larger triangular elements gives the patterns of both of these works very steady and strong rhythms, and impart a powerful presence to the items. Still, the different orientations of the strips of beadfabric in the two works and the different patterns in the center of each work add variety to this set of ornaments. Indeed, this variation in patterns between two works in a set is somewhat unusual. Often both items in a set of anklets or wristlets would be adorned with identical patterns, as seen in the pair of izigqizo from the Msinga region in Figure 29.2.

The izigqizo in figure 29.2 are from the collection of Frank Jolles and were featured in his article, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area", where he dated
them to the 1950s. They were made by running beads in vertical lines between upper and lower horizontal lines of beads. Then these structures were attached to horizontal fiber bands to form semi-rigid, beadfabric structures. These items were done in a matching isithembu color combination in the sequence of green, yellow, red, black, and light blue. In the case of both of these sets of anklets, their distinctive color combinations and design patterns would have made it easy for a Zulu person to identify the region from which their wearers came. These colors and patterns also acted as an effective means of drawing attention to the ankles of an individual. They made observers notice the whole body of the wearer by taking the eyes from upper parts of the body, (which were also usually decorated in beadwork) down the very bottom of the person. In this way, these works alluded to the wealth and social status of a person, the region from which they came, the political and religious affiliations of a person, and helped to call attention to the ankles and/or wrists of the person, especially when they were in motion.

4.2.2.2 Ingusha (pl. Izingusha):
Arm and Leg Ornaments made with the Gongqoloza Method

From the collections surveyed, it appears that leg and arm ornaments made using the gongqoloza methods were only part of the beadwork from the Eshowe region during this period. These works were made from tubes of cloth or other types of fiber covered with beads. They included works that were worn on the region of the lower leg, items that were worn around the knee, and works worn on the upper arm. To make ornaments worn around the leg the artists would combine several of these bead-covered tubes together, as was seen in the previous time period (see Figures 19.1 and 19.2 from Chapter 3). Ornaments that were worn slightly above the knee were made from fewer bead-covered tubes of fiber beads than items worn on the lower leg as seen in Figure 30.1. Only married women who have not yet reached grandmother status wore these types of works.
(personal communication, Mrs. Sukethini and Mrs. Mpugose, beadwork artists, April 1997). When worn as part of traditionalist Zulu dress, the wide bands placed around the ankle were worn in combination with the bands put above the knee. Although it is known that a set of items worn on the ankle or knee were identical in form and decorated with the similar or identical color combinations and designs, it is not known if or how the upper and lower leg ornaments were made to match.

An example of a set of izingusha worn at the knee from the collection of the Zululand Historical Museum (1930-present) and, based on collection notes, dated to 1949 can be found in Figure 30.1. Each izingusha in this set is composed of five, bead-covered tubes of fabric combined into a band. The designs on these works are done in red, blue, black, and green and placed on a white background, as seen in the Eshowe works from the previous time period. All of these beads in these works are glass and were made by the drawn method. They all have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface designs. All of these beads were strung on imported cording. The designs on these works were done so that each of the tubes that make up the items is decorated with the same pattern. The tubes were then aligned to each other so that the same motif is repeated in vertical stripes within the work. The pattern on each of the tubes consists of a centralized, red rhomboid placed on a white background. Flanking this rhomboid are two, blue stripes followed by two, black stripes, and two, green stripes. On each end of this combination of elements, there is a green, isosceles triangle pointed towards the center. The colors in this pattern appear in the same combination and same order, green, black, blue, and red/orange on a white field, as seen on the works from the Eshowe region in the period of 1920-1940 (see Figures 19.1 and 19.2). Nevertheless, the designs on these izingusha take up a much large percentage of the surface area than seen in the Eshowe items of the previous period. So, while the beadworking methods, color combinations, and color sequences used in these items remained similar to those used by the preceding
generation of artists, these later Eshowe artists seem to have used larger patterns to help to distinguish their works.

In addition to being used to make leg ornaments, the *gongqoloza* method was also used by Eshowe artists to create arm ornaments, as seen in the pair of works in Figure 30.2. These items can be found in the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present) and their name and date are uncertain. Based on the fanciful nature of the beadwork and the bead color combination, these works appear to date to somewhere between 1940-1960. Yet because these items are strung on fairly rough vegetable cording, it is also possible that they date to the period of 1920-1940. Each of these works consists of an upper, horizontal, thin band of white beadfabric with an upper, lacy edge and a lower, horizontal band of three, bead-covered tubes of fiber. Placed perpendicular to and between these bands are three more beadfabric bands with lacy edges. These bands are comprised primarily of white beads. The bands on the right have a stripe of green beads that run down the center of their lengths and a set of horizontal green, black, blue, and red stripes at the mid-point of their lengths. The middle bands have a line of blue beads that run down the center of their lengths. The bands on the left have a line of black beads running down the center of their lengths and a set of horizontal green, black, blue, and red stripes in the middle their lengths. On each edge, between the point of attachment for each of the lengths of beadfabric, there are two triangles of open-weave beadfabric. On the upper edge, these triangles are white with a small, red line in each of their centers and, on the lower edge, the triangles are made entirely of white beads. Also attached to the upper band are two loops of beads that are secured to either end of the triangles. These loops are formed by four strings of beads joined in their centers by three, large beads of about size two. Each of these two loops is composed primarily of white beads and feature four sets of dark green, black, blue, and red stripes. Overall, this set of arm ornaments is constituted of a complex of structures made using a variety of beadworking methods. Still, they
maintain the same colors combinations, patterns, and color sequences associated with other works from the Eshowe regions. As such, while the bead colors and patterns were used to allude to the region from which the person who wore the works came, it was the fanciful nature of the beadwork that was used to communicate information about the wealth and status of the wearer.

The ornaments of the limbs from the Eshowe region that date to the period of 1920-40 and the leg and arm ornaments from 1940-1960 have the same symbolic functions. Although beads were easily accessible during this period, as imported items they continued to be relatively expensive. As such, the quantity of beads worn by a person was indicative of their wealth. The complexity of the beadwork worn by a person was also a source of pride for the wearer, indicating that the individual or his suitor or wife had the wealth of time and skills to create such works. Furthermore, the types of items worn by an individual were used to communicate the martial status of a person. For instance, only married women wore izando. When used as gifts, works of bead art also helped to symbolically regulate the intimate relationships between people. Finally, the fact that a person wore any beadwork items at all indicated that the person had not converted to Christianity and probably also sided, politically, with the traditionalist forces within society. In this way, the types of limb ornaments worn by a person provided insight into Zulu society and the place of the wearer within that society.

4.2.2.3 Isigqizo (pl. Izigqizo): Single or Multiple String Limb Ornaments

The third type of beaded leg ornament worn as part of traditionalist Zulu dress of this time is a form of ornament made from single or multiple strings of beads that were wrapped around the ankle/leg or wrist/forearm numerous times, forming bands on the body. The width of the area of the body covered by these bands could be only a few inches in width or could cover the entire length of the forearm or calf. Examples of these
types of works in museum or private collections are very rare. This probably reflects the fact that when removed from the body these works are less visually interesting than other types of Zulu beadwork and so were not collected by museums and private collectors as frequently as other items. Nevertheless, they can regularly be found being worn by people in the photographic record. This suggests that the rarity of these items in museum collections is not reflective of the frequency of their appearance within Zulu society.

One example of a set of izigqizo can be seen in Figure 31.1. These works came from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region and can be found in the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum. Although information about the age of these works was not recorded, based on the orange/red color of the beads and the style of the beadwork, this set of works appears to date to the period of 1940-1960. Still, since this color of beads sometimes shows up in the Maphumulo/Mvoti works of later periods it is possible that this set of items was made slightly later than these dates. Although it is known that a man used this set of works to decorate his legs, courting aged men, and courting aged and married women could also wear these types of works. These izigqizo consist of lengths of orange/red beads that have been braided into thick chains of beadwork. This is the same shade of red used in other works from the Maphumulo region of this period (see Plates 34.2 and 36.9). The beads used in these works are all drawn glass beads of about size 00. They are rounded with slightly flattened sides and have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. This particular set of izigqizo are fairly long and, when worn, would have probably occupied most of the lower leg. Wrapped around the leg numerous times, these ornaments would have added bulk, color, and texture to the body. Indicative of physical strength, thick calves are considered a desirable trait for Zulu people. Wide, beadwork ornaments, such as these izigqizo, would have visually increased the bulk of the lower legs and helped to accentuate this desirable quality of the body. The bright colors and the pronounced texture of the works would have also
increased the visual weight of the legs and drawn the eye of the observer to these features. Moreover, the fact that the items are of a single color would have created the impression of a solid mass on the leg, also adding a sense of weight. There is a large quantity of beads that used in these works, which, additionally, made them telling displays of the wealth of the wearer when worn. Thus, these izigqizo would have been very effective at enhancing the aesthetic qualities of the lower legs and communicating the wealth and social status of the wearer.

Unfortunately, as mentioned above, examples of these types of works are very rare in museum and private collections. This makes it difficult to gather a full appreciation for these items. For example, it is not known if izigqizo from this period were always made using beads of a single color or if there were a variety of colors and patterns applied to these items. Based on the photographic record, it seems that this type of item, in red or white beads, appeared frequently in the costume of izangoma. Izangoma wore this type of beadwork to advertise their abilities and to help them to perform their healing and divination rituals. Still, examples of the beadwork belonging to izangoma are rarely found in museum or private collections, making them difficult to study in depth.

Limb decorations made with the single or multiple string method, such as izigqizo, were part of the traditionalist dress of both common people and izangoma during the period of 1940-1960. These items helped to aesthetically enhance the body, show the wealth and social status of a person, identify the region of origin of the wearer based on the colors of beads used in the works, and allude to political and religious affiliations of the person. As part of the dress of izangoma, such items would have helped to communicate the skills of the diviner. The beadwork also would have also helped to mediate between the body of the diviner and the spiritual realm to enhance the ability of the diviner to perform healing and divination rituals. Still, details about the specifics of the
colors and patterns of the beads, and the beadworking methods used to create these works is somewhat lacking because of the limited number of examples available for study.

4.2.2.4 Summary: Limb Ornaments

The beadwork limb ornaments of the period of 1940-1960 were very similar to those of the period of 1920-1940 in terms of materials, beadworking methods, forms, and functions. Yet, the works from these two periods were made with different color combinations and decorative patterns, which distinguished them from each other. As in the previous period, drawn glass beads of about size 00 with a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations were the primary types of beads used in the limb ornaments of 1940-1960. Beads were strung, almost exclusively, on imported cording in this later time, replacing the locally produced cording that was still being used by some of the artists of 1920-1940. As in the older works, the single string method, the multiple string method, the gongqoloza method, and the beadfabric method were all used to make limb ornaments. Nevertheless, while still being used in neckpieces, the beadworking method of sewing beads onto stripes of fiber did not seem to appear in the limb ornaments of this time. The forms that the items assumed also remained similar to those worn by the previous generation. Cuff shaped ornaments made from beadfabric or, in the case of the Eshowe region, bead-covered tubes of fabric were found in the body of works from both periods. This was also the case for isigqizo made from single or multiple strands of beads that are wrapped around the body to form bands around the limbs. Finally, the functions of the works of this period stayed the same as those observed previously. Limb ornaments helped to beautify the body; showed wealth, social status, region of origin, and political and religious affiliations of a person; acted as a means of social control when given to a man by a woman; and served to help to display and enhance the abilities of izangoma.
Still, these later artists developed unique color combinations and patterns which distinguished their creations from those of artists from other regions and their predecessors. For example, artists of the Msinga region developed color combinations that were totally different from their predecessors, yet utilized these colors in the same types of patterns as the older artists. In contrast, the younger artists of the Eshowe region used essentially the same color scheme as their progenitors, yet allowed their patterns to assume a much more prominent place on the white field of their works. As such, it appears that innovations in Zulu, beaded limb ornaments during the period of 1940-1960 primarily took the form of new color combinations and patterns.

4.2.3 TORSO ORNAMENTS

Although beadwork ornaments worn on the torso of the body have been part of Zulu traditionalist dress for the common person since at least the late nineteenth century, during the period of 1940-1960 these types of works began to get larger and more elaborate. For instance, from the museum collections surveyed and the photographic archives of the Killie Campbell Collection and the Local History Museum, it appears that beaded capes and waistcoats came into widespread use in this period. Furthermore, torso ornaments from this time appear in museum and private collections more frequently than works from previous times. Based upon the museum collections and photographic archives surveyed, ornaments of the torso from this period fall into three primary categories: 1) bands or ropes of beadwork worn diagonally across the chest like bandoliers, called umtamatama (pl. imitamatama), umgaxo (pl. imigaxo), and ulandela; 2) panels of beadwork worn on the chest or back; and 3) fabric capes with designs in beadwork sewn onto them, called itete (pl. amatete), and bead-covered waistcoats. Bandolier and panel style chest or back ornaments appear to have been worn by courting
and married men and women, while capes were worn only by married women and beaded waistcoats were only worn by married men.

4.2.3.1 Umtamatama (pl. Imitamatama), Ulandela, and Umigaxo (pl. Imigaxo):
Bandolier Style Ornaments

Bandolier style beadwork ornaments is a form that can be traced back to the beginnings of Zulu beadwork. Indeed, an illustration of King Dingane in the frontispiece of Allen F. Gardiner’s book of 1836 (Figure 32.1), Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa, shows the king wearing this style of ornament. As part of the dress of the common person, examples of this form of ornament can be traced at least as far back as the late nineteen century, as seen in the example of shoulder bands from the collection of the Local History Museum in Figure 113. Bandolier style ornaments take the form of bead-covered tubes or bands of beadfabric made into a circle. They were worn over one shoulder and fell diagonally over the chest. On courting or married men these works were worn singly or in matching pairs, with one work resting on the right shoulder and the other on the left so as to cross the chest and form an "X". Furthermore, married women sometimes wore these types of works. Krige reported that women wore bandolier style works over both shoulders so that they formed an "X" (The Social System of the Zulus 373). In contrast, Brindley stated that in the Nkandla district an umakoti (married woman before she reaches the status of grandmother), "wears a diagonal band slung from her right shoulder to the left side of the waist in deference to her in-laws" (216-217). So, the manner in which women wore these works appears to have varied from region to region.

Bandolier style ornaments from this period assumed two basic forms: ropes of beadwork made by the gongqoloza method (Figure 32.2) or bands of beadfabric (Figure 32.3). According to the accession records of the Zululand Historical Museum, the pair of
rope style ornaments in Figure 32.2 are from the Eshowe region, date to 1949, and are called ulandela. Presently, they can be found in the collection of that museum (1930-present). These items take a relatively simple form. They are each made from a very long rope of fiber that has been covered in beads using the gongqoloza method (see Appendix A). When worn, these ropes of beadwork are so long that they would have rested on the hips or thighs of the wearer. The lengths of the ropes are covered primarily in white beads and each has two small regions of dark green, black, and blue stripes. This set of stripes is done in the color combination and sequence associated with Eshowe beadwork of this period, and so would have helped to identify the wearer as being associated with this region. All of these beads are size 00, drawn glass beads with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. At each end of the ulandela there are placed two, larger, white beads of about size five made by the mold method. These ends are then connected by a small rectangle of beadfabric. The beadfabric rectangles that are presently on these works are made from plastic beads and were later additions. These tabs are called incwadi ("letter") and were used to carry messages from the women who made the work to the man who received the items as gifts (personal communication, Shandu Sukethini and Baqaphale Mpugose, beadwork artists, April 1997). These messages were communicated using the system of color and proverb associations. The types of messages sent usually referred to the state of the personal relationship between the woman and her suitor or husband. These items, therefore, acted as part of the mechanisms of social control designed to help to regulate the personal relationships between courting and married people.

Ulandela were worn as part of the special occasion wear of courting and married men in the Eshowe region. Placed against the skin, the white beads would have stood out against the body. Worn on each shoulder so that they formed "X"s on the front and back, these items would have helped to call attention to the chest of the wearer. The long lengths
of these works would have also allowed them to move freely, especially during the vigorous, stomping dances traditionally performed by Zulu men. In this way, the looseness of these works would have permitted them to move up and down with the movements of the dancers and helped to emphasize both the rhythm of the music and the movements of the dancers. As such, this set of works not only served as a means of social control and identified the region of origin, religious and political affiliations, and wealth and social status of a person, but also would have aesthetically complemented the body and its movements when worn on special occasions.

A second type of bandolier style ornament takes the form of bands of beadwork and is represented with the set of examples in Figure 32.3. This set of works, called umtammatama, meaning, "abundant possessions, comfort, and enjoyment" (Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana, and Vilakazi 775), comes from the Nongoma region and is dated, according to museum records, to the 1950s. They were originally the possession of a chief of the Buthelezi clan. These works consist of two bands of beadfabric that are formed into a circle. They are much shorter than the ulandela discussed above and would have been worn close against the upper body. The colors of these works are the red, black, green, yellow, white, and blue found on other works from the Ceza/Mahlabatini region of the Nongoma area. All of the beads used in these pieces are size 00, drawn glass, beads that have a simple body, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The pattern formed with these beads consists of stepped triangles, formed by series of squares, which are placed in alternating positions along each side of the lengths of the works so that they eventually interlock with each other. Each layer of squares, which is built up over the core square, consists of a single color and the color of each layer is different from the last. This is a pattern that was commonly seen in the beadwork of Nongoma area. While the accession records that accompany this set of works indicate that they were the property of a married man, other items of this style were also found in museum records to have

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been worn by courting men and married women. When worn by a married woman, such items would have acted as a means of covering her shoulders in accordance with hlonipha\textsuperscript{12} rules. When worn by men, they were a means of showing wealth and status, and bringing attention to the body. As objects associated with the Nongoma region, as shown by their colors, these works would have been an especially effective way of displaying wealth and status, and the religious and political affiliations of a person. This is because hailing from the Nongoma area was and continues to be associated with high prestige. Therefore, wearing the colors and patterns linked to this area was a means of proclaiming descent from part of the original clans that formed the Zulu kingdom. In addition, because of the close association between the Zulu royal house, Zulu traditions, and the Nongoma region, the colors and patterns of this set of items also carried messages about the political and religious leanings of the person who wore them. As such, like the ulandela above, this set of umtamatama fulfills a number of different functions. When worn, these works displayed the wealth and social status of a person, the region from which they came, and their religious and political affiliations as well as being used to call attention to the upper body.

Thus, between 1940-1960 bandolier style beadwork ornaments took the form of either bands or ropes of beadwork. They could be worn loosely or closely on the body, and were decorated with bead color combinations and patterns that were associated with the region from which the wearer came. These items fulfilled a variety of symbolic functions, which mediated the relationship between the wearer and others in society by communicating information about the individual wearing the items. In addition, the objects aesthetically enhanced the body by calling attention to the upper body and helping to emphasize the width of the shoulders and, therefore, the strength of the body.
4.2.3.2 Panel Style Back or Chest Ornaments

Panel style back or chest ornaments from this time took the shape of a rectangle made from beadfabric or beads sewn onto a piece of cloth. They had a set of strings that ran across the upper and lower edges and extended off of the ends, which were used to secure the panel to the torso. The rectangle could be oriented either with the wide or narrow ends at the top. Overall, when worn by courting aged and married men and women, these works would focus the eye on the upper body of the wearer, calling to attention its features.

Panel style back or chest ornaments appear to have been popular in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region during this period. Three examples of such works can be seen in Figures 33.1, 33.2, and 33.3. The works in Figures 33.1 and 33.2 are from the collection of the Local History Museum and the work in Figure 33.3 is from the collection of Paul Mikula. From information that accompanies these works in their specific collections, it is known that all three of the objects date to a period between 1940-1960 and represent the different styles of patterns seen in Maphumulo/Mvoti beadwork of this era. All of these pattern styles are characterized by designs in two shades of blue, black, dark green, and sometimes pink, orange, red, and/or yellow beads on white fields. With the exception of a few larger beads placed on the ends of the ties of these works, all of the beads in these items are about size 00 and are made from drawn glass. They all have a simple body structure, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. In addition, all of the beads are strung on imported cording. The patterns made with these colors assumed three basic types: 1) patterns based on blocks of color and featuring a motif of perpendicularly intersecting lines, 2) patterns based solely on stripes, and 3) patterns formed by arrangements of rhomboids and triangles.

An example of the first type of pattern can be seen on the work in Figure 33.1. This piece consists of a panel made by sewing beads onto a fabric backing in raised
groupings, giving the work a very deep texture. The strings used to secure the work to the body are wrapped in colored yarn and finished in red and white, and blue and white, beadfabric tabs. The panel of the work is decorated with three lines of blocks of color, with the middle line being slightly larger than the upper and lower lines. In the center of the top line there is a green block onto which is placed a motif consisting of a horizontal, yellow line intersected by three, vertical, yellow lines. Flanking this square are two, light blue blocks; two, black blocks; and then two, dark blue blocks. In the middle line, there are five blocks of color that appear, from left to right, in the order white, green, white, dark blue, and white. In the lower line, there is a central block of green onto which is placed a motif like the yellow one described above in red. On either side of this green block are placed dark blue blocks followed by black blocks and light blue blocks. Overall, the entire field of the work is divided into rectangles of colors with red and yellow motifs of intersecting lines serving as decorative elements. This type of design was found in the areas of the emaBomvini, emaKhabeleni, and KwaMenyezwayo clans (Nick Penny in Wood, 168; personal communication, Howard Balcolm, bead trader and collector, May 1997) in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region.

The work in Figure 33.2 displays another design variation. This work features an openwork beadfabric panel ornamented with the Maphumulo/Mvoti color combinations in striped elements. Off of the upper and lower edges emerge a set of ties covered in red yarn. The ends of these red ties are decorated with bunches of white beads and metal bells, which add both visual and aural interest to the work. The decoration of the panel consists of a series of horizontal stripes grouped into equal sized sections. In the upper section, there is a light blue stripe in the center. Moving outward, there are sets of dark blue, black, and dark green stripes. Between the stripes of the two shades of blue there is a series of four, small, horizontal, white lines. In the lower section of lines, the green stripe takes the central position and is flanked by sets of dark blue, black, and light blue lines.
Between the green and dark blue lines, there is a series of four, short, pink lines. All of the elements of this design are, thereby, based on the line. As with the above design variation, the striped design was found in the areas of the emaBomvini, emaKhabeleni, and KwaMenyezwayo clans (Nick Penny in Wood 168; personal communication, Howard Balcolm, bead trader and collector, May 1997).

A third design variation found in the Maphumulo/Mvoti area from this period can be seen in the back ornament in Figure 3.3. The ornamentation of this piece features rhomboid and triangle shaped elements. The overall decoration of the work has a combination of elements that form a basic design. This basic design is then repeated five times down the length of the work. The basic design consists of a central white rhomboid, which is pink in the very center of the work, outlined in light blue beads. Above and below the central rhomboid are blue or green triangles. Flanking this central rhomboid are two sets of mirror imaged, black triangles. On the upper and lower flat edges of these black triangles and into the space next to the green or dark blue triangles are placed four, light blue triangles. Adjacent to the black triangles is placed dark blue or green rhomboids. A second set of four, black triangles is placed next to the upper and lower sets of light blue triangles. Then sets of dark blue or green triangles are placed adjacent to the upper and lower set of black triangles. All of these elements are oriented so that they fit tightly together. Finally, on the upper and lower, flat edges of this group of elements there are three triangles, one set at the center and the other two at each end, oriented to point toward the body of the larger motif. The same design is repeated five times; with the only variations in these elements being that the green and dark blue are substituted for each other in some designs and the central rhomboid is pink in the central design. The central, pink rhomboid stands out from the rest of the colors and quickly draws the eye to the center of the work. Moreover, this pink rhomboid calls attention to the symmetrical nature of the overall pattern. Although this pattern is very different from the two
discussed above, it can be seen that the artist of this work employed the same dark blue, light blue, green, black, white, and red/pink color scheme and sequence seen in other works from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region of this time. According to information gathered by field collector Nick Penny, this design variation was found amongst the KwaMenyezwayo clan of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region (Wood 166).

These works, therefore, represent not only the forms which chest or panel style back ornaments from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region of this period assumed, but also some of the variations in patterns, using the same color scheme, developed by artists in this region. When worn, these works of art spoke of the wealth and status of the wearers, the region from which they came, the religious and political affiliations of the individuals, and, when given as gifts, helped to regulate the relationship between intimates. In addition, they beautified the body of the wearer and helped to call attention to the features of the upper body. On an artistic level, these works are a good examples of the abilities of Zulu artists to develop innovative designs even when the restrictions of the color schemes under which they operated may, at first glance, have seemed limiting.

4.2.3.3 Itete (pl. Amatete): Capes and Beaded Waistcoats

A third type of beadwork ornament used to decorate the torso of Zulu people between the years of 1940-1960 were capes (itete, pl. amatete) worn by married women and beaded waistcoats worn by married men. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, when beads become more widely available, the range of beadwork items worn by the common people became greater. Although both courting men and women both wore large amounts of beadwork, until about this period married women wore much less beadwork than courting aged women and married men wore almost none. But during the period of 1940-1960, it seems, based a survey of the photographic archives at the Killie Campbell Collection as well as beaded objects in the Killie Campbell Collection, Natal Museum,
KwaZulu Cultural Museum, The Zululand Historical Museum, and the collection of Paul Mikula, that both married men and women began to wear greater quantities of beaded ornaments. Both capes and waistcoats are good examples this fact.

Beaded capes, called itete (pl. amatete), take the form of a large rectangle of fabric that is decorated with beads. The most common sort of decoration for this type of item was a band of beadwork that was placed along the bottom edge of the fabric. One example of the type of beadfabric band used to decorate amatete is found in Figure 34.1. This work is from the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present). According to collection notes it dates to the 1950s. In spite of its appearance as a work in the Msinga style found north of the Tugela River, this item comes from the area around Hluhluwe in the eastern part of the Nongoma region. The reason for this seeming displacement of a style is the result of the fact that a large number of people from the Makhong region north of the Tugela River were moved to the Hluhluwe region by the government to make land available for white farmers. When they moved, the former residents of the Msinga region continued to make beadwork items in their older style and eventually developed their own unique style of beadwork (see Plate 63.2 for a later example of a work from this group of people). The panel of this itete uses the seven colors, light blue, green, pink, incombo, umgazi, black, and white, of the isishunka pattern. All of the beads, except the umgazi and incombo beads, have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The umgazi beads are similar except that they have a compound body and a semi-translucent clarity. Likewise, the incombo beads vary in having a semi-translucent clarity. These colors are used to form large triangles between which are placed a series of zigzagging, vertical lines. The whole design is executed in an openwork beadfabric method using drawn glass beads of about size 00. In addition, there is a row of larger beads placed along the bottom edge of the work. The design on this trim consists of two triangles built up by successive lines of different colors and a central
motif formed by a set of eleven, vertical, zigzagging lines that are varied in color. The colors appear in triplet sequences, as is part of the isishunka pattern. As such, the colors and patterns of this work are associated with the Msinga region patterns, but the item itself is from the Nongoma region. This connects this piece to a very specific time and place within Zululand, and is a good example of the way in which the beadwork helps to reveal the movements of people in Zululand. This connection between the beadworking styles and colors used on a cape with specific regions can also be seen in the itete created in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region from the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present) found in Figure 34.2. The black fabric on which the work was made is a characteristic of shawls of married women from this region and period (Nomusa Dube qtd. in Wood 166), and the colors and patterns of this item clearly fall within the bounds of the first Maphumulo/Mvoti style described above in the discussion of the chest or back ornaments.

In addition to being indicators of the region from which a person came, amatete, like the ones described above, were important in helping to maintain the favor of a woman's in-laws and were a symbol of her social position as a married women. As items that covered the shoulders, these works helped married women to fulfill their hlonipha obligation to keep their shoulders covered in the presence of their in-laws. As such, these works helped women to maintain a good relationship with their in-laws and the ancestors of their in-laws. This aided in creating a happy homestead and helped to assure the assistance of the ancestors in the production of children. These items also served as clear indicators of the social status of married women.

The beaded waistcoats worn by men were made by attaching strips of beadfabric to a western style, suit waistcoat. Like the capes worn by women, these types of works were only worn by a married individual and so served as a symbol of their rank. One example of a beaded waistcoat from the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present) can be seen in Figure 34.3. The front of this vest is covered with an openwork beadfabric in the
colors and patterns of the Ceza/Mahlabatini region of the Nongoma area. Moreover, the type of beadwork, the style and material of the waistcoat, and the degree of wear on the piece seem to date this work to about the 1950s. The colors of red, black, green, white, yellow, and blue as well as the patterning based on a combination of rhomboids and triangles, especially the rhomboid surrounded by the triangles, clearly connect this work to this area. When worn by a married man, this work was intended to bring an individual prestige. The form of the vest may have conveyed notions of male power and prestige, especially of the sort controlled by men of European descent. The fancy and extensive beadwork combined with the western style, manufactured, man's vest would have been seen as symbols of wealth. Furthermore, the beadwork, as coming from the region of the Nongoma area, was yet another symbol of prestige. Beaded waistcoats were also found in many regions of KwaZulu/Natal and were ornamented with beadwork of the style found in their region. As items made by a wife for a husband, these vests were created as gifts of affection and respect for the husband. In this way, such works also acted as a type of social control, helping to regulate the relationship between the husband and wife.

Beaded waistcoats are interesting examples of the "traditionalizing" of male dress during this period. By the early twentieth century most men had given up traditional dress, except for special occasions. This is primarily because most of the men were involved in migrant labor in the cities where they were not allowed to wear traditionalist style clothing. But, as an awareness of Zulu traditional culture began to really spread into the common culture of South Africa in the 1940s, works of art, such as these beaded waistcoats along with beaded hats and other items made for married men, started to appear. This is reflective of a renewed interest in styles of dress that could be connected to traditional culture among Zulu men.

Thereby, both amatele and beaded waistcoats were beadwork ornaments that conveyed notions of the status of a married person as well as the wealth of the person,
especially in the case of a man. They were also works that revealed the region from which their wearers came and the individuals' political and religious affiliations. As relatively new forms, beaded, cloth *amatete* first seem to make their appearance around the 1940s and beaded waistcoats around the 1950s. These items, therefore, show how new beadwork forms were being developed in response to changing fashions and new materials, such as a pre-made waistcoats or hats; how beadwork artists were incorporating new social status indicators, such as a suit; and how married people were increasing the amount of beadwork in their traditionalist costumes. As such, these works are good examples of the ways in which beadwork artists were creating works that responded to and reflected changes in the social, political, economic, and cultural conditions within Zulu society.

4.2.3.4 Summary: Torso Ornaments

Beaded ornaments worn on the torso from the period of 1940-1960 appear regularly in museum and private collections. This reflects, probably, both an increase in the interest in collecting beadwork and an increase in the amount of beadwork being worn as part of traditionalist dress during this period. These items were worn by courting men and women as well as married men and women, and were used to communicate a variety information about the wearer to others. Such works were also sometimes used by women to communicate information to their suitors or husbands about the relationship between the two of them. Capes, waistcoats, and bandolier style works appear to have been popular with artists from many different regions. In contrast, beaded chest or back panels were only seen, by the writer, in the beadwork of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region. Although this does not necessarily indicate that chest or back ornaments were not created in other areas. As with other types of beadwork ornaments, Zulu artists of this period overwhelmingly appear to have prefered drawn glass beads of about size 00 with a simple body, an opaque
clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. Yet, artists from the Hluhluwe area were still using the milky yellow *incombo*, and semi-transparent, compound, *umgazi* beads associated with the *isishunka* pattern of the Msinga area. As in the previous period, the use cloth reappeared in the creation of torso ornaments, but artists of this later period also added bells and yarn. Furthermore, as in the past, the artists of this era developed unique color combinations and patterns which distinguished their pieces both regionally and sequentially. Overall, the diversity of forms, ornamentation, symbolism, and functions of these works reveals the creativity of Zulu beadwork artists and their abilities to address changing social conditions in innovative fashions during the span of 1940-1960.

4.2.4 WAIST ORNAMENTS

Beadwork ornaments that were worn on the waist as part of traditionalist Zulu dress between the years of 1940-1960 can be divided into two basic categories: belts and skirts. The category of belts embraces works that take several forms of bands of beadwork worn around the waist or hips. These types of items were worn by both males and females, and could be worn singly, in multiples, and/or in conjunction with some other types of loin coverings. The category of skirts includes a variety of forms used to cover the genital area and/or the buttocks. Works in this category were also worn by both males and females, and include objects such as skirts with beaded fringe, front panels; skirts with beadfabric panels; beaded, cloth aprons; and beaded, leather, rear skirts. In the case of both skirts and belts, people at various levels of courting and marriage wore different styles of works. Ornaments worn around the waist were, therefore, a significant means of communicating the social status of a person.
4.2.4.1 Isibamba (pl. Izibamba), Ixhama (pl. Amaxhama),
Isifociya (pl. Izifociyd), Imfacane (pl. Izimfacane),
and Umutsha (pl. Imitsha): Belts

Beaded belts were probably one of the first beadwork items worn by a Zulu person. When very young, children were adorned with a belt of beads to help to monitor the progress of their growth. This progress was overseen in order to make sure that the child was growing properly and to determine when it was safe for a husband and wife to resume sexual relations. Once a woman gave birth to a child she underwent a period of abstinence from sexual relations. This period allowed for the woman's body to recover from the physical demands of pregnancy and childbirth. It also ensured that a woman's physical energies would be directed toward the care and feeding of her new child, and would not be compromised by an additional pregnancy. The growth and development of a child, which was indicated by a beaded belt worn by that child, determined the length of abstinence. According to Levinsohn and Levinsohn in the article, "Symbolic Significance of Traditional Zulu Beadwork", when a child was about four months old he or she was adorned with strings of white beads around the waist, ankles, and wrists. It was these white beads that helped to measure the development of the child. After the child filled out these beaded strings sufficiently, he or she was weaned and could be adorned with colored beads. Once the child was adorned with colored beads it was a sign that the husband and wife could resume sexual relations. In this way, beads served as a means for a woman to communicate the level of the development of her infant and to indicate her readiness to resume sexual relations with her husband. The beads that adorned the infant, therefore, functioned to help to regulate the sexual relations between a husband and wife.

Although before the age of puberty Zulu children wore little if any clothing, once they reached puberty and begin to court both girls and boys began to adorn themselves in fanciful ways. Part of this courting dress from the period of 1940-1960 included belts such as the work seen in Figure 35.1. This work came from the Bhaca region around the
town of Richmond in Southern Natal. Currently, it can be found in the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) and is dated, according to museum records, to the 1950s. The belt consists of a band of beadfabric to which a short fringe of beads is attached. Museum records indicate that young girls wore this type of work, but photographs of young men wearing this type of work have also been observed. The design of this work is generally presented in horizontal lines. At the top of the belt there is a line of white beads. The next line down consists of a series of interlocking black and red triangles with their tops removed. The third line is composed of a series of small, alternating black and white lines, and the fourth line consists of a series of red and white lines. The fringe is presented in variable widths of red, black, and white blocks. Each of these blocks is tipped in red, white, or yellow beads. All of the beads in this work are drawn glass beads of about size 00. They all have an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. In spite of the fact that the design of the work is relatively simple, it would have been a nice complement to the body when worn. The red and yellow beads would have worked to complement the natural tones of the skin, while the white and black beads would have brought out the design of the work. The regular patterns of the waistband are nicely contrasted with the irregular pattern of the fringe. These different rhythms make the design lively and keep the eye traveling around the piece. Moreover, the fringe of the work would have laid softly on the skin and responded to the movements of the body, complementing the hips. As such, works like this belt would have helped to draw the attention of potential suitors to the body of the courting person.

Although married men of this period did not frequently wear beaded belts, belts continued to be part of the traditionalist dress of engaged and married women. The wide beadfabric belts in Figures 35.2, 35.3, and 35.4 are examples of belts that were worn by both courting and married women. These works are in the Killie Campbell Collection. According to accession records, they were made around the area of the town of Richmond.
in the 1950s. Other types of beaded belts, usually referred to as isibamba (pl. izibamba) and ixhama (pl. amaxhama), were only worn by women who had given birth to a child. Amaxhama were worn tightly around the waist to cinch it and make it appear small. This is because, as observed by the writer when in South Africa, a small waist is considered a desirable feature in the body of Zulu women. These belts could take the form of beadwork placed on a grass backing (Figures 35.5 and 35.6) or could be made from beadfabric (Figure 35.7). The two belts on grass backing came from the Msinga region and are presently in the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present). Both of these works have a backing made from incema grass. Then they are decorated with a combination of metal buttons and beads. The metal buttons were sewn directly into the grass backing. In contrast, the beads were formed into beadfabric structures, by stringing beads vertically between an upper and lower horizontal band, and then these beadfabric sections were attached to the grass backing. These beads are all drawn glass beads of about size 00. They all have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The buttons on the works in Figure 35.5 are brass and the buttons on the work in 35.6 are made from an unknown metal, but both types of buttons have rounded tops. The ixhama in Figure 35.5 features the isilomi color combination and sequence. In the collections surveyed, the isilomi color combination makes its first appearance in the beadwork of the Msinga region around 1950. Research conducted by Jolles indicated that this style probably originated in the region of the Mbaso clan in the middle of the Msinga district, north of the Tugela River (Jolles, "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork" 50). The isilomi pattern makes use of six colors placed on an object in the following order: dark blue, light blue, light green, white, red, and black. The belt in Figure 35.6 appears to be decorated with a modified version of the isishunka pattern in which the umgazi and incombo colors have been replaced by opaque versions of yellow and red beads. These grass belts are identical in form to the grass belts of the
Msinga region seen during the period of 1920-1940. The primary difference between these newer works and their older counterparts is that these later artists were applying contemporary color combinations to their objects. These new color combinations served to distinguish the belts of these artists from those of their predecessors. Nevertheless, these items still fulfilled the same functions of visually cinching the waist, revealing the status of a woman who had given birth to children, providing spiritual protection for the body, and indicating the region from which the wearer came.

The third example of a belt worn by a married woman who had given birth to children is the work in Figure 35.7. This belt was created in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region and is now in the collection of the Local History Museum where it is dated to the 1950s. Called an *isibamba*, this work is made with white, red, green, light blue, dark blue, and black glass beads. The combination of colors used in this piece is associated with the Maphumulo/Mvoti region of this period between, as seen in other examples of works from this area (see Figure 25.4, 33.1, 33.2, 33.3, and 34.2). All of the beads used in this piece are round with slightly flattened sides, about size 00, and were made by the drawn method. They all have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The work was constructed using a beadfabric method whereby vertical lines of beads were strung between raised horizontal lines. On the upper and lower edges, the artist also adorned the piece with fanciful, triangle-shaped projections. The body of this belt is embellished with a series of seven, solid colored rectangles located in the center of the work. The rectangle in the middle is green. It is flanked by two rectangles of dark blue, which are, in turn, flanked by black and light blue rectangles. On each of the central green rectangles there is a vertical line intersected by five horizontal lines. The upper and lower parts of this motif are executed in red beads and the central cross section is done in white beads. In the white fields, on either side of the rectangles, the motif of a vertical line intersected by five horizontal lines reappears in a pair. One of
the pair is red and the other green. It is a motif that showed up regularly in the beadwork of the period (see Figures 33.1 and 34.2). This motif has striking parallels to the *isibaya* motif of the Estcourt region (see Chapter 3 Figure 23.5), suggesting that this motif may somehow also relate to ancestral protection. Yet, this idea has not been fully investigated and so remains purely speculative at this time. Like the Msinga works, this belt was decorated with color combinations and motifs that are associated with the region and time from which it came. Overall, these belts advertised the prestige of a woman who had given birth and identified which region her contribution had benefited. Moreover, the grass backing of the Msinga amaxhama and the motifs of the Maphumulo/Mvoti *isibamba* also suggest that these works were intended to bring ancestral blessings on the wearers to help to enhance their reproductive abilities. Thus, these types of belts helped to beautify the body, and mediate between the body of the wearer and both people in the physical realm and ancestors in the spiritual realm.

As ornaments worn on the waist, beaded belts of this period assumed a variety of forms and functions. They could take the form of a simple string of beads, such as those worn by very young child, or could be much more complex, such as beadfabric structures ornamented with intricate designs. Belts were worn by people at several different stages of life including male and female children, courting men and women, and by engaged and married women. Moreover, the types of belts worn were used as an indicator of the courting or martial status of the wearer. As works of art, these objects were used to call attention to the waist and hips of the body and to complement its form. Utilizing color combinations and design motifs that were associated with their particular regions, beadwork artists made these belts to match the rest of the beadwork worn by an individual and to identify the area from which the person came. In addition, these works also helped to communicate information about the wealth of the individual as well as their religious
and political affiliations and, in some cases, possibly helped to provide spiritual protection for the body.

4.2.4.2 *Isigege* (pl. *Izigege*), *Isibijane* (pl. *Izibijane*),
*Ubeshwana* (pl. *Obeshwana*), *Umutsha* (pl. *Imitsha*),
*Ibhayi* (pl. *Amabhayi*), *Itete* (pl. *Amatete*)
*Umkhambathi* (pl. *Imikhambathi*) and
*Isicwayo* (pl. *Izicwayo*): Skirts

As noted above, before the age of puberty Zulu children traditionally wore little, if any, clothing. But sometimes, older children wore a small, fringed *isigege*, such as the one shown in Figure 36.1, to cover their genital regions. This work, from the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present) and dated on the basis of the age of the beads to the 1950s, consists of a fringe of beads placed in front of a fringe of cotton cording, all of which is attached to a string waistband. The beadwork fringe is made from strings of glass beads of about size five. The colors used in this piece, black, red, dark green, and pink, are part of the *isishunka* bead color combination. The red beads in this piece are of the carnelian type, having a layer of bright red glass laid atop an opaque white layer. Otherwise the black, dark green, and pink beads all have an opaque translucence, a shiny luster, no surface decorations, and a simple body structure. The decoration of the piece consists of solid colored, horizontal stripes of black, red, black, dark green, and pink. In addition, there is a horizontal line of brass buttons that runs between the red stripe and the second black stripe. This beaded fringe, bulked up by the cotton under fringe, would have provided a colorful covering for a child. Overall, this is a relatively simple work in terms of both form and design. Placed on a single piece of cotton cording and made with the large beads, this skirt would have been relatively easy to create. The design would also not have taken much time to plan. Nevertheless, the very act of dressing a child in beads was a gesture of affection from a mother or other female relative to the child. Works such as these, therefore, added a colorful and playful note to the body of a child and publicly proclaim that the child is dearly loved.
When young men and women began to dress for courting, during this time period, they would wear beaded skirts as part of their ornamentation. Courting aged young women wore beaded skirts made of a beadfabric panel attached to a waistband to cover their genital regions. Their suitors sometimes gave courting aged young men skirts. Such items also consisted of a panel of beadfabric attached to a beadfabric band. These works were worn over the leather back apron (ibheshu) and/or the animal tails (isinene) that covered the genitals, which traditionally formed part of the dress of the lower body for Zulu men. Like other types of beadwork, the skirts worn by courting aged people were adorned with bead colors and design motifs that reflected the region from which they came.

Except for a few instances, there was very little difference in the forms of the panel style skirts worn by courting men and women. For instance, consider the two works seen in Figure 36.2 and 36.3. Both of these items, from the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present), came from the Ceza/Mahlabatini area of the Nongoma region. According to accession records, these works are very close in age, with the piece in Figure 36.2 dated to 1959 and the piece in Figure 36.3 dated to 1953. Both of these works consist of a waistband, constructed by sewing beads onto a fiber backing, onto which is attached a beadfabric panel. There is very little size difference in these panels. Additionally, blue, red, black, green, white, and yellow beads were used by the artists of both of these pieces to create designs based on the unit of the triangle. Yet, from the information collected by the museum, it is known the skirt (isigege) in Figure 36.2 was worn by a woman and the skirt (ubheshwana) in Figure 36.3 was worn by a man who was given the piece as an engagement gift. The only major difference in the form of these two works is that the ubheshwana has a beadwork fringe that ends in amalosi seeds (commonly referred to as Job's tears). Although these fringes with seeds are unique to the beadwork of the Nongoma region, they are not unique to the beadwork worn by males.
This similarity in the beadwork skirts worn by males and females can also be observed in the beadwork of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region by comparing the panel of the ubheshwana in Figure 36.4 and the isigege in Figure 36.3. As in the Nongoma area, there is no difference between the size or the motifs and color combinations of the skirts worn by males and females. Therefore, there appeared to be little difference in the skirts of males and females in terms of form, size, color combinations, and designs in at least the regions of Maphumulo/Mvoti and Nongoma in this period.

Although there appeared to be little gender specific variations in beadwork skirts, there were variations in skirts that were not based on gender. For instance, the waistband of these items could be made of a bead fabric band (Figure 36.6); by sewing beads onto strips of fiber and combining these strips (Figure 36.2); from a single, bead-covered tube of fiber (Figure 36.5); or by combining multiples of bead-covered tubes of fiber (Figure 36.7). (The work in Figure 36.7 is an umutsha from the Eshowe region that has lost its beadfabric panel.) The forms which these items took could be large and ornate, such as the three paneled skirt from the Nongoma region seen in Figure 36.8, or could be much simpler, as with the single panel work from the Kranskop area of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region seen in Figure 36.6. The skirts in Figures 36.6 and 36.8 are also good examples of the diversity in the complexity of designs used on these items. The Nongoma region work (Figure 36.8) has a design based on a complex arrangement of triangles and lines. In contrast, the design on the isigege in Figure 36.6 is a visually simple design that consists of two, mirror imaged, zigzag lines. Yet, in spite of these differences, both of these skirts also have striking similarities. The only difference in the color combinations between the two is that the artist of the Nongoma region adds yellow to the red, blue, black, green, and white color combination seen in both pieces. Furthermore, the overall designs on these two works consist of a central rhomboid surrounded by four mirror-
imaged triangles. Therefore, there was both diversity and similarity between skirts of this time period.

Whether these skirts were made to be worn by courting men or women, and regardless of the differences in the forms, color combinations, and designs used on these items, they fulfilled the same aesthetic and symbolic functions. All of these items were designed to beautify the body. For males, they served as brightly colored ornamentation that would have stood out against the animal products from which their loin and rear covers were made. Moreover, the dramatic geometric designs of such works acted to contrast the organic nature of the body and its other coverings, and would have helped to call attention to the body of the young man. For the courting aged young women who wore such items without any additional coverings, these works provided a decorative covering for the pubic region, yet allowed the buttocks to remain exposed. This arrangement worked to call attention to the hips and buttocks while, at the same time, provided the wearer with some modesty. In addition to aesthetically enhancing the body, these works also identified the wealth and social status, especially the marital status, of the wearer; distinguished the region from which the wearer hailed; and alluded to the religious and political affiliations of a person as an individual that identified themselves with traditionalist forces within society.

The third type of beaded skirt worn as part of the traditionalist dress of the Zulu people between the years of 1940-1960 is aprons made from cloth or leather onto which beaded designs were placed. Traditionally, men covered their buttocks with aprons made from leather, called *ibheshu* (pl. *amabheshu*). These items could be made from antelope hides, tanned leather, or, in the case of men of very high rank, leopard skin. In most regions these items had little, if any, decoration. But in the Msinga region, *amabheshu* were sometimes decorated with rounded brass studs and bicycle reflectors, and in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region, during this period, it was the fashion for a woman to give her
fiancée an *ibheshu* decorated with beads for a wedding present. The creation of these beaded, leather *amabheshu*, an example of which is seen in Figure 36.9, was limited to the Maphumulo/Mvoti area and required special skills. As a result, these items were made by a group of women who were specialists in this form and would make works on commission for compensation (personal communication, Howard Balcolm, collector and bead trader, May 1997). According to collector and bead trader Howard Balcolm, these works were made from English leather collected from discarded Durban bus seats (personal communication, May 1997). In the example in Figure 36.9, from the collection of the writer, the leather was cut into the shape of half of an animal’s skin (this is the common shape of *amabheshu*) then folded over at the top. In the upper area of the *ibheshu* there are ten layers of leather sewn onto the top in such a way the each layer hangs slightly below the upper layer. These layers each have a wide trim of beadwork consisting of vertical strands of beads connected by a lower, horizontal band. The lowest edges are lined in triangles of openwork beadfabric or small rhomboid shaped structures. The side edges of the *ibheshu* are trimmed in an extremely thick and complex beadwork structure (see the detail Figure 36.10). This same technique was used in the center of the work to form a motif consisting of two, side by side crosses. The beads used to ornament the work are all glass beads of about size 00 made by the drawn method with an opaque transparency, a shiny luster, a simple body structure, and no surface decorations. The colors used on this work are the light blue, dark blue, green, black, white, red, and yellow that was observed in other Maphumulo/Mvoti works of this time. Also, as with other Maphumulo/Mvoti works of this period, the decorations on this piece consist of blocks of color and cross shaped motifs. These are very distinctive works that were only produced in this region between about 1940-1960. With their color combination, patterns, and form, they identified the wearer as coming from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region and as being married. The lavish use of beads and the fanciful beadworking techniques used on these
pieces were indications of the wealth of the bride or her industriousness at being able to earn the money for such a work. Worn for special occasions, this beaded *ibheshu* would have made its wearer stand out. The evenly spaced, vertical stripes flanking the central white region create a symmetrical design with an even rhythm. The steady rhythm of the design continues along the outer part of the sides of the *ibheshu*. But, along the inner lines of the sides of the work this steady rhythm is slightly broken by the uneven lengths of colors of the lines. The symmetry of the design is also emphasized by the cross shape that appears in the upper central region, the repetition of this motif in the pairs of crosses in the center of the work, and its reappearance in the center of the outer lines on the sides of the work. The use of solid blocks of colors and the repetition of the cross motif in various sizes helps to unify the design, while the curved sides of the *ibheshu* keep design from becoming overly rigid. Overall, the design and workmanship of this item would have clearly given the wearer a sense of pride that came with wearing a beautiful work of art and being of the status to be able to own such a work.

Married women also wore beaded aprons, called *ibhayi* (pl. *amabhayi*), *itete* (pl. *amatete*), and *umkhambathi* (pl. *imikhambathi*). Unlike the men's or unmarried women's skirts, married women's aprons were constructed of beaded cloth and were worn on the front of the body. *Amabhayi* were made to be worn over the pleated, leather skirt (*izidwaba*) that were part of the traditionalist dress of married women. These works could take the form of a rectangle of cloth with a beaded, lower edge (see Figure 36.11 and 36.12) or could have a beadwork design placed all over the surface of the cloth rectangle (Figure 36.13). The beadwork shown in Figures 36.11 and 36.12, from the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum (1880-present), are examples of beadwork bands that were once, according to museum records, on the edges of a skirts from Hluhluwe area made around 1950. Beadwork that has been cut from the rest of its fabric structure are sometimes found in museum and private collections, because of the mistaken belief of
someone along the way that the beadwork was the only part of the item that was of interest. These works, again, are representative of the beadwork style that was developed in the region north of the Tugela River, in the Msinga district, and was then transferred up north when people from this region were moved. The skirt trim in Figure 36.11 consists of three groups of rhomboids placed in two rows and set on a white background. The center of each row consists of four rhomboids made from concentric umgazi, black, and dark green lines. On each end there are two rows of three rhomboids composed of black, light blue, and green lines. Then, all of this is placed in a field of openwork beadfabric trimmed along the lower edge in slightly larger, carnelian beads. Overall, the artist of this work employed an isishunka type color scheme. In contrast, the trim in Figure 36.12 is slightly older and has a color scheme that does not appear to fit into the known, established, Msinga color combinations. This shows how the artists of this region began to move away from the Msinga color combination conventions. In this work the artist employed a much brighter color combination of green, light blue, black, dark blue, red, and yellow beads on a white field. Although the artist continued to use the white field, the colors of this work are much more vivid, giving the work a very energetic presence. Still, the elements used in the design would have been familiar to the older artists, with the central triangular motif being reminiscent of the shawl hem in Figure 34.1. The younger artists also employed the same openwork beadfabric technique that was seen in the older items. As such, these works are interesting examples of the way in which beadwork styles evolved. They show how the artists retained, overall, the same forms, so as that they maintained the same symbolic associations of a piece of beadwork associated with a married woman. In addition, the artists continued to use the same beadworking techniques. Yet, the designs, while keeping the same basic elements, got bolder and, in the case of the work in Figure 36.12, the colors became very bright and vibrant. In this way, the younger artists were drawing on the traditions of the past to create works that had the
same symbolic function, yet could be distinguished from the works of their predecessors to identify the wearers as being from a different generation.

Finally, the work in Figure 36.13, from the collection of the writer, is an example of an apron that is decorated over its entire surface in beadwork. Although much narrower than the aprons seen above, this work was also made to be worn across the front of the isidwaba of a married woman. Based on collection notes, bead colors, bead types and ages, and wear, it was made in the Msinga region and dates to about the 1950s. The work is done in the light blue, green, yellow, red, and black colors of the isithembu color combination. In addition, the artist also trimmed the work in white beads and added brass buttons for extra visual interest. The beads used in this work are larger, drawn glass beads of about size five. They all have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, shiny luster, and no surface decorations. In the upper square that makes up the main body of the work there is a heavyweight, black cloth over which a lightweight black cloth is attached. The beads are then sewn onto to this lighter weight cloth. At each end of the bottom edge there are two rectangles made from a third type of a slightly fuzzy, black cloth. A “T” shaped placement of the brass buttons divides the upper square of the work into three sections. In the upper rectangle there is a zigzag line of white beads that allows the black cloth underneath to be seen. Below this line there is a second line of interlocking, variously colored triangles. In the lower left side, a yellow rhomboid is placed in a large, square, green field and on the lower right side, a red triangle placed in a large, square, black field. The main body of the apron is then trimmed in a thick, lacy arrangement of white beads. The small, lower rectangles on the bottom of the work are ornamented with smaller, white beads of about size 00. This ornamentation consists of two, vertical lines of white rhomboids and a trim of four rows of white beads. Overall, this is a very graphically bold work in which the artist used a variety of materials and bead sizes to give the piece a textural diversity. The white trim of the piece would have made the work stand out against
the black skirt of the wearer and brought out the design of the piece. The even rhythm of
the design, created by repeating elements of the same form and size in each of the small
sections of the piece, is balanced by the overall variety of sizes and shapes of each of these
sections. This combination gives the work both unity and variety. Last, the bright colors
of the design, that make this work eye catching, were also used to identify the region and
the generation to which the wearer of the item belonged. These factors made this item an
effective means of communicating the wealth, status, region of origin, and political and
religious affiliations of the individual who wore it, as well as providing an ornamental
enhancement for the *isidwaba* of the wearer.

Thereby, skirts of various forms were important indicators of the social status of a
person. Small, fringed, loin coverings were worn by young children. After puberty,
courting aged young women put on skirts consisting of a waistband with a beadfabric
panel. Courting aged men were also sometimes given such items to wear over their loin
coverings. Married women wore cloth aprons with beadwork designs over their leather
skirts and, in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region, married men wore beaded, leather, back skirts
for special occasions. As such, the type of beadwork skirt worn by a person alluded to
their social and, especially, courting or marital status. As with other types of beadwork
worn as part of the traditionalist dress of the Zulu people, the quantity of beads and the
complexity of the beadwork items worn by an individual served as an indicator of the
wealth of a person. The color combinations and design motifs used in a work were related
to the region from which the wearer came and the generation of artists to which their
maker belonged. Beadwork items given as gifts to suitors or husbands acted as a means
of social control, helping to regulate the relationships between the men and women.
Finally, with the increasing missionary activities and a growing ethnic consciousness
among the Zulu people promoted by Zulu intellectuals and politicians, the wearing of
traditionalist style beadwork could be seen as an expression of the wearer's political and religious affiliations.

4.2.4.3 Summary: Waist Ornaments

The beadwork ornaments worn around the waist of Zulu people made during the period of 1940-1960 had many similarities to those of their predecessors. They were grouped into the same two basic sub-categories of belts and skirts. They performed the same functions, were created in similar forms, were made with the same materials, and were made by the same beadworking methods. In particular, beaded waist ornaments served as important indicators of social and martial status and could have religious functions connected with protection of the body. Drawn glass beads of size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations strung on commercially produced cording continued to be the favored materials for waist ornaments. Moreover, cloth was also an important component of the aprons and grass was an important part of the amaxhama belts that were created in numerous regions. Using these materials, the artists of this period continued to employ the single string, the beads attached to a fiber backing, and the beadfabric methods as their primary means of creating waist pieces.

Nevertheless, there were some differences in the works of this period when compared with the waist ornaments from previous times. In terms of form and functions, the beaded amabheshu of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region were unique because of the use of beaded decorations on amabheshu and that they were beaded skirts worn by married men. The beaded obheshwana worn by courting aged men also first seem to make their appearance during this time; but this may simply be the result of better record keeping by museums and private collectors. Moreover, the bead color combinations and decorative motifs used on the works of this time show some basic similarities with their specific
regional predecessors, but were, nonetheless, unique to their time period. The major developments in beadwork ornaments of the waist from this period, thus, centered on the development of more elaborate skirt forms for courting and married men.

4.2.5 DANCING STICKS, ORNAMENTS OF THE HEAD, CHURCH REGALIA, HOUSEHOLD ITEMS, AND COMMERCIAL BEADWORK

As in the previous periods, between the years of 1940-1960 there were beadwork items produced that fall outside of the range of the categories of neck, chest, limb, torso, or waist ornaments. These additional items include accessories such as beaded dancing sticks, the flywhisks of izangoma, and ornaments that decorated the head.

4.2.5.1 Induku (pl. Izinduku): Beaded Dancing Sticks and Ishoba Lobungoma (pl. Amashoba Obungoma): Beaded Flywhisks

In keeping with other Zulu beadwork objects from this period, beaded dancing sticks (induku, pl. izinduku) were decorated with colors and patterns that were identified with their regions and time periods, as seen with the induku from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region from the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum in Figure 37.1. In contrast, the flywhisks, ishoba lobungoma (pl. amashoba obungoma), of izangoma showed no significant changes. They continued to act as works that helped to purify the environment of the isangoma to assist them with promoting their abilities19.

4.2.5.2 Umnqwazi (pl. Iminqwazi) and Indingilizi: Hatbands and Hat Pins

The introduction of removable hats as part of the traditionalist dress of women had an impact on the types of ornaments made for the head. Previous to this time, when a woman was married she began to grow her hair long and form it into a conical or flaring hairstyle (see Figure 38.1). This type of hairstyle was replaced during this period by
removable hats, called (isicholo, pl. izicholo), which took the same form as these hairstyles (see Figure 38.2). According to Brown (165), these detectable hats first made their appearance at the celebration of the first Shaka's Day held in 1954. Brown concluded that these removable forms were very popular with certain classes of women who wanted to show their support for the Zulu royal house, yet wanted to be able to go back to wearing western style clothing after special occasions. She stated, "the petit bourgeoisie decided to adopt traditional dress as part of their strategy to gain political power" (Brown 165). As with their traditional hairstyles, women wore beadwork ornaments on their heads in conjunction with these hats. The most important of these items was a band of beadwork that ran around the bottom edge of a hat or around the head above the eyebrows, called umnqwazi (pl. iminqwazi). Iminqwazi served to symbolically shield the eyes of the wearer from her husband and in-laws as part of her hloniph restric-
tions. Following these hlonipa customs was an essential part of displaying respect for her husband and his living and dead relatives. So, wearing such works was important to maintaining the harmony within the family and with the ancestors to allow for a happy and fruitful marriage.

Examples of iminqwazi from the Eshowe region in the collection of the Zululand Historical Museum (1930-present), can be seen in Figures 38.3 and 38.4. These works are like other items of Zulu beadwork from this period in that the artists of them employed the same beadworking techniques and materials, used color combinations and motifs associated with the particular generation and region of the artist, and fulfilled the same basic functions. Iminqwazi also helped to mediate the relationship between a woman and the living and dead relatives of her husband, as part of social control and the religious functions of beadwork. Aside from these hatbands, Zulu artists also created beadwork items to be pinned to the hair or hats, such as the works seen in Figures 38.5, 38.6, and 38.7. These three examples of hat pins/hair ornaments (indingilizi) from the
Maphumulo/Mvoti region are part of the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum. They date to between 1940-1960, according to the accompanying records. While ornaments worn pinned to the hair were observed in previous periods, these items show the development of a new beadworking technique. In these works, the artist or artists took a beadwork structure and placed it on a wire frame. This allowed artists to create rigid forms, such as these hairpins. In this way, these hat/hairpins served as an example of the evolution of new beadwork techniques. In addition to these hat pins, Zulu artists created pins to be worn on skirts. The pin in Figure 38.8 from the Richmond region and in the collection of the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) is an example of such a piece. Consisting of a series of beadfabric rhomboids between which were strung loops of beads, this work was fastened to the body by safety pins at both of the narrow ends. This type of arrangement allowed the work to lie flat against the body when worn horizontally, vertically, or diagonally.

4.2.5.3 Church Regalia

Members of the Nazareth Baptist Church\textsuperscript{21} also began to develop unique objects of beadwork during this period to address the needs of the church and to distinguish their members from other traditionalists. Around the 1940s, members of the Nazareth Baptist Church began to wear similar types of clothing, especially during worship. The style of clothing worn by members depended upon their courting or martial status and the type of worship service they were attending. Such uniforms helped to unify the group and distinguished them from others. Research conducted by Brown indicated that, among other beadwork forms, a necklace form, called \textit{ifoto} (Figure 39.1), which featured a picture of Isaiah Shembe on a beaded neckband, became commonly accepted by church members in the 1940s (158). She also found that by the 1950s there had developed a commercial market for such objects (158)\textsuperscript{22}.
4.2.5.4 Household Goods

In addition to beaded items of dress and regalia, there were some household works that were adorned with beads. The most commonly observed household items decorated with beads, based on the information surveyed, were beaded spoon bags (*impontshi*, pl. *izimpontshi*) and beaded beer pot covers (*imbenge*, pl. *izimbenge*). Both of these items were usually made of basketry and were sometimes adorned with strings of beads. The beads on such items acted as an extra decoration that increased the prestige of the object and the value of the items contained by the works. As such, these additional beadwork forms showed how new forms and techniques were evolving to meet new fashions and needs.

4.2.5.5 Commercial Beadwork

The commercial importance of beadwork also continued to grow during this period. Owing to the increasing publicity that beadwork was getting from various newspaper articles and other sources, popular interest in beadwork seemed to grow during this time. In addition, the widespread introduction of the automobile and the building of roads into the rural regions also stimulated interest in Zulu culture, and made contact between the urban and rural people more common. In the 1940s and 1950s, as people began to travel by car, Zulu women set up roadside stands to sell fruit to passing travelers. Sometimes the sellers would be dressed in their traditional beadwork. Soon the fruit sellers discovered that the travelers were showing more interest in their beadwork than in the fruit (Morris and Preston-Whyte 76). Morris and Preston-Whyte quoted one woman who said, "they pulled our beads out of our blouses and wanted to buy them - and they also asked for the baskets we carried the fruit in ... so some of us brought beadwork to sell. I once took some strings of beads one day and they were gone in a minute" (76).
So, some of these women began to produce beadwork for sale and set up roadside markets where beadwork, basketry, pottery, and other works of art were sold. From this experience the women soon learned what types of objects the buyers wanted and how much they were willing to pay. This also, no doubt, led to innovations in forms, color combinations, and patterns as women competed to catch buyers’ eyes.

4.2.5.6 Summary: Dancing Sticks and Fly Whisks, Hatbands and Hat Pins, Church Regalia, Household Items, and Commercial Beadwork

Thus, new developments in social, cultural, political, and economic conditions, changing fashions, and religious movements also prompted new developments in the art of beadwork during years between 1940-1960. These developments led to the production of new forms, new beadworking techniques, the incorporation of new materials, and a new importance for beadwork made for a commercial market. As such, these additional developments reveal how beadwork remained a vital and important art form during the period.

4.3 CONSTANTS AND VARIABLES: BEADWORK OF THE PERIOD OF 1940-1960

The period of 1940-1960 was a very energetic period for Zulu beadworking. It was a period that saw much stylistic innovation and the introduction of several new beadworking techniques. This coincided with the reinvigoration of traditionalist forces within Zulu society that accompanied the official recognition of the Zulu Royal House in 1951 and the establishment of some self rule in the homeland areas. It was also a period when the interest in this art form, both from within and outside of Zulu society, increased. The appearance of articles about beadwork in both the black and white popular presses and the rapid expansion of a commercial trade in completed beadwork items were evidence
of this. This combination of forces appeared to have been an inspiration for the beadwork artists of this time and provided a wealth of information from which to construct a comparison of both the consistencies and variables in the beadwork between many different regions of this period.

4.3.1 CONSTANTS

In spite of the differences in the various regional styles of beadworking that were found during this period, there were also similarities in these works which revealed their common cultural roots.

1. The first of these similarities could be seen among the motifs used to ornament the works. All of the designs used on beadwork items from this period were geometric and were based on the units of the rectangle, triangle, and rhomboid (see especially Figures 26.1, 26.3, 26.6, 27.1, 29.1, 30.1, 33.3, 34.3, 36.9, and 36.11). Overall, the triangle and rhomboid were the most popular shapes, appearing in the works of all regions to one degree or another.

2. The color combinations of beads used in the various regions were quite diverse, but there were certain colors that reappeared in these combinations more often than did others. In particular, black, white, red, and dark green were popular in every region (see for examples Figures 25.2, 25.4, 26.3, 26.4, and 35.2). Blue and yellow were also used quite often (Figures 35.5, 34.2, 33.1, and 29.2).

3. The range of materials used by artists of different regions showed a great deal of homogeneity. Artists in all of the regional styles observed made use of glass beads of size 00 made by the drawn method with a simple body structure, no surface decorations, an opaque transparency, and a shiny luster (see for instance Figures 36.6, 35.1, 35.5, 34.2, and 31.2). Furthermore, mold cast beads of size five with the same characteristics were
found in the beadwork of all areas seen, with the exception of the Msinga area (see Figures 26.3, 27.2, 33.2, and 35.4). For stringing beads, Zulu artists all switched from locally produced materials to commercially made cording.

4. The artists of the various regions also all used similar types of beadworking methods. Specifically, the single strand method, multiple strand method, and the beadfabric method were all found in the four regions of Eshowe, Maphumulo/Mvoti, Nongoma, and Msinga. Moreover, the *gongqoloza* method and the method of attaching beads to a fiber or hide backing were found in three of the four areas discussed, in depth, in this period.

5. The forms of the items produced in the different areas had general similarities in their types. Beaded neck, limb, waist, torso, and head ornaments were part of the traditionalist dress of people from all regions. Additionally, tab style necklaces of various shapes and sizes as well as aprons that were worn over *izidwaba* could be found in all regions. As such, while the particularities of their shape, size, and appearance varied between regions, a shared aesthetic in the types of forms made in the various areas was seen.

6. There were also similarities in the functions and symbolism of the objects created in the Eshowe, Nongoma, Maphumulo/Mvoti, Msinga, and other regions. In all of these regions, the system of using proverbs associated with specific colors of beads to transmit messages was found, but this system was probably only used in very specific works of art. It also held that: i) wearing beads was a sign of political and religious affiliations with traditionalist forces; ii) the style of beadwork worn signified one's region of origin; iii) the amount of beadwork worn spoke of one's personal wealth and, in the case of a young man, the popularity of that young man with his girlfriends or wives; iv) the types of ornaments worn indicated one's social/martial status; v) objects sometimes acted as items of social control by serving as a means of communication about the states
of the relationships between intimates; and vi) beadwork helped to enhance and communicate the abilities of *izangoma* to perform healing and divination rituals in all regions for which beadwork was observed.

Thus, there were similarities in the materials, forms, and functions of works from the period of 1940-1960 that showed them to be the products of common sources of cultural inspiration, a shared artistic aesthetic, and designed to meet similar types of needs.

4.3.2 VARIABLES

When examining the beadwork items worn on the neck, limbs, torso, waist, and other areas of the body as well as carried objects and household items from the period of 1940-1960 it was easy to see that there was diversity in the motifs, color combinations, beadworking methods and materials, forms, and symbolic elements of these works. The diverse styles seen in various regions spoke not only of the liveliness of this art form during this period, but also signified the importance of regional and other divisions within Zulu society.

1. The motifs used on the works of this period varied from being simply blocks of colors, as is seen in the Msinga (Figures 25.1, 29.2, 35.5, 35.6, and 36.1) and Eshowe (Figures 32.2, 38.3, and 38.4) regions, to more complex arrangements of triangles, rhomboids, and squares/rectangles, as seen in the Msinga (Figures 26.1), Maphumulo/Mvoti (Figures 33.1, 33.3, 34.2, and 36.9), Eshowe (Figures 26.2, 26.3, and 30.1), and Nongoma (Figures 27.1, 27.2, 27.3, 29.1, and 34.3) regions.

2. The color combinations of beads used in the works of this period were also varied in terms of the numbers of colors used within one work and the types of color combinations used. The number of colors seen in these works varied between the seven colors of the *isishunka* pattern (pink, green, white, black, red, light blue, and pale yellow) in
the Msinga region (Figure 26.1) and the four color combination (black, red, dark green, and white) of the Nongoma area (Figure 26.4). Moreover, the tones of the color schemes varied. For instance, the colors of the *isishunka* pattern from the Msinga region were fairly subdued, but the colors of the *isithembu* combination, also from the Msinga region, were bright and vibrant, while the colors of the Nongoma area were bold and contrasting.

3. The materials used in the beadwork of the various areas did not show a great deal of diversity, yet there were still some differences. Materials that were unique to a particular region were: i) the *amalosi* seeds of the Nongoma area; ii) the metal frames across which beads were placed from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region; and iii) the carnelian beads, rounded brass buttons, and the wider range of bead sizes seen in the bodies of the works from the Msinga area.

4. Likewise, there was relatively little variation in the beadwork techniques employed by artists of different regions. The technique of stretching beadwork across a metal frame appeared to be limited to the Maphumulo/Mvoti region, and the technique of weaving beads into a hollow structure seemed to be particular to the Msinga area. The *gongqoloza* technique (see Appendix A) did not appear to be used in the Nongoma area during this era. Nevertheless, the other beadworking techniques appeared in all of the various regions. Still, some of these techniques were observed to have been more favored in certain areas as compared to others. Specifically, the technique of beadfabric seemed to have been heavily selected in the Nongoma area, and the techniques of attaching beads to a fiber or hide backing and the multiple string method were well developed in the Msinga area. Similarly, the beadfabric method and the method of attaching beads to a cloth or hide surface were widely used in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region.

5. As well as with the methods used to make the items, there were also variations in the forms the items assumed. For instance, *ingusha* (wristlets/anklets) were made from beadfabric in the Nongoma area (Figure 29.1), but were made by combing multiple
sections of bead-covered tubes of cloth or other fibers in the Eshowe area (Figure 30.1); giving them a very different appearance. Another example of this variation in forms could be seen by comparing the apron from the Kranskop area of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region area in Figure 36.6 and the apron from the Nongoma area in Figure 36.8. The Maphumulo/Mvoti work was composed of a single panel of beadwork, so that it would have only covered a small area on the front of the wearer. In contrast the Nongoma work, consisting of three panels of beadwork, was a much larger work that would have covered a greater area of the wearer's body.

6. Finally, there were some differences in the symbols used on the works from these different regions. These differences were connected to the different motifs used on the works of these areas. In particular, the symbolism of the Zulu shield\(^2\) appeared to have been limited to the Nongoma area\(^2\) in this period and the possible symbolic associations of bead color combination of *isishunka, isithembu, isilomi, isiphalafini, umzansi*, and *isinyolovane* were found solely in the Msinga region.

So, after considering the Zulu beadwork of the period of 1940-1960, it could be seen that there were variations in the motifs, bead color combinations, beadworking methods and materials, forms, and symbolic elements that revealed the unique styles of the various regions.

4.4 FINAL SUMMARY: BEADWORK OF THE PERIOD OF 1940-1960

The Zulu beadwork styles developed during the period of 1940-1960 were distinctive from those of the preceding periods, but they still had connections with their predecessors. Indeed, as seen from the analysis of the works, the beadwork objects made by artists of this period shared many similarities, in terms of color combinations, design motifs, beadworking materials and methods, symbolism, and function with the works of
the previous generations. These similarities revealed that there were common aesthetic, social, economic, cultural, political, and religious conditions shared by the Zulu people that distinguished them from their neighbors. Still, there were some changes in the beadwork of 1940-1960 that reflected the changing social, economic, cultural, political, and religious conditions of this period. The introduction of lettering and text in the Msinga region as a new symbol of prestige and as a further means of communicating messages showed some of the changes in Zulu society brought by western style education. The economic function for beadwork as objects made to be sold for profit appeared to have become much more widespread. This reflected the need for women to provide a monetary income that was part of Zulu society of this time. The appearance of works connected to the Nazareth Baptist Church showed the growing impact of this sect within Zulu society. And, the apparent increase in the popularity of beadwork alluded to the growing political, cultural, and social significance of these works as symbols of traditionalist forces in Zulu society. So, while the beadwork of 1940-1960 showed continuity with the works from the past, this art form was also being adapted to new social conditions.

The diversification of Zulu beadworking styles that was begun in the mid-nineteenth century and continued in the early part of the twentieth century was found to have become more intensified during the period of 1940-1960. Artists developed styles that were unique to their particular regions and differed from those of their predecessors. For instance in the Eshowe region, artists of this generation distinguished themselves by adding new colors to their established color combinations and increased the size and complexity of the motifs in their works. In the Nongoma, Maphumulo/Mvoti, and Msinga areas, there developed multiple styles, variations on styles, and/or sub-styles. This elaboration of beadwork coincided with and appeared to have been at least partially inspired by the ongoing revitalization of interest in Zulu cultural traditions and ethnic identification. It was a revitalization that was spurred onward by the partial empowerment
of traditionalist leadership with the recognition of the Zulu Royal House, the establishment of Shaka's Day, and the passage of the Bantu Authorities Act. In addition to this revitalization of traditionalist forces, the impact of some of the laws of apartheid, especially those that severely restricted the ability of women to travel outside of the homeland area, also helped to keep beadwork a vital art form. Nevertheless, this promotion was more than offset by other laws that helped to keep the Zulu people in poverty and were detrimental to the traditional family structure. Overall, the stimulus for the diversification of Zulu beadwork styles seen during this period was rooted in the continued isolation of people into separate homeland areas and the reassertion of traditionalist forces within Zulu society.

Thus, the beadwork of the period 1940-1960 reflected the historical conditions that helped to shape the nature and diversity of Zulu ethnicity during this period. The diversification of styles spoke of the political and social conditions of the time and the appearance of the beadwork of the Nazareth Baptist Church unveiled the growing religious diversity within the community. The introduction of letters and text and the increase in the marketing of beadwork items to people from outside of the Zulu community showed the increasing influence of western culture, both economically and socially within Zulu society, that were part of Zulu culture of this time. As with the works of the previous generation, the beadwork artists of this time drew upon the past to create items designed to address the contemporary realities of their world. This allowed for similarities in the forms and functions of beadwork that crossed both regional and sequential barriers, and displayed the commonalties that united the Zulu people.
NOTES

1. Between 1948-1953 the National Party passed a series of laws known as the apartheid system. These laws were designed to maintain the strict racial segregation of people within society and continue the systematic exploitation of the blacks for the benefit of the white population and white owned industry. For instance, pass laws were strictly enforced, little money was dedicated to bringing utilities or social services to the rural communities, and blacks were only educated to perform menial jobs or to provide services to the black community (i.e. doctors). Attempts to organize any resistance to these changes were quickly squashed by laws restricting free speech, the freedom of association, etc. Eventually, in 1993, this harsh system was overturned by forces operating both inside and outside of South Africa.

2. This meant that many Zulu men continued to find it necessary to participate in the migrant labor system during the period of 1940-1960. Under this system men traveled to the northern regions of South Africa where they were employed in diamond and gold mines. Because these locations were too far for a daily commute, the men stayed in company compounds far from their families for the greater part of the year.

3. See Chapter 5, page 271, for a full discussion of the symbolism of these beadwork clusters.

4. For a detailed description of the isishunka pattern see Chapter 3, pages 129-134.

5. See Chapter 2, note 26, for a description of age grades and pages 16-21 for a discussion age grades in courtship

6. Refer to Chapter 3, pages 173-176, for a discussion of the beadwork worn by diviners.

7. See page 203 for a discussion of this sub-style.

8. The symbolic function of ocu is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, pages 143-144.

9. See Chapter 3, pages 173-176, for more detailed information about the role of beads in healing and divination rituals.

10. For example see Figures 19.1, 19.2, 23.1, and 23.2.

11. See Chapter 2, pages 80-82, for a discussion of the color and proverb system of communicating messages in beadwork.

12. Hlonipha rules are described in detail in Chapter 1, note 16.

13. This information was included in the accession records of a skirt with the same provenance found in the KwaZulu Cultural Museum (number C635). See figure 36.11 for this object.

14. For further information on the isishunka pattern see Chapter 3, pages 129-134.

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15. See Chapter 3, pages 169-170, for a more extensive discussion of this function of beadwork.

16. See Chapter 1, pages 7-14, for more information about the promotion of Zulu culture during this period.

17. See Chapter 3, pages 160-161, for a discussion of the symbolism of the incema grass used in these types of works.

18. The Kranskop region is in the eastern part of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region. See figure 1.1.


20. See note 12.

21 Refer to Chapter 1, pages 12-13, for more information about the Nazareth Baptist Church.

22. Urbanized Zulu people, who no longer had the time or skills to create beadwork items, began to buy beadwork from the followers of the Nazareth Baptist Church to wear at special events. In addition, church women, as part of their religious obligations to work hard, marketed such items. The act of making beadwork is considered an act of worship among the people of the Nazareth sect (Morris and Preston-Whyte 67). The prophet and founder of the church, Isaiah Shembe, emphasized the religious value of hard work. Following this tradition, the current leader of the church, Amos Shembe, encourages women to make works of art using traditional techniques (including beadwork) for their own use and to sell to others (Morris and Preston-Whyte 67).

23. See Chapter 5, pages 309-310, for an explanation of the symbolism of the Zulu shield.

24. The Nongoma region is the area where the king resides and is considered the heart of Zululand.
CHAPTER 5
BEADWORK 1960-1980

Chapter 5 explores the range of forms, symbolic functions, and inspirations for the Zulu beadwork created between the years of 1960-1980. I. First, a short overview of the political and social circumstances of the period is presented. II. An examination of the works of art then commences. As in the previous chapter, the beadwork of this period is divided into the categories based upon where the work was worn on the body or how it was otherwise used according to the categories: head ornaments, limb ornaments, torso ornaments, waist ornaments, and head ornaments, dancing sticks and fly whisks, household items, and commercial beadwork. The works in each of these divisions are then discussed in terms of their forms and functions. III. Following these sections, an overall comparison of the constants and variables in the works is given. IV. The chapter then concludes by relating how these constants and variables reveal the unity and diversity of the concept of Zulu ethnic identity of this period.

5.1 HISTORICAL EVENTS: AN OVERVIEW

The years of 1960-1980 were a volatile time in Zulu politics. The kingship changed hands from King Cyprian to King Zwelithini between the years of 1968 and 1971. Furthermore, in 1971 a group of lands was placed under the rule of the Zulu people as part of the earlier Bantu Authorities Act. The king with the assistance of a generally
elected, legislative assembly administered this region, called KwaZulu. Still, this government was dependent on the main government of South Africa for most of its operating funds and, therefore, remained subservient to this institution. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who had served as an advisor to King Cyprian, also became a force in Zulu politics during this time. Buthelezi initially gained notoriety for speaking out against the apartheid government and, in 1975, founding the Inkatha Freedom Party. The Inkatha Freedom Party was designed to politically unite black South Africans, especially the Zulu people. The party quickly gained supporters and by 1977 had become the primary force of Zulu political power.

In the wider area of South Africa the apartheid government had become increasingly repressive. In addition to banning forces of political opposition, such as the ANC (African National Congress) and the PAC (Pan-African Congress), they continued to further restrict the civil rights of the average citizen. Opposition forces in exile began to plan for violent confrontation with the South African government, seeing no peaceful way to resolve the situation. In 1976 a protest led by school children in the township of Soweto over a proposal to limit instruction in schools to the Afrikaans language erupted into violence. Soon protests against the government began to appear in townships throughout South Africa. Nevertheless, most of the anti-government activity was based in regions outside of KwaZulu. For people in the rural regions of KwaZulu these uprisings led to concerns about loved ones who were working in urban regions and increased restrictions on traveling, but did not greatly affect their living situations.

Beadworking remained an important art form during this period. With the establishment of the semi-independent homeland and the formation Inkatha Party, interest in Zulu political and ethnic identity was vigorous. The wearing of beadwork, being closely identified with Zulu traditionalist dress, was considered one way to express support for Zulu political power. As such, women were encouraged to continue making beadwork.
Yet, as with the previous generations, the beadwork artists of this time developed new forms, decorative elements, and employed new materials in response to their changing social conditions. Under the KwaZulu government, education was encouraged. This meant that girls began to attend school in larger numbers. As these girls went to school they increasingly started to incorporate words into their beadwork to show off their new skills. Moreover, new materials, such as plastic beads and brightly colored yarn, enabled artists to create new forms and decorative effects. Thus, even with turbulent social, political, and cultural events looming, Zulu beadwork artists continued to produce innovative works in response to and support of the cultural, social, political, and economic changes in their society.

5.2 BEADWORK ORNAMENTS

Although new social conditions and new materials led to innovations in specific forms, the basic forms assumed by beadwork that was made to be worn as part of traditionalist style dress during the period of 1960-1980 remained the same as those seen previously. This meant that ornaments that decorated the neck, limbs, torso, and waist were the primary categories of beadwork items made in this period. The works are, therefore, treated in this chapter within the following categories: 5.2.1) neck ornaments, 5.2.2) limb ornaments, 5.2.3) torso ornaments, 5.2.4) waist ornaments, and 5.2.5) head ornaments, accessories, household items, and commercial beadwork. As in the past, courting men and women wore the greatest number of these types of works. A considerable amount of beadwork was made to be worn by married women and an increasing number of item were created for married men and young children. As in the period between 1940-1960, this era was a very fertile time for the development of new, regionally based, color combinations and design motifs. Moreover, the basic functions of
beadwork remained essentially the same as those seen previously. Nevertheless, in the tense political climate, the wearing of beadwork came to be seen, increasingly, as a political statement. Overall, the trends in the changes in beadwork in terms of both the development of numerous regional styles and the elaboration of forms, seen in the previous twenty year period, continued during this time.

Information about beadwork from this era is relatively abundant. Almost all of the museum and private collections surveyed contain works from this period, and many of these items are accompanied by information concerning the location from which they came, their Zulu names, what type of person wore them, and how they were worn. Interviews with beadwork artists, a bead trader, and a field collector were also important sources of information concerning items from this period. All of the artists, the bead trader, and the field collector interviewed for this study were old enough to have had personal experience with beadwork items of this age. Both academic and popular interest in Zulu beadwork also continued to increase, resulting in more formal and informal studies of this art form. In particular, articles by Wickler and Seibt, Schoeman, and Jolles provide detailed studies of traditionalist style beadwork of the Mtunzini and Msinga districts from this time. The book, Speaking with Beads, written by Eleanor Preston-Whyte with photographs by Jean Morris contains many valuable photographs of beadwork and people wearing beadwork from this period. There are, furthermore, numerous other books, exhibition catalogs, articles in academic journals, and articles in the popular press that address beadwork of this era. Using this information, it was possible to construct a fairly full picture of the beadwork ornaments produced by Zulu artists during the period of 1960-1980.
5.2.1 NECK ORNAMENTS

Ornaments worn on the neck continued to be an important category for Zulu beadwork between the years of 1960-1980. These types of items were donned by courting men and women as well as married men and women. Moreover, sometimes young children were given strings of beads to wear as signs of affection. As with the works from previous time periods, neck ornaments of this time were grouped into five forms based on the methods by which they were made and the forms they assume. These five forms are: 1) necklaces composed of hollow structures and multiple strings of beadwork referred to by various names depending on their exact forms, including flexible hollow tubes of beadwork, called umnholhlo (pl. iminholhlo), indudu (pl. izindudu), ujantshi, ibulu (pl. amabulu) and inhlwathi (pl. izinhlwathi), and multiple string necklaces, known as isihlahla (pl. izihlahla), ugcogco (pl. ogcogco), and isijumba (pl. izijumba); 2) necklaces composed of tubes of fiber or grass covered in beads with the gongqoloza method (see Appendix A), called umgingqo (pl. imigingqo), umbhijo (pl. imibhijo), ishungu (pl. amashungu), and undlela (pl. izindlela); 3) tab style necklaces made by attaching one or more beadfabric tabs to a string or band of beads and identified by a number of names, depending on the form and function of the exact items, such as isipalana (pl. izipalana), ulimi (pl. izilimi), ujibilili (pl. ojibilili), isibhebhe (pl. izibhebhe), and ujiza; 4) choker style necklaces made by attaching beads to a fiber backing and then combining the strips together, called ungqi (pl. ongqi) and ipasi (pl. amapasi); and 5) simple necklaces composed of a single or double strand of beads, called ucu (pl. ocu.). These items were worn singly, in multiples, or in various combinations.
5.2.1.1 Umnhlonhlo (pl. Iminhlonhlo), Indundu (pl. Izindundu), Ujantshi, Ibulu (pl. Amabulu), and Inhlwathi (pl. Izinhlwathi):
Hollow Tube Necklaces and Isijumba (pl. Izijumba),
Ugcogco (pl. Ogcogco), and Isihlahla (pl. Izihlahla):
Multiple string Necklaces

Necklaces that were made combining multiple strings of beads in a variety of ways remained popular in Zulu beadwork of this period. Judging from the museum and private collections surveyed, artists from the Msinga region were probably the group developed necklaces made by this method in the greatest number of forms. This is possibly reflective of the fact that artists from the Msinga area appear to have been some of the most productive in Zulu territory during this period. Examples of multiple string necklaces from the Msinga region include, necklaces made with a large number of strings of beads grouped at various places along the length, called isijumba (pl. izijumba) and ugcogco (pl. ogcogco) (as seen in the previous chapter in Figure 253), and necklaces created by taking strings of beads and forming them into diamond shaped structures as seen in Figure 40.1. Necklaces with diamond shaped structures are called umnhlonhlo (pl. iminhlonhlo), indundu, (pl. izindundu), ujantshi, ibulu, (pl. amabulu) and inhlwathi, (pl. izinhlwathi). According to research conducted by Wickler and Seibt, the forms that some of these Msinga region, multiple string necklaces assumed have a symbolic value ("Structural and Semantic Constituents of Mchunu Bead Language" 323-325). In particular, they asserted that necklaces with clusters of beads that have ends that stand out freely are a reference to bushes that have branches that form an irregular latticework. These, they claimed, act as a symbol for close connections between people, especially engagement (Wickler and Seibt, "Structural and Semantic Constituents of Mchunu Bead Language" 323-325). In another example, they indicated that necklaces that have two interlocking loops symbolize the holding of hands as an allusion to engagement (Wickler and Seibt, "Structural and Semantic Constituents of Mchunu Bead Language" 323-325).
Thus, the forms assumed by multiple string necklaces could have a significant impact on the symbolism of such works\(^2\).

Probably the most complex forms that were assumed by multiple string necklaces are works called *isihlahla* (pl. *izihlahla*) (Figure 40.2). *Izihlahla* are distinguished by the fact that they are made of a group of strings of beads that are brought together to form spiny, hollow, semi-rigid structures where some of the ends of the beadwork are pointed outwards. In the example in Figure 40.2, these structures appear at four, evenly spaced locations along the length of the necklace. These bunches refer to *izihlahla* bushes. As noted above, Wickler and Seibt claimed that because of the interlocking nature of the branches of *isihlahla* bushes these are a reference to engagement ("Structural and Semantic Constituents of Mchunu Bead Language" 324). In addition, the word *isihlahla* is also used to denote the spot, "where the bridal party assemble to prepare themselves for the wedding-dance" (Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana, and Vilakazi 311). This is another obvious reference to the fact that these items are symbolic of an engagement between two people.

The necklace in Figure 40.2 comes from the collection of the Natal Museum (1880-present) and was acquired in 1973. It was made in the area of Mpukunyoni in the northern region of Zulu territory. The full name of the work was recorded as, "isihlahla sentothoviyane endlada", meaning, "the *isihlahla* upon which are laid the colors of the *intothoviyane* locust". The work is made of yellow, blue, black, pink, white, red, and green glass beads. All of the beads were made by the drawn method and are about size 00 with a shiny luster, an opaque transparency, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The areas of the necklace where the *izihlahla* bunches occur are ornamented in blue, black, pink, yellow, and red stripes. Between the bunches, the lengths of the necklace are also decorated with stripes, a single bead in width, of red, black, yellow, white, and blue. It is these sections that are, most likely, the regions associated with the reference to the colors.
of the locust (because white beads with small black and/or blue stripes are also called *intothoviyane*). Beads associated with the *intothoviyane* are said to allude to the prolonged mating for which these locusts are known and so symbolize a prolonged relationship\(^3\). As such, these sections between the *izihlahla* bundles are another reference to engagement.

When worn, such a dramatic work would have surely attracted attention. The bright colors would have stood out distinctly against the skin, bringing the eye of the observer to the neck and face of the wearer. The stripes in both the sections of bunches and the regions between bunches are evenly spaced, and bunches are placed at even intervals down the length of the neck, creating a steady rhythm of design. Yet, the changes between the wide stripes in the bunches and the narrower stripes in the regions between the bunches brings variety to the work. Moreover, the difference in the texture and color values between the bunches and the strings of beads add still more visual variety. Although this work alluded to the wealth of a person, the region from which they came, and their religious and political affiliations, it would have primarily served as a very visually attractive work that loudly and joyfully announced an engagement. This work is a good example of the way in which the form of a multiple string necklace can act in conjunction with the colors and patterns of the item to determine the symbolic function of the work of art.

5.2.1.2 *Umgingqo* (pl. *Imigingqo*), *Umbhiyo* (pl. *Imibhiyo*), *Ishungu* (pl. *Amashungu*), and *Undlela* (pl. *Izindlela*):
Tubular Style Necklaces

Like necklaces made by the multiple string method, necklaces made by wrapping beads around tubes of fiber or grass using the *gongqoloza* method remained popular during this period of time. This style of work was usually worn by courting aged men or women and newly married women. These necklaces came in a variety of widths. For instance, they could be very thick, as seen in the work in Figure 41.1 from the collection of
the Natal Museum (1880-present). This *umgingqo*, from the region around Mtubatuba, is about an inch and a half in diameter. Yet generally speaking, these works tended to be about half an inch thick.

Artists from this period decorated *imibhijo* with an extremely wide range of color combinations and decorative motifs. The works in Figures 41.2, 41.3, and 41.4 are representatives of some of the color combinations and patterns that were found in the Muden area of the Msinga region during this period. All of these works are part of the collection of the Natal Museum and are dated by the museum to the 1970's. The artist of the *umbhijo* in Figure 41.2 utilized red, black, green, and white beads to create a very active, spiral, zigzag pattern. All of the glass beads on the work are of size 00 and have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. They were used to make a design that consists of interlocking lengths of triangles in green, red, blue, and black beads outlined in white. These interlocking lengths were then made to spiral around the length of the necklace. Overall, it is a very intricate pattern that keeps the eye in constant motion. In contrast, the artist of the work in Figure 41.3 chose a much more open pattern that consists of a series of interlocking rhomboids of pink, red, green, light blue, dark blue, and black beads outlined in white beads. The different colors of these shapes adds variety to the work, while the repetition of the same shape and the white lines that outline all of the rhomboids unify the design. It is also a pattern that keeps the eye moving around the work, yet it is much less active than the design seen on the previous work. Last, the design on the necklace in Figure 41.4 is even sparer. It consists of a series of motifs composed of a central rhomboid outlined in a contrasting color and surrounded by six triangles. The colors of beads used in the work are red, black, green, blue, and yellow. As with the works above, all of these beads used in this piece are drawn glass and size 00 with a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The motifs on the *umbhijo* in Figure 41.4 are placed down the length of the
work at evenly spaced intervals in a spiraling fashion and set on a white background. While the design on this necklace is no less complex than those discussed above, the use of isolated elements on a white field gives the work a relatively calm feel. In contrast to the very active patterns of the works in Figures 41.2 and 41.3, the eye is taken down the design on the work in Figure 41.4 in a much less harried manner. In this way, these three examples show how diverse the decorative motifs applied to a single type of item from a single region could be.

In addition to decorative patterns, artists from this period also experimented with a variety of additions to the basic tubular form. In the example of the necklace in Figure 41.5, created in the Eshowe region and found in the collection of the Zululand Historical Museum (1930-present), the artist attached a film canister to the ends of the necklace to serve as a container for snuff. This work, called *ishungu* (pl. *amashungu*), is comparable to the snuff containers seen in Chapter 2 (Figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3); except that the Eshowe work features a neckband made by the *gongqoloza* method. The work is covered in white beads and an hourglass design in green, black, blue, and red beads is placed on the container. Worn by a young man when he was visiting the home of his fiancée's parents, it was used to hold the snuff that would have been offered as part of the socializing at this event. This work was designed to serve as a symbol of the courting status of the engaged young man, and as an instrument that facilitate the socialization process between the young man and his soon-to-be in-laws. The innovation to this form, thereby, expanded its function. In other instances, beadwork artists added elements to the basic tubular form to help to distinguish their works. For instance, the *umbhijo* in Figure 41.6 from the Msinga region and found in the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present) is an example of an elaborate alteration on the basic, tubular, necklace form. In this piece the tubular part of the necklace is covered entirely in black beads. The artist then attached a flange of beadwork, running the length of the item, along the bottom edge of the tube.
This flange is made from a slightly openwork beadfabric in white, green, and orange beads. All of the beads in the necklace are drawn glass beads of about size 00 with a simple body, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. The black, orange, green, and white bead color combination used on this work is referred to as *isimodeni* ("modern") or *isinyolovane* (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 52-53). At three places along the length of the item the artist wrapped beads around the body of the tube four times and joined them with a rounded, sliver-colored button. The colors of these wrapped areas are the same white, orange, and green of the flange. Moreover, the artist attached four, small, black, beadfabric tabs to the edge of the necklace within the region of the flange. Upon these tabs are placed single letters in the colors of beads of the adjoining flange. Additionally, these tabs are marked by the placement of two, sliver-colored, rounded buttons on either side. Taken as a whole, the work is unified by the solid black color of the tube and the uniform size of the flange. An uneven rhythm in the design is created by the fact that the green, orange, and white regions of the flange are of unequal size and the banded regions of the tube and the tabs are also placed at uneven intervals along the length of the work. Further, the banding around the black tube and the metal buttons adds textural interest to the piece. Taken as a whole, this *umbhijo* assumes a style that is quite distinctive. With the fanciful extensions of its form, the new color combinations, and the use of letters as decorative motifs, the artist of this piece clearly created a work was visually distinct from its predecessors and would have set its wearer apart.

Finally, sometimes tubular necklaces, called *undlela*, were made by securing beads around a rigid frame. Two examples of this type of work can be seen in Figures 41.7 and 41.8. Both of these necklaces are from the Eshowe region and are part of the collection of the Zululand Historical Museum (1930-present). The *undlela* in Figure 41.7 is of particular interest. It is made of white beads that are strung in a ridged structure that is
spiraled down the length of the work. Around this structure are placed three rings of beads in red, black, and green. These rings are called *ugce* ("little star") and were used to convey messages from a young woman to her suitor when such an item was given as a gift. Using the system of color and proverb associations discussed previously, the colors of these stars are the means by which a message was conveyed (personal communication, Shandu Sukethini and Baqaphale Mpugose, beadwork artists, April 1997). Aesthetically, the new technique of winding beads on a rigid frame allowed the artists to create very thin tubular, necklaces and inspired them to experiment with textures on the bodies of the works.

Thus, beadwork artists from the period of 1960-1980 continued to use the tubular necklace form. Nevertheless, they employed various alterations in forms, materials, color combinations, design motifs, and beadwork techniques to design works that distinguished the artists of this generation and met their new needs.

5.2.1.3 *Isipalana* (pl. *Izipalana*), *Ulimi* (pl. *Izilimi*), *Ujibilili* (pl. *Ojibilili*), *Isibhebhe* (pl. *Izibhebhe*), and *Ujiza*: Tab Style Necklaces

Beaded necklaces that have one or more beadfabric tabs attached to a string or band of beads were also part of the corpus of the beadwork created during this period. These types of works were used to convey messages about the wealth and social, especially marital, status of a person; act as a form of communication between intimates; denote the region from which a person came; and allude to the political and religious affiliations of an individual. They were worn by courting aged men and women as well as married men and women. As in previous times, these items assumed a wide variety of shapes and sizes.

One of the most conservative forms assumed by tab style necklaces of this period can be seen in the examples of the works in Figures 42.1, 42.2, and 42.3. This form of
necklace is called *ujibilili* (pl. *ojibilili*) and *isibhebhe* (pl. *izibhebhe*). From the records of the Local History Museum, it is known that all of these works were created in Umbumbulu region by the Mngoma wives. They all have a small tab of beadfabric attached to a band of beadwork that fit closely around the neck like a choker and were worn by their owners on special occasions. Of particular interest is the work in Figure 42.3. On the tab of the necklace in Figure 42.3 there appears to be a figure wearing a cape. The body of the figure consists of two, black triangles arranged in an hourglass fashion. Atop these triangles is a small rhomboid that serves as the figure's head. The two lines emerging from the bottom of these triangles form the legs and feet. The two white triangles that appear beside the body seem to form a cape. Although the possible symbolism of this figure is unclear, it marks the earliest appearance of the figural element observed by the writer in Zulu beadwork designs, based upon the archives and museum and private collections surveyed. Another interesting aspect of these works is the large, bright green beads that were used as fasteners for the items in Figures 42.2 and 42.3. These beads are made of molded plastic. As will be seen shortly, plastic beads became a favorite material for many Zulu beadwork artists during this period, allowing for the development of new forms and new color combinations. Yet overall, the fairly simple forms of these items and the uncomplicated designs placed upon white fields make them relatively conservative representations of tab style necklaces of this period.

Although maintaining a generally conservative form, the *izipalana* necklaces seen in Figures 42.4 and 42.5 reveal a bold use of color and design. Both of these works, created in the area around Mpukunyoni and from the collection of the Natal Museum (1880-present), have neckbands composed of strings of beads onto which four, *izihlahla*° bundles are placed. The strings of beads are decorated with stripes of two colors and the bundles are adorned with stripes of other colors. In particular, the necklace in Figure 42.4 has strings of yellow and red and bundles of light blue, dark blue, red, and black beads;
while the necklace in Figure 42.5 has strings of magenta and blue and bundles of black, white, and green. In both examples the color combinations are very bright and eye-catching. The designs on the tabs are also very distinct. They are composed of combinations of rectangular and triangular elements, also in bright colors, that are formed into motifs referred to as *isitezi* ("stairs")⁶. Like the *izihlahla* necklaces discussed above, these works announced the engagement of the people who wore them in a loud and cheerful manner.

Diversifications in the form of the tab on the necklaces were also an important variation on tab style necklaces of this period, as seen in the works in Figures 42.6, 42.7, 42.8, and 42.9, called *ujiza*. These works were created in the Umbumbulu region in 1970 and are part in the collection of the Local History Museum in Durban (1870-present). According to accession records, they were part of the wedding costume worn by brides. They take the form of triangular shaped pendants, created with an open work beadfabric stretched across a metal frame, that are attached to a beadwork cording. Drawn glass beads of size 00, which, for the most part, share the characteristics of other beads in Zulu beadworking, are the primary materials used to create these works. Still, the artists of these necklaces also included some striped beads and some transparent beads in their works. The neckbands for each piece are made from a double string (Figure 42.6 and 42.7) of beads or from multiples of strings that are woven together in a number of ways. The decorations on the pendants consist of black beads interspersed with colored beads. This heavy use of black, which has not been a prevalent part of traditionalist Zulu beadwork since the 1890-1920 period, is a hallmark of the Umbumbulu style of this time. Sometimes the colors mixed with black were used to form designs, such as the zigzags in Figures 42.8 and 42.9. On their black and multiple colored fields, these pendants could be decorated with abstract elements, such as the pink sorghum plant in Figure 42.8 or the strings of rhomboids⁷ in Figure 42.9; letters, as seen in the same works; or other
geometric designs, as seen in Figure 42.7. Although the symbolism of most of these elements is still uncertain, it is known that the sorghum plant (gabane) is a reference to the saying, "you must take the ready one", meaning, "I am ready to be married" (personal communication, Izansene Kwameyiwa, beadwork artist, April 1997). The triangular shape of these pendants is also relevant to their symbolism. The shape is a reference to love (personal communication, Izansene Kwameyiwa, beadwork artist, April 1997), as the word for both heart and triangle is inhliziyo. So, while the color combinations used in these works allude to the region from which the artist came, it is the shape and some of the motifs of the pendants that convey an expression of love as part of the wedding ceremony.

A final example of a variation of a tab style necklace from this period is seen in Figure 42.10. This piece is presently found in the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present). The name of this work, ulimi ("tongue"), is derived from its long, narrow tab. The tab features a pointed end reminiscent of a European style tie, and is attached to a white, beadfabric neckband with green beads at the ends that serve as fasteners. All of the beads in this work, with the exception of the large, green, plastic beads, are drawn glass beads of about size 00. They all have a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations. Like the izilimi in Figures 55.1 and 55.2, the primary decorative elements of the necklace in Figure 42.10 are words. On this particular example the words appear in white letters on a black background that run down the length of the piece. They spell out the phrase, "Izenzo zakho ziqenda (w) thando", meaning, "your actions have ended our love". In addition to the words, the prominence of the black beads suggests a negative meaning. Otherwise, the only other decorative element on this piece is a white triangle that is placed on the bottom rim of the tab. Created with an openwork beadfabric and with little decorative detail, this work appears to have been done more hastily than other works observed. This hasty construction suggests, moreover, that the artist was angry with the person receiving this work or that she was inexperienced in beadwork.
According to the records of the Killie Campbell Collection, an educated woman made this work for her illiterate husband who had been cheating on her. Thinking that this was a beautiful work that was made as a token of love, he wore it proudly. Unbeknownst to him, the woman was able to use this work to publicly criticize her husband. So while this piece may not be as aesthetically exciting as other items, it is interesting for the way in which the artist used her education to her advantage and employed the work of art as a form of social control. Negative messages are seen in many examples of beadwork in museum and private collections. When a young woman was upset with her suitor she would often communicate this with a beadwork gift. Upon receiving such a gift, the young man was obligated to wear the item for at least a few days. If he did not wear the work he was subjected to being ridiculed as a coward by his friends and age mates. Once the obligation to wear the item was complete, such works were often quickly sold off to collectors (personal communication, Yvonne Winters, curator of the Killie Campbell Collection, May 1997). These works, therefore, served as an effective means of social control, regulating the personal relationships between courting or married men and women.

Artists from the period of 1960-1980, thus, made tab style necklaces in variety of forms to meet a range of needs. They continued to use relatively simple styles of works, as seen in the choker necklaces from the Umbumbulu region, and they used more complex forms, as seen in the Mpukunyoni pieces. Moreover, they experimented with new color combinations, design motifs, and materials. In doing so, they made works that were worn by courting men and women as well as married men and women. And these works served a variety of purposes, including indicating a person's wealth and social status, acting as a means of social control by communicating information between intimates, and indicating a person's region of origin. The fact that a person was wearing these kinds of
necklaces and/or beadwork in general also alluded to the fact that the individual aligned his or herself with the traditionalist factions in Zulu society, both socially and politically.

5.2.1.4 *Ipasi* (pl. *Amapasi*) and *Ungqi* (pl. *Ongqi*): Choker Style Necklaces

The choker style necklaces (*amapasi*) produced during this period varied little in form from their predecessors. They were made by sewing beads onto fiber bands in rows four beads wide. On one end, these bands were joined into a solid area by two rows of beads placed between each band. Off of this end was placed a set of fiber loops. On the opposite end there was a set of large beads around which loops could be placed, which were used to secure the work around the neck. Along the lengths of *amapasi* the bands of beadwork were discretely secured in the back at several places. Designs on these items were created by the artist sewing beads onto the lengths of the fiber strands in such a way that when they were put together they formed an overall design on the necklaces. In totality, the effect created was a set of slightly separated lines that fit securely around the neck forming a complex pattern.

*Amapasi* were particularly popular in the Msinga region during this period. There, artists used new color combinations to decorate their works. Based on the research of Jolles ("Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" and "Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look at Msinga Beadwork") and the museum and private collections surveyed, the color combinations *umzansi* and *isinyolovane* were the ones that were most frequently used in the *amapasi* of the Msinga region from this era. The *umzansi* color combination employs the colors light green, white, red, and dark blue (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 43). Jolles reported that it began to appear in the late 1950s in the works of the people who lived south of the Tugela River ("Messages in Fixed Colour Sequences? Another Look At Msinga Beadwork" 51). According to field collector Mapastoli Mzila, the *umzansi* style arose when, after a dispute, a group of people
moved south to the lower lands (personal communication, April 1997). There in the south
the people developed the new beadwork style of umzansi, meaning, "people from the low
country", to distinguish themselves from the people of the north. The umzansi color
combination, therefore, distinguished not only the generation from which the artists came,
but also their specific regional origins. Jolles described the isinyolovane color
combination as, "any combination of colors that is not consistent with one of the above
(other) schemes" ("Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 43). Into this
category he placed the orange, black or dark blue, white, and green color combination also
commonly found during this time. He also noted that both of the umzansi and
isinyolovane color combinations are referred to as isimodeni, meaning "modern" (Jolles,
"Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 48-50). As such, both of these color
combinations were clearly used to identify the work of a specific generation of artists.

In addition to new color combinations, Msinga artists also developed innovative
patterns for these works. In describing these changes Jolles stated:

Sometime in the 1960s a fundamental shift did occur. The somewhat
somber isishunka colors dropped from favor and were superseded by the
more vibrant umzansi. At the same time the dignified simple bands of
colors gave way to a plethora of intricate geometric designs, replacing the
subtlety and "depth" of the old isishunka sequence with a new immediacy
and striking visual appeal ("Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area"
51).

The designs developed in these works took the form of abstract patterns or letters, and
they employed curvilinear as well as angular elements. Also, unlike the designs used by
the artists of the Msinga regions in previous times, the designs that were found on these
works were frequently asymmetrical. When letters were used in the designs they were
usually stretched or otherwise altered to make them graphically interesting. For example,
consider the ipasi in Figure 43.1 from the collection of the writer. This has the white,
blue, red, and green color combination of the umzansi style with large white and light
green beads serving as fasteners. The large beads are molded plastic beads, but all of rest
of the beads in this piece are size 00, glass beads made by the drawn method. The red, white, and green beads in the body of the necklace have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The blue beads have the same characteristics except that they have a transparent clarity. Beginning on the left side of the work, there are a set of loops secured to the body of the necklace with five, opaque, glass beads of about size one. Following this section, the bands of the necklace are united by lines of beadwork decorated with small, horizontal, stripes of green, red, and blue. The main body of the work is composed of five, beaded bands of fiber. The design in the first part of the necklace consists of a blue, angled "G" with a very wide left edge placed on a white background. Next there is a red "R". This letter is placed at the same angle as the "G" and also has a wide left side. The ipasi is then finished off with a region of green. Although the possible symbolism of the "G" and "R" are not transparent, as they do not spell out particular word, they make for a very dramatic graphic design. The angled lines of all of the elements in the design and the widened sides of the letters create a sensation of speed in this work. These elements, combined with the bold areas of bright colors, would have kept the eye in continuous and smooth motion around the work when it was being worn. Often given by women as gifts to boyfriends or husbands, such a work would have made dramatic, personal, aesthetic statement. Quickly catching the eye of the observer, items like this would have also been a statement about the literacy of the maker and, therefore, a sign of prestige, revealing that the suitor or wife of the individual had gained an education.

An example of the type of abstract design used on amapasi from this period by artists of the Msinga region is represented by the example seen in Figure 43.2, also from the collection of the writer. This work features a set of drawn glass, opaque, green beads of about size one on the left side of the piece supporting the fastening loops. On the right side there is a set of large, bright green, molded plastic beads of about size five that work
in conjunction with the loops to secure the *ipasi* to the neck. The body of the work is made from five bands of fiber covered in dark blue, white, orange, and green glass beads of size 00 made by the drawn method. The white, orange, and green beads all have a simple body, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. The dark blue beads share these same characteristics, except that they have a transparent clarity. The bead-covered strands of fiber are joined into a solid tab of blue beads on the left side of the work. Moving toward the right, there is a small area of blue beads that are angled to the right. Then there is a region of white beads. In the area of white beads is a blue element in the shape of a triangle that has had its top cut off. In the center of this blue element are two, white triangles that have overlapping sides. The large section of white beads is then followed by a motif that occupies the entire width of the work. It consists of two, blue rectangles angled to the right, that have been placed, in step-wise fashion, next to each other. These rectangles are further adorned with two, blue triangles placed on the tip of the free exterior corners of the rectangles. Going further to the right, this blue motif is followed by a section of orange beads. On the left side of the orange section, the stepped rectangular, blue motif is repeated in its mirror image. Next to this motif there is a region of green beads. Two circles of green beads filled in with blue finish off this green section. Finally, there is a small section of blue beads on the end of the work. Taken as a whole, the design created by these abstract elements is very interesting. The orange section of the work almost appears to form a center for a symmetrical design. That is, until it is realized, that the orange section of the work is slightly off center and the designs on either end do not match. This design is also interesting for its combination of curvilinear and angular elements, especially as curvilinear forms have only been observed in beadwork from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region during the period of 1920-1940 (Figures 16.2, 24.1, and 23.4) in Zulu beadwork up to this time. The variations in the elements of design and the unusual motifs formed by these elements have a certain power in capturing the eye of the
viewer. This is because it seems impossible to predict what sort of elements will be appearing on the work and it is not clear what these curious forms may represent, if anything. Thereby, the unusual designs of amapasi, such as the one described above, made these works visually compelling and effective in communicating information about the social status and wealth of the person, acting as a means of social control, identifying a person's regions of origin, and alluding to one's religious and political affiliations.

So, although the Zulu artists of the period of 1960-1980 altered the form of amapasi or ongqi very little, they did make changes in the decorations used on these necklaces to distinguish their ornaments from the works created by previous generations. In particular, artists of this time employed new color combinations, making particular use of bright color combinations such as those of the umzansi combination. They employed new materials, in the form of transparent and plastic beads. And they invented new designs based on the use of letters, drawing increasingly on their education, and abstract patterns that were no longer limited to straight edged elements. As such, the artists of these pieces not only created works that were visually distinct, but also made use of materials and symbolic elements that were relevant to their generation.

5.2.1.5 Ucu (pl. Ocu): Single Strand Necklaces

Beadwork necklaces made from a single strand or double strand of beads, called ucu (pl. ocu), were a constituent part of the beadwork that was worn as part of Zulu traditionalist dress between the years of 1960-1980. Although no examples of these types of works from this period were available for study in the collections observed, it is known from the writings of several researchers working during this period, including Vilakazi (Zulu Transformations) and Schoeman ("A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand - Parts One and Two"), that ocu were being worn. The most detailed account of ocu is given by Schoeman, who related
details of the variations of their forms in the Mkhwanazi area of the Mtunzini district in his 1968 article in *African Studies*, "Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand - Part Two". In this work, he described two types of *ocu* from this region. The first type consisted of a single strand of beads and the second type consisted of a double strand, both of white beads. According to Schoeman, on the day a young woman accepted the proposal of a young man she gave him a necklace of a single string of beads ("A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand - Part Two" 112). This necklace was only worn on that day. After that day, the necklace was doubled in length and twisted to form a double string. This conversion of the necklace indicated that cattle had started to be handed over as part of the payment of *lobola*. In this way, *ocu* were used to communicate information about the status of the particular phase of the relationship between two people. In addition, Schoeman noted that loops of beadwork in the form of triangles, simple loops, or stars, referred to as *amathikithi*<sup>9</sup>, were sometimes placed on these works ("A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand - Part Two" 113-116). He found that these loops, made from different colors of beads, were used to communicate messages from a young woman to her suitor, using the system of color and proverb associations discussed previously. Blue, black, white, and white with blue stripes were particularly popular colors of beads for these loops. He reported that blue symbolizes fidelity, black refers to the black *isidwaba* that a woman puts on when she is married, white indicates purity of heart, and the white beads with blue stripes act as a reference to the *intothoviyane* locusts, which are known for their prolonged mating (Schoeman, "A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand - Part Two" 113)<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, research conducted by Mthethwa suggests that the loop shaped elements on these works may symbolize the message that the woman is appealing to the

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recipient of the work (Mthethwa 36). Schoeman also proposed that the triangle shaped loops are related to the izihlahla structures ("A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand - Part Two" 116), as used on some multiple string or tab style necklaces as a reference to engagement. In some regions of Zululand, such as the Estcourt region, stars are a reference to fertility11, suggesting that there may be some related symbolism with the star shaped loops of this region. Yet, this theory is purely speculation at this point. When looked at as a whole, ocu of this period were simple and elegant aesthetic statements of the commitment between two people. They served as concise expressions of love for both public and private eyes.

5.2.1.6 Summary: Neck Ornaments

The beaded neck ornaments worn by Zulu people between the years of 1960-1980 were grouped into the same five categories, based on the methods by which they were made and the forms they assumed, as seen in previous time periods. Still, the artists of this period introduced new color combinations, materials, design motifs, and alterations to their forms which made their works distinctive. In some regions, such as Eshowe, the artists of this period utilized the same color combinations that were used by their predecessors, but in other regions artists developed new color schemes for their pieces. Some of the most dramatic examples of these new color patterns were found in the Umbumbulu and Mpukunyoni regions. The black and multiple color bead color combination found in the Umbumbulu area was unusual for its large number of colors and its heavy use of black, which had not been seen since the period of 1890-1920. The color combinations of the Mpukunyoni region were also noteworthy for being so bright. Overall, new varieties of color combinations were found in almost every region during this period. While geometric motifs were still the most frequently used type of decorative
pattern, artists continued to innovate upon these patterns and incorporated an increasing amount of letters and words into their works. Innovations on pattern designs were seen in the curvilinear design elements used on the *amapasi* of Msinga region Figures 43.1 and 43.2), in the abstract symbols on the pendants from the Umbumbulu region (Figures 42.6, 42.7 and 42.8), and with the complexity of the "stair" motifs on the panels of the *isipalana sesihlahla* necklaces from the Mpukunyoni region (Figures 42.4 and 42.5). As more female artists gained access to education, letters and words became increasingly popular as design elements, as seen in the *ulimi* from the Mandini area in Figure 42.10 and the *ipasi* from the Msinga region in Figure 43.1. While artists of this period continued to use primarily glass beads of size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations; they also began to incorporate molded plastic beads, transparent glass beads, and glass beads with stripes into their works. Artists additionally developed variations on the basic forms that the neck ornaments assumed. For example, the placement of the large *izihlahla* clusters on some necklaces, as seen in the Mpukunyoni works; the use of a wire frame to construct a pendant for a necklace, as observed in the Umbumbulu necklaces; or the placement of a flange around the edge of an *umbhijo*, as seen in the Msinga region, were all alterations to established forms. It is easily noticed, therefore, how the beadwork artists of this era were continuing to draw on the past for the forms of their works, but were making unique and bold aesthetic statements with their own artistic innovations.

The beaded neck ornaments of this period continued to fulfill the same functions as neck ornaments of the past, as works that communicated: the wealth and social status of an individual, information between people involved in an intimate relationship as a means of social control, the region from which a person came, and the religious and political affiliations of the person. Yet some of these functions took on a slightly different emphasis during this period. The continuing spread and promotion of education by Zulu
leaders made the use of letters and words an important symbol of prestige; a fact that was noted by Vilakazi in his study of social change among the Zulu people (109). The new semi-independent status of a Zulu state and the emergence of the Inkatha party as a force in South African politics also gave the wearing of beads an even greater political significance. Beadwork served as a means of visually aligning oneself with the forces of traditionalism in Zulu society. In this way, although these ornaments maintained the same functions as those of the previous period, the symbolism related to prestige and political alliances received a slightly new significance.

5.2.2 LIMB ORNAMENTS

Beaded ornaments worn on the limbs were, as in previous generations, used to help to define the lower and outer edges of the body as part of Zulu traditionalist dress in the years between 1960-1980. These types of works were worn by courting age young men and women as well as married men and women. Such works were usually worn in pairs, so that each of the items on the legs or wrists was adorned with the same designs. But, it is uncertain if the leg and arm ornaments were made to be identical. The most common form of limb ornaments found in the collections surveyed took the form of rectangular pieces of beadfabric that were secured around the ankle or wrist along the entire width, or rectangles that were secured around the ankles by connecting just the upper two corners. These types of works are called idavathi (pl. amadavathi), ingusha (pl. izingusha) and isigqizo (pl. izigqizo). The style of work secured along the whole width was also sometimes worn near the elbow and called isigqizo (pl. izigqizo). A second type of limb ornament that is seen regularly in the photographic record of this time, but rarely in museum or private collections, are lengths of beadwork that are wrapped around the ankle/lower leg or wrist/foreorem repeatedly, called isigqizo (pl. izigqizo). A

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third type of leg decoration seen during this time, made of a tube of beadwork and worn slightly below the knee, is referred to as *tshi tshi*. While these works assumed different forms, they all worked to call attention to these well muscled regions of the body, especially when in motion.

5.2.2.1 *Idavathi* (pl. *Amadavathi*), *Ingusha* (pl. *Izingusha*), and *Isigqizo* (pl. *Izigqizo*): Beadfabric Wristlets, Anklets, and Armlets

*Amadavathi*, *izingusha*, and *izigqizo* are bands of beadfabric that were used to decorate the ankle, leg, arm, or wrist of a person. Although these three names for limb ornaments appear throughout Zululand, the specific forms to which they refer appears to vary from region to region. For example, Schoeman indicated that in the Mtunzini district the term, *ingusha*, refers to wristlets and the terms, *idavathi* and *isigqizo*, refer to different types of leg ornaments ("A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand - Part Two" 131). On the other hand, Wood labeled anklets from the Maphumulo region as *izingusha* and *amadavathi* and named armlets *izigqizo* (168). Yet regardless of their exact regional names, these bands of beadwork provided beadwork artists with blank canvases on which they experimented with both color and pattern.

As with the beadwork of previous times, the variations in colors, patterns, and textures used on these works were related to the region and time in which the artist was working. Artists from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region were particularly active in experimenting with color, patterns, and texture during this period. In probably their most elegant form, designs on *amadavathi* from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region featured geometric elements onto a white background in a simple, tripartite arrangement (see Figures 44.1, 44.2, and 44.3). This tripartite division of space can also be seen in the works from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region dating back to the period of 1920-1940 (see
Figures 20.1, 20.2 and 20.3). In the works in Figures 44.1, 44.2, and 44.3, from the collection of the NPA Museum (1950-present) and dated, based on museum notes, to the 1960s, the artist or artists all chose to place rectangular elements of different colors in the three regions on their anklets. On the work in Figure 44.1 the artist employed simple rectangles of light blue, dark blue, and black. On the work in Figure 44.2 the artist used solid rectangles and rectangles that have a line running through their vertical centers in dark green, dark blue, light blue, and orange beads. And, on the anklet in Figure 44.3 the artist made use of an orange rectangle and two rectangles of a checkerboard pattern in black and light blue beads. All of these simple arrangements were placed on fields of white beads and were symmetrically organized, emphasizing the simple elegance of the works. The larger beads or strings that are found on the edges of these works were used to fasten the items to the body. In general, the designs of these works are extremely bold and powerful, but it is a boldness that is balanced by the delicate nature of the beadwork. In all of these pieces the artists added lacy ridges to the body of the pieces and in Figure 44.3 the artist also gave her work an edging of white triangles. So, when worn by men or women the bold designs of these works would have attracted the attention of the viewer from a distance, while the lacy beadwork would have added decorative interest to the piece when seen at closer range.

Maphumulo/Mvoti artists also experimented with much more complex patterns and color combinations, as seen the examples of amadavathi or izingusha in Figures 44.4, 44.5, 44.6, 44.7, 44.8, and 44.9. In all of these works very complex designs and color combinations were used. The anklets in Figures 44.4 and 44.5 also reveal that the artists were experimenting with different materials as well. The amadavathi in Figure 44.4 are decorated with a stack of small rhomboids arranged so that their lengths are placed horizontally. These rhomboids are then embraced by a series of vertical, zigzag lines that sweep across the horizontal plane of the anklets. The zigzag lines are made from different
colors of beads. Some of the beads that are used have a transparent clarity, which gives the work a sparkling quality. The artist also decorated the work with ridges of beadwork and a lacy edging. Taken as a whole, the bright and varied colors of the piece, when combined with its extremely active design and delicate beadwork, create an extremely lively work that appears to generate its own energy. The work in Figure 44.5 is also a very active work. Executed in a combination of brightly colored plastic and glass beads, including striped glass ones, this idavathi was clearly designed to grab the eye of the viewer. A series of interlocking and intersecting hexagrams combined with dots decorates the work with patterns that keep the eye in constant motion up and down the item. While the artist used a simple openwork beadfabric type of construction for the work, the bottom edging of brightly colored beads in triangular structures add an extra fanciful touch to the item. As with the set of anklets above, the colors and patterns of these amadavathi give them a highly energetic appearance. Other dramatic examples of the variations of colors and designs seen in the Maphumulo/Mvoti beadwork of this time can be observed in the works in Figures 44.6, 44.7, 44.8, and 44.9. Indeed, the artists of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region of this period developed an extremely wide range of patterns and color combinations to use on amadavathi, in addition to experimenting with plastic, translucent glass, and striped beads as part of their designs.

Amadavathi that were worn like gauntlets were also found in regions outside of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region. For example, the anklets in Figure 44.10 from the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum (1880-present) were made, according to accession records, in the Nongoma region. Featuring motifs based on a rhomboid in red, green, and black beads on a white background, these works have designs that are closely related to the designs seen on the Nongoma beadwork from the period of 1940-1960. The Nongoma region is the only area in which beadwork patterns and color combinations did not change significantly over the years (see Figures 50.4-50.8 for more examples).
This is probably related to the fact that being from this area was and continues to be very prestigious and that this is the only region where beadwork is passed down from one generation to the next (personal communication, Yvonne Winters, curator of the Killie Campbell Collection, May 1997). The style of art in this region, as in other kingship type areas in Africa\(^1\), changed very little, at least between 1950-1997, as artists used the older style to reinforce connections with the glories of the past kings. Still, even though this artist relied on color combinations and patterns from the past, she also incorporated cloth ties and an edging of bright green, plastic beads that helped to identify the generation to which she belonged.

Other examples of *izigqizo* can be seen in Figure 44.11 and 44.12. These works are from the collection of the Natal Museum (1880-present) and were created in the region around Mpukunyoni in 1965. According to museum records, these works were made for men for their wedding days\(^2\). They are decorated with designs and color combinations associated with the region in which they were made. The colors of red, green, blue, black, and white on both of these works speak of the fact that they came from the same region. Although this is the same color combination seen in the Ceza/Mahlabatini region of the Nongoma area, the use of rectangles in the patterns of these works place these anklets in the Mpukunyoni region. When comparing the designs on these works with the tabs on the *izipalana* necklaces seen in Figures 42.4 and 42.5, there are strong similarities. The motifs on the work in Figure 44.11 feature a combination of triangles and rectangles that resemble the stair motifs on the tabs of the necklaces. Also, the expanding square design seen on the works in Figure 44.12 is identical to the squares that make up the centers of the stair motifs on the tabs of the necklaces in Figures 42.4 and 42.5. These examples of anklets or wrislets from the Nongoma area and the Mpukunyoni region reveal, therefore, how these works assumed similar forms, but were decorated with differing color combinations and patterns corresponding to the regions in which they were made.

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Beadfabric ornaments that are fixed on the ankle by connecting the upper two corners around the leg, so that the works drape slightly over the heel, often appear almost identical in form to the works that are fastened along their entire widths. The identifying feature of the works that drape over the ankle is that they will only have fasteners at the upper corners, while the other types of works will have fasteners along their entire widths\(^{14}\). For example, the *amadavathi* in Figure 44.13 from the collection of the Natal Museum (1880-present) and made in the Ndwedwe region have the same rectangular, beadfabric shape as the works discussed above. But instead of having large fastening beads that run down the width of the work, these pieces only have the large fastener beads placed on their upper corners. Made with brightly colored, plastic beads, the color variations between the different pieces of this pair shows how artists would sometimes create works with a slight variation between the individual pieces in the pair. The designs on these works are also of interest. According to the records of objects from the same area with similar designs in the Killie Campbell Collection\(^{15}\), the designs on this set of anklets is said to represent swallows. It is a symbolism that may refer to the Zulu proverb, "Inkonjane yakhela ngodaka", meaning, "A swallow builds with mud". According to Nyembezi (125), this is a proverb that refers to the patience and perseverance of the bird that builds an elaborate nest and is also used as an expression of encouragement. Yet, the exact meaning of this symbolism has not yet been confirmed with fieldwork. Sometimes artists also experimented with the forms of *amadavathi* that were worn over the heel. An example of this kind of experimentation is evidenced in the pair of *amadavathi* from the Eshowe region in Figure 44.14. These works, dated from museum notes to about the 1970s and from the collection of the Zululand Historical Museum (1930-present), are much thinner than the works previously observed. The manner in which these works were worn is indicated by the white, molded glass beads of about size five in the upper corners of the anklets. The decorations on the items consist of concentric layers of red, blue,
black, and green beads in triangular and rhomboid shaped elements. These colors and designs are in keeping with the color combinations and designs seen previously in the beadwork of the Eshowe region (see especially Figures 19.2, 23.1, 26.2, 26.3, and 30.1). Worn by men and women on special occasions, these would have offered a delicate highlight to the ankle and foot region. In another variation on the thinner anklets, artists from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region made *amadavathi* that featured small rectangular tabs separated from each other by triangular elements, as seen in Figure 44.15. In this set of works from the NPA Museum the artist used the energetic design of a rhomboid outlined in multiple colored lines, similar to that seen in the anklets in Figure 44.4. Nevertheless, the three, small, separate sections interrupted by the triangular elements gives these works a delicate appearance. When worn on the ankle, the separate and varied shapes of the sections would have kept the eye moving around the work and would have provided the body with a graceful, yet striking ornamentation. Thus, the *amadavathi* that were worn draped across the ankle assumed the form of a thick rectangle, narrower rectangles, and small tabs combined with triangular elements.

Finally, rectangles of beadfabric were also sometimes worn on the arm around the region of the elbow. These are referred to by Wood (168) as *isigqizo*. Nevertheless, Schoeman used this term for items worn on the legs ("A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand - Part Two" 131) and Grossert used the term to denote strings of beads wrapped around either the arm or the leg (*Zulu Crafts* 52). As such, it appears that the specific name for these arm ornaments is again dependent on regional variations. The beadfabric *izigqizo* worn on the arms are very similar in appearance to wristlets or anklets that are secured in gauntlet fashion. This can be seen in the set of armlets from the Local History Museum in Figure 44.16. These works, made in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region, take the form of a beadfabric rectangle that is trimmed in transparent green beads along the lower edges.
The design on the works features two, red, stepped lines that form triangles, with one pointing downward and the other pointing upward, at the center of the armlets. There is then a series of stepped lines that form triangles, with their bottom edges placed on the vertical axis, which radiate both to the right and left of the central triangles. These lines are placed at regular intervals from the center outward. All of these lines are done in different colors of glass beads and are placed on a white background. All of these beads are size 00 and are made of drawn glass. They feature a shiny luster, no surface decorations, a simple body, and an opaque clarity, but some have a transparent clarity. Overall, this type of radiating design is reminiscent of other patterns used on the beadwork from this region and time, for instance the designs on the *amadavathi* in Figure 44.4 and 44.15. When compared to beadfabric anklets produced during this period, it is almost impossible to distinguish this style of arm ornaments from the ankle ornaments based on form alone. Field notes, therefore, appear to be only way to identify the specific way in which these types of works were worn with certainty.

Thus, Zulu beadwork artists of this period did much experimenting with beadfabric limb ornaments of this time. These works were developed so that they could be worn around the ankles or wrists, draping over the heel, or around the arm. In addition to the standard rectangular form, with the length being about twice the size of the width, artists also made works that took the form of narrower rectangles as well as from combinations of rectangular and triangular shapes. Artists experimented with a range of color combinations and designs, including color combinations that utilized both few and many colors as well as simple and complex designs. Furthermore, these ornaments of the limbs were made using beadworking techniques that produced a variety of surface textures, including flat beadfabrics and beadfabrics with ridged surfaces. Last, artists also experimented with new materials, especially plastic beads, glass beads having a transparent 296
clarity, and beads with striped surfaces. As such, beadfabric arm and leg ornaments assumed a diversity of appearances during this period.

5.2.2.2 Tshi Tshi: Knee Ornaments

The Zulu people of this period also sometimes wore ornaments around the knee. Often these adornments took the form of small metal rings worn in great profusion at the knees, but other times these works were made of beadwork. These works are called tshi tshi, derived from the word amatshitsi meaning young women. Examples of such beaded knee ornaments can be seen in Figures 45.1 and 45.2. These works are part of the collection of the NPA Museum (1950-present). Based on the information accompanied by these works in the museum, they were made in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region to be worn by unmarried women as part of their special occasion dress. Both of these works consist of a thick tube of fabric, about an inch in width, covered in beads. The covering of beads is made by a complex system of weaving beads in two layers of diagonal lines so that the diagonals of the under layer are going opposite the diagonals in the upper layer. It is an openwork type of weave that allows the viewer to see the bottom layer and the cloth below. The designs on these works are simple arrangements of stripes. In the work in Figure 45.1 there is a small, central stripe of green flanked by a small stripe of black on the left and a small stripe of orange on the right. Moving outward from center, there is a large area of white on either side of these stripes then there is a small red and blue stripe on either end. Ending each side is a region of white. On the work in Figure 45.2 there is a wide, central, blue stripe flanked by equal sized sets of yellow, black, green, red, and white stripes. These are then followed by narrow black, green, red, white, blue, and pink stripes a single bead in width. At the ends of this work there are a set of white, red, and green stripes. In both of these tshi tshi there are regions where the stripes of the same width establish a steady rhythm in the pattern. Regions of smaller or larger stripes are
then used break this rhythm. This diversity of stripe sizes gives these designs a variety that keeps the eye in motion around the pieces. All of the beads used in these works, with the exception of the fastener beads, are size 00, drawn glass beads with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations.

When worn on the body, the bright colors would have stood out nicely against the skin. In addition to helping to move the eye around the leg, the bold stripes would have helped to emphasize the width of the works, adding to their mass. This would have worked to add bulk to the leg and accent the thick, muscular calves of the wearer. As such, the tsisi tsisi beadwork ornaments that were sometimes used to decorate the knees of married women spoke of their wealth, based on the quantities of beads that they wore; their social status, by the types of objects worn; identified the region from which they came, by the colors and patterns used to decorate the works; and alluded to support for the traditionalist forces in Zulu society, by the fact that they wore beads. Furthermore, they aesthetically enhanced the body with ornamentation that brought attention to the legs and emphasized the muscularity of the calves.

5.2.2.3 Isigqizo (pl. Isigqizo): Strings of Beads
Worn as Limb Ornamentation

Strings of beads worn singly or woven together in ropes of beadwork wound around the leg or arm multiple times were sometimes seen as part of the traditionalist Zulu dress of this period (see Figures 46.1 and 46.2). Unfortunately no examples of these types of works from the period of 1960-1980 were found in the museum collections surveyed. These works can, nevertheless, be seen in the photographic record. From photographs, such as the ones in Figures 46.1 and 46.2 from the Killie Campbell archives, these works appear to be similar in form to those seen in previous times. Isigqizo made from strands of beads that have been braided together are seen on the woman from the Ndwenwe region shown in her wedding wear in Figures 46.1 and 46.2. Although these

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photographs are in black and white, these works appear to have been made with white beads. As works that were made from long strands of beads that were braided together, these items appear to be similar in form to the izigqizo from the Maphumulo/Mvoti area seen in the previous chapter in Figure 31.1. Wrapped around the upper calves of the woman and decorated with a fabric tie, the izigqizo seen in Figures 46.1 and 46.2 act to both call attention to the legs of the wearer and add bulk to this part of the body. The white colors of these works stand out between the multitude of thin metal anklets worn on the lower leg and the black skirt of the woman. The thick braids of beads also visually increases the thickness of the calves to enhance this desirable trait of the body of the wearer. These ornaments also help to communicate the wealth of the person through such a lavish use of beads. Additionally, they allude to the political and religious affiliations of the individual by the simple fact that she is wearing beadwork.

Izigqizo were also worn by izangoma of this period. As in previous periods, izangoma wore ropes of beads around their limbs. These works were usually composed of white and/or red beads. Using the associations between the color white and the ancestors as well as concepts of purity and goodness, and red and notions of transition, izangoma employed this type of beadwork to enhance their abilities to mediate between the spiritual and physical realms. In form and symbolism, the izigqizo worn by izangoma of this period were identical to those of the previous period. Izigqizo could, thereby, serve both religious and secular functions.

5.2.2.4 Summary: Limb Ornaments

The beadwork ornaments worn on the limbs created between the years of 1960-1980, had similarities to those of worn in previous time periods. They fulfilled the same functions of enhancing the beauty of the body; communicating information about the regional origins, social status, wealth, religious affiliations, and political leanings of the
individual who wore them; and acting as a means of social control when given as gifts. When worn by izangoma, these works also helped to enhance their ability to perform their duties. Artists of this time as well as their predecessors created cuff shaped ornaments and limb adornments made from strings of beads, using the techniques of the beadfabric method, the single string method, and the multiple string method. In addition, the artists in the Maphumulo/Mvoti area from this period made knee ornaments by covering a fiber filler with a beadwork webbing. Glass beads made by the drawn method and of about size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations remained the most common types of beads used in these works. Moreover, geometric decorations continued to be favored by these later artists. This is particularly true in the Nongoma region where artists made use of the same types of patterns that were seen in this region from the period of 1940-1960. Nevertheless, limb ornaments made from strips of fiber to which beads have been attached or with tubes of beadwork made by the gongqoloza method were not observed in the museum and private collections surveyed or the photographic records. The younger artists also incorporated new materials in their items, including plastic beads, glass beads with translucent bodies, and glass beads with striped decorations. The molded plastic beads of different sizes were especially popular with artists of this time. The bright and hot colors of these beads allowed the artists to explore new and eye catching color combinations. Finally, the later works revealed a great variation in color combinations and designs. Works could be seen that were made from a single color, a small number of colors, or many different colors. The designs on these items ranged from the simple arrangements of three, rectangular elements on a white field, to much more complex arrangements of elements such as rhomboids, linear elements, and stripes. Overall, the artists of these later limb ornaments generally tended to make use of brighter color combinations, more active surface
decorations, and a wider range of shapes for their forms, but employed fewer beadworking methods.

5.2.3 TORSO ORNAMENTS

Beadwork ornaments worn on the torso continued to be an important part of the traditionalist dress of the Zulu people between the years of 1960-1980. Like other types of beadwork ornaments and works in others periods of time, these items were adorned with color combinations and patterns associated with the region and time period in which they were made. Ornaments of the torso of this period can be divided into three basic categories: 1) bands of beadwork that were placed over the shoulder and across the chest diagonally, worn by courting aged men and married men and women, called ulandela, umgaxo (pl. imigaxo), and umtamatama (pl. imimatatama); 2) capes worn by married women, called itete (pl. amatete), isikoti (pl. izikoti), and isibheklenye (pl. izibheklenye), and waistcoats worn by married men; and 3) panels of beadfabric worn over the breasts of courting aged and married women in some regions, called ineba (pl. amaba) (Schoeman, "A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand - Part Two" 125)18, isidiya, and isibhodiya (Grosser, Zulu Crafts 52)19. The torso provided artists with a large surface area on which to showcase designs. Artists took advantage of this potential by creating vibrant and complex works that directed the attention of the viewer to the central portions of the body.

5.2.3.1 Ulandela, Umgaxo (pl. Imigaxo) and Umtamatama (pl. Imitamatama): Shoulder Bands

Bands of beadwork formed by beadfabric or strings or ropes of beads were worn over the shoulder and diagonally across the chest. They are known by different names, including ulandela, umgaxo, and umtamatama, depending upon the region in which they
were made. When used to adorn the torsos of courting or married men, these works could
be worn singly, in matching pairs, or in multiples. When more than one of these works
was worn they were placed on the body so that one band rested on the right shoulder and
the other on the left, forming an "X" across the chest and back of the wearer. Married
women also sometimes wore these types of works. As discussed in the previous chapter,
mARRiED women appear to have worn these works in different ways, depending upon the
customs of the particular region from which they came. When donned by a woman, these
works were used to help her to fulfill the hlonipha requirements that she keep her
shoulders covered, as part of a system of social control. In doing so, they helped the
woman to maintain a good relationship with her living and dead in-laws. This, in turn,
helped to encourage good relations with the amadlozi that participate in the process of
conception within the body of the woman and, thereby, promoted her ability to conceive
a child. These works could, thus, help to reveal the wealth, social status, region of origin,
religious leanings, and political affiliations of the individual who wore them as well as
assist a young woman in maintaining harmony between the physical and spiritual realms
in her life.

Shoulder bands were sometimes made from long bands of beadfabric, as seen in
Figure 47.1. In other instances, they were formed from rectangular pieces of beadfabric
that were connected together to form solid lengths, as seen in the works in Figures 47.2,
47.3, and 47.4. In still other examples, long bands were formed by sections of beadfabric
that were joined at their upper edges, as in the examples in Figure 47.5, 47.6, and 47.7. At
about nine inches wide, the shoulder piece in Figure 47.1 is a relatively wide example of a
shoulder piece. It is part of the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present).
According to museum records, it was made near the town of Empangeni by Makweyama
Ndimande in 1969. This work is composed entirely of large, molded plastic beads of
about size five. The artists used a wide assortment of colors in this work; pale green,
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bright light green, grass green, avocado green, yellow, light yellow/green, orange, light pink, hot pink, red, maroon, purple, light blue, dark blue, black, and white. Yet, pale green, light blue, and black are the predominate colors. On each end of the work, the artist outlined rectangles, two beads wide, in black beads. These rectangles are then filled in with solid, yet varied, colors. Lines of black beads divide the rest of the body of the work into squares. It is twenty-eight squares long and is four squares wide. Each of these squares is then divided in half. The upper two rows are divided diagonally from the upper left corner to the lower right corner, and the lower two rows are divided diagonally from the upper left to the lower right corners. In the top row, the upper half of the diagonal is filled with pale green beads while the lower half is filled with a mixture of colors of beads in which every other bead is black. In the second row from the top, the upper part of the each square is filled with solid but differing colors of beads and the lower half is filled with mixed colors and black beads. In the third row from the top, the upper sections of the squares are filled with mixed colors and black beads and the lower part each square is filled with solid, but varied, colors of beads. In the bottom row, the upper regions are again filled with mixed colors and black beads and the lower sections of the squares are filled with light blue beads. It is a design that is arranged symmetrically along the horizontal and vertical axes. Yet, it is by no means a static design. The empathic and repeated diagonals move the eye quickly down the length of the work. The use of sections of mixed colors and black beads throughout the work helps to unify the pattern and keeps a steady rhythm within the design. In addition, the constant presence of light blue in the lower level of the work and light green in the upper level of the piece helps to establish the upper and lower edges of the work. Moreover, these regions keep the eye moving vertically between the light and dark colors. The different colors of the solid colored halves of the squares in the middle of the design create a type of transition from the light to dark colors and give the piece a nice variety. Finally, the small blocks of rectangles on
the ends of the work clearly define the horizontal edges of the item, while the small triangles of beads that are attached to the bottom corner of the piece are simply used to affix the band across the chest. Overall, this is a very vibrant work that displays a sophisticated sense of color and design. It is a very good example of some of the advantages offered to Zulu artists who made use of plastic beads. The bright hot colors of some of these plastic beads were not seen in the glass beads, allowing the artist to experiment with new colors. Moreover, the light weight of the plastic beads allowed the artist to create a very large work without having to worry about how to support the weight of such item. As such, this work is not only a good representation of a shoulder band constructed with a single, beadfabric panel, but also how artists of this period took advantage of new plastic beads.

The examples of the shoulder bands in Figures 47.2, 47.3, and 47.4 were all made in the Umbumbulu region by the Mngoma wives and are part of the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present). According to museum accession records, these works date to 1970 and were worn as part of the wedding attire of the artists. As mentioned above, they were made from individual, rectangular pieces of beadfabric. These individual pieces were then sewn together to form long, thin bands of beadwork. Like other types of beadwork items made in this region during this period (see Figures 47.7, 48.1, 48.2, and 52.1-52.5), these items feature a background of black beads interspersed with multiple colors of beads (see Figure 47.8 for a close-up view) upon which designs in solid colors of beads are placed. All of the beads used in these pieces are made from drawn glass and are round with slightly flattened sides. In addition to the beads with a simple body, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations, beads having a transparent clarity and white beads decorated with blue stripes were also used. The shoulder bands in Figures 47.2 and 47.4 are both decorated in strings of letters. The letters in the first work are all of solid, yet different, colors. The letters in the second work are done primarily in
white beads with blue stripes, with single letters also in red, blue, and green. The letters appear to be used as decorative elements instead of as a means of transmitting a message. This is owing to the fact that only few words (hlala - "sit, stay"; yebo ke - "yes very well", bhala - "color") are formed by the letters and the strips are put together so that the letters face different directions. As such, these letters were probably used to express the prestige of an artist who had had some schooling more than as a means to communicate a message. The center band in Figure 47.3 is decorated with both abstract symbols and lettering. The abstract elements appear in the central two sections of this particular work, while the lettering appears on either end. Again, the lettering in these works does not appear to spell out a particular message. Slightly left of center, there are what appear to be two arrows with hollow rhomboids placed in the centers of their shafts separated from each other by a red triangle. All of these elements are set horizontally on the strip, facing left. The arrow at the furthest left is green and the one closest to the center is made of white beads with blue stripes. Right of center and placed horizontally on the band are a set of motifs that consist of a rectangle off of which two lines emerge at a diagonal. At the ends of these lines are triangles. These motifs are done in pink, green, and blue beads. Although the possible symbolism of the arrow-like motif is unknown, the rectangular motif is a symbolic representation of a sorghum plant (gabane) and a reference to the saying, "you must take the ready one" (personal communication, Izansene Kwameyiwa, beadwork artist, April 1997)\textsuperscript{22}. This symbolism relates to the wedding function of this work. Taken as a whole, these shoulder bands have a more delicate appearance than the shoulder piece from the Empangeni region. These pieces are also longer and narrower than the Empangeni work. Still, the slight variations in widths or misalignments which are seen where the individual strips are put together, give the Umbumbulu works a rougher quality. Nevertheless, the mostly black background of these items with the bold letters

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and abstract elements impart these items with a forceful design that keeps the eye moving around the works at a steady pace.

A third type of method used to create beaded shoulder bands was to attach a set of beadfabric panels together at their upper corners. In many cases the individual beadfabric panels took the same form as *amadavathī* that are worn on the ankles, as seen in the shoulder pieces in Figures 47.5, 47.6, and 47.7. Indeed, if these panels were not connected to each other and accompanied by information gathered with the items, it would be impossible to distinguish these panels from ankle decorations. Of these examples, the shoulder bands in Figures 47.5 and 47.6, dated from museum records to the 1960s, were made in the Inanda region and are part of the Killie Campbell Collection (1960-present). The band in Figure 47.7 is from the Umbumbulu region and is part of the collection of Paul Mikula. In design, the band in Figure 47.5 is probably the most complex of the three. It consists of two panels of beadfabric connected to each other with two structures that have the appearance of tab style necklaces. All of the elements are done in green, white, black, red, yellow, pink, and blue beads. The edges of the panels are each decorated with two rows of different colored rectangles outlined in black. In the center of each panel there are three lines of motifs, consisting of a complex combination of rectangular and square elements. Each of these lines of elements is then separated from each other by two, white lines outlined in black. Unlike the band in Figure 47.6, these designs are identical on both panels. The two structures that connect these larger panels together each consist of two lengths of lacy bands of green beads on which a beadfabric panel is placed. These panels are also decorated with a motif consisting of a combination of square and rectangular elements placed on a green background. The panels of the works have decorations that feature active designs with a steady beat. While the white lines keep the eye moving down the work, the squares on the ends of the pieces keep the design contained. The looser feel of the connecting elements act to break the rigid quality of
these panels. Yet, the design is maintained by the continuation of the green and the repetition of the square and rectangular elements in the panels of the connectors. The artist, therefore, maintained a continuity of design while adding variation to her work. Still, this type of fanciful connector is relatively rare in this type of shoulder band. The more common presentation of these shoulder bands was of a set of rectangular panels connected directly to each other, as seen in the works in Figure 47.6 and 47.7. Although these works rely on the repetition of the same form to unify the items, variation is introduced with differing designs on each panel. When worn by courting or married men and women, such works adorned the chest with eye-catching decorations that called attention to the upper body of the wearer.

So, bands of beadwork worn as shoulder bands across the torso could be made from a single band of beadfabric, the direct joining of panels of beadfabric to form long bands, or hooking panels of beadfabric together at the upper edges. Each of these different techniques created a unique aesthetic presentation for these different types of shoulder bands. With the solid band, the artist was able to create a bold design that remained unbroken in its travels across the torso. With the panels sewn together to form a long length, the artist could create a piece that sometimes varied in width. And, by connecting panels together at their upper corners to form a band of beadwork, the artist was able to gracefully employ a variety of sizes and designs in her works. Still, all of these works acted to aesthetically enhance the torso region of the body and communicate a variety of information to the observers about the place of the wearer in Zulu society as a whole.

3.2.3.2 Ite (pl. Amatete), Isikoti (pl. Izikoti), and Isibheklen (pl. Izibheklen): Capes and Beaded Waistcoats

Beaded capes worn by married women and beaded waistcoats worn by married men remained popular items of clothing during the period of 1960-1980. Capes were
either made by joining pieces of beadwork or by attaching areas of beafabric to a cloth 
backing. These works were used to cover the back of the body, as seen on the woman in
Plate 46.2. Waistcoats were made by attaching strips of beafabric to a pre-made suit 
vest. In either case, these were ornaments that were only worn by married people.
Married men donned beaded waistcoats as evidence of the affections of their wife or 
wives, and as a symbol of their wealth and status. Married women also wore beaded capes 
as evidence of their status and as part of their hlonipha obligations to cover their 
shoulders. As such, the elaborate nature of these works was reflective of the high status of 
the individuals who wore them.

One of the most distinctive versions of a cape was seen in the Umbumbulu area. 
Two examples of Umbumbulu capes can be found in Figures 48.1 and 48.2. Both of 
these examples are part of the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present). 
The accession records of the museum note that the cape in Figure 48.1 was owned by 
MaNdimande Shezi and made in 1972, and the cape in Figure 48.2 was owned by 
MaMbonambi Mdluli and made in 1973. It is uncertain whether the owners of these 
pieces created them by themselves or whether female relatives also assisted them. The 
cape in Figure 48.1 was secured to the back with a piece of cloth that runs across that top 
of the work, but the cloth that secures the cape in Figure 48.2 to the back is missing. 
These works were by made by fastening together beadwork elements using string. These 
elements consist primarily of circular or ovoid sections of beadwork that are stretched 
across a wire frame to create rigid structures. Other elements that are sometimes part of 
these capes are bands of beafabric and tab style necklaces. These elements were placed 
either discretely in the composition, as in Figure 48.2, or were overlapping, as in Figure 
48.1. In both of these works artists employed both molded plastic and drawn glass beads 
of about size 00. The plastic beads have a simple body, an opaque clarity, no surface 
decorations, a satin luster, and are colored light blue, light pink, or bright, hot hues. The
glass beads all have a simple body, a shiny luster, no surface decorations, and either an opaque or translucent clarity. The beadfabric panels that make up these capes feature black beads interwoven with multicolored ones. The tab style necklaces, seen as part of the cape in Figure 48.1, have striped neckbands and tabs ornamented with motifs of triangles, rhomboids, and stripes. The ovoid and circular elements that dominate these capes are all edged in solid or toothed rings of bright or pastel colored beads. In the center of these pieces, there is a beadfabric mesh composed of black beads mixed with multiple colors of beads. In some instances this is a very loose beadfabric structure that is easy to see through. In other elements the fabric is much more tightly woven. In most of the sections the black beads are simply alternated with the colored beads, but other times the colored beads are arranged so that they create stripes or zigzag lines. In about half of the circular and ovoid elements there are no further decorations, yet in other cases the artist added triangles, rhomboids, "plus signs", pseudo-letters, or toothed circles to the centers of these works.

Although most of the symbolism of these works has not been fully explored, the significance of the ovoid shaped elements is known. According to beadwork artist Izansene Kwameyiwa, the ovoid elements were designed to evoke the Zulu shield. Zulu shields are large, cow hide structures that take the shape of an oval with pointed ends (personal communication, April 1997). Within the culture, the shield is a very powerful symbol. It is a symbol that is often used to represent the Zulu nation and its authority (Dhlomo, "The Shield in Tribal Life" 17). As devices used to protect men during battle, shields also serve as symbols of physical protection. But not only does the shield provide physical protection, as items made from cow hide, shields also invoke the ancestors (amadlozi) for spiritual protection as well. As such, the symbol of the shield embodies the strength of the Zulu people both past and present, and the strength of the cooperation between the living and the ancestral. As part of marriage attire, this type of garment would
have been used to evoke the *amadlozi* of the bride to envelop her body with a protective presence and assure the physical and spiritual safety of the body of the woman. This is especially necessary during the wedding ceremony, since this is a time when the bride is in a state of transition, being moved from one homestead to another, and as a time when the ancestors of both clans are mixing. These capes, therefore, had protective as well as aesthetic functions.

The cloth capes worn by women in other regions could be decorated with designs that cover large portions of their surface area, such as the example from the Nongoma region seen in Figure 48.3 from the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present). In this work, the artist connected large regions of openwork beadfabric to two layers of cloth. The beadfabric features designs, which were executed in red, green, black, yellow, and blue beads, that consist of motifs featuring arrangements of triangles and lines. There is also a large triangular fold of cloth that falls from the top of the work, reinforcing the dominant triangular motif. Overall, the beadwork design of this cape engages the entire surface area of the work.

At times, the beadwork designs of the capes were placed in bands on their edges (see Figures 34.1 and 34.2). In a variation of this treatment, capes from the Estcourt region, called *isibheklane* or *isikoti*, were created in a manner that combined both the approach of decorating the edge of the fabric and that which covers the entire surface of the work. These capes were made by attaching a beadfabric trim to the bottom of a piece of cloth and then sewing a group of these cloths together in layers so that the beadfabric trim of each section is exposed. This technique can be observed on the cape from the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) in Figure 48.4. This is a technique that dates back to at least the 1930's, as seen in the aprons in Figures 23.5 and 23.6 in Chapter 3. According to beadwork artist Mrs. MaCele (Wood 167), these works, made for weddings, were the combined efforts of the several women. The bride made some of the beaded
layers and her older and younger female relatives made other beaded layers to contribute to the work. The resulting *isibheklane* often contained both older and newer beadworking styles. Sometimes, the beadwork on these layers spoke of its role as wedding wear. For example, the rows of rhomboids on the bottom layer are called *amaketanga* ("chains"), referring to the fact that, "we (as co-wives) are now chained together". The motif that incorporates rhomboids outlined in white on the third row from the bottom implies, "we are the stars of the world as co-wives together" as a reference to the reproduction potential of many wives. Other elements of the cape that are related to the role of this type of work in marriage include, the thick tube of beadwork that comes off of the top row of the cape symbolizing the bond between a man and wife in marriage (*bopha*) and the white tassels of beads that also come off of these regions of the work to indicate that the bride was a virgin at the time of her marriage (Nomusa Dube qtd. in Wood 167). As such, the primary messages contained in the capes from the Estcourt region seem to be well wishes for a happy marriage.

So while these capes assumed slightly different forms, they are all worn by married women as a sign of the wealth, status, and political and religious affiliations. Moreover, they served as a means of covering the shoulders of a woman in keeping with her *hlonipha* requirements; as an act that assisted a women in showing her respect for her husband, and his living and dead relatives. The capes, thereby, helped to maintain the harmony between the woman and her husband's ancestors, which was essential for the production of children (Ngubane, *Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine* 86), (Berglund, *Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism* 253-254). Thus, capes from all regions had a role in mediating between the wearer and the spiritual realm, as a means of maintaining harmony between the spiritual and physical worlds.

The vests worn by men are not known to have these protective, mediating functions, but they were certainly symbols of prestige. Beaded vests were made by
women as gifts for their husbands and were decorated with beadworking designs distinctive to the age and generation of the wearer. For example, the vest in Figure 48.5, from the Estcourt region and found in the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present), is covered in strips of beadwork that are very similar to those seen on the Estcourt cape above. These strips are made of yellow, orange, green, white, light blue, dark blue, and white glass beads. Large, molded, beads of about size one are used to decorate the edges of these strips. Otherwise, all other beads in this work are of about size 00 and are made of drawn glass. They feature an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The designs on the vest consist of geometric patterns of rhomboids and triangles, and letters on black backgrounds, as was typical of the Estcourt region of this period (also see the cape in Figure 48.4). The motifs on the vest are all abstract. There are none of the cars, people, houses, and trees that populate the cape. Yet, this probably simply reflects the design preferences of the artists. The message of prestige that is carried by the vest is found in the elaborate nature of the beadwork and the amount of beads used on the work, the use of letters as decorative motifs, and the fact that this art form is only worn by married men. So like the capes, these vests revealed the wealth, social status, region of origin, and political and religious affiliations of the wearer. As gifts given to men by women, these works also had a role in social control by acting as a means for a woman to communicate her affection and/or respect for her husband.

5.2.3.3 Ineba (pl. Amaba), Isihodiya (pl. Izhodiya), and Isidiya (pl. Izidiya): Breast Coverings

A fourth type of ornament used to adorn the region of the torso during this period of time is panels of beadfabric used to cover the breasts of married women and courting aged young women of the Nazareth Baptist Church. Schoeman referred to such works as ineba (pl. amaba) and Grossert called them isidiya (pl. izidiya) and izihodiya (pl. isibhodiya). These objects take the form of large rectangles or squares of beadfabric that
were worn draped across the breasts of a married woman. They were secured to the body by means of bands of beads worn around the neck and over the shoulder or by strings that were tied around the body above the breasts and under the arms. Like capes, these works were also used by women to conform to *hlonipha* restrictions on dress. These works were worn to cover the breasts of a married woman in the presence of the male relatives of her husband. As such, these items served to help a woman to show the proper respect for her living and dead in-laws.

Unfortunately, no examples of these works were observed in the collections surveyed. Schoeman included one photograph of such a work in his article, "A Preliminary Report on Traditional beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand" Part One (1968), and Grossert included a line drawing of another example of one of these works in his 1978 book, *Zulu Crafts*. These representative examples were decorated with color combinations and design motifs that were distinctive to the region of the artist. In form, these panels of beadwork were presented on the body as large, colorful blocks that added mass to the body. But it was, nevertheless, impossible to do a full analysis of the objects without firsthand observation.

In addition to married women, unmarried women that are members of the Nazareth Baptist Church wore these types of breast coverings. The breast coverings worn by these young women consisted of a tubes of beadwork, created by the *gongqoloza* method, to which a small beadfabric panel was attached. They were worn so that the tubes of beadwork went around the upper chest and under the arms, and the panel fell across the breasts. The panel on these works was not large enough to completely cover the breasts, but acted more to call attention to this region of the body. Like other items made and worn by members of this religious sect, these breast covers matched the rest of the items being worn by an individual and distinguished her as a church members. Unfortunately,
no examples of these items were available to the writer for first hand study. Nevertheless, these works are very similar to the breast coverings discussed in Chapter 6.29.

5.2.3.4 Summary: Torso Ornaments

As in the period of 1940-1960, beadwork ornaments that decorate the torso continued to be a significant category of the beadwork items created by Zulu artists. In terms of form, bandolier style works such as ulandela and umtamatama, capes with beadwork edgings, and beaded waistcoats appeared in both this and the previous time periods. The layered capes of the Estcourt region were not addressed as part of the discussion of the beadwork of 1940-1960, yet skirts made by this method were seen as part of the period of 1920-1940. This style of cape was, therefore, probably not new to the era of 1960-1980. On the other hand, the extensive beadwork that is found on the cape from the Nongoma region appears to be more extravagant than that found on other examples previously observed. Moreover, the capes constructed with beadfabric panels stretched across wire frames were an innovation of the younger artists from the Umbumbulu region. The back ornaments found as part of the beadwork of 1940-1960 were not seen in the later period; while the panels of beadfabric used to cover the breasts of some courting aged and married women, and shoulder ornaments made from combining panels of beadfabric were not observed in the previous time period. It is uncertain whether this is related to an actual change in the types of ornaments worn or whether this is a reflection of uneven collections. When taken as a whole, it appears that the beadwork artists of this period created some new versions of forms, primarily by grouping elements together in new ways, but they used, mostly, the forms that were established in previous periods.

Most of the materials that were used by artists of the period of 1960-1980 would have been familiar to artists of the previous generation, especially drawn glass beads of
size 00 with a simple body, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. Moreover, artists of both periods employed the beadfabric technique and the method of attaching beads to a cloth backing to create torso ornaments. Still, the younger artists experimented more freely with plastic beads and glass beads with surface decorations or a transparent clarity, allowing them to realize larger forms and unique color combinations. In addition, the younger artists made use of the beadworking technique of stretching beads across a rigid frame. As in previous time periods, artists of this era employed color combinations and design motifs that were associated with their region. Still, the later artists made more use of black beads, lettering, and motifs taken from their environment on their torso ornaments. Generally speaking, in the works created during this later period there seems to be a more lavish use of beads and more experimentation with materials, as well as development of design motifs that reflect the changing social conditions, especially in terms of lettering and automobiles.

Nevertheless, when taken as a whole, the torso ornaments of the period of 1960-1980 served the same functions as their predecessors. They were works that spoke of the wealth and status of the wearer, provided information about the region from which the individual came, and alluded to his or her religious and political affiliations. They could sometimes assist a woman in negotiating her interactions between the spiritual and physical realms by helping her to fulfill her hlonipha customs and evoking the protection of the ancestors through the use of symbols. Furthermore, when given as gifts from a woman to a man, they could act as a means of social control by mediating the personal relationship between the two people. Yet, as with the works of the past, the artists of this time have utilized elements, such as lettering, to tailor their works to address these functions in a contemporary manner.
5.2.4 WAIST ORNAMENTS

Beadwork ornaments that were worn around the waist as part of Zulu traditionalist dress between the years of 1960-1980 included skirts, belts, and pins that were attached to skirts. Young children, courting aged men and women, as well as married women wore different forms of beaded skirts. Belts of various forms were also worn by courting aged men and women, married women, and sometimes married men. On the other hand, only married women wore pins that were attached to skirts. Belts could be worn singly or in multiples, and they were often worn in conjunction with skirts. As in the past, the types of beaded waist ornaments worn by an individual were usually an important indicator of the social, especially marital, status of that person.

5.2.4.1 Imfacane (pl. Amafacane), Umbhijo (pl. Imibhijo), Isishaka (pl. Izishaka), Umbhambu (pl. Imibhambu), Ixhama (pl. Amaxhama), and Isibamba (pl. Izibamba): Belts

Belts, as beadwork ornaments that were worn around the waist or hips, were part of the traditionalist dress of Zulu children, courting aged women and men, and married women and men between the years of 1960-1980. These belts could take the form of a strand of beads, tubes of fiber covered in beads, beadwork attached to a grass backing, or bands of beadfabric.

As discussed in the previous chapter, young babies were often adorned with strings of beads around their waist. These strings of beads were used to help to keep track of the development of an infant and to serve as a message from a wife to her husband about when sexual relations could be resumed. At times, older children were also decorated with strings of beads around the waist and other regions of the body as tokens of affections from their female relatives.
When young men and women reached the age of courting they began to adorn themselves with finery, including beadwork, to help to gain the attention of the opposite sex. Young women would make themselves large amounts of beadwork to be worn on all parts of the body, including the waist. Young men of this period would usually dress themselves in bright colors and put on metal ornaments. When young men began to be courted by young women, they would also put on the beadwork ornaments that their suitors made for them as a both a form of ornamentation and as a source of pride.

Belts made by the *gongqoloza* method appear to have been very popular with the young women of this time. In the Maphumulo/Mvoti region belts, called *imfacane* (pl. *amafacane*), were worn on the hips of courting aged women. Examples of such works from the collection of the NPA Museum (1950-present) can be seen in Figures 49.1, 49.2, 49.3, and 49.4. A fifth example, from the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present), is in Figure 49.5. Like other items of beadwork from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region of this period, these belts are decorated with complex designs executed in multiple colors of beads. With the exception of the beads at the ends of the ties for the belts, all of the beads in these works are of about size 00, drawn glass, beads. They all have a shiny luster and simple body. Most of the beads have no surface decorations, but some white beads with blue stripes are used. Likewise, most of the beads have an opaque clarity, but a few are translucent. Spirals, zigzags, rectangles, and lines are the primary elements of the designs on these works. The belts in Figures 49.1, 49.2, 49.3, and 49.4 are all made from a single tube of beadwork, but the example in Figure 49.5 shows that belts made from multiple tubes of beadwork were also created. The work in Figure 49.4 is of particular interest because, unlike the continuous pattern seen on the other works, two regions of white interrupt the design on this piece. Moreover, this *imfacane* is also decorated with a flange of rhomboid shaped structures that project from the edge of the work, recalling the flange on the necklace in Figure 41.6. This flange is white along the region of the belt that is
white and is composed of multiple colors in areas where the design employs multiple colors of beads. The rhomboid structures are slightly open, giving this flange a lacy appearance. These openwork, lace-like projections combined with the white areas, give this piece a more delicate appearance than the other examples observed.

In the Msinga region, belts, also called amafacane, made with two or three tubes of beadwork created with the gongqoloza method were popular with courting aged girls. These works were done in the color combinations that were common to the Msinga region of this time and were sometimes ornamented with brass buttons. Belts made from multiples of bead-covered tubes were also popular with the young women of the Mandlakazi region in the northern Nongoma area of Zululand, as seen in Figure 49.6. In this region such types of belts are called umbhijo (pl. imibhijo).

Belts made using the gongqoloza method assumed their greatest size in those forms worn by courting aged women of the Nazareth Baptist faith. The belts worn by these young women were made from about twelve tubes of beadwork combined with three broad rows of braided strands of beads. Decorated primarily with white beads upon which were placed small stripes of yellow, black, green, and red, these works covered the entire area of the body from the waist to the bottom of the hips. Taken as a whole, when worn, these works of art would have drawn the eye of the viewer to this region of the body and helped to emphasize the curved hips of a young woman.

In addition to the tubular belts, waist pieces made in a variety of other forms could be found as part of the traditionalist dress of courting aged people of different areas. In the Msinga area, belts with two strands of large beads, about size five to seven, between which were placed a line of rounded, metal buttons were also popular with both courting aged men and women. Often worn in multiples of five, ten, or even more, the metal buttons of these pieces made them quite eye catching in the bright sun of South Africa. Belts with fringed edges were also designed in the Nkandla region during this period.
Examples of such pieces from the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) can be observed in Figures 49.7, 49.8, and 49.9. These works were made of a narrow, beadfabric belt on which a fringe that runs the entire length was placed, as in the work in Figure 49.9. Sometimes artists combined beadfabric tabs with fringes, as seen in Figure 49.8 and 49.9. In the Bhaca and Khuze region, courting aged, young women would sometimes wear waist belts that were made from multiple strings of beads.

Finally, courting aged people sometimes wore wide, beadfabric belts. In the Msinga area, wider belts made from medium sized beads of about size two were worn by courting aged women. These beads were woven into openwork beadfabric bands and decorated with a line of rounded, brass buttons running down the center of the length. As with the other types of belts, these works were done in color combinations and patterns that were popular in the Msinga region of this period. Other examples of wide, beadfabric belts, called *isibamba* (pl. *izibamba*), that were worn by courting aged people from the Mafunze region, can be seen in Figures 49.10 and 49.11. Both of these works are from the collection of the Natal Museum (1880-present) and, according to museum records, are dated to 1968. The belt in Figure 49.10 is made of large, molded plastic beads of about size five and the belt in 49.11 is made of drawn glass beads of about size 00. All of the beads used in these two belts have a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The work in Figure 49.10 is made of an openwork beadfabric that is divided into three regions by a solid block of blue beads and a solid block of yellow beads. In these three regions the fields upon which designs are placed are made from black and multiple colors of beads, organized so that rows of black beads are alternated with rows of multiple colors of beads. On this field are placed rhomboids and rectangles. Although the work in Figure 49.10 is made with smaller, glass beads, it is constructed with the same openwork beadfabric method and also has its length divided into three sections. It, moreover, has a field with black and multiple colored beads arranged in the same
manner, but the designs on this field consist primarily of vertical, zigzag stripes and rhomboids. Thus, while the difference in the sizes of the beads in these works gives them a slightly different appearance, they are very similar upon close inspection. When worn on the body, the bright colors would have worked to catch the eye of the viewer. Additionally, the placement at the waist and the vertical nature of the designs of these works would have helped to visually cinch the waist of the wearer. In this way, these belts would have assisted in calling attention to the body of the wearer and making the waist appear smaller in a manner that was considered to be physically desirable.

Although married men occasionally donned beaded belts, it was primarily women who wore belts after marriage. Belts worn by married women could be placed on the hips at the top of the isidwaba and could be worn around the waist slightly under the ribs. Belts worn low on hips were often fairly wide. Works from the Msinga region in Figures 49.12 and 49.13 and from the Umbumbulu region in Figures 49.14-49.19 are good examples of these types of belts. From the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present) and, based on collection records, dated to the 1970s, the examples from the Msinga region represent two different styles of belts. The work in Figure 49.12, called isishaka, has a very delicate appearance. Executed in all white, drawn glass beads, it consists of a series of openwork beadfabric triangles between which are strung thirteen loops of strings of beads. When worn against a black isidwaba, the white openwork of these types of belts would have made them stand out dramatically and given a visual weight to the hips. Likewise, the umbhambu belt in Figure 49.13, also from the Msinga region, would have also added visual weight to the hips of the wearer. Like the isishaka, the umbhambu was worn on top of the isidwaba. Done in the red, white, blue, and green combination of colors of the umzansi, the belt is decorated with a bold design of crosses and checkerboards. This work also features a fringe of small, openwork rhomboids. As the black of the isidwaba could have been seen through this fringe, it served as a region of
transition between the skirt and the solid region of the belt. Yet, it is the bold design and
dramatic color combinations of the *umbhambu* that would have really grabbed the
attention of the viewer.

In contrast to the artists of the Msinga region, the artists of the Umbumbulu
region used more subtle color combinations, as observed in the examples of the belts from
the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present) in Figures 49.14-49.19.
From the accession records, it is known that these very wide belts were worn as part of
wedding wear and were made in the 1970s. They were made from either a solid band of
beadfabric, as in the works in Figure 49.14 and 49.15, or were made by combining
sections of beadfabric, as in the other four examples. The main bodies of these belts are
made of drawn glass beads of about size 00. All of the beads feature a simple body and a
shiny luster. Both translucent and opaque beads were used as well as solid colored beads
and white beads with blue stripes. Molded plastic beads of about size 00 are also found
on the upper edges of the work in Figure 49.16 and brightly colored yarn is used as a
decorative accent on the belts in Figures 49.16 and 49.17. The fields upon which the
designs of these works are placed consist of black beads alternated with multiple colors of
beads. Sometimes these are alternated in such a way as to form stripes or zigzag patterns,
as seen in Figures 49.14, 49.18, and 49.19. Other times, small geometric elements are
placed in the field, as in Figure 49.15. The designs on these works consist of both
abstract elements and letters. On the three, left hand panels of the belt in Figure 49.16
there are some particularly interesting abstract motifs. Designed around rectangular
boxes, the decorations on these works incorporate linear and triangular elements. These
are very intriguing patterns that appear to represent something, but unfortunately their
possible symbolism or other purpose is unknown. Other abstract designs found on these
works include outlines of rhomboids and vertical lines on which arrows are placed, as in
Figures 49.18 and 49.19, and heart shaped elements, as on the right hand panel of the
work in Figure 49.16. Letters are used in all but one of these pieces. These letters are used both to spell out words and simply as decorations. The words on the work in Figure 49.17 are particularly appropriate for the function of the piece as a wedding garment. They spell out, "Hehe Lavi, yeyi" ("Hey, hey lovie, ululating call"), indicating happiness and flirtatiousness. But other works, such as the belt in Figure 49.15, appear to use lettering (and pseudo-lettering) simply as ornamentation. Unlike the Msinga region works, these primarily black belts would have been worn over brightly colored, cloth aprons that were placed atop an isidwaba, allowing the darker colors of these pieces to stand out against the background on which they were placed. As very wide bands of beadwork, these are dramatic works that would have also been effective in calling attention to the body of the wearer.

Married women also wore belts around the waist. The most common form of belt worn in this manner are the grass belts with beaded surfaces called (ixhama, pl. amaxhama), as seen in previous chapters. In form, these works varied very little from their predecessors, consisting of a backing of incema\(^3\) grass onto which was placed a full or partial covering of beads. But, the color combinations and designs used to cover the belts reflect the region and time in which the items were done. For example, the belts (ixhama, pl. amaxhama) in Figures 49.20 and 49.21 from the Msinga region make use of designs featuring lettering in the umzansi color scheme. These were color and design patterns common to the Msinga region of this period, as seen on the choker style necklaces discussed above (see Figures 43.1 and 43.2). It is especially interesting to compare the graphic presentations of the lettering on these two amaxhama. The work in Figure 49.20 features colored letters on a white background and the work in Figure 49.21 features white letters on a colored background, so that the fields and designs are reversed. Another example of an ixhama is the belt with the black and multiple colored background ornamented with letters, from the Ndwedwe region, seen in Figure 49.22. Married women
who had given birth to a child wore this type of grass belt. Visually they were used to help to cinch the waist to help to maintain the thin waist that was considered aesthetically desirable, especially after the wearer had given birth to a child. Symbolically such works provided information about the region of origin and the political and religious affiliations of a person, as well as being an immediately recognizable indicator of the social status of a woman who had given birth to a child. Moreover, as discussed previously, the grass of these belts also probably provided the wearer with a form of spiritual protection.

As in the former eras, belts were used to aesthetically enhance the waist and hips of their wearers. They were also important indicators of the wealth, region of origin, and religious and political affiliations of an individual, and, in some instances, could help to provide the body of wearer with spiritual protection. Moreover, the exact type of item worn was an important signifier of the social status of a person, especially with regard to their courting or marital status.

5.2.4.2 Isigege (pl. Izigege), Isishapa (pl. Izishapa), Ubheshwana (pl. Obheshwana), Itete (pl. Amatete), Ihaqa (pl. Amahaqa), and Umkhambathi (pl. Imikhambathi): Skirts

The forms of skirts worn as part of Zulu traditionalist dress during the period of 1960-1980 were essentially the same as those seen being used between the years of 1940-1960. These forms consist of skirts of fringe of beads connected to a beaded or string waistband, skirts with one or more beadfabric panels attached to a string or beaded waistband, and cloth aprons decorated with beaded designs.

Small children wore skirts made of beadwork fringe attached to a string waistband (izigege) during this period. Although no pictures of these items were available, these works were similar in appearance to the fringed izigege seen in the previous chapter (Figure 36.1). They featured a fringe of larger, drawn glass beads. This beaded fringe was then placed atop a second fringe of cotton strings. The use of these two layers of
fringe helped to form an adequate covering for the genital region. They were then attached to a cotton string, which was used to secure the work around the waist. Overall, these were relatively simple works designed to meet the simple needs of a child.

When a young person went through puberty and was considered old enough to start courting, skirts with beadfabric panels were some of the items that they would wear. Skirts made by attaching beadfabric panels to single tubes of beadwork made by the gongqoloza method were popular in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region. In this region they are called isishapa (pl. izishapa). These works were worn low on the hips of courting aged women with the beadfabric panel oriented so that it covered the genital region. Examples of two of these izishapa from the collection of the NPA museum (1960-present) can be seen in Figures 50.1 and 50.2. Both of these works feature the combination of colors characteristic of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region of this period. These colors are the light blue, dark blue, black, green, white, and, sometimes, red and/or yellow that were also popular in the previous time period. Yet, the use of plastic beads as fasteners in these pieces suggests that they were created between 1960-1980. These works are, therefore, probably examples of a continuation of a beadworking style that had technically fallen out of fashion. Indeed, the rectangular regions that are filled in with stripes on waistband of the work in Figure 50.1 are reminiscent of some of the elements used for the decorative motifs of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region works that were seen in the 1920-1940 time period (see Figure 24.2). This suggests that the artist of this work was attempting to combine a set of previous styles. The design on the isishapa in Figure 50.2 appears to be more successful in terms of an overall presentation. The band of the work is covered simply in white beads with bands of dark green, light blue, dark blue, and black, and the panel of the work is done in the same colors of beads. These are all drawn glass beads of about size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The design in the center of the work consists of a large, central rhomboid
composed of two, vertically aligned, light blue rhomboids and two, horizontally aligned, dark blue rhomboids. Surrounding this large, central rhomboid are a series of green, dark blue, and black triangles. Seen together, the entire motif has an hourglass shape. Vertically bisecting this motif is a light blue line, which has a series of white dots running down its center. It is also tipped with a light blue rhomboid on each end. This is all placed on a white background with four sets of small, mirror-imaged, green triangles in each corner. It is a very stable and balanced design that has a subtle and pleasing complexity. Still, both of these works are derivative of their predecessors (also see Figures 33.1, 33.2, 33.3, and 36.5 in Chapter 4).

Skirts made by attaching one or more beadfabric panels to strings or beaded bands, called isigege (pl. izigege), were worn by courting aged women as a covering for the genital region. In some regions an identical skirt form was made to be worn by young men over the front of the animal tails (isinene pl. izinene) that served to cover their genitals (Schoeman, "A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand - Part Two" 128-129). Moreover, these types of skirts, called ubheshwana (pl. obheshwana), could also be worn by courting aged men or women over their buttocks. Unfortunately, there are no obvious formal differences in the types of works worn by men or women. Thereby, to determine how a work was used specifically, information about it is must be collected with the item in the field. The works in Figures 50.3-50.8 are all examples of panel style skirts. All of the skirts came from the Nongoma area and the works in Figures 50.3, 50.4, 50.5, and 50.6 have the added yellow and/or blue beads, which place their origins in the Ceza/Mahlabatini region of the Nongoma area. Works from the Nongoma region area appear in museum and private collections with less frequency than items from other regions, partially owing to the fact that in the Nongoma region beadwork was sometimes passed down in the family (personal communication, Yvonne Winters, curator of the Killie Campbell Collection, May
This is in contrast to other regions where once beadwork falls out of fashion or is no longer worn it is restrung in a new style, sold, or simply put aside. When taken as a whole, the color combinations and designs used on these works show little change from Nongoma region works of the previous time period. The only significant change in the colors are that the blue in the works in Figures 50.3 and 50.4 is a bright turquoise tone, instead of a true blue. The designs of these pieces were also still based on the same elements of the rhomboid and the triangle, as was seen in the previous period. Nevertheless, on the panel of the work in Figure 50.6, the large rhomboid that is composed of rows of smaller rhomboids is a motif that was originally seen in the region Mbaso clan north of the Tugela River in the Msinga district (see Figures 26.5 and 26.6 in Chapter 4). As a group of people from the Makhong area of the Msinga region moved into the Nongoma region in the 1950s, as discussed in the previous chapter, this work probably reflects the continued influences of this movement of people.

The works in Figures 50.7 and 50.8 are both good examples of the standard or "classic" Nongoma style. The most characteristic feature of this style is a rhomboid shaped motif executed in red, green, and black beads and placed on a field of white beads. As noted in the previous chapter, these rhomboid shaped motifs are said to represent the Zulu shield. As discussed previously, within the Zulu culture the shield is a very powerful symbol. It is a symbol that embodies the strength of the Zulu people both past and present, and the strength of the cooperation between the living and the ancestral. The color of this beadwork is also significant. Black, red, and white represent various stages of the life cycle (Ngubane, Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine, 127). As noted earlier, black is the color of death and misfortune; red is the color of transition that mediates between black and white, symbolizing growth and rebirth; white represents the goodness of life; and green is associated with the grass that sustains the life of cows and with gall, the food of the amadlozi (Ngubane, Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine, 125). In combination, the
colors white, red, green, and black represent the cycle of life that is sustained through the cooperation of those in both the spiritual and physical realms. As such, it is a color combination that symbolizes the continuation of the life cycle and is used to invoke the presence of the *amadlozi*. So together, the shield motif in the colors of white, red, green, and black can be interpreted as an emblem that evokes the *amadlozi* to provide protection for the continuation of the Zulu people. More specifically, as symbols that appear on objects that are worn against the body, shield motifs in this color combination mediate between the realm of the spiritual and the physical to provide protection for the body. They assist in attracting the *amadlozi* to the body to maintain its health and safety and assure the cooperation of the *amadlozi* in the act of reproduction. This guarantees that the *amadlozi* will be reborn and the cycle of life continued. Moreover, the skirts of the Nongoma region indicated the wealth, social status, and region of origin of the wearer. As coming from the region associated with the royal house, these works also carried a strong message about the political affiliations of a person. Furthermore, when given as gifts, *obheshwana* helped to regulate the social relationships between people. Overall, such skirts fulfilled a wide range of functions.

Skirts taking the form of cloth aprons with beadwork designs also continued to be made during this period. Like the other types of skirts, these items were found throughout Zululand and were decorated in bead color combinations and designs that were associated with the region in which they were made. These aprons, called *itete* (pl. *amatete*), *ihaqa* (pl. *amahaqa*), and *umkhambathi* (pl. *imikhambathi*), were worn by married women over their *izidwaba*. The work in Figure 51.1 from the collection of the writer is an example of one of these aprons from the Estcourt region of this period. Figure 51.2 shows an example of an apron from the Ndwedwe region found the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) also from this period. Both of these works consist of a piece of cloth to which an edging of beadwork has been applied. The work from the Estcourt region
(Figure 51.1) is done on a piece of blue cloth. It features an edging with design motifs and a color combination that are similar to those seen on the vest and the isibheklane in Figures 48.4 and 48.5. The lower edge of the work is trimmed in drawn glass, carnelian beads of about size two. These beads have a shiny luster, a compound body structure, a semi-translucent clarity, and no surface decorations. The rest of the beadwork is made from drawn glass beads of about size 00 that have a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. This edging is composed of two parts. The first part of the edging is a white, beadfabric band that is attached onto the lower edge of the work and is five beads in width. This band is then trimmed in a row of carnelian beads. Attached to the surface of the cloth is another beadfabric band. This band has a row of black rhomboids, which are outlined in thick, orange lines and placed on a black background, running down the middle of the band. Above and below this band are lines of orange dots. On the upper and lower edges of this black region there is a series of black rhomboids outlined in white set on a black background, which run the length of the band. This black band is then flanked, on its upper and lower edge, by two white bands of beadwork four beads in width. Although it may be difficult to see in the picture, the beadfabric of the black band is created with an openwork beadfabric method and the upper and lower white bands are done in a stacking beadfabric method. This use of different beadworking methods gives what seems to be a work of relatively simple design a subtle complexity. Such a work employed the technical skills of the beadwork artist and a delicate manipulation of textures to impress the viewer. Information gathered with the isibheklane in the Killie Campbell Collection also suggests that the motif of the adjacent rhomboids seen in this work, called amaketanga, symbolizes the notion of co-wives chained together. When worn, this work not only aesthetically enhanced the dress of a woman, but was also a means by which information about her region of origin and social status was communicated.
Another excellent example of a beaded cloth apron is the work from the Ndwedwe region seen in Figure 51.2, also from the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present). Dated to the 1960s in the museum records, this item is comprised of large, faceted, glass beads of about size five on a black cloth. All of the beads were made by the mold method and have a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The use of so many large, glass beads in a work of this size is quite unusual and makes this apron a stunning work of art. The beadwork of this piece features motifs based on a combination of triangular and square elements in white, black, dark blue, teal, red, pink, and yellow beads on a background of bright yellow beads. The motifs are placed in alternating singles and pairs along the length of the work in a symmetrical arrangement. At the ends of each side there are also vertical lines of solid colored rectangles outlined in black. Set against the black background, the bright tones of the design pop out and grab the viewer. The steady rhythm created by the arrangement of elements keeps the eye moving down the length of the design, but it is abruptly stopped by the rectangles on the either end. Overall, this is a very dramatic work of art. When worn against a black, pleated isidwaba, the smoothness of the black cloth would have created an understated textural variation to the deep folds of the isidwaba. Moreover, the bright yellow beads that dominate the design of the apron would have made the decorations pop out at the viewer in a bold fashion. Taken together, both of these aprons added visual interest to the standard isidwaba, spoke of the wealth and social status of the wearer, identified the region from which the woman came, and provided insights into her religious and political affiliations. So, while the designs of these different aprons are quite varied, they work to fulfill similar functions.

Thus, the category of skirts embraced several different forms of waist ornaments. These works included izigege, obheshwana, izishapa, amatete, amahaqa, and imikhambathi. Young children, men and women of courting age, and married women
wore different forms of skirts. As a result, the type of beadwork skirt a person wore was an important indicator of his or her social and, especially, courting or marital status. On other levels, these works also functioned, as other items of Zulu beadwork, to visually enhance certain regions of the body; to indicate the wealth, region of origin, and political and religious affiliations of a person; as items of social control when given as gifts; and, at least in the case of items from the Nongoma region, as expressions of religious ideas connected to traditional, Zulu religious beliefs.

5.2.4.3 Skirt Pins

In addition to sewing beadwork designs directly onto aprons, married women in some regions also sometimes adorned their aprons with decorative pins. At times these decorations featured arrangements of safety pins, in other instances beaded pins were worn. The use of these apron pins did not appear to have been widespread and, based on the collections surveyed, seems to have been most popular in the Southern Natal and Ndwedwe regions, especially Umbumbulu area. The works in Figures 52.1-52.5 are all examples of apron pins dated in the museum records to the 1970s and noted to be from the Umbumbulu region. Found in the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present), these works are fairly elaborate examples of their types. Other examples of pins from this region include individual rectangles, circles, or clover shaped items. The pins in Figures 52.1 and 52.2 were made by stretching a piece of beadfabric across a metal frame. The works in Figures 52.3, 52.4, and 52.5 were all made by sewing individual panels, made in the manner just described, together to form one large work, in a manner reminiscent of the capes from this region (see Figures 48.1 and 48.2). The pins in Figures 52.1 and 52.2 are both ovoid in form and are made of size 00, drawn glass, beads. The beads of these works all have a shiny luster and a simple body construction, but there are both opaque and translucent beads as well as solid colored beads and white beads with
blue or red stripes. The designs on these works feature a central region where black beads are interspersed with multiple colors of beads to form a solid field. In Figure 52.1 these beads are arranged so that there are zigzag lines that run through the field. In the work in Figure 52.2 there are some small rhomboids of solid, but varied, colors placed in the field. Around the black field of the pin in Figure 52.1 there is a saw toothed border of blue and white beads, while the pin in Figure 52.2 features a notched border of white beads with blue stripes. The first work also has a border of white and black, and blue and black stripes beyond the outer edge; and the second work has a solid border of white beads with blue stripes. Then affixed to the center of these pins are strips of beadwork. These strips are ornamented with letters placed on a similar black and multiple colored backgrounds. The letters in the first work do not appear to spell out any particular message, but the lettering in the second work spells out the word *hleka*, meaning, "laugh". As such, the artist or artists of these works used geometric patterns and letters as their primary decorative motifs.

The pins in Figures 52.3, 52.4, and 52.5 have very similar designs, but the artist or artists of these works have employed a combination of plastic and glass beads in stunning color combinations. As with the works in Figure 52.1 and 52.2, the central portions of these three pins are made with drawn glass beads of about size 00 with the same characteristics as those described above. The artist or artists of these works took advantage of the bright, hot colors of plastic beads to create startling color contrasts by placing these bright colors on the outer edges of these works against the primarily black interiors. In some instances, such as on the right hand, circular panel of the work in Figure 52.5, the artist also brought these bright colors into the interior of the work. While the bright edges on the panels strictly define the interiors and exteriors of the works, the placement of additional regions of bright colors on the insides of the panels keeps the eye moving back and forth between the interior and exterior spaces. These large pins would
have been attached to brightly colored, cloth skirts when worn. This combination of bright colors with black would have been very dramatic and quickly drawn the eye. In addition to this aesthetic function, these works also had symbolic functions. According to beadwork artist Izansene Kwameyiwa (personal communication, March 1997), the oval shaped elements in these pins are meant to symbolize the Zulu shield and the spiritual and physical protection it provides. So when attached to a skirt, the oval pins evoked notions of safekeeping, especially around the regions of the body involved with reproduction. These works were, therefore, used to invoke the spiritual protection of the ancestors for the protection of the body to assist with reproduction and the reincarnation of the amadlozi. On an even broader level, these pins denoted the region of origin, wealth, social status, and political and religious affiliations of a wearer. In this way, these works functioned within both the religious and secular realms.

5.3.4.4 Summary: Waist Ornaments

Between the periods of 1940-1960 and 1960-1980, there were relatively few changes in the forms assumed by the beaded waist ornaments that were worn as part of Zulu traditionalist dress. As in the previous era, various types of belts and skirts made up the bulk of these forms. Small children wore simple belts made from a string of beads, while more complex belts were worn by courting aged men and women. Married women who had given birth to a child also wore belts with grass backings. Similarly, there were different types of skirts worn by people of different social standings. These skirts consisted of forms featuring beaded fringes attached to simple, string waistbands; beadfabric panels attached to waistbands of string, strings of beads, beaded bands, or bead-covered tubes of fabric; and fabric aprons with beadwork designs. Nevertheless, the younger artists did develop large, rigid pins to be worn on the cloth aprons of married women. In both periods, drawn glass beads of about size 00 with a simple body, an
opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations were the primary materials used in beadwork. Still, the later artists of most regions began to incorporate more molded plastic beads of different sizes into their items. In the Maphumulo/Mvoti and the Umbumbulu regions the younger artists also made extensive use of glass beads with a transparent clarity. Furthermore, in the Umbumbulu region, artists employed white beads with blue or red stripes and wire for constructing panels of beadwork. The use of rounded, brass buttons in the Msinga region, *amalosi* seeds in the beadwork of the Nongoma area, as well as the imported cloth and linen and cotton cording, used throughout Zulu territory, were all part of the beadwork of this era and that of the previous period. Artists of both this and the previous generation made waist ornaments using similar types of beadworking methods including: attaching beads to a fiber or hide backing, the *gongqoloza* method, the single string method, and the multiple string method. Yet, the later generation of artists from the Umbumbulu area additionally made use of the method of stretching a piece of beadfabric over a wire frame. As with other types of beadwork ornaments, the color combinations and design motifs seen on the works of this time varied on a regional basis. The designs on these works usually consisted of combinations of geometric elements arranged in symmetrical patterns. In the Nongoma region, these color combinations and design motifs remained the same as were seen in the previous time, but in other regions the artists developed color combinations and design motifs that were unique to their generation. Particularly popular with the generation of artists that were working between 1960-1980 were the bright hot colors of some of the plastic beads and the new design possibilities that these colors offered. Young artists of the Umbumbulu region also made use of lettering and words as part of their designs. Finally, the functions of the beaded waist ornaments of this time remained the same as those of previous periods. They provided physical protection for the body; served to aesthetically enhance the hips and waist; acted to signify the wealth, region of origin,
religious and political affiliations and, especially, the social status of the wearer; acted as a means of social control when given as gifts; and, in some instances, helped to provide spiritual protection to the body of the wearer. So, while the beaded waist ornaments of the period of 1960-1980 featured unique color combinations and design motifs, the use of more plastic beads, and the use of the beadworking method of stretching a section of beadfabric across a wire frame; their forms and functions followed closely in the steps of their predecessors.

5.2.5 HEAD ORNAMENTS, DANCING STICKS AND FLY WHISKS, HOUSEHOLD ITEMS AND COMMERCIAL BEADWORK

In addition to beadwork ornaments worn on the neck, limbs, torso, and waist, ornaments that were worn on the head, beaded dancing sticks, household items that were ornamented in beadwork, and beaded objects made for the commercial market were also part of the scope of works made by Zulu beadwork artists between the years of 1960-1980.

5.2.5.1 Ihephini, Isiphaphalazi (pl. Iziphaphalazi), Isithwalo (pl. Izithwalo), Umnqwazi (pl. Iminqwazi), and Umbhamba (pl. Imibhamba): Beaded Head Ornaments

Zulu traditionalist style clothing of this period often included ornaments worn on the head. Courting aged men and women frequently pinned beadwork decorations to their hair. The hairpin (ihephini) in Figure 53.1 from the Mpukunyoni area and dated, according to the records of the Natal Museum (1880-present), to the 1970s is an example of one of these items. The main, rectangular body of the piece features a design of radiating and interpenetrating squares in blue, pink, black, white, green, red, and yellow beads. Below this rectangle are two loops of striped beadwork that are connected to the body of the hairpin with red and blue beads of about size one. Off of these large loops is placed another series of red and white loops. These two sets of loops help to offset the
rigid, symmetrical design of the body. Overall, this is a lively and colorful work that would have been an attractive complement to the hairstyle of a young woman or man. Other types of beaded head decorations worn by courting people included narrow bands of beadwork that were worn around the head; such as the examples from the Bhaca region in the southern area of Zulu territory seen in Figures 53.2, 53.3, and 53.4, found in the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present). Some beaded earrings (*amacici*), such as the one from the region around Mpukunyoni seen Figure 53.5, also continued to be worn by men and women of courting age and newly married women. In addition to this rectangular form, *amacici* could also be made from circles of beadwork or strings of beads wrapped through the hole of the ear and around the lobe. These types of works would have helped to call attention to the head and face of the individual who wore them.

Once married, men stopped wearing beaded head ornaments. On the other hand, once women were married they were obliged, by the customs of *hlonipha*, to keep their heads covered and their eyes shielded in the presence of their husband and in-laws. Sometimes women wore a strip of beadwork, such as the work in Figure 53.6, to provide covering for the head. This item was made in the Umbumbulu region around 1970 and is part of the collection of the Local History Museum (1880-present). It takes the form of a circle made from a piece of beadfabric stretched over a wire frame that is attached to a beadfabric band. It features solid colored, geometric elements placed on a background of black and multiple colors of beads, in keeping with other Umbumbulu region works of this time. When worn, the work was secured to the front of the head with a safety pin. The band would hang over the top of the head and be weighted into place by the beadwork disk. A second example of this type of beadwork, head covering can be seen in the example in Figure 53.7. This work was created in the Bhaca region in the area of Southern Natal and is presently in the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present). It features a bold, geometric design and a fur trim. Like the work from the Umbumbulu
area, this work was also pinned to the front of the head and then draped across the top of the head. Thereby, this type of ornament fulfilled the function of covering the head of a married woman, in conjunction with the rules of hlonipha.

Usually though, women of this time covered their heads with flaring or cylindrical hats, called (isicholo, pl. izicholo). The forms of izicholo were derived from the hairstyles (also called izicholo) that were worn by married women in the past. But as the hats were removable, they allowed women more flexibility with their appearance, especially if they wanted to get a job in the city. These hats were made from a combination of fiber and cloth, and were usually covered in red ocher (as had been done to the hair in the past) or other red dyes. Often women would decorate these hats with hat pins or by pinning beadwork pieces to them. Some artists created hat pins (isiphaphalazi, pl. iziphaphalazi) by taking a piece of beadwork stretched across a wire frame and attaching it to the end of a rigid piece of wire with a sharpened point. These wires were then stuck into the hat, so that the beaded tops projected slightly from the surface of the hat. Iziphaphalazi also took the form of pins comprised of a piece of beadfabric stretched over a wire frame or flexible sections of beadfabric that were pinned directly to the hat for support. The hat from the Umbumbulu region in Figure 53.8, seen from above, is decorated in a variety of different shapes of hat pins. These forms include strips of beadfabric and rigid circular, ovoid, and clover shape pins, such as pin in Figure 53.9. These pins were decorated with the brightly colored beads placed against black and multiple colored fields, as seen in other items from the Umbumbulu region of this time (especially see Figures 52.3, 52.4, and 52.5). Although the possible symbolism of these hat pins has not been fully explored, the ovoid shape of the pin with the white trim in the center of the hat suggests a symbolic connection with the Zulu shield and the notions of physical and spiritual protection associated with it. These hat pins could be worn singly or in multiples, as on the hat just observed. In other instances women covered their entire hats with beadwork,
as can be observed in the photographs of the woman from the Ndwedwe region in her wedding dress in Figures 46.1 and 46.2.

Along with the hats themselves, beaded hatbands were probably the most important head ornament. Bands made of beadfabric were worn by married women around the top of their foreheads and along the bottom of their izicholo. As described in the previous chapter, these works were designed to symbolically shield the eyes of the wearer from direct contact with those of her husband or in-laws. In some instances, these works were made with a fringe that literally shielded the eyes, as in the work in Figure 53.10. This hatband, called isithwalo (pl. izithwalo), was, according to accession records, made in the region of Mpukunyoni around 1965. Presently, it is part of the collection of the Natal Museum (1880-present). It features a white band of beadfabric made by the stacking method (see Appendix A) with designs of red, green, blue, pink, and black beads. Along the bottom edge of the piece is a fringe featuring stripes of black, green, red, and yellow beads. This is a fairly sparse fringe that would have shielded the eyes of the woman who wore it, but not completely obstructed her view. Yet, in most cases these works with a fringe were only worn for wedding ceremonies. This means that the function of shielding the eyes was primarily symbolic. The two hatbands from the Mpukunyoni region, also from the collection of the Natal Museum, in Figures 53.11 and 53.12 are examples of the more commonly seen form of hatband. Also called umnqwazi (pl. iminqwazi), at times these hatbands were treated with fanciful beadwork, as seen on the examples from the Umbumbulu region in Figures 52.13 and 52.14. In some areas, hatbands featured a set of large beads of about size five placed in several vertical rows on the front and center region of the band. According to Schoeman, in the region of the Ngoya Hills, where these works are called umbhamba (pl. imibhamba), the presence of this square of large beads was used to denote the status of a woman who had given birth to a child ("Beadwork in the Cultural Tradition of the Zulu I and II" 47). Furthermore, he
claimed that the colors of these large beads were used to describe the kind of marriage into which the children were born. In particular, he noted that red indicated a marriage of love and blue identified a marriage of fidelity (Schoeman, "Beadwork in the Cultural Tradition of the Zulu I and II" 47). Beaded hatbands, therefore, not only served to help to call attention to the faces of the women who wore them and as indicators of their wealth, region of origin, and political and religious affiliations; they were important signifiers of their social status as married women. Moreover, these beaded bands were an important means by which a woman fulfilled her hlonipha obligations to express respect for her husband and his family. This, in turn, helped to assure the necessary cooperation of the ancestors of the husband in the conception and birth of children. Thus, beaded hatbands had important aesthetic, social, and spiritual functions.

5.2.5.2 Induku (pl. Izinduku): Dancing Sticks and Ishoba Lobungoma (pl. Amashoba Obungoma): Beaded Flywhisks

Beadwork artists of the period of 1960-1980 also covered walking sticks and canes with beads. These works were then carried on special occasions and as part of dance routines, as expressions of prestige. As with other works, these items were adorned with bead colors and patterns that were distinctive to their time and place. For instance, the cane (induku) in Figure 54.1 is adorned with the white, red, blue, and green colors of the umzansi color combination of the Msinga region. This work is from the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum (1880-present) and, according to museum notes, was made in the 1960s as part of the costume of a bride. All of the beads used in this piece are drawn glass beads that are round with slightly flattened sides. They were all made by the drawn method, are of size 00, and feature a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The length of the cane is adorned with solid colored regions of red, blue, green, and white beads with angled edges. On these fields are placed additional
designs. The white region features angled stripes of red, blue, and green. In the other regions the designs consist of a cross-shaped element at the top followed down the length by four sets of squares. The angled edges between the regions, the angled stripes in the white region, and the vertical nature of the design on the red, green, and blue regions all work to emphasize the vertical lines of the piece by guiding the eye up and down the work. The design of the item is placed in equilibrium by having the active nature of the angled lines offset by the stable square and cross elements. This gives the design a very balanced feel, suggesting notions of both vitality and stability. When carried by a bride, the colors of the work would have clearly denoted her region of origin, while the brightness of the colors and active design would have added vitality to her costume. In addition, the form of the walking stick is associated with notions of prestige, linked to the status of a married person and the wealth of the person that carries the stick. So this induku, like others of this period, revealed the wealth and social status of the carrier, her region of origin, and alluded to her political and religious affiliations.

Fly whisks (ishoba lobungoma, pl. amashoba obungoma) made from wildebeest tails that have beads attached to them continued to be part of the regalia of diviners during this period. In form these items were altered little over time. Red or white beads continued to be the predominate colors of beads used in these works. Yet, as independent Christian churches began to arise among the Zulu people, diviners that were associated with some of these churches began to wear blue and white beads in their dress and regalia. The blue beads are said to be associated with the amanduvo, who are the maternal ancestors (personal communication, Franz Prinz, ethnoarchaeologist and curator at the Natal Museum, March 1997). This is in contrast to the paternal ancestors to which one was traditionally considered attached, in line with the paternal nature of Zulu society. These paternal ancestors are associated with the color white. This relatively new emphasis on the maternal ancestors is possibly related to the prominent role of the Virgin
Mary in Christian belief and/or Christianity's emphasis on monogamy and the nuclear family. Yet, this theory is only speculation, as the subject has yet to be thoroughly investigated. Nevertheless, these flywhisks continued to help to enhance and advertise the abilities of izangoma.

5.2.5.3 Household Items

As in the past, beads were also used to decorate household items. The household items that were decorated with beads often were used for goods that had connections to notions of prestige or with the ancestors. Small containers made from gourds, tins, or other materials were covered with beads and used to hold snuff or sweets. These works were used on social occasions where such treats were to be shared with guests. As in a western home where candies or other types of treats are presented in fancy bowls or on elaborate trays to make the guest feel special and to signal the wealth of the host, beaded vessels made the guest feel as if they were being treated specially. Hence, these beaded containers were used as items of prestige and as part of the socialization between people.

Spoon bags (impontshi, pl. izimpontshi) and beer pot covers (imbenge, pl. izimbenge) made from woven basketry materials were also sometimes treated with beadwork designs. Izimpontshi were used to hold special spoons that were used for eating amasi, which is a type of fermented, milk food. Similarly, "beer must be covered to protect it not only from insects but from spells caused by the depositing of evil medicine" (Tyrrell 45). While izimbenge were considered part of the general household goods, izimpontshi and the spoons they contained were considered the personal property of an individual. Both of these works were made from woven grass or palm leaves and then beads were sometimes sewn onto their surface. Traditionally Zulu beer had strong associations with practices of hospitality and the ancestors. It was often used as an offering to the ancestors to let them know they were being remembered (Levinsohn,
"Amacunu Beverage Containers" 53). So it seems quite fitting that these beer pot covers were sometimes given the special treatment of a beadwork decoration. When decorated with beads an isimbenge was adorned with color combinations and patterns associated with the region from its make came. Such works could be covered completely with beads or could have beads attached to them to form regions of patterns, allowing the basketry below to be seen. Likewise, as a product produced by animals associated with the ancestors, the milk of cows used to make amasi and the amasi itself was strongly connected to the ancestors. In fact, izimpontshi were a common engagement gift (Van Heerden 141) given to suggest the intermixing of ancestors of the two lineages. Whereas, izimbenge could be decorated with a complete covering of beads, izimpontshi were usually only treated with strings of beads. Overall, the use of beads on these works increased the special nature of these already singular items.

5.2.5.4 Commercial Beadwork

Between the years of 1960-1980, the commercial market became an increasingly important part of Zulu beadwork. This market stimulated a diversification in beadworking forms as well as more experimentation with color combinations and designs. As more and more people became interested in Zulu beadwork, through an increase in travel and the publication of more information about this art form in the popular press, artists created works to respond to the desires of non-Zulu people to own such items. Not only did artists set up stalls along the rural roads, some also set up stalls along the beach front in Durban. At these stalls women sold a variety of beaded necklaces, bracelets, coasters, etc., along with mats, baskets, and other hand-made items. While some women sold their wares directly, others preferred to leave the marketing to gift shops, art galleries, or museum stores. In this system, artists would travel to the city for only a day or so and sell their wares directly to these middlemen. The African Art Centre in Durban was and
continues to be an important outlet for Zulu beadwork. The South African Institute for Race Relations, which is dedicated to promoting inter-racial interactions and understanding, founded this organization in 1963 under the direction of Jo Thorpe. The purpose of this center is to help to support and promote black artists, including beadwork artists. Both formerly and currently the center serves as an important showcase for contemporary, South African artists in all media.

As more artists began to see the commercial potential of their works the competition for customers increased. As a result, artists began to experiment with new color combinations, design motifs, and forms. These were all experiments designed to produce objects that to caught the eye of the consumer and suited contemporary tastes and needs. Bright colors and busy designs were often used to grab the eye of the viewer. Furthermore, artists began to create new forms, such as coasters, bracelets, dolls, and beaded sculptures to suit the tastes of commercial buyers.

Of these new forms, the dolls and bead sculptures deserve special attention. Although found in other regions of South Africa, in Zululand and Natal "dolls" were part of the traditional Zulu culture only in the Msinga region. Traditional "dolls" from this area were made of a core of fibrous material covered in cloth and beadwork. The cloth was gathered at the neck so that the form consisted of a round head and a tubular body. The face was outlined with beads sewn into a circle on the front of the round top, but facial features were never added. Young women usually made these "dolls" for fun. Yet, sometimes they were given to their boyfriends, who would wear them on a beaded strings hung over their shoulders (Morris and Preston-Whyte 54). In the mid-1960s customers began to take an interest in this art form and beadwork artists responded by starting to make dolls for the commercial market. Initially the dolls made for the new market took the same form as the traditional "dolls", but soon artists began to elaborate on the old form. They began to add facial features, arms, legs, the flared hats worn by
married women, and other aspects of traditionalist style dress. In addition, the "dolls" came to be made in all different kinds of shapes and sizes. Indeed, these "dolls" became works that represented, to a certain extent, the traditional fashions and beadwork of the women who produced them. As such, they became popular with serious collectors of Zulu art and tourists alike.

The second notable form developed for the commercial market is beadwork sculpture. Thembi Mchunu originated this art form. Mrs. Mchunu made the first beadwork sculpture around 1970 and brought it to Jo Thorpe at the African Art Center in Durban. Ms. Thorpe encouraged Mrs. Mchunu to continue her work and began to promote this art form among other female artists, especially those from Mrs. Mchunu's region of Ndwedwe. With this encouragement, artists began to make works that reflected a wide range of their life experiences. These sculptures generally consisted of a cloth base supported by a frame, which formed the body of the work. Then individual beads, strings of beads, and/or sections of beadfabric were sewn onto the form adding the details to the sculpture. At times, other materials were also incorporated into the sculpture; for instance, pleated cardboard was used for representing a traditional woman's isidwaba. These sculptures could be individual forms such as women, radios, animals, insects, etc. At other times, artists would combine a group of figures and/or elements to create small scenes. The subjects of these sculptures were very wide. They included representations of people or wildlife in the artists' lives; representations of daily scenes, such as children at school, mothers tending babies, the death of a child, tea parties, etc.; representations of religious themes, such as the crucifixion; and representations of objects of contemporary life, such as helicopters and radios. Whatever the theme and the origin of the artists, all of these works reveal great attention to detail. As objects of art, these are very special works because they provide an intimate glimpse into the lives of their makers.
As seen above, the commercial market became increasingly important to beadwork artists during the period of 1960-1980. With the social and economic pressures that were facing the Zulu family during this period, more and more women were led by force of circumstance to become part of the labor market. As such, beadworking provided an important source of income for some artists. The competition between artists to create works that suited the fashions and eyes of customers led to experimentation with new color combinations and design motifs that were not constrained by regional affiliations. Finally, the new market led some artists to develop new forms to meet the practical and aesthetic concerns of their clientele, as well as to allow artists to express new ideas. Thus, the commercial market for beadwork items was a significant stimulus for the development of this art form during the period under consideration.

5.2.5.5 Summary: Head Ornaments, Accessories, Household Items and Commercial Beadwork

As in the period of 1940-1960, beadwork items that adorned the head, dancing sticks, beaded containers, and works made for the commercial market were an important part of the items produced by beadwork artists. While beaded hair pins, headbands, and head coverings had long been part of traditionalist dress, the introduction of removable hats for women in the mid-1950s (Brown 165) appears to have stimulated even more interest in ornamentation for the head. This provided the opportunity for artists to create a range of forms, using the beadfabric method, the multiple string method, and the beadfabric stretched across a wire frame method, that could be worn on or around the hat. On the other hand, the forms assumed by beaded dancing sticks and beaded containers did not seem to change much between the years of 1940-1980. As in the past, the bead color combinations and design motifs used on these works reflected the regional origins and the generation of the artists who produced them. Thus, while the designs on these items changed, they changed in a manner that was consistent with works of the past. The
general functions of these works changed little over time. They were still used to signify the regions from which people came, and their wealth, social status, and political and religious affiliations. In addition to these functions, the head ornaments of married women also helped to provide their wearers with the cooperation of their in-laws and the ancestors of their husband, through the display of respect that the act of wearing such items showed. Beaded flywhisks helped to enhance and reveal the abilities of izangoma. Furthermore, beaded canes came to be carried by women as part of bridal and special occasion wear during this time. As such, these works reflected their contemporary period with their designs, forms, and the emphasis of their functions, yet these same elements revealed the continuities that these works shared with their predecessors.

The beadwork that was produced for the commercial market became an increasingly significant part of the works created by Zulu artists of this period. Although Zulu artists had produced objects directed towards a commercial market since at least the 1930s, in the period of 1940-1960 this market began to expand quickly. By the era of 1960-1980, beadwork was being sold at a variety of outlets, including the sidewalk stalls of independent artists, gift shops, art galleries, and museum shops. This expanding market provided the impetus for some artists to experiment with color combinations, design motifs, and with new forms. Of particular art historical interest is the development of dolls and beaded sculptures as art forms.

So beaded head ornaments, dancing sticks, containers, and items produced for the commercial market continued to be part of Zulu art of the period of 1960-1980. Indeed, the changing social climate and fashions seem to have led to an increase in popularity in production of head ornaments and commercial works. As such, these items are further important expressions of the changes in Zulu economic, social, political, religious, and cultural life that were all part of the ethnic identity of Zulu people of this period.
The practice of beadworking, as an art form, appeared to have been very lively during the period of 1960-1980. Stimulated by the new status of Zululand as a semi-independent territory and an interest in traditional Zulu culture by both those within and outside of the Zulu community, beadworking continued to have a vital role in Zulu society. There were many beadwork objects from this period in museum and private collections that showed the diversity of the items from this era. While the large number of items in the collections did reflect the popularity of beadwork during this period, it also showed the increasing popularity of these works with museum and private collectors and the easier accessibility of these works in terms of age. Moreover, information about these items continued to appear in the academic and popular presses. So, as in the period of 1940-1960, the beadworking artists of the period of 1960-1980 were very prolific and had the interest of people both within and outside of the Zulu community.

As such, there was much information available with which to assess the consistent and variable elements in beadwork from this period to determine how beadwork, as an art form, was responding to and reflecting changes in the lives of the artists who were creating the works. Furthermore, such an analysis also unveiled which elements of this art form were being conserved, showing the traditions that continued to remain vital and important to the artists.

5.3.1 CONSTANTS

The beadwork produced by the artists of this time had many similarities and differences. In spite of the fact that the differences between the various regional, beadworking styles and the style of works created by members of the Nazareth Baptist
Church were striking, there were, nonetheless, many similarities between all of the styles of Zulu beadwork created during this period. As with the variations, the similarities of the styles were explored in terms of color combinations, design motifs, materials, forms, beadwork methods, and symbolism.

1. Although there were dramatic differences in the color combinations used during this period, white, black, and green continued to be very popular colors through all regions (see especially Figures 41.1, 41.6, 41.8, 44.10, 44.13, 48.5, 48.1, and 50.2). Red, or its counterpart orange, was also frequently observed (see for instance Figures 53.11, 53.1, 50.7, 49.19, 49.13, 48.4, 45.1, and 50.4). Blue and yellow remained next in popularity (for example Figures 41.8, 42.4, 41.1, 51.2, 44.8, 48.3, and 49.18).

2. The differences in the design motifs seen in various styles of beadwork of this period were also quite striking, yet most of the motifs continued to be based on geometric elements with straight edges. Indeed the units of the square, rectangle, triangle, and rhomboid as well as stripes appeared consistently in the designs of this time (see particularly Figures 41.2, 42.3, 44.2, 44.12, 47.5, 45.2, 49.4, 50.8, and 51.1).

3. In terms of materials, molded plastic beads of different sizes were found in almost every region during this period. Still, drawn glass beads of about size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations remained the most commonly used types of beads. All of these beads were strung together with factory produced cording.

4. The beadworking methods employed by artists of different regions during this period showed certain commonalties. Specifically, the single string method, the various beadfabric methods, and the method of attaching beads onto a fiber background were found in all regions, while the multiple string method was observed in every region except Nongoma.43
5. The basic elements of clothing and regalia that were treated to beadwork decoration remained consistent throughout all areas and in the work of the Nazareth Baptist Church. In particular, beaded neck, waist, torso, limb, and head ornaments were found being worn throughout Zulu territory. Therefore, while the colors, sizes, and forms of these works could vary, there were certain formal elements that unified the beaded ornaments of Zulu, traditionalist style dress of this period.

6. Finally, there were also similarities in the symbolism and functions of these beaded works. In general, the forms that the items assumed and the color combinations, designs, and quantity of beads used in these items served to identify the social status, wealth, and region of origin of the wearer. The fact that a person was wearing beadwork and the regional designs on that beadwork alluded to the political affiliations of an individual. When given as gifts, beadwork ornaments could also be used as a means of social control between courting or married people. The symbolic associations between different colors of beads and proverbs, which were used to send a message from a woman to a man, were relatively consistent throughout the different regions during this era. The fact that an individual was wearing beadwork also suggested that the wearer practiced traditional religion or was a member of the Nazareth Baptist Church. Through the use of colors and forms, beadwork could serve to evoke spiritual protection for its wearers. Furthermore, in the case of the works of an izangoma, beadwork could help to enhance the abilities of the wearers to perform healing and divination rituals, and served to advertise the special abilities of these individuals.

Thus, the similarities in the Zulu beadwork created during the period of 1960-1980 indicated that people with similar artistic and cultural needs produced these works. They were similarities that revealed the common concerns, aspirations, beliefs, and experiences that united Zulu people as an ethnic group during this time.
53.2 VARIABLES

The differences in the styles of the works in terms of color combinations, design motifs, materials, beadworking methods, and forms generally corresponded to the different regions in which the artists were working. With the exception of the Nongoma and Eshowe areas, artists developed new color combinations and design motifs to distinguish their works from those of artists of previous generations. Moreover, in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region there were even sequential differences in the styles of beadwork produced in the 1960s and that made in the 1970s.

1. The number of colors used in combinations by the artists of different regions during this period was quite varied. In the Msinga region artists would sometimes create items using a single color of beads (Figure 49.12). In addition, combinations using four colors of beads could be seen in the umzansi and isimodeni styles from the Msinga region (Figures 41.6, 43.1, 43.2, 49.13, 49.20, 49.21, and 54.1) as well on beadwork of the Eshowe (Figures 41.5 and 44.14), Maphumulo/Mvoti (Figures 44.1, 44.2, 44.3, and 44.8) and Nongoma (Figures 44.10, 50.7, and 50.8) areas. On the other hand, color combinations that made use of multiple colors of beads were also very popular. These types of combinations were popular in the Umbumbulu (Figures 48.1, 48.2, 49.16, 49.17, 49.18, 49.19, 52.1, 52.2, and 52.3), Estcourt (Figures 48.4 and 48.5), Maphumulo/Mvoti (44.4, 44.5, 44.9, 44.15, 49.1, 49.2, 49.3, 49.4, etc.), and Ndwedwe (Figure 51.2) regions. The overall nature of these color schemes could also be quite diverse. The black and multiple colored fields of the works from the Umbumbulu region, especially when combined with the bright, hot colors of some plastic beads, were quite distinctive (Figures 52.3, 52.4, and 52.5). This heavy use of black beads was also found in the fields on some strips of beadwork from the Estcourt region (Figures 48.4 and 48.5), in some of the items produced in the Inanda area (Figure 47.6), and in one of the isimodeni color combinations.
of the Msinga region (Figure 41.6). This prevalence of black beads was only seen previously in items produced between the years of 1890-1920 and in some of the works of the Maphumulo/Mvoti area from the 1930s. This made the color combinations that included a heavy use of black fairly unique.

2. There was also a wide range of designs used on the works of this time. These designs varied from being three, simple, isolated rectangles of color placed on a white background (Figure 44.1) to the vibratory patterns of the expanded rhomboid seen in the Maphumulo/Mvoti area (Figure 44.4 and 44.15) or the complicated combinations of geometric elements observed in the Ndwedwe region (Figure 51.2). Elements of these designs could be naturalistic, as with the cars and houses seen in the Estcourt region (48.1). They could be words or letters, as in the beadwork of the Msinga (43.1) and Umbumbulu areas (47.4, 49.17, and 51.1). They could be abstract arrangements of linear, geometric elements and they could include curvilinear elements, as seen in some of the designs used with the isimodeni color combinations in the Msinga region (Figures 43.1 and 43.2).

3. In terms of materials used to make the works, there was little diversity during this period. The primary differences in materials used by artists from the various regions were that amalosi seeds were only seen in the beadwork of the Nongoma area (Figures 50.3, 50.4, and 50.6); transparent beads were only found in the Ndwedwe, Eshowe, and Maphumulo/Mvoti areas; and beads with stripes were only used on the works from the Umbumbulu and Maphumulo/Mvoti regions.

4. Similarly, there were relatively few differences in the beadworking methods being used in different regions during this time. A beadfabric method that incorporated decorative ridges appeared solely in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region (Figures 44.1, 44.2, and 44.8). While not used exclusively in these areas, the gongqoloza beadworking method seemed more popular in the areas of Msinga and Maphumulo/Mvoti than in other regions.
Moreover, the technique of stretching a piece of beadfabric across a wire frame was used more frequently in the Umbumbulu area than in other regions.

5. There appeared to be slightly less regional diversity in the forms of the items created during this era than was seen in the previous time periods. Still, the capes and aprons made with layers of fabric trimmed in beads remained unique to the Estcourt region (Figure 48.4) and capes made by combining sections of beadfabric stretched across wire frames were particular to the Umbumbulu area (Figure 48.1 and 48.2). The wide belts created by combining sections of beadfabric seemed to have been limited to the Umbumbulu area (Figures 49.16, 49.17, 49.18, and 49.19), while belts that combined triangular sections of beadfabric with strings of beads were only seen in the Msinga area (Figure 49.12). Additionally, girls who were members of the Nazareth Baptist Church were the only ones who wore belts made of large numbers of tubes of beadwork combined with braided ropes of beads. The large pins created from sections of beadfabric stretched across wire frames and worn on the skirts of married women were only observed in the beadwork of the Umbumbulu region (Figures 52.1-52.5). Last, cuff shaped anklets worn tight against the body appeared to be favored in the north, while amadavathì style works that were worn around the ankle and hung over the heel seemed to be more popular in the southern regions.

6. There were also differences in some of the symbolic aspects of these works. For example, the symbolic associations of the umzansi color combination was limited to the Msinga region and the symbolic combination of the red, white, green, and black beads was only seen in the Nongoma area. In addition, the use of the symbol of the sorghum plant (gabane) was found only in Umbumbulu area, while the symbolic use of chains of rhomboids (amaketanga) and tubes of beadwork on capes were only seen in the Estcourt area. Though the functions of beadwork items within Zulu society remained the same as those previously observed and varied little from region to region, the use lettering as a
display of the prestige associated with education became more widespread. Furthermore, with the new political developments of this time, the use of beadwork as a means of displaying political affiliations took on increasingly importance. These changes, therefore, alluded to some of the changes in Zulu ethnic identity, such as the increasing importance of education, to a position of prestige.

When taken as a whole, the stylistic and symbolic differences seen in the works of the various regions were such that they gave the costumes of people from each region a distinct aesthetic presentation. These differences not only distinguished people of one region from another and frequently distinguished one generation from another, but also revealed the range of social, economic, religious, and political factions that were part of Zulu society during the period of 1960-1980.

5.4 FINAL SUMMARY: BEADWORK OF THE PERIOD OF 1960-1980

The works of art produced by beadwork artists between the years of 1960-1980 were connected with the traditions of the past, yet had their own distinctive qualities. As in the past, the artists of this generation showed a fondness for the colors of black, white, green, blue, and yellow. Still, the younger artists seemed to have a greater affinity for the color black and for combinations of multiple color. In addition, the development of the umzansi color combination was an example of a beadwork style that emerged in direct response to the social changes in the Msinga region. The most popular designs continued to be based on geometric elements with straight lines, but these later artists tended to make greater use of letters and text in their designs. Moreover, the artists of the Msinga region introduced curvilinear elements into their designs in this period and the artists of the Estcourt region added naturalistic designs, such as houses and cars, to their works. This increase in the use of lettering, which was started in the 1920-1940 period, and naturalistic
designs probably reflected the increasing numbers of girls who were attending school. It also suggested that words and pictures were replacing the older bead color and proverb system for communicating information. This change additionally indicated that education was increasingly being used as a symbol of prestige; a fact that was also observed by Vilakazi (109) during his study of social changes among the Zulu. While glass beads remained the most common type of material used, plastic beads were quite popular with the artists of this time. These plastic beads allowed the artists to experiment with new color combinations and, owing to their lighter weight, larger forms. There were also many similarities between the forms that beadwork assumed in this and the previous time periods. Beaded necklaces, belts, skirts, limb decorations, torso ornaments, head ornaments, dancing sticks, and household goods all continued to be part of the beadwork of this time. Yet, the introduction of removable hats for women seemed to have inspired the development of new forms of hat ornaments. Furthermore, the renewed political awareness of a Zulu ethnic identity appeared to have stimulated the development of new forms of items to be worn by married men, as a means by which they could display their ethnicity. In addition, the increase in the creation of items to be worn by married men was indicative of the need for women to communicate with husbands that were away from home performing migrant labor. The changing economic conditions of the Zulu people were another factor that stimulated new beadwork forms. As more beadwork artists started to feel the need to contribute to the family income they began to market their works. This resulted in competition for customers and the development of new forms that were made exclusively for the commercial market, especially beadwork dolls and sculptures. So, while the political implications of wearing beadwork as an expression of ethnic identity became even more important during the period of 1960-1980 and the economic role of beadwork as a means of earning a living increased, the other symbolic aspects of beadwork remained essentially similar to those of previous eras. As such, these
consistencies and variations reflected the nature of the economic and social conditions, fashions, and political atmosphere of Zulu culture.

As demonstrated in this chapter, the period of 1960-1980 was another highly productive period for Zulu beadwork artists. Travel by women outside of the rural regions was severely restricted under the laws of the apartheid system. This meant that most young women remained in a somewhat traditionalist setting where they learned and practiced the art of beadwork. These conditions also worked to reinforce the regional divisions in Zulu society that were the source of regional styles. As a result, this art form continued to be relevant to the lives of Zulu people. The semi-independent state of the Zulu homeland and the increasingly prominent voice of Zulu politicians in the South African setting, which developed in response to the banning of the African National Congress, gave the Zulu people a new impetus for expressing their ethnic identity. The establishment of the national festival for Shaka's Day acted as yet another stimulation for beadwork artists. The festival inspired artists to create traditionalist style works that could be displayed with pride during this large national gathering. In addition, the growing popularity of the Nazareth Baptist Church provided another forum for the display of modified traditionalist beadwork expressions. It also revealed the diversity of religious beliefs that were encompassed by Zulu identity.

While these social, cultural and economic changes acted helped to stimulate the production of beadwork items, they were also mirrored in the works of the artists. The old system of bead color symbolism linked with proverbs began to be replaced with letters and pictorial images as girls were exposed to formal, European style education in larger numbers. Furthermore, new forms were developed to meet the demands of the growing commercial market. Yet, the style of beadwork of the Nongoma region changed little, in a seeming attempt to reinforce ideas about the tradition of power and prestige associated with this region. Still, these social conditions also had some negative impact on the
development of beadwork. In particular, as more and more women joined the wage labor force to help to support their families they no longer had the money or time to create these works of art for themselves or members of their family. This negative impact was felt especially in the later part of this period when some artists appeared to lose some knowledge of the bead color and proverb system as it was increasingly being replaced by letters, words, and pictures. Still, overall, the beadwork artists of the period of 1960-1980 continued to incorporate an astounding variety of color combinations, designs, and materials to create unique and exciting works of art that symbolically and aesthetically met the needs of their time. As such, these works are reflective of the cultural, historical, social, political, religious, and economic factors that helped to unify Zulu ethnicity as well as the variations in these factors that were embraced by this identity within this time frame.
NOTES

1. See Chapter 1 for a more extensive review of sources.

2. These findings are also supported by research conducted by Mthethwa with beadwork from the collection of the Anthropology Department at University of Zululand and published in the 1988 article, "Decoding Zulu Beadwork". Regina Twala, in the 1954 article, "Fascinating Secrets of Zulu Love Letters: Stories Behind Patterns and Color of the Language of Beads", also found that the form of a necklace was sometimes relevant to its symbolism.


4. Schoeman ("A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanaazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand: Part Two." 1968, pages115-116) also reported that this type of necklace ornamentation was used in the Mtunzini district.

5. See page 271 for a discussion of the symbolic significance of these bundles.

6. Accession records of the Natal Museum, number 3753.

7. Although the meaning of the strings of rhomboids in the Umbumbulu region is uncertain, this motif symbolizes co-wives chained together in marriage in the Estcourt region. See page 311 for the discussion of this symbolism.

8. Translated by the writer.

9. These amathikithi are similar to the ugcce seen on the necklaces from the Eshowe region in Figures 41.7 and 41.8.

10. This is the same symbolism observed on the izipalana from the Mpukunyoni area seen in Figures 42.4 and 42.5 and discussed on pages 277-278.

11. See page 311 for information about the use of stars to symbolize fertility in the Estcourt region.

12. This same conservatism in styles of art can be seen in kingdoms such as Benin and Kongo.

13. Accession records of the Natal Museum numbers 3820 and 3825.

14. Fasteners can take the form of large beads, lengths of string, or lengths of cloth.

15. Accession records of the Killie Campbell Collection, number 4735.

17. It is uncertain whether these works disappeared from the corpus of Zulu beadwork or whether this is a result of uneven collections.

18. Schoeman's research was conducted in the Mkhwanazi region of the Mtunzini District.

19. Grossert did not indicate where he conducted his research. The names, isidiya and isibhodiya, which he gives for this type of item are also used for the beaded hide aprons worn by pregnant women.

20. For a further explanation of hlonipha practices see Chapter 1, note 16.

21. The body also has a function in helping people to meet their religious obligations by providing the vessel for the birth of children. The production of children was essential to traditional Zulu society and religious practice. It provides for the continuation of the family lineage and allowed for the rebirth of the amadlozi. According to Axel Berglund (Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism 253), the conception of a child is believed to result from the combined effort of the amadlozi of both the husband and wife. The amadlozi of the husband, present in his semen, provide the seed for a child. This means that the child will be identified with the amadlozi of its father, in keeping with the patrilineal nature of Zulu society. The maternal amadlozi control the fertility of the womb of the wife (Ngubane, Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine 53,71), allowing for the development of the child. Thus, both the maternal and paternal amadlozi are active in the conception and birth of children, using the body of the mother as the vehicle through which they create new life and continue the reincarnation cycle. On a broader level, the production of children allows for the continuation of the wider life cycle. This gives the reproductive functions of the body a special significance in traditional Zulu religious thought.

22. This same symbolism was also observed on the necklace in Figure 42.8 from this Chapter.

23. The swallows motif seen on the set of anklets in Figure 44.13 can also be observed on left hand panel of this work. It appears as the center white line, flanked by sets of triangles.

24. See Chapter 3, note 26, for an explanation of the connection between cattle and the ancestors.

25. This information comes from the notes that accompany this unaccessioned work in the Killie Campbell Collection.

26. This information comes from the notes that accompany this unaccessioned work in the Killie Campbell Collection.

27. This information comes from the notes that accompany this unaccessioned work in the Killie Campbell Collection.
28. Virgin in the sense that the woman has not given birth to a child.

29. See pages 397-399.

30. *Isithembu, umzansi,* and *isimodeni* were the most popular beadwork styles used in the Msinga region of this period.

31. See Chapter 6, Figure 61.1, for a later yet almost identical example of this form.

32. See Chapter 3, pages 160-161, for a discussion of the symbolism of the *incema* grass used in these types of works.

33. This is the writer's designation.

34. See pages 309-310.

35. Also see Schoeman, "A Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzini District, Zululand - Part One", pages 71-74, for additional illustrations and a discussion of these hat pins.

36. See Tyrrell, page 113, for illustrations of different types of married women's *izicholo* and *iziphaphalazi* combinations.

37. See pages 309-310 for a discussion of the symbolism of the shield in Zulu beadwork.

38. More information about the association between white and the ancestors can be found on pages 174-175.

39. See Chapter 3, pages 173-176, for more information about the role of the fly whisk in the regalia of diviners.

40. See Chapter, 3 note 26, for more information about the connection between the *amadlozi* and cattle in Zulu religious thought.

41. The term "doll" is used to denote a small fiber representation of a human being. It does not mean that these works were created for children to play with as a toy.

42. Helicopters were a pervasive part of Zulu life during the years of the apartheid government. They were used for aerial surveys for illegal activities, including harboring rebels. They were commonly referred to as "the eyes of the government".

43. This simply indicates that there were no examples of beadwork made by the multiple string method from the Nongoma area seen in museum and private collections. Yet, as a relatively basic technique, this method was probably used in this area and was simply not represented in the collections observed.

44. Although, it was during this period that the color and proverb system was beginning to be replaced by letters and words; leading to a decline in the knowledge of this traditional system of communication.
A HISTORY OF ZULU BEADWORK 1890-1997: ITS TYPES, FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

Volume II

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By
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The Ohio State University
2000

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History of Art Graduate Program
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B. Zulu Names for the Colors of Beads and Their Associated Proverbs as Excerpted from a Translation of a Lover Letter in the Killie Campbell Collection by Princess Magogo Constance (Ka Dinuzulu) Buthelezi dated to 1963. 

C. Figures

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Zulu beadwork created between the years of 1980-1997 is examined in this chapter. It commences with I. a summary of the historical events and conditions of the period that impacted Zulu artists and their works. II. The range of the forms and functions of beadwork items, created in this time frame, is the next topic addressed. Specifically, beadwork objects are divided into categories based upon how they were used in relationship to the body in the order: head ornaments, limb ornaments, torso ornaments, waist ornaments, and beaded head ornaments, household items, accessories, pins, and decorative and sculptural commercial products. Unlike the approach taken in the Chapter 5, beadwork body ornaments created for the commercial market are not treated under a separate category. This is owing to the fact that, by this time, works produced for the commercial market had become an integral part of the production of beadwork artists. III. After the discussion of the range of forms and functions of beadwork of this period, a comparative analysis of the similarities and differences in this body of works is presented. IV. In the final summary to this chapter, the consistent and variable elements found in the beadwork are correlated to the historical, social, cultural, religious, economic, and political conditions of the artists of this time.
The period of 1980-1997 was a time of turmoil for the Zulu people. While the region of KwaZulu had been fortunate enough to escape the political violence of the previous twenty year period, by the 1980s the political violence associated with the fall of the apartheid regime had arrived in the province.

The province of KwaZulu/Natal was rocked by violence between rival political parties that arose from and was exacerbated by the final breakdown of the apartheid government. The political violence of the province affected those in both the urban and rural regions; although in areas such as the Nongoma region, where the vast majority of the population belonged to one political party, there was much less violence than in regions where the political alliances of the people were divided. Still, on the whole, the violence took a heavy toll on the Zulu people. This widespread unrest disrupted the economic, educational, social, and familial structures of the Zulu people and also led to a stereotype of the Zulu people as being excessively violent. At the same time, there were conditions and events that helped to invigorate an interest in Zulu ethnic identity. These were the presence of the Inkatha party, the plight of the Zulu people during the negotiations on the formation of the new government, and the reintroduction of the Reed Ceremony in 1984, as a celebration of the yearly renewal of the powers of the Zulu king and traditionalist values. In addition, membership in the Nazareth Baptist Church continued to grow, stimulating the growth of a modified, traditionalist Zulu culture.

The events of this period had both positive and negative effects on the development of beadworking. The disruptions in the social and economic structures tended to discourage the production of traditionalist style beadwork. Economic hardships and the threat of violence led some women to flee the rural regions, where they would have learned and practiced the art of beadwork. While some of these women ended up in the city
selling beadwork in order to support themselves, they were cut off from their artistic
traditions and the social conditions that inspired these traditions. As a result, these artists
learned little about traditionalist beadwork. Because of the tensions between ethnic groups
in the mining camps and the negative stereotype of Zulus people as violent individuals,
people sometimes also chose to downplay their ethnicity. One of the ways this was done
was by avoiding outward displays of ethnic identity, such as wearing beadwork that would
call attention to one's ethnicity. Yet, the presence of the Inkatha party, the celebration
surrounding Shaka's Day, and the Reed Ceremony celebration were a source of
encouragement for this art form. The yearly festivals were particularly supportive of
beadwork as an art form because people would come to these events dressed in their best
traditionalist clothing, including beadwork. Such dress served as a sign of ethnic pride
and support for the traditionalist forces in Zulu society. The growing membership of the
Nazareth Baptist Church and their need for traditionalist style clothing provided yet
another stimulus for the continued development of beadwork as an art form. Yet, taken as
a whole, the social, political, economic, and cultural conditions of the Zulu people of this
period seem to have led to an overall decline in the creation of beadwork objects.

6.2 BEADWORK ORNAMENTS

Relatively few examples of the beadwork produced during this period have yet to
become part of museum and private collections. Nevertheless, as more interest has arisen
in South Africa and the Zulu people because of the turn over in the government, interest in
the Zulu culture and beadworking have also increased. This, in turn, has led to the
publication of a growing number of books and articles on these subjects for both the
scholarly and popular public1. As these works of art were created in a period fairly
concurrent with the research conducted for this study, there were many people who had
direct knowledge of this art form, including beadwork artists Josta Twala, Sabina Khumalo, Nomusa Mkhwanazi, Monique Mkhwanazi, Izansene Kwameyiwa, Shandu Sukethini, and Baqaphale Mpugose, who were all interviewed for this project. Thus, while it was possible to develop a good picture of the variety of beadwork that was being made during this time, there were fewer examples available for first hand study.

By this period, relatively few people wore entire costumes of traditionalist style clothing on a regular basis. People from more rural regions, such as the Msinga district, tended to wear this type of clothing more frequently than did people from more urban areas, such as regions around Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Moreover, items of traditionalist dress, such as beadwork, were sometimes combined with European style items of clothing, for instance skirts, blouses, and sweaters. In general, large displays of traditionalist style clothing tended to be reserved for special occasions. But more often, people would take certain elements of traditionalist dress, especially beadwork neck ornaments, and combine them with western style clothing. Nevertheless, beadwork remained an important part of traditionalist style clothing and expression of Zulu culture. Beadwork that adorned the neck, limbs, torso, and waist, as part of this style of dressing, continued to be produced by the artists of many regions. Additionally, beadwork items created to be worn as part of the dress of members of the Nazareth Baptist Church were a significant part of the items made during this period. Like other types of Zulu traditionalist dress, the costumes worn by members of the church included beadwork ornaments that were placed on the neck, limbs, waist, and torso. Finally, beadwork that was produced for the commercial market became an even more important part of the beadwork created during this period, as more and more women relied on it to support themselves and their families. As such, the following sections examine the Zulu beadwork of 1980-1997 according to the categories: 6.2.1) neck ornaments, 6.2.2) limb ornaments,
6.2.3) torso ornaments, 6.2.4) waist ornaments, and 6.2.5) head ornaments, accessories, pins, household items, and decorative and sculptural commercial objects.

6.2.1 NECK ORNAMENTS

Beaded neckpieces continued to be a significant part of the traditionalist dress of the Zulu people between 1980-1997. Tab style necklaces, choker style necklaces, necklaces made by the multiple string method, necklaces made by the gongqoloza method (see Appendix A), and necklaces made by the single string method all continued to be made and worn. Young children, courting aged men and women, and married men and women donned these works. Young children usually only wore one or two strings of beads around their neck, but when they reached courting age they began to wear multiple necklaces of different types. After marriage, men and women would often continue to wear beaded neckpieces, particularly on special occasions, but in lesser quantities. These works could be used as items of social control and helped to identify the region from which the wearer came, the wealth and social status of the individual, and their religious and political affiliations. In addition to the items worn as part of traditionalist dress, beaded necklaces were an important part of the beadwork produced for the commercial market. Using a wide variety of beadworking techniques, artists created a range of different styles of beadwork necklaces designed to suit every pocketbook and aesthetic. These works were important to the economic survival of the artists and helped to stimulate a broader interest in and appreciation of traditionalist beadwork. As such, these objects remained a vital part of Zulu beadwork of this period.
Artists created tab style necklaces of different shapes and sizes to be used as part of traditionalist dress as well as for the commercial market. Tab style works created for the commercial market usually took the form of a small beadfabric tab attached to a neckband of one or two strands of beads. The tabs on these works were usually decorated with simple geometric designs. The colors of beads used in these items tended to be relatively bright and eye-catching, and were not always indicative of the region from which the artist came. Generally, artists believed that their customers preferred bright primary colors, so they tended to use these types of color combinations to please the desires of their customers and attract their attention. As observed by the writer while in South Africa, sometimes these works were sold as Zulu "love letters", accompanied by interpretations of the geometric designs on the items. Nevertheless, the source for these "translations" is never cited nor do they appear to correspond to the scholarly research that has been conducted on this subject matter. As such, these interpretations appear to be fabrications of those marketing the items. Still, they open the mind of the consumer to the idea that traditionalist beadwork is not only decorative, but has a symbolic value as well.

Continuing with the traditions of the past, tab style necklaces of this period made for traditionalist dress came in a variety of shapes and sizes. Necklaces with extremely long, beadfabric tabs attached to a beadfabric neckband or neckband made from strings of beads, called *ulimi* (pl. *izilimi*) ("tongue"), were made by artists of this period. Examples of these types of works can be seen in Figures 55.1 and 55.2. These two *izilimi* were made in the 1980s in the Ndwedwe region and are part of the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present). The work in Figure 55.1 features a long tab of yellow beads decorated with words in black letters and "plus" signs of black and light orange. The tab is trimmed in yellow, black, and light orange beads and is connected to a neckband of bright orange,
hot pink, black, and bright green beads. All of the beads used in this work are plastic beads made by the mold method with a satin luster, a simple body, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. Words are the primary decorative feature of the work. Running down the length of the tab are the words, "lithini ilali phansi amagemethu shidi", meaning, "What stranger lays under ours sheets?" This indicates that the woman who made the work suspects that her boyfriend or husband has been cheating on her. Between the words the artist placed two, black, "plus" signs with orange centers as decorative elements. The tricolor edging on the work and the brightly colored neckband are used to further ornament the piece. Yet, overall the design of this ulimi is relatively simple.

The work in Figure 55.2 also consists of a very long and narrow tab of beadfabric placed on a string of large beads. All of the beads used in the piece are molded plastic beads. The ones in the neckband are about size five and the ones in the tab are about size 00. They all have a simple body structure, an opaque clarity, a satin luster, and no surface decorations. The neckband is a simple string of beads, where the right half is light blue and left half is pink. The tab consists of three, unequal sized regions divided lengthwise. The first section has a field of hot pink and bright blue beads, the second field is purple and orange, and the third field is green and yellow. Upon these fields is placed a series of black letters ornamented with dots of various colors. The letters spell out the words, "uhleka ngezinyo kanti (w) inyoka" meaning, "you laugh with your teeth even though you are a snake". In Zulu society a wide smile that reveals teeth is associated with a warm hearted person (personal communication, Lupenga Mphande, Ph.D., professor of Zulu at The Ohio State University, March 2000). But, as the word snake is used to designate a crafty or underhanded person in the Zulu language (Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana, and Vilakazi 628), the message of the necklace is, "even though you appear to be sweet and loving, you are really a fink". The artist's use of the bright colors and an energetic design
would have been quite useful in bringing attention to the work and its message, making this item effective in its role as a means of social control.

In general, the use of words as the primary decorative elements on both of these izzilimi was reminiscent of the work seen in Figure 42.10 in the previous chapter. Like their predecessors, the izzilimi in Figure 55.1 and 55.2 fulfilled the same functions of social control and a display of the wealth, social status, region of origin, and political and religious affiliations of the wearer, while incorporating lettering as a sign of modernity and education.

Necklaces with smaller tabs continued to be produced during this period as well. One type of necklace with a smaller tab that carries a very intriguing design was found in the beadwork of the Msinga region. This type of necklace, an example of which is seen in Figure 55.3, features a rectangular tab attached to a neckband of two strings of beads. The necklace, from the collection of the writer, is made primarily of green, white, and red beads. But other examples of this type of work observed by the author also show a prominent role for blue beads in the design. The white and red beads in this piece are drawn glass beads of about size 00 with a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The green beads are also made from drawn glass, but they feature a shiny luster, a transparent clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations. In addition to these beads, there are some transparent, drawn glass, blue beads and molded, opaque, white glass beads of about size two that are used as fasteners. The green, white, red, and blue color combination of this necklace is the umzansi color combination that was developed in the southern part of the Msinga area. All of these beads are strung on nylon cording. The neckband is a fairly simple structure made from two strings of beads. The tab consists of a beadfabric patch that is placed between two, horizontal, metal bars. This makes the upper and lower edges of the work especially rigid. These bars are covered with a raised beaded covering. With such a simple neckband, the tab is clearly the
focus of this piece. The tab of the necklace features an abstract design of green, white, and red beads. The upper and lower edges of the work are decorated with triplets of stripes of white, red, and white alternated with regions of green. In the center of the tab there is a white form that takes the shape of a triangle that has had its top removed. Inside of the form there is another abstract element created in red beads with a green center that is almost figural in nature. On either side of the central motif there are two identical motifs that consist of a combination of a rhomboid and angled lines. These motifs are slightly figural in nature. Taken as a whole, this design seems to be a strangely abstract scene that bears little resemblance to other designs developed by artists of the Msinga region. Yet, according to Yvonne Winters, curator at the Killie Campbell Collection, the motif on the tab of this necklace is similar to the sign for the business, Teba, Ltd., that pays out pensions to the miners of the Msinga region. This suggests that this motif symbolizes money. As with the tab style necklaces of the past, this type of necklace was, therefore, used to show the region from which the wearer came, acted as a means of social control when given as a gift, alluded to the political and religious affiliations of a person, and would have been effective in communicating ideas about the social status and wealth of a person.

In addition to the two types of tab style necklaces discussed above, necklaces that have tabs of different shapes and multiple numbers of tabs were made during this most recent period. Examples of necklaces with multiple tabs, called iqabane (pl. amaqabane), can be seen in Figures 55.4 and 55.5. Both of these works are in the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) and, according to accession records, were made in the Ixopo region during the 1980s. They both have three tabs of equal sizes made from molded plastic beads that are placed on a neckband of a string of larger, plastic beads. The beads used to make the tabs are about size 00 and the beads on the neckbands that connect them are slightly larger, about size two. Both of the works feature designs based on relatively
simple arrangements of rhomboids and triangles in bright color combinations. They are straightforward, yet eye-catching interpretations of necklaces with multiple tabs.

An example of a necklace with tab of a different shape can be observed in Figure 55.6. This work, made in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region and in the collection of the Local History Museum, features a rectangular tab with three triangles on its lower edge. The tab is attached to a single strand of beads made from larger, molded plastic beads. The beads of the tab are a combination of drawn glass and plastic beads. The tab of this work is made like the tab on the necklace from the Msinga region, having a piece of beadfabric placed between two rods of wire. Yet, this work differs in that it has three, triangular, beadfabric pieces placed on the bottom edge of the tab and a design of stripes. The stripes are executed in multiple colors. On the rectangular part of the tab the stripes are vertically oriented, in the central triangle they are horizontally oriented, and on the outer, two triangles they are oriented in a v-shape. While this striped pattern is technically fairly simple, it is a very energetic design.

Thus, the tabs of tab style necklaces made during this period continued to assume a variety of forms and occur singly or in multiples, yet the neckbands used for these works tend to be much simpler than those of older works were. With some exceptions, such as the work of art from the Msinga area, the designs used on the tabs of the necklaces from this era also seemed to be less complex. Still, these works retained functions similar to those of the past. When made for the commercial market, these works helped to financially support the artist and her family, allowed those outside of the Zulu culture to share in this art form, and helped to increase an appreciation for traditionalist style of beadwork. On the other hand, necklaces made to be worn as part of traditionalist dress acted as a means of social control when given from a woman to a man. Additionally, these items served to indicate the region of origin, political and religious affiliations, as well as wealth and social status of the person wearing the item.
6.2.1.2 *Ipasi* (pl. *Amapasi*) and *Ungqi* (pl. *Ongqi*): Choker Style Necklaces

Unlike tab style necklaces, choker style necklaces appeared to have only been made to be worn as part of Zulu traditionalist dress. These works could be worn by courting aged men and women as well as married men and women. As with other types of beadwork items, women frequently gave these types of works to boyfriends or husbands as symbols of their affection. They were decorated with color combinations and patterns based on regional styles and could be worn singly, in multiples, or in combination with other neck ornaments.

Choker style necklaces of this period were made by combining strips of fiber covered with beads or by a beadfabric technique. At times they also included a beadfabric tab. The necklace in Figure 56.1, called *ipasi* (pl. *amapasi*), is an example of a work made by the former method. It comes from the Msinga region and is in the collection of the writer. It consists of four bands of fiber onto which were sewn four rows of beads. The four bands of this necklace are a lesser number than the average number of bands used in these types of works observed by the writer from previous time periods. Nevertheless, the design on this piece is no less complex than the designs seen on previous works. Red, white, green, and blue beads were sewn onto these lengths of fiber so that when combined they formed a pattern similar to that observed on the tab of the necklace in Figure 55.3. As in the tab style necklace described above, the red, white, and blue beads are drawn glass beads of about size 00 with a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The green beads are similar, except that they are translucent. On the right hand side of the necklace there are two rows of large, green, molded plastic beads of about size five that serve as fasteners. On the left side of the work the bands are joined together in a small beadfabric area. This area is then followed by a row of blue, glass beads of about size two. The color combination used on this *ipasi* is the *umzansi* style that is associated with Msinga beadwork of this era. The design of the *ipasi* features a set of
three abstract motifs executed in green, red, and blue beads, and placed on a background of white. The blue and green motifs on either end are identical in form, but differ a bit from the central red motif. The center element takes the shape of a triangle that has had its top removed. Through this red element appears a white, centrally placed, star-like shape flanked by a series of white triangles. The green and blue elements are similar to this red motif, except that the outer vertical edges of the triangular shape do not reach the bottom fiber strip. In the center of these blue and green motifs are a series of rhomboids and triangles. Although the central and side motifs differ from each other slightly, they all take the general form of a truncated triangle. This form is evocative of the central motif seen on the tab style necklace in Figure 55.3. It is a similarity that suggests that the motifs on this *ipasi* may have also been inspired by the Teba, mining pension, office logo. If this were the case, the motifs on this work would also be symbolic of money and status. So although the motifs developed on this *ipasi* are different from those seen previously, the functions of this work remain the same as *amapasi* from previous periods.

An example of a choker style necklace made using the beadfabric method can be observed in Figure 56.2. According to museum records, this work was created in the region around Himeville in the 1980s and is presently part of the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present). Unlike the individual bead-covered bands of fiber that made up the *ipasi* discussed above, this work consists of a solid, rectangular, beadfabric neckband. From the center of this band hangs a tab with a pointed end, reminiscent of a European style necktie. On either end of the band there are strings of beads that are used to secure the necklace tightly around the neck. The neckband and tab are created with glass beads of about size 00 with a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations. In contrast, the beads used to secure the necklace to the neck are molded plastic beads of about size five with a satin luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The field of the neckband is black with horizontal, dotted
stripes of yellow, orange, teal, and white. In the center of the field there is a gray triangle made up of "X" shaped elements and flanked by light teal and orange lines. The field of the tab is also black with vertical, dotted, striped lines of orange, white, yellow, and teal. Atop the field of the tab there are two sets of diagonal lines of orange, gray, teal, and yellow. As with the beadwork of other regions from the previous era, the heavy use of black beads was very popular in the area of Himeville during this time. It is a color combination that make the lighter colors stand out against the field of black. In contrast to the black of the main section of this necklace, the beads used to secure the work on the neck are alternating bright green and orange. Yet, as these fastening beads would have been at the back of the neck when the piece was worn, they would not have been the focus of attention for the viewer. The regularly spaced, horizontal stripes of the neckband and vertical stripes of the tab create a gentle contrast of design. The centrally placed, triangular elements on the neckband focus the attention of the viewer to the center of the work and guide the eye to the face of the wearer. The pointed end at the bottom of the tab combined with the triangular element in the center of the neckband, work to frame the upper and lower boundaries of the necklace. The arrangement of these elements also serves to bring attention to the diagonal elements on the tab and bring the eyes of the observers to the face of the wearer. The subtle use of bright colors would have also worked to call attention to the neck and face of the wearer. This ipasi was made to be worn by a senior courting aged, young woman. As with other types of choker style necklaces, the colors and designs of the work spoke of the wearer's region of origin and the fact that she was wearing beads would have alluded to her religious and political affiliations. Moreover, the form and quantity of beads used in this piece would have been connected to her social status and wealth.
Thus, while the artists of this period slightly altered the forms of choker style necklaces and used new bead color combinations and patterns, the symbolic functions of these pieces remain unchanged.

6.2.1.3 Umnhlonhlo (pl. Iminhlonhlo), Indundu (pl. Iczindundu), Ujantshi, Ibulu (pl. Amabulu), and Inhlwathi (pl. Izinhlwathi): Hollow Tube Necklaces and Isijumba (pl. Izijumba) and Isihlahla (pl. Izihlahla): Multiple string Necklaces

Multiple string and hollow tube necklaces were made for both traditionalist style dress and the commercial market. When worn as part of traditionalist style dress, hollow tube and multiple string necklaces of this period, like those of the past, assumed a wide variety of forms. Young men and women of courting age as well as married men and women wore this style of ornament. They were also created in color combinations that were usually associated with a particular region. When given as a gift from a woman to a man, such objects could also be used to transmit information from the woman to the man through the forms and/or the colors used.

One example of a necklace that possibly was used to communicate a message between intimates can be observed in Figure 57.1. From the collection notes that accompany this piece it is known that this work was made in the Msinga region sometime in the 1980s. It is presently in the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present). Created with white, red, blue, and black, drawn glass beads featuring a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, no surface decorations, and a simple body, this necklace takes the form of a hollow tube of beadwork. Although the color combination used in this work is similar to the umzansi color combination, the black beads have replaced the green beads. It is a color assortment that is part of a number of combinations that fit into Frank Jolles' category of isimodeni (Jolles, "Traditional Zulu Beadwork of the Msinga Area" 49-50). The work itself was made by weaving beads into a semi-rigid lattice that was formed into a tube. The black,
blue, and red beads were combined with white beads in even intervals running along the length of the necklace. Starting in the upper right, there is a length of black and white beads followed by a length of blue and white beads and a region of red and white beads. This sequence is then repeated. The even lengths of these color combinations create a constant even rhythm in the design. The consistent use of the white beads and the overall, lattice structure act to unify the piece, while the varied colors of red, black, and blue add some variety to the item. Overall, the necklace has a very delicate and harmonious design that would have offered a complement to the neck of the individual who wore it. When given as a gift to a man from a woman, it was the form of this work that carried a message. According to Mthethwa, cylindrical necklaces such as this one were intended to be reminiscent of a snake and refer to the idiom, "Ngiamo mamba indleni knewu, uma ungaqibulani ngizokubulaba (I am a mamba inside your bedroom; if you do not kill me, I will kill you)", meaning "Since we are now lovers, you had better make love to me or else I shall make love to you" (36). In other words, the woman is getting anxious to consummate the union between herself and her suitor. In this way, hollow tube necklaces could be used to transmit very personal messages between two people without them having to speak openly of such intimate things.

In addition to the necklaces created for traditionalist style dress, multiple string and hollow tube necklaces were made for the commercial market. Like other works made for commercial purposes, these necklaces were generally made with color combinations and in forms not commonly found in traditionalist beadwork. These works can be made and marketed by the artists themselves or sold directly to art galleries or other commercial outlets to be marketed to a wider audience. Artists can also work for workshops, such as the Bekithunga Workshop near Eshowe, where they are provided with the raw materials and the workshop assumed all responsibility for marketing the works. At the Bekithunga workshop women are provided with beads to produce a standard line of objects, but the
artists are given creative leeway to design patterns for these items. The work can be done on salary at the workshop or can be taken home, in which case the artists are paid by the piece. This system allows the artists to maintain a steady income without having to worry about the fluctuations of the market.

Noteworthy among these workshops was the Mdukutshani Beadwork Project, started by Crena Bond as part of a church based self-help program run by her husband. This workshop was located at Tugela Ferry in the Msinga District. While in operation, it was associated with the fashion industries in New York and Paris, and supplied high fashion items for designers such as Yves Saint Lauren and Ungaro. Under their contracts, women at the workshop were supplied with specific bead types and colors that were intended to match the clothing lines for the year, but the artists were given the freedom to design the actual objects (Morris and Preston-Whyte 83). With this freedom of design, the artists of the workshop produced works noteworthy of attention. Examples of four of the items produced for this high fashion market can be seen in Figures 57.2, 57.3, 57.4, and 57.5 from the book, Speaking with Beads. The work in Figure 57.2 features a thick braid of multiple strings of beads in gold, clear, and blue beads. The necklace in Figure 57.3 is composed of a thick fringe of rounded and tubular beads arranged in horizontal stripes of metallic pink, sliver, black, and purple. In the work in Figure 57.4 the artist again employed both rounded and tubular glass beads to produce a collar-like necklace. Combining different types of open and closed beadfabrics and multiple string techniques using blue, purple, clear, and silver colored beads, this work evokes the wide, beaded necklaces produced by ancient Egyptian and Xhosa artists. Last, the necklace in Figure 57.5 features a neckband to which a series of white beadfabric triangles are attached. Between these triangles of beads are strung nine loops of beads, alternating between clear and dark lavender. It is an elegant form that strongly recalls the isishaka type of belt made in the Msinga region seen in Figure 49.12 in the previous chapter. These necklaces
display how Zulu artists were skillfully able to adapt new color combinations as well as develop new forms, which could be either closely connected to traditionalist forms or were completely unique to the corpus of Zulu beadwork. As such, these works are good examples of the continued and vital creativity that was being applied to beadwork. Although these items do not have the symbolic depth of traditionalist beadwork, they are, nonetheless, aesthetically complex works of art. Thus, these works of the Mdukturshani Beadwork Project workshop are good representations of some of the artistic innovations applied to beadwork produced for the commercial market and the international attention garnered by these items.

As seen above, multiple string and hollow tube necklaces remained an important category of beadwork items in this period. They continued to be worn as part of traditionalist dress and had vital symbolic functions within Zulu society. As part of the works produced for the commercial market, multiple string and hollow tube necklaces helped artists to earn a living and bring international attention to this art form. In this way, multiple string and hollow tube necklaces from this period had a place within and outside Zulu culture.

6.2.1.4 Umbhijo (pl. Imibhijo) and Umgingqo (pl. Imigingqo): Tubular Style Necklaces

Tubular style necklaces, called umbhijo (pl. imibhijo) and umgingqo (pl. imigingqo), also continued to be created as part of the Zulu beadwork of the period of 1980-1997. Like other styles of necklaces, this type was made for the commercial market as well. When made for traditionalist style dress, they were generally worn by courting aged and married men and women. They were worn singly, in multiples, or in combination with other types of neck ornaments.

In form these works were identical to their predecessors. They consisted of strings of beads wound around a core of fiber. Works made for traditionalist dress were
usually about 1.5-2.0 cm. in width, but necklaces made for the commercial market tended to be slightly smaller. When made for traditionalist dress, *imibhijo* were decorated with bead color combinations and patterns associated with the region in which they were created. In contrast, the necklaces made for the commercial market tended to be adorned with relatively simple geometric designs, particularly rhomboids, in multiple colors. Unfortunately, photographic examples of these works were limited, making a detailed analysis of these objects very difficult.

Nevertheless, it is known that this style of work continued to have a place in Zulu beadwork art. Necklaces made for the commercial market gave artists the opportunity to experiment with color combinations and patterns without the restrictions of regional styles, while items made for traditionalist dress continued to function as works that identified a person's region of origin, social status, religious and political affiliations, and wealth.

6.2.1.5 *Ucu* (pl. *Ocu*): Single String Necklaces

Necklaces made from a single string of beads were part of the beadwork created by artists of this period. This style of necklace appear to have been too basic to have wide appeal for the commercial market. Yet, the simplicity of these items made them ideal adornments for children. Such works acted as colorful and eye-catching tokens of affection, which could be easily repaired or replaced if broken when the children were playing. In addition, single strand necklaces, called *uçu* (pl. *ocu*), continued to be used as works that symbolize the romantic commitment of a young man and woman. *Ocu* of this time generally consisted of a single strand of white beads, denoting the purity of the intentions of the young women toward her suitor. As with the *ocu* of the past, these aesthetically simple yet symbolically significant works are rarely found in museum or private collections. Photographs of these types of works are, as a result, difficult to acquire. Still, as some of the beadwork items that were used to adorn children at the first
age grade levels and as items that carried a symbolic importance in the courting stage of life, necklaces made from a single strand of beads had an important role in Zulu society of this period.

6.2.1.6 Fringed Necklaces and Pendant Style Necklaces

While most of the beadwork necklaces created by Zulu artists during this period fell into the categories of tab style necklaces, tubular necklaces, choker style necklaces, multiple string necklaces, and single string necklaces, there were some types of necklaces that fell outside of these categories. The works that fall outside of these classifications consist primarily of items made for the commercial market. These types of works include necklaces with neckbands decorated with a fringe of beads and necklaces made from single or double strands of beads off of which was hung a small container or beaded pendant.

As observed by the writer while in South Africa, fringed necklaces were sold frequently in beach-side stalls and in art galleries. These works featured of a beadfabric band about an inch in width that has a fringe of individual strings of beads attached to the bottom edge. When worn, these works were designed so that the neckband fit closely around the neck and the fringe fell onto the chest. The lengths of the individual strands that made up the fringe were varied so they formed a v-shape, with the longest strands in the center of the work. When worn by a woman, the longest point on the fringe would have fallen along the midline of the chest in line with the cleavage of the breasts. This type of arrangement, thus, acted to complement the natural volumes of the body. Like other works made for the commercial market, this type of necklace was usually decorated with simple, geometric motifs in bright, contrasting, color combinations. Overall, the form of this necklace were designed to aesthetically enhance the contours of the body, while the designs and colors of the piece were employed to attract the eye of the viewer.
In addition to fringe necklaces, pendant type necklaces were seen frequently in beachfront stalls and galleries. These items generally were composed of a simple, single or double strand of beads onto which was attached a pendant or small container. The pendants on these necklaces were usually rigid, circular forms, made by placing a mesh of beadfabric over a wire frame. Sometimes, small bottles, gourds, or other types of containers were covered in beadfabric and placed on necklaces in an imitation of traditional style snuff containers (amashungu) or necklaces designed to hold medicines. Other times, a small horn of a duiker, goat, or other small animal was covered in a beadfabric and placed on the necklace with the tip pointing downward. This allowed the horn to act as a container. This form of a necklace was derived from traditional necklaces worn by common people and izangoma that incorporated a horn as a container for medicinal substances. Like the "snuff container necklaces", these "medicine container necklaces" were meant to provide the buyer with an inexpensive object that evoked connections with Zulu traditions. All of these forms of pendant style necklaces were usually made with glass beads and were decorated with simple, geometric motifs in bright combinations of multiple colors. The necklaces made for the commercial market were designed to suit the tastes of the patrons who were seeking works to fit their contemporary tastes, as with the fringed necklaces, and for patrons looking for works that gave them a sense of connection to the past of the Zulu people. Yet, whether following a traditional model or not, the colors and patterns seen on these pieces show little, if any, connection to beadwork worn as part of traditionalist style dress.

6.2.1.6 Summary: Neck Ornaments

The beadwork necklaces, created between the years of 1980-1997, were divided into the same basic categories as was seen in previous periods. These categories include tab style necklaces, choker style necklaces, necklaces made by the multiple string method.
and hollow tube necklaces, necklaces made by the *gongqoloza* method, and necklaces made by the single string method. Tab style necklaces, hollow tube necklaces, necklaces made by the multiple string method, and necklaces made by the *gongqoloza* method were all made both for the commercial market and for traditionalist dress. On the other hand, choker style necklaces and single string necklaces were created, almost exclusively, to be worn as part of traditionalist style dress. In addition to these basic forms, fringed and pendant style necklaces were also designed for the commercial market. Taken as a whole, artists of this period were very experimental with the forms they developed for the commercial market, but stayed fairly close to established forms for pieces done for traditionalist use. This is in contrast to the previous periods, when artists also experimented with traditionalist works as well.

The colors and patterns used to adorn traditionalist style works continued to be based on regional differences. The number of colors used in a particular work could be relatively few, as in the four color combination observed in the necklaces from the Msinga region (Figures 55.3 and 56.1), or could be many, as seen in the necklace from the Himeville region (Figure 57.1). This was the same type of variation that was observed in the previous period. With the exception of the Nongoma area, the color combinations used on beadwork from this time changed in all areas for which beadwork was observed. Artists also continued to use different types of design motifs to distinguish the region from which they came and, with the exception of those from the Nongoma area, their generation. Geometric designs remained the persistent favorites of artists of this generation, while the use of lettering and words was also popular. These changes in color combinations and design motifs followed similar generational and sequential changes as was seen in previous periods. For objects made for the commercial market, artists were very experimental in their use of color. Artists seeking to distinguish their works from the items of others created objects in color combinations, such as shades of metallic pastels or
multiple colors of primary tones, that were suited to the tastes of the consumers but were not be seen on works made for traditionalist dress. Yet, artists working for the commercial market seemed to do less experimenting with the designs applied to their objects. This is possibly partially due the fact that most of the commercial works did not take a form, such as necklaces with large tabs, which have sufficient surface area for the development of complex graphic designs. Whatever the case may have been, it seems that artists working for the commercial market directed their creativity more towards the development of new forms and color combinations than complex graphic designs.

The methods and materials used in the beadwork necklaces of this period were very similar to those seen in the previous period. Drawn glass beads that are rounded with slightly flattened sides of about size 00 with a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations continued to the be the most popular types of beads. Artists, in increasing numbers, used glass beads with a transparent clarity, and plastic beads of about size 00 and larger for the beadwork of traditionalist style dress. Yet, plastic beads were found much less frequently in beadwork produced for the commercial market, even though glass beads of a variety of shapes and sizes could be seen in these items. Moreover, according to Yvonne Winters, curator of the Killie Campbell Collection, some men have, in the past several years, begun asking their sweethearts or wives to return to using glass beads instead of plastic beads because the men felt that glass beads were more "traditional" (personal communication, May 1997). This interest in what is "traditional" was probably stimulated by a renewed sense of ethnic pride and a desire to reveal ethnic identity in the "rainbow" nation of South Africa that emerged after the breakdown of the apartheid system. Plastic cording used for stringing beads appeared to have been introduced during this period and was used for both traditionalist and commercial works of art. Still, cotton and linen cording continued to be used for stringing beads as well. The beadworking methods used to create necklaces were also similar to those of the
previous generations. Various types of beadfabric methods, the single string method, the multiple string method, methods of creating hollow tubes, and the *gongqoloza* method were all used on works for traditionalist wear and the commercial market. The use of the method of attaching beads to a fiber backing was limited to works for traditionalist wear, while the method of stretching a beadfabric over a wire frame to form a pendant was used exclusively on necklaces produced for the commercial market. Although the technique of stretching a beadfabric over a wire frame had not been applied to necklaces before this period, it was used in previous periods for the creation of torso, waist, and head ornaments, especially in the Umbumbulu area (see Figures 42.1-42.3, 48.1, 48.2, 52.1-52.5, 53.6 and 53.9). All of the beadworking techniques that were used on necklaces of this period were, thereby, developed prior to this time.

Finally, the functions of beadwork neck ornaments made during this time were the same as those created by artists of previous generations. Through their forms, color combinations, and designs necklaces communicated information about the wealth, region of origin, social status, and religious and political affiliations of a person. Intimate messages from a woman to her suitor or husband could be communicated in the forms assumed by the necklaces, words spelled out on the works, or colors that are connected to certain proverbs. Yet, the use of the color and proverb system of communication was being replaced with words on the works of younger artists. This is reflective of the fact that a growing number of young women were attending schools and wanted to show off their new skills, and that the color and proverb system was simply falling out of fashion, like various color combinations and designs had done previously. Last, beadwork necklaces created for the commercial market enabled the artists to earn a living and helped to generate a wider appreciation for Zulu beadwork outside of the Zulu community. These changes reflect the increasing number of women who were assuming some or all of the economic responsibility for their families. Still, taken as a whole, these necklaces fulfilled
the same types of aesthetic, social, and economic functions as the neck ornaments created by the previous generations of artists.

6.2.2 LIMB ORNAMENTS

As part of the traditionalist style dress that was worn between the years of 1980-1997 the limbs of an individual were often decorated with bead and/or metal ornaments. Limb ornaments were worn by courting aged men and women as well as married men and women. Visually, such objects marked the outer boundaries of the wearer and helped to emphasize the movements of these regions of the body. Based on the collections surveyed, the most commonly seen type of limb ornaments took the form of rectangular bands of beadfabric, called *amadavathi* or *izingusha*. These bands of beadwork were worn either secured around the leg or arm along the entire width, like a cuff; or they could be placed around the ankle by connecting the upper two corners, so that the piece draped over the heel and foot. Strings of beads that were plaited together were also used as limb ornaments, called *izigqizo*. These works were worn by wrapping the strings of beads around the limb multiple times and securing them in place. A third type of leg ornament, from this period was composed of a band of beadwork on which a series of tabs was placed. This type of item was secured tightly around the leg at a point slightly below the knee. Unlike other types of limb ornaments that were generally worn in pairs, the tab type leg ornament was worn singly. Yet, like the other works, it could be worn alone and/or in combination with other types of limb ornaments. Leg ornaments were rarely made for the commercial market, but small, rectangular, beadfabric bracelets were one of the staples of the commercial beadwork business. As such, beaded limb ornaments were a significant part of the works produced for the commercial market and remained an important part of traditionalist style dress.
6.2.2.1 *Idavathi* (pl. *Amadavathi*) and *Ingusha* (pl. *Izingusha*): Beadfabric Wristlets and Anklets

As stated above, beadfabric wristlets and anklets were the most common forms of limb ornament produced during this period of time. These works took the form of small rectangles of beadfabric that were placed around the ankle, arm, and/or wrist. They could be worn secured to the ankle, arm, or wrist along the entire section of the width, so that they grasped these regions of the body like a cuff. They could also be put on the ankle by connecting the two upper corners of the rectangle of beadfabric so that the piece draped across the heel and the sides of the foot. This second method of wearing the works provided ornamentation more for the foot as compared to the ankle. Therefore, even though these rectangular limb ornaments were similar in appearance, they adorned the body in distinct ways.

The positioning of the elements used for fastening the object to the body is indicative of the manner in which the works were worn. Limb ornaments that were worn in a cuff-like manner are distinguished by the fact that the strings or beads used to secure the work to the body were placed in the center of the widths and at the top and bottom, as seen on the *idavathi* from the Ndwedwe region in Figure 58.1. At other times these works were secured to the body by a set of beads or strings placed in the center of the widths, as seen in the *amadavathi* from the Ndwedwe region in Figure 58.2 and from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region in Figure 58.3.

The *idavathi* in Figure 58.1 is an example of an item that was worn like a cuff around the wrist. According to its accession records, this work was created probably sometime in the 1980s. Currently, this work form the Ndwedwe region is part of the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present). It consists of a rectangular section of beadfabric that has horizontal ridges placed at the upper and lower edges of the work and through the center. At the end of each of these ridges the artist has placed two, hot pink, plastic beads of about size five, which are used as fasteners. The rest of the
beads used in this work are drawn glass beads of about size 00. All of the glass beads have a simple body, no surface decorations, and a shiny luster. Beads having an opaque clarity as well as beads with a transparent clarity are included in this work. The design used to ornament the anklet is very vibrant and slightly asymmetrical. At the center of the piece there is a motif that has the appearance of two rhomboids that have been fused together horizontally, so that the edge of each side is absorbed into the body of the neighboring rhomboid. This motif is executed in transparent green and opaque white beads. The shape of this motif is then extended almost to the end of the work by a series of multiple colored lines. At each of the four corners of the idavathi there are four triangles that point toward the central horizontal line. These triangles meet at the midpoint of the work and extend slightly beyond the corners of the wristlet. On the left side of the work these triangles are composed of alternating blue and yellow beads. On the right side the triangles are outlined by a line of small, blue rectangles with yellow dots surrounded by a white border. A series of lines and a small, center field of transparent orange and opaque white beads form the interior of these triangles. The different treatment of the triangles on either end of this wristlet gives what would otherwise be a very symmetrical design some variation.

When compared to the beadwork of the Ndwedwe region of the previous period (see Figures 44.13 and 49.22 in the previous chapter), this work is more vibrant. Gone is the heavy use of black seen in the older works. Moreover, the vibratory nature of the design imbues this work with a nervous energy that was not present in the compositions of isolated elements of the older designs. Both the color combination and the design of the Ndwedwe idavathi are very similar to some of the designs developed in the beadwork of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region. This is especially true of the predominance of yellow beads and the lines of dotted rectangles in the left part of the work (see Chapter 5, Figures 44.6 and 44.7). These strong similarities suggest that the artists of these two regions had
some type of contact with each other. This contact may have come from women who are employed in a type of migrant labor situation. Like Zulu men who travel to the mines to seek employment, women also travel for the purpose of employment. Many women are employed as domestic laborers in the city. Some women also work in the lumber industry as togt workers, who help to clear out the stumps and brush of a region where the trees have been harvested. As with the men employed at the mines, these female togt workers are housed in communal living situations. In these communal settings, women from different regions mix and this mixing may be the source of the exchange of some beadwork styles (personal communication, Yvonne Winters, curator of the Killie Campbell Collection, May 1997). Other types of settings which provide beadwork artists with the opportunity for exchange include national festivals and galleries where artists from different regions sell their beadwork. In this way, the social and economic developments in Zulu society of this time seemed to have allowed more opportunities for the sharing different beadwork styles.

In addition to being worn securely around the leg or arm, beadfabric *amadavathi* were sometimes secured around the ankle by connecting the upper two corners with a fastener. When worn in this manner, *amadavathi* were allowed to drape over the heel and sides of the foot. The set of *amadavathi* in Figure 58.4, from the collection of the writer, is an example of works made to be worn in this manner. This set of anklets was made by Izansene Kwameyiwa, an artist from the Umbumbulu area, and is a rare example of *amadavathi* that were made for the commercial market. *Amadavathi* that are worn draped over the heel were rarely made for the commercial purposes because of the limited market for such a type of ornament. These pieces consist of slightly openwork beadfabric rectangles with green, fastening beads placed on the upper two corners. These works can be distinguished from their traditionalist counterparts by the size of the elements in the design and the color combinations used in the work. Like other items from the
Umbumbulu region seen in the previous chapter (see especially Figure 47.7), these anklets feature a design placed on a field of black beads alternated with multiple colored beads. With the exception of the large, green, molded plastic beads that are used as fasteners, all of the beads in these works are size 00, drawn glass beads with a simple body, a shiny luster, no surface decorations, and an opaque or transparent clarity. The designs on these works feature a central, green rhomboid divided into thirty-six smaller sections. Small rhomboids and four, small rectangles with angled edges surround this central, large rhomboid. Regions that contain four rectangles then flank this middle section. On the outer edges of the rectangle filled sections there is a black and multiple colored field upon which is placed two, narrow, angled rectangles. Finally, the outer edges of the narrow ends of the works are marked by a white stripe. Although works made for traditionalist wear in the Umbumbulu region sometimes featured designs with geometric elements placed on a black and multiple colored field, the designs on this set of works take up a greater part of the surface area of the item. Moreover, the colors used on these amadavathi differ slightly from the colors seen in the traditionalist works. In particular, the use of transparent beads to cover solid regions as rectangles of gold, clear, and blue/green beads was not observed in traditionalist style art of this region. Yet, in spite of the fact that the colors and patterns of this work have been slightly altered to suit the tastes of buyers in the commercial market, the form of these amadavathi is identical to those of a traditionalist style from the Umbumbulu and other regions. In addition to people from the Umbumbulu area, members of the Nazareth Baptist Church also wore amadavathi draped over the heel and sides of the foot as part of their dress.

A third type of beadfabric limb ornament that was very popular with Zulu artists is small, beadfabric bracelets that were made exclusively for the commercial market. These bracelets, such as the example in Figure 58.5, which is also from the collection of the writer, were narrower than the wristlets made for traditionalist style wear. While the
bracelets made for the commercial market tended to be about an inch in width, the traditionalist style wristlets tended to be about two and a half to three inches in width. Other factors that distinguished the commercial bracelets from the traditional works were the extra large fasteners and the busy, colorful designs that adorned them. Unlike the strings or small loops that fit over a single bead which were used to secure traditionalist style works around the wrists, artists creating bracelets for the commercial market made the fasteners by covering a large bead with smaller beads. These bead-covered, large beads were then used in conjunction with a beaded loop of cording to secure the bracelet to the wrist. These larger fastening devices were meant to be easier to manipulate for people who have less experience dressing in beadwork items. As with other types of works made for the commercial market, the colors and patterns used on these wrist ornaments were intended to be both fashionable and eye catching. Busy designs in bright, primary colors, such as the ones on the bracelet in Figure 58.5, were frequently used on the works. These cheerful designs were very popular with the visiting tourists and helped the work of the artist to stand out in the competition for the buyers' eyes. In fact, the narrow beadfabric bracelet was probably the most popular form assumed by commercial beadwork. Inexpensive, about one dollar, to purchase, suitable for either a male or female to wear, and easy to transport home these items made up a significant amount of the objects produced for the commercial market.

As such, beadfabric limb ornaments remained a vital part of Zulu beadwork of this period. They were used to adorn various regions of the limbs and could be worn tightly around the body or in a looser, draped fashion. While works worn on the legs, ankles, or arms were made primarily for traditionalist dress, ornaments worn around the wrist were found as part of both commercial and traditionalist beadwork.
6.2.2.2 Isigqizo (pl. Izigqizo): Limb Ornaments
Made from Strings of Beads

Based upon the photographic record (see especially the book *Speaking with Beads*), it is known that limb ornaments that were made from strings of beads were also worn as part of traditionalist dress of this period. As in past examples of this type of ornament, works from this period were made from strings of beads that were plaited or wound together to form thicker ropes of beadwork. These ropes of beads were then wrapped around the limbs multiple times to cover a wide area of the body. In the photographic examples observed by the writer, these works could be made from a single color or from multiple colors of beads of beads, depending upon the region from which the wearer hailed.

This style of ornament appears to have been worn primarily by courting aged and married women. They were especially popular with women of the Nazareth Baptist Church and were sometimes worn with *amadavathi* draped over the heels. *Izangoma* of both sexes also continued to adorn themselves with this style of work. When worn by common people, izigqizo were used to help to define the outer edges of the body and call attention to its movements. At times, these ropes were worn in great quantities so that the entire calf or large areas of the forearm were covered in beadwork. Such great quantities of beads would have been a means of alluding to the wealth of the wearer. These ropes of beadwork would have also added bulk to the lower leg, thereby, increasing the apparent musculature of this area of the body. As muscular legs are considered a desirable feature of women in Zulu society, izigqizo would have acted to enhance the attractiveness of the body. In addition to these aesthetic functions, the limb ornaments worn by izangoma would have acted to help to advertise and enhance their abilities. By drawing upon the symbolic associations of the colors of red, white, and/or blue, the izigqizo worn by an isangoma could communicate information about the specific nature of the abilities of the isangoma to others within Zulu society. Moreover, the symbolic, spiritual associations of
these colors were used by *izangoma* to help them to attract and to interact with the spiritual forces that assist them with their duties.

Unfortunately, no examples of these types of ornaments were seen in the collections observed. This made a complete artistic analysis of these types of items from this time period impossible. Yet, based on the photographs observed, these *izigqizo* seem to take the exact forms as those seen in previous times and fulfill the same functions. In particular, when worn by a common person these works would have helped to aesthetically enhance the body, identify their region of origin, suggest their social status and political and religious affiliations, and allude to their wealth. When worn by an *isangoma*, these works would have also helped to reveal and enhance the spiritual abilities of that person. In short, neither the form nor function of these works appeared to have changed since the previous time.

6.2.2.3 Tab Style Leg Ornaments

Tab style, leg ornaments are the third category of limb ornaments created by Zulu beadwork artists between the years of 1980-1997. This style of work consisted of a beadfabric band to which a stack of beadfabric tabs was attached. When worn, tab style Ig ornaments were placed securely around the leg in a cuff-like manner at a position just below the knee. Unlike other types of limb ornaments, these works were worn singly instead of as a pair. According to research conducted by Yvonne Winters, they were one element in the dress worn by engaged, young women from the Khuze region in the southern part of KwaZulu/Natal (50). Winters also observed that the number of tabs on these types of works indicated the number of cattle (or their equivalent thereof) that was to be paid as *lobola* for the young woman (50). As such, these unique ornaments had a role in the system of social control for this region of Zululand.
An example of one of these tab style leg ornaments can be seen in Figure 59.1. It is part of the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) and, according to museum records, was made in the Highflats region of the Khuze area in Southern KwaZulu/Natal in the 1980s. It also appears in Winter’s 1988 article, "Contemporary Traditionalist Bhaca and Khuze Beadwork From the Southern Natal/KwaZulu Area", in Figures 8 and 9 on page 50. The leg band itself is composed of a beadfabric band that is strung between six, horizontal strings. Occupying the whole width of the central part of the band are six, stacked, beadfabric tabs that are attached in a parallel orientation to the band. The entire work is composed of molded plastic beads of about size 00 with a satin luster, no surface decorations, an opaque clarity, and a simple body structure. The band of the work features solid colored regions near the center and vertical striped areas on the ends of the work. On the left side of the band there is an area of pale yellow beads followed by sets of red, light orange, and blue stripes, which are separated from each other by smaller black stripes. On the right side of the work there is a red field that ends in yellow, orange, and blue stripes, which are also separated by smaller black stripes. Each of the six tabs is decorated with an identical motif consisting of two, mirror imaged triangles bordered on the left and right sides by thick, solid colored lines. Black beads outline all of the elements in this motif. Yet, the motif on each of the tabs is made of different colors of beads and placed on different colored backgrounds, including lavender, blue, light yellow, and light orange. So, on both the band and the tabs the artist used an assortment of bright and muted colors that makes for a lively, but not vibrant, color combination. It is not known if the colors or the motifs employed in this work have any symbolic value. But it is possible that, since the Zulu word for triangle is the same as the word for heart, the two triangles which make up the motif of the tabs possibly carried some message related to love. It is known that the six tabs on this work indicate that the lobola for the engaged woman who wore this item was six cattle or the equivalent thereof. So, while this
ornament was used to decorate the leg, it is also a means to communicate information between the wearer, her suitor, and their families in a nonverbal manner. Most significantly, it was used to communicate her status as an engaged woman and the amount of lobola that was to be paid in order to gain her as a wife. It also served as a reminder to her husband-to-be of the amount of lobola he was required to pay. Secondarily, it identified her region of origin, alluded to her religious and political leanings, and was suggestive of the wealth of her family. In this way, this style of leg ornament fulfilled both aesthetic and social functions.

6.2.2.4 Summary: Limb Ornaments

In addition to the major forms of limb ornaments discussed above, rigid circular bracelets covered in beads were also made for the commercial market. These items were made by taking a rigid tubular bracelet form and wrapping it with beads using the gongqoloza method. While this beadworking technique had been applied to limb ornaments of the past, these commercial bracelets were rigid and were only made from a single tube, unlike the semi-rigid, multiple tube works seen in the traditional wear. Yet, like the beadfabric bracelets made for the commercial market, the tubular bracelets were decorated in the bright color combinations and simple motifs usually seen in commercial works. Moreover, like their beadfabric counterparts, these bracelets were fairly inexpensive and popular with the customers.

Taken as a whole, the beaded ornaments that were created to adorn the limbs as part of traditionalist style dress or for the commercial market from the period of 1980-1997 featured both similarities and dissimilarities to their predecessors; especially in terms of forms, beadworking methods and materials, color and patterns, and functions of the items. Beadfabric limb ornaments that were either worn close to the body in a cuff-like manner or draped over the foot and heel were found in both this and the previous period. Moreover, limb decorations created by wrapping strings of beads around the body.
multiple times were made by artists of both generations. In contrast, the thick tubes of beadwork (*tshi tshi*) that were used as knee ornaments in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region in the period of 1960-1980 and the tab style, knee adornments from southern Natal during this period appear to have been limited to their specific time period\(^1\). As in the past, various types of beadfabric methods, the single string method, the *gongqoloza* method, and multiple string methods were the primary beadworking techniques used for limb ornaments. Also, as in the previous time period, beads attached to a fiber backing method were not observed, while limb ornaments made using the *gongqoloza* method were only seen as part of the items made for the commercial market. The artists of this later generation continued to favor the drawn glass beads of size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, no surface decorations, and a simple body used by their predecessors. Still, glass beads with a transparent clarity seemed to increase in popularity during this time. Molded plastic beads of varying sizes also remained quite popular with artists until the very end of the period. Additionally, artists working in this latest period began to make use of nylon cording for stringing beads, especially in the context of works made for the commercial market. Nylon cording is extremely strong and less prone to deterioration as items are folded to be put away. This is very a desirable trait for artists who sell the works themselves from street booths where they must pack up their goods every night. The colors and patterns used to decorate the limb ornaments of this latest period varied from region to region. Yet, there appeared to be some cross regional influences on artists who were exposed to different regional color combinations and patterns during periods of migrant labor and other types of travel. As in the past, the numbers and types of colors used on items from this time were quite variable. Generally speaking, the later artists seemed to prefer to use multiple colors in bright patterns. On the works made for the commercial market artists tended to use either bright primary colors or more muted tones, as they were deemed fashionable. Geometric patterns continued to be the prominent style
of design applied to limbs ornaments. While in some regions, such as Southern Natal, artists used relatively simple designs; in other areas, such as the Maphumulo/Mvoti region, the designs used on the beadwork items got extremely busy and active. Moreover, the designs on the works created for the commercial market were inclined to be slightly busier and more prominent than those produced by the same artists for traditionalist style wear. Finally, while most of the types of functions played by these limbs ornaments did not change between the periods of 1960-1980 and 1980-1997, the economic function of these works as a means for women to earn a living increased in importance. Overall, based on the collections and other sources surveyed, there appeared to be slightly less artistic innovation taking place with the limb ornaments produced between 1980-1997. Nevertheless, these works retained important symbolic roles when worn as part of traditionalist dress and were a significant part of the works produced for the commercial market.

6.2.3 TORSO ORNAMENTS

Zulu artists working between the years of 1980-1997 also created forms to be worn on the torso region of the body as elements of traditionalist dress. Unlike neck and limb ornaments, no forms of torso ornaments were observed being created for the commercial market. As in the past twenty year period, the torso ornaments created by artists of this latest period took three basic forms: 1) ropes or bands of beads worn across the chest, 2) bands of beadfabric worn over the front of the chest, and 3) cloth capes or waistcoats decorated with beadwork. Ropes or bands of beadwork and beadfabric panels were worn directly on the skin of the individual. Such items helped to call attention to the features of the chest, particularly the breasts of a young woman or the musculature of a courting aged or married man. Capes and waistcoats decorated with beadwork served to
add a sense of grandeur to the traditionalist costumes of married people in keeping with their senior social status. In this manner, beaded torso ornaments were used to reinforce the aesthetic qualities of the body that were associated with a particular social rank.

6.2.3.1 Ulandela, Umtamatama (pl. Imimatamama), Umjila (pl. Imijila), and Umgaxo (pl. Imigaxo): Beaded Shoulder Bands

Beaded shoulder bands, called umtamatama, umjila, umgaxo, and ulandela, were made in the form of ropes or bands of beadwork. They were worn diagonally across the chest and over one shoulder. Such types of ornaments could be worn by courting aged men and women as well as married men and women. Courting aged and married men wore these items singly, in pairs, or in multiples without regard to marital status or region. For women, the number of shoulder bands worn at one time appears to have varied from region to region and was connected to their marital status. Further, the names for these items, as either ulandela, umtamatama, or umjila, are dependent on the region from which they came. In the northern regions of Zululand umtamatama is the name used for these works, they are called ulandela in the Eshowe region (personal communication, Shandu Sukethini and Baqaphale Mpugose, beadwork artists, April 1997), and referred to as umjila in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region. Whether worn by men or women, these items worked to help to aesthetically enhance the body and visually connect the other types of beadwork items, worn on the neck, waist, and limbs, by the individual.

The imimatamama pictured in Figures 60.1 and 60.2 are examples of shoulder band ornaments from this period. Presently they are part of the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present). Little information accompanied these works in the museum, but based on the red, green, black, yellow, and white color combinations of these items it appears that they probably came from the Nongoma region. Although the designs on these works are the not classic stepped rhomboids and triangles typically seen
in the Nongoma region, they are based heavily upon the elements of the triangle and rhomboid, in keeping with other Nongoma area works. The museum acquired these works in 1988 and, from the amount of wear on the pieces, they seem to have been made relatively close to this date. Both of these bands take the form of long rectangles of beadfabric made with drawn glass beads. All of the beads in these pieces are about size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, no surface decorations, and a simple body structure. The shoulder bands feature a motif that is repeated down the length of the work. The motif consists of two, large, mirror imaged triangles outlined in red. Inside of these large triangles near the tip is a smaller yellow or white rhomboid. Along the flat edges are placed two, smaller, black triangles. Two, small rhomboids of either green or yellow outlined in red flank the point where the two large triangles meet. Finally, on the outer edge of these rhomboids is placed two, mirror imaged, small, black triangles also outlined in red. On the work in Figure 60.1 these repeated motifs are aligned vertically and placed in a row. The motif that marks the center of the work differs slightly from the basic form in that it has been expanded horizontally. On the shoulder band in Figure 60.2 the motifs are aligned horizontally down the length of the piece. The use of a repeated motif in each of these bands unifies the designs within each individual piece. The diagonal lines that are featured throughout the repeated motifs give the work an energy, but it is an energy that is contained by the white fields that surround the designs. Overall, these shoulder bands feature forceful designs that would have complemented a strong, upper body.

While the works in Figures 60.1 and 60.2 take the form of fairly wide, about four inches, rectangular bands, artists of this period also created shoulder bands that were narrower or made from a series of beadfabric rectangles hooked together. The two imijala from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region pictured in Figures 60.3 and 60.4 are examples of narrow shoulder bands. These two works, from the collection of the Local History
Museum (1870-present), are about an inch in width. They are made with an openwork beadfabric type of construction with size five, molded plastic beads on the ends and size 00, drawn glass beads used in the body. The glass beads have a simple body construction, a shiny luster, no surface decorations, and either an opaque or transparent clarity. The designs on these works feature a series of elongated hexagrams that are bordered by a set of lines of different colors. It is a very vibrant pattern that is not constrained by the edges of the works. According to curator Robert Papini of the Local History Museum, this type of decoration is referred to as a razor blade decoration (personal communication, February 1997). Unfortunately, the possible symbolism of this design has yet to be fully investigated.

The shoulder band in Figure 60.5 from the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) is an example of a type of band worn by an engaged, young woman from the Khuze region of southern Natal. It consists of a series of four, beadfabric panels constructed of molded plastic beads of about size 00. All of the beads have a simple body, an opaque clarity, a satin luster, and no surface decorations. At the upper corners of the rectangles there are a series of larger, molded plastic beads and loops of string which are used to connect the panels to one another. The designs on these panels consist of triangles, rhomboids, and stripes in a combination of pastel and bright colors. Two of the panels are decorated with a combination of triangles and rhomboids on a half-orange and half-green background. A third panel has a design of diagonally situated stripes in white, black, blue, orange, and green beads on a light yellow, purple, bright blue, and light orange background. The fourth panel features a series of triangles of different sizes, pointed up and down, in solid colors, and set against a light yellow background. Once again, the possible symbolism of these design arrangements has yet to be investigated. Nevertheless, when placed on the body, the differing designs of the panels would have kept the eye moving around the work.
Thus, beaded shoulder bands were created in a variety of shapes and forms during this period. With their various color combinations and patterns, they would have served to identify the region from which their makers and wearers came. In addition, such works would have been used to display the wealth of the individual as well as alluding to their religious and political affiliations. Aesthetically, such items would have served to call attention to the upper body of the person and acted as a visual bridge uniting the ornaments of the head and neck with the waist, arm, and wrist ornaments.

6.2.3.2 Ineba (pl. Amaba), Isibhodiya (pl. Izibhodiya), and Isidiya (pl. Izidiya): Beadfabric Chest Ornaments

Among members of the Nazareth Baptist Church, panels of beadfabric worn across the breasts, called ineba (pl. amaba), isibhodiya (pl. izibhodiya), and isidiya (pl. izidiya), served as part of the dress of courting aged young women. Young women of marriageable age and those of courting age both wore this type of item. They acted as a partial covering for the breasts and also drew attention to this region of the body. As part of the overall costume of the individual, they were made in a form and with color combinations and designs that matched the rest of the beadwork being worn by the individual.

The beadfabric breast coverings worn by unmarried, female members of the Nazareth Baptist Church take the form of a rectangular panel of beadfabric attached to three tubes of fabric covered in beads using the gongqoloza method. They were worn so that the tubes of beadwork were placed horizontally around the chest going under the arms. The beadfabric panel was oriented so that it fell across the top of the breasts and the entire work was secured to the body at the side under an arm. One example of such a work can be seen on the young woman in Figure 61.1 from the book Speaking with Beads. As described above, the ineba worn by this young woman consists of three, bead-covered tubes of fabric to which a panel of beadfabric has been attached. All of the beads
used in this work, with the exception of the gold beads in the panel, are drawn glass beads of about size 00 with a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, no surface decorations, and a simple body structure. The gold beads are also size 00, drawn glass beads that have a simple body and no surface decorations, but they have a transparent clarity and a metallic luster. The *gongqoloza* beadworking method was used to create the bands that go around the chest, while the stacking beadfabric method was used to create the panel of the work. The upper and lower tubes of the band are covered entirely in white beads. The center tube is also covered primarily in white beads, but it also has a series of black, yellow, and red stripes at four locations along the length. Decorating the panel of this work is a series of stepped triangles and rhomboids outlined in black. In the center of the panel there is a white, stepped rhomboid. To the right of this rhomboid there are two, mirror image, red, stepped triangles and on the left there are two, mirror image, stepped, blue triangles. Flanking this combination of elements there are two, stepped, gold rhomboids into which are set two, smaller, pink rhomboids. All of this is placed on a white background and there is a decorative, openwork trim on the bottom edge of the piece. The patterns and colors of this piece are rooted in Zulu traditional beadwork but are given Christian interpretations. In particular, while the stepped rhomboid was found in the beadwork of the Maphumulo/Mvoti region (for example see Chapter 3 Figure 223), the beadwork artists of the Nazareth Baptist Church used this motif to symbolize the Christian cross (Morris and Preston-Whyte 66). In a manner similar to the traditional associations between colors and proverbs, Mthethwa reported that the colors used in the beadwork of members of the Nazareth Baptist Church are associated with specific biblical passages (37). Moreover, the predominance of white in the beadwork of the members of the church is evocative, in both traditional Zulu and Nazareth Baptist Church symbolism, of purity (Morris and Preston-Whyte 66). In this way, the artists of the Nazareth Baptist Church used beadwork to help to evoke connections to the Christian God as Zulu people. As
such, this chest ornament, like other elements of dress worn by members of the Nazareth Baptist Church, aided in the act of communing with God during worship services.

The beadfabric chest ornaments worn by young women who are members of the Nazareth Baptist Church brought visual attention to the ideally firm and full breasts of the young woman. The form, color combinations, and patterns of these items clearly identified the wearer as a member of the church and denoted her social status as an unmarried woman. In addition, the color combinations and design patterns used on these objects symbolically evoked the presence of God and helped to identify the individual as a Zulu person in the eyes of God (Mthethwa 37). Thus, these works were intended to engage the spiritual realm as well as viewers in the physical realm.

6.2.3.3 *Irete* (pl. *Amatete*), *Isikoti* (pl. *Izikoti*), and *Isibhekela* (pl. *Izibhekla*):
Capes and Waistcoats

As in the previous time period, beaded waistcoats and beaded capes were a part of beadwork worn by married men and women. Beaded waistcoats were made by taking a commercially produced vest from a man's suit and covering it with strips of beadwork. These items, as with all types of beadwork, were created by one of the wives of the man who owned the work. The strips of beadwork used to cover the waistcoat were created in color combinations and patterns that were associated with region from which the wearer came and the generation of which his wife was part. The lavish amount of beadwork that was used to cover waistcoats as well as the association between the suit and the status of a successful, adult man clearly link these works to ideas of wealth and status. These items could, therefore, reveal the region from which the man came, the age of his wife, the affections of a wife for her husband, and his wealth and status. Although these works were found at least in the Msinga, Estcourt, and Nongoma areas, they do not appear to have been as common as the beaded shawls^{16}. This reflects not only the popularity of the

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individual item, but also the fact that more women wore traditionalist style clothing. Unfortunately, photographs of the vests made from this period have not been gathered. Yet, based on the examples observed by the writer, these works differed from those of the previous eras only in the colors and patterns of the beadwork applied to them.

Beaded capes, called *itete* (pl. *amatete*), *isikoti* (pl. *izikoti*), or *isibheklane*, (pl. *izibheklane*), remained popular items of clothing for married women throughout Zululand. Probably the most important function of these items was to keep the shoulders of a woman covered in accordance with the rules of *hlonipha*. This meant that these capes were part of the display of respect that a married woman showed for her husband and his living and dead relatives to help to assure their cooperation with the success of her marriage. *Amatete* of this period were similar in form to those of previous times. Generally, they took the form of a section of cloth that was trimmed in a border of beads. Occasionally, the cape would be decorated with additional beads sewn onto the upper cloth region or with more than one strip of beadwork. In the Estcourt region these types of works were made from layers of cloth trimmed in beadwork.

The *itete* in Figure 62.1 is an example of a cape that features a beadwork trim. This work was, according to museum records, created in the Ndwedwe region in the 1980s. It is presently in the Killie Campbell Collection. It features a navy blue cloth that has a beadfabric edging of black, pink, purple, yellow, white, red, russet, green, olive, blue-green, and orange beads. The beads are all molded plastic beads of about size five with a simple body, an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, and no surface decorations. The design of the edging consists of a variety of triangles arranged in alternating orientations, similar to the design on the shoulder piece in Figure 47.1 that was discussed in the previous chapter. The design features an arrangement of four, horizontal rows of rectangles. The rectangles in each of these rows are then divided diagonally in half. In the first and third rows from the top the rectangles are divided from the upper left corner to the lower right, and in the
second and fourth rows the rectangles are divided from the upper right corner to the lower left. On the top row all of the lower regions of the rectangles are solid green, while the upper sections are filled black beads alternated with beads of multiple colors. In the second row from the top the upper parts of the rectangles are made of black and multiple colors of beads, while the lower parts of the rectangles are solid, but differing, colors. On the third row from the top the upper areas of the rectangles are solid, but differing, colors, while the bottom regions are black and multiple colors. In the bottom row the top parts of the rectangles are pink and the bottom areas are black and multiple colors. At the very bottom of this trim there is a line of pink beads. Between the upper and lower two rows there are three lines of beads. Of these center lines, the top and bottom lines are composed entirely of black beads and the middle line has black beads alternating with multiple colors of beads. Last, on either side of the rows of rectangles there is an area, about the width of a rectangle, of black and multiple colored beads. These areas on either side of the rows serve to contain the design of the trim. Although the regularly spaced rows and the rectangles of which they are made give the design a very steady rhythm, the alternating orientation of the triangles that make up the rectangles and the break between the second and third rows add variety to the design. Overall, it is a lively yet controlled decoration. As mentioned above, there is a strong similarity between the design on this work and the shoulder piece seen in the previous chapter. This suggests that there was some sort of contact or movement between the beadwork artists of the Ndwedwe region and, at least some, of those from further north around the town of Empangeni. Nevertheless, it is uncertain at this time what sort of contact this may have been. This example serves as a representation of the sharing of designs that seemed to occur between artists of different regions as discussed earlier in this chapter.

In contrast to the beadwork trim that decorates the itete in Figure 62.1, the cape in Figure 62.2 features a beadwork trim combined with a larger design created by sewing
beads onto the upper part of the work. Created in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region in the 1980s, according to accession records, this work is presently in the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present). It consists of a black piece of cloth combined with multiple colored, beadwork designs and appliquéd, rickrack, fabric edgings. The beadwork design of this apron consists of a beadfabric band placed along the bottom edge of the work and a design of beads sewn onto the cloth above the band. Both elements of the beadwork design were created with drawn glass beads of size 00. All of the beads have a simple body, no surface decorations, a shiny luster, and either a transparent or opaque clarity. The long rectangular piece of beadfabric that decorates the lower edge of the work is ornamented with an active, angled design. Diagonal lines of different colors that are divided into smaller rectangular blocks form this design. These blocks feature centers that are darker than the lines that surround them. Into these blocks are placed dots of a third color. The diagonal lines are set at opposing angles so that they meet at five places to form triangles. This effect keeps the eye moving up and down the entire length of the band. The design created by the beads sewn onto the cloth above this band is much less active. It consists of six, rectangular regions of slightly differing sizes. In both of the outer regions, the rectangles are each filled with large, multiple colored, star-like motifs made of four lines of beadwork. Toward the center, the next two regions are divided by two, multiple colored, diagonal lines into four smaller areas. Into each of these smaller areas is placed a small, multiple colored, "plus" sign motif. Then, in the center two regions there are two, multiple colored, linear representations of mealie plants springing from the ground. Taken as a whole, this upper design is very stable and serves as a nice counterbalance to the extremely active design of the band. It is known that this cape was made as part of the wedding dress for a woman. Taking this fact into consideration, it is likely that the mealie plants in the center of this work are a reference to a productive and fruitful marriage. The star shaped elements on the ends of the work may also be a
reference to good luck in marriage and for children, as they are in the Estcourt region. Yet, this speculation about the symbolism of these elements has yet to be confirmed with fieldwork. A third motif in this design that possibly has symbolic importance is the plus-sign motif. This is a motif that has appeared in various forms throughout the history of beadwork in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region (see Figures 15.1, 22.3, and 24.2), but has yet to be identified fully. As such, the function of this cape is indicated by both its formal and symbolic elements. In form this work identified the social status and region of origin of the person, showed the respect of the wearer for her living and dead in-laws, as well as provided insight into her wealth and religious and political affiliations. In addition, the motifs that decorate the cape may have helped to symbolically provide good fortune to wearer in her marriage.

Thus, beaded capes and vests remained part of the beadwork worn by married people during this era. While beaded vests were not a ubiquitous part of the traditionalist style dress for a married man, as were capes for married women, beaded vests were found being created in several different regions. These items were used to show the wealth, social status, region of origin, and allude to the religious and political affiliations of the man who wore the work. In contrast, capes were a much more prevalent item of traditionalist style dress, worn by married women in all regions of Zululand. While capes served the same functions for women as vests did for men, capes also had a role in helping a woman to fulfill her hlonipha obligations. Specifically, these works helped to insure the cooperation of the husband and his husband living and dead relatives in the success of the wearer's marriage, including the birth of children. As such, capes and vests continued to be a vital part of traditionalist style dress during the period of 1980-1997.

6.2.3.4 Summary: Torso Ornaments

In the period of 1980-1997, shoulder bands, beadfabric covering for breasts, and capes and vests appear to be the most significant forms of beaded torso ornaments created
and worn as part of traditionalist dress. These were all forms that were observed in the previous period. In addition to the forms discussed, courting aged women also sometimes wore bands or ropes of beadwork horizontally across their chests. In form, these works were similar to those worn diagonally across the chest, and so do not represent a significant formal variation. Instead, this is a variation on the manner in which an item was worn and it is a variation that appears to have existed throughout the history of twentieth century Zulu beadwork. When comparing the forms, materials and methods of beadworking, color combinations and designs, and symbolism of the beaded torso ornaments of this period, were relatively few innovations on the types of ornaments created by the younger artists.

The basic forms assumed by beaded torso ornaments changed little between the periods of 1960-1980 and 1980-1997. Shoulder bands were made in the form of beadfabric bands or ropes of beadwork. Breast or chest coverings were made of a beadfabric rectangle. Moreover, capes and vests continued to be created by sewing beads onto a cloth backing. Still, the capes made by combining sections of beadfabric stretched across a wire frame seen in the Umbumbulu region in the previous period were not observed. As in the previous time period, drawn glass beads of about size 00 with a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, a simple body, and no surface decorations were the primary materials used to create beaded torso ornaments. Additionally, molded plastic beads of size 00; size five, glass beads with a transparent clarity; cloth; and manufactured cording were also found to be used in the torso ornaments from this and the previous periods. On the other hand, metal wire was not observed in the later works. There was also little change in the beadworking methods used between the two periods. The beadfabric method was used in the creation of shoulder bands, breast coverings, and vests and capes. The gongqoloza method was used on shoulder bands and breast coverings, and the beads sewn onto a fiber backing method was found to be employed on capes and vests. As seen
previously, the bead color combinations and patterns used by the artists varied from region to region. Combinations that featured multiple colors of beads were popular in many areas of KwaZulu/Natal, including Maphumulo/Mvoti, Ndwedwe, and Southern Natal. Nevertheless, artists from the Nongoma area continued to use their red, black, green, white, and sometimes blue and/or yellow color combination. Geometric patterns, especially rhomboids and triangles, also continued to be the favorite type of design for torso ornaments of this time. Still, the mealie plants that appear on the cape from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region of this later period seemed to be unique to their time for their region. In contrast, the patterns seen on the cape from the Ndwedwe region were almost identical to those seen on a work from the Empangeni area of the previous time. This suggests that the regional differences in pattern designs was slowly beginning to erode, as more women entered into employment that took them away from the regions of their home. Finally, the symbolism of these works did not seem to change much over time. All of these works acted to reveal the wealth, social status, region of origin, and the religious and political affiliations of a person. Moreover, the beadwork items, including the breast coverings, worn by members of the Nazareth Baptist Church helped their members to symbolically connect with God. Furthermore, the capes worn by married women acted to help them to fulfill their hlonipha requirements and, at times, featured motifs that symbolically offered them success in their marriage.

Seen as a whole, the beaded torso coverings of the period of 1980-1997 were very similar to those of the previous period. All of the torso ornaments discussed, with the exception of those from the Nongoma area, showed the same regularly occurring changes in color combinations and patterns. They all assumed the same forms and functions seen before and used beadworking methods and materials established artists of previous generations. Still, the cape from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region did offer some innovations in terms of motifs and decorative techniques. Nevertheless, overall these examples
suggest that the younger artists were less artistically experimental with their torso coverings than their predecessors were.

6.2.4 WAIST ORNAMENTS

Beadwork ornaments worn at the waist remained an important part of traditionalist style dress of this latest period. These types of ornaments were particularly popular with children, courting aged people, and married women, but married men could also wear them. The category of beaded waist ornaments includes two primary types of works: belts and skirts. Both of these types of works could be worn singly, in multiples, or in combinations. They could be placed around the waist and/or the hips. Although beaded waist ornaments were worn by wide variety of people, the exact type of ornament worn by a person was often connected to their social, especially marital or courting, status. Like other types of beadwork, these items were usually decorated with color combinations and beadwork patterns that were connected to the region from which the artist came and the generation to which she belonged.

Beaded belts were also sometimes created for the commercial market, but artists did not make beaded skirts as part of the items regularly produced to be sold. As with other works created for the commercial market, commercially oriented pieces tended to be designed with colors and patterns that were slightly different from those made to be worn as part of traditionalist dress.

6.2.4.1 Ixhama (pl. Amaxhama), Imfacane (pl. Amafacane), Umbhijo (pl. Imibhijo), and Umutsha (pl. Imitsha): Belts

Beaded belts from the period of 1980-1997 assumed a variety of forms, including belts made with single strands of beads, belts made with multiple strings of beads, belts made using the gongqoloza method, belts made by attaching beads to a fiber backing, and
belts made by various beadfabric methods. In their simplest form, beaded belts were created from a simple single or double strand of beads. These types of works were worn by young children, young women in the first stage of courting, and men of courting or married status. Slightly more complex belts made from multiple strings of beads were worn by courting aged young women, particularly in the southern regions of KwaZulu/Natal in the Bhaca and Khuze areas. Such multiple string works often took the form of a string of beads looped off of a single or double strand of beads, or a webbing of strands of beads. Belts made from single or multiple strings of beads could be placed around either the waist or hips, and were worn singly, in multiples, or in combination with each other and/or other types of belts.

In addition to the belts made from single or multiple strings of beads, belts, called *imfacane* (pl. *amafacane*), *umbhijo* (pl. *imibhijo*), and *umutsha* (pl. *imitsha*), were also made using the *gongqoloza* method. Based on the museum and private collections and archival sources surveyed by the writer, belts made using the *gongqoloza* method were worn by courting aged men and women and married men. They seem to have been most popular in the regions of the Msinga, Maphumulo/Mvoti, and Nongoma areas as well as with followers of the Nazareth Baptist Church. In many cases, the belts made by this method from this period were composed of one or two tubes of beadwork. Yet, the belts worn by courting aged women from the Nazareth Baptist Church were made from three and nine tubes of beadwork. Belts made from three tubes of beadwork were worn around the waist, while the wider ones were worn on the hips. Such items were covered primarily in white beads to allude to the physical and spiritual purity of the young maiden and featured small groupings of stripes. The groupings of stripes were placed at wide, even intervals down the length of the work, providing a simple and delicate decoration for the item. One example of such a set of waist belts can be seen on the young woman in Figure 61.1. The smaller of the belts worn by this woman rests around the waist at the level of
the navel and is decorated in groupings of stripes. These groupings consist of a central red stripe, flanked by sets of yellow and black stripes. The larger work of the set of belts is on the hips under a beadfabric panel skirt. It features nine tubes of beadwork combined with separate sections of plaited strands of beads. The tubular part of the belt was made from bead-covered tubes of cloth constructed with the gongqoloza method. The tubes are covered primarily in white beads and feature groupings of stripes of red, yellow, and black to match the ones featured on the waist belt. The plaited strands of beads are worn above the tubular part of the hip belt. These plaited strands were usually composed of beads of a single color, but the colors could change between plaited strands. For instance, the young woman in Figure 61.1 wears red, blue, and yellow groups of plaited strands of beads. At times, artists sometimes placed a series of openwork triangles, between which were strung loops of strings of beads, along the bottom of the tubular part of the belt. These triangles and loops are present on the belt worn by the young woman illustrated. This combination of waist and hip belts was a standard form for beaded belts worn by unmarried women of the Nazareth Baptist faith during this period. Some slight variations were seen in the color combinations and in the number and placement of the stripes on the white background of the tubular elements of these works. In addition, there was some variation in the number and colors of the plaited strands of beads worn between the tubular sections of the belt. Yet overall, these variations were relatively minor and were used to create a similar aesthetic presentation on the body, drawing attention to and emphasizing the width of the hips.

Belts made by the beadfabric method and by attaching beads to a fiber backing were also commonly featured in traditionalist style dress during this period. Works that have beadwork attached to a grass backing, such as the belt seen in Figure 63.1, continued to be made. The belt in Figure 63.1, known as ixhama (pl. amaxhama), consists of a braided grass backing onto which is attached a rectangular section of beadwork. It is
presently in the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) and, according to accession records, was created in the area around Himeville in southern KwaZulu/Natal in the 1980s. The grass backing is left visible on each of the ends and is formed into loops through which is passed a string that secures the belt to the body. The piece of beadfabric that is secured to the grass backing was created with the stacking beadfabric method and is decorated in letters of orange, yellow, dark amber, dark teal, light teal, and white with blue stripes on a black background. These letters are executed in solid yet different colors, but the colors do not repeat in a regular sequence. The colors chosen by the artist are fairly subdued and do not create an overly dramatic contrast with the black background. The letters are a combination of upper and lower cases, spelling out the phrase "kozekubhibhasazi", meaning roughly, "I do not know what the future holds". The fact that the artist uses lettering does indicate that she had been to school, giving her the prestige associated with an education. Unlike the grass belts of previous eras that belonged exclusively to married women who had given birth to a child, this grass belt belonged to a senior courting aged girl. As such, the message of the item could relate to the unknown future of the young woman's fertility or the future between her and her suitor. Whatever the case, the fact that this type of item belonged to an unmarried woman indicates that the role of this type of ornament in traditionalist style dress was expanding and/or that the rules governing who could wear this type of item were being relaxed, at least within the region of southern KwaZulu/Natal.

A second example of a beadfabric belt attached to a fiber backing (ixhama, pl. amaxhama) can be seen in Figure 63.2. From museum records, it is known that this belt was created in the area of the Mandlakazi clan near Mahlabatini in the Nongoma region and was owned by Chief Zulu. Since 1987 this work has been part of the collection of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum (1880-present). It is composed of a beadfabric section that is attached to a cloth backing. On either end, there are three pairs
of cords adorned at their tips with beadwork tabs and a bell. These cords are used to secure the belt around the waist of the wearer. All of the beads used in this work are size 00, drawn glass beads with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The design featured on the belt is slightly different from the previously discussed examples of beadwork from the Nongoma region. While the artist of this work did make extensive use of rhomboids in the very center of the design, these are simple forms and not the stepped or intersecting rhomboids seen in other Nongoma area works (see for example Figures 48.3, 50.4, 50.7, 50.8, and 64.1). Additionally, the artist placed vertical, zigzag lines on either side of the central area and stripes that run behind the rhomboids in the center of the belt. Nevertheless, the colors of this work, red, green, black, white, blue and yellow, fit into the color scheme commonly seen in the Ceza/Mahlabatini region of the Nongoma area. In terms of colors, the primary difference between this work and a typical Nongoma area work is that this belt features two shades of blue instead of just one. This work, therefore, appears to be a slight stylistic variation on the typical Nongoma area style. This vibrant work of art was the property of a married man and is a good example of the more complex and showy types of beadwork worn by married men of this period. The bright, energetic patterns and bell of this belt would have garnered the attention of the eye and ear in a manner that was formerly, in the periods before about 1950, reserved for people of courting status. It suggests that married men were once again, as in the days of the old Zulu kingdom, using beadwork to assert their status and identification with traditionalist society.

The belt in Figure 63.3 is another example of a beaded belt made for a man, but this item was made for an engaged man. Created in the Ndwedwe region in the 1980s, this work is presently in the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present). As well as being an example of a beaded waist ornament worn by men, the belt reveals one of the ways in which artists adapted beadwork to suit contemporary fashions. In a manner reminiscent
of the beaded waistcoats made for men, this belt has beadwork applied to a pre-made, western style belt. The belt is made from a semi-rigid material that is covered in a blue and white striped cloth. Atop this cloth in the central area of the belt is affixed a long, rectangular piece of beadfabric. This beadfabric section is made of plastic beads of about size 00 with an opaque clarity, a satin luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The design on the beaded part of the belt consists of a black field, trimmed by white lines, onto which is placed variously colored letters. The colors of the letters appear in the sequence pink, blue, white, red, light green, orange, pink, dark green, and yellow; which is repeated about four and a half times along the length with some minor changes. This belt is also adorned with loops of larger plastic beads of about size five that fall from the bottom edge of the work. These loops are made in multiple colors including green, red, blue, white, yellow, purple, pink, and orange. The words spelled out along the body of the belt letters are, "Ninganaki abantu bayi zoni ezeweni bheka mina", meaning, "How many people struggle to be as patient as me". In other words, the woman who gave her fiancé this work was probably telling him that she was getting very anxious about getting married. So, in spite of the fact that the style of this belt was altered to suit modern clothing, it reveals how beadwork items were continuing to serve as a type of social control by communicating information between intimates. On a broader level, this work suggested the region from which the young man hailed, indicated the generation to which his suitor belonged, offered the wearer some amount of prestige, and alluded to his religious and political affiliations.

Finally, the belts in Figures 63.4, 63.5, and 63.6 are some examples of hip belts that were worn by married women. These works are now in the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present). According to museum records, they were created in the 1980s in the area around the town of Richmond, slightly southwest of Durban. All three of these belts were fashioned using with a slightly openwork beadfabric technique. The beads
used to make the works in Figure 63.4 and 63.6 are plastic and the ones used in the belt in Figure 63.5 are glass. In all cases, the beads are about size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. While the designs on each of these works are distinct, they all feature a relatively simple arrangement of geometric elements in bright, contrasting colors. The belt in Figure 63.6 has the simplest design, consisting of a teal zigzag line atop a field of hot orange and black beads. The belt in Figure 63.4 is ornamented with a series of light yellow rhomboids with open centers placed on a field of hot pink and black stripes. On either end, this belt also has a series of concentric rhomboids in white, dark yellow, and light blue on the left and in white, purple, light yellow, and green on the right. The belt in Figure 63.5 is ornamented with the most complex design of the three. It has a symmetrical design centered on two sets of concentric rhomboids of white, green, red, and blue that are fused by a line. Flanking this central motif are two sets of variously colored arrows that point toward the central element. A set of five fused groupings of concentric rhomboids in yellow, blue, and red follow these sets of arrows. This is, in turn, followed by two more sets of five fused groupings of concentric rhomboids in yellow, green, red, and blue. At each end of the pattern on this belt there is a final set of groupings of concentric rhomboids. On the right side the grouping consists of three rhomboids and on the left it consists of five rhomboids, with both sets being done in white, red, and yellow. All of these sets of rhomboids and arrows are set on a background of black and multiple colored beads arranged in arrow shaped bands. While the design of this work is generally symmetrical, it is not centered on the belt. It has been placed slightly to the right so that some of the background on the left end of the work is unadorned. This uneven placement of the design as well as the general simplicity of the decorative patterns used on these works suggests that the artist or artists of these pieces may have been slightly inexperienced. But in spite of their simplicity, the bright, contrasting colors and the active, zigzagging lines of these belts gives them a
particular energy. These lively, cheerful works would have been placed around the hips and against a brightly colored, cloth skirt, such as the one seen in Figure 64.5. When worn, the bright, hot colors contrasting with the black beads would have immediately caught the attention of the viewer, while the active lines would have propelled the eye around the body of the wearer. Although the works in Figures 63.4 and 63.5 provide a central focus for the viewer, the design keeps the eye in motion and excited. These belts added a decorative element to the body, gave the wearer some prestige, suggested her area of residence and her generation, and alluded to her political and religious affiliations. Overall, they served as a complement to the rest of the elements of the traditionalist costumes of the women who wore them.

Thus, during the period of 1980-1997 belts were created in a diversity of forms using a variety of beadworking techniques, including the single strand method, the multiple strand method, the gongqoloza method, a variety of beadfabric methods, and by attaching beads to a fiber backing. Artists created forms that were closely aligned to those of the past, such as the grass belts, but also experimented with developing new forms to suit contemporary fashions, such as the belt in Figure 63.3. The belts were generally decorated with colors and patterns connected to the region and generation of the artist. Still, there appeared to be fewer distinctions between the colors and patterns used by artists from different regions. For example, the belt from the Ndwedwe region in Figure 63.3 and the one from Southern Natal area in Figure 63.1 both make use of colored letters on a black background, only the tones of the colors of the letters separates the styles of the two artists. Although the functions of these works are essentially the same as those played by belts in previous generations, there do seem to be changes occurring in the types of ornaments that people of different sexes and age grades were allowed to wear. This is demonstrated in the fact that the grass belt in Figure 63.1 was owned by an unmarried woman, whereas in previous times such works were only worn by married
women who had given birth to a child. Another example of this change can be seen by the fact that the colorful, bell adorned belt in Figure 63.2 was owned by a married man. In previous generations married men tended not to wear such fanciful ornaments. Overall, while the artists of this generation were developing innovations on older forms of belts, their products were slightly simpler, especially in terms of color combinations and designs. This is probably reflective of a shrinking pool of beadwork artists, decreasing time and money available to create such works, and fewer people wearing such items on a regular basis.

In addition to the works made for traditionalist wear, beadwork artists sometimes made belts for the commercial market. Belts made for the commercial market were much rarer than necklaces or bracelets directed toward the consumer, yet they could still be found. Commercial belts were usually created using the beadfabric or beads attached to a fiber backing method in forms reminiscent of those created for traditionalist wear. Still, like other types of objects created for the commercial market, these items were ornamented in color combinations designed to suit the fashion needs of the consumer and generally featured simple designs. Overall, belts remained part of the corpus of items produced for the traditionalist wear during this era and were a minor part of the beadwork produced for the commercial market.

6.2.4.2 Isigege (pl. Izigege), Isishapa (pl. Izishapa), Ubheshwana (pl. Obheshwana), Itete (pl. Amatete), Ihaqa (pl. Amahaqa), and Umkhambathi (pl. Imikhambathi): Skirts

The category of beaded skirts is the second primary type of beaded waist ornament created by Zulu artists between the years of 1980-1997. These skirts were made by attaching a beadfabric panel to a waistband or by attaching strips of beadfabric to a cloth backing. Young men and women of courting age wore skirts created with a beadfabric panel, while beaded cloth skirts were only worn by married women. Both of
these types of works were made to be put on as part of traditionalist style dress, but neither was created commercially.

When worn by a courting aged young man, beadfabric skirts were placed over the loin covering (*isinene*, pl. *izinene*) and/or the back apron (*ibheshu*, pl. *amabheshu*) that were worn as part of the traditionalist costume. At times, courting aged young women wore beadfabric skirts, called *izigege* or *imitsha*, alone so that the panel covered the pubis area, leaving the buttocks exposed. But as many young women have become ingrained with European/American ideas of modesty, they sometimes wore their beaded skirt over a short cloth skirt. Panel style skirts of this period feature a beadfabric panel attached to a waistband. The panels of such skirts could come in a variety of sizes and shapes. The waistbands could be a piece of string, a beaded string or band, or one or more tubes of cloth covered in beads using the *gongqoloza* method. Examples of panel style skirts from this period can be seen in Figures 61.1, 64.1, and 64.2. The panel style skirt worn by the young woman in Figure 61.1 is seen placed atop a beaded waist belt and a cloth skirt. It is secured around the waist by a string and is fastened to the lower edge of the belt with another set of strings. The large panel of the work features an elaborate design of squares, crosses, and triangles. In the center of the panel there is a vertical, orange stripe flanked by regions of light blue and black, checkerboard stripes, followed by sets of dark blue and black checkerboard stripes. On the outer edge of the dark blue and black stripes there are lines of yellow and black squares. In the center of each of these black and yellow lines there are four yellow crosses. These crosses mark the points at which corners of the triangles, which form the outer part of the design, meet the center lines. The outer sections of the design of the panel have large upper and lower triangles and smaller central ones. All of these triangles are composed of red, black, light green, light blue, and pink squares. The entirety of this design is then placed onto a field of white beads. The crosses in this work are a reference to the Christian affiliations of the young woman who wears it. The
colors of the piece also have references to biblical passages (Mthethwa 37). For example, the pink beads refer to Matthew 5:3, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven", and the yellow beads signify, "Heaven as a house must appear in yellow, but being a house of God it appears as a yellow cross" (Mthethwa 37). Worn only by unmarried girls, this type of skirt would have not only revealed the age grade of the wearer, alluded to her wealth, and signaled her religious affiliations through the designs used on the work; it would have served as a manifestation of her religious beliefs through the symbolism of the cross and the color and bible verse associations. As such, it is a work that acted to evoke the bible and place the wearer in closer contact with God.

The skirts in Figure 64.1 and 64.2 also used color and pattern to evoke connections between the physical and spiritual worlds. Both of these works were created in the Nongoma region in the 1980s. The skirt in Figure 64.1 is currently in the collection of Paul Mikula (1930-present) and the skirt in Figure 64.2 can be found in the collection of the Local History Museum (1870-present). Each of these works consists of a beadfabric panel and a waistband. Although the waistband of the work in Figure 64.1 is no longer extant, it was probably a string type of band. The waistband of the skirt in Figure 64.2 consists of a cord covered in yarn. The beads used to create both of these works are size 00, drawn glass beads with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. In addition to the beads, the skirt in Figure 64.2 also has a fringe of beads adorned with amalosi seeds, in a manner consistent with previously observed examples of beaded objects from the Nongoma area (see Chapter 5 Figures 50.3, 50.4, and 50.6). Employing a classic Nongoma style, the artist of the skirt in Figure 64.1 has ornamented the panel with concentric rhomboids and triangles arranged into rhomboids. The panel of the skirt in Figure 64.2 features a white field onto which is placed vertically aligned arrangements of two motifs. The first motif features two, diagonally striped, triangles of red, green, and blue surrounded by smaller, black triangles,
which are put together to form a stepped rhomboid element. The second motif consists of two, striped triangles combined to form a series of green, red, white, blue, and black, concentric rhomboids. The bottom of the panel is further ornamented with a fringe of horizontal stripes of red, green, black, and white beads tipped with amalosi seeds. The red cord that comes off of the top edge of the skirt, serving as the waistband for this work, is finished off with beadfabric tabs with white and blue stripes. The color combination used in both of these works is the red, black, white, and green that is associated with the Nongoma area. As seen in previous periods, the addition of blue in the work in Figure 64.2 indicates that it was created in the Ceza/Mahlabatini area of the Nongoma region. As discussed in Chapter 5, the red, green, black, and white color combination evokes the concept of the cycle of life and the presence of the ancestors (amadlozi), while the rhomboids in the designs of these skirts are symbolic of the Zulu shield and notions of protection. So, the combination of colors and patterns employed on these works was used to symbolically invoke the presence of the ancestors to assure the continuation of the Zulu people and the Zulu nation. It is symbolism that is particularly relevant when featured on clothing that was used to protect regions of the body involved in reproduction. Unfortunately, there was little information gathered with either of these skirts, therefore it is not known if these works belonged to young men or women. But regardless the sex of the person who owned these works, the skirts would have indicated their courting aged status and their Nongoma area origins, suggested a degree of wealth and status, and alluded to the wearer's political and religious affiliations. In addition, these works, most likely, engaged color and pattern to symbolically evoke spiritual and physical protection for the body.

In addition to string waistbands, skirts that featured a beadfabric panel were also placed on beadfabric waistbands and waistbands of tubes of beadwork created with the gongqoloza method. An example of a panel style skirt on a beadfabric waistband can be
seen in the work in Figure 64.3. This work was created in the Ndwedwe region about 1990 and is pictured in the book *Speaking With Beads*. It consists of one large and two small, beadfabric panels attached to beadfabric belt. Both the belt and the panels are made by the stacking beadfabric method (see Appendix A) with molded plastic beads of about size five having a satin luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. While most of these beads have an opaque clarity, a few are transparent. This skirt is decorated with designs placed on a field made from alternating black and multiple colored beads. In the center of the waistband there are two right triangles placed along the upper edge so that the angled edges face inward. At the two points along the waistband, where the small outer panels are attached, there is a squared off, c-shaped element placed with its open end pointing upward. The small outer panels of this skirt are also each adorned with a right triangle placed angle side out and a squared off, c-shaped element with the open side pointed inward. The design on the middle panel is centered in a rectangular area with right triangles placed at each of the four corners. In the upper part of this central area there is a set of concentric rhomboids of white, green, and orange. A second smaller pair of blue and orange, concentric rhomboids abuts these centralized rhomboids at the lower corner. Finally, the lower edges of the three panels are trimmed in tassels of yellow yarn. Overall, the design on this work is very stable and symmetrical with all of the elements of the work carrying the eye to the center of the piece. As seen in this object, the panels of these skirts were created in a variety of shapes and sizes. In a survey of photographs from this era, most of these panels were rectangular or square in shape, but the writer also observed panels that were triangular in shape. Additionally, skirts that had panels attached to waistbands made from tubes of beadwork made by the *gongqoloza* method, called *umutsha* (pl. *imitsha*), were also found during this time period. These works were similar in form to the *imitsha* observed in previous times.
From the examples seen above, it can be observed that panel style skirts from the period of 1980-1997 came in various forms. The waistbands of the pieces could take the form of a string, band of beads, or a tubular structure, while the panels of the works were created in different sizes and shapes. At times, these skirts even had more than one panel. Like other types of beadwork created to be worn as part of traditionalist style dress, these skirts were usually ornamented in colors and patterns that were connected to the region and generation from which the artist came. The panel style skirts of this period also fulfilled the same types of functions as those of previous times. In addition to ornamenting and providing cover for the body, they revealed the social status of the wearer, spoke of the wearer's political and religious affiliations, were an indicator of wealth, showed the region from which the individual came, and, at times, symbolically acted as a means of communication between the spiritual and physical worlds.

Cloth skirts with beaded decorations, called itete (pl. amatete), ihaqa (pl. amahaqa), and umkhambathi (pl. imikhambathi), fulfilled functions similar to those provided by the panel style skirts. But unlike the panel style skirts that were worn by courting aged people, only married women wore beaded cloth skirts. These skirts, such as the examples seen in Figures 64.4 and 64.5, usually featured a beadfabric decoration and were worn over a leather isidwaba in an apron-like fashion. The fact that a woman wore a beaded cloth skirt such as these was suggestive of her wealth and religious and political affiliations, as well as being indicative of her social status. The colors and patterns of the beaded decorations of these items works revealed the region and generation of the artist, indicated if she was a member of the Nazareth Baptist Church, and was sometimes used to evoke connections between the spiritual and physical realms.

The skirt in Figure 64.4 is an example of a married woman's cloth apron. As noted in the museum records, it is called itete, pl. amatete, and was made in the Ndwedwe region. It was created in the 1980s and is presently in the Killie Campbell Collection.
This work features a large, beadfabric, panel attached to a dark blue piece of cloth. The beadfabric panel takes up the lower half of the apron and is made from large, plastic beads of about size five. All of these beads are molded and have an opaque clarity, a satin luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. The beads are used to create a field of black beads alternated with beads of multiple colors upon which is placed solid, but variously colored, geometric elements. Besides the black, the other colors of beads used by the artist are primarily muted and pastel tones. The design of this piece is dominated by a series of five, vertical lines placed along the width of the work. The outer two lines define the right and left edges of the panel. The central line defines the middle of the beaded panel. This central line is intersected perpendicularly by a line at its midpoint and features four, diagonal lines that branch from the either side of the top and bottom. The two, vertical lines that flank this central line also have four lines that branch from both sides at points slightly above and below the center. Interspersed with these lines are twenty-nine triangles that point in various directions. Like the lines, these triangles are made in a variety of solid colors. Seen as a whole, the vertical lines combined with the lines that branch up and down give the design of this piece a strong verticality. In contrast, the central horizontal line, the triangles, and the symmetry of the design along both the horizontal and vertical axes bring the eye back to the center of the work. The various colors of the geometric elements also help to keep the eye in movement around the work, creating an active yet centered design. Seen in totality, the design of the skirt keeps the eye engaged, but keeps it within the boundaries of the beadfabric panel. This allows this piece to remain visually distinct when mixed with other items of beadwork or when worn alone.

The skirt in Plate Figure 64.5 is a second example of a cloth skirt from the period of 1980-1997. Like the belts in Figures 63.4, 63.5, and 63.6, this skirt was created in the region around the town of Richmond in the 1980s. Currently it can be found in the Killie...
Campbell Collection (1860-present). In a manner similar to the skirt from the Ndwedwe region, the skirt from the Richmond area has been decorated with a beadfabric edging. Yet, the edging on the Richmond work features three narrow bands of beadwork instead of the large panel seen on the Ndwedwe work. The beadwork of the Richmond itete is placed along the bottom edge of a wide piece of bright orange cloth. The bands of beadwork were made using an openwork beadfabric method with molded, plastic beads of about size 00 having an opaque clarity, a satin luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. Each band is about two inches in width and features a fairly simple, geometric design. The upper band has a background of black and light yellow stripes onto which is placed a series of rhomboids. Each of the rhomboids is outlined in green beads then filled with stripes of black and other colors, including light blue, dark blue, red, pink, purple, green, yellow, and white. The second band of beadwork also has a black and multiple colored, striped background. But unlike the first band, the colors mixed with black in the second band vary from region to region within the background. The colors striped with black are red, green, light yellow, and multiple colors. The largest part of the background has black striped with multiple colors. The design placed atop this background consists of four rhomboids set on each end of the design. Moving toward the center, there is a series of eight diagonal lines pointed toward the right, followed by arrow-shaped elements. The arrow-shaped element on the left points upward and the one on the right points downward. Moving toward the middle again, there is another set of diagonal lines angled toward the center. Forming a focal point at the middle of the band there is an upward pointing, arrow-shaped motif. All of these elements are done in solid yet different colors, including both muted and bright hues. The bottom band also features a background of black striped with different colors in different sections. The colors striped with black in this band are blue, yellow, red, green, purple, pink, orange, light blue, and multiple colors. On top of this background is then placed a series of rhomboids in the
same solid colors used for the geometric elements of the middle band. The top and bottom bands of this work both feature designs of lengths of rhomboids. This serves to frame the center band, which has a slightly more complex arrangement of geometric features. While this work is very vibrant, the simplicity and unbalanced nature of the design suggests a lack of experience on the part of the artist. The artist has created interesting contrasts with her colors and appears to do some experimenting with their placement and combination. Still, the changes between background areas of different colors of stripes are uneven, making these transitions awkward. In addition, the designs placed on this work are very basic and the arrangement of motifs in the middle band appears oddly asymmetrical. Overall, this work lacks some of the complexity seen in previous examples of beadwork. Nevertheless, the boldness of the colors and design of this piece give it a dynamic presence that would have drawn the eye to the wearer.

Thus, skirts that featured a beadfabric panel and cloth works with a beaded decoration were the primary forms of beaded skirts seen during this period. The fringe style skirts that were seen in previous times were still found, but from the examples observed by the writer, they were made with strings of fabric and had few, if any, beads. The functions fulfilled by panel style skirts and cloth skirts were similar. Nevertheless, the variations between these two forms were indicative of the different social and martial statuses of the individuals who wore them.

6.2.4.3 Summary: Waist Ornaments

Beaded ornaments that decorated the waist continued to be an important part of the beadwork created by Zulu artists during the period. As seen in past periods, beaded waist ornaments assumed two basic forms: belts and skirts. In the category of belts, works were created in a number of forms including simple strings of beads, belts created with multiple strings of beads, beadfabric belts, belts made by attaching beads to a fiber backing, and
belts made by the *gongqoloza* method. These were the same types of belts that were seen in the previous era. The cloth skirts with beadfabric ornamentation and skirts with beadfabric panels attached to waistbands of strings, beaded strings, beadfabric bands, or tubes of beadwork that were created during this period were also found in the previous times. Yet, skirts made with a beaded fringe, which had been part of the corpus of Zulu beadworking in earlier times, were not observed in this period. Additionally, the skirt pins found in the previous era were not observed during this period\(^{26}\). Drawn glass beads of size 00 with a simple body, a shiny luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations continued to be the ones preferred by Zulu artists for the creation of beaded waist ornaments. Artists of this later period also employed molded plastic beads of size 00 and larger with a simple body, a satin luster, an opaque clarity, and no surface decorations. Both glass and plastic beads with a transparent clarity and white glass beads with blue stripes were also used in these works. Beads were strung on cotton, linen, or plastic cording. Moreover, as in the past, artists of waist ornaments also employed cloth, grass, metal buttons, and, in the case of works from the Nongoma area, *amalosi* seeds. While the technique of stretching a beadfabric across a wire frame that was observed in the Umbumbulu area in the previous period was not seen during this later time, the rest of the beadworking techniques employed by the former generation of artists were used. The techniques employed by both generations of artists were the single strand method, the multiple strand method, the *gongqoloza* method, the beadfabric method, and the method of attaching beads to a fiber background. The colors and patterns of the beaded waist ornaments were usually connected to the region and generation from which the artist came. These colors and patterns could also indicate if the artist was a member of the Nazareth Baptist Church. Yet, as the colors and patterns of the Nongoma area changed little over time, the colors and patterns used on these works could not always be used to reliably identify the generation of the artists who created these items. Geometric patterns
remained the most popular form of decoration, but letters and words were frequently used as well. Artists used both bright hot colors and more muted hues. They used color combinations that involved multiple colors, such as those seen in the Richmond area, or more limited numbers of colors, as seen in the Nongoma area. These were all characteristics of colors and patterns used on waist ornaments of the previous time.

Still, there were some changes occurring. In some regions, such as the Richmond area, there appears to be a decline in the sophistication of the color combinations and patterns used by artists, suggesting that beadworking is on the wane in these areas. The use of multiple colored letters on a black background in both the Southern Natal and Ndwedwe regions suggests that artists from these two areas were exchanging ideas. Furthermore, the fact that unmarried women began to wear belts with a grass backing (amakhama) also seems to indicate that the traditions underlying the purpose of certain types of objects were changing. But in spite of any formal and functional changes that may have occurred over time, the forms and functions of beaded waist ornaments remained essentially the same as they had been in previous times. They tended to assume the same general forms and they served roles in aesthetically enhancing the body, as items of prestige, as items of social control, and as items that helped to bridge the spiritual and physical realms.

6.2.5 HEAD ORNAMENTS, ACCESSORIES, BEADED PINS, HOUSEHOLD ITEMS, AND DECORATIVE AND SCULPTURAL COMMERCIAL OBJECTS

While neck, limb, torso, and waist ornaments were the primary categories of beaded objects made by Zulu artists during the period of 1980-1997, artists created other items as well. Beaded head ornaments, small shields and dancing sticks, pins, and household items were made for personal use. Moreover, a variety of household, decorative, and sculptural items were made for the commercial market.
6.2.5.1 Head Ornaments: Hat Pins, Hairpins, Headbands, and Umqwazi (pl. Iminqwazi): Hatbands

Beaded ornaments used to decorate the head from this period are numerous in the museum and private collections surveyed and were an important part of the traditionalist costumes worn by married women of this period. As discussed previously, the rules of hlonipha required a married woman to keep her head covered while in public as part of a display of respect for her husband and in-laws. In some regions women wore their hair secured tightly to the head and covered the top of their head with a strip of beadwork. In other regions, women covered their heads with conical or flaring fiber hats. As an accompaniment, women who wore hats frequently decorated them with beaded pins and wore beaded bands around the bottom of their hats at the top of their foreheads. In addition to providing ornamentation for the hat, hatbands also acted to symbolically shield the eyes of the wearer from having direct contact with her husband and in-laws. This shielding of the eyes is also part of the rules of hlonipha that a married woman is required to follow so as to show her respect for her husband and his living and dead relatives. In return, the woman hopes to earn the cooperation of these individuals in bringing her a happy and fruitful marriage. Head ornaments, therefore, had an important role in social control and helped to mediate between the spiritual and physical worlds, as well as providing ornamentation for the head.

Examples of hatbands, called umnwazi (pl. iminqwazi), worn by married women can be seen in Figures 65.1-65.10. The works in Figures 65.1 and 65.2 were created by artists who are members of the Nazareth Baptist Church. The band in Figure 65.1 is part of the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) and the one in Figure 65.2 is from the collection of the writer. Both of these items were created with drawn glass beads of about size 00 with a shiny luster, a simple body, no surface decorations, and either an opaque or transparent clarity. The large beads that make up the four, vertical rows that run down the
centers of these works are molded plastic beads of size five with an opaque clarity, a satin luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations. Both of these works are ornamented with beadwork designs that are made to resemble a Zulu shield (Morris and Preston-Whyte 66), evoking Zulu concepts of ancestral protection. The field of white beads onto which both of these designs are set symbolizes Christian and traditional Zulu concepts of purity. The other colors in these pieces are also connected with biblical passages and other Christian concepts; for instance, green is equated with the holy spirit (Mthethwa 37). So, through the use of form, color, and pattern the artists of these pieces were using beadwork to mediate between themselves, their husband's ancestors, and the Christian God as Zulu people. Moreover, these works identified the social status, wealth, and religious affiliations of the wearer to those within the physical world.

As with other types of beadwork, iminqwazi were decorated with colors and patterns that were connected to the generation and region from which the artist came. The hatbands in Figures 65.3 and 65.4 are examples of works from the Ndwedwe region. They were made during the 1980s and are currently housed at the Local History Museum (1870-present). Both of these bands were created with an openwork beadfabric method, using size 00, drawn glass, beads. All of the beads have a shiny luster and a simple body. Some of the beads used are opaque while others are transparent. Most of them have no surface decorations, but a few are white with blue or red stripes. The designs placed on the bands were created by dividing the length of the work into rectangular boxes into which were placed a variety of designs in a wide range of colors. On the band in Figure 65.3 the designs are arranged symmetrically, in contrast to the designs on the band in Figure 65.4. Unfortunately, the possible symbolism of most of the geometric designs that grace these works is unknown. Yet, it is known that the motifs in the panels flanking the central element on the band in Figure 65.3 and elsewhere, consisting of a vertical line with sets of diagonally branching lines, are symbols of the tree of life. These were used to
indicate that a wedding was about to occur. In addition, the motif in the second to last panel on the right side of the band shown in Figure 65.4, which consists of a vertical line with drooping, diagonally branching lines, appears to be a mealie plant; possibly meant to evoke notions of increase and fertility. Interestingly, some of the hatbands created in the Ndwedwe region are almost identical to some of those found in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region, as seen by comparing the items in Figures 65.5 and 65.6. According to the accession records of the Local History Museum, the work in Figure 65.5 is from the Nyuswa area of the Ndwedwe region and the band in Figure 65.6 is from the KwaQabe area of the Maphumulo region. Both of these bands are divided into rectangular sections that feature designs of stripes and dots. Even the colors in both works are similar. Indeed, there are no significant stylistic differences between these two works, giving a strong suggestion that there was contact between the artists of these two areas. Still, artists from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region created hatbands with a great diversity of designs. Like the bands just observed, the band in Figure 65.7 also has its length divided into rectangular boxes. The designs placed in these boxes are an intriguing mix of the letter "E" and striped, abstract elements. The decorative motifs used on the works in Figure 65.8, 65.9, and 65.10 are also distinctive. The band in Figure 65.8 features a series of striped, abstract elements that appear to be based on letters and have both linear and curvilinear qualities. The band in Figure 65.9 is decorated with two rows of solid colored blocks in which are placed motifs that are reminiscent of the clubs motif on playing cards. This club motif harks back to the beadwork of the period of 1920-1940 in the Maphumulo/Mvoti area (see Figures 16.2, 24.1, and 23.4). In addition, the prominent role of black in this design also recalls the heavy use of black in some of the Maphumulo/Mvoti works from 1920-1940 seen in Chapter 3 (see especially Figure 23.3). Finally, the hatband in Figure 65.10 shows that letters and words were not the only way in which women displayed their education. This band features a series of addition problems,
in solid colored numbers on a black background. While there is one mistake in the calculations of the artist, she generally reveals a strong grasp of addition. Like the letters and words, these equations were designed to show off the education of the artist and bring her and her family prestige.

The examples of hatbands discussed above shows that the beaded ornaments worn on the heads of married women continued to be a significant part of Zulu beadwork of this period. Artists devoted their attentions to developing intricate and innovative designs for these works, while the functions of these items as elements of social control, regional identification, displays of prestige and social status, and as mediators between the spiritual and physical realms remained vital.

Although beaded hatbands were probably the most prevalent form of beaded head adornments worn by married women, beaded hat pins were also found during this time. These items assumed forms similar to those seen in previous times. Married women of the Nazareth Baptist Church also wore, at times, a unique type of beaded headdress that consists of flowing loops of beadwork that came off of the back of the head. As seen in Figure 65.11 from the book *Speaking with Beads*, these works are composed of a beaded band that is tied around the head. Off of the back of this work came a series of flowing loops of beads. The origins and symbolism of this style of head ornament is uncertain, but it is known that this type of object was worn by Nazareth woman as early as the late 1950s and is identical to a work in the collection of The Robert Hull Fleming Museum at the University of Vermont that was collected between 1895 and 1906.

Courting aged men and women also wore beaded head ornaments. At times, young women would make small, beaded hairpins or headbands as tokens of affection for their suitors. The same young women also, sometimes, wore hair ornaments. The hair ornaments worn by courting aged women included both hairpins and bands or strings of beads. These items could be worn singly or in multiples. One particularly interesting
head ornament worn by courting aged women from the Bhaca region of the Southern Natal area of this period is a rhomboid shaped piece of beadwork attached to a beadfabric band. An example of one of these types of works from the Killie Campbell Collection (1860-present) can be seen in Figure 65.12. This work is composed of a large beadfabric rhomboid of white, green, black, and orange stripes stretched across a wire frame to keep it rigid. This rhomboid is attached to a narrow, white, beadfabric band with lacy edges and stripes of black and orange beads. On the opposite end from the rhomboid, a circle of beadwork on a wire frame serves as a fastening device. This piece features a design of concentric circles with star-like projections and stripes along the edges in bright green, orange, and black beads. The rhomboid and the headband are made of glass beads of about size 00 with a simple body, no surface decorations, a shiny luster, and an opaque clarity. In contrast, the circle was created with plastic beads of about size 00 with a simple body, no surface decorations, a satin luster, and an opaque clarity. This difference in materials, color combinations, and design motifs suggests that this circle may have been a later addition. When worn, the work was placed so that the rhomboid was oriented vertically at the side of the head. A young woman modeling such an ornament is shown in figure 10 on page 51 of Yvonne Winters' article, "Contemporary Traditionalist Bhaca and Khuze Beadwork from the Southern Natal/KwaZulu Areas". According to Winters, these works are referred to as "love strengtheners" (personal communication, May 1997) and were worn by unmarried women in the final stages of courting (Winters 50-51). This notion of "love strengthening" is also suggested by the fact that the work is decorated in stripes of white, orange, green, and black said to be associated with the intothoviyane locusts, known for their prolonged mating, symbolizing the ability to sustain love (Winters 48). Moreover, the rhomboid is shaped by two triangles, a shape that has references to the heart, so possibly also symbolizing a strong love. When worn by a courting aged girl, therefore, this work would have acted to help to stimulate and symbolize the strength of
the love between her and her suitor. On a broader level, these items would have also effectively identified the social status and region from which the young woman came as well as alluding to her wealth, political leanings, and religious affiliations. Thus, as with the head decorations worn by married women, the head ornaments worn by courting aged girls were not simply aesthetically pleasing, but could also have more significant symbolic functions.


As part of the regalia associated with traditionalist style dress of this period married men and women sometimes carried sticks or canes covered in beads, called Induku (pl. izinduku), during dance routines. Like other types of beadwork items, including the dancing sticks from previous periods, the izinduku were adorned with color combinations and motifs that were associated with the particular region and period in which they were made. Moreover, in form they did not differ from the works seen in previous times (see Chapter 5, Figure 54.1). These items were usually carried during the slow, stately, dancing routines performed by married women, where they were used to emphasize the movements of the dancers and stress the senior status of the women who carried them. At times, engaged young women also carried bead-covered sticks and/or beaded shields during dance routines. According to Winters (50), these works were carried as a symbol that the young woman had been spoken for. Sometimes engaged young women, especially in Southern Natal, carried beaded shields as part of their dance and wedding attire. Drawing upon the symbolism of the shield discussed previously, these beaded shields probably served to evoke the amadlozi for the physical and spiritual protection of the body of the young woman who carried them. Throughout Zululand, brides carry small shields as part of their wedding regalia. In most regions these shields are made from
cowhide, but in Southern Natal these shields can also be made of beads. These works take the form of a mesh of beadwork attached to a rigid frame in the shape of a small shield, in a manner similar to the pins made by women from the Umbumbulu region seen in Figures 52.1-52.5 in the previous chapter. Krige stated that the small cowhide shields that are carried during the wedding ceremonies are a display how the virginity of the bride has been protected (The Social System of the Zulus 141). Taking this analysis further and considering the symbolism of the shield, the beaded shields of Southern Natal can be seen as evoking the presence of the amadlozi of the bride to protect her reproductive capabilities before and during the wedding ceremony. This is a time when such capabilities may be threatened by the mixing of the amadlozi during the transitional state of the engaged woman/bride while she is being integrated into her husband's family. Though there were no examples of beaded shields available for first hand study in the collections observed, a photograph of a young woman and her shield can be found in Winters' article, "Contemporary Traditionalist Bhaca and Khuze Beadwork from Southern Natal/KwaZulu Areas" (1988), on page 50 in Figure 8. Engaged young women also sometimes carried beaded sticks. As protective devices, these may have also served as symbolic protection for the spiritual and physical well being of the young woman, as seen with the beaded shields.

Beaded flywhisks (ishoba lobungoma, pl. amashoba obungoma) continued to be an important part of the regalia of diviners. With no changes from previous eras, these flywhisks consist of a wildebeest tail with beads placed amongst the hairs of the tails. The color of beads used in these works was usually white. When used by the diviners, the whisks in conjunction with the white beads helped to ritually cleanse the environment around izangoma and help to attract the amadlozi to them to assist them in their duties involved with bridging the gap between the spiritual and physical realms. So while these were not aesthetically complex works, they had important symbolical functions.
Therefore, in spite of the fact that sticks and canes covered with beads, beaded shields, and beaded flywhisks were not attached to the body, they had a significant place as part of the regalia associated with Zulu, traditionalist style dress of this period. Beaded sticks and shields had a role in the display of prestige and social control. Beaded shields were also part of initiation ceremonies associated with marriage. Moreover, beaded shields and flywhisks could help to bridge the gap between the spiritual and physical realms. Aesthetically these works also complemented the rest of the beadwork worn by an individual and helped to emphasize their gestures when in motion.

6.4.5.3 Isipelebu (pl. Izipelebu): Beaded Pins

Artists working in this final period also created small beaded pins, which could be worn on various parts of the body with other traditionalist or western style elements of clothing. During this and previous periods, people would often combine elements of western/European style clothing with traditionalist style clothing. For example, a person could wear a western style blouse with an isidwaba or cover a suit vest in beadwork. Yet, whether people were wearing strictly traditionalist style clothing, western style clothing, or a combination thereof there were often areas of cloth that were left undecorated. To provide ornamentation for these areas artists sometimes created small beadwork pins, called isipelebu (pl. izipelebu). Examples of some of these pins from the collection of the NPA Museum (1950-present) can be seen in Figures 66.1-66.6. According to museum records, all of these works were created in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region sometime in the 1980s. They range in height from about one to two inches and were created with size 00, drawn glass beads with a simple body, no surface decorations, a shiny luster, and either an opaque or transparent clarity. They were made with both the openwork beadfabric technique, as seen in the pin in Plate Figure 66.2, and the alternating beadfabric technique, as seen in the rest of the works. Moreover, they all feature a small, beadwork filigree at
their corners and edges. While most of the pins are flat in conception, the work in Figure 66.3 has a triangular arrangement of planes, giving the piece a three dimensional quality. As these works are very small, the designs on them are relatively simple, consisting primarily of stripes (Figure 66.5) or lines that radiate from a basic geometric shape (Figures 66.1, 66.3, 66.4, and 66.6). Conceived with dark designs on a white background (Figures 66.2 and 66.5), with bright colors on a dark background (Figures 66.1 and 66.4), or in multiple colors (Figures 66.3 and 66.6), these items were probably designed to be placed on a cloth of a contrasting or complementary color. Overall, these works appear to have functioned as colorful adornments that added extra visual appeal to the body of the wearer.

Small pins were also made for the commercial market. Two examples of such works from the collection of the writer can be seen in Figure 66.7 and 66.8. They take the form of a small lizard and a squid, and were made by stringing beads on fine metal wire and attaching the form to a safety pin. The squid is made of pastel colored beads having a metallic luster and the lizard is adorned with the design of the new South African flag. While the squid is flat, the mouth of the lizard is made to open, giving it a three-dimensional quality similar to a pin in Figure 66.3. The sparkling metallic color of the squid and the pattern of the South African flag on the lizard were designed to catch the eye of the consumer. Indeed, the new flag of South Africa was a popular motif for commercially produced beadwork during the period of the writer's work in South Africa. The use of such a motif on a beaded item permitted the buyer to not only feel that they were getting a touch of Zulu culture, but also allowed them to share in the euphoria that accompanied the rebuilding of the nation of South Africa after the fall of the apartheid regime. As small, inexpensive items these pins, like the beaded bracelets discussed earlier, provided the consumer with memories of their trip to South Africa without much expense or luggage room.

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Whether they were made to be worn by the artists, for the family members of the artist, or to be sold on the commercial market, these small pins were designed to add an extra splash of color and design to an outfit. As small pieces, these works were not made to catch the eye of someone across the field at a large festival. Instead these are simply pleasing adornments meant to offer a gentle accompaniment to the outfit of the wearer.

6.2.5.4 Imbenge (pl. Izimbenge), Impontshi (pl. Izimpontshi): Beaded Household Items

Although becoming increasingly rare, beaded household items continued to be created during this time. Tins or other containers covered with a beadfabric mesh were used to hold sweets or other special treats. Such fancy containers, like fancy chocolate boxes, helped to make what was contained inside seem that much more special. In addition to rigid, beaded containers, beer pot covers (*imbenge*, pl. *izimbenge*) and spoon bags (*impontshi*, pl. *izimpontshi*) decorated with beads were also made. These works were created in basketry, like the beer pot covers and spoon bags of previous times. If decorated with beads, beer pot lids could have beads sewn onto the entire surface of the work or could have beads sewn onto the surface in patterns, allowing the basketry surface below to be seen. Such works were often decorated in color combinations and design motifs that were associated with the region and generation of the artist. In contrast, spoon bags were sometimes decorated with strings of beads attached to the surface. As discussed in the previous chapter, both the beer protected by the *izimbenge* and the *amasi* eaten with the spoons that are housed in *izimpontshi* are special foods that have connections to the ancestors. Decorating household items associated with these foods using beads was, thereby, a way of recognizing and emphasizing the special nature of the milk or beer associated with the item. In this manner, beadwork was used to help increase the prestige value of certain types of household items and the goods associated with them.
6.2.4.5 Decorative and Sculptural Commercial Objects

Most of the beadwork created for the commercial market during this period consisted of ornaments made to be worn on the body, yet some of these items were intended for other uses. Included in this category are functional household items, small souvenir interpretations of traditional style weapons, and beaded sculptures. Identifying a market for beadwork items that could be displayed and used around the home, artists created utilitarian works such as coasters and wooden salad serving sets adorned with bead-covered handles. Such objects were not only physically useful, but served to remind their owners of a journey to South Africa. Small replicas of traditional style spears, knobkieries (iwisa, pl. amawisa)\textsuperscript{36}, and shields were also popular items in the commercial market. For the most part, these souvenir spears and knobkieries are rough, small, wooden versions of the originals that, at times, have their handles decorated with strings of beads. This combination of weaponry and beadwork is designed to quickly conjure up ideas about the military and artistic traditions popularly associated with the traditional Zulu past. In short, these mock weapons were designed to be inexpensive, yet very strong reminders of some of the most famous aspects of traditional Zulu culture.

Finally, by this time beadwork sculptures had become very popular in the commercial market. Women from several different regions made cloth figures of women and izangoma dressed in traditionalist style clothing. The artists of these figures frequently paid great attention to detail. The costumes, including the beadwork, worn by such figures was frequently a close replica of what the artist herself wore or had observed in the community. As such, these pieces provided lively representations of individuals and are also interesting for the styles of dress they document. Although Mrs. Mchunu, the progenitor of the complex beaded sculptures discussed in the previous chapter, died in the second half of the 1990s, sculpture in a similar style continued to be sold at art galleries. Beaded sculptures of this style include single figures of animals, humans, or inanimate
objects, such as radios and helicopters. The sculpture of the warthog from the collection of the writer seen in figure 66.9 is an example of one of these single figure sculptures. It consists of black cloth stretched over a wire frame. This form is then decorated with beads sewn individually onto the cloth. Warthogs are common animals in the rural areas of South Africa, making their image an easy reminder of this area of the world. Scenes that feature multiple figures or a single figure in a scene with inanimate items also continued to be popular. For instance, the sculpture in Figure 66.10 from the collection of Bonnie Boram shows a woman with her children or dolls seated on a traditional style mat. The main figure is dressed in beadwork items that are copies of the traditionalist works worn in the Ndwedwe region of the artist. Other elements of her dress, such as the pleated isidwaba, are carefully represented and the scene in which she is placed is astutely observed. All of these qualities give this sculpture a very intimate quality. As in the past time period, this art form continued to provide lively representations of life in South Africa as seen through the eyes of Zulu women. The scenes could be serious as well as humorous, and were usually carefully observed and often intimate. So although these works made up a smaller part of the beadwork that was produced for commercial purposes than did body ornaments or household goods, these items were still important. They provided alternatives to people seeking beadwork in forms other than body ornaments and to people seeking an understanding of the lives of contemporary Zulu artists.

6.2.5.5 Summary: Head Ornaments, Accessories, Pins, Household Items and Decorative and Sculptural Commercial Objects

Beadwork objects that fell outside of the categories of head, limb, torso, and waist ornaments made up a significant part of the beadwork created by artists during the period of 1980-1997. As in the previous period, works outside of the major categories of head,
limb, torso, and waist ornaments, include ornaments of the head, accessories, pins, household items, and a variety of decorative and sculptural works produced solely for the commercial market. In addition, the artists of this later period also made small pins that could be worn anywhere on the body. While pins designed to be worn on the head and on skirts were found in previous times, these were the earliest examples, observed by the writer, of pins that were also designed to be worn on the torso of the body.

The forms assumed by these various types of items were very similar to those of their predecessors. Headbands, hatbands, hat pins, and hairpins were the primary forms of head ornaments in this and the previous period. Beaded dancing sticks and fly whisks were found in this and all previous periods. Beaded household goods, especially containers, beer pot covers, and spoons bags were very similar in form to the works of the past. Most of the innovations in these later beadwork forms appear to be directed toward items produced for the commercial market. While the rhomboid shaped head ornament from Southern Natal was not seen previously, this was probably the result of uneven museums collections and not necessarily a new type of ornament. In contrast, the beaded shields that were found within the region of Southern Natal were, most likely, a relatively new form. Still, when comparing these works to some of the beadwork items from the Umbumbulu region seen in the previous chapter, especially the skirt pins, it is likely that this form also had origins in the previous period. Seen in totality, there were relatively few new forms of beadwork developed in the sub-categories discussed above, except with items made for the commercial market.

Objects made for personal use by Zulu artists and their families from this period could be made with glass and/or plastic beads. The glass beads usually have a simple body, a shiny luster, no surface decorations, and an opaque clarity, though beads with a transparent clarity or a surface design of stripes were sometimes seen. The plastic beads were molded and consist of a simple body, a satin luster, no surface decorations, and an
opaque clarity. In contrast to beadwork objects made for personal or family use, works created for the commercial market were made primarily of glass beads. Beads used for works for the commercial market and in some of the objects made by members of the Nazareth Baptist Church had the same qualities as the beads described above, but could also have a metallic luster. As in the past, the works in these various categories also incorporated a wide variety of other materials, including wood, animals tails, wire, safety pins, basketry, various types of containers, and cloth. Artists also continued to employ a diversity of beadwork techniques in these pieces. They created works with the beadfabric technique, by attaching beads to a fiber backing, by covering solid objects with a webbing or strings of beads, and stringing beadfabric across metal frames. One innovation in beadworking techniques observed in this period was stringing beads on thin wire to create rigid forms, as seen on the pins in Figures 66.7 and 66.8. In a manner witnessed throughout the twentieth century history of Zulu beadwork, the color combinations and patterns used on items for personal use reflect the region of origin and generation of the artist who created the objects. On items produced for the commercial market artists usually used hues without regard to regional styles and incorporated colors, such as pastels and beads with a metallic luster, that were not generally seen in their personal works. Geometric motifs also continued to be a favorite type of ornamentation, but the motifs used on the commercial pieces were often simpler than those seen on items for personal use. Finally, the functions of the items in these various sub-categories changed little over time. Nevertheless, the use of the rhomboid shaped head ornament as a means of strengthening love and beaded shields, instead of cowhide ones, to provide symbolic protection for the body of a courting aged girl were relatively new variations on established uses for beadwork. So overall, the types of changes seen in the beadwork discussed above were similar to those seen in other types of beadwork from this period.

During the period of 1980-1997 beadwork continued to be an important part of Zulu art and culture. It was worn as part of traditionalist style dress and was an important source of income for artists. Nevertheless, the amount of beadwork being created by artists for personal use appeared to have been declining. Indeed, while interviewing contemporary beadwork artists Shandu Sukethini and Baqaphale Mpugose at the Zululand Historical Museum in Eshowe, the artists were greatly appreciative of the quality of the older items and bemoaned the fact that they no longer had the time to create such works. In addition, some of the knowledge about beadwork made for traditionalist style dress also seemed to have been fading. This was evidenced by the fact that when interviewing Izansene Kwameyiwa at her stall on the Durban beach-front and Shandu Sukethini and Baqaphale Mpugose in Eshowe, the younger Zulu women who were in attendance were just as anxious as the writer to find out information about the works being discussed. But in spite of the shrinking time available to create works and the fading knowledge of traditionalist style pieces, examples of beadwork from this era were found. As in the past, these objects had many differences, denoting that there were still a variety of regional styles and functions for these works. Still, they also had similarities, which indicated their common cultural sources and links to the past. Thus, the following sections consider the consistent and variable elements found in the beadwork of this period.

6.3.1 CONSTANTS

Although there were variables in the beadwork produced by Zulu artists between the years of 1980-1997 that pointed to divisions in Zulu society, there were also many
elements that remained consistent within this body of work. This indicated that there were common cultural sources for these works. As with the variables, the constants of these items were examined in terms of the forms they assumed, the color combinations and patterns used to decorate them, the materials and methods used to create them, and their symbolism and functions.

1. Works that fell into the general categories of head, neck, limb, torso, and waist ornaments could be found throughout the whole of Zulu beadwork from this period. Even within these categories there were many types of works that were fairly ubiquitous. For instance, cloth skirts with a beadwork trim (Figures 64.4 and 64.5); belts with a grass backing (Figures 63.1 and 63.2); rectangular, beadfabric limb ornaments (Figures 58.1-58.4); and tab style necklaces (Figures 55.3-55.6) could be found being made by artists in almost all regions.

2. When compared to the beadwork of previous eras, there seems to have been less variability in the color combinations and patterns that were used to decorate the items of this time. Multiple color combinations were very popular in many regions, including Ndwedwe (Figures 55.1, 55.2, 58.1, 58.2, 62.1, 64.4, 65.5, and 65.6), Maphumulo/Mvoti (Figures 60.3, 60.4, 62.2, and 65.6-65.10), and the area around the town of Richmond in the Southern Natal area (Figure 64.5). In addition, a heavy use of black was observed in the Maphumulo/Mvoti (Figures 58.3, 65.6, 65.7, 65.8, 65.9, and 65.10), Ndwedwe (Figures 62.1, 63.3, 64.3, 64.4, and 65.5), and Estcourt regions.

3. While the patterns on works created by women of the Nazareth Baptist faith (Figures 61.1, 65.1 and 65.2) and in the Nongoma region (Figures 60.1, 60.2, and 64.2) remained quite distinctive, artists from the Maphumulo/Mvoti and Ndwedwe regions (see especially Figures 65.5 and 65.6) used similar patterning on certain works. Furthermore, the use of lettering or numbers on a plain background could be seen in many regions, especially in the Maphumulo/Mvoti area (Figure 65.8), the region around the town of Richmond.
Himeville in the Southern Natal area (Figure 63.1), and in the Ndwedwe area (Figures 55.1 and 55.2). This made determining the exact region from which some of these works came difficult. The similarities in patterns and colors seen between the works of various regions suggested that artists were exchanging information more readily than in the past and that the regional differences in Zulu society were beginning to break down.

4. As with beadwork items of former times, there continued to be many similarities in the materials used in these beadwork items. Glass beads of size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations were still used in all areas. Molded plastic beads with similar qualities were also found being used in all regions. Other materials that were consistently found were cloth, factory made cording, and grass for belts.

5. Unfortunately, a thorough understanding of the similarities of beadworking techniques used during this period was difficult to ascertain because of the lack of diverse examples of beadworking. Still, some generalizations could be drawn. The beadfabric technique was used by artists in all regions, in items made by women of the Nazareth Church, and in works created for the commercial market. The single string method probably could also be found in all regions, owing to the importance of ocu necklaces as well as being used for a variety of other purposes. The technique of attaching beads to a fiber backing was found in all regions. The gongqoloza method was seen in the Nongoma, Msinga, and Estcourt regions, in the beadwork of the Nazareth Baptist Church, and in commercially produced works. It also probably continued to be used in the Maphumulo/Mvoti area. Based on photographs, it is further known that the multiple string method was used, at least, by members of the Nazareth Baptist Church, in commercially made works, and in the areas of Nongoma, Estcourt, and Southern Natal.

6. Last, the symbolic functions of beadwork items remained similar throughout the various types of beaded artwork surveyed. On a general level, all of the works made for
the use of the artist, her friends, or her family members acted to identify their area of origin and the generation of the artist. The types of items worn by a person were often connected to their social status. Moreover, people of the same social status in all areas wore the same general types of items. For example, if a young woman was wearing an isigege it would have been known that she was unmarried, regardless of in which regions of Zulu territory she traveled. The amount of beadwork worn by a person continued to be indicative of their wealth, and the fact that a person was wearing beadwork alluded to their political and religious affiliations. For instance, all Zulu izangoma wore similar types of beadwork designed to assist them in their spiritual duties and to advertise their abilities. The use of hatbands and capes by married women were connected to their hlomiphra obligations and a variety of forms worked as a means of social control that helped to regulate the relationships between intimates.

Thus, while there was some variation in the styles of works produced in different areas, the formal variations did not go beyond certain boundaries of form, color combinations and patterns, materials and beadworking methods, and symbolism. In addition, the similarities in the symbolic functions of the works from the different areas suggested that they were all created to fulfill needs that arose from common sources of Zulu cultural traditions and living conditions. These similarities, therefore, revealed the commonalties in the social, religious, cultural, economic, and political circumstances of Zulu life during this period.

6.3.2 VARIABLES

Variables in the beadwork of 1980-1997, as in other periods, were found in the forms assumed by items, in the color combinations and design motifs seen on works, in
the materials and methods used to create the works, and the symbolism employed on these items.

1. While the forms created by Zulu beadwork artists in this period had many general similarities, there were sometimes variables in the specific objects that fell within the various categories. These differences were based upon the region of origin of the artist, the groups to which the artist may have belonged, or the specific reason for which the item was created. For example, the wide hip belts composed of tubes of beadwork combined with plaited strands of beadwork (Figure 61.1) worn by courting age women and the head ornaments made from looped strings of beads (Figure 65.11) worn by married women were found to be unique to members of the Nazareth Baptist Church. The beaded shields, the rhomboid shaped head ornaments (Figure 65.12), and the tab style knee ornaments (Figure 59.1) were only seen in the region of Southern Natal. Capes with large, open decorations formed by beads sewn onto cloth (Figure 62.2) were the creation of artists from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region, while the skirts featuring three, small panels (Figure 64.3) were particular to the Ndwedwe region. Artists of this period also modified some forms to suit contemporary fashions, for example placing beadwork on the western style belts, as seen with the belt from the Ndwedwe region in Figure 63.3. In addition, there were a wide range of items that were created only for the commercial market, including narrow bracelets (Figure 58.5), salad sets with beaded handles, beaded sculptures, coasters, eyeglass holders, bead-covered tin mugs, etc.

2. While there were variations in the forms of beadwork objects of this period, there were also variations in the color combinations used in the works. Designs with multiple colors were popular in many regions of this time, yet the artists of the Nongoma area continued to use the limited palette of green, red, black, white, and sometimes yellow and/or blue. Artists that are members of the Nazareth Baptist Church created works with white backgrounds and sometimes made use of metallic colored beads. Works made for
the commercial market often included unusual combinations of colors, such as beads of hot colors combined with beads having a metallic luster or pastel tones. Even between regions where multiple color combinations were popular differences could be detected. For instance, black was used heavily in the Ndwedwe color combinations and very bright colors were a favorite in the area of Southern Natal.

3. The patterns used to adorn the different works could also be variable. The stepped rhomboid was almost exclusively associated with the Nongoma area, while words were never seen there. Moreover, members of the Nazareth Baptist Church used unique patterns based on the cross, the fish, and other Christian themes; and women of the Msinga region developed a unique iconography based on the sign of the pension office (Figure 55.3). More generally, the designs used in the Southern Natal area and the designs placed on works made for the commercial market tended to be a simpler than those used by artists that are members of the Nazareth Baptist Church or who live north of Durban. Furthermore, the use of curvilinear elements in designs that were found in the Msinga region in the previous time (see Chapter 5 Figures 43.1 and 43.2) appeared to have spread to the Maphumulo/Mvoti area (see Figure 62.2 and 65.8).

4. In comparison to the colors and patterns, there were fewer variables in the materials used to create beadwork items during this period. In particular, amalosi seeds were only seen in the beadwork from the Nongoma area, but these artists never used transparent or striped beads. Similarly, the artists of the Nazareth Baptist Church and the Nongoma and Estcourt areas did not employ beads with surface decorations. Beads with a metallic luster were only used by artists who are members of the Nazareth Baptist Church and in works made for the commercial market. Furthermore, plastic beads were used to a lesser degree on works created for the commercial market than on those made for personal use. The beadworking methods used by artists of this time also varied relatively little. Sewing beads onto cloth to form large designs appeared to have been only
used in the Maphumulo/Mvoti area. Capes made by layering cloth trimmed in beadwork continued to be unique to the Estcourt region, while items that featured large areas of beadfabric were most closely associated with the artists of the Nongoma and Ndwedwe regions and members of the Nazareth Baptist Church.

5. Last, there was some variation in the symbolic aspects of the beadwork of this period. Although the color and proverb system used for communicating messages in beadwork did not seem to have been as widely used as previously, the members of the Nazareth Church still used colors to symbolize various biblical passages. In addition, certain motifs and their associated meanings were only seen in particular areas or with members of the Nazareth Baptist Church. For example the swallows motif was limited to the Ndwedwe region, the mealie plant to the Maphumulo/Mvoti area, and the cross to the works of the members of the Nazareth Baptist Church. The symbolism associated with the shield in conjunctions with the colors red, green, black, and white was very popular in the Nongoma area. This symbolism of the shield was also employed in the area of Southern Natal. The symbolic functions of tab style knee adornments and rhomboid shaped head ornaments, as part of prestige and social control, appeared to have been limited to the Bhaca and Khuze regions of the Southern Natal area. Furthermore, the rules regarding the wearing of grass belts (amakhama) were expanded or loosened to allow unmarried women to wear such works in some areas.

Taken as a whole, the variations in the forms, materials, colors and patterns, beadworking methods, and symbolism of the beadwork of this period generally continued to follow the regional and generational differences of the artists. The beadwork of the members of the Nazareth Baptist Church was executed in unique color combinations and decorations. It was also created in forms that, while based upon non-Christian pieces, were singular. The works that were created for the commercial market also varied from
those created by artists for their personal use in terms of forms, color combinations, patterns and symbolism.

So while these variables may not have been as dramatic as those seen in previous periods, they still had a role in distinguishing people of one region from another, one generation from another, and those who are Zulu from those who are not. Moreover, they revealed the various cultural, religious, social, economic, and political divisions encompassed within Zulu society of this time.


Changing fashions as well as the social, economic, and political conditions of the Zulu people during the years of 1980-1997 led to several alterations in the art of beadworking. As increasing numbers of young women traveled outside of the rural areas, especially after the travel restrictions were lifted with the downfall of the apartheid regime in 1993, they became more conscious of western style fashions. Although women had slowly been abandoning traditionalist style dress throughout the twentieth century, this new awareness and a desire by many to have a more cosmopolitan appearance seemed to have increased the speed of this process. Social and economic factors also had a role in the decrease in the production of beadwork for personal use. After years of suffering under the migrant labor system, there had been a serious erosion of the Zulu family. This meant the many young women had to work outside of the home to support the family, leaving little time for the creation of beadwork. The erosion in the traditional family structure also gnawed away at the importance of the functions played by these works, such as acting as a means of social control between a young man and woman. Young women, moreover, had begun attending school in large numbers, so they did not
spend as much time at home learning domestic arts, including beadwork. Additionally, economic problems made the purchase of beads prohibitive for many artists.

The political situation of the time compounded these problems. Fighting between rival political groups in KwaZulu/Natal caused disruptions throughout the province. This meant that people were sometimes nervous about wearing beadwork that would identify them as Zulu, fearing that they would be discriminated against because of the stereotype of the Zulu as a violent people as a result of these conflicts. People also sometimes avoided wearing beadwork that would identify their regional and/or political affiliations and make them a target for those who had rival affiliations. These factors all led to a decrease in the knowledge of traditionalist style beadwork by younger artists and a decline in the amount of beadwork made for personal use. This was evidenced by the purchase of beadwork from the women of the Nazareth Baptist Church by some Zulu urbanites to wear to national festivals and celebrations. Further, the relative simplicity of the designs in the beadwork from the southern areas, a decrease in the diversity of distinctive color combinations and design motifs, and fewer new forms in the works of this period suggested a deterioration of time and effort devoted to developing original works of art for personal use. Thus, beadwork and the roles it played in Zulu culture seemed to be changing.

Still, beadwork was by no means irrelevant to contemporary Zulu society. The economic factors that kept many Zulu women from practicing this art form also drove many women into the business of commercial beadwork. Working entirely for themselves, wholesaling their items, or working for a workshop, many women depended on beadwork to support themselves. While some women relied on middlemen or dealers to sell their works, others were beginning to try to establish their own businesses and even trying to market their products overseas. Selling beadwork also provided women who fled the violence of the rural areas by moving into the cities during the early 1990s with a
means of earning an income\textsuperscript{41}. Although these women did not earn much, selling beadwork on the beach-front in Durban helped them to sustain themselves while they were away from home\textsuperscript{42}. As such, the economic, social, and cultural conditions of Zulu women made beadwork an important economic resource for women. Furthermore, while the items produced for the commercial market were usually not as complex and did not have the symbolic significance of works produced for personal use, the commercial market kept some of the beadworking skills alive and made the broader public aware of this art form.

A second factor that was stimulating the creation of beadwork during this time was the fact that the Nazareth Baptist Church was growing in strength. While no numbers were available to determine how much the church was growing, members and researchers\textsuperscript{43} in the area reported that the church was gaining members. Since members of the church wear uniforms and regalia closely based on traditionalist Zulu dress for the purpose of worship, beadwork remained a very important part of their dress. Indeed, when the writer was in South Africa, people of many different walks of life would say that if one wanted to see what a traditionalist Zulu person was like that they should go and visit with members of the church\textsuperscript{44}. Women who are members of the church were well known for their skills and created works not only for themselves but also to sell. The beadwork that was created for sale was part of the religious obligations of the women to work hard according to biblical dictates. Women of the Nazareth Baptist faith were very active in keeping beadwork traditions alive through innovations in designs and color combinations, as well as by creating very elaborate beadwork objects. Some of the items created by church members were even intended to function in ways similar to those of traditionalist works. For example, the hatbands worn by married women were used to show respect to their husbands and in-laws as well as to God.

Though the political problems of the region had a negative impact on beadwork for some, others used beadwork to show their political and regional alliances. Especially at
national festivals, people wore beadwork as a display of ethnic pride. Beadwork was also used at these festivals to, directly or indirectly, make a political statement. Indirectly, the display of beadwork as an element of traditionalist type dress was a nod of support for traditionalist Zulu culture and an alliance to the king that came with it. This was particularly true of beadwork with origins in the Nongoma region where the king lives. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) also actively promoted an identification with traditionalist Zulu ways. As a result, sometimes members of the party wore beadwork in the colors of the IFP to show their alliances to the group, in contrast to other colors of beadwork that suggested an alliance with the king. An example of beadwork in the gold, green, and black colors of the party can be observed on the children in Figure 67.1. In this way, supporters of both traditionalist political forces and the IFP used beadwork to reveal pride in their culture and to suggest their political affiliations.

Finally, a growing interest by the Zulu people in their own history and cultural tourism also promoted beadwork. Since the breakup of the apartheid government, young, especially urban, Zulu people have been eager to learn about a culture that they never studied about in school or at home. Younger, educated people, particularly those whose parents are Christians, were never taught about their traditional culture at home or in school. So, these individuals were beginning to research their own culture (i.e. the article by Mthethwa discussed in this work) and/or develop a casual interest in their heritage, including beadwork. The Zulu people also realized the economic potential of cultural tourism. In Durban, Zulu owned businesses offered tours to Zulu villages and even a tour of township "shebeens" (bootleg taverns). As beadwork is strongly associated with Zulu culture, people adorned with such ornaments were often part of these tours. Once again this cultural tourism helped to keep this art alive and helped to provide an income for these communities. So, these remained as forces of support for beadwork as an art form.
Still, many of these forces are not based upon the same cultural motives that inspired traditionalist beadwork. As a result, much, but by no means all, of the beadwork produced in this final period lacked some of the formal and symbolic complexity that made earlier examples of this art form so vigorous. Nevertheless, the beadwork objects created by Zulu artists continued to unveil the nature of Zulu ethnic identity. This art form showed the political issues, economic problems, cultural and social values, religious ideas, and aesthetic concepts that united the Zulu people of this period. At the same time, it is an art form that revealed the diversity of political perspectives, economic situations, cultural and social values, religious beliefs, and aesthetic ideals that were embraced within the concept of Zulu ethnicity in this latest period. Indeed, this was a vital art form that continued to respond to both the changing and unchanging aspects of Zulu identity.
NOTES

1. See Chapter 1 for a more thorough review of sources.
2. Translated by the writer.
3. Translated by the writer.
4. See Chapter 5, pages 281-282, for a discussion of the umzansi style.
5. See note 4.
6. Crena Bond's husband, Neil Alcock, also ran a farming project from Mdukutshani in the Msinga region. For a good description of this region and the challenges faced by Alcock and Bond, see My Traitor's Heart (1990) by Rian Malan, pages 283-314.
7. See Chapter 3, pages 143-144, for a discussion of the function of ochu.
8. After the post apartheid election of 1994, South Africa began to refer to itself as the "rainbow" nation. This is a reference to the desire of the new government to forge a nation comprised people of various ethnic backgrounds who are able to maintain their heritage while living in harmony.
9. See Chapter 1, page 63, for a definition of style.
10. See pages 173-176 for an explanation of the symbolic function of red and white in the costume and regalia of izangoma. The symbolic function of blue in the context of the costume and regalia of izangoma is discussed in Chapter 5, pages 339-340.
11. See Chapter 1, note 5, for an explanation of lobola.
12. This judgment is based on the museum and private collections and photographic archives surveyed by the writer. Still, as these collection are somewhat uneven, the time frame in which these works was worn may be expanded with further research.
13. This does not necessarily include beadwork items created and sold by artists of the Nazareth Baptist faith designed for Zulu clients.
14. See Chapter 4 page 223 for a further discussion about how these works were worn by married women.
15. The founding of the Nazareth Baptist Church also helped to reinvigorate traditional Zulu culture. The prophet Isaiah Shembe founded the Nazareth Baptist Church in 1910. Shembe preached a religion that's beliefs are a combination of orthodox Christian and traditional Zulu beliefs. In particular, adherents to the church try to, as much as possible, live and dress in a traditional Zulu manner and uphold traditional codes of morality, while at the same time following the teachings of Jesus Christ. Shembe was quite active in traveling through
Zululand and spreading his teachings. In so doing, he was able to gather a substantial following. Although he died in 1935, Isaiah Shembe's sons and grandsons have continued his work.

16. Although photographs of such works were not available for this paper, contemporary beaded waistcoats from these regions were observed in an uncatalogued exhibit at the BAT (Bartel Arts Trust) Center in Durban, May 1997.

17. See Chapter 1, note 16, for an explanation and description of hlonipha rules.

18. See pages 385-386.

19. Mealies is a Zulu version of com. It is larger, chewier, and less sweet than American sweet corn.

20. These capes were not always decorated with beads. Sometimes such items featured relatively simple applied cloth decorations, such as a trim of "rick rack".

21. Items of this sort are illustrated in Winters' article, "Contemporary Traditionalist Bhaca and Khuze Beadwork from the Southern Natal/KwaZulu Areas" (1988). See especially Figure 9.

22. Translated by the writer.

23. This information accompanied the belt in accession record MM 2498 of the Killie Campbell Collection.

24. Translated by the writer.

25. As seen from the works discussed in the previous chapters, designs on Zulu beadwork are almost always symmetrical.

26. Although small beaded pins were found during this period, they were of a sort that could be worn on various parts of the body, including skirts. They are much smaller than the pins discussed in the previous chapter. See Chapter 5, pages 330-332, for information about the large, beaded skirt pins of the previous era and pages 433-435 for information about pins from this period.

27. The cities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg are both situated between these two areas. Both of these cities (but especially Durban) are important urban areas where many Zulu artists market their works. The close proximity of both the Ndwedwe and Southern Natal areas to these cities makes it highly likely that artists from these areas would run into each other in these cities. As such, Durban and Pietermaritzburg are probably fertile areas for artistic exchange, particularly between artists of these two regions.

28. See footnote 17.

29. For a discussion of the symbolism of the shield see Chapter 5, pages 309-310.
30. From accession record MM 3381 in the Killie Campbell Collection.

31. This is suggested by the fact that the Zulu word for both triangle and heart is *inhliziyo*.

32. Married women of the Nazareth Baptist Church carry folded, black umbrellas during these dances for similar effects.

33. See Chapter 5, pages 309-310, for a discussion of the symbolism of the shield.

34. For more information about the symbolic function of white in the costume and regalia of a diviner see Chapter 3, pages 173-176.

35. See pages 340-341.

36. Knobkieries (*iwisa*, pl. *amawisa*) are traditional weapons that take the form of a wooden stick with a heavy wooden ball on one end.

37. This is suggested by the fact that this ornament appears to possibly contain beadwork from different eras, as hinted at by the different color combinations and bead types.

38. The older women were approximately 35 years old and older, while the younger women appeared to be in their twenties.

39. This beadworking method was so popular in this region in previous times it is hard to believe that it would totally disappear during this last period.

40. Many men are still compelled to participate in the migrant labor system. They frequently work in the diamond and gold mines in the northern parts of South Africa. This leaves many families in the rural areas without a male head for long periods of time. These long absences lead to stress on the family and, in turn, high numbers of divorced and abandoned women. This means that increasing numbers of women also leave their families and travel to the cities in search of work, primarily as domestic help. Many men also find girlfriends in the city, which results in children born into single parent homes and women that are required to be the sole support for the family.

41. Many of these women came from the areas slightly to the south of Durban where the political violence was particularly bad during the 1990s.

42. The women who sell their works on the street face many hardships, including harassment by corrupt policemen who demand payment for allowing them to sell their wares on the sidewalk or who steal from them (personal communication, Izansene Kwameyiwa, April, 1997).

43. This includes Yvonne Winters, curator of the Killie Campbell Collection; Robert Papini, curator of the Local History Museum and active researcher of the church; and Patrick Ngubane, church member.

44. Unfortunately, the customs of the members of the Nazareth Baptist Church cannot be taken as completely representative of traditional practices, as the
customs of the church have been altered to suit the Christian orientation of the group. Still, many of these customs are quite similar to traditional practices.
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

From the information presented in the previous chapters, it was seen that throughout the late nineteenth and most of the twentieth century beadwork was an important form of cultural expression among the Zulu people of South Africa. Before the kingdom lost its independence to the British, the Zulu kings had, to varying degrees, controlled the trade and distribution of beads. Under this system, the wearing of certain types of beads and works created with large numbers of beads was generally restricted to the upper classes. But after the kingdom lost its independence, the king lost control over beads. As a result, people from various classes and regions began to incorporate beadwork into their clothing with much greater freedom. This widespread adoption of beadwork as part of the dress of the common person allowed for an expansion in the variety of objects made and the roles these works played within society. Eventually beadwork was adopted by males and females and the old and young. It also came to play significant roles in the social, political, cultural, economic, and religious life of the people.

The importance of this art form was certainly evident in the quantity and range of works produced, as well as the amount of attention devoted to developing new forms and styles of ornamentation for them. Because of beadwork's ubiquitous nature and its roles in almost all facets of life, the study of beadwork gave enormous insight into the lives and history of the Zulu people, especially during the twentieth century. The study of
beadwork and its changes provided an understanding of the social and political structure of society, religious beliefs, the practices of courting and marriage, certain cultural values and concepts of beauty, the economy of Zulu society, and how these things have changed over time. But most significantly, the study of beadwork, as an art form that has become an important symbol of the ethnic identity of the Zulu people in the twentieth century, provided a window into the nature and use of Zulu ethnic identity in the twentieth century. As such, the subsequent section provides a synopsis of the manner in which Zulu ethnicity was expressed in beadwork through its 7.1.1) formal and 7.1.2) function qualities. Following this section, a summary of the nature of Zulu ethnic identity in expressed beadwork in terms of 7.2.1) political organization and movements, 7.2.2) social organization, rules, and changes, 7.2.3) religious beliefs, and 7.2.4) economic structure and circumstances is presented. Last, a summation of this study is given.

7.1 ETHNICITY AS EXPRESSED IN BEADWORK

Evidence of the borders and nature of Zulu ethnic identity was seen in the forms and functions of the beadwork items, and the way in which these forms and functions changed over time. The types of forms created, the colors used in the pieces, the designs used to adorn the works, and the methods and materials used to construct the objects were all relevant to the expression of Zulu ethnicity. Furthermore, knowledge of the social, political, religious, and economic functions of these items of beadwork helped to provide for an appreciation of the nature and limits of this identity.

7.1.1 FORMAL QUALITIES

7.1.1.1 Forms

During the period of 1890-1997 Zulu artists created a wide variety of types of beadwork items. The vast majority of these items were created as items of dress, but
decorative and functional objects were made as well. The diversity of the forms of these items reflected the temporal span of the culture and the nature of its artistic, social, economic, religious, and political realities at both the individual and group levels. Over time, the types of items produced by Zulu beadwork artists changed gradually. Some forms, such as *amadavathi*, changed little in the past hundred years, but other forms, such as face ornaments, fell out of fashion. In other incidences, new forms, such as cloth skirts with a beaded trim, were introduced. Such continuities and changes unveiled the nature of Zulu social structure and its rules, religion, economic conditions, political structures, and cultural life, all of which helped to form the basis of Zulu ethnicity and showed the evolution of this identity over time.

As seen throughout this study, people of differing social positions wore different types of beadwork items. In particular, wealthier people could afford to wear more beadwork. The quantity, types, and combination of beadwork items worn by a person were also tied to their courting or martial status. Moreover, as each new generation of artists developed new beadwork forms, differences in beadwork forms were a means to determine the generational variations of the artists. This allowed for the form of an item worn by an individual to place him or her in time. These differences in the forms of beadwork worn by people of differing social statuses and generations revealed the social and age grade structure of Zulu society. As changes in fashions and social conditions occurred, the types of ornaments that identified the status of a person were altered over time. Such changes were linked to the introduction of migrant labor, changing fashions, and the rise in interest in traditionalist styles of dress as part of the promotion of ethnic consciousness among the Zulu people. For instance, married men began to wear beadwork in greater quantities around 1950, whereas previous to this period beadwork for males had been associated primarily with courting aged men. This change was connected to the fact that women were using beadwork to communicate with husbands that were
involved in migrant labor and that the ethnic consciousness movements of the time were
reviving an interest in traditionalist culture. Another example of changes in the types of
ornaments that signified social position was observed with grass belts (*amakhama*).
Before about 1980 the donning of *amakhama* was limited to married women who had
given birth to children. Yet more recently, unmarried girls with no children have also been
wearing such works. This suggested that there was a change of fashion and/or that there
was some sort of change in the social status accorded women who had given birth. Such
differences in the forms of items worn by people alluded to the social structure of Zulu
society and changes in this structure over the years. But in spite of these variations, there
were also similarities in beadwork forms, both regionally and temporally, that spoke of a
social structure that served as the core of Zulu identity. In particular, these works showed
that Zulu society was and continues to be structured according to wealth, age, sex, and
martial status. Moreover, works such as *ocu*, exchanged between courting people and
beadwork directed toward the fulfillment of *hlonipha* rules revealed how such a structure
was maintained through a system of social control. Thus, the forms of Zulu beadwork
items and their changes over time provided insight into the nature of Zulu social structure.

Closely tied to the social position of an individual, the economic position of the
artist and her loved ones were shown in the types of ornaments created and/or worn.
Ornaments made for the artist herself or an acquaintance that were large and/or
extravagant indicated that the artist had the time and money to create such works and,
therefore, that the artist and/or wearer enjoyed some economic prosperity. In addition,
evidence of the state of the broader Zulu economy was found in beadwork. The
introduction of items designed specifically for the commercial market in the 1930s and
beyond spoke of the growing importance of money in the Zulu economy and the
increasing role of women within that money based economy. In this way, the forms of
objects created by Zulu artists and their changes alluded to the economic situation of Zulu
artists both as individuals and as part of a larger group. Overall, the diversity of forms showed a society divided on the basis of wealth and signaled the changes in the Zulu economy, which went from being a system based on homestead units under the general control of a king to an increasingly money based, capitalist economic system.

The types of ornaments worn by a person had a religious significance as well. The fact that an individual wore any type of beadwork usually indicated that the person was not a member of a European based Christian sect. The ornaments worn by a diviner signaled their abilities to others and assisted them in performing their duties. The hatbands and capes worn by married women assisted them in fulfilling their hlomifha obligations which, in turn, helped to keep the relationship between themselves and their in-laws and the ancestors of their husbands in good repair. The capes of young brides (Figures 48.1 and 48.2) and the beaded shields carried by the young women and brides of the Umbumbulu area provided them with spiritual protection during their transition to a new home. Moreover, the grass belts worn by women who had given birth to children probably provided them with spiritual protection for their reproduction capabilities. On the whole, these forms revealed the nature and continuing relevance of traditional religious beliefs among the Zulu artists. The distinctive forms, such as the ifoto necklace (Figure 39.1), and the relatively uniform combinations of beadwork objects worn by members of the Nazareth Baptist Church distinguished followers of this sect. In this way, the types of ornaments worn by a person signaled their specific connections to the spiritual realm, and helped to mediate the relationship between the individual and the forces within the spiritual world. Moreover, these items showed the introduction of new religious belief systems, such as the Nazareth Baptist Church, into society. On a broader level, all of these beadwork objects worked to unveil the importance and variety of religious beliefs among the Zulu people.
Some of the variation in beadwork item types were the result of regional differences. For instance, the capes and aprons made with layers of fabric were only found in the Estcourt region (Figures 23.5, 23.6, and 48.4), whereas capes made by combining pieces of beadwork stretched across wire frames were only found in the Umbumbulu areas (Figures 48.1 and 48.2). Such differences not only served to identify the region from which a person came, but also fulfilled the political function of reminding the king that there were divisions in the kingdom which could break apart if he did not rule with an even hand.

Still, for all of the variation in the types of items made by Zulu artists, there were general similarities to the categories of items created by Zulu artists. Neck, torso, limb, and waist ornaments were seen in every time period, and within these categories there were consistencies in the types of ornaments found sequentially, regionally and with members of the Nazareth Baptist Church. These similarities helped to separate the works of Zulu artists from those created by the artists of other ethnic groups, as a manifestation of a sense of unity among the Zulu people and the border between the Zulu people and others.

7.1.1.2 Colors and Patterns

The color combinations and their changes used in beadwork objects created by Zulu artists also provided evidence for the nature and boundaries of Zulu ethnicity. As seen throughout this study, the colors and color combinations employed by artists varied both regionally and over time. In most regions, artists changed their color combinations about every ten to twenty years. It is a frequency of change that corresponded to the generational changes of the artists and reflected the fact that Zulu society was stratified according to age groups. It also showed that each generation often distinguished itself with new fashions. The regional differences in the colors and color combinations observed in Zulu beadwork spoke of the fact that Zulu society retained the marked
regional divisions and identities of a nation that was a kingship made up of a federation of clans. As noted above, such diversity not only served to connote the vastness of the kingdom, but also to remind the king that the clans were groups who could assert their independence if necessary. The color combinations and the changes in them, furthermore, were indications of the historical, social, economic, religious, and political conditions of the artists. The historical movements of groups of people were sometimes seen in such changes. For example, movements of peoples were revealed in the appearance of a Msinga type of color combination in the Mtubatuba region (see especially 23.5, 23.6 and 23.7) and the development of the umzansi color combination after a break between the clans in the Msinga area. Color combinations designed to appeal to the commercial market suggested the new roles of women in the economy, which arose after the 1950s. The entrance of women into the money economy was also evident in the decline in the diversity of color combinations seen applied to traditionalist works, as more women traveled to find work and shared their beadwork styles. But, in contrast to most areas of Zululand, the colors used by artists of the Nongoma area did not change at least between the years of about 1950-1997. This lack of change not only alluded to the politically conservative nature of this region, but also intimated its social conservatism. Such a stasis of stylistic development was further suggestive of the high social and political prestige associated with being connected to this area of Zulu territory. Another political use for beadwork colors was seen in works made in the colors of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Since the middle of the 1970s, some artists created beadwork with the yellow, green, and black colors of the Inkatha Freedom Party, explicitly linking the wearer to this political party. In these ways, the various color combinations used on the beadwork had implicit and explicit political overtones, as well as served to help to unveil the diversity within and the general tendencies of Zulu social organization.
Information about Zulu religious beliefs was also found in the colors and color combinations used by Zulu artists. As discussed in Chapter 4, the red, black, white, and green colors used in the beadwork of the Nongoma area showed the cycle of life and the presence of the ancestors in traditional Zulu religious beliefs. This color combination also helped the wearer to mediate between the realms of the physical and the spiritual. Similarly, the red and/or white beads worn by diviners exposed their talents and assisted them in their religious endeavors. In the latter part of the twentieth century, the blue beads that became part of the dress of some diviners who are members of independent Christian churches served as evidence of the development of new Christian sects. For the Christian diviner and the viewer, these beads alluded to the diviners' connections to their maternal ancestors and helped the diviners to draw upon these ancestors in their work. The colors of beads employed by artists who are members of the Nazareth Baptist Church were also of interest in understanding the nature and diversity of religious beliefs that were part of Zulu ethnic identity. Members of the church used unique combinations of colors to denote their religious affiliations and to invoke connections between themselves and god. Colors, color combinations, and their changes, therefore, provided insight into the religious beliefs and their diversity among people of Zulu ethnicity.

In a similar manner, the patterns used to decorate Zulu beadwork shed light on the qualities that helped to form the ethnic identity of the artists. Like color combinations and, to a lesser degree, forms, the designs used on beadwork objects varied from region to region. These designs varied in the types of motifs used and in the manner in which they were arranged. For instance, artists of the Nongoma area tended to prefer rhomboids and triangles in complex arrangements which occupied a large area of the work, whereas artists from the Eshowe area made use of rectangular elements in small arrangements that were placed upon large, white fields. Such differences were indicative of the regional identities which were part of the diversity found within the concept of Zulu ethnicity and had
political, religious, economic, and social overtones. Likewise, the types of motifs and the manner in which they were combined varied over time. As with other factors, changes in the types of motifs employed in the designs used on beadwork by the artists of various regions tended to occur every ten to twenty years. These changes appeared to correspond to divisions between generations and reflect the fact that Zulu society was stratified on the basis of age. Still, the designs used by artists of the Nongoma area changed very little, at least between about 1950-1997. This, once again, revealed the politically and socially conservative nature of the area. This lack of change was also tied to the fact that this was the only region where items were passed down from generation to generation and used without alteration. These designs, associated with the royal area of Zulu territory, also tended to imply a political loyalty to the Zulu royal house. Thus, the political and social structure of Zulu society was shown in the patterns used on beadwork and their changes.

Concepts that embodied Zulu religious beliefs were sometimes expressed in the geometric designs of beadwork as well. The rhomboid as a symbol for the Zulu shield in the beadwork of some regions, such as the Nongoma and Umbumbulu areas, was employed to evoke the protection of the ancestors. The isibaya motif (Figures 23.5 and 23.6) seen in the beadwork of the Estcourt area in the 1930s and 1940s was another motif that was used to evoke notions of ancestral protection in connection with traditional religious beliefs. Artists who are members of the Nazareth Baptist Church sometimes adorned their works with motifs connected to Christian subjects, such as the cross or fish. These Christian motifs showed the religious affiliation of the wearer and helped to connect the wearer, spiritually, with god. In this way, some of the geometric motifs on Zulu beadwork revealed aspects of the religious beliefs of the Zulu people.

Last, evidence of the social conditions of the artists and their changes could be found in the designs used on the beadwork. One of the most dramatic examples of such changes was the introduction of text into beadwork. This showed when education for
girls was introduced into each region. At times, movements of people could be traced by looking at the appearance of certain motifs in particular regions. For example, when the people from the Msinga area were moved to the Mtubatuba area between 1940-60 they carried their designs with them. The social changes associated with the entrance of women into the wage labor system were also evidenced in beadwork colors and patterns. The fact that women were traveling to find work in the later part of the twentieth century was shown by the decreasing diversity between the beadwork designs of various regions. The decrease in the complexity of the designs in many regions after about 1960 also suggested that young women had less time to devote to the creation of beadwork items because they were engaged with school or employment. In addition, the simplicity generally observed in the designs placed on beadwork created for the commercial market served as an indicator of the economic role of these works as items designed solely for the support of the artist.

Yet, while there were regional and temporal variations in the designs used on beadwork items, there was also some consistency within the variations. Until the 1970's almost all of the designs used on Zulu beadwork were based on elements featuring straight edges, most of which were geometric in form. Rhomboids and triangles were particularly popular, while squares and rectangles were slightly less prevalent. Moreover, arrangements of these elements were often placed upon an evenly colored background. This suggested that Zulu artists, as a group, had a certain shared aesthetic and further alluded to a wider sense of unity.

So, like colors and forms, the designs used to ornament Zulu beadwork objects communicated the diversity that was present in many aspects of Zulu ethnic identity, elements that have been changed and/or incorporated into this identity over time, and hint at where the limits of this identity have laid. Thus, the colors and patterns used on
beadwork connoted the spatial, temporal, religious, political, and social relationships of people within the Zulu ethnic group to one another and to those outside of the group.

7.1.1.3 Materials and Methods

To a more limited extent, the materials and methods used to create beadwork objects also provided insight into the nature and boundaries of Zulu ethnic identity. Over the past hundred or so years, Zulu artists applied new materials and beadworking methods to their works in response to a number of different factors, including fashion, the availability of new materials, and outside influences. Tracing the changes in the materials and beadworking methods used by Zulu artists, thereby, provided knowledge of the social, historical, and economic conditions of the Zulu people. For instance the introduction of plastic beads in the 1960s or the method of stretching a mesh of beadwork across a wire frame in the Umbumbulu area in the 1970s, were another way in which artists of each generation distinguished their works and themselves in a society stratified by age. The materials and methods used by an artist could also vary from region to region, showing again the fact that Zulu society was composed of regional sub-groupings. Examples of such regional variations were seen in the fact that amalosi seeds were only used by artists of the Nongoma area (for example see Figures 50.3, 50.4, and 50.6), the use of transparent beads varied from region to region in different periods, and that the gongqoloza method was used for ankle/leg ornaments only in the Eshowe region after 1920 (Figures 19.1, 19.2, and 30.1). The economic conditions of the society were alluded to in the use of certain materials, such as wood, which were specific to works created for the commercial market. This showed that women were using their works of art to earn an income outside of the home. The growing importance of women in the wage labor economy was also suggested by the decrease in the complexity of beadworking methods used in items in some areas, such as the Eshowe region, in the latter part of the twentieth
century when women no longer had the time or energy to devote to complex domestic projects. The introduction of new beadworking methods and materials sometimes unveiled information about with whom the Zulu people interacted. While it was very difficult to track the development and movement of various beadworking methods, Marilee Wood (150) proposed that the elaborately frilly beadworking techniques found in Southern Natal during the early twentieth century were influenced by neighboring Bhaca, Thembu, and Pondo techniques. If such sharing was true, this indicated that the Zulu and their neighbors had relatively good relations, since it is unlikely that Zulu artists would incorporate aspects of their neighbor's beadwork styles if they were not on friendly terms with these neighbors. Moreover, the sources of the glass beads and other imported materials, such as brass buttons, cloth, and linen cording, helped to indicate with which groups of people the Zulu were trading.

While all of these elements revealed the dynamic nature of Zulu ethnicity and the historical conditions that were shared by people of this ethnicity, the similarities in methods and materials seen in the body of beadwork showed the unity and continuity of this identity. Zulu artists used drawn glass beads of size 00 with an opaque clarity, a shiny luster, a simple body, and no surface decorations consistently and in great numbers across all regions and times. This suggested that there was a conscious effort to present some sense of aesthetic unity. In addition, the use of similar beadworking techniques by artists of all generations and regions, especially more complex ones such as the gongqoloza and beadfabric methods, further implied a shared aesthetic and an overall sense of unity among the artists. Thus, the similarities and differences in beadworking materials and methods provided some sense of the unity and diversity within Zulu ethnic identity of the twentieth century.
7.1.2 FUNCTIONAL QUALITIES

As the formal qualities of works of art inform their functions in a fluid continuum, the social, religious, political, economic functions of the beadwork items made by Zulu artists and the manner in which these functions changed over time reflected aspects of Zulu ethnic identity and the borders of this identity.

7.1.2.1 Social Functions

Socially, beadwork items helped to indicate an individual's wealth, their social status, and acted as a means of communication between intimates. Especially in the early part of the twentieth century, the amount of beadwork worn by a courting aged young woman could be seen as an indicator of the wealth of her family. On the other hand, the quantity of beadwork worn by a courting aged young man indicated the wealth and/or number of young women who were courting him. As beads were expensive imported items and the creation of beadwork items was a time consuming endeavor, the quantity of beads and complexity of beadwork worn by a person was a mark of wealth. This indicates that wealth and social desirability were both important to Zulu society. Throughout the past hundred years or so there were always differences in and rules about what types of items could be worn by people of different courting or martial statuses. This was evidence that Zulu society was also stratified along the lines of marital status. Married men enjoyed the most social prestige followed by married women (depending on the order in which they married their husband), courting age people, and then children. Nevertheless, since the 1980s the rules regarding what types of items could be worn by people in different stages of courting and marriage became more relaxed. For instance, before the 1980s grass belts (*amakhama*) were only worn by women who were married and had given birth, but by 1997 even unmarried young women wore them. This
suggested changing fashions and/or a decline in the importance of marriage and the additional status accorded women who had given birth to a child.

The social status of a person was related not only to their wealth and martial status, but also to their regional affiliations. People in or near the Nongoma area had more political prestige, as they had the longest and closest relationship with the royal house. Thereby, beadwork with color combinations and patterns associated with the Nongoma or adjacent regions gave the wearer a certain political prestige that was equated with social status. As European style education was introduced into different areas of Zulu territory, letters, words, and numbers began to appear in the beadwork. The period in which the introduction of these new graphic elements appeared in beadwork was indicative of the time when literacy began to reach the young women of different regions. Although, only using beadwork to determine when literacy was introduced into a region could be a bit misleading because there were a certain group of young women who were educated in Christian schools but did not wear beadwork because they converted to Christianity. Education was also a source of pride and prestige among the Zulu people. As pointed out by Vilakazi (109), the attainment of education was well respected in Zulu society, and therefore, beadwork that contained letters, words, and numbers gave the wearer an increased social status. Such elements indicated that the wearer or, in the case of men, the girlfriend or wife of the wearer had been to school and earned the status that came with education. In this manner, the elements that determined the social status of an individual in Zulu society, in terms of wealth, marital status, political position, and education, could all be seen the beadwork which he/she wore. Furthermore, by looking at the consistencies and changes in these signifiers of social status, the evolving nature of the concept of social status within twentieth century, Zulu ethnic identity was shown.

Serving as a means of communication between intimates, beadwork acted as a means of social control. Traditionally, courting aged young women were not allowed to
speak directly to their suitors about matters of the heart, so they used beadwork to communicate their feelings. With the approval of the head of their age grade, young women would declare an interest in and love for a young man with a gift of beadwork using the color/proverb system. As their relationships continued, young women continued to use beadwork to express their feelings about the progression of their relationships. For example, a young woman could send her suitor a necklace with pink beads to indicate that she loved him in spite of his poverty, a necklace with lavender beads was used to convey her anxiousness to marry, or a necklace with black beads was employed to tell him she wanted to end the relationship. Usually a work contained many colors, allowing the artist to relay complex messages. This method of communication gave interesting insights into the traditional Zulu social rules regarding the interaction between men and women. Beginning around 1950, as more and more married men became involved in the migrant labor system, women, for a variety of reasons, started to use beadwork to communicate with absent husbands. As telephones were not easily available and few people knew how to read and write, beadwork became a way by which a wife could send messages to her husband, especially personal communications. This meant that this communication method started to be used beyond the courting years and that married men began to wear more beadwork. As such, the changing patterns of the use of the beadwork communication system revealed changing socio-economic conditions in Zulu society. Although understanding the specific message communicated by a beadwork item generally required an intimate understanding of the relationship between the artist and the man receiving the work, since colors can have both negative and positive meanings, looking at the types of messages communicated by the various colors provided a window into the types of concerns facing young Zulu women. The fact that the proverbs associated with each of the colors are rooted in the Zulu language, that these vary little from region to region, and that this is a system that could be found throughout Zulu
territory also indicated that there were unifying elements in Zulu culture. Additionally, the replacement of the color and proverb system with words and letters spoke of the fact that beadwork, as a means of communication, remained an important part of Zulu culture and social interactions, as well as showed some of the changes that were impacting these interactions, such as the introduction of European/western style education. The role of beadwork in assisting married women in fulfilling their hlonipha requirements was also telling of the social rules and stratification of Zulu society. These functions of beadwork helped to reveal the social position of a married woman within the family, the types of displays of behavior required by people of lower social rank directed toward those of a higher rank, and the importance of social stratification within Zulu society. The social use of beadwork as a means of communication, therefore, provided insight into Zulu society with regards to: 1) standards of behavior between men and women, 2) the concerns of young women within the society and how these were changing over time, 3) some of the ways in which the socio-economic conditions were changing and how people were responding to these changes, and 4) that even within the diversity of regional styles of beadwork there was a common culture of which the works were part.

7.1.2.2 Religious Functions

As seen above, the religious affiliations of a person were often, implicitly or explicitly, shown in the type of beadwork that he or she wore. These functions revealed the vital presence of the ancestors and showed some aspects of the nature of the relationship of the ancestors with the living in traditional Zulu religious beliefs, as well as in Zulu religious systems that combined traditional and Christian beliefs. The wearing of beadwork on a regular basis and/or at special occasions generally implied that an individual allied him or herself with traditionalist elements of Zulu culture. Such an alliance generally included following traditional religious beliefs, although by 1997 some
people who are members of European based Christian sects would sometimes wear beadwork at national festivals or other events as political and social statements. Information about the relationship that the common person shared with the ancestors as part of traditional and Zionist Christian religious beliefs was found in some items of beadwork. The importance of the husband's ancestors in the lives of a family was observed in the beadwork worn by women to fulfill their hlonipha obligations. These items served as a part of a display of respect that women showed for the living and dead relatives of their husbands, so that they would assist the woman in maintaining a happy and fruitful marriage. In other words, this type of beadwork revealed that the ancestors were active in the lives of people, for better or worse. Other types of beadwork were directed toward the paternal ancestors of the woman who wore them. Beadwork from the Nongoma region that featured the shield motif in red, black, white, and green beads (see particularly Figures 50.4, 50.6, and 50.7), shield shapes in the work of the Umbumbulu area (see especially Figures 48.1, 48.2, 52.3, and 52.4), and the apron with the isibaya ("kraal") motifs from the Estcourt region (Figures 23.5 and 23.6) were all examples of beadwork that almost certainly evoked the protection of the paternal ancestors of the wearer and alluded to the importance of cattle in Zulu religious beliefs. Once again, these types of works showed the active presence of the ancestors in the lives of people and how people relied on their ancestors to help them in their daily lives. Through colors and forms, the religious affiliations and abilities of diviners, as religious specialists, were also made visible in their beadwork and beaded regalia. The red and/or white beads worn on the body and flywhisks of traditional diviners helped to encourage and mediate their interactions with the paternal ancestors. In these ways, the nature of the religious functions of beadwork revealed information about the traditional spiritual beliefs and values of the Zulu people as a group.
Christianized Zulu people who are members of European based sects were often distinguished by a lack of beadwork. In contrast, members of the Nazareth Baptist Church wore beadwork that had certain unique forms and color combinations. Tracing the introduction of the Nazareth Baptist Church styles or the decline in the amount of beadwork in certain areas helped to provide data on the introduction and adoption of Christian based religious beliefs in Zulu society. Members of the Nazareth Baptist Church also used beadwork to help to mediate their interactions with God. For the artists of the church, the creation of beadwork was part of their Christian duty to be industrious. They believed that the wearing of beadwork would help to identify them to God as Zulu people, while the colors and some patterns relating to biblical verses and/or Christian symbols would help to connect the wearer spiritually with God. So, the functions played by the beadwork worn by members of the Nazareth Baptist Church exemplified the way in which church members abided by Christian principles, and how they tried to promote a personal relationship with God as Zulu people. Last, the blue or blue and white beads worn by diviners who are members of various Zionist churches acted to help them to negotiate their interactions with both their maternal and paternal ancestors. Such Zionist beadwork spoke of some of the ways in which these churches combined traditional Zulu and Christian religious beliefs. In this way, it could be seen that Zulu ethnic identity embraced Christian, traditional, and fusions of traditional and Christian religious beliefs. Thus, the beadwork unveiled the diversity and nature of the religious beliefs encompassed within Zulu ethnic identity.

7.1.2.3 Political Functions

The political functions of beadwork revealed the political structure that holds Zulu society together, as well as the variety of political voices found within this society. The regional variations in beadwork styles served to recall that various clans make up the Zulu
community. They also acted as a reminder to the king that there are separate political units within the kingdom that could break away, if they feel his rule to be unjust or incompetent. As such, these regional variations alluded to the balance of political power that had to be maintained in order to keep the kingdom united. On the other hand, the wearing of beadwork items was also an act that served as an implicit voice of support for the king. As a symbol closely associated with Zulu traditional culture, the wearing of beadwork was seen as a statement for support of traditional society and cultural practices that were embodied in the king. When displayed at large national festivals, such as the Shaka's Day celebrations or the Reed Ceremony, the variety of beadwork styles was seen as a display of the vastness of Zulu territory and the widespread support enjoyed by the king. Beadwork in all its diversity, thereby, could also be interpreted as symbolic of Zulu unity and as a show of support for the traditional political structure.

As discussed previously, differentials in political prestige and power within Zulu society were displayed, in part, through beadwork. Going back to the very beginnings of the Zulu kingdom, people of the court and other high ranking individuals used certain types of beads and beadwork as emblems of their social and political prestige. In the late nineteenth and twentieth century, after the kingdom had lost its' independence, access to political power within Zulu society continued to vary in relation to regional proximity to the king. As noted previously, people from the Nongoma area, as members of the clans that formed the original core of the Zulu kingdom, had greater political clout. As a result, the regional variations in beadwork communicated information about the political influences available to the wearer. In more recent times, the members of the Inkatha Freedom Party have used beadwork, as well as other traditionalist dress forms, to voice their support for the party. The Inkatha Freedom Party has fashioned itself as a party that supports traditionalist Zulu culture within the political sphere of South Africa. In order to rouse support for its ethnically based positions, it has drawn its symbols from traditional
Zulu culture. As a result, people sometimes voiced their support for the party by showing up at political rallies and national celebrations in beadwork or other items of dress in the colors of the party. Such political functions of beadwork revealed some aspects of the political structure, differences in access to political power, elements that kept political power balanced, factors that acted to unify the kingdom politically, and the political diversity that were all found within Zulu society. These were all part of Zulu identity and helped to separate the Zulu people from people of other ethnic groups.

7.1.2.4 Economic Functions

Finally, the economic functions of beads and beadwork revealed information about the economic structure of Zulu society and how this structure has changed over the years. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries beads served as an important trade item. European settlers and missionaries used glass beads to trade with the Zulu people for food and other supplies. This indicated that barter was part of the Zulu economic system and that the Zulu people who obtained beads were well off in terms of their needs, since beads were a luxury type of item. The robustness of the Zulu position in the South African economy of this early time was also sensed by the fact that the Zulu people could be very picky about the types of beads they wanted for trade. The homestead as the primary unit of economic production in traditional Zulu society was alluded to by the fact that women were responsible for creating almost all of the beadwork worn by themselves or given to their suitors. Nevertheless, there was a least one instance, with the beadwork artists that created leather amabheshu in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region between the years of 1940-1960 (Figure 36.9), where artists became specialists and made their works for personal gain. Still, after the introduction of the money based economy and the realization that there was a commercial market for beadwork, starting mainly after about 1950, artists began to create items solely for the purpose of being sold. This reflected not only a new
economic system, but also new economic roles for women as wage earners for the family. Similarly, women also sold off old, out-of-fashion beadwork to collectors and museums to help them to earn a living. In fulfilling these economic functions, beadwork provided insights into the economic structure of Zulu society, the economic health of Zulu society, how it responded to the transition to a money based economy, and how it has adapted to fluctuations in its economy.

As a art form that is often used as a symbol of Zulu ethnic identity, beadwork, through its formal and functional qualities, exposed much about Zulu social, cultural, political, religious, and economic life. It revealed aspects of Zulu culture around which Zulu identity was unified, as well as the diversity that was found within that unity. It also showed some of the ways Zulu society has responded to meet the changing circumstances of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In summary, beadwork reflected the complex nature of Zulu ethnicity, its borders, and its adaptability.

7.2 ZULU ETHNIC IDENTITY IN BEADWORK

Beadwork, as an art form among the Zulu people, has a long and vigorous history which is closely tied and, therefore, reflective of the historical and social circumstances of the artists lives. The art of beadwork appeared to have become widespread among the Zulu people in the middle to late part of the nineteenth century, after King Mpande loosened control over the bead trade within the kingdom. By the time the kingdom lost its independence in 1879 a variety of regional styles and beadwork functions already seemed to have been established. Over the next hundred years the forms and functions of these beadwork items changed to address contemporary concerns and circumstances. So, when the formal and functional qualities of beadwork items were analyzed as a whole, spanning the period of the late nineteenth and twentieth century, they spoke much about the cultural,
social, geographical, historical, political, religious, and economic conditions that informed Zulu ethnic identity and its boundaries. Indeed, the history of Zulu beadwork in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries revealed that the Zulu people shared a common ethnic identity, as defined by Comaroff and Comaroff, as an emblem of a common predicament and interest which asserts a shared commitment to an order of symbols and, to a certain extent, a moral code (53). Nevertheless, it also showed that Zulu ethnicity was a broad concept that embraced a multitude of geographic, social, political, religious, and economic situations that varied both within a given moment and over time.

7.2.1 Political Organization and Movements

The regional variations and political functions of Zulu beadwork were an important expression of the political organization and character of Zulu ethnic identity. The political organization of Zulu society, as a federation of clans, was evidenced in the regional differences of beadwork styles. Furthermore, the strength and importance of these divisions, especially in balancing the power of the king, was evident in that the fact that people continued to assert them throughout the period of this study. The various regional styles also implicitly indicated that there were political power differentials within the society that were partially tied to regional origins. At least since the first Inkatha movement started by King Solomon in the 1920s, beadwork has been promoted as a symbol of Zulu ethnic identity. Within this political context, the wearing of beadwork came to imply support for the king and traditionalist society. The wide variety of styles, particularly when on display at national festivals, could then further be seen as an expression of the extensive support for the king as a political figure and as an emblem of the vast geographic holdings of the Zulu community. More recently, some members of the Inkatha Freedom Party have worn beadwork and other items of traditional style dress in the colors of the party as a means of voicing their political leanings. In these ways,
beadwork was emblematic of the political forces that worked to ethnically unite the Zulu people, as well as the multiple political voices that have been, over time, part of this union.

7.2.2 Social Organization, Rules, and Changes

Beadwork, in its multitude of forms and functions, also spoke volumes about the social organization and rules that informed Zulu ethnic identity. The regional divisions evidenced in the variety of beadwork styles had implications for the social, in addition to the political, nature of Zulu society. Between these different regions, people had slightly different cultural practices and some language variations. This meant that regional beadwork styles alluded to slight social differences. These were social differences that were probably aggravated by the fact that the Zulu people began to be isolated into separate homeland areas soon after the Zulu kingdom lost its independence in 1879. Although men who were employed in the migrant labor system had contact with people from outside of their areas, women had little opportunity for travel. This only reinforced the regional divisions manifested in different beadwork styles. The fact that Zulu society was divided along the lines of wealth, access to power, and age was also seen in the beadwork. The types and numbers of items worn by an individual varied according to their wealth (or the wealth of the young women who they were courting) and their social rank, as a child, courting age person, married person, or elderly person. As seen throughout this dissertation, styles of beadwork also frequently changed from generation to generation. This allowed each new group to assert a unique identity, revealing the age grade structure of society. The amount of access to power one enjoyed was also part of social rank. So, for instance, beadwork from the Nongoma area offered its wearer more prestige than beadwork from the Msinga area. The beadwork items worn by women to fulfill their hlonipha requirements were also telling of social structure. Such works showed that Zulu society had a strict hierarchy that was enforced with stringent rules for
the display of respect toward those of a higher social rank. Still, in spite of the fact that the community was divided along the lines of age, wealth, sex, and access to power, the fact that the society was divided in this manner throughout all areas of the Zulu territory revealed that the Zulu people shared a similar social structure based on a sense of value for age, martial status, wealth, and power.

In addition to social structure, beadwork spoke about the social rules, character, and changes in Zulu society. Some of the social rules regarding the interactions between courting aged men and women were observed in the beadwork created to be used during the courting process. These works revealed that young women were the ones who chose their mates and that direct conversation between men and women with regards to affairs of the heart were considered improper. Yet, beadwork provided a medium through which such ideas could be transmitted. Beadwork associated with the processes of courting also showed some of the common concerns, such as poverty or loneliness, which plagued young women throughout all regions during the years of this study. Some of the beadwork worn by married women was related to hlontipa practices and was associated with the social rules that engaged and married women had to follow. The beadwork worn by some brides, for example the long white tassels off of the capes of the women in the Estcourt region (Figure 48.4) and the beaded shields from the Umbumbulu area, showed that virginity was valued for a bride. The beadwork that denoted that the wearer had given birth to children, such as amaxhama, indicated that children were highly valued and giving birth to them was an important part of the marriage contract for women. All of these rules and values were expressed consistently throughout Zulu territory. Moreover, the conformity of general forms assumed by beadwork items and the types of people who wore them, as well as a common system of bead color and proverb associations, indicated that all of these beadwork items, regardless of their regional or sequential variations, shared a common cultural source.
Some of the social changes which Zulu ethnic identity underwent were also reflected in beadwork. The introduction of European style education for young women into various areas of Zulu territory could be traced by following the appearance of letters, words, and numbers in beadwork. These new motifs were not only used in place of colors to communicate messages, but were also used to display the prestige of having an education (or having a wife or girlfriend with education). This showed the value placed on education as well as the continued prohibitions on the direct discussion of intimate matters between courting aged men and women. The introduction of new consumer goods could also be seen in beadwork. As new materials, such as plastic beads, became available, Zulu artists quickly adapted them to their works. The appearance of cars and square houses was recorded in the beadwork from the 1970s onward, especially in the Estcourt area. Migrant labor and its impact on Zulu society was observed in the increase in beadwork worn by married men and the use beadwork by married women to communicate with absent husbands, especially after about 1950. Last, the entrance of women, as wage earners, into the money based economy was brought to light through works of art created for the commercial market and by a decline, in the later time periods, in the diversity of colors and patterns used on works for personal use. Though some women sold beadwork to earn a living, others participated in a variety of occupations that required them to travel and live in places away from their homes. While away from home, these women would have come into contact with women from other areas with which they could share beadwork designs. As such, the traveling of women for purposes of employment was suggested by a decrease in the regional variations seen in the beadwork of the past twenty years. Such economic demands, furthermore, led to a decrease in the time women had available to create beadwork items, which led to a decline in the complexity of beadwork items created by some artists. Beadwork, thereby, communicated information about the social divisions and rules as well as the common social characteristics, concerns, and
values of the Zulu people. Moreover, the social changes and some of the ways in which
the Zulu people have adapted to them, all as part of the social factors that informed Zulu
ethnic identity, were observed in beadwork.

7.2.3 Religious Beliefs

Information about the religious beliefs and their variations, which helped to define
the nature and boundaries of Zulu ethnicity, were found within the beadwork created by
Zulu artists during the past hundred and twenty years. Through the use of colors and
motifs having religious symbolism as well as certain types of ornaments the vitality of
traditional religious beliefs and the importance of the ancestors and cattle in these beliefs
was seen. Motifs, such as the shield or the isibaya; colors, like the red, black, green, and
white of the Nongoma beadwork; and works worn by women to fulfill their hlonipha
obligations were all manifestations of traditional religious beliefs. They showed that the
artists and/or wearers of these pieces kept at least some traditional religious beliefs. In
addition, as these motifs, colors, and ornament types were all directed toward the ancestors,
these elements also related the fact that the ancestors were an important part of traditional
religious beliefs and that they were believed to be active in the world of the living. Though
the red, white, and black colors were references to ancestors, this color combinations also
spoke of the traditional Zulu belief in the circularity of time in the cycle of life. The
beadwork worn by traditionalist diviners also displayed the place of the ancestors in
traditional Zulu religious beliefs. At the same time this beadwork unveiled the special
connections that the diviners shared with the spiritual world. As objects that both attracted
the attention of the ancestors and helped to protect the body from the power of encounters
with the ancestors, the beadwork worn by diviners was further evidence of the powers of
the ancestors in traditional Zulu religious beliefs. Moreover, since the beadwork worn by
diviners changed relatively little over the years, this suggested that beliefs related to the
character and powers of the ancestors changed little. From all of this, the importance and
liveliness of traditional religious beliefs over the past hundred and twenty years, the role
and force of the ancestors and cattle within this belief system, and the idea of the life cycle
as part of this system were communicated through beadwork.

On the other hand, the development of variations in religious beliefs within the
Zulu community were also indicated in the history of beadwork. If or when people
converted to Christianity they were frequently required to give up traditional style clothing.
As such, the introduction of Christianity brought with it a decline in beadwork in some
regions. Nevertheless, this prohibition on beadwork only applied to European based
Christian sects. Zionist sects, which combined both Christian and traditional African
beliefs, often incorporated traditionalist style elements of apparel, including beadwork, into
their dress for worship. At times the beadwork worn by members of these sects was
distinctive. For example, some diviners that were members of such sects incorporated
blue beads into their dress. This showed how divination was part of the practices of some
Zionist groups and also that they drew on their maternal ancestors, instead of relying
solely on the paternal ones, as did traditional diviners. Most notable and popular of these
sects was the Nazareth Baptist Church. This sect made beadwork a compulsory part of
their worship uniforms, which were developed around the mid 1930's (Brown 130). But
members of this church did not wear their own regional styles of beadwork, instead they
developed unique forms and styles of beadwork. This beadwork served to distinguish
members of the church and showed some of their religious beliefs. In particular, church
members adapted the color and proverb system to biblical passages and developed motifs
that embodied Christian symbols, all for the purpose of promoting a personal relationship
with God. The act of the creation of beadwork was, furthermore, seen as an expression of
the Christian work ethic. This all showed the development of the independent churches
within Zulu society, some of the Christian beliefs followed by church members, and the

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personal relationship with God that was part of their belief systems. Thus, beadwork also provided insight into the development of independent Zionists sects and their beliefs.

So from these works of art, a sense of: 1) the nature and variety of religious beliefs, 2) the importance of these beliefs, and 3) if, when, and how these beliefs changed over time was observed. This, in turn, provided an awareness of the variety, character, and boundaries of religious beliefs over time in the lives of Zulu people as an aspect of their ethnicity. It also showed that, as a whole, Zulu people valued religion and had a place for the ancestors within their belief systems.

7.2.4 Economic Structure and Circumstances

Last, evidence of the economic structure and circumstances of Zulu life, as part of the customs and situations that helped to unify them as a people, were found in the history of the beadwork. The self-sufficient homestead as the basis of the traditional Zulu economy was suggested by the fact that women of the homestead or suitors, until quite recently, created almost all of the beadwork. Only in the Maphumulo/Mvoti region from about 1940-1960 did a group of women who were specialists in beadwork and created works for others exist. Yet, even these specialists only fashioned beaded, leather *amabheshu*. The creation of other beadwork items was left up to the wearer or the wife or girlfriend of the wearer. The importance of farming and the role of women in agricultural production as part of the traditional Zulu economy were evident in the use of the agricultural motifs seen in some areas. For example, the references to sorghum in the beadwork of the Umbumbulu area (Figures 42.8 and 47.3) and the mealie plants that appeared on the cape from the Maphumulo/Mvoti area (Figure 62.2) imparted information about the connection between women and agriculture.

But as a money based economy was introduced, women increasingly became involved in work that provided them with money. The most obvious manifestation of this
economic change in the art of beadwork was the creation of items exclusively for the commercial market. Although some examples of beadwork created for commercial purposes were found to date to the first half of the twentieth century, most of the items created for this market were produced after about 1950. Moreover, the innovations in the forms of commercial works seemed to increase over time, indicating that the market for such items was expanding and the number of artists participating in such a system was increasing. In contrast, as women entered into wage labor employment (even women who are creating beadwork for a living), there seemed to be a negative effect on the innovations applied to beadwork created for personal use and the amount of such items made. When they had a formal job, women had less time to devote to domestic arts, such as beadwork. Furthermore, when women from different regions traveled to find employment and converged in centers for work they probably traded beadworking styles, which resulted in the decline in regional variations that began to appear in the 1970s. The introduction and impact of the migrant labor system in which most men participated to earn a living was also be seen in beadwork. Since men were absent from the home for long periods of time, women extended the use of the bead color communication system beyond courting age, as it was one of the few means available to them for communicating with their absent husbands. This also meant that married men began to wear more beadwork, as husbands donned these works as remainders of home. When men traveled to the big cities and brought back stories about them, references to the city began to appear in some of the beadwork motifs. Examples of such motifs were the cars and square houses that appeared in the beadwork of the Estcourt region in the 1970s. Even the pension system, which pays retirement money to former miners, was shown in works from the Msinga region from the 1980s and 1990s that featured motifs derived from the Teba Pension Company logo (see Figure 55.3). Still, ever since men and women began to leave home for long periods of time to seek employment, there has been an extended breakdown in the traditional family
structure and cultural practices that served as the inspiration for much of the beadwork traditionally created.

So, within the history of Zulu beadwork there was evidence for the character and the place of women in the traditional economy, as well as the nature, some of the changes, and the place of women in the transitions to and adaptation of a money based economy. In these ways, beadwork also provided information about the character and changes of the economic circumstances that informed Zulu ethnic identity and its changing forms over the years.

Thus, the history of Zulu beadwork provided great insight into the cultural and historical circumstances that united the Zulu people as an ethnic group. At the same time, it illuminated some of the diversity in these circumstances, which arose over time and between people, as part of the complex and evolving nature and boundaries of this identity. It is a history that revealed aspects of the social, religious, political, and economic structure and character of Zulu society that acted to help to define Zulu identity. It also documented the variations in these elements that were tolerated within the boundaries of Zulu identity, and how these structures and characteristics and their limits changed to suit contemporary needs. Indeed, the history of beadwork revealed the Zulu people to be a complex and diverse group united, to varying degrees over the years, by cultural and historical circumstances stimulated by both internal and external forces.

7.3 SUMMATION

Since the middle of the nineteenth century the art of beadwork has been a widespread expression of Zulu culture and society. It was a ubiquitous art form that played roles in the social, religious, political, and economic facets of Zulu society. As an art form that was practiced by almost all females, it provided information about the lives of
individual artists as well as revelations about the broader groups of which they were part. Following its widespread introduction, beadwork remained a lively art form, with artists developing new forms and functions to meet new fashions and address new social conditions. Coinciding with age grade divisions, which were a fundamental part of the organization of Zulu society, most of the changes in beadwork occurred in ten to twenty year cycles, reflecting the character of each new generation. The history of these changes was then an aesthetic expression of the personal and group histories that made up the shared circumstances that were at the root of Zulu ethnic identity.

While there remain some gaps in the history of Zulu beadwork since 1880, as developed in this investigation, this study conveyed much of the chronological development of beadwork styles over the past hundred and twenty years. It showed that while there were certain common elements of beadwork forms and functions that served as the basis of this art form, artists were continually experimenting with colors, materials, shapes, and beadworking methods to create unique objects. Nevertheless, this history also showed that artists generally adhered to intersecting regional and generational stylistic restrictions on their works. In addition to this regional and chronological analysis of style, this study also unveiled some of the social, political, religious, and economic changes that impacted these stylistic developments; and conversely how these changes were expressed in the beadwork styles. This work, therefore, revealed the importance of beadwork within Zulu culture. On a broader level, this investigation displayed the deep significance of body arts within the context of African art.

The history of Zulu beadwork not only has relevance to the study of art history, but has implications for historical, anthropological, and sociological studies as well. As seen throughout this study, an understanding of beadwork and the changes which it underwent provided a window into the historical circumstances of the Zulu people, as they were experienced both at the individual and group levels. It was this then that makes
beadwork a symbolic embodiment of the common circumstances and interests that defined Zulu ethnicity. This was also why beadwork became an art form that was used to help to reinforce Zulu ethnic identity. As pointed out by Abner Cohen, "often it is objective symbolic forms (such as beadwork) that generates the experience of ethnicity" (x). Thus, beadwork acted both passively, as a reflection, and actively, to help to define, the nature and boundaries of Zulu ethnic identity, as its characteristics were adapted in response to internal and external forces over time. In this sense, the history of Zulu beadwork becomes then a materialization of the contemporary and historical experiences that defined the ethnicity of the Zulu people as a united yet diverse people.
APPENDIX A

BEAD TYPES AND BEADWORKING METHODS

Humankind has long been fascinated with the use of beads. Almost everywhere humans have established cultures beads have been part of those cultures. In fact, the human fascination with beads seems to have originated with our ancestors Neanderthal man. According to Lois Shur Dubin in her book, The History of Beads, the earliest archaeological evidence of beads is a set of grooved animal teeth and bones worn as pendants found at a Neanderthal site in La Quina and thought to date from approximately 38,000 B.C. (21). The earliest beads that have been discovered associated with Homo Sapiens were found in western Europe at a site from the upper Paleolithic Period and are believed to be about 33,000 years old. These early bead makers relied on a variety of naturally occurring materials for their beads including minerals, seashells, seeds, bone, wood, and ostrich eggshells. But as human beings acquired the knowledge of metalworking, ceramics, and glass making, they quickly began to apply these new technologies to the making of beads.

Although it is not known exactly when and where the technology of making glass beads first developed, the earliest glass beads thus far discovered were found in Mesopotamia and date to between 2340-2180 B.C. (Dubin 38). It is also known that by 1500 B.C. the Mesopotamians had discovered how to make complex mosaic or "millefiore" beads, and that a glass bead industry was operating in Egypt by 1400 B.C. (Van der Sleen, "Ancient Glass Beads" 203). While the technology for manufacturing
glass beads did not spread into southern Africa, glass beads, as items of trade, seem to make their appearance on the east African coast as early as Roman times (Wood 143). Beginning in the eighth and ninth centuries Arab merchants began to establish trading towns along the East African coast, settling as far south as Sofala in what is today Mozambique. From these points the traders exchanged items gathered from as far away as China, including fabric, porcelain, and glass; for ivory, slaves, and gold from the interior. African middlemen were then responsible for shuttling goods between the interior and the coast.

The earliest evidence, thus far uncovered, of glass beads in southern Africa comes from two sites located at the confluence of the Shashe and Limpopo Rivers. At these sites, known as Mapungubwe and K2, archaeological investigations have established that a Bantu speaking culture was engaged in the trade of African goods for Arab imports (including glass beads) from about 970-1270 A.D. (Huffman 673-678). Foutat in Egypt and Niashapur in Iran seem to have been the earliest sources of the glass beads brought into southern Africa with the Arab trade (Wood 143). These sources were soon replaced by the Indian bead industry, which remained the primary origin for glass beads until the fifteenth century. Arab traders continued to be the primary suppliers of beads in southern African until the Portuguese arrived in 1498. Within about six years of their arrival the Portuguese sacked Bdlwa, the most important Arab trading town along the coast, and took control over most of the trade in the region. Initially, the Portuguese had to import beads from India for the trade because of African demands. Eventually though, the Africans began to accept European made glass beads.

In the fifteenth century glass bead manufacturing was established in Venice, Italy and in the German city of Idar-Oberstein. These became the main suppliers for the Portuguese trade. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the bead manufacturing and marketing industry in Venice became especially large and prosperous.
According to Sharma Saitowitz in the article, "Towards and History of Glass Beads", Venetian bead pattern lists for the eighteenth century included 562 kinds of beads with many sub-varieties (38). The beads entering the early Zulu kingdom were, thereby, probably manufactured primarily in Germany and Italy.

In 1824 British traders established a settlement at Port Natal and by the mid 1830s they had replaced the Portuguese as the primary trading partners of the Zulu kingdom (Hedges 249). In this new trading relationship Venice was still the predominant source of glass beads. Yet, near the end of the nineteenth century the Venetian bead industry began to suffer a decline as a result of competition from manufacturers in the Czechoslovakian provenance of Bohemia. In order to stave off their demise, a number of Venetian manufacturers combined their resources to form Societa Veneziana Per L'industria Delle Conterie. In 1910 this conglomeration bought a French bead factory and in 1920 they bought the Bohemian A. Sachs and Co. With this aggregation, the Venetians were able to keep a virtual monopoly on the beads exported into southern Africa until the 1950s (Saitowitz, "Towards a History of Glass Beads" 38). Eventually, in the mid 1950s, a Czechoslovakian company called Jablonex replaced the Venetians and since this time they have dominated the glass bead market in South Africa. In spite of large demands, South Africa has never developed an internal glass bead manufacturing industry. Instead, beads have always been a product obtained through trade.

I. TYPES OF BEADS

Beads can be and have been made from just about every material known to man - bone, teeth, seeds, shells, wood, minerals, metal, ceramics, etc. Nevertheless, although Zulu beadwork artists have been known to incorporate beads made from natural materials in

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their works of art, they worked primarily in glass and, since the 1970s and 1980s, plastic beads. As such, this section focuses on glass and plastic trade beads.

Glass is made by melting together a combination of quartz or quartz sand, soda, potash, or niter with a little lime, and some copper or lead. Because of its very malleable nature, glass lends itself to being treated in a variety of methods, which allows for the creation of an extremely wide range of forms. With the proper knowledge and skill an endless variety of colors of glass can be achieved through the addition of various minerals. Furthermore, numerous patterns can be achieved by ornamenting the surface and body of glass beads. Glass, therefore, presents the beadmaker with many possibilities.

Glass trade beads are most frequently made by one of four basic methods: wound, mold-pressed, blown, and drawn. Wound beads are also sometimes referred to in the art historical and archaeological literature as Perle a lume, Suppialume, Spiral, and Furnace Wound. To make this type of bead, the bead maker will first coat a wire with a lubricant to keep the glass from sticking to it. Then he or she will wind molten glass on the wire, creating each bead individually. If desired, the surface can then be decorated in a vast number of ways.

Mold-Pressed Beads are also sometimes referred to in the art historical and archaeological literature as Mandrel pressed or Tong Molded. Mold-pressed beads are, as their name suggests, made by pressing glass into a mold and then inserting a pin in the center to create a hole in the bead. Beads made by this method can generally be identified by their uniform shape and a seam where the mold is joined. This method is often used to make novelty shapes such as flowers, corncobs, and beans. In addition, this is the method used to make the plastic beads that became very popular with young Zulu women during the 1970s and 1980s.

Blown Beads are also found in the art historical literature referred to as hollow blown, hollow sphere, or hollow bubble. Blown beads are made by one of three methods.
In the first method, glass is free blown into small spheres. In the second method, glass is blown into a mold to create a specific design of uniform shape. Or in the third method, a series of bubbles is blown into a heated glass tube and then broken into single beads. Unfortunately, blown beads tend to be very thin walled and are very fragile. As a result, they are not preserved well in the archaeological record. Still, six beads made by this method were found at an archaeological site at Mgungundlovu, King Dingane's former capital in South Africa.

Drawn Beads can also be found in the art historical and archaeological literature referred to as Margarite, Tube, Hollow Cane, Canes, Seed, Pound, Millefiore, and Chevron. Drawn beads are made by blowing a hole in a lump of glass to create a pear shaped form. Then the glass is stretched out into a long tube and cut into sections. After the beads have cooled they can then be tumbled or ground on a wheel to smooth out the rough edges. There are three basic stylistic variations found in drawn beads. First, the molten glass can be flattened or otherwise maneuvered on a board to create special effects such as flattened beads or beads with designs embossed in them. Second, the molten glass can be twisted to give the beads a spiral effect. And third, layers of different colored glass can be applied to the lump of glass before it is drawn to form cored, mosaic, or striped beads.

Drawn glass beads are the most common type of beads used in Zulu beadwork. Before the nineteenth century drawn beads were all cut by hand and, as a result, the size of these beads tended to be somewhat variable. Around 1822, the sizes of drawn beads became a bit more standardized with the introduction of an automatic, bead cutting machine invented by Captain Longo (Francis, The Glass Trade Beads of Europe: Their Manufacture, Their History and Their Identification). But this machine was not widely used until it was improved and modified by Carlo Romiti and Giovanni Sala in 1867. Thereafter, a sizing system for beads, used by both Italian and Czechoslovakian
companies, was introduced. This system divided beads into sizes based on a numbering system where 00 is a bead of 1.5 mm in diameter and beads of size five are 5.0 mm in diameter.

Most Zulu beadwork is made with small beads of about size 00. At times Zulu works will have larger beads affixed to the ends, to provide an anchor around which a loop of cording or sinew can be placed to secure the item to the body. Still, this is by no means the only size of beads Zulu people used. According to his depiction by George Angas, an artist and traveler, as well as the observations of other early travelers⁴, King Mpande was especially fond of large white beads called amaqanda ("eggs") (57). These beads were described as being about the size of pigeons' eggs. The king restricted the use of these beads to only himself and his favored at the court. Angas even did a portrait of the king wearing a necklace of these large white beads, as well as a belt also made of relatively large blue and green beads. Larger beads can also be seen in some of the beadwork dated to 1890-1920, such as on the belt of the isigege in Figure 10.5 or decorating the surface of the belt in Figure 9.3. In the twentieth century, beadwork artists in the Msinga area were notable for, among other things, their use of a wide variety of bead sizes. In the Estcourt region some women used larger beads to trim the edges of their strips of beadwork (Figures 23.5, 23.6, 48.4, and 51.1), and in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtunzuni District and among members of the Nazareth Baptist Church women wore groups of large beads in the center of their hat bands (Figures 65.1 and 65.2). Last, in the 1970s and 1980s large plastic beads became popular in many regions of Zululand. These larger yet lightweight beads were used in a wide variety of items. Presently, many of the women still doing beadwork for their personal adornment have returned to using the smaller glass beads⁵.

In addition to the method of manufacturing and size, the shape, decoration, structure, luster, and clarity of the beads in a work of art beads must be considered.
Although beads can be made into almost any shape imagined, almost all beads found in traditional Zulu beadwork are spherical beads with slightly flattened sides. Some exceptions to this are a few ovoid beads seen on the fringes of some late 19th and early twentieth century works (for example Figure 3.13), some barrel shaped beads seen in the Msinga district (Figure 18.2), some of the larger round beads used for fasteners (for example Figure 20.1), and round plastic beads (for instance in Figure 47.1). Again beads can be decorated in almost an infinite number of ways, but in Zulu beadwork plain beads predominate. Still, some artists do occasionally incorporate beads decorated with stripes or spots. The structure of beads is defined upon the basis of how the glass has been formed in their bodies. Structure is classified as simple, compound, complex, or composite. Most beads found in traditional Zulu beadwork have a simple structure, meaning that there was no layering of colors, the body was not constructed from a mosaic of different pieces, etc. The only exception to this are what is known as umgazi and Cornaline d'Aleppo beads (carnelian). In these bead types a translucent layer of red glass is placed over an opaque white layer. Another factor that must be accounted for when looking at beadwork is the luster of the beads. In other words, whether they are shiny or dull. When looking at this factor it must be remembered that the luster of the beads can be affected by the beads being abraded or polished by dust, dirt, wear, or other factors. With the exception of some of the plastic beads, beads used in traditional Zulu beadwork are almost always shiny. And the clarity of the beads in a work should also be noted. The clarity of beads can be defined as opaque, translucent, or transparent. Zulu beadwork artists have generally preferred opaque beads. Nevertheless, the red layer of glass atop an opaque white layer in the Cornaline d'Aleppo and umgazi beads, described above, makes these beads semi-translucent. Further, transparent beads appear in some of the works dated to about the 1960s in the Maphumulo region (Figure 44.16), in the work of members of the Nazareth Baptist church (Figure 65.2), as well as in the more recent works.
(Figures 55.3, 58.1, and 62.2). Traditional Zulu beadwork, thereby, tends to be made from beads that are slightly flattened spheres with few if any surface decorations and have a simple structure, a shiny luster, and an opaque clarity.

Finally, color must be examined when looking at beads and beadwork. Making different colors in glass requires the addition of various minerals to the basic body of the glass. Different color effects can also be achieved by layering one color atop another. Using these techniques a skilled glass maker can achieve just about any color known. When describing the color of a bead, it also must be remembered that the color, like the luster, can be affected by time and wear, particularly with plastic beads.

So when considering the beads in a work of art, the material out of which the beads are made, the method by which they were manufactured and their size, shape, decoration, structure, luster, clarity, and their color all must be noted. These factors are important because they provide insight into the age of a work, the location in which it was created, and its aesthetic and symbolic significance. Furthermore, the information is helpful in ascertaining the source of the beads, which can, in turn, provide evidence of trading and other types of interactions that may have occurred between groups of people. Overall, the information contained in the beads themselves can provide valuable clues to the art historical and aesthetic significance of an item of beadwork.

III. BEADS IN THE ZULU KINGDOM

Zulu beadwork artists have, over the years, taken full advantage of the vast array of bead colors. The types of colors and color combinations, along with patterns, used by artists to ornament their works have shown much variation over time and from region to region. Indeed, Zulu beadwork artists have caused many a bead trader consternation over the years because of the changing fashions of colors and the artists absolute refusal to
purchase beads that do not meet their desired specifications. All throughout the travel and ethnographic writings this changing of color preferences is noted. For instance, in the article, "Bible and Beads: Missionaries as Traders in the Early Nineteenth Century" Roger Beck described how missionaries had to send detailed instructions to London about what colors and types of beads the Zulu artists wanted because they refused to purchase beads that did not meet their specifications (219-220). He noted further that the missionaries had to contend with tastes that changed from region to region and from year to year (Beck 220). In the travel book, Zululand and Cetewayo, Ludlow also pointed out how black and whites beads were preferred in some areas while the artists of other regions preferred pink and green ones (78). A. T. Bryant further made a point of observing that color preferences for beads changed from year to year (The Zulu People 158-159).

Archaeological evidence has also been found to support these claims. Excavations at Mgungundlovu have shown that white seemed to be the most preferred color followed by blue, then green (Wood 147). At Ondini, pink was the most popular color followed by green and black (Wood 147). So from the earliest times, it appears that Zulu beadwork artists were very experimental in their use of color.

Unfortunately, exact information about color preferences in early Zulu beadwork is scant. Museum collections of nineteenth century Zulu beadwork are relatively sparse, and information regarding the locations and years in which the works were created is often vague. Much of the information that is currently available on the color preferences in early Zulu beadwork comes from the few archaeological excavations that have been undertaken and travelers accounts.

Concerning beads at King Shaka's court, A. T. Bryant in his history of the Zulu people, Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, asserted that red beads were King Shaka's favorite while black and white beads were favored by the royal women (291). The red beads that Bryant refered to would have been the opaque, brownish red beads that are
sometimes called Indian reds because of their Indian origins. In contrast, Joseph Shooter in *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (1857) (considerably closer to King Shaka's own life time, but still not an actual eye witness account) described the king as, "decorated with a profusion of green and yellow glass beads" (265). The only eye witness account of the colors of beads worn at King Shaka's court is found in *The Natal Papers of John Ross* edited by Stephen Gray and published in 1992. In this work, Ross, whose real name is Charles Rawden Maclean, described King Shaka as being dressed in green, yellow, and red beads (Maclean 126). He also noted that, beads of these colors were only permitted to be worn by royalty (Maclean 126). So it can either be concluded that one of these authors was mistaken, that the fashions at the court had changed between the times when the information for each account was noted, or that King Shaka had beadwork that contained various color combinations. Unfortunately, there is little evidence to either support or deny any of these conclusions.

As mentioned above, archaeological excavations at King Dingane's capital Mgungundlovu seem to indicate that white beads were the choice color, followed by blue and green. In addition, a quantity of red beads was found. This is generally within keeping to the observations made by Allen Gardiner when visiting King Dingane and recorded in *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa* of 1836. In the frontispiece of this book he pictured King Dingane dressed in red, white, and blue beadwork (see Figure 32.1). Later he stated that, "men's costumes included a fillet of red and white beads with red squares in the center, and white beads on the ankles, and a band of this or some other colour, as pink or blue, on the leg below the knees" (Gardiner 59). The red beads of King Dingane's court were probably of the Indian red variety, but archaeological work has also discovered the presence of red beads of the *umgazi* variety (beads with a transparent, red glass covering over an opaque white core). This is significant because *umgazi* beads were first manufactured in the 1830's in Europe (Wood
and they were beginning to appear at the Zulu capital before it was burnt down in 1838. This change not only suggests a shift in aesthetic preferences, but also suggests that, by this time, the Zulus were beginning to obtain more of their beads from European sources.

During King Mpande's reign the king's control over the flow of beads into the kingdom became more relaxed. This probably resulted in the beginning of differences in regional styles and color combination preferences within the kingdom. But once again, there is little information available about beadwork from this period outside of the king's court. In Catherine Barter's travel diary from 1855, published under the title *Alone Among the Zulus* in 1995, it was reported that, "large beads or eggs, as they (the Zulu) call them are much valued" (53). Moreover, she observed that various colors of beads would go in and out of fashion, but that red and white ones were always in demand (53). According to many observers at King Mpande's court, the king himself had a special preference for large white beads, called *amaqanda* (eggs). Indeed, Angas' depiction of King Mpande shows the king wearing a necklace of large white beads. In addition, in the archaeological discoveries at his capital, Ondini, there were found large amounts of pink beads followed by green and black. All of the red beads recovered were of the *umgazi* variety, suggesting that Europe had become the primary, if not sole, supplier of beads to the Zulus. This is all in keeping with Colenso's observations of King Mpande's taste in beads, "the choicest kind are the *umgazi* (blood), a small red bead; the next are the *izambo* (sic) (bone as if bleached), a small white bead; then the *amaqanda* (egg) a round blue bead, rather larger" (Colenso 30).

Information about the beadwork of King Cetshwayo's reign is largely overshadowed by information concerning the political and military tensions between the Zulu and the English, and the Anglo-Zulu War that occurred during the period. It is known that the wider availability of beads that began under King Mpande's time continued
and was probably expanded during King Cetshwayo's reign. Furthermore, after the defeat of the Zulu kingdom in 1879, the unity of the kingdom was strained. These two factors probably contributed heavily to an even further development of regional styles and color preferences, as noted by Ludlow in 1882 when he wrote that beadwork varied from region to region (Ludlow 78). So, it appears that at least by the time of King Cetshwayo's reign regional beadworking styles with their own color and color combination preferences had emerged. Unfortunately, there is really not enough evidence in museum collections or from other records currently available to indicate the exact nature of these regional color preferences.

Between the years of about 1900 to 1940, there was little written about Zulu beadwork. Moreover, little beadwork was collected. Still, some insights into the beadwork of the period can be obtained from some of the publications of this period. In particular, A. T. Bryant, writing about events observed early in the twentieth century, noted that there were changing fashions in the colors of beadwork (The Zulu People 158-159). Also, there was enough beadwork collected to know that during this period there were definite regional variations in the colors and color combinations used by artists. There is even enough information available to establish what some of these regional color preferences were and how they varied over time (the specifics of which are discussed in the text). Still, many gaps in our knowledge of all of the regional color preferences from this period remain.

Finally, the traditionalist Zulu beadwork from the period of about the 1940s to 1997 is fairly well represented in museum collections (although some regions are definitely better represented than others). Moreover, many more scholars began to take note of, study, and publish articles on this art form. A fairly clear picture of how color and color combination preferences varied from region to region can, thereby, be determined. It also shows that in some areas, such as the Nongoma region, the color preferences have
varied little since the 1950s, while in other areas the beadwork evidence reveals great experimentation and innovation with color and color combinations.

Thus, the colors and types of beads used by artists are very important part of Zulu beadwork. Notoriously choosy about bead colors and types, Zulu beadwork artists seem to have always been conscious of changing fashions and were willing to experiment with new color combinations and patterns. This experimentation and innovation with colors and color combinations probably began to intensify under the reign of Mpande, when the king relaxed his control over the bead trade and greater numbers of beads were allowed to circulate in the kingdom. This seems to have led the way for the development of immense variation in the types of colors and color combinations employed by artists, which vary from region to region and over time, in twentieth century Zulu beadwork. Certainly these changing fashions of color and color combinations along with a willingness to experiment with patterns are some of the central characteristics of traditionalist Zulu beadwork.

III. TRADITIONAL ZULU BEADWORKING METHODS

Bead can be strung together in an amazing variety of different ways. From the simplest strand of singly strung beads to complex woven works with elaborate edgings, beads can be used to make a vast array of different items. Zulu beadwork artists, in particular, have been very bold in exploring the potentials of beads as an artistic media. According to Bryant ( The Zulu People 156) until about the middle of the nineteenth century, the use of beads in the Zulu kingdom was reserved exclusively for the king, women of the court, and high ranking officials. As a result, early developments in beadworking methods probably originated with the women of the royal court. As suggested by Klopper ("The Art of Zulu-Speakers in Northern Natal - Zululand" 72 ), as female members of the court were married and relocated to new homesteads they took
their knowledge of beadworking with them. In this manner, knowledge of beadworking would have been spread through the kingdom. After the middle of the century, beads began to come into the kingdom in larger numbers and became available to all people. So, this new influx of beads more than likely led to a more lavish use of beads and the development of many new beadworking methods. Thus, the development of complex methods of beadworking probably first occurred at the royal court. Soon however, this knowledge spread and, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, began to be further elaborated upon by artists throughout the kingdom to form the vast diversity of beadworking methods associated with traditional Zulu beadworking today.

Before looking at these various beadworking techniques, the materials used to string the beads together must be given a brief examination. Traditional Zulu beadwork from the nineteenth and early twentieth century was strung together with sinew and/or vegetable fiber. Sinew, obtained from animals, was first allowed to dry. Then the beadwork artist would take a length of it and roll it along her thigh to create a sharp point through which the beads were threaded. This allowed the beadwork artist to string beads without the use of a needle or other threading device. Vegetable fibers were also prepared and used in a similar manner. Generally speaking, sinew or vegetable fiber were the preferred stringing materials for traditional Zulu beadwork dated to a period before 1945 (Carey 14). After about 1945, most Zulu beadwork artists changed to commercially obtained cotton or linen cording for bead threading. Contemporarily some women even use synthetic or plastic cording for their beadwork. Information about the types of threading used in a piece of beadwork can, therefore, provide some information about its age.

Traditional and contemporary Zulu beadwork artists have developed a wide range of beaded items, using a great variety of beadworking techniques. Traditional Zulu beadworking techniques can generally be divided into seven basic categories: 1) single
strands of beads, 2) multiple strands of beads, 3) beads that are placed over a solid filler, 4) beads that are woven together to form a "beadfabric", 5) beads sewn onto a fabric, leather or basketry base, 6) beads that are woven together and supported by a frame of rigid material, and 7) beads that are woven together to create hollow structures. These techniques can be used singly, or two or more can be combined within the same work of art.

1. Single Strand Method

Beads put onto a single strand of cording is the most simple, and probably the oldest, method of beadworking. In museum collections of traditional Zulu beadwork there are relatively few examples of this beadworking method. This likely reflects the fact that the works created with these techniques are less visually spectacular, and so, less likely to be included in collections.

Nevertheless, there are several types of traditional Zulu items that were done in this style that are noteworthy. This first example is necklaces made of wooden beads strung together on a single piece of threading. These necklaces, known as iziqu, consist of small wooden beads, which are sometimes notched so that they fit together neatly. They were only given to men who had performed acts of valor on the battle field and so were highly valued status symbols. The last of these necklaces was awarded in the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879 (Hooper, "Domestic Crafts: Carved Wooden Objects in the Home" 90).

The second noteworthy example of items produced by threading beads onto a single strand are necklaces made of leopard teeth or lion claws. In these works, leopard or lion claws were pierced and strung on a single strand, like other types of beads. According James Stuart's informant Lunguza, lions or leopards killed within the kingdom were presented to the king as tribute and only high ranking people were allowed to wear products of these animals (Webb and Wright, 1:323). As such, necklaces made from
animal claws would have been used to denote people of high rank. Beads made of brass, izindondo, were likewise sometimes strung on a single piece of cording. Although relatively rare, necklaces like these would have been worn by women at the royal court, also as symbols of their high rank. These special types of beads seem to have been treated by with a simple beadworking method in order to place emphasis on the quality of the beads themselves instead of the beadworking methods.

Some of the traditional beadwork worn by more common people was also done by this single strand method. Probably the most notable type of item created by this method is an ucu (pl. ocu) necklace. An ucu is the single strand of beads given by a young woman to the young man she has chosen to court. These beads are usually white, symbolizing the pure intentions of the young woman. Another example of this single strand method can be seen in the single strand of white beads placed around a baby's abdomen to signify the time when the parents can resume sexual relations (Levinsohn and Levinsohn 34). At times "love letters" (incwadi) of a single strand of multiple colored beads are made by this method\textsuperscript{10}. In these items the color of each bead refers to a specific Zulu proverb so that they function to send a message to the recipient. Limb ornaments made from single strands of beads that are wound around the arm or leg numerous times, izigqizo (Figure 31.1), were also created by Zulu artists. Finally, this single strand method can be combined with other beadworking methods. Probably the most common uses of this method with others occurs when the single strands are used for the waist band of children's fringed izigege (Figure 36.1) or as neckbands for necklaces with beaded tabs, known by various names (ulimi, iqabane, etc.) (see for instance Figures 3.1, 16.1, 26.1, 41.1, and 55.3) depending upon their specific usage and forms. Traditional Zulu beadwork artists, therefore, used the single strand method of beadworking in a variety of ornaments.
2. Multiple Strand Method

The second basic method of traditional Zulu beadworking involves combining multiple numbers of single strands of beads into elaborate pieces and fringed works. This beadworking method, like the single strand method, probably long predates the existence of the Zulu kingdom. Fringed beaded works appear in Allen Gardiner's illustrations of the beadwork at Dingane's court (Figure 32.1), which are the earliest illustrated observations of Zulu beadwork. In these illustrations a Zulu woman is depicted with a fringed face mask and the king himself is shown wearing shown wearing fringed beadwork on his headpiece, as part of his neckpiece, on his belt, and on his arm and leg bands. George Angas' depictions of Zulu people during the time of King Mpande also shows many fringe type works. The king is depicted wearing a necklace of the large white beads, which he favored, strung together so that they created a fringe around his neck. In other illustrations, "Utimunu, Nephew of Chaka" wears a beaded fringe face mask, "A Young Zulu in Gala Dress" has beaded fringes decorating his legs below the knees, and "Panda's Dancing Girls" shows two women wearing fringed necklaces. Since all of the items illustrated by these early observers use multiple strands of beads in relatively large and complex items, it is probably safe to assume that this beadworking method was also used at King Shaka's court, thereby tracing it back to the very beginning of the Zulu empire.

In museum collections there are many different types of traditional Zulu beadwork from the twentieth century that employ the multiple strand beadworking method. From the Msinga area, necklaces composed of multiple strands of beads that are gathered at regular intervals with metal studs, safety pins, or other elements were found dating back to the 1920s. These necklaces, called isijumba (pl. izijumba), (Figures 14.1 and 14.2) are still worn by people in this area today. In many different regions two or more strands of beads are often wound together to form simple necklaces or to act as neckbands for tab
style necklaces (for example Figures 3.7 and 3.11). The most frequently encountered items employing fringes of single strands of beads are *izigege* and other types of waist ornaments. Currently smaller children wear fringe style *izigege*. Yet in the past, this style of *isigege* was worn by older girls. This changing style was noted by Bryant when he stated that the fringe girdle was being replaced by a "stiff patch of beadwork" (*The Zulu People* 156). This late nineteenth/early twentieth century date for the change in *isigege* style also generally corresponds to items in museum collections and photo archives. So, fringed *isigege* made after about the turn of the twentieth century were probably intended to be works made for young children. In contrast, waist ornaments with fringed attachments can be found throughout the span of Zulu beadwork, but are certainly more popular in some regions than in others. Fringes are an important part of the dress of a bride. Attached to head or hatbands, a fringed veil hides the bride's eyes in accordance with *hlonipha* restrictions. Furthermore, the color of the multiple, long strands of beads formed into tassels on the backs of bridal capes in the Estcourt region (Figure 48.4) are used to indicate whether the bride was a virgin at the time of her marriage. Finally, fringes or tassels of beads are sometimes used to decorate necklaces (Figures 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, and 16.3). Thus, in traditional Zulu beadwork, the three basic ways in which the multiple strand beadworking method is used are: 1) as fringe, 2) as multiple strings woven or braided together in various manners, and 3) as beaded tassels.

### 3. Using Beads to Cover a Filler

The third basic method of traditional Zulu beadworking is using beads to cover a filler of some sort. This method takes two different forms. In the first form, strings of beads are wound around a filler of grass, cloth, or some other type of rigid form. According to Klopper ("The Art of the Traditionalists of Zululand-Natal" 32), the technique of winding beads around cloth or grass rolls dates to the middle of the
nineteenth century. Zulu artists refer to this method as the *gongqoloza* method. These tubular structures are sometimes used singularly to form headbands, belts, and necklaces. Multiples of these tubes can also be sewn together to form girdles, anklets, and armlets. In Angas' illustrations of Zulu people from 1849, the later such technique seems to be used in the waist pieces worn by the two women shown in "Panda's Dancing Girls". There are many examples of single rolls of fiber wrapped with beads to form necklaces, belts, and headbands, called *umgingqo* (pl. *imgingqo*) and *umbhijo* (pl. *imibhijo*), dating to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries found in museum collections (Figures 2.1-2.6). Similarly, many examples of works made from multiple numbers beaded rolls being joined together to form girdles, armlets, and anklets, dated to the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, were also found in museum collections (Figures 9.3, 9.4, 12.1, 12.2, and 12.3). In these early works the beads are frequently wrapped so that they form striped patterns or are joined together create a checkerboard effect. But as times passes, the designs on these ornaments got more complex, incorporating arrangements of triangle and rhomboid shaped motifs. Tracing the development of these designs in terms of time and location is difficult, if not impossible, because of the vagaries of many museum labels. Yet, such developments must have occurred fairly rapidly, since some examples of items that show these innovations on the basic design motifs show up in museum collections dated generally to the nineteenth century (see especially Figure 12.2). These techniques also seem to have enjoyed much popularity, since they also spread throughout the whole of the kingdom. Furthermore, the *gongqoloza* technique combined with other techniques, such as fringe work and beadfabric, also appears in items dated to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the twentieth century these techniques continued to be used and remain popular up to this day. Twentieth century innovations on these techniques include the creation of even more elaborate patterns based on regional styles (for instance see
Figures 15.1, 28.1, and 41.1) and the addition of a rigid decorative edging on some of the necklaces in certain areas.

Besides using this technique with soft cloth or grass fillers, beads are also wound around rigid objects. Probably the oldest reference to beads wound around solid objects can be found in The Diary of the Reverend Francis Owen, M.A., Missionary with Dingaan in 1837-1838 edited by George E. Cory and published in 1926. In this text Owen notes that King Dingane's palace, "is supported with 21 pillars or posts which are covered from top to bottom with beads of various colors" (Owen 60-61). Nevertheless, probably the most popular items made by this method are decorative snuffboxes (Figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3). References to beaded snuff boxes by Henry Francis Fynn, who visited the court of King Shaka, can be found in The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn (107). Snuff was very popular with traditional Zulu people and they often carried personal snuff containers with them. These personal items were often given some sort of decorative treatment, reflecting the special value of the substance they held. One way in which these boxes were sometimes made was to take a hollow rigid object, such as a piece of bamboo, and wrap it with a string of beads to form a design. These bead wrapped boxes could then be worn attached to necklaces or belts, or as hair or ear ornaments. This technique is also sometimes used to cover other items such as sticks or canes used for dancing. Like items made from wrapping beads around a soft filler, items made by wrapping beads around a more rigid filler can be found in museum collections dated to the nineteenth century. Thus, all variations of the technique that involves wrapping beads around a filler were probably developed around the same time and have since become quite popular.

The second variation on the beadworking method of covering a filler with beads involves creating a beadwork mesh or fabric to fit securely around a solid object. This technique is frequently used for covering small calabashes, tins, animal horns, and other special containers, which hold items such as snuff, medicines, and sweets. In addition, this
technique is sometimes used to cover knee ornaments, dancing sticks, or canes. The purpose of such covers seems to be to increase the prestige value of the object itself and/or allude to the value of what is contained within the item. Once again, objects on which this technique has been employed can be found in museums dating to the nineteenth century. When and where the technique was developed is unknown. Nevertheless this technique, like other beadworking techniques use for covering a solid filler, is still being used today. Thus, all of the variations of the traditional Zulu beadworking method of covering a solid filler with strings or webbings of beads probably date to a relatively early period in the history of the Zulu kingdom, seem to have developed quickly in terms of designs created and the complexity of the objects covered, spread throughout the Zulu kingdom, and are still being used today.

4. Beadfabric Methods

The fourth basic method of traditional Zulu beadworking is weaving beads together to form a "beadfabric". For this method, beads are strung together so that they form a solid sheet of beads. The two primary methods of making a beadfabric are illustrated in Figure 68.1

The technique on the bottom is referred to in the text as the alternating beadfabric method, while the technique illustrated on the top is called the stacking beadfabric method. At times, both of these techniques or variations on them are combined in one work. The techniques for making beadfabric seem to have developed sometime in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The beadfabric technique is used on items worn by several of the Zulu people shown in photos in the Killie Campbell Collection archives dated to 1879. So, the development of these techniques probably occurred somewhere between 1850-1870. As with the techniques of covering a filler with beads, the beadfabric methods of beadworking seem to have become popular and spread fairly rapidly. By the
turn of the century these techniques were being used for a variety of head ornaments, necklaces (Figures 3.1-3.14), chest ornaments (amabulezi) (Figure 11.3), and panel style skirts (izigege) (Figures 10.1 and 10.2) and (imitsha) (Figures 10.3, 10.4, 10.6, 12.1, 12.2, and 12.3). Examples of beadwork from the nineteenth century in museum collections, which employ the use of the beadfabric techniques, also show the use of a range of color combinations and the development of many different designs within the fabric. This suggests the development of regional styles and/or variations over time. The existence of these variations implies that these techniques had spread to a variety of regions and, through their use in many different types of items with many different designs, had become very popular. As mentioned previously, in the 1949 The Zulu People: As They Were Before the White Man, Bryant states that the fringed style of izigege was being replaced by izigege with beadfabric panels. And, in the 1907 book Das Trappisten Missionkloster Mariannhill order Bilder aus dem Afrikanischen there are several pictures of items made using this method and people wearing such items. Thus, by the turn of the twentieth century this technique was firmly established in traditional Zulu beadworking.

In the twentieth century the development of beadfabric techniques continued. During this century the use of beadfabric was expanded to items such as wristbands, anklets (izingusha and amadavathi) (as in Figures 44.10 and 44.12), hatbands (imibhamba and iminqwazi) (for instances Figures 57.2 and 65.3), cape edges (for instance Figures 48.3, 48.4, and 64.5), and, in some areas, very wide hip/waistbands (for example Figures 49.18 and 49.19) - sometimes measuring twelve or more inches in depth. An extremely wide range of patterns was also developed within these fabrics. These patterns reflect the region in which the fabric was produced and the time during which the item was made. These patterns range from elaborate geometric designs to more recent innovations that incorporate letters, words, cars, and houses. Finally, there have been innovations in the beadworking techniques themselves. In some items, the alternating
and/or stacking methods have been loosened up so as to form an openwork mesh (see Figure 23.2). Another innovation on the alternating method involves stringing more than one bead on the two strings before splitting them off, creating a still more open type of mesh. This variation can be seen clearly in the chest ornament in Figure 33.2. A third variation involves using the stacking method, but crossing over beaded strands to make ridges in the fabric (see Figure 21.4). Last, sometimes bead fabrics are even sewn onto cloth fabrics allowing for the contrasting color of the fabric to be seen through the beadwork. In these ways, the method of making beadfabric has remained popular and been the subject of much innovation in the twentieth century.

5. Sewing Beads onto a Fiber or Hide Backing

The fifth basic technique of traditional Zulu beadworking is sewing beads onto a fabric, hide, or basket-work structure. Like the single strand technique, this technique can be traced back to the beginnings of the Zulu kingdom. Charles Rawden Maclean (otherwise known as John Ross) noted that the royal women at King Shaka’s court wore a long skin over the upper part of their bodies that was decorated with shiny, small brass balls (Maclean 128). Of King Dingane’s court, Nathaniel Isaacs wrote that part of the dress of married women was a skin tied under the arms that had been shaved in places to remove the hair and then ornamented with glass and brass beads (314). In other words, what these men were describing were skins upon which brass and/or glass beads were sewn. Although no examples of this early use of this beadwork technique survive, from what is known about other early beadwork, these beads were probably sewn onto these skins using sinew.

The next time that this technique appears in the records is in a photo of two Zulu women dating from the period of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879 in the Killie Campbell archives. This photo shows two women dressed in cloth skirts that have been decorated
with beads. So, it appears likely that as cloth made its way into Zulu dress it was also ornamented with beadwork. In the twentieth century beads continued to be sewn onto skins worn by women during pregnancy (ingcayi, pl. izingcayi) (Figure 22.2). In addition, sometimes the leather buttock coverings (ibheshu, pl. amabheshu) (Figure 36.9) worn by men from the Maphumulo/Mvoti region on special occasions, during the period of 1940-1960, were ornamented with beadwork. Beads sewn onto cloth also remained popular. The use of beads sewn onto cloth was employed to make aprons and capes worn by married women on special occasions (for instance see Figures 23.5, 23.6, 36.11, 46.2 and 51.2). In making these objects women will sometimes sew beadfabric onto the cloth and/or sew beads individually onto the fabric (Figure 62.2). Probably the most elaborate use of this technique can be seen on the capes worn by married women from the Estcourt region, for example as seen in (Figure 48.4).

A second variation on this method involves attaching strings or a webbing of beads to one side of a grass belt. After the birth of her first child a woman will put on a thick belt made of woven grass, called ixhama, isibamba, and isifociya (for instance Figures 35.5 and 35.6), depending on the region from which the belts came. These belts are supposed to be used to help to cinch the waist of the new mother. Also, according to Klopper, natural fibers are often linked to ideas of fertility ("The Art of Zulu-Speakers in Northern Natal - Zululand" 159). As such, these belts may also be connected with the protection of a woman's reproductive capabilities. Strings or webbings of beads are generally attached to the belt at the edges of the woven grass. These beadwork coverings are sometimes used to completely cover the grass belts, other times they will only be used to cover sections of the belt. Occasionally the beadwork webbing will be combined with other elements, especially brass studs. It is difficult to say exactly how long ago these belts began to be covered with beads, but in Angas' illustration of "Young Zulus in Dancing Costumes" one of the young men appears to be wearing a grass belt with pink
and white beads attached to it. The fact that a young man is wearing the belt probably indicates that during this period this was the fashion. Though this is not a woman's grass belt, it still shows the same beadworking technique. Furthermore, four of these grass belts covered with beads were donated to the Local History Museum in Durban, South Africa in 1910. So this technique, like the bead wrapped filler technique, probably can also be traced to at least as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. It is, moreover, a technique that survives today, although in some regions unmarried women now also wear the belts on which it is used (Wood 156).

Another variation on this technique of sewing beads onto a fiber backing is beads sewn onto strips of fiber. Based on works observed by the writer in museum collections, this variation dates back at least as early as the late nineteenth century. This technique is used in two forms. In the first form, strings of beads, running vertically, are sewn into a series of fiber strips that run horizontally. This creates the appearance of a solid field of beads, almost like a beadfabric. This technique was and continues to be used to make leg decorations (izingusha) and wristlets (amadavathi) (Figures 21.2 and 21.3). In the other form of this technique, beads are tightly sewn onto strips of fiber into narrow bands, four rows of beads in width. Then a variable number of these strips are connected at intervals, creating bands of beadwork with a slight visual gap. This method of beadworking is used to make choker type necklaces, called ongoi and amapasi, (for instance Figures 17.1 and 56.1) and leg ornaments (Figure 7.3).

Finally at some time, probably in the early to middle twentieth century judging by examples in museums, beads began to be used to decorate items of basketry beyond grass belts. The most commonly decorated objects seem to be beer pot covers (imbenge, pl. izimbenge) and spoon bags (impontshi, pl. izimpontshi). Izimbenge are sometimes decorated with loose arrangements of beads sewn individually or in bunches onto the works, with strings of beads attached to the surface of the items, or with beads that are
used to completely cover objects in beadwork. Similarly, izimpontshi are not always adorned with beads, but are sometimes found decorated with strings of beads.

Thus, the technique of sewing beads onto a surface appears to have been used right from the very beginnings of the Zulu kingdom. The technique was probably first used to sew beads onto hide, then began appearing in connection with basketry and cloth works. Still the time frame in which the latter two variations of this method appear is still somewhat unknown.

6. Stretching Beadwork Across a Rigid Frame

The sixth basic technique of traditional Zulu beadwork involves weaving beads into a mesh and then stretching the mesh across a rigid frame. This technique is employed to make items such as hat ornaments, pins, pendants, beaded shields, and other such ornaments. The oldest examples of this specific technique from the museum collections observed are a set head ornaments dated to about 1940\textsuperscript{14} (Figures 38.5-38.7). In addition, H. S. Schoeman in his two articles from 1968, "Preliminary Report on Traditional Beadwork in the Mkhwanazi Area of the Mtnuzini District, Zululand - Parts One and Two", describes this technique being used to create hat ornaments and pendants. Therefore, it is probably safe to date this technique to the middle of the twentieth century. In this technique a beadfabric is stretched across and affixed to a rigid, wire frame. This allows the artist to create stiff forms that can be pinned to hats or skirts, used as pendants, or be combined to form larger works.

Schoeman describes this technique being used in the Mkhwanazi Area for square pendants and clover shaped hat ornaments. In southern KwaZulu/Natal this technique was used to make circular earrings, pins worn on skirts, beaded shields carried by engaged women at dances, and diamond shaped ornaments worn at the side of the head. But it is in the Umbumbulu area that this technique seems to have reached its most elaborate
manifestations. Around the Umbumbulu region of Southern Natal, this technique was used to make hat ornaments and head coverings (for instance Figure 52.6), large pins (as in Figure 52.1), and pendants (Figures 42.6, 42.7, 42.8 and 42.9). Also artists from this area sometimes sewed together several sections of beadwork in order to create even larger ornaments which were pinned to clothing (see for example Figure 52.3) and to make large capes that were worn by brides at their wedding (see Figures 48.1 and 48.2). These capes can be as large as about two feet wide and three feet long. Indeed, it is with these large capes that this technique reaches its most complex form. So, in spite of the fact that this beadworking technique has not been around as long as some of the older techniques, it appears across a fairly large region, it is used in a variety of ornaments, and it has been elaborated upon, especially in the region of Southern Natal.

7. Weaving Beads into Hollow Tubular Structures

The seventh and final basic technique of traditional Zulu beadworking is the weaving of beads in such a manner as to create hollow, tube-like structures. Like the technique of stretching a beadfabric across a rigid frame, this technique appears to have been developed in the twentieth century. Still, this dating is only speculative, based on a limited number of examples observed in museum collections. This technique encompasses a wide variety of variations and is used primarily in the construction of necklaces. In one variation seen in the Msinga district, a square tubing of beadwork is formed by connecting four horizontal rows of beads by a series of vertical rows (Figure 24.1). In another variation, also from Msinga, beads are tightly woven into a semi-rigid, hollow webbing (Figure 57.1). A variation of this technique seen in the Maphumulo region involves constructing a webbing of beads in such a fashion that it forms a hollow, tube structure. And, in still yet another very complex variation from the Mpukunyoni area, a series of rigid, triangular structures are joined together to form groups of hollow forms.
that are placed at even intervals along a necklace (Figure 40.2). From these four examples it can be seen that this type of beadworking method has many variations. Indeed, there are many more examples than these four, but they are all variations based upon the idea of creating a hollow form. So although this technique is relatively young, it has also been the subject of much elaboration.

As seen from the discussion above, Zulu artists employed a wide range of beadworking techniques. These techniques ranged from simply stringing beads onto a single strand to highly complicated methods that involved the creation of beadfabric and other complex structures. Further, two or more of these techniques were often combined in a single work of art. Over the years artists displayed a great willingness to experiment with new techniques, patterns, and materials. These technical and creative innovations that have helped to make traditional Zulu beadworking an extremely rich artistic tradition.

IV. SUMMARY: BEAD TYPES AND BEADWORKING METHODS

Working with beads is one of the oldest art forms known to humankind. Across the globe and throughout time beads have had a role in human art production. With such a broad distribution and diversity of bead art, researchers need to be aware of all of the factors affecting such objects. The beads themselves need to be examined for their age, material, method of manufacture, size, shape, decorations, luster, clarity, and color. Furthermore, the other materials used in conjunction with the beads and how the beads are used within a work should be noted. Such attention to details can reward researchers with information concerning the aesthetics of the people who produced the work, as well as clues about their interactions with peoples from outside their group and levels of technology present within the community.
Traditional Zulu beadwork has a long and rich tradition. Its legacy certainly does provide information about the Zulu kingdom's trading and diplomatic relations, and the type of industries present within the kingdom. In addition, regional preferences for colors, patterns, and beadworking methods also provide some important clues about the movements and relationships of people within the kingdom. Yet, what is probably most exciting in looking over the body of traditional Zulu beadworking, is the great skill and creativity the artists employed in developing new art forms, beadworking methods, patterns, and color combinations. These artists developed seven, basic, beadworking methods and used them in innumerable combinations. They showed great flexibility and a willingness to experiment with new colors and color combinations. And they have developed new art forms to address their ever changing needs and circumstances. In short, Zulu beadworking proved itself to be an active art form, whose artists have shown, over the years, much innovation and adaptation. These are some of the qualities that have helped to allow this art form to remain vital, both in its traditional contexts as well as in its new found commercial ones, up to the present day.
Notes

1. Zulu artists are noted for being particular about the types of beads with which they will work. See page 54 for further information.

2. The Zulu monarchs did show an interest in establishing a bead manufacturing center. When meeting with American missionary George Champion, King Dingane reportedly asked whether it would be possible to get a beadmaker to come and live at the royal court (Klopper, "The Art of Zulu-Speakers in Northern Natal - Zululand" 70). Reverend Allen F. Gardiner, in his book Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa, also mentions that King Dingane asked in referring to beads, "Where do they come from?", "What are they made of?", "How are they made?", and "Cannot we learn to make them?" (164).

3. There are several other techniques for making beads, such as crushing up old glass, melting it, and recasting it into new forms. Nevertheless, the techniques described in the text are the primary ones used in manufacturing plants and are the ones from which the beads used in southern Africa were made.

4. Barter noted that large beads, called eggs, were highly valued (53). Colenso also observed that King Mpande had a preference for amaqanda beads (30).

5. At the time the writer was in South Africa (1997), women were returning to the use of glass beads at the request of their husbands. This was done because glass beads were perceived by the men as being more "traditional" than the plastic ones (personal communication, Yvonne Winters, curator of the Killie Campbell Collection, May 1997).

6. See Chapter 2, pages 72-73, for an explanation of the development of regional variations in beadwork.

7. The correct spelling is ithambo (pl. amathambo).

8. See Chapter 1, page 7, for a description of this period of history.

9. See Chapters 1, note 3, for more information about the young women of the court.

10. This is the form of the incwadi described in Appendix B.

11. See Chapter 1, note 16 for a discussion of hlonipha customs.

12. The writer's designations.

13. See Chapter 3, pages 160-161, for information about the connection between natural fibers and reproduction.

14. While the records of the museum indicate that these works were created in the Maphumulo/Mvoti area, the lack of a second shade of blue in the color
combinations used on these works would seem to place these ornaments in the Eshowe region.
APPENDIX B

ZULU NAMES FOR THE COLORS OF BEADS AND THEIR ASSOCIATED PROVERBS AS EXCERPTED FROM A TRANSLATION OF A LOVE LETTER IN THE KILLIE CAMPBELL COLLECTION BY PRINCESS MAGOGO CONSTANCE (KA DINUZULU) BUTHELEZI DATED TO 1963

Incombo (light yellow) (green mealies (amabele))- Ngikugcobele angikucobele ngamafutha ngikugcobele ngenhliziyo ngaphakathi. I have annointed myself for your sake not on the exterior part of my body but inside in my heart. Ukungcobela means ukuphikelela to persist. In other words I shall go on loving you.

Obumhlophe (white) - 1. Inhliziyo yami ibamhlophe nxa ngikubona ibenjengobisi lwezinkomo zibuyi nhlazane, ibenjengobisi lwembuzi. Whenever I see you my heart goes white as milk of cattle when they are milked in the morning. Or, My heart goes white as the goats' milk. I love you very much. 2. Uhlekani? What are you laughing at? In other words does recalling that amuse you? 3. Uhlekani? Must you really laugh about it? 4. Angihleki. There is no laughing or joking about it. In other words, I mean it. 5. Akukhanyi. There is no light. Things look gloomy. 5. Bayasihleka bonke ababesinzonda. Owing to the present impasse in our love affair all those who hated us (or were jealous of our love affair) have now the last laugh. 6. HHM! Angihleki. I am not laughing about this, I am quite serious.

Umlilwane (ruby) (little fire) - 1. Nxa ngikubona inhliziyo yami igqagqamuka amalangabi njengomlilo. Whenever I see you my heart lights up into little flames. Whenever I see you my heart goes on fire through love. 2. Noma umpofu ngiyakuthanda. The red color signifies love and conveys the message I love you very much despite your poverty. 3. Inhliziyo yami ivutha amalangabi. My heart leaps through flames of love.

Inkankane (dark lapis) (a type of ibis) - Liyajabula inkankane lona likhala lithi 'Ngahamba Ngahamba' Asihambe. I envy the Ibis which cries 'ngahamba, ngahamba' (go, go) because it does so while proceeding towards its destination. Let us go.

Ithunzi (green glass) (shade) - 1. Ake sihlale phansi kwalomuthi ethunzini. Let us sit in the shadow of this tree. I remember the day we say under that tree. 2. Noma kunjalo naphambili ngoifeke ngihlale nensizwa phansi kwesihlahla, ethunzini. I hope to fly away to some place where I shall get another young man to sit with me under the shade.

Umhluzi (dark amber) (beef soup) - 1. Ungawuphuzi umhluzi uma ufika kithi ngoba inyama yakithi awuyidl. Remember not to drink our beef soup because you do not eat our meat in accordance with custom. 2. Sengiyophuza umhluzi wezikomo zabanye abantu. Since your poverty is an acknowledged fact, I suppose I shall have to be satisfied with the beef soup, I shall beg for from those who own cattle. (The young lover is here
taunted about his poverty perhaps to inspire him). In other words, I am preparing myself to accept the fact that I shall never eat meat even if we marry since you own no beast that you can slaughter.

**Umgazi** (brownish red over opaque white) (blood red) - 1. Usuthukuthele yini? Are you angry with me? 2. Inhliziyo yami ibomvu. I am so hurt that my heart is blood red. 3. Inhliziyo yami ikhiqiza amahlule njengezinko mo zikangashi. My heart is full of blood clots since it is so sore about all this. My heart emits blood clots, such as the cattle that die of black-quarter evil emit before they die. In other words, I am sore hearted as a result of the heart breaking words you uttered. 4. Inhliziyo yami ibomvu, ngithukuthele kabi. My heart is blood red, as I am very angry.

**Obuluulhaza** (green) - Sengonda ngaze ngaluhlaza cwe nqafana nohlaza lwesiwa - I have pined away for you so much so that I have turned as green (through love) as the first green shoots of trees or grass that one often sees growing in the inaccessible precipices.

**Ijuba** (lavendar) (dove) - 1. Liyajabula ijuba lone licosha izinhlamvu emnyango kwenu. I envy the dove that picks up corn grains near the door of your mother's hut. In other words, I wish I was already married to you. 2. Hamba Juba lami bayokucutha phambili. Go away my dove they will fix you up where you are flying to. Please yourself by forsaking me, you will nevertheless meet your nemesis for doing so.

**Umgcawu** (pink) (poverty) - 1. Phoke umpofu awunalutho lokungilobola. I however realize that wishes are no horses and that they cannot happen since you are so poor and cannot afford the *lobolo* cattle. 2. Ngikusho lokho ngoba umpofu awunalutho. I am making the above suggestion as I also realize how very poor you are. 3. Angazi ukuthi ngiphikelele - nje sokwembathani. I do not know why I must persist in my determination to marry you despite your abject poverty. Where shall we get money for purchasing even a blanket to cover our bodies while we sleep, since you are so poor? (meant to prod a young lover into saving money to buy cattle) 4. Kunjalo nje lezindaba zethu uzikhulumela esthwaleni. And what is so galling about the whole thing is the fact that you discuss these private love affairs of ours at beer drinks.

**Inyongo yenknkhu** (bottle green) (fowl's gallbladder) - 1. Usuyosala usungithela ngayo - nje inyongo yenkukhu. Since you are so desititute and have neither big nor small stock which are needed for *qholisa* rites, if we marry at all I suppose even the fowl's gall will suffice to sprinkle over me according to custom to satisfy the customary requirements. In other words I am determined to marry you even if you are so poor. 2. Bayokucutha phambili njegenku khul. Whatever you do and wherever you go they will pick you up, in the same way a fowl's feathers are plucked off before it is ready for cooking.

**Umdubu** (dark pink) - Inhliziyo yami idubekile. My heart is tired. In other words, I feel very down hearted as a result of the above facts.

**Obumnyama** (black) - 1. Sengakukhmambula ngaze ngamnyama njegotshungo lomshayo. I have turned as pitch black as die black hut rafters (turned by smoke) because of the way I am missing you. 2. Kumnyama kimi buqe indlela eza &iwe angisayiboni. It seems quite dark to me. I cannot see my way through these difficulties.

**Obumhlophe obunemisho emnyama** (white with black strokes) - 1. Angazi ukuba ngiyogcobani sengiyoba yimisho-yisho-nje. I can foresee that if I marry you my body will always show some whitish marks or lines through the lack of sufficient fat to annoint
my whole body, as a result of your poverty. In other words, even if our marriage materializes, I cannot imagine where I shall get the fat to smear over my body like other women since you have no cattle of your own from which I should get my fat for make-up if I am your wife. 2. Sengihlekwa nayizinyoni ngisho nonhlekwana imbala. I have become a joke even to the birds. In other words I have become a butt to all sorts of ridicule, since everyone knows now that you no longer care for me. (A reference to the Fiskal Shrike (Lanius Collaris), a bird with similar coloration to these beads.)

**Impangele obumnyama obunamabala amhlophe** (black with white strokes) (guinea fowl) - 1. lyajabula impangele yona ikhala igijima ngoba ngikugcobele. I am inspired by the guinea fowl which moves towards its destination as it cries because I am determined to marry you despite all these complaints I have about your poverty. 2. Ngizosuke ngihamba njengempangele. Ngizosuka ngindize. If you persist in this kind of behavior, I shall fly away like a guinea fowl. In other words, if you do not mend your ways we shall soon part.

**Iputukezi** (bright orange) (Portuguese) - Okungcono singasuka simbuke sihambe siyo kwatha ePutukezi. I think the best solution to our problem is for us to abscond to Portuguese East Africa. In other words, since my parents cannot give me away for nothing (without getting what is due to them as lobola) even if you are so poor, I am beginning to wonder if our solution is not to run away to some distant place out of their reach.

**Obumhlophe obunemibala eyiputukezi neyinkankane** (white with bright orange and blue strokes) - Ngicabanga ngingaqedi enhliziyweni yami. I am thinking endlessly about our love affair. In other words, I am beginning to think about our affair with a great deal of trepidation and doubts as to whether it shall eventually materialize into something as I have hoped all these years.

**Inhlaka** (unknown color) - Inhliziyo yami ibuhlungu kangaka nje ngendaba yo kuthi izindaba zethu sobabili uthathe uzense isanhlaka. I am so sore at heart because of the manner in which you spread our private affairs to the general public as if they are for public consumption.

**Obubomvu** (coral) - 1. Ngithukuthele kabi nabakithi bathukuthele. I am so furious about it all and so are my next of kin. 2. Inhliziyo yami ibomvu ngoba sengihlekwa na zintaba. My heart is fire-red and sore, since even mountains seem to be laughing at my plight. 3. Ngizwa ukuthi uthi igazi lami lingq gcwala phansi. I am equally surprised to hear that you are making threats to the effect that my blood will flow as a result of my rejecting you. This amazes me since you are responsible for the end of this love affair.

**Ifefe** (turquoise) (from fefeza, meaning to lisp or repeat secrets unnecessarily and indiscriminately) - Lokhu uhamba ufefeza ngami zonki zindaba. There you go telling everyone about all of our affairs. The message is in the form of a rebuke to the young boyfriend for being garrulous to the extent of spreading private affairs or failing to keep them.

**Intuthu** (green) - Yaze yangxhopha intuthu bengithi ngisa zoke ngibeke lensizwa engikhulumisayo. I curse the smoke that keeps on getting into my eyes, because if it wasn't for it I should be admiring this young man who is proposing love to me.
Intotoviyane (striped) (grasshopper) - 1. Sengizwile ukuthi uhamba uthi ngiyanuka njegentotoviyane. I have already heard that you go about saying that I stink as much as a grasshopper. 2. Ngingabezela bani mina ngoba sengi nukisa okwentotoviyane. Who can I expect to visit me since I have now heard that I stink to you like a grasshopper.

Unkombose (gray) (long tailed dove) - Musukungicasula nkombose ulokhu uthi bayeza bayeza. Uthi angobekani - ke mina. When this bird cries it is supposed to say they are coming they are coming, do expect them. When this bird passes a homestead crying it is supposed to be an omen predicting some visitors. In other words, the young lover reprimands this bird for seeming to predict a visitor for her since she does not expect any visitor when things are so bad between herself and her boyfriend.

Impangele obunm yam a obnnamabala amhlophe (black with white spots) - Angazi ukuthi ngisahlalele bani ngoba ngangisuka ngindize njenge mpangele. My waiting for so long seems in vain at this stage. I think the best thing for me to do at this juncture is to take my cue from the guinea fowl and fly away.

Insabula (light yellow with clear stripes) (sword) - 3. Usuhamba ungiphathele izinsabula. You now so about carrying a sword and you are threatening to harm me with this sword although you are responsible for the end of this love affair. It seems strange that you should be the first to regret it.
Notes

1. Two days after the wedding, the new bride begins the next series of initiation rites into her new home. The first of these ceremonies is the slaughtering of the *umqholisa* ('to honor') beast. This beast is ideally supposed to be killed with one stab of a spear (otherwise fines can be levied and taken by the bride). After the cow is cut open, the gall bladder is removed and taken to the bride's hut where the gall is poured over the bride. This act invites her husband's ancestors to accept and bless her as a new member of the kraal. This cow is then eaten by both families. After this feast all the members of the bride's family return home, except the bride's attendants who can remain with the bride.
APPENDIX C

FIGURES
NOTE TO USERS

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Figures 1.1-68.1, on pages 524-628

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