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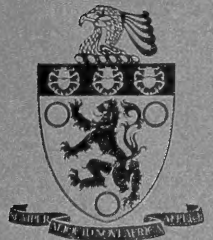
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ANNALS

OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN
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CAPE TOWN



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- FISCHER, P.-H., DUVAL, M. & RAFFY, A. 1933. Études sur les échanges respiratoires des littorines.—*Archs Zool. exp. gén.* 74: 627–634.
- KOHN, A. J. 1960*a*. Ecological notes on *Conus* (Mollusca: Gastropoda) in the Trincomalee region of Ceylon.—*Ann. Mag. nat. Hist.* (13) 2: 309–320.
- KOHN, A. J. 1960*b*. Spawning behaviour, egg masses and larval development in *Conus* from the Indian Ocean.—*Bull. Bingham oceanogr. Coll.* 17 (4): 1–51.
- THEILE, J. 1910. Mollusca: B. Polyplacophora, Gastropoda marina, Bivalvia. In: SCHULTZE, L. *Zoologische und anthropologische Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise im westlichen und zentralen Süd-Afrika* 4: 269–270. Jena: Fischer.—*Denkschr. med.-naturw. Ges. Jena* 16: 269–270.

(continued inside back cover)

ANNALS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN MUSEUM
ANNALE VAN DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE MUSEUM

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SOME NGUNI CRAFTS
PART 2
THE USES OF HORN, BONE AND IVORY

By

PATRICIA DAVISON

Cape Town

Kaapstad

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SOME NGUNI CRAFTS
PART 2
THE USES OF HORN, BONE AND IVORY

By

PATRICIA DAVISON

South African Museum, Cape Town

(With 57 figures and 1 table)

[MS accepted 27 August 1975]

ABSTRACT

The traditional uses of horn, bone and ivory have been recorded using data from the ethnographic and historical literature, museum collections and recent fieldwork. There was some degree of specialization in the carving of these materials but it was not a major craft and none of the objects made was essential to the economy of the Nguni.

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HORN

INTRODUCTION

Availability of horn

In the seventeenth century game was plentiful throughout southern Africa. Hunting, in which the spear was the main weapon, was a favourite pursuit of all the Nguni tribes and even when pitfalls were used, game was not killed on a scale large enough to endanger the game-population. Hunting provided the Nguni pastoralists and cultivators with an additional source of food and also with the raw material for horn- and skin-working. The horn-carver used the horns of antelope and rhinoceros as well as those of cattle, goats and sheep. In general there was a relationship between the distribution of game and the types of horn available. For example, the use of sable antelope horn by the Zulu and the Swazi but not by the Xhosa is directly related to the distribution of the sable, which was not found in the Transkei. The absence of a Xhosa term for the sable antelope confirms that it was not well known to them. Kudu, however, which was found throughout southern Africa, was used by all the Nguni people and vernacular terms for the kudu exist in the Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi and Ndebele languages. The fact that the white rhinoceros was found only north of the Orange River indicates that the long horn of the white rhinoceros would not have been available to the southern Nguni except through trade. In the northern Nguni area, however, particularly in Matabeleland where the white rhinoceros was common until the late nineteenth century, the long horn is recorded as being used frequently for clubs and axe-hafts. The shorter horn of the black rhinoceros, which had a much wider distribution, would have been available to all the Nguni people. (Sclater 1900: 223, 242, 244, 301, 306.)

In the nineteenth century the use of firearms in hunting and the demand for horns and hides as trade commodities caused a vast reduction in the game-population. According to Holman (1834: 274) on one day at the Fort Willshire fair an average of 800 hides and between 1 000 and 2 000 horns were brought to be traded. The decrease in the game-population together with the trade value of the horns must have reduced the availability of antelope-horn to craftsmen. By the end of the century laws for the protection of game had become essential.

Cattle and sheep horns have always been available and are still used today by practising horn-carvers.

General uses

There are two broad categories of horn objects:

1. Objects which are carved from solid horn, for example snuff-spoons or clubs.
2. Objects which use the natural form of the horn (i.e. the horn-sheath) as a vessel or a resonator, as in the case of a water-pipe or trumpet respectively, and which have relatively little carving.

Craftsmen

Horn was carved by men, some of whom became specialists.

USE OF HORN BY THE CAPE NGUNI

CLUBS

Xhosa

The Xhosa used a rhinoceros-horn throwing-club both in battle and in hunting (King 1853: 171; Fritsch 1872: 66).

No specimens were seen in museums or in the field.

Rhinoceros-horn clubs were not recorded among the other Cape Nguni groups.

MEDICAL EQUIPMENT

1. *Cupping-horns*

Terms: *isilumeko*—a cupping instrument (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.); *uphondo lokulumeka*—a cupping-horn (Kropf 1915).

General

A number of authors mention the practice of cupping among the 'Kaffirs' for the treatment of disease (Fleming 1856: 228; MacDonald 1890: 274, Hewatt 1906: 48).

A small horn-sheath or cut-off end of a larger horn-sheath could be made into a cupping-horn by perforating a hole in the solid tip or cutting off the tip so that the horn was open at both ends. The horns of cattle were generally used for this purpose.

Xhosa

Cupping among the Xhosa was described as follows: 'For severe headaches they universally practise cupping on the temples, which they perform by making slight incisions, and then placing upon the part the end of a bullock's horn, perforated for the purpose, and sucking till a sufficient quantity of blood be withdrawn' (Thompson 1827: 357).

Other descriptions from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries do not differ in principle (Lichtenstein 1811: 408; Morgan 1833: 35; Alexander 1837: 401; Soga 1932: 178). Alberti (1811: 82) adds that it was important that no air get in under the horn to break the vacuum. At Idutywa (1955) cupping was said still to be practised among the Xhosa in the area.

Mpondo

The Mpondo used cupping-horns in a similar way for the treatment of headaches (Hunter 1936: 304).

Bhaca

On the tip of a cupping-horn photographed at Mt. Frere in 1948, wax had been applied and was used to seal the opening while the blood was being drawn into the horn (Fig. 1).

Xesibe

Xesibe descriptions (Mt. Ayliff, 1955) did not differ from those of the Xhosa. Dampening the skin was said to ensure a good vacuum because the horn would adhere better to the skin.

Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondomise, Mfengu, Hlubi

No information on cupping was recorded.

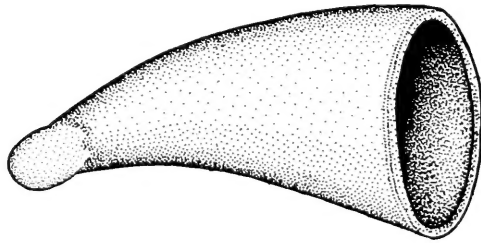


Fig. 1. Bhaca cupping-horn with wax on tip, Mt. Frere, 1948.

2. *Enema*

Term: *uphondo lokucima*—enema-horn (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.).

General

An ox-horn sheath perforated at the tip was used for the injection of an enema (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.).

Mpondo

At Mbotyi (1948) an ox-horn, open at the point, was said to be used as an enema.

Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondomise, Mfengu, Hlubi, Bhaca, Xesibe

No information on enema-horns was recorded.

3. *Medicine flasks*

Terms: *uphondo*—a horn (Kropf 1915); *uphondo lweyeza*—medicine-horn (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.).

General

Diviners used large horns as medicine flasks and made amulets by filling smaller horns with protective medicine (Hoernlé 1937: 233).

Xhosa

The Xhosa diviner kept his herbs and medicines in horns which were often strung together with other paraphernalia and worn around the neck or on a girdle. In addition his skin bag almost invariably contained a number of small horns of medicine (Schilde 1929: 61; Soga 1932: 178; De Jager & Gitywa 1963: 113 fig.).

Thembu

Horns containing medicine were worn as amulets. A good example in the Hamilton-Welsh collection is a charm consisting of three duikers' horns, one holding medicine against illness, one against evil spirits and one against cattle sickness (HW 611, Cofimvaba, 1911). Many Thembu necklets have small medicine-horns attached. These will be mentioned in the ornament section.

Mpondomise

A diviner's equipment included a necklet of small antelope-horns containing medicines as well as a number of larger medicine-horns (Duggan-Cronin 1949, pl 76).

Mpondo

The Mpondo made use of antelope-horns to hold medicines and potions (Hunter 1936: 343; Tyrrell 1968: 169; NASKO 61/21, 1961).

Bhaca

Among the Bhaca the special medicines used in the First Fruits ceremony were kept in horns (Hammond-Tooke 1953: 77). At Mt. Frere (1948) an example of a stoppered medicine-horn covered with beadwork was seen.

Bomvana, Mfengu, Hlubi, Xesibe

No information on medicine flasks was recorded.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

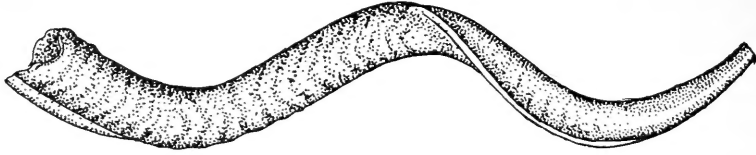
1. *Trumpets*

Terms: *isigodlo*—the horn of an animal when severed from the head (used as a powder flask or trumpet) (Kropf 1915); *butyu*—ox-horn trumpet (Kirby 1934: 79); *imbelempe*—war-horn made of kudu- or eland-horn (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.).

Xhosa

The *isigodlo* was made from a large antelope-horn and was traditionally blown through a lateral embouchure and not through an opening at the tip (Kirby 1934: 73). An example in the F. S. Malan Museum, however, is a kudu-horn with the embouchure at the extreme tip, like the European trumpet

(Fig. 2). In former times the *isigodlo* was sounded to summon tribesmen to the chief's enclosure and to mobilize the regiments for war. When antelope-horns were unobtainable ox-horns were substituted and, nowadays, the ox-horn trumpet is used by boys in play to sound signals in mock battles.



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Fig. 2. Xhosa kudu-horn trumpet, Middledrift, 1943, Fort Hare A337.

Bomvana

The Bomvana used an ox-horn trumpet, *butyu*, for the same purposes as the Xhosa and it was also used in the boys' initiation ceremony (Kirby 1934: 79). An example photographed at Elliotdale in 1948 has the embouchure at the tip of the horn (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.).

A horn called *imbelempe*, made from an eland- or kudu-horn, was said to have been used formerly by Bomvana warriors (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.). This was not recorded by Kirby.

No museum specimens were seen.

Mpondo

Hunter (1936: 370 footnote) mentions a Mpondo horn instrument, *ubokomela*, but does not describe it.

Thembu, Mpondomise, Mfengu, Hlubi, Bhaca, Xesibe

No information on horn trumpets was recorded.

2. *Plectrum*

Xhosa

Another use of horn in a Xhosa musical instrument is the horn plectrum which was used for plucking the *inkinge*, a stringed instrument made of a reed to which a string of twisted hair is attached (Aitchison 1917: 28; Kirby 1934: 225).

This use was not recorded among any other Cape Nguni group.

ORNAMENTS AND CHARMS

Term: *ikhubalo*—charm, ornament (Kropf 1915).

General

Kay (1833: 116) noted that the dividing line between charms and ornaments was not easy to define and this is particularly so in the case of ornaments which incorporate small horns. In general, if the horns contain medicine they have been considered primarily as charms and secondly as ornaments (charm-ornament).

Xhosa

A Xhosa charm-ornament in the Hamilton-Welsh collection is a necklet of beads to which is attached a small black horn containing medicine to prevent body pains (HW 848, Idutywa, 1931).

Thembu

Small horns frequently formed part of Thembu charm-ornaments. A teething charm consists of a necklace of grey seeds, a lucky bean and a small black horn containing protective medicine. The horn is also said to indicate that the parents of the child are wealthy (HW 857, Umtata, 1915). In other examples horns are strung on necklets together with animal claws or roots (HW 588, Cofimvaba, 1930; HW 603, Cofimvaba, 1937).

Bomvana

Horn is also attached to beadwork ornaments which are purely decorative. A pair of beaded shoulder-bands consists of two harnesses at the ends of which are attached two solid pieces of horn. Solid sections of horn have been trimmed down following the shape of the horn-tip and the wider ends are covered with bands of beadwork (Fig. 3).

Mpondo

Two examples of Mpondo love-charms collected by Hamilton-Welsh incorporate small horns. One is a beadwork necklace which has a small black horn attached. It is worn by a boy at a dance, hopefully to attract the attention of a favoured girl (HW 834, Libode, 1917). The other is a horn, strung on fibre and filled with a special love potion (HW 826, Ngqeleni, 1936).

Xesibe

A pair of Xesibe beaded shoulder-bands has a horn covered with beadwork attached to it (EL 4920, Fort Donald, 1967).

Mpondomise, Mfengu, Hlubi, Bhaca

No information was recorded.

PIPES

1. *Water-pipes*

Term: *igudu*—a bullock's horn used for smoking wild hemp. It contains water, in which is inserted a reed, so placed that the smoke has to pass through water before it reaches the smoker's mouth (Kropf 1915).



Fig. 3. Bomvana ornament, Ngqeleni, 1969, SAM-9568.

Xhosa

The smoking of hemp (dagga) was a much enjoyed social custom among the Xhosa. The most common dagga-pipe was a water-pipe consisting of a clay bowl, a reed stem and a water-vessel, which was often a large horn.

Barrow (1806: 170) gives the following description: 'The bowl of their earthenware pipe is attached to the end of a thick reed which passes obliquely through one side of an eland's horn. This horn being filled with water, the mouth is applied to its open end, and the smoke drawn out of the reed is quali-

fied and rendered less acrid by its passage through the water.' Other accounts do not differ from Barrow's except in the types of horn used, which were ox (King 1853: 64; Shaw 1860: 507; Norbury 1880: 13), cow (Alexander 1837: 113) or eland (Barrow 1806: 170; Alberti 1811: 42-43; Smith 1824: 73). In some pipes instead of a reed being inserted through one side of the horn, the bowl was fitted directly on to the horn at right angles to it (Norbury 1880: 13)

Thembu

Accounts of the Thembu water-pipe by Whitworth (1825: 854) and Kay (1833: 290) show that it did not differ from that of the Xhosa. In both accounts the horn was said to have a hole in the side through which a reed stem was fitted.

Bomvana

No literature references were found but there are two Bomvana dagga-pipes in the South African Museum collection. In both examples the water-vessel is an ox-horn into which the reed is inserted at the mouth, not through a hole in the side of the horn (SAM-6678, 6680, Elliotdale, 1948).

Mpondomise

Cornner (SAM correspondence 1937) said that in the Tsolo area dagga-pipes had been used formerly by the Mpondomise but were no longer in use.

Mpondo

The Mpondo water-pipe did not differ in principle from that of the Xhosa (Kidd 1925, pl. 56; Bachmann 1901: 193-194; UCT 23/158).

Mfengu

King (1853: 162) mentioned that the Mfengu smoked a dagga-pipe of the same type as that of the 'Kaffirs'.

Bhaca

At Mt. Frere (1969) an informant described a water-pipe which the Bhaca had used formerly. It did not differ in any way from the Xhosa pipe.

Hlubi, Xesibe

No information on water-pipes was recorded.

2. *Mouthpieces of tobacco pipes*

Term: *incam*—the end or point of a thing (Kropf 1915).

General

A number of pipes from the Transkei in the R. C. Camp Collection (now disbanded) had horn mouthpieces which were finely carved and attached to the stem so that the joins were scarcely visible.

Xhosa

Gitywa (1971: 133) gives the following account of the making of the horn mouthpiece of an *umbhekaphesheya* pipe: 'The tip of a black cow's horn is usually preferred. The tip is sawn off at the point where the hollowness of the horn ends, a position which is marked by the difference in colour between the tip of the horn, *incam*, and the rest of the horn, *isigodlo*. A sharpened, thick plain wire is burnt red hot and used to bore through the horn from the broad end. When this is done the horn is whittled straight with a knife in relation to the direction of the bore, care being taken to make the sides as equal as possible. Before the horn is whittled down to its desired size, a tenon, *uphondlo*, is made on the horn and fitted into the already made mortice in the pipe stem. . . .' A horn mouthpiece is also used in a Xhosa pipe, the style of which is borrowed from a certain type of European pipe. This mouthpiece differs from the one above in that it is curved. After the bore has been drilled and the mouthpiece carved to the correct shape it is heated and bent to the desired angle (SAM-9600, Kentani, 1969).

Thembu

Two examples of pipes from the Cala district have horn mouthpieces, similar to the curved Xhosa example above. Both mouthpieces are bent at an angle and fitted into a roughly U-shaped pipe (SAM-10304, 10313, Cala, 1935) (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Thembu pipe with horn mouthpiece, Cala, 1935, SAM-10304.

Bomvana, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Mfengu, Hlubi, Bhaca, Xesibe

No information on horn mouthpieces was recorded.

SNUFF-BOXES

Term: *iqhaga*—any small box or case which is carried on the person; hence a snuff-box . . . (Kropf 1915).

General

Horn snuff-boxes fall into two broad types:

1. Snuff-boxes carved from a solid piece of horn.
2. Snuff-boxes which utilize the natural cavity of the horn:
 - a. Those in which the tapering end-section, part of which is solid, is used.
 - b. Those in which a middle section, open at both ends, is used.

Xhosa

In the early nineteenth century Kay (1833: 134) observed that the Xhosa 'smoke constantly and seldom or never take snuff'. Later in the nineteenth century, however, Fritsch (1872: 68) and Kropf (1889: 103) recorded that horn snuff-boxes were used by the Xhosa but no descriptions were given.

According to informants in the field snuff-taking is rare among the Xhosa today.

Thembu

Two Thembu horn snuff-boxes (Fig. 5) are good examples of Type 2a. The natural form of the horn has been taken into account by the carver in



Fig. 5. Thembu snuff-boxes (Type 2a), Herschel, 1907, SAM-988(1) and (2).

both cases. The solid tip, in the first example, has been carved in the shape of a buck's head with two long horns; in the second there is a raised ridge under which a thong is attached. Both snuff-boxes have a passage through the solid tip to the hollow. A base of wood is fitted to the horn and secured with small metal tacks hammered in from the outer surface of the horn.

Mpondo

According to Backhouse (1844: 269) the Mpondo used horn snuff-boxes. No description, however, was given.

Mfengu

An example from Fort Beaufort is a small, round vessel carved from the solid, polished overall, and with a small lug on one side. The base is slightly flattened and the opening is fitted with a stopper carved in a darker coloured horn (Fig. 6).

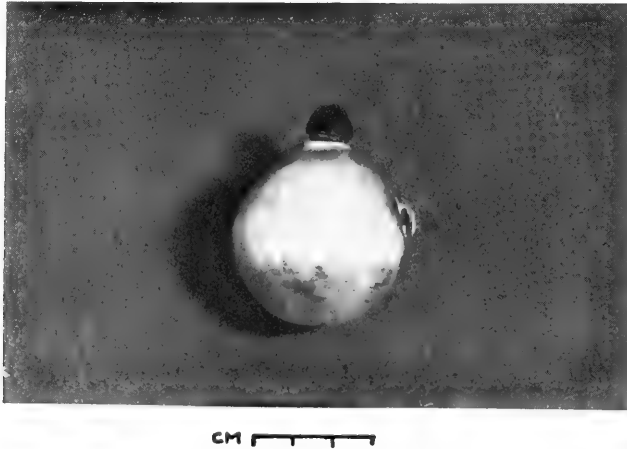


Fig. 6. Mfengu snuff-box (Type 1), Fort Beaufort, collected 1920s, SAM-9100.

Another Mfengu specimen is simply a hollow section of horn filled in at both ends with wooden plugs held in position by iron tacks. A small hole has been bored through the horn for the mouth opening (BM 1905-55, no locality) (Type 2b).

Xesibe

A Xesibe specimen (Fig. 7) follows the shape of the horn; the solid tip is carved to resemble a buck's head and the base is filled in. A passage has been bored through to the hollow inside.

Bomvana, Mpondomise, Hlubi, Bhaca

No information was recorded.



Fig. 7. Xesibe snuff-box (Type 2a) Mt. Ayliff, 1944, EL 18.

SNUFF-SPOONS

Terms: *ingcebetsha*—snuff-spoon, Mfengu (Kropf 1915); *intshaza*—snuff-spoon, Mpondo (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.); *intshengula*—snuff-spoon, Mfengu (Kropf 1915).

General

Snuff was taken by means of a small spoon with which the snuff was carried to the nose. As snuff-spoons vary a great deal in shape and size it is convenient to divide them into types as shown in Figures 8, 9 and 38.

Xhosa

According to Kropf (1889: 103) the Xhosa used horn snuff-spoons. No examples were seen in museums or in the field.

Thembu

The Thembu used horn snuff-spoons (Kay 1833: 290). There are two examples in the Hamilton-Welsh collection: a spatulate snuff-spoon, decorated with blackened incised designs on the underside of the handle (HW 2119, Umtata, 1917) (Type 2a) and a snuff-spoon with almond-shaped bowl and thin handle of medium length (HW 2127, Tsomo, 1936) (Type 1a).

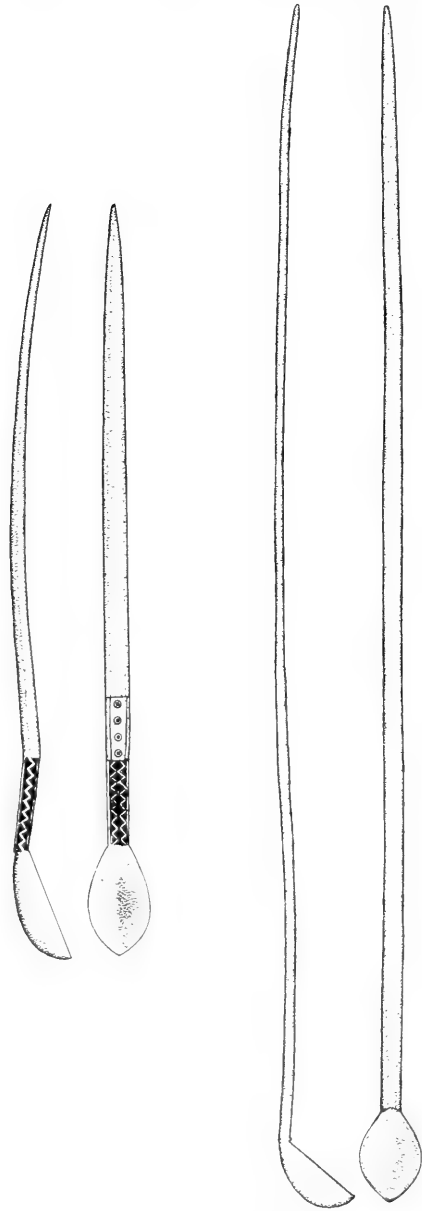


Fig. 8. Types of snuff-spoon:
1a. Long handle, almond-shaped bowl.
1b. Very long handle, almond-shaped bowl.

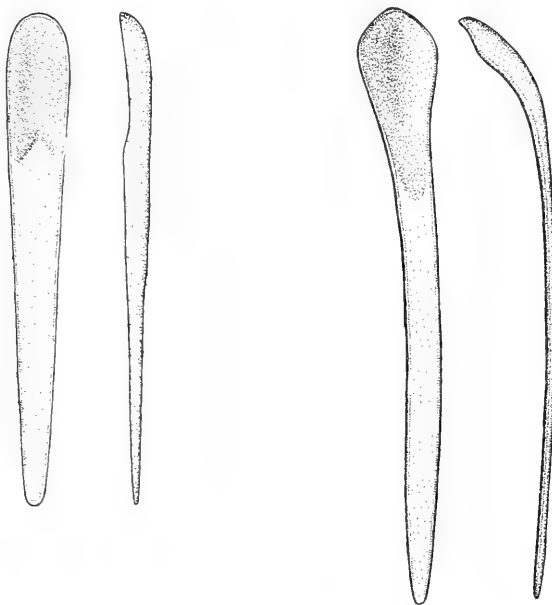


Fig. 9. Types of snuff-spoon: 2a. Spatulate, straight.
2b. Spatulate, curved.

Bomvana

The only Bomvana snuff-spoon which was seen has a very long handle and is decorated with incised designs near the bowl (HW 2128, Elliotdale, 1923) (Type 1b).

Mpondomise

Two Mpondomise examples were recorded: a very long-handled snuff-spoon with almond-shaped bowl and incised, blackened designs on the underside of the handle at the bowl-end (SAM-5509, Tsolo, 1935) (Type 1b), and a snuff-spoon with an almond-shaped bowl and a long handle, completely covered with beadwork (Fig. 10).

Mpondo

Two Mpondo examples have very long handles, decorated with incised designs, and almond-shaped bowls (DC 2147, 1932; HW 2122, Bizana, 1912) (Type 1b).

In 1969 horn snuff-spoons were said to be made in the Ngqeleni district.

Mfengu

A Mfengu example has an almond-shaped bowl with blackened, incised decoration on the handle (HW 2121, Cofimvaba, 1936) (Type 1a).



Fig. 10. Mpondomise snuff-spoon (Type 1a), Tsolo 1935, SAM-5514.

Bhaca

Horn snuff-spoons were carved by men specialists and used by both men and women (Hammond-Tooke 1962: 28). Long-handled snuff-spoons were also worn as ornaments in the hair by Bhaca women (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.).

Two short handled snuff-spoons were bought from a horn-carver in the Mt. Frere district in 1969 (SAM-9626, 9627). Both are spatulate in shape and curve smoothly from an elongated oval bowl to the end of the handle without an indentation between bowl and handle (Type 2b).

The horn-carver's technique was to soften and straighten an ox- or cow-horn by heating it, thereafter to saw it into pieces and carve the spoon into shape with a sharp knife. To make the curve the spoon was heated and the handle bent up round a stone. Finally the spoon was filed smooth. No decoration was added. A spoon cost 10 cents unless the client supplied the horn, in which case the specialist made two spoons from the horn for himself and two for the client (Mt. Frere district, 1969).

Xesibe

In 1948 a Xesibe informant stated that the tools used in horn-carving were an axe for splitting the horn, and a stick for shaping the horn after softening it by heating, a gouge for scraping out hollow areas and a spear-head for carving and for incising decoration (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.).

In 1960 a saw was used instead of an axe for cutting the horn into pieces and the spear-head had been replaced by a knife or any blade adopted for the purpose. A gouge was not mentioned but a stick for shaping was still used. The technique of a specialist snuff-spoon maker (Mt. Ayliff, 1969) was as follows: a sheep's horn was straightened by heating and thereafter was sawn into pieces. A spoon with almond-shaped bowl and a long handle was carved with a knife and the angle between bowl and handle was made by bending it around a stick after the horn had been made pliable by heating. Geometric designs were

incised on the handle and a mixture of fat and ashes rubbed into the incisions to blacken the design (Fig. 11).

Snuff-spoons were sold for 30 cents each or for 25 cents if the buyer supplied the horn.



Fig. 11. Xesibe snuff-spoon (Type 1a), Mt. Ayliff, 1969, SAM-9632.

Hlubi

No information was recorded on snuff-spoons from this group.

SPOONS

Term: *icephe*—a spoon (Kropf 1915).

Xhosa

Spoons for domestic use were carved from the horns of cattle (Rose 1829: 80).

Thembu

Spoons were said to be made of ram's horn or the horns of cattle (Makalima 1945: chap. 9 para. 14).

Mpondomise

A good example is a Mpondomise spoon from Tsolo. The bowl is deep and is bent almost at right angles to the handle. A raised band decorated with incised lines has been carved on the handle (Fig. 12).

Mpondo

Two types of Mpondo horn spoon were seen in museums:

1. A spoon with deep oval bowl set almost at right angles to the handle (NM 131, Pondoland, 1899).
2. A spoon with shallow bowl which forms a very wide obtuse angle to the handle (UCT 23/163, Pondoland, 1923).

Mfengu

Horn spoons were said to be used by the Mfengu (Makalima 1945: chap. 9, para 14).

Xesibe

Two examples (SAM-9629, 9630, Mt. Ayliff, 1969) both have shallow bowls set at obtuse angles to the handles. The technique of manufacture was



Fig. 12. Mpondomise horn spoon,
Tsolo, 1936, SAM-5553.

to soften the horn near the fire and cut it into two pieces with a saw, thereafter the piece was carved to shape with a knife and smoothed with a file. A stone was placed in the bowl and the handle bent up to the required angle before shaping was completed (Fig. 13).



Fig. 13. Xesibe horn spoon, Mt. Ayliff, 1969, SAM-9629.

Bomvana, Hlubi, Bhaca

No information on horn spoons was recorded.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Smithing bellows**Xhosa*

The bellows used by smiths had a cow-horn fitted to the neck of the skin for the passage of air to the fire (Moodie 1835: 258-9; Gitywa 1971: 139).

2. *Powder-flasks**Xhosa*

Gunpowder was kept in horn flasks during the later frontier wars (PE 329, no date).

SUMMARY

Horn objects can be divided into two broad categories:

1. Those which utilize the natural cavity of the horn.
2. Those which are carved from the solid.

1. In the first category are cupping-horns, enemas, medicine flasks, trumpets, water-vessels of dagga-pipes, bellows-nozzles, certain charm-ornaments, and certain snuff-boxes. No specific information on the manufacture of these objects was obtained, but from examining them it is apparent that relatively little carving was necessary and it is unlikely that their manufacture was a specialized craft. In the case of a cupping-horn or enema the pointed end of a horn needed only to be perforated at the tip; medicine flasks and charm-ornaments were uncarved except for the holes bored for threading them on thongs or necklets; the horn water-vessel of a dagga-pipe usually had a hole bored in one side for the insertion of a reed stem, but was otherwise unworked. In the case of a Bomvana dagga-pipe the reed was inserted at the mouth of the horn so that no hole was required. For a bellows-nozzle the horn was cut off below the solid end. The only working on the horn trumpet was the making of the embouchure. Two trumpets which were seen had the embouchure at the extreme tip and not at the side as was traditionally the case. Certain snuff-boxes utilized the horn cavity and, in addition, were carved at the solid end.

As regards the occurrence of these objects among the Cape Nguni, it is probable that they were more generally used than is reflected in the recorded information. Relatively uncarved horn objects were seldom described in the literature nor did they find their way into museum collections. Although dagga-smoking was frequently described, very little attention was given to the making of the pipe. The lack of relevant information among some groups, for example the Hlubi, can be explained by the fact that very little information of any sort has been published about them, nor were they investigated in the field.

2. In the second category are snuff-spoons, certain snuff-boxes, ordinary spoons, the mouthpieces of certain pipes and rhinoceros-horn clubs. These

objects required more carving and were probably made by specialists for sale to others.

In the field three practising horn-carvers were found. They were two Xesibe men, one of whom made porridge-spoons and the other snuff-spoons, and a Bhaca man at Mt. Frere who made snuff-spoons. They all used modern tools of the same type: these were a saw for cutting the horn into pieces, a sharp knife for carving and a file for smoothing the finished object.

To soften and bend the horn it was heated near a fire and shaped around a stick or a stone. A spear-head which had formerly been used for carving was no longer in use. The Bhaca carver did not decorate his snuff-spoons whereas the Xesibe carver decorated his snuff-spoons with incised designs, blackened with a mixture of fat and ashes. No technical information was found on the making of horn snuff-boxes or clubs. Information, however, was obtained in the field and from the literature on the making of the horn mouthpieces of certain Xhosa pipes. In addition to a saw and a knife, a sharpened piece of red-hot wire was used to drill a passage through the solid horn. Particular care was taken to carve the sides evenly in relation to the bore. The specialist pipe-maker was an expert carver of both wood and horn, but there is no record of a pipe-maker carving anything in horn other than mouthpieces, although his skill would have enabled him to do so.

Ornamental carving was limited among the Cape Nguni. A Thembu snuff-box (Fig. 5), carved to resemble a buck's head, comes from the Herschel district on the Lesotho border and may have been influenced by the very similar Sotho style of snuff-box or may have been bought from the Basotho. A carved Xesibe snuff-box (Fig. 7) is the only other example of ornamental carving that was recorded.

Horn snuff-boxes were not recorded for all groups and it is probable that other materials, fruit-shells for example, were more commonly used for making snuff-boxes.

There are literature references to horn snuff-spoons for all groups except the Hlubi, and there are museum specimens from all of these groups except the Xhosa. A number of photographs show snuff-spoons worn decoratively in the hair. Seventy per cent of the snuff-spoons seen had almond-shaped bowls and long or very long handles (Type 1). The other 30 per cent were spatulate in shape (Type 2). Incising of designs on the handles was the most common form of decoration. All except two recent Bhaca specimens were decorated in this way.

There seems to be a correlation between the relative absence of snuff-boxes and snuff-spoons among the Xhosa and the presence of tobacco-pipes. The Xhosa, after first contact with the settlers, took rapidly to smoking tobacco in pipes based on European pipe-shapes, and pipe-making became a specialized craft. In the early nineteenth century Kay recorded that the Xhosa seldom or never took snuff. The fact that horn mouthpieces for tobacco-pipes were recorded only among the Xhosa and the Thembu fits in with the hypothesis

that tobacco-smoking was more popular in the western than the eastern Transkei where snuff-taking was favoured.

Ordinary spoons for domestic use were not recorded among all groups, but it is likely that they were more generally used than the record suggests.

A nineteenth-century reference to a Xhosa club is the only reference that was found on the use of the rhinoceros-horn by the Cape Nguni.

Horn objects did not comprise a major part of the material culture of the Cape Nguni and horn-carving cannot be considered a major craft. With very little working, however, horns were adapted to a number of uses and horn was a particularly suitable material for carving small objects.

USE OF HORN BY THE NATAL NGUNI

CLUBS

Zululand

The Zulu made clubs of rhinoceros-horn as well as of wood (Delegorgue 1847: 219–220). An example from Natal was seen in the State Ethnographic Museum, Stockholm (Wahlberg collection No. 1845.1.29) but no information on the working of rhinoceros-horn was recorded.

No horn clubs were seen in the field.

MEDICAL EQUIPMENT

1. *Cupping-horns*

Terms: *isilumeko*—cupping instrument (Doke & Vilakazi 1964); *uphondo lokulumeka*—cupping-horn (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

Cupping was a favourite treatment of disease among the Zulu (Krige 1950: 332). The cupping instrument was an 8 to 10 cm section from the tip of an ox-horn, perforated at the solid end. The cupping-horn was placed over an incision in the skin and blood was withdrawn by suction at the perforated narrow end (Fynn 1950: 281; Isaacs 1935: 42; Krauss 1969: 219; Mayr 1907: 397).

2. *Enemas*

Terms: *ubojo*—enema-horn (Doke & Vilakazi 1964); *uphondo lokuchatha*—enema-horn (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

A section of horn, approximately 24 cm long, was used for the injection of an enema. For a child a section of reed was used instead of a horn (Mayr 1907: 394). This was and still is a common treatment of abdominal disorders among the Zulu (Krige 1950: 331; P-RM No. 1956.9.26; Mahlabatini district, 1971).

3. *Medicine flasks*

Terms: *uphondo*—a small horn of medicine (Doke & Vilakazi 1964). Note: the term *uphondo* has a number of different meanings according to the context; *ukhohlomba*—a string of medicine horns (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

Antelope, cattle or goat's horns were used as containers for medicines. Frequently they were strung together and worn around the neck, particularly by doctors (Fig. 14) (Mayr 1907: 398; NASKO 8362, no locality, 1939). A chief usually possessed horns containing special medicines which were used in rituals and he, too, might wear a string of medicine-horns around the neck (Krantz 1880: 113; Krige 1950: 375).

Msinga area

There is a diviner's medicine-horn from Msinga in the Hamilton-Welsh collection (HW 938, 1940).



Fig. 14. Zulu diviner wearing medicine horns strung around the neck.

Southern Natal

Horns were used for storing medicines and small medicine-horns were worn on necklets (Müller 1912–13: 853; NASKO 8043, Zwartkops, 1939). An example in the Hamilton-Welsh collection is a light-coloured horn containing bark, said to be a cure for backache (HW 921, St Michael's on Sea, 1942).

Drakensberg area

No information on medical equipment was recorded.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1. *Trumpets*

Terms: *impalampala*—a signal horn, originally made from the horn of the sable antelope, though occasionally from that of the kudu (Doke & Vilakazi 1964); *uphondo*—signal horn made from ox-horn hollowed and bored just below the solid tip (Doke & Vilakazi 1964); *icilongo*—trumpet made from a long reed with an ox-horn fixed to the end (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

The traditional *impalampala* was made from the horn of the sable antelope or the kudu, *umqanhxa*; it was blown through an embouchure at the side, not at the tip and it yielded only one note. As game became more rare cattle horns were substituted and the instrument was generally referred to as *uphondo* (Kirby 1934: 79–80). Bryant (1949: 221), however, described a trumpet made of 'a hollow cow's horn with a hole bored at its tip or a few inches up its side, for blowing' and called it *impalampala* not *uphondo*.

The *impalampala* was essentially a signal horn, used primarily by men in battle and in hunting. Its function as a war-horn ceased with the decline of inter-tribal warfare but it was said still to be occasionally used in hunting in the 1930s. By this time, however, its main function was a social one as it was blown to sound an invitation to a beer-drink or celebration, particularly by young men after a successful courtship (Kirby 1934: 79–80; Bryant 1949: 221).

The *icilongo* was a completely different instrument which, according to Kirby, was adopted from an early style of European trumpet. Kirby (1934: 81) described it as consisting of 'a tube of bamboo about an inch in diameter and from two to four feet in length, cleared of all interior obstructions, one end of which, is sheared off at right angles, the other being bevelled so as to fit snugly into the end of an ox-horn which has been cleaned out and had the solid tip cut off'. The *icilongo* was blown at the extreme tip and could yield several notes. It was played by herd-boys and by young men courting.

2. *Whistles*

Term: *uveve*—signal whistle of horn or wood (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

A whistle, *uveve*, made from a small antelope-horn, was formerly used by the Zulu in hunting. Later they applied this name to a European style of whistle.

Msinga area, Southern Natal, Drakensberg area

No information on musical instruments was recorded.

ORNAMENTS AND CHARMS

1. *Necklets*

Term: *umgexo wezimpondo*—necklace of ox-horns (Krige 1950: 375).

Zululand

Ornaments which incorporated small horns were usually thought of as charms (Grout 1862: 107). As previously mentioned, it was the prerogative of doctors and chiefs to wear strings of medicine-horns around their necks. The ordinary man, however, often wore a few horns on a necklet to give protection against danger and illness (Krauss 1969: 212). A special necklet of horns and charred blocks of willow wood was worn by warriors who had excelled in battle (Krige 1950: 264).

2. *Ear-studs*

Term: *isiviliba*—large circular ornament inserted through a hole in the lobe of the ear (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

Ornaments worn in pierced ear-lobes were characteristic of the Zulu. Horn ear-studs, which consisted of circular, slightly conical plugs 'an inch' in diameter, were mentioned by Bryant (1949: 141) and a number of examples were seen in museum collections. They were shaped like conical buttons on a stem which fitted through the ear-lobe (NM 838, 1908).

Southern Natal

The Bhaca in southern Natal wore horn ear-studs similar to those of the Zulu (Fig. 15).

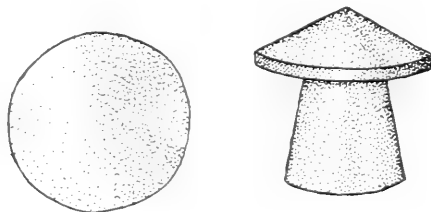


Fig. 15. Bhaca horn ear-studs, 1909, NM 1045.

3. *Hair-pins*

Zululand

A hair-pin decorated with tail hair and beads was seen at the Völkerkunde Museum, Berlin (111 D4543). It is said to be Zulu and is very similar to a bone hair-pin collected by Grout in the nineteenth century (Brottem & Lang 1973: 64).

Msinga area, Drakensberg area

No information on ornaments was recorded.

PIPES

Term: *igudu*—horn for smoking wild hemp; hemp pipe (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

A number of writers recorded the pleasure which Zulu men took in smoking hemp: 'Gregarious by nature, Zulus love to assemble for a grand smoke. . . .' (Tyler 1891: 123) (Fig. 16). (For manner of smoking and related customs see Little 1887: 445; Plant 1905: 46–47).



Fig. 16. Zulu men smoking daggaa.

Gardiner (1836: 106) gives the following description of a Zulu smoking-horn: 'The tobacco is placed at the end of a reed introduced into the side of an ox's horn, which is filled with water, and the mouth applied to the upper part of the horn.' Later accounts (Grout 1862: 109; Little 1887: 45; Balfour 1901: 10; Plant 1905: 46-47) confirm this and Tyler (1891: 123) added that gum was used to seal the join between the horn and the reed.

Most writers referred to the water-vessel as an ox- or cow-horn but Grout (1862: 109) recorded that the most popular was a kudu-horn which had the advantage of a long body and a small diameter at the mouth. No record was found on the making of water-pipes. Bryant (1949: 408) remarked: 'We deem it hardly of sufficient importance to go further into the details of the less significant trades of various minor craftsmen—how the maker of smoking-horns (igudu) polished his cow- or kudu-horn, or carved his hemp holder (imbiza) out of soapstone. . . .'

The position of the hole for the reed must have varied according to the shape and the size of the horn. Grout, referring to a kudu-horn, stated that it was '10 or 12 inches' from the largest end. Tyler, referring to an ox or large antelope horn, estimated it at '6 inches' from the largest end and Little stated that it was in the middle of an ox horn. A number of photographs and diagrams appear to confirm the latter (Duggan-Cronin 1938, pl. III; Mayr 1906, fig. 6; Balfour 1901: 11; Anon 1874: 82).

A specimen from Nongoma consists of an ox-horn water-vessel, a wooden stem and a stone bowl. The horn has been scraped smooth, leaving a small raised section about midway down the concave side where a hole for the reed has been carved (Fig. 17).



Fig. 17. Dagga-pipe, Nongoma 1962, SAM-8827.

Drakensberg area

A specimen from Bergville is similar to the Zulu specimen although the hole is on the convex side of the horn. A black cement-like substance has been applied to seal the join between horn and stem (SAM-10215, Bergville, 1973).

Southern Natal

A cow-horn was used as the water-vessel in the pipe *igudu*, used for smoking hemp (Müller 1912-13: 857).

Msinga area

No information on pipes was recorded.

SNUFF-BOXES

Terms: *ishungu* snuff-box (Doke & Vilakazi 1964); *iguza*—snuff-box (Doke & Vilakazi 1964); *isigqobhela*—cigar-shaped snuff-box, worn in the lobe of the ear (Doke & Vilakazi 1964); *uhlanga*—reed snuff-box (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Horn snuff-boxes fall into two broad types which can be subdivided according to shape.

1. Snuff-boxes carved from the solid end-section of the horn (Fig. 18):
 - a. Elliptical boxes
 - b. Fluted boxes
 - c. Bulb-shaped boxes.
2. Snuff-boxes utilizing the natural hollow of the horn (Fig. 19):
 - a. Horn-shaped boxes, using both the solid tip and the hollow
 - b. Boxes made from a section of the hollow part of the horn.

Zululand

Grout (1862: 108) remarked that among the Zulu snuff-taking was a social institution of surpassing importance. Snuff-taking was especially enjoyed in the company of friends and generosity with snuff was highly praised. This ideal is indicated in the Zulu idiom, *Ugwayi usuka entendeni, uhlala entendeni*, literally, snuff goes from one palm to another; i.e. one good turn deserves another (Doke & Vilakazi 1964: 284). Snuff was usually poured into the hand from a snuff-box and then inhaled from a small spoon specially made for the purpose. The resulting sensation and profuse flow of tears was much enjoyed (Shooter 1857: 8-9).

Snuff-boxes varied from a simple length of hollow reed or a fruit shell to finely decorated gourds and ornately carved vessels. They were considered indispensable by both men and women and were generally carried by the person on a necklet or girdle, in a bag, or worn in the ear-lobe. The carving of snuff-boxes in horn was a specialist craft among the Zulu. Bryant (1949: 376)

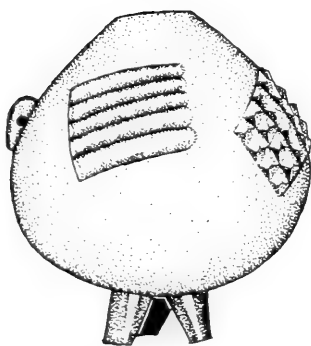
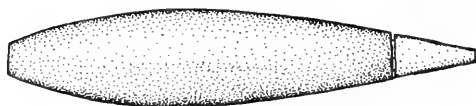


Fig. 18. Types of snuff-box: 1a. Elliptical
1b. Fluted
1c. Bulb-shaped.

mentioned the manufacture of 'fancy snuff-boxes and spoons of horn' but gave no description of the techniques which were used. Apart from a brief reference to horn snuff-boxes by Grout (1862: 108) no other information was found in the literature.

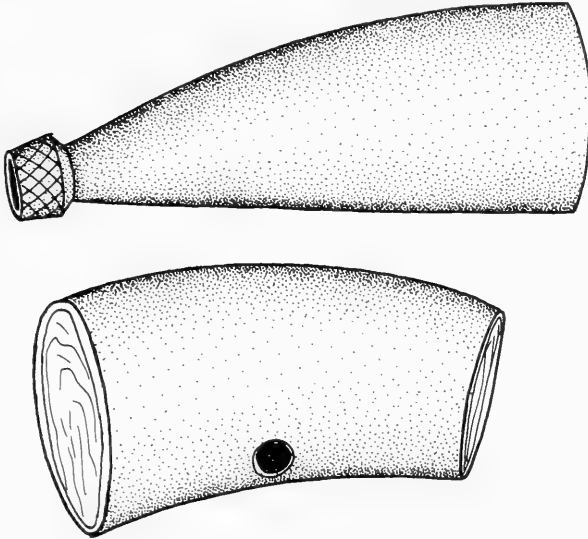


Fig. 19. Types of snuff-box: 2a. Horn-shaped
2b. Section of hollow part of horn.

Museum specimens reflect the wide variety of horn snuff-boxes which was made in Zululand.

1. *Snuff-boxes carved from the solid end-section of the horn*

a. *Elliptical snuff-boxes (elongated oval)*

Snuff-boxes which are not perfectly elliptical but which can most readily be described under this heading, are included here as are the snuff-boxes which Bryant (1929: 141) referred to as shaped like slender, elongated barrels.

The example in Figure 20 is elliptical, apart from a small lug in the centre by which it is attached to a beadwork necklet. The body of the container has been hollowed out, a removable stopper fitted into one end and an identical plug fixed in the other. The overall shape of the box is perfectly symmetrical and it has a smooth polish, possibly from wear.

Figure 21 shows two examples collected in the late nineteenth century and which may be described as ellipses with cut-off ends. The containers have been hollowed out from the open ends, which are fitted with conical stoppers.

The example in Figure 22 is an elongated, narrow ellipse carved to a blunt point at one end and cut off and hollowed out from the other end, which is fitted with an intricately carved horn stopper. It is highly polished overall. The term *uhlanga*, by which this snuff-box was described, is generally applied to the reed snuff-box worn in the ear. This fact, together with the shape of the snuff-box, suggests that it, too, was worn in the ear.



Fig. 20. Zulu snuff-box (Type 1a), Zululand, 1954, DC 1191.

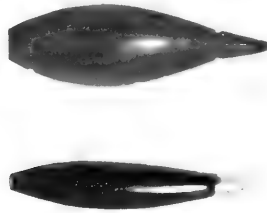


Fig. 21. Zulu snuff-boxes (Type 1a), Zululand, late nineteenth century, SAM-6746, 6747.

b. Fluted snuff-boxes

Figure 23 shows a pair of two fluted vessels joined to each other by a heavily beaded cord attached to their bases. One has a conical wooden stopper, the other stopper has been lost.



Fig. 22. Zulu snuff-box (Type 1a), Nongoma, SAM-8816.

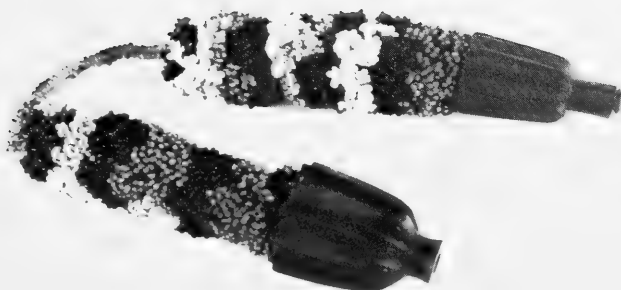


Fig. 23. Zulu snuff-box (Type 1b), Zululand, late nineteenth century, SAM-6738.

Figure 24 shows a fluted snuff-box with elongated neck.

The term *isigqobhela* suggests that it may have been worn in the ear-lobe, which would account for the shape of the neck, but the loop on the base and the proportions of the snuff-box indicate that it probably hung on a cord from the neck or waist.

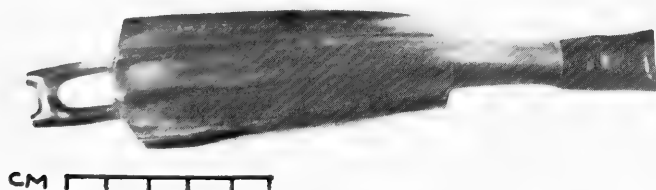


Fig. 24. Zulu snuff-box (Type 1b), Ingwavuma, 1936, SAM-8818.

c. Bulb-shaped snuff-boxes

Figure 25A shows a good example of a bulb-shaped vessel standing on three short legs and decorated with carved designs very similar to the charac-

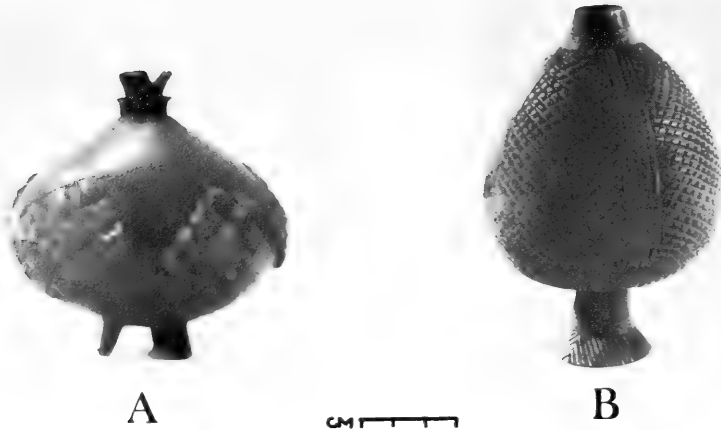


Fig. 25. A. Zulu snuff-box (Type 1c), NM, Adams Loan.
B. 'Kaffir' snuff-box (Type 1c), P-RM No. 2853(319).

teristic decoration of Zulu pots and wooden vessels. The stopper is made of wood and the snuff-box of rhinoceros-horn.

Another Zulu specimen in the Natal Museum (NM 2999, Zululand, 1948) is of the same type except that it is decorated with a rectangular design.

Two rhinoceros-horn snuff-boxes seen in overseas museums and documented as 'Kaffir' are similar enough to authentic Zulu specimens to be included here. Both are decorated with carved grooves and ridges that form embossed designs (BM No. 1936-10-5-13; P-RM No. 2853 (319)) (Fig. 25B).

2. *Snuff-boxes using the natural form and hollow of the horn*

The wide opening is usually filled in with a piece of horn, wood or calabash to form the base of the snuff-box. These may be held by exact fit or may be secured with tacks. An opening may be bored through the solid tip to the hollow interior, or the thickness of the horn may be thinned down so that the narrowest part of the natural hollow forms the mouth opening. In the latter case one can see from the unworked inner surface that no tools have been used to create the passage.

Figure 26 shows a snuff-box carved from the end-section of a horn which was scraped down following the shape of the horn and leaving a raised ridge just below the mouth opening for the attachment of a thong. The existing hollow of the horn was used and the base was filled in with a piece of horn held in position with three small bone pins. A carved horn stopper is attached to the thong.

Another example consists of a section from the hollow part of the horn, filled in at both ends with wood. A small opening has been drilled through the horn at the centre of the concave side (Type 2b, see Fig. 19).

The example in Figure 27 is an 8 cm section of the horn which has been cut starting just above the hollow, so that one end is solid horn and the other



CM 

Fig. 26. Zulu snuff-box (Type 2a), Eshowe, 1965, NASKO 65/32.



CM 

Fig. 27. Zulu snuff-box (Type 2b), Mapumulo, 1962, SAM-8813.

is open. The solid base is decorated with notches and the sides are covered with a beadwork sleeve to which is attached a beaded handle. The stopper is missing.

A horn-carver's son in the Nongoma district (1971) stated that his father

carved 'ear-rings', to contain snuff, out of the solid end of a horn but he did not have an example. At all other places in Zululand traditional snuff-boxes have been replaced by small tins or bottles from the stores.

Southern Natal

The bowl of a Lala snuff-box (NM 2061, Richmond, 1911) is bulb-shaped but two streamers extend from the base. There are decorative ridges around the mouth, which is fitted with a horn stopper.

Msinga area

A large horn snuff-box (NM 61, Msinga, collected by Fynn, nineteenth century) forms the seat of a stool which stands on three legs. The sharp tip of the horn has been cut off but it is otherwise unworked except for the attachment of the legs.

Drakensberg area

No information was recorded.

SNUFF-SPOONS

Terms: *intshengula* snuff-spoon (Doke & Vilakazi 1964); *intshasa* snuff-spoon (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

Small spoons elegantly carved out of cow-horn were used for taking snuff (Bleek 1965: 15; Krantz 1880: 64). The snuff-spoon had, in addition, a number of other uses: the handle was used to wipe perspiration from the face, to clean the nose before taking snuff, to loosen clogged snuff in the box and as an aid to hair-dressing. When not in use it might be worn as an ornament in the hair (Krige 1950: 60) (Fig. 28). This useful accessory was, furthermore, an outlet



Fig. 28. Zulu men taking snuff. Note the snuff-spoons in the hair.

for the talent of the specialist horn-carver, who produced finely carved snuff-spoons. All the examples seen in museum collections were of the same basic shape (Type 1) and were decorated with incised designs (SAM-8815, Nongoma, 1936; DC 135, Zululand, 1954; DC 2380, Zululand, 1938; SAM-10340, no locality, 1973). Two examples had carved rectangular frames on the handles (Fig. 29A).

In all the areas of Zululand which were visited, snuff-spoons were known to the people. In some areas, however, they were thought of as things which had been used in the past but which were no longer in use (Buthelezi in Mahlabatini district, 1970; Zulu in Nqutu district, 1969). A Biyela informant (Nkandla district, 1971) mentioned that mustard-spoons from the store had replaced carved snuff-spoons. In Babanango (1971) horn snuff-spoons were said to be in current use among the Zulu, and a Zulu carver in the Nongoma district (1971) still made snuff-spoons. No examples were seen in the field.



A



B



Fig. 29. Zulu snuff-spoons (Type 1). A. Zululand, 1938, DC 2380.
B. Mahlabatini, 1936, SAM-8815.

Msinga area

In the Msinga district (1969) horn snuff-spoons were said to be used by the Jozi.

At Tugela Ferry a Mabaso specialist horn-carver was still practising his craft in 1970. The technique he used was as follows: he soaked an ox-horn in

cold water for five to six days to soften it and then cut it in half lengthwise. From each half a spoon was made. The bowl of the spoon was carved from the solid end-section of the horn and the handle from the thinner side-section. The only tool used in carving was a chisel. The horn was heated to make it pliable enough to bend the angle between bowl and handle. The spoons were not decorated.

Southern Natal

Horn snuff-spoons were said to be used by the Khuzi (Bulwer district, 1969).

Drakensberg

No information recorded in this area.

SPOONS

Term: *ukhezo*—spoon (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

Horn spoons were included by Isaacs (1936: 270) in his list of Zulu 'manufactures', but no other information was found in the literature.

A specimen in the Natal Museum has an almond-shaped bowl and straight handle (NM 129, 1896).

Southern Natal

The Natal Bhaca used horn spoons for drinking sour milk, *amasi* (NM 1036, southern Natal, 1909). A specimen from Ixopo is spatulate in shape and is 32 cm long (NM 582, 1906).

At a Khuzi homestead in the Bulwer district a similar horn spoon was still in use in 1969.

SWEAT-SCRAPERS

Terms: *uphephela*—bone or horn scraper (used to scrape perspiration from the face) (Doke & Vilakazi 1964); *isikhwece*—curved bone or horn face-scraper (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

As mentioned previously, the handle of a snuff-spoon was used to wipe perspiration from the face. A long, thin spatula of horn or bone was used for the same purpose.

No horn specimens were seen in museum collections nor were any seen in the field.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Bellows-nozzle*

Zululand

Ox-horns or antelope-horns were used for nozzles in the bellows used by smiths (Holden 1963: 241; Krantz 1880: 66; Angas 1849, fig. 23).

2. Needle

Zululand

An iron, horn or bone needle was used in the making of a man's head-ring (Fynn 1950: 292).

3. Tool

Term: *uphondo*—horn (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

An ox-horn of suitable size is used to roll metal wire around a core of tail hair in the making of a certain bangle, *ubusenga*. The process was seen at Nqutu (1969), and at Mahlabatini (1971) (Fig. 30).



Fig. 30. Horn tool used in rolling bangles, Mahlabatini, 1971.

SUMMARY

The following horn objects used by the Natal Nguni required very little carving: cupping-horns, enemas, medicine flasks, trumpets, whistles, charm-ornaments, water-vessels for pipes, bellows-nozzles and certain snuff-boxes.

Carved horn objects included snuff-boxes, snuff-spoons, ordinary spoons, clubs, ornaments, a tool for rolling bangles and a needle used in making a man's head-ring. Of the carved objects snuff-boxes and snuff-spoons were the most numerous and many displayed a high degree of craftsmanship. This seems to reflect the importance of snuff-taking among the Natal Nguni. Snuff-boxes

were often worn as ornaments in the ear-lobe or on a necklet, and snuff-spoons, when not in use, were generally tucked into the hair as ornaments. Ornaments for pierced ears are characteristic of the Natal Nguni. Among those seen were ear-studs made of a variety of materials including horn. Examples from southern Natal were shaped like conically-domed mushrooms. Horn sweat-scrappers and hair-pins were also used.

Information was obtained from two practising horn-carvers. One at Tugela Ferry made snuff-spoons, and the other at Nongoma made snuff-spoons and snuff-boxes. The tools used for carving were a knife and a chisel, and the horn was softened by heating.

In all other areas horn objects were said to have been made in the past but were no longer made. Substitutes from the stores have replaced many of the older horn objects, and others became obsolete because of the decline of the practices in which they were used.

Nearly all the information was obtained from the Zulu and the tribes living in Zululand (now the KwaZulu homeland). There is insufficient material from groups outside Zululand to discuss the distribution of particular horn objects over the wider Natal Nguni area.

USE OF HORN BY THE SWAZI

MEDICAL EQUIPMENT

Medicine flasks

A doctor's outfit seen at the F. S. Malan Museum included a number of horns containing medicines (HW 782, 1935). No further information was recorded.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1. *Trumpets*

Term: *impalampala*—horn trumpet (Kirby 1934: 78).

The *impalampala* trumpet was made traditionally from the horn of the sable antelope and the same name was given to the instrument made from a kudu horn. It was blown through an embouchure in the side of the horn, not at the tip (Fig. 31). Among the Swazi the *impalampala* was a royal instrument, blown in peace time only by men of the court to call people together for a ceremony, a communal hunt, or by the royal herdsmen to control the cattle. In time of war the *impalampala* was sounded by the warriors to give military signals, a practice which has fallen into disuse (Kirby 1934: 78; Marwick 1966: 81; Mankaiana district, 1971).

No information on the manufacture of the Swazi *impalampala* was found in the literature or in the field and no specimens were seen in museums.



Fig. 31. Swazi *impalampala* (horn trumpet).

2. Whistles

Term: *luveve*—whistle (Kirby 1934: 92).

Two whistles, both termed *luveve*, one made from the horn of a small antelope and the other from that of a larger antelope, were used by the Swazi.

The smaller *luveve* consisted of a small horn, often duiker or springbok, which formed a natural 'stopped pipe' (the closed tip of the horn formed a natural stopper) and from which sound was produced by blowing across the open end. Such a whistle was used for calling the dogs (Kirby 1934: 92).

The larger whistle was originally made from an antelope horn, but as antelope became increasingly scarce, wood carved to the shape of the horn was used for the *luveve* (Kirby 1934: 110–111, pl. 38b). This whistle is referred to by Marwick as a 'hunting horn' which is confusing, for although its uses coincided to some extent with those of the *impalampala*, it was blown as a whistle, not as a horn.

The main use of the larger *luveve* was to announce a hunt and to encourage the dogs during the hunt. It was also used to sound military signals and by doctors to call up departed spirits, a practice which inhibited ordinary men from sounding this whistle except for its specific use in the hunt (Kirby 1934: 111).

ORNAMENTS AND CHARMS

Necklets made of the horns of small game were worn by young people in Swaziland (Myburgh 1949: 93). An example collected in the nineteenth century consists of six small horns strung together, with pieces of wood, to form a necklet (Fig. 32).

No reference to the use of carved horn ornaments was recorded.



CH 11111

Fig. 32. Swazi necklet, Swaziland, late nineteenth century, SAM-6722.

PIPES

The smoking of dagga was a social practice much enjoyed by Swazi, particularly when in the company of age-mates (Kuper 1947: 121).

They used a water-pipe consisting of a horn water-vessel, a reed stem and a clay or stone bowl. Three specimens were seen in museum collections (SAM-M17, 1936; UCT 34/6; Stellenbosch University collection). In one the water-vessel is an eland-horn, in the other two cattle horns are used. In all three the reed is inserted at the mouth opening of the horn and not through a hole in the side. Decorative ridges have been carved in the solid ends of the cattle horn vessels (Fig. 33). The eland-horn has two bands and a loop of raw hide attached at the mouth for ease of carrying.

SNUFF-BOXES

No reference to horn snuff-boxes was found in the literature. A Swazi informant at Mankaiana (1971), however, stated that horn snuff-boxes had been made and used by the Swazi but that the craft of horn-carving was dying out. The traditional horn snuff-box was described as having ridges carved on the



Fig. 33. Water-vessel of Swazi dagga-pipe, 1934, UCT 34/6.

sides, a feature which was seen in the only Swazi snuff-box examined (Cambridge Ethnographic Museum 83). This snuff-box was carved from a solid piece of horn; the body is roughly oval-shaped with fluted sides; the neck is unfluted, and on the base a loop has been carved.

SNUFF-SPOONS

No references to horn snuff-spoons were found in the literature nor were any seen in museum collections. In the field (Ingwavuma district, 1970) an informant stated that an old man in a distant kraal used horn snuff-spoons—this was the only field reference to snuff-spoons.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Awls*

According to informants at Piggs Peak (1962) an awl made of a piece of horn was used in basket-making.

2. *Drinking-vessels*

Term: *lugabi*—ox horn drinking-vessel.

An ox-horn which has been scraped smooth and decorated at the solid end by means of four raised ridges was used as a container for marula beer. Young men used this in preference to a calabash beer-cup which the older men used. A hole is usually made in the horn so that a thong can be attached and the horn carried over the shoulder (NASKO 1971/22) (Fig. 34).

3. *Fly-switches*

A Swazi fly-switch with a horn handle was seen at the Völkerkunde Museum, Berlin (IIID 1327).

4. *Toilet-boxes*

A small antelope-horn containing fat for cosmetic use was worn on a beaded necklet (Myburgh 1956: 237).



Fig. 34. Swazi man drinking from horn vessel, Swaziland, 1971.
(Photograph NASKO No. A410.)

5. *Penis-sheaths*

According to Marwick (1966: 85) a man of high standing usually wore a penis-sheath made of horn.

SUMMARY

Far less information on the use of horn was found in the literature on the Swazi than on the Cape or Natal Nguni, and in the field no horn-carvers were found nor were any horn objects seen in use. It is difficult to say whether the absence of reference to certain objects is significant or whether the objects existed but were not recorded before they fell into disuse. For example, although the Swazi were snuff-takers and may have used snuff-spoons, the use of snuff-spoons was not recorded in the literature nor were any seen in museum collections or in the field.

Horn objects with little carving included medicine flasks, toilet-boxes,

the *impalampala* horn, whistles, ornament-charms, water-vessels for pipes, and a drinking-vessel. Among the Swazi the *impalampala* was used only by court officials and the royal regiments. No information on its manufacture was found. In all three water-pipes examined the reed was inserted at the mouth opening and not through a hole in the side. Two of the horns had carved ridges on the solid tip. This decorative motif was also seen on a horn drinking-vessel which is similar in form to the water-vessel of a pipe.

Single references were found to carved horn penis-sheaths, a handle for a fly-switch and an awl for basket-making. A Swazi informant said that snuff-boxes had formerly been made of horn but that the craft of horn-carving was dying out. His description of the traditional style of snuff-box compared exactly with the only museum specimen which was seen. It is a small oval-shaped container with fluted sides. It is interesting to note that carved fluting is found on other Swazi objects, for example head-rests and the heads of sticks, and this form of decorative carving seems to be characteristic of the Swazi.

No technical information on horn-carving was obtained from any of the three sources.

USE OF HORN BY THE SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL NDEBELE

CLUBS

A rhinoceros-horn club was an essential part of a chief's regalia. It functioned both as a staff of office and as a symbol of personal dignity (Weiss 1963: 63). When Chief Nyabela surrendered to Gen. Joubert in 1883, his rhinoceros-horn club was confiscated and later it was given to the National Open-Air and Cultural History Museum in Pretoria (Fig. 35).



CMTTTTT

Fig. 35. Ndzundza rhinoceros-horn club, Transvaal 1883, NASKO 4492.

MEDICAL EQUIPMENT

Horns were used as containers for medicines (Nebo district, 1972).

ORNAMENTS AND CHARMS

The horn of a small antelope was often worn on a necklet as a charm to give protection against illness (Weiss 1963: 75).

SNUFF-BOXES

Horn snuff-boxes were said to be made by an old Ndzundza man in the Nebo district (1972) but none was seen. A knife for carving and a stone for smoothing were the tools mentioned.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Divining bones*

Among a set of divining bones seen in the field, five of the principal bones were carved from horn or hoof. The piece representing the chief was carved from the horn of a beast which he had killed, the two female pieces were carved from cow-horn and the two male pieces were carved from ox-hoof (Nebo district, 1972).

2. *Flasks*

Horns were used as containers for the fat and for the pegs used in skin-dressing (Nebo district, 1972).

SUMMARY

In the Nebo district horns were said to 'work hard'. They were used as containers for medicines and for the fat and for the pegs used in skin-dressing; small horns were worn as amulets on necklets; the principal pieces of a set of divining bones were carved in horn or hoof and horn snuff-boxes were said to be made by an old man in the area. No horn-carvers, however, were located.

A rhinoceros-horn club used to be a sign of office and an essential part of a chief's regalia. An interesting nineteenth-century specimen is preserved in the National Open-Air and Cultural History Museum in Pretoria. This was the only Ndebele horn object seen in a museum collection.

USE OF HORN BY THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL NDEBELE

No information was found in the literature and museum records, nor was any information obtained in the field.

USE OF HORN BY THE RHODESIAN NDEBELE

CLUBS

Burrow (1971: 51) noted that the Matabele hunted white rhinoceros by trapping them in pitfalls and used their horns for making clubs and axe-

hafts. The elasticity and pliability of rhinoceros-horn made it a particularly suitable material for this purpose (Widstrand 1958: 24).

The only specimen which was recorded is a rhinoceros-horn club in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford (No. 2048, Matabeleland 1939).

MEDICAL EQUIPMENT

A number of small horns containing medicines were included in a witch-doctor's outfit (Fig. 36). Matabele warriors wore horns containing protective medicines strung on thongs around their necks (Hughes & Summers 1955: 789).



Fig. 36. Rhodesian Ndebele doctor's outfit, Matabeleland, Bulawayo Museum $\frac{7.3}{4.5}$.

ORNAMENTS AND CHARMS

Certain wild animals were thought to have magical powers and necklets made of their horns, bones, claws, teeth or hoofs were not thought of as ornaments but as amulets to protect the wearer from disease or danger (McCallum 1971: 10; Holub 1893: 197).

PIPES

The Matabele smoked dagga through water in the same manner as the Zulu. An ox-horn with a hole in the side for the insertion of a reed stem was used as a water-vessel (Burrow 1971: 48).

SUMMARY

Horns were used by the Rhodesian Ndebele as medicine flasks and as water-vessels for pipes, and small horns were worn as amulets on necklets.

Rhinoceros-horn was used for clubs and axe-hafts. No further information on the uses of horn was recorded.

BONE

INTRODUCTION

Availability of bone

Cattle and sheep bones have always been available and are still used by craftsmen today. Bones from game animals were available in the past but are no longer generally available.

General uses

Small objects, such as snuff-spoons and ornaments, were carved in bone and hollow lengths of bone were made into small wind-instruments.

Bones which belong to the diviner's set of 'bones' have not been included in the survey unless they are carved.

Craftsmen

Bone was and still is carved by men specialists.

USE OF BONE BY THE CAPE NGUNI

Musical Instruments

1. *Flutes*

Term: *imbande*—*a.* the shin-bone . . . *b.* a pipe, flute (Kropf 1915).

Flute—is used to describe a small wind-instrument from which more than one note is usually produced. Whistle—is used to describe a small wind-instrument from which only one note is usually produced.

Xhosa

The Xhosa made a flute, *imbande*, from a hollow length of bone (Kirby 1934: 108). According to Kropf (1915: 22) and McLaren (1919: 449) a shin-bone was used; however, according to Campbell (1815: 519) and Thunberg (1793: 37) it was made from a thigh-bone. It was said to be used for signalling during a hunt and to summon people to the chief's place.

No detailed description of the instrument was found and no specimens were seen.

2. *Whistles*

Term: *impempe*—a toy whistle (Kropf 1915).

Xhosa

The Xhosa used a small whistle made of bone when herding cattle (Paterson 1789: 94; Barrow 1806: 169).

Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondomise, Mpondo, Mfengu, Hlubi, Bhaca, Xesibe

No information was recorded.

ORNAMENTS AND CHARMS

1. Necklets

Terms: *ikhubalo*—ornament, charm (Kropf 1915); *amazinyo*—teeth (Kropf 1915).

Xhosa

Traditionally the chief wore a necklet of leopard's teeth as a symbol of power (King 1853: 169). An animal-tooth necklet was also considered an essential part of a Xhosa bride's outfit (De Lange 1963: 91). It is interesting to note that similar necklets were made from pieces of bone carved to the shape of teeth (SAM-52, 1898; SAM-5361, before 1897) (Fig. 37). A Ndlambe example (EL 5076, King William's Town, 1968) consists of thirty tooth-shaped pieces of bone interspersed with large beads, strung on twisted sinew. It was said to have been worn at a marriage ceremony in 1918.

Small uncarved bones incorporated in ornaments were regarded as charms rather than ornaments (Kay 1833: 116).

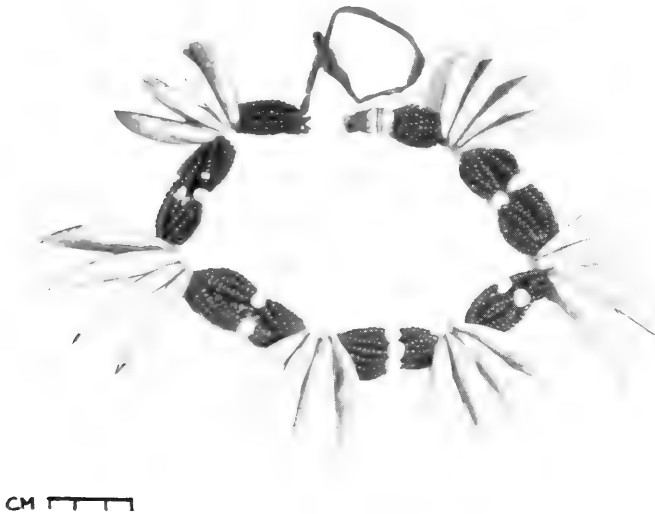


Fig. 37. Carved bone 'tooth' necklet, Xhosa 1898, SAM-52.

2. Ear-studs

Term: *isiviliba*—an ear-ornament of wood or bone, Mfengu (Kropf 1915).

Mfengu

The term *isiviliba* is a Zulu term used by the Mfengu immigrants and it indicates that the Mfengu brought with them to the Cape the typical Natal Nguni ear-ornaments usually made of bone, horn or wood.

Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondomise, Mpondo, Hlubi, Bhaca, Xesibe

No information on bone ornaments was recorded.

SNUFF-BOXES

No reference to bone snuff-boxes was found in the literature nor were any specimens seen in museums or the field.

SNUFF-SPOONS

Terms: *intshaza*—snuff-spoon, Mpondo (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.); *intshengula*—snuff-spoon, Mfengu (Kropf 1915); Note: Snuff-spoons have been divided into four basic types. (See Figs 8–9 for Types 1 and 2. Fig. 38 shows Types 3 and 4.)

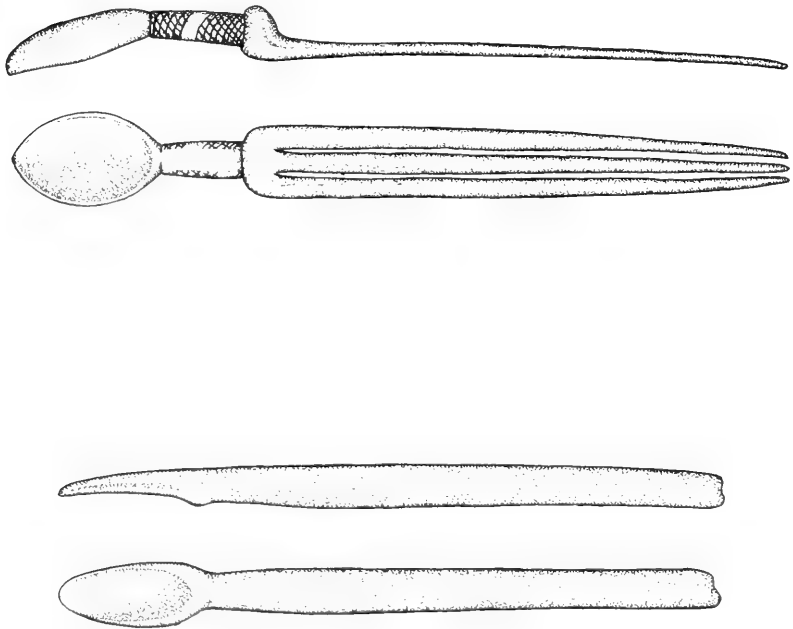


Fig. 38. Types of snuff-spoon: 3. Forked handle, almond bowl. 4. Short, straight handle, almond bowl.

General

According to Fleming (1853: 204) bone snuff-spoons were used by the 'Kaffirs'.

Xhosa

An old Gcaleka specimen has an oval bowl and a short, fairly thick handle (Fig. 39A). It is attached to an old-style snuff-box made of a paste of skin scrapings, blood and clay.

Thembu

A bone snuff-spoon similar to the above example was collected among the Thembu by Dunn in the late nineteenth century (Fig. 39B).



Fig. 39. Bone snuff-spoons (Type 4).
A. Gcaleka, Transkei, 1930, DC 1801.
B. Thembu, nineteenth century, SAM-6935.

Mpondo

Bone snuff-spoons were mentioned by both nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers (Backhouse 1844: 265; Hunter 1936: 152), and Mpondo men still carve bone snuff-spoons today (Libode district, 1969; Port St Johns, 1974) (Fig. 40). They were frequently worn in the hair as ornaments (Duggan-Cronin 1949, pl. 41; Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.). Most of the bone snuff-spoons seen in museum collections are Mpondo specimens. They fall into two categories: those with unforked handles (Type 1) and those with forked handles (Type 3).

Snuff-spoons with unforked handles

A number of bone snuff-spoons which were examined have unforked, straight handles with almond-shaped bowls (SAM-78a, E. Pondoland, 1901; SAM-6682, Lusikisiki, 1948; UCT 32/62a, Flagstaff, 1932; EL 4758-59, Lusikisiki, 1967; SAM-10204-10207, Port St Johns, 1973) (Fig. 41).



Fig. 40. Mpondo bone-carver making snuff-spoons.
(Photograph Mrs Fred Clarke, Umtata.)

This type of snuff-spoon is still made today by a bone-carver near Port St Johns. He boils the shin-bone of an ox, scrapes it clean and cuts it in half with a hack-saw. An axe is used for the rough-shaping of the spoon, a pocket-knife or any suitable blade for the fine carving, a gouging tool for shaping the bowl and a file for smoothing the finished spoon.

Designs are incised on the handle and blackened by rubbing in a mixture of soot and fat. The snuff-spoons are sold for 25 cents each.



Fig. 41. Mpondo bone snuff-spoon (Type 1), Port St. Johns, 1973, SAM-10204.

A variation of this type was seen in an example which flanges at the butt of the handle instead of ending in a point (Fig. 42).

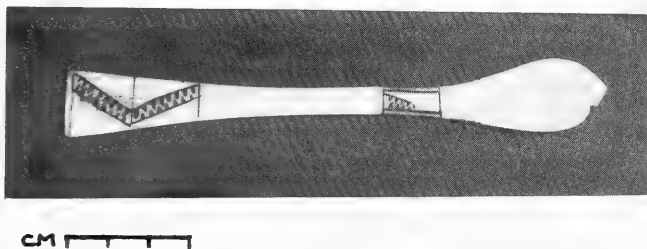


Fig. 42. Mpondo bone snuff-spoon, Pondoland, 1932, UCT 32/62c.

Snuff-spoons with forked handles

The typical example of this type has a two- or three-pronged handle, a narrow neck and an almond-shaped bowl (Fig. 43A). Incised, blackened cross-hatching on the neck is the most common form of decoration (SAM-78b, E. Pondoland 1901; UCT 32/62b, d, Pondoland, 1932). One example which was seen has five short prongs, a narrow neck and large leaf-shaped bowl. It is decorated with incised circles on the neck and the flat area above the prongs, and cross-hatching on the underside of the neck (Fig. 43B).

The pronged end of a snuff-spoon was used in hairdressing and was also referred to as a comb (DC 1634, Pondoland).

Bomvana, Mpondomise, Mfengu, Hlubi, Bhaca, Xesibe

No information was recorded.

MISCELLANEOUS

Awls

Xhosa

A bone awl was used by the Xhosa when making a snuff-box of paste (Fleming 1853: 205).

SUMMARY

The most common use of bone was for small snuff-spoons which were recorded among the Xhosa, Thembu, and Mpondo, and which are still made in

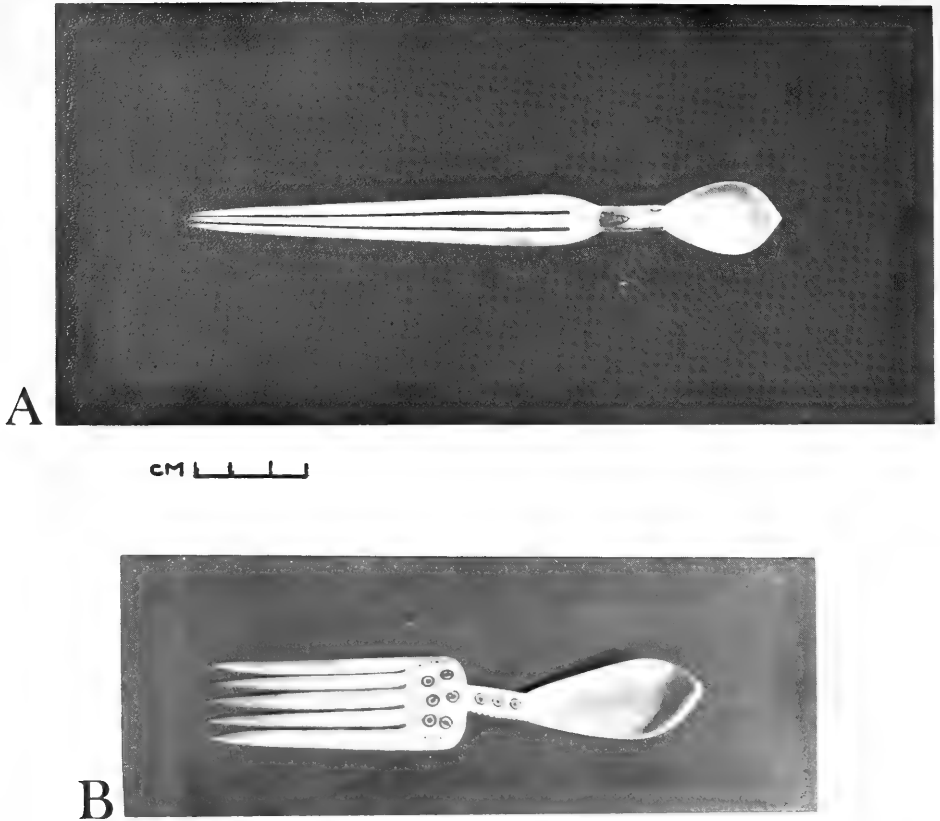


Fig. 43. Mpondo bone snuff-spoon (Type 3). A. Pondoland, 1932, UCT 32/62*b*. B. Ngqeleni, 1936, SAM-8817.

Pondoland today. Modern snuff-spoons are carved from ox tibias, using a pocket-knife or any suitable blade.

Museum specimens from the Mpondo, dating from 1901 to 1973, reflect a continuing tradition and comprise 90 per cent of all the Cape Nguni bone snuff-spoons which were seen. Bone snuff-spoons fall roughly into two groups: those with forked handles and those with unforked handles. The former have very finely carved comb-like handles and both types are frequently decorated with incised designs.

The Xhosa used the tibias of small animals for making whistles and flutes used in signalling.

Bone awls were probably used more widely than the one reference indicates.

An interesting use of bone occurs in the Xhosa necklet made of pieces of bone carved to the shape of teeth, in imitation of the leopard-tooth necklet traditionally worn by a chief. Carved bone ear-studs were worn by the Mfengu, and small uncarved bones were often incorporated in ornaments as amulets.

USE OF BONE BY THE NATAL NGUNI

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1. *Flutes*

Term: *imbande*—musical pipe or flute made of shin-bone of a reed-buck or goat (rarely used today) (Bryant 1905; Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

Dictionary definitions indicate that the Zulu made a flute, *imbande*, from the shin-bone of a small buck or goat. The term *imbande* is also used to refer to the shin-bone itself (Doke & Vilakazi 1964: 64). The instrument which Kirby (1934: 107) described was made from the leg-bone of a bird in the following way. A 10 cm section of bone was hollowed out and two U-shaped notches were carved on opposite sides of the mouth to serve as the embouchure. The lower end was cut off at right-angles to the length. A band of skin was stitched around the instrument and a loop made to facilitate attachment to a necklet.

The *imbande* is said to have been played at the *nqwamtha* ceremony during which the warriors of the nation were treated by the doctors to give them protection from danger in battle (Kirby 1934: 108). This use, together with a photograph of a Zulu diviner sounding his *imbande* (Kirby 1934, pl. 36B), suggests that the instrument had ritual importance.

No specimens were seen in museum collections or in the field.

2. *Whistles*

Term: *impempe*—small single 'pan-pipe' of reed or bone open at one end (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

Simple whistles were made from hollow sections of quill, reed or bone which were closed at one end and which were blown across the open end. A bone whistle attracted the attention of Gardiner (1836: 105, pl. 1(6)), who sketched the instrument and described it as the leg-bone of a sheep or goat from which a sound was produced by blowing across the smaller end. A bone whistle was briefly described by Shooter (1857: 238) and it is probable that the 'reed or hollowed-out bone' which Krauss (1969: 218) mentioned was an *impempe*. The *impempe* was blown at all important dances, producing a shrill, piercing note (Kirby 1934: 89).

3. *Clappers*

Terms: *amathambo*—bones; *ukushaya amathambo*—to rattle the rib-bones of cattle (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

The Zulu used clappers, *amatambo*, made from the rib-bones of cattle, to provide the rhythmical accompaniment to singing at any celebration (Kirby 1934: 10, pl. 5a).

Southern Natal, Msinga area, Drakensberg area

No information on musical instruments was recorded.

ORNAMENTS AND CHARMS

1. *Necklets*

Term: *amazipho*—claws; necklet of carved bone to imitate claws (Krige 1950).

Zululand

Unworked bones were often incorporated in necklets but were generally thought of as charms rather than ornaments (Grout 1862: 107).

Necklets made from the vertebrae of snakes, particularly pythons and mambas, were thought to have the supernatural power of giving strength and wisdom to the wearer (Schlosser 1972: 61, 111, pl. 12).

Carved bone beads were recorded among the Zulu (Grout 1862: 27; Laidler 1937: 42) and bone was also carved to imitate the claws of wild beasts. The bone 'claws' were strung together to form a necklet, *amazipho*, worn by men (Mayr 1907: 637).

2. *Ear-studs*

Term: *ishaza, isiviliba*—ear ornament or stud (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

'The distinguishing mark of the whole Zulu nation was their pierced ears . . .' (Krige 1950: 375). Consequently ear-ornaments were a particular feature of Zulu attire. Among these ornaments were ear 'buttons', carved out of bone to the shape of a flat disc which was fitted into the ear-lobe (Mayr 1907: 638, 640) (Fig. 44).

3. *Pins*

Term: *isikhipha*—pin of carved bone . . . (Krige 1950: 398).

Zululand

Another use of bone was for ornamental hair-pins which were usually carved from rib-bones. Bone pins were also used to clean the nails (Krige 1950: 398). A number of examples are bound with tail hair or decorated with beads strung on tail hair (Figs 45–46). One specimen was bound with black cotton (BM 95–8–6–14, Zululand). A hair-pin collected by Grout in the nineteenth century is described as being bound with wire but it is possible that tail hair was mistaken for wire (Brottem & Lang 1973: 64).

Southern Natal, Msinga area, Drakensberg

No information was recorded.

PIPES

General

Balfour (1901: 12) photographed and described two tubular bone pipes from Natal, ' . . . these pipes are simple short tubes of bone wide open at both



Fig. 44. Zulu man wearing bone ear-stud.

ends. One of them is partly wrapped in skin and is decorated with beads, and would be worn suspended as a charm round the neck. . . .’ Bone pipes like these were probably substitutes for other pipes (Lindblom 1947: 12). No other references to bone pipes were found and the only specimens seen were two tubular bone pipes collected in Port Natal in 1859 (BM 59-9-8 30, 31).

No further information was recorded.

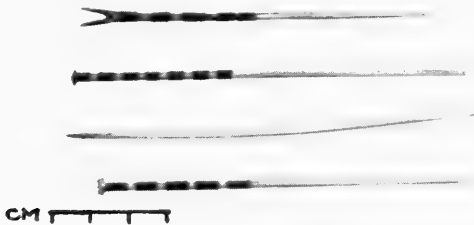


Fig. 45. Bone hair-pins, Zululand, late nineteenth century, SAM-6879.

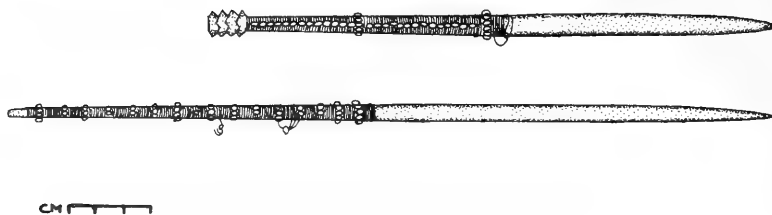


Fig. 46. Bone pins, Zululand, 1911, DC 539.

SNUFF-BOXES

Term: *uhlanga*—reed snuff-box (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Southern Natal

Figure 47 shows a well-made bone snuff-box collected among the Lala tribe in the early twentieth century. It is a hollow section of bone, 10 cm in length, with diagonal ridges carved around a central panel, which is bordered at each end by a band of reptile skin. Round pieces of calabash are fitted into the open ends, which are trimmed with two rows of beads. A beadwork cord

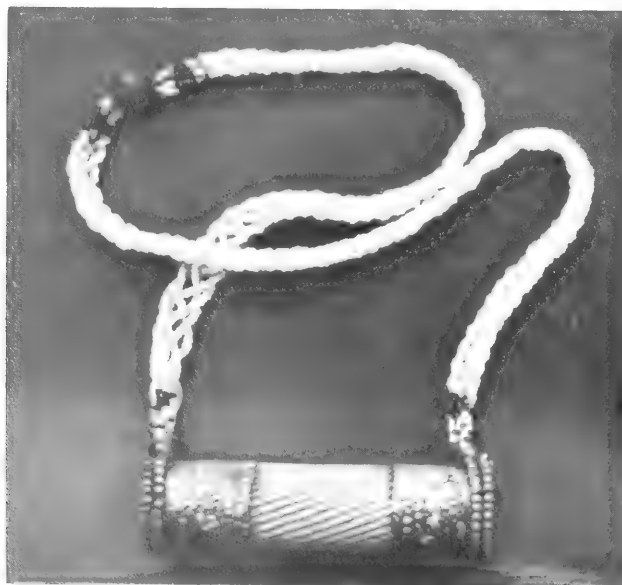


Fig. 47. Lala bone snuff-box, 1909, NM 1005.

is attached to the ends so that it can be worn around the neck.

The term given for this snuff-box is *uhlanga*, which usually means a reed or reed snuff-box. It seems that the term was adopted through association of function.

Zululand, Msinga area, Drakensberg area

No information was recorded.

SNUFF-SPOONS

Terms: *intshengula*—snuff-spoon (of bone or horn); *intshasa*—bone snuff-spoon (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

Bone snuff-spoons attracted the attention of a number of observers in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, in Zululand (Norbury 1880: 11; Krantz 1880: 64; Mayr 1907: 469; Mason 1968: 229–230). Grout (1862: 108), describing the practice of snuff-taking, remarked on the spoon 'with which the native is to convey his snuff . . . from the hollow of his hand to his nostrils. This is made of ivory or bone and carried sometimes in the ear, and sometimes stuck in the hair or under the head-ring, for which the three or four-tined handle is well fitted.' Mayr (1907: 469) sketched a bone snuff-spoon with pointed handle which was also used in hairdressing and 'to wipe away the perspiration on the forehead'.

Among the museum specimens examined are examples with straight handles and almond-shaped bowls (DC 1810, Zululand, 1906; SAM-6734, Zululand, nineteenth century); spatulate-shaped spoons with tapering handles (Fig. 48) or handles which flange at the end (NAS 0.480) and those with forked, comb-like handles (Fig. 49).



Fig. 48. Bone snuff-spoon (Type 2a) Zululand, late nineteenth century, SAM-6735.

Incised geometric designs, blackened with a mixture of fat and ash, have been carved on a number of specimens, often on the neck or on the underside of the handle. One example (SAM-6734) has a small decorative band of wire-binding on the handle as well as incised cross-hatching on the underside of the neck.

No bone snuff-spoons were seen in the field.

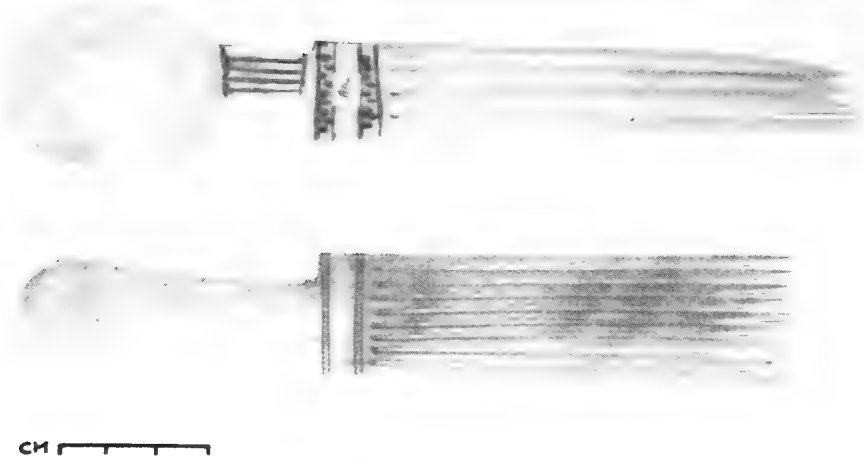


Fig. 49. Comb-like snuff-spoons (Type 3), Zululand, 1907, NM 814.

Southern Natal

A snuff-spoon collected among the Lala tribe has a deep, elongated, oval bowl and tapered handle. It is decorated with incised, blackened triangles on the underside (NM 2400, 1916).

Msinga area, Drakensberg area

No information was recorded.

SWEAT-SCRAPERS

Terms: *uphephela*—bone or horn sweat-scraper (Doke & Vilakazi 1964); *ubambo*—scraper (used for removing sweat, cleaning nostrils etc. generally made of rib-bone) (Doke & Vilakazi 1964); *isikhwece*—curved bone or horn face-scraper (Krige 1950: 398).

Zululand

Krauss (1969: 212) referred to 'a type of spatula with a daintily chiselled handle made from the bones of oxen, more rarely made from ebony and which took the place of a handkerchief'. Rib-bones seem to have been particularly suitable for making sweat-scrapers because of their length and thinness. Two Zulu scrapers which were examined are thin, curved sections of rib-bone smoothed off and carved to a rounded point at one end, but are otherwise uncarved (SAM-6733, Zululand 1871-76; NASKO 8038, Pietermaritzburg 1939) (Fig. 50). Three other Zulu examples are straight pieces of bone with a carved serrated edge at one end and a point at the other (HW 2138, 2139, 2140, Durban, no date).

No information on sweat-scrapers was obtained in the field.

Southern Natal, Msinga area, Drakensberg area

No information was recorded.



Fig. 50. Bone sweat-scraper, Pietermaritzburg, 1939, NASKO 8038.

MISCELLANEOUS

Awls

Term: *usungulo*—native awl or large needle (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

The Zulu used a bone awl in basket-making (Krige 1950: 398).

SUMMARY

Bone-carving is no longer an active craft among the Natal Nguni. Bone objects, however, are referred to in the literature and some examples are preserved in museum collections. These include bone ear-studs, hair-pins, beads, sweat-scrappers and a variety of snuff-spoons. Only one bone snuff-box was seen but it is a very fine example of bone-carving.

Musical instruments were made from the tibias of small animals. For a flute the bone was open at both ends, with a notch on either side of the mouth to vary the sound; for a whistle one end was closed and sound was produced by blowing across the open end. Clappers were made from the rib-bones of cattle.

Bone pipes, although mentioned, do not appear to have been characteristic of the Natal Nguni.

USE OF BONE BY THE SWAZI

Marwick (1966: 73) states that '... bone and wood carving . . . which formerly were crafts known to everyone, are now becoming specialised . . .'.

No information on bone-carving, however, was found in the literature and no specialists were found in the field.

Snuff-boxes carved from bone were mentioned by Duggan-Cronin (1941, pl. 141) and bone hair-pins were seen in the Völkerkunde Museum, Berlin (111 D 1635).

No other uses of bone by the Swazi were recorded.

USE OF BONE BY THE SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN TRANSVAAL NDEBELE

No information on bone carving was recorded.

USE OF BONE BY THE RHODESIAN NDEBELE

No information on bone-carving was recorded among the Rhodesian Ndebele, and the only bone object mentioned was a whistle used in a ceremony to prevent lightning (Tucker 1958: 16).

No museum specimens were seen and although one might have expected to find objects similar to those found among the Natal Nguni, if they did exist they have not been preserved.

IVORY

INTRODUCTION

Availability of ivory

Formerly large numbers of elephant were to be found throughout the Nguni area and, according to Alberti, the Xhosa would 'not infrequently at the risk of their lives occupy themselves for several days with killing an Elephant'. The extreme difficulty of the hunt, however, meant that a kill was rare. Furthermore when a kill was made the tusks had to be delivered to the chief of the tribe to which the hunting party belonged (Alberti 1968: 29, 76). According to Fynn (1950: 17) only one tusk was given in tribute to a Mpondo chief, the other being kept by the hunter. Traditionally there was great prestige attached to the possession of ivory as it indicated the chief's favour and was regarded 'purely as a luxury' (Alberti 1968: 29).

The introduction of firearms and the increased demand for ivory as a trade commodity changed the traditional pattern considerably. 'Sportsmen' killed hundreds of elephant during the nineteenth century and there was a constant demand for ivory on the overseas markets.

The establishment of the Fort Willshire fair in 1824 stimulated the trade in ivory between the Xhosa and European traders. By 1831 ivory worth £2 000 was exported annually from Grahamstown in return for blankets, beads, metal,

guns and horses (Wilson & Thompson 1969: 242) (Fig. 51). In Natal large quantities of elephant tusks were exported via Delagoa Bay and from the beginning of the nineteenth century trade was encouraged and expanded by Dingiswayo and later by Shaka (Wilson & Thompson 1969: 251). A chief's power and wealth were greatly enhanced if he could increase and maintain control of the ivory trade in his area but this was not easy in the Eastern Cape where trade was dispersed over a wide area, under many different chiefs.

A corollary of the ivory trade was that ivory became less available to craftsmen (Kay 1833: 120). By the end of the nineteenth century, as a result of the ivory trade, the elephant was extinct in the Nguni area in all but a few places (Sclater 1900: 322).



Fig. 51. Mr Hume's Wagons on Market Square, Grahamstown, 1850 (Thomas Baines).
(By kind permission 1820 Settlers Memorial Museum, Grahamstown.)

General uses

Ivory was used mainly for ornaments and to a lesser extent for finely carved utility objects. All the ivory objects seen in museum collections were said to have belonged to chiefs or men of valour.

Craftsmen

No reference to ivory-carvers was found in the literature but it is probable that the craftsmen were men specialists.

USE OF IVORY BY THE CAPE NGUNI

ORNAMENTS

Term: *umxhaka*—A ring of ivory worn on the upper arm as a sign of distinction (Kropf 1915).

Xhosa

A number of writers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries remarked on the ivory arm-rings worn by men on the left upper-arm (Von Winkelman 1932: 68; Renshaw 1804: 19; Barrow 1806: 126; Alberti 1968: 33; Van der Kemp 1804: 335). Possession of an arm-ring was a sign of honour and up to ten arm-rings were said to have been worn by chiefs. They were made from tusks belonging to the chief or from tusks which the chief had allocated to men of distinction, but they remained the property of the chief should the wearer be killed in battle. According to Alberti (1968: 83) certain Xhosa men held the superstition that deliberate alienation or breakage of an ivory ring would be followed by misfortune. Rather than lose an arm-ring to an opponent in battle, however, the owner would break it into pieces (Streatfield 1879: 42). This might partly account for the relatively large number of broken and carefully repaired specimens that came into museum collections.

By the end of the eighteenth century ivory arm-rings were being sold to travellers (Von Winkelman 1932: 67) and according to Kay (1833: 120), as the trade in tusks became more active, arm-rings were made less frequently. By the end of the nineteenth century their value as marks of distinction had declined and it is reported that ivory arm-rings could be bought by anyone who could afford them. They were advertised for sale in the *Kaffrarian Watchman* by Messrs Mitchell and Dyer in December 1876.

There is very little information on the making of the arm-rings. A section of the required width was cut off the tusk with a spear-blade and the inner circumference was enlarged to fit the upper arm. This allegedly was done with sharp-edged stones (Von Winkelman 1932: 68; Makalima 1945: chap. 9 para. 42).

One writer refers to incised decoration but this is not supported by any other evidence (Körner 1874: 174).

The width of an arm-band which varied from approximately one cm (Sparrman 1785: 8) to three cm (Von Winkelman 1932: 68; Fritsch 1872: 61) must have limited the number of arm-bands worn together. In a twentieth-century photograph a Ngqika chief is wearing just one wide arm-band on the left upper arm (Duggan-Cronin 1939, pl. 3) as is the figure depicted in a rock-painting of a Xhosa warrior (Rosenthal & Goodwin 1953, pl. 45).

Of the eight Xhosa arm-rings in the South African Museum collection, six are wide (mean 3,0 cm) and fairly thick (mean 2,0 cm), and two are narrower (mean 1,5 cm) and thinner (mean 0,6 cm) (SAM-67, 1900; SAM-5907, 1938; SAM-6922, 6924, King William's Town, nineteenth century; SAM-9423,

9604 (Fig. 52), King William's Town, 1968, 1969; SAM-6923, 6925, Transkei, nineteenth century).

Cracked arm-rings have been carefully repaired with molten lead and metal pegs (SAM-67, 1900; Bigalke 1966, pl. 5) (Fig. 53).



CM 

Fig. 52. Ivory arm-band, Xhosa, King William's Town, 1969, SAM-9604.



CM 

Fig. 53. Ivory arm-band showing repair, Xhosa, 1900, SAM-67.

Thembu

Duggan-Cronin (1939, pl. 26) photographed a Thembu chief wearing a thick ivory arm-band.

Bomvana

Tshomane chiefs wore ivory arm-rings (Hubberly 1953: 82). A Bomvana specimen from Elliotdale (NASKO 35/387) has become highly polished and golden in colour from wear. It was said to have been worn by a 'true man'.

Mpondo

Smith (1824: 281) stated that Mpondo men wore ivory arm-rings on the upper arm, and in the late nineteenth century Dunn collected an ivory arm-ring in Pondoland. It is of the narrower, thinner type (Fig. 54).



Fig. 54. Mpondo ivory arm-band, Pondoland, late nineteenth century, SAM-6952.

Mpondomise, Mfengu, Hlubi, Bhaca, Xesibe

No information on ivory ornaments was recorded.

SNUFF-SPOONS

Term: *intshaza*—snuff-spoon, Mpondo (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972 MS.).

General

Ivory snuff-spoons were mentioned by a number of nineteenth-century writers (Fleming 1856: 204; Kretzschmar 1853: 239–240; Fritsch 1872: 68) but no further details were recorded and no ivory snuff-spoons were seen in museum collections. This might be explained by the fact that ivory was rare, but it is also possible that polished bone was mistaken for ivory and that most of the 'ivory' snuff-spoons were in fact bone.

Xhosa

According to Kropf (1889: 103) the Xhosa used ivory snuff-spoons.

Thembu

Kay (1833: 290) noted ivory snuff-spoons in use among the Thembu.

Mpondo

According to Smith (1824: 398) the Mpondo used ivory snuff-spoons.

Mfengu

Kay (1833: 134) also remarked on ivory snuff-spoons among the Mfengu.

Bomvana, Mpondomise, Hlubi, Bhaca, Xesibe

No information on ivory snuff-spoons was recorded.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Medicine flask**Xhosa*

One example of an ivory medicine flask (Fig. 55) said to have been collected in the Transkei in about 1840, was seen in the Hamilton-Welsh collection.



Fig. 55. Ivory medicine flask, Transkei
1840, HW 604.

2. *Musical instrument**Xhosa*

There is one early reference to an ivory whistle used by Xhosa herd-boys but this is not supported by any other evidence (Paterson 1789: 94).

SUMMARY

Ivory differed from horn and bone in that it was more rare and had greater prestige attached to it. Traditionally chiefs controlled the use of and trade in ivory. Of the few ivory objects which were recorded the most important is the ivory arm-band, *umxhaka*, worn by men as a sign of distinction and of the chief's favour. To make an arm-band a section of tusk was cut with a spear-blade and the inner circle enlarged to the required size. Sharp-edged stones were said to have been used for this purpose. Carefully repaired specimens confirm the high value placed on these ornaments.

The prestige attached to the *umxhaka* seems to have been particularly characteristic of the Xhosa. Van der Kemp (1804: 439) states that it was an ornament 'peculiar to the subjects of Gika'. Among the Thembu, Bomvana and Mpondo, however, ivory arm-bands were also used. They were not recorded among the immigrant tribes and the Mpondomise.

Ivory snuff-spoons were mentioned in the literature but none were seen in museum collections. One early reference to an ivory whistle and an ivory medicine flask collected in the Transkei in the early nineteenth century indicates that ivory was occasionally used for utility as well as for ornamental purposes.

As a result of the ivory trade, the traditional value of ivory was replaced by its commercial value as a medium of exchange. By the end of the nineteenth century ivory was no longer available.

USE OF IVORY BY THE NATAL NGUNI

ORNAMENTS

1. *Arm-bands**Zululand*

Arbousset (1846: 146) says of the Zulu king in 1823, '. . . in the course of one year, he killed no less than 28 elephants and of the tusks had a number of ivory bracelets, made for his mistresses . . .'. This is an unusual reference to the use of ivory at a time when the ivory trade was active. The only museum specimens seen were two ivory arm-bands in the Linden Museum acquired in 1903 (Nos. 29714, 29712).

2. *Ear-studs*

Term: *isiviliba*—ear-stud. (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

Ivory ear-ornaments were frequently mentioned. Bryant (1949: 141) described them as 'circular, slightly conical plugs, and an inch in diameter, made of polished ivory, horn or baked clay', and other writers simply referred to them as 'ivory knobs' worn in the ear (Grout 1862: 108; Tyler 1891: 61).

None were seen in museum collections.

3. *Hair ornaments*

Zululand

Deléage (1879: 64) mentions pieces of ivory worn in the hair by young Zulu men but does not describe the ornaments. It is possible that they were hair-pins of ivory.

No ivory ornaments were seen in the field.

Southern Natal, Msinga area, Drakensberg area

No information was recorded.

SNUFF-BOXES

Zululand

Ivory was used occasionally for making a snuff-box (Faye 1940: 9–10).

Two ivory snuff-boxes (Fig. 56) were examined at the Natal Museum. Both are carved from the solid to an oval shape slightly flattened at the base. One stands on four carved legs and has a carved ivory stopper; the other has a lug on one side and a wooden stopper. Both snuff-boxes show a high degree of craftsmanship and were said to have belonged to chiefs.

An ivory snuff-box, said to have belonged to Cetshwayo, was seen in the Pitt-Rivers Museum (No. 1941.12.11). None were seen in the field.

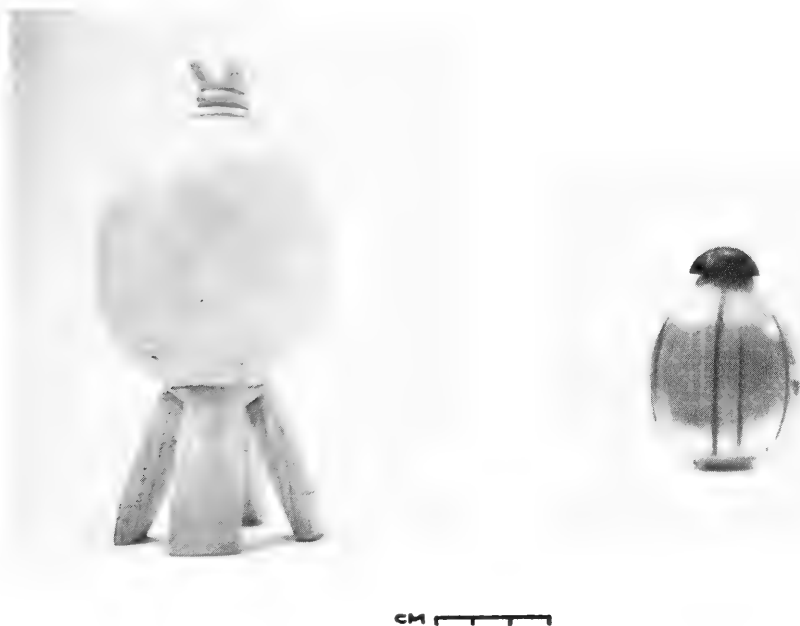


Fig. 56. Two ivory snuff-boxes, Zululand, nineteenth century, NM, Adams Loan.

Southern Natal, Msinga area, Drakensberg area

No information was recorded in these areas.

SNUFF-SPOONS

Term: *intshengula*—snuff-spoon (Doke & Vilakazi 1964).

Zululand

Ivory snuff-spoons were used by those who could afford them (Shooter 1857: 8; Grout 1862: 108; Gardiner 1836: 107). Of the comb-type snuff-spoon Holden (1963: 254) remarked, 'In making the comb part, great patience is requisite; as, to shave the solid piece of ivory to the proper size, and then saw the long teeth with a rough piece of iron, is no small task . . .'.²

No ivory snuff-spoons were seen in museum collections nor were any seen in the field.

Southern Natal, Msinga area, Drakensberg area

No information was recorded in these areas.

SWEAT-SCRAPERS

Zululand

Sweat-scrappers of ivory were noted among the Zulu by Gardiner (1836: 107) who sketched a 'scraping-knife', rounded at both ends and spatulate in shape, and by Norbury (1880: 11–12) who stated, 'A chief often provides himself with a finely carved, sharp-pointed ivory instrument, something like a paper-knife; with this he scrapes the perspiration from his skin . . .'.³

No museum specimens were seen nor were any seen in the field.

Southern Natal, Msinga area, Drakensberg area

No information was recorded.

MISCELLANEOUS

Drinking-vessels

A drinking-vessel (Fig. 57) carved from a hollow section of ivory was seen in the Natal Museum. A round piece of horn was used to plug the opening at the base. It is said to have been made from the tusk of an elephant killed by Cetshwayo's hunters.

SUMMARY

The extent to which ivory was used before it became a valuable trade commodity is not known, but as the ivory trade increased other uses of ivory must have declined.

Ivory objects that were carved were almost invariably made for chiefs. Arm-bands, ear-studs, hair ornaments, snuff-boxes, snuff-spoons and sweat-scrappers were recorded in the literature and two finely carved ivory snuff-boxes and an ivory drinking-vessel were seen in the Natal Museum.



Fig. 57. Ivory drinking-vessel, Zululand, nineteenth century, NM, Adams Loan.

Ivory arm-bands, although recorded, were not the symbols of distinction that they were among the Cape Nguni. The absence of a specific Zulu term to describe ivory arm-bands suggests that they did not have a cultural significance greater than that of other arm-bands. Among the Zulu it was the brass armband, *ingxotha*, that signified the highest honour and the favour of the chief (Krige 1950: 374).

Holden commented on the patience required to carve a comb-like snuff-spoon with a piece of iron but no further technical information on ivory-carving was found.

USE OF IVORY BY THE SWAZI

Among the Swazi the elephant is an important animal symbol. At the head of the political hierarchy is the king, *Ngwenyama* (Lion) and his mother, *Ndlovukati* (She-Elephant).

The lion and the elephant personify the traits of ideal rulers—they are both fearless and the most powerful of their kind. The two are perceived as equal in powers and complementary. On the main day of the *Ncwala* Ceremony the king wears only a penis-sheath of ivory when he walks before his people; and he is praised as '*Wena wendlovu*' (You of the Elephant) and '*Ndlovu yaka Ngwane*' (Elephant of the Ngwane) (Kuper 1973: 622, 626).

No other references to the use of ivory by the Swazi were recorded.

USE OF IVORY BY THE SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL NDEBELE

Among the Ndzundza a chief used a sweat-scraper made of ivory (Weiss 1963: 63). No other references to the use of ivory were found.

USE OF IVORY BY THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL NDEBELE

No information was recorded.

USE OF IVORY BY THE RHODESIAN NDEBELE

The chief commanded all available ivory for his personal use, and ornaments of ivory were worn only by the chief (Holub 1893: 197). The only specimen seen was an ivory arm-band in the Linden Museum (No. 3791: 414). No further information was found.

DISCUSSION: USES OF HORN, BONE AND IVORY AMONG THE NGUNI

Horn, bone, and ivory as media have been grouped together because objects that were carved out of one were often carved out of the others as well and, as far as is known, the tools used in carving the three media were similar. Each material, however, does have properties which are different from the others and in each case there are uses which relate specifically to the nature of that material.

The carving of these materials was not a major craft and few writers did more than refer briefly to the objects made.

The lack of technical information in the literature, together with the fact that very few craftsmen are still practising today, resulted in a minimum of data on which to base conclusions, which must therefore remain tentative. The paucity of information may be explained by the fact that most writers were not concerned with recording details on minor crafts and many of the objects, especially those with little carving, were not outstanding enough to attract the attention of the observer. Furthermore, by the time travellers started making records some of the crafts were already disappearing. For example, the ivory trade attracted far more attention than the carving of ivory, with the result that we do not know the extent to which ivory was used by craftsmen before it became a valuable trade commodity.

The two most important factors influencing the availability of antelope-horn and rhinoceros-horn and ivory were the use of firearms in hunting and the demand for horns and tusks on the local and European markets.

Before game was largely hunted out in the Nguni area, horn from game as well as from cattle, goats and sheep was freely available. The availability

of particular types of horn was dependent on the distribution of game; for example, horns of sable antelope were not available to the Xhosa, whereas they were to the Zulu and Swazi. Today only the horns of domestic animals are available to craftsmen.

Bone from wild and domestic animals was available formerly but there is no record of the extent to which different kinds of bone were used for carving. Today only cattle bones are used.

Ivory differed from horn and bone in that it was rare, both as a result of the dangers involved in the elephant-hunt and because all ivory was the property of the chief who would allocate it only to favoured subjects.

Among the Swazi the elephant is an important animal symbol. The king's mother is known as *Ndlovukati* (She-elephant). On the great day of the *Incwala* ceremony the king wears an ivory penis-sheath and is praised as 'You of the Elephant' and 'Elephant of the Ngwane'. The Zulu chief, Cetshwayo, was also praised as 'You of the Elephant' (Faye 1940: 4). Although this specific symbolism has not been recorded among the other Nguni tribes it is true to say that there was a special attitude towards the elephant which is expressed in the association of ivory with the chief and the prestige attached to the possession of ivory. This may be explained partly by the qualities of supernatural strength and bravery which were required in hunting elephant before firearms were introduced, and partly by the association of ivory with the power of the animal itself. The large-scale hunting of elephant, together with the introduction of Western trade goods, caused a marked change in the system of values, and the traditional value of ivory was replaced by its commercial value as a medium of exchange.

The carving of horn, bone and ivory was done by men. It is probable that most men knew how to carve but that some were more talented than others and became specialists. Those who carve today are specialists who learnt the technique of carving from their fathers. Snuff-spoons are still made for sale at the local stores in Pondoland but there is no record of former trade patterns.

The traditional tools, a spear-head and an axe, have been replaced by a pocket-knife or any suitable blade and a saw which, together with a gouging tool and a file, are the main tools used today. Horn was made easier to work with by heating and in this it differed from bone and ivory. In other respects the carving of the three media was the same.

The main method of decoration was by incision. Snuff-spoons were usually incised with geometric designs, blackened by the rubbing in of ashes mixed with fat. Occasionally a Cape Nguni snuff-box was carved to resemble an animal and among the Zulu, bulb-shaped snuff-boxes carved in rhinoceros-horn were decorated with raised triangles and ridges very similar to the typical decoration on Zulu wood-carving and pottery. Among the Swazi it is interesting to note that the carved fluting on snuff-boxes and horn water-vessels was also seen on their wooden head-rests and stick-heads.

The only type of repair recorded was the use of molten lead to repair

broken ivory arm-rings. This was recorded only among the Xhosa and can have been done only after European material became available. It is a reflection of the high value placed on ivory arm-rings by the Xhosa.

As far as has been recorded no taboos or rituals were observed when working with these materials.

The recorded uses of horn, bone and ivory are summarized in Table 1.

Uses	Horn					Bone					Ivory							
	Cape Nguni	Natal Nguni	Swazi	S. Tvl. Ndebele	N. Tvl. Ndebele	Rhod. Ndebele	Cape Nguni	Natal Nguni	Swazi	S. Tvl. Ndebele	N. Tvl. Ndebele	Rhod. Ndebele	Cape Nguni	Natal Nguni	Swazi	S. Tvl. Ndebele	N. Tvl. Ndebele	Rhod. Ndebele
<i>Uncarved</i>																		
Bellows-nozzle . . .	×	×																
Clappers							×											
Cupping-horns . . .	×	×																
Drinking-vessels . .			×															
Enemas	×	×																
Flasks (gen.)	×		×	×														
Flutes							×	×										
Medicine-horns . . .	×	×	×	×		×												
Ornaments and charms	×	×	×	×		×	×	×										
Tools		×																
Trumpets	×	×	×															
Water-pipes	×	×	×			×												
Whistles		×	×				×	×				×						
<i>Carved</i>																		
Awls/Needles		×	×				×	×										
Clubs	×	×		×		×												
Divining bones . . .				×														
Drinking-vessels . .														×				
Fly-switch handles .			×															
Medicine flasks . . .												×						
Mouthpieces for pipes	×																	
Ornaments																		
arm-bands												×	×					×
ear-studs		×					×	×					×					
necklets							×	×										
hair-pins		×						×	×				×					
Penis-sheaths			×												×			
Snuff-boxes	×	×	×	×					×	×				×				
Snuff-spoons	×	×					×	×				×	×					
Spoons	×	×											×					
Sweat-scrapers . . .		×						×						×		×		

Table 1. Recorded uses of horn, bone and ivory.

Certain conclusions may be drawn from the table.

The uncarved objects utilize the physical characteristics of the material as such, and these objects are therefore not usually made in an alternative material. For example a horn was particularly suitable for making a trumpet or water-vessel, and similarly a hollow section of bone was easily made into a flute. Small horns and bones were both used, unmodified, as ornaments and amulets.

Although not recorded for all groups, it is likely that these uses of horn and bone were general throughout the Nguni area.

Certain carved objects were made only in one of the three materials because the other two were not suitable, for example the ivory arm-rings and the rhinoceros-horn clubs.

Small carved objects like snuff-boxes, snuff-spoons, sweat-scrapers, ear-studs and hair-pins were made in all three media and it is likely that the choice of material would have depended on availability and, in the case of ivory, the rank of the owner.

One cannot draw conclusions about the distribution of horn, bone and ivory objects over the Nguni area because the information on the Cape and Natal Nguni far outweighs that on the other groups, but from the available information there is nothing to suggest that there were any marked differences in the use made of horn, bone and ivory by the different groups. The presence of horn mouthpieces for pipes only among the Cape Nguni is a reflection of their preference for smoking tobacco rather than their exceptional ability as horn-carvers.

The present position is that there are a few specialist horn and bone-carvers still practising but that these crafts have largely disappeared.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BM — British Museum ethnographic collection.
- DC — Duggan-Cronin Bantu Gallery, Kimberley.
- EL — East London Museum.
- HW — Hamilton-Welsh collection, F. S. Malan Museum, Fort Hare.
- NAS — National Museum, Bloemfontein.
- NASKO — National Open-air and Cultural History Museum, Pretoria.
- NM — Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg.
- PE — Port Elizabeth Museum.
- P-RM — Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.
- SAM — South African Museum, Cape Town.
- UCT — University of Cape Town collection at the South African Museum.

6. SYSTEMATIC papers must conform with the *International code of zoological nomenclature* (particularly Articles 22 and 51).

Names of new taxa, combinations, synonyms, etc., when used for the first time, must be followed by the appropriate Latin (not English) abbreviation, e.g. gen. nov., sp. nov., comb. nov., syn. nov., etc.

An author's name when cited must follow the name of the taxon without intervening punctuation and not be abbreviated; if the year is added, a comma must separate author's name and year. The author's name (and date, if cited) must be placed in parentheses if a species or subspecies is transferred from its original genus. The name of a subsequent user of a scientific name must be separated from the scientific name by a colon.

Synonymy arrangement should be according to chronology of names, i.e. all published scientific names by which the species previously has been designated are listed in chronological order, with all references to that name following in chronological order, e.g.:

Family Nuculanidae

Nuculana (Lembulus) bicuspidata (Gould, 1845)

Figs 14–15A

Nucula (Leda) bicuspidata Gould, 1845: 37.

Leda plicifera A. Adams, 1856: 50.

Laeda bicuspidata Hanley, 1859: 118, pl. 228 (fig. 73). Sowerby, 1871: pl. 2 (figs 8a–b).

Nucula largillierti Philippi, 1861: 87.

Leda bicuspidata: Nicklès, 1950: 163, fig. 301; 1955: 110. Barnard, 1964: 234, figs 8–9

Note punctuation in the above example:

comma separates author's name and year

semicolon separates more than one reference by the same author

full stop separates references by different authors

figures of plates are enclosed in parentheses to distinguish them from text-figures

dash, not comma separates consecutive numbers

Synonymy arrangement according to chronology of bibliographic references, whereby the year is placed in front of each entry, and the synonym repeated in full for each entry, is not acceptable.

In describing new species, one specimen must be designated as the holotype; other specimens mentioned in the original description are to be designated paratypes; additional material not regarded as paratypes should be listed separately. The complete data (registration number, depository, description of specimen, locality, collector, date) of the holotype and paratypes must be recorded, e.g.:

Holotype

SAM-A13535 in the South African Museum, Cape Town. Adult female from mid-tide region, King's Beach, Port Elizabeth (33.51S, 25.39E), collected by A. Smith, 15 January 1973.

Note standard form of writing South African Museum registration numbers, date and geographical positions.

7. SPECIAL HOUSE RULES

Capital initial letters

- The Figures, Maps and Tables of the paper when referred to in the text
e.g. '... the Figure depicting *C. namacolus* . . .'; '... in *C. namacolus*(Fig. 10) . . .'
- The prefixes of prefixed surnames in all languages, when used in the text, if not preceded by initials or full names
e.g. Du Toit but A. L. du Toit; Von Huene but F. von Huene
- Scientific names, but not their vernacular derivatives
e.g. Therocephalia, but therocephalian

Punctuation should be loose, omitting all not strictly necessary

Reference to the author should be expressed in the third person

Roman numerals should be converted to arabic, except when forming part of the title of a book or article, such as

'Revision of the Crustacea. Part VIII. The Amphipoda.'

Specific name must not stand alone, but be preceded by the generic name or its abbreviation to initial capital letter, provided the same generic name is used consecutively.

Name of new genus or species is not to be included in the title: it should be included in the abstract, counter to Recommendation 23 of the Code, to meet the requirements of Biological Abstracts.



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PATRICIA DAVISON
SOME NGUNI CRAFTS
PART 2
THE USES OF HORN, BONE AND IVORY