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"The absence of presence". Anarchival Figurations from
Seeing What is Not There by Carine Zaayman

***Reversing the Flow:
'Civilization' and 'Tradition' in John L. Dube's Ukuziphatha Kahle
(Good Manners)***
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Reversing the Flow:

‘Civilization’ and ‘Tradition’ in John L. Dube’s *Ukuziphatha Kahle* (Good Manners)

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Contextualization

- This paper or I should say memorandum at this stage, is a part of the larger project. I got Ph.D. with a dissertation focusing on African education in Natal in the early 20th century. I am planning to develop this dissertation, adding analysis on the textbooks used in the school subject called Zulu history and literature. Dube's *Ukuziphatha Kahle* is one of them.
- Because of Covid-19, I have difficulty getting primary and secondary sources. Materials I should have consulted but missed for preparing this paper are: The first edition of *Ukuziphatha Kahle* published in 1928, which Heather Hughes mentioned in her biography of Dube, 1933 edition UCT library holds, and Master thesis by Nokuthula Dhlomo, which includes the English translation of *Ukuziphatha Kahle*.¹ I am planning to use these materials when it becomes possible to revisit South Africa.

Introduction

I read books written in English, and when I get tired of reading it or, more precisely, tired of reading in that language, I switch to a Japanese book. Not only that the language of the book has changed, but the eyes move differently. On English books, the eyes oscillate from left to right, going down slowly from top to bottom. On Japanese books, the eyes oscillate from top

¹ Dhlomo, Nokuthula Nono. “The Theory, Value and Practice of Translation with Reference to John L. Dube’s ‘Isita Somuntu Nguye Uqobo Lwakhe (1928)’ and ‘Ukuziphatha Kahle (1935)’” (MA Thesis, Durban, University of Natal, Durban-Westville, 1998).

to bottom, going leftward gradually. Thanks to the little exercise that reading different languages gives me, I feel I could read a bit longer. A friend of mine once suggested that I should learn Arabic to add another movement of the eyes, from right to left. Then I could read books without rest forever.

Reading John Dube's *Ukuziphatha Kahle* reminded me of this episode about the movement of the eyes. Since the book was written in isiZulu, the eyes usually oscillate from left to right. However, if the reader follows the intention that Dube explained in the preface faithfully, they sometimes have their eyes jump from the left to the right. This is because Dube divided a page into two columns: on the left side (Okwamanje), he described the present manners that civilized Zulus must follow, while on the right side (Okwemvelo), he explained the past customs of Zulu people (see Figure 1). The direction of the eyes in reading relates to the flow in time or logic; as the sayings like "As explained above" or "左記の通り (Saki no tori), You will see on the left" suggest. In *Ukuziphatha Kahle*, Dube urges the readers to be self-conscious of this time flow and oscillate themselves between the present practice (Okwamanje, on the left side) and the past practice (Okwemvelo, on the right side). This paper argues that the oscillation of the eyes as the bridge between the past and the present functions as an intermediary between Dube's two positions, as Christian elite and Zulu royalist. Dube claimed in this book to build the Zulu nation based on its good traditions and by selectively adopting European civilization. Claiming articulation between the European and the indigenous, or the West and the East is unexceptional. Dube's ingenuity lies in his presenting his claim in the comparative method (*ukuqhathanisa*) and share his vision with the readers. This paper will reveal how Dube represents the Zulu past and the present as a continuum, not as rupture, by examining his method: the contents and relationship of two columns and the photographs interpolated in the sentences.

Two columns support Dube's argument of natural development from the Zulu tradition to the civilized lifestyle. This paper also argues that the presentation of the continuum also

functions as an exclusion. Dube accused people who went astray from this development. Dube criticized the ones who uncritically followed white ways (*impoqabelungu*), Zulu girls eager to mimic the fashion of European clothes and cosmetics, and the ones he called “ihuzu” who deserted their original community and ran away to the cities.²

Dube and isiZulu writings

As the first president of the African National Congress, John Dube has been a focus of many scholarly articles and monographs.³ While Dube as a politician has been examined thoroughly, especially by Heather Hughes's biography, Dube as an isiZulu writer has yet to be examined fully. Dube's isiZulu writings, I assume, will give us how Dube himself bridges the duality of his status as mission elite and Zulu nationalist. Dube started the isiZulu newspaper *Ilanga laseNatal*, established the forum with which many notable Zulu intellectuals were related; Magera Fuze serialized his articles on Zulu history, and R.R.R. Dhlomo served as an editor.⁴ Dube himself wrote and published the first isiZulu novel *Insila kaShaka* (The body servant of Sshaka) and his political polemics *Isita somuntu nguyi uqobo lwake* (black man's enemy is nothing but himself).⁵

Among many of Dube's isiZulu writings, *Ukuziphatha Kahle* cannot be regarded as an

² Doke-Vilakazi Dictionary defines "ihuzu-amahuzu" as follows. "Native who has deserted his home for town life; detribalized Native." D. McK Malcolm et al., eds., *English-IsiZulu = IsiZulu-English Dictionary*, Fourth Edition, with revised orthography (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2014), 739.

³ Studies which examined Dube's career as the first president of the ANC are Manning Marable, "African nationalist: the life of John Langalibalele Dube" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Maryland, 1976); Heather Hughes, *First President: A Life of John Dube, Founding President of the ANC* (Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2011). Focusing on Dube's connection to the United States of America, some claim Dube as the aspect of South African Booker T. Washington, a prominent black educator of the American South. R. Hunt Davis, "John L. Dube: A South African Exponent of Booker T. Washington," *Journal of African Studies* 2, no. 4 (Winter 1975), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1303256011/citation/4C67419E0F324618PQ/1>.

⁴ Hughes, *First President*, 103–4; Hlonipha Mokoena, *Magera Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual* (Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2011); Shelly Ziona Skikna, "Son of the Sun and Son of the World: The Life and Works of R.R.R. Dhlomo." (MA Thesis, Johannesburg, University of Witwatersrand, 1984), <http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/handle/10539/24669>.

⁵ John Langalibalele Dube, *Insila KaShaka* (Mariannhill (Natal): Mariannhill Mission Press, 1985); John L. Dube, *Isita somuntu nguyi uqobo lwake*, 2nd ed. ([Mariannhill, KwaZulu Natal]: Mariannhill Mission Press, 1928).

outstanding work. In fact, B.W. Vilakazi, a famous Zulu poet, commented on *Ukuziphatha Kahle* as follows, “*Ukuziphatha kahle* is another of Du6e's books, but is of no literary importance.”⁶ Reading a tract on good behavior sounds dull, but even with my limited isiZulu reading ability *Ukuziphatha Kahle* seems quite alluring text. Alluring because his methods of comparison allow us to glimpse into how Dube himself tackled the tension between the upbringing as a Christian mission elite and the political role he played as a Zulu royalist, the tension which Shula Marks so deftly and influentially described in her *Ambiguity of Dependence in South Africa*⁷ and the tension Heather Hughes saw not as a contradiction but the springboard which catapulted Dube to a prominent African politician.⁸ More concretely, *Ukuziphatha Kahle* gives us fresh perspectives into John Dube and his contemporary Zulu intellectuals more broadly in the following two points.

Firstly, the book can be regarded as an attempt by Dube to bridge the Zulu "tradition" and "civilized ways of life." By reading *Ukuziphatha Kahle* focusing on the relationship between the present (okwamanje) and the past (okwemvelo) reveals how Dube articulated the tension between his double visions of the modernity of Christian elites and Zulu tradition.

Secondly, we can derive the importance of *Ukuziphatha Kahle* from the fact that the book was used as a reader for the school subject, Zulu History and Literature. In 1934, *Ukuziphatha* was assigned as the set book for Standard 7. In 1935 and 36, it was assigned as the set book for Standard 5. We cannot know how many people read this book but can stipulate that at least about 1,000 students were expected to read this book from the number of pupils recorded in the

⁶ B. W. Vilakazi, “Some Aspects of Zulu Literature,” *African Studies* 1, no. 4 (1942): 272, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00020184208706594>. In contrast, Vilakazi highly evaluated Dube’s novel, *Insila kaShaka*, and wrote about it as follows. “In 1930 he wrote *Insila kaShaka*, a book that does him credit and wins for him a place among creditable writers. The book has been revised and enlarged. It approaches a novel; although the plot is not delicately handled, the style itself is wonderful.” Vilakazi, 272.

⁷ Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

⁸ Heather Hughes, “Doubly Elite: Exploring the Life of John Langalibalele Dube,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, no. 3 (September 1, 2001): 445–58, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13632430120074536>.

Chief Inspector's report.⁹ We can regard this school subject of Zulu History and Literature as the conduit from which the particular version of Zulu history, which emphasized the Zulu royal house, was disseminated: James Stuart's readers were used from the mid-1920s to 1930s, and then Dhlomo's historical novels replaced them. Therefore, we can assume that Dube's *Ukuziphatha Kahle* was the official version of the explanation of Zulu traditional customs that students were expected to learn at the school.

The method of comparison (ukuqhathanisa) and its impact on the imagined reader

In the book's introduction (Amazwi okushayeleya), Dube explained his aim to the readers that the book shows them the civilized way that they must follow now.¹⁰ To make the readers understand both the past and present manners well, Dube tried to compare two customs.¹¹ Importantly, in his comparison of two customs and habits, Dube did not indicate that the present ones would be superior to the past ones, nor did he imply the change from the past customs to the present could be regarded as the transformation from the "savage" to the "civilized." Even when the past habits were now regarded as disgraceful acts, it was just that people were expected to act differently in different situations.¹²

Turning the page of the introduction, the reader will see the first chapter, the Clearness

⁹ For the readers used in the school, see the Department reports in *Native Teachers Journals*. For 1934 see books, see *NTJ* Vol.13 no.1 Oct. 1933 p.37, for 1935 see *NTJ* Vol.14 no.1 Oct. 1934 p.45, for 1936 see *NTJ* vol.15 no.1 Oct. 1935 p. 30). I cannot find *Ukuziphatha* assigned any other year. For the number of students, I used the Natal Education Department, *Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Year 1931* (Pietermaritzburg: Government Printer, 1931), 34. I have not obtained the reports published after 1932. In 1931, Daniel Mck. Malcolm, the chief inspector of Native Education, reported that 1144 students were recorded on Nov. 3rd. 1931 as present in the class of standard 5.

¹⁰ "Impucuko yase silungwini isisenze sahlangebezana nemikhuba namasiko ayengejwayelekile kithina bantu. ... kulencwadi ngishisekele ukuba ngibonise abasha bohlanga lwethu indlela abemelwe Ukuziphatha ngayo yempucuko abangene kuyo." John L. Dube, *Ukuziphatha kahle* (Mariannhill, KwaZulu Natal: Mariannhill Mission Press, 1935), sec. Amazwi okushayeleya.

¹¹ "Ukuze siqonde kahle lapho singakhela khona ukuziphatha kahle kwalesisikhundla esikuso, ngizame ukuqhathanisa amasiko akithi emvelo nawanamhla. Phakathi kwalokhu mhlaumbe singayithola indawo esinamathela kuyo, siwazi namasiko eNdlu Emhlope, ukuze singadideki nxashana siphakathi kwabo abamhlope." sec. Amazwi okushayeleya.

¹² "Esikubona kukuhle ngemvelo yakithi kulihlazo kubantu asebefunde inkanyiso yase silungwini. Njengoba siya ngokungena emasikweni eSilungu, kufanele siwangene ngendlela, sibambele kwawakithi amahle; nokho siwazi aseSilungwini ukuze singazihlazisi pambi kwabo." sec. Amazwi Okushayeleya.

(Ukugezeka) with two columns: the reader will see on the left side with bold font **Okwamanje** (the present practice or custom, “umkhuba” is omitted) and on the right side **Okwemvelo** (the past, traditional practice or custom). We cannot know how the reader went through this page with two columns nor how teachers suggested their pupils to proceed, but let us suppose the reader begins with the left side, the present. The reader will read the first sentence, “Ekuziphatheni kahle into yokuqala nephambili umuntu oziphethe kahle ukuba agezeke kahle umzimba nezevatho zakhe” and confirm that the washing body and clothes is the most important. The reader proceeds and reaches to the bottom of this column on the first page and sees the picture of a boy with a school uniform with the caption “I go to school. (Ngiya Esikoleni).”¹³ Let us suppose again, instead of moving his or her eyes to the right side of the page, the reader turns the page and continue to read the Okwamanje column and read that they must wipe off the bad smell of perspiration, change their clothes especially shocks often, and have to clean their teeth with a brush. They must not discard food garbage nearby and must not spit on all the places (see Figure 2). The reader also will learn the basic table manners: do not wipe off the sweat with the serviette, do not bring food with the knife to the mouth, and chew well. The reader continues to proceed with the Okwamanje and comes to an end at page 20 with a sigh of gulping down so many tedious rules that white civilization (Impucuko yase silungwini) forces them to follow. Dube’s book looks ordinary manner book as the title suggests if the reader only reads the left side.

The reader comes back to page 5 and begins to read the **Okwemvelo** this time, with the first sentence declaring that Zulu people without contacting white habits made themselves clean.¹⁴ Dube elaborates this claim by explaining several examples: scraping feet, girls

¹³ Dube, *Ukuziphatha kahle*, 5. Okwamanje, 5.

¹⁴ “Izizwe sakithi singakadidwa imikhuba yesilungu sasigeza impela.” Okwemvelo, 5.

cleansing their limbs to make them shine,¹⁵ and dusting off before going to sleep.¹⁶ In contrast to Monica Wilson, who saw cleanliness as ornament, not as an act related to health,¹⁷ Dube presents the past with consideration of confirming the continuity between the past customs and the present good manners. In other aspects, we can discern that Dube wrote the Okwemvelo column in Ukugezeka in consideration of the current disputes over Zulu habits and customs. For example, Dube insisted that it is a mistake to think that Zulu men are idle and makes women work by enumerating the handcrafts curved by Zulu men.¹⁸ Another example of bridging the past and present is the depiction of "ikhanda," as the school of the chief (esikoleni senkosi) where respect for the elder was being taught.¹⁹ In the Okwemvelo, Dube often points out cases where care for cleanliness was mixed up with respect for the elders. Boys and girls were sent to bring food to the elders; that is why cleanliness was important.²⁰ Dube repeatedly emphasized it was the Zulu traditional virtue to show respect to the elders.²¹

This description of respect (ukuhlonipha) seems out of tune in the explanation of

¹⁵ "Ukuchopha kwakuligugu, kodwa kwakujwayeleke kubantu asebekhulile, izingane zazinga jwayezwa. Imbulu yayi banga umunyu, lowo munyu ubanga izintwala. Abadala, kakhulu izintombi, zazihlala zixwazimula noma yayingekho insipho yayikhona imiti enamagwebu ababegeza ngayo, nje ngo Bububu neminye enamagwebu nxa ixovwe emanzini." Okwemvelo, 5.

¹⁶ "Isilisa nesifazane babenga lali benga nqamulile --- ukunqamula ukugeza izitho neziyawo. Loko Kwaku gwema umuntu angalali nothuli akade elubuquza ngezinyawo luze lukhuphukele ezithweni nase mathangeni." Okwemvelo, 5.

¹⁷ Monica Wilson (née Hunter) describes that only young women wash their limbs in the river and smearing particular butter and quote the statement of an old woman informant that she does not clean her limbs anymore because of her age. Monica Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 222-23.

¹⁸ "Kuyisiphosiso lokhu esivama ukuzwa abelungu bekusho ukuthi wonke umsebenzi wawenziwa abantu besifazane." Okwemvelo, 13.

¹⁹ Okwemvelo, 14-16. John Wright explains the word "ikhanda-amakhanda" as follows. "chief's establishment where amabutho were quartered" and "ibutho-amabutho" as "age-group or unit of fighting men; 'regiment.'" John Wright, "The Dynamics of Power and Conflict in Theukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries: A Critical Reconstruction" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 1989), viii.

²⁰ "Ngemvelo yakithi ukugeza okubalulekile kuqala lapha abafana namantombazana sebeqala ukuthunywa ukuba banikeze abadala ukudla. Afuneki umfana oseludibi ukuba angcole ngboba waysephatha ukudla kwabadala." Okwemvelo, 5.

²¹ "Noma izinto ezining ezithokozisayo zaseSilungwini zazingekho, nokho imithetho yasekhaya yayimihle kakhulu, iqonde inhlonipho nokuziphatha kahle. Abatsha babefundiswa ukulalela abadala okushiwoyo bangaphenduli, badimde balalele nje. Loku kwakwenza inhlonipho ekhaya esizweni samaZulu. Kuhlonishwa omdala, omdala ahloniphe umnuzane ophethe isifunda, umnuzane ahloniphe inkosi, umfana ahloniphe insizwa, kuye ngokulandelana kobudala, nentombi ihloniphe unina nabadala kunayo." Okwemvelo, 7.

cleanliness at first. However, comparing the Okwamanje and the Okwemvelo reveals the paragraphs concerning respect functions as the key to bridge these two columns. The tradition that the elders taught the younger how to behave facilitates to fulfill the necessity of teaching hygiene from the infant at present. This can be an instance that support Dube's claim that we should put down roots in our good customs.²²

The use of pictures inserted in the sentences also supports Dube's understanding of the relationship of the past customs and the present good manners as a continuum, not a rupture. This is well represented by two pictures of the girl who put a baby, her sibling on her back (Figure 3). Though the clothes changed, both girls took care of the baby, indicating the responsibility of the girls, whether in western clothes or traditional clothes. These pictures, which emphasize similarity, not the difference, contrast with missionary photographs. For example, the photograph of girls before and after conversion and education at Inanda emphasizes how big a difference missionaries could make to the life of Africans (Figure 4).

The perspective of bridging the past and the present is utilized in the next chapter of housing (Indlu). While in the Okwamanje, Dube explained the necessity of preparing each room for girls and boys because of the privacy,²³ in the Okwemvelo, he insisted that there were separate "amalawu" for boys or girls.²⁴ The difference in the figure of the houses, round or square, did not matter much for Dube. Rather, he insisted that the traditional houses, called huts in English, well suits the humid climate, the winds easily coming into the house.²⁵ The emphasis on practicality continues in the chapter on clothes (Ukugqoka noku Binca). In contrast to the claim that wearing western clothes is a sign of civilization,²⁶ Dube only focuses on how

²² "kuhle sigxile kokwakithi okuhle" Okwamanje, 24.

²³ "Abantu abaphucukileyo bazamela ukuba nezindlu ezinhle, bazama ukuba namakamelo ehluke, abantwana babo asebekhulile balale kuwo. Ehluke awabafana nawamantombazane, kuba khulisa kahle abantu ukuba babe nobungasese, bahloniphe ubuntu babo." Okwamanje, 20.

²⁴ "Imvelo yakithi bekuba khona izindlu zaba ganiwe, kube khona amalawu ezintombi nawezinsizawa. Lapho engekho awezintombi zilale kwa ninakhulu ngenhla." Okwemvelo, 20.

²⁵ Okwemvelo, 20.

²⁶ T. J. Tallie, *Queering Colonial Natal: Indigeneity and the Violence of Belonging in Southern Africa*

to dress the different occasions; raincoats, boots and aprons, and other items.²⁷

Even though Dube minutely explained the good manners in the “civilized (eSilungweni)” lifestyle, Dube was not saying that the Zulus should assimilate to the settler society uncritically. Dube made this point clear in the chapter titled kissing (Ukwangana). Dube criticized the disgraceful acts of kissing in the public space and called those who did this “izimpoqabelungu,” those mimicking the white ways.²⁸ Dube’s dislike of “impoqabelungu” did not stop at the kissing. In the next chapter, Dube mockingly described young women who dressed inappropriate ways. Some girls do not take off overcoats even when it is hot, and they are sweating heavily, thinking that white women always wear them.²⁹ Others go to see their lovers wearing an apron.³⁰ Dube repeats his criticism of showy clothes and cosmetics in the summaries of good manners, following the first section with two columns. Dube wrote that by imitating white women and putting powders, the African girls turn into “the disorderly without shame.”³¹

Dube did not say that people should go back to traditional clothes. Rather, Dube insisted the nation develops with secure foundations and enlightened life above them.³²

(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), chap. 4.

²⁷ Okwamanje, 26-27

²⁸ “Pho, amathatha akithi ezimpoqabelungu, asenza amahlazo phambi kwezizwe zawo, kuhle sigxile kokwakithi okuhle, singathathi konke okwenziwa abelungu, ziningi izinto zabo esifanele ukuzilandela, ayi. le, yokwangana.” Okwamanje, 24. Doke-Vilakazi explains “impoqabelungu-izimpoqabelungu” as follows. “n. [< phoqa+ubulungu, lit. forcer of civilization.] Imitator of European customs; uneducated person who apes superiors in civilization.” Malcolm et al., *English-IsiZulu = IsiZulu-English Dictionary*, 1036.

²⁹ “Into emangalisayo ukuba kwande kakhulu angehlukani nojazi (overcoats) noma libalele ungafica edolobeni bethe ngqu ngamajazi, bejuluka bemanzi kepha bebabona abelungu befake izingubo eziwuntwentwesana befuna ukuphola komzimba.” Okwamanje, 27.

³⁰ “Enye into enidinga ukukhumuka kuyo nina mantombazane akithi ilomkhuba ovame kulaba bangenhla nezwe wokubunula ngama aprons, ungafica intombi kuhambele kuyo insizwa, ifake ingubo enhle, ibe isithatha iapron elimhlophe ilithi ngu ngaphezu kwengubo enye noma iyothenga edolobeni ifake iapron. Anoqonda lokhu ukuthi umsebenzi weapron ukuvikela ingubo yakho ekungcoleni umuntu lapho esebenza qwaba akusilo elemvunulo umuntu esephuma ekhaya egqokele ukuhamba.” Okwamanje, 29.

³¹ “Ningalokothi ningene lomkhuba wabelungu wokuhlikihla upowder ebusweni. Umuntu udimde aphenduke uthuthuvana nje lungenasithunzi.” 52. Also see, Lynn M. Thomas, *Beneath the Surface: A Transnational History of Skin Lighteners*, Theory in Forms (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020).

³² “Ningangizwa kabi sengathi ngikulumela ukuba sibuyele emabeshwini nasezidwabeni. Okuyikhona ngifuna du ukuba sibe nenkanyiso ephezu kwesisekelo esiqinile, engeyusephuca ubuntu nobuzwe bethu.” 59. “ni=you” meaning amantombazane (girls) in this context.

Izimpoqabelungu, modern girls, and townspeople for Dube are symbolic representations of the people who go astray from the course he delineated throughout this book, from good Zulu traditional customs to good manners in a civilized lifestyle. In the final remark of the book, Dube repeated this accusation. He advised younger folks not to become “ihuzu”, those persons who run away to the towns instead of contributing to the community.³³

Considering that Anthropologists has been analyzing marriage ceremonies and death and burial customs as the representation of the social system of the specific ethnic groups or “tribes,”³⁴ it might seem difficult to claim the similarity between the present day (“civilized”) and the traditional ceremonies and mourning. Dube, however, began his description of marriage ceremonies in the present and the past, declaring that the civilized do not differ from the old wedding custom.³⁵ Dube elaborated this claim by explaining the etiquette and programs of the present and past weddings: singing, feast, dancing. Dube avoided mentioning two controversial issues concerning marriage: polygamy (isithembu) and bride price (ilobolo). The omission becomes clear when Dube refers to the statement of the pledge. In the present, the groom had to agree with the question from the clergyman whether he would leave all other girls.³⁶ In the past, on the other hand, the bride had had to agree with the question from the police (iphoyisa), asking her whether she loves her husband.³⁷

We can see another example of creating similarity between the present and the past by omitting some aspects of the customs. Dube described how the burial and mourning are and were conducted in the present and in the past. Anthropologist Eileen Krige explains the burial

³³ “Cishu bonke isililo sabo ukuthi yeka ukuzala! Umfana ihuzu, intombazane ihuzu --- ubuqoto buyingcozana kulesizukulwana, kugijinyelwa izinto zamadoloba, esikundleni sokwakhaimizi yezikhuthali.” 60.

³⁴ For example, see. Eileen Jensen Krige, *The Social System of the Zulus* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1950).

³⁵ “Nabempucuko abakahluki kakhulu emkhubeni omdala wokushada.” Okwamanje, 35.

³⁶ “nokuthi useshiye zonke izintombi, uzonamathela kumakakhe kupela” Okwamanje, 37.

³⁷ “iphoyisa libuze intombi ukuthi uyamthanda umyeni na?” Okwemvelo, 39. This specific question referred to the age of consent law in 1869. See, Nafisa Essop Sheik, “Colonial Rites: Custom, Marriage Law and the Making of Difference in Natal, 1830s - c.1910.” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2012), chap. 3,

as the occasion of the crisis of the community, detailing taboos, strengthening medicines, mourning periods from the functionalist perspective: “The mourning customs are the means by which the social sentiments of the survivors are slowly reorganized and adapted to the new conditions produced by the death, for the shock of the loss is a thing felt for a long time and many readjustments must be made.”³⁸ She interprets the custom of bringing home the spirit (ukubuyisa) as the ceremony of incorporating the deceased into the group of ancestors. On the other hand, Dube discarded the explanation of how each practice meant to the brief of the community and only focused on the description of proceeding of the burial: goods buried along with the deceased, what to wear, what they eat at the ukubuyisa ceremony.³⁹ Sticking to the description on manners without getting into the speculation on religious or societal aspects of the marriage ceremonies and burials allows Dube to construct the parallel between the past and the present practices.

Conclusion

Several points I suggested by referring to specific parts and passages in Dube’s *Ukuziphatha Kahle* might seem scattered. The image of reversing the flow, the title of this paper, may help to configure those points in orderly ways. Dube's description of the present and the past is selective. This selection does include the manners which Dube thought the students must follow. Still, the description of the past can be regarded as an answer to the present accusation of the Zulu cultures from missionaries and white settlers. The emphasis on the clearness and punctuality in the traditional life among the Zulus, for instance, refutes the criticism of being savage and lazy. By matching the present good manners with the past customs, Dube bridges the present and the past. If readers go through *Ukuziphatha Kahle* as they read ordinary books, they see the past from the present perspective. Dube's method of comparison (ukuqhathanisa),

³⁸ Krige, *The Social System of the Zulus*, 159.

³⁹ Okwamanje and Okwemvelo, 42-45.

however, allures readers to look back at the present from the past. To confirm Dube's argument that the Zulu nation must put down firm roots in the Zulu tradition and selectively adopt white civilization, readers must move their eyes from the right (*okwemvelo*) to the left (*okwamanje*). This movement of the eyes, we may call "ukubheka ngawayizolo," "to look with the eyes of yesterday."⁴⁰ In her biography of R. R. R. Dhlomo, Shelley Zion Skikna used this impressive phrase to emphasize the characteristics of Dhlomo's historical novels: Dhlomo tried to narrate the stories of Zulu kings from the perspective of their contemporaries.⁴¹ Suppose we apply this proverbial phrase to Dube's *Ukuziphatha Kahle*. In that case, it describes more literal and physical qualities of the experience of reading this work: with the eyes' reversing flow, the readers see the present through the perspective of the past and find the bridge between them.

⁴⁰ In Doke-Vilakazi Dictionary, the phrase "ukubona ngawayizolo" is explained as follows. "ukubona ngawayizolo (to see with the eyes of yesterday; i.e. to pass a sleepless night)." Malcolm et al., *English-IsiZulu = IsiZulu-English Dictionary*, 493.

⁴¹ Skikna, "Son of the Sun and Son of the World," v. Dhlomo, for instance, wrote in his historical novel based on the life of Dingane as follows: "Ziningike izenzo zikaDingane ezimbi engiziveze lapho obala ezisishaqisayo thina banamuhla: kodwa lapho ubeka lezozenzo zakhe uziqhathanisa nezikaShaka esezidume izwe lonke ngobubi bazo, wobona ukuthi izenzo zakhe zahlukile kwezikaShaka. Ufumana ukuthi uDingane wayengenayo nempela inhliziyi kaShaka, nokuthi kuzo zonke izenzo zakhe kakhukho ubukhulu bomqondo obabukhona ezenzweni zikaShaka." R. R. R. Dhlomo, *UDingane* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1936), ii.