

**MEMORY, LANDSCAPE AND HERITAGE AT NGQUZA HILL:  
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY**

by

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I declare that **MEMORY, LANDSCAPE AND HERITAGE AT NGQUZA: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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SIGNATURE

(Miss L Müller)

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DATE

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My Father, in You I live and move and have my being.

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- Items of traditional Mpondo material culture (Crampton 2004:34)
- Granary (*udlaldla*) and store hut (*inyango*) (Crampton 2004:40)

Copies of the original correspondence are attached as an Appendix C to this document.

## **ABSTRACT**

The main aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between landscape, memory and heritage. It aims to establish that landscape is not only an inseparable part of the intangible process of memory, but also the formation and perpetuation of cultural and individual identity. The composition of heritage, including the sociocultural and biophysical, is therefore a complex result of varying interactions between memory and landscape, as perceived by the living custodians. The intangible values of meaning, memory, lived experience and attachment, in relation to people's connection to locality and landscape, are traced back to the tangible fabric of place. Through means of qualitative and quantitative anthropological fieldwork methods and an extensive literature review, the sociocultural profile of the Mpondo is briefly documented. The subsequent case study explored a site in the Eastern Cape on Ngquza Hill, where the oral traditions and memories connected to the site are mapped. These elements were accessed through employing the theories of mnemotechnics.

### Keywords:

Memory, landscape, heritage, intangible, mnemotechnics, Mpondo, Ngquza

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## **GLOSSARY AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

CCPWH	Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
GPS	Global Positioning System
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IFLA	International Federation of Landscape Architects
IFLA CLC	IFLA Cultural Landscape Committee
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MPA	Maputaland-Pondoland-Albany Hotspot
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999)
PCE	Pondoland Centre of Endemism
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resource Agency
SANBI	South African National Biodiversity Institute
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WHCA	World Heritage Convention Act (Act 49 of 1999)

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 PURPOSE

The relationship between landscape and culture, or landscape and memory, is a developing discourse in anthropological and other fields such as sociology, archaeology, philosophy and history; this discourse has also been developing in design professions such as architecture and landscape architecture in recent years. Scholars such as Barbara Bender (1993), David Lowenthal (1985; 2007), Adrian Franklin (2002), Simon Schama (1995), Tim Ingold (1993; 2000; 2004), Lionella Scazzosi (2004), Stewart and Strathern (2004), and Climo and Cattell (2004) have analysed this relationship. During the late 1990s, tangible and intangible aspects in culture were also becoming more prominent in anthropological discussions. The dialogue surrounding cultural and intangible landscapes was further elaborated on at the ICOMOS International Scientific Symposium which took place in 2003 ("Place, memory, meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites") (Ito 2003). The subsequent Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage was completed during the 32nd UNESCO General Conference (29 September-17 October 2003) and was entered into force on 20 April 2006 (UNESCO 2003).

There is currently a global academic, institutional and governmental move towards a unified vision of landscape, which focuses on the integration of culture and nature, and which incorporates the conservation of the identities of people and places (Scazzosi 2004:336). The most recent Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas, adopted in Xi'an, China, by the 15th General Assembly of ICOMOS (2005), has paved the way for landscape to be viewed as an integral part of cultural heritage.

Within the South African development industry, the realities of preserving intangible heritage are still misunderstood or ignored. Most South African development projects show little or no regard for the role of memory and the meaning of place either in the present or for future conservation policies (Bakker 2003). While current legislation provides broad guidelines on how cultural heritage should be interpreted, the field of intangible landscapes remains vague.

As a trained landscape architect, one of the core elements of my profession is to focus on the physical and spatial elements of landscape. It is a profession which looks at the relationship between people and the environment, and which strives to design social places by identifying, connecting and constructing with local materials and resources. Solutions are achieved at multiple scales in collaboration with other design professionals and community members. From my experiences in the field, I believe this is true in its ideology. In reality, though, it cannot be further from the truth. The development sector is predominantly time and money driven, which results in the above ideologies being sidelined. The premise, "the relationship between people and the environment" is seated in the tangible and intangible aspects of the landscape.

Scheermeyer (2005:121) recently stated that "the practical integration of intangible heritage into mainstream heritage resources management has been sorely lacking." Furthermore, in a paper presented at the 2003 ICOMOS General Assembly, Bakker (2003) stated that "...many local planning authorities and most developers are not sensitised to and cannot practically deal with the concept and the realities of preserving intangible heritage. With a few very exciting exceptions, most development concepts in South Africa show little recognition of the role of memory and meaning of place in the present and for the future." From my experiences within the development and heritage sectors, I fully agree with this statement.

## **1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

Whereas tangible aspects are thoroughly defined and understood in the development field, I believe methods of gaining insight into the intangible aspects should be further explored. Greater integration of the intangible dimension into the design (architectural, landscape and urban design fields) and development (governmental, provincial and non-governmental) process could lead to a more satisfactory solution. As a result of subsequent training in the field of anthropology, I now understand that it is possible to access the intangible aspects related to the landscape by applying qualitative anthropological fieldwork methods (participant observation, individual and focus group interviews, accompanying individuals or groups to places of interest). These intangible values of meaning, memory, lived experience and attachment, in

relation to people's connection to locality and landscape, can then be traced back to the tangible fabric of place as previously documented. The nature and methodology of anthropological investigation illuminates our understanding of the tangible and intangible aspects of landscape.

Hodgkin & Radstone (2000:13) noted that memory work is often done in "liminal spaces", that is, spaces between disciplines or at the threshold of the senses. Anthropologists, usually doing fieldwork in sociocultural contexts different from their own, are characteristically in liminal spaces. The core character of anthropology allows practitioners and researchers to establish the role of contexts and connections, and to convey their resultant meanings to individuals or groups (Climo & Cattell 2002:2). As a result, there are no set boundaries defining where the scope of anthropology starts and where it ends: it overlaps regularly with history and sociology (and in this case, landscape architecture).

Communicative discourse (language) and participant observation --- both qualitative anthropological fieldwork methods --- can be considered to be primary devices that give definition and expression to the tangible and intangible dimension; in other words, they allow one to interpret the associations and connections individuals and groups have with a landscape. Furthermore, the process of participant observation, that is, taking part in activities while striving to maintain the objective stance of an observer, is usually combined with archival research, including written histories, photographs, and demographic records and surveys. Communicative discourse includes intensive focus group interviews or individual interviews and the collection of oral traditions during fieldwork. Memory thus plays a seminal role in anthropological research (Cattell & Climo 2002:7-8).

What makes anthropological methods even more relevant in establishing and understanding the meanings and connections certain cultures have with landscape, is the fact that in recent anthropological discourses, the sociocultural background and current position of the researcher is revealed together with those of the researched. The resultant conclusions are therefore more involved, introspective, interpretive and, therefore, multivocal (Cattell & Climo 2002:9).

The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between landscape and memory, and how this constitutes a particular local and regional heritage. The following six objectives will form the base of this dissertation:

- 1 Understanding the international and national legislative framework for the conservation and management of cultural landscapes and intangible heritage.
- 2 Investigating the intangible dimension of memory and examining recent and historical theories, debates and studies on the concept of memory, its manifestation in societies and individuals, and its impact on identity creation. I will explore the process of memory, elaborate on its fluid nature and determine those aspects that influence memory creation. I will look at how memory works to place individuals within a familiar "place", and create and establish identity and notions around belonging.
- 3 Expounding the concept of landscape, investigating contemporary definitions of the term and elaborating on different approaches regarding the relationship between the intangible dimension of memory and landscape. I will look at how landscape, through memory, roots individuals in a particular place by informing the notions of self, community and, ultimately, heritage. I will also investigate the influence of change in the perceptions and role of landscape.
- 4 Providing a profile of the Kwa Bala community's (in the vicinity of Ngquza) sociocultural institutions by focusing on their relationship with the biophysical environment.
- 5 Conducting a case study that revolves around a relatively unknown event in South African history. The Pondoland Revolt of 1960 resulted in a military ambush at Ngquza; 11 men were killed, a number of captives were executed and the infamous State of Emergency issued after the Sharpeville shootings was declared. Through fieldwork and a mapping of the site, the intangible dimension will be linked to the tangible, that is, the memories of the event at Ngquza will be spatially linked to the biophysical environment.
- 6 Relating the theory and discourses associated with the relationship between memory and landscape to the event at Ngquza and the connection the Mpondo have with the landscape.

## 1.3 METHODOLOGY

### 1.3.1 Literature review

A number of sources were studied which look at the relationship between landscape and culture. I looked at a series of relevant research papers read at the 15th General Assembly of ICOMOS (2005), which resulted in the Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas. The papers published at the 2003 ICOMOS International Scientific Symposium also proved insightful. Significant authors included Clarke and Johnston (2003), Truscott (2003), Ito (2003) and Todeschini (2003).

The *Landscape Journal* also proved to be an invaluable resource for this study: papers by Scazzosi (2004), Olwig (2005), Ermischer (2005) and Arnesen (1998) were particularly valuable. In addition, the following works proved especially useful: a special edition of the *Anthropology Southern Africa* journal, which focuses primarily on cultural and intangible landscapes, and includes discerning work by Spiegel (2004); the *South African Archaeological Bulletin*; *Anthropology South Africa*; and the *South African Journal of Art History*.

A number of recent publications, edited by scholars well-versed in the landscape research field, contain a collection of relevant studies. These include Barbara Bender's *Landscape politics and perspectives* (1993), Duncan and Ley's *Place/culture/representation* (1993), Adrian Franklin's *Nature and social theory* (2002), Hirsch and O'Hanlon's *The anthropology of landscape: perspectives on place and space* (1996), Ucko and Layton's *The archaeology and anthropology of landscape: shaping your landscape* (1999), and Stewart and Strathern's *Landscape, memory and history* (2004). Additionally, the study incorporated the seminal works by Schama (1995), Tilley (1994), and Macnaghten and Urry (1998).

In order to understand the concept of memory, the following authors' contributions were studied in-depth: Casey (2000), Vansina (1961; 1985), Henninge (1982), Holtorf (2000-2007), Lowenthal (1985; 2007), Nora (1996), Connerton (1989) and Halbwachs (1939; 1980). Climo and Cattell's *Social memory and history: anthropological perspectives* (2002) contains insightful works by numerous authors, notably (apart from the editors) Natzmer (2002) and Nesper (2002).

Numerous studies have been conducted on the biophysical environment of Pondoland in order to fulfil the legislative requirements of two highly contentious projects in the area. The first of these is the proposed N2 Highway, leading from Durban to East London. The planned route is proposed to traverse Pondoland through its most sensitive and remote areas; this has, therefore, resulted in vehement reactions from both national and international conservation bodies. The second project is the proposed Xolobeni Mineral Sands Project north of Mkambati. An Australian mining corporation has obtained the licence to mine this area from the Department of Mineral Affairs. This occurred, however, without any consultation with the Mpondo king, Mpondomini Sigcau, or the traditional leaders; this caused a massive social reaction. The most recent and thorough Environmental Impact Assessment completed for the proposed N2 Highway crossing Pondoland, was conducted to gather information on the climate, vegetation, soils and demographics of my study area. This information was supplemented by the following authors' publications: Steenkamp, Van Wyk, Victor, Hoare, Dold, Smith and Cowling (2004); Van Wyk and Smith (2001); and Mucina and Rutherford (2006). Articles written by Kepe (1997a & 1997b) on the land claim process at the Mkambati Nature reserve also provided valuable information.

In order to obtain background knowledge on the Mpondo and their sociocultural institutions, the ethnographies of Monica Hunter's *Reaction to conquest* (1969), Kuckertz's *Creating order: the image of the homestead in Mpondo social life* (1990) and Brownlee's *Reminiscences of a Transkeian* (1975) were crucial. Feely's work *The early farmers of Transkei, Southern Africa* (1987), Hammond-Tooke's *Bhaca society: a people of the Transkeian uplands* (1962), Southall's *South Africa's Transkei* (1982), and recent studies by McAllister (1992, 1996) and Kepe (1997) proved insightful.

A literature review of the history of the Mpondo Revolt and the reasons for the revolt was undertaken by locating and studying writings on the subject. Govan Mbeki's book *The peasants' revolt* (1963) is one of the most resourceful books on the events of that era. JA Copelyn's dissertation entitled *The Mpondo revolt 1960* (1974) was very informative, as were Wiseman L Mbambo's dissertation entitled *The construction of Ngquza site memories in eastern Pondoland* (2000) and VM Mnaba's dissertation entitled *The role of the church towards the Pondo revolt in South Africa*

from 1960-1963 (2006). Articles by Redding (1996, 2004) and Hendricks (1989) proved significant. In addition to this, the media coverage of the event was studied. Newspapers, especially the *Daily Despatch*, *The Star* and the *Natal Mercury* were scanned for any information about the events. The official report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on the Pondoland Revolt (1998) and individual testimonies during the TRC hearings in Lusikisiki, March 1997, proved insightful. Beinart's *The political economy of Pondoland 1860-1930* (1982), *Environmental origins of the Pondoland Revolt* (2002) and two additional articles (1984; 1989) presented an interesting hypothesis.

### **1.3.2 Fieldwork**

Fieldwork was the most important method of data collection used in this study. My first contact with the Mpondo was the result of a detailed study I had to conduct for the Environmental Potential Atlas of South Africa (ENPAT) in 2001. This study was commissioned by the Department of Arts and Culture, and entailed travelling the width and breadth of Pondoland to map the localities of cultural significance. Dr Mzo Sirayi (formerly of the Department of African Languages, Unisa) introduced me to a number of people in the various districts surrounding the most prominent towns. His traditional homestead (termed *umzi* in Xhosa and used hereafter in this dissertation) is located in the Ngquza district. He arranged for me to commence my study from the larger homestead of the Holweni family in the KwaBhala location. So, in December 2001, in my Bantam bakkie loaded with food and other gifts for the family, I drove to Pondoland for the first time.

I had completed my degree in Landscape Architecture two years previously and had only started with my studies in Anthropology; my knowledge of fieldwork methodology and research was therefore thin to say the least. In the weeks before this visit, I studied Bernard's guidelines (1988:110) and my methodology was roughly based on Spradley (1979) and Ellen's (1984) guidelines.

The fieldwork entailed key and focus group interviews with tribal leaders and the elders of several communities throughout Pondoland. During these interviews, my respondents would identify a number of sites of cultural significance within their area. A few of these community members would then accompany me to the respective

sites where I would document them photographically. For the two to three months it took to complete the study, I lived where I worked. I am truly grateful to the wonderfully hospitable Mpondo people who provided refuge during this time.

Global Position Satellite (GPS) coordinates were recorded for each significant place and a Geographic Information System (GIS) database was created which shows all the culturally significant localities within Pondoland. For every point representing a feature, a link was created to a more detailed description of the feature, its history and its significance to the community.

During the fieldwork for ENPAT, I repeatedly returned to the *umzi* of the Holweni family, having established a firm rapport with them. After completing the study in 2002, I commenced further studies in Anthropology and returned to KwaBhala and the Holweni *umzi* to do research on Ngquza Hill, roughly 5km away. KwaBhala is located within KwaCoka and is the traditional home of the Bhala *isibongo* or tribe of the Mpondo nation. For the past seven years, my home has periodically been the *umzi* of Ebba Holweni<sup>1</sup>, the matriarch of the *umzi* since her husband passed away. The other permanent inhabitants of the *umzi* include Nozuzile Holweni, wife of Ebba Holweni's eldest son, and her three children. The other sons and daughters have all moved to other locations, but regularly visit the *umzi* when time permits. Nosipho Holweni is the eldest daughter and a well-respected principal of a senior secondary school in the vicinity of Ngquza. Even though she has recently married a prominent man in Umtata, she has chosen to remain at the school and lives in a single hut of another *umzi* close to her school. She visits her family regularly. Her daughter outside of marriage, Sinethemba (Yam Yam) Holweni, also stays with Ebba Holweni when she is not studying in Umtata.

These women proved to be the mainstay of my research: they helped me with information on their culture, taught me their dances and translated those difficult Xhosa phrases which proved impossible to my Afrikaans ear. Through means of participant observation, informal interviews with family members and members of the community, formal interviews with the communities' elders and headman, I have tried to gain a thorough understanding of the cultural landscape of the Mpondo. During this period, I attended weddings, dance competitions, initiation rituals for girls,

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<sup>1</sup> Respectfully known as MaHolweni and affectionally as MaDlamini.

*umqombothi* (Xhosa beer) drinking parties, five-hour long Anglican church services and prayer singing every morning. I also accompanied Clive Holweni on extensive hikes in the natural landscape surrounding KwaBhala where he taught me the cultural significance of plants and other landscape features.

But most importantly, I spent the evenings in Ebba Holweni's kitchen, where the daughters would cook the most delicious, yet simple meals. Ebba Holweni would sit with a small child on her lap, hens would roost in tire-rims along the walls, and a number of children (not all of the family, but of community members) would sleep or play on a rug in the corner. And one-by-one the old men and other community members would enter the small kitchen and sit on the bench along the wall, relating the information of the day. And when the food was ready, everyone would be given a portion, regardless of who they were. After dinner, the people in the room would teach me Mpondo songs, trying to improve my Xhosa. These are the times I cherish most.



Image 1: During my second visit to Ngquza in 2002. I am standing with members of the Holweni family, with Ebba Holweni in the middle (Müller 2002).



Image 2: A small gathering of the Holweni family: Ebba Holweni to the right, Letitia Holweni to the left, and Zolani and YamYam at the back (Müller 2005).

These seven years proved invaluable for the research I conducted on Ngquza Hill and the event that occurred there more than 50 years ago. By placing myself in the community and familiarising myself with their customs, I was able to grasp the full meaning of the event for the community. Research on Ngquza was conducted by means of identifying a number of key informants and conducting informal interviews on the site to mnemotechnically trigger latent memories in the respondents. Mnemotechnic devices activate and enhance memory. These may be objects, music and melodies, or landscapes such as settlements, ruins, graves or battlefields (Vansina 1985:44-46). On 6 June 2003, I attended the reburial ceremony of 12 of the men executed in Pretoria in 1961. At this event, I conducted several informal interviews with various people.

Additional information was gained through focus group meetings with community members, especially women. The interviews were mostly handled in an informal fashion, but care was always taken that all the necessary questions were answered and information carefully documented. Informal conversations and in-situ inspection of sites, places and physical/cultural features were invaluable in the data collection process. My attendance of post-funeral parties and meetings helped me to create a more representative view of the happenings.



Image 3: Informal interviews with community members: in this case, Mr Clement Gxabu, Richard Wopula, Clive Holweni and Mrs M Wopula in the foreground (Müller 2004).

Information was visually documented by means of photographs, videos, maps and aerial photographs. The exact locations of individual events were documented by registering a GPS coordinate and subsequently a photograph of the location. These, together with notes taken during fieldwork, aided in reconstructing the terrain. After thorough research into the history of the event, the fieldwork research phase utilised anthropological research methods to decipher the intangible legacy of the landscape. I walked the site with a number of veterans of the event, documenting their observations and mapping the events utilising GIS technology. I was also able to link the tangible aspects of history and the landscape with the intangible values related to the people who experienced the events.

The informed consent of all the informants was obtained using the guidelines stipulated by the American Anthropological Association's Committee on Ethics in their Briefing Paper on Informed Consent (Unisa 2003:80). All people, groups and associations interviewed for the purposes of this study gave their full permission for their names to be used in this dissertation after being informed about the purpose of the research and the nature of their participation.

## **1.4 CONCLUSION**

The relationship between the tangible and the intangible dimension of the landscape is not only contentious but also elusive. By investigating the theory related to memory and landscape, I will attempt to clarify their relationship and the role they play in the various tenements of culture.

This relationship will be further clarified by a case study based in rural Pondoland in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. By investigating the sociocultural profile of the Mpondo people and documenting their relationship with the biophysical environment, I will be able to discuss the event which occurred at Ngquza Hill in 1960. A review of the literature, coupled with extensive fieldwork based on participant observation and key and focus group interviews, will serve to further elucidate this event. I will furthermore attempt to illustrate the role of landscape features as mnemotechnic devices to aid the memory of those informants accompanying me to the site. Through their recollections, I will attempt to spatially reconstruct the event, thereby re-establishing the relationship between the tangible and the intangible dimensions of the landscape.

In order to understand the site's significance in a broader context, it is necessary to investigate the legislative framework (both national and international) aimed at providing guidelines for the conservation and management of culturally significant landscapes such as Ngquza.

## **CHAPTER 2     HERITAGE LEGISLATION**

### **2.1     INTRODUCTION**

A basic legislative framework has been developed in which the concepts of intangible landscapes and memory and their role in cultural landscapes and heritage can operate. This chapter aims to discuss the various international conventions, Acts and organisations instrumental in guiding cultural landscape conservation. Thereafter, I will reflect on South African legislation pertaining to tangible and intangible landscape conservation and management, and discuss South Africa's involvement in international bodies. The purpose of this chapter is not to critically evaluate specific Acts or conventions, but rather to provide a brief background to the legal sphere in which the case study, as discussed in chapter 5, falls. This is necessary to fully understand the need to protect, conserve and promote Ngquza as a site of heritage and meaning.

### **2.2     THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.2.1     Cultural landscapes**

The first movement in promoting the conservation of cultural heritage, which focuses on historical buildings and archaeological sites, was the cataloguing of France's cultural heritage in 1837. For this exercise, historical buildings and archaeological sites were documented as cultural heritage sites. In 1844, the British Archaeology Association was formed, followed by the 1882 Ancient Monument Protection Act. At the end of the 19th century, Ebenezer Howard (1902) wrote the *Garden cities of Tomorrow*, which paved the way for the recognition of landscape in planning and conservation. This greatly influenced the British arts and crafts movement (Akagawa & Tiamsoon 2005). In America, the National Parks Service was established in 1916. This organisation was tasked with managing national parks, monuments and reservations, or more specifically with "conserving the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and providing for the enjoyment of the same in

such a manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" (National Parks Service 2005).

The importance of international cooperation was emphasised after the two World Wars, with the concept being transferred to the conservation of cultural heritage. The Athens Charter of 1931 initiated discussions on the "setting" or surrounding areas of ancient monuments. These "settings" were to be preserved to conserve the "ancient character" of the monuments (O' Donnell 2005).

Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe, a prominent English landscape architect, was a founder member of the Institute of Landscape Architects in 1929, and from 1939 to 1949 acted as the president of this body. In 1948, he became the founding president of the International Federation of Landscape Architects (hereafter referred to as IFLA). This initiative by Jellicoe set the stage for the subsequent establishment of a Committee on Historic Gardens and Sites which was founded during the General Assembly of IFLA in 1968 (Van Marcke 2007). This body formed the core of what was to become the ICOMOS-IFLA International Committee for Historic Gardens and the subsequent IFLA Cultural Landscape Committee (IFLA CLC) as referred to below.

In 1959, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (hereafter referred to as UNESCO) led the field in launching the first international campaign on archaeological research. This campaign focused on the area demarcated for the proposed Aswan High Dam in Egypt (UNESCO nd). This was the first intervention of its kind in Africa and set the stage for the initial drafts of the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972).

In 1964, the pace-setting Venice Charter was promulgated at the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments as part of UNESCO. The aim of this charter was to address the universal responsibility to conserve cultural heritage for future generations in "the full richness of their authenticity" (O' Donnell 2005). Even at this initial stage, the charter encouraged the preservation of the monument and the urban or rural setting around it (O' Donnell 2005).

The first truly international action plan to conserve and manage cultural heritage was the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage.

UNESCO, with the help of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (hereafter referred to as ICOMOS), initiated the preparation of a Draft Convention on the Protection of Cultural Heritage. In 1965, a World Heritage Trust was proposed after a White House Conference in Washington DC, and in 1968, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) developed similar proposals. In 1966, UNESCO's General Conference adopted the Declaration on the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation. This provided the basis for the development of cultural policies within UNESCO. The consequent Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on 16 November 1972 (UNESCO nd). In June 2008, the World Heritage List included 863 properties, which the World Heritage Committee considered to have significant universal value. Included in these properties are 660 cultural, 166 natural and 25 mixed properties within 141 States Parties (states which are bound by this Convention and among which this Convention is in force). Up to November 2007, 185 States Parties had ratified the World Heritage Convention (including South Africa).

In 1975, the concept of international and integrated conservation was further defined by the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage (26 September 1975) and the Amsterdam Declaration (25 October 1975). Both highlight the fact that the definition of "historic area" should include buildings, their surroundings and related human activities. UNESCO launched a series of charters to promote the integrated conservation approach, including the Resolution on the Conservation of smaller Historic Towns (1975), the Charter on the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas and the Washington Charter (1987) (UNESCO nd).

Furthermore, the ICOMOS-IFLA International Committee for Historic Gardens drafted the Florence Charter on 21 May 1981 as an addendum to the Venice Charter. This charter again emphasised the value of historic gardens as monuments in and of themselves. The Charter of Florence was registered by ICOMOS on 15 December 1982 to complete the Charter of Venice in the particular field of gardens. The first section of the Charter of Venice included the concept of a "living" monument; the conservation and preservation of a living monument requires specific guidelines (Van Marcke 2007).

The ICOMOS-IFLA International Committee on Historic Gardens and Cultural Landscapes was subsequently founded as a multi-disciplinary forum comprising landscape architects and conservation professionals. In 1982, this committee revisited and edited the Florence Charter (Zangheri 2007). (A first edition of this charter was presented at the meeting of the ICOMOS-IFLA International Scientific Committee in Verbania, Italy, in October 2006.)

In the same period, the ICOMOS body in Australia drafted the early editions of the Burra Charter of 1981, wherein the concept of "place" was further defined to include the value of non-physical aspects. After a process of review, Australia's ICOMOS adopted revisions to the Burra Charter in November 1999. The revisions recognised intangible aspects of culture, including associations and meanings that places have for people (ICOMOS Australia nd). The charter currently sets a standard of practice for all role players involved with the development and management of places of cultural significance, including natural, indigenous and historical places of cultural value (Kotze & Jansen van Rensburg 2002).

Furthermore, the Nara Conference of 1994 (held in Nara, Japan), and the resulting Nara Document on Authenticity, led to a new definition of the authentic values of monuments and sites. The Nara Document on Authenticity was based on the 1964 Charter of Venice and reviewed its original text to elaborate on contemporary cultural heritage concerns and developments.

In 1992, during a meeting held in France on World Heritage Cultural Landscapes, international recognition of landscapes was emphasised once more. This meeting resulted in drafted categories for cultural landscapes of outstanding universal value which subsequently were included in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Cultural landscapes represent the "combined works of nature and of man" as defined in Article 1 of the Convention. "They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal" (UNESCO 2008b, s II, c 47).

According to the Operational Guidelines (annexure 3), cultural landscapes fall into three main categories: (1) clearly defined landscape designed and created

intentionally by man; (2) organically evolved landscape; and (3) associative cultural landscape (UNESCO 2008a, annexure 3, c 86).

The final category relates directly to the concept of intangible heritage (see section 2.1.2) in that it refers to "associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent" (UNESCO 2008a, annexure 3, c 86).

Another body that re-established the importance of conserving cultural landscapes was the Council of Europe. The European Landscape Convention, drafted by the Council of Europe, was adopted on 20 October 2000 in Florence, Italy, and came into force on 1 March 2004 (Council of Europe 2000). The European Landscape Convention forms part of the Council of Europe's work on natural and cultural heritage, spatial planning and the environment. It provides for the protection of landscapes whose significant features call for multifaceted action, ranging from strict conservation through to protection, management and improvement.

In 2007, the UNESCO-IFLA International Committee on Cultural Landscapes introduced a universal inventory card for the conservation of cultural landscapes. To date, about 100 cultural landscapes have been included in the World Heritage List, which amounts to about 7% of the total number of cultural and natural aspects included in the list (Zangheri 2007).

The above discussion can be summarised in the following table:

**Table 1: Cultural landscape charters  
(ICOMOS 2007)**

<b>ICOMOS</b>	
1964	The Venice Charter: International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites
1982	The Florence Charter (Historic Gardens)
1994	The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994)
1990	Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage
1999	International Charter on Cultural Tourism (Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance)
1999	The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (The Burra Charter, 1999)
2007	World Heritage Cultural Landscape
<b>ICOMOS – IFLA</b>	
2001	The Buenos Aires Memorandum on Cultural Landscapes and Historic Gardens (2001)
<b>UNESCO</b>	
1962	Recommendations Concerning the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites, 11 December 1962
1972	Recommendation Concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage, 16 November 1972
1972	Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Paris, 16 November 1972
2003	Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 17 October 2003
<b>COUNCIL OF EUROPE</b>	
2004	European Landscape Convention

Over the past 170 years, international conservation bodies have expressed their concern over the decay and destruction of the world's heritage, and this has given rise to a number of conventions and guidelines. The link between intangible heritage and cultural heritage has, however, only been made since 1972. This significant

movement, with particular relevance to the basic tenements of this dissertation, will be discussed in section 2.1.2.

### **2.2.2 Intangible cultural heritage**

Recognition of intangible or living heritage has only stepped to the fore very recently. The previous section described the lengthy process spanning more than a century to define the function and significance of cultural landscapes, and the subsequent conventions and other legislative documentation supporting its importance. UNESCO and ICOMOS paved the way for new approaches to understanding, protecting and managing cultural heritage. The importance of conserving intangible heritage was expressed as early as 1972, when the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted. In 1996, this eventually resulted in the report entitled "Our creative diversity", which noted that the 1972 Convention was inappropriate to successfully conserve intangible aspects of heritage. Subsequently in 1998, UNESCO initiated the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. These actions resulted in the recognition of communities and their relationship to the perpetuation of heritage, and culminated in the adoption of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. This convention was completed during the 32nd General Conference of the UNESCO (29 September-17 October 2003) and entered into force on 20 April 2006 (UNESCO 2003).

This convention has been rapidly ratified: a total of 90 States Parties have joined and more than half of UNESCO's member states are expected to join in 2009. "The Convention's rapid entry into force is a testament to the international community's concern for safeguarding the world's living heritage, especially at a time of rapid sociocultural change and international economic integration" (Proschan 2008:9).

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) defines intangible heritage as "practices, representations, and expressions, and knowledge and skills which are transmitted from generation to generation and which provide communities and groups with a sense of identity and continuity" (UNESCO 2003).

In terms of the Convention (2003), "intangible cultural heritage", as defined above, is exemplified in the following:

- oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage
- performing arts
- social practices, rituals and festive events
- knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe
- traditional craftsmanship

It is important to note, however, that the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) in its present form does not specifically define landscapes as being part of intangible heritage. It does however emphasise in the preamble that "the deep-seated interdependence between the intangible cultural heritage and the tangible cultural and natural heritage" should be recognised (UNESCO 2003:1). The concept of intangible landscape is also referred to in article 2, paragraph 2(d) in the "knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe."

According to Frank Proschan, President of the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Section (2008:9), the convention considers intangible heritage to be a "phenomenon perpetually created and recreated, transmitted from one generation to the next or shared from one community to another." He continues to quote the convention by stating that intangible heritage "is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history" (Proschan 2008:9). Intangible heritage, as defined by the convention, must therefore always be *living* heritage: "It must continue to be actively produced, maintained, re-created and safeguarded by the communities, groups or individuals concerned, or it simply ceases to be heritage" (Proschan 2008:9). As living heritage, the intangible is based in the past and may often evoke it, but it is manifested in the present and future and lives on in the minds and bodies of human beings, that is, the communities and individuals who are its bearers, stewards and guardians (Proschan 2008:9).

The convention's main purpose, as laid out in article 1, is "to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage", that is, to ensure its viability, especially by strengthening the processes of creativity, transmission and mutual respect upon which it depends (Proschan 2008:9). In article 2, the convention provides a definition of safeguarding

and proposes a number of possible safeguarding measures, "including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of [intangible] heritage."

It is clear that landscapes form part of cultural heritage. With oral traditions, rituals, cultural practices and cultural knowledge integrally connected to the landscape, its intangible dimension becomes apparent. This relationship should be recognised and conserved in order to provide holistic and sustainable management of cultural heritage. To date, 105 countries, or State Parties, have ratified, accepted, approved or accessed the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), which points towards an international move towards increasing awareness and significance of intangible heritage.

South Africa, with its rich and diverse cultural heritage and numerous examples of highly significant intangible heritage, neglected to become part of this global movement by not ratifying or accepting the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003). Nevertheless, South Africa is a State Party to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), and legislation concerning the protection and conservation of cultural heritage has developed significantly over the past few years. The following section is a brief synopsis of heritage legislation in South Africa.

### **2.3 SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK**

Up to this point, I have focused on international tendencies in the conservation of cultural and intangible landscapes. However, the core of this study and the site for my fieldwork is located within South Africa. It is therefore essential to expound the current South African legislative framework within which this study is based.

Pre-1994, the following South African Acts served to protect and conserve cultural heritage resources: the Bushmen Relics Protection Act (Act 22 of 1911), the National and Historical Monuments Act (Act 6 of 1923), the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act (Act 4 of 1934) and the National Monuments Act (Act 28 of 1969). South Africa's new dispensation encouraged the need to enact legislation to

protect South Africa's cultural heritage. The subsequent White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (1996) provided the grounding for the National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999) (hereafter referred to as the NHRA) which was promulgated during 1999 and became operative in 2000. The main aims of the NHRA (Act 25 of 1999) are to create an integrated framework for the management and protection of cultural heritage, and to encourage and promote participation in and access to heritage resources (Kotze & Jansen van Rensburg 2002). Presently in South Africa, the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (1996), the Policy on Indigenous Knowledge Systems, the National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999) and the National Heritage Council Act (Act 11 of 1999) constitute the major policy and legislative frameworks which attempt to define intangible heritage and the protection thereof.

The White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996 c 1, s 12) defines heritage as follows:

...the sum total of wildlife and scenic parks, sites of scientific and historical importance, national monuments, historic buildings, works of art, literature and music, oral traditions and museum collections and their documentation which provides the basis for a shared culture and creativity in the arts.

At this early stage in the democratic history of South Africa, emphasis had been placed on landscape and its significant relationship with culture. In chapter 2, section 2 of the White Paper (1996), oral traditions are considered to be part of the intangible dimension of culture, that is, "our art forms, oratory, praise poetry, storytelling, dance and rituals live on in the collective memory." These oral traditions are seen to comprise one of the major components in the formation of a cultural identity.

Chapter 5 of the White Paper (1996) is entirely dedicated to heritage, while clause 2 expounds the importance of intangible heritage (referred to as "living heritage"):

(2) Attention to living heritage is of paramount importance for the reconstruction and development process in South Africa. Means must be found to enable song, dance, story-telling and oral history to be permanently recorded and conserved in the formal heritage structure.

It further describes the role of the environment and landscape in clause 14:

(14) The term "monuments" is narrow and for this reason the term 'heritage resources' is preferred. Heritage resources protected by current legislation include places of natural beauty, buildings, street landscapes, objects of historical importance, geological, palaeontological and archaeological sites and objects, rock art, shipwrecks, and graves of historical figures and of victims of conflict.

The establishment of a National Heritage Council was recommended to provide for the declaration of new national monuments or national cultural treasures as part of the larger process of environmental planning, and urban and rural development planning (White Paper, ch 5, s 17).

The above guidelines contained in the White Paper were further expounded by the National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999). The term "national estate" is described in the NHRA as consisting of heritage resources of cultural significance for present and future generations. It also comprises places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with, among others, living heritage. According to the NHRA (Act 25 of 1999), a number of conservation categories fall under the Act, specifically clause (2):

- (2) (b) places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage;
- (d) landscapes and natural features of cultural significance;
- (e) geological sites of scientific or cultural importance;

Furthermore, according to clause (3), a "place" is considered to be culturally significant due to

- (3)(a) its importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa's history;
- (b) its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;
- (c) its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;
- (e) its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group;
- (g) its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons.

All of the above categories underpin the importance of the intangible dimension of heritage, especially the biophysical environment. It emphasises the fact that non-physical heritage can be defined in association with tangible heritage, as it adds value and meaning to the material dimension of heritage.

According to the NHRA (Act 25 of 1999), the management of cultural heritage should be enacted on national, provincial and local governmental levels. Consequently, national level management was entrusted to the South African Heritage Resource Agency (SAHRA) and the South African Heritage Resource Agency Council. Furthermore, the NHRA (Act 25 of 1999) provided for the formation of provincial heritage resource agencies by the Member of the Executive Council of each province (Kotze & Jansen van Rensburg 2002).

The National Environmental Management Act (Act 107 of 1998) was promulgated in 1998. Apart from establishing principles for decision making on environmental matters, the Act provided for the management of cultural heritage. In terms of the Act, the word "environment" includes, inter alia, "(iv) the physical, chemical, aesthetic and cultural properties and conditions of the foregoing that influence human health and well-being." Historical and cultural resources therefore fall within the scope of the natural environment. Being a component of the natural environment, South African heritage resources are by law subject to national and international protection (Breedlove 2002:38). This is supported by a clause in Chapter 1:

- (2) Environmental management must place people and their needs at the forefront of its concern, and serve their physical, psychological, developmental, cultural and social interests equitably.

South Africa ratified a number of international conventions and Bills that primarily deal with cultural heritage conservation and management. Firstly, South Africa became a State Party to one of the primary international environmental conventions, namely the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (see section 2.1.1 above) on 10 June 1997. This convention falls within the scope of the definition of an international environmental instrument contained in NEMA that includes "any international agreement, declaration, resolution, convention

or protocol which relates to the management of the environment" (NEMA 1998 s 1(1) (xviii)).

Based on the considerations within NEMA (107 of 1998) regarding the incorporation of international law, the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) was enacted into South African law by the World Heritage Convention Act (Act 49 of 1999) (hereafter referred to as the WHCA). The WHCA (Act 49 of 1999) establishes a legal framework for the management and development of World Heritage Sites in South Africa and is therefore primarily concerned with the domestic conservation of cultural heritage on an international level.

Concerning international cooperation in the conservation and protection of intangible heritage in South Africa, the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage has to date not been ratified and we are still not a State Party to the Convention. In March 2008, a Sub-regional Capacity-Building Workshop on the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was held between the Department of Arts and Culture and UNESCO. The workshop focused on introducing the convention to cultural officials of southern African nations, explaining the ratification process and considering how they might implement the convention to best achieve its goals (UNESCO 2008b).

Mbhazima Makhubele, the Director of Heritage Policy Research and Development of the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), presented South Africa's progress in ratifying the 2003 Convention. Below is the summary of his presentation (from UNESCO 2008b):

- In 2005, the Department of Arts and Culture first consulted with key ministries within government: Foreign Affairs, to verify if ratifying the 2003 ICH convention would not be in conflict with other treaties that SA is signatory to or its other existing international obligations; and Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, to determine whether the provisions of the Convention are in line with the national constitution. The Convention was found to be compliant with both.
- South Africa also consulted other stakeholders such as civil society, professional organizations, communities and other spheres of

government, namely provincial and local government. These consultations culminated in a national workshop held on 26 and 27 July 2007. The workshop participants were unanimous on the urgent need to ratify the convention. It encouraged DAC to move towards ratification. The workshop, in which UNESCO was involved, was groundbreaking because the participants acknowledged the importance of focusing attention and resources on safeguarding intangible cultural heritage since the trend had been to expand resources and efforts only on tangible heritage. The participants expressed frustration that little had been done to safeguard and promote ICH, which they considered important to their identity.

- After the workshop, DAC wrote a Cabinet memorandum, recommending the Cabinet to consider ratifying the 2003 Convention. The response of the Cabinet committee was to consult the Ministry of Trade and Industry to further elaborate the Cabinet memorandum. The consultation with the Ministry is under final stage.
- ICH safeguarding offers possibilities of joint listing e.g., Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana and Zimbabwe, fostering regional integration.
- Strong push by civil society to safeguard ICH may help.
- Referring to the theme of the 2005 Heritage Day, Ubuntu, ICH relates well with the spirit of Ubuntu and can help right problems of Xenophobia and tribal conflict while providing common values and concretizing unity.
- It is important to be pro-active and work within the SADC and AU for regional cooperation and integration. South Africa is currently developing a national policy to integrate the ICH Convention in light of redressing the years of colonialism and apartheid.

In light of the above, it is clear that the importance of conserving intangible heritage in South Africa is well understood. Even though national Acts and policies clearly make provision for the conservation, identification and protection of intangible heritage, it is disappointing to note the lack of process in ratifying the 2003 convention to provide international cooperation and support.

## **2.4 CONCLUSION**

This chapter focused on the legislature framework that currently informs decision making and policy around the world and in South Africa. It stressed the importance of

conserving intangible values inherent in all cultures and societies. It also discussed the global phenomenon of revisiting the concept "landscape" and emphasised the importance of understanding and preserving its intangible dimension.

Significant progress has been made on the conservation of intangible landscapes internationally. The concept's prominence is supported by the fact that the theme for the 2008 General Assembly of ICOMOS was none other than "Intangible Landscapes". The UNESCO-IFLA International Committee on Cultural Landscapes also hosted their Annual Meeting at this event, and this led to lengthy theoretical debates and the introduction of new practices on the theme.

Although South Africa is a State Party to the WHCA (Act 49 of 1999), it still has not ratified the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which was promulgated on 20 April 2006 (UNESCO 2003). Furthermore, we have no representatives serving on the UNESCO-IFLA International Committee on Cultural Landscapes.

In terms of the guidelines stipulated by the White Paper (1996) and the National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999) regarding intangible or living heritage and the role it plays in identity creation and the definition of place, it is clear that the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) must be ratified. This will set the stage for greater cooperation with international conservation bodies and open the door to increased funding opportunities. Through this, the wealth of South Africa's cultural and intangible landscapes may be documented and developed in a sensitive and responsible fashion.

The case study covered in this dissertation will attempt to highlight the complexity of heritage conservation and preservation, and will illustrate the wealth of intangible landscape resources in South Africa. The theory relating to the terms "landscape" and "cultural landscapes" and their relationship to the intangible values of memory must first be explained in more detail.

## CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL DISCOURSES ON MEMORY AND LANDSCAPE

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

A number of scholars have investigated the relationship between memory and landscape. The theme has been popular for the past ten years, and involves various professions and disciplines. Parallel to this, the conservation of the intangible aspects inherent in culture has also enjoyed recent prominence in scholarly and conservation circles.

Memory is intangible and its manifestations result in engaging the tangible object and, therefore, the landscape. Memory, as explored in the publications of Vansina (1985) and Henninge (1982), is considered integral to the oral tradition process (as discussed in chapter 1); it is, therefore, considered to be part of intangible cultural heritage.

An essential part of any discussion of landscape and memory is the efficacy of mnemotechnics. It had its inception during the Greek and later Roman times, and was primarily a sub-discipline of speech making, that is, the "art of memory" (Parker 1997:147). Place analogies were used extensively by classical orators as an aid in memorising arguments or speeches. "Study of mnemonic theory --- including constructs of modern art theory, philosophy and cognitive psychology, along with ideas developed by classical orators --- suggests that mental organization structures itself in a fundamentally spatial manner" (Parker 1997:147). This concept was originally explored by Jan Vansina, the Belgium anthropologist who worked in Central Africa (1985:45). He advocated that memory often needs mnemotechnic devices (mnemonic = designed to aid the memory) to be efficiently activated. These can be objects, landscapes or forms of music. Van Vuuren (2005:59) describes some of these memory-activating objects as defined by Vansina (1985:44-45):

...stones on a heap (such as the Zulu isivivane stone heaps on which stones are added by passers-by for a prosperous journey). The leopard skin worn by local

African rulers, the staff carried by an imbongi and the ox tail (umsila) used by a ngaka or isangoma act as mnemotechnic devices to prove the origin of incumbency, and traditional legitimacy in terms of skills and practice. There are a great number of examples of landscapes which serve as mnemotechnic devices, including the well-known battlefields, graves, and ruins of settlement sites.

In this chapter, I will firstly focus on the intangible dimension of memory. I will investigate recent and ancient theories, debates and studies on the concept of memory, its manifestation in societies and individuals, and its impact on identity creation. I will explore the process of memory, elaborate on its fluid nature and determine those aspects that influence memory creation. I will look at how memory works to place individuals within a familiar "place" and how it creates and establishes identity and notions of belonging.

I will then shift my focus to the concept of landscape. I will discuss contemporary definitions of the term and elaborate on different approaches to the relationship between the intangible dimension of memory and landscape. I will look at how landscape, through memory, roots individuals to a particular place by informing the notions of self, community and, ultimately, heritage.

## **3.2 MEMORY**

We all experience memory: we are acquainted with its process, the emotions that remembering evokes and the impact of memories in our lives. It is clear that memory is not merely a storage place for information to be retrieved later, but rather a process whereby the past is continuously constructed, based on certain social and mental conditions (Holtorf 2000-2007). The notion of memory being a simple process of recall should thus be broadened to encompass the idea that it is an intricate, continuous and complicated process of selection and negotiation over the details of what is remembered and what is forgotten. This process involves changing perceptions of the past in light of present needs and situations. Societies and individuals, therefore, continuously construct, reconstruct and, consequently, reinterpret the past based on the present and the future (Teski & Climo 2005; Natzmer 2002:164; Nesper 2002:191).

Maurice Halbwachs (1939; 1980), a sociologist, applied the term "collective memory" to define the process whereby social groups construct their own perceptions of the past based on consented versions of previous events. This occurs through communication between individuals, based in the sphere of language. Individual remembrance only forms part of the process. Collective or social memories are therefore defined and shaped by "social, economic or political circumstances; by beliefs and values; by opposition and resistance. They involve cultural norms and issues of authenticity, identity and power. They are implicated in ideologies...they create interpretive frameworks that help make experience comprehensible" (Cattell & Climo 2002:4).

The concept of collective memory was adopted into archaeological disciplines by the archaeologist Jan Assmann (1992, in Holtorf 2000-2007). He discussed the concept of cultural memory, which he defined as the process whereby a society preserves its collective knowledge between generations through cultural mnemonics. Cultural memory in this context, therefore, may be seen as the collective constructions of the past to aid future generations in establishing and maintaining their cultural identity (Holtorf 2000-2007). This definition is in line with Halbwach's (1980) use of the term "collective memory" and may be used interchangeably. For the purposes of this discussion, I will use the term "collective memory".

An individual's memories are never detached; a memory involves a dynamic relationship with generations of the present and past (Climo 2002:119). Memories of an individual and society are inextricably intertwined, that is, rooted in the concept that memory is an organic process (Cattell & Climo 2002:12). The process of memory shapes and perpetuates the sense of self, that is, the personal awareness by which we define ourselves as an individual and the collective awareness by which societies identify themselves (Cattell & Climo 2002:12; Holtorf 2000-2007).

Furthermore, shared memory or collective memory not only aids in establishing an individual's self-identity<sup>2</sup> in juxtaposition to the identities of others, but also creates

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<sup>2</sup> The concept of identity has become a substantial discourse in the humanities. According to Arnesen (1998:49), the "disembeddedness" of "modern society man" is explained by Giddens (1991), where the perception of the self and identity is not developed in a confined space as is implied in many recent theories documenting the relationship between people and landscape. Handler (1994:30) furthermore argues that Western perceptions of collectivity, which forms the basis of our concept of identity, are grounded in a Western concept of personal identity which is different or

crucial relationships and social ties between people: families, friends, neighbours and communities. Collective memories therefore develop and sustain relationships, develop understanding and trust between other people, and help us to define ourselves as individuals. It should be stressed, however, that exclusive or contradictory memories can create mistrust and result in separation from groups or societies (Archibald 2002:78).

JR Gillis (1994:3) explains as follows:

The notion of identity depends on the idea of memory, and vice versa. The core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity. We need to be reminded that memories and identities are not fixed things, but representations or constructions of reality, subjective rather than objective phenomena. We are constantly revising our memories to suit our current identities.

The process whereby collective identity is transmitted from one generation to the next was defined by Jacob Climo (2002:119) as vicarious memory. Vicarious memory is memory that an individual values and is emotionally committed to. The individual, however, never experienced this memory personally; rather, it was constructed from the related experiences of direct relatives, elders or teachers. Vicarious memory can thus be ascribed to a "pattern of remembering" or a "memory repertoire" characteristic of a particular group which, according to Climo, are "essential components in the persistence of both individual and collective identity" (Climo 2002:19).

Memory, whether individual or collective, is constructed and reconstructed by the dialectics of remembering and forgetting, shaped by semantic and interpretative frames, and subject to a panoply of distortions. ... Just as social memory is marked by dialectic between stability or historical continuity and innovations and changes, individual memory is characterised by continuity and change (Cattell & Climo 2002:1, 15).

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even altogether absent in other cultural contexts. This is summarised by his statement that "... if other cultures imagine personhood and human activity in terms other than those that we use, we should not expect them to rely on Western individualistic assumptions in describing social collectivities" (Handler 1994:33).

It is clear that collective and individual memories very seldom remain constant; they are also not always true representations of events. Rather, memories are interpretations of experiences. As stated previously, an individual's sense of identity is integrally connected to the constructed narratives and memories which interweave the past, present and future. Memories, therefore, have the potential to be distorted and influenced by the emotions of the individual experiencing the event. Distortions can also occur through various other factors, such as the structuring of an individual's memories by social or cultural norms and practices, socially ordered recall-patterns, details of the retrieval environment and prior knowledge of the recalled event (Lowenthal 1985:193-210; Cattell & Climo 2002:13). When considering inter-generational memory or vicarious memory, the form, content and symbols of collective identity may change over time, but the concept of collective identity persists from one generation to the next (Holtorf 2000-2007; Climo 2002:121).

Memory culture is the way a society ensures cultural continuity by preserving, with the help of cultural mnemonics, its collective knowledge from one generation to the next, rendering it possible for later generations to reconstruct their cultural identity. References to the past, on the other hand, reassure the members of a society of their collective identity and supply them with an awareness of their unity and singularity in time and space --- an historical consciousness --- by creating a shared past (Assmann 1992:30-34, in Holtorf 2000-2007).

### **3.3 LANDSCAPE AND MEMORY**

"Memory of place implaces us and thus empowers us: it gives us space to be precisely because we have been in so many memorable places" (Casey 2000:215).

The term "landscape" has been debated over the past ten years. Many authors have proposed different meanings or roots for it. In the assimilation of different definitions, it may be stated that the term may refer to both an environment shaped by human action and to a representation (particularly a painting or artwork) which signifies its meanings (Ucko & Layton 1999:1). The term "landscape" is therefore not tantamount to the countryside or nature, but rather a generic term for the expression of particular

ways of perceiving the environment (Darvill 1999:105; Duncan & Ley 1993:262). In addition, this polysemic term amalgamates a number of different disciplines and approaches, ranging from classical geography, history, socioeconomics and even design professions (Scazzosi 2004:337; Bender 1993).

Landscape is the spatial manifestation of the relations between humans and the environment, the visual signature of a territory - a vista - that both forms and is formed by the people who inhabit it (Crumley 2002:41)

Landscape is seated in perception and does not exist as a material object per se (Ucko & Layton 1999:1, 7). We should thus view landscapes primarily as social phenomena. The term "landscape" implies human beings as its key element: human ideas and concepts about a certain landscape differentiate it from the environment and ushers in the cultural. Physical features and relationships in the landscape are socially mapped through cultural or cognitive factors, and meanings or values are attributed to them (Allison 1999:276). We consequently perceive, understand and create the landscape around us through social and cultural filters, as well as through specific time, place, material and historical conditions (Schama 1995:12). In most cases, therefore, the term "landscape" may have different significant<sup>3</sup> meanings and interpretations for different cultural groups or individuals (Todeschini 2003; Mbangela 2003:1; Cooney 1999:46). Occasionally, the cultural significance of such landscapes is understandable to outsiders, but typically, even in those cases, concealed meanings and levels of significance (the intangible dimension) are attainable to only a few. The response to landscape is therefore not necessarily universal (Green 1996:31).

Ermischer (2004:380) further developed the concept of landscape as a mental construct and looked at the role of the image or perception in change. He premised that the image of a landscape, that is, that which is determined by the cultural or social background of the viewer, determines the way it is perceived, observed or treated. People's ideas and concepts are therefore part of landscape change and the change of perception. Landscape is therefore a "living canvas" and will inevitably change.

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<sup>3</sup> Social significance encompasses "people's attachment to place, the meanings and associations built through history, direct experience and cultural memory, often across generations" (Clarke & Johnson 2003).

Stewart and Strathern (2004:4) linked the term "landscape" with the concepts of place and community:

While we see the concepts of place, community and landscape as intersecting or overlapping, we do not regard them as synonymous. ...In our view landscape refers to the perceived settings that frame people's senses of place and community. A place is a socially meaningful and identifiable space to which a historical dimension is attributed. Community refers to sets of people who may identify themselves with a place in terms of notions of commonality, shared values or solidarity in particular contexts.

The philosopher Edward Casey (2000) argued that the concepts of place and site (physical environment) comprise two entirely incongruent concepts. He defined a site as a space that acts to define and exclude, whereas a place entails the inclusion and overlap of a set of co-inherent spaces (Casey 2000:202). He included Aristotle's argument that place is "the innermost motionless boundary of what contains" and concluded that the principal function of place is that of containing. Place maintains or retains, therefore, whereas site divides or disperse (Casey 2000:186).

He continued to include the concept of landscape in the basic definition of place. "When we are in a landscape setting...we are very much in the presence of place in its most encompassing and exfoliated format, a format in which we are sensuously attuned to its intrinsic spatial properties rather than imposing on our own site-specific proclivities" (Casey 2000:198). Landscape can thus be seen as the full spectrum of body sensing in conjunction with perception (Casey 2000:197).

Supporting the premises of Stewart and Strathern (2004), Lowenthal (1985; 2007), Holtorf (2000-2007) and Halbwachs (1939; 1990) discussed previously, Casey continues to establish that place and landscape serve to "situate one's memorial life, to give it a name and a local habitation" (Casey 2000:183-184).

His previous definitions of place as a container of experiences leads to the idea that place (landscape) and memory are intrinsically connected: "An alert and alive memory connects spontaneously with place, finding in its features that favour and

parallel its own activities. We might say that memory is naturally place-oriented or at least place-supported" (Casey 2000:186-187).

Steward and Strathern (2004:8) support this view by stating as follows:

...the inner landscape merges the perceived experience of the place with the imagined symbolic meaning of the place to the individual. Landscape, in a meaningful sense thus encompasses environment plus relationships that emerge from or exist in a place.

It is therefore clear that landscape and history is inextricably intertwined, as discussed by Guo (2004:193):

...we find that landscape is a key component of how people perceive, memorise and represent history (i.e. their historicity), and how they configure the sense of themselves.

Landscape therefore leads to the construction of a social group or population's collective memory, which is one of the sources of identity (Halbwachs 1980; Holtorf 2000-2007; Lowenthal 1985:41-46). "The landscape becomes a physical manifestation of a culture's knowledge and understanding of its past and future" (Kuchler 1993:85, Spiegel 2004:8-9). Places, landscapes and other references to the past can therefore support and enhance the cultural identities of groups and the social identities of people within a society (Holtorf 2000-2007; Lowenthal 1985:41-46).

Sites of memory and other references to the past can support and enhance the cultural identities of groups, on a local, regional, national, supranational or even global level (Holtorf 2000-2007).

### **3.4 INTANGIBLE LANDSCAPES**

It is in providing outward display for things and pathways as they exist within the horizons of landscape that places enable memories to become inwardly inscribed and possessed: made one with the memory itself. The visibility without becomes part of the invisibility within (Casey 2000:213)

From the discussion in section 3.3, it is clear that landscapes are seated in the perceptions of individuals and societies, and that this is part of a continuous process which leads to an ever changing character. We have also established that the perception of landscape helps us to maintain our identity through the process of memory. It is therefore clear that landscapes comprise intangible and tangible aspects: tangible in terms of the biophysical aspects that define place, and intangible in terms of the process of memory in place. Recent academic discourses argue that there is an inseparable relationship between the tangible and the intangible. The intangible is materialised by the tangible and the intangible plays a vital role in the establishment of the tangible (Ito 2003). The concept and perception of landscape can therefore be used to help build a crucial link between the tangible fabric of places and the meanings, memories, cultural traditions and social practices that form part of its associated intangible values. This connection or critical link is clearly explained by Clarke and Johnson (2003):

The notion of landscape encompasses connections – routes, links, events, stories, traditions – that cross the ‘boundary’ between intangible and tangible heritage, and offers opportunities for a more holistic understanding. Landscape also has the potential to be the medium that helps in understanding the commonalities and differences in the way that indigenous and non-indigenous communities perceive cultural heritage.

Reading or perceiving the landscape as an expression of meanings and memories seated in past or present cultures (i.e. its intangible dimension) will depend on "identifying a community's reference to external features that we can also perceive" (Ucko & Layton 1999:11).

In the perception of landscape, however, we find a dichotomy. Within a typically Western society, there is a predominantly visual perception and experience of landscape. It is thus an individualist and predominantly pictorial landscape (Bender 1993:1). Kuchler (1993:85) argues that the "Western" view, which developed from landscape art during the Renaissance, "treats landscape as an inscribed surface, as an aide memoir of cultural knowledge and understanding of its past and future." In less complex societies, however, landscapes are experienced through multiple senses: oral recollections, storytelling, touch, olfactory exploration and social experience (Franklin 2002:186). In this case, the visual may not be the most

significant aspect. For these societies, landscape is not the inscription of memory or encoding of memories, but rather the "process of remembering" (Kuchler 1993:85).

The western conceptualisation --- "landscape of memory" --- sees landscape as a fixed, objectifiable and measurable description of a surface, while the indigenous conceptualisation --- "landscape as memory" --- sees landscape as something that is affected by the project of its representation and remembrance, as part of the process of remembering (Guo 2004:200).

Pierre Nora edited a monumental work about the places of memory of France, entitled *Les lieux de mémoire* (1984-1992), which is a clear example of the "landscape of memory" concept. "A *lieu de mémoire* is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community" (Nora 1996:xvii). What is interesting, however, is that Nora claims that sites of memory are a phenomenon of this modern era, which leads to the fact that the "living" memories of the past (based in oral traditions) are replaced by these sites of memory.

Scazzosi (2004:335) introduced the idea of landscape as a document or palimpsest<sup>4</sup>, also leading from the perspective of landscape of memory. He states, however, that landscapes should be viewed as archives or living documents, where the history of the place and traces of eras are combined with the activities of the present. Landscape is thus a "reading of the world in its complexity; a means to contemplate our own history and to build our future, being fully aware of the past" (Scazzosi 2004:339). It is a multi-layered document with elements of the past merged with the tangible present.

The alternative to landscape as defined as an inscribed surface and "aide memoir" of culture is the perspective of landscape as a key component in the process of memory. This perspective of landscape as memory, rather than as an inscription of memory, follows from the above discussion on the dichotomy between Western and

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<sup>4</sup> "The term "palimpsest" is referred to here in its etymological sense (from the Greek pali`n "newly" and psa`n "to scratch out", when parchment manuscripts were newly written on, on top of the old writing scratched out) to signal the existence, in the present state of places, of numerous physical traces left over time by the work of man and nature, each time adding to or changing or erasing or overlapping one another and not necessarily being re-interpreted or re-used (Scazzosi 2004:350).

traditional views of landscape (Kuchler 1993:103). Spiegel (2004:8) subsequently argues that landscape is an agent of memory inscription and that it exists in a dialectical relationship with memory.

Memories and stories are significant parts of the living heritage of a community or an individual, and include the social and cultural connections between people. Spiegel proposed the premise, however, that the only way landscape can make memory (landscape as memory) is through intellectual or cognitive processes. It is therefore necessary for memory to cognitively reinterpret and (re)compose the landscape through the intellectual processes in order to recollect earlier experiences (Spiegel 2004:3, 7).

In line with the concept of mnemotechnics (discussed in the introduction to this chapter), where landscape elements can serve as devices to trigger memory (Vansina 1985), Casey (2000) discussed the role of the body in the process of memory "as psycho-physical in status, the lived-body puts us in touch with the psychical aspects of remembering and the physical features of place" (Casey 2000:189). He described the function of living bodies as giving direction, level and distance to landscapes and places, which, in turn, serve as anchoring points in remembering. Continuing the idea of the "art of memory"<sup>5</sup> described previously, remembering is thus not merely a form of recollection, but rather a process of "re-implementing and re-experiencing" past places (Casey 2000: 210). One gains access to the past, as described by Archibald (2002:68), through emotional resonance, where landscapes, places and objects stimulate memory. These places support the continuity of memory.

This concept is summarised by Spiegel (2004:8) as follows:

...landscape "out there" does have autonomy when it is inscribed in memory in ways, and through parts of the body, whereby cognitive processes (the intellect)

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<sup>5</sup> Within the modern art world, many projects are focussed on this "art of memory". In Australia, the exhibition "Mnemotech: sense + scape + time + memory", asked artists to consider memory in relation to place. Its title refers to mnemotechnis, the technique of using physical elements of architectural space and landscape to trigger memory. Another group, Memoryscapes, based in South Africa, also utilise the technique of mnemotechnics in their works of art, being an "artistic manifestation of a shared memory" (Raub 2007 & Flynn 2007).

appear to be bypassed in the recollection process. .... The very ways in which landscape occurs "on the ground" --- the lay of the land --- can determine the extent to which its inscription as bodily memory enables or hinders recollection. And by doing that, it demonstrates again that the landscape "out there" does have an autonomous existence, an inscriptive capacity, and the power to affect, even to determine, the intellectual process of representation that is memory construction.

Going back to the discussion on "landscape of/as memory", we have established that both these concepts can be seen as processes involving individuals or societies, where the past is re-interpreted or re-composed through cognitive processes (Spiegel 2004:3, 7), and where past places are re-implaced and re-experienced through psycho-physical processes (Casey 2000:210). One might therefore understand landscape and the perception thereof as a result of the process of memory, that is, from a cultural process of remembering to a personal and measurable capacity (Kuchler 1993:103). The practices that perpetuate memory are inscribed on the landscape and inscribe the landscape itself into memory (Spiegel 2004:8).

In chapter 2, I illustrated how memory is never constant and always prone to distortions or changes based on either individual or collective factors. I subsequently established that landscape is inextricably part of the intangible dimensions of memory and culture. The perception of the landscape therefore changes as it is essentially embedded in the intangible dimension of culture (Franklin 2002:37, 38):

...natures (i)s cultural specific and embedded and prone to change in relation to shifting economic, ethical and moral conditions.

...nature is socially embedded in the vectors of space and time, while at once a physical reality, amenable to the senses and discursively ordered.

This is supported by (Morphy 1993:205) who states as follows:

(t)oday's landscape is inevitably processual and transforming, integral to processes of objectification and the sedimentation of history, subjected to poetic and hermeneutic interpretation and a place where value and emotion coincide.

Continuity of intangible cultural values therefore requires a tangible materialisation. Memories are based on referents, which are places, landscapes, structures or other elements of representation. These may be places where the relationship between the fabric of the place and the intangible associations (meanings and memories) with that place to a specific culture or group, have continued through time. In the event of the continuity of the relationship of intangible value and place being disrupted, however, often due to external or material changes, the intangible connection to that place is at risk of breaking (Archibald 2002:73; Truscott 2003). If referents are altered or changed beyond recognition, a change in the perception of reality could occur, ultimately resulting in altered perceptions of the past and future and a restructuring of the existing memory narrative (Archibald 2002:73; Natzmer 2002:166, 178).

### **3.5 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter I have attempted to illustrate that memory can be defined as a complex process of recall that is continually influenced by numerous factors, most specifically cultural and social norms, the changing political or natural environment, or even the emotional make-up, needs and goals of individuals. Collective memories are constructed on the perception of past events which most members of a society or group agree upon. This version of events is therefore culturally or socially defined and perpetuated, but prone to change.

Memory is also considered a crucial ingredient in the building of relationships between individuals in societies and the formation of social ties between people. Contradicting exclusive memories, however, can have the opposite effect; this may give rise to mistrust and separation of individuals or groups within a society.

The process of memory is not only integral to the perpetuation of the sense of self in individuals, but also to collective awareness in societies. Memory is considered vital in identity construction. The process whereby collective identity is transferred from one generation to the next is called vicarious memory. This is a culturally defined pattern of remembering wherein identity is defined. As stated above, memory is continuously subject to change, based on numerous factors. Through the concept of vicarious memory or memory culture, however, collective knowledge is passed on

from one generation to the next. This transference is critical in the reconstruction of cultural identity for later generations.

The most encompassing definition of the concept "landscape" is that it is a representation of the physical environment and that it is rooted in perception. Landscape is therefore a spatial manifestation of culture and a society's relationship with its environment. The biophysical environment is mapped or perceived through cultural or social filters, attributing specific values to its features. These filters are not the same for everyone; the same landscape would therefore have different meanings for different people or societies. In the same way, certain meanings or values attributed to a landscape by a society or community would be exclusive to that group and would be hidden to outsiders.

These cultural or social filters through which the landscape is perceived are continuously subject to change, as seen in the process of memory and identity above. Thus the perception, value and treatment of landscape also changes continuously.

Landscape may also be defined as a setting for place and community, where place is defined as a container for culture (or that context which is culturally or socially meaningful) and where memory and history reside. Community may be defined as a group of people identifying themselves with a specific place. We have however ascertained that landscape and place are synonymous: landscape can be considered to be the seat of a culture's memory, or the container of a culture's or society's memory. Landscape is therefore a key component in the formation of collective memory and cultural identity.

The tangible and intangible aspects of culture are inseparable. In this regard, the biophysical setting of a cultural group or society (the tangible dimension) is integrally linked with the intangible cultural traditions, norms and social practices that define a group. Going back to the concept that landscape is seated in perception, it concludes that landscape provides and defines this link between the tangible and the intangible. Landscape is a representation of meanings and memories seated in the past, but based in the present.

The dichotomy that exists in this representation of landscape is based on the difference between Western and more traditional societies. Western societies tend to see landscape as a document of history or cultural knowledge. Traditional societies, however, tend to view landscapes as part of the process of memory, as continuously changing and therefore a living document where the past and future are combined. This latter definition is seen as a more comprehensive view of the nature and character of landscape in relation to memory. Landscape makes memory through intellectual and cognitive processes, that is, by reinterpreting and "re-composing" the physical environment in order to recollect previous experiences.

In this chapter, I have attempted to establish that landscape is an inseparable part of the intangible process of memory, but also the formation and perpetuation of cultural and individual identity. I have also attempted to draw our attention to the fact that as memory is continuously subject to change and distortions based on a number of factors, so the perception and value of landscape could change. Through the identification of those landscape elements serving as mnemotechnic devices with embodied memory, these landscape elements could serve as anchoring points of vicarious memory, where cultural identity could persist from one generation to the next. The composition of heritage, including the sociocultural and biophysical, is therefore a complex result of varying interactions between memory and landscape, as perceived by the living custodians.

In the next part of this dissertation, I will focus on a small community in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. Chapter 4 will discuss the Mpondo community of KwaBhala and their deep-seated relationship with their immediate biophysical environment. The cultural landscape will be described based on extensive fieldwork done in the area over a number of years. Thereafter, chapter 5 will focus on a significant event which occurred within the immediate environment of the KwaBhala community, an event which rooted itself in the memory landscape of the Mpondo. I will attempt to access the intangible dimension of the memories of this event by identifying specific landscape elements that act as mnemotechnic devices. Furthermore, I will critically evaluate present-day interventions within this intangible landscape, based on the processual nature of memory and the role landscape plays.

## CHAPTER 4 NGQUZA HILL IN CONTEXT

Landscape is not identical to nature, nor is it on the side of humanity against nature. As the familiar domain of our dwelling, it is with us, not against us, but it is no less real for that. And through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it. In a world as construed as nature, every object is a self-contained entity, interacting with others through some kind of external contact.

...It is the intensively wrought knowledge and technologies of a given landscape, the terrain upon which so much time and effort and concentration is applied, and the aesthetic sensibilities and embodied practices which develop from 'dwelling' that unlock the ways in which any given thing can be thought about, what it can mean, what role it can play in thinking and relating to other things. (Franklin 2002:71, 74)

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Ngquza Hill is a relatively unknown site in the Eastern Cape which played host to one of the most tragic events in Mpondo<sup>6</sup> history. The event had a profound impact on the lives of all the people involved, their families and the Mpondo community as a whole. The event and its historical and political context will be discussed in chapter 5. In order to fully comprehend the far-reaching consequences and cultural significance of the event, however, one has to understand the biophysical and cultural context in which it occurred. In chapter 3, I discussed the concept of intangible landscapes, the concept that memory is rooted in a place and that this has an abstract component. In order to spatially and concretely understand the event that occurred at Ngquza, the sociocultural profile of the Mpondo and, more specifically, the community in and around Ngquza should be explored.

The Hlabati District is situated in the northern part of Pondoland. The traditional Mpondo lifestyle in Hlabati has not experienced much outside influence. Owing to the fact that the natural landscape has remained relatively intact and features some

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<sup>6</sup> The inhabitants of Pondoland are generally referred to as the Mpondo, a subgroup of the Xhosa.

unique characteristics, the value of the cultural and natural heritage of this area cannot be overlooked. The area has been largely sidelined by development in the past. It is situated in a remote part of Pondoland, with the closest town being Flagstaff some 60km away. During my fieldwork from 2001, the single relatively decent road connecting this area to the outside world ran from Flagstaff through Hlabati to the Mkambati Nature Reserve. This road has recently been tarred, which has had both positive and negative repercussions for the community. The only shops in this area are the Spaza shops which are run by non-residents. The most popular mode of transport is the local bus service, with minibus taxis and bakkies offering a supplementing service.

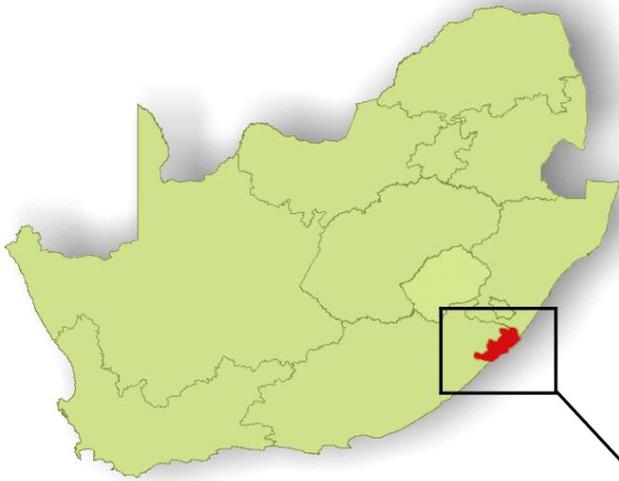
Due to its relative remoteness and distance from conveniences associated with towns, the communities in this area are still largely dependent on the natural landscape. Aspects such as food crop cultivation, livestock grazing, water collection and the immediate environment being a major source of medicinal plants only highlight part of the value of the landscape to local communities. This value can be increased by considering aspects such as the recreational and ritual importance of the environment, and the oral traditions and memories connected to certain localities.

The first section of this chapter therefore aims to clarify the biophysical environment of Pondoland and Ngquza Hill. The latter section will focus on the Mpondo culture, based on the KwaBhala community located in the vicinity of Ngquza.

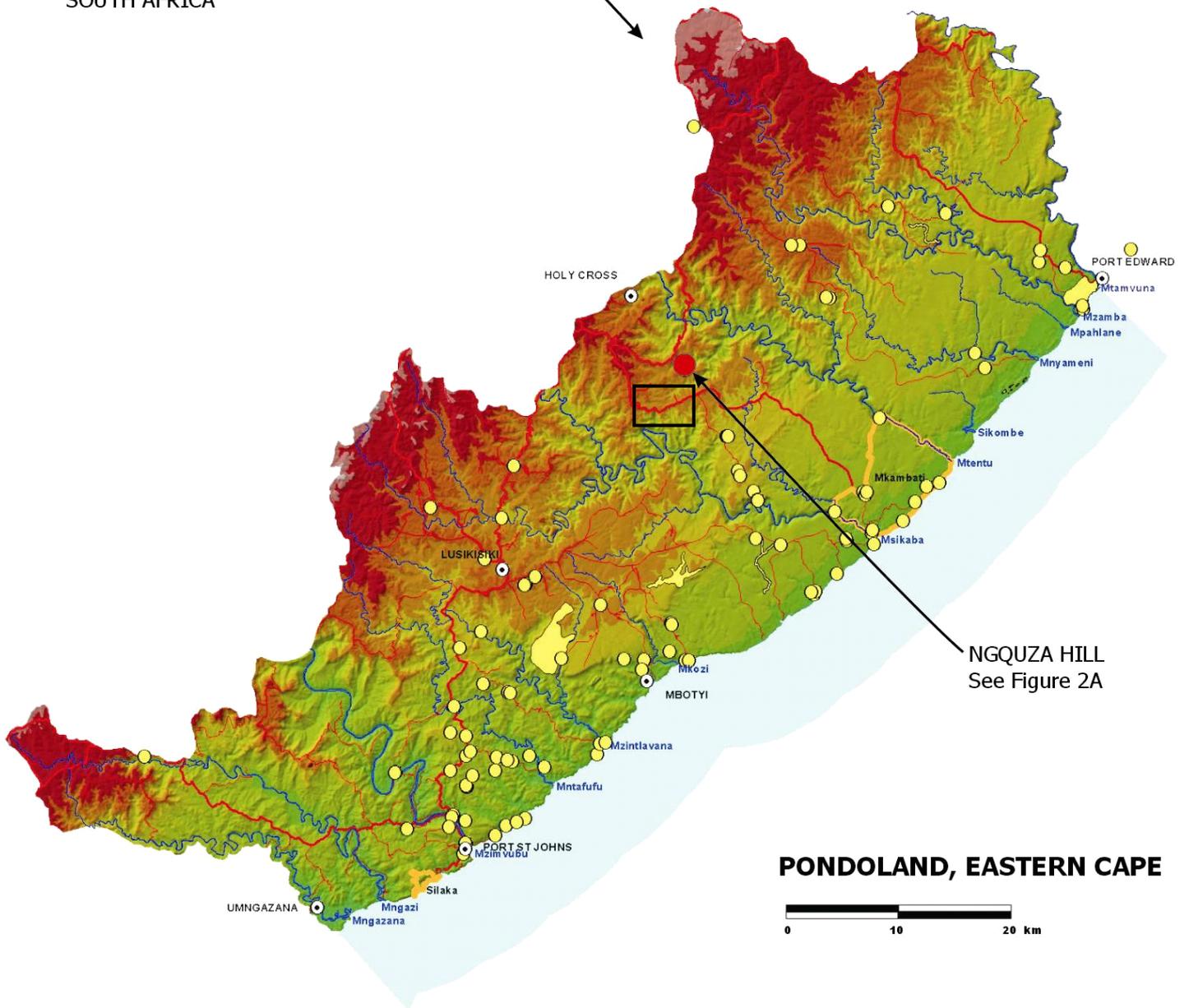
## **4.2 LOCATION**

Ngquza Hill is located in the northern part of Pondoland, within the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. It is approximately 20km south-east of Flagstaff, which is the closest town, and 40km north-east of Mkambati Nature Reserve on the coast. The main secondary road that runs from Flagstaff to Mkambati is currently the only access road to Ngquza Hill. The Mtshayelo, Ramzi, the Vlei and Upper Mketengeni magisterial districts border the Ngquza Hill magisterial district. The Holy Cross Mission and Hospital is located 5km north-east of the hill. The area falls under the INgquza Hill Local Municipality (EC153).

Please refer to figures 1 and 2 for the location of Ngquza.



SOUTH AFRICA



**PONDOLAND, EASTERN CAPE**

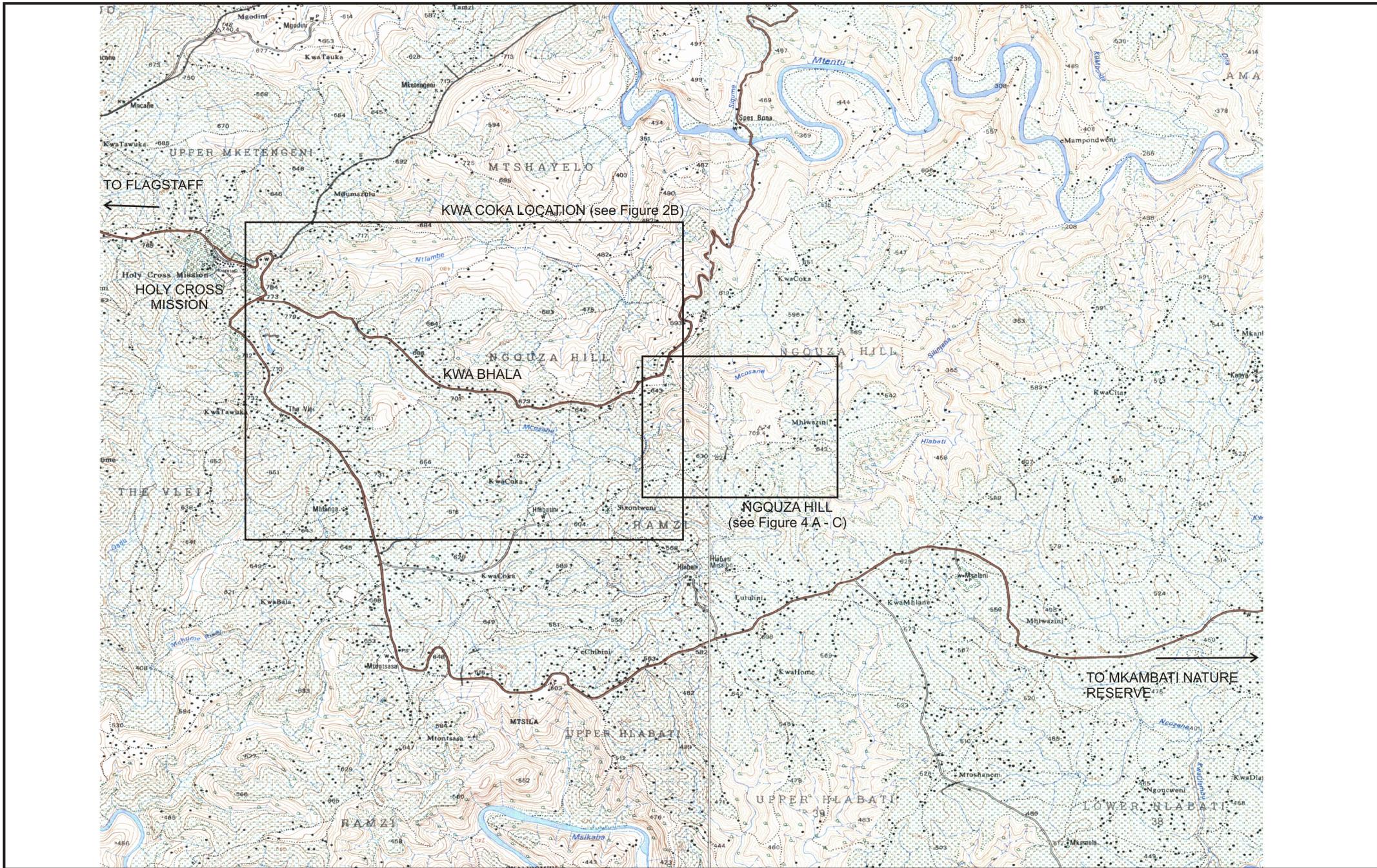


**ORIENTATION MAP** (Images courtesy of ENPAT)

SCALE:  
As Shown



**FIGURE**  
1



**NGQUZA LOCALITY PLAN** from 1:50 000 Topocadastral Maps WGS 3129CA & WGS 3129CB

SCALE:



**FIGURE 2A**

### 4.3 BIOPHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The majority of the information regarding the biophysical environment was gathered from the recent Environmental Impact Report for the Proposed N2 Wild Coast Toll Highway by CCA Environmental (Van Schalkwyk 2008). This report featured the most up-to-date environmental information on the area.

The region is predominantly a summer rainfall area with most rains occurring in the spring and summer months (October to March); some rain does however fall throughout the year in certain sections of the study area. The temperate and sub-tropical climatic influence is reflected in the high rainfall figures, with the average annual precipitation being 1 032mm. The average daily maximum temperature ranges from 12,5 to 21,7° C, and the average daily minimum from 4,2 to 16,3° C.

The topography of the study area is characterised by a gently undulating coastal plateau (300m to 450m high), which slopes gently towards the coast. The terrain gradually rises towards the interior and is deeply cut by the many rivers. The high-lying areas are characterised by deep river gorges and large areas of open savannah interspersed between the valleys. The geology of the Pondoland region is characterised by the Cape Super Group of rocks that consist of sandstones, shales and quartzites of Paleozoic age (CCA Environmental 2008:2-6).

The study area is floristically diverse and complex, with endemic plants and areas of high specie diversity spread throughout the region. The study area falls within the Maputaland-Pondoland-Albany (MPA) Hotspot, which is located along the eastern coast of southern Africa (Steenkamp et al 2004). The Pondoland Centre of Endemism (PCE) is one of the three focus points of endemism within the MPA Hotspot. The area features predominantly sandstone derived soils, primarily of the Msikaba Formation. The Msikaba Formation, with characteristic soils that are sandy, highly leached, acidic and relatively shallow, forms the basis for the endemic plants characteristic of the region. This formation leads to rocky outcrops and soils of mostly low agricultural potential. This also results in summer-only grazing potential, which explains why local inhabitants live predominantly further inland, away from the coast. The predominant vegetation of the PCE is considered to be grasslands, with forests restricted to river gorges. The numbers of endemic species within this area is

renowned and, after the fynbos region of the Western Cape Province, is considered to be South Africa's second most diverse floristic area (Van Wyk & Smith 2001).

According to CCA Environmental (2008:6-8), sensitive vegetation types in the region include:

- coastal and Pondoland grasslands, which are rich in herbaceous plants and fynbos species
- vleis and marshes, which are rich in orchids, bulbous monocotyledons, herbaceous dicotyledons, and dominant sedges and rushes
- rocky outcrops, which have unique patches of vegetation with a variety of Pondoland endemics
- forests on rocky ledges and steep gorges with a variety of endemic woody species
- riverine forest and riverine thicket
- coastal forest thicket with endemics restricted to coastal sands
- grasslands are the most impacted of the vegetation types in this region, mainly due to farming activities and overgrazing by stock; nonetheless, some pristine patches do still occur in remote areas.

This sensitive and highly significant landscape has been disturbed by the presence of many villages and associated heavy grazing by livestock. The Mpondo predominantly keep cattle, which have a profound cultural significance which influences every sector of private and social life (see section 4.4.4). However, poor grazing and uncontrolled agricultural practices have resulted in many of these sprawling grasslands and valleys displaying advanced stages of erosion and ecological degradation, with a proliferation of exotic invasive species. Nonetheless, the landscape still displays a distinct charm and beauty, reinforced by the scatterings of *imizis* (homesteads) on the hillsides and the friendly faces greeting everyone along the road. Pockets of natural vegetation still cling to the most unyielding locations --- the steep valleys and cliffs --- but are shrouded in myths and superstition. The bottom of Ngquza valley constitutes one of these locations.

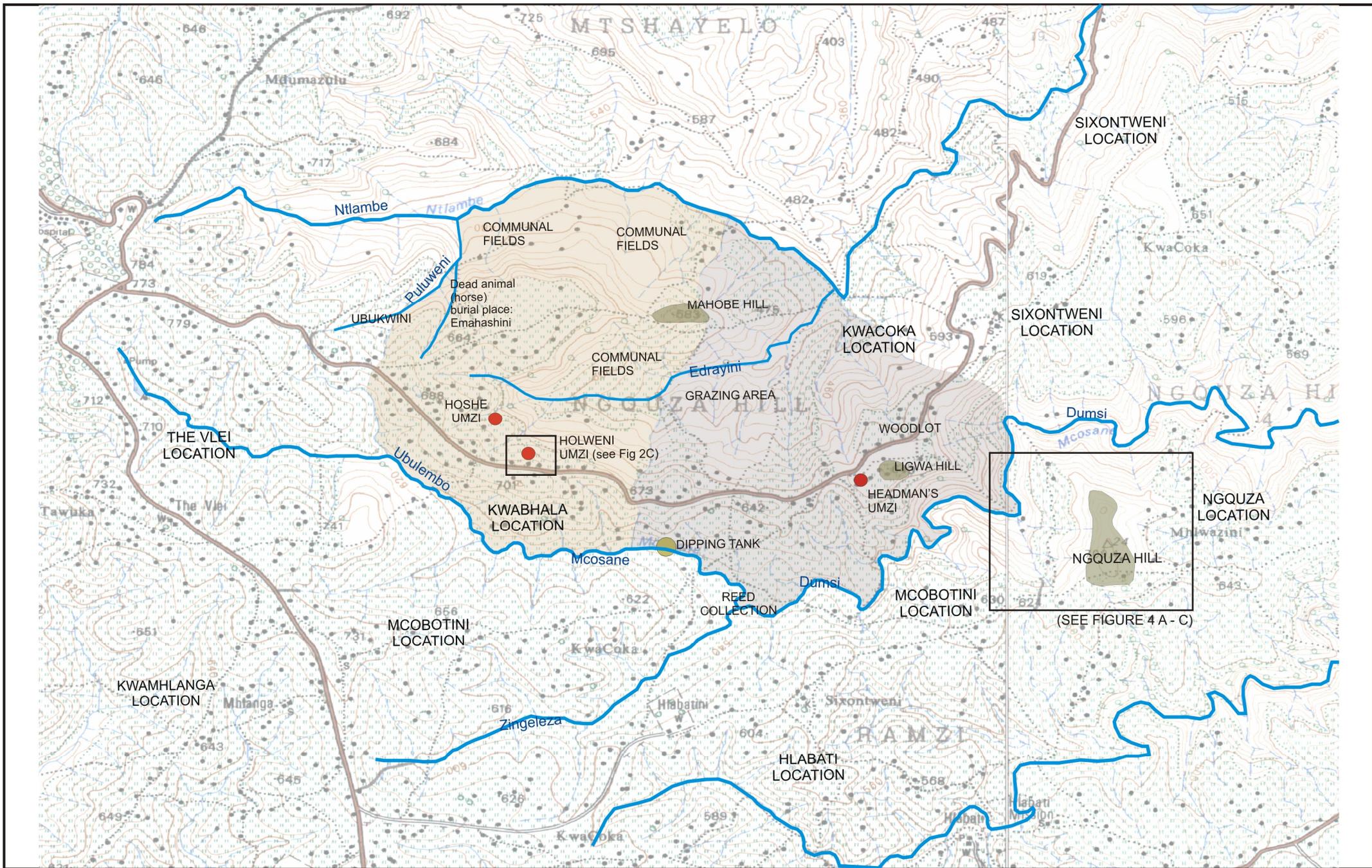


Image 4: Ngquza Hill from KwaBhala Location (Müller 2007).

#### **4.4 SOCIOCULTURAL PROFILE OF NGQUZA**

Since 2001, I have been conducting research on Ngquza from a small location roughly 5km from Ngquza Hill. KwaBhala is located within KwaCoka, and is the traditional home of the Bhala *isibongo* or family or lineage group of the Mpondo nation (please refer to figure 2B for a graphic representation). As stated in the introduction to this dissertation, my home during the time of my research was *umzi* of Ebba Holweni and most of my research regarding the culture of the Mpondo was conducted from this location. By participating in daily rituals, tasks and accompanying community members to various activities, I gradually obtained a clearer understanding of the Mpondo cultural traditions and their connection to the landscape.

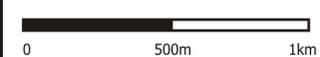
Through means of participant observation, informal interviews with family members and members of the community, and formal interviews with the communities' elders and headman, I have tried to gain a thorough understanding of the cultural landscape of the Mpondo (see section 1.3.2). I am particularly grateful to the Holweni family members Nozuzile, Nosipho, Sinethemba, Letitia and Clive Holweni for being especially helpful during the research phase.



**KWABHALA AND KWACOKA LOCATIONS**

from 1:50 000 Topocadastral Maps WGS 3129CA & WGS 3129CB

SCALE:



**FIGURE 2B**

#### 4.4.1 Political and social structure

The Mpondo community has a political hierarchy of chief to headmen over the community. The Paramount Chief is the leader of the Mpondo, followed by district chiefs and the headmen. There is a belief that land does not belong to any individual human being, but that it was a gift from *Qamatha* (the Supreme Being) to the Paramount Chief. This places tremendous responsibility on his shoulders, which he addresses by consulting the elders of the Mpondo and the ancestors before taking any decisions affecting the land or the people. This implies that the chief's authority is based on the will and needs of the people (Mnaba 2006:10). The King (*iNkosi*) is also referred to as *Inkosi nguTata Wesizwe* (the king is the father of the nation) and is therefore respected for his authority.

Traditionally, Mpondo kings are born as the first son to the first wife of the present king. This practice is emphasised by the fact that the Mpondo pay the *lobola* or bride money for the first wife. Therefore, the elders play a definite role in selecting the first wife, who is considered to be *nguMama we Sizwe* (the king's wife is the mother of the nation) (Mnaba 2006:11). According to Hunter (1969:382), however, there is a clear distinction to this tradition in Eastern Pondoland (of which Ngquza forms part of). She states that the successor to the present king is not always the son of the first wife, but the first son of the bride whose *lobola* was paid by the tribe (not necessarily the first wife). If this wife had no sons of her own, she may choose a son of one of the king's other wives to adopt as her own.

The following Mpondo king's genealogy from Hunter (1969:398-399) was augmented by studying sources on Mpondo history and conducting interviews with various people, including the present King Mpondombini Sigcau. This additional information corresponds to the numbers next to each name and is listed below the genealogy. I have attempted to complete the genealogy based on the sources I consulted.



Botha Sigcau .17  
Mpondombini Sigcau 18

- 1 Thobe: grave beyond the Mzimkulu River in KwaZulu-Natal
- 2 Msiza: grave beyond the Mzimkulu River in KwaZulu-Natal
- 3 Ncindise: grave beyond the Mzimkulu River in KwaZulu-Natal
- 4 Cabe: grave at Bumazi close to Flagstaff
- 5 Gangatha: grave at Mxhopo, Flagstaff
- 6 Bhala: grave at Ngcoya, Lusikisiki
- 7 Chithwayo: twin of Khoniwayo
- 8 Ndayini: grave near the Mzamba River estuary, Bizana
- 9 Tahle: grave near the Mzamba River estuary, Bizana
- 10 Nyawuza: grave near the Mzamba River estuary, Bizana
- 11 Ngqungqushu: grave at Dangwana, Port St Johns, at the site of Nyandeni shop
- 12 Faku: 1820-1867, grave on the river Mtsila (Tela) on the road to Holy Cross
- 13 Mqikela: 1868-1887, King of Eastern Pondoland, brother of Ndamase, King of Western Pondoland. His daughter was impregnated by a white man and she gave birth to Xabanisa, who became Nkosi Mlungu, headman of Gozo forest.
- 14 Sigcawu: 1888-1904, grave in Rhini
- 15 Marelane: 1911-1921, had his Great Place at Mzindlulu
- 16 Mandlonke: 1935-1937, after Marelane's death, Mandlonke was still too young to take over, so Mswakeli/Mamswazi acted as a regent during the period 1921 to 1934. On 15 November 1937, Mandlonke shot himself.
- 17 Botha Sigcau: after death of Madlonke, there was a dispute, as he had no sons to take over the reign. In Marelane's house, Nelson Sigcau was from the First House (Qadi House), from which the leaders were born. Botha Sigcau was from the Second House (right hand house) of Marelane, and thus not entitled to the throne although he was the first-born son. He was already a well-respected chief, highly educated and well loved by the nation. It was then decided that the nation should vote for their new king. Botha Sigcau won with 102 votes against 2 for Nelson Sigcau.
- 18 Mpondombini Sigcau: King at present, married to Lombekiso Sigcau, daughter of the King of Swaziland



Image 5: King Mpondombini Sigcau of Pondoland, taken at his Great Place, Qawukeni, close to Lusikisiki (Müller 2002),

Ngquza falls under the Thaweni Tribal Authority, which is part of the Lusikisiki District. The geographical area that comprises the Thaweni Tribal Authority includes six administrative areas, each of which is managed by a headman, who all report to Chief Zwelibongile Mhlanga, who, in turn, reports to the Paramount King, Mpondombini Sigcau. Each administrative area consists of several locations, which are further divided into several *izithebe* (singular - *isithebe*) or mat associations. The inhabitants of the Ngquza (Mpondo) speak the Pondo language which is a dialect of Xhosa. These people primarily earn their livelihoods through a mixture of arable and livestock farming, the collection of natural resources, and remittances and pensions (Kepe 1997b).



Image 6: The Chief Zwelibongile Mhlanga's Taweni Tribal Authority building close to the Holy Cross Hospital (Müller 2005).

KwaCoka (of which KwaBhala forms a part) is administrated by the headman, Sihlungu Mgwili, who resides under the authority of Chief Zwelibongile Mhlanga. Chief Mhlanga's *umzi* is located close to the Holy Cross with headman Mgwili's *umzi* on the hill to the east of KwaCoka. Headman Mgwili narrated the following KwaCoka headman history (Mgwili, S. 2002: pers comm, 9 January):

The Amakhweshube tribe, during the 17th century, didn't have a chief, but the manager of the chief, Mpingana, chose Mgwili, the younger brother to be chief. Mgwili had a son Mbono, and Mgwili sent him to the Great Place Quawkeni to grind tobacco for the King's wife. During this time he was asking the king if he could be the chief of the Amakhweshube tribe. Mgwili would sometimes take sheep to the King to bribe him to give a big land to Mbono. The King then granted him the chieftainship, and gave him a big land. Mbono was chief for a long time, and his son Qonda took over from him. Qonda died in 1952, and his son, Wilile took over. I am Wilile's eldest son.

The Holweni family is part of the Bhala clan and therefore resides in what is locally referred to as the KwaBhala Location. According to Ebba Holweni, her husband's grandfather's father was the first of their family to be born in this area. Before that, the Bhala clan originally stayed close to the Zalu hills next to Qawukeni (the Great Place: home of the Mpondo King). They joined the Kwetshube and Coka clans and travelled north until they reached the Ntlambe River. Here they found the Mbili and

Silango clans, but after deciding to settle down in this area, they violently chased them away. The entire area around the Ntlambe River was subsequently called KwaCoka, with KwaBhala being the area where the Bhala clan settled (Holweni, E 2005, pers. comm., 25 June). When studying and mapping the spatial distribution of these clan-areas, it is clear that natural features such as drainage lines, rivers and hills were used to delineate its boundaries.

The word "*bhala*" means "to write" and this refers to the fact that the members of the Bhala clan were of the first members of the Mpondo to be educated. This was most probably due to their good relations with the early missionaries who operated in this area. This fact remains true today, with the entire Holweni family being completely literate and most of the younger generations pursuing tertiary education degrees (Holweni, N. 2002: pers comm, 17 January).

A clear form of social hierarchy exists among the Mpondo and this is particularly evident in KwaBhala. The higher-ranked classes are those who have been educated for a few generations and where an academic culture is evident (the Holwenis are a case in point). These people used their education to rise above their circumstances and become prominent people in their community. They are usually of the Christian faith and have abandoned some of their traditional customs or rituals. The lower classes are those who have no or little education, and who generally stay in the more remote areas of the countryside. Their traditional customs, superstitions and beliefs are still very much intact and they generally lead very simple lives. They are looked down upon by the educated Mpondo and although the uneducated respect them, they maintain that the educated are "sell outs" who traded their culture to become more like white people.

This tendency is in line with the ideologies described by Pauw in his seminal work *The second generation* (1975). According to him, two separate groups have formed within Xhosa society as a reaction to the evangelistic and educational activities of missionaries within the area. The first group largely accepted Christianity, education and Western culture and its members are known as the "school people". The second group offers strong conservative opposition to Western influence, religion and schools --- they try to preserve their traditional culture. The members of this second group are referred to as the "red people" (Pauw 1975:17). This tendency was exacerbated by the scores of people immigrating to larger towns from the rural areas.

Many of the respondents I spoke to during my fieldwork talked about *indo ebomvu* or "a red thing", thereby referring to their traditional culture.

The Holweni *umzi* is considered to be the first and original Bhala *umzi*. Ebba Holweni remembered that when she first arrived as the new wife of the eldest son, the *umzi* had more than 20 cows which were milked in the position where the present kraal stands. She also recalled the many horses that the boys used to get to the fields in the river valleys. In those days, there were only a few *imizi*, not more than 10 at the most. They included the Holweni and Hoshe *imizi*, together with those of the headman (Holweni, E. 2005: pers comm, 10 June). Today there are many new *imizi* of families that have been amalgamated into the Bhala or Coka because they were chased away or moved in from other locations within Pondoland or further. Clive Holweni took me to visit a family living on the northern slopes of Ngquza Hill. He told me that these families are Sotho, originally from Matatiele. They came here in the early 1980s looking for good grazing land. They went to Chief Mhlanga and he gave them the right to stay in this area. I also met another Sotho family staying in the vicinity of the Mcosane River valley south of KwaBhala. They moved here due to unrest in their original location and found a peaceful and accepting home in KwaBhala. This fact is supported by research by Beinart (1982) who stated that this area has steadily received immigrants who came from other parts of the former Transkei as a result of population pressures in those areas and the fact that they were attracted by high rainfall and other physical factors of the area.



Image 7: Pakisi Mzoxolo, part of Sotho families staying in Ngquza (Müller 2005).

Almost everyone is family within KwaBhala. Even though the Holweni family is believed to be one of the founding families of this area, these are the *izibongo* or families residing within KwaCoka at present:

- Holweni
- Somabele
- Mkovana
- Hoshe
- Rwalumbana
- Qhantsi
- Mbande
- Sicubu
- Mapompo
- Mgilane
- Gamtela
- Chagi
- Makeleni
- Mgwili
- Ngqwangi
- Mimbawuselwe

Development of the area around Ngquza is spearheaded by the *Ikhwezi laseNgquza Development Trust*, which is tasked with requesting money from the municipalities and arranging for the building of roads, schools and halls. The political authority, however, rests strongly with headman Mgwili under Chief Mhlanga. The headman is traditionally tasked with settling petty issues within the community. This is illustrated by how thieves and other wrongdoers are disciplined under the authority of the headman, as narrated by Nosipho Holweni (2005: pers comm, 21 June):

If a man has committed a crime, say rape, murder, housebreaking or thievery, the people of KwaCoka would chase this person until they catch him. They will take a rope and tie it around his neck, then lead him to the headman's umzi. There they will tie him to a tree. All members of the community will then come and give him three lashes each with a sjambok.

According to Hunter (1969:400-402), the Mpondo army was originally organised to function on a territorial basis, with the different headmen under chiefs mobilising their men and marching to the Great Place of the Paramount King. She continues to say that this military organisation steadily deteriorated and that it last functioned properly under Sigcawu. This was probably due to disunity in the Mpondo nation which was caused by governmental interference regarding the appointment of chiefs (see chapter 5 for a detailed discussion).

#### **4.4.2 Homestead and family**

Traditionally, the Mpondo homestead sites consist of a group of huts (*imizi*) on ridges and, where possible, the huts face eastward towards the rising sun. These *imizi* traditionally house a man with his wives, his married sons with their wives and his unmarried daughters. Each married woman has her own house (*indlu*) and the placement of each hut in relation to the *umzi* reflects the status of each wife. Tradition dictates that the mother of the head of the *umzi*, or his first wife, occupies the "great hut" at the centre of an arc which faces the gate of the cattle byre. The storage huts of the great hut are arranged to its right. The subsequent wives of the head are arranged to the left of this central hut together with their storage huts (Wilson & Thompson 1986:111). Monica Hunter, however, indicated that this semi-circular layout was never strictly enforced and that it was often changed according to the site conditions and layout (Hunter 1969:17). She also stated that "the 'school

people' usually build their huts in a straight row" (Hunter 1969:17). The Holweni family has long been considered educated and well respected, so it makes sense that this *umzi* is arranged in a straight line.

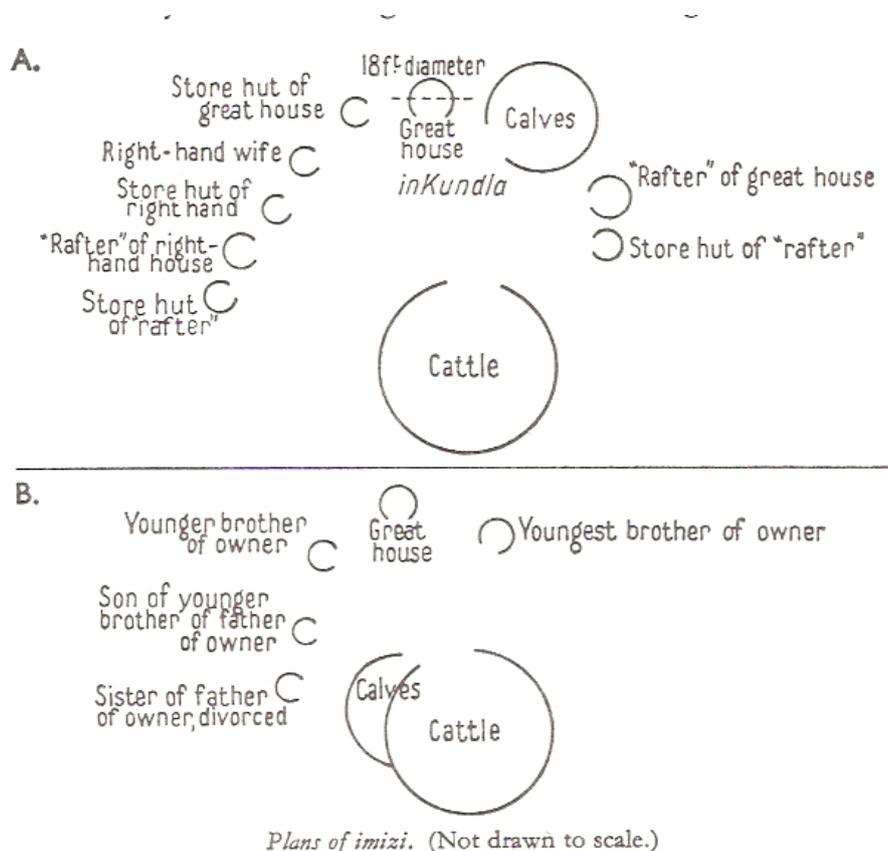


Image 8: Traditional Mpondo imizi layout (Hunter 1969:23)

After the turn of the century, a number of changes occurred in the traditional Mpondo dwelling styles: wattle and daub walls with a domed roof replaced the older grass "mouse house" structure. After that, the sod or brick or stone walls with a pitched roof and thatched in a more Western style became common. Subsequently, rectangular houses, subdivided into rooms, became more prominent among the Mpondo; they utilise fired bricks, or in poorer circumstances, mud bricks that are manufactured by the community. Roofs are usually of galvanised steel. The only structure still reminiscent of the traditional hut construction is the grass "mouse's house" that is annually constructed as the lodge built for newly circumcised boys (Wilson & Thompson 1986:113)



Image 9: Traditional wattle and daub walls of Mpondo huts (Müller 2002).

During my stay at the Holweni family *umzi*, I became well acquainted with its layout (see figure 2C for a graphic representation). The most important deviation to the traditional Mpondo *umzi* layout is the fact that the Holweni *umzi* does not feature a cattle kraal, but rather two small kraals for the sheep. These kraals are located to the left of Ebba Holweni's hut, in the corner of the yard. The cattle, when not grazing, are left to roam the entire yard, with all the gates closed (please refer to section 4.4.4 for a further explanation and images).



**HOLWENI UMZI LAYOUT** Aerial Photograph from Google Earth 2008

SCALE:



**FIGURE 2C**



Image 10: The Holweni *umzi*: the second eldest sister's hut, the storage hut behind it and the third daughter's hut behind that. To the right is the kitchen (Müller 2005).



Image 11: Ebba Holweni's hut viewed from within the kitchen, with the whitewashed prayer house behind it (Müller 2005).

All members of the family unit are mutually dependent on one another. Each member has his or her purpose in the daily functioning of the household, and everyone is well aware of this role. Hierarchy in terms of age is the guiding factor: the eldest have the most authority. This respect is never questioned and mostly considered a non-negotiable fact. The head of the house occupies his time by discussing matters with the other men. The younger sons, if not occupied in other towns, are usually tasked with working in the fields, and later join the elders in their discussions. At the death of the head of the house, his wife will assume authority if there is no son old enough to take on this role. In the Holweni household, the young wife of the eldest son, Nozuzile Holweni, does most of the kitchen work and gives orders to the younger women and girls. She is again under the authority of the mother of the household, Ebba Holweni. Her husband works as a police officer in Flagstaff, roughly 15km away. He rarely sleeps at home, only returning on long weekends and holidays. The smaller boys do most of the cattle herding during the day, but also do fieldwork and general chores with the girls.

In the event of a family member attaining financial success, he or she will take it upon himself or herself to finance the education of other family members or even pay some of their debts, regardless of whether that person is his or her brother or distant cousin. This tradition is carried through to child rearing as well: if parents are unable to care for their children due to poverty or unforeseen circumstances, any member of the family who is financially fit will raise the child as his or her own within his or her *umzi* (Holweni, N, 2002: pers comm, 9 January).

Zolani Holweni (21) is the son of the second-eldest son of the Holweni family. He stays at the *umzi* for intermittent periods when he is not in Umtata studying. He used to live with his mother in Cape Town, but he became disillusioned with life in the city and crime plagued him. He therefore decided to stay with his father's family when he was 17. He attended school in Umtata and now attends college. Yam Yam (Sinethemba) Holweni is another illegitimate child of the eldest daughter of the Holweni family, Nosipho. She lived in the *umzi* as a daughter and helped with all the household tasks whenever I was there. Kayakazi Holweni is Clive Holweni's (third eldest son) illegitimate daughter. She lived in his *umzi* in KwaBhala, and even though she was often seen at the Holweni *umzi*, she was mainly working and not treated as an equal to Zolani or Yam Yam, and especially not to Nozulzile's three legitimate

children. She works hard for her father and has to collect most of the firewood for both the Holweni *imizi* from an indigenous forest to the east of KwaCoka.

I accompanied these young people in order to find out how they experienced their environment and what they valued. What I discovered was apathy towards living in this area. The younger generation has become very indifferent about life and currently cluster around the two shops in the location, listening to music from their cell phones and gathering at those homes which have solar power and a television. They act out the music videos they see on SABC 1. Not a single young person I have interviewed wants to stay in KwaBhala --- they all want to move to the bigger cities, with Johannesburg being the first prize: "That's where the money is. Who wants to live here? There is nothing happening here! It's so boring" (Holweni, Yam Yam, 2008: pers comm, 9 November).

#### 4.4.3 Natural landscape

The Mpondo maintain a close relationship with their natural environment. As stated previously, the boundaries of the locations are based on natural landscape features such as drainage lines, hills and rivers (see figure 2B). Furthermore, most *imizi* are located on the eastern face of the rolling hills characteristic of this area, with the western faces comprising grazing land or agricultural fields. The Mpondo community attaches specific meanings to landscape elements. Traditionally, hills are considered the most significant landscape element, with various associated rituals and cultural meanings. The initiation ceremonies of girls usually occur on hills:

Before the twenty-first birthday of a girl, the women of the location would go to Nopakhama hill to sing and dance. Afterwards they will come back to the location and perform the initiation ritual for the girl. The hill is also utilized by the men of the community who go there for meetings before they decide to go to the headman with their problems. The Amabunga cultural group of young men, a group differing from other groups as they are very traditional, also go there before meetings with other cultural groups (Mr Sxavati, Gumzana Location, Umkolora, 2002: pers comm, 22 January).

A number of hills around KwaBhala carry specific meanings for the community. Ligwa Hill is located next to the *umzi* of the headman Mgwili to the east of KwaBhala in

KwaCoka location. It is believed that this hill is the "place of valour", that is, the place where young, courageous men go to discuss important things. Furthermore, Ngquza Hill also had an ingrained ritual and cultural meaning for the Mpondo, establishing a connection with their ancestors. They believe their ancestors inhabited the Hill and that they will aid them when they fight for a worthy cause (Mbambo 2000:35-36). Furthermore, the name "Ngquza" refers to the coming of age ceremony, the *Mngquzo*, where Mpondo virgins are initiated into womanhood (See section 4.4.7.2). These ceremonies are conducted frequently at Ngquza Hill. Furthermore, if a man falls in love with a woman, he will take a stick with a white cloth and put it on the top of the hill. The entire community will see it and understand his intentions. He can then go to the girl's parents and ask to visit the girl after paying a number of goats to the mother and father (Sipolo, 2001: pers comm, 15 December). Prominent hills throughout Pondoland have therefore long been regarded as places where people go to announce something to the community.

Within the KwaCoka location, the Nongatha valley is considered the only area where the hunting of wild animals is still possible. Of the men I interviewed, only Clive Holweni could remember recently hunting for hare within this area. Most of the young men I spoke to did not care about hunting and thought I were foolish to want to visit these "wild areas". "Why do you want to go there? There is nothing there. Just birds and small animals. It's difficult to walk there" (Zolani Holweni, 2005: pers comm, 25 June). Clive Holweni does, however, remember seeing the following animals within the surrounding landscape: springbuck, jackals, pheasants, bushbuck (*nkonka*), monkeys and baboons. The men of the Sotho family living on Ngquza Hill (see section 4.4.1 above) also shed some light on the wild animal issue: they related how they regularly see leopard on Ngquza Hill. They have also come across a number of different vulture species and they recalled seeing *inyanga* (traditional healers) set traps for the vultures (their brains are used as *muti*). There are also a number of snakes in the area, including black and green mamba, night adders, grass snakes and a snake called the *ivusa manje* (wake up now). Clive also told me of a crafty iguana (*uxam*) living in the vicinity of the Mcosane River. Members of the community have tried to catch it for years, but it remains elusive.

The Mcosane River, located to the south of the main road through KwaBhala, is the closest and most well-used source of water in the location. Where the banks of the

river feature slabs of stone, these areas are used as the communal washing areas, with the water stained a milky white from all the soap.



Image 12: Mcosane River – top washing pool (Müller 2005).



Image 13: Mcosane River – big pool for swimming (Müller 2005).



Image 14: Washing platform next to the Mcosane River (Müller 2005).



Image 15: Boys collecting water (Müller 2002).

A little further downstream, the river widens and a communal cattle dipping tank (see section 4.4.4) has been erected close by. Other parts of the river are used as swimming holes and recreational areas, with the flat landscape areas along the banks cultivated as fields. The vegetation around the river is also widely harvested as medicinal plants, with reeds and other significant species growing on the banks playing a vital part in the material culture of the Mpondo. It is unfortunate, however, to note that the entire northern bank of the river used to be a dense indigenous forest (Nosipho & Clive Holweni 2005: pers comm). This forest has been completely cleared since 1950. Nosipho related how scared she was to collect water from this

river as a child. She remembered that the forest would already be dark by two o'clock in the afternoon and that one could not see a metre in front of oneself in the forest at night.



Image 16: Southern slope of the hill next to the Mcosane River (Müller 2005).

The uppermost part of the river is called the *ubulembo* and it refers to a top of a maize cob or stalk, or the top of the corn plant which looks like the drainage lines of the river.

Numerous materials are harvested from the natural environment surrounding the locations. The most prolific harvested natural material is thatch grass. Certain grass species such as *Cymbopogon validus* (*umqungu*), *Miscanthus capensis* (*umthala*) and *Hyperrinia spp.* (*iDobo*) have a very high value as thatching material. Of these three grasses, *Cymbopogon validus* is the most preferred, due to its smooth finish (Johnson 1982). Able-bodied and often poor women from the location and neighbouring locations collect grass from the natural landscape for personal use. Cooperative labour institutions such as traditional work parties (*amalima*) are essential for transporting grass to the village. Uncontrolled burning activities in the locations and the natural environments have resulted in a reduced habitat for these grass species. Consequently, villagers protect grass patches close to their *imizi* and those villagers with big fields even plant seeds of *C. validus* in order to sell the grass within KwaCoka and the neighbouring locations.



Image 17: Thatching grass (Müller 2005).



Image 18: Thatching grass collection – Ngquza location (Müller 2005)



Image 19: Firewood collection from valley forests close to Ngquza (Müller 2005).

The indigenous scarp and riparian forests within the river valleys surrounding KwaCoka are an important source of medicinal plants and animals, wild fruits, construction timber, and materials for the manufacture of household utensils and artefacts. Even though it is clear that the Mpondo are dependent on the natural environment for various elements of their material culture, the government has placed a moratorium on the harvesting of indigenous plants. Clive Holweni related that he was part of a group of men from the location who were briefed by the headman to "make sure that no plants may be taken out of nature" (Clive Holweni 2005: pers comm, 20 June). During the course of my fieldwork, however, I repeatedly saw large heaps of indigenous wood, primarily harvested from young saplings, being transported from the fragments of remaining forests to the various *imizi*. This wood is supplemented by woodlots to the north of the headman's *umzi*. These woodlots consist of wattle trees specifically planted for harvesting for general construction material and for firewood. Members of the community are allowed only a specific number of trees per year. Grass for thatching is collected from a specific area of grassland that has been strictly closed for grazing (*doborhasi*).



Image 20: Firewood collected from a valley forest stacked next to a road (Müller 2005).



Image 21: Stores of firewood and wood for construction piled high to dry out (Müller 2005).

It is clear that the people of KwaBhala are highly dependent on their natural environment. As stated previously, the entire landscape used to feature a dense natural forest. Due to the systematic clearing of the natural vegetation for subsistence agriculture and the grazing of livestock, however, the landscape surrounding KwaBhala and KwaCoka has been dramatically altered. In the words of Letitia Holweni: "The area behind Bhala location along the Mcosane River, the Ubulembo, used to be a thick forest. As children we were afraid to go there, but we

had to get wood for the fire in the forest. The same for the Ntlambe River --- there used to be wild animals there that the grown men hunted. Now it's all open, the forest is gone. Now we just have the fields" (2005: pers comm, 26 June). These areas are presently considered to be the communal agricultural fields for the KwaCoka and KwaBhala locations, with every household owning a section of the fields. They are not, however, actively cultivated, primarily due to lack of people to work the fields. Most members of the household do not stay in the location for most part of the year, especially not the able-bodied younger generation. These fields are called the *intsimi*. The Holweni family's *intsimi* is located close to the Mahobe (dove) Hill in the valley. See figure 4B for the location.



Image 22: The KwaBhala *intsimi* next to Ntlambe River (Müller 2005).



Image 23: The Holweni family's *imizi* next to the Mahobe Hill in the Ntlambe River Valley (Müller 2005).

Clive Holweni can still remember how, as a boy, he had to accompany all the young boys of the location to the fields every morning. They had to bring dogs to chase away the hyrax (*illiwa*) and other rodents from the fields. They would then spend the entire day in the fields playing. "Nowadays the boys do not come anymore. They only play football at the shop" (Clive Holweni 2005: pers comm, 27 June).



Image 24: Clive Holweni with the aloe specie used for various medicinal purposes (Müller 2005).



Image 25: *Umlungu mabele* "white ladies' breast" (Müller 2005).



Image 26: Rope material, fibre (Müller 2005).

#### 4.4.4 Domestic animals

Kuckertz (1990:203) clearly described the role of cattle in Mpondo culture:

The pre-annexation independence of the Mpondo was directly linked to the wealth in cattle which they traded in order to obtain commodities they needed, such as guns and agricultural implements...the importance of cattle is summed up in two phrases which I have often heard in conversation: *iinkomo yibank* (cattle are savings account) and *iinkomo babantu* (cattle are people). The first phrase pinpoints the economic aspect of cattle in its use of the most unambiguous terms of the cash economy: a banking institute, where there are loans, transfers and deposits.

The Mpondo community measured their wealth by the large areas of land and the large numbers of livestock they owned. Culture and tradition, or land and livestock, are still considered the core features of their life (Mnaba 2006:13). The Holweni *umzi* currently features the following domestic animals: up to 20 cattle, 3 horses, a flock of about 70 sheep, roughly 30 goats, 6 pigs, 1 dog, 5 cats, 4 roosters, 7 hens and many chicks.

Even though the family has other livestock, none is considered more important than the cattle. At present, the Holweni household does not have any boys of about 8 to 14 years of age. As a result, Ebba Holweni hires young men to look after her cattle. This is in line with the Mpondo custom which dictates that only men may work with cattle; a woman's *umlaza*, or impurity due to menstruation, is considered dangerous to cattle (Hunter 1969:66). Early in the morning, before sunrise, the boys will come and collect the cattle from where they are grazing in the *umzi*. The KwaBhala cattle either graze in the agricultural fields after harvesting or in specific grassland areas allotted to each family. The headman has the power to distribute and allocate these communal grazing areas. After the cattle have been driven to these areas surrounding KwaBhala, they will stay there for up to three days. When they return, the cattle will again graze within the *umzi* yard or around the brick-making dam until they are again taken to the grazing fields.

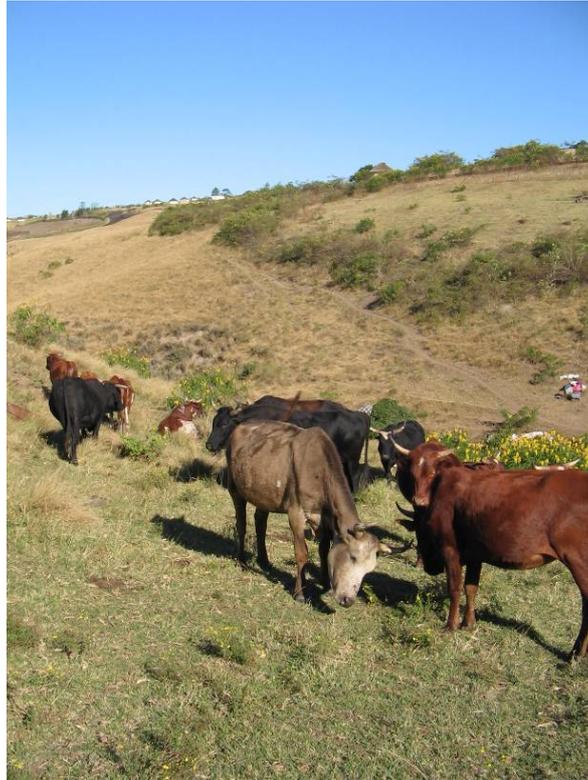


Image 27: Holweni cattle grazing next to the Edrayini stream (Müller 2005).



Image 28: Cattle pulling fire and construction wood (Müller 2005).



Image 29: The Holweni cattle pulling firewood (Müller 2005).

The Holweni family cattle, in this picture, have been hired by another family to transport wood from the valley to their *umzi* for domestic use. The cattle are also used to pull the traditional sleighs to transport the harvest from the valley fields to the *imizi*. Note the traditional wooden yokes and skeins.

KwaBhala features a dipping tank for the cattle in the Mcosane River valley. This dipping tank is a remnant of a government-imposed regulation as part of the larger Betterment and Rehabilitation Scheme (see section 5.2.1), which forced the Mpondo to dip their cattle using Native dipping foremen to oversee the process. This process, accompanied by a tax and specific regulations regarding grazing areas and cattle movement, was responsible for the first rift in the Mpondo-government relationship (Hunter 1969:67).

A cow or an ox will be slaughtered for a special occasion. The first-born son or his immediate brother is normally awarded this task. Traditionally, this slaughter happens in the cattle kraal, where the first-born and the other men of the family make the beast fall to its right side. "It is considered bad luck if the beast fell to the left side. When it's on the ground, the first-born will take a spear and pierce the belly of the beast. Usually it takes a long time to die, and it will ensure good luck if the beast calls for a long time before it eventually dies. It is also believed that the beast that is meant to die for a specific occasion will come forward to be killed out of its own account,

waiting to be killed" (Gwebinkumbi, N, headman of Kwa-Ndovela, Mboyti, 2002: pers comm, 30 January).



Image 30: The Holweni family's sheep grazing within the sheep kraal (Müller 2005).



Image 31: The Holweni sheep kraal constructed from wood and augmented by brush on the sides (Müller 2005).



Image 32: Kraal construction: focusing on the wooden brush to increase its impenetrability (Müller 2005).

Clive Holweni is not only a nurseryman, growing a number of ornamental plants that he collected on his travels at his *umzi*, but is also an industrious chicken farmer. Whenever a community member needs chickens, he lends them a hen. During the entire course of nesting and roosting, this person should feed and care for the hen. When the chicks hatch, this person should give half of the hatchlings, together with the hen, to Clive as payment. In this way, he has increased his "free range" chicken farm fourfold in the last year. Ebba Holweni has the same industry operating at her *umzi*, with up to six hens roosting in the kitchen at any one time!



Image 33: Hen roosting in the Holweni kitchen (Müller 2007).



Image 34: The Holweni yard: looking at a kraal with chickens roaming about (Müller 2007).

#### 4.4.5 Agriculture

Every *umzi* within KwaBhala has partial to full access to arable land, resulting in the area featuring a high density of semi-subsistence farmers. Many households are effectively self-sufficient in their staple food, maize. Dishes such as *umfino* (turnips, potatoes and wild leaves from bean plants, beetroot and sweet potato), *umbhako* (baked bread served with tripe or tea or coffee), *umnqhusho* (samp and beans) and the staple diet of pap (porridge), however, are all part of the traditional meals of the Mpondo. *Umqafunyeko* (maize, beans, salt) is considered the most important food of the Mpondo culture and is traditionally offered to any man visiting an *umzi*. The ingredients of these foods are mostly grown at the *umzi*. Additional food and other household necessities are supplemented by the two spaza shops in the location.



Image 35: Zolani Holweni with his pumpkin crop (Müller 2005).



Image 36: Beans in the smaller field in the western part of the *umzi* (Müller 2005).



Image 37: Cabbages and weeds (Müller 2005).

Apart from the larger family fields in the river valleys featured in section 4.4.3, the area in the immediate vicinity of the *umzi* is the primary location of subsistence farming. Every *umzi* in KwaBhala features a small piece of land which is fenced off. In the case of the Holweni family, the field is located to the north of the *umzi*. A smaller field to the west is primarily used for the cultivation of legumes, onions, peas, potatoes, leafy vegetables (cabbage, spinach and lettuce) and tomatoes. This field is

cultivated year-round and is usually tended by the boys and girls of the family. The reason for these smaller fields is, according to Hunter (1969), due to the fact that fields on the hillsides rather than in the river valleys are only cultivated for two to three seasons before leaving them fallow (Hunter 1969:72). Therefore, KwaBhala is characterised by a number of fields in the vicinity of *imizi*, with most lying fallow and only a few being actively cultivated.



Image 38: Looking at the Holweni *imizi* from the north. On the opposite side are the banks of the Edrayini Stream. Notice the small fields adjacent to each *imizi* (Müller 2005).

The large field to the north of the Holweni *imizi* is predominantly planted with maize, but is also ingeniously interplanted with other crops to reduce the risk of infestation and increase the soil potential. Butternut and other pumpkin species, as well as beans, are planted in alternate rows among the corn plants. This large field is tilled with the use of a tractor which is hired from another community member early in September.

Zolani Holweni (21) is tasked with the tilling and overseeing the planting process. Every member of the family who is at the *imizi* during November and December is required to help with the planting. The same goes for the harvesting process in the winter. In the tradition of the Mpondo, these larger fields are communally cultivated, weeded and harvested by the members of the community. Work parties (*amalima*) are customary in the Mpondo culture, where members of the community are paid

with beer and meat to assist with the tilling of the soil, the planting and the eventual harvesting of these fields (Hunter 1969:73).



Images 39a&b: The granary and storage hut (*udladla*) of the Holweni *umzi* (Müller 2005).

The harvested mealies are placed within a granary (*udladla*) or a store hut (*inyango*) and used throughout the year. According to Hunter (1969:86), sealed grain pits dug in the cattle kraal or close to the great hut were traditionally used to store the maize. I could not find any grain pits at the Holweni *umzi*.

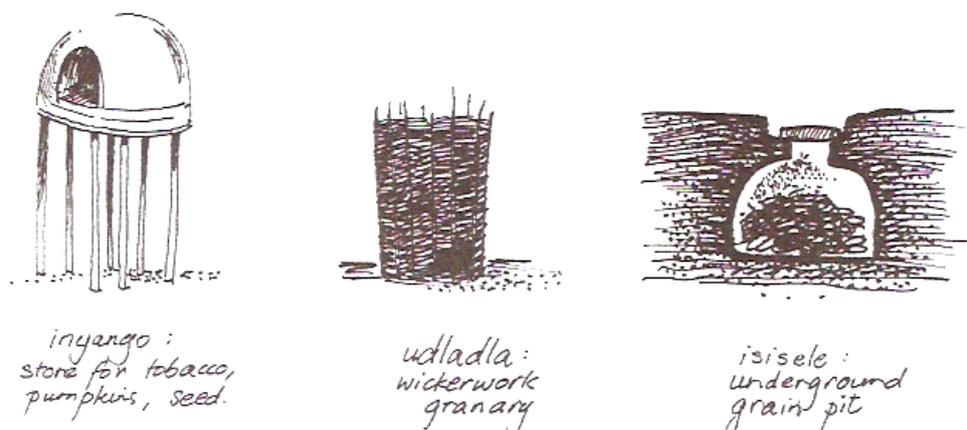


Image 40: Granary (*udladla*) and store hut (*inyango*) (Crampton 2004:40)

The granary is where most of the chickens congregate, quickly catching the odd grains occasionally falling through the gaps of the grain keep. This feed is supplemented by all kitchen scraps and dishwater that is thrown out into a shallow hole next to the granary. All the yard animals eat from the scraps in this hole.



Image 41: Kayakhazi throwing out the dishwater into the hole next to the granary or *udladla* (Müller 2005).

Other members of the KwaBhala community produce various additional crops. At a household to the east of the Holweni *umzi*, an industrious man has planted numerous banana trees and sugar cane to supplement the KwaBhala crop yield. His garden, together with other gardens I visited, features a number of fruit trees, including peach, apricot, apple and orange trees.



Image 42: Banana trees in neighbouring *umzi* (Müller 2005).



Image 43: Sugar cane (Müller 2005).

#### 4.4.6 Material culture

A full inventory of Xhosa material culture is contained within Shaw and Van Warmelo's *The material culture of the Cape Nguni* (nd); many items are still manufactured in Ngquza, but others have become extinct. My aim is to describe some of these elements still in use at KwaBhala and KwaCoka.

Most aspects of the Mpondo culture are rooted in harvesting materials from the natural environment for application in their daily lives. The most poignant example of this is the process of hut construction (as explained in section 4.4.2). Even though the traditional hut construction technique of a round wooden frame with thatch covering is rarely used nowadays, remnants of this traditional building technique are still evident in the mud-walled huts built by some members of the community. As stated previously, mud brick (sod) huts are currently more common, but thatching is still the preferred roof-covering method utilised. Traditionally, men are responsible for building the frame of the hut, whereas women prepare the mud walls and cut the grass for thatching. Men again complete the thatching process as women are too scared to climb to the rooftop. Generally, every *imizi* builds its own huts, but *amalima* (work parties) are also employed to help with the building process --- they are paid with beer and meat. The process of using clay bricks and corrugated iron roofing requires some specialisation and so outside help is hired in these cases (Hunter 1969:97). Mud from the Mcosane River is also used to give colour to the walls of huts.



Image 44: A clay hole in the upper reaches of the Mcosane River utilised for hut painting (Müller 2005).

Behind the Holweni *umzi*, a large area beside the road creates a slight depression and fills with water during the rainy season. This area is considered to be the main brick-making dam, or the *echibini eBhala* (see figure 4C for the position). Most KwaBhala families come to this site to produce mud bricks for the construction of their huts. I could not ascertain whether there were individuals that oversaw this process, but there were a number of moulds lying around which the people were freely using to create their bricks. After the bricks are formed, they are transported to the different *imizi* on wheelbarrow and left to dry in the sun. They are covered by branches from trees to prolong the drying process and increase the strength of the bricks (Clive Holweni 2005: pers comm, 23 June).



Image 45: Brick-making dam (Müller 2005).



Image 46: Bricks lying in the sun to dry (Müller 2005).

Simple Mpondo household utensils included "sleeping mats, grass plates, baskets, brooms, beer strainers, pots, milk buckets, and spoons" (Hunter 1969:99). Most of these items were traditionally made by women, learning the craft as girls from their mothers. Men sewed the beer baskets and were responsible for the meat trays, milk

buckets (anything connected to cattle) and wooden spoons, with the skills passed down from father to son. Men were also responsible for the manufacturing of wooden yokes and skeins necessary for ploughing the fields and for pulling the traditional woven wooden sledges (see images 28 & 29)



Images 47a&b: Wooden sledges traditionally used by the Mpondo to transport crops and wood (Müller 2007).

Wooden benches (*magemfu*) are carved by individuals out of the hardwood species found within the few remaining forests. Beer strainers (*isihluzu*) are woven out of the reeds (*inxopo*) growing predominantly next to the Mcosane River. Another element is the mat, or the *ukhokho*, used for sleeping, *isiceba*. The material used for these mats is predominantly reeds (*imizi*) and is collected from the banks of the Mcosane River. This practice supports the Mpondo belief that humans came from the reeds of the river and return there to rest (Zolani Holweni 2005: pers comm, 19 June)



Image 48: Reeds at the Mcosane River utilised for numerous woven parts of the Mpondo material culture (Müller 2005).



Image 49: Woman collecting materials for basket weaving (Müller 2002).

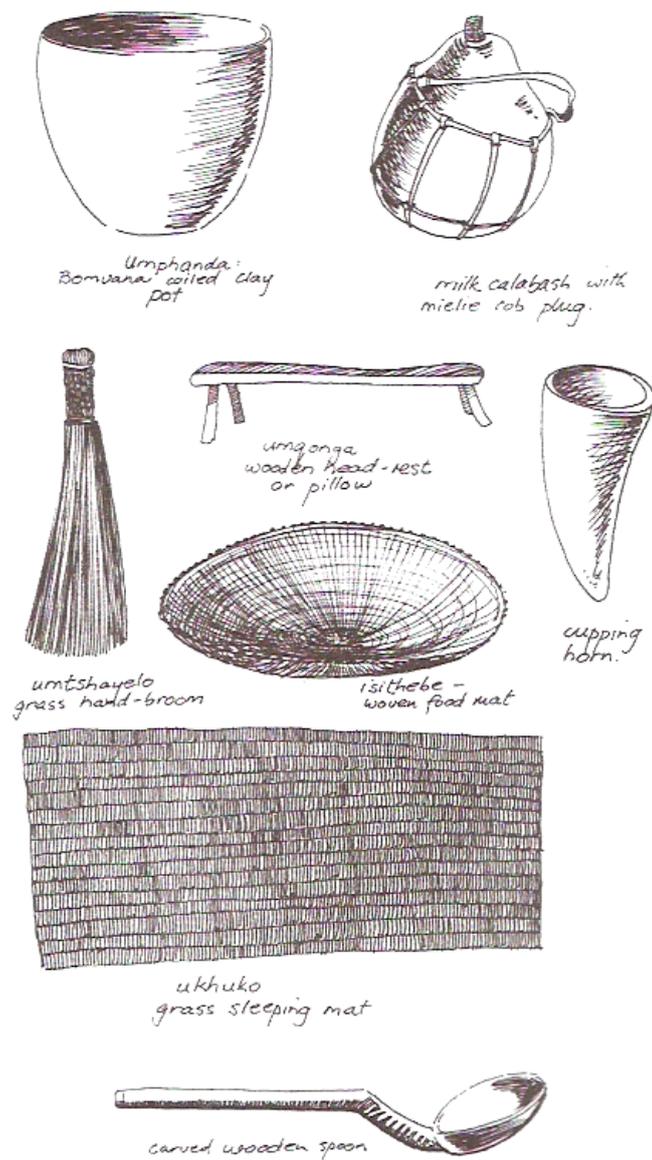


Image 50: Items of traditional Mpondo material culture (Crampton 2004:34).

The sleeping mats are woven on a makeshift "loom" made from pieces of wood and batteries used as weights for carrying the string. They also produce the *ingobozi*, or a reed basket traditional to the Mpondo culture. It is interesting to note that it is not only the women of the KwaBhala community who are involved with these crafts; the younger boys also practise them to produce items for sale to supplement their incomes. Mabande, the young man pictured below, related that he sees crafting as his business and that he makes four small mats and two large mats a day. The *ingobozi*, however, takes two days to make, so is more expensive. He continued that

most of the women of the community have stopped making these items themselves and have resorted to buying most from his business.



Images 51a&b: Mabande with his loom for making sleeping mats or *ukhoko* (Müller 2005).



Image 52: The *ingobozi* or a reed basket used for various household tasks (Müller 2005).



Image 53: Mat-weaving loom (Müller 2002).

The residents of KwaBhala process the hides of their cattle in order to produce various items such as ropes, sjamboks and riempies. Hides are hung from trees and attached to a large log below. By means of this ingenious method, the hides are stretched in order to produce leather rope used for various things.



Image 54: Hides strung from the tree in order to make ropes and other elements (Müller 2005).

Mpondo musical instruments used for various customs and rituals include the *umasengwana*, a large paraffin tin covered on the one side with animal skin and

open on the other side. Inside the drum, a piece of leather with a small section of reed is attached to the skin. With moistened hands, the musician will then stroke the reed to produce a deep sound. Another instrument used is called the *isigubu*, or the double-sided drum, which is beat incessantly at parties and in some churches. Another instrument used frequently at churches is a piece of water pipe that is blown to the rhythm provided by a steel bell.

A very special instrument used by women is the called the *ukhongu*. It is reminiscent of the instruments still used by the San. A pliable stick is bent with a piece of steel wire to form a bow. A hollowed-out calabash is attached to the stick at the bottom. By using a long piece of reed, the woman will beat the steel wire, pressing the hollow part of the calabash to her breast, creating the most beautiful sounds. It is told that during the time when the men migrated to the mines, the women would become very lonely. Late at night, when they felt like their hearts would break from loneliness, they would take up the *ukhongu* and play a beautiful, longing song to her husband, singing how much she loved him and missed him. After this, she would feel better, knowing that her song reached her husband in a far off place (Nozuzile Holweni 2002: pers comm, 15 January).



Image 55: The *Ikhwezi laseNgquza* cultural dance group (see section 4.4.7) with members carrying the *ukhongu* (Müller 2004).

Other instruments include the *twele-twele* or mouth-harp (trompie), also used within the Afrikaans culture, and different kinds of flutes and whistles, most popular being the reed flute made by themselves. Some also play the guitar.

#### 4.4.7 Religion, ritual and medicine

According to Hunter (1969:269), the Mpondo had no belief in a Supreme Being before contact with missionaries in the late 1800s. They only believed in the influence and power of the ancestors or the *amathongo*. The Pondo had two words, *uMdali* (the "creator", derived from the word *ukudala*, to "mould, to form") and *uMenzi* ("Maker", derived from the word *ukwenza*, "to make") which suggests belief in a creator. Kuckertz (1990:261) asserts that God came into focus only occasionally and that God was considered to be the source of all that exists. There were no formal rituals or dogma that supported this belief. The word most often used for God, however, was *UThixo*, which was either a word introduced into Xhosa by the Hottentots or a word that the missionaries reinterpreted and appropriated to describe God (Hunter 1969:270).

According to Brownlee (1923), the Mpondo welcomed the influence of the missionaries who started appearing in their environment in the 1800s, as illustrated in the following excerpt from his *Transkeian native territories: historical records*:

In July 1828 Major, Dundas, Landdrost of Albany, who was on a mission from the Governor of the Cape Colony to the Zulu chief Tshaka, passed through Pondoland and had an interview with the chief Faku who was then living in the valley of the Umgazi river. The paramount ruler of the Pondos was found dispirited and in a most dejected condition, with only two or three attendants about him. Tshaka's army had swept the country of cattle, and after remaining there a month and a half had left only ten days before Major Dundas's visit. The Pondos had nothing to live upon or to make clothes with. Faku had sent to Hintsá and Vusani for assistance, but had received none, and he was then about to become a vassal of Tshaka.

In May 1829 the Rev. WM. Shaw visited Faku at the Umgazi. The country close around was thickly populated, and the people had gathered a plentiful harvest of corn, but had very few cattle. In this year, 1829, Morely mission station was founded by the Rev. Mr. Shepstone among Depa's people. It was destroyed a

few months later by the Amakwabi, when the mission family narrowly escaped; but it was subsequently rebuilt in another and better position on the western bank of the Umtata.

In 1830 the Buntingville mission was commenced by the Rev. Messrs. Boyce and Tainton. Faku, who believed the missionaries to be powerful rainmakers, gave them one of the driest sites in the whole country, in the hope of benefiting by the rain which he anticipated they would cause to descend for their own profit. When, however, he found that his expectations were not realized, he granted a much better site elsewhere, and the mission was removed.

Father Sizwe Kiviet, the resident minister at St Andrews Anglican Church in Lusikisiki, clarified the effect of accepting Christ in the Mpondo culture (Kiviet, S 2002: pers comm, 19 January):

With the coming of the missionaries, those native people who wanted to convert to the Christian faith were compelled to do away with their culture in different ways. First, if you accepted Christianity, you had to be given a Christian name, which caused much confusion and dualism, as they kept their traditional names at home. Thus came the feeling that under your Christian name you were holy and should do nothing wrong, but under your traditional name you weren't bound to anything and could commit sin, as you were "undercover" of sorts. Some friction also started to develop due to old traditions that were admonished by the church, such as the ritual of name giving when a child was born, called Imbeleko. Those that stopped doing it were being looked down upon by those who refused. But today things are changing. Older priests were trained to tell people what to do and completely do away with the heathen culture. Now the priests try to bring culture back into the church, allowing drums, bells and choruses in services. It is also interesting to note that the Christian church is still growing in this region, with more and more people converting to the Christian faith.

Presently, most of the KwaBhala inhabitants are actively religious, with members of the community being part of the Methodist, Zionist, Assembly of God or Anglican Christian denominations. The Holweni family are devout Anglicans, with the entire family attending the Holy Cross church services every Sunday (services which often last up to five hours!). Members of the Holweni family have been Christians since Ebba Holweni's great grandfather became involved with the Holy Cross Mission. Furthermore, the Holweni *umzi* features a prayer "hut" right next to Ebba Holweni's

main hut. Every morning at sunrise, and every evening at sunset, she leads her family and a number of community members into a soulful prayer session within this prayer hut. This is conducted by slamming a stuffed leather pillow by hand, which creates a muted beat forming the basis of extensive prayer-songs. This prayer session lasts for about half an hour, where after the entire group will exit the hut, face the sunrise or sunset and sing *Nkosi Sikilele iAfrica*. Needless to say, this was one of the most profound experiences I had during my entire stay in Pondoland.

Due to their religious beliefs, the Holweni family does not employ the services of an *igqira* or *inyanga*, and does not use any traditional muti. They only use Western medicine and the services of the doctors at the Holy Cross Hospital.

The KwaBhala people practise ritual performances such as coming of age ceremonies. While doing research on Ngquza Hill, I visited a small *umzi* on the northern slopes of the hill. Apart from hearing the most unbiased and clear account of the Ngquza events in 1960, the old man, Mr Sipolo, also clearly explained the girl puberty ritual, or *Mngquzo*, as performed at Ngquza Hill. The following is his account (Sipolo 2001: pers comm, 20 December):

On the day a girl starts menstruating, her mother will take a long skirt called the Bayi and blanket, and put it over the girl's shoulder. She will then take a plant called Imizi (which is also used for making mats), and puts a string of it around the girl's head and neck. She is then told to sit down and is taught to make a vegetable basket, Ingceke and a tablemat, Isithepe. She then goes out to fill her basket with sigungu, a kind of grass that grows in the area. She will chew its roots, spitting it into her basket until it is full. Afterwards she will go out with a bush knife to fetch wood, two bundles per day. The girl would not eat of the food made for the family, but will prepare her own food. From now on she will also obey the customs regarding where women can and cannot go. She will avoid the right side of the hut, which is reserved for men only, and she will never go near the kraal, believing she will put a curse on the household if she does.

After two weeks, the strings are removed and put in the basket. This is then put opposite the door on the pillar in the hut. The elders will then cut the girl's face and administer the remedy made from grasses found in the forest. It is believed that the scratches will make the blood of the young go away. This custom is

called Ukuchaza<sup>7</sup>. The remedy is put in a washing basin with boiling water, and the vapour of it will go into the blood as the girl leans over the basin with a cloth. The mother would then speak to her father and all the women of the location. They will all come, wearing traditional dress, and dance up the hill, singing songs and beating two sticks together. The young woman will wrap her face in blankets as the old women sing. Her father would slaughter a goat for her, and a big party would commence

With her next period she will do the same thing. Her father would then give the young woman a cow and once again there will be a big party with Mpondo beer, Umqombothi and samp. With her third period her father would slaughter a pig for his daughter. She would move from the kraal to her hut, where she would undress with the old women. Then they would rush the girl outside, beating her with sticks down to the river, where she would wash. The old women would then tell them to get married quickly to replace the animals slaughtered for her. As they come back from the river, the girl would be given new clothes and more singing and dancing would take place. The young woman, or Isigadu, will sing and dance her own song that she has practiced, after which the men would give her meat to eat. The girl dance is called the isigadu, where the special beadwork they wear is the isiakca, inkciyo.

I attended a meeting in KwaBhala which was part of a traditional way of collecting money for the *itonjane* or young girl initiates. Many of the attendees were from the location and were direct relatives of the girls, but others were from other locations and were either friends of the families or distant relatives. Each attendee had to pay 10 cents and bring a small amount of money or items such as blankets, food or other household items. This was all pooled and handed to the *itonjane* at the initiation ceremony. During the meeting, the women sat on the floor on the left side of the door to the hut and the men to the right. The men consumed *umqombothi* out of old paint tins and the women *mageo* or tea.

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<sup>7</sup> It is important to note that Monica Hunter did not consider the scarification of the face to be part of the initiation ceremony for girls. She states that this practice is primarily done during childhood as a cure for a fractious child. She continues to say that this practice was not typical within the Mpondo culture and that it was associated with abaMbo and Fingo cultures amalgamated into the Mpondo (Hunter 1969:266).



Image 56: The old men at the *Itonjane* meeting, sitting on wooden benches on the right side of the hut (Müller 2005).



Image 57: The women gathering at the left side of the hut, sitting on woven sleeping mats and blankets (Müller 2005).



Image 58: The young men at the *Itonjane* meeting, passing around the *umqombothi* or traditional beer (Müller 2005).

Every Sunday, all the girls of the community are inspected within the hall (see figure 2C for the position) to the east of the Holweni *umzi* to confirm their virginity. If it is ascertained that a girl did indeed lose her virginity, she has to identify the boy with whom this occurred. This boy will have to pay a penalty of 6 oxen (or in effect his family will have to pay the penalty), with one ox going to the headman, one to the mother of the girl and another to the organisers of this event. These virginity tests might have been traditional, but they have now taken on an entirely different role due to the prominence of HIV-Aids within these rural areas. In a way, these tests and the ceremonies accompanying them may be viewed as a case of re-traditionalisation. Furthermore, virgin girls are highly respected and are granted special privileges that girls who have lost their virginity do not receive (Nosipho Holweni 2005: pers comm, 21 June). Of all the young people I have had contact with in the KwaBhala community, the Holweni children are the most chaste and respected. Yam Yam never accompanied boys without having her girlfriends close by. She has also never had a boyfriend, even though she is 21. Kayakhazi, on the other hand, regularly flirts with the boys of the location and has recently become pregnant. Clive Holweni chased her from his *umzi* and she now stays at another *umzi*.

According to Hunter (1969:165), male initiation traditionally included the practice of circumcision. However, Chief Faku (around the 1850s) abolished this practice due to a number of deaths occurring after these initiation rituals. Due to influences and pressure from other groups such as the Xhosa, however, circumcision as part of the initiation rites for boys has become quite common. The following clarification on the initiation rites for boys was narrated by Nosipho Holweni (2002: pers comm, 12 January):

The elders will recognize puberty in a boy by his behaviour and the pimples on his face. His father will then tell the boy that it is time for his circumcision, and this is then usually done in June. The star called Isilimela should be in the sky and the moon should be in the right quarter. It is also important that the boy must ask to be circumcised. On the day of circumcision, two men at the front and two at the back will escort the group of boys. These men would be relatives of the boys. They will proceed with blankets covering their heads and bodies, with white clay over their whole body. They will proceed to the circumcision hut, which is called the iboma (or itonto). They will sing traditional songs during the procession, called somagwasa. The man who performs the circumcision, Ikhankatha, will stand in the door of the iboma waiting for them. The knife for performing the circumcision is called the umellanga. After the boys are cut they will throw their blankets off and shout "ndiyindoda!", I am a man! When everything is finished they will close the door. Special girls who have never been touched by a man will bring them food to eat inside the hut. They will sit cross-legged and naked on the hut floor (isathanga). For sleeping the girls would provide grass that they have cut especially for the occasion. These girls will then also entertain them with stories. They will stay in the hut for two to three weeks. A week before they are due to come out, the boys will go wash the white clay off in the river, and the parents will slaughter a goat. After this they would announce the date when they are to come out. On this day the parents shall slaughter an ox, and the young man will come home wearing a black cloth over his head. He will stay alone in a room.

His parents will then invite all the relatives who will bring him new clothes and gifts for a new life. They will burn the old clothes or give them to other boys. The parents will then kill another goat or ox, while everyone will be making music and dancing. After eating, the men inside the kraal will call the young man and give him a leg of an ox, called umkhono, because he will encounter many difficult things in life. During this they warn him of the difficulties of life. He then goes

back to his room where he will receive all the gifts his relatives have brought him. After the occasion he has a big party with only his friends, making music and dancing. This will continue throughout the night. On the next day he will wear khaki trousers, a shirt and a checked jacket and hat. He is now a man.

Van Vuuren and De Jongh (1999:143) provided a full description of the male initiation ritual or *ukhwaluka/ulwaluko*. This paper includes its various stages such as the pre-ritual preparations, the actual circumcision operation, the structure and layout of the lodge, and the process of seclusion to reintegration of the *intonjane* into society. The contents of the paper support the narrative of Nosipho Holweni as stated above.

The women of KwaBhala are passionate about traditional dancing. Most of the young girls from four years of age and older are part of the KwaBhala dancing group. This dancing group is divided into sub-groups according to ages, with the most important group being that of the mature women, headed by Nozuzile Holweni, wife of the eldest son of the Holweni family. This group, the *Ikhwezi laseNgquza* (Star of Ngquza) has attained critical acclaim in South Africa, regularly performing at the Grahamstown Arts Festival and at Women's Day Celebrations throughout the country. The members, but specifically Nozuzile, have also travelled internationally to perform their traditional dancing. The poignancy of the dances is reinforced by the beautiful costumes worn by the dancers, all based on the traditional Mpondo attire (they feature the snuff stick and braided hair). The dancing is accompanied by singing, a large drum, clapping and the stomping of feet. They predominantly perform the *Ingadla*, the women's dance, the *Imfenu*, the unmarried or divorced women's dance, and the *Isigadu*, the young women's dance.



Image 59: Members of the *Ikhwezi laseNgquza* and the author (Müller 2002).



Image 60: Nozuzile Holweni (Müller 2002).



Image 61: Performing the *Ingadla* or women's dance (Müller 2002).

The younger dance groups are also gaining respect among the people of Pondoland, and are often invited to perform at social events within the region. Their dances are considered part of their initiation rites and are taught from a very early age. According to Hunter (1969:167), the ritual dance for the girl initiates or *itonjane* is called the *umgquzo*, and all married women, or women who have borne a child, may take part in the dance. This dance is repeated morning and evening when the *itonjane* are secluded.

The dancers form a circle, carrying a stick, or wand, in their right hands, and chanting the special *umgquzo* chant. They walk round slowly in a circle, swaying slightly to the time of the chant, then increase their pace and circle with a skipping step, then face inwards, stamping their feet rhythmically, swinging their hips, and quivering their muscles all the way up their bodies. Individuals may break from the circle and perform their private solo dance in the centre (Hunter 1969:168).



Image 62: The initiation dance or *umgquzo* of girl initiates (Müller 2002).

Apart from the initiation dances, the girls usually perform variations of the *Imfenu* and the *Isigadu*. The boys and young men of KwaBhala are also keen dancers, but do not actively pursue dancing like the girls. They learn the *Intlame*, the boy's dance, the *Ukugaja*, the young men's dance, and the *Itshawe*, the men's dance (*iqubulo*) from an early age and perform it at social events and dances held within the community to encourage interaction between boys and girls (*ukumetsha*) (Nosipho Holweni 2002: pers comm., 12 January). The boys' dances are supplanted by stick fighting, or *ukungweka*. Each boy is given two sticks and a shield. The sticks for the fighting traditionally came from the *umdlamalala* or the Sjaka tree.



Image 63: Boys dancing the *Intlame* dance (Müller 2002).

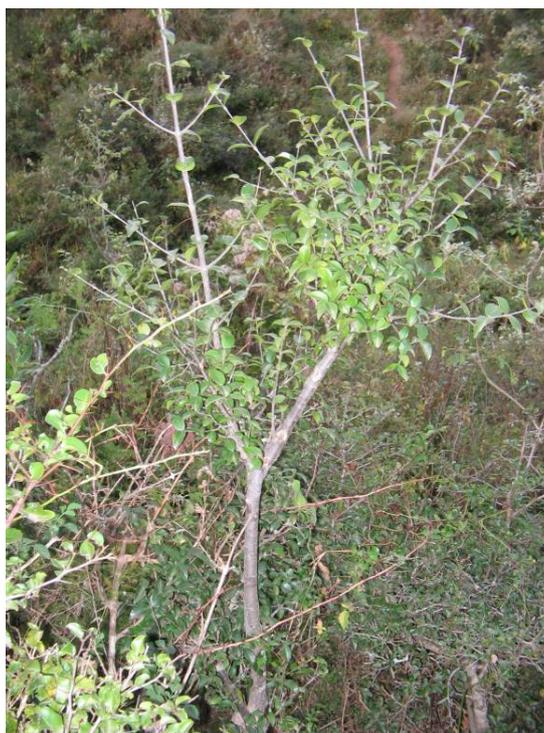


Image 64: The *umdlamalala* or Sjaka tree traditionally used for stickfigting (Müller 2005).

According to Sihlungu Mgwili, headman of KwaCoka, if a man falls in love with a girl, and she does not want him in return, he may abduct her from her home and take her to his hut. There he would forcibly give her some medicine, called *ukuphoswa*. This medicine is obtained from the *igqwira* or sorcerer, and will instantly make the girl fall in love with the man and agree to marry him. This is not thought strange by any of the people I met, and it still happens, though not publicly (Mgwili 2002: pers comm, 19 January). This custom of abducting (*ukuthwala*) is also discussed by Hunter (1969:187), but she does not mention *ukuphoswa* in any way.

Nosipho Holweni, the eldest daughter of the Holweni family, never married. When I first met her in 2001, she was an older, well-respected school teacher in the community. We often sat at nights in the kitchen while she explained the Mpondo culture through stories of the community and personal recollections. One of the first aspects of her culture that she explained to me was that of the Mpondo marriage traditions. She spoke about marriage with longing, having attended many ceremonies without ever being married herself. Great was my joy when she announced her engagement and marriage to a well-respected teacher from Umtata. This is her narration of the Mpondo marriage customs:

The man interested in the woman will make his intentions clear at the girls' parents' house, and the parents will then give their consent. Three representatives from the man's house will then come and make it known that they have come to get the girl. If the parents refuse, they will come back another time, this time with R2000 and gifts. The parents will decide that the girl can go, and she will prepare food for the visitors, during which time all will decide on the lobola to be paid. The day of the payment of the lobola is considered the engagement day. The men from the groom's family will come with the lobola with red material and a case of gifts, and everyone will dance and sing. On this day the groom's sisters would bring the bride new clothes and the engagement ring. After the lobola is paid, the man's brothers will slaughter a goat for the girl. The goat must bleat before it is killed to show that the girl is right for the family. They will remove the gall bladder which they place on the bride's head to wear for a month to show that she now belongs to the man's family. The whole rump is also given to her to eat alone, in order to make her fertile. The husband will eat the legs. On this day the bride and groom will also do a special dance that they have practiced. Afterwards a big party would commence. During this time the new bride should show the utmost respect for her new family: never looking the parents and elders in the eye, never directly speaking to them, never walking directly to someone or something and never walking past someone. She will also do all the housework during this time, preparing all the meals and cleaning up.

At the day of the wedding the bride will first wear a contemporary white wedding dress. The groom is not allowed to see the bride before the wedding, but as he arrives at the bride's house, the sisters would open the door and the groom would then see her. They will walk with the bride through the location, displaying her proudly on a horse, with everyone singing and rejoicing. At church, the couple's hands are tied together with a white cloth to symbolize eternity. After the wedding in the church, the whole procession shall go to the families' yard, where everyone will have lunch and eat cake. After this, everyone will wear traditional clothes, with the bride wearing traditional white embroidered clothes with headgear and beadwork. The groom will also wear white. The bride and groom would go for a walk and at their return an ox would have been slaughtered for the wedding and a big party would commence to which everyone in the location and beyond would have been invited to. This whole ceremony would then be held again at the groom's house.

(Nosipho Holweni 2002, pers. comm., 6 January).

Considering the customs and rituals associated with death, Hunter (1969:227-231) describes the burial process in great detail. Funerals are considered a major ritual in Mpondo life. According to Nosipho Holweni (2002: pers comm), the dead were once buried exactly where they died, outside the *umzi*. They therefore carried the sick person outside if they knew the person was dying, because if the person died inside the hut, they had to burn the hut and leave the whole *umzi* to keep the bad luck from coming back. This fact is supported by Hunter (1969:228). Contact with Western customs and customs from other tribes have changed this Mpondo tradition. Today, the funeral is considered the most important event in a person's life. Every weekend, especially Saturdays, are reserved for attending or hosting a funeral, and one is expected to attend all the funerals if possible, as it is disrespectful towards the dead and their families if you do not attend.

After death, the deceased's body is kept at the mortuary for between three days and three weeks while the family makes arrangements for the funeral. On the day before the funeral, the chief mourner and all the people that knew the person closely will sleep alongside the dead body within the main hut of the *umzi*. This is called *mlindeo* or waiting for the funeral day (Wopula, M. 2002: pers comm., 23 January).

The next morning everyone will wake up and prepare for the day, eating and then going to the funeral service at ten o'clock. The coffin would be displayed in the church for everyone to make sure that it is indeed the body of the person to be buried. At the service there would be an opening prayer, followed by different speakers talking about the deceased. The cause of death would be described and the priest would then present a short sermon consoling the mourners. All would go to the place where the body are to be buried, usually just outside the yard of the family. The priest would walk in front, with the pallbearers carrying the coffin behind him. After the service at the grave, all the people have to wash their hands to leave the dead behind. (Wopula, M 2002, pers. comm. 23 January).

After the funeral, a big celebration is held at the family's *umzi* in honour of the deceased. Everyone is invited to this party and large amounts of meat and beer are provided.

At the death of a woman's husband, she will cut her hair and wear black clothes and a big scarf hanging low over her head for a period of one year. During this time, she

will stay at her own family's *umzi* and, for a period of three months, will not look anyone in the eye. Her family will destroy the home she shared with her husband and will do away with all her previous possessions. Her family and other community members will then pool together and gather new things for her new life. They will also build her a new house in her family's *umzi*.

The day I asked to visit the graves of the elders and that of Bhala Hoshe<sup>8</sup>, the entire Holweni family became very silent and reverent. That morning, everyone accompanying me wore their best clothes and all the women covered their heads. We walked down the pathway to the Hoshe *umzi* in silence. Before we continued to the grave, I had to pay my respects to his wife and was obliged to give her a monetary gift out of respect to the dead. In terms of Mpondo tradition, the eldest brother of the deceased must accompany any visitors to the grave. At the family graveyard, located within the field to the north of the Hoshe *umzi*, I was left to continue to the grave alone --- a newly constructed face brick memorial to the well-loved man. Another Mpondo tradition dictates that only the men of the family could be buried within the family field; the women had to be buried elsewhere (Hunter 1969:230). The Hoshe graveyard breaks from this tradition as Bhala's mother and sister are buried beside him. A number of small stones were heaped next to the grave. I was instructed to pick up a few and throw them on the grave to show my respect for the dead.

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<sup>8</sup> During my initial visit to Pondoland, Bhala Hoshe was the first person to accompany me to Ngquza (he also taught me how to drive a bakkie in mud and pouring rain after repeatedly yelling "drive slowly, slower!!"). I was very fond of him and was heartbroken to hear that he had died in a car crash.



Image 65: The Hoshe fields with the graveyard roughly in the centre of the image (Müller 2005).



Image 66: Bhala's grave next to those of his mother and sister (Müller 2005).



Image 67: Bhala's wife in traditional mourning attire (Müller 2005).

We then continued to the Holweni graveyard in the fields next to the big tree in front of the *umzi*. This graveyard is fenced off from intruders and animals. It is well kept and has gravestones made from expensive granite and with proper inscriptions. In this case, the graveyard only contains the graves of Ebba Holweni's husband, Lamas Holweni, his father and the great-grandfather of the household. I could not ascertain where the women of the family were buried.



Image 68: The Holweni graveyard (Müller 2005).



Image 69: The grave of the father of Ebba Holweni's husband (Müller 2005).

After paying my respects, I was ushered back to the *umzi* and had to wash my hands. Then I was presented with the most beautiful cock in the yard and I had to place my hands on his body. Ebba Holweni then stated that the cock would be slaughtered in order to prevent the death from continuing to me.



Image 70: In loving memory...

Superstition in the Mpondo community is a lived reality. It is believed, for example, that salt should never be allowed to run out of the salt pot, as it is very bad luck. Black cats are also regarded as being ominous and are associated with witches or *amagqwira*. If a cock crows in front of your door, you will know that a stranger will be coming to your door, and if you find bees in your house, you will have bad luck that day. If you see a shooting star on the first Monday of the month, you will be exceptionally happy for the remainder of the month, and if you get a pimple on your chin, you can be certain that somebody is remembering you. It is also believed that you should not change the clothes that you put on in the morning, but should wear them through the day up until nightfall to stop bad luck befalling you. And if dogs bark in the day, somebody has died. This is called *umkulugwane* (Nozuzile Holweni 2002: pers comm, 20 January).

*Ichanti* is a snake figure in the Mpondo culture that is believed to live in all rivers and deep pools. It is believed that when it rains, this snake is actually travelling from one pool to another. When the dark clouds start building on the horizon and the wind starts blowing, the people race out of their homes and start beating drums, shouting at the snake, telling him to go to the next location. They chase it away before it wreaks havoc, such as causing mudslides which carry their huts down to the rivers. If you build a house with a corrugated roof, you also have to paint it; otherwise the snake will think it is a pool and jump down into it (its physical manifestation is a tremendous bolt of lightning). The snake will also punish certain people, striking down on them. These people, killed by the lightning bolt, may not be touched by anyone and will be buried where they are killed. *Ichanti* can also make you rich and it is believed that certain men, especially *amagqwira*, use the snake to become very powerful. It is more widely believed, however, that this snake traditionally belongs to women and that they utilise its powers to have their way. They will catch the snake and wear it around their waist as a belt, telling it to do things for them. For this reason, mothers usually tell their daughters never to wear anyone's belt, as it might be an *Ichanti*. (Mrs Wopula, Centre for Arts and Culture, Lusikisiki, 2002: pers comm, 20 January).

Monica Hunter (1969:285) also refers to the "snake of women" or the *inyoka yabafazi* and her description is very similar to that of Mrs Wopula's above. She does, however, only refer to the *impundulu* or "lightning bird" as being associated with lightning

and sorcery. She refers to the *ichanti* as a snake residing in rivers and other water bodies, causing paralysis or leprosy if looked upon by it (1969:286).

In Pondoland, as in other parts of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, different types of traditional healers are found. Each group or individual specialises in a certain kind of illness or problem. The knowledge regarding this subject is guarded by the practising *igqira* who only passes the knowledge on to his or her children or trainees (*itwasas*). There is a distinction between an *igqira* (or *ixhwele*) and a *igqwira* (or *umthakathi*). The first is a herb doctor or traditional healer trained to help people with ailments. The latter is a sorcerer, who uses his powers to harm people (Hunter 1969:292).

Traditionally, being an *igqira* (*ixhwele*) or traditional healer was considered a very respectful occupation, and each *igqira* had to show the utmost respect not only to his profession and himself, but also to the whole community. This respect is shown by never walking straight towards people, never using any form of public transport or attending public events, and wearing the traditional *igqira* cloth as a skirt. Tobitombi, a young *igqira* of the Mtambalala district in Pondoland, explained what it is like to be an *igqira* (2002: pers comm, 16 January):

All beadwork we wear are for respect for the ancestors. We use no black beads on our headdresses, only on clothes for decoration. Red and white beads around the neck, wrists elbows and ankles are the most common. We work through the guidance of the ancestors to find out what ails people. But before that you need to train for two years to become an *igqira*. First you will get dreams from your ancestors, urging you to train. You will then go to a *igqira* that has agreed to train you (normally at a reasonable sum of money, depending on the *igqira*'s reputation). Today, the tradition of the *igqira* is being lost. Some people now just train anybody to become an *igqira*, wanting the money for the training. And nowadays, more people want to become an *igqira* for the status it gives. The end result is people that are trained for only a year, not learning any respect. This also filters into the plant-material used for medicine. It is a growing problem that big pharmaceutical companies will pay a few hundred Rand for a person to fetch enormous quantities of those herbs out of the fields and forests of the region. The Black Onion (*Inkomfu*) is already extinct in this area due to over exploitation.



Image 71: *Umsuzani* – used for indigestion (Müller 2005)



Image 72: *Malilisa* – for sick chickens; it makes you cry (Müller 2005).



Image 73: *Umsenge* – for easy childbirth (Müller 2005).



Image 74: *Ivilo* – fruit and bark pulped and used as a gargle for toothache (Müller 2005).

*Amagqwira*, or sorcerers, are predominantly consulted for curses and evil intent. The *amagqwira* have been used to ensure a positive outcome. These sorcerers use numerous herbs: *mtelezi* is a herb found in a part of a river that is deeper than other parts, called *welagabini*. After eating the herb, you will become invisible. During this time, you can go up to the enemy and put another herb (given to you by the *igqwira*) inside their guns. When they then shoot, water will come out of their guns (Chief Mtwaliza, Chief of Mtambalala District, Matane, 2002: pers comm, 18 January). When an *igqira* is employed to guard a hut against evil spirits, he or she will draw a black cross on the outer wall of the hut to symbolise this protection. Similarly,

protection by the forefathers is symbolised by putting the horns of oxen over the doorway.



Image 75: *Unqayana* – wash with the roots for success with court cases (Müller 2005).



Image 76: *Mpepo* – burn in the house to chase away evil spirits and bad luck (Müller 2005).



Image 77: *Igquzu* (Müller 2005).



Image 78: *Mpafafa* tree. It is believed that the deceased father of the house will sit in the branches of the tree and will move when the family moves homestead (Müller 2005).

The KwaBhala *igqira* has an *umzi* to the north-west of the location at *Ubukwnini*. It is sufficiently detached from the community to give the *igqira* and her trainee's privacy, but also due to the fact that many community members (including the Holweni family) do not appreciate their presence. They largely keep to themselves and attend to those members of the community who visit them to break curses, to obtain extra power and influence, to be healed, to be released from spirits and to harm their enemies through curses. Rhini Bulelwa has been an *igqira* for thirteen years and has two initiates at her *umzi*. She related that she mainly collects plant material from Dumsi forest, as this area is still wild and untainted. She never collects the entire plant, but leaves a section of it for the future. She has also admitted to collecting plant and wild animal materials for pharmaceutical companies for additional income. They collect these specimens from her every two weeks. The trainees wear special attire which consists of beadwork and specially coloured clothes.



Image 79: Rhini Bulelwa (right) and her trainee *igqira* (Müller 2005).

Rose Nosengela is a failed *igqira* or traditional healer. She stays in a hut roughly 500m to the east of the Holweni *umzi*. She is the KwaBhala *umqombothi* (Mpondo traditional beer) brewer. Her *umzi* is fully furnished to constantly brew large pots of beer and many male residents of the community are often seen at her *umzi*, either for a quick slug of beer or for a prolonged journey into incapacitation. Due to their standing in the community and their religious beliefs, not a single member of the Holweni family ever visits Rose and she is generally not well respected in the community (Clive Holweni, 2005: pers comm, 23 June). This is supported by Hunter (1969:313) where she describes the attitude towards individuals formerly associated with sorcery as fluctuating between being openly ostracised to acceptance into the community.



Images 80a & b: Rose Nosengela brewing *umqombothi* or traditional Xhosa beer, and the interior of her hut (Müller 2005).

## 4.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have attempted to illustrate the inherently close relationship the Mpondo culture has with its immediate environment. By providing examples of cultural activities, rituals and settings, I aimed to explain the context in which the Ngquza Hill event occurred, which will be further discussed in chapter 5.

The first section of this chapter dealt with the biophysical environment and the context of Ngquza Hill. The natural landscape is internationally regarded as highly sensitive and significant; it is considered to be a biological "hotspot" with numerous plant species either endemic or rare in South Africa. The soil in the area has poor agricultural potential in that it mainly consists of sandy soil from the Msikaba Formation. Most of the fertile soil is located in the river valleys, which also accounts for the (severely degraded and diminished) forests in those areas. The rolling hills in the rest of the area mainly feature grassland species.

The political organisation of the Mpondo community is characterised by a hierarchical system, with the Paramount Chief residing over a number of tribal authorities, each with their own chief and subsequent headman. These tribal areas are characterised

by a specific family group or familial group staying within a defined geographical area. The locations feature a number of *imizi* for each family. The head of each *umzi* is the father of the family, his wife or the eldest son.

Based on fieldwork research, it could be stated that the layout of a traditional Mpondo *umzi* has not changed much over the past century, with KwaBhala still displaying a rather intact culture in terms of *umzi* construction. Western building traditions, such as the rectangular home and corrugated iron roofing have permeated their building traditions, but the basic layout and organisation of the *umzi* have stayed relatively intact.

The Mpondo relationship with the natural environment is significant. Materials for hut construction, such as thatch grass, mud for mud bricks and wood is all harvested from the environment surrounding the locations. Furthermore, as there is still no municipal water system, the rivers and streams in the vicinity of the locations are the community's main sources of water apart from collected rainwater. Traditionally, the Mpondo used to hunt in the river valleys, but this has been largely discontinued due to a reduction in wild animal population and disinterest on the part of the younger generations. The valley bottoms also used to feature expansive fields, or *intsimi*, with each family responsible for its cultivation. Today, few of these *intsimi* are being cultivated; most lie fallow.

The natural environment also plays a significant symbolic role in the Mpondo culture. Hills have long been regarded as important places: they are viewed as a vital setting place, a place for the dissemination of information to the community and the setting for female initiation ceremonies. Natural features are also the visual boundaries of locations and *imizi*, with drainage lines, hills and rivers being the most important of these.

Cattle were traditionally considered the mainstay in Mpondo wealth. Cattle represented status and formed an integral part of Mpondo daily life, rituals and customs. Cattle are the domain of men, with boys herding them to the communal grazing fields in the valleys and hillsides surrounding KwaBhala. The young and older men are responsible for other aspects of cattle keeping, including milking and slaughtering customs. Furthermore, sheep, goats, pigs and chickens comprise the

full spectrum of domestic animals of the Mpondo. These animals tend to be kept in kraals constructed within the *umzi* of each family.

The KwaBhala community is largely self-sufficient in terms of producing the ingredients of their staple diet. Maize is cultivated in either the large fields in the river valleys (*intsimi*) or in the fields adjacent to the *imizi*. These smaller fields are interplanted with beans and pumpkins, together with maize. A small garden, furthermore, features crops such as tomatoes, beans, lettuce, cauliflower and onions. This garden is tended by one of the eldest grandsons, but most of the work in the larger fields is carried out by means of work parties, or *amalima*, where members of the community are paid with beer and food for helping with the tilling, planting and harvesting process.

Materials are harvested from the natural environment to produce the various traditional elements manufactured by the Mpondo as part of their material culture. Baskets and trays are woven from the reeds collected next to rivers and a simple loom is utilised to weave larger mats used for sleeping. Wood is collected from the fragments of natural forests in order to construct the hut frames, the yokes and sleighs for cattle, and traditional carved seats.

The Mpondo people are proud of their culture as displayed in the numerous cultural traditions still actively pursued in KwaBhala. The most important of these is the initiation rituals for girls and boys --- rituals which are accompanied by traditional dancing and social events. Religion has become another important element in certain Mpondo family's lives, with the impact of the original missionary contact since the early 1800s leaving a lasting legacy. Superstitious beliefs and the belief in ancestors, however, still remain a large part of the Mpondo daily life. The role of traditional healers supports these beliefs.

The Mpondo people are a strong community with familial and kinship ties being strengthened by their traditional lifestyle and customs. With the advent of colonialism and apartheid, and the resultant threat to culture and environment, it was expected that the Mpondo community would react in certain ways, which will be discussed in the following chapter. I will elaborate on how the government has influenced the Mpondo lifestyle since the early 1900s and how repeated interference led to large-

scale action against the government. Chapter 5 will focus on the detail of the Pondoland Revolt.

## **CHAPTER 5      NGQUZA HILL AND THE PONDOLAND REVOLT**

### **5.1    INTRODUCTION**

Ngquza Hill represents the epitome of the "struggle" of the Mpondo against Bantu authorities and related grievances. Ngquza symbolised the national anti-apartheid struggle on a micro-level. The narratives of the national struggle were occurring on various micro-levels in South Africa. Ngquza relates this struggle. Furthermore, national heroes like Oliver R Tambo and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela were also born in the region and are therefore part of the Mpondo community.

The site is not only significant to the Mpondo community. According to Mbeki (1963:sp), the Transkei "was the only African reserve that constituted a coherent and substantial area of land. The Transkei was thus crucial to the whole Bantustan programme. If apartheid could not succeed here, it could not succeed anywhere." Ngquza was the first rural incident where the Nationalist Government used force to handle discontent related to their schemes. In addition, the Ngquza event occurred exactly two months and ten days after the well-known Sharpeville incident of 16 March 1960. The parallel significance of both events shaped South African history. The second incident became an international event, but Ngquza was by no means less significant. From 1952, people started to object to the pass laws. Eight years later, they marched to the police station in Sharpeville. The Mpondo objected to the Betterment Schemes and Bantu Authorities, and in 1960, decided to march to Ngquza Hill. Like Sharpeville, the shock, surprise and awe of the government's abhorrent behaviour had a profound effect.

## 5.2 THE PONDOLAND REVOLT

### 5.2.1 Betterment and Bantu Authorities

From the 1800s to the 1940s, the Mpondo had a decentralised political, judicial and administrative system, which was characterised by local independence. As discussed in chapter 4, each tribal area was under the authority of a chief (or Paramount Chief), and the chiefdom was divided under sub-chiefs or headmen into economically self-sufficient districts. Rivers and other natural features delineated the boundaries between these districts. Further decentralisation occurred within a headman's area through the creation of family *imizis* arranged in neighbouring groups within a district (McAllister 1996:14).

Before 1920, the Cape Native Administration had foreseen a national policy on the administration of the African people and a strategy for the minimisation of chiefly powers was planned. Accordingly, Cecil John Rhodes introduced the Glen Grey Act (1894) and the Bunga<sup>9</sup> in the Transkei in 1931. The basic units of the Bunga consisted of the 26 magisterial districts of the Transkei, called the United Transkeian Territories General Council (UTTGC) (Mbeki 1963:33).

The Native Affairs Act (1920) was passed in Parliament in 1920. This Act paved the way for the creation of the Native Affairs Commission. The Minister of Native Affairs headed the Commission and assumed an administrative role regarding native affairs. In 1927, the Native Administration Act (1919) enabled the Governor-General to exert power over all the Africans in the Transvaal, Free State and Natal. This gave him the right to "...alter tribal boundaries, divide communities and order their removal from one area to another" (Maylam 1987:163). This increased segregation between groups and destabilised chiefly powers.

In the 1930s and 1940s, a general environmental and conservation ethic pervaded South Africa, and the agricultural practices of the indigenous communities were scrutinised.

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<sup>9</sup> Bunga means "Council" and consists of elected and nominated members for local representation.

... it was commonplace for both settlers and officials in southern Africa to describe African agricultural methods as careless and dangerous to the environment. African's attitudes to cattle, their perceived tendency to hoard for status and bride wealth, led to overstocking. The persistence of 'shifting cultivation' or where land shortage had made this difficult, continuous planting of the same crop was seen as highly conducive to soil exhaustion or erosion. However, the criticism levelled against African cultivators and stockholders from the 1930's was very similar to that brought against rapacious settler and capitalist farming in the previous couple of decades (Beinart 1984:61).

As discussed in chapter 4, the Mpondo used a variety of livestock farming systems, ranging from cattle posts, and loans and exchanges to disperse herds and flocks. Some of these methods, however, were constrained by increasingly dense populations and government-imposed restrictions on the movement of animals (Beinart 1984). Practices peculiar to peasant farmers were occasionally singled out in early writings on soil erosion: the ox-drawn sledge, widely used in place of wagons, was thought to be particularly damaging because routes along which it was dragged became bereft of vegetation and caused dongas. Writers also criticised the fact that cattle were forced to walk in single file, creating eroded tracts. After numerous commissions, reports and studies were completed on this subject, The Control and Improvement of Livestock in Native Areas Proclamation (1939), commonly called "Betterment", was adopted into law and gave legislative grounding to the perceived need to reduce stock numbers (Hendricks 1989:316)

The Betterment Planning or Rehabilitation scheme was the government's attempt to alleviate the deterioration of natural resources and develop the agricultural potential of black rural areas. The steps used in Betterment Planning, according to McAllister (1996:7), usually included

- the proclamation of a given area (rural ward/administrative area) as a betterment area
- the development of a land use plan for the area, which included the division of the land into three types: residential, arable and grazing
- the relocation of people from their previously dispersed *imizi* into new, surveyed villages

- the fencing of villages and grazing camps, and the introduction of measures such as contour ploughing and rotational grazing

Betterment included the sub-division of an area or location into residential areas, arable lands and grazing commonage. This was perceived to rehabilitate the environment and make the area economically viable in order to empower communities to make a living off the land. This process included the assessment of the carrying capacity of the area in terms of stock units and often resulted in the culling of stock.

For numerous reasons, this action proved to be very unpopular with not only the Mpondo, but also with all other communities affected by the scheme. In the words of Redding (1996:563):

Cattle-culling not only had economic consequences, but significant social ones as well: Cattle were essential to bride wealth, and many cattle had either been part of someone's bride wealth, or else were intended to be someone's bride wealth, or both. With fewer cattle available, young men had either to postpone marriage, or else fathers had to be willing to accept much lower bride wealth for their daughters. In either case, the threat to African marriage and family life was unmistakable. The concern over bride wealth was not simply a material one, since the perpetuation of the family was a spiritual necessity: after death, a person's veneration as an ancestor depended upon the existence of recognized descendents. At the same time, fencing restricted the very old practice of free-range grazing, while limiting the total available grazing land, thus directly constraining the number of livestock that could survive and the number of people who could survive as livestock-owners.

Apart from the vehement reaction against the culling of their stock, the communities also believed that the system had negative effects on livestock. They felt that the establishment of cattle camps limited or even nullified their ability to graze their animals where they believed the best grazing to be. The people were also critical of the limited amount of land provided for *umzi* sites and the fact that they were forced to build *imizi* close to each other. Problems foreseen were the "possibility of friction between neighbours due to overcrowding, the difficulty of adding additional huts to one's homestead due to lack of building space, and the difficulty that would be encountered should a son want to establish a homestead next to that of his father"

(De Wet & McAllister 1983:55) Furthermore, rehabilitation schemes also involved leaving an old established *umzi* site and building a new *umzi* at a new site. This was rejected on practical and moral-religious grounds. Many people believed that the ancestors were angry about the abandonment of the family *umzi* and at the neglect of their graves (De Wet & McAllister 1983:55).

Davenport (1987:164) described the importance of land among the Mpondo:

Grazing land was held in common, but the chief could control access to it by villagers' livestock. White conquest greatly reduced the amount of land available for African use, and for farming communities used to shifting agriculture, this was serious.

He pointed out that land was still valued for its pastoral and agricultural value. The Mpondo regarded land as a symbol of power; hence, the chiefs and headmen, rather than the state, were responsible for its allocation. Mnaba (2006:7) pointed out that without land, the Mpondo did not experience a sense of belonging and ownership, and could not produce food or own livestock. Hence, the Mpondo resisted the authority of the Nationalist government, not because they were disobeying authority but because they were protecting what belonged to them.

The Betterment and Rehabilitation programme also included a scheme to relocate communities to settlements or "villages" --- termed "economically viable units" --- on adjacent land in formal settlements or industrial towns. Relocates received a fraction of their original arable land: "Where communities/territories were divided up into separate fenced-off, arable, residential and grazing sections many people have lost half or more of their land" (De Wet & McAllister 1983:8).

Van Vuuren (1993:7) summed up the effects of this resettlement scheme as follows:

The effect of resettlement on the pre-colonial settlement pattern was comprehensive and greatly disruptive. Not only did it tear apart the physical and structural aspects of sociocultural systems: settlement outlay, removal of houses and other structures; but also the entire social fabric: kinship relations, religious and ritual life, economic relations, etc.

De Wet and McAllister (1983:55) discussed the following effects of the betterment schemes:

- The distances that individuals had to travel to amenities (schools, shops) was reduced, but distances to field increased,
- The allocation of a *umzi* site was not up to the headman – the families had to pay taxes, supply gifts to the chief and spend money to pay for the materials necessary to construct the new *umzi*,
- New fields and gardens have to be prepared, which takes time and additional effort to clear. Much smaller fields than previously, yields decline due to poor soil conditions and additional factors,
- Amount and quality of grazing land deteriorate,
- Increase dependence in labour migration to sustain the uprooted households to gain their footing,
- Kinship relationships become more important, where neighbourhood ties deteriorated,
- Authority of elders over juniors undermined, youth organisations declined and relationships between sexes radically changed, and
- An increased rate in deterioration of natural resources and ecology

According to De Web and McAllister (1983:15), the effects of many betterment schemes in the Transkei were as follows:

- Economic suffering and agricultural underdevelopment, due to residential relocation into villages (poorly compensated or uncompensated), inadequate land use planning (leading to the reduction of arable land holdings and increased landlessness), increased erosion and overgrazing, and disruption of co-operative economic relationships and the ethic of mutual help.
- Loss of local autonomy and increased regulation and control from the centre, often alienating people from the state and from local leaders, and breaking down established territorial and organizational structures.
- Social disruption (of groups based on kinship or neighbourhood) due to villagisation, suspicion and hostility between neighbours in the new villages, and the emotional and religious cost of being forced to leave established homes.

- Deteriorating ecological circumstances and loss of land use flexibility, increased distances from natural resources, increased erosion, overgrazing and overexploitation of nearby wood and water resources, and loss of local ecological knowledge.

In the context of Pondoland, the Betterment and Rehabilitation scheme had the potential to change the landscape irrevocably. It had serious possible consequences by interfering with settlement patterns, the architecture of the *imizi* and village layout, and spatial orientations within the social fabric. If the scheme had been fully implemented in Pondoland, the cultural heritage of the Mpondo would have been altered in its entirety.

This original Betterment and Rehabilitation scheme was, however, never fully implemented, as numerous factors hampered its success. One of these factors was the outbreak of World War II. The budget allocated for the scheme was significantly reduced and materials dwindled. But most importantly, the Transkeian communities were undivided in their opposition to the scheme. "In the three decades following the first 'Betterment' proclamation of 1939, the government did not seriously undertake the development of the reserves at all. Even if a local arm of the state, such as the Transkei Chief Magistracy, was driven by an improving and conservationist ethic in the 1930s and 1940s, its plans and programmes foundered on the rocks of unanimous opposition, hopelessly inadequate funding and a host of administrative and technical problems" (Hendricks 1989:306). Nevertheless, the damage was done and the mere threat of state intervention led the Mpondo, together with most other reserve dwellers, to resist the whole range of agricultural policies proposed by the government at the time.

The conservation principles of the Betterment and Rehabilitation programmes were modified after the partial abandonment of stock-culling and the demobilisation of the 1945 Transkei Planning Committee. In their place, a system of ad hoc planning, removal and control of the population, as well as the manipulation of land was implemented. The purpose of this action was to re-establish the concept of Tribal Authorities so that the communities had authority over their own land and livestock. This in effect provided the basis for the Nationalist government's Bantu Authorities scheme: a distorted system of communal land tenure administered by chiefs and headmen (Hendricks 1989:307).

The abridged betterment process was severely delayed. In 1953, only 2 of the 354 declared areas for betterment in the Transkei had been completed. In Pondoland, the area in and around the town of Bizana was affected, but the rest of the area remained unaltered. It is important to note that the locations of KwaBhala and KwaCoka, including the locations around Ngquza were never affected by betterment planning apart from the introduction of dipping tanks in the 1970s.

The government responded to this with a new policy "aimed at relating the rehabilitation of the soil to the social and economic development of the African people as a whole. This would be accomplished through the generalisation of the concept of self-help. The work of stabilisation would no longer be carried out solely by officials of the Agricultural and Engineering Branches of the Department of Native Affairs at state expense, but Africans were to get involved and participate actively in their own 'development'. The Department of Native Affairs became the Department of Bantu Administration and Development" (Hendricks 1989:317)

The process and policy of Betterment was, therefore, replaced by a three-stage development plan: stabilisation, reclamation and rehabilitation. The goal of the government was not environmental rehabilitation of the area, but rather to pave the way for a smooth transition to the Bantu Authorities system. This shift had a profound effect in the way the perceived Betterment scheme was implemented. In the mid-1950s, the process of stock culling was stopped in its entirety, primarily to reduce public resentment about the scheme and to fast-track the process of resettling communities. "In the process, many of the conservation principles of previous programmes were sacrificed on the altar of political and economic expediency. Clearly, the state's priority was not the 'betterment' of the area, but the disorganisation of African protest, the reduction of their wage levels and prohibition on urbanisation" (Hendricks 1989:319).

As part of the new stabilisation plan to curb the perceived agricultural decline, the Tomlinson Commission (1956) again proposed the wide-scale removal and relocation of families, and a culling or removal of their "animal units". However, by 1958, the stabilisation scheme ran into the same set of problems originally encountered. The Department of Bantu Administration and Development re-focused on rehabilitation and designed a five-year plan to speed up the process of declaring all reserve territories, including the Transkei, as betterment areas. Betterment

planning, however, reverted back to "technical interventions with carefully chosen objectives that would not antagonise Africans against Bantu Authorities" (Hendricks 1989:323).

The Bantu Authority System was expanded with the establishment of the Bantu Tribal Authorities in 1951. The Governor General, with the approval of the Minister of Bantu Affairs, appointed chiefs without democratic elections taking place at any time. Furthermore, the Governor General could remove any member at random. In 1955, the Bunga system in the Transkei was replaced when it accepted the Bantu Authority system (Mbeki 1963:40).

Proclamation 180 of 1956 introduced the Bantu Authorities System in the Transkei. Districts were divided into Tribal Authorities, each under a presiding chief. Each Tribal Authority consisted of a number of Administrative Areas or Wards and these functioned under sub-chiefs or headmen. The leaders of the Tribal Authorities were members of the Regional Authority. There were nine Regional Authorities in the Transkei and they consisted of two or more District Authorities. Headmen and chiefs were accountable to the district magistrate. All chiefs were appointment by the government. Wards were subdivided into sub-wards under a specific chief. Sub-wards consisted of between 40 and 100 *imizi* and were based on local groups. A clan often dominated a particular sub-ward, but usually they included members of a number of clans (McAllister 1992:15). The Territorial Authority consisted of all the members of all the Regional Authorities.

In addition to substantial changes in authority systems, the Mpondo were also forced to pay a number of taxes. Every male over the age of 18 was required to pay tax, including every widowed woman. Rates and taxes were levied to provide for the functioning of the Bantu Education schools. The Mpondo called the taxes *Impundulu* or the "Blood-sucker tax" (Mbeki 1963:45). In addition to the proclaimed legalised taxes, the newly-elected chiefs enforced a number of smaller taxes for granting permits. These permits could include anything from permission "to cut wood, to cut thatching grass, to brew beer, to hold initiation rites for boys and girls" (Mbeki 1963:45). What aggravated matters was that apart from the unrecorded taxes paid to the chief's orderlies and headmen, members of the community were also expected to pay bribes in order to get the chief's consent for whatever permit was required.

Mbeki (1963:52) explained the measures imposed in the event of failure to pay tax:

Failure to pay the taxes imposed by the government was considered an offence punishable by a period of imprisonment, at the end of which the defaulter is not relieved from the payment of the tax for which he has already languished in jail. Alternatively failure to pay the arrear tax is dealt with as a civil matter and stock is attached, while failure to pay the poll tax may even result in confiscation of land. Although failure to pay the unofficial taxes is not subject to the same conditions for recovery, whoever refuses to pay such a tax is made to produce the money elsewhere, as when, on some pretext or other, he appears at the Bush Court charged with some offence.

The Bantu Authorities system resulted in the decline of electoral involvement in local government. There was an increased dependence on government-elected chiefs and headmen. Furthermore, it resulted in the chiefs taking over a number of functions from the magistrate's office of local government (Copelyn 1974:14). By 1959, 123 Tribal Authorities had been set up in the Transkei, with 26 District Authorities, 16 Regional Authorities and one Territorial Authority (Mbeki 1963:41).

Up to the time that Bantu Authorities were introduced, the system where the community contributed to the Paramount Chiefs' treasuries worked without any real problems. The Nationalist Government, however, chose Chief Botha Sigcau to introduce Bantu Authorities and this was a mistake. In 1939, Sigcau's chieftaincy was widely opposed by the Mpondo since he was chosen as Paramount Chief instead of the rightful successor, his half-brother, Nelson Sigcau. The Mpondo community did not respect or trust Botha Sigcau and the government's choice resulted in extensive opposition (Mbeki 1963:118).

Turok (1969:9) fully comprehended the situation:

The Pondo people are more amenable to rule by hereditary chiefs than other less unified tribes, and less likely therefore to refuse to accept their dictates without good reason, provided – and here lies the crux of the matter – such chiefs or leaders are genuinely representative of the people...it is to be regretted that the Government has continued to insist on upholding the appointment of chiefs and headmen arbitrarily chosen by themselves rather than elected by the people concerned in a democratic fashion.

### 5.2.2 Discontent towards Betterment and Bantu Authorities

In 1953, an event occurred in Lusikisiki which foreshadowed the revolt. Chief Botha Sigcau was present at a meeting held to introduce the Betterment and Rehabilitation Scheme to Eastern Pondoland. The people rejected the scheme unanimously: their main concerns were the loss of land security for ploughing and grazing, cattle and their relocation to the *amalayini* (the lines) system of settlement. One man, Mngqingo, turned his back to show his discontent. His action incited the people and the meeting ended in unified jeering. The next day a large number of police were dispersed in the area, upon which Mngqingo gathered a group of protesters. After a skirmish, Mngqingo was captured and deported to the Cala District (Mbeki 1963:116).

In September 1957, a large gathering was held in Bizana; some 75km from Ngquza Hill (see figures 2A and 3). Here the masses rejected Bantu Authorities, Bantu Education and the Betterment and Rehabilitation scheme. The meeting ended in chaos when Botha Sigcau left after being confronted about his alliance with the National Government (Mbeki 1963:118).

In 1958, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr De Wet Nel, and Botha Sigcau called a large meeting inviting representatives from all districts. The people were informed that Pondoland and Transkei would progress to self-government, and that Chief Sigcau would be promoted to the position of Chief Magistrate of Umtata (Mbeki 1963:119). In 1958, Chief Botha Sigcau, whose chieftaincy was disputed by most Mpondo, was promoted to the position of Chief Magistrate of Umtata and the people were informed that Pondoland and Transkei would progress to self-government under his rule (Mbeki 1963:119).

Discontent and disunity set in among the Mpondo community. Corruption became the order of the day, and chiefs and councillors maintained good relations with Sigcau to ensure their positions (Mbeki 1963:120). This resulted in upheavals and disharmony in tribal life, as the people did not trust those chiefs who backed Bantu Authorities. The traditional tribal justice system floundered, and chiefs had to rely on police and magistrates to keep control.

Clement Khehlana "Fly" Gxabu --- an *Ikongo* (see section 5.2.4 below) veteran, one of the key informants interviewed during my fieldwork and a current resident of KwaCoka --- told the TRC Commission the following:

Our chiefs were singing the same song with the Boers that created the division between Pondo people and the chiefs. In 1960, we took a decision to defy the chiefs' authority over us. Instead of attending their tribal courts, we decided to go to the mountains to have our court there, to solve our problems without the chiefs (TRC 1998: section 73).

### 5.2.3 Witchcraft and the government

At this stage, it is important to look at the theories of Sean Redding (1996) on the sources of unrest which occurred in Pondoland between 1950 and the 1960s. According to him, the reason for the mounting discontent cannot be attributed to the economic cost of the state's agricultural schemes or the resultant resentment over the Betterment and Rehabilitation scheme. He claims the major reason for the unrest was the "social and cultural lens" through which the Mpondo viewed state actions (Redding 1996:562). The fact that the government forced the culling of their valued cattle, imposed fencing and relocated communities to foreign villages led to suspicions that the state (and by implication the government-appointed chiefs) was colluding with *amagqwira* (sorcerers)<sup>10</sup>. These suspicions were reinforced by the widespread increase in livestock thefts in the area. The state's inability to capture and punish the culprits, led some to believe that state officials themselves were implicated both in the thefts and the witchcraft used to accomplish the thefts (Redding 1996:563).

Redding (1996) argues that these views were supported by an African National Congress-produced pamphlet sent to Kaiser Matanzima in 1957. Matanzima was the Emigrant Thembu Paramount Chief and was a keen supporter of Bantu Authorities and rehabilitation. The pamphlet (CMT 3/1471, File 42/C, ANC pamphlet in Redding

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<sup>10</sup> In her discussion of Mpondo beliefs in the supernatural, Monica Wilson (1979:319) remarked as follows: "Europeans are believed to be possessed of powerful materials for sorcery. All ubuthi [substances used for sorcery or witchcraft] comes from Europeans. They are the real...witches or sorcerers...Informants, when asked, replied: 'It is that European, the Government, who ukuthakatha [attacks others with witchcraft].'"

1996:566) was entitled "Where there is neither back nor front there is no truth" and clearly illustrated their stance towards chiefs colluding with the government:

The Government has failed in the matter of the limitation of our livestock now it is giving that work over to be carried by the chiefs themselves . . . Under this plan the chiefs will compel the people to pay more taxes than they are able to bear; they will compel the people to go out to work in the mines and on the farms ...; they are going to force people to limit their stock so that they become perpetual slaves.

LET THEM [the chiefs] REFUSE TO CO-OPERATIVE [sic] AND LEAVE IT TO VERWOERD TO APPOINT HIS RASCALS, BUT THE PEOPLE WILL REFUSE TO SUPPORT THOSE RASCALS. SUCH PEOPLE WILL BE LIKE WIZARDS AND THE PEOPLE KNOW HOW TO DEAL WITH WIZARDS WHEN THEY CAUSE TROUBLE AMONG THEM. On the other hand, let the chiefs know that whenever they allow themselves to be used as tools for collecting ripe loquats for which the Europeans are craving, their end will be the same as that of the wizards themselves [original emphasis].

The pamphlet reflects the prevailing attitude towards the chiefs during this time. This belief in the involvement of the state in witchcraft "may have been accepted as a metaphor by some and as literal truth by others, but in either case it implied that witchcraft eradication methods were appropriate for dealing with collaborators" (Redding 1996:566). The methods that the groups opposing the state employed to voice their discontent and assume control, however, shows that many believed in this analogy. The Mpondo community resorted to traditional methods to eradicate the witchcraft: hut and kraal burnings. Hunter, in her discussion of the attitudes towards people accused of witchcraft and sorcery, states that "every year in Pondoland there are cases in the magistrates' courts of incendiarism, and the people burnt out are almost invariably people who have been accused of witchcraft or sorcery and who have refused to move" (Hunter 1969:313).

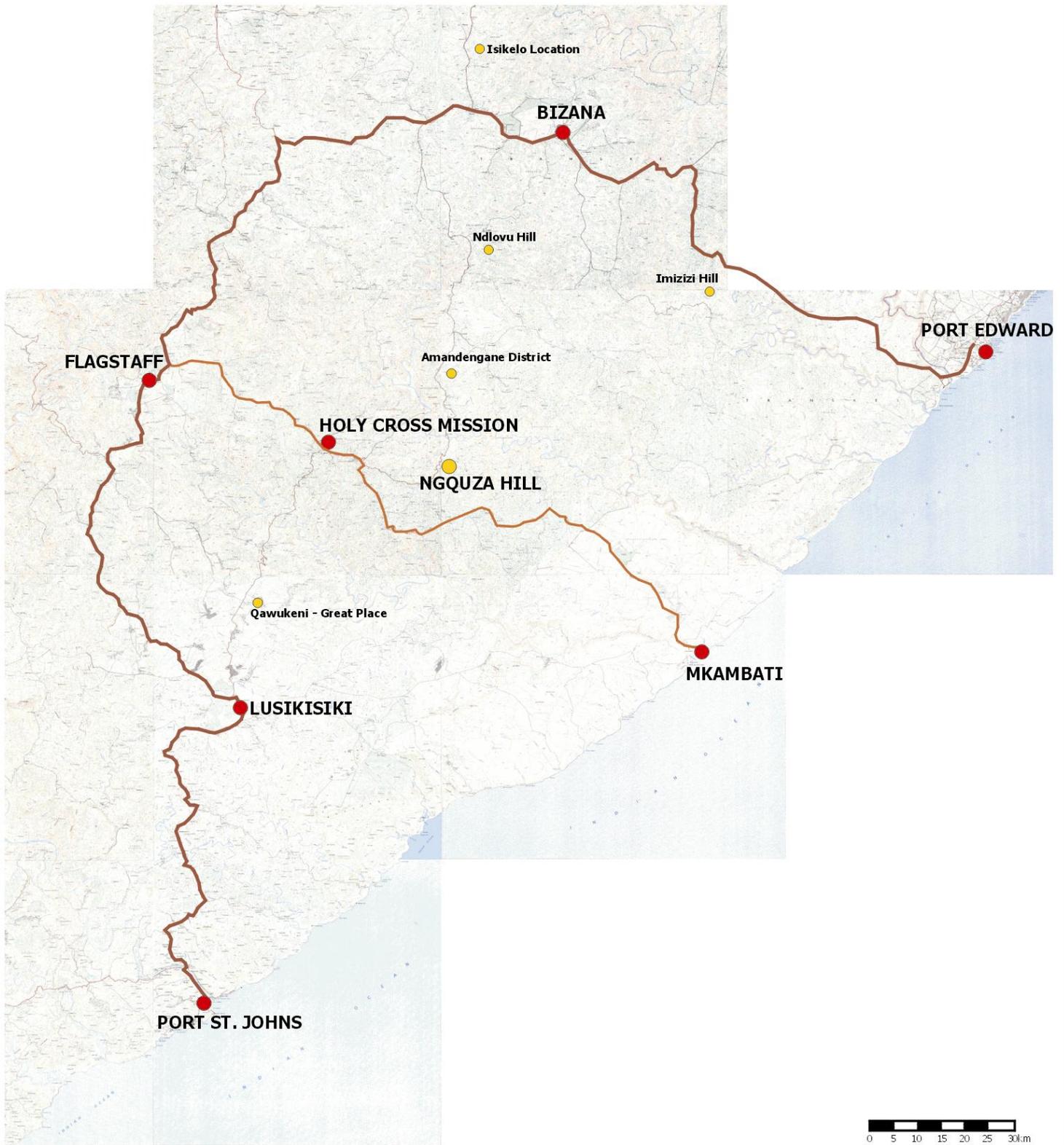
#### **5.2.4 Reaction by Ikongo**

The first of a number of kraal burnings took place at Isikelo (see figure 3 for location) in the district of Bizana after the chairman of the district authority, Saul Mabude, did not attend a meeting about Bantu Authorities. The kraals and huts of the people who

were believed to be collaborators with the government were targeted and burnt, usually after warning the inhabitants. This resulted in the deployment of a large contingent of police and two battalions of the Mobile Watch in the area; they camped in Bizana, Lusikisiki and Flagstaff (Mbeki 1963:120).

Public discontent developed into militancy in mid-1959. During this time, a Dutch Reform Mission in the Amandegane location in the Bizana District was attacked by a large group of people. This was because he was known to support the Bantu Authorities. In February 1960, the traders of the area were targeted. These acts were significant as it indicated that the people had resorted to instrumental actions to voice their concerns. The rebel groups "provided a local alternative that not only collected taxes and punished stock thieves, but that also effectively governed" (Redding 1996:571). In March 1960, an assault on three Tribal Authorities councillors culminated in "the burning of one of the councillor's huts, the slaughtering of his pigs and chickens, and his own death" (Redding 1996:571). The Bizana District became a hub of activity when illegal meetings in local kraals became formalised in every location. Local leadership was established in every kraal. In defiance of the large body of police despatched and the chiefs sending representatives, even bigger gatherings were organised (Copelyn 1974:34, 36).

When not referred to as *Intaba* (The Mountain), the organization known as *Ikongo* (Congress) dominated the affairs of an area of about 4 000 square kilometres comprising a population of 180 000 (Lodge 1985:60). This area consisted of the towns of Flagstaff, Bizana and Lusikisiki, and the areas adjacent to them. The first committee was formed at Nonqulwana Hill near Bizana. Other committees were formed at Ngqindilili Hill, Indlovu Hill and Ngquza Hill in the area between Flagstaff and Lusikisiki (see figure 3). During the TRC hearings, it transpired from the numerous oral recollections that the Pondoland Revolt was called *Nonqulwana*, referring to the first hill committee (TRC 1998: section 74). While this movement clearly involved ANC supporters, the revolt appears to have been a local initiative in response to local grievances rather than a planned ANC campaign (TRC 1998: section 74).



**IKONGO AREA**

SCALE:  
As Shown



FIGURE 3

The selection of hills as the geographical reference points of the Ikongo was significant on many levels. As stated in section 4.4.3, hills are traditionally considered to be significant, with various associated rituals and cultural meanings attached to them. It is believed that a hill is a "place of valour", that is, a place which traditionally functioned as the place where young, courageous men went to discuss important matters. Furthermore, Ngquza Hill had an ingrained ritual and cultural meaning for the Mpondo, which established a connection with their ancestors. They believed their ancestors inhabited the Hill and that they would aid them when they were fighting for a worthy cause (Mbambo 2000:35-36).

Communication between the different groups consisted of horseback messengers. By May 1960, *Ikongo* started assuming the functions of chief's courts and applied great pressure on chiefs and headmen in the area to condemn Bantu Authorities. Furthermore, the *Ikongo* started to be promoted as an alternative political authority to the prevalent order. Failure to cooperate resulted in prosecution by the *Ikongo*, as "they drew up lists of people were summoned to appear before the Rebel's 'Court' and warned that their kraals would be burnt" (Redding 1996:571). From January to June 1960, numerous chiefs, headmen and their bodyguards died during wide scale hut and kraal burning episodes (Lodge 1985:62).

### 5.2.5 *Ikongo* grievances

According to Redding (1996:571), the list of grievances drawn up by the *Ikongo* in mid-1960 included the following: "Bantu Authorities, taxation, installation of chiefs, and allocation of land, court cases, reference books (passes), rehabilitation policies, and influx control." Even though they were directly challenging government control, they did so principally by attacking those community members and chiefs who continued to submit to the state.

Redding (1996:571) furthermore quoted excerpts from a "Constitution of the Congo" which was circulated in Eastern Pondoland in late 1960 to illustrate that *Ikongo* attempted to assume the authority of local government:

Point one insisted that "[court] cases must not be taken to the sub-chiefs", followed by point two, "cases are dealt with by Congo". Congo also reserved the authority to parcel out homestead sites in point five. In points seven through

nine, Congo levied taxes (in the form of admission fees) on chiefs and others considered collaborators, and stipulated, "When he does not pay it [the money] we must see to him." Levying these fees or tax substitutes was not only a way for the rebel movement to raise money, it also was a way of forcing people to choose.

Redding (1996) continued to discuss the testimony of a Lusikisiki man in the criminal trial of an alleged leader of the *Ikongo* movement:

The man testified as to the three types of people whom Congo punished with hut burning: people suspected of being traitors (including informers and people who had not paid their fees); men who had seduced and impregnated young women and who had not paid damages; and people accused of witchcraft. For him, the governing functions were inseparable from spiritual or religious beliefs: taxation, court cases, witchcraft beliefs, and prayer were fused with rebellion.

Copelyn (1974:38-39) argued that *Ikongo* invoked strength and solidarity from cultural and traditional institutions:

A police informer that gave the following account of a Hill Meeting held in Lusikisiki in about May 1960 in court. The headman of the location had been converted to the movement, and people assembled at his kraal before sunrise. "At the headman's kraal I found a big pot with liquid medicine. We all had to put our fingers in the water and suck the medicine and another person was making crosses and incisions on our foreheads... It was said we should first take this medicine because we are going to Ngquza Hill." Another example could be seen in the case of the State v. Dilisha Maqutswana and nineteen others. It was also common for meetings to be opened with a prayer and five of the central leaders of the revolt, Mbambeni Madikizela and Nkosana Mbodla had been lay preachers.

It would thus seem that although *Ikongo* had definite political aspirations, spiritual beliefs were also a motive for their actions. Redding (1996:572) quoted an excerpt from a statement by the magistrate:

The Rebel movement has a religious slant. Three of the ringleaders are Evangelists. When they start their meetings all the rebels prostrate themselves on the ground with their foreheads touching the ground. They refer to the Rebel

court at their National Headquarter at Ndlovu Hill [in Bizana District] as a "Holy Court".

The religious beliefs fuelled the actions of the *Ikongo* members, but as seen from the example quoted by Copelyn (1974:38-39), these distinct Christian beliefs were fused with beliefs in witchcraft. Some *Ikongo* members therefore consulted *amagqwira* to assist them against the supernatural powers of state officials as "they believed the witchdoctors could treat them so that they would be immune from arrest and prosecution" (Redding 1996:72)

The *Ikongo* Committee repeatedly asked the magistrate, Mr Harvey from Lusikisiki, to give them a chance to voice their grievances, but their requests were ignored. They were told that the government would have no dealings with them and that their meetings were illegal and should stop. Spies and government informers started attending secret meetings, but upon detection, members of *Ikongo* would punish them severely, burning their huts and banishing them from the area. Between March and June 1960, 27 kraals were burnt down (Mbeki 1963:121). Southall (1982:34) records that *Ikongo* members killed 22 people connected in some way with the authorities. The Commission received several submissions relating to such attacks, including three killings (TRC 1998: section 75).

By this time, the Mpondo community was clearly annoyed with the whole situation. The mounting dissatisfaction and helplessness resulted in a revolt.

### **5.3 6 JUNE 1960: "THE NGQUZA MASSACRE"**

The flagship branch of the *Ikongo* held its first meeting at the Mhlanga School within the district. After the meeting at Mr Joynes's shop and Hlabatini, Ngquza Hill became the new meeting place. It was decided at one of the gatherings that they would meet Miaga Lenda, secretary of the Tribal Authorities. All the chiefs of the area attended the meeting, but the secretary was unable to attend. Only four chiefs were not part of the meeting, namely Chief Nelson Sigcau, Chief Sgwebo, Headman Motokari and Chief Hlamandana. Another meeting was held that night at Sixontweni where they took the decision to convene at the top of Ngquza Hill on 13 May 1960 (please refer

to figures 2A & 2B for the location). This strategic decision was taken in view of the fact that police vehicles could not reach that location (Gxabu 2003: pers. comm.).

The choice of Ngquza Hill was not only a strategic one, but also a symbolic one. According to Mbambo (2000:35-36), the people he interviewed indicated that the Hill was chosen due to its geographic location and that it represented the centre of Pondoland. Another strategic reason was the fact that there were no roads leading to the Hill, thereby minimising the chance of police intrusion. Symbolically, the Hill had a ritual and cultural meaning for the Mpondo, establishing a connection with their ancestors. They believed their ancestors inhabited the Hill and that they would aid them while they were fighting for a worthy cause (Mbambo 2000:35-36). This Hill has also been regarded as the place where people went to announce news to the community and where the coming of age ceremonies for girl initiates (*umngquzo*) were conducted (Sipolo 2001: pers comm.).



Image 81: Ngquza Valley and Hill (Müller 2007).



Image 82: Ngquza Valley and Hill from pass, showing position of monument site (Müller 2007).



Image 83: Top of Ngquza Hill (Müller 2005).



Image 84: Ngquza Valley (Müller 2005).

On 13 May 1960, four speakers (i.e. Wana Johnson, Matshibini Bodoman, Pakela and Mtshayelo Pompota) attended the meeting. During the discussions, they saw an aircraft approaching from the direction of Lusikisiki. It circled Ngquza Hill where they were holding their meeting. Another aircraft arrived and did the same as the first. Because of the noise, they had to disband and searched for another venue. While moving out, they saw approximately 50 police vehicles moving in from the direction of the Holy Cross Mission (see figure 3 for the location). They met the police vehicles next to Mr Finiza's shop. Both parties carried firearms and weapons, but the group dispersed peacefully. As the members and the police vehicles were departing, an aircraft flew very low past them and dropped teargas. They tried in vain to fight back by throwing their knopkieries<sup>11</sup> into the air (Gxabu 2003: pers comm). *Ikongo* members who were armed fired at the helicopter. Earnest Gwede Pepu was shot and killed by the police and Nkosayipheli Msukeni was wounded. He died on the way to hospital (TRC 1998: section 79).

It was then agreed that all the parties would meet at Ngquza Hill on 6 June 1960, and Clement Gxabu told the TRC Commission that although some of the *Ikongo* members had been armed at the May meeting, they were not armed at the 6 June meeting because they "intended convincing them that we were not at war with them but only needed a government delegation to talk to us about our grievances" (Gxabu 2003: pers comm). They had been expecting a representative from the government to come and meet with them at Ngquza. Prior to the meeting at Ngquza Hill, the *Ikongo* members decided at a short gathering at Ngquza Village that no one would be allowed to carry any weapons to the meeting including the traditional knopkieries or "two wooden sticks" (Mbambo 2000:51).

During my initial fieldwork in Pondoland, I interviewed Sitywaka Sipolo (Gwazi 2002: pers comm). This old man witnessed the Ngquza events first-hand as his *umzi* is located on the northern slope of Ngquza Hill, in the immediate vicinity of its crest. When asked about his interpretation of the event, I discovered a discrepancy in Gxabu's version of the events. Mr Sipolo related the following:

The Afrikaner forced us to pay tax for the land we lived on, for the goats, the cattle, horses, everything, and we revolted because this was our forefather's

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<sup>11</sup> A local fighting instrument closely resembling a short walking stick.

land. The Ikongo had representatives from Bizana, Lusikisiki, Flagstaff, Port St. Johns. At Ntabankulu they had their first meeting and discussed the problem. The aim was to go to King Botha Sigcau with the problem. He didn't bother as they suspected that he was bribed by the Afrikaner. Then they sent representatives to Ngquza from Bizana and Flagstaff. For the first day of the gathering they discussed the situation and decided to send people to King Sigcau's brother, "Gladwell", and murder him. During this time, Afrikaner police came, but only looked. So they went to "Gladwell's" huts, finding him missing, and burned his huts. A police helicopter circled above them, and they immediately suspected spies among them, sent by King Sigcau. On the second day they came back to Ngquza again, reporting that they couldn't find "Gladwell". Then they sent a messenger King Sigcau, informing him that if he wasn't quick about the affairs, they would murder him that same day.

They consulted a diviner (*igqwira*) before the planned meeting. This *igqwira* prophesied that they would meet a black cow on their way to Ngquza. If this cow fell down as they passed it, it would mean that they would be defeated during this meeting and that they should move back. The group from Ngquza actually did see a black cow fall down and wanted to abandon the meeting (Gxabu 2003: pers comm; Sipolo 2003: pers comm). A group from Bizana was already on their way and there was a debate about whether the meeting should still take place. Since the Bizana group had no knowledge of the *igqwira* or the prophecy, they pushed ahead and the meeting continued (Gxabu 2003: pers comm). Mbambo (2000:38) also relates another incident where the *Ikongo* group consulted a traditional healer from Nyandeni in Libode before the meeting for herbs to protect them.

At nine o' clock on the day of the meeting, everyone was well aware of the police presence in the area, as 18 police vehicles containing 100 policemen had taken position 3 miles away. At the start of the meeting where more than 400 Mpondo gathered, Wana Johnson<sup>12</sup> hoisted a big white flag made of sackcloth. This sack was used to carry the bread for the men to be consumed during the meeting. The white flag was used as a strategy to show the police that they were having a peaceful meeting. Another man suggested raising another flag, this time a red one, just below the white flag. Red means war, but it was decided that only a white flag would be hoisted (Gxabu 2003: pers comm).

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<sup>12</sup> One of the *Ikongo* leaders and chairman of the Ngquza Hill meeting.

There is some discrepancy in the sources consulted on the actual time the security forces descended on the meeting. While Copelyn (1974), Turok (1960) and Mbeki (1963) state that they descended around midday, Gxabu (2003: pers comm) and Silangwe (2003: pers comm) insist that it started around nine o' clock. Two Harvard aircraft and a helicopter painted in red, black and white dropped tear gas and smoke bombs on the crowd, and police vehicles approached from two directions. The helicopters landed on the hills and dropped soldiers. The police, armed with revolvers and Sten-guns<sup>13</sup>, took up positions on the surrounding hillside. Four soldiers came down the hill and positioned themselves with Sten-guns facing the group ten meters away. A big helicopter swooped down on the gathering and they could see people inside taking photographs of them. It is believed that the people in the helicopter were taking pictures to determine how many weapons the Mpondo group had with them, but it was clear that they had none (Gxabu 2003: pers comm).

A command came from the helicopter and the shooting started. The first person to be killed was Wana Johnson. During all the interviews with the veterans, everyone acknowledged the fact that a spy, allegedly a prominent chief (later referred to as "the spy"), was present in the helicopter. It is also clear that most of the veterans knew the identity of the spy, but were unwilling to disclose the information. The spy in the helicopter pointed out the ringleaders. The second person to die was English Ncanda, followed by Sigwebo Mfuywa, Ntamehlo Sipika, Khoyo Chagi and Ndindwa Popotshe (TRC 1998: section 80). A trumpet was blown and Magxagxa pulled down the flag, thus indicating that they should fight. One of the policemen positioned on the opposite side of the river was called Matthias, and he shouted: "Skiet hom!"<sup>14</sup> (Gxabu 2003: pers comm). Altogether 11 people died and 58 were wounded (TRC 1998: section 84).

The wounded were taken to the kraal further down in the valley. The kraal belonged to Sitywaka Sipolo, the old man who lived at the top of Ngquza Hill, who witnessed the events and rescued the wounded. He transported them to his hut by using his sleigh, a large drum and an ox-band. He said that the blood flowed freely out of his hut while he waited for the families to come claim their kin (Sipolo 2001: pers comm).

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<sup>13</sup> Machine guns.

<sup>14</sup> Literally translated as "Shoot him!".

Mr Sipolo died of old age during 2002 (see figure 4C for the location of the kraal and Mr Sipolo's house).

Mr Gxabu was shot in the lower leg, but refused to go with the wounded, because he was afraid of getting arrested. Gxabu and five other men collected all the corpses and hid them under branches (Gxabu 2003: pers comm).

Ngagana, an *Ikongo* member, told Gxabu that he pretended to be dead by covering his face in blood and lying next to Johnson. He saw the helicopter land close to them and "the spy" climb out. He came straight to the corpse of Wana Johnson and knew exactly where he carried his firearm. He shot the dead man six times with his own firearm, most probably out of revenge. This firearm was later discovered at Lusikisiki, so the testimony was considered to be the truth. The police later stated that the *Ikongo* used the firearm to defend themselves. This contradicted the fact that the *Ikongo* explicitly decided not to carry firearms to the meeting. It was later ascertained that Wana Johnson did indeed carry a firearm to the meeting due to the fact that he accompanied Mr Stoffela, another leader of the *Ikongo* arrested for illegally possessing a firearm, to the meeting. Before the meeting, Johnson travelled to Kokstad to pay the bail for Stoffela and he carried a firearm for personal protection during this mission. He apparently never intended to use the firearm during the meeting (Gxabu 2003: pers comm).

Silangwe related that the forest on the opposite slope of the river, Dumsi Forest (see figure 4C for the location), had no leaves remaining because of the shooting. He also reflected that the whole valley was covered in forest<sup>15</sup> during that time, and this saved many lives that day as they sought refuge in the forest.

When they started shooting, I started to run down the stream and climbed up the valley to the road. Other people and myself hid ourselves under stones to escape. As I ran up the stream, past the shop, the police arrested me. I was detained at Lusikisiki and Reverend Van Johns (Mfundisi) came and bailed me out (Silangwe 2003: pers comm).

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<sup>15</sup> Presently, the valley has been cleared of most natural vegetation and traces of forest in lieu of agricultural fields along the river. This is in line with the tendency discussed in chapter 4, section 4.4.3, where large tracts of forests have continuously been destroyed in favour of agriculture.

Mr Sipolo (2002: pers comm) related how, at sunset, he tried to pick up the survivors, transporting them with his ox band to his *umzi* to recover. He remembered that the blood flowed freely out of his hut while he waited for the families to come claim their kin.

After the incident, the Mpondo group sent eight men to the Holy Cross Mission in order to phone the magistrate in Lusikisiki and inform him of the casualties. The magistrate ordered the burial of the bodies. The Flagstaff Station commander and a number of other policemen were present at the burial of the bodies.

During the court hearing at the magisterial court in Lusikisiki, the police stated that only five men were killed. This fact was however disputed by the community and it was decided that a commission would go to the site of the graves in September 1960 and determine the number of victims and how they died. The following is Mr Silangwe's eyewitness account (2003):

There was a case about what happened at Lusikisiki in July 1960. Mr. Aristein from Durban acted as their attorney. There was a dispute about whether eleven people were killed and buried. It was said that a post-mortem was required, and so in September 1960, a commission led by the magistrate, Mr. Harvey from Port St. Johns, came to identify the graves. His interpreter was Mr. Somhlahlo. The community did not want the graves to be reopened, and the magistrate even failed to address the people at the event. Mr. Eliyah Lande insisted on prayer, and afterwards Mr. Harvey thanked him. At the identification of the graves, the bodies were taken out of the graves and photo's taken of where the wounds were. The deceased relatives identified all graves after two days and bodies were reburied after the identification. It was confirmed that eleven people died of gunshot wounds.

It is clear that the community did not want the graves to be reopened, possibly because they were reluctant to disturb the dead and invoke the wrath of the ancestors. Their request was ignored, however, and this disrespect was illustrated by the fact that the magistrate failed to address the community present at the event.

Following the exhumation in September 1960, a doctor from Pietermaritzburg described the way in which the men died (Silangwe 2003: pers comm). The inquest concluded that the post-mortems on the 11 exhumed bodies indicated that 6 had

died from bullet wounds. Three of these men died from bullets in the back of the skull, indicating that they were possibly shot from the back while running away from the police (TRC 1998: section 82). The people I interviewed and the TRC report (TRC 1998: section 83) confirm this fact. Because the exhumations only took place some time after the massacre, the cause of death could not be determined for the remaining five men (TRC 1998: Section 82). The exhumed bodies were reburied by their families after the exhumation.

The *Ikongo* decided that the Lusikisiki magistrate was biased and requested another magistrate, who arrived from Flagstaff. The lawyer representing the community, Rowley Arenstein, was confined to the magisterial district of Durban, thus preventing his appearance in the Bizana court where he had successfully defended the Mpondo community (Mbeki 1963:123). Another lawyer, Mr Albie Sachs (now Judge in the Constitutional Court of South Africa), came from Cape Town. They had other supporting lawyers, namely Mr Canca from Idutya and Mr Swarts from Lusikisiki. The conclusion of the case was a victory for the group, as it was found that the police should have come down peacefully to speak with the group before shooting (Gxabu 2003: pers comm). No security force member, however, was put on trial. According to the TRC report (1998: section 82), the reason for this was as follows:

...the Indemnity Act of 1961 provided that no civil or criminal proceedings could be brought against the government or anyone acting under government authority in respect of acts carried out in good faith (after 21 March 1960) with the intention of restoring public order.

The government promised the families of the deceased an amount of R180 and second-hand clothes from the Roman Catholic Church. Not one family received any money. A total of R8 was also promised for each person killed, but this never materialised (Gxabu 2003: pers comm).

After the Ngquza shootings, Sijumba Mlandelwa and Madodana Ndzoyiyana disappeared and their bodies were never found. Ngangilizwe Bele also vanished after police arrested people in his village (TRC 1998: section 81). According to personal interviews, the community believed that they were part of the arrested group on their way to Pretoria. Apparently they disappeared in Kokstad (Gxabu 2003: pers comm).

*Uzakubazi abantu namphlanje* (translated: "You are going to know us today")" (Booi & Ngcukana 2008). It transpired that threats were made against those community members opposed to the mining, including the threats that they would be forcibly removed from the land (Booi & Ngcukana 2008). This is ominously similar to the events that occurred in the 1950s, with the government imposing measures on the community which they refused to adhere to. It emphasises yet again the Mpondo connection to their land, the value they place on their natural environment and the measures they will employ to protect their place in it.

At this stage, it is useful to return to the discourses regarding the term "landscape". In chapter 3, I provided the most encompassing definition of the concept "landscape" that I was able to find. I stated that it comprises a representation of the physical environment and that it is rooted in perception. Landscape is therefore a spatial manifestation of culture and of the relationship of societies with their environment. The biophysical environment of Pondoland, as described previously, has numerous specific meanings and traditions connected to it. The Mpondo relationship with the natural environment is significant and has been investigated within the KwaBhala community in Ngquza, as illustrated in chapter 4. Materials for hut construction, such as thatch grass, mud for mud bricks and wood are all harvested from the immediate environment. Furthermore, as the municipality has yet to provide a water system, the rivers and streams in the vicinity of the community are their main sources of water, apart from collected rainwater. Traditionally, the Mpondo used to hunt in the river valleys, but this has been largely discontinued due to a reduction in the wild animal population and disinterest on the part of the younger generations. The valleys also used to feature expansive fields, or *intsimi*, with each family responsible for its cultivation. Today, few of these *intsimi* are being cultivated, with most lying fallow.

The natural environment also plays a significant symbolic role in Mpondo society. Hills have long been regarded as important places; they are viewed as vital setting places, that is, places where information can be relayed to the community and the setting for girl initiation ceremonies. Natural features are also the visual boundaries of locations and *imizi*, with drainage lines, hills and rivers being the most important of these. The biophysical environment is therefore mapped or perceived through cultural or social filters. These filters are, however, not the same for everyone. This fact was elucidated by my involvement with Ngquza since 2001. In the beginning, during my first site visit to Ngquza, I had no access to the intangible meanings and

After considering eyewitness accounts of the event, it is clear that the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the South African Defence Force (SADF) were involved in the Ngquza Hill incident. Most accounts and official reports on the inquest linked the police to the shooting, but the SAPS has no record of it. The SADF has denied any involvement in the incident. Only the SADF had aircraft and helicopters during this period, however, and this fact proves the SADF's involvement (TRC 1998: section 83).

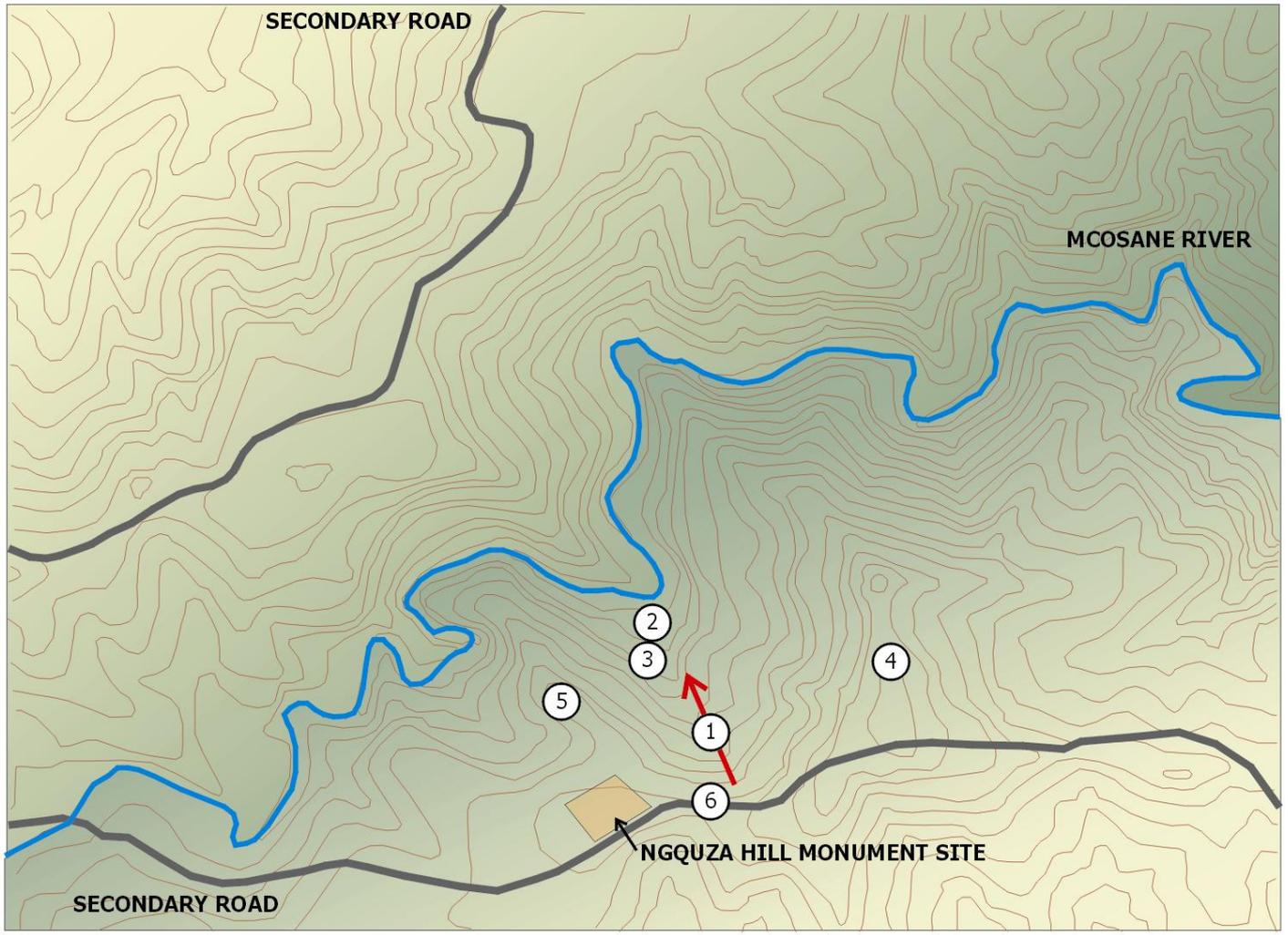
The TRC report (1998: section 83) sums up the episode as follows:

A number of factors support the suspicion that the shootings were a planned ambush. These include the arrival of the security forces instead of the expected government representatives at the meeting, the absence of any reports of warnings by the security forces calling for the meeting to disperse before the tear gassing and shootings, the fact that the white flag was ignored, the use of Sten sub-machine guns, and the fact that some of those at the meeting were shot in the back of the head.

#### **5.4 VISUAL INTERPRETATION OF EVENTS**

After assimilating the data I collected from the fieldwork --- walking the site with the veterans, and conducting informal and formal interviews --- and from the literature review, I have attempted to spatially illustrate and interpret the events of the day. I utilised 1:50 000 topographical maps in conjunction with Google Earth satellite imagery of the terrain, and superimposed photographs taken on the site visit at the specific points as identified by the key informants. These points proved to be mnemotechnic "triggers" or anchoring points for the informants to remember the event and the site. By utilising photographs in conjunction with aerial photographs, I have attempted to illustrate the site to the reader in its most poignant form. Additionally, landscape elements such as trees, the river, the slopes of the hills, valleys and erosion gully's are clearly visible. This process is thus a way to combine the tangible aspects of the landscape with the intangible dimension of embodied memory, and spatially illustrate this relationship in a graphic form.

I also produced a video of the site visit with the veterans in 2003. This video clearly augments the representation of the relationship between landscape and memory, and has the added benefit of expressing the metadata (language, knowledge) contained within the oral traditions as related by the key informants. Highlights from this video, and its chronological order, are contained within figures 4A and 4B as the visual interpretation of the event.



8:45 More than 400 members of the Ikongo descend down Ngquza Hill



9:00 Members gather at the bottom of the hill for a peaceful meeting with magistrate



9:10 A white flag is hoisted to indicate a peaceful meeting



9:15 Two Police helicopters start circling the group and land here...



...And here and drop armed soldiers.



9:17 Police vans gather on the periphery of the valley

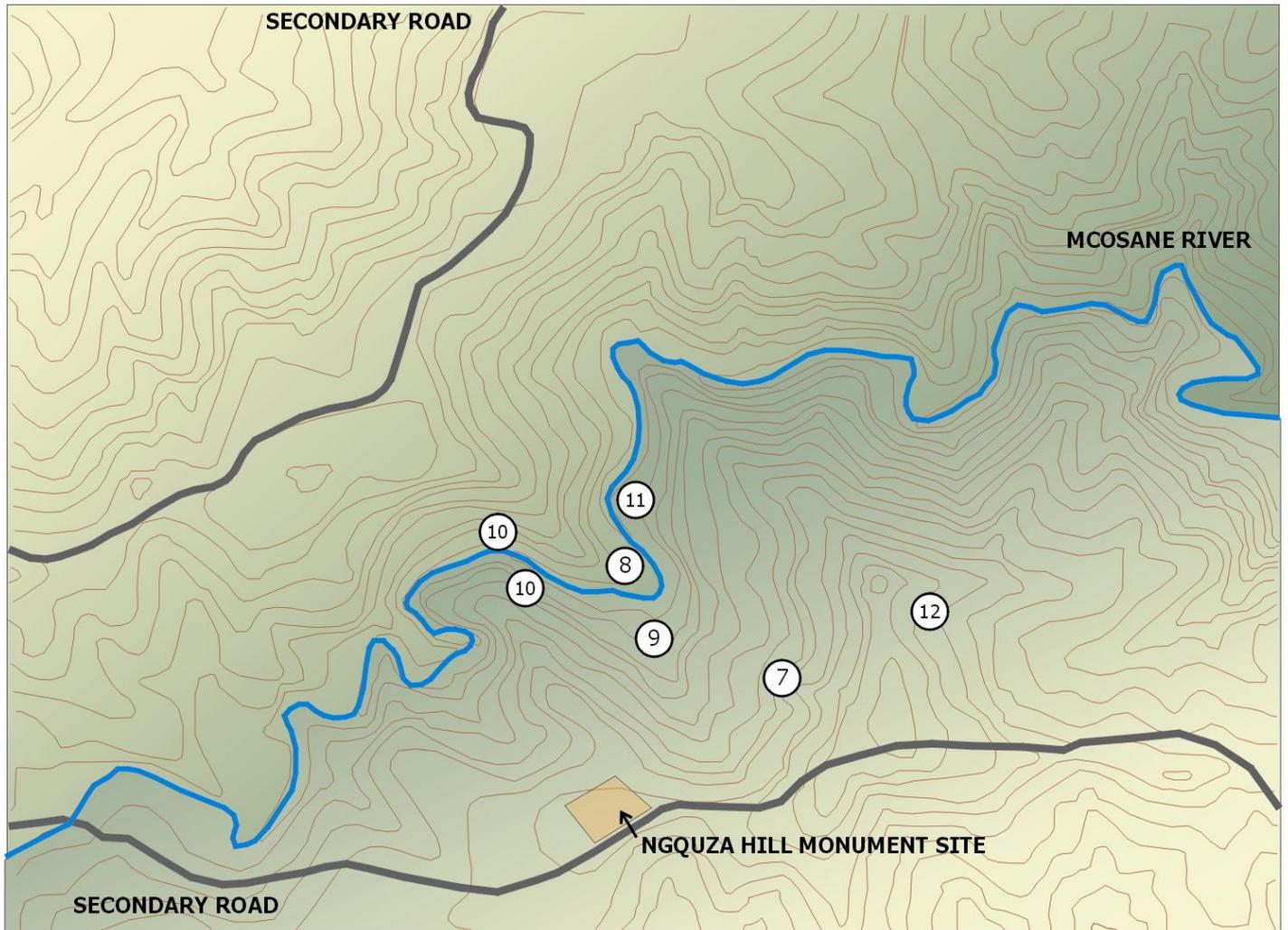
**VISUAL INTERPRETATION: 6 JUNE 1960**

SCALE:

As Shown



FIGURE  
4A



0 100 200 300 400 500m



9:20 Two Harvard aircraft start circling the group and drop teargas. Soldiers descend down slopes.



9:23 Four soldiers with sten guns position themselves across the river.



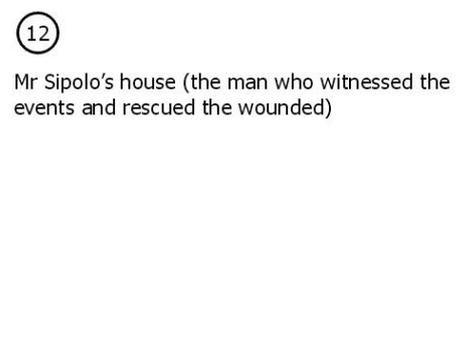
9:25 Wana Johnson, chairman of the meeting is shot and dies at this tree



9:30- 12:30: Eleven Ikongo members are killed and 54 wounded. Men hid in Dumsi forest.



9:30- 12:30: The wounded are carried to a nearby kraal in the valley.



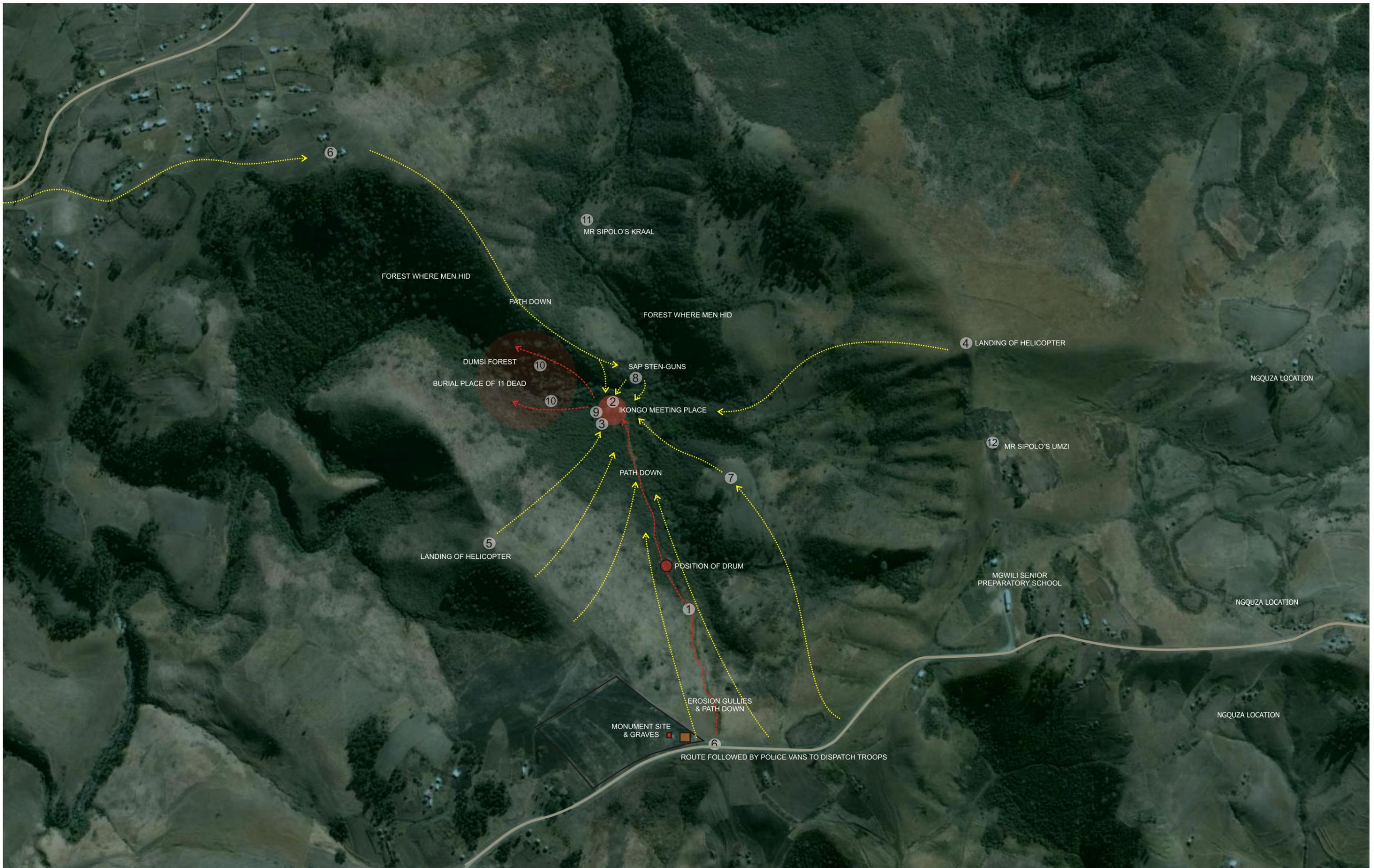
Mr Sipolo's house (the man who witnessed the events and rescued the wounded)

## VISUAL INTERPRETATION: 6 JUNE 1960

SCALE:  
As Shown



FIGURE  
4B



**SPATIAL EVENT RECREATION**

Aerial Photograph from Google Earth 2007

SCALE:



FIGURE  
4C

## 5.5 THE AFTERMATH

Police presence increased after this incident; armoured cars (Saracens) and radio cars regularly patrolled the area. Rather than pacifying the *Ikongo*, however, this simply heightened their resolve. Resistance against Bantu Authorities was intensified, as 29 huts were ransacked in the two weeks following the shootings (*Natal Mercury* 1960:1).

By September of 1960, authorities were limiting the media presence in the area and denied that the instability in Pondoland was an insurrection against the Bantu Authorities. Mr JH Abrahamse (TRC 1998: section 85), the Commissioner General for the Transkei, said as follows in a statement to the press:

Tribal clashes, which occur from time to time and which have occurred regularly throughout history, are presented as revolts against the system of Bantu Authorities. Even when the true facts are supplied to these newspapers, the paragraph giving the facts is carefully deleted.

The Chief Magistrate and Bantu Affairs Commissioner of the Transkeian Territories, Mr CV Leibrandt, began playing a more important role and this indicates that the shootings were not initiated at district level (*Natal Mercury*, 1 September 1960 & *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 June 1960).

In July 1960, after discussions between Leibrandt and the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr MDC de Wet Nel, the government declared the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into the general unrest throughout the Transkei and, specifically, Pondoland (*Natal Mercury*, 10 June 1960). The Commission comprised Bantu Administration officials and was appointed to hear popular grievances. The Commission heard 83 African and 25 white witnesses (Redding 1996:574).

The Commission tried to create the impression that the unrest was resolved in the area, but the opposite was in fact true. By July 1960, the *Ikongo* had secured its position in Pondoland, while the authority of the Bantu Authorities had diminished. Previous militancy initiated a widespread movement of resistance, where the majority

of the Mpondo community stopped paying taxes and did not participate in the census process (Copelyn 1974:75).

According to Mbeki (1963:122), the demands of the people were as follows:

The withdrawal of the Bantu Authorities and Bantu Education Acts; representation in the Republic's Parliament; relief from the increased taxes and passes which hampered free movement; and the removal of Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau.

On 11 October 1960, the results of the Commission were presented at a public meeting attended by approximately 15 000 Mpondo community members near Bizana. Leibrandt informed the *meeting* "that their complaints about boundaries and the appointment of councillors on tribal authorities were justified, and the Government had instructed that these matters be rectified after consultation in accordance with their customs" (Copelyn 1974:76). Leibrandt urged the people to be part of the process of restoring peace to the area and reassured them that the government was indeed looking at their grievances. Mr JAC van Heerden, the chairman of the Commission, even added that some objections were "quite justified, but that they had acted wrongly in the way in which these complaints were brought to the notice of the Government" (Copelyn 1974:76). The Commission ignored or sidestepped the demands of the Mpondo community and only briefly replied to selected grievances (*Cape Times* 12 October 1960).

The Mpondo community remained disgruntled about the outcome of the Commission. They decided to send their grievances to Albert Luthuli (then President of the ANC) in Durban for guidance and help. Simon Silangwe was nominated, and he met Mr Mdingi and the ANC Youth League in Durban. They were led through a storm water drain to the underground hideaway of Luthuli. They met in a forest where the Mpondo matters were presented to him. Luthuli suggested that the best way for them to fight was to be within the system and be part of the parliament (Gxabu 2003: pers comm). Mr Silangwe's account is mirrored by the information in the autobiography of Albert Luthuli (1962). In 1959, before he returned to Durban after a meeting with the Black Sash movement, he attended Parliament in Cape Town and was deeply affected by what he saw. After arriving in Durban on 25 May 1959, he received a letter from the Special Branch. This document confined him to Groutville, close to Durban for five

years and prevented him from participating in any public speaking or contact with the ANC. This document was issued by the Minister of Justice. Even though he was practically under house arrest, his activities continued discreetly (Luthuli 1962:194). It was during this time and in the light of these circumstances that Mr Silangwe must have clandestinely met with Mr Luthuli.

At a meeting on 25 October 1960 at Imizizi Hill in Bizana (see figure 3 for the location), the Mpondo community renewed their determination to abolish Bantu Authorities. Soon afterwards, five top leaders of the Pondoland National Committee gave themselves over to the police. They were subsequently sentenced to a year in prison for attending an illegal meeting. A widespread boycott of towns and traders by the Mpondo in the area ensued. The government reacted by arresting Anderson Khumani Ganyile, the young Mpondo leader and an ANC activist (Mbeki 1963:123).

The *Ikongo* went underground and continued to hold frequent meetings. Young men and women were recruited to join Oliver R Tambo<sup>16</sup> in Lusaka to be trained as MK (*Umkhonto we Sizwe*) members. Some recruits were caught by the police and trained to be spies against their own community members. Gxabu was part of a group of 200 men who were to depart for Lusaka. They phoned ahead and realised that the borders were closed. They were arrested, but Gxabu escaped the police (Gxabu 2003: pers comm).

By November 1960, approximately 200 police re-enforcements were stationed in Bizana, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki (*Sunday Times* 27 November 1960). On 30 November 1960, an emergency proclamation (Proclamation 400) was gazetted. Officially, 4 769 men and women were detained for prolonged periods during 1960. Only 2 067 of this number were ultimately taken to court. The government intensified its efforts to curb the revolt by using the military to assist the police. The Mpondo community had by this time been continuously challenging the Bantu Authorities system (Mbeki 1963:124).

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<sup>16</sup> Oliver Reginald Tambo, leader of the African National Congress in exile for 30 years, died on 23 April 1993. He was born on 17 October 1917 in the small village of Kantolo, about 20km from Bizana, Pondoland.

Proclamation 400 controlled access to Pondoland, undermined free speech and provided chiefs with the power to banish community members at will. Any meeting not endorsed by the Bantu Commissioner was considered illegal and was often forcefully dispersed. The police prosecuted those attending illegal meetings. "Any person who made a subversive statement, undermined the authority of the Bantu Commissioner, organized a boycott, or treated his Chief with contempt was found guilty of an offence" (Mbeki 1963:124).

On 11 December 1960, the Mobile Watch of the SADF was despatched to Pondoland. On 14 December 1960, they were deployed to Bizana, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki. Subsequently, Proclamation R400 was adapted to allow for the imprisonment of suspects (Copelyn 1974:82).

The mobile army utilised aircraft and helicopters to access even the most remote locations. Villages were ransacked for suspects. The suspects were collected in large groups and transported in army trucks for screening at the police headquarters in Bizana (Mbeki 1963:125).

Mbeki (1963:126) includes an eyewitness account of that time:

A large contingent of armed police and soldiers seal off an area, usually after midnight. Each hut is raided by two armed men who take away everything that remotely resembles a weapon. In some areas, even hoes are confiscated.

While the army searched all villages, it also carried out police duties such as collecting outstanding taxes and enforcing communal fines where whole villages had to pay for the firing of a collaborator's *umzi* (Mbeki 1963:126).

Life became increasingly difficult for the Mpondo community. Men and women were held in prison without knowing why they were there or for how long they would be there. Women were considered an important element in the fight against Bantu Authorities. They remained at home when the men went out and united in shouting the war cry to mark the arrival of the police. They wore black to demonstrate that they were grieving for the dead and those detained (Holweni 2003: pers comm).

Mrs Ebba Holweni (Holweni 2003: pers comm) related the following:

My husband, Lammas Holweni, was the secretary of the Pondo's at the ANC in Durban. He used to bring the money and minutes of the meetings at Durban to the men at Ngquza, Mr Lande. Two men accompanied him from the congress at Durban, Mr Ngcikwa Vimba and Mr Ndayi.

Before the Ngquza meeting, the women of the area started digging trenches in the roads in order to stop the police vans from reaching their men.

After the Ngquza incident, Mr Ngcikwa was taken to Robben Island for three years. Mr Lande ran to Lesotho. After the incident, the Police repeatedly came to my house, looking for Mr Lande and Mr Holweni. They were also looking for the minutes of their meetings and books. Mr Holweni ran to the Holy Cross Mission and was hidden by Father Van Johns. Mrs. Lande told Mrs. Holweni that she must tell her husband not to come back again, as the police was still looking for them.

One morning the police came and opened the gates of the kraals so that the cattle would trample the harvest of the year. In February 1961, I was sewing at home on my sewing machine. The police came in, took the machine and smashed it against the wall. They came again in March, and took all of our blankets, saying they were going to take them to those who were arrested in 1960. On 10 April 1961, I was beaten badly by the police, who was using sjamboks. I was pregnant at the time, and later during the night I gave birth prematurely.



Image 85: Ebba Holweni (Müller 2005).

Between 24 August and 28 October 1961, more than 18 months after the Ngquza incident, 30 Mpondo was sentenced to death for involvement in the Pondoland Revolt. Of this group, 23 were eventually executed at the Pretoria Central Prison in 1962 and buried in the Mamelodi Cemetery outside Pretoria (see section 5.2) (Mbeki 1964:125). I could not obtain any information about what happened to the remaining 7 of the 30 men who were sentenced. Apart from these executions and the 11 men that died at the Ngquza event, the following additional cases, including 133 deaths, were reported to the TRC (1998: section 72): 10 people were killed by security forces outside of custody, there were 8 deaths and disappearances in custody, 3 people were killed by *Ikongo* members, 5 disappeared permanently, there were 17 judicial executions (apart from the previous 30 that were executed in Pretoria), approximately 90 people's deaths were attributed to their treatment in custody, there were numerous cases of assault and torture in custody, and there were various attacks on property both belonging to *Ikongo* members and to those who supported Bantu Authorities.

The South African Parliament passed the Transkei Constitution Act (Act 48 of 1963) bestowing self-government to the Transkei less than two years after Dr HF Verwoerd announced in Parliament that the Transkei was to be given self-government. In truth, thought, the Transkei Constitution Act shows that the South African government still

remained in control regardless of the rights granted to the Transkei parliament (Mbeki 1963:135).

## 5.6 REVISITING AND REMEMBERING THE SITE

As an initial outsider, a white Afrikaans girl with a very elementary understanding of Xhosa and the Mpondo culture, my first encounter with Ngquza was from the *umzi* of the family that I stayed with in KwaBhala. On my first day of a month-long stay, Nosipho Holweni, the eldest sister of the family and the local schoolteacher, took me to the kraal and pointed to a distant, but prominent hill. Up to that point, I had still not been to the site and only ever saw the hill from a distance. Nosipho briefly told me about the Pondoland Revolt and reminisced about the many members of their immediate community and family who had died during the Ngquza incident.

The day we were scheduled to visit the oldest surviving witness to the event, Mr Sipolo, it rained profusely. We had to walk all the way up a steep hill and down the opposite side in pouring rain. I did not get a very clear view of the setting of the event during my first visit. I did, however, receive the most thorough and probably unbiased account of the events from this elderly man who rescued the survivors from the valley after the incident with the armed forces. He carefully related every detail of the event and was visibly pained about recollecting that tragic day. Unfortunately, this man died before I could officially visit Ngquza again two years later.

In order to obtain accounts and audits of present-day memories of the events, former participants had to be identified. A meeting with the members of the Ngquza Hill Steering Committee was scheduled at the Holy Cross Hospital on 7 June 2003. Mr Zakes Mdela and Mrs N Wopula of the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture in Flagstaff, organised the meeting and the functioning of the Committee were fully explained. The Committee was established in the mid 1990s and was dedicated to the development of Ngquza Hill. The group consists of *Ikongo* veterans and other interested parties. A proposal for the development of the site had been drafted and it includes a road to the bottom of the valley, a small hotel in the vicinity of the monument and a community vegetable garden.

At this meeting I requested that the members, especially the *Ikongo* veterans, accompany me to Ngquza Hill. This meeting was organised for the following day (8 June 2003), where a number of the veterans were escorted to the site. Here they related the events as they experienced them.

The main reason for this exercise was to establish the relation between memory, the site and the event: to walk the site with the veterans and utilise landscape features to serve as mnemotechnic devices triggering memories of the event. The aim was also to cartograph the site by means of GPS technology, to obtain coordinates of the major points on site and to reflect them on a map.

The following day, while waiting for the rest of the group to arrive, Mr Silangwe, one of the veterans and a member of the Steering Committee, related his experiences and conveyed some very illuminating data about the history of the revolt and his own experiences of the day of the massacre.



Image 86: Researcher with Simon Silangwe (Müller 2003).



Image 87: Researcher with Clement Gxabu (Müller 2003).



Image 88: Researcher with the Ngquza Hill Development Steering Committee (Müller 2003).

After approximately an hour, the rest of the group arrived. Only two veterans accompanied me: Clement Gxabu and Simon Silangwe, both spokesmen for the Steering Committee. A number of veterans were expected to give a more complete

view of the happenings and this meeting was regarded as an introduction for follow-up individual meetings. With only two veterans attending this meeting, it was rather disappointing. I enquired about why there were only two veterans attending the meeting. They stated that there were no other veterans and that they were the only other people who knew what had happened during the massacre. This contradicted the fact that I was introduced to a number of veterans during the reburial of the exhumed bodies two days previously. Mbambo (2000:12) discussed the resistance of the community to talk about the event: "Those that took part in the Mpondo Revolt are sceptical to talk about anything related to the Ngquza massacre...Those that are keen to talk about it are those who did not take part, but who know what happened."

The group gathered at the top of Ngquza Hill and started the descent down the slope to the bottom of the valley to the massacre site. During the descent, Gxabu dramatically recalled some of the events in Xhosa. After approximately half an hour, we reached the bottom. Gxabu caught his breath, gathered the group around him and calmly began telling the story of the Mpondo Revolt (see appendix 3.2: pers comm, Clement Gxabu). As Gxabu was speaking, Silangwe would often interrupt to add some information or correct some minor detail. Richard Wopula, the interpreter and school teacher from Flagstaff, coloured the story with elaborate and sometimes very eloquent speech, but by observing the other listeners and following Gxabu's story, the details were correctly recorded. A friend helped with a video recording of extracts of the meeting and most of the story was recorded on a dictaphone. These helped in completing the written notes taken during the meeting.

The veterans pointed out all the major points on the site where the events transpired on 6 June 1960, and these were documented visually and spatially. The general positions of the victims' graves were also identified and the exact position of Wana Johnson's grave (see figure 4) was located. The story was further clarified by the discovery of a large, open-ended drum that was used by Mr Sipolo to transport, with the help of an ox band, some of the wounded to his hut after the event in 1960 (see figure 4). As the group continued back to the vehicle, more information was gathered during informal conversations, and the most valuable and important information was gathered during this time.

The day proved insightful and I was able to construct a detailed spatial account of what occurred during the day of the event (refer to figure 4). After spending a day on

the slopes of the hill and in the valley, I obtained a thorough understanding of the tangible aspects of the landscape. However, more importantly, by listening to the eyewitness accounts of the veterans, documenting the locations of individual events and understanding the consequences of the day, I began to access the intangible dimension of the landscape that was seated in the memories of the veterans.

As a firm rapport was well-established with Mrs Ebba Holweni, I interviewed her regularly to obtain views of community members who were not directly involved with the *Ikongo* (See appendix 3.3: pers comm, Ebba Holweni). Her husband was part of the *Ikongo* and because of this the police frequently targeted their home during the state of emergency. She related the ways in which the community helped to keep the police from hearing about *Ikongo* meetings, and also what they did on the day of the massacre.

Today, almost seven years after my first sight of Ngquza, I can reminisce about the numerous site visits and people I have met and talked to over the years. That said, however, I am well aware of the host of information that still lies buried and that much still needs to be told. I am confident, though, that the methodology employed in this study has been successful. The walk about, my own personal experience of the site, and the rapport and trust I have gained in the community proved invaluable.

## **5.7 THE REBURIAL CEREMONY**

On 6 June 1998, the Ngquza Hill Commemoration Committee, with the assistance of the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture of the Eastern Cape, erected a monument commemorating the men who died in the massacre on 6 June 1960, and the men who were executed during 1962 at the Pretoria Central Prison (now the Pretoria C Max Prison) after being arrested due to involvement with the *Ikongo* (see section 4.7). Even though the plaque on the monument states that only 13 men were executed, it has been confirmed that 23 were indeed executed (Mbeki 1964:125). During May 2001, the remains of all the executed men were exhumed at the Mamelodi Cemetery outside Pretoria and on 6 June 2003, 12 of the men were reburied at the site of the monument on Ngquza.

It is important to note that the monument specifically commemorates the "List of heroes who were executed in Pretoria" (13) and the "List of heroes who died at

Ngquza" (11). Nowhere on the monument is there any mention of the 133 deaths that were attributed to the Pondoland Revolt of 1960-1961 (TRC 1998: section 72) (see section 4.7).



Image 89: Ngquza Hill Monument with graves in the background (Müller 2003).



Image 90: Ngquza Hill Monument (Müller 2003).



Image 91: Ngquza Hill Monument showing names of those executed in Pretoria and reburied at the site of the monument on 6 June 2003 (Müller 2003).



Image 92: Ngquza Hill Monument showing a list of men who died on 6 June 1960 (Müller 2002).

The following is an observation of the events of the reburial ceremony on 6 June 2003.

Community members from across Eastern Pondoland were well aware of the importance of the event, and roughly 600 people attended the proceedings. Three marquee tents were erected, one central tent for the placement of the coffins, together with a podium for speakers and ample space for a number of seats. The other two tents were for children and for eating purposes. Three smaller tents were erected a little way off, and from the break of dawn, women were preparing free food for all the attendees. In front of the tents, several fires were made on which huge cast iron pots filled with meat were placed. A number of men, policemen, elders and other important men of the community congregated next to these fires, feasting on the meat and speaking amiably about the unfolding events and politics.

Music emerged from the main tent, and for more than an hour different groups performed and danced to organ music in front of the row of coffins, each ceremoniously draped in ANC colours. Journalists and other members of the press were invited. It seemed as though everyone was waiting for something special to happen: when the helicopter arrived and swooped over the crowd, we realised that it had finally arrived. The different mayors of the surrounding districts escorted the premier of the Eastern Cape, Premier Mankhenkesi Stofile, to the main tent, where they all took a seat behind the podium.

I was able to conduct informal interviews during this time. The general feeling was one of excitement and gratefulness that the activities of 1960 were finally being remembered. There was also the hope that the event would help to bring about development and create jobs in the area<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> The Pondoland area is currently facing significant changes due to developmental projects in the pipeline. The largest and probably most contentious of these is the proposed Xolobeni Sands Mining Project. This titanium mine is proposed in the area immediately north of the Mkanmbati Nature Reserve, located on the sensitive and culturally significant "Red Sands" next to the coastline. Another large project is the reconstruction of the N2 highway from Durban to East London. The new route for the highway is proposed to run within 15 kilometers of the coast, which would necessitate enormous bridges to span the deep river valleys. The N2 route traverses Ngquza approximately 4km to the south.

After the Premier's speech, one of the revolt's survivors, Clement Gxabu dramatically recalled the events when the Mpondo clashed with government forces: "We did not want, among others, the Tribal Authorities Act and they wanted to impose it by force, and did." Gxabu stated that survivors were still waiting, after appearing early in 2002, for the TRC to prosecute police officials involved in the Ngquza Hill killings.

After a range of public addresses, the journalists moved to the empty gravesites. Local funeral houses had prepared the graves. Onlookers quickly covered the mounds and waited as the wind caught up and dark storm clouds appeared. As the coffins wrapped in ANC flags were carried out, each by family members of the deceased, the helicopter started its engine. The hasty departure of the Premier delayed the solemn moment as all the onlookers cheerfully waved goodbye. After the departure, the coffins were positioned. After the formalities, the coffins were lowered into the ground while the onlookers sang the national anthem.



Image 93: The open graves prepared for the coffins (Müller 2003).



Image 94: The reburial ceremony with the coffins being carried to the graves (Müller 2003).

Soon after the ceremony, the group dispersed in various directions, but mainly to the food tents where ladies from the community had been preparing food. Everyone was served a plate of meat and vegetables. A general atmosphere of festivity reigned, with children playing on the slopes of the hill and groups of people chatting loudly.

After speaking to a group of veterans at the reburial ceremony, it became clear that the event served to bring closure to the incident that had had such a profound effect on their lives. There were plenty of tears and mourning for the deceased. There was, however, a definite segregation between the older people who had actually experienced the hardships and the younger generation. It seemed as though the youth only attended the ceremony because it was an exciting event with free food. The attendance of the ANC Youth League also attracted a number of young people. Most of the young people the researcher interviewed had no idea what the event was about. Furthermore, the organisers and speakers at the event also focused on other issues and it seemed as though they were driven by other motivations to be part of the proceedings. Nevertheless, the event served to highlight the history of an important heritage site and the fact that plans are under way to develop it.

## 5.8 BEYOND THE REBURIAL

My third visit to Ngquza was two years later; I visited with a friend who had no previous knowledge of the event. I found it insightful to note his response to the landscape. During our walks I continued to observe how he only saw a beautiful landscape. He did not have the same access I had had to the intangible dimension of memory connected to the landscape. Gradually, though, I was able to highlight some of the details surrounding the site and the events that occurred there.

During this time, I again met with the Ngquza Hill Steering Committee. At the previous meeting, they had plans to develop Ngquza Hill as part of a larger provincial initiative to boost tourism in the area. This formed part of a Department of Environment and Tourism initiative to proclaim Pondoland as a national park with eco-tourism as its main focus. Ngquza Hill was earmarked as a key tourism point within the park. However, due to the proposed N2 highway and the Xolobeni Titanium mine, this worthy initiative has been put on hold until both projects are either dismissed or given the go-ahead.

At the second meeting with the Steering Committee, nobody was willing to elaborate on the plans, but it did not seem that any progress had been made. From informal interviews within the community, I did gather, however, that there was mounting disunity among the members concerning Ngquza. Apparently, another group of veterans were contesting the validity of Mr Gxabu and Mr Silangwe, or the Ngquza Hill Steering Committee. I have unfortunately not been able to personally meet this group, nor have I been able to confirm this statement as related to me by Nozuzile Holweni (2007: pers comm).

My most recent visit to Ngquza (September 2007) was two years after the first formal meetings between the Ngquza Steering Committee and the Eastern Cape Department of Sport, Arts and Culture. After enquiring about progress on the project, I was confronted with despondent faces from most community members. To date, nothing has been done. Many community members do not believe that any development will occur, and their views are supported by the fact that after more than 12 years of being promised basic services such as water and electricity, they still have no infrastructure. As a result, many have decided not to get involved in the Ngquza development process as Premiers and ANC Councillors have been

promising this at the annual Ngquza Day Celebrations on 6 June each year (Holweni 2007: pers comm).

This indifferent attitude to the site extends even further. During an interview with the principal of the Mgwili Senior Preparatory School, located on the crest of Ngquza Hill, she explained the reluctance of the younger generations to learn about the event. She related how learners would interrupt teachers or their parents when they tried to relate the history of Ngquza. They feel that it has nothing to do with them and that it represents a part of history that is too familiar to them (many have lost family members) (Norolela 2007: pers comm). In the same vein, when interviewing younger members of the KwaBhala community, they predominantly refer to the hill as significant to their history, but very few could actually describe the basic tenements of the events (Sinethemba Holweni 2007: pers comm.; Zolani Bhala 2007: pers comm).

After speaking to the departmental officer responsible for the site and project, Mrs M Wopula, it was troubling to note that the development of Ngquza would not entail the development of the site, but would rather see the erection of an Arts Centre next to the existing monument. She argued that an Art Centre will better serve the needs of the community as they can sell their crafts at the Centre. Nothing was said about the site's inherent heritage value and the conservation thereof in the development process (Wopula 2007: pers comm).

## 5.9 CONCLUSION

As stated in the introduction, this chapter aims to discuss Ngquza Hill and its relation to the Pondoland Revolt of 1960 and 1961. By recording oral traditions, interviewing eyewitnesses and researching available sources on the subject, the history of the site has been reconstructed and its significance established.

The actual events of the Ngquza Hill massacre have been recounted and spatially illustrated by visually documenting the site and relating oral traditions and other research back to it. Despite the fact that all the oral information was weighed and confirmed by means of written sources, a more thorough recollection of the actual events could have been gained by interviewing more than two eyewitnesses. These witnesses were also *Ikongo* members. Interviewing former SAPS members would

also have added to a more thorough documentation. Nevertheless, no major discrepancies in the sources were identified and the reconstruction of the events is thus considered true.

After spending time with the community, it is clear that the site has great significance for the Mpondo community. The hill itself serves as a natural and regional monument to those who died and were tortured during those times. Although a monument has been erected next to the road on a hill overlooking Ngquza Hill and the valley, the entire site should be considered a heritage site. The graves of the 11 men who died on the day of the revolt are situated in the valley where the massacre took place. Their families, however, have not yet revealed the exact locations of their graves. The hill itself also retains some of its cultural significance, as older community members of the districts surrounding it still point reverently to the hill: "That is Ngquza Hill. A great tragedy happened there." It is disheartening, though, to note that the younger Mpondo community, the third and fourth generation after the actual event, are disassociating themselves from the events that transpired at Ngquza and are refusing to understand the site in context. To them, this site has become a political playing field --- the place where something bad happened, but now the ANC promises houses, schools and jobs to the community, and hand out free food to the beat of music.

Despite this, however, Ngquza Hill has developed an additional significance for the local community. With plans under way to develop the site as a major tourist destination, capacity building and job creation are cited as its main objectives. In the past, Ngquza signified death, tragedy and a struggle against forces over which the community had very little control, but now this perception has changed. Today Ngquza is the seat of hope; it serves as a symbol of hope, of overcoming adversity and believing in a government that will provide for the community. In an interview with a lady, Nozuzile Holweni, who has become a firm friend after my numerous visits to Ngquza, I fully grasped the importance of the place to the community: "I always dreamed of leaving home. I do not want to stay and look after children my entire life. I want to work in tourism or development. Things are changing – look at Ngquza. The government wants to help us" (Nozuzile Holweni 2007: pers comm). After four years of studying part time while raising three children, Nozuzile is now working in the development sector in Potchefstroom.

It is disheartening, however, to note the schism that has occurred within the community regarding the development of Ngquza Hill. The veterans of the event have split into two groups. The first group consists of two prominent veterans, Clement Gxabu and Simon Silangwe, together with the Ngquza Development Trust comprising a number of community members. The second group consists of veterans who are contesting the validity of Gxabu and Silangwe's account on the events of 6 June 1960. Without being able to interview any of the members of this latter group, I attempted to clarify their statements. From my own literature research and by comparing numerous sources, including the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's reports on the Pondoland Revolt, I discovered a number of discrepancies in Gxabu and Silangwe's account. Most significant of these are the following:

- The fact that the *Ikongo* specifically decided not to carry any weapons (as stated by Gxabu and Silangwe). A weapon was found on one of the main *Ikongo* leaders at the event, Johnson. I could not find evidence to suggest that the other members also carried weapons.
- Gxabu and Silangwe both stated that the *Ikongo* met at the bottom of the hill at nine o' clock and that the security forces and police clamped down on them immediately thereafter. Most literature sources consulted, including Mr Sipolo who I interviewed in 2001, stated that the shootings occurred after midday.
- Mr Sipolo also stated that the *Ikongo* issued warnings to chiefs, threatening them with death and kraal burnings. The Ngquza event was considered a final meeting where after these threats would be acted upon. Gxabu and Silangwe stated that this meeting was organised with the magistrate and that they would meet with him at Ngquza.

Of the latter statement, there are a number of matters of concern. The first is the choice of Ngquza for a meeting with the magistrate of Lusikisiki. Why would the magistrate, at a time of known unrest in the area, agree to travel more than 70km to meet with a rebel group in a remote setting? Furthermore, why did the group meet at the bottom of the valley? Traditionally, the tops of hills were considered the meeting place, the place where information was disseminated to the community, where rituals would take place. But for this crucial meeting, the *Ikongo* decided to meet at the bottom of the hill. When I asked Mr Silangwe about this, he stated that they were scared of the security forces and wanted the protection of the valley. But by

examining the aerial photograph and reconstruction of the event, it is clear that the valley bottom is in fact a trap. Why would they have agreed to meet there?

There are many outstanding issues about the Ngquza and other related events that should be explored and illuminated to heal painful memories. In the face of the growing indifference towards Ngquza and politically driven development proposals in the pipeline, continued studies into the shifting perceptions, meaning and significance of this landscape would prove insightful.

In order to maintain the site's integrity in terms of its heritage significance and its ecological diversity, thorough planning of the development is of paramount importance. Any uninformed and iniquitous decisions could result in the destruction of the site's potential to become a destination which reflects the current natural beauty of the landscape and the history of the events. At present, it seems as if the intangible dimension constituted by the memories of those members of the community who witnessed the event, is slowly fading and giving way to new memories and meanings associated with the place. Should the intangible heritage of the place be celebrated and conserved? These questions validate further investigation and the application of the theory clarified in chapter 2. The following conclusion would attempt to address these issues.

## CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

Before I continue to investigate the issues surrounding Ngquza Hill and the memories connected to it, it is necessary to step back and revisit the original aims and objectives of this dissertation. In chapter 1, I stated that the main aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between landscape, memory and heritage. In order to understand the legislative framework and sphere in which these concepts operate, the international and national legislative frameworks, conventions and Acts for the conservation and management of cultural landscapes and intangible heritage were investigated. This was necessary to fully understand the need to protect, conserve and promote the full significance of Ngquza as a site of heritage and meaning.

Thereafter, chapter 3 focused on the intangible dimension of memory. It examined recent and historical theories, debates and studies on the concept of memory, its manifestation in societies and individuals, and its impact on identity creation. I explored the process of memory, elaborated on its fluid nature and determined those aspects which influence memory creation. I looked at how memory works to place individuals within a familiar "place", and creates and establishes identity and notions of belonging. I continued by examining the concept of landscape, investigating contemporary definitions of the term and elaborating on different approaches to the relationship between the intangible dimension of memory and landscape. I investigated the process of how landscape, through memory, root individuals to a particular place by informing the notions of self, community and, ultimately, heritage. The influence of change in the perception and role of landscape was also explored.

Chapter 4 was the culmination of anthropological fieldwork within the KwaBhala community in the area of Ngquza Hill. Through means of qualitative and quantitative anthropological fieldwork methods, including participant observation and interviews, and an extensive literature review, I attempted to briefly document the sociocultural profile of the Mpondo. I specifically focused on their relationship with the biophysical environment, but also looked at their political structures, the traditional and contemporary trends in *umzi* organisation, agricultural methods, their relationship with domestic animals and the Mpondo material culture. I documented various rituals, including the initiation rites of girls and boys, wedding customs and other activities

within the Mpondo community. I furthermore examined the role of belief systems, traditional healers and superstition, and the impact thereof in the daily lives and organisation of the Mpondo.

The above study served to provide the means to fully comprehend the far-reaching consequences and cultural significance of the events that occurred in the area during the 1960s. The case study explored in chapter 5 revolved around a relatively unknown site and monument in the Eastern Cape on Ngquza Hill. The Pondoland Revolt of 1960 resulted in a military ambush at Ngquza, which resulted in the death of 11 men, the further execution of more captives, and the declaration of the infamous State of Emergency issued after the Sharpeville shootings. Through extensive fieldwork, I subsequently attempted to map the oral traditions and memories connected to the site. These elements were accessed by employing the theories of mnemotechnics --- walking the site with veterans and other community members, triggering memories by placing them within the landscape context of the event. Through this method, certain landscape elements were identified as memory triggers or anchoring points. By mapping these, I attempted to link the intangible dimension to the tangible, that is, the memories of the event at Ngquza spatially linked to the biophysical environment.

This lengthy process served to relate the theory regarding the relationship between memory and landscape with the event at Ngquza and the connection the Mpondo have with the landscape.

In chapter 3, I illustrated that memory can be defined as a complex process of recall that is continually influenced by numerous factors, most specifically cultural and social norms, the changing political or natural environment or even the emotional make-up, needs and goals of individuals. In this regard, the community has faced numerous changes over the past century: coming from an independent, autonomous tribal community with very little contact with western nations, to being forced to operate within a political dispensation that controlled the most basic, but also most important elements of their lifestyle (cattle, *imizi*, agriculture) through the Betterment and Rehabilitation schemes introduced in the 1950s. After the apartheid regime and the dawn of the post-1994 democratic era, the Mpondo community was faced with a new dilemma. This previously rural and almost forgotten piece of South Africa was promised infrastructural development, together with job creation through numerous

tourism initiatives. Their traditional lifestyle, with community and family members each assigned a specific role and purpose, was being challenged in the light of new possibilities and exposure to different ways of life. After numerous interviews with groups and individuals of about 30 years and younger, most related that after being to Durban, East London, Umtata or Kokstad for studies, they did not want to return to KwaBhala in its current state and did not feel inclined to participate in any traditional activities or rituals.

The collective memories of the Mpondo community have been under severe pressure, with elements of basic community life, values and customs changing at a rapid pace. Consequently, the memory of Ngquza has been influenced by numerous factors, most specifically the changing political sphere. The meaning of Ngquza has shifted from that of a place symbolising the reign of apartheid forces over the community to a place that celebrates democracy and possible economic and infrastructural development. The spirit of Ngquza can therefore be said to encompass notions of triumph over atrocities --- the people of Ngquza now have the opportunity to become more than they were previously capable of. This meaning has been supported by numerous additional developments in the area. Over the past seven years, the main road towards Ngquza, but also KwaBhala and other parts of Pondoland has been tarred, which has significantly changed the lives of the community by reducing travelling time, and increasing the radius of movement and social involvement of community members of all ages. Solar energy devices have also been erected in most *imizi*, changing even the smallest details of the traditional Mpondo lifestyle. And of course the ubiquitous television, harbouring new values and ideals, has entered their lives, significantly influencing the younger generations.

I stated in chapter 3 that collective memories are constructed on the perception of past events which most members of a society or group agree upon. This version of events is usually culturally or socially defined and perpetuated, but prone to change. As discussed in the Ngquza case study, the memory of the actual event of 6 June 1960 has been contested within the community. The veterans of the event have split into two groups. The one group consists of two prominent veterans, Clement Gxabu and Simon Silangwe, together with the Ngquza Development Trust comprising a number of community members. It is interesting to note that Mr Gxabu and other Development Trust members have been ANC councillors within the area for quite some time and have wielded substantial political power. The other group, in contrast,

has chosen to remain elusive. Despite requests to meet with them, I have met with severe indifference. I do know from interviews with Nozuzile Holweni, however, that this group contests the validity of Gxabu's version of the events.

It is clear that the collective memories of the Ngquza event have changed over the years and that there is no longer consensus regarding the event. Rather, a few individuals and/or groups, which have taken ownership of "remembering the event", have positioned themselves to gain from any development of the site.

I stated in chapter 3 that memory is considered to be a crucial ingredient in the building of relationships between individuals in societies and the formation of social ties between people. A lack of consensus with regard to exclusive memories can have the opposite effect, however; it can lead to feelings of mistrust and a separation of individuals or groups from a society. This is abundantly clear at Ngquza where a schism has formed in the community. The result is growing apathy towards the memory of the Ngquza event: ordinary individuals have separated themselves from the event, now refuse to take part in any discussions and have distanced themselves from the memory. In my discussion of the theories about memory, I stated that the process of memory is integral to the perpetuation of the sense of self in individuals and collective awareness in societies. Memory is considered vital in identity construction. The process whereby collective identity is transferred from one generation to the next is called "vicarious memory". This is a culturally defined pattern of remembering wherein identity is defined. As stated above, memory is continuously subject to change, based on numerous factors. Through the concept of vicarious memory or memory culture, however, collective knowledge is passed on from one generation to the next. This transference is critical in the reconstruction of cultural identity for future generations.

Where is the identity of the Mpondo seated today? Certainly not in the memory of Ngquza. In a way I am relieved and grateful that the community did not choose to reflect on the memory of Ngquza to inform their identity. I have noticed in other parts of the country how communities have embraced past places of violence, that is, where they have placed their identity in one event and, in the process, sacrificed the beautiful richness of their culture and traditions. At Ngquza, specifically KwaBhala, practices such as the prolific cultural dancing have developed into a source of

individual and community identity. Furthermore, they have become sources of wealth and status.

It is necessary, however, to ask why a landscape as the seat of a particularly violent memory should be conserved for future generations. If they are distancing themselves from the details of the event and are shying away from recollections and oral traditions connected to the site, why force the matter on future generations? I will get back to this issue shortly, but first I would like to discuss the relationship of the Mpondo with the environment.

The biophysical environment surrounding Ngquza is regarded internationally as highly sensitive and significant; it is viewed as a biological "hotspot" with numerous plant species either endemic or rare in South Africa. The soil in the area has poor agricultural potential in that it mainly consists of sandy soil from the Msikaba Formation. Most of the fertile soil in this area is located in the river valleys, which also accounts for the severely degraded and diminished forests in those areas. The rolling hills in the rest of the area mainly feature grassland species. The area has received significant media coverage over the past seven years, mainly because of two particularly contentious proposed developments in the area. The first of these is the proposed N2 Highway, leading from Durban to East London. The planned route is proposed to traverse Pondoland through its most sensitive and remote areas, which has given rise to vehement reactions both from national and international conservation bodies.

The second project is the proposed Xolobeni Mineral Sands Project north of Mkambati. An Australian mining corporation has obtained the licence to mine this area from the Department of Mineral Affairs. This occurred, however, without any consultation with the Mpondo king, King Mpondomini Sigcau, or the traditional leaders. This, of course, gave rise to a massive social reaction. At a meeting with the Minerals and Energy Minister, Buyelwa Sonjica, it was stated that the King was "very upset and viewed the decision by Sonjica and her department that Australian company Mineral Resources Commodities (MRC) and its BEE partner Xolobeni Empowerment Company (Xolco) be granted a mining licence, as a sign of disrespect. ...The way they did it means that they have raped the land of the king" (Booi & Ngcukana 2008). During the meeting, the king's lawyer, Votani Majola, delivered a message from Sigcau and shouted at Sonjica: "Do not interrupt me minister ...

values connected to the site. I did not understand the significance of the hill and the valley and what they meant to the community. I had a vague concept of the significance it held in the history of the Mpondo, but could not understand it fully. It was only after walking the site with the veterans and the community, spending time with individuals and actually living in the area for more than five years that I began to ascertain the depth of meaning encompassed within this natural landscape.

Furthermore, during travels through Pondoland with numerous friends, I repeatedly experienced this phenomenon. Outsiders, foreigners and people from different cultures only appreciated the beautiful natural environment; they had no way of understanding the intangible landscape. The same landscape therefore has different meanings for different people or societies. In the same way, certain meanings or values attributed to a landscape by a society or community are hidden to outsiders.

These cultural or social filters through which the landscape is perceived are continuously subject to change, as seen in the process of memory and identity above. The perception, value and treatment of landscape therefore also continuously changes. The cultural landscape of Ngquza was originally perceived through the cultural filter of hills traditionally considered meeting places and significant initiation sites with connection to ancestral forces. An additional dimension was added to these meanings with the events that transpired on 6 June 1960. This dimension encapsulated the "struggle" process in South Africa, but more specifically Pondoland at the time. It symbolised the battle against the apartheid regime, the forces of oppression. Today, these multiple and layered filters have been amalgamated with the ideals and promises of the new political dispensation; although they still represent the battle against oppression, they now also strive for development and social upliftment.

Landscape may also be defined as a setting for place and community, where place is defined as a container for culture (i.e. the context which is culturally or socially meaningful) and where memory and history reside. Community may be defined as a group of people identifying themselves with a specific place. We have ascertained, however, that landscape and place are synonymous, where landscape can be considered to be the seat of a culture's memory, or the container of a culture's or society's memory. Landscape is therefore a key component in the formation of collective memory and cultural identity.

In terms of the KwaBhala landscape in Ngquza, it is clear that the older generations generally perceive their identity to be rooted in the natural environment. Men of roughly 40 years and older can still remember being an integral part of the landscape: they hunted in the valleys and hillsides surrounding the locations. They spent numerous days in these remote areas looking after their family's cattle and therefore had an intimate knowledge of their surroundings and the forces that were at play in it. The same can be said of the women of more or less the same age. Most female respondents I spoke to could recall walking kilometres to collect firewood or to fetch water from some remote stream. The younger members I interviewed, however, had no such connection to the landscape; they were more concerned with status and with cellular phones, music and activities in larger towns or cities. Most of the young people I interviewed in the KwaBhala community had never been to the Ntlambe River valley where the community fields or *intsimi* are located.

It must be stated, however, that most of the younger respondents were aware of the social and cultural meaning of landscape elements in and around the location, and could ascribe functions to specific areas within their cultural landscape. Although they were able to describe their landscape, they did not ascribe the same values to it as the older generations. The same can be said for the cultural landscape of Ngquza. The older generation, that is, those people aged 50 years and older, actually experienced the events of 1960. To them, the landscape of Ngquza has emotional and personal significance, and they therefore consider it to be an integral part of their personal identities. The younger generation, that is, those individuals who did not experience the events personally, only has vicarious knowledge of the landscape. They can only understand it through accessing the consented versions of the actual events. The vicarious memory, however, carries significant weight because of the fact that this event has serious emotional and social consequences for the Mpondo community as a whole.

Even though every individual knows about Ngquza, not everyone considers it a part of their identity. The younger generation is shying away from it: distancing themselves from its meanings and memories, and choosing to focus on other aspects of their culture and environment.

I stated in chapter 3 that the tangible and intangible aspects of culture are inseparable. In this regard, the biophysical setting of a cultural group or society (the tangible dimension) is integrally linked to the intangible cultural traditions, norms and social practices that define a group. Going back to the concept that landscape is seated in perception, it may be concluded that landscape provides and defines this link between the tangible and the intangible. Landscape is a representation of meanings and memories seated in the past, but based in the present.

This statement is well-illustrated in the case of Ngquza. As stated earlier, most members of the community, of all generations, had some knowledge of the event that occurred on 6 June 1960 and the significance it held for the Mpondo people. This knowledge was gained through oral traditions --- veterans and older family members who experienced those turbulent times --- relating their stories and experiences. These vicarious memories passed on from one generation to the next carry significant emotions. They are based on a landscape feature --- the hill --- and this in the broader landscape serves as a mnemotechnic anchoring point to remind the community about what occurred in their midst more than 50 years ago. However, few members of the community know anything more. They can identify the setting for the story, but that is only the top layer of this multi-dimensional narrative.

The individuals who experienced the event, that is, those veterans of the *Ikongo* whom accompanied me to the site of Ngquza in 2004, had embodied knowledge of the landscape. In the panning out of the events on 6 June 1960, certain landscape elements were identified as anchoring points for the memory of the day. These are illustrated in figures 4A, 4B and 4C, and included the top of the hill, the decision by the *Ikongo* to gather at the bottom of the hill, the positions where the helicopters landed, where the soldiers and policemen ran down the hillsides, the position of the Sten-gun, hidden soldiers across the river and the tree where their leader, Wana Johnson, died. On the day of our site visit, when we walked down to the valley, these landscape elements triggered memories in the veterans' minds and unleashed a series of embodied memories which would previously have been inaccessible.

I stated in chapter 3 that the only way that the intangible values encompassed within a landscape by a specific culture can be made known, is by "identifying a community's reference to external features that we can also perceive" (Ucko & Layton 1999:11). In this case, the above landscape features were identified and

documented together with the oral traditions connected to them. In this regard, the landscape is part of the process of memory and therefore a living document where the past and future are combined. Landscape makes memory through intellectual and cognitive processes by reinterpreting and "re-composing" the physical environment in order to recollect previous experiences.

I have attempted in this dissertation to establish that landscape is an inseparable part of the intangible process of memory, but also the formation and perpetuation of cultural and individual identity. I have also attempted to draw attention to the fact that as memory is continuously subject to change and distortions based on a number of factors, so the perception and value of landscape could change. However, through the identification of those landscape elements with embodied memory acting as mnemotechnic devices, these landscape elements subsequently could serve as anchoring points of vicarious memory, where cultural identity could persist from one generation to the next.

In the case of Ngquza, however, the memories connected to the landscape comprise disturbing recollections of a period when the Mpondo community faced severe hardships and persecution. Numerous members of the community --- fathers, grandfathers and even mothers --- were either brutally killed or tortured at the hands of security forces in the aftermath of the event. Some also disappeared never to be heard from again. It is therefore understandable why the younger members of the community have chosen to distance themselves from the details of the Ngquza event. It is also possible to understand why the landscape of Ngquza is troublesome for some members of the community.

In this regard, it is heartening to see that the site is steadily taking on a new meaning in the community, namely that of victory in the face of hardships and overcoming severe odds by being strong as a group of people whose familial and neighbourly bonds provided the backbone that helped them survive through those times of hardship. This is the memory that should be perpetuated at Ngquza. And this should be conserved as the source of identity.

At present, Ngquza is not protected under the NHRA (Act 25 of 1999); it is neither a national nor a provincial heritage site. The only sign of governmental recognition was the erection of a monument at the site in 1999. Even though provincial ministers and

councillors annually host elaborate events at the site, the process of declaring Ngquza as a site of national importance is slow. This ignores the stipulations of the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996), NHRA (Act 25 of 1999) NEMA (Act 107 of 1998). These sets of legislation underpin the importance of the intangible and tangible dimension of Ngquza's heritage, including its biophysical environment. It emphasises the fact that its non-physical heritage can be defined in association with tangible heritage, as it adds value and meaning to the material dimension of heritage.

The International Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) was enacted into South African law by the World Heritage Convention Act (Act 49 of 1999). The WHCA (Act 49 of 1999) establishes a legal framework for the management and development of World Heritage Sites in South Africa; it is clear that Ngquza falls within the scope of this convention and Act, and would benefit from being part of its framework. South Africa's international cooperation in the conservation and protection of intangible heritage is progressing with the near-future ratification of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. This is another international framework which stresses Ngquza's significance. Other bodies such as the UNESCO-IFLA International Committee on Cultural Landscapes could also have valuable input into its conservation and management.

It is clear that declaring Ngquza as a national monument according to the NHRA (Act 25 of 1999) would set the stage for greater cooperation with international conservation bodies and would open the door to increased funding opportunities in order to document and develop the site in a sensitive and responsible fashion. The question that arises, however, is: How should this be achieved?

In the case of Ngquza, the natural landscape --- the valley and the hill --- represents the seat of its significance. For years, the community referred to the geographical and natural features when describing the event. The entire landscape served as a visual reminder of the incident and individual landscape elements served as mnemotechnic devices triggering the recollection of specific details. The intangible dimension of the landscape, however, is only clear to the community and those affected by the event. An outsider, who has no insight into the event, would only admire the beauty of the natural environment. The deeper, intangible meanings would be completely lost to such a person. With the erection of the monument in

1999, the focus of the heritage site shifted from the entire landscape to the site of the monument. Here, a tangible object was placed in the landscape to provide access to the uninformed to the intangible aspects connected to the site. Unfortunately, in so doing, many of the details surrounding the event became lost. In the transmission of the history of the event from older to younger generations and in referring to Ngquza, community members generally refer to the monument site or the hill. The significance of the valley is slowly disappearing. Furthermore, with the dawning of "development" prospects and the potential exploitation of the tourism industry, the meaning of the site has shifted from its original significance to that of monetary value and political gain.

By erecting a tangible element within a landscape with an essentially intangible heritage could destroy part of its heritage and meaning. In developing and managing these types of landscapes, it is preferable to highlight those aspects intrinsic to the intangible heritage and integrate them into the design and future planning of the site. The purpose of this would be to retain those landscape elements which serve as mnemotechnic devices, thereby ensuring the conservation of the intangible dimension.

In concluding this discussion, I would like to state that landscape, memory and cultural heritage are fundamentally interconnected. Both form part of a continuum and both are equally susceptible to change. The above examples illustrate the interrelationship between the intangible and tangible landscape, and the fact that they are inseparable. The tangible landscape guides, informs and shapes the intangible landscape, and vice versa.

I have also attempted to establish that landscape informs culture, and vice versa. Therefore, in development projects with a cultural landscape component, it is essential to preserve/conservate or even highlight those landscape elements (mnemotechnic elements) that enable the continued memory and understanding of the place, even if it means a change in perception. This is primarily possible through a thorough understanding of the intangible dimension of a landscape as it manifests in the tangible.

Through its inherent nature, anthropology offers the most thorough and unique way of understanding the intangible dimension of landscape. I was blessed and enriched by the process.



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## **APPENDIX A: INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS OF THE NGQUZA EVENT**

### **Interview with Mr Simon Silangwe**

Ngquza Hill, 09 June 2003, 10:00

*I was the Organizer of the Congo. I used to leave and go to Bizana and come back and report back (to the members of the Ngquza faction of the Congo of the happenings and decisions at the Bizana faction).*

*The name at the bottom of the valley is Mcwesana, no particular meaning.*

*Ngquza Hill was the headquarters of the Ngquza members of the Congo, and they used to meet there.*

*The name "Congo" was derived from the fact that during those times, the ANC was banned, and any people connected to it prosecuted. They wanted to show that they are part of the African National Congress, and thus in order to confuse the authorities, they named themselves "Congo" after "Congress". The aspects they were against were the carrying of passes, the payment of taxes, and their non-representation in the Cape Town Parliament. They opposed the Tribal Authorities Act.*

*On 6 June 1960, the members had a peaceful meeting, and even had a white doek to show that they did not want to fight. At nine o'clock a helicopter and more than 100 police vans arrived at their meeting. Police came from every hill, rushing down to where they were. They started shooting when they crossed the river. The forest on the opposite slope of the river, Dumsi Forest, had no leaves remaining after the shooting. The open space in the bottom of the valley was the kraal of the old man living on top of the hill, Mr Sipolo. Mr Wana Johnson (Mr Silangwe's uncle) was their leader and he was shot first. The fact that the whole valley was covered in forest during that time, saved plenty of lives that day.*

*When they started shooting, I started to run down the stream and climbed up the valley to the road. Myself and other people hid ourselves under stones to escape. As I ran up the stream, past the shop, I was arrested by the police. I was detained at Lusikisiki and Reverend Van Johns (mfundisi) came and bailed me out.*

*There was a case about what happened at Lusikisiki in July 1960. Mr Aristein from Durban acted as their attorney. There was a dispute about whether eleven people were killed and buried. It was said that a post-mortem was required, and so in September 1960, a commission led by the magistrate, Mr Harvey from Port St Johns, came to identify the graves. His interpreter was Mr Somhlahlo. The community did not want the graves to be reopened, and the magistrate even failed to address the people at the event. Mr Eliyah Lande insisted on prayer, and afterwards Mr Harvey thanked him. At the identification of the graves, the bodies were taken out of the graves and photo's taken of where the wounds were. The deceased relatives identified all graves after two days and bodies were reburied after the identification. It was confirmed that eleven people died of gunshot wounds.*

*Meanwhile the case went on in Lusikisiki. Unfortunately, Mr. Aristein was banned from the Transkei because of his involvement in the matter. Another attorney from Cape Town, a Jewish man (Idutywa, Mr Canca) (Kwacitwayo).*

### **Interview with Mr CK Gxabu**

Ngquza Hill, 9 July 2003

*Mr Wana Johnson fell at the prominent tree at the bottom of the hill.*

*The Congo's first meeting was at the Mhlanga school. They also met at Mr Joynes's place, later at Hlabatini and then started meeting at Ngquza Hill.*

*It was planned that at one of the meetings they would meet Mr Miaga Lenda, secretary of the Tibal Authorities. All the chiefs of the area attended the meeting, but the secretary apologised. Only four chiefs were not part of the meeting, Chief Nelson Sigcau, Chief Sgwebo, Headman Motokari and Chief Hlamandana. There was another meeting at night at Sixontweni. At his meeting they took the decision to meet*

*at the top of Ngquza Hill on 13 May 1960. This decision was taken because of the fact that police vehicles could not reach that location.*

*On that day, 13 May 1960, they had four speakers, namely Wana Johnson, Matshibini Bodoman, Pakela and Mtshayelo Pompota. While in discussions, they saw a jet coming from the direction of Lusikisiki, circling Nguza hill on which they were having the meeting. Another jet arrived, and did the same as the first. Because of the noise, they had to disband and search for another venue. Whilst moving out, they saw 48 police vans moving in from the Holy Cross direction. They met the police vans next to Mr Finiza's place. Both parties carried fire arms and weapons, but there was no fight, and all members went home. As the members and the police vans were departing, a jet came and dropped teargas. They tried to fight back the jet by throwing their knopkieries into the air. By 18:00 they arrived home.*

*After the incident it was decided that the Qadu river would be the next place to have a meeting. Here they decided to meet in three separate areas. (Ndaliso) It was decided that all parties would meet at Ngquza Hill for a peaceful protest with no firearms. Before the meeting they consulted a diviner/sorcerer. This igqwira prophesied that they would meet a black cow as they were on their way to Ngquza. If this cow was to fall down three times as they passed it, it would mean that they would be defeated during this meeting, and that they should move back. The group from Nqquza actually did see a cow and wanted to abandon the meeting, but the group from Bizana was already on their way. There was a debate about whether the meeting should still take place. Since the Bizana group had no part of the sorcerer, they pushed their way through and the meeting was on.*

*Before the meeting, Mr Wana Johnson went to get Mr Stoffela, another leader of the Congo, who was arrested about firearm ownership. Johnson went to Kokstad to pay the bail for Stoffela, and for this reason had a gun with him during the meeting.*

*(mielie field) At the start of the meeting, Johnson hoisted a big white flag made of sackcloth. This sack was used to carry the bread for the men to be consumed during the meeting. The white flag was a strategy used to show that they were having a peaceful meeting. Another man suggested having another flag, red, just below the white flag. Red means war, but it was suggested that only a white flag be hoisted.*

*At nine o' clock, a helicopter arrived, together with a warplane. These landed on a hill. Another jet and helicopter, painted in red, black and white, came and offloaded*

*plenty of soldiers on the hills. Four soldiers came down the hill and stopped about ten meters from the group. They had big standing machine guns. A big helicopter swooped down on them, and they could see people taking photographs of them. They believed that the people in the helicopter were taking pictures to determine how many weapons they had with them, but it was clear that they had none.*

*A command came from the helicopter, and the shooting started. The first person to be shot dead was Mr Johnson. They believed that there were spies in the helicopter that pointed out the ringleaders. The second to die was English Ncanda. A trumpet was blown and Mr Magxagxa pulled down the flag, thus indicating that they should fight. One of the men on the opposite side of the river was called Matthias, and he shouted "Skiet Hom!" The type of weapon that was said to have been used was R1 rifles, but they could hear other guns as well. Eleven people died and fifty-eight were wounded. The wounded were taken down to the kraal further down in the valley. Mr Gxabu was shot in the lower leg, but refused to go with the wounded, because he was afraid to be arrested. He, together with five other men got all the corpses together and hid them under branches. This also served to protect them against dogs.*

*A certain Mr Ngagana told them that he pretended that he was dead by covering his face in blood and lying next to Johnson. He saw the helicopter land close to them and the Spy get out. He came straight to Mr Johnson, knew exactly where he carried his gun, and shot the dead man six times with his own gun. This firearm was found at Lusikisiki, so the story was believed. Only one bullet was used in the gun, but the authorities stated that they have used the gun to defend themselves.*

*After the incident they sent eight men to the Holy Cross in order to phone the magistrate in Lusikisiki and tell him of the casualties. An order came back to bury the bodies. The Flagstaff Station commander and plenty of other policemen were present at the burial of the bodies.*

*During the court case at Lusikisiki, the police stated that only five men were killed. It was then decided that during September 1960 a commission would go to the site of the graves and determine the number of victims. Before the exhumation, the magistrate, Mr. Harvey, apologised and the meeting was started with prayer. After the exhumation, a doctor from Pietermaritzburg identified the way in which the men*

*died. All died of bullet wounds. The bodies were buried at different places on the slope of the valley after the exhumation.*

*They decided that the magistrate was biased during the case in Lusikisiki, and requested another, which arrived from Flagstaff. Their lawyer for the case, Mr Aristein, was banned from the Transkei because of the excellent way he handled their case. The next lawyer, Mr Sex(Sachs) came from Cape Town. They had other supporting lawyers, namely Mr Canca from Idutya and Mr Swarts from Lusikisiki. The outcome of the case was a victory for the group, as it was found that the police should have come down peacefully to the group and have spoken to them first before shooting. All the families of the deceased were promised R180 and second hand clothes from the Roman Catholic Church. Not even one of the families received any money. R8 was promised for each deceased, but this was also never received.*

*During 1961 the community then started closing down all the shops that were owned by white people in the vicinity, except the shops of Mr Stoffel and Mr Holtshuysen, who gave the Congo the R180 joining fee and helped a lot by transporting people with his trucks.*

*More than 8000 policemen from Lusikisiki, Flagstaff and Bizana were deployed in the area after the massacre. They stayed in large tents. They started destroying everything from Flagstaff right through to Palmerton, killing livestock and setting crops on fire. They heard about all this at the Lusikisiki case.*

*Mr Abrahams, the SA Ambassador in Umtata called for a meeting, and the only chief that was around was chief Motokadi. Chief Secwebu took to hiding. The place for the meeting was at Mtunsasa. Mr Abraham asked for peace and that the people should stop fighting. He repeated the words of Kink Poto (Secundwini; Nyandini), that they should use pens instead of weapons. He asked what their demands were. Tony Johnson answered that they wanted to know what the tax was for as for them it seemed endless and they wanted to know why it doesn't end. Mr Abrahams then departed and in the meantime they met at Mr Bhalo's place to determine their demands. The next meeting with Mr Abrahams was at the new prison at Lusikisiki. Abrahams wanted to know what their demands were. Matshubini, who in answer to whom he was replied "I am Ngquza", laid down the demands, which were:*

*They wanted to be represented in the Cape Town Parliament*

*They wanted the pass law to be done away with.*

*They did not want the Bantu Education*

*They did not want to pay tax.*

*They wanted away with the land trust acts and the tribal authorities.*

*(Spies within the group identified Matshubini as a leader, and afterwards police vans came to his house. He fled to Ndolopini where he was hidden in a pit.)*

*Mr Abrahams came back with the responses to their demands and they met again at the new prison. He said that they would have no representation in parliament, as they are "baboons" and would not fit in. They would have their own representation in the parliament in Umtata.*

*They were very unhappy about this, and so they grouped themselves and planned to send their information to Albert Lithuli in Durban. Mr Simon Silangwe was nominated, and he met Mr Mdingi and the ANC Youth League in Durban. They were led through a drain to get to Mr Lithuli. They met in a forest, and there all the Pondo matters were tabled in front of him. Lithuli suggested that the best way for them to fight is to be within the system and be part of the parliament. Mr Bobo from Lusikisiki, Mr Caledon Mda from Bizana, Mr Cromwell from Ntabankulu, Chief Babibi Langa, brother of the mayor of Oliver Tambo District, Mr Sonkqishe from Bizana and Mr CMC Ndamase were elected to be members of parliament. They formed the Democratic Party led by King Poto (Ndamase).*

*The Congo went underground and still held frequent meetings. Young men and women were recruited to join Oliver R. Thambo at Lusaka to be trained as MK members. Some recruits were caught by the police and trained to be spies. During the period of 1970-1971 all ringleaders were identified and the case was taken up at Pietermaritzburg. During this time Govan Mbeki also started writing his book The Peasants Revolt. The only thing wrong with the book is that the actual person who picked up the flag was Magxagxa, whose grave is with the other 11.*

*Mr Gxabu was part of a group of 200 men on their way to Lusaka. They phoned ahead and realised that the borders were closed for crossing. They were arrested, but he ran away. They were all interrogated at the Mtunsasa police station. They were asked about whether they spoke Pondo, and then an interpreter was sent for. They were shown pictures of people, whom they wanted identified to be arrested. People were beaten brutally at Mkambati.*

*Cases were held in Lusikisiki, Flagstaff and Kokstad for the ringleaders and other people that were caught. Twenty-four men were charged at Lusikisiki and taken to various places including Kokstad, Pietermaritzburg and finally Pretoria, where they were eventually hanged. Only 23 men were hanged, the 24th man disappeared along the way.*

*Mr Shumani, Mr Ngcekwa and Mr (Nofitshane) was sentenced to eight years in Robben Island in 1971. The policeman that acted as a spy for the underground group was also hanged in Pretoria.*

*One of the policemen present during the trials and also the day at Ngquza, Mr Lamkit, is still alive and stays in Kokstad. He was the station commander at Flagstaff. One of the captains was Mr Dalton.*

*During the time when the underground activities of the group was in full swing, the Holy Cross Reverend helped them. They would have a meeting, and he would type the "minutes". These minutes would be about the planning of a new school building, but in actual fact they were planning illegal activities. Captain Dalton would often interrupt their meetings, but the minutes were evidence that they were acting within the law.*

*Ngquza also means the celebration of young girls to become women.*

### **Interview with Ebba Holweni (EN Holweni)**

11 June 2003, 10:00

Husband's name: Lammas Holweni

*Her husband was the secretary of the Pondo's at the ANC in Durban. He used to bring the money and minutes of the meetings at Durban to the men at Ngquza, Mr Lande. Two men accompanied him from the congress at Durban, Mr Ngcikwa Vimba and Mr Ndayi.*

*Before the Ngquza meeting, the women of the area started digging trenches in the roads in order to stop the police vans from reaching their men.*

*After the Ngquza incident, Mr. Ngcikwa was taken to Robben Island for three years. Mr Lande ran to Lesotho. After the incident, the police repeatedly came to Mrs Holweni's house, looking for Mr Lande and Mr Holweni. They were also looking for the Minutes of their meetings and books. Mr Holweni ran to the Holy Cross Mission and was hidden by Father van Johns. Mrs Lande told Mrs. Holweni that she must tell her husband not to come back again, as the police was still looking for them.*

*One morning the police came and opened the gates of the kraals so that the cattle would trample the harvest of the year.*

*In February 1961, Mrs Holweni was sewing at her home on her sewing machine. The police came in, took the machine and smashed it against the wall. They came again in March, and took all of their blankets, saying they were going to take them to those who were arrested in 1960. On 10 April 1961, she was beaten badly by the police, who was using sjamboks. She was pregnant at the time, and later during the night she gave birth prematurely.*

### **Interview with Mr Sitywaka Sipolo (Gwazi)**

7 January 2001, 11.30

*The old man who lived at the top of Ngquza Hill witnessed the events and rescued the wounded, bringing them to his home to recover. It is said that the blood flowed freely out of his hut while he waited for the families to come and claim their kin. Mr Sipolo died of old age during 2002.*

*"The Afrikaner forced them to pay tax for the land they lived on, for the goats, the cattle, horses, etcetera, but they revolted because they said this was their forefather's land. They had representatives from Bizana, Lusikisiki, Flagstaff, Port St Johns and Ntabankulu meeting and discussing the problem. The aim was to go to King Botha Sigcau with the problem. He didn't bother as they suspected that he was bribed by the Afrikaner. Then they sent representatives to Qnuza from Bizana and Flagstaff. For the first day of the gathering they discussed the situation and decided*

*to send people to King Sigcau's brother, Gladwell, and murder him. During this time, Afrikaner police came, but only looked. So they went to Gladwell's huts, finding him missing, and burned his huts. A police helicopter circled above them, and they immediately suspected spies among them, sent by King Sigcau.*

*On the second day they came back again, reporting that they couldn't find Gladwell. Then they contacted King Sigcau, informing him that if he wasn't quick about the affairs, they would murder him. At midday they saw 4 policemen coming down the river, but actually they were hidden everywhere and all of a sudden they started shooting at the gathering. Eleven people died and many, many were injured. At sunset, Mr Sipolo tried to pick up the survivors, transporting them with his ox band. He put the bodies in his own hut and all the families came to claim the survivors. The dead were not buried on the same day, as it took three days to find everyone. A big number of men were imprisoned and taken to Pretoria. There they were sentenced to death and hanged. They were all buried in mass graves. The Afrikaner never stopped asking tax, and it only ended after the inauguration of Mandela.*

*INgquza Hill owes its name to the ritual performed for girls reaching puberty, Ukungquza.*

*Another custom is also connected to the hill: If a man fell in love with a woman, he will take a stick with a white cloth and put it on the top of the hill. Everyone will see it and know his intentions, thus he could then go to the girl's parents and be allowed to see the girl after paying a number of goats to the mother and father. The term for falling in love with some one is Ukuqhekeza.*

*This hill has also long been regarded as the place where people went to announce something to the people.*

## APPENDIX B: INVENTORY OF PEOPLE INVOLVED WITH NGQUZA

### INVENTORY OF PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THE EVENTS DURING THE PONDO REVOLT: 1960-1961

SOURCES:	ABBREVIATION:
Personal communication: Simon Silangwe. 9 June 2003, 10:00	Silangwe 1
Personal communication: Clement Khlehlana Gxabu. 9 June 2003, 12:00	Gxabu 1
Personal communication: Ebba Holweni. 11 June 2003, 10:00	Holweni
TRC hearings: Mr Cement Khlehlana Gxabu, 24 March 1997 <a href="http://www.polity.org.za/govdocs/commissions/1997/trc/Gxabu.htm">www.polity.org.za/govdocs/commissions/1997/trc/Gxabu.htm</a>	Gxabu 2
TRC hearings: Mr Simon Silangwe, 24 March 1997 <a href="http://www.polity.org.za/govdocs/commissions/1997/trc/Silangwe.htm">www.polity.org.za/govdocs/commissions/1997/trc/Silangwe.htm</a>	Silangwe 2
TRC Hearings: Theophilus Ndlovu Bongoza, 25 March 1997 <a href="http://www.polity.org.za/govdocs/commissions/1997/trc/Bongoza.htm">www.polity.org.za/govdocs/commissions/1997/trc/Bongoza.htm</a>	Bongoza
TRC Final Report, Internet Publication: <a href="http://www.polity.org.za/govdocs/commissions/1998/trc/3chap2.htm">www.polity.org.za/govdocs/commissions/1998/trc/3chap2.htm</a>	TRC
<i>Cape Times</i> , various dates.	CT
<i>Natal Mercury</i> , various dates.	NM
<i>Natal Daily News</i> , various dates.	DN
Mbeki, Govan. 1984. <i>South Africa The Peasants' Revolt</i> . London: IDAF.	Mbeki

PEOPLE INVOLVED WITH THE CONGO / INTABA ( * Leaders)		
NAME	POSITION / INVOLVEMENT	SOURCE
Simon Silangwe	Organiser	Silangwe 1
Rev Eliyah Lande	One of community leaders after event, Treasurer of the Congo, hid in Lesotho after event	Silangwe1, Holweni
Mr Wanna Johnson*	Leader of the Ngquza Group, Congo, member of royal family and ANC	Silangwe 1, Gxabu 1&2
Matshibini Bodoman	Speaker during 13 May Congo meeting	Gxabu 1
Mr Pakela	Speaker during 13 May Congo meeting	Gxabu 1

Mtshayelo Pompota	Speaker during 13 May Congo meeting	Gxabu 1
Mr Stoffela	Another leader, possibly another area, arrested before	Gxabu 1
Mr Ngelishe	Second shot at Ngquza, blew trumpet	Gxabu 1, Gxabu 2
Mr Magxagxa	Picked up the flag and urged men to fight after shootings	Gxabu 1
Mr Ngagana	Camouflaged himself to protect Wana Johnson after shot	Gxabu 1
Tony Johnson	One of leaders after event, took lead at the inquiry held by Abrahamse	Gxabu 1
Mr Matshubini Nokwengwe*	Another leader, tabled the Pondo's demands at Abrahamse inquiry, took to hiding afterwards, still alive	Gxabu 1 & 2
Mr Thembizi Mphoso*	A leader before the event	Gxabu 2
Linda Mabija	Informer for the Congo, was also friends with chiefs, government	Gxabu 2
Mr Tshwele	Old cripple man to whose home the wounded were taken	Gxabu 2
Mr Anderson Khumani Ganyile	Pondo Leader from Fort Hare University	Mbeki

**PEOPLE INVOLVED WITH THE INQUIRY REPRESENTING OR HELPING PONDO'S**

NAME	POSITION / INVOLVEMENT	SOURCE
Lawyer Roley Arenstein	First attorney during Lusikisiki case, from Durban	Silangwe1& 2, Gxabu1 & 2, TRC
Mr Canca	Attorney from Idutywa after Aristein	Silangwe 1
Mr Albie Sachs	Jewish Attorney from Cape Town after Aristein	Silangwe1, Gxabu1
Rev van Johns	Holy Cross Reverend, Wesleyan Missionary, helped	Silangwe 1 & 2
Mr Joyne	Possible shopkeeper, meeting place for Congo	Gxabu 1
Mr Swarts	Attorney from Lusikisiki	Gxabu 1 & 2, Silangwe 2, Bongoza
Mr Holtshuysen	Shopkeeper, helped Pondo's, joined Congo	Gxabu 1
Mr Siqaqa	Old man to whose home the injured were taken	Gxabu 2

**PEOPLE FROM THE GOVERNMENT INVOLVED WITH THE EVENTS ( \* for the Pondos)**

NAME	POSITION / INVOLVEMENT	SOURCE
Mr Harvey	Magistrate from Port St Johns	Silangwe1 & 2, Gxabu1

"Matthias"	Policeman from Natal who first started shooting	Gxabu 1
Mr JH Abraham	"SA Ambassador in Umtata" (Gxabu), Commissioner-General for the Xhosa group, former Nationalist MP and Apartheid spokesman, replaced W Stanford	Gxabu 1 & 2, TRC, NM 22.06.60
Mr "Lamketi Ponteis"	Policeman, station commander at Flagstaff	Gxabu 1 & 2, Silangwe 2
Mr Dalton	Policeman from Pietermaritzburg, Captain	Gxabu 1
Mr JAC van Heerden	Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of Ciskei, head of inquiry held in July 1960	TRC, NM 29.06.60
Mr CS Holdt	Senior Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Johannesburg, inquiry in July 1960.	NM 29.06.60
Mr MG Potgieter	Principal Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Bizana; assisted in Van Heerden inquiry	NM 29.06.60
Mr Saul Mabude	Chairman of District Authority of Bizana (Isikelo Location), supporter of Chief Sigcau	Mbeki
Chief Botha Sigcau	Paramount Chief chosen by government, Chief Magistrate of Umtata	All
Mr CV Leibrandt	Chief Native Commissioner for the Transkei	CT 09.06.60, DN 10.06.60, NM 09.06.60
Col HW van Vuuren	Acting Assistant Commissioner of Police from Police Head Office in Pretoria	DN 08.06.60, NM 08.06.60
Col AC Fraser	Officer Commanding Natal Command	DN 08.06.60, NM 08.06.60
Major JAM Mitchell	Divisional Criminal Investigation Officer, Maritzburg	DN 08.06.60, NM 09.06.60
Major PJJ Ebersohn	District Commandant of Police, Kokstad	DN 08.06.60, NM 08.06.60
Major A Burger	Criminal Investigation Officer, Transkei	DN 08.06.60
Mr CA Key	Assistant Chief Native Affairs Commissioner, Transkei	NM 09.06.60
Captain F Engels	Commandant Radio Police Station, Durban	NM 08.06.60
Col CM Kelly-Patterson	Deputy Commissioner of Police, Natal Inland Division	DN 08.06.60
Dr C Riebert *	Chairman of Bizana Civic Association	NM 11.06.60
Mr A Golach	Native Commissioner, Flagstaff	NM 23.06.60
Mr EM Warren	Native Commissioner, Bizana	NM 23.06.60
Mr Fenwick	Native Commissioner, Lusikisiki	NM 23.06.60

Mr Walter Stanford *	Native Representative for the Transkei (before Government appointed commissioners were appointed) Was sacked because of his opinions on the Bantusan System and why it would never work	NM 22.06.60
Col RD Jenkins	Deputy Commissioner of Police at Port Natal, acting Deputy Commissioner for the Transkei	Gxabu, CT 09.06.60, DN 08.06.60, NM 08.06.60

<b>CHIEFS ( * Chiefs for the Mpondo)</b>		
Chief Nelson Sigcau	Not part of Congo, kept quiet because of threats	Gxabu 1
Chief Sgwebo	Took to hiding after the event	Gxabu 1
Headman Motokari	He was the only chief also to attend the meetings held by Mr Abrahams	Gxabu 1
Chief Hlamandana	Did not attend meetings	Gxabu 1
Chief Jikindaba Mhlanga	Suspicious death before the event	Gxabu 2
Vangeli Mdolo, Vavadliwe	Spies within the Congo who informed the police about gatherings	Gxabu 2
Mr Kwele *	Was for the people	Gxabu 2
Mr Modekai *	Was for the people	Gxabu 2



## **APPENDIX C: COPYRIGHT PERMISSION**

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Good day,

I am currently completing a Masters degree in Anthropology at Unisa in South Africa. It's entitled "MEMORY, LANDSCAPE AND HERITAGE AT NGQUZA - An anthropological study" and covers the Mpondo culture and the 1960's Mpondo revolt. One of the references used within the study is published by you:

Hunter, M. 1969. *Reaction to conquest: effects of contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.

I am requesting permission to publish two images originally printed in the abovementioned book. The first is on the Mpondo King Genealogy (Hunter 1969:398-399), the second on Traditional Mpondo imizi layout (Hunter 1969:23).

2009/06/07

**Liana Muller**

---

**From:** Liana Muller [mulliana@gmail.com]  
**Sent:** 27 May 2009 10:26 PM  
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**Subject:** Hazel Crampton permission for thesis use

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I am currently completing a Masters degree in Anthropology at Unisa in South Africa. It's entitled "MEMORY, LANDSCAPE AND HERITAGE AT NGQUZA - An anthropological study" and covers the Mpondo culture and the 1960's Mpondo revolt. One of the references used within the study is published by you:

Crampton, H. 2004. *The sunburnt queen: The AmaMpondo named her Gquma, "The roar of the sea"*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

I am requesting permission to publish two images originally printed in the abovementioned book. The first is on the Items of traditional Mpondo material culture (Crampton 2004:34) and the second a Granary (*udlalala*) and store hut (*inyango*) (Crampton 2004:40)

I am not sure of the correct course of action, but will be happy if you could advise me.

Thank you,  
Liana Muller

---

Liana Müller  
+27 82 776 4645  
landscape architect  
dept architecture UP

2009/06/07

**Liana Muller**

---

**From:** Hazel Crampton [haze@imagnet.co.za]  
**Sent:** 29 May 2009 01:48 PM  
**To:** mulliana@gmail.com  
**Cc:** jenny@jacana.co.za  
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Hi Liana,

I'm happy to let you use them, but I'm afraid my drawings were based on drawings in Shaw & van Warmelo [*The Material Culture of the Cape Nguni*, pts 1-3, Annals of the South African Museum, Cape Town, 1972-1980] so you'll probably have to get permission from them [ the credit notes got the page numbers wrong - see fn 46 on page 39 - which is unfortunate.]

good luck!

Hazel

2009/06/07

SDG