Mêmes in amaNdzundza Architecture

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Canada

To beautiful Oana.

Resumé

Le amaNdzundza sont une peuple de l'Afrique du Sud. Le thèse de déterminer le rôle de son "monde" (dans le sens d'Heidegger) et comment son monde impact sur son architecture. Premièrement, le procès évolutionnaire de l'architecture amaNdzundza est établi. Une série infinie de 'mêmes' (pareil aux genes) qui functionnent au niveau intra- et interculturelles. À suivre l'intéraction culturelle des amaNdzundza sur une périle d'un demi-millénaire est determinée (et une matrice de place et de temps est illustré dans le chapitre trois), pour trouver les origines d'introduction dans un niveau inter-culturel. Finalement, l'architecture du milieu amaNdzundza, de son habitats et des cultures avec qui ils partagent son environnement, sont analyses et une exemple de 'mêmes' est identifié. Ce structure comprend l'analyse d'incentives spatial religieuses et quelques aspects et éléments de l'habitat, de la maison, et des murales. Un sommaire démontre des 'mêmes' dans l'architecture d'amaNdzundza et de ses procès d'évolution et d'origine. Le chercheur conclut que les 'mêmes' culturels dans le milieu amaNdzundza ont joué le role prédominant dans la formation de son habitat existential, spatial et structurel, à travers un procés d'evolution 'loci-mêmes', et non pas un élément singulier comme le patronage de l'Apartheid.

ABSTRACT

The amaNdzundza are a South African abaNtu people. This thesis sets forth to determine the role of their *world* (in the Heideggerian sense) as it impacts on their Architecture. First the evolutionary process of the amaNdzundza architecture is established. An infinite series of mêmes (much like genes) that function both on an intra- and inter-cultural level govern this process. Next, the cultural interaction of the amaNdzundza over a period of half a millenium are mapped (and a space-time matrix drawn up: ch.3), as to find the sources of introduction on an inter-cultural level. Finally, the architecture of the amaNdzundza milieu, both of their settlements and of the cultures with which they shared their environment, is analyzed and a sample of mêmes identified, which best illustrate the même-exchange and evolution. This is done in a structure comprising the analysis of selected religious spatial incentives, and some aspects and elements of the settlement, the dwelling and the mural. A summary is given of the mêmes involved in the amaNdzundza architecture, and their evolutionary dynamics and origins. The researcher thus concludes that, rather than a singular factor such as the patronage of apartheid, the cultural 'mêmes' in the amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza milieu played the predominant role in the shaping of their existential, spatial and structural dwelling, through a process of 'loci même' evolution.

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PREFACE

The amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza is a sub-group of the amaNdebele, a branch of the amaHlubi, in their turn members of the amaNguni people, who shared the southern African landscape first with the San, Khoikhoi, baSotho, baTswana and baVenda, and later still with the European colonists. They migrated throughout the southern African continent during the course of their history, originally coming from the north of southern Africa, migrating via the east coast to into the Drakensberg, to the central trans-Vaal, to the eastern trans-Vaal, and later exiled to a hybrid of locations all over the Highveld. By the 20th century, their settlements and dwellings had evolved into a unique and colorful architecture for which they are known throughout the world. In 1955, Professor Barrie Biermann praised their architecture, finding it an achievement equal to the epitome of European colonial architecture. He wrote:

> "Binne die perke van hul onsekere bestaan het van die Mapoggerstamlede in hul statte so na aan die verwerkliking van 'n argitektoniese ideaal gekom as die Kaapenaars tydens die Rokoko-tydperk: die wereld mak gemaak, 'n kunsmatige omgewing, beheers en mooi."
>
> ("Within the limits of their uncertain existence, the amaNdzundza in their settlements came as close to an architectural ideal as did the Capetonians in the time of the Rococo. They tamed the landscape and created a controlled and beautiful environment.")
>
> B. Biermann 1955:89

In the post-apartheid era, however, art historians attacked the architecture of the amaNdebele, describing it as an embodiment of the Apartheid Government's 'idealized perception' of the 'other', the Black South African way of live. According to Schneider,

> "...it was a classic example of patron art, a centuries old concept used to perpetuate the glories of certain institutions... In this case, the South African government, as patron, presented its idea of a typical Ndebele village, a picture of an idealized ethnic life in the rural areas and a showplace for apartheid, with an emphasis on ethnic identity."
>
> Elizabeth Ann Schneider 1989: 112 Cited in Judith Perani: 1998)

Quoting Schneider, the Americans Judith Perani and Fred Smith in their 'Visual arts of Africa" wrote:

> "The apartheid government not only provided materials, but also a stream of tourists... Thus the Ndebele effort that originally started as a way to visually express their cultural identity among non-Ndebele peoples was shortly appropriated by the minority government to showcase the 'otherness' of the oppressed majority... The Ndebele mural tradition (thus) became an embodiment of the white minority government's idealized perception of 'the other'."
>
> Judith Perani: 345

It is in this context that the author determines the role of the amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza environment on their dwellings and settlements. The intentions of both the apartheid government, and those writing in defiance of their legacy, have changed what would have been a straightforward assumption regarding a culture's material development into the realm of an academic hypothesis.

Although the above-mentioned thesis triggered this investigation, the author does not limit this ontological search to the question of apartheid, but rather ventures into the field of architectural evolution. This study sets out to explain the spatial and artifactual phenomena of amaNdzundza architecture, by identifying those ideas that inspired the amaNdzundza to build the way they did. The author formalizes these ideas by using Dawkin's concept of cultural/ architectural units (memes).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter 1

The Study Proposal

(Mêmes in amaNdzundza Architecture)

The Problem and Its Setting

1.1   The Statement of the Problem

The main problem is to determine the role of the amaNdzundza *world*[1] as it impacts on their *dwelling*[2], both in spatial conception and physical manifestation.

1.2   The Main Hypothesis

The main hypothesis is that, rather than one-dimensional factors (such as the patronage of apartheid), the cultural environment of the amaNdzundza played a predominant role in the shaping of their existential, spatial and structural dwelling, through a process of 'même' evolution.

1.3   The Delimitation

Although the incentive for this study belongs to the twentieth century, the author, in reconstructing the spatial ideas as well as physical legacies of the culture, traces influences on the amaNdzundza dwelling as far back as oral history allows. Archaeological and textual sources, as well as the actual artifacts and pictures thereof are also used. Many of the modern spatial phenomena are found to be relics or *mêmes* of an ancient past, making this wide scope a necessity for the investigation.

1.4   The Definition of Terms

     1.4.1   The Terms '*amaNdebele*', and '*maTêbêlê*'

          • **The Origin of the Nouns**

The word *amaNdebele* (*Amandebele; ama-Ndebele; 'Ndebele*) is a isiNguni noun[3] consisting of a prefix *ama-*[4] and the root *-Ndebele*, together signifying 'the Ndebele people'. It is from this root that the anglicized word *Ndebele*[5] came to be used almost exclusively in the modern literature.

The root *-Ndebele* is an isiNguni adaptation of the saSotho *(Sotho-Tswana[6])* noun *Matebele* (*Matabele; maTêbêlê[7]; Matabili[8]* etc.). Van Warmelo suggests in his early writings, by implication, that the adaptation was reversed, *Matebele* being a corruption of the root *Ndebele*.[9] In the modern literature the former explanation is uniformly excepted.

- **The Meaning of the Word**

To find the original meaning of the saSotho noun is no easy matter. An early explanation of the noun in the form *maTebele* is given by Bryant (1929), quoting an informant to define it as "those who disappear or sink down out of sight (saSotho: teba) behind their (to the Sutus [baSotho]) immense Zulu war-shields of stout cow-hide."[10] The informant thus traces the noun *maTebele* to the saSotho root *teba* meaning 'sight'. Rasmussen (1975)[11] gives what he considers the most probable saSotho meaning (preferred over other explanations such as 'the destroyers', 'those who stab', 'those who disappear') as 'strangers from the east' quoting Lye and van Warmelo.[12] Frescura (1985)[13] gives the saSotho meaning as 'fugitive' or 'refugee'. A baTswana informant is quoted by Frescura to give the meaning of the noun as 'plunderer' from the Tswana root *tebele*. Parsons in Hamilton (1995), although giving the possible semantic origin as *go tebela* (meaning 'to strike or knock abou with a fist'), believes that it could have had an even earlier baTswana (Hurutshe) origin. He judges it to be a derivative from the personal noun *Motebele*, the name of a Hurutshe prince (from the western trans-Vaal, in the early sixteenth century).[14] After being displaced by his brother Motebejane, he fled to the Vaal River, and returned with isiNguni-speaking mercenaries to attack his brother's new capital at Chuenyane unsuccessfully. He and his followers were then referred to as *Matebele*.[15]

The debate on the origins of the meaning of the noun *maTêbêlê* is important in as far as it gives an idea of how the baSotho/baTswana experienced the peoples described as such at the time of first cultural contact. The words 'plunderer' and 'refugee', for example, give two very different descriptions of the culture to which they apply.

- **The Application of the Nouns**

To whom does the term *maTêbêlê* apply? The baSotho generally used it in referring to the isiNguni-speaking peoples of the East Coast of southern Africa.[16] Amongst these were the

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amaHlubi, the *Ngwane*, the Northern and Southern trans-Vaal *amaNdebele*, the *Matabele* of Mzilikazi and other amaNguni immigrants.[17] Van Warmelo mentions unassimilated pockets of amaNguni in the northern district of Lesotho who are referred to as such by their baSotho neighbors.[18] The meaning of the noun *maTébélé* could not, though, have been a specialized term for isiNguni-speaking peoples, seeing that the baSotho also used the term to denote other baSotho clans. Here can be mentioned the *MaNtatwane*'s *baTlokwa*[19] and some baSotho families (those living in and about the St. Augustine's mission station), who also describe themselves as *Ndebele*. Brown (1926) narrates an *Matebele* attack on the Kgabo (baKwena) of the late sixteenth century western trans-Vaal, the aggressors being 'Shona rather than amaNguni, also indicating that the noun did not describe any specific ethnic group.[20]

For the purposes of this study, the author refers to the Ndebele of Mzilikazi using the saSotho noun *maTébélé*, and to the Early trans-Vaal Ndebele by the isiNguni noun *amaNdebele*. After the dispersal of the amaNdebele, they are referred to as the *amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza*, the *amaNdebele ye aMalala*[21] (or, in short, the *amaNdzundza* and *aManala*), and the other sections of the group as the *Northern trans-Vaal amaNdebele*.[22]

1.4.2   Other Terms Used in This Thesis

The description of terminology that is key to the interpretation of this thesis is given in chapter two, or in the text where the terms are employed. These terms include *dwelling* (Heidegger's interpretation), *culture*, *même*, etc., generally used in phenomenology and semiotics. All terms not specifically defined during the course of the thesis maintain their Oxford Dictionary[23] definition. Words that are only to be found in South African English refer to the Oxford Dictionary of South African English meanings, whereas words in Afrikaans, isiNdebele, isiZulu, and Dutch are accompanied by a footnote giving the definition or synonym in English. The author's understanding of Afrikaans (the author's mother tongue) terms is taken from the '*Handboek vir die Afrikaanse Taal*' (HAT). The meaning of the isiNdebele terms is taken from Shabangu's[24] 1989 English-South Ndebele dictionary *Isihlathululimezwi*, and more specialized terms in the isiNdebele material culture vocabulary from a wide range of published articles and books, and unpublished thesises on the matter. Other abaNtu terms are used as defined in Sir Harry H. Johnston's "A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages," with the exception of

the isiZulu terms, which are defined as in Dent's Scholar's Zulu Dictionary (1974) or Doke's Zulu English Dictionary (1964).

The prefixes used with isiNdebele words in this thesis are according to Shabangu's "English-South Ndebele Dictionary." When used in conjunction with personal nouns, the prefixes indicate the following:

- *Kwa-* is the isiNdebele locative prefix and denotes the name of countries, towns, etc., e.g. KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, etc.
- *Isi-* is the isiNdebele prefix denoting 'the language of', e.g. isiNdebele, isiZulu, etc. (the seSotho equivalent is *se-* or *sa-*, e.g. sePedi, seSotho, etc.)
- *Ama-* is the isiNdebele prefix that, used in conjunction with a personal noun, denotes 'the people of', e.g. amaNdzundza, amaEskimo, etc., but aManala. (the seSotho equivalent is *ba-*, e.g. baPedi, baSotho, etc.)
- *Aba-* is the isiNdebele prefix that refers to 'the sons of', e.g. abaNtu ('the sons of the human race', also known as the baNtu or the ubuNtu)

With most other nouns the prefix only serves to indicate singular or plural usages, e.g. *umu-* (*aba-*); *i-* (pl. *ii-*); *isi-* (pl. *iin-*); *um-* (pl. *abe-*); etc. The prefixes *uku-* and *ubu-* usually precede a word with no plural, e.g. *ukuthembeka* (loyalty) and *ubuhle* (loveliness).

The '!-' in San nouns such as *!Kung* indicates the *tekela* or klick of the letter following on the exclamation mark.

1.5   The Assumptions

It is assumed that records used to substantiate or illustrate the evidence are authentic and accurate. On an ontological level, the method and worldview of the phenomenologists is accepted, leading to a conception of subject and object in the 'world'. Mêmes are defined as unstable yet conceivable holons in the second chapter, but will from there on be accepted as units of definable meaning worthy of integration into semiotic equations. Bryant's thesis on the origin of the amaNguni is assumed correct, and thus forms the basis of the discussion on the amaNdzundza origin.

1.6 The Material, Its Treatment and Its Interpretation

The material comprises writings and artifactual reproductions of the 19th and 20th century. The writings and reproductions include those from disciplines such as the archaeology, history, oral history, architecture, art, philosophy, mythology, religion, etc. and consist of actual artifacts of the amaNdzundza's. If an artifact could not be visited or if it has been destroyed, it is accessed through recordings thereof. Writings not originally in English or Afrikaans are accessed through translation. Material that has been published in sources that are reputable and have academic credibility will be considered admissible. Where, because of lack of alternatives, outdated theories have been used, this is noted in the text.

1.7 The Research Methodology

The methodology of research comprises a palimpsest of methods from the phenomenological, existentialist and semiotic schools of thought. It consists of a reconstruction of the amaNdzundza historical-cultural environment, followed by the synthesis of a mème-pool as induced from the artifactual evidence. Semiotic notation is used to explain the relations between individual loci mèmes.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

2.1   Sub-Problem 1

The first sub-problem is to determine the dynamics of a human culture and its subjects, and the system of evolution to which its material realm (the artifacts, or cultural objects) is subjected.

2.2   Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis is that diverse cultural cores are to be found in a given society, amongst which varying degrees of intercultural même-exchanges take place, causing the material cultures to evolve.

2.3   Outline of Chapter 2

The first aim is to define culture and to verify the existence of the culture phenomenon in the face of counter-theorems, such as human generality theorems, and the South African homogeneity theorem. Secondly, the nature of cultural evolution is established in the light of Spengler's physiognomic method and Dawkins' conception of the même as the cultural equivalent of the biological gene. Then, culture is reinterpreted in terms of the Heideggerian '*world* of the individual'. Lastly, considering that the loci même concept is akin to that of semiotic sign-systems, the structure of architectural semiotics is explored.

2.4   Culture, as Opposed to Homogeneity and Human Generality

- **The Definition of the Word 'Culture'**

Culture represents a particular type of intellectual development, and also the civilization, customs, artistic achievements, etc. of a people.[25] The noun 'culture' dates from approximately 1440, when it meant 'tillage', as borrowed from the Middle French *culture*, which in its turn was a learned borrowing from the Latin word *cultura* referring to a tending, care or cultivation. The word *cultura* comes from the Latin stem *cult-*, the past participle form of *colere*, which means 'to till'.[26]

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In human history, culture comprises the aspects that are socially rather than genetically transmitted. Each socially differentiated human group is to a greater or lesser extent characterized by its culture. Culture informs the thought and activities of its members in myriad ways, both perceptible and imperceptible, and distinguishes one human group from another. To human culture belongs everything[27] by which members of a group endow their activities with meaning and significance. Being open to influence from both the exterior and the interior in unpredictable ways, the nature of culture is permeable and inclined towards constant evolution. It is liable to mutate, to branch out into subcultures, to unite with other cultures, and to generate offspring with its own characteristics and dynamics. The individual emerged in a culture is not a prisoner of the culture, and although formed by it, both consciously and unconsciously, he/she can affect it, react against it, and contribute towards its development.

- **Theorems Opposed to the Existence of the Culture Phenomena**

There is a growing trend amongst modern scholars to avoid what they consider the dangerous and dehumanizing conception of culture. Rapoport, after an in-depth analysis of the flaws and non-meaning of the term culture[28], decided to replace the idea of cultures in his latter essays with what he called 'lifestyle groups'. The Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy analyzes the humanistic arguments against the notion of culture through two basic objections. Firstly, it is advocated that the concept of culture should be avoided because intuition and evidence show common structures to arise within the lives of people subjected to different, sometimes opposing cultures. This belief is attributed to the advocates of human generality.

Analyzing the theories of Spengler, as outdated and totalitarian as they might be, it becomes clear that this argument does not necessarily negate the existence of culture, but can even serve to proof the existence thereof. According to Spengler's construct, these common structures mentioned by the human generalists (in Spengler's terms 'morphological relations') are merely a result of cultural dynamics. In truth, Spengler's writings are considered to be dehumanizing by the author, not because of the ideas in his construct but because of the rigid thinking in its application, and the obsession with creating a deterministic blueprint for the birth, evolution and decline in cultural evolution.

Returning to the objections raised against the concept of cultures, it is secondly believed that cultural identity is a stance rooted more in the politics of the decline of empires than in anything fundamental. A study of the influences on a single South African 'lifestyle group' presupposes the existence of cultural cores. The idea of approaching South African cultures from a viewpoint of cultural cores is scorned by the post-apartheid South African academics, exactly because of this second objection. The author adopts the notion of culture as a carrier of specific but constantly evolving linguistic, religious, material, spatial and habitual meanings, which can overlap or vary in their differentiation from other groups. This definition clearly refutes the objections brought against the concept of cultures, and is synonymous with Rapoport conception of 'lifestyle groups'.

Can the multitude of southern African rural architectural forms be disentangled and matched with a matrix of cross-cultural influences? This was the aim of many academic studies in South African vernacular architecture during the past decades. One insight into the subject matter, which was contributed to the field by the fall of the apartheid ideology and the consequent paradigmatic changes, is that the existence of separate tribal identities in South Africa was partly fabricated by the apartheid government. One particularly knowledgeable researcher, who set out to disentangle these cross-cultural exchanges in architecture, was Prof. Franco Frescura. This idea fascinated him for most of his career, and culminated in his doctoral thesis in the mid-eighties. Whereas he set out to "...map the multitude of cross-cultural architectural influences, which could have occurred in the ethnic cauldron of southern Africa," a study that relied on the existence and discovery of 'cultural cores', his research ultimately made a strong case for black cultural homogeneity.[29] He writes that, "when current field work, supported by historical studies, failed to uncover these (cultural cores), the concomitant conclusion had to be that, in an architectural sense, we were dealing with one predominant settlement culture for the southern African region." (Ibid.) This idea shall from here on be referred to as the 'homogeneity theorem'.

Instead of refuting the existence of 'culture', the homogenists' so-called "cauldron of South African cultures" merely acknowledges (by implication) a mechanism of cultural evolution too complex to apprehend. Rather than abandoning the *culture* concept, this thesis identifies a set of mêmes, which are carriers of cultural meaning. This identification is a necessary tool to illustrate the predominant role of the cultural milieu in the shaping of the amaNdzundza dwelling.

- **Spengler Theory of Cultural Evolution**

Oswald Spengler produced the first complete theory on the evolution of culture in 1918 with his volumes entitled <u>The Decline of the West</u>, which were written in Germany during the First World War, mostly by candlelight. The most important Spenglerian conception of culture is what he calls its 'morphology', which is the evolutionary process of the culture. According to this conception, every culture has its own unique "...possibilities of self-expression which arise, ripen, decay and never return... just as each species of plant has its... special type of growth and decline."[30] Morphological relations represent the narrow relationships between the parallel phases of the different cultures, relationships that he believes are strictly symmetrical in structure.

The author does not agree with the way Spengler interprets these 'morphological relations', which lead him to the conclusion that the cultural destiny is 'preordained for hundreds of years'. The author, though, considers sound Spengler's analysis, which led him to see the 'world as history' rather than 'the world as nature', this analysis being called the 'physiognomic method'[31]. He attributes the 'contents of images', 'picture and symbol', and 'pure becoming' to the 'world-as-history', as opposed to the 'content of laws', 'formula and system' and the 'thing-became', which belong to the 'world-as-nature'. 'Living into (*erfuhlen*) the object' is associated to the physiognomic morphology ('of the organic'), as opposed to 'dissecting the object' of the systematic morphology ('of the mechanical'). The chapter of this thesis dealing with the loci mêmes in the amaNdzundza cultural environment (chapter 4) draws on Spengler's methodology.

- **Dawkins' Conception of the 'Meme' as the Gene of Cultural Evolution**

In his famous 1976 publication "The Selfish Gene", Dawkins explores the dynamics of biological evolution amongst all bio-organisms. In his last chapter, much like Darwin did, he mentions for the first time the human being. What is unusual about human evolution, Dawkins writes, is that we have evolved as to create our own secondary system, called culture. Cultures evolve, just like humans do, but seemingly with a very different dynamic. Dawkins believe that all evolution or change is motivated by some kind of gene dynamic, and sets forth to find the "gene" of human cultural evolution.[32]

The idea of seeing cultural evolution as a reflection of genetic evolution is not new. Many scholars have hinted at this in their writings, amongst them being Sir Karl Popper, L. L. Cavalli-Sforza, F.

T. Cloak and J. M. Cullen to name a few. What makes Dawkins' conception of the gene in cultural evolution unique, is that he does not attempt to transcribe its dynamics in terms of a Darwinian blueprint. Instead of merely replacing the 'natural selectionist' phenomenon with its direct analogy, thus being 'group selectionist', Dawkins re-thinks the gene. It leads him to conclude that genes on an ontological level are basic replicators. For anything to keep existing, whether physically or mentally, it needs to be replicated, if only in the minds of the carriers. On an ontological level, this replication is not at all bound to chemistry, such as the DNA molecule is. Dawkins believes that, with the emergence of human culture, a new kind of replicator came to operate on our planet, a replicator with no name. He writes that this replicator "...is still in its infancy, still drifting clumsily about in its primeval soup, but already it is achieving evolutionary change at a rate which leaves the old gene panting far behind."

Dawkins suggests a name for this new unit of imitation. The English word 'imitation' has its roots in the Greek synonym *mimeme*. Dawkins abbreviates this as 'meme'[33] as to resemble the word 'gene' and the French word *même* (meaning 'same'). The author will, for the purpose of this thesis and academic correctness, adopt the French term *même* (with the circumflex accent) in referring to Dawkins' 'meme' (without the circumflex accent).

- **The Author Conception of the 'Même'**

Dawkins gives the following examples and description of his memes: "Examples of memes are tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or building arches. Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperms or eggs, so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation." Imitation then is how mêmes can replicate, just as is the case with genes. Not all mêmes in the même-pool are equally successful. Some mêmes are much stronger then others and one même could even come into parallel existence simultaneously in separate pools. A good example of a very strong même is the "God" même.

Dawkins' explanation of the relation of memes to each other and of how we perceive them is linked to his understanding of the gene. It will be sufficient here to say that mêmes, being "replicable meanings", should not be seen in a Newtonian way. They always consist of sub-mêmes and find themselves to be parts of greater systems, which in turn constitute mêmes. For Arthur

Koestler's[34], the mème would be a holon with Janusian qualities. One useful attribute of the meme identified by Dawkins is their ability to form symbiotic relationships for their survival. He mentions the relationship between the "God meme" and the "fire of Hell meme." In working together, these mêmes have insured reciprocally their survival for thousands of years and are still going strong. Selection thus favors mêmes that exploit their cultural environment to their own advantage.

The mème as a liquid element in an infinitely complicated and diverse system will not be interpreted here, as the gene is, as the building block of a mechanistic or Cartesian system. In understanding culture through Spengler's physiognomic morphology, the mêmes become unstable and enigmatic elements, which tend to defy any rigid organization. We can only identify certain phenomena in the architectural system that seem to be highly replicable and thus effective, usually operating in chorus with mêmes relating to the political, religious and social systems of the culture. Mêmes can always be broken down into smaller mème parts, and are always part of some bigger mème system, the sum of which, as in the case of Dawkins' genes, constitutes a 'soup' in the cauldron of human culture.

The complex nature of the mème can be best illustrated by the citing of an example. The amaNdebele mural painting given in figure 1a (facing p.15) will serve our purpose here. The origins of this mème have been lost in the seemingly bottomless pit of African history. The furthest back we can trace the mural mème is to the 15th century baKwena culture. How it came to the amaNdebele might never be completely understood. The mural is definitely a phenomenon in its own right, and is thus considered a mème. But is it a mème? In calling it a mural, we link it ontologically to the wall (Dutch *muur*) behind it, which constitutes a mème in itself. Conceptually, it is conceived as part of a set of murals around the house, which in its turn is part of the set of painted houses constituting the homestead or the village. These can all be considered mêmes. It is linked to the social system of the people, to the woman's need to express her family's social status, and to her experience of big cities. It also depicts elements of Western architecture, displaying mêmes that can be traced back to the classical origins of European architecture. These painted pediments and columns themselves are very complex mêmes or even mème-pools. All the colors, lines, or pockets of images could also be considered mêmes.

From this it is clear that mêmes cannot be defined or pinned down any more than just by calling them temporary quasi-phenomena expressed in the desperately inadequate language of science. No all-encompassing hierarchy can be established. Although we can grasp the idea of mêmes existing, no single même can be said to exist in isolation. To acknowledge this ontological aspect of mêmes, the author borrows a technique used by linguists of the deconstructivist movement (such as Derrida), to express the relativity in structuralist conceptions. The technique that had its roots in the phenomenologist movements and was coined sous rasure (French for 'under erasure') by Heidegger, consists of canceling out a concept which can and, at the same time, cannot be captured or defined, by drawing a line through it or crossing it out. To acknowledge the real nature of the ~~mème~~, it should be erased when used in isolation, and not when considered in the context of a 'même-pool'. For reasons of legibility, the author will consider '~~mêmes~~' and 'mêmes' to be synonyms in his analysis.

2.5   What It Means to 'Dwell' in the 'World'

2.5.1   Introduction

In order to explore the architecture and culture of the amaNdzundza, it becomes necessary to understand the ontological situation of the individual, the culture and the artifact. The process of building, which is the precondition for the existence of the amaNdzundza settlement (both artifactual and conceptual) will be approached from a phenomenological point of view. The author explored the phenomenological writings of Heidegger, and of those scholars who had expanded on his philosophy. Heidegger's thoughts, expressed in his 1954 essay on 'Building, dwelling, thinking', are taken as a point of departure for the architectural discussion in the following chapters. In order to introduce the concepts used in his essay to the reader, a short summary of Heidegger's advanced terminology will be given:[35]

'Being' (always capitalized) is that primordial condition or 'ground' which allows everything else to come into existence. Heidegger called everything else--humans, solar bodies, plants, objects-- 'beings'. 'beings', (always with a small 'b') are those entities that exist in the world. He contrasts 'Being' with what he calls 'the Nothing'. 'The Nothing' is the possibility of the non-existence of all beings or things, literally 'no-thing'. Heidegger investigates the experience of 'being' a typical human being, or humans in their 'average-everydayness'.

To mark the significance of our existence, Heidegger gave the name *Dasein* to the type of 'being' we call human beings. *Dasein* translates into 'being-there'. Before anything else, we exist. Because existence functions as the underlying ground of *Dasein*, our existence determines our possibilities. The event of this existence is our 'throw-ness'. He calls any *Dasein's* particular culture, the social environment *Dasein* is thrown into, *Dasein's* 'world'. The different social practices of a specific culture make up the 'world' of that culture. To stress the importance of the 'world', Heidegger called *Dasein*'s activity of existing 'being-in-the-world'. The use of hyphens emphasizes that there is no distance between our world and us. We are as much a part of the 'world', as it is part of us. *Dasein's* interest and involvement with its world is intrinsic to *Dasein*. 'The One' represents all the possibilities for *Dasein's* 'world' as a collective whole. 'The One' consists of other *Dasein* whose presence creates the *world* in which an individual *Dasein* can act. Heidegger's German term for 'the One', *das Man*, is also translated as 'the They'.

Dasein that knows of nothing beyond taking over the habits and lifestyle of its forefathers has an existence called 'undifferentiated'. If *Dasein* pro-actively exchanges its *world* for another, but *Dasein*'s actions are still determined by 'the One', *Dasein* has entered the 'inauthentic' mode of existence. On the other hand, *Dasein* might come to realize the omnipresence of 'the One', and begin to experience what Heidegger calls 'anxiety'. 'Anxiety' is *Dasein's* realization that anything they might possibly do has already been defined for them in advance by 'the One'. Eventually, they will return to 'the Nothing', having lived life as cogs in the wheel of 'the One'.[36] The use of the above-mentioned Heideggerian concepts (*Dasein*, 'world' and 'being-in-the-world') facilitates the identification of loci-memes in the amaNdzundza cultural environment later in this thesis.

2.5.2   The Term 'Dwelling' and Its Etymology

The verb 'to dwell' (dwelt; dwelled), is given by the Oxford Dictionary[37], amongst others definitions, to mean 'occupy as a place of residence', or 'to inhabit'. Hence 'dwelling' (as a participial adjective) is defined as 'abiding'. 'Dwelling', in the concrete sense, refers to a place of residence, a 'dwelling' place, habitation or house. Both definitions are simultaneously referred to in the title, defining the scope of the thesis as dealing with the process of 'dwelling' and the spaces and structures in which 'dwelling' takes place, the 'dwellings'. To 'dwell' ('dwelling' = 'dwell' [verb] + -ing) means to reside (1250 AD) from the old verb *dwellen*, 'to remain' or 'to stay' (1200 AD). In the Old English *dwellan* (725 AD) meant 'to hinder', 'delay', 'be tardy', 'to linger' or 'to

tarry'. It is taken from the original meaning 'to make a fool of' or 'to lead astray'. The Old English *dwellen* is cognate with the Old High German *twellen* ('to hinder' or 'delay'), the Old Icelandic *dvelja* ('to tarry' or 'delay'), the Proto-Germanic *dwaljanan*, the Middle Low German *dwel* or *dwal* ('senseless', 'foolish') and lastly the Gothic *dwals* ('foolish'). The noun 'dwelling' was first use in the sense of a place of residence in 1378 AD and as to referring to staying or waiting and delay or lingering before 1300 AD.[38]

2.5.3　The Heideggerian Interpretation of Dwelling[39] and Its Use in the Context of This Thesis

What does the verb 'to dwell' refer to? This question is best answered by including the verb 'building' in our analysis. In a means-end-schema, it seems as if we attain dwelling only by means of building. The latter, 'building', would thus have the former, 'dwelling', as its goal.[40] Heidegger proposes that all buildings are dwellings, since our domain of dwelling is not limited to our dwelling place (lodging). Buildings that are not dwelling places are determined by dwelling, they 'serve man's dwelling',[41] being in the domain of our dwelling.

We have thus determined that building and dwelling are related as respectively means and end, but this does not completely describe the relationship between the two concepts. To proceed we need to introduce a second and closer relationship, as presented by the unified schema. The unified schema would have it that 'to built' is in itself already 'to dwell'. To understand this, we can turn our attention to the linguistic meaning of the *Bauen* (to build). In the Old High German, the word *buan* means to dwell. This meaning has been lost in the modern word *Bauen* ('to build'). The meaning can still be traced though, in covert traces, such as in the modern German word *nachbar* (neighbor). The *nachbar* is the *nachebar* is the *nachgebauer* is the 'near-dweller'.

Having determined the special relationship between dwelling and building, we can turn to a second important relationship entertained by the verb 'to dwell'. As have been noted, the old high German word *buan* means 'to dwell'. The word *buan*, subsequently *bauen* (to build), and previously *bhu* and *beo* is the *bin* in *ich bin* ('I am'). The infinitive form of *bin* is *bis* (to be). *Ich bin, du bist* can thus be translated to mean 'I dwell, you dwell'.[42]

2.6   Using Semiotics to Express Même Relationships in Space

2.6.1   An Introduction to Architectural Semiotics

One of the scholars who developed this technique of analyzing the environment was Donald Preziosi, a former student at Harvard, and teacher at Yale and MIT. In his seminal work, <u>Semiotics and the Built Environment, an Introduction to Architectonic Analysis</u>, Preziosi[43] develops a system of analyzing dwellings and settlement patterns that can serve as a useful tool to any scholar dealing with an existing domestic culture. Preziosi believes that any settlement consists of an array of co-present objects that can be seen as components in a multitude of interrelated sign systems. Each system in its turn address partly unique and partly redundant functions. In different settings, the same object formation has different meanings and behavioral associations. This is also true for the same setting in alternative eras. Both object formations and their conceptual associations thus are subject to chronological change. To paraphrase Preziosi:

> Every human society communicates architecturally. The component units of an architectonic code or system consist of 'contrastively opposed formations' presented in media addressed to visual perception. Distinctions or disjunctions in material formations are intended to cue culture-specific differences in meaning in a manner analogous to other semiotic systems such as verbal language or bodily gesturing.

On discussing the hierarchical organization of the architectonic system Preziosi points out that the code is not organized in an 'atomistic' fashion, but rather in a system of relationships, in which the 'significative' entities are defined in terms of their relative position in a multidimensional network of relationships. He builds his architectonic code, just as any other semiotic system would have been, on the principle of relational invariance, seeing that apparently identical formations in different systems might be only superficially 'homonymous' because their nature is determined by their relationships with the other.[44]

- **Space-Cells and Matrices**

In Preziosi's analysis, the first apparent fundamental shared by architectonic systems is the fact that they are all made up of what might be called 'space-cells'. They consist of portions of the spatial continuum that are bound off from each other in a great variety of ways. A settlement may thus be seen as a complex space-time framework, the activities of which are framed or situated not only spatially but also sequentially. The space-cells are manifested in the topological property of 'boundedness'. Seeing that all space-cells share this quality along pan-cultural boundaries, it can be asserted that all space-cells are 'equivalent' in a topological sense. Another common quality of
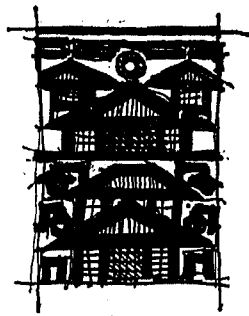
Fig 1a Detail of a modern amaNdzundza mural

$$E.[P]^{\Lambda}\left\{\begin{array}{c}[c]\\ [b]\\ [a]\end{array}\right\}[\phi][\check{z}]$$

E: EXTERIOR
P: PRIMARY ACCESS
ø: ONE CELL
ž: STAIRWELL
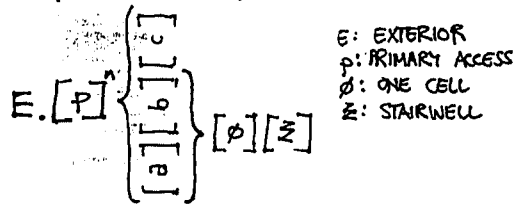
Fig. 1b Minimum formula for the invariant sequential order of the formative features of the Minoan hall system (after Presiozi)

E = Exterior Ⓥ=Vestibule ©= Court / Lightwell
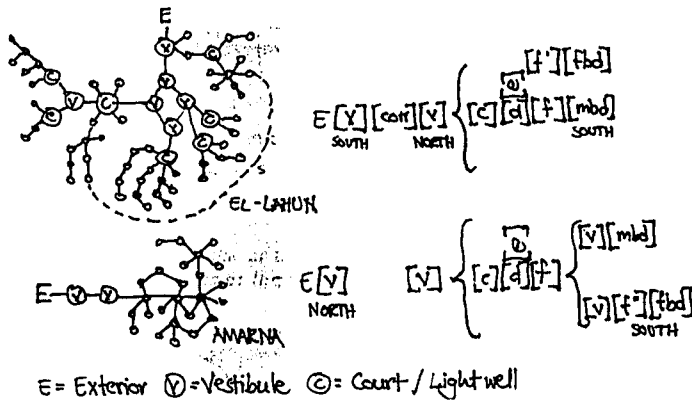
Fig. 1c Interrelations of the various cells of two Egyptian Hall-system houses and the syntagmatic ordering of the formative features of the two houses (after Presiozi)

space-cells is what Preziosi terms their 'geometric axis'. This refers to their physical manifestation in a formal sense. Using these two constants, the analyst can compare and classify space-cells[45]. Preziosi calls these constant measures 'the analyst's *frame*'.[46]

A space-cell may operate by itself, or may, as in the case of the three Minoan residential cells identified by Preziosi at Knossos (see figure 1b), enter into a variety of higher-level formations. In the example given by Preziosi, the three cells in the Minoan house enter into a relationship that he calls a hall-system. In such a case the space-cells aggregate into patterned sequences of cells, called 'cell-matrices'. He then formulates the sequence, so that it finally reads: space-cells, matrices, structures and neighborhoods. As one moves up this ladder of complexity, the architectonic sign is an increasingly more abstract or 'diagrammatic' entity. Preziosi apparently refers to this when he asserts that large-scale formative patterns may achieve canonical 'idiomaticization' (pattern fixing). It is in code-specific situations only that pattern fixing may lead to architectonic universals.

- **Architectonic Meaning**

Preziosi starts his discussion on architectonic meaning lamenting the complexity of the topic, and the consequent failure of all scholars to structure a complete analysis. He thus concentrates on ideas on the topic only, rather than proposing a unified matrix. He states that every aspect of architectonic formation is meaningful in some sense. The indirectly significant units (features) are meaningful in different ways than the directly significant (cells, matrices). The architectonic medium is always in potential chorus with human bodies and other material resources of the biosphere to generate meaning. This complicates architectonic semiotic meaning way beyond the complications of linguistic semiotic meaning.

In distinguishing the 'formal structure' of an architectonic code from its 'material structure', he notes that they consist of 'semi-autonomous' systems and domains of meaningfulness. Furthermore, a more salient distinction in terms of meaningfulness 'cuts across' both formal structure and material organization.[47] Preziosi emphasizes the difference between meaning and reference in his analysis, defining meaning as:

> "... the specification of an ordered trace of relationships which a given sign bears to other signs within the same code" (and reference to) "...implicate a culturally co-present set of text, doctrines or beliefs, which themselves comprise significative formations in their own right in adjacent codes."

The semi-autonomous domain of meaningfulness is what the author refers to when formulating the

loci-mêmes. The loci même-pool is a 'sign system' in the semiotic sense of the word, and thus ties in perfectly with the system of architectural semiotics used by Preziosi. The author used Preziosi's idea of the 'space cell' for the analysis of one amaNdzundza dwelling complex, to illustrate how their architecture can be analyzed using a conventional semiotic system. In the fourth chapter the author systematically builds up a semiotic equation for the loci même-pool.

2.7   Conclusion

The first sub-problem was to determine the dynamics of a human culture and its subjects, and the system of evolution to which its material realm (the artifacts, or cultural objects) is subjected. The first hypothesis was that diverse cultural cores are to be found in a given society, amongst which varying degrees of intercultural même-exchanges take place, causing the material cultures to evolve. The first problem was to define culture and to verify the existence of culture-phenomena in the face of counter-theorems, such as human generality theorems, and the South African homogeneity theorem. We found that in human history, culture comprises the aspects that are socially rather than genetically transmitted. Secondly, the nature of the evolution of culture was established in the light of Spengler's physiognomic method and Dawkins' conception of the meme as the cultural equivalent of the biological gene. The author did, for the purpose of this thesis and academic correctness, adopt the French term 'même' in referring to Dawkins' 'meme'. We saw that the même as a liquid element in an infinitely complicated and diverse system will not be interpreted here, as the gene is, as the building block of a mechanistic or Cartesian system.

Then, the meaning of culture as the Heideggerian 'world' of the individual was established. We saw that, in order to mark the significance of our existence, Heidegger gave the name *Dasein* to the type of *being* we call human beings. He calls any *Dasein's* particular culture, the social environment *Dasein* is thrown into, *Dasein's* 'world'. The different social practices of a specific culture make up the 'world' of that culture. To stress the importance of the 'world', Heidegger called *Dasein's* activity of existing 'being-in-the-world'. Heidegger showed us how we attain to dwelling only by means of building. According to this, building has dwelling as its goal. The author thus showed that diverse cultural cores are to be found in a given society, amongst which a varying degrees of intercultural même-exchanges takes place, causing the material cultures to evolve. Lastly, to effectively use the idea of the même in a structured environment (in explaining the dynamics of evolution in the amaNdzundza architectural milieu), the parallel lingo of Semiotics was analyzed and adopted.

Chapter 3

The Dynamics of the amaNdzundza Milieu

3.1   Sub-Problem 2

The second sub-problem is to define and delimit the cultural environment of the amaNdzundza, and thus to reconstruct the space-time matrix within which même-exchanges took place.

3.2   Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis is that the cultural environment of the amaNdzundza brought them in contact with contrasting cultural cores that can be expressed in a space-time matrix.

3.3   Outline of Chapter 3

In this chapter, the cultural environment of the amaNdzundza will be defined, starting from their amaNguni origin, and following their evolution through the eMbó, amaHlubi and amaNdebele ancestors. The amaNdzundza separation from the amaNdebele, their evolution and ultimate scattering in the trans-Vaal will be researched, as well as their existence under apartheid. Throughout this, the cultural environment of the people will be reconstructed, and a space-time matrix drawn up to express these cultural interactions.

3.4   Pre-History: amaNguni Origin

amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza oral tradition holds that they moved to Emhlangeni[48] (district Randfontein) from Lundini, their settlement in the Quatlhamba (Drakensberg).[49] Quatlhamba is known to be the ancient center of the eMbó -amaNguni people. The exact position of Lundini is not known.

The amaNdebele is thus a splinter group of the amaNguni people. The amaNguni, with the baSotho, baVenda and baTswana people constitute the main abaNtu (Bantu)-speaking peoples of South Africa, who together with the Khoikhoin and San make up the bulk of the native South African population. The abaNtu peoples are relatively late arrivals on the South African scene, their exact arrival from the north of the country still being an enigma (see figure 2b-d). Whereas there seem to be parallels between baSotho, baVenda, 'Tsonga and the ancient civilizations

Fig. 2a Movements of the KhoiSan
Fig. 2b Movements of the abaNtu in Central Africa
Fig. 2c Movements of the amaNguni in South Africa
Fig. 2d Movements of the abaNtu in Southern Africa
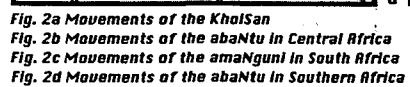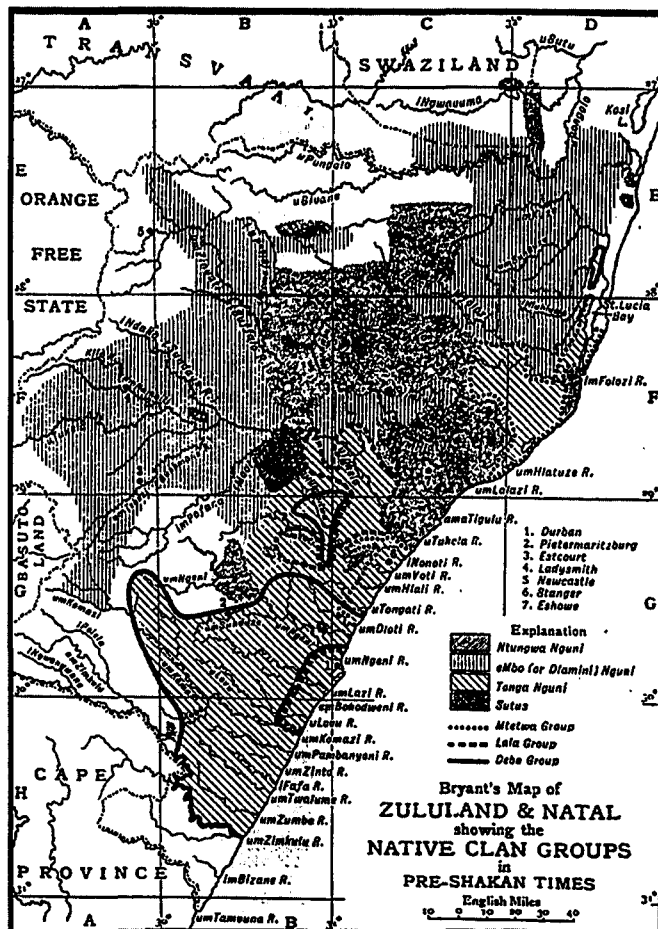
Fig. 3 Bryant's Map of KwaZulu Natal
showing the area inhabited by the eMbo
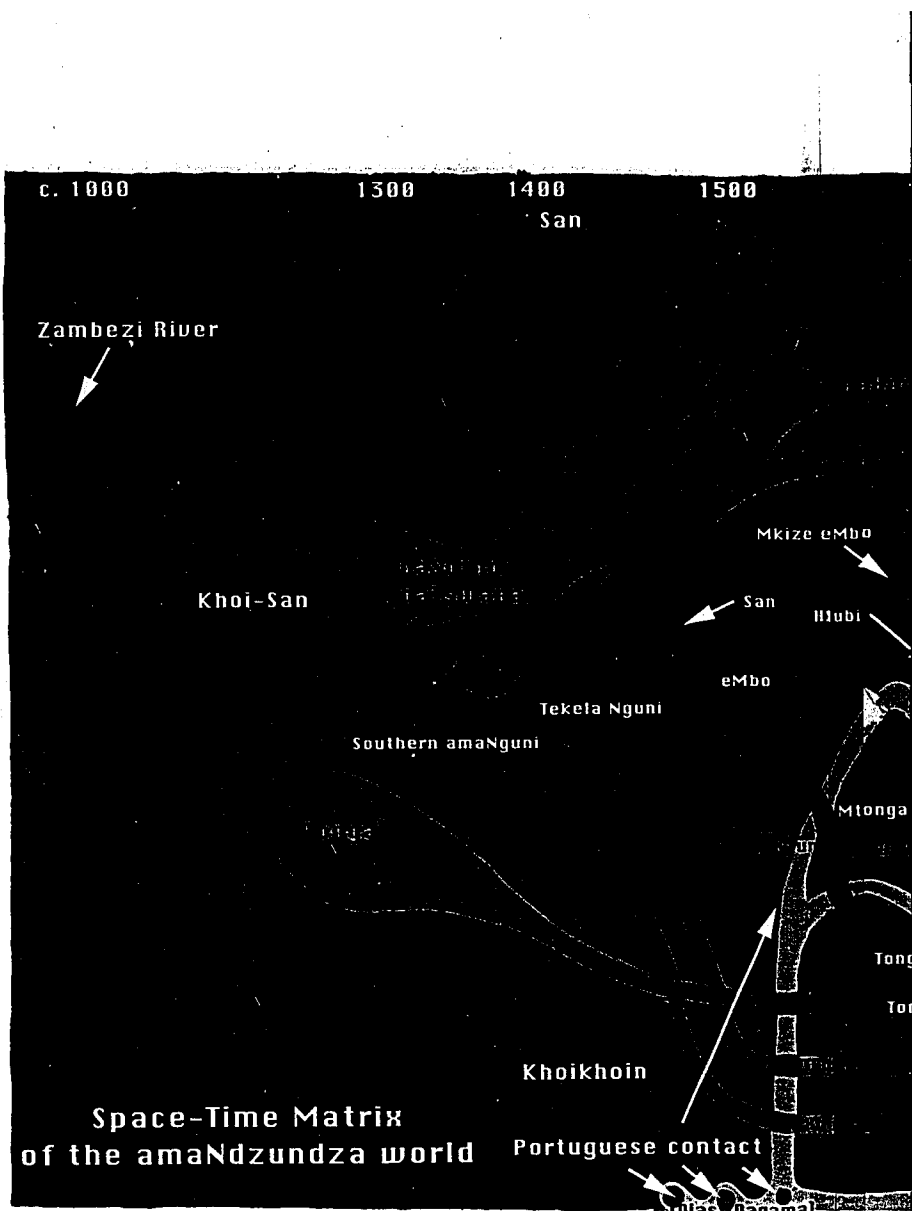
Fig 4a The Space-Time Matrix of the amaNdzundza world (where necessitated by the lack
of space, some prefixes were dropped from the text in the matrix)

1600 1700 1800

Anglo-Boer War

baKwena

ZAR (Pretoria 1855)

Mkize eMbo

Dlamini

Hlubi

[Zwide]

BMS [Merensky]

Ndebele [Mzilikazi]

baPedi

baPedi Lydenburg Rep.)

1882-3
Mapoch
war

amaNd?

ZAR ZAR

Hlubi

Nomads

Swazi
Kingdom

Ndwandwe

Mtonga

Zulu

Khumalo [Mzilikazi]
amaZulu
Kingdom

Natalia

[Zwide]

[Shaka]

[Dingiswayo]

Lala

Ngwane

Debe

Tonga Nguni

Mtetwe

Tonga

Xhosa War

Great Trek

Dutch
VOC

Dutch farmers

Cape Town GB

British Colony

[gama]

1800　　　　　　　　1900　　　　　　　　2000

Anglo-Boer War

Africa

baKwena

ZAR (Pretoria 1855)

Lesotho

Zwide

BMS [Merensky]

South

baPedi
(ydenburg Rep.)

1882-3
Mapoch
war

Nebo　　KwaNdebele

Khumalo [Mzilikazi]

ZAR　　ZAR

amaNdzundza on white farms

Nomads

Swazi
Kingdom

Swaziland

Khumalo [Mzilikazi]
amaZulu
[wide]　Kingdom
[Shaka]
[Dingiswayo]

Natalia

apartheid

"Homelands"

Great Trek

tch farmers

British Colony

between the Limpopo and the Zambezi Rivers, the amaNguni do not resemble any group further north of their territory in either language or tradition, except those that post-date their arrival[50].

3.4.1   The amaNguni's Genesis

Related groups	Main Group	Neighbors	Place of residence
	abaNtu	KhoiSan	from Central Africa
	⬇		
baSotho baTswana Tsonga	**amaNguni**	KhoiSan	crossing the Zambezi
	⬇		
Southern amaNguni	**Tekela amaNguni**	KhoiSan	to the east coast of South Africa
	⬇		
Tonga amaNguni	**eMbó**	KhoiSan Tonga	uBombo
	⬇		
Ndwandwe Mtonga Ngwane Mkize Dlamini	**amaHlubi**	KhoiSan baSotho	Drakensberg/Lundini
	⬇		
NTvl Ndebele amaHlubi	**amaNdebele**	baHurutse baKwena baKgatla	Central trans-Vaal
	⬇		
aManala	**amaNdzundza**	baPedi baKoni baTau Mongatane baPai baKutswe baPulane	Eastern trans-Vaal: lower Steelpoort River
	⬇		
	amaNdzundza	maTebele Ndwandwe	Scattered
	⬇		
	amaNdzundza	baPedi amaSwazi Boers Missionaries English	KoNomtjharhelo
	⬇		
	amaNdzundza	Boer Farmers baSotho	Boer farms on Highveld
	⬇		
	amaNdzundza	baPedi City-dwellers Farmers	KwaNdebele (apartheid) White cities Farms

Figure 4b: Layout showing the evolution of the amaNdzundza milieu

The early amaNguni could be distinguished as to speak pure isiNguni, and those who reflect baSotho and 'Tonga influence use *tekela*[51] in their speech.[52] The *tekela* amaNguni lived between the Tukela and Mzimkhulu Rivers in Natal, and the pure amaNguni south of the Mzimkhulu and north of the Tukela.[53]

- **Scrutinizing Theal, Soga and Bryant's Accounts**

According to Theal, the peoples along the southeastern coast are so "closely related to each other in language and customs that they must have formed a community by themselves, or perhaps a single tribe, at no distant time.[54]" He dates their movements as no more than three centuries ago. Wilson points out, though, that this construct is based on a single assumption, which was taken over by Walker and Soga, and has become a legendary basis for South African history ever since[55]. They all believe that the eMbó amaNguni were the same people as the Mumbos north of the Zambezi River. Both the Mumbos and the Mazimba formed a group who attacked the Portuguese at Tete and Sena in 1570. Theal writes:

> The Mumbos of the Portuguese are to a certainty the Abambo of more recent history... A section of the Abambo must have directed its march towards the south some time between 1570 and 1590... The Abambo at length reached the valley of the Tugela River, in what is now the colony of Natal, where they formed settlements.[56]

Soga's construct is even more elaborated, leaving one at odds as to his sources:

> ...The Aba-Mbo (Mumbos)...cross(ed) the Zambesi. Those who got over continued their movement southwards, crossed the Sabi River, and settled down for a time between that river and the Limpopo. This position they reached about 1575. (By now), a period of about fifteen years elapsed. They moved very leisurely, resting by the way, probably breaking up the ground and raising crops, then moved on again. Here they must have remained for nearly two generations, ...until in 1620 they had reached their final destination, Northern Natal.[57]

In truth, all we know is that the Mumbos lived on the north bank of the Zambezi River in 1592, that there was a kingdom called Vambe in Natal in 1589, a great chief called Bambe a little way south of Lourenco Marques in 1593, and Emboas on the Natal coast in 1686.[58]

Wilson calls Theal's (and thus Soga's) accounts "...mumbo-jumbo," while she refers to Bryant's account as "...much more cogent..." The only problem she finds with Bryant's account is the chronology[59]. He assumes that the amaNguni migrated south at the time of the oldest ancestor in

the oral tradition, and dates the lifetime of that ancestor by calculating the generations in the
genealogy, not taking in account that genealogies usually get telescoped, and that some ancestor's
names are forgotten. Van Warmelo is less enthusiastic concerning Bryant's account. He writes:

> ...The massive volumes of Bryant and of Soga have not only laid a groundwork that can
> neither be done over again nor undone nor ignored, ... (They came) to conclusions
> impossible to reconcile, they have shown that as regards (ama)Nguni origins we are up
> against a fundamental and intractable problem. The theories hitherto put forward appear to
> me not worth repeating here. They are fanciful and do not meet the case. (They are) equally
> uncritical theories[60]

The author, acknowledging the shortcomings in the chronology of Bryant's construct, and the fact
that it is probably only reliable in as far as the amaNguni (his specialty people) are concerned,
describes it further. It is intended as a starting point, as to introduce the eMbó and specifically the
amaHlubi, whose genealogy according to Bryant's account is what informs our knowledge of the
amaNdebele.

• Bryant's Theory on the Origin of the amaNguni

Bryant reconstructs the amaNguni ancient past[61] as follows: The Khoi-San people inhabited the
whole sub-continent below the Zambezi River. The amaNguni migrated from the north and not
being able to cross the Zambezi River (which was a mile wide at its narrowest) with their cattle,
slowly migrated to its source (see figure 2c-d). Once crossing the river (approximately a 1000
years ago) they came in contact with the Khoi-San, with whom they intermarried (hence the clicks
in the isiNguni speech). They kept migrating south, until they came to the north-western region of
the trans-Vaal (the upper Limpopo River region), where the group split in two:

1. The so-called 'pure amaNguni' (referring to the amaNguni before their scattering into many
   different and inter-marrying groups) migrated to the south-eastern corner of the trans-Vaal
   region, where they broke in two again, namely into the *Xóza* (amaXhosa or Southern
   amaNguni, here referred to as 1.1) and the Ntungwa (1.2) groups (c. 1500). The Southern
   amaNguni moved south in two groups: the Tembo who migrated against the coast, and the
   Modern amaXhosa who migrated past the Drakensberg, after which they reunited south of the
   modern KwaZulu-Natal. From the Ntungwa later sprang the amaZulu, the 'Kumalos, etc.

2. In the meantime, an alien people (Bryant thinks the Venda-Karanga) joint the amaNguni that stayed behind at the upper Limpopo.

While in the process of inter-marriage, a second group (Tekela-Ngunis--2.1) crossed the Limpopo (late 16th century)[62] and migrated seawards. Before reaching the coast, they split in two once more. The one group (2.1.1) wheeled southward, from about the Komati River, and occupied for a time the area between the Lebombo Mountains and the sea south of modern Maputo (Mozambique). Here they became known as the abaMbo or aba-s-eMbo (they were still here when the Portuguese first traversed these parts at the end of the 16th century, and were named vaMbe by the latter). The second group (2.1.2) migrated towards the sea, when they came into contact with the Tonga, with whom they intermarried. They then headed southwards, along the coast through modern KwaZulu-Natal. They settled in the upper Tukela district as the Tonga-Nguni, amongst whom we find the Mtetwa, the Lala, and the Debe groups.

The amaNguni who stayed behind (2.2) mixed with the Venda-Karanga newcomers (who outnumbered them), to such an extent that a new language was given birth to, namely seSotho. They became known as the baKoni, such as the baHurutse, baKwena, ba-ma-Ngwato and baNgwaketsi.

The greatest shortcoming of this account is its chronology regarding the last group of people, generally known as the baSotho-baTswana. Breutz tells us that the baKwena and the baHurutse entered the trans-Vaal between 1300 and 1450 (1989:6-7; 1350-1400:4) via Botswana. This information he collected in 1936 amongst baHurutse informants.

3.4.2   The amaHlubi-amaNguni's eMbó[63] Genesis (Bryant's Construct)[64]

Who were the eMbó people? As seen earlier, the Tekela-amaNguni people (Bryant's construct: 2.1.1), who settled in (what then became known as uBombó), the country between the Lubombo range (the locative form *eluBombó*) and the coast became known as the *abaMbó* or *aba-s-eMbó* (*vaMbe* in Portuguese--see figure 2c). They still inhabited this country at the end of the 16th century. The veMbe was known to the Portuguese in 1550 as 'down south', this being the latest date of their arrival below the Lubombo. An old eMbó informant told Bryant that they came to this country from *"...lapo indoda iti ingasoma nentombi, ibe ibebeza njengambuzi..."* (freely translated as: 'there beyond the inKomati river'--tributary of the Crocodile or Manyisa, entering Delagoa

Bay).[65] Their most prominent ancestral name is Dlamini I (d. 1527). Bryant argues Dlamini to have been their chief during their travels from beyond the Nkomati River to uBombó.[66] He identifies Mhlanga and Musi (amaNdebele fathers) as the son and grandson of Dlamini.[67]

1	Mkulunkosi	c. 1401
2	Kuwawawa	c. 1419
3	Kulwamba	c. 1437
4	Sidwabaselutuli	c. 1455
5	Nkosi	c. 1473
6	Ngwane	c. 1491
7	Cebisa	c. 1509
8	Dlamini I	c. 1527

Figure 5: The Chiefs of the eMbó people, from their genesis to their migration to uBombó during the rule of Dlamini (adapted from Bryant)

Mkize		Dlamini (Natal)		amaHlubi	
Dlamini I ➔=	c. 1527	Dlamini I ➔ =?	c. 1532	Dlamini	(c. 1630?)
Sihubu	c. 1545	Mnyambane	c. 1550	↘ *1st amaHlubi chief* ↓	
Nkabingwe	c. 1563	Kuta	c. 1568	*Bryant's Hlubi-dilemma* ↓	
Mbodlo	c. 1581	Nomagwala	c. 1586	*Mhlanga was the son of*	
Mswati I	c. 1599	Sigongweni	c. 1604	*Dlamini--dates incorrect*	
Sikulumaloyo	c. 1617	Lokotwako	c. 1622		↓
Msimude	c. 1635	Lolwa	c. 1640	**Mhlanga**	**c. 1648**
Zamuketi	c. 1653	Lubiyela	c. 1758	**Musi**	**c. 1666**
Nkomokabako	c. 1671	Ntlontlonde	c. 1676	Mtimkulu I	c. 1684
Nkosi II	c. 1689	Domo	c. 1694	Buswebengwe	c. 1702
Langa	c. 1688	Lusibalukulu	c. 1712	Mashwabade	c. 1720
		Dlamini II	c. 1730	Mlotsha	c. 1738
				Hadebe	c. 1756

Figure 6: The Chiefs of the eMbó peoples, during their stay at uBombó (adapted from Bryant)

- **Bryant's Account of the eMbó's Migration to Quatlhamba (the Drakensberg)**

From here they migrated as group, some entering modern Swaziland and Northern KwaZulu-Natal, some went as far as the modern Vryheid and Utrecht districts, and others yet crossed the Mzinyati (Buffalo) river. Here they became known as the Mbó, or eMbó.[68] Bryant gives the members of the eMbó as follows:

... The ema-Langeni (in their two branches, the Ngwanes in Swaziland, and the Mtongas, seawards of the lower Lubombo), the Nwandwes (south of the Pongolo), the Hlubis (at the upper Mzinyati), the Dlaminis (among the upper Tukela) and the eMbós (lower down the same river, on its tributary, the Ntsuze). Nongqanga (still living in 1910), son of the Swazi king Sobuza (d. 1839), used to bear witness to an old tradition among his clansmen that the amaMpondo (of the Cape) also belonged to this same eMbó--Nguni group.[69]

According to Bryant, the Natal Dlaminis (Kuzes, etc.), the Mkize eMbó and the amaHlubi were the first sections of the abaMbo tribe to break away from the uBombó settlement (between the years 1680 and 1730), migrating up the Mkuze river, past the eNgome hill and round to the south, through the then unoccupied tracts of upper Zululand (see figure 3). The migration was led by another great Natal eMbó ancestor, Langa (d. 1688), with Dlamini II (from whom the Natal Dlaminis date their origin, d. 1730), and Hadebe (the most prominent of the amaHlubi ancestors, d. 1756).[70]

The amaHlubi (emaMlutshini) now were dwelling roughly from the Blood River to the sources of the Mzinyati River. They were one of the largest cultural groups in South Africa. Being eMbó, they did not speak the pure amaNguni (amaZulu) language of the Ntungwa-amaNguni, but the *tekela* dialect thereof. Their clothes differed from that of the Ntungwa-amaNguni as well.[71]

3.5   The First amaNdebele

3.5.1   The amaNdebele Birth out of the amaHlubi

'Lundini' in the Quathlamba Mountains is indicative of the amaNdebele place of origin. Seeing that the amaNdebele is a splinter group of the amaHlubi (an eMbó amaNguni people) who dwelt in the Drakensberg Mountains (Quathlamba Mountains), Lundini definitely indicates a once-existing settlement. It is located somewhere in the heartland of the old amaHlubi people (according to Bryant, from the Blood River to the sources of the Mzinyati River). Despite Lundini's locality exactly in the area of amaNdebele origin, some scholars believe that Lundini is a mythological settlement. According to Bahwaduba oral tradition, Musi moved from 'Maponong' in the Drakensberg to the Highveld. Fourie gives the place of origin of the amaNdebele as the Tugela River between St Johns River and Durban, also in the modern KwaZulu-Natal. Breutz's informants from the Escourt district (1989:399) tell us that Mtimkulu I, the forefather of the

amaHlubi was the son of Dlomo and the younger brother of Langa (also known as Langalibelele). Dlomo, of course, was the son of Musi and the brother of Ndzundza.

The amaHlubi in these days (c. 1600) were a very numerous people. At some stage a group separated from the amaHlubi, migrating straight north via modern Swaziland to the eastern trans-Vaal. This group was called the amaNdebele by the baTswana in the trans-Vaal, and is today known as the Northern trans-Vaal amaNdebele (not to be confused with the amaNdebele of aManala and amaNdzundza). Shortly after the first migration, a second group migrated onto the plateau, heading for the modern Gauteng province (central trans-Vaal--see figures 4-5). This group was also called amaNdebele by the baTswana (baKwena-baHurutse), and supposedly consisted of the chief Msi (the isiNguni form of the 'Tswana personal noun *Musi*) and all his followers. Some informants claim that the migration pre-dated the rule of Msi, and that Mhlanga or Mafana (one of the previous two rulers) made the journey. This is highly unlikely, though, considering that the name of Msi still showed up in the genealogy of the amaHlubi in the Quathlamba Mountains.

All Msi's followers were called his sons in the oral traditions. This is probably also incorrect. At least some of the people given in the literature as the sons of Msi represent leaders who affiliated themselves with the amaHlubi of Msi. The following section gives the conflicting information and genealogies handed down to us via the oral traditions, without any attempt to make sense of the contradictions. A reconciliation of these genealogies is made impossible giving the lack of information, and falls outside the scope of the thesis.

- Genealogies Giving Accounts of the People of Msi (Musi/uMsi):

- **Bryant's construct** for the amaHlubi: (1929: opp p. 314) after an amaHlubi informant (1905), one of the oldest sons of Mtimkulu, Bungane's son's family:

Dlamini c.1630 →O	Mhlanga c.1648→O	Musi c. 1666 →O	Mtimkulu I 1684→O	Buswebengwe c.1702

Figure 7

- **Soga's construct** for the amaHlubi, amaZengele, amaBele and amaNdaba: (1930: opp p. 402):

Mhuhu →O	Mhlanga →O	Msi →O	Mntungwa →O	Ndlovu
& O	Zengele		& O	Ndaba
& O	Bele			

Figure 8

- **Fourie's construct** for the amaNdzundza: (1921:33-35): after C. M. Du Plooy, an Afrikaner born in 1845, and after **Massie's construct** (1905:33) and the **Transvaal Native Affairs Department's construct** (1905). (**Van Vuuren's construct** (1983) after Fourie and Maré. **Shabangu's construct** (1989) after Fourie).

Mafana i1483 →O	Mhlanga →O	Musi (Msi) →O	Manala	[aManala] ①
		& O	Masombuka	(to Lesotho) [Ndz]
		& O	Ndzundza	[amaNdzundza] ②
		& O	Mathombeni	(Manala offshoot?)
		& O	Dlomu	(to Natal) [Ndz]

Figure 9

- **Maré's construct** for the amaNdebele: (ms 1: pp. 42-48), unpublished, accessed through van Vuuren.

Mafana i1551 →O	Mhlanga →O	Musi →O	Manala	[aManala] ①
		& O	Skosana	[support Ndzundza]
		& O	Ndzundza	②
		& O	Mathombeni	(Manala offshoot?)
		& O	Dlombu	(to Natal) [Ndz]
		& O	Mphafuli	(alias for Sibasa ?)

Figure 10

- **Van Warmelo's construct** for the aManala: (1930: pp. 7, 1213)

Mafana i1551 →O	Mhlanga →O	Msi →O	Manala	[aManala] ①
		& O	Ndzundza	[amaNdzudza] ②
		& O	Mhwaduba	(Manala offshoot?)
		& O	Dlomu	(to Natal) [Ndz]
		& O	Sibasa	
		& O	Mathombeni	(Manala offshoot?)

Figure 11

- **Breutz's construct** for the amaNdebele, and amaHlubi (1989:397-399). After several informants (some from the Escourt district (1936)) and Mayisha Cornelius Mabhoko Mahlangu, who was born in 1871 (1961).

Mhlanga →O	Phofu /Mafu →O	Msi b.1600-30→O	Dlomo →O	Langa (-libalele)
& O			& O	Mtimkulu I (Hlubi)
		& O	Manala	[aManala] ①
		& O	Ndzundza	[amaNdzudza] ②
			Hwaduba	
			Dwaba and Dlomo	(to Natal)

Figure 12

3.5.2 Cultural Environment (the Central trans-Vaal)

- **The baHurutse and the baKwena**

26
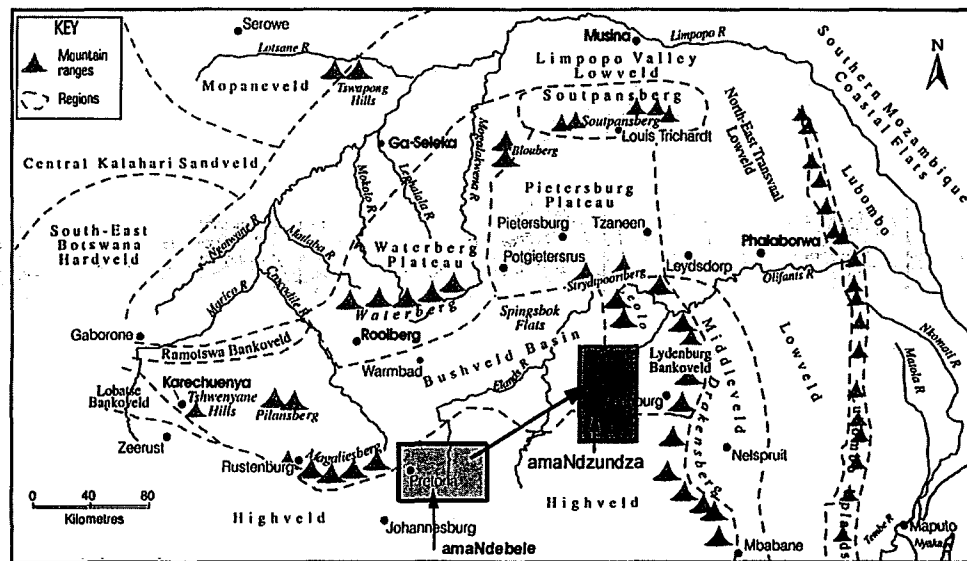
Fig. 13a Main geographical regions of the trans-Vaal interior (Parsons 1995: The Mfecane aftermath)

SITES OF RUINS AND TSWANA HISTORICAL AREAS

•━━•	POLITICAL BOUNDARY
••━━••	PROVINCAL BOUNDARIAL
O	STONE KRAALS
⌂	STONE HUTS
X	ANCIENT MINES
••	APPROX. AREA BEFORE 1500
XX	APPROX. AREA AFTER 1500
— —	APPROX. AREA AFTER 1600/1700
R	ROLONG
HK	HURUTSHE – KWENA
HU	BAHURUTSHE
KW	BAKWENA
KHU	BA KHUDU (KWENA)
PHO	BAKWENA BAPHOGÔLE BA MARE
MOG	BAKWENA BA MOGÔPA
MOO	BAKWENA BA MOOMOSANA
MOL	BAKWENA BA MOLOTSWANE
PHA	BAPHALANE (KWENA)
FO	BAFOKENG (KWENA)
KGA	BAKGATLA
PHI	BAPHIRING
KU	BAKUBUNG
N	NDEBELE ORIGIN

Fig.13b Breutz's map of the sites of ruins and baTswana Historical areas in the central trans Vaal

Southern trans-Vaal amaNdebele
+ + + + + amaNdzundza
. . . . amaMhwaduba
– – – – aManala
⊙ Modern Cities
• amaNdebele settlements

Olifants R.

Steelpoort River

NORTH

Kwa Sianuyembiwa
Weltevreden

Elands R.

1883 KoNomtjharhelo
      Roossenekal

Walmannsthal

Hammanskraal

Kwa Mayamana (Bon Accord)

KoQoli

Loskopdam

Staffberg Kwa Maza

Kwa Simkhulu

Kwa Mthimba
Derdepoort

PRETORIA

MIDDLEBURG

WITBANK

Central trans-Vaal

Kwa Hlanga
Welgelegen

Eastern trans-Vaal

Small Olifants R.

EmHlangeni (?)
Randfontain

From Lundini in KwaZulu-Natal

0   20   40   60   80   100 km

Fig 14 The Movements of the amaNdzundza and aManala (after Van Vuuren)

Who were the baTswana people? Breutz tells us that between 1350 and 1400, a large migration group of baTswana (baKwena-baHurutshe) came to the southern parts of the present districts of Rustenburg (Madikwe) and Brits (in the present district of Odi) at the foot of the Zwartkoppies, Majwanamaswana (see figure 14b). These migrations are said to have come straight from the north and through Botswana, probably along the Magalakwing river.[72] Prior to the time of these early migrations, there had been a close relationship between these baTswana peoples under one chief. In the general area of modern Pretoria, the Magaliesberg Mountains were named after the baKwena chief Mohale who inhabited this area. Today many ruins are to be found in this area ascribed to the baKwena, placing them in very close contact with the amaNdebele.

At about 1450 to 1480, the beHurutshe first separated from this dual-tribe because the chief had no male successor and the baKwena did not want to recognize his daughter Mohurutshe. During this period, chieftainship had mainly a ritual significance.[73] These two peoples still dwelt in close relation until the end of the 17th century. Some of the baKwena moved to the Southern Highveld (c. 1500) (van Wyk 1988:55), where they found the Fokeng in possession of the land (for as long as two centuries), and where they, in conjunction with the Tlokoa and Taung (who joined them later), made up the South baSotho people. The baTswana multiplied to such an extent that they today make up the bulk of the populations of Botswana, the old Transvaal and Freestate provinces of South Africa and Lesotho (ancestors of Moshweshwe, the southern baSotho). Some of the sub-cultures related to the baKwena are the Fokeng, the Mmanamela, the Modimosana and the Mmatau. Van Warmelo writes that the Rolong and Tlhaping came to the central trans-Vaal before the Hurutshe and Kwena. "From the beginning all these (peoples) showed a tendency to split after quarrels over the chieftainship. But the country was large and there was room for everybody and on the whole the Tswana seem to have multiplied and prospered until 1825."[74]

- **The baKgatla**

The baKgatla (who dwelt to the north of modern Pretoria and thus of the amaNdebele) were another of the baTswana people with whom the amaNdebele had to share the central trans-Vaal (see figure 14b). Unlike the baKwena and baHurutse, the baKgatla culture would have a major impact on the amaNdzundza, not just because of the proximity of their settlements while living in the modern Pretoria area, but even after they left the area for the eastern trans-Vaal. At roughly the

same time that the amaNdzundza left the central trans-Vaal, a baKgatla group called the Maroteng would undertake the same journey, and become known as the baPedi or northern baSotho, the amaNdzundza's future overlords. Today the baKgatla of the central trans-Vaal consists of several groups which live widely dispersed, from the Kgafela of Mochudi and Pilansberg in the west, the Mmakau and Mosetlha in the center (near Pretoria), and the Motsha on the Springbok flats.[75]

3.5.3 History of the amaNdebele in the Central trans-Vaal

In moving to the central trans-Vaal from the coastal amaNguni territory, the amaNdebele entered baTswana country (see figures 13-14). It is here that they were called amaNdebele for the first time and, most notably, where they encountered mural art by way of the baKwena architecture.

According to van Vuuren informants, the first two amaNdebele chiefs dwelt at Emhlangeni (see figures 13-4) on the Highveld. These two chiefs were Mafana (Linghana) and Mhlanga (Lirudla). They believed that it was during the government of Mhlanga that the amaNdebele moved away (to KwaMnyamana). According to van Vuuren, they stayed in Emhlangeni at least thirty years in the time period 1557-1587. Many authors have hinted at the possibility that the first two rulers of the amaNdebele were mythological in nature. Although van Vuuren believes that Mhangeni existed, the author would, in chapter four, postulate the hypothesis that Mhangeni is a mythological settlement. Shabangu's text gives Emhlangeni as the first capital of the amaNdebele, but places it in the Delmas area. From there he narrates a move to Wonderboom (north of Pretoria) and later a move to K/Onomtjherhelo--Roossenekal.

KwaMnyamana or Emarula (near the Bon Accord dam) is the first amaNdebele site that was located by archaeologists. Breutz calls the settlement Monyama and believes that it was the first amaNdebele settlement. He also gives the name Zonkololo for a settlement that was supposed to have been between the present-day Pretoria and Rayton. Before the fight between Manala and Ndzundza, Breutz states that Musi moved to Makgophane, adjoining the present-day Mmamelodi suburb of modern Pretoria East. According to some oral traditions, Musi did not make it to present day Pretoria, but his son Manala moved there after the war with his brother Ndzundza at Lepele (Olifants River). Breutz's theory is that Ndzundza moved from KwaMnyamana to the Witbank area, then to Ndobase (near Stoffberg in the Middleburg district) and finally to Nomtsagelo (near modern day Roos Senekal). Fourie gives Musi's first place of residence in the trans-Vaal as

Mnyamana, but place it near Wonderboompoort, in Pretoria North. Potgieter believed the amaNdebele to have come straight to Wonderboom from the Drakensberg under the chieftain-ship of Musi.

Be it as it may, the amaNdebele shared their new world and resources with the local baTswana population to the north and the west. The baTswana, who spoke a completely different abaNtu language than the amaNdebele, were very successful pastoralists and agriculturists, and have dwelt in the area for about three hundred years, so they were very prosperous. Towards the end of the 17th century (some time between 1680 and 1700), when the baTswana population had increased greatly, a period of drought and famine caused a search for grazing and water.[76] The amaNdebele must have suffered from the drought of this period, because a group of them (called the beTlhako in seTswana) moved westward in search of grazing land.[77] Some academics believe that the drought gave rise to the migration of those baTswana who considered themselves later to be South-baSotho.

By the time of the draught in the trans-Vaal, the amaNdzundza oral tradition relates a war between Musi's two sons, Manala and Ndzundza. According to this narrative, Musi was old and blind, and he gave his blessings and the chieftainship to the wrong son. Ndzundza deceived his father presenting himself as Manala. The story bears a close resemblance to the biblical tale of Isaac and Jacob. When Manala found out what his younger brother did, he mobilized his warriors and the war between the two brothers started. Shabangu (1989:ix) best summarized the events following on the meeting between Musi and Manala from the original tradition documented by van Warmelo. He writes:

> ...Manala took some loyal men with him and they proceeded to hunt down Ndzundza. The men fought against Ndzundza's men and drove them away; they were later instructed to return and kill him. The people of Msiza assisted Ndzundza. The fighting carried on right up to the 'Bhalule' (Olifants River), which was in flood. Then the (ama)Ndzundza had to decide between drowning in the river or being killed by their enemies, the (a)Manala. An elderly Msiza lady of rank of the Msiza-mother, asked for an otter's skin that she put on, then she kneeled on another skin and closed her eyes. When she cried out that the (ama)Ndzundza should seize their combatants, the chief replied 'No, there is nothing more valuable than a human being'. A girl--a sister of Ndzundza, named Mthize--was taken and sent as a peace offering, to become the great wife of the chief (Manala). It all ended there and the (a)Manala went home. From then onward they began to take wives from one another. Thus Ndzundza, that is, the chief of the (ama)Ndzundza section, would take a wife or girl of the (ama)Nala tribe and vice versa. The (ama)Nala tribe would take their queen from the Ndzundza people. This was the practice for a while but it came to an end with the

wife of Silamba, the mother of Buthi. A princess was chosen, sent to Ndzundza and was married there. But the Ndzundza people did not make the (ama)Nala princess the great wife. She was sent back and remained small (that is not a great wife) until she had borne a prince for the amaNdzundza. They reasoned: 'If we make this princess a great wife, she will take the people and cause them to go back to Manala, because she is a descendant of Manala'.

3.6   The amaNdzundza in the Eastern trans-Vaal before 1823

3.6.1   Cultural Environment

In what follows, the peoples who shared the eastern trans-Vaal with the amaNdzundza, from the 1650 (see figure 15a) to the eclipse of the amaNdzundza stronghold in 1883, are briefly discussed. One group that is not mentioned below is the baKopa, a baTswana people who are, according to van Warmelo (1974:75), best classified today as North-baSotho, and who live close to the Olifants River. Kuhn (1936:298-99) documented an oral tradition of the baKopa, in which they celebrate victories over both the amaNdzundza chief 'Mapogo' and the baPedi chief 'Sekoati':

> *...Ke boganelo bya ditsaba, Masemola o re ke leso, Mapogo o re ke leso, Sekoati o re ke leso, Le gana le mon Makobo...*[78]

- **vhaMbedzi**

The vhaMbedzi are baVenda who inhabited the area northeast of the amaNdzundza. They came from somewhere north of the Limpopo River, a country that was somewhat vaguely called 'vhuKalanga'.[79] The specific area of settlement in the eastern trans-Vaal included the Right Bank of the Steelpoort River in the neighborhood where Burgersfort, Aapiesdoorndraai and Viljoenshoop are today.[80] Their occupation of this area pre-dates the arrival of the Maroteng (pre-1750-1780). Their eclipse is tied to this date, if only by some oral tradition[81], which asserts that the Maroteng drove them out on their arrival. The period of their residing in this area might have been considerable, seeing that (according to some accounts) the Maroteng adopted their name in order to perpetuate the ancient spirits of the land. Another oral tradition narrates that the Maroteng allowed some vhaMbedzi to live amongst them as a form of symbiosis. The vhaMbedzi was an iron-making people, a skill that the Maroteng over time acquired from them in order to make the Maroteng independent of other peoples in the matter of iron working. The Maroteng were thus able to say "We are now our own vhaMbedzi", i.e. 'we are now baPedi'[82]. Other traditions recall that the country in which the Maroteng arrived was already called *boPedi*, from which they took their name, and which would point towards the same linguistic link with the vhaMbedzi. The

The eastern trans-
Vaal of the
amaNdzundza

about 1650

Bapedi Advance ······

amaNdzundza
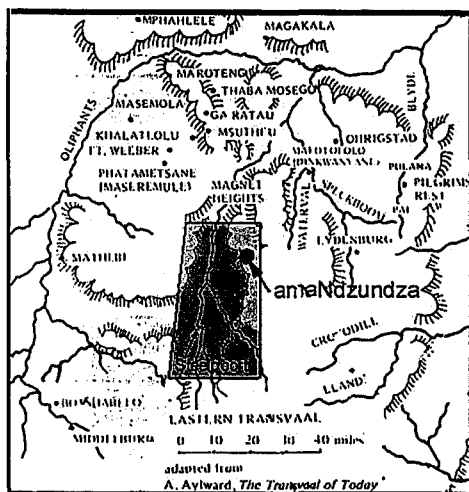
amaNdzundza

Fig 15a The eastern trans Vaal of the amaNdzundza in c. 1650 (Hunt)
Fig 15b Delius and Aylward's map of the eastern trans Vaal in c. 1888

SOUTH AFRICA
THE GREAT TREK
1836-1846

MAP No.3

MZILIKAZI IN THE
EASTERN TRANSVAAL

ROUTE
MODERN BORDERS
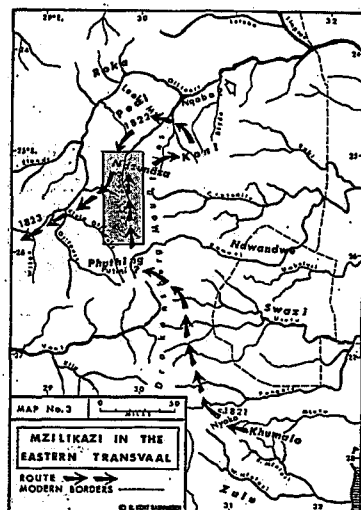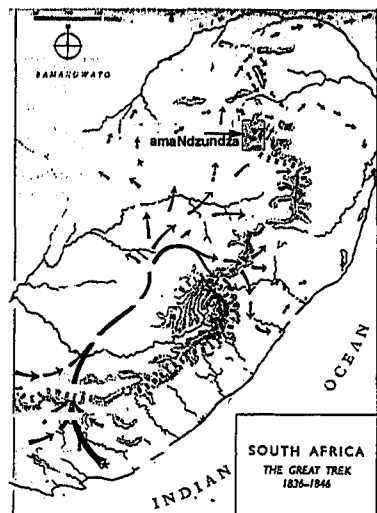
Fig 15c The amaNdzundza in relation to the Great Trek of the Voortrekkers
Fig 15d The amaNdzundza in relation to the movements of Mzilikazi (Rasmussen)
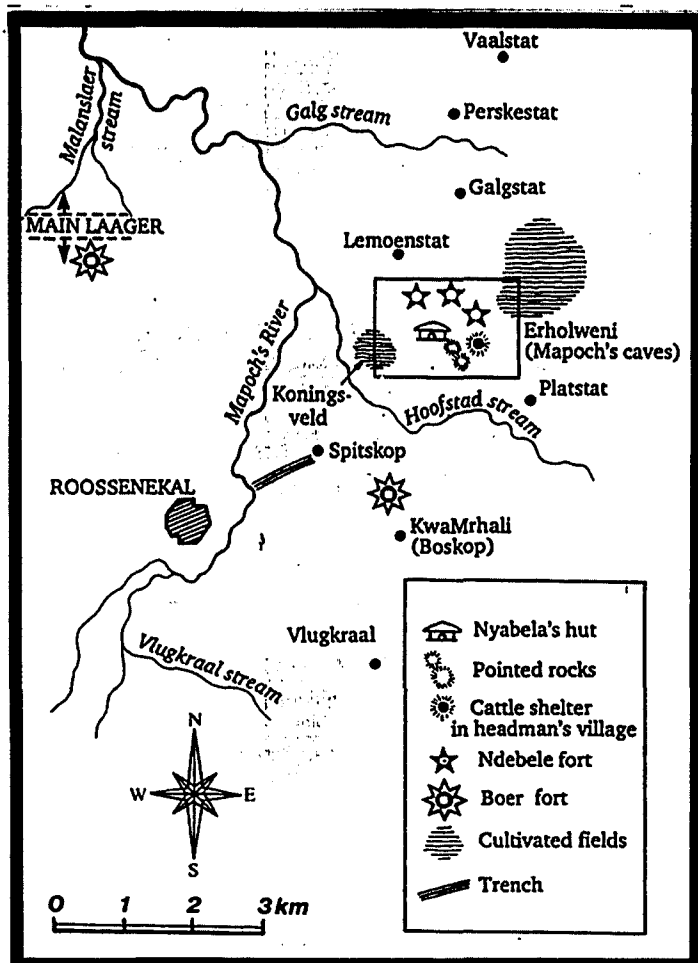
Fig 15e KoNomtjharhelo and other amaNdzundza strongholds
in the eastern trans Vaal (shabangu and van Vuuren)

vhaMbedzi left the country to join the Venda in the far north of modern South Africa, were they dwelt at Luvhimbi,[83] from where they still acknowledge their origin. Here they were reputed not to have been rulers but rainmakers.[84]

- **The 'East baSotho' Peoples: the baPai, the baPulane and the baKutswe**

It is known that the 'eastern trans-Vaal' was populated at the end of the eighteenth century by these three eastern baSotho peoples, who distinguished themselves from the other peoples on the basis of totemic affiliation and tradition of origin.[85] van Warmelo tells us that the baPai and the baPulane occupied present Swaziland, until the times of Shaka, when the Ndwandwe amaNguni found the new amaNguni Swazi Kingdom.[86] He writes:

> ... (ba)Pulan(e) are under some dozen minor chieftains; the (ba)Kutswe under one, and much in with the Tsonga; the (ba)Pai are dispersed and being absorbed into the Swazi of these parts. Linguistically, (ba)Pulan(e) and (ba)Kutswe belong closer together, but traditions show they are not related. The (ba)Pai, before being subjugated by the Swazi, were living in the *Lowveld* north of *Swaziland*. The (ba)Kutswe are (ba)Kwena from the interior plateau in the west. The (ba)Pulana have the tradition that they were the original inhabitants of *northern Swaziland* until forced out by the rising Swazi power. In their mountains they have resisted Swazi and Tsonga influences. Of (ba)Pai culture and their distinctive language (*hiPai*) very little is left.[87]

Of the eastern baSotho peoples, the baKutswe interests us the most, being the only one of the three peoples who inhabited the interior plateau to the east of the amaNdzundza. The baPulane inhabited the area know known as Pilgrimsrest and Bushbuckridge, and though they fell under the baPedi long ago, they have by the nineteenth century separated again and only slightly acknowledge the baPedi who still claim them as subjects.[88]

Our most important source regarding the eastern baSotho is without doubt Ziervogel's 1954 tribal, linguistic and historical analysis of the people.[89] He writes that one, even in the middle of the 20th century could still find ruins of the eastern baSotho settlements along the Komati River deep into the trans-Vaal. They comprised of circular stone walls, usually clustered together, and were connected to other similar settlements hundreds of yards away. The nature of the connections was no given. Hill terraces were discernable against the mountain slopes, suggesting that they were terrace-agriculturists. The pot and human remains in the settlements showed that they were not as the amaNdzundza were, of amaNguni origin. The mother of the chief of the settlement played an

important role in the cultural life of these people, and one would expect would have an important position in the settlement.

The baPai were originally from the uThukela River district, in modern KwaZulu-Natal. By the first half of the 19th century, their territory stretched from emPakeni in the north to the umLumati river in the south, and they were under the leadership of Lesisi, the son of Hereke with the Tonga as their near neighbors. From here they went to live at the confluence of the umLambongwane (Cape) and the liThaka (South Cape) Rivers. The Swazi people in due course subjugated them. The baPai fled from the Swazi and became the amaNdzundza's near neighbors when they were allowed by Sekwati, the baPedi royal, to settle in Sekukuniland on the western bank of the Steelpoort river, at the foot of the Leolu mountains. The baPai returned to their country along the Sabie River one year before the eclipse of the amaNdzundza Empire in 1882.[90] For a detailed description of baPai architecture, see chapter four.

The oldest known location of the baPulane (see figure 15b) was Motshiteng, the exact position of which is not known. From there they migrated via the Krokodilspoort, district Nelspruit to settle at Sakwaneng, a hill north east of Pretoriuskop. It is believed that they did not practice agriculture here, since the food supplies naturally found on the land were plentiful. It was here that the Swazi conquered them.[91]

The baKutswe are referred to as the *baKwena ba-meetsi a magolo* ('the baKwena of the great waters'), denoting their place of origin, at the great water of Sedibeng, in the west. They migrated east to the northern parts of modern Swaziland, in the district of Pigg's Peak. After pressure from the Swazi, they moved north, to the north-east of present Nelspruit, near the river called Kutswe, from where they got their name. The ruins of their settlement are discussed in chapter four, but it is worth mentioning here that they were a very influential people along the valley of the Sabie River.[92]

- **The baRôka (Mongatane)**

The noun *baRôka* is used by the Sotho to designate the Sotho tribes of the Lowveld. *MoRôka* also means 'rainmaker' in most seSotho languages.[93] A section of the baRôka (see figure 15a) known as Mongatane under a chief Mashabele was in possession of the eastern trans-Vaal, east of the Leolu mountain and along the lower Steelpoort river by 1650/80.[94] The baRôka were armed

mainly with bows and arrows, and were looked down upon in later years by the people of the eastern trans-Vaal,[95] because of their habits, the things they ate (such as tortoises, worms and all kind of offal). They are considered by the other cultures to be a 'degenerate' (Hunt 1931:281) offshoot of the baRonga people from further to the northeast. Delius believes that they inhabited environments ill-suited for pastoral and agricultural production and were, just as the Phalaborwa, highly specialized metal extractors and workers dependent on the exchange of these goods to meet their subsistence requirements.[96] The people of the area, including the early baPedi had to pay tribute to the Mongatane chief in the form of thatching grass and poles. They remained the leaders in this area for about another four generations, at what time the baPedi took over the dominance from them.

The Mongatane chief Makgosi lived under the eastern slope of the Leolu mountains at what was now known as Dsjate. Here, the people under them came to resolve disputes. At one point the baPedi and baKoni referred a quarrel between them to the Mongatane chief Makgosi, who decided in favor of their older subjects the baGakomane-baKoni, and backed their decision by sending a force across the Steelpoort river, near where Fort Burgers is to-day, to attack the baPedi. The baPedi defeated the baMongatane, partially ending the years of baRôka domination in the eastern trans-Vaal. When the baMongatane sued for peace, Mampuru gave his daughter Nthane as a wife to the baRôka, thus ensuring that the future Mongatane chief should be a baPedi by birth. Hunt tells us that, "...a chief Mamaile who had broken away from Mongatane authority and established his stronghold on a hill (where Groothoek No. 171 is to-day) was attacked by Mampuru who failed at his first attempt to capture the stronghold, but lured Mamaile into an ambush at Maandagshoek and killed him, reducing his people to subjection."[97] Today the Mametsa is somewhat contemptuously and loosely called Roka by other baSotho in the area.[98]

- **The baKoni and the Matlala**

The word baKoni literally means abeNguni, denoting their amaNguni origin. By the 1650/80s the baKoni (see figure 15a) were the baRôka's southern neighbors at the lower Steelpoort river. They lived in relative harmony with the other peoples in the eastern trans-Vaal, being the subordinates of the baRôka for many generations until Mohube from the baPedi trespassed into hunting grounds of the baGakomane, a baKoni clan. They killed Mohube. Mampuru, the chief of the baPedi then attacked and scattered the baGakomane taking their cattle and killing Komane their chief, so that

they had to sue for peace and send a girl as a peace-offering in order to be allowed to return and rebuild their settlements. They constructed a stronghold which had only one visible entrance and was known as Kutoane or 'Buller's ant-heap' (near Badfontein, south of Lydenburg), starting an architectural revolution in the eastern trans-Vaal. The baKoni successfully withstood a baPedi attack inside the stronghold. A moKoni traitor who had married a moPedi wife revealed another feasible entrance to Mampuru. Moroamotshe and his soldiers climbed into the heart of the stronghold, so that when Mampuru attacked again at dawn the stronghold and its chief Ntsuanyane were soon captured.[99]

The baPedi chief Thulare later attacked a certain Dikotope, who fled to *Maepa* (Origstad) and secured the help of the baKoni. Thulare fought and defeated the baKoni at the Steelpoort river, killing both Dikotope and the baKoni chief.[100] Just before the arrival of the maTêbêlê in the eastern trans-Vaal, Phethedi attacked the baKoni under Makopole near Lydenburg but failed to take their stronghold. Makopole, a baPedi, had been exiled by his father Thulare and had made himself chief of the baKoni. Although they were conquered, they continued to retain their clan's name and identity. Van Warmelo (1974:77) tells us that the modern groups of Mphatlhele, Tshwene, Mathabatha, Matlala and Dikgale are baKoni (baKgaga) from the east who scaled the escarpment around Haenertsburg and settled on the plains beyond. Hunt (1931:281) believes that the baKoni groups were distributed from Central Africa where they were known as Angoni, down to Lesotho and KwaZulu-Natal (Bangoni). Van Warmelo thus classifies the Matlala (see figure 15a) as a subgroup of the baKoni, who settled in a 'scattered' (Hunt 1931:275) manner on the escarpment before 1650/80, in the area north of modern Middleburg. Van Warmelo (1974:76) calls the Matlala "Pietersburg baKoni", and classifies the greater group as North baSotho. Hunt agrees that the Matlala from this area were merely "offshoots of the well-known (people) of this name in the Pietersburg area."

- **The baTau**

The baTau (see figure 15a) are an amaNguni people of Swazi origin (van Warmelo 1974:76), who lost their language living amongst the baSotho people, and are today considered to be North baSotho. The baTau historian Ramaila has pointed to the way in which the baTau derived their language and key institutions from the societies they encountered in the eastern trans-Vaal.[101] The baTau recall that the groups they encountered, when they first settled in the area, bartered skin

carosses (cloaks) for cattle. The baTau lived in peace with them, and "just swallowed them up without any fighting." By the 1650/80's the baTau were already living ("for many generations") at what is today known as Manganeng at the Geluks Location, and the baPedi found them there when they migrated into the area.[102] By then the baTau have defeated the Arab Mapalakata at Magashoa (close to the Geluks Location). Delius writes that "...the (ba)Tau appear to have been relatively strong in numbers and wealthy in cattle when they settled near the Oliphants River." He thus postulates that "... It is possible that a partial monopoly of prestige iron goods and/or wealth in cattle combined with polygamy enabled the ... (ba)Tau to increase their numbers relatively rapidly by securing women from groups less favored." In the 18th century the baPedi under Mampuru defeated the baTau under the chief Tseke at Mmopong, close to Manganeng. They were only gradually subjected and have several times tried to reassert themselves. Today many of their cultural institutions still differ slightly from that of the baPedi.

- **The baPedi (Maroteng)**

Because the baPedi were, until the arrival of the maTêbêlê in the eastern trans-Vaal, the main power over the amaNdzundza, their history·(being essentially the history of the region) warrantes a detailed investigation. Hunt relates to us the origins of the baPedi (Maroteng--baKgatla) in the central trans-Vaal:

> The (baPedi) originated from a small baKgatla clan living at Mapogole or Mahlakoaneng near the source of the Vaal River. The earliest known headman of this group of baKgatla families was one Tabane. Because the ground grew less fertile this little baKgatla clan trekked away and resettled themselves at what is known as Schilpadfontein in the Pretoria District. It is not known how long they lived there but when one Motsha, son of Liale and grandson of Tabane, was headman and had grown old as such and had seen his people increase in number a quarrel arose among the Bakgatla women... Thobele the successor of Motsha, who was still alive though very old, together with Mathobele and the whole of his now numerous section broke away or were driven away from the main tribe and trekked to the East with all their flocks and herds.[103]

When the Maroteng arrived in the eastern trans-Vaal, (1650--Hunt; 1680--Schwellnus) the Mongatane was the dominant group (in the country east of the Leolu Mountain and along the lower Steelpoort River). The baKoni occupied the country south of the Mongatane. The Maroteng crossed the Olifants River below its junction with the Elands River and passed through the country, which is now the Botshabelo area, crossing the Leolu Mountain range at the Maila Pass and decided to settle down. They found the Vhambedzi (a baVenda iron-making clan) in this part

of the country, and drove them away. They then assumed the name baPedi, it being the phonetic equivalent of Vhambedzi, in order to propitiate the ancient spirits of the land.[104] At this time the baPedi did not place a great emphasis on cattle, and sometimes bartered their daughters (*labola*) for iron hoes instead of cattle. According to Hunt, there was a small settlement of ironworkers living under the close protection of the baPedi Chiefs throughout their stay in the eastern trans-Vaal, until the coming of the maTêbêlê.

For many years the baPedi recognized the baMongatane as their superiors. The baPedi (see figure 15a) occupation was peaceful, probably because the country was sparsely populated and there was plenty of room, with water and game enough for all. Although they had to pay taxes to the Mongatane, it was only a matter of building materials. Hunt thus describes the early history of the baPedi up to the reign of Mampuru:

> Thobele was succeeded by Kabu who had two sons, Hobele and Thobejane. Kabu was (in turn) succeeded by his second son Thobejane who also had a peaceful reign. On Thobejane's death his son Moukangoe became chief. Moukangoe was also a popular and peaceful chief. During his time the tribe grew rich in cattle, not taken in war but peacefully bred in that splendid grazing country along the Steelpoort River. He reigned a very long time, (and) outlived his eldest son Lesailane who died without an heir, (so that) Mohube, his second son, eventually became regent for his aged father. It is during this regency that we hear of the first quarrel between the baPedi and their neighbors. Mohube trespassed into hunting grounds of the baGakomane, a baKoni clan, who killed him and some of his followers. The baPedi promptly retaliated by killing some baKoni. On Mohube being killed, Moukangoe's third son Mampuru took charge of the tribe as Mohube's son Moroamotshe was still a child.[105]

Mampuru attacked and defeated both the baMongatane (who helped the baGakomane) and the baGakomane. Being a clever leader, he gave his daughter to the defeated but still very powerful baMongatane chief, so that the future leader of the people would be a baPedi by birth. For a time there was peace again and Mampuru, who was only acting chief and guardian of the real heir Moroamotshe, the son of Mohube, brought up this youngster together with his own son Nthobeng. After the short period of peace, Mampuru fought and won battles against the baMongatane, the baTau and the baKoni.[106] The subsequent burying of Moukangoe by Mampuru was a sign that he claimed the chieftainship and so there was no alternative left for Moroamotshe, the rightful heir, but to fight for it. In the desultory fighting that followed, Mampuru was defeated. Moroamotshe allowed him to go free, seeing that he was a great former baPedi leader. Moroamotshe moved the tribal headquarters higher up the Steelpoort River to where the farm Goudmyn and Steelpoort Station now are. It was here that he died and was buried by his three sons (Dikotope, Thulare and Motodi).

Dikotope succeeded as leader of the baPedi, but Mampuru instigated Thulare to fight his elder brother for the chieftainship. Dikotope moved his headquarters back to near the old tribal center lower down the Steelpoort, but the unhappy Thulare remained with a considerable following at the settlement (at Goudmyn) that his father had built. Thulare soon found himself strong enough to attack Dikotope, who fled to Maepa (Origstad) where in turn he defeated the baKoni and induced the baMongatane to join him against Thulare. Thulare outgeneraled these allied tribes and defeated them killing both Dikotope and the baRôka chief (1780-90).[107] Thulare (the greatest and most renowned chief of the baPedi) ruled over a large empire of subject and satellite groups, skillfully kept together by political marriages, diplomacy, and military force. The baPedi thus remained a small ruling caste over the baTau, baKoni, offshoots of Malta's baKoni, and numerous other groups, such as the inhabitants of northern Sekukuniland collectively called baRôka.[108]

A few days before his death, Mampuru asked Thulare to bury him alongside Moroamotshe when he died. When Mampuru's son Molamoso buried him, Thulare came with a strong force, exhumed the body and reburied it at the old head settlement of the baPedi on the lower Steelpoort. Molamoso was furious and attacked Thulare, but was defeated. Thulare capitalized on this and next attacked the Moletlane amaNdebele under Sekobe at what is now known as Zebediela's Location (not the amaNdzundza), and took most of their cattle. Thulare continued his conquest, passing the amaNdzundza and Maleo's settlement far into the old Waterberg and Zoutpansberg Districts and then back over the Drakensberg reducing the whole country to his rule. This was followed by a long time there was peace. Hunt tells us that his cattle covered the country from the Leolu mountains to the Komati river. He sent his son to get in touch with Europeans at Delagoa Bay (modern Maputo). Thulare ruled for a long time, and had many sons, amongst whom counted Malekutu, Matsebe, Phethedi, Mothodi, Sekwati, Matopole, Makgeru and Sibasa. He died in 1824 on the day of an eclipse of the sun, giving us our first definite date in baPedi history.[109] The next chief was Thulare's son Malekutu. He made a great expedition to the south-west, defeating the amaNdzundza and people as far as modern Rustenburg and even the Vaal river, returned to his home on the Steelpoort with enormous herds of cattle. By this time he had been chief for two years, and his brother Matsebe, who had been trying to seize the chieftainship in his absence, now poisoned him. Mothodi and Phethedi killed him in revenge, bringing to an end this chapter of baPedi history, as the maTêbêlê appeared on the eastern trans-Vaal scene (c. 1826).

- **The European Traders and Delagoa Bay (Lourenço Marques; Maputo)**

From the middle of the sixteenth century there was growing activity of the Portuguese and other European traders at Inhambane and Delagoa Bay. The merchants exchanged beads, cloths and copper for ivory and horns from the interior. From the eighteenth century, intensified European competition led to an explosion in trade so that ivory prices doubled and inland networks of exchange were increasing linked to the east coast. Delius (1983:18) describes the role played by the baPedi in these commercial ventures. The baPedi, being skilled metal workers, may have secured for themselves a dominant position in the trade networks that spanned the eastern trans-Vaal. The Lowveld groups such as the Phalaborwa and the baRôka-inhabited environments ill-suited for a pastoral and agricultural existence and were thus specialized metal extractors and workers. They depended on the exchange of these goods for their subsistence. In the nineteenth century the baPedi played a key intermediary role between these cultures of the Lowveld and the inland societies. Maroteng tradition recalls the reign of Thulare as one in which direct links were forged with Delagoa Bay. The bulk of the trade, however, passed through Tsonga intermediaries who traveled to, and settled amongst the societies of the eastern trans-Vaal. Delius writes that,

> ...in the closing years of the eighteen century, Portuguese traders secured a monopoly of the trade at Delagoa Bay. The exclusion of other European traders led to a marked downturn in trade, particularly that in ivory, which continued into the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century.

3.6.2   History of the amaNdebele in the Pre-maTêbêlê Eastern trans-Vaal

The amaNdzundza left the central trans-Vaal after the war with the aManala and moved to the Steelpoort River. Kuper summarizes the sequence of chiefs of the amaNdzundza during this period, as given by Fourie, as follows:

> Ndzundza was succeeded by his son Mxetsha, who was in turn succeeded by his son, Magoboli. Magoboli's son, Bongwe, succeeded him, but reigned for only three years, when regency was established under a brother, Sindeni, leading to a shift in the line of succession. Sindeni was succeeded by his son Mahlangu, and the ruling family now became known as the Mahlangu where formerly they had been called the Mdungwa. Under Mahlangu the tribe grew, attracting members of Swazi and Sotho origin. Mahlangu was succeeded by his son Phaswana, and Phaswana in turn by his son Maridili had four sons, who reigned in succession. Mdalanyana was succeeded by Mgwezana, who was succeeded by Dzele. Dzele died in a battle with the 'Zulu' at Vaalwater in Carolina district. The youngest of the brothers, Mxabule who had earlier sought shelter with the Manala, now succeeded Dzele. This period of fraternal succession led to another disputed succession on Mxabule's death.

Mxabule was murdered by Magodongo, a son of his older brother, Mgwezana, and Magodongo became king.[110]

   ♦ KwaSimkhulu, at the Origins of the Steelpoort River: the First amaNdzundza Site

Van Vuuren places the amaNdzundza's first settlement in the east, at the origins of the Steelpoort River to the south of the later sites, and calls the settlement KwaSimkhulu (see figure 13). This settlement, he narrates, was constructed by Ndzundza himself, and was occupied by three generations (56 years) under Mrhetsha, Magobholi and Bongwe. The time period 1631 to 1681 is indicated for this settlement. The Transvaal native affairs Department of the old British South Africa gives the first site of the amaNdzundza as 'Ndubasi', referring to the river rather than the actual settlement. The amaNdzundza call the Steelpoort River the Indubazi.

Considering the preceding analysis of cultures in the amaNdzundza milieu, we can now postulate an approximate cultural interaction model. They probably moved into what was baKoni country. We have seen that the baKoni were an amaNguni people, just as the amaNdzundza, and probably did not yet adopt the seSotho tongue. Two of their main groups were the baGakomane to the north of the amaNdzundza and the scattered Matlala to the west of the amaNdzundza, the former being a powerful people, probably superior to the amaNdzundza. The country was sparsely populated, and the two cultures are presumed to have dwelt together in harmony, sharing the abandoned resources of the fertile river valley for hunting, harvesting and grazing.

The baKoni were not the dominant people in the eastern trans-Vaal, though. They fell under the authority of a baRôka (baSotho) group known as the Mongatane under a chief Mashabele. They were a strong culture, in possession of the eastern trans-Vaal, east of the Leolu Mountains and along the lower Steelpoort River, but technologically less advanced than their amaNguni neighbors, probably being influenced by the San in the area, and still fighting with bows and arrows. One can assume with relative safety that the amaNdzundza were politically inferior to the Mashabele. The baTau are another amaNguni people who were subjects of the baRôka. They dwelt in the proximity of what later became Geluks Location, placing them in close range from the amaNdzundza. Towards the end of the amaNdzundza's stay at KwaSimkhulu, the Maroteng entered the eastern trans-Vaal from the west, settling further to the north in the Leolu Mountains.

In the light of the cultural environment of the amaNdzundza, being surrounded by amaNguni peoples, with whom they most likely intermarried, it becomes easier to understand how they managed, in this early stages, to hang on to their amaNguni traditions. On the other hand, their fellow amaNguni neighbors quickly lost their language, a phenomenon that is easiest explained by their greater contact with the baRôka. The amaNdzundza, if they were indeed subjects of the baRôka, would have had to pay taxes to their overlords in the form of baSotho building materials, which in turn would have accelerated their own architectural evolution.

♦ KwaMiza, in the Stoffberg Area--the Second amaNdzundza Site (c. 1681-1822)

It is under Bongwe, van Vuuren believes, that the people moved to KwaMiza (see figure 13), a settlement in the Stoffberg-district. Van Vuuren was not able to indicate the exact position of this site, but believed that it was inhabited for about 160 years, spanning five generations and twelve chieftains. It is here, van Vuuren writes, that Mzilikazi attacked the amaNdzundza in 1825 (sic c. 1822). The amaNdzundza were thoroughly beaten, and scattered for a brief period throughout the eastern trans-Vaal. As will be seen later, the maTêbêlê are actually believed to have occupied KwaMiza during their stay, calling the settlement EkuPumuleni (place of rest). They burned the settlement down when they left the valley.

Initially, the amaNdzundza's cultural environment did not change much with the move from KwaSimkhulu to KwaMiza. They moved a bit closer to the heartland of their amaNguni neighbors, the baKoni. At this time they were most likely subjected to the political rule of the Mongatane. During the first half of the 18th century, during the rule of Mahlangu, the amaNdzundza grew prosperous, incorporating other peoples into their kingdom by way of cross-cultural marriages. Sometime during the later half of the 18th century, between the baPedi rule of Mampuru and Thulare, the amaNdzundza started acknowledging the rule of the baPedi, seeing that, despite the baPedi's numerous conquests, they were never attacked by these leaders. By the end of the century, the earlier stability has completely disappeared from the region, and the amaNdzundza suffered attacks from the ensuing proto-mfecane. The coastal areas to the east of the kingdom were destabilized by political and military changes amongst the coastal amaNguni. Dzele, then the chief of the amaNdzundza was attacked and killed by an amaNguni who raided the escarpment (see next section). Later, just after the turn of the century, the instability in the baPedi kingdom to the north of the amaNdzundza came to bear on them when the baPedi chief Malekutu won in a

battle over the amaNdzundza. They found themselves sandwiched between these great powers, and were soon to loose their settlement and their freedom. At this critical time, in 1823, Magodongo was the King of the amaNdzundza.

3.7   The amaNdzundza and Mzilikazi

3.7.1   Theories on the amaNguni Invasion of the Steelpoort Valley

Many theories exist on the consequent invasion of the baPedi or Maroteng polity, and especially the amaNdzundza kingdom by the Mzilikazi's maTêbêlê (see figure 15d). According to the missionaries Arbousset and Daumas, the maTêbêlê were defeated twice by the baPedi, before they settled for four years without any further conflict. Then the maTêbêlê once more attacked the baPedi twice, this time sacking the principal town, seizing cattle and pressing population into service at the maTêbêlê capital. According to Merensky, the German Missionary writing in 1862, Mzilikazi's forces appeared on the scene of the amaNdzundza milieu shortly after the death of Malekutu, clashed with and eventually defeated Makopole, and then advanced on the baPedi heartland destroying the defending army and decimating the royal house.

Winter, another German missionary, believed that after some preliminary skirmishes, the maTêbêlê crushed the baPedi, and settled for a year in the area before moving on to the west. The historian Hunt's famous account of the events was based on the text of Winter. All these accounts have in common that they concentrate on the baPedi history, and the events that impacted on them, resulting in a one-dimensional view of the events.

Omer-Cooper and Lye interprets Bryant's narratives in suggesting that Mzilikazi settled near the confluence of the Olifants and Steelpoort Rivers and clashed unsuccessfully with the baPedi in 1823 soon after his arrival in the trans-Vaal. They believe that he then moved westwards, whence four years later he delivered a crushing blow to the baPedi. Cobbing, releasing that the maTêbêlê were present in the central trans-Vaal at the time of these events (a fact not accounted for in all the other narratives) suggests that the maTêbêlê never came to the area in the first place. Only approximately four years later they came to the area to attack the baPedi. Cobbing here stumbled on an apparent piece of history that eluded the earlier historian, but ignores all the oral histories of the peoples involved in order to introduce it into the narrative.

Rasmussen, although scorned by Delius, seems to give the most accurate account of the events as far as the amaNdzundza is concerned, mainly because of his reliance on the oral traditions from both the amaNdzundza and the Maroteng. He furthermore takes into account the presence of the maTêbêlê in the southern trans-Vaal, but without denying their earlier presence in the eastern trans-Vaal. Delius, following the writings of yet another German missionary called Nachtigal, sensibly introduces to the debate Mzilikazi's grandfather and father-in-law, Zwide. Not all the battles ascribed to the military machine of the maTêbêlê could have been only their doing, considering the small numbers of the army in these early days of their endeavors. Because both men invaded the country at the same time, and Mzilikazi grew to become an infamous king whereas Zwide died in obscurity, most of the battles in time became attributed to the first in the evolving oral tradition. In actual fact, though, in these early days Zwide's army consisted of a much greater force than did the army of Mzilikazi.[111]

3.7.2   Zwide's Ndwandwe and the Steelpoort Valley

After the defeat of the Ndwandwe by Shaka in 1819, the army divided into three contingents under Shoshangane, Zwangeddaba and Zwide and retreated northwards. Nachtigal in 1870 tells us that in 1825 Zwide reached the heartland of the baPedi polity, where he settled after having trounced the defending armies and killed the Maroteng rulers. Merensky in 1861 was told that an army under a chief Sfete settled in the area of the Steelpoort River, the country of the amaNdzundza. The same information is to be found in an analysis of the Magakala baPedi oral tradition, which refers to the chief as Switi. Furthermore, Bryant writes about the retreat of Zwide to the country of Tulare, chief of the baBelu, who could be taken to be Tulare, chief of the baPedi.[112] Zwide died and his son Sikhunyana followed in his footsteps. In June 1826, the Ndwandwe numbered at least forty thousand, and left the Steelpoort valley to attack the amaZulu army north of the upper Pongola. It can thus clearly be seen that the maTêbêlê of Mzilikazi, who numbered 300 in 1821, could not in the presence of the Ndwandwe have been the destroyers of all the peoples surrounding the Steelpoort valley, as they are believed to be by the oral traditions.[113]

Delius in 1983 sketched a picture of the impact and extent of the Ndwandwe presence in the area of the amaNdzundza settlements. He writes "(that)...the Ndwandwe are remembered as having lived on their vast flocks and herds and by raiding for cattle and grain. Their activities ensured that production on the land was virtually abandoned in some areas and famine gripped the country after

their departure. Those groups who remained in the region survived through hunting and gathering. Many descended the Escarpment and hoed, hewed and hauled for Lowveld societies in exchange for food. Others turned to cannibalism. The incidence of cannibalism provides traditions with a way of showing the dire consequences of the destruction..."[114] Not all peoples shared the miserable fate of the Maroteng, the baKoni, other eastern baSotho, baKopa and amaNdzundza whose domains was partially depopulated. A number of chiefdoms weathered the storm of the amaNguni invasions more or less intact, including the baTau (notably the Masemola), Matlala, some other chiefdoms situated to the west of the Leolu, as did the Magakala and Mphlele sheltered by their position north of the Olifants River.

3.7.3   Mzilikazi's maTêbêlê and the Steelpoort Valley

The maTêbêlê migrated from the amaZulu Kingdom, via Puthing territory and the southern Steelpoort valley to the amaNdzundza stronghold. The amaNdzundza were at this stage ruled by Magodongo[115]. It was the year 1823, and the amaNdzundza were completely destroyed by Mzilikazi and scattered for the first time in their history. This turned out to be the first of two great tragedies that befell the amaNdzundza in the 19th century, the second being their 1883 war with the Boers (Afrikaners) leading to their exile from the Steelpoort valley.

The first documentary evidence of the maTêbêlê-amaNdzundza war is found in the narrative of the French missionaries, Arbousset and Daumas of 1852. They write that Mzilikazi, "...(the) formidable inkhosi [king] ruined ... a powerful chief of the Lighoyas [amaNdzundza ya amaNdebele--by implication], called Rankokoto [Mogodongo--see Rasmussen 1975:84-5], who was living on the banks of the Enta [Vaal tributary to the South--on their map]."[116] Bryant described the war in more detail in 1929,[117] his account giving many details that are examined here individually, as to illuminate the architectural implications of this text on the amaNdzundza. He writes:

> Eventually (Mzilikazi) reached the district of the upper Olifants River (uBalule) and erected there a more permanent home for himself, which he named, somewhat prematurely, ekuPumuleni (the Place of Rest). ... There came Makotoko [Mogodongo], the local maPhuting chief [sic--Ndzundza], with his neighbor, Sibindi, and their little allied army cunningly concealed behind a huge herd of fine white cattle. The idea was that, through the cloud of dust, Mzilikazi would be unable to espy what was lying in store for him behind. They did not know, poor simple souls, that Mzilikazi's eyes, like those of (S)haka, could see through a brick wall... That smoke screen, then, was as transparent air to the (maTêbêlê)

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chief and the little ruse behind it, as clear as a pikestaff. So he quietly instructed his Light Brigade, with its most bloodcurdling war-whoop, to charge furiously down on the on-coming herd. The result was a mad stampede headlong upon their own masters behind, who, now scattered and exposed, became easy targets for Mzilikazi's spears, and their granaries a most timely acquisition to a grateful foe. Makotoko, the impresario of the play, was in due course hauled out of the hiding-place to which he had retired, and gently laid upon the end of an impaling stick, as were also what remained of his faithful followers.[118]

Fourie writes that this battle took place at Blinkwater (at Botha's berg), and that Makotoko was captured with a son at Mayanen near Tautesberg two days later, and was tortured to death by Mzilikazi.[119] The Transvaal Native Affairs Department of the British South Africa wrote in 1905 that two temporary acting chiefs, Somdegi and Siboko, then appear to have succeeded in turn as regiments over the amaNdzundza, ruling the tribe for their nephew who was still a minor. Somdegi was reportedly killed by (Mzilikazi) on his return from the North (after they attacked the baPedi just before leaving the area a few months/ years after the first war against the amaNdzundza), and the amaNdzundza were again scattered. "Siboko then succeeded but was killed by the (baSotho) under the chief Matlala."[120] Kuper gives a detailed description of the power-struggle amongst the amaNdzundza, which followed the war, as documented by Fourie from the amaNdzundza oral tradition. He wrote that the:

> ...Crown-prince Bhaxuza fell at Vaalkop on the Highveld in a skirmish with the (baSotho). Umtsadi died against the Swazi. Bengwago died of a sickness brought on by sorcery, and Mloyi was killed by Mzilikazi, with his father. So was the indhlu ekulu (great house) of Magodongo destroyed'. Somdei thus succeeded without a struggle, only to be attacked and captured in turn by Mzilikazi. Defeated, their capital burned, the remnants of the tribe trekked away under Mabogo, a younger brother and the only survivor of the left-hand house, to Namshaxelo, the famous Mapogstad, near Roossenekal.[121]

Let us return to Bryant's account of the war. The white ox plays an important role in abaNtu culture, and was one of the highest offerings that could be brought in front of the ancestors. This unusual means of attack was probably aimed at creating the illusion of a peace offering. The maTêbêlê "...drove the (baSotho) [the amaNdzundza were considered baSotho by most peoples in the area] beyond their (settlements) inflicting great loss, burning some of their (homesteads), and capturing all their cattle. They remained some months living in the sunburned kraals of the (baSotho)."[122] Here it becomes clear that the maTêbêlê settled on the land of their slain foe, in the settlements, which they burned to the ground. They used the crops and the granaries dug into the pens to support their need for food. Mzilikazi thus, according to amaNdzundza oral tradition, stayed in KwaMiza during his stay in this area.

This is the only time in the short history of the maTêbêlê in the Steelpoort valley that they settled down for any substantial amount of time. Returning to Bryant's text, we know that the maTêbêlê settled in a place they called ekuPumuleni, the so-called 'place of rest', it being the only settlement they inhabited in this area. These facts led Rasmussen to infer (as we have seen with good reason, and as never before considered by scholars) that ekuPumuleni was actually KwaMiza that the maTêbêlê inhabited. Let us look at this thesis more closely.

"As it appears that Ndzundza country was the first region in which the (maTêbêlê) halted for any length of time—perhaps several months—(and) we might wonder if this is the site which Bryant calls 'ekuPumuleni'."[123] Bryant gave this settlement's location as "the upper Olifants River", which many historians placed around the Olifants/ Vaal watershed[124]. This would be the area where Mzilikazi occupied Phuthing territory, but this he did only very briefly. Rasmussen believes that Bryant meant by 'upper Olifants' the northern bend of that river. Bryant wrote: "These old muffs of (ba)Pediland were the (baSotho) of Sikwata, who, occupying the country about the upper Olifants and Steelpoort rivers, had been Mzilikazi's near neighbors prior to his removal to the Apies district."[125] We know that the amaNdzundza did not inhabit the territory of the Olifants River, but the area making them the near neighbors of the baPedi. This would support Rasmussen's assumption that ekuPumuleni was the amaNdzundza settlement which the maTêbêlê invaded. Rasmussen goes further in writing "(that) it fits Bryant's description of ekuPumuleni as the place from which Mzilikazi invaded the (ba)Pedi..."[126]

Having thus excepted Rasmussen's argument that ekuPumuleni was the amaNdzundza settlement KwaMiza, we can look at the history of this settlement in more detail. Bryant wrote that for several months in this settlement the maTêbêlê received no rain, and after all attempts by the rain-doctors to induce rainfall failed[127], the maTêbêlê decided to move on. These events once more are used by Rasmussen to support his hypothesis. He writes that "Bryant gives drought as Mzilikazi's reason for abandoning ekuPumuleni, and there are good reasons to believe that it was in fact a water shortage which encouraged him to leave the middle Steelpoort."[128] Before the maTêbêlê left the settlement, they burned it down to the ground, making sure, according to Bryant, that their amaZulu pursuers do not use it as a place of rest on their way to attack the maTêbêlê. Bryant writes that, "...so in the center of the great circular kraal (settlement) having placed three criminals, who had been wicked enough to mortally transgress the king's commandments, they set

on fire the encircling huts and palisades, and left the criminals to burn for their sins in hell. ...It was already the year 1825..."[129] This shows us that ekuPumuleni was a settlement based on the typical amaNguni layout of homesteads, with the pen in the center and the huts and palisades forming a circle around it. According to the French missionaries Arbousset and Daumas, the maTébélé attacked the baPedi and destroyed their empire in 1827, after four years of settlement in the region. Six months later they captured the inhabitants of Matamoga, and led them captive to Motlatlantsela (ekuPumuleni?), "the residence of Mzilikazi, where he employed them in constructing a palisade round his harem, which consisted in all of forty-four huts. This enclosure, made almost entirely of mimosa stakes, has been described to us as "upwards of half a mile in circumference, about six feet thick, and the same in height." The king of the (maTébélé) used to take a singular delight in walking on the top of this terrace, whence he could command the whole town."[130] This is unfortunately the only information we have regarding the settlement.

3.8   The amaNdzundza under baPedi, amaSwazi, Boers and British Rule

3.8.1   Cultural Environment[131]

- **The Dutch (Afrikaner, Trekker or Boer) Settlers in the Eastern trans-Vaal since 1837:**

In 1845, a new dimension was added to the balance and relationships of power in the eastern trans-Vaal by the establishment of a Trekker community centered on the village of Ohrigstad, which was found east of the Steelpoort River (see figure 15c). The trekkers had problems from the start in securing the land on which they settled. They negotiated an agreement with Sekwati, the chief of the baPedi.[132] According to this agreement of the 1840s, a vast area of land was at the disposal of the settlers. Unfortunately for the settlers, the Bushveld harbored diseases that made the Ohrigstad-area ill-suited to either stock-keeping or human habitation on a year-round basis. The settlers fell victim to malaria and their herds and flocks were reduced by stock disease.[133] In 1847, the settlers moved closer to the amaNdzundza heartland, to Lagersdrift, where skirmishes soon started taking place between the amaNdzundza and the Boers.

The town of Lydenburg (see figure 25a), established in 1849, became the new center of the community and later gave its name to the district.[134] By the early 1850s, the balance of power had swung so far back to the amaNdzundza and baPedi, as to convince the settlers that drastic

measures were required to restore their control over the region.[135] In 1852, a Volksraad resolution was declared, which stipulated that all land on which large 'kaffir kraals' were situated should be inspected by the government and considered as quitrent farms. Being worried about the guns bought from the British Colony by the baPedi and amaNdzundza, Potgieter barred all Africans from crossing the Vaal River.[136] In 1855, Martinus Pretorius found the little settlement of Pretoria (see figure 25c), and a year later declared it the Capital of the newly found South African Republic (ZAR)[137]. Later in the year 1856, a decision was made by the Lydenburg community to secede from the South African Republic and establish itself as an independent Republic.

In 1857, the baPedi made another deal with the settlers, this time selling land that blatantly included the core of the amaNdzundza stronghold. They were however to encounter continued resistance from the baKopa and the amaNdzundza. In 1858 the Volksraad (the Dutch Government) resolved that all land that had not been given out to white settlers was the property of the State. The amaNdzundza invaded the settlers' farms, forcing them to move away. Cattle theft reached threatening proportions.[138] In 1860 the Lydenburgers rejoined the ZAR and in 1861 the 'Lydenburg Krygsraad' made tentative arrangements so that the baPedi and amaSwazi might provide them with military assistance in case of an attack on the amaNdzundza and baKopa. In 1861 and 1862, however, the amaSwazi regiments failed to arrive for such an attack. By mid-1862, the baPedi informed the Boers of their desire to launch a full-scale attack against the baKopa and amaNdzundza. On the 3rd of November 1863, the Pedi army, accompanied by three representatives of the ZAR, attacked the amaNdzundza at KoNomtjarhelo. The attack was unsuccessful. The farmers in the district suffered gravely during this conflict, those who remained in the area attempting to bribe the amaNdzundza with self-inflicted taxes of one beast for each household.[139]

Land became a sought-after commodity, and in 1866 the ZAR decided that new settlers were not entitled to automatic land ownership. Delius (1983:185) writes that, "...by 1872, not only did the (baPedi) leader deny the claims of ZAR officials to the (ba)Pedi heartland, and suggestions that the Steelpoort River constituted the southern boundary of their hegemony, but they also laid claim to a vast expanse of land."[140] Discoveries of gold in 1871 brought into the neighborhood, and especially into a location called Pilgrim's Rest, 36 miles from Lydenberg (see figure 25b), a great number of adventurous miners, the influx reaching a peak during 1873-1875. At this time Lydenburg grew quickly, stores were piled up with goods, houses hastily constructed, and wagons

filled the streets.[141] By 1875, after a bad season of mining, the industry was already quickly collapsing. Pres. Burgers of the ZAR visited the area in 1873, and expressed the opinion that the baPedi and the amaNdzundza polities were essential barriers to progress in the country. By the end of 1874 he was seriously considering the possibility of war. In July of 1876, he sent a large army to attack the baPedi. By early August it became clear that the attack was a disaster.

- **The British Colonists**

In January of 1877, Theophilus Shepstone, the Colony's special commissioner, was sent to Pretoria to convince the ZAR's Volksraad of the advantages of a South African Federation. Of course, the ZAR Government did not want any connection to the British Colonies, and Shepstone in response simply hoisted the British flag in Pretoria, ending the sovereignty of the Republic. The amaNdzundza thus became subjects of Her Majesty, if only on paper. After a peaceful year in 1877, the baPedi war was resumed in 1878. Clarke raised a force of special police and also sought the assistance of the amaNdzundza chief, manning Fort Weeber on the 24th of February 1878.[142] Hostilities continued with varying intensity over two years, until they culminated in the successful storming of the baPedi capital on the 26th of November 1879, by a combined army of imperial troops and amaSwazi warriors under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley. The victory meant that the other African communities all paid their taxes, and thus stabilized the political position in the country. By 1881 though, the resistance of the Boers in the Transvaal have mounted to such an extent that the Crown was ready to withdraw from the country.

- **The German Missionaries[143]**

Arbousset, from the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, who settled within Mshweshwe's Kingdom at Morija in 1836, became the first missionary to make contact with the eastern trans-Vaal population. The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society did not have the resources to send Missionaries to the baPedi, and by 1858 Sekwati sought the assistance of the Landdros of Lydenburg. The first missionaries within the baPedi domain were Alexander Merensky and Albert Nachtigal of the Berlin Missionary Society, who in 1861 established a station, called Khalatlolu, west of the Leolu Mountains and north of the amaNdzundza.[144]

The missionaries immediately caused tensions in the area, mainly because of their links with the ZAR. In 1863 Merensky's was appointed as the representative of the ZAR among the Pedi.

Sekhukhune allowed the missionaries to establish a second station, called Phatametsane, but in a position much further removed from Thaba Mosego (the baPedi capital) than was Khalatlolu. In 1864 Merensky got his permission to open yet another (a third) mission station, which he called Ga Ratau (see figure 26a). The baPedi paramount changed drastically his attitudes towards the Christians by the end of 1864, and by November he ordered them to leave his capital. It was thus that Merensky constructed a station to the west of the amaNdzundza country, which he called Botshabelo (see figure 26 d-e), complete with a stronghold (called Fort William). [145] At the same time, Nachtigal started the Lydenburg station (to the east of the amaNdzundza). By 1866, all three of the original mission stations were abandoned. Mampuru, the brother of the baPedi leader, spent the year 1867 with Merensky at Botshabelo.

In 1873, the infamous Johannes Dinkwanyane and three hundred thirty five followers departed from the station, not agreeing with Merensky's systematic erasure of the baPedi cultural institutions. They constructed a stronghold at the junction of the Waterval and Speckboom Rivers, east of the amaNdzundza and north of Lydenburg, which became known as Mafolofolo, and proclaimed themselves to be subjects of the baPedi. Delius (1983:178) believes that "...the demand that the power of the Pedi polity should be broken which led to the outbreak of war in 1876 was, in fact, principally directed against the Mafolofolo settlement."

- **The amaSwazi Kingdom**

In 1837, the amaSwazi raids in the eastern trans-Vaal are first mentioned. One major amaSwazi raid on the baPedi heartland, described by Delius, took place some ten years after Sekwati's return from exile, which would place it approximately in 1838. Sent by the amaSwazi regiment Somcuba and guided by the baPedi renegade Tshamaloma, the amaSwazi army penetrated as far as Phiring. A night attack launched by the amaSwazi was, however, repulsed with relative ease and with limited loss of life or stock.

By the time the Trekkers reached the amaNdzundza, the amaSwazi King believed that the baPedi and amaNdzundza were settled on amaSwazi-controlled territory, and thus sold great parts of it to the Trekkers. In 1879, C. Jeppe commented that "the (amaSwazi) did sell the land, but it is also evident that they had no right to do so." [146] The Trekkers were soon involved in skirmishes with the amaNdzundza, who they found at Lagersdrift in 1847 on their arrival in the area, and they used a

small group of amaSwazi refugees under Somquba in their attacks.[147] The amaNdzundza called in the help of the baKopa. Later the baKopa were decimated by an amaSwazi attack. In 1861 and 1862, with the mounting conflict between the ZAR and amaNdzundza, the amaSwazi regiments upon which the ZAR depended for military assistance failed to arrive.[148] In August of 1863, when the amaNdzundza and the ZAR were set for battle, an amaSwazi regiment attacked the amaNdzundza instead. The attack was unsuccessful. In Sept of 1869 the amaSwazi regiments attempted to surround and capture Thaba Masego, the capital of the baPedi, but could not penetrate the stronghold.[149] Seven years later (in July of 1876), two thousand four hundred amaSwazi warriors took part in the Boers' attack on the baPedi.[150] Confronted with uncertain support from the ZAR forces the amaSwazi quit the campaign.[151] On the 26th of November 1879, the amaSwazi joined the British in the battle that destroyed the baPedi polity. In the same year the British Colony and the Swazi Kingdom agreed on the borders for what became Swaziland.

- **The baPedi**

Throughout the time of maTêbêlê and Ndwandwe occupation of the eastern trans-Vaal, Sekwati, the future baPedi King was north of the Olifants River. The baPedi started the reconstruction of their polity after the two amaNguni groups left the region in early 1826. By 1837, when Sekwati met the Trichardt trek on the bank of the Olifants River, he was regarded as the paramount in the region, ruling from Phiring, a hill strongly fortified by stonewalling.[152]

The first major amaSwazi raid on the baPedi heartland took place in approximately 1838. In the 1850s a Zulu army dispatched by Mpande massed before Phiring and twice attempted to storm it. By this time, the Pedi had acquired a number of guns, making an attack on Phiring virtually impossible. The baPedi continued their trade links with the East Coast through Tsonga intermediaries. In 1945, the Boers negotiated a land agreement with the baPedi, and much later, in 1857, a second deal disowned them of more of their territory. Before the second land deal, in 1852, a Boer attack against the baPedi at Phiring failed. Realizing the problem of attaining water at Phiring during a siege, Sekwati moved away and constructed the new Maroteng capital called Thaba Mosego (see figure 22d-e) on top of Mosega Hill to the east of the Leolu mountains. By the 1860s, one of the few remaining obstacles to amaSwazi control in the eastern Transvaal was the baPedi. The missionaries estimated their population to be between sixty and seventy thousand, dispersed in villages situated close to mountain slopes, valley sides and hills ranging in size from

fifty to well over five thousand inhabitants. In 1662, Merensky calculated the baPedi army to comprise of twelve thousand men, of who a third or more had guns.

On twentieth of September 1961, Sekwati died and was buried by Mampuru in the cattle pen at Thaba Mosego as a symbol of taking over the Maroteng polity. Sekhukhune, Sekwati's eldest son exhumed the body of his father and reburied it, thus reclaiming his birthright. In October of 1861, Sekwati's brother, Seboni, was killed at Thaba Mosego, and his village destroyed. Sekhukhune reconciled with Mampuru, but only because of massive public support. In June 1962, Mampuru fled from the capital and, because Sekhukhune prevented him from joining the amaNdzundza, he settled to the north of the Olifants River. The amaNdzundza were constantly attacking the migrant baPedi laborers returning from the Cape Colony. On the 3rd of November 1863, the baPedi army accompanied by Boer forces attacked the amaNdzundza, but failed to penetrate Mabhogo's stronghold.

In 1864, Sekhukhune began a vigorous campaign to halt the spread of Christianity. A year later he successfully attacked the Masemola (a baTau group under Mabowe) and their allies, the Mphanama and the Tisana, whose regiments had assembled at Phiring, the old baPedi stronghold.[153] In September of 1869, amaSwazi attacked Thaba Masego, but could not bridge the defenses. The baPedi, realizing the strategic shortcomings of Thaba Mosego abandoned it in the same year. Tsate, the new Maroteng capital (see figure 22f) consisting of some 3000 huts was constructed close by.[154] In the early 1870s, the baPedi experienced a critical land shortage and were faced with a drought and periodical locust swarms on their maize (introduced in the 1860s) crops. By the end of the decade, the population in the baPedi heartland had grown to between seventy and hundred thousand people and Sekhukhune's 'harem' alone consisted of fifty-six wives. In July of 1876, the ZAR attacked the baPedi with the biggest Boer force ever assembled until then, but the battle turned out to be a disaster for the Republic. Dinkwanyane's stronghold at Mafolofolo was taken though, and the crops of the baPedi (who were already struggling with a severe food shortage) were set alight causing months of starvation amongst the baPedi people to the west of the mountain.

The British, who annexed the ZAR, desperately wanted to destroy the power of Sekhukhune, and asked him to subject to the Crown and pay war indemnity of 2000 cattle. On his refusal in 1879, Her Majesty's army prepared for war against the 4000 warrior strong baPedi army. They

accumulated an army consisting of 3500 troops European troops, 3000 African warriors from the trans-Vaal (including the amaNdzundza), and 8000 amaSwazi warriors. The baPedi were defeated while trying to fight their way out of a siege. Three of Sekhukhune's brothers and nine of his children, including his son and designated heir Morwamotse, died in the battle. The paramount surrendered on the 2nd of December 1879.[155] Sekhukhune was imprisoned in Pretoria, but his brother Mampuru was allowed to settle in the baPedi heartland. In 1881, however, Sekhukhune was released from prison by the new Boer Government and allowed to return to his people. The rally between the two brothers for the chieftainship ended in August 1882, when a band of assassins sent by Mampuru stabbed Sekhukhune to death. Mampuru, now wanted by the ZAR Government, sought refuge among the Ndzundza. This led to the destruction of the amaNdzundza Kingdom by the ZAR forces in 1883, and the hanging of Mampuru on the 22nd of November 1883.

3.8.2   The history of the amaNdebele in the Post-Mfecane Eastern trans-Vaal

♦ KoNomtjharhelo, near Roossenekal: the Third amaNdzundza Site

Fourie narrates the move to Namshaxelo, near Roossenekal, as to having taken place in the year 1922 (sic). This is the site that Breutz called Nomtsagelo. Namshaxelo and Nomtsagelo are synonyms for KoNomtjharhelo (see figures 13-15e), the amaNdzundza stronghold, also known as the Mapoch caves. As we have seen, it was under Mabhogo that the remnants of the amaNdzundza trekked away to the new settlement. The cattle losses that the amaNdzundza experienced during the invasions of Mzilikazi meant that they now depended on hunting and agricultural resources more than ever before for their subsistence. Political and cultural structures in the eastern trans-Vaal, and indeed all over the country, were broken down by the mfecane, allowing the so-called 'cannibals' (loose bands of survivors fighting and eating indiscriminately in order to survive) to roam the countryside. Marangrang, a baKoni leader, and Sekwati of the baPedi eventually eradicated them.

In 1946, a foreign concept was introduced by the Dutch settlers in the country that the amaNdzundza called their home, which would irreparably destroy their ways of dwelling on the land. The foreign concept was the idea of private ownership of land, which took away the amaNdzundza's outlying cattle-post country, as well as their outlying hunting grounds. Delius notes the extent of the problem when he writes that:

...in July of 1846 a treaty was concluded (with the AmaSwazi) which ceded to the Boers all the territory bounded by the Olifants River in the north and the Crocodile and Elands Rivers to the south. Thus, nationally, a vast expanse of land was made over to the Trekkers including the new and old (heartland) of the (ba)Pedi polity and the domains of the (ama)Ndzundza (ya) (ama)Ndebele, the (ba)Kopa and the various (ba)Koni and Eastern (ba)Sotho groups.[156]

The amaSwazi thus sold the land on which the baPedi and the amaNdzundza lived to the Boers, although it was beyond the heartland of their kingdom.[157] As we have seen, in 1847 the settlers moved closer to the amaNdzundza settlements, to Lagersdrift, where skirmishes soon started taking place between the amaNdzundza and the Boers.[158] Van Vuuren describes the further encroachment on the amaNdzundza territory by the settlers after 1848, when he notes the effects of the declaration of four farms in the close proximity of the amaNdzundza stronghold:

Tussen 1848 en 1851 is die eerste vier plase--te wete Vlugtkraal, Legerplaats, Vlakfontein, en Jakkalsvlij--aangekoop. Spoedig het daar wrywing ontstaan as gevolg van veral veediefstal, en is die Ndzundza in n studium as 'zeer stout en stoutmoedig' beskou.[159] Hierdie toestand het aanleiding gegee tot 'n skermutseling tussen 'n Boerekommando en Mabhoko se krygsmag gedurende September 1849...[160]

The settlers' demands for labor and taxes led to great unhappiness in the general area, and the amaNdzundza still recall with great pain how the Boers took the amaNdzundza children in raids to work on their farms. The groups to the south of the Steelpoort River and especially the baKopa and amaNdzundza suffered the most, and emerged as two key foci of resistance against the Boers. By the early 1850s, as we have seen, the balance of power had swung so far back to the amaNdzundza and baPedi, as to convince the settlers that drastic measures were required to restore their control over the region. In 1852, with the Volksraad resolution which stipulated that the amaNdzundza settlements should be inspected and considered as quitrent farms, the amaNdzundza were denied their ownership of KoNomtjharhelo and its surroundings.

The 1840s saw the introduction of labor migration to white enterprise. The route to the south led past the southern Sotho ruler, Mshweshwe, into the Colony. The labor migrations of the amaNdzundza, the baPedi and other groups in the area (the baKopa under Boleu, the baPai and baPulana) were triggered by the desire to accumulate guns. Workers from the north and northeast also passed through the baPedi and amaNdzundza area and by 1862, a thousand guns a year were brought back to the area. By 1869, the Missionary Nachtigal calculated that a thousand of Sekhukhune's subjects annually took part in this industry. It is thus that the 1850s and 1860s

witnessed the transformation of a trade route into a labor route. It seems that later, the cheapest and best guns were to be bought in Kimberly (rather than in either Delagoa Bay or the British Colonies).[161]

As already mentioned, the settlers made another deal with the baPedi in 1857, including the amaNdzundza land into the deal.[162] The amaNdzundza was expected to recognize their obligations as subjects of the Republic and a tax of two shillings and six pence per annum was demanded from each married man, a claim that the amaNdzundza resisted. In 1860 the Boers gave the amaNdzundza an ultimatum to live the farms they occupied in eight days, but failed to take actions when they ignored it. In mid-1862, the baPedi informed the Landdros of Lydenburg of their desire to launch a full-scale attack against the amaNdzundza. They were tired of the amaNdzundza's raiding of their travelling parties from the south, and wanted to unite with the Boers against the common enemy. The events that followed was thus documented by Delius:

> On 24 Oct 1863, the (ba)Pedi army set out under the leadership of Sekhukhune's brother, Kgolokoe, and accompanied by three representatives of the ZAR. On 29 Oct it reached the Boer commando which was encamped close to the besieged Ndzundza stronghold. On 3 November, the combined attack on the fortified hill was launched and rapidly adopted a familiar pattern. While the (ba)Pedi regiments attempted to storm the hill, the majority of the Boers were content to do little more than supply covering fire and to trust to the effectiveness of their mercenary cannoneers. Even this assistance was of little value once the (ba)Pedi warriors had reached the first line of fortifications; indeed, it could be positively dangerous to the attackers. The (ba)Pedi army was repulsed in some confusion and they and the Boers forced temporarily on to the defensive.[163]

Shortly after this war, an amaSwazi regiment attacked the amaNdzundza as well. According to the amaSwazi, they caused great devastation amongst the amaNdzundza, but in the latter's oral tradition documented by Fourie, it is recalled that *"Het machtige (ama)Swazileger moest met bebloede koppen naar Swaziland terug trekken."*[164] Delius agrees with Fourie, stating that "... the (ama)Swazi attacked ... the (ba)Kopa on 10 May 1864, ... decimating the chiefdom..." but that "... the (ama)Swazi balked at an attack on the (ama)Ndebele stronghold."[165] After these two battles, the amaNdzundza entered a period of great hunger, and visited the farmers in the area for supplies.

As already seen, Merensky constructed the station in the west of the amaNdzundza country, which he called Botshabelo. The authority of the ZAR over the area in which Botshabelo was situated was disputed by the amaNdzundza. They remained firmly of the opinion that they had prior claim to demand tribute and loyalty from the tenants, and hunting rights over the station lands.

Merensky, whose position was that, although they lived on the frontier, they had bought their land from the Boers, dismissed these claims. Merensky told his people that "...(as) Christians we can not serve two masters, both the amaNdzundza and the Boers. This would only be possible through total deceit." Mabhogo died in 1865, and on his death there were once more problems regarding the succession. Kuper describes the problems and the subsequent chiefs to Nyabela in his translation of Fourie's text:

> Mabhogo had inherited a widow of Somdei, and had a son by her, but by custom a ruler cannot be born of a widow. One of his wives was the Nandala family, and traditionally a Nandala woman should be mother of the heir. However, succession passed to the house of a Masilela, whose first three sons, Soqaleni (or Mkephuli or Soningelela), Xobongo and Nyabela ruled in succession. The son of Somdei's widow, Cegwane, challenged Soqaleni's succession, partly because Soqaleni suffered from a rupture, and a king should be unblemished, but he was killed. Soqaleni died in 1873. Xobongo, his successor, was a tyrant. A son of his father's Ndandla wife, Malhathini, was forced to flee, establishing himself at Vaalkop in the Highveld with a small following. Other over-powerful subjects were killed. In 1879 Xobongo died and was succeeded by Nyabele.[166]

In 1867 Mampuru settled, as Mojalodi had before him, amongst the Ndzundza Ndebele. By the death of Sekwati, the amaNdzundza had systematically started rejecting Maroteng authority. The death of Sekwati provided them with an opportunity to demonstrate their independence and they symbolized their rejection of Sekhukhune's rule by ordering a daughter, given in tribute to Sekwati, to return home. By the 1870s the amaNdzundza constituted a exceedingly powerful chiefdom in the Transvaal, with 3600 square miles of land. At this time Aylward described the thinly populated countryside as being criss-crossed with dirt roads which linked villages, the latter situated at an average distance of ten miles apart.[167] Kuper quotes Jeppe's statistic in saying that the amaNdzundza were estimated to be ten thousand strong people in 1868.[168] The amaNdzundza, just as the baPedi, were experiencing an acute land shortage in the 1870s. Maize replaced the traditional crops since the early 1960s, but being less drought resistant, caused great suffering during the late 1960s drought. The drought continued throughout the 1970s, and the area's crops could not feed its inhabitants, necessitating grain imports.

The amaNdzundza in 1977 became subjects of Her Majesty, if only on paper, when the British flag was raised on Church Square in Pretoria. The baPedi war with the Europeans was resumed in 1878, at which time the amaNdzundza assisted the British. The baPedi lost the war, and soon the British handed back the Transvaal to the Boers. As we have seen, Nyabela succeeded Rhobongo in 1879. Sekhukhune was released from prison by the ZAR and allowed to return to the eastern

Transvaal. He was relying for the leadership of the Maroteng against Mampuru. Their conflict finally ended on the 23rd of August 1882, when a band of assassins sent by Mampuru stabbed Sekhukhune to death. Mampuru, being sought by the ZAR Government, took refuge amongst the amaNdzundza. Thus, in 1882, the final war between the ZAR and the amaNdzundza broke out.

3.9   From the amaNdzundza-Boer (Mapoch) War to Today

After Mampuru instigated the murder of Sekhukhune, he fled first to Makwani, also a baPedi, and then to KoNomtjharhelo (today called Erholweni), the amaNdzundza main settlement of Nyabela's. The ZAR Government warned the amaNdzundza not to give refuge to Mampuru. The amaNdzundza custom of *ukubhebula* (to be grabbed from the shoulders from behind) dictated that a person who seeks your help acknowledges his inferiority to you, and that you thus have an obligation to protect him.[169] In obeying his people's customs, he gave the Boers the excuse they were waiting for to declare war against the amaNdzundza. Nyabela understandably refused the reward offered to him for the head of Mampuru, and further refused to entertain a meeting with the Democratic Commission under Commandant General Piet Joubert in 1882.

Commandant General Piet Joubert was instructed by a government proclamation of October 1882 to take Mampuru into custody. According to the General's diary, no more than two thousand men were then with him in commando, the men coming from Lydenburg, Middleburg, Rustenburg and Potchefstroom. He assembled the commandos on the 2 November 1882 and proceeded to Bothasberg, at which time Nyabela was given an ultimatum. He replied that, in the spirit of the custom, he had "swallowed Mampuru", and that the Boers had to come and take him out. The so-called 'Mapoch War' thus started on the 7 of November 1882, on the day that Nyabela's soldiers stole some oxen from the commando. The amaNdzundza withdrew into their strongholds at KoNomtjharhelo and Vlugkraal, and into the multitude of surrounding grottos (total area of 84 square kilometers). After a long and difficult war the Boers placed the strongholds under siege. After some negotiations, the amaNdzundza surrendered on the 8th of July 1883, mainly because of hunger. Mampuru was first handed over, bound hand and foot. Nyabela's two principal sub-chiefs, Kameel and April, surrendered with him. In the eight days that followed, the thousands of starving amaNdzundza slowly came out of their caves, many reportedly survived eating cow-dung only. Massie gives the total number of amaNdzundza who surrendered as ten thousand people[170]. Thus, after eight months and a day, the war was over[171], and the amaNdzundza's rifles confiscated. The

burghers then burned down KoNomtjharhelo.[172] Mampuru was sentenced to death and Nyabela to life imprisonment in Pretoria.

A Volksraad decision of the 20th of July 1883 'allocated' the amaNdzundza families for five years to the citizens who served in the war. A further proclamation on the 31st of August 1883 ordered the division of the approximately 36 000 hectares tribal ground amongst the participating burgers, so that no large Ndzundza kraals would be allowed in the area.[173] The amaNdzundza were thus scattered throughout the old Transvaal, around the centers of Pretoria (Hammanskraal area), Carolina, Middleburg, Rayton, Springs, Middleburg, Groblersdal (Moretele), Pokwani and Ermelo. The amaNdzundza, who were not indentured laborers, joined other African groups and private landowners.[174] According to the British Parliamentary Papers, they earned a mere three pounds a year per family.[175] In 1888, the period of indenture came to an end. Some amaNdzundza stayed on at the farmers where they were working, but a great deal of families gathered together in three areas of the trans-Vaal. Others moved to new farms[176], to urban areas and to the gold mines in the Witwatersrand. In 1895 the so-called 'Mapochsgronden', on which KoNomtjharhelo was situated, became a fourth ward of the Middleburg district.[177]

- **The Nebo-amaNdzundza**

The first of these three areas was the eastern trans-Vaal, in the amaNdzundza's disowned fatherland, at the farm Kaffirskraal 62, in an area north of Middleburg. This is where Mabhogo and his two sons Soqaleni and Xobongo were buried, near the mountain of Bothasberg. Massie (1905:87) writes that the chief Jafta (Mapoch) was living at the settlement in 1905, with nine thousand forty nine people. The chief Gamela Kwakwari with his thousand six people lived with him in this location. Shabangu (1989:xv) writes that, in 1939, the remnants of the Ndzundza, who lived under Madzidzi Jones, moved to the farm Goedgedacht in the Nebo district, several miles to the southeast and were ruled by his son Mtshatshane Jafta. According to Schneider (1986:207) the government purchased the land as Trust Land for the amaNdzundza to be incorporated in their Native Reserves scheme, and acknowledged Jafta as chief. After Jafta's death in 1956, his son Poni became the new chief and accepted the government's offer of creating the Nebo Trust farms for the people. Jack Mphezulu Mahlangu became the regent after Poni's death in 1967. This group is generally referred to as the Nebo-amaNdzundza from the district Lebowa.

- **KwaMkhina, KwaHlanga and KwaSimuyembiwa**

Nyabela's life sentence was suspended and he was at last freed in 1899, with the outbreak of the South African (Second Boer) war. He went to live at KwaMkhina (the farm Hartebeestfontein near Derdepoort; also called Wamlaganye) outside Pretoria, with a number of his followers. Nyabela waited until his death in December of 1903 for the Government to honor their promise and allow him back at KoNomtjharhelo. Fene Andries (Mahlangu) succeeded him as second son of Soqaleni (Mkhephuli) by a wife of the Masilela family. A few years later the Government asked Chief Fene to move to the white-owned farm Welgelegen (221 IR--then 544) in the modern Delmas district at the upper reaches of the Wilgeriver,[178] and there he constructed kwaHlanga. According to Massie (1905:38), there were eight thousand four hundred and fifty two amaNdebele living in the Pretoria area by 1905, of whom the most dwelt at KwaHlanga. In 1922, Fene died at KwaHlanga, and his son Mayisha Cornelis II succeeded him, buying his own ground at Weltevreden near Dennilton in the south central trans-Vaal, where he constructed KwaSimuyembiwa. This settlement later formed the nucleus of the KwaNdebele homeland with the capital at Siyabuswa.[179] Mayisha passed away in December 1961 and was succeeded by Mabusa David.[180]

- **Hamanskraal and kwaMsiza**

Two other groups lived in the district of Hamanskraal, both consisting of four hundred forty two people, one under chief January Mahlangu, and the other under Jaas Mahlangu in a settlement at Rust der Winter. They remained there under Hlangane (Speelman) Msiza until 1945, when architect Meiring, the first to document amaNdzundza architecture, studied their settlement. The death of the owner of the Hartebeestfontein farm in 1953 threatened the existence of the amaNdzundza settlement, and Meiring, in liaison with the government's tourist authority, had the entire hamlet moved to the Odi 1 district near Klipgat, about 50 km north-west of Pretoria (see figure 24). The settlement has been coined KwaMsiza, and its people the ga-Matebele.[181]

3.10   The Space-Time Matrix of amaNdzundza Cultural Interaction

Having defined and delimited the cultural environment of the amaNdzundza, a space-time matrix of the amaNdzundza cultural interaction can now be constructed. The author draws on Levi-Straus's theory of structuralism to present the space-time matrix in the form of a structuralist chart (see figure 4a). The chart is not an expression of the cultural interactions in South Africa in

general, but specifically aimed at representing the amaNdzundza world. The position of all the cultures given in the chart must thus be understood in relation to the amaNdzundza, rather than in relation to each other. Bryant's construct for the genesis of the amaNguni and amaHlubi is presented on the chart. The horizontal axis in the chart gives the time aspect, and is telescoped into the past (to the left). As far as the early history is concerned, it also presents a north-south movement of the amaNguni people across the Zambezi River and to the southeastern coast of Southern Africa. The vertical axis presents the distance of the cultural cores from the amaNdzundza heartland.

3.11   Conclusion

The second sub-problem was to define and delimit the cultural environment of the amaNdzundza, and thus to reconstruct the space-time matrix within which même-exchanges took place. The second hypothesis was that amaNdzundza cultural environment brought them in contact with contrasting cultural cores that can be expressed in a space-time matrix for intercultural même-exchanges. The cultural environment of the amaNdzundza has been defined, starting from their amaNguni ancestors from Central Africa, who mingled with the San on their arrival in the South Continent. This was followed by the separation of the eMbó group from the amaNguni and their interaction with the Portuguese on the coast, in an area known as uBombó. Next, it was showed that the amaHlubi separated from the eMbó group, settling in the Quatlhamba Mountains. From here, the amaNdebele under Musi separated from the amaHlubi at Lundini, and moved east, towards the central trans-Vaal area. They came in close contact with the baKwena, the baHurutshe, and the baKgatla cultures, and dwelt at Emhlangeni and KwaMnyamana. The amaNdzundza separated from the amaNdebele, and moved to the eastern trans-Vaal area. Here they encountered a variety of cultures including the Mapalakata, vhaMbedzi, baPai, baPulane, baKutswe, baRóka, baKoni, baTau and the baPedi cultures. Indirect contact was made with the European traders at Inhambane and Delagoa Bay on the East Coast. The amaNdzundza settled at KwaSimkhulu and KwaMiza until the maTêbêlê invaded and scattered them.

They regrouped at KoNomtjharhelo, and were first subjected to the amaSwazi, and then the baPedi, the Boers and the British. They finally lost their independence during the Boer-amaNdzundza war of 1883, and were scattered onto the Highveld, working as indentured laborers for five years. After the turn of the century, they regrouped at three centers, one in the Nebo district, one at KwaMkhina and one at Hamanskraal. Here they were governed by the European

Colonists, and were ultimately subjected to apartheid. A space-time matrix was drawn up to express these cultural interactions.

In this chapter the amaNdzundza cultural environment was thus defined, and expressed in terms of a space-time matrix within which mème-exchanges took place. In the next chapter, the matrix, as the symbol of the amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza world, will be used to determine the role of cultural mèmes in shaping the structure and evolution of amaNdzundza dwelling.

Chapter 4

Spatial and Architectural Mêmes and the amaNdzundza Milieu

4.1   Sub-Problem 3

The third sub-problem is to determine the influence of the mêmes in the amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza cultural milieu on the evolution of their 'dwelling', both in spatial conception and physical manifestation.

4.2   Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis is that cultural *mêmes* in the amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza 'world' (as presented by the space-time matrix), determine the spatial concepts of their 'dwelling' and the physical manifestation of their settlements.

4.3   Outline of Chapter 4

In this chapter, the spaces and structures in the amaNdzundza settlements and their evolution are outlined by identifying, as examples, a group of important loci mêmes and loci même-pools. The origins and the meaning of these loci mêmes are linked to the cultural (religious and social) mêmes both in amaNdzundza culture and in the cultures with which the amaNdzundza came in contact. The groups chosen for this analysis are those present in the amaNdzundza space-time matrix (see chapter 3). A sample of three phenomena of human spatiality is identified, phenomena which serve as generators of the main loci même-pools. These pools are the 'terra sacra' même-pool, the 'creation myth' même-pool, the 'fire' même-pool, the 'zi' même-pool and the 'ndlu' même-pool. The mêmes are then presented in semiotic equations, in order to illustrate their evolution.

4.4   Selected Même-Generating Spatial Phenomena

In the previous chapter, the space-time matrix of the amaNdzundza was constructed. In this chapter, it is used to facilitate a better understanding of the context within which amaNdzundza architecture evolved. The reader is reminded of the analysis of Heideggerian dwelling already discussed the second chapter. When analyzing amaNdzundza 'dwelling' in spatial terms, we are dealing with the link between 'dwelling' and 'being', as well as the link between 'dwelling' and

'building', both of which have been established in the second chapter. The phenomena governing human spatiality serve as generators of the loci mêmes in the cultural realm of the amaNdzundza. A selection is made from this infinite set of phenomena which best accommodate the mêmes identified in this thesis.

The first phenomenon selected is Eliade's 'anamnesis'. He identifies the two worlds in which a human simultaneously dwells as the 'profane world', the everyday world into which one is born (or 'thrown'--see Heidegger), and the 'existential world', which constitutes a universe of forms and values (a cosmic, 'sacred' world). [182] Dwelling in the profane world he calls 'amnesia' and dwelling in the existential world 'anamnesis'. Human dwellings and settlements incorporate these two worlds through the concept of meaning used in constructing these dwellings and settlements. To illustrate how the existential world manifest itself physically in the profane world, Eliade gives the example of the Achilpas, an Australian Arunda tribe. Their mythological being, called *Numbakula*, made a sacred pole out of a gum tree trunk and climbed up into the sky with it, thus cosmicizing their territory. This pole came to represent their cosmic axis, and through it the profane world became the Arunda's habitable world. As nomads, they kept their tribal pole in the air, and walked in the direction the pole slanted. When the pole broke, the Achilpas lost their existential world, and the band sat down and allowed themselves to perish. The example illustrates the need of a people to cosmicize their 'world' they live in. This need is the driving force of architecture. Drawing on the research of Levi-Strauss, Eliade indicates how meaning is carried through the existential world into the architecture of the Bororos in Brazil. The Bororos based their social system and marital patterns on the layout of the village. When missionaries forced them to change this layout and to live in parallel rows, the Bororo social system soon collapsed. From these examples it is clear that, to paraphrase Eliade "... the very fact of living in the world has a religious value for the man of archaic society. For he lives in a world which has been created by supernatural beings and where his village or home is an image of the cosmos." This phenomenon serves as the generator of the prime loci même-pool of amaNdzundza architecture, exemplified further in this thesis by the 'terra sacra' même.

The second phenomenon selected is Casey's '*Stabilitas Loci*'. In his essay[183] Two Ways to Dwell, Casey identifies two complimentary aspects of dwelling. The one is the 'stability of place', which he calls *Stabilitas Loci* and the other 'inhabitancy in place'. By the act of building, Dasein gains a basis for dwelling (in the Heideggerian sense) 'somewhere in particular'. Dwelling can thus be

residing or non-residing, referring to the meanings of the Old Norse word *dvelja* ('to linger' or 'delay') and the old English *dwalde* ('to go astray', 'to err' or 'wonder'). This phenomenon serves as the generator of the secondary loci même-pool, and is exemplified in this thesis by the 'zi' même of amaNdzundza architecture.

The third phenomenon is what Casey calls 'Hestial dwelling'. He considers re-accessibility and familiarity as two necessary conditions for human dwelling. Re-accessibility encourages repeated return, even if the dwelling itself had been moved (as is the case amongst Nomads), and familiarity springs from reoccupation, so that the dwelling to which one returns is increasingly inhabited by the spirit of the *familiaris* (the so-called 'indwelling god' of inhabitation). He categorizes these two conditions into the realms of 'inhabitation' and 'exploration'. This binarism is best explained in tabulated form, and is given in *figure 16* below. The middle realm of 'encroaching emplacement' is not dealt with in this thesis.

EXPLORATION	INHABITATION
• 'Orientation' is its primary issue.	• It implies being settled (orientation is thus a given).
• Finding our way in space is not tantamount to being 'in-placed'. Dasein is always aware of not having a place to be.	• Being somewhere in particular.
• To dwell *en route* is dwelling, as wondering aim is discovery.	• Bodies attuned to the dimensions of the particular place and 'residing' is the mode of dwelling.
Is attained through 'Hermetic dwelling'.	Is attained through 'Hestial dwelling'.
• Hermes is the messenger of the Greek gods and the god of the roads, travel and trade.	• Hestia is the Greek goddess of health, and the abode, house or household.
• Hermetic space expresses that which is center-less. He is always 'out there'.	• She was the first deity to build a house, and her altars are in the center of Greek houses. Her temple is always round. Hestial dwelling tends to take place in round spaces, and is sensitive to the vertical (the axis mundi).
• Hermetic space is eccentric and mobile.	• Hestial space is concentric and stationary.
• Hermetic space is expressed in a formal geometric mode.	• Hestial space is expressed with participational and topological forms.
• The main Hermetic space in Venice is the Piazza St. Marco.	• The main Hestial space in Venice is the Duomo St Marco.

Figure 16: The author's interpretation of Casey's two primary modes of dwelling

Casey believes that these two opperate in chorus, and that each kind of dwelling calls for and complements the other: "...they are finally two-in-one, the binarism of opposition yielding to the internally differentiated unity of dwelling twice over in the same place." The phenomenon of 'Hestial dwelling' serves as the generator of the tertiary même-pool in amaNdzundza architecture and is exemplified by the 'ndlu' même-pool in this thesis.

Having identified three of the main phenomena of human spatiality, a sample of loci-mêmes in the amaNdzundza milieu (which are generated by these phenomena) can now be identified. The first is the 'terra sacra (σ)' même-pool, with the 'ndla-' même as its main component. The second is the 'creation myth (χ)' même-pool and the 'hlanga' même is given as one of its sub-mêmes. The third is the 'fire (ϕ)' même-pool and the component identified here, as an example from this pool is the 'ash' même. The fourth example is that of the 'zi (ζ)' même-pool, and the last the 'ndlu (δ)' même-pool. The last two are very complex pools, consisting of a great set of sub-même-pools, of which a few were exemplified in the text.

4.5   The 'Terra Sacra' Même-Pool

4.5.1   Introduction

It has been shown that Eliade identifies two worlds in which human beings simultaneously dwell, namely the 'profane world' and the 'existential world', and that he calls the activity of dwelling in the profane world 'amnesia', and dwelling in the existential world 'anamnesis'. How do these concepts of Eliade translate into architectural space? He says that archaic man's living world had religious value as a result of a specific experience of what he calls 'sacred space'. The world was, since primordial times, experienced as spatially non-homogenous, referring to the idea that parts of space were qualitatively different. He concludes that sacred space is "...the only real and really existing space and all other spaces are the formless expanse surrounding it." This is why, for the purpose of the semiotic même analysis that follows in this chapter, the author represents the sum of all meaningful space as 'Σ' (the mathematical symbol referring to 'the sum of'), and the profane space extending ad infinitum with '∞' (the mathematical symbol representing 'infinity'). Whereas it would be customary to associate sacred space to the infinity symbol, the opposite configuration is used here. The reason for this is that the equation refers solely to the finite physical manifestation of the sacred, as it is experienced in the amaNdzundza culture. Although Eliade's writings inspired the author's understanding of 'sacred' and 'profane' space, Plato's original Greek vocabulary for these concepts is used for the semiotic même-pool equation. Plato distinguishes two kinds of *chora* ('space'), namely *kenon* ('void of empty space') and *topos* ('discrete place'). The loci même-pool (the même-pool relating to space) is thus represented by the following equation:

Fig. 17a Walton's analysis of baSotho graves
Fig. 17b amaZulu terra sacra after Raum
Fig. 17c Modern amaNdzundza grave:
Fig. 17d baPedi grave
Fig. 17e baRoka grave

SITING OF GRAVES

A="Mamome, Letingoana's second wife.
B= Letingoana.
C= Moletsa, Letingoana's senior grandson—senior son of Mamome, who is still alive.
D= Mamomee, Letingoana's senior wife.
E= 'Mananed, Letingoana's fourth wife (his third was still alive).

Fig. 18a amaZulu royal grave
Fig. 18b baSotho graves
Fig. 18c A abaNtu grave in a pen:
Fig. 18d External fire place
Fig. 18e Internal fire place
Fig. 18f Internal fire place

SIMOA
SETTLEMENT
(HOLUB)

KORANNA
HUT
(HOLUB)

CHORA = {KENON → TOPOS}

∴ CHORA = {∞ → Σ (n)}   ....(1)

Where ∞   = kenon or profane space

Σ   = topos or sacred space

n   = the loci mĉme-pool

→   = spatial movement

The non-homogeneity of space is the main premise of this semiotic analysis of loci-mêmes. Eliade believes that "the religious experience of the non-homogeneity of space is a primordial experience, comparable to the founding of the world." Religious space establishes an absolute fixed point or a center. Archaic man has always sought to fix his dwelling or settlement at the 'center of the world'. If the homogenized, relative world of profane space is to be dwelt in, a sacred space must be founded. Eliade gives the example of Rome being founded by Romulus, ploughing a circular ditch to delimit the space for the city wall, and thus traces the word *urbs* (city) to *urvum* (the curve of a plough-share). The amaNdzundza Dasein does not interpret its world from a scientific point of view, but rather a religious one. If Dasein is to control its world, it is to honor the ancestors. It is thus important for Dasein to know the whereabouts of the ancestors. What is the spatial link between Dasein and his fathers? The abaNtu believes it to be the grave. The need to control their hostile world is so pressing, that Dasein dwells in relation to these graves, thus ensuring the proximity of the ancestors. Just as the ancestors are the most important spiritual phenomena in Dasein's world, the graves are the most important spatial phenomena. The grave is the même that takes the abaNtu from living in the profane world to living in sacred space. This is the fundamental ingredient for the non-homogeneity of space. This represents the abaNtu *axis mundi*, or the center of the abaNtu spatiality and 'world'.[184]

The hierarchy of abaNtu graves corresponds to the structure of their society. The society is divided into units, the king being the head of the communal unit and the father the head of the family unit. The same hierarchy is carried into the hereafter, so that the graves decrease in significance as the rank of the deceased decrease. The royal grave is thus the most important one, and becomes the *terra sacra*[165] of the King's followers[186.]

4.5.2 The Main Physical Component of the 'Terra Sacra' Même-Pool: the 'ndla-' même (see figures 17-18c)

♦ Introduction: an isiNdebele Linguistic Analysis of the Word 'Grave'

Van Vuuren gives the isiNdebele term for grave as *[uku]-krhema*[187]. This is probably a anglicized misnomer, referring to the verb 'cremate', which is in turn derived from the Latin *crematus*, the past participle of *cremare*, which means 'to burn'. The original isiNdebele noun for grave is *[i]-thuna*, and is a term that can still be traced to its origin form, the isiZulu (amaNguni) language. *[i]-thuna* is derived from the word *thunzi*, meaning shadow. The root *-thuna* is also the isiZulu verb for the action of burying and for being 'unsuitable'. An amaNdzundza person is believed to be consisting of *umzimba*, the body, *ithunzi*, the shadow, and *umoya*, the spirit. After death the spirit goes up to *Zimu* (God). The *thunzi* (shadow) stays hovering beside the grave and appears to be the aspect of man that is between the material and spiritual state. The grave as artifact is thus cognate to the shadow, which will be shown to play an important role in abaNtu architecture. An isiNdebele synonym for *[i]-thuna* is *[izi]-ndla*. Linguistically *[izi]-ndla* is significantly akin to concepts such as *[izi]-ndlu* (dwellings) and *[ama]-ndla* (power or strength). This is very significant, and represents an ancient relationship between the dwelling, the grave and the gods, as still present in linguistic traces.

♦ The 'ndla' Même's Early Evolution

Although the 'ndla' même is the main physical component of the 'terra sacra' même-pool in amaNdzundza architecture, it pre-dates the inception of the pool in southern African vernacular architecture. Traces of the early evolution of the même can today still be found in San architecture. The amaNdzundza dwelt in close relation to the San for more than half of a millennium (see the amaNdzundza space-time matrix). The San tradition seems to be largely unrelated to the traditions today found amongst the abaNtu. According to the French Missionary Arbousset, the San dug oblong graves, placed the person in the grave, and then placed the remains of the deceased's hut on top of his body. The remains of the hut are then set on fire. Schapera describes a tradition where the San place stones on the grave. The !Kung San place their dead in the contracted position and then bury them in a termite hill. The grave is round, narrow and shallow. In order to protect the grave from hyenas, thorn bushes sometimes fence it in.[188] There is no significant relationship

between these customs and the settlement of the San. It is thus clear that the San spatial system does not incorporate the 'terra sacra' même as part of its matrix of loci mêmes.

♦ The 'ndla' Même amongst the amaNdzundza Overlords, the bePedi

The rights of burial were so significant in the baPedi culture that whoever buried the deceased King had established a lawful claim to the throne. The burying of Moukangoe by Mampuru was a sign that the latter claimed the chieftainship. There was thus no alternative left for Moroamotshe, the rightful heir, but to resort to war as a vehicle to regain the leadership.[169] This kind of upheavals noted in the oral traditions of the abaNtu illuminate the political and spatial importance placed on the burial ceremony. When the people who became known as the baPedi arrived in the eastern trans-Vaal, they took their name from a baVenda iron-making clan vhaMbedzi (the phonetic equivalent of baPedi), who they found to be in control of the country. By adopting the name of the people they conquered they wished to propitiate the ancient spirits of the land, those of the vhaMbedzi ancestors. This indicates the importance of the belief that the people buried in a specific area govern the natural and supernatural events that take place in it.

The baPedi believe that people do not die, but move away from the body and live elsewhere. This is called *kudupana. Kudupana* is also the manner in which a baby is positioned in the mother's womb and the manner of sleeping with the arms and knees pulled closely to the body. A corpse is buried in this fashion, with the sinews of the arms and legs cut, drawn up to the body, and tied with thongs to keep it in position. Just as the spirit (*seriti*), having moved into the body at birth, leaves the body after death, the body has to exist in the configuration of the *kudupana* after the spirit left it. It is thus returned to the position it had in the womb before the spirit possessed it.[190] This cyclical idea of life is also seen in the parallel creation of the hut and settlement. The settlement is constructed from nature, and returns to nature, in a cycle very similar to human life. A shallow round grave (*lebitla*) is dug for the burial (*poloko*).[191] The body is covered with a skin, and face in the direction where the ancestors originally came from, so as to establish a link with the ancestors. The personal belongings and some seeds for cultivation are buried with the dead for their use in the next life. Formerly, the one who attended the fire of the chief was buried with him as to attend to him in the next life. The grave was then filled, and marked with a small stone.[192]

Considering the fact that the most powerful men became the most powerful ancestors, *Badimo ba godimo* ('gods of the above'), it is not difficult to understand that the chief is the link between the people and the ancestors while alive, the *Modimo wa lefase* ('the god of the earth'). A lineage worships the ancestors of the lineage head, and the households worship the ancestors of the head of the household. It is thus that the settlement organization becomes a mirror of the religious beliefs of the people.[193] Where the *seriti* or spirits live is not clear. While some believe that they live in heaven or under the ground (denoting a possible Christian influence), the most believe that they live in the west where the sun sets, in the shadow-world, where the shadows are the longest. All seriti do not become *badimo* ('ancestor spirits'). The more descendants you have, and the older you are, the better your chances are of becoming a *badimo*. When people are not properly buried, without the necessary rites, they become 'ghosts' (*setshosa*), and haunt their graves in the form of a bright light, as well as the dwellings of their descendants.[194] During the mourning period that follows the death, which lasts one year for a chief, nobody is allowed to repair the houses, or to do any building. The widow must carry her stick in her left hand, as to show men that she is in mourning and that she is not allowed to have relationships.

As far as the positioning of graves is concerned, Mönnig gives a description for all the different ages of the dead. He writes: "The mother, wife or sister of the deceased will then indicate where the grave is to be made by beating on the spot with a hoe. Chiefs and heads of lineage's and their wives, and the heads of households are buried in the cattle pen. Young men and women of lesser importance are buried in the private courtyard (*mafuri*) behind the hut. Babies are buried inside the hut, and young children are buried under the eaves of the hut. If the burial takes place in the (pen), it is not entered through the normal entrance, but a special entrance for this occasion is made at the back. This safeguards the cattle against contamination, and also makes it possible for woman who are otherwise banned from the pen to enter for the burial."[195] During a sacrifice to the ancestors. the chief would summon all the relatives to the pen, where he would pour a gallon of beer over the grave of the ancestor. (See figure 17c) The 'terra sacra' même thus operates in baPedi culture, and is as in the case of the amaNdzundza linked to the center of the settlement, the cattle pen. We have seen that the ancestor is closely linked to the dwelling, a parallel belief to be found in amaNguni culture through the ukuBuyisa tradition. The amaNdzundza did not receive the même from the baPedi, but the parallel beliefs can be partially credited for the survival and evolution of the même amongst the amaNdzundza.

♦ The Right of Burial and the 'ndla' Même amongst the amaNdzundza
Neighbors, the Eastern baSotho

We have seen in chapter three (3.4.2) how the history of the amaNdzundza and the eastern baSotho peoples, the baPai, the baKutswe and the baPulane brought them in close contact at the Steelpoort River in the eastern trans-Vaal, all united under their baPedi overlords. The oral tradition of the baPulane relates the happenings around an eastern baSotho burial. Directly translated into English, the elders narrate it as follows:

> Now when they bury him they take a beast and they slaughter it. They come with the skin and make a coffin with it. They bury him in the cattle-fold, they dig in the ground of the fold, and bury him there, and level the manure. The cattle enter inside the fold, they trample on top of the grave so that it is not visible. They let him look towards the south; now, others will let him look to the west, others point to the north, others point to the east. Others are seated on buttocks. They smash a pot on the grave; another they turn over, and a hole is made in the bottom of the pots; they smash the pots because the owner is dead.[196]

The baPulane still visits the grave of their ancestor Kobeng. The ceremony is called *go-ya mphaklong* or *go-phasa* ('to spit through your teeth'), and is mainly preformed during times of distress, such as times of drought. The baPai oral tradition describes a less pragmatic and more ceremonial approach. Once again translated by Ziervogel directly into English, the oral tradition reads:

> We find a doctor, he will let them smoke medicine, he wards off evil here at home, he lets those who have buried this person take a stone and he heats it at the fire-place. They take it away from the fire and wrap it in likhowa [a kind of medicine], the who have buried the person make cold [cleanse] the hands. They end there the death (sic).[197]

The même amongst the baPulane has thus evolved to loose some of its meaning, by not pointing the dead towards the ancestral place of origin. The même amongst the baPai, on the other hand, still functions in much the same way it did amongst their earlier abaNtu ancestors. They link the même to the significance of fire, which will be discussed later in the identification of the 'fire' même. To conclude, it can be said that the eastern baSotho 'terra sacra' même operates spatially in much the same way as it operates amongst the baPedi and the amaNdzundza.

♦ The amaNguni 'ndla' Même and the amaNdzundza

How does the 'terra sacra' come to represent an axis mundi? What is the mechanism through

which the existential world manifests itself physically in the profane world?[198] In abaNtu society the sacred space consists of the royal grave. The morphology of the grave would thus answer our questions. Bryant noted the covering of amaNguni graves with stones,[199] a sub-même that operates both in some abaNtu cultures and in the San culture of burial. Fourie wrote that a heap of stones is placed on the grave of the amaNdzundza to protect the corpse from sorcerers and wild animals. Raum refers to the planting of trees on the graves (sub-même), such as the umKhamba, iSundu, umSenge, umNyele, umPhafa or umLahlankosi, umuNde, euphorbias and aloes (see figure 18a).[200] When the settlement is moved, the grave is left behind and thus needs to be marked by the tree. The site of the grave is sacred and thus preserved from desecration. No fires are allowed to sweep over the graves, no twig or branch may be plugged from the trees, and no one is to disturb the snakes and lizards ("...of unknown kinds and marvelous size"! –another sub-même) that inhabits the 'terra sacra'.[201] When an amaNdzundza king dies, he is buried secretly at night, and an ox is slaughtered. Only the gravediggers and old woman are allowed to eat the meat, and what is not eaten is burnt with the blood of the beast. The *umoya* "...take strength from this meat, it is 'light'. The next day the announcement is made: 'The king has changed... The King Fene rules, the government is of Fene'"[202]

The royal graves are the graves, which for the political position of the deceased, are the 'terra sacra' of the individual settlements. The taboos of the graves relate to the royal graves remaining in the countryside because, although the kings are originally buried in the settlements, the grave usually survives the settlement after its ruin. These graves then, as will be seen, are originally dug in the cattle pen. The graves of family heads and kings normally disappear under the dung of the cattle in the pen. Some are laid under the wall of the pen (see figure 17a), but usually people choose roughly the middle of the pen (see figure 18c).[203] They are the axis mundi of the settlement. These graves include those of the agnates of ascending generations, men of the rank of chief. Examples of such graves would be the grave of the chief's father or brothers, or the chief himself. A grave is dug by relatives and is normally four to six feet deep.[204] The deceased is partially clothed, wrapped in a sleeping mat that is tied above the head, and is buried in a sitting posture (a sub-même), facing the southeast (a sub-même). A flat stone is placed above his head (a sub-même) and a wooden dish filled with porridge is placed on his lap. A piece of stiff porridge use to be placed in the left hand in a gesture of inversion (normally eating with the left hand is taboo), and the hand is then placed in front of the mouth.

If a person becomes too old to join his regiment at the kings settlement, the amaZulu would 'help such a person home', in a ritual called *ukuGodusa*. The King would send a troop of men who would pounce on him, and bury him alive. They might also kill him before burial.[205] When women became too old to look after themselves, they were similarly 'sent home' by merely abandoning them in a deep *donga* far away from the settlement. In olden times, only the Royalty, important soldiers and men of note were buried. These were the people considered to become the ancestral spirits after death. If such a man was traveling far away from the settlement, the intention of burial may be indicated by placing a bough or stone upon his head.[206] Lugg wrote that the chief was buried close to the fence of the cattle pen, on the inside, in the position closest to the main hut. He believed the lesser members of the group to have been buried behind the individual huts.[207]

The burials took place at night, a phenomenon Krige does not attribute to the preferred absence of shadow, but to the fact that the inhabitants want to hide the grave from witches. This is a doubtful explanation, though, unless the custom was introduced by the baSotho into amaNguni culture through a process of même evolution, whereas the meaning was lost. The grave was considered by Krige to be three to four feet deep and five foot long, with a terrace cut in the side to place the body in a sitting position. When foul play was suspected, four medicine pegs were drilled into the ground at the four corners of the grave. The man was buried with some possessions, including his weaponry (which had to be broken in order to prevent him from fight with the ancestors). After the burial, everybody present would place a stone on the grave, as to Xhawula, or shake hands with the dead. See figure 18c for a grave covered with stones, in the cattle pen. Ludwig tells us that headman took soil from the grave and gave small pinches to the woman who had to touch it on their breasts, and return it to him, to be returned to the grave.[208] This might be a ritual linking their children to the new ancestor, and represents another sub-même. When entering the hut of the deceased, the amaNguni walks backwards, so that all the footprints point outwards, as to prevent the bad spirits to stay behind, or to enter the hut again. If the deceased was an important person, an exit is made in the back of the hut at the *umsamo*, and the body carried through it.

The grave avoidance is very similar to the husband's father avoidance in amaNdzundza culture. The wives at a settlement, whether they are the wives of the chief's sons or the chief's younger brother's sons, would avoid the graves of their fathers-in-law. They would move behind the huts in what is called the 'path of avoidance' (discussed later in section 4.8.6: 'The *iGceke* of the Settlement or ¢g^{ce} Sub-Même'). The grave avoidance also applies to graves at old sites. When

ploughing on an old settlement site, the amaNguni do not plough over the graves. No fruits or vegetables growing on the 'terra sacra' may be eaten, and must be left to dry. Where there are avoidances, there are wizards. Wizards can gather the soil from the 'terra sacra' to harm the descendants of the deceased. The wizards may even dig out corpses to convert them into dwarf size tongue-tied familiars. This is a very common abaNtu belief. Diviners sometimes take their clients to the graves of their ancestors to show them coins allegedly thrown there by wizards in order to buy the lives of children of the settlement from the deceased father of the chief.

Graves of the wives of the settlement have little avoidances and behavioral significance. The graves of children with abnormalities are placed far away from the settlement. amaNguni killed by lightning could not be buried in the settlement, even if he was a chief, and had to be buried by the lightning doctor. Stillborn children were not buried, but thrust into the hole of an ant bear, and no avoidances are observed. One of Raum's informants related to him the custom for the burial of a twin: "The twin that dies is buried just outside one of the door-jambs of its mother's hut, so that the surviving twin by stamping on its grave is 'strengthened' while it plays." Concentric rings of increasing taboo intensity surround the graves of the Royalty that are outside settlements. These demarcate where walking sticks may not be used, where lovers may not go, where fauna and flora may not be interfered with, where the cattle may not go and where no western clothes were allowed to be warn. When pointing out a grave, the amaNguni believes that you should point with your closed fist, since it is disrespectful to point fingers at the ancestors. A person walking past the grave would put his weapons in his left hand and salute with his right hand, and would not quarrel or speak loud. Woman must always bow their heads, and cover it if married in the royal settlement.

4.5.3   The amaNguni ukuBuyisa or 'Bringing Home of the Spirit', Indicating the Spatial Significance of the 'ndla' Même

The deceased is not automatically incorporated in the pantheon of the ancestors, and has to be brought home after his travels in the second world (a sub-même). A few years (approximately two to four years) after the burial, the *ukuBuyisa* is performed to bring the spirit of the dead home. A large ox is killed, slaughtered and placed in the *umsamo* in the back of the hut, and the name of the deceased for the first time chanted with the names of the other ancestors. In this song, he is especially asked to come back to the settlement, and to come and look after his people. His eldest

son would drag the branch of a tree from the burial site to the hut, as to induce the spirit to make the journey. The present males would scatter the bile of the ox (the contents of its gall-bladder) on their feet to ensure that the spirit would be with them wherever they go in the future. Some gall is also scattered at the back of the hut, but none on the feet of the girls, as to prevent them from taking away the spirit when they marry and move to their new settlement. The gall-bag of the spirit-beast is then split, and the chief's son wears it on his wrists. All the sacrificed meat must be eaten the next day, after being prepared in the pen, for if any meat leaves the settlement, the spirit would leave with it. Only after all the ceremonies are done may the people move to a new settlement. This taboo is observed because, during the period of rites, the spirit is vulnerable to witchcraft, and the grave thus has to be protected.[209]

4.5.4 New Settlements and the Functioning of the 'ndla' Même

The choice of a new settlement site amongst the San is the prerogative of the *gei-khoib* (chief). The ancestors are not called upon to take this decision. The latter custom was a later development amongst the abaNtu. Amongst the San, the Chief decides that the people would move, and then, taking up all their belongings, they commence with the migration. Once the chief finds a suitable site, he place his belongings where his hut will be constructed, and then, passing to his right, his followers chose their sites for the construction of shelters.[210]

The baPedi believe that the ancestors have to move with the people. They say that at sunrise, one can see the ancestral spirits near the mountain Rite. These, they believe, are the spirits of the old chief Sekwati and his people, moving to his new settlement at Tsate (see figure 22f), driving their livestock across the road in a long line of people, all caring their possessions.[211] The baPai oral tradition is relatively vague concerning the rites involved in constructing a new settlement. The three sentences in the tradition documented by Ziervogel read as follows: "When you want to build you call a doctor, he comes to drive it [the pegs], and he comes to fasten the knots of grass. There is an expert; he knows to build here at your kraal [settlement]. He seeks pegs, he knocks and encircles your kraal [settlement], he pours out sand he finds at the river near the water, and he will sow it here at the home [to scatter it]."[212]

Amongst the amaNguni, the ancestors are the settlement, and no settlement can relocate without the ancestors' agreement. Believing that they cannot live in piece without the ancestors, the

amaNguni do everything in their power to convince the ancestors to move to the new site. Firstly, the ancestors must indicate the new site. If the ancestral snake (*ithongo*) is found in the countryside, the site is thus indicated. If this is not the case, Krige explains, "the ancestors must be persuaded to move by the sacrifice of a bullock at the old site. Songs directed at the ancestors are sung, and then a branch of umPhafa (a small tree with hard edible berries) is dragged along out of the old village to the new. The *ithongo* is believed to follow the branch. If, however, it is still unwilling to go, it will speak to the eldest son or old mother, or any old men of the village, in a dream."

If the amaNdzundza decide to move to a new settlement, they first pray to the ancestors (*ukuthethelela*) before they move away (*-fuduka*). They would sit in a kneeling position around a little hole, which have been dug by the doctor in the middle of where the new site will be located. Everybody present must be dressed in ceremonial clothes, or at least the headdress (*umcelo*) and the veldkaros (*inaga*). Beer (*utjwala*) is taken into the mouth (*ukugamula utjwala*), but not swallowed. Everybody spits out (*ukukhafula*) the beer into the hole, after which everyone gets a chance to call the ancestors (*abezima*),[213] usually their own forefathers, by name. After this, they get up and greet the chief with the traditional Ngwenyama-greeting. Then everybody turns their backs on the *inyanga*, who drives the magically prepared sticks into the ground (*ukuqinisa*).[214] Although the old chief (*umnomuzi*) might choose a new settlement of a son, the final choice rests with the *inyanga* ('witch doctor'). The two doctors from the Kabinde and the Sodiya (Mahlangu) would fulfill the roles of the inyangas in such a case, and they would go with the uncles on the father's side of the chief (*abasonghwani* or *obaba omncani*) to prepare the site.[215]

The new chief would present a sheep (a goat may not be used) to the doctor. The contents of the slaughtered animal's stomach are mixed with medicine and are then spread over the site. Wooden pegs that have been treated with medicine are knocked into the ground on the outer edge of where the main wife's (*ubunene* section) hut (the *indlunkulu*) would be build. That would be the first hut at the settlement. This ritual is known as the *ukubethela umuzi*, or 'to protect the settlement'. The doctor also protects the site with his divining bones and his payment is the meat of the slaughtered animals. The amaNdebele from Wallmansthal describes this process in their oral traditions as follows:

> The doctor will come, and I say, 'There it is.' He will treat the sheep with certain herbs. These medicines I do not know. I show him the spot. Then he will kill the sheep and have it

skinned, he takes the contents of the paunch, and straws it all over the place where I intend
to put the hut. Then he chops a number of pegs, and takes some medicine that he keeps in a
horn, takes the pegs one by one and dips them into the medicine in the horn and then knocks
them into the ground there where I want to lay the foundation of the hut. Doctors differ in
their methods of treating huts. There are those that use divining bones, and those that do not,
having none. When a doctor who does not use bones comes to treat the place where my hut
is going to stand, he will proceed as described above. When he has finished doctoring my
kraal, I give him one head of cattle. The meat of the sheep, all of it, goes with the doctor.
Even to-day all the amaNdebele call in the doctor. And when he has put matters in order, I
begin building my hut. (van Warmelo 1930:46-47)

4.5.5 The 'ndla' Même According to the Christian Missionaries and Settlers and the Eclipse of the Même

With the coming of the German Missionaries and the Dutch (Boer) settlers to the eastern trans-
Vaal in the middle of the nineteenth century (see chapter 3), the mème of ancestral burial in the
pen came under attack. The missionaries were proactively trying to destroy ancestral worship, and
believed that people should be buried in properly marked graves outside the settlement and in a
horizontal fashion with the feet facing east (see figure 17c). The idea was that dead would rise to
face Christ, who would come from the east. Thus the circular pen that was formerly the
'graveyard' of the amaNdzundza was abandoned by the spirits, and the new, inherently linear
graveyards, now not the core of the settlement, became their new resting place. Furthermore, the
inherent link between the economy (cattle) and the religion (ancestors) which was symbolized by
them sharing the pen (the core of the settlement) was broken. This was not just done by changing
the 'ndla' mème, but by the introduction of the western consumer society with its emphasize on
money and commerce, and the replacement of the belief of cattle-for-wives with the idea of
Christian marriage and monogamy.

4.5.6   Conclusion

The 'terra sacra' mème introduces sacred space and the possibility of dwelling into the
amaNdzundza profane world on a religious level. The 'terra sacra' mème-pool is called the σ-
mème, and the 'ndla' mème is considered its main component. The mème was absent from the San
settlement formation, and is thus found to be of abaNtu origin. The mème have mostly acted intra-
culturally through the amaNguni ancestors of the amaNdzundza and have partially eclipsed
through the introduction of Christianity, starting from the German missionaries and the Dutch
settlers of the 1840's. The mème materialized in the form of burials in the center of the settlement,

in the belief that the ancestors dwell in the settlement, and thus control the natural forces of the universe to the advantage of the inhabitants. The mème was partly verified by the existence of the ukuBuyisa ritual amongst the amaNguni, and partly by the rituals involved in moving to a new settlement, especially as practiced by the amaNguni. The σ-mème belongs to the set of mèmes that are ontologically tied to the premise of the immortal powers of the ancestors, and in its evolution or decline was thus highly susceptible to foreign non-ancestral religions and the scientific explanations of natural phenomena. A breakdown of the 'terra sacra' mème as it relates to profane and sacred space is given by the following extension of semiotic equation number 1:

$$\text{CHORA (prehistoric)} = \{\infty \rightarrow \Sigma\,(n)\} \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad (2)$$

$$\text{CHORA (pre-colonial)} = \{\infty \rightarrow \Sigma\,(\sigma^{(ndla+n)}+n)\} \quad\quad\quad\quad (3)$$

$$\text{CHORA (modern)} = \{\infty \rightarrow \Sigma\,(\sigma^{-}+n)\} \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad (4)$$

where ∞ = kenon or profane space

Σ = topos or sacred space

σ = terra sacra mème-pool

n = other mèmes in the loci mème-pool

$\rightarrow$ = spatial movement

ndla = the ndla (grave) mème

$(x)^{-}$ = eclipsed mème

4.6   The Myth and the 'Creation' Mème as it Impacts on Architecture

4.6.1   Introduction

In many societies a 'myth' means a 'true story'. The Greeks, and specifically Xenophanes (in c. 565-470 BC), were the first to inverse the meaning of mythos, placing it in juxtaposition with 'logos' and later 'historia', so that the word 'myth' came to denote 'what can not really exist'. The Romanian Ethnologist Eliade tells us that a myth narrates a sacred history, "it relates an event that took place in primordial time, the fabled time of the beginnings."[216] He further states that a myth is always an account of creation. It is then exactly because myths are 'true' and relate the gesta of Supernatural beings and manifestations of their sacred powers, that they become the exemplary models for all significant human activity. Eliade believed that the rites involved in an action cannot be preformed if the origin of these rites is not known. By living the myth, the people emerge from profane, chronological time, and enter the sacred time, which has become

indefinitely recoverable through the remembrance of the events of creation. They themselves can thus now create.

4.6.2   The amaNguni Creation Myth and amaNdzundza Architecture

Unkulunkulu ('the old' or 'the old one') was the creator of man. The amaZulu believes that "*Unkulunkulu* broke off" from a bed of reeds, and then he was followed by all men (who also "broke off"). In fact, everything came into being from the bed of reeds. Unkulunkulu thus created man, wild animals, cattle, game, snakes and birds, water and mountains, and even the sun and the moon. Some believe that with him sprang a woman from the bed of reeds, but they both still constitute Unkulunkulu. Unkulunkulu also denotes the first ancestor in a lineage. It is the name given to the one who founded the house, the one who started the family. Unkulunkulu is thus an ancestor, and when it is thought that he is worshiped, it is actually the ancestors that are worshiped. They believe that he can not be worshiped, because his praises cannot be remembered, seeing that he died so long ago.

How does Unkulunkulu play a role in amaNguni creations? He is the first ancestor, and in asking the ancestors to choose a site, or to bless the construction of the new settlement, he automatically comes into play. It is thus through the ancestors, and ultimately through Unkulunkulu that the amaNguni build. He created by making use of the *hlanga*, or the 'bed of reeds' (a very active sub-même in amaNguni culture). The very concepts of coming upon, assembling or meeting are linguistically and metaphysically linked to the bed of reeds. Whereas the bed of reeds is called *hlanga*, the other three concepts are all referred to as *-hlangana* in isiZulu. The verb 'to assemble' is also *hlangana* in the amaNdzundza tongue. In isiNdebele the preposition *hlangana* means 'to be among'. Furthermore, the amaNdzundza and amaZulu refer to *hlanganisa* when referring to 'bringing together', 'join together', and to 'attaching' (the three actions constituting the very essence of architectural creation). The amaZulu call their harvested land the *-hlanga* and the amaNdzundza their grain huts the *-hlangana*. All these concepts are ontologically linked to Unkulunkulu's *hlanga* ('bed of reeds'), and his creation.

4.6.3   The San and baTswana Creation Myth

Because the mythology of the baTswana is strongly influenced by San beliefs, they will be presented together here. The mythological place of their creation is the water hole of Lowe,

situated about 10 kilometers from Mochudi in Botswana. The water hole in a rocky river bed is 2500 mm deep. The first people and animals were locked up in it, until the creator Matsieng or Modimo (who had one leg) let them all out. Today one can still find the rock engravings of footprints (of both persons and animals) around this hole. Lowe was also the name of the first person of the creation. Matsieng, at this stage, made some large steps. The first of these were made on hill Powe in Dinokana (to the north of the road), which is a natural mark resembling one human and one animal foot print. The second was in Modimong, 11 km northeast of Taung (the place where Mohurutse lived in about 1500). Matsieng, who came from a cave, disliked his creation, and went back to the cave.[217] One-legged deities, who had legs made of wax, and which were melted away by the sun, are typically found in San mythology. Breutz writes that this is a belief that can be traced geographically across different present culture patterns from north to south across Central Africa. He furthermore notes that a belief in mythological foot prints can be found in nearly all South African language groups. Both peoples have another creation myth, according to which the Creator Deity created first a boy and a girl, his sister. This may be connected with the sky god Modimo. The Tlokwa (now Southern baSotho) took over the creation myth of the amaZulu that have been discussed previously, and place the events of this creation at Ntwanatsatsi (according to Breutz it is now called Nkwe, a place north of Vrede, OFS, where the Tlokwa settled shortly after 1700).[218]

4.6.4   The baPedi Creation Myth

The baPedi word for God is *Modimo*, and his personal name *Kgobe*. They do not have a clear conception of him, but agree that he is male, and has one leg only. His one son is called Kgobeane. After Modimo or Kgobe created the world with all the plant and animal life, Kgobeane created man. In relation to the creation, Modimo is also known as *Mmopabatho* or 'the Creator of man'. This word is derived from the root *bopa*, which refers to the molding of a pot out of clay. Mönnig thus conclude that the baPedi does not conceive of the creation as something out of nothing, but as a process of making something out of something else. At this stage, though, people still lived individually, and it is in a second myth that we find the origins of tribes. Animals like monsters called *sefirokwane*, which lived off the flesh of children, terrorized the individual families. They could speak, and would come to huts and ask if the men were present. If a man would not answer, they would go in, catch the children, and run off with them. Children were told to shake a bundle of reeds, mimicking the sound of a man gathering his *assigais*. If they were caught, they were told

to gather sticks from the bush, as they are carried, and, once they had enough reeds, tie it to sefirokwane's back, and jump off his back by grabbing a tree. Sefirokwane would still feel the weight on his back, and continue to run as if nothing happened. Seeing that this did not work well, people decided to live together in tribes. They organized tribal hunts, and killed all the Monsters.

4.6.5   The Christian Influence

The Christian missionaries attempted to destroy all aspects of abaNtu culture related to the belief system of the people. Their negative influence on this même, although they introduced a new mythology of creation, was hardest felt because of the abolition of abaNtu rites and rituals. It is probably because of their early influence that the même almost completely disappeared from the South African loci même-pools.

4.6.6   Conclusion

The creation myth même will here be called the χ-même-pool. It is this même which, according to Eliade, is vital in allowing most arctic societies to 'create' in the first instance. The χ-même-pool could be traced in the concepts of 'coming upon', 'assembling' or 'meeting' which was shown to be linguistically and metaphysically linked to the place of creation in amaNguni mythology, the 'bed of reeds' (the 'hlanga' même). We shall in the next section also see how the oldest, and probably mythological, amaNdzundza settlement on the Highveld was named after the mythological place of creation. The actual ritual involved in the construction of a new settlement could not be linked directly, as a reenactment, to any of the relevant mythologies. The χ-même-pool can thus be presented in the semiotic même equation.

$$\text{CHORA (prehistoric)} = \{\infty \to \Sigma\,(\chi+n)\} \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\ldots\ldots\ldots(5)$$

$$\text{CHORA (pre-colonial)} = \{\infty \to \Sigma\,(\sigma\,(n) +_\chi(\text{hlanga}+n) +n)\} \quad\ldots\ldots\ldots(6)$$

$$\text{CHORA (modern)} = \{\infty \to \Sigma\,(\sigma^- + \chi^- + n)\} \quad\quad\quad\quad\ldots\ldots\ldots(7)$$

where ∞ = kenon or profane space

Σ = topos or sacred space

σ = terra sacra même-pool

n = other mêmes in the loci même-pool

$\to$ = spatial movement

χ = creation myth même-pool

hlanga = hlanga ('bed of reeds') même

$(x)^-$ = eclipsed mêmes

4.7   The 'Fire' Même-Pool

4.7.1   The San 'Fire' Même

The archaic San settlement (see figure 19) consisted only of the fire. The San were hunter-gatherers, who in the most rudimentary level of their economy and material culture, did not build any kind of structures. Their only centrifugal differentiation of space came at night when they settled temporarily, just to move on the next morning. In the darkness, the fire became the point constituting their sacred space (see figure 18d-f). The fire was linked with the head of the settlement in a special way. According to Schapera[219], the logs from the old fire site may not be used to kindle a new fire. The fire has to be made anew by using the male and female fire-sticks. Only the head of the settlement could do this, and the other members had to get their fire by lighting a branch from the leader's fireplace. Thus, the political structure of the community is fundamentally tied to the most basic of San settlement mêmes. During the course of this chapter, it would become apparent that this is one of the characteristics of the settlement même, the social structure being connected to the mêmes so that, in order to dwell, the people reinforce the structures inherent in the community. The same could be said for religious mêmes amongst the abaNtu.

4.7.2   A 'Fire' Sub-Même (the Ash Heap)

The ash generated by a settlement is of immense importance for social rituals[220]. A few examples can be cited here. Raum indicates that after a death, when everyone has to abstain from food and drink, a mother gives her thirsty children water into which she drops a pinch of ash. When a person repents for calling someone a wizard, he pays a beast, and before the two eat the meat, they take some ash into their mouths as a sign of reconciliation. If brothers fight, they have to wash their hands in a pot with a water-ash mixture as a sign of forgiveness. von Fintel states that when warriors leave on a campaign, the marriageable girls in the settlement put ash on their heads. Most settlements have only one ash heap, and if there is more than one, it is dedicated to the different 'houses' of the settlement, such as the "great house" and the "left house." A wife belonging to such a settlement should always use the heap associated with her side of the settlement. If she takes ash from the other side, she will be accused of wanting to commit witchcraft. In this sense, the ash heaps represents kinship structures.

a
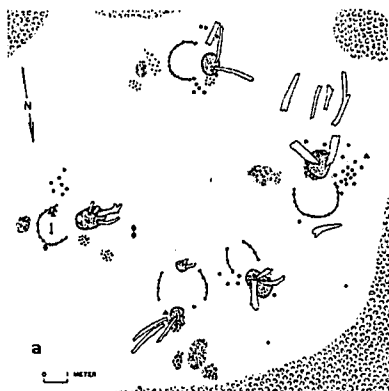
*Fig. 19a Plan of a San settlement with no 1
as a typical San shelter (from Yellen)
Fig. 19b Aggregate debris produced by
four !Kung San households
Fig. 19c Temporary Dobe !Kung San
campsite with heart side activity areas shaded
Fig. 19d Early 19th century San Settlement
Fig. 19e Normative model of !Kung
San heart side spatial organization*

After Yellen, Whitelaw and
Backhouse.

b

☐ LIMIT OF SCATTER
■ ANIMAL BONE
■ ASH DEPOSITS
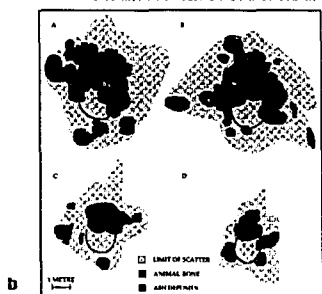
Aggregate debris produced by four !Kung San households. A: family
with 2 adults, 4 children (14 camps); B: family with 2 adults, 3 children (14 camps);
C: family with 3 adults (9 camps); D: single adult (12 camps)

d

Backhouse 1086

c
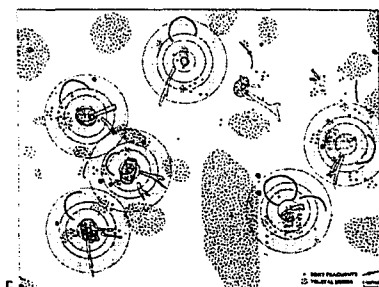
Temporary campsite. Dobe !Kung San./Gakwe ≠Dwa, April 1968.
Hearth-side activity areas shaded (modified from Yellen 1977)

e

PUBLIC INTERACTION SPACE

♂   ♀

PRIVATE
SPACE

PRIVATE ACTIVITY SPACE

DUMPING

DEFECATION

(Whitelaw)

Normative model of !Kung San hearth-side spatial organization

The Mbatha brothers, Raum's informants, note that if there is only one ash heap, it is because the lightning doctor insisted that the ashes of the settlement be mixed for the working of his medicine. The ash heap is located outside the settlement, and is associated with important taboos. Raum notes that it is never above the settlement, seeing that the inmates of the settlement need to keep an eye on it. This is important, seeing that the ash may be used for maleficent magic against the owner. It might for example be used for lightning, thunder, and the induction of sickness, and thus the handling of ash by a stranger is strictly sanctioned. The new bride at a settlement is not allowed (for two weeks) to touch the ash heap of her new father's home. This taboo prohibits her from emptying the ash from the hut. It is only after she gets permission to cook that the mother-in-law allows her to empty the ash from the hut. If this taboo is broken, she will not have children. The ash is not unique in having religious importance. Raum notes that so is everything that comes from the hut, the ash and sweepings included. There is also a distinction between the ash from wood and the ash from bones. The ash from the bones of the sacrificial victims does not go to the ash heaps, but is scattered in the cattle pen. None of the bones are allowed to leave the homestead. Amongst the amaNdzundza, the ash used to be dumped outside the ring wall. Currently, ash is dumped behind the isibuya wall.[221]

4.7.3   Conclusion

The 'fire' même-pool, from here on called the ϕ-même-pool, came to its final spatial expression as the center of both the old beehive and cone-on-cylinder huts of the amaNdzundza, where it played a complex functional and sacred role in amaNdzundza dwelling. The fireside outside the dwellings in a settlement was the space where oral traditions were recalled, and taught to the children. The même was verified by the custom of 'one fire per settlement', according to which, after the death of a leader, all fires had to be extinguished and re-lit from a single fire made at the main hut of the settlement. Delius writes that "...the arrival of the royal bride was a major ceremonial event. All fires within the chiefdom were extinguished and subsequently re-lit in order of rank by an ember taken from a fire kindled in her new courtyard. As a result the chief wife had the special titles of *Setima-mello* ('extinguisher of fires') or *Lebone* ('candle', or 'lantern')."[222]

The decline of the même was once again linked to factors relating to the coming of the Europeans. These included factors such as the introduction of the cooking-stove, the candle and the gas and

electric lamp for light, and the introduction of non-porous roofing materials such as corrugated iron, which did not allow smoke to escape from the dwelling. The San settlement did not have an ash heap, and the ash was left at the fireplace, in the area of the 'toss-zone'. The 'ash-heap' sub-même carries the same religious significance as the terra sacra même, and is placed at the end of the axis dividing the settlement, on the opposite side of the homestead. The ϕ-même-pool is thus presented in the semiotic equation:

$$\text{CHORA (prehistoric)} = \{\infty \to \Sigma\,(\chi + \phi + n)\} \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad (8)$$

$$\text{CHORA (pre-colonial)} = \{\infty \to \Sigma\,(\sigma^{(n)} + \chi^{(n)} + \phi\,(\text{ash}+n) + n)\} \quad (9)$$

$$\text{CHORA (modern)} = \{\infty \to \Sigma\,(\sigma^{-} + \chi^{-} + \phi^{-} + n)\} \quad\quad\quad\quad (10)$$

where　∞　= kenon or profane space

Σ　= topos or sacred space

σ　= terra sacra même-pool

n　= other mêmes in the loci même-pool

$\to$　= spatial movement

χ　= creation myth même-pool

ϕ　= fire (-lilo) même-pool

ash　= ash même

$(x)^{-}$　= eclipsed mêmes

4.8　The '-zi' or Basic Settlement Même: the ζ-Même-Pool

4.8.1　Introduction

The amaNdebele settlement is referred to as *[umu- imi-] –zi*, the same word used by the amaZulu, and the same root that is found in the isiXhosa *[um-] –zi*, the isiGaza and siKokolo *[mu-] –zi*. This would indicate that, linguistically, the amaNdebele held on to the anaNguni root, as opposed to reflecting the seTwana and seSotho root '-*tse*', the ciVenda root '-*di*', or the Ronga or Copi root '-*ti*'. The amaNdebele thus, from a linguistic point of view, did not accept the trans-Vaal peoples' settlement pattern as being their own.

The ontological meaning of the *imiZi* might be discovered in linguistic traces. The amaNguni noun *[umu- imi-] –zi* refers to a black spot on the hand. It also refers to sewing fiber, or the fibrous plant used for rope making. Grass being the only material used in the original amaNguni dwelling construction, it would seem that the *imiZi* was associated with this construction process. This is an

linguistic remnant that does not reflect on later amaNdebele construction technology, because of the weather, flora and geography of the Highveld that forced them to change their construction materials. The amaNdebele root '-*zi*' is further akin to the isiNguni word for the site of the settlement, *[isi- izi-] –za*. The amaNdebele word has mutated from *isi-za* to *i-siza*, and is now used in the form *[i- izi-] –siza*. The original word would nevertheless indicate a close linguistic, and thus conceptual connection between the settlement and the site. This word can be traced back to the verb 'to come', being '-*za*' in isiNguni languages such as isiZulu, isiXhosa and isiGaza. This would link the idea of the settlement to the site and, in turn, to the idea of coming to a place. Other potentially important linguistic trace could be found in the isiNguni root for water, namely '-*nzi*'. This is a very general linguistic root, and is found amongst the Xhosa, the Zulu, the Swazi and the Gaza. The link between the ideas of settlement and water is self-evident, and indicates what was probably the strongest force in determining early amaNguni settlement positions during their long migration through dry country in the north. The isiNdebele linguistic link between the settlement ('-*zi*') and water ('-*nzi*') is also found in the seTswana language in which the settlement is called *[mo-] –tse* and water *[m-] –etse* and in siKololo in which the settlement is called *[mu-] –zi* and water *[m-] –ezi*. Water is not considered a sub-mème of the '-*zi*' mème-pool, though, constituting the transition zone between the profane world and the settlement. The settlement was always built in relation to the water, but not near the water, as to not disturb the game that visited the water holes. This was especially true for hunter-gathering societies, such as the San.

The '-zi' mème-pool constitutes a very complex set of sub-mèmes, each with their own mème-pools. The author selected a group of mèmes that best represents these pools, and in the process just touched on the contents of these infinitely complex pools.

4.8.2 ζ-Mème-pools of the amaNdebele's Ancestors (the amaZulu)

Krige[223] writes her essay on the amaZulu village from the point of view of an anthropologist, making her observations of the social structure of the amaZulu family an ideal starting point for this discussion. The settlement is closely related to the family, and has declined in size with the family, as polygamy became unpopular amongst the abaNtu, due to contact with the missionaries. Kin forms the basis of the settlement (kin sub-mème), which consists of the head of the family (chief), his wives and children, often his married children as well, and his younger brothers and their family. In olden days, it also included dependants that were not part of the extended family.

The village is a self-maintaining economic unit, with all the cattle, milk, and pastures that are needed to sustain life, making any trade from outside the village independent of the basic survival of the inhabitants.

The settlement is circular in form (ç⁰ sub-même), built usually on an eastern slope with the entrance at the bottom, and the most important hut (the *indlukulu*--see later in text) at the top. The pen (β même) takes up the center of the settlement, and is a kind of temple of the abaNtu, where the ancestral spirits are believed to linger, where the treasured cattle are kept, where sacrifices take place, and where the grain and most important members of the family are buried (see the detailed description of this, the βgᶜᵉᵏᵉ sub-même later). The chief's most important wife, the 'great wife' or *inkosikazi*, is the wife that gives birth to the chief's heir. She is not necessarily the oldest or first wife, but is the one chosen for this purpose. It is her hut, the *indlunkulu* (δⁱ sub-même) that is placed on the main axis of the settlement (α même), on the opposite side from the entrance. The chief usually circulates at night between the huts of his wives, but occasionally has his own hut, the *ilawu lomnumzane*, just beside the *indlunkulu*. The *inGqadi*, or 'right-hand wife' is the supplementary great wife, and her eldest son will become chief if the 'great wife' and her replacements fail the give birth to a heir. Her hut (δⁱⁱ sub-même) is next to the hut of the 'great wife', on the right-hand side [α>] of it, as seen from the entrance of the settlement (ςˢᵃⁿᵍᵒ sub-même). The right-hand side of the settlement is thus referred to as the *indlunkulu*, whereas the left-hand side [<α] is referred to as the *iKhohlwa* side.

The iKhohlwa wife is usually the first wife whom the chief marries, and she is second in importance after the 'great wife'. She controls the iKhohlwa, with all the subordinate wives attached to her household, independent of the 'great wife'. When the chief dies, the settlement breaks up in three parts, each heir taking his mother with him. Krige also mentions that the sons would have their huts closest to the entrance, with those citizens of the settlement that were adopted into the settlement without being family. These huts will be situated on the right-hand side, with those of the visitors. She quotes Wanger in saying that the two gatekeepers, called the *izimVali*, had their huts right next to the entrance. In royal settlements, there would also be a night watchman that dwelt next to the gate called the *umVakashi*. Sometimes a special hut was built for keeping the shields and *assegais* of the settlement, sometimes being a *indlu yezikhali*, or a small hut at the top of ten foot poles. This special hut usually had a wooden ladder leading to it, and was built in the top left-hand corner of the settlement.
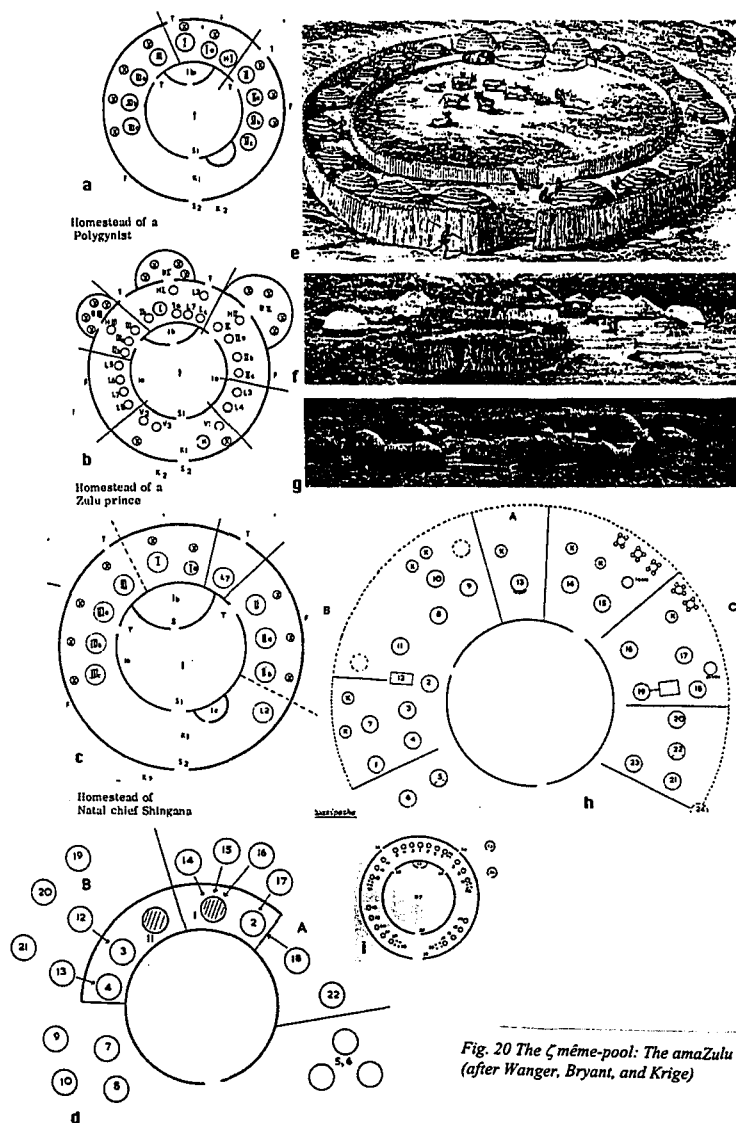
Homestead of a
Polygynist

Homestead of a
Zulu prince

Homestead of
Natal chief Shingana

Fig. 20 The ζ même-pool: The amaZulu settlements
(after Wanger, Bryant, and Krige)

♦ amaZulu Settlements as Documented by Wanger (see figure 20a-c)

Three settlements were documented by Wanger[224] at the beginning of the twentieth century, namely that of an ordinary polygamist, that of a amaZulu prince, and the homestead of Shingana, an amaZulu chief. All of them have a centrifugal layout, with the cattle pen in the middle, and the gates and main hut at two opposite sides of the settlement. In all three cases, the cattle are allowed outside the pen, and also use the space of the dwellings, between the pen and the outside edge of the settlement. The cattle also lie down outside the main entrance to the settlement. The enclosure for the calves is placed inside the pen, against the deepest side next to the main hut, closed off from the pen with a circular fence, opening onto its axis. The goat pen is situated between the fence of the pen and the outside fence, on the right-hand side of the entrance to the settlement (facing the great hut from the gate), right next to the entrance. In the case of the prince, the pen is circular in form, with the gate facing the axis. At the other two settlements, the goat pen is similar in shape to the pen for the calves, the difference being that it forms a lob on the outside of the pen rather than the inside. In all three cases, secondary entrances to the pen were documented, being on both sides of the calves' pen, in the fence of the pen. These two entrances are repeated in the fence surrounding the settlement, in the same positions.

As far as the dwelling placement is concerned, the settlements are analyzed individually. The polygamist's settlement consists of eleven huts and nine granaries. At the head of the settlement, on the axis, are to be found: the hut of the principal wife, with granary, the hut of a support wife, also with granary, and the cooking hut or kitchen for the principal hut. Looking from the gate into the settlement, on the right-hand side there is the hut of the wife of the 'right house', with the huts of three supporting wives, and three granaries. At all times, the granaries are placed behind the huts, on the outer side, inside the fence of the settlement. On the left hand side, this pattern repeats, the difference being that this is the side of the principal wife of the 'left house', and that it contains one more granary.

The placement of huts for the principal wives of the left and right houses of the homestead of chief Shingana are the same as seen in the previous example, with the exception of the one less support wife on the right-hand side. The heir of the settlement has his hut next to the goat pen and the gate of the settlement, on the right-hand side. At the head of the settlement is the hut of the principal

wife with that of the support wife on its right-hand side, and the granaries behind. Between these huts and the huts of the right-hand side is found the hut of a younger son of the chief.

The homestead of the prince is much bigger than the other two, consisting of twenty-four huts and fourteen granaries. At the entrance are found three huts, two on the left-hand side, and one on the right. These are the huts of the attendant (right) and the gate keeper and night guard (left). Two granaries are found at the inside of the gate, one to each side. The remaining huts in the front half of the settlement are those of the sons of the chief. His third and fourth sons have their huts on the right-hand side, and the fifth to the eighth sons have their huts on the left-hand side. The remaining huts on the right-hand side are those of the principal wife of this side, those of her three support wives and a cooking hut. On the left-hand side, there are those of the principal wife of the left house, her two support wives, and a cooking hut. On the axis there are the huts of the principal wife, her three support wives, the two eldest sons of the prince, and a cooking hut. Each of the three divisions has its own four granaries, located behind the huts, attached to the fence on the outside of the settlement. This is enclosed in a hemispherical space by a circular fence, connecting to the settlement fence on both sides, and is entered from the inside of the settlement.

♦ KwaBantubahle, the amaZulu Settlement of Jomela the Sibiya (as documented by Bryant)

The basic form of the settlement (amaZi) of Jomela was described in the 1920's by Bryant,[225] who wrote that the basic shape was circular, as "round as a plate", and that the cattle pen was located in the center (see figure 20d). The settlement was placed on a gentle slope of grassland. Bryant describes the countryside surrounding the settlement: "... unevenly flat, with stunted bush in parts and in the background hills, reveals itself for many miles on every side. Studded everywhere about it, variously from a quarter-mile to a mile apart, you see again many such simple homes as his, each like the other, equally round, equally brown amidst the green veld, each accompanied by its cultivated fields, and further away its grazing herds. Each is the umuZi of a separate ...family." The settlement was approached from the lower side, where a gate was located in the solanum hedge comprising the fence, on an imaginary axis, which ran through the center of the settlement. The domed-shaped grass-thatched 'great hut' and the hut of the chief's father were located at the end of the axis, at the highest point of the settlement, and at the opposite side of the gate. From these huts, the subsequent wives had their huts sited at either side of the above mentioned

dwellings, alternating in descending order. The settlement consisted of seven huts, and was about sixty feet in diameter, forty feet of which belong to the pen. The structures are renewed whenever it becomes necessary, and the spaces of the settlement outside the pen swept daily.

For social purposes, the settlement was divided in a right-hand and a left-hand side. This division became problematic, as pointed out by Frescura.[226] This division was determined by standing at the gate and facing inwards. Walton, Krige, Grosset and Raum supported the use of this method, but Frescura found the facing in the opposite direction (the inverse) to be true during field research by Robert Rawlinson.[227] From the amaNdzundza point of view, this is an unfortunate dilemma. The amaNdzundza turn their back on the settlement when determining left and right, which was thought to be an important clue to their settlement mutation. It was even believed by some researchers that this indicated their amaXhosa origin, as opposed to the amaHlubi origin theory, the latter being supported by the present thesis.

4.8.3   The amaNdebele's ς-Même in the Central trans-Vaal

The central trans-Vaal was baTswana and baKwena territory at the arrival of the amaNdzundza. Burchell visited the Dithakong settlement in the northern Cape Province in 1812, and gave us one of the first sketches of a baTswana settlement. From what he saw, he believed that the buildings were not arranged to accommodate streets, nor with any regular plan in mind, but that they were scattered in the settlement. He later described the same settlement as a collection of villages, each under its own chief.

♦ 'Lundini' in the Quathlamba Mountains, and Emhlangeni (Randfontein
    district); Pre-Dating the First amaNdebele Settlement

'Lundini' in the Quathlamba mountains is indicative of the amaNdebele place of origin. Seeing that the amaNdebele is a splinter group of the amaHlubi (an eMbo amaNguni people) who dwelt in the Drakensberg mountains (Quathlamba mountains), Lundini might indicate an once-existing settlement. Being placed somewhere in the heartland of the old amaHlubi people, who at that stage did not use stone for construction, thus leaving behind little traces of their old settlements, would also explain why Lundini could not be located by archaeologists. Some scholars believe though, despite Lundini's locality being exactly in the area of amaNdebele origin, that Lundini is a

mythological settlement. According to Bahwaduba oral tradition Musi moved from 'Maponong' in the Drakensberg to the Highveld. Fourie gives the place of origin of the amaNdebele as the Tugela River between St Johns River and Durban, also in the modern KwaZulu-Natal. Most other authors just refer to the province as the first place of residence of the people. Even if Lundini did exist, no information regarding the architecture of the settlement survived in amaNdzundza oral tradition, and no analysis of this settlement would thus be possible.

According to van Vuuren's informants, and as described in the previous chapter, the first two amaNdebele chiefs dwelt at Emhlangeni on the Highveld. These two chiefs were Mafana (Linghana) and Mhlanga (Lirudla). The informants believed that it was during the government of Mhlanga that the amaNdebele moved away (to KwaMnyamana) and that they stayed in Emhlangeni at least thirty years in the time period 1557-1587. The site of the settlement could also not be located by archaeologists. Many authors have hinted at the possibility that the first two rulers of the amaNdebele were mythological in nature. Whereas van Vuuren believes that Mhangeni existed, the author would postulate the hypothesis that Mhangeni is a mythological settlement. Most informants give Mafana as the first chief. In isiNguni *maFana* means 'son', and thus probably denotes a person similar to Adam of the Christian creation myth. Although Mhlanga, the second chief, can be found in the genealogical tree of the amaHlubi, he probably is also a mythical creation. As has been seen in the previous section, *hlanga* means 'a bed of reeds'. Unkulunkulu created man from the bed of reeds, linking the word '*hlanga*' to origin and creation. When the amaNguni refer to the bed of reeds, they refer to a mythological place of the beginnings. This brings us back to Emhlangeni, the name of which was derived from the stem *hlanga*. It is of further significance that in at least some of the oral traditions documented, the two first leaders are given in the inverse order, bringing about the meaning 'the son, following upon the bed of reeds', the meaning of which can be nothing but tied to the creation myth. This would explain why the settlement does not fit the spatial or chronological history of the amaNdebele and why the archaeologists could not locate the site. It is in the light of these facts that the author does consider Emhlangeni mythological. Unlike Lundini, there is method in the argument deeming Emhlangeni to not having existed. It would mean that the amaNdebele never inhabited the locality of the settlement as indicated by the informants. That, in turn, would impact on the cultural influences the amaNdebele were exposed to. As mentioned previously ("3.5.3 History of the amaNdebele in the Central trans-Vaal"), Shabangu's text gives Emhlangeni as the first capital of the amaNdebele,

but places it in the Delmas area. From there he narrates a move to Wonderboom (north of Pretoria) and later a move to K/Onomtjherhelo--Roossenekal.

> ♦ KwaMnyamana or Emarula (near the Bon Accord dam)--the Second
>   amaNdebele Site

This is the first amaNdebele site that was located by archaeologists, and was described in the previous chapter (see figure 13). Breutz calls the settlement Monyama and believes that it was the first amaNdebele settlement. Breutz's theory is that Ndzundza moved from KwaMnyamana to the Witbank area. Fourie gives Musi's first place of residence in the trans-Vaal as Mnyamana, but places it near Wonderboompoort, in Pretoria North. Potgieter believed the amaNdebele to have come straight to Wonderboom from the Drakensburg under the chieftainship of Musi. To the best of the author's knowledge no archaeological record exists of this site, and its architectural aspect can thus not be included in this mème-analysis.

4.8.4   The ζ-Mèmes and the amaNdzundza's Eastern trans-Vaal; Pre-Dating the
Stronghold:

> ♦ Early Settlement Patterns in the Eastern trans-Vaal

At the arrival of the baPedi and the amaNdzundza in the eastern trans-Vaal, the Vhambedzi[228], a baVenda people, inhabited the area around the Steelpoort valley. This group's architecture was the architecture of the amaNdzundza introductory milieu. To determine the nature of the settlement of this iron-making people, we have to rely upon the archaeological evidence from the contemporary baVenda in general. Schofield placed the baVenda entry into the trans-Vaal as late as 1750. This would not correlate with the chronology of the Vhambedzi settlement and their interaction with the early baPedi, and for the purpose of this study a date at least 50 years earlier is assumed. The early baVenda settlement was akin to the early Zimbabwe settlement, and consisted of a stone-walled complex layout not at all similar to the later abaNtu circular layout.

As par James Walton's descriptions: "Dzata is an irregular enclosure bounded by a stockade set in rubble foundations and lengths of stone walling and entered by a long curving stone-walled passage. The chief's hut, with the adjoining hut of his personal servant, was situated in its own enclosure in the north-east of the settlement and a short passage, consisting of a stone wall on the

one side and a pole fence on the other, linked it with the chief's kitchen. The hut of the chief's principal wife was immediately to the north and those of his other wives were situated to the west of the kitchen. The main cattle (pen) was a large stockade, which also served as a dancing floor, in the extreme south of the settlement, and a stone-walled meeting place, kgotla or khoro, for the men, and the chief's own cattle (pen) were built adjoining it. The main habitation area was to the east of the chief's (dwelling) and on the opposite side was the sacred grove..." (Walton 1956:126)

In the early days of the amaNdzundza and the baPedi in the eastern trans-Vaal, the baMongatane were the rulers of the area. Under them, the peoples had to pay taxes in the form of building materials, a system that would accelerate architectural evolution amongst all the people in the area. Under the rule of Moukangoe the baPedi grew rich in cattle, not taken in war, but peacefully bred in the grazing country along the Steelpoort-river. This impacted on their architecture, as the pens needed to be more prominent, and it encouraged polygamy, seeing that cattle was paid as *lebola* (as currency for wives) , which enlarged the settlements, and made them more complex in layout.[229]

We have seen that Ziervogel, in 1954, wrote that one could still find ruins of the eastern baSotho settlements along the Komati River, deep into the trans-Vaal. He described them as to consist of circular stone walls, usually clustered together, and were found to be connected to other similar settlements hundreds of yards away. We have further seen that hill terraces were discernable against the mountain slopes, suggesting that they were terrace-agriculturists. The baPai oral tradition tells us that the chief brews beer after the construction of the settlement, and then calls the doctor. He gives a goat to the doctor, who kills it and takes the stomach and pegs, and smears it with medicine. The content of the stomach and the medicine is then mixed. Having rolled the pegs in the mixture, it is knocked in at the open spaces of the settlement, at the entrance, and the mixture spread onto the apex of the hut onto which the doctor climbed. The last ritual is supposedly to protect the hut against lightning.[230]

♦ KwaSimkhulu, at the Origins of the Steelpoort River--the First amaNdzundza Site

Van Vuuren places the amaNdzundza's first settlement in the east, at the origins of the Steelpoort River, to the south of the later sites, and calls the settlement KwaSimkhulu (see figure 13). This settlement, he narrates, was constructed by Ndzundza himself, and was occupied by three

generations (56 years) under Mrhetsha, Magobholi and Bongwe. The time period 1631 to 1681 is indicated for this settlement. The Transvaal Native Affairs Department of the old British South Africa gives the first site of the amaNdzundza as 'Ndubasi', referring to the river rather than the actual settlement. The amaNdzundza call the Steelpoort River the Indubazi. A fieldnote sketch of the layout of this site was made by van Vuuren, and reproduced by Rich. It constitutes a typical amaNguni settlement layout, as described above, with the pen being in the center of a circle of huts. An archaeological survey will be needed to identify the individual architectural elements.

♦ KwaMiza (EkuPumuleni?), in the Stoffberg Area--the Second amaNdzundza Site: (c.1681-1822)

It is under Bongwe, van Vuuren believes, that the people moved to KwaMiza, a settlement in the Stoffberg district (see figure 13). Van Vuuren was not able to indicate the exact position of this site, but believed that it was inhabited for about 160 years, spanning five generations and twelve chieftains. It is here, van Vuuren writes, that Mzilikazi attacked the amaNdzundza in 1825 (sic c. 1822). The amaNdzundza were thoroughly beaten, and scattered for a brief period throughout the eastern trans-Vaal. The maTêbêlê occupied KwaMiza during their stay, calling the settlement EkuPumuleni (place of rest). They burned the settlement down when they left the valley. Knowing that ekuPumuleni was initially the settlement of the amaNdzundza, we can attribute what we know of the settlement to amaNdzundza architectural tradition. We know that the settlement was round (ς^0 sub-même), that it had a hollow core (maybe comprising the pen--β même), and that it was big enough to house the growing (though not yet as extensive as a few decades later) following of Mzilikazi. It could also be burnt to the ground, and was chosen by the maTêbêlê, a people who only knew of beehive construction, as their house. These facts might indicate that ekuPumuleni consisted of beehive structures. It was placed in the river valley, most probable that of the Steelpoort River. Unfortunately, archaeologists have not been able to locate the settlement, which could yield many answers to the questions concerning the early amaNdzundza settlement. According to the French missionaries Arbousset and Daumas, the settlement's name was Motlatlantsela, "the residence of Mzilikazi, where he employed (the baPedi) in constructing a palisade round his harem, which consisted in all of forty-four huts. This enclosure, made almost entirely of mimosa stakes, has been described to us as being approximately half a mile in circumference, about six feet thick, and the same in height. The king of the (maTêbêlê) used to

take a singular delight in walking on the top of this terrace, whence he could command the whole town."[231]

4.8.5   The ç-Même's Rapid Evolution--the Birth of the Stronghold

The amaNdzundza are most famous for their stronghold called the KoNomtjharhelo (Mapoch's Caves--see figures 13 and 15e), an architectural phenomena that needs further investigation. It is here where they reassembled after the devastation which Mzilikazi's hoards caused at Mapoch.[232] Walton, as so many other scholars, claims that the strongholds that developed at this time were products of the invasion of the amaNguni warriors on to the Highveld plateau, which allegedly forced the local populations to change their architecture in order to survive. Walton writes: "With the invasion of Mzilikazi's forces about 1830, the Sotho-Venda peoples living in the Limpopo Valley withdrew to isolated kopjes which they fortified with rough stone walls, pierced by loopholes suited only for firearms. These are hurriedly built fortifications (of) little interest... (sic)"[233] In truth, we know that the fortifications already existed about half a century earlier, as the baPedi, who had to attack their Mongatane and baKoni enemies in their fortifications, remember through oral tradition. Hunt narrates these happenings as follows:

> A chief Mamaile who had broken away from Mongatane authority and established his stronghold on a kopje (where Groothoek No. 171 is to-day) was attacked by Mampuru who failed at his first attempt to capture the stronghold, but lured Mamaile into an ambush at Maandagshoek and killed him, reducing his people to subjection."[234] "(The) next expedition was still further afield against the baKoni stronghold known as Kutoane (and also known by some to-day as 'Buller's ant-heap' near Badfontein, south of Lydenburg). This stronghold appeared to the baPedi to have only one entrance, which was successfully defended by the baKoni. A moKoni traitor who had married a moPedi wife revealed another feasible entrance to Mampuru who ordered his own son Nthobeng to attempt it by night, but he was afraid. Moroamotshe however agreed to go with his own 'koma' circumcision school regiment, the Makoa, and, with the help of the traitor guide, climbed into the heart of the stronghold, so that when Mampuru attacked again at dawn the stronghold and its chief Ntsuanyane were soon captured.[235]

He later noted that the "Phethedi then attacked the (baKoni) under Makopole near Lydenburg but failed to take their stronghold. This Makopole had been exiled by his father Thulare and had made himself chief of the (baKoni)."[236]

Where there is to be found such a radical change in architecture to facilitate defense, there must be some indicators of stress in the society. The problem lies in the fact that almost all the indicators in
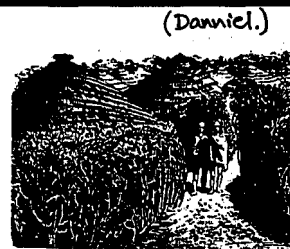
(Danniel.)

(Johnston)

Fig. 21 The ζ mȇme-pool: The baTswana settlements

a

Back yard
(Lenana)   Back yard
(Lenana)   Back yard
(Lenana)

Hut

courtyards of wives

Men's area

Men's hut

(PHJE-GM.)

b   Pedi A.D. 2.4. 1956

c

(Mönnig)

d

e   3MS

(Delius)

f

(Mönnig)

g

1. Main entrance
2. Cattle kraal
3. Calves' pen
4. Men's meeting place
5. Kraal for goats
6. Main hut
7. First-married wife
8. Second-married wife
9. Newly-fourth wife
10. Hut-fifth wife
11. Hut-sixth wife
12. Neighbour's hut
13. Daughter's huts
14. Women's entrance
15. Cultivated fields

a

amaNdzundza amaZi
recon. by Van Vuuren.

VLUGKRAAL

c

d

VLUGKRAAL
CITADEL
(Detail)

e

BIERMANN 1996

Plan of the approach to the Mapogger citadel from
Nyabela's statue (bottom left) to the cave refuge (top
right)

Fig. 23 The ζ même-pool: The amaNdzundza stronghold at Vlugkraal

history have been ascribed to the amaNguni invasions, which are pre-dated by the architectural change. New theories on the proto- and pre-difaqane would yield some answers here as to the sources of distress, although Delius[237] still calls the reasons for them 'elusive'. He mentions that there was a growing human and stock population, and that by the middle of the eighteenth century agricultural and pastoral resources were the objects of intensifying competition.

◆ Later baPedi Settlement Patterns and the amaNdzundza

At a much later stage, after the invasions of the amaNguni warriors in the Steelpoort valley and surrounding country in 1823, appears our first documentary evidence on the architectural tradition of the stronghold. The Maroteng and their subordinates adopted the tactic of constructing and sheltering within fortified strongholds with elaborated natural defenses. Sekwati's capital Phiring, for example, was a hill strongly fortified by stone-walling; attacking armies were therefore forced to risk storming fortifications, which allowed little scope for military tactics evolved in the context of set-piece battles, and entailed heavy casualties among the assailants. The alternative was siege, which created problems of sustaining armies in the field.[238] Delius describes the effectiveness of the stronghold in his text on the Swazi and amaZulu attacks on Phiring. Realizing the problem of attaining water at Phiring during a siege, Sekwati moved away and constructed the new Maroteng capital, called Thaba Mosego (see figure 22d-e), on top of Mosega Hill, to the east of the Leolu mountains. In 1865, Sekhukhune successfully attacked the baTau, whose regiments had assembled at Phiring, the old baPedi stronghold. In 1869, the amaSwazi attacked Thaba Masego, but could not bridge the defenses. The baPedi, realizing the strategic shortcomings of Thaba Mosego abandoned it in the same year. Tsate, the new Maroteng capital consisting of some three thousand huts, was constructed close by. In 1873, the infamous Johannes Dinkwanyane constructed a stronghold at the junction of the Waterval and Speckboom Rivers, east of the amaNdzundza and north of Lydenburg, which became known as Mafolofolo. In July of 1876, the ZAR attacked the baPedi but failed to take Tsate (see figure 22f). Dinkwanyane's stronghold at Mafolofolo was destroyed in the process. In 1879, the British army defeated the baPedi at Tsate.

The missionaries established in the 1860s that the population in the baPedi (the overlords of the amaNdzundza) heartland was between sixty and seventy thousand. In the late 1870s, officials of the Transvaal State placed the population of the same area at seventy and a hundred thousand.[239] This people were dwelling in settlements ranging in size from fifty to over five thousand

inhabitants.[240] The settlement size depended, amongst other factors, on the degree of polygamy in the society. Sekhukhune, for example, had fifty-six wives, which would necessitate a huge royal settlement.

These settlements were divided into *kgoro*, territorial units similar to Tswana wards (see figure 21). The *kgoro* evolved as overpopulation came to bear on the baPedi dwelling environment (see figure 22a-c,g). The *kgoros* (seSotho word for 'small settlement') were the equivalents of the amaNguni *amaZi* and consisted of a group of dwelling units, built around a central cattle *kraal* ('enclosure'). They were, like the *amaZi*, composed of an agnatic core. In the *kgoro* there were also to be found those unrelated groups and individuals, which indicated a considerable mobility of individuals between settlements. The extent of this depended upon the quality and quantity of the resources commanded by the individual *kgoro*.

A baPedi settlement was usually situated close to mountain slopes, valley sides and hills. The settlement was created in response to a set of requirements that governed the social and physical existence of the baPedi people. The basic pattern of the settlement, just as was the case with the amaNguni, stemmed from a combination of chiefly power and the imperatives of defense; it also facilitated access to the range of resources required by Pedi agricultural production. Arbousset described a baPedi settlement by means of hearsay in his diary, as follows: "A young inkosi, called Motsueze, governs the Baraputsas. He resided at Elange, a considerable town built of a round shape, according to the fashion of caffre [sic] towns. In its vicinity flows the Inkonto, a tributary stream of the Osuto, which is said to traverse the states of the oldest son of Putsa (Motsuase) before losing itself in the Indian Ocean."[241] Arbousset further mentions the special choice of the baPedi's settlement site, as being motivated by the rains. He quotes a song sung by the migrant baPedi laborers while passing their outpost at what is today known as Lesotho: "... build, build... The rain comes to us... Build, build, the rain comes to us... build, build... The rain, where is it? Build, build,... The rain, where is it?"[242]

♦ Other Influences on the Construction of KoNomtjharhelo (the amaNdzundza Stronghold)

Delius (1983:29) writes that most of the cultures in the eastern trans-Vaal adopted the new stronghold type settlement pattern after the amaNguni invasions of the area:

The Koni, Pai, Pulana and Kutswe groups, settled in the region between the core area of the Pedi polity and the heartland of the Swazi kingdom, remain comparatively poor, fragmented and scattered well into the 1860s. Many lived near shelter sites, often fortified caves, in almost constant fear of raids and had been stripped of, or had abandoned attempts to keep, stock... Maroteng and Tau traditions, for example, remember the battles with the Ndwandwe as having been marked by a thitherto-unknown level of destruction and death. Part of the legacy of this experience and probably also of subsequent military encounters was that Sekwati went to considerable lengths to avoid risking confrontations with attacking armies in the open. The Maroteng and their subordinates rather adopted the tactic of constructing and sheltering within fortified strongholds which elaborated natural defenses.

On the 10th of May, 1864, the Swazi massacre at Maleoskop (see figure 23e), just to the west of the amaNdzundza territory, took place. At that time, the German missionary Wangemann drew a picture of the stronghold. Biermann[243] subsequently drew up a plan of the settlement (figure 26). As have been seen in chapter three, a year later the baPedi chief Sekukuni displaced the Berlin Missionary Society, and they resettled at Botshabelo, where in 1865 they built Fort William (Merensky). Biermann suggests that Maleokop and Fort William (see figure 26d in the background) influenced the amaNdzundza in the construction of their stronghold. Although we do not know for sure when the amaNdzundza built their stronghold, the dates of these two settlements' construction seem to indicate that they were pre-dated at least with three decades by the former. Biermann writes that "one may justifiably assume that they followed with close interest the performance of the two strongholds, Maleoskop and Fort Wilhelm." In truth, their gradual withdrawal from the open Highveld around the headwaters of the Olifants River to the foothills of the highest massif in the trans-Vaal was not a product of their employment of the "advantages of Maleoskop and Fort Wilhelm." It was rather a response to the fortifications of their earlier neighbors. What is true though, is that the amaNdzundza's stronghold was superior in its conception over that of fort Wilhelm. The various architectural details indicate clearly that the fortification was adopted to warfare with firearms. This might not have been an aspect of the original construction, and one may safely assume that the fortification grew and evolved over a period of time. Biermann's drawing of the one stronghold shows distinctly the relationship of the serried ramparts to the pathway, how "...potential attackers are deflected so as to expose their unshielded flank, and made to confront gun embrasures on direct approaches."[244]

♦ KoNomtjharhelo and Vlugkraal (today called Erholweni) near Roossenekal--the Third amaNdzundza Site (c.1823-1883)

This is the site that Breutz called Nomtsagelo. Namshaxelo and Nomtsagelo are synonyms for KoNomtjharhelo, the amaNdzundza stronghold also known as the Mapoch caves. As we have seen, it was under Mabhogo that the remnants of the amaNdzundza trekked away to the new settlement. In 1946, a foreign concept was introduced by the Dutch settlers in the KoNomtjharhelo area, being the idea of private ownership of land, which took away the amaNdzundza's outlying cattle-post country, as well as their outlying hunting grounds.

As we have seen, the settlers moved closer to the amaNdzundza settlements in 1847, to Lagersdrift. Van Vuuren describes the further encroachment on the amaNdzundza territory by the settlers after 1848, when he notes the laying out of four farms in the close proximity of the amaNdzundza stronghold, namely Vlugtkraal, Legerplaats, Vlakfontein, and Jakkalsvlij. The settlers made another deal with the baPedi in 1857, which this time included the amaNdzundza land. In 1863 a Boer attack on the fortified hill failed. Shortly after this war, an amaSwazi regiment attacked the amaNdzundza as well. The amaSwazi also balked at an attack on the amaNdebele stronghold. By the 1870s the amaNdzundza constituted a exceedingly powerful chiefdom in the trans-Vaal, with 3 600 square miles of land. Kuper quotes Jeppe's statistic in saying that the amaNdzundza were estimated to be a ten thousand strong people in 1868. To the south of the KoNomtjharhelo stronghold, was found the fortification of Vluchtkraal, the structure documented by Biermann[245] on one of his excursions to amaNdzundza territory. His drawings and plan are very instructive, and are given in figure 23b-d.

After approaching the settlement via a complicated walkway, the attacker is exposed to the first rampart and the gateway, 35 paces away, and to the right of it, three clearly visible embrasures. He also has his first distant view of the 'king's house' on the high keep to the northeast. The path continues leading eastwards to a threshold flanked by boulders on the left and a giant euphorbia to the right. The path then swings around to expose the end of the second rampart[246], which is pierced by four embrasures angled onto the path. The path is then hemmed in between the parapet and the first of the huge boulders, for a distance of about 35 paces. This boulder is part of those that surround the third rampart[247] with its three embrasures.

Behind this rampart, the attacker is forced to suddenly turn north to a defile sandwiched between a boulder and the embrasured walls, and has to follow the path that swings west to the summit of the bailey. The keep[248], a vertical mass of granite rising about fifty feet above, overlooks the bailey. Continuing against the base of the keep, the path swings southeast and the attacker at this point starts rising to the keep. The circular foundations of molded, well-laid bricks which are encountered here are those of a dome which was plastered to resemble a boulder[249]. Biermann's informant believed that the summit of the keep was the seat of justice and the vertical drop to the bailey below he believed to be the place of execution. "He refers to the site variously as the 'king's house' and his 'office'."[250]

Biermann continues to describe the area of the keep thus: "On the right may be seen the wall of a secret passage with embrasures or peepholes, providing an escape route descending through a narrow defile eastwards; there is another precipitously down to the north. All three approaches debauch onto the platform in front of the brick dome, commanding an extensive panorama from the upper reaches of the Mapoch's River to its confluence with the Steelpoort. Behind the keep to the east, are walled courts leading to the entrances of caves under the huge boulders at the apex of the outcrop: the refuge in which Nyabela had attempted to outlast the final siege."[251] In 1882 the final war between the ZAR and the amaNdzundza broke out. The amaNdzundza withdrew into their strongholds at KoNomtjharhelo and Vlugkraal, and into the multitude of surrounding grottos (total area of 84 square kilometers). The amaNdzundza lost the war and the burghers burned down KoNomtjharhelo. A proclamation on the 31st of August 1883 ordered the division of the approximately 36 000 hectares tribal ground amongst the burgers who participated in the war. In 1895 the so-called 'Mapochsgronden', on which KoNomtjharhelo was situated, became a fourth ward of the Middleburg district.

4.8.6   The ζ-Mêmes and the Settlement of the amaNdzundza

♦ The ζ ⁰ Sub-Même Evolution

The ring settlements could be 60m in diameter and bigger.[252] After the settlement changed from a circular one (ζ^0 sub-même) to a rectilinear one (ζ^{-0} sub-même), the amaNdebele *umuZi* (settlement) usually took the shape of an inverted 'U' (see figure 30).[253] Where *umuzi* are very small, the layouts are linear. The most basic unit of amaNdzundza settlement is that of the single

monogamous family. It consists of a *indlu*, the main adult hut, an *ilawu labesana*, the hut for the boys, and the *iphunyana labantazana*, the hut for the daughters. The hut for the medicine man, or *sangoma*, was called the *indlu yenyanga*. Neis[254] describes the early Ndebele villages to be circular, and laid out around the *isibaya*, a cattle kraal. Presumably adopting the Tswana settlement layout, the Ndebele started organizing their huts in courtyards that became part of the extended dwelling.

◆ The Orientation or ζ (x-direction) Sub-Même Evolution

The amaNdebele inhabit the flat grasslands of the trans-Vaal. In previous centuries, they chose to build their settlements on the slopes of the grass-covered hills, as it afforded them better defense of their homesteads.[255] The fertility of the valley soils was then utilized for agriculture. They preferred Northern slopes, although this was not a set rule. Fountains against the hills readily supplied the settlement with fresh water.[256] The amaNdebele have always dwelt in territory where trees are a relative scarcity. When trees occur, it is usually the small Acacia species, which is not well suited for use in construction. The amaNdebele prefer to lay out their settlements to face North (ζ (x-north)) or at least North-East, and the topography does not play an important role in this decision-taking. There are however many exceptions to the rule, as seen in scholarly documentation. This orientation is chosen in accordance to the arrival of their ancestors in the past from the Northeast.[257] Furthermore, the ancestral spirits also visit the village from the Northeast. Meiring argues that the orientation to the sun also played an important role.[258] Since the Mapoch war of 1883, the amaNdebele dwelt in small family groups on white farms, changing the configuration of the settlement considerably.

◆ The β Même or '-baya' Même

The cattle pen (see figure 27) in isiNdzundza is called the *isibaya*, the same term that is found in isiZulu. The calves' pen is thus called the *isibaya samakonyana*, and the goats' pen the *isibaya sembuzi* [*imbuzi*=goat]. Strangely, van Vuuren gives the name of the cooking/kitchen hut as a *isibuya*, a root that can not be traced in the amaZulu language (isiZulu= ixhiba {small cooking hut.}). The *isibaya* (cattle kraal) is erected in front of the main huts, with its entrance facing the huts. The calves are kept separate from the cattle in a smaller kraal next to the *isibaya*, which is

usually round in shape, and is called the *isibaya samakonyana*. The sheep is kept in the *isibaya sembuzi*, diagonally from the *isibaya* on the *ikhohlo* side.

Let us turn to the origin of the même in amaNguni culture. Raum[259] points out how the amaNguni pen serves as a symbol of patriarchal power. The snake of the ancestors entwines itself on the fence of the pen. When a beast is killed for the ancestors, the skin used to be hung from the fence to decay. Large chunks of meat are hung from the posts of the pen's fence as to dedicate it to the ancestors. This would all indicate that the pen serves as a physical reminder of the patriarchal power that is upheld by the belief in ancestors.

The cattle fold, byre or pen was called *isiBaya* by the amaZulu. Bryant[260] describes the isiBaya of kwaBantubahle as circular, in the middle of the bigger circular settlement (see figure 20), and about 40 feet in diameter. The entrance was located right opposite the entrance of the settlement, thus at the lower end of the byre. It was carpeted with a foot-deep dry, finely crumbled cow-dung. The construction of the fence is the same as that for the fence for the settlement, and has already been discussed. Krige noted that the cattle pen was the temple of the amaZulu settlement, the place where ancestor spirits were to be found, and where important family members were buried. This is also where important sacrifices were made, where the treasured cattle was kept, and where the grains were stored in underground pits. The cattle pen was not to be entered by any woman that was not born in the village, thus excluding all non-blood relation to the ancestors. Krige further noted that the fence of the pen, the uluGange or uluThango, consisted of closely packed stakes or wattle branches. Up country (where the environmental and cultural influences change considerably), stone walls called *umThangala* are often used instead of the fence. At the upper end of the pen, Krige places the enclosure for the calves in exactly the same way as found in the drawings of Wanger. According to Krige, the goats and sheep were kept in amaXhiba, roughly built huts, which were placed either in the village near the outer fence, or outside the settlement. The latter was more frequently the case.

Raum did extensive research on the role of the taboo in amaNguni and especially amaZulu culture. He also describes the construction of the pen from the point of view of taboos.[261] The timber for the gateposts is further strengthened by the doctor of the settlement. The head of the settlement starts the construction process by ordering four stakes to be cut, and these, as all the other timber, must also be cut by a man. The head of the settlement plants the first of these himself, and some

informants call this the pen's *umSamo* (apse). The other three are then planted to divide the pen into four quarters. Unlike the gateposts, no special magic is preformed on the four stakes, but no stranger, brides or daughter-in-laws are allowed to touch them.[262] A specialist craftsman also does the *uPhico* ('wickerwork') consisting of connecting the stakes. A puffadder (snake) is buried lengthwise under the entrance to the cattle pen, to protect it against evil influences. By walking across the snake, the cattle become magically protected. The first animals into the pen must be a cow and its calf. This provides a ritual introduction, and the chief must enumerate his ancestors, recite them praises and inform them of the beasts' arrival. After the construction and initiation of the pen, women have no free access to it, except at ritual occasions.

◆ The α-Même (being the longitudinal axis même) and the Separation of the Sexes

Returning to the San settlement, in conjunction with the fire, we have seen that an axis was introduced by the drilling into the ground of a stick, creating an invisible line between the stick and the fire. Thus, the male and female sides of the fire were determined. Amongst the abaNtu, and thus amongst the amaNdzundza, the même came to a double expression, first on the level of the settlement, and secondly inside the dwelling unit. The même, once more, was integrated in the political system, as to express the patriarchal control of the settlement, and manifested itself in a complex matrix of spatial-sexual avoidance. Through cultural inversion, the même evolved into an opposite expression in the amaZulu settlement on the one side, and the amaNdzundza and the amaXhosa on the other. The inversion probably took place amongst the amaZulu after the separation of the amaNdzundza from the coastal amaNguni in the seventeenth century. The même still lingers amongst the amaNdzundza, but is evolving and diminishing quickly, as the non-patriarchal environment and the governmental housing, which do not accommodate the α-même, came to dominate the amaNdzunza milieu. The European conception of the house can be traced as the main factor in the continual eclipse of the même. In the semiotic analysis, 'α^m' will be used as the symbol for male areas and 'α^f' as the symbol to indicate female areas. Where inversion took place, it will be indicated by the '$-\alpha$' symbol.

◆ The ς^{kin} Sub-Même amongst the amaNdzundza--a Kin-Basis of the Settlement
   Organization

The amaNdzundza organization of the huts in the *umuZi* was based on the relations of the members of the community to the head of the settlement, the *umNumzana*. The *umuZi* is divided in

two halves.[263] Standing with one's back to the dwellings, the left-hand side is called the *ikhohlo* and the right-hand side the *ubunene*. The huts of the *umnumzana's* wives are placed on the transverse axis of the *umuzi*, facing the *isibaya* (cattle kraal), leaving a space for social events between them. The *umnumzana* does not have his own hut, but rotate in sleeping with his wives. The first wife's hut was traditionally placed on the *ubunene* side of the main axis and the second wife's hut to the *ikhohlo* side.

To explain the patriarchal system of organization in the placement of huts relative to each other, the numbering system of Botha (1962:41) and van Vuuren (1983:51) will be used. According to this system, the head of the settlement (*umnumzana*) is called A and his brothers B, C etc (see figure 30). The *umnumzana's* first wife (*ikosikazi yobunene*) is called A1, his second wife (*ikosikazi yekhohlo*) is called A2, the third wife A3 etc. The first son of the *ikosikazi yobunene* is the follower-up of his father and is called *ikosana yobunene*, and numbered A1a. His brothers are numbered A1b etc. The oldest son of *ikosikazi yekhohlo* is called A2a and his brothers A2b etc. The follower-up of the settlement's first wife is called A1a1 and his second wife A1a2. The *yekhohlo's* sons' wives are called A2a1 and A2a2 etc. The *ikosikazi yobunene* (A1) has the first hut on the *ubunene*, and the *ikosikazi yekhohlo* (A2) the first hut on the *ikhohlo*. A3 is second on the ubunene and A4 second on the *ikhohlo*. A5 is third on the *ubunene* and A6 third on the *ikhohlo*, and so on. The primary extension of the settlement consists of the building of dwellings for the initiated sons' wives in the first and second hut circles. The first wife of the first son of every wife of the umnumzana (that is A1a1, A2a1, A3a1, A4a1 etc.) is placed in the first circle with the wives of the umnumzana. The further wives of the above-mentioned sons dwell in the second circle.

◆ The Edge of the Settlement or çtango Sub-Même Evolution

The stone wall defining the amaNdzundza settlement in the past was called the *Ikura*. The amaNguni settlement on the coastal lowlands is, because of the high, eroding rainfall and the ample availability of flora, enclosed with fences rather than walls. Bryant described such a fence[264] at kwaBantubahle, the Sibiya amaZulu settlement: "The outer wall (uTango) of the (settlement), in places where woods were scarce, was usually built of a compact hedge of the thorny bitter-apple (umTuma, Solanum sodomaeum), though the dwarf-euphorbia (umSululu, Eu. Tirucalli), as well as the viciously spiked *uSondela-ng' Ange* ('Come-and-kiss-me') trailing bush and some other plants were used. But in the woodlands, a stout stockade (umMbelo) generally replaced the hedge;

while, practically everywhere, such a stockade enclosed the central circular cattle-fold. These stockades were built of a double row of long poles (some eight feet in length). The poles, in the parallel rows, were fixed in the ground in a slanting position, so that the tops of the two opposite poles met and crossed each other at about a foot from their top ends. Stout wattles were then laid horizontally along and within the angular 'trough' thus formed by the crossing pole-tops; and, being tightly bond to the latter, so held the whole circle of fencing firmly together." Krige describes the outer fence as the *uThango*, and adds that an outer hedge of prickly pear may be planted against the fence.

♦ The Entrance Gate of the Settlement or ζ**san** Sub-Même Evolution

We shall once more turn our attention to Bryant's description of kwaBantubahle, as an introduction to the construction of the entrance to the settlement amongst the amaNguni. The entrance (see figure 28a-d) is called the *iSango*, and is three to four feet wide, serving as the gateway of both humans and life stock.[265] At the construction of the gateway, two pairs of posts are placed on the outer edge of the opening. The space between the posts of each pair is three to four inches. At night, a number of strong wooden crossbars are placed into the space, to close up the opening. These wooden cross bars are called *uGoqo*. Sometimes a lintel pole is placed over the entrance to accentuate the space. Krige agrees that at night a number of poles are placed crossways the entrance, and jammed tightly so that the only way of entering was to remove them. She adds that, as an additional precaution, the bulbous root of a certain plant may be stuck at the entrance. This is said to have the effect of making the feared witches forget the purpose of their visit, when coming to the settlement with evil intent.

In amaNguni custom, a stranger should not pass the gate without *ukuKhuleka* (stopping and drawing the attention of the dwellers of the settlement to his approach).[266] The gateway, being the entrance to the settlement, is conceived by the amaNguni as a very vulnerable point in the construction of the homestead. In the past, it had to be treated by the doctor against the entry of baboon (*umKhovy*), lightning, *umuNgcwi* (spook or ghost), and snakes that acts as familiars of wizards. As we have seen in the previous section, the baPai oral tradition tell us that the chief cooks beer after the construction of the settlement, after which he calls the doctor. He gives a goat to the doctor, who kills it and takes the stomach and pegs, and smears them with medicine. The contents of the stomach and the medicine are now mixed. Having rolled the pegs in the mixture, it

is knocked in at the entrance.[287] The oral tradition is not clear on the function of this ritual, but we can safely assume that it is done for protective purposes.

Traditionally, a stone wall, called the *ikura* or *umthangala* enclosed the amaNdebele settlement. The settlement was entered through an opening on the cattle kraal side of the main axis. It was originally meant to protect the inhabitants from wild animals, but acquired a military function during the 1883 war with the Boers, which explains why the settlement at KoNomtjharhelo had openings for rifle-shooting in the wall.[268] After the war, the wall was reduced to a half circle. Early in the twentieth century it disappeared completely, so it did not play a role in the modern architecture of the amaNdebele.

> ◆ The 'iGceke' of the Settlement or ζgce Sub-Même

In amaNguni culture, the space between the fence of the settlement and the pen, excluding the dwelling units is called the *iGceke* ('yard'). The right side of the iGceke is the honored side, and the side of the great house of the homestead. The right-hand iGceke forms the Honored or Ceremonial Path. Movement at ceremonies takes place in an anti-clockwise way as to signify the hierarchy of the huts. No bride may enter the homestead in a clockwise direction from the left side. She has to both walk in an anti-clockwise direction, and behind the huts, on the so-called path of avoidance. The wife, even years after her marriage still obeys this avoidance, both on her way to her own or her mother-in-law's hut. This avoidance usually lasts until the woman had two or three children, or until after she lost her ability to bear children. On top of this, even a girl and boy who visits her/his lover at night has to use this path.[289] The court-space or *iBandla* has always been outside the dwelling complex, near the cattle kraal, usually on the *ubunene* side of the kraal. The precise position was usually determined by a group of trees near the cattle kraal. In the old days, crops were planted inside the *ikura* enclosure and, since the enclosure disappeared, behind the back courtyard. In latter days it could also be found far away from the settlement, usually in the valley.[270]
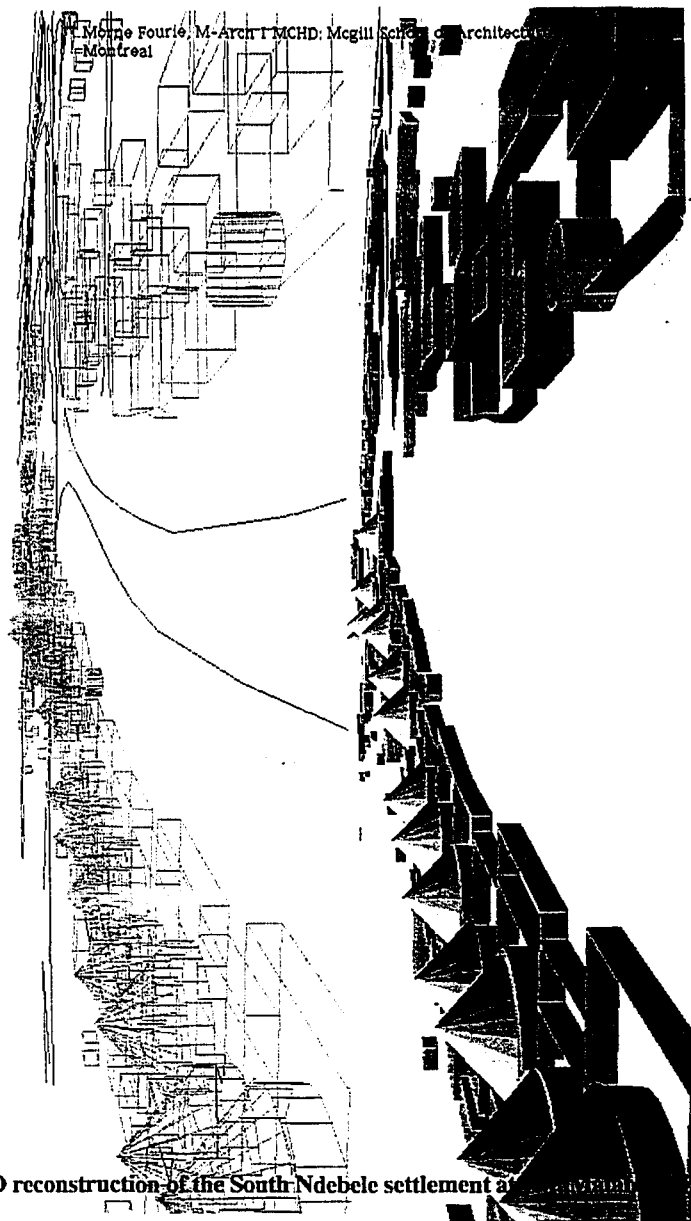
> ◆ The ßbuya Sub-Même or Granary Même amongst the amaNguni

Two kinds of granaries can be distinguished here. The summer granaries vary considerably from culture to culture, and usually take the form of a basket[271] or a small grain-hut (see figure 29). The

winter granaries on the other hand consisted of subterranean pits dug in the cattle pen (see figure 28e-g). In studying the granaries of the amaNdzundza, we need to bear in mind that maize was not cultivated on the Highveld amongst the southern Tswana, the southern Sotho or the baPedi until the 1820s and the invasion of the Highveld by the amaNguni tribes. Because these neighbors and overlords of the amaNdzundza did not inherit the maize culture from the north, they did not adopt the cylinder granary technology, but rather utilized granaries of ground-shaped wicker baskets or mud counterparts. During the amaZulu autumn the corn is threshed on a specially prepared and fenced in spot, which Krige refers to as the *isiBuya*. In royal settlements, there were usually three such *isiBuya*, one for each of the three segments of the settlement, which were situated on the outside of the settlement, against the fence (as illustrated by Wanger in his diagram for the prince's settlement). Wanger showed that any of the three *isiBuya*, that each had its own four granaries, is enclosed in a hemispherical space by a circular fence, connecting to the settlement fence on both sides, and is entered from the inside of the settlement.[272]

The winter granaries were subterranean, and were located in the cattle pen. Krige describe them as "...from six to eight feet deep with narrow, funnel-shaped mouths, lined with clay from ant-heaps, which water can not easily penetrate. If they are inclined to being damp, they may be lined with leaves of the wild bananas. Often the newly dug pit is smoked to drive out the earthy smell. A layer of fine grass is laid at the bottom, and when the hole is full a thick layer of grass is placed on top and covered with mud, or a flat stone closes the orifice." Except for these, there are also other permanent storage spaces above ground, such as each section of the settlement's storage hut for beer, vegetables and grain (which are kept in grain baskets *iziLulu*). These structures were placed between the huts and the outer fence. Hen houses were also to be found at various positions in the settlement, and consisted of structures about the height of a small bag, built of osiers and plastered over with clay.[273]

Raum's description of the grain-pits differs little from other descriptions. He writes that the grain pits can be distributed all over the pen, but are found most frequently on the upper side, furthest away from the entrance. The pits are dug at the founding of the settlement, when the pen is constructed, and before the construction of the huts. They are dug by the chief or head of the settlement, and his brothers and sons. When the pit is about six feet deep, formed as a narrow neck, a child is lowered into it to scoop the actual pit.[274] When the pit is filled with maize, Raum writes, a stone lid is placed at the bottom of the neck, sealed with cow dung, and the neck filled up

Frescura (1985:331)
KWA · MATABELENG
District of Odi.
KUWA · MATABALENG (Frescura)

KWA MAPOCH - (Frescura)

KWA MAPOCH (Frescura)

KWA MAPOCH - UNIT 22 plan   7   KWA MAPOCH - UNIT 22 aerial view and constructional details

Fig. 24 The ζ même-pool: The amaNdzundza settlement of Kwa-Matabeleng

T. Morne Fourie, M-Arch I MCHD: Mcgill School of Architecture, Montreal

CAD reconstruction of the South Ndebele settlement at

Lydenburg
BMS

Pilgrims Rest

Pretoria
BMS

Fig. 25 The ζ même-pool: The Boer settlements

BOTSHABELO : Merensky.

Merensky (BMS)

Fig. 26 The ζ même-pool: The Missionary settlements
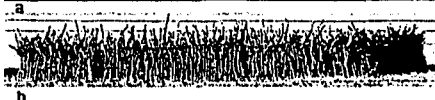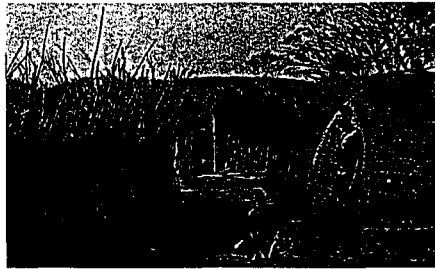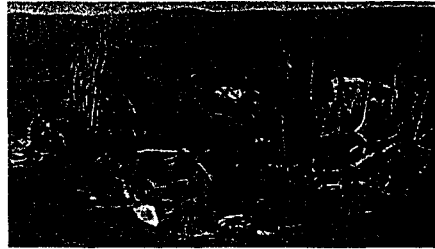
Fig. 27 Baya même-pool: The pen

c+d after Junod –
Phot. Dr Jde Montmollin

e
1 Merkklip   2 Muta, rand van gi
3 Mvari   4 Mielies
  (piankie)   5 Gras   6 Pen
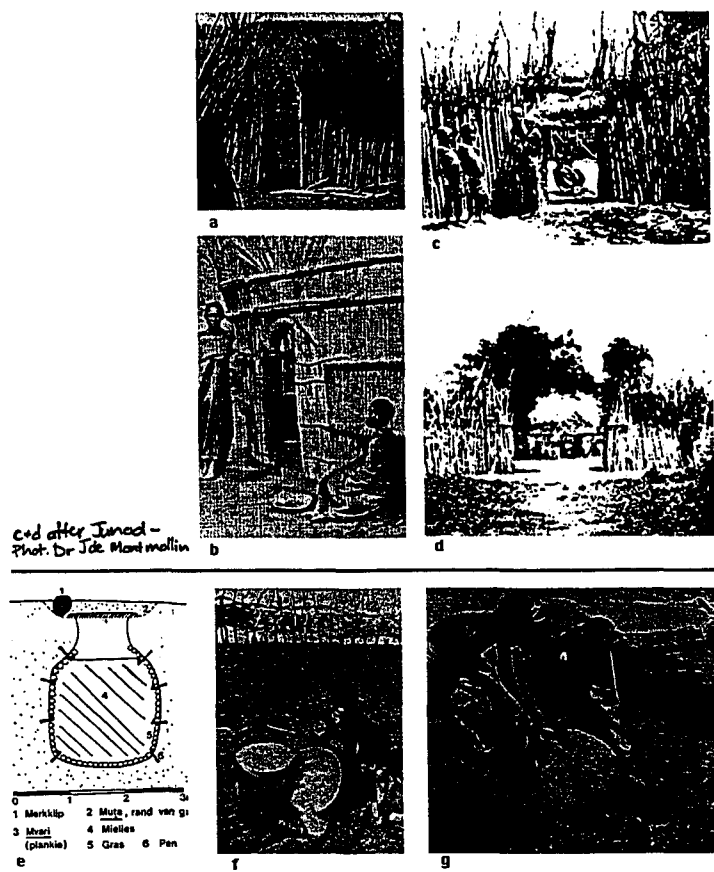
Fig. 28 The entrance to the settlement and the grain pits.

Fig. 29 The granaries of the abaNtu

with soil. Krige believed that the stone was sealed off by clay from ant-heaps rather than dung, but both traditions may have existed in parallel. Each pit belongs to a household or section, and when one is opened, an old woman has to be present, because they know the position of the pits best. When the pit is open, the amaNguni waits for a fly to enter the pit and settle on the maize without dying. When this happens it means that the 'bad' air (monoxide) had left the pit, and a child lowered into the pit would not die. New grain is never added to old grain, and if there is any old grain left, it must be removed and placed in a grass container in a hut.[275]
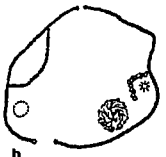
Walton's tentative typology of abaNtu granaries indicates five types of structures. The first is that comprising of cylindrical containers of mud or wattle-and-daub roofed with a conical thatch or protected by a conical thatch raised on poles. The second is that of Gourd-shaped basket containers, the third large clay jars, the fourth beehive-shaped granaries of smeared rubble or mud, and the last the pit grain stores. He identifies the first type with the Shona-Venda-Tonga and the tribes to the north of South Africa who have a cylinder-and-dome technology. The basket granaries he identifies with the Sotho-Tswana, and some other beehive hut building cultures. The rubble beehive granaries belong to those cultures building stone-beehive dwellings. This typology would have a very limited application, since the granaries more often than not were identified with a certain produce, rather than a specific culture and, when a people changed the plant species they cultivate, they usually adopted a new construction technology for the granaries[276]

4.8.7 Dutch-Settler and Missionary Settlements in the Eastern trans-Vaal since the 1840s and the Rapid Evolution of the '-Zi' Même

In 1845, as was seen in chapter three, a new dimension was added to the balance and relationships of power in the eastern trans-Vaal by the establishment of a Trekker community centered on the village of Ohrigstad, found east of the Steelpoort River. The Settlers in 1847 moved closer to the amaNdzundza heartland, to Lagersdrift, where skirmishes soon started taking place between the amaNdzundza and the Boers. The town of Lydenburg (see figure 25a), established in 1849, became the new center of the community and gave its name to the district. In 1855, Martinus Pretorius founded the little settlement of Pretoria (see figure 25c) to the west of the amaNdzundza stronghold, and a year later declared it the Capital of the newly found South African Republic (ZAR). Discoveries of gold in 1871 brought into the neighborhood, and especially into a location called Pilgrim's Rest (see figure 25b), 36 miles from Lydenberg, a great number of adventurous

miners, the influx reaching a peak during 1873-1875. At this time Lydenburg grew quickly, stores were piled up with goods, houses hastily constructed, and wagons filled the streets.

The Berlin Missionary Society established a station called Khalatlolu in 1861 west of the Leolu Mountains and north of the amaNdzundza country. Sekhukhune allowed the missionaries to establish a second station, called Phatametsane. In 1864 Merensky got his permission to open yet another (third) mission station, which he called Ga Ratau (see figure 26a). In 1864, Merensky constructed a station to the west of the amaNdzundza country, which he called Botshabelo (see figure 26d-e). By the late 1870's Botshabelo had a population of sixteen hundred, "a fine church, certainly the finest in the Transvaal, stores, houses, workshops and a huge village." The description of the station by Delius tells us that to this list might be added "...the station mill, wagon-building and repair works... for a time the largest school in the Transvaal. It dwarfed Nazareth (later Middleburg--the nearest Boer town). Above the station 'situated on the summit of a high knoll and with a steep ascent to it on all sides' stood Fort Wilhelm, Merensky's answer to Thaba Mosego. (It had) walls fifteen feet high and two feet thick, pierced with loop-holes and built of iron stone, enclosing a space of seven yards square. (The fort had) flank defenses and a turret over the entrance, which give a clear view of the surrounding country."[277]

The European settlements that impacted most on the '-zi' même-pool of the amaNdzundza were those at Origstad, Middleburg (Nazareth) and Lydenburg. They were planned in classical fashion, on a rectilinear grid, with a main street and a town square. On the town square, the church was built, and it served as the gathering place of the people. During *Nagmaal* (Communion) all the farmers flocked to the towns with their ox-wagons, and resided in the square. This meant that streets had to be wide, and the square big. Land was privately owned by the town's people, and they dwelt in detached rectilinear houses constructed on individual lots. The towns were open-ended and grew rapidly, having no city walls. Aylward (1881:19) describes the eastern trans-Vaal of the 1870's as being "...145,000 square miles of new territory, traversed in every direction by roads; adorned in a few places with churches, small towns, and rising villages; and sprinkled over, at distances of nine or ten miles apart, with the dwellings of faithful and preserving pioneers." By the turn of the century, the amaNdzundza had abandoned their circular settlement (the ζ^0 sub-même), and introduced the idea of the main road and rectilinear planning into their settlement layout (the ζ^{Π} sub-même).

In the previous chapter the author indicated that the amaNdzundza inhabited three general areas during the twentieth century. The first was the eastern trans-Vaal, at the farm Kaffirskraal 62 in an area north of Middleburg. In 1939, the remnants of the amaNdzundza in this area, who lived under Madzidzi Jones, moved to the farm Goedgedacht in the Nebo district, several miles to the southeast. The second was outside Pretoria, at the farm Hartebeestfontein near Derdepoort (also called Wamlaganye). Nyabela lived in this area at KwaMkhina. As stated already in "3.9--The Nebo-amaNdzundza", the Government asked Chief Fene a few years later to move to the white-owned farm Welgelegen (221 IR--then 544) in the modern Delmas district at the upper reaches of the Wilgeriver, and there he constructed kwaHlanga. In 1922 his son Mayisha Cornelis II succeeded him, and he moved to Weltevreden near Dennilton in the south central trans-Vaal, and constructed KwaSimuyembiwa. This settlement later formed the nucleus of the KwaNdebele homeland with the capital at Siyabuswa. The third group lived at the farm Hartebeestfontein and was moved (in 1953) to the Odi 1 district near Klipgat, about 50 km northwest of Pretoria. The settlement has been coined KwaMsiza.

4.8.8   Conclusion

The amaNdzundza '-zi' or settlement (ζ) même evolved from a prehistoric or nomadic encampment to a 'terra sacra' (σ--a house for the ancestors). The main element that made this evolution possible was the *baya* (β même) or cattle pen, which represented the core of the settlement, and housed the graves of the ancestors. It was the spatial manifestation of the economy and religion of the amaNdzundza, and constituted the axis mundi of the amaNdzundza world. The footprint of the settlement (ζ^o même) reflected this concentric layout, and generated the 'iGceke' sub-même, as well as the space for the dwelling units (δ même). Kinship and the patriarchal cultural system determined the inhabitancy of a settlement. Axes determining sexual divisions are thus to be found on both a ζ même and a δ même level. It is thus clear that a set of cultural mêmes determined the layout of the settlement and the manifestation of the loci-mêmes. The contact between the amaNdzundza and the missionaries and European settlers and colonists destroyed the world view of the amaNdzundza, and sequentially their cultural and loci mêmes. The following semiotic equation displays the evolutionary process of the loci mêmes.

$$CHORA \text{ (prehistoric)} = \{\infty \to \tau^{nzi}_{\to} \Sigma (\phi^{\alpha}+\delta^{\alpha}+n)\}...(11)$$

$$CHORA = \{\infty \to_\tau {}^{nzi}_{\to}\Sigma (\zeta san=tan+o+x\text{-north } (\alpha+gce+\phi+\beta[\sigma]^{(buya+n)}+kin_{[\delta}<\alpha(i,iii,n)+ \alpha>(ii,n)]+n)+n)\}.....(12)$$

$$CHORA \text{ (modern)} = \{\infty \to \tau \to \Sigma (\zeta^{\Pi+\alpha} (\delta^{\alpha(n)})+n)\} ....(13)$$

∞	= *kenon* or profane space	τ	= transition space
Σ	= *topos* or sacred space		
σ	= *terra sacra* même-pool	o	= circular settlement même
n	= other mêmes in the loci même-pool	Π	= rectilinear settlement même
→	= spatial movement	β	= *baya* or pen sub-même-pool
φ	= fire même-pool	buya	= *buya* or grain pit même
ash	= ash même	gce	= *iGceke* sub-même
ζ	= *zi* or settlement même-pool	kin	= kin sub-même
x-north	= orientation	δ	= dwelling même-pool
tan	= *tango* or edge sub-même	α	= axis of division
san	= *sango* or entrance gate même	i	= *ikosikazi yobunene*
nzi	= water	ii	= *ikosikazi yekhohlo*

4.9 The δ-Même or the Dwelling Même as Found amongst the amaNdzundza

4.9.1 Introduction--the Meaning of the δ-Même

Eliade writes:

> ...the house is an imago mundi...the house is sanctified, in whole or in part, by a cosmological symbolism or ritual. This is why settling somewhere--by building a village or merely a house--represents a serious decision, for the very existence of man is involved; he must in short create his own world and assume the responsibility of maintaining and renewing it. Habitation is not lightly changed, for it is not easy to abandon one's world. The house is not an object, a machine to live in, it is the universe that man constructs for himself by imitating the paradigmatic creation of the gods, the cosmology.

The abaNtu rituals concerning the *thunzi* beautifully illustrate the link between the gods and the δ-même. Shadows play an important part in the religion of the amaNdzundza, as well as the baSotho. In amaNdzundza religion, as we have seen, a person is divided into *uMzimba* (the body), *iThunzi* (the shadow), and *uMoya* (the spirit). After death the spirit goes up to Zimu. The *thunzi* (shadow) stays hovering beside the grave and appears to be that aspect of man between the material and the spiritual state.[278] In the baSotho universe, everything has a vital force, a *bomolimo*. The expression of this *bomolimo* lies in the shadow or shade of the object. The shadows of different entities have their own names in the seSotho vocabulary, such as the *moriti* for the

tree, the *lesuiti* for the cloud and the *seriti* for the person.[279] This is how van Wyk describes a traditional religious ceremony of the baSotho, called *Go Tiisa Motse* ('to keep the household intact') which is designed to strengthen *seriti*:

> ...the male head of each household incises the principal joints of each family member's body and applies medicine to each cut in order to strengthen the body's seriti. The same medicine is applied to the principal points of articulation of the house, its doors, windows, and corners, demonstrating the close parallel between the house and its occupants.[280]

Casey asks the question 'What is the role of the body in dwelling?' Firstly, he asserts that it is the body's habit-memory that makes for the first condition of dwelling, as it allows repeated return. Secondly, he explains that bodies stand up in dwellings, and thus link the dimensions of the body fundamentally to those of the dwelling, allowing the second condition of *dwelling as residing*. This led Casey to make two further claims, namely that buildings resemble bodies and that they are constructed according to bodily proportions. The Aristotelian model of place as *strict container* is thus rejected: "places built for residing are rather an enlargement of our already existing embodiment into an entire life-world of dwelling."[281]

Norberg-Schulz also distinguishes two aspects of 'dwelling', namely the 'how' and the 'where', or the identification and the orientation. It is on these two levels that the mêmes identified here operate. Identification is Dasein's experience of the 'total' environment as meaningful, and can be conceived of in terms of a 'figure' and 'ground' scheme. Orientation, on the other hand, represents the spatial aspect of Dasein's artifact(ual) world. Identification represents the qualities of things, and orientation their spatial interrelationship. This interrelationship is that of bodily form and spatial order, that which embodies meaning, and that which admits certain actions to take place.[282] Identification thus is to relate meaningfully to the world of Husserlian 'things'. It is the 'thing' that is the carrier of the même. How can we define the concepts of 'things'?

The phenomenologist Husserl, with his aphorism "...to the things themselves..." showed that it was 'things', and not experience, that represent the contents of the *lebens-welt* ('life-world').[283] Things have 'a priori' to which they stay faithful[284], and reveal their meaning through their configuration, so that the significance of the 'thing' inhabits the 'thing'. Heidegger, in his essay *The thing*, defines it as a 'gathering of the *world* '[285]. We have already seen what the term 'world' means in its Heideggerian context.[286] Through *things*, the *world* appears and thus conditions Dasein, so that Dasein is the 'bethinged' (conditioned) one. Thus *Wir siud die Bedingten*.

Dasein, through identification, gains the 'world' by the understanding of 'things'. Heidegger wrote that '*Things* visit mortals with a *world*'. The isiNdebele term for 'thing' is *[i]-nto* (plural *[izi]-nto*), with its isiNguni roots in isiXosa (*[i]-ntω[-nto]*), isiZulu (*[i]-ntω[-nto]*), isiSwazi (*[i]-ntfω*), isiGaza (*[i]-ntω*), and its seTswana root in *[n]-to*. These terms are significantly akin to the isiNdebele and isiZulu word *[umu]-ntu*, the isiXhosa word *[um]-ntu*, the isiSwazi word *[umu]-ntfu* and the isiGaza word *[mu]-ntu*, all being isiNguni words denoting 'human'. This confirms the relevance of Heidegger's interpretation of the *thing* as it applies to the amaNguni. This link between Dasein and his 'thing' (best exemplified by the δ mème) can be found throughout the abaNtu and San cultures. According to the French Missionary Arbousset, the San dug oblong graves, placed the person in the grave, and then placed the remains of the deceased's hut on top of his body. The remains of the hut are then set on fire, so that the hut may seize to exist with the person. The close link between the abaNtu and their dwellings as things can be illustrated with a further example. After the death of a baPedi, the body has to be buried the first night following the death. Thus relatives from far away could only be invited through magical means. To do this, a magical whistle used to be blown from the roof of the deceased's hut, so that those in other parts of the country my hear it. A 'magical' relationship thus exists between Dasein and his dwelling. After Dasein's death, his dwelling is allowed to decay, and is not re-used. This relationship, generated by the Hestial phenomenon of human spatiality, is referred to as the *nto-ntu* mème.

4.9.2   The Cave or <δ-Même; Pre-Dating the δ-Même

Goodwin divides the San according to their rock art legacy, into the 'People of the Paintings' and the 'People of the Petroglyphs'. This classification can be used in our context to differentiate between the San who lived in mountainous areas, such as the Drakensberg and Maluti Mountains (in close contact with the amaHlubi-amaNguni, the amaNdzundza ya amaNdebele forefathers) and those who inhabited the greater part of South Africa beyond the escarpment.[287]

Norbert Schoenauer, the Canadian scholar of vernacular dwelling, argues that hunter-gatherer societies did not normally inhabit caves. We find amongst these San peoples of the Mountains the classical exception to this rule. They dwelt in an area plentiful of life sustaining resources, making constant migration redundant. James Walton writes that they dwelt in 'luxury', using the rock

shelters mostly during the rainy seasons[288]. In 1791, John Barrow came across such a cave dwelling in the Sneeuberg[289]. He writes:

> In one of these retreats were discovered (the San's) recent traces. The fires were scarcely extinguished, and the grass on which they had slept was not yet withered. On the smooth sides of the cavern were drawings of several animals... executed (in) charcoal, pipe clay, and the different ochres. The animals represented were zebras, qua-chas, gemsboks, springboks, reeboks, elands, baboons, and ostriches... Several crosses, circles, points and lines were placed in a long rank as if intended to express some meaning.[290]

In the vicinity of Burghersdorp, in the same month as the account in the last footnote, Baines came across Koi-San people in their cave dwelling, and narrates the event thus:

> Accompanying her to a low cave formed by an enormous block of stone with a flattened undersurface now blackened by smoke and soot, we found two men of something between the (San) and (Koi) (peoples), one ... smoking tabacco out of the shankbone of a sheep, and the other... lying outstretched upon his back and fast asleep... A few thorn bushes served to narrow the entrance of the cave and partially to screen its inmates from the weather. (Cow meat) cut in strips and chunks, was spread out upon the rock to dry and blacken in the sun, or strewed about the cave in anything but inviting profusion for present use. A few animals, nearly obliterated, were still visible upon the walls of their dwelling, proving it to have been an ancient habitation of their race...[291]

Although the abaNtu seldom used the caves in their environment as dwelling places, the <δ-même came to its expression in the fortifications built by the amaNdzundza and their neighbors after the difaqane. [292] After the difaqane, the baKoni, baPai, baPulana and the baKutswe groups settled in the region between the core area of the baPedi polity and the heartland of the Swazi Kingdom, to the northeast of the amaNdzundza. They constructed fortified caves in order to protect themselves from the cannibals roaming the countryside after the mass destruction of the 1920s. The baPedi and the amaNdzundza both followed suite, the baPedi constructing Phiring, Thaba Mosego and Tsate[293], and the amaNdzundza constructing KoNomtjharhelo and Vlugkraal (the so-called Mapoch's Caves). KoNomtjharhelo and Vlugkraal were the two most famous strongholds of the amaNdzundza Mapoch caves. Biermann (1990:39) describes the 'keep' or 'king's house' at Vlugtkraal as "...walled courts leading to the entrances of caves under the huge boulders at the apex of the outcrop." In the amaNdzundza's war, the Boer forces smoked out warriors from the caves, destroyed Vlugkraal with dynamite, and in the final stages starved the woman and children out of the caves, where they had lived for nine months.

The <δ-même can also be traced in the origin myths of the abaNtu people of the eastern trans-Vaal. Arbousset and Daumas (1852:255), the French missionaries, described the baPedi cave

called Marimatle, where the creation of men was supposed to have taken place. Marimatle in sePedi usually signifies 'to be happy'. The cave's name can thus be translated as the 'place of happiness' and is also called 'fine bloods' or 'pretty races'. It is located at the base of a small mountain, which the baPedi call Mole. They believe that men and the other animals came out of Marimatle, and returned to the cave in the shadow after death. A baPedi migrant laborer told Arbousset about a typical visit to the cave:

> When we take a resolution to go and visit this long, damp, dark, very frightful subterranean place, it is not without laying in a good stock of courage. We lower the head, for the entrance is low, taking hold of each other's hands; we cry all at once, 'Barimo boelang teng, kunupa!' (Infernal Gods, return into the interior, we throw stones!). We find a path; we follow it; it leads us to a cattle kraal, where there is to be seen only cow dung, some milk pitchers, some beautiful skins hanging on the walls of the cavern, and a stag or canna stretched lifeless on the ground, but without any wound. This no one is permitted to touch nor may we touch any thing there. There the stream Tlatlana, which traverses the cavern, murmurs fear in our ears. Without daring to taste its waters we flee; no one looks behind him...294

4.9.3   The Early amaNdzundza δ-Même

The même of the basic shelter predates the σ-même, and was already present amongst the early hunter-gatherer societies. The construction of the shelter was originally linked to the basic idea of escaping from the elements of nature, and evolved in relation to the economy of the different cultures. Whereas the shelter of the San was originally disposable on a day-to-day basis, it became transportable. Transportable dwellings were also found amongst the Khoi-khoi, and even some abaNtu societies (such as the Swazi). As the economies evolved into a pastoral system, the dwellings became permanent, and consequently more complex. The evolution of the dwelling was given in the typology of Prof. Franco Frescura. It first came to include the fire même ($\therefore$ {δ[φ]}) as for example amongst the Khoi-khoi, and later to include the internal biaxial même operating independently from the settlement biaxial même ($\therefore$ {δ[φ+α^m/α^f]}), as amongst most abaNtu cultures.

   ♦ The amaNdzundza's Ancient Stone-Walled Beehive Hut

Van Vuuren found ruins of the amaNdzundza beehive hut as far back as the old settlement sites at KoNomtjharhelo (Roossenekal) and KwaMnyamana (Bon Accord).295 The ruins usually consisted of stone circles with no evidence of entrances, and were very small, mostly about two meters. The

rafters (iinsikana) used in the construction of the huts were allegedly (according to informants who claim they know it from oral narratives) just placed on the surface of the soil on the inside of the stone wall all round the circumference. On bending the rafters to the common apex and tying it together, the bottom ends of the rafters would kick out against the stone wall, and so in chorus with the wall bring about stability and the equilibrium of bending, tensile and compressive forces. Lateral stability is obtained for the individual rafters by tying them into a structural system with circular battens (amabalelo). The rafters tend to straighten a bit at the apex, as to create a hybrid form between what would be a classical beehive shape and a conical shaped hut. The thatching or utjani would thus hang away from the rafters at the bottom, covering the stone wall, and enhance the conical appearance of the final dwelling silhouette. The stone walls were plastered with daga (more correctly *daka* or *udaka* referring to daub[296]).

◆ The amaNdzundza's amaNguni-Type Beehive Hut

Biermann wrote in 1990 that the amaNdzundza "... when asked (in 1947) about their way of building, ...described the traditional Nguni grass dome, adding as an afterthought 'but we don't build in that way any more'. ...a new (architectural) tradition had taken the place of the old, but it had not yet supplanted the old in the stories of the tribe."[297] The same stone circles are to be found at the amaNdzundza settlement of KoNomtjherhelo, a settlement dating from the rule of Mabhogo. Van Vuuren notes that, except for the stone circles, there were also ruins indicating that the izirhodlo-walls denoting encampments were now introduced to the amaNdzundza dwelling complex. The size of the huts, despite the presence of some small circles, was in general bigger than that of the very early settlements. According to van Vuuren's informants, the same construction technique noted earlier was still in use. This seems very unlikely though, in the context of the development of South African vernacular architecture. The oldest construction technology, which is actually remembered by the oldest amaNdzundza informants of the 20th century, is the beehive hut, being typical in its configuration to that of the amaNguni peoples, such as the amaZulu and the 'Swazi.

4.9.4   Western Influences on the amaNdzundza δ-Même Evolution

- **The Settler Architecture**

♦ Description of the Hardbieshuis

The settlers trekked with their wagons into the trans-Vaal, into a new environment. It is not surprising then to find that their most basic dwelling after their arrival was the rondavel hut, a copy of the cone-on-cylinder hut of the abaNtu cultures, which they encountered north of the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. On top of the rondavel-type dwelling, they borrowed another vernacular dwelling type from the locals, the hemispherical hut and windscreen called the skerm in Dutch. These were utilized as storerooms and kitchens. Southwest of the settlements that were in contact with the amaNdzundza, between Bethulie and Beersheba, Buckhouse noted in 1839 the existence of roof-on-the-ground houses amongst the settlers, and also the settlers' intermarriage with the local population.

The first proper houses of the settlers were hardbieshuise. Buckhouse made sketches of this widely used building type (figure 25d). He later described the hardbieshuis of Solomon and Adriana K. Norgi, an adobe, which, according to him, presented no attractions in regard to cleanliness, but that served adequately against the cold. It was built of sticks and reeds, and plastered with clay and cow-dung. The door comprised the full height of the wall, and reached to within a foot of the top of the aperture that it partially closed. Walton tells us that the furniture in the house consisted of "a low bed-stead; two wagon-chests, that served as a table; two folding stools, a chair, a komfoor, for the good woman, who was without shoes, to set her feet upon, a few iron cooking-pots and one with a hole in its side, that stood in the middle of the floor, and contained a little fire of wood; also a kettle, a gun, a few smaller items, and a parcel of skins, on which the children slept."

One theory holds that the hartebeest house got its name from its similarity in form to the South African buffalo species, the hartebeest. Other authors disagree with this analogy concerning the name, and believe that it is derived from the hard reeds or *harde biesie* that is used in the construction of the structure. The hartebeest house is larger than the dwellings of the locals are in the shape of a roof set on the ground, and sometimes had openings in the roof to let out smoke. For the construction of the hartebeest house, the men collected timber, reeds and grass, and dug a shallow trench, which marked the outline of the dwelling. Holes some three feet deep were dug at

each corner, and every few feet along the sides, to accommodate the poles. The poles were firmly planted, and bent over so that opposite poles could be tied together with leather strips or *riempies*. To strengthen the series of arches, cross members that were known as *hanebalke* were tied together to connect them. A ridge-tree was secured to the top and battens (*dwarslatte*) were fastened to the couples, a foot or a foot and a half apart. The door framework had to be constructed independently, due to the curvature of the walls.

Aylward wrote that there were, roughly speaking, about 7000 families living by farm-work of one sort or another in the Transvaal of the 1870s, and they all had habitable and, under the circumstances of the country, fairly comfortable houses.[208]

     ♦ Influence of the Twentieth Century Farmer on the amaNdzundza Dwelling
       Footprint

We have seen that the amaNdzundza were exiled to live on Boer farms since the year 1884. They lived near urban centers, earned wages on the farms, if only sporadically and then very little. That combined with the fact that they got the occasional old bed or cupboard from the farmhouse ensured a quick evolution of the material culture on the interior of the dwelling. This furniture was not easily accommodated in a round dwelling, a fact that accelerated the evolution of the footprint to its square or rectangular format. The wall paintings also reflect the influence of this milieu on their architecture, a factor that will be discussed later in this chapter. Despite this influence on the dwelling, the dwelling complex remained largely unchanged in its layout, pointing to the amaNdzundza's resistance of completely abandoning their life style and world view. Frescura argues this convincingly, also making a reference in his Doctorate thesis on indigenous South African Architecture to the fact that even the wall paintings can be considered a resistance to change, rather than a mere influence of the urban environment.[209]

     ♦ Technological Influences

The greatest contribution made by the white settlers to the evolution of the amaNdzundza dwelling must be in the field of technological advances, considering the scattered formation of settlements on the Highveld and their isolation from centers of building supplies. A good point in case is the remarks of Livingstone in 1857, saying that "entire absence of shops led us to make everything we needed from the raw materials. You want bricks to build a house, and must forthwith proceed to

the field, cut down a tree, and saw it into planks to make the brick-moulds; the materials for doors and windows too, are standing in the forest..."[300]

Casalis commented from Lesotho in 1833 on the problem of timber for construction, when he wrote that: "We noticed--and not without anxiety--that most of the trees of this country tend to develop the most fantastic embranchments and protuberances, rather than to adopt the vertical habit. Nevertheless, we managed to find a fair number of the younger trunks to meet our requirements."[301] Because of the lack of timber, many of the early settlers opted for the indigenous method of wall construction, consisting of a wattle and daub technology. Others decided to work with masonry units, and made their own daga or sod bricks. Many missionaries commented on the instability of this technology, and some narrated the collapse of their churches' and schools' masonry walls.

Historical evidence shows that this technology had a substantial influence on the local populations. What exactly the vehicle of the transmission of the technology was is not clear. The missionaries saw the local architecture as inherently heathen, but had a bigger influence on its form than on the technology of its construction. Further more, one may assume that the influences came from the settlers rather than the missionaries, if only because of their sure numbers. What the attitude of the settlers was towards the local construction technology, we are not told in the written records. All we know is that, in the case of the amaNdzundza, it had to be the influence of the farmers in the central and eastern trans-Vaal who lead the amaNdzundza to adopt this technology. The most proper case of this evolution seems to have been that of imitation, rather than direct intervention. An acceleration of this technological transferal must have been the effect of the farmers training farm workers to help them in the construction of houses. This opinion is held by the 1878 Guide to the Transvaal which stated: "On all farms, brick clay is found; the farmers make their own bricks, and most of the natives are skilled in this labor."[302]

A linguistic analysis of the word brick in many of the abaNtu languages shows that they derived the technology from the Dutch farmers. In Dutch (Afrikaans), the word for brick is *steen*, in isiNguni it is *(isi-) -tena*, in seSotho *ditene* and in siTswana *ditena*. The siTswana synonym *foromo* comes from the Afrikaans English word form, denoting the mold in the casting process. Another synonym found in most abaNtu languages is the word *kimmerli*, derived from the 'Kimberley brick'; Kimberley being a diamond mining town in the Northern Cape Province of

South Africa that functioned on abaNtu migrant labor. This would indicate a possible antithesis to the evolution of modular construction as noted above, showing that the technology was introduced to abaNtu construction through the migrants working at the mines from 1866 onwards. It is known that amongst the migrant workers there were many from the Steelpoort valley, an area closely associated with the amaNdzundza. To summarize, it would seem that the missionaries, the settlers and the mining industry all played a role in the revolution of wall building technology amongst the abaNtu, though to different degrees. Being relatively late in adopting the technology is an indication that the amaNdzundza were mostly influenced by farmers under whom they served during their period of exile.

Frescura found the actual process of the manufacture of the bricks amongst the abaNtu to be simmilar amongst the different peoples all over South Africa. This led him to conclude that they might have a common root. The process was described in the 'Guide to the Transvaal' of 1878:

> The clay, when burned, makes an excellent hard, dark brick. The clamp of bricks is provided with flues, and chambers having but one small vent at the top. The exterior is coated with clay to keep the heat in. The chamber is packed with wood, which is set fire to, and the whole allowed to burn for several days.

Another important technological change, brought about because of the white immigrant population, was that of the method and materials of roof construction. The amaNdzundza constructed the roofs of their dwellings by using long grass, gathered into bundles and laid upon a timber framework strong enough to carry the live load of the person thatching the roof. The grass was tied down by a network of ropes made of woven grass. The same grass was used with special details to construct the apex, the area most likely to leak. The settlers' thatching technology, where the grass bundles are opened up and sewn down upon the roof frame by means of tarred twine, has superseded this technology. The most important visual difference to the local technology is the smooth finishing of the final thatch with a wooden legget, an aesthetic that has become known as the *Boer* (Dutch settler) style. Both the name of the style and the fact that the legget is nationally known as the *idekspan*, shows that the smooth thatching in amaNdzundza and the whole of abaNtu culture was derived from the Dutch settlers. A further influence on the roof construction that can be traced to the Dutch architectural technology is the construction of the 'A-frame' roof trusses, which the amaNdzundza adopted when they started constructing square footprint dwellings. In this construction, the tie-beam is placed in the upper third of the roof void. The third important evolutionary influence on the amaNdzundza roofing technology was the introduction of corrugated

iron, via Victorian industry and architecture, into the South African landscape. This evolution was closely related to the evolution of the flat-roofed dwelling or *bafokona*, of which Dr Franco Frescura's study will be analyzed next.

- The Evolution of the Flat-Roofed Dwelling

Dr Franco Frescura studied the origins and evolution of the (Highveld-type) flat-roofed dwelling in his essay From Brakdak to Bafokona[303] His analysis hinges on cultural transmission and geographical adaptation, and leads him to foreign shores. It starts with the reasons for the introduction of the flat roof in the Cape in the early 18th c., and analyzes the fire hazard, cost implications, wood-shortage and aesthetic trends. He gives constant reference to the interaction of the countryside architecture with the urban architecture.

The first countryside lean-to roof is said to be the Dutch *brakdak*, the technology and construction of this roof structure being described with reference to mud construction. The first mention of the indigenous cultures is made in association with the Cape Cottage Tradition, referring to the Khiokhio and their contact with the roof type. Further, in the discussion 'Mechanics of Dissemination', Frescura describes the infiltration of the building type into the Karoo. He describes the 1850s to 1870s, and says that it is during this time that the flat-roofed house became identified with the Griquas, for a short period of time. He gives us 3 stage maps for the spread of the lean-to technology through the country, and describes very briefly the chronology from the 1850's to the 1940's.

This is followed by a description of the start of the "Bafokona" tradition, a word synonym to "iflat" and "iplata", meaning the lean-to roof structure, as build by the rural communities on the Highveld. The stages of development and a description of the six agencies for the introduction of this typology to the interior of the Country are then mentioned. The essay concludes with a discussion of the tradition on the Highveld, attributing it to the Sotho and Tswana. This part of the document contains detailed descriptions of the form, functions and organization of the "Highveld" tradition.[304]

The introduction of the flat roofed dwelling in the amaNdzundza culture took place as replacement of the secondary structures in the dwelling complex, and then in a much smaller scale than in the baSotho architecture of the Orange Free State. It was, throughout the twentieth century, the rule

rather than the exception to find flat-roofed dwellings surrounding the main cone-on-cylinder huts in an amaNdzundza settlement.

- The Influence of the Missionaries on the amaNdzundza Dwelling

The station at Botshabelo, just to the west of the amaNdzundza settlement, and situated on their hunting and grazing lands, has already been discussed in this chapter. The amaNdzundza were exposed to the ideas and direct influences from Botshabelo, through Mampuru and his followers (formerly from the station), who dwelt amongst the amaNdzundza at their capital. What remains to be explored, is the direct and indirect missionaries' influence on the architecture of the amaNdzundza, and on the abaNtu in general. On a practical level, the missionaries influenced the agriculture, trade and technology of the local abaNtu communities by exposing them to the European material culture and technology. This can be considered the first important evolutionary influence. The second aspect of their cultural contact with the abaNtu culture would cut much deeper. The missionaries propagated a philosophy of life and religion based on Christian and especially Protestant ideas. These came into direct and serious conflict with the worldview of the abaNtu.

The architecture of the amaNdzundza was based on the idea of the ancestors as the regulators of natural forces, and the idea of currency of cattle, being the two most important aspects of their spatial organization in the landscape. Furthermore, the organizational principle of the settlement was founded on the idea of polygamy, which did not just govern the hierarchy of the settlement, but also its social makeup, which would ensure a self-sustaining economy. All this was changed by the missionaries with their insistence on the ablution of the ancestral believes, the *lebola* beliefs (cattle for wives), the polygamy, and the beer drinking festivals, which governed the social activities and spaces in the homestead. Considering this, it does not come as a surprise that the missionaries' introduction of Christianity brought about the eclipse of the abaNtu settlement as it was known before the introduction of European religion. An enlightening example of the attitude of the missionaries can be seen in the words of Casalis from the baSotho capital, Thaba Bosiu:

> ...we said that, wishing to provide entirely for our own subsistence, we must have a site where we could build houses and cultivate the ground according to our own ideas and habits. Our buildings and plantations would also serve as a model for the Basutos, whom we regretted to see dwelling in huts, and living in a manner so precarious and so little worthy of the intelligence with which they were gifted.[305]

He first, direct aspect of missionary influence on the abaNtu architecture, as discussed above, came about mainly by way of teaching the locals to build in a way preferred by the missionaries, identified patently by the square plan. In 1879, Gustav Warneck wrote that,

> ...Christian morality desires ... a dwelling corresponding to human dignity, decency and purity. Building plays an important part in the mission. First the missionary builds a simple small house for himself, to which he soon adds a school and a church. ...He induces the natives also to help him, and, much patience as it requires on his part, he undertakes to instruct them. Gradually his word and his example produce their effect, and the converts from heathenism begin to build new and more decent dwellings for themselves.[306]

The proactive teaching of the western construction technology accelerated the transmission of European technology to the abaNtu. This can be seen in the aims of a missionary, as documented by Germond: "(One of the aims was)...to train the (baSotho) to erect proper [sic] and comfortable homes for their own families..."[307] Whereas the question of hut tax furthered the development of the square house amongst most abaNtu societies, it did not have the same impact on the amaNdzundza. The Government gave tax privileges to those abaNtu dwelling in European-style homes, this being a great incentive to build square dwellings, but the amaNdzundza were not exposed to this influence, as they refused to pay hut tax until their fall and exile at the hand of the Boers in 1883.

4.9.5   The amaNdzundza δ-Même Evolution and the Dwelling Complex

During the early stages of the development of the dwelling, while technologically still expressed in the shape of the beehive, the δ-même came to be closely associated with the womb of the woman. Linguistic traces to this extent can still be found in many cultures, especially in relation to the entrance of the dwelling. Amongst the amaNguni a secondary même developed in the rear of the dwelling, namely the *insamu* (ι-même). Whereas it was introduced as a même with religious incentive, it evolved amongst the amaNdzundza to the extent of losing its meaning. Cultural interaction, although changing the configuration of the amaNdzundza dwelling, did not cause its disappearance. The functioning même is still found in the amaZulu dwelling. The ι-même that, as a result of its evolution, lost its religious significance will be referred to as the ι⁻-même.

The δᵉ-même or entrance même is a product of the evolution of the shelter beyond the San mat dwelling. With the introduction of the idea of the hut as womb, the δᵉ-même came to assume a

symbolic role in abaNtu architecture. This is expressed amongst the amaNguni through the burial of the stillborn child inside the dwelling at the entrance, and the burial of one of a set of twins at the exterior of the entrance. We also saw that, when taking a body to the graveside, the hut is entered by walking backwards. Furthermore, specific medicines were developed in order to treat the entrance of the dwelling against the entering of evil spirits. The entrance is always placed in such a way as to link the dwelling to the cattle-pen, the dwelling place of the ancestors. In the decoration of the walls with mural paintings, the entrance gets special treatment, pointing to the differentiated conception of the 'door' as opposed to other wall surfaces.

The introduction of the door to the entrance is considered a relatively recent invention, although the knocking on the door is mentioned in the oral tradition in relation to Muzi and his son Ndzundza. This narrative was clearly influenced by the German missionaries, given its close similarities to the Biblical tale of Abraham and his son Isaac. The door as a sub-même (δ^d-même) can be traced in early baVenda architecture in the form of the sliding door, and is also present in the amaNguni (amaZulu) architecture. As far as the development of this même amongst the amaNdzundza is concerned, it is believed that it was introduced through western contact.

With the evaluation of the amaNdzundza dwelling on the Highveld, the baSotho/baTswana cone-on-cylinder technology came to bear on the basic dwelling-configuration. This brought about the introduction of the verandah entrance space to the amaNdzundza dwelling. It could be argued here that the même was already present in amaNdzundza dwellings in the form of the vaulted entrance to the beehive dwelling. The author believes, though, that the conception of the two structures and spaces is sufficiently different as to warrant the classification of these structures to reflect two separate mêmes. The vaulted entrance ontologically relates to the δ^e-même. The verandah is considered a secondary même (δ^ϖ-même), and is believed to be an inter-cultural même as far as the amaNdzundza dwelling is concerned. The même can today still be found amongst baVenda cultures of the northern trans-Vaal. Although one would expect the δ^ϖ même to have easily evolved into the entrance-portal of the European-type dwelling, the même came to its eclipse as the δ-même evolved to reflect the European house. This happened mainly because of the limited resources in building a dwelling with many different spatial divisions.

With the exposure of the δ-même, which was inherently based on a centrifugal conception of space, to the rectilinear buildings of the missionaries and the Dutch settlers, the même evolved as

to allow the placement of furniture. The evolution was furthered by the insistence of the missionaries that Christians do not dwell in circular dwellings, and is closely linked to paradigmatic changes in the amaNdzundza environment. Prof. Roger Fisher has shown in his Doctorate dissertation that the evolution of the plan or footprint of the dwelling is closely linked to Dasein's conception of himself in the world and in relation to divinity. This would imply that the configurational aspect of the δ-même evolution is of cardinal importance in the shaping of the amaNdzundza world-view, and is consequently linked to the evolution in amaNdzundza religion. Another aspect in the evolution of dwelling shape was the introduction of rectilinear building materials, such as corrugated iron, which required a change in configuration. With this change, the centrifugal planning of the amaNdzundza was lost, and with it the inherent accommodation of the φ-même at the center of the dwelling.

Other sub-mêmes impacting on the δ-même were the evolution of the verandah as to accommodate storage space and the disappearance of the apex of the dwelling, which it was shown to be symbolically linked to the owner of the hut. The nemesis of the window, as borrowed from the European settlers and missionaries, was also mentioned. The threshold that was defined as part of the wall in baTswana dwellings (also found at the back entrances to the lapa of the amaNdzundza) lost its significance in the nineteenth century abaNtu architecture, and resurfaced in the evolution towards the European dwelling. Another important sub-même in amaNguni dwelling was the spatial progression from the entrance to the insamu, transversely dividing the dwelling into a private and a visitor's section (see figures 31-32). These mêmes will for the sake of clarity be excluded from the final semiotic model of the amaNdzundza dwelling. The semiotic model for the δ-même of the amaNdzundza cone-on-cylinder dwelling thus reads as follows:

CHORA={∞ →$_τ$nzi+ton→$_Σ$ (ζsan=tan+o+x-north (α+gce+φ+β[σ](buya+n)+kin[δ<α(i,iii,n)+ α>(ii,n)]+n)+n)}.(12)

where   δ amaNdzundza cone-on-cylinder = {δe1 → ϖ → δe2 → α^m/α^f → φ → ι⁻}   ....(13)

- The Extended Dwelling Complex (see figures 30-33)

In general, and with the exception of the mother of the *umnumzana* and her generation, and the *ikosikazi*, the women enter the dwelling complex from the rear through the isibuya entrance. With the inception of the amaNdzundza 20th century architecture, these customs disappeared due to the condensed nature of the new settlements. A visitor enters the settlement (see figure 34) from the cattle kraal (*isibaya*), and would not enter the cooking courtyard of any hut without the approval of
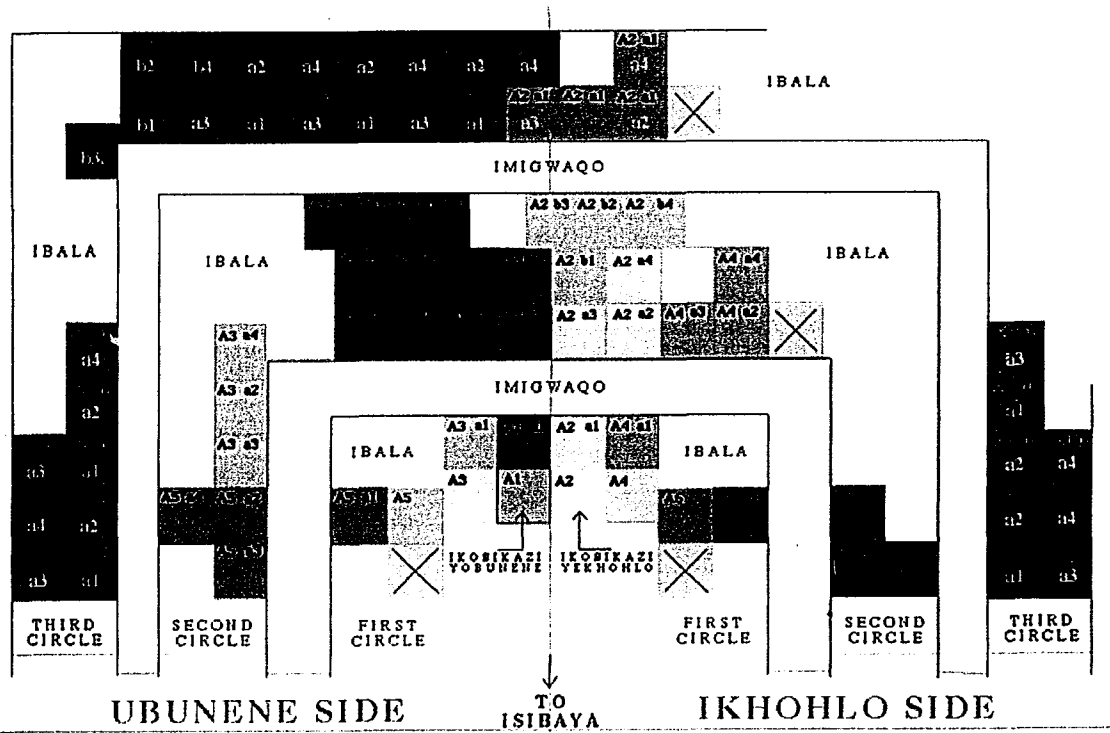
Fig. 30 The layout of the amaNdzundza settlement after van Vuuren
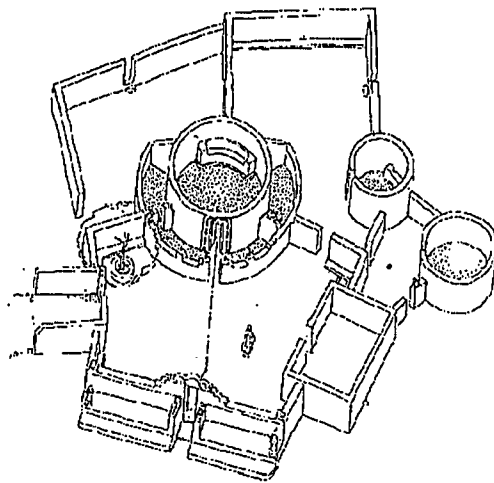
THE CIRCULAR PHALLIC PALACE
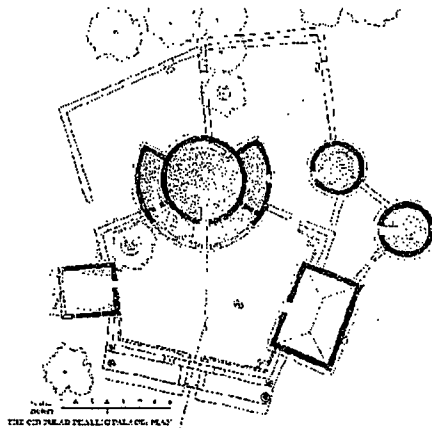
THE CIRCULAR PHALLIC PALACE: PLAN
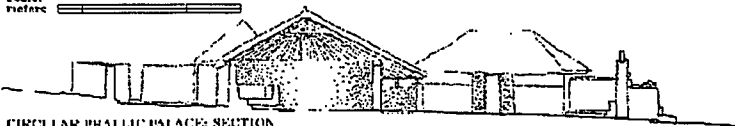
CIRCULAR PHALLIC PALACE: SECTION

Fig. 31 The Circular Phallic Palace: An amaNdzundza dwelling complex documented by Peter Rich.
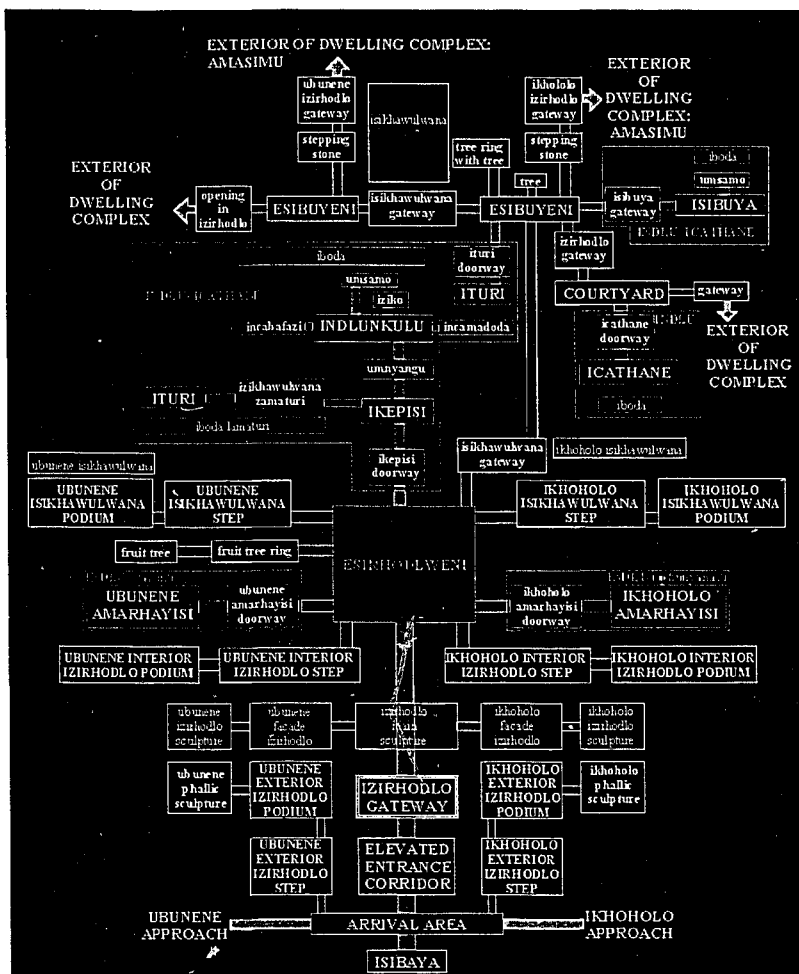
Fig. 32 The Circular Phallic Palace: A semiotic analysis of the spaces.
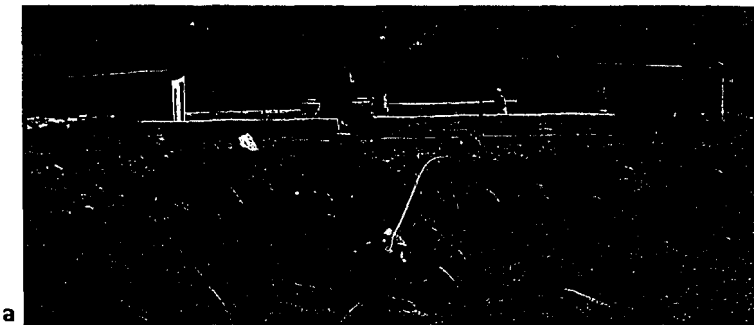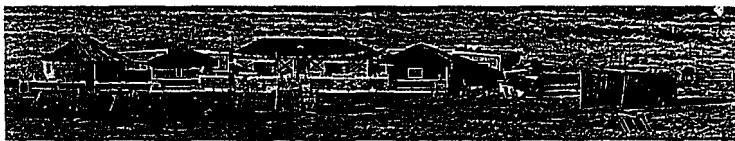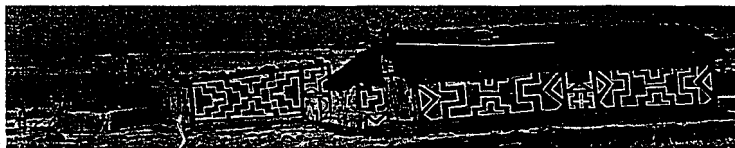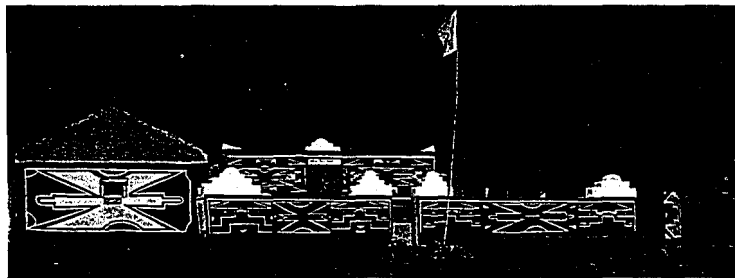
Fig. 33 The amaNdzundza homesteads of the Highveld in the 20th century. (Powell)
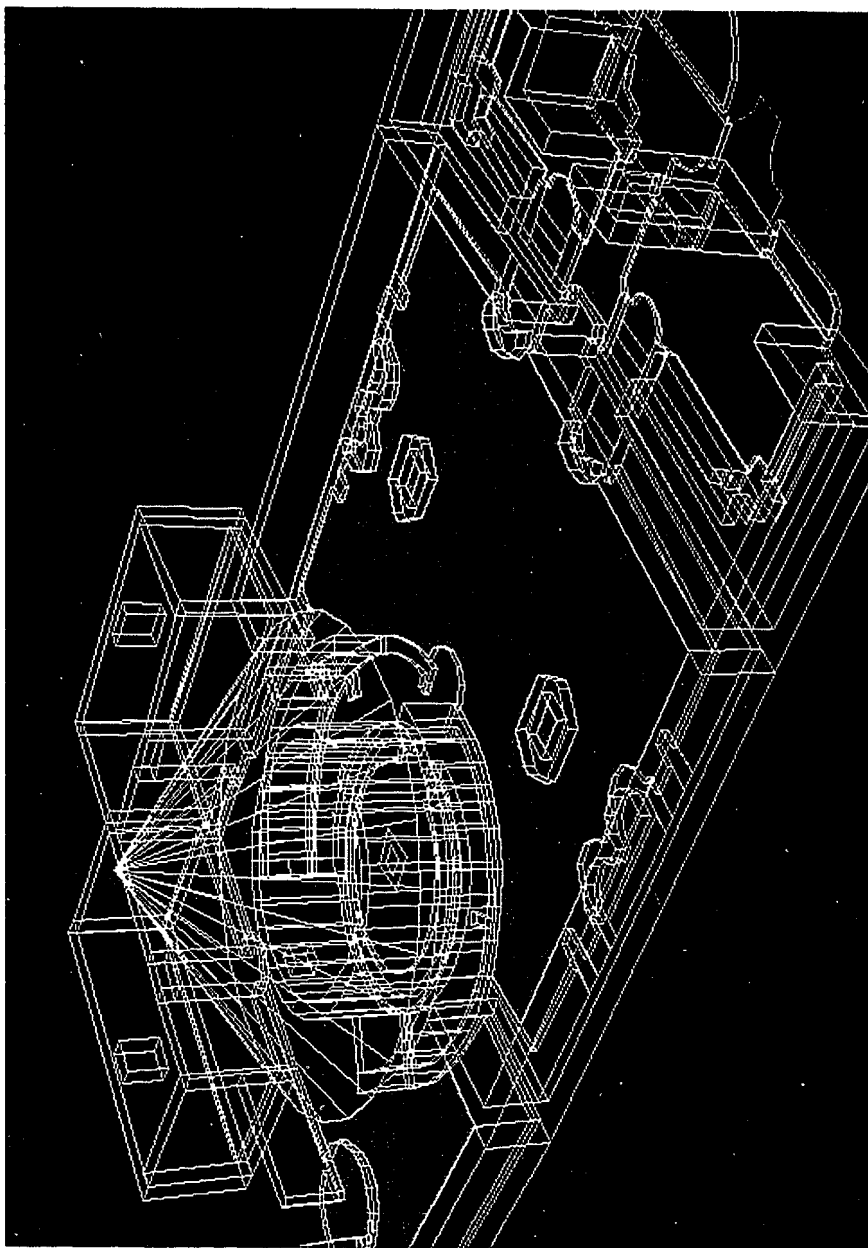
Fig. 34 CAD analysis of the dwelling complex of the amaNdzundza

Phot. by Powell
Drawings by Author
after Powell and Rich
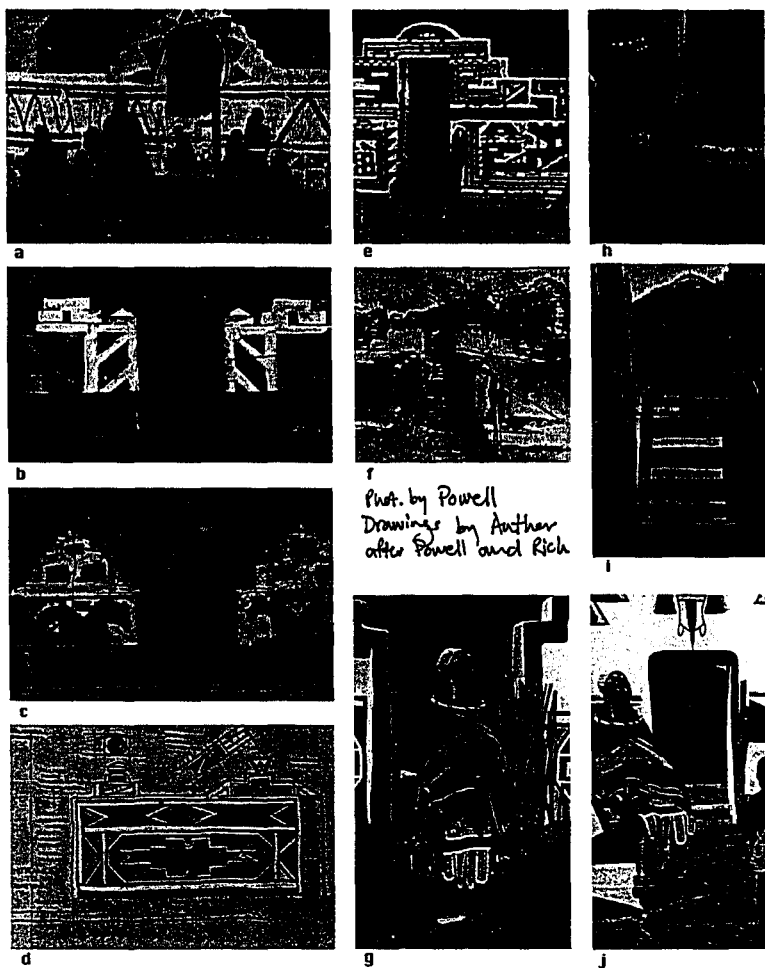
Fig. 35 Entrances of the dwelling complexes of the amaNdzundza

the inhabitant. Any visits have to be approved by the head of the settlement or his sons. The rules of the settlement extension are usually broken if the site topography does not allow for the conventions, if there are no building sites (*ibala*) left, or if sons decide to start their own settlement.

The huts were traditionally cone-on-cylinder shaped, called *icathane* by the amaNdzundza. The *icathane* with the courtyards, considered here part of the dwelling (as it contains household functions similar to a parlor, kitchen etc.), are together called the 'dwelling complex'. Sometimes the courtyard walls (*isirhodlo*) of different 'dwelling complexes', now considered the outside walls of the dwelling, do not touch one another, but are set apart as to form a corridor, called the *umkrhothana*.[308] The front courtyard (*esirhodlweni*) is the reception area, and the back courtyard (*isibuya*) with its little granary (*isivivana*), the cooking area. The daughters' hut (*iphunyana labantazana*) is placed on the diagonal behind the mother's hut, on the *ubunene* side. The sons' huts are placed in relation to the cattle kraal, on the diagonal, in front of the mother's hut, on the *ubunene* side. It is usually placed as close as possible to the gate of the cattle kraal, as the cattle is the responsibility of the sons. It usually consisted of two huts, the smaller one (the *ilawu lamalijana*) being the hut of the sons of 6 years and younger, who looked after goats and sheep, and the bigger one, the *ihvu labasegwabo*, being the hut of the older sons.

The *inyanga*, the medicine man, builds his own hut (*indluyenyanga*) and the position is not predetermined. The initiation structure, *isirhodlo sabasegwabo*, is a temporary structure, and it is broken down after the ceremony. The container of grain is called the *isivivana* or *isihlangana* hut and is constructed in the *isibaya* with the daughters' hut. A *isilulu* or big container is placed in the same place for processed grain. In earlier times, the *isirhodlo* (dwelling walls) were constructed of Acacia branches or reeds (*umgaba*) (Weiss 1963:26), but, by the early 20th century, mud walls were used. The development from the round *isirhodlo* to the rectilinear one took place in the 1920's to 30's.[309] Some verbal sources claim the use of the clay walls to date back to the Mapoch war with the Boers. Meiring[310] takes this date to indicate the replacement of detached dwelling complexes with attached ones. A wall separates the front courtyard (*esirhodlweni*) and the back courtyard (*isibuya*) with a doorway called the *isikhawulwana*. The cooking courtyard was, in the previous century, not separated from the *esirhodlweni*, but contained inside it.

4.10   Conclusion:

The third sub-problem was to determine the influence of the mêmes in the amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza cultural milieu on the evolution of their *dwelling*, both in spatial conception and physical manifestation. The third hypothesis was that cultural *mêmes* in the amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza *world* (as presented by the space-time matrix), determine the spatial concepts of their *dwelling* and the physical manifestation and their settlements. The spaces and structures in the amaNdzundza settlements, and their evolution were outlined by the identification of a group of important loci mêmes and loci même-pools as examples. The origins and the meaning of these loci mêmes were linked to the cultural (religious and social) mêmes both in amaNdzundza culture and in the cultures that the amaNdzundza came in contact with. A sample of three phenomena of human spatiality were identified (namely the phenomenon of Hestial dwelling, of Stabilitas loci and of anamnesis), which serve as the generators of the main loci même-pools. These pools were those of the 'terra sacra' même-pool, the 'creation' même-pool, the 'fire' même-pool, the '-zi' même-pool and the 'ndlu' même-pool. The mêmes were presented in the following semiotic equations, in order to distinctly illustrate their evolution.

$$\text{CHORA} = \{\text{KENON} \rightarrow \text{TOPOS}\}$$

$$\therefore \ \text{CHORA} = \{\infty \rightarrow \Sigma\,(n)\} \quad\quad\quad \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots(1)$$

$$\text{CHORA (prehistoric)} \ = \{\infty \rightarrow \Sigma\,(\chi{+}\phi{+}n)\} \quad\quad \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots(8)$$

$$\text{CHORA (pre-colonial)} = \{\infty \rightarrow \Sigma\,(\sigma\,{}^{(n)}{+}\chi^{(n)}{+}\phi\,{}^{(ash{+}n)}{+}n)\} \quad \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots(9)$$

$$\text{CHORA (modern)} \quad = \{\infty \rightarrow \Sigma\,(\sigma^{-}{+}\chi^{-}{+}\phi^{-}{+}n)\} \quad\quad \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots(10)$$

$$\text{CHORA (prehistoric)} \ = \{\infty^{ton} \rightarrow \tau^{nzi} \rightarrow \Sigma\,(\phi^{\alpha}{+}\delta^{\alpha}{+}n)\} \quad\quad \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots(11)$$

$$\text{CHORA} = \{\infty \rightarrow \tau^{nzi+ton} \rightarrow \Sigma(\zeta^{san=tan+o+x\text{-}north} \quad (\alpha{+}gce{+}\phi{+}\beta_{[\sigma]}(buya{+}n){+}kin_{[\delta}{<}\alpha(i,iii,n){+} \quad \alpha{>}(ii,n)$$
$$]{+}n){+}n)\}\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots(12)$$

where δ amaNdzundza cone-on-cylinder = $\{\delta^{e1} \rightarrow \varpi \rightarrow \delta^{e2} \rightarrow \alpha^{m}/\alpha^{f} \rightarrow \phi \rightarrow \iota^{-}\}$
$$\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots(14)$$

$$\text{CHORA (modern)} \quad = \{\infty \rightarrow \tau \rightarrow \Sigma\,(\zeta^{\Pi+\alpha}\,(\delta^{\alpha}(n){+}ton){+}n)\} \quad \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots(13)$$

Chapter 5

The δm-Même: Painting the Walls of the Basic Dwelling Unit

5.1   Introduction

In the previous chapter the author determined the influence of the mêmes in the amaNdzundza
cultural milieu on the evolution of their dwellings and settlements. Most of the mêmes identified
in chapter 4 reached their maturity during the nineteenth century. Very few depictions of the early
amaNdzundza architecture are known today, a situation which makes the proper mapping of
mêmes impossible. In the twentieth century, under the control of several separatist governments,
the latest and most spectacular of amaNdzundza loci-mêmes came to its full expression in the
renaissance of their mural art. This même (the δm-même), is explored further in this chapter as a
representative of the evolving mêmes in the twentieth century amaNdzundza architecture.

5.2   Contact with Mural Art Cultures, and Their amaNdzundza δ^m-Même
Genesis

- **Early Art Forms amongst the South African Peoples and Their Evolution**

Mural art in southern Africa is probably as old as the adobe wall itself. As shown earlier, the cone
on cylinder type hut is a relative late development in the typological history of the South African
hut. Retracing our steps to the cultures that came in contact with the amaNdzundza during their
long migratory history, and considering the chronological evidence on South African mural
development, it becomes clear that they did not come in contact with mural art during their
amaHlubi days in the Drakensberg. They probably found themselves in the middle of a mural
culture only as soon as they migrated into the trans-Vaal.[311] In the central trans-Vaal, the region of
the Magaliesberg (named after the 'Koena' [baKwena] chief Mohale), the baKwena developed a
mural art tradition by the 1400s. A fragment of carefully painted wall plaster (also known as *daga*
or adobe) recovered in the Magaliesberg proves that mural painting was a feature of baKwena life
in the fifteenth century. This is the very area where the amaNdebele first fathers built their
settlements, the one being in the Wonderboom Poort.[312] It is also in the central trans-Vaal where
the Tswana people, and especially the Hurutse, were the near neighbors of the amaNdebele. They
have the earliest documented mural culture of all the peoples of South Africa. It made its literature
début in 1812, when Burchell visited the Tlhaping homestead of Serrakutu at Dithakong,

describing the art as consisting of "figures of several animals, rudely drawn with a paint of white earth, against the front wall of the house."[313] This record reveals a number of important aspects of the mural art in the central trans-Vaal at this stage. The art was then already the domain of the wife. Secondly, it was executed on the front wall, as opposed to the whole dwelling. Thirdly, it shows that in the early nineteenth century, the mural art of the Tswana were already figurative. Serrakutu's homestead was again visited in 1813, this time by Campbell, who found the murals "... very rough representations of the camel leopard, rhinoceros, elephant, lion, tiger and stein-buck, which Salakootoo's wife had drawn on the clay wall with white and black paint." [314]

How did this representational art come into being? This is a question that, for lack of efficient information, is hard to answer. Stow might enlighten us on this issue. He writes:

> As these cases are unique in the several tribes [peoples] where they occur, viz. Amongst the baTlapin, the baHurutse, and the Bakuena [baKwena] of Moshesh, all widely separated from each other, and whose national mode of painting, when they indulge in it, is confined to the representations of lines, spots, lozenges, curves, and zigzags, it becomes an interesting subject of speculation whether the attempt to represent animal life in these isolated cases was a spontaneous development in the artists whose handiwork they were, or whether, as frequently the case in those days, these men had taken Bushman [San] wives, or were half-caste descendants of Bushman [San] mothers, and thus the hereditary talent displayed itself in their new domiciles among people of either the Bachoana [baTswana] or baSotho race [peoples].[315]

It is thus possible that the genesis of zoological figurative mural art had its roots in the San art forms. In 1820, Campbell made the first drawing of such wall decorations, when visiting a chief's dwelling in Kaditshwene, a Hurutshe town.[316] It is important to note that these observations were once again made long after the departure of the amaNdebele to the eastern trans-Vaal, and that it does not necessarily mean that the figurative art dates back to the days of the amaNdebele residence in the central trans-Vaal. Nevertheless, it does suggest that the Hurutse's mural art tradition has evolved substantially by the start of the nineteenth century, giving that abstract patterns consistently predate the figurative art traditions. [317]

The amaNdzundza and the Maroteng found the Venda in the eastern trans-Vaal on their arrival in the area, and evidence points towards the Maroteng getting their new name, the baPedi, from their initial Venda overlords (see earlier discussion). Indirect influences on the mural art front on the amaNdzundza in the eastern trans-Vaal could thus be traced to their baPedi, earlier Venda, and, to the south, their baSotho neighbors.[318] The same influences would hold for the amaNdzundza after

their exile in 1883, with the addition of a stronger influence from the settlers and their cities. The author thus continues with a brief description of the mural art in these neighboring cultures.

- **The baSotho Litema**[319]

The South baSotho were the southern neighbors of the amaNdzundza before their exile, and much of the baSotho mural art was documented north of the Vaal during this period. After the conquering of the amaNdzundza, they lived amongst many baSotho peoples. *Litema*, a derivative from the seSotho verb *ho lema* ('to cultivate'), is what the baSotho people call their mural art. The mural art can be divided into four categories, namely mural painting, engraved patterns, relief moldings and mosaic. In the 1880's, George Stow did the first detailed study of the baKwena (baSotho) at Wal Drift, Klip River, in the trans-Vaal. He came across the ruins of the settlement and described the main hut as follows:

> ...not only were the exterior walls of the main hut decorated, but the interior of the walls of the surrounding court which were ingeniously built of rubble composed of small rounded pebbles and then smoothly plastered.

The woman in the Free State practicing the art usually refer to it as *blomme*, the Afrikaans word for flowers, probably a nickname given to the art by the Afrikaans settlers, who related it to the Victorian floral wall paper. The term could also have been considered to describe beauty and the promise of fruitfulness.[320] The basic material for the engraved patterns is *daga*, a mixture of clay earth, water and dung. The mixture is relatively waterproof, and acts as an antiseptic. The woman applies it by hand onto both vertical and horizontal surfaces with a sweeping motion of the arm. The surface is then polished with water that is sprinkled on the wet surface, and spread by hand. The application dries too quickly to cover the whole wall in one process, so they need to divide the wall in small squares for individual application. This becomes the basic unit of the decorative pattern, with which the wall is treated from the right to the left. The design is scratched into the wet daga with sharp tools.[321] The pattern in each square usually differs slightly from its neighboring squares, being a rotated or mirrored image of the latter. Individual areas in the design are sometimes patterned by scratching the surface of the daga with a fork or comb.

What do the engraved patterns represent? Van Wyk believes that, seeing that the women work the lands, and giving the root of the word *litema*, the images represents the cultivated fields. In 1976, the Lesotho Teachers Training Collage published twenty-nine line drawings of decorative patterns

found generally in mural art. The meaning of these patterns could be traced by analyzing the names given for them by old baSotho woman, and documented by van Wyk. They include: *moriri*, a hairstyle; *mofapo*, a set of incisions on the cheek; *marabaraba*, a board game played by inscribing the pattern in the sand or on a rock; *maqoapi*, the plant sorghum; *melebo*, a pumpkin species; *lithebe*, a mat for grinding grain; *lesira*, a reed mask; *mahloa*, clouds; *maloti*, the Maluti Mountains; *sekho*, spider web; *maletere*, halter, and *lekoko*, a hide. It can thus be seen that these patterns are derived from, or at least named after phenomena found in the baSotho cultural and physical environment. A more general metaphor can be found in the line of the mural art. In many African cultures the word for line is closely linked with the word for civilization.[322]

What can be considered the function or meaning of baSotho mural art? Two answers seems to be most popular amongst the artists, namely the calling and pleasing of the ancestors, and secondly, because it is the traditional sign of a proper baSotho home. The baSotho commonly ask three things from their ancestors: *Khotso* (peace), *Pula* (rain), and *Nala* (Plenty). The mural decoration is closely linked to these ideas, especially to that of rain.[323]

- **The amaNguni δ[m]-Même and Its Relevance to the amaNdebele Art Form**

At least some linguistic experts have been shown in this thesis to believe that the amaNdebele originated from the amaXhosa branch of the amaNguni. Although the author does not support this hypothesis, it is nevertheless helpful to look at some aspects of amaXhosa mural art that gives us insight into the amaNdebele mural arts. The amaNdebele never made extensive contact with the amaXhosa, but they share a basic culture, and some aspect of the development of mural art from a similar thatching architectural technology. A credible explanation for the development of certain patterns of mural art amongst the amaXhosa comes from a description of the evolution of the art form by Thomas Matthews.

He writes that the amaXhosa wall is constructed by planting strong vertical supports in the ground, about 600 to 1200 mm apart. A grid of slender struts are interweaved into the former, and bound to the uprights by strips of hide, grass, sinew lashing or wire. This structure is then plastered with *daka* (adobe), which usually does not cover the entire structure, and that is applied in panels from the eaves to the ground in a series of arcs about the length of an outstretched arm. This practice results in a product, a relief pattern of arcs flanking a vertical stem that is called *umthi* (tree). This

pattern, inherent to the process of construction, has thus acquired a symbolic meaning, which had outlived the functional consideration and had been carried over into the mural painting tradition. This intriguing explanation of the development of the *umthi* shows how mural figures, as they evolve and loose their original function, are absorbed in the world of secondary meaning and iconography. Even in amaNdebele and baSotho culture, in the latter where the 'Kimberley' adobe brick has replaced wattle and daub construction, the plant motive can still be traced in the mural paintings. Matthews believes that the concept of the painting expressing its underlying architectural structure is common to all mural art cultures, including the amaNdebele. Using this insight to explain the arctic mode of amaNdzundza mural painting, it becomes clear that the predominant vertical and horizontal lines echoes the structure of uprights and stabilizing beams, and the diagonals the cross-bracing, all underneath the adobe. Although the arctic style is seldom seen on front walls, it still survives on side and back walls.

Matthews found that the amaXhosa did not wait for the evolution of their beehive hut into the cone and cylinder hut before they started their mural culture. Already in the beehive hut, with the absence of adobe walls, the amaXhosa used to plaster areas on the interior of the hut, onto the thatched surface, that served as a pallet for decoration. This is of great importance, considering the late evolution of the amaNdebele hut, as held by the literature and their early exposure to mural art cultures. The possibility that their mural art developed along the same lines as their amaXhosa brothers cannot be excluded. The spiritual meaning of white on the murals on the amaXhosa facades seems to correlate with that of the baSotho. They paint it around the entrance of the dwelling, so that the spirits may recognize it as the place of entrance.[324]

- **Beadwork Mêmes and Their Mutual Interaction with the Mural**

Extensive similarities are found in the mêmes of amaNdzundza architecture, and their beadwork. The use of white as background color and black to outline different color surfaces can be cited as an example of these similarities.[325] The Beadwork (see figure 36-37) goes much further back than the mural art. This would lead us to draw the natural conclusion that the influence between beadwork and mural art was a unilateral phenomenon. This however, is only true for the early mural art. As the mural art form grew, it rapidly took over from the beadwork as the epoch-creating art form, and the influences became mutual.[326]
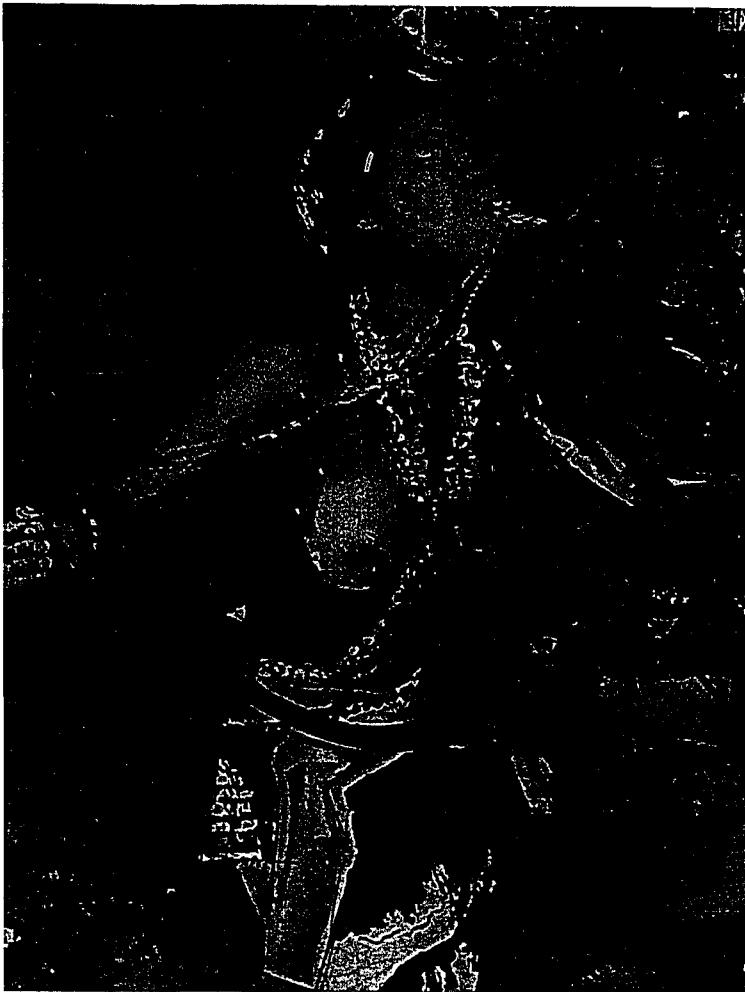
Fig. 36 amaNdzundza beadwork (painting by author)

Fig. 37 amaNdzundza beadwork (painting by author)

The impact of beadwork on mural art was retarded by the fact that the traders used ships as their vehicle of transport. The biggest impact of the imported bead-technology was made on the coastal areas and lowvelds, the areas where the cone-on-cylinder technology did not gain popularity because of the good thatching grass availability and highly eroding rainfall. An interesting parallel between the mural painting and the beadwork is that, except for the similarities in themes and evolution, they are both maintained by the strong amaNdzundza need to conform. Elliot notes that, apart from variations indicating their position in the family hierarchy, the Ndebele dress is uniform in style; their houses, habits and religion, too, are homogenous.

> "My belief is that this arises out of a saying I have sometimes heard them use: 'We don't boast'. The basic principle here, of coarse, is that it is bad form to outshine one's chief or superiors. Not only that, but, in days gone by, they might easily have been punished for showing disrespect to their chief (of even accused of witchcraft) in outshining him."[327]

In this aspect of mural art, being highly mimetic, we find the best breeding ground for the même. It goes a long way towards explaining the rapid growth of the mural art culture on the Highveld. When imitation or intentional replication becomes the driving force in a material culture, the mêmes rapidly develop towards an iconography. Icons are 'inversed' mêmes or mêmes that lost their meaning (represented here by the minus sign '-' [δ^m-même]).

5.3 The Evolution of the amaNdzundza δ^m-Même:

- **The Spatial Necessity and Constrictions of a Mural Art amongst the amaNdzundza**

As it was shown, in looking at the reasons for mural decoration amongst other South African wall-decorating cultures, and as it is seen amongst the amaNdebele, the basic function of mural art is to create a sense of community. Amongst the amaNdzundza, more than any other South African people, the sense of community and spatial identity played a structuring role on their material culture, and more specifically, the construction of their settlement. It was seen, in the brief history of the amaNdzundza provided at the start of this document, that they never dwelt amongst close neighbors who shared both their language and culture. We have seen many hostilities against the amaNdzundza, leading in at least three instances to their political and social enslavement. Such was their scattering by Mzilikatsi's maTêbêlê in the 1820's, their physical enslavement by the ZAR in 1883, and their political enslavement by apartheid in the 1940's, leading to their demographic displacement in the 1980's.

In this adverse environment, the amaNdzundza craved nothing more than retaining their cultural identity and freedom. It is under these circumstances, also, that they decided to embrace mural art as a vehicle of cultural expression and identity. Ironically, it was the influences of the new environment and the three centuries of exposure to neighboring 'foreign' cultures that would make this possible. Their Nguni architectural legacy left them with a thatching architectural technology, partially making the painting of their dwellings impossible.[328] With the adoption of the cone-on-cylinder technology, and later the Highveld house technology, all this changed. Changing the material of wall and fence construction to adobe created big canvases. For the chronology of this events, see the previous chapter.[329] What we have seen is that the amaNdzundza paid taxes to their various overlords in the form of building materials, a phenomenon that must have left a deep impression on the technology of their settlement construction.

The archaic phase of decoration is said by informants to go back hundreds of years. It is attributed in literature to the baPedi influence on the amaNdzundza in the eastern trans-Vaal.[330] The amaNdebele first made contact with mural art in the central trans-Vaal area via their baKwena and baHurutshe neighbors. In the eastern trans-Vaal, they probably first met with the Venda mural art before being exposed to the baPedi. The archaic amaNdzundza mural art influences can thus be better described as a Sotho-Tswana influence in general.[331] The modern mural art, with its quasi-figurative aspect and stronger abstract geometry, is believed by Powell to have its genesis at the Hartebeesfontein settlement. This settlement was set up by the amaNdzundza royal heir Fene and his advisors just before their defeat at the Mapoch caves at the hand of the ZAR in 1883.[332] They were joined by some of the amaNdzundza who served their time on white-owned farms in 1888 and in 1899 by Nyabela.[333]

- **The Evolution of amaNdzundza δ^{m}-Même, and Its Links with Apartheid**

Specific dating of this evolution is placed at 1945. Schneider sites the availability of acrylic paint after the Second World War and the proliferation of the Highveld house[334] with its rectangular 'canvas' as major contributory factors in the rapid growth of the art form.[335] It developed relatively fast, seeing that by 1950 Larrabee and by 1955 Meiring had already documented the modern murals. In the late 1950's it must have grown significantly beyond the borders of the settlement, causing Battiss[336] to mention the specific demographic spread of the tradition around

the Pretoria area as vortex (probably Hartebeesfontein). [337] The subsequent evolution of the amaNdzundza mural paintings has been described in the post-apartheid literature, spearheaded by Schneider, as an evolution partially induced by the apartheid government. This is claimed to have served the purpose of showing off to the foreign tourist the ethnic differences between the different cultures of South Africa, to justify the system of racial and cultural segregation. The author will thus proceed by outlining this argument, and then analyzing the premises on which this argument is based.

Powell starts off this analysis with the 'discovery' of the Hartebeesfontein settlement by the architect, and Pretoria University Professor Meiring. It is stated that he was an enthusiastic supporter of the Afrikaner National Party government, the perpetrator of apartheid. Powell writes that "Meiring's interest in the Hartebeestfontein settlement was inextricably tied up with his espousal of National Party politics of separate development. [amaNdzundza architecture] must have seemed a heaven-sent illustration of the separatist philosophy of ethno-history which underpinned the government's politics of apartheid, and Meiring was not slow in promoting it as such."[338] The death of the owner of the Hartebeestfontein farm threatened the existence of the amaNdzundza settlement, and Meiring, in liaison with the government's tourist authority, had the entire hamlet moved to a site northwest of Pretoria. The establishment of the village was done with the overt intentions of creating a tourist village, and was falsely published in the literature as a 'traditional Ndebele village'. Schneider believes that the art form was thus mutating under the sponsorship of the apartheid government, development that was to impact profoundly on the development of amaNdzundza architecture everywhere. According to Schneider,

> ...it was a classic example of patron art, a centuries old concept used to perpetuate the glories of certain institutions... In this case, the South African government, as patron, presented its idea of a typical Ndebele village, a picture of an idealized ethnic life in the rural areas and a showplace for apartheid, with an emphasis on ethnic identity.[339]

Schneider further writes, on the stylistic difference between the real settlements and the tourist villages, that the latter ones

> "reflect the influence of the present South African government. One is Kwa-Msiza, an artificially created village and once flourishing tourist spot near Pretoria. The other is the newly established village and tourist attraction at the outdoor museum at Botshabelo, an old restored mission near Middleburg."

Tourists at the village were asked by the local artists to pay, not just for the visit, but also for photo opportunities. One of the artists especially accused of this by Powell, is the famous amaNdzundza artist, Ester Mahlanga, who is said to have asked for special payments for interviews and explanations. Powell shows how this tradition goes directly against the grain of the African culture of hospitality, where the host would make the visitor feel comfortable at any expense.[340] Mention is also made of the later tourist villages, such as the Botshabelo village erected by the Pretoria University anthropologist, Professor van Vuuren (now at UNISA).[341]

Putting aside the issue of racist intent by Prof. Meiring or Prof. van Vuuren, and that of inhospitality by the artists at the villages, we can proceed in looking at the factual shortcomings of the above-mentioned account of the mural evolution. The construction of KwaMsiza came simply too late for it to have gone through a significant process of evolution under the so-called 'apartheid sponsorship', and to have been exposed to the general amaNdebele artist population to such an extent as to cause a relatively quick stylistic revolution. How would the average amaNdzundza artist's have been exposed to the KwaMsiza village? They would have visited the royal family at their new settlement, but surely not the artist village. Further more, decorations were done only once a year. When royalty died, decoration often ceased for the entire morning period, which might mean the skipping of a few cycles. It is interesting to note that after the death of the great Ndebele captain Mapoch in October 1961, the Ndebele stopped all decoration of their homesteads for 22 months.

Could the media have been the carrier of the influence? I find it hard to believe that the early publications in the popular magazines, periodicals and books would have reached the amaNdzundza artists.[342] It goes without saying that both the academic (the Architectural Review and the South African Architectural Record) and the commercial sources (Die Huisgenoot, Die Brandwag, Lantern and Helikon) would have been out of reach for the amaNdzundza, both because of illiteracy and because of economic reasons. The amaNdebele in general, but especially the amaNdzundza, felt a strong need through their migrating history, to hold on to their traditions, and to establish maintain their identity. This should not be confused with the separatist ideology of apartheid. The amaNdzundza did not understand the establishment of their identity as an extroversive necessity (in response to their superiority over the 'labeled' others), but as an introspective necessity (in response to their strong feeling of cohesion, and in respect for the others). This led them to accept the idea of an independent homeland, offered to them by the

apartheid government, with enthusiasm. No other black people responded in such a positive way to the separatist offerings of the apartheid government.[343]

It is because of this attitude that the mural culture flourished since the 1950's. The author thus considers the growth of the amaNdzundza mural art rather as a response to the political situation of the pre-National Party and pre-apartheid South Africa, than an art inspired by and under the patronage of the apartheid government. The author would state the secondary 'proactive' influence of the political system in fueling the development of the mural art to have been in the creation of a 'ethnocentric paradigm', which inspired the well-intentioned scholars (operating inside this paradigm) to intervene in what they considered a dying art. It can not be emphasized enough that this was an influence that was by far secondary to the internal drive of the amaNdebele cultural intentions, and that it can merely be credited to have unintentionally created the fertile ground for the realization of the amaNdebele ideals. Schneider mentions both these aspects in her texts[344], but in the current author's view credited the wrong influence as the formative one, and underestimated the amaNdebele as a people in control of the destiny of their own cultural creations.

In order to maintain their identity on the wide spread farmlands of the Highveld, the amaNdzundza used the opportunity offered by the new mural art to express their identity in their architecture. They copied the basic patterns, adding to it their own figurative designs. The evolution and spreading of the mural art described here is clearly the work of 'replicators' or mêmes, working towards amaNdzundza unity.

- **The δ^m-Même Ritual**

The fact that the traditional pigments used by the amaNdzundza artists could not survive either the heavy rain bursts or the scorching sun of the Highveld required the annual recreation of the artworks. Every winter, the bitterly cold and dry season on the Highveld, the artists started afresh, reinventing their homestead aesthetic. This did not just apply to the painting, but also the sculptural decoration by the men.[345] Where only cow dung is used, the surfaces have to be treated every second week. Because of the distribution of the amaNdabele on the Highveld, the different homesteads are not decorated simultaneously. These dynamic cycles tied the architecture of the amaNdebele with their social lives, making the ritual an important force of seasonal rhythm. It also influenced the designs in the reverse. The images on the walls could, because of the cycles, be

read as a mirror of the annual influences on amaNdebele culture. Designs that contain new elements as well as certain characteristic echoes of the past are painted. Further evidence of the extensive link between the art and social life, is found in the connections of additional mural painting rituals with special social events. Except for the usual up keeping of the decoration in the homestead, the dwelling complex was also decorated during special occasions such as initiations, wedding ceremonies, burial ceremonies and the ceremony of first harvest.[346]

In later stages of development, great use has been made of acrylic paints, and thus the need for annual renewal was diminished. This brought about the quick evolution of a new pallet (because of the availability of diverse colors in acrylic paints), followed by the slowing-down of aesthetic development. The δ^mmême worked with the mêmes from the calendar of the amaNdzundza, and thus derived their mutual strength. This change to modern paint thus had a decisive impact on the δ^mmême and its même-pool, which started operating in disjunction from the seasonal culture.

- **Process of Its Creation**

As a rule, it is the women and girls who do the mural paintings, both on the exteriors and the interiors walls.[347] The Ndebele woman does not see any significant parts of the final product while she works. Her field of vision consists of a mere 200-300mm, as she works very close to the surface that she is adorning. She seldom constructs the design before she starts painting.[348] The amaNdebele prefer to mix their pigment with water for inside use, and dung for outside use, as dung makes the applied surface more weather-resistant. Blue and green pigment only became popular with the amaNdebele after paints became available to them.[349] The cow dung is applied by hand, which was moved in a circular motion over the horizontal or vertical surface. Other ways of applying the paint includes using a brush made of chicken feathers or straw, a piece of cloth, a toothbrush or a conventional brush. Where ground materials are used, they are ground in a grindstone (imbokodo). The subsequent liquid is kept in a hollow vegetable shell called a 'calabash' (*amarhabha*). In the first phase of decoration, the wall is treated with mud, in a process called *ukukguphula*, and in the second phase it is pigmented (*ukugwala*).[350]

- **δ^m-Même Designs and Architectural Constraints[351]**

In the literature on Ndebele settlement decoration, three different models of classification are used. Van Vuuren distinguishes between painted surfaces and modeled surfaces (such as articulated

corners), Berman (1970:207) between the earlier dung patterns and the latter painted-on patterns (two techniques which are now used in combination), and Matthews (1970:83) between the three developmental stages of Ndebele painted motives. The three developmental stages are: [352]

1. the phase of strong traditional motives such as chevrons, triangles and stepped patterns,

2. the phase of motives taken from elements in their direct environment, such as plants, steel gates, shaving-blades, letters and numbers, and[353]

3. the phase where motives are taken from a western urban environment (such as arches, lamp poles and balustrades).

- Traditional Non-Figurative Motives

Complex design units, outlined and composed of angular rather than curvilinear elements, characterize all the amaNdzundza art style. The very early decoration shows the least of these patterns, being executed by dragging the fingers through a wet *daga*, leaving waved lined patterns in geometrically demarcated areas. Many scholars refer to these as 'tire track' designs, but they date much further back than the automobile. Powell believes that these patterns date to the middle of the nineteenth century, but considering the exposure of the amaNdebele to mural cultures resulted from their migration into the trans-Vaal onwards (c 1650-80)[354], the author would place it much further back. Powell's dating[355] is based on the approximate transfer of cone-and-cylinder technology to the amaNdebele, but daga was of course not only used for hut-construction, but also for the treatment of the floors (see sketches by Biermann). [356] Most patterns take the form of simple rectangles, sub-divided by triangle and chevron motifs. The concept is linear, major lines are carried out in white or gray and intervening spaces are striped with brown or black.[357] The most immediately noticeable aspect of the design units is their symmetry[358], of which various types can be distinguished. The symmetry of Ndebele art is more apparent in the form of both the design unit and the overall composition than in the application of color. A design unit can have:

1. 'bilateral symmetry'   (along a vertical and/or horizontal axis);
2. 'rotational symmetry'   (where the basic unit is turned about a point); or
3. 'translational symmetry'   (where it is moved to another position along an axis)

- Two-Dimensional Figurative Designs and Influences

Even representational images are usually adapted to the angular geometric style.[359] The figurative presentations, no matter how abstract in their interpretation, on both the beadwork and the settlement walls, are adopted from many sources. In the designs from the 1940s and 1950s are found motives resembling razor blades, plant and flower forms. Elliot recalled being in the 1960's on a country road south of Middleburg, where he believed some good art was to be found on the farms. He writes that the "... 'razor-blade theme' was easily identified, as the blade of the day was very realistically depicted--a double-edged blade with a split up the middle to take the two pegs of the razor. The theme is still used [in 1989], but in hardly recognizable forms, no doubt because this type of razor [was] scarcely seen [by then]--if at all.[360]" The artists mentioned blankets, yardage, and linoleum floors as ranking amongst these sources. The design were also influenced by, and taken from printed sources, such as their apartheid passes (that they had to keep with them at all times while traveling in that was considered 'white' South Africa), or letters and numbers on automotive registration plates. Battiss already noted the latter in the 1950s.[361] The motives were often painted both forward and backward to create symmetry within the design field, in disregard of their inherent meaning as communication units, and their dependence on their orientation in functioning as such. Occasionally stairs, windows, shapes derived from tea-pots, clocks, electric lights, brick walls, wrought-iron gates, architectural facades, the old country shopkeeper's scale (two pans on either end of a bar balanced on a fulcrum), rural telephone poles (which had crossbars at the top holding multiple white porcelain insulators), houses and buildings with chimneys were rendered in the manifestation of triangles and rectangles, arrows, and zigzags, or even realistically. In some designs are to be found the painted versions of Victorian architectural decorations. The 1950s also saw the inception of realistic painted presentations of street furniture of the South African town and city.[362]

By the 1970s, the use of letters and numbers on the amaNdebele mural has taken up a new meaning. Literacy amongst the amaNdebele had increased substantially, and the presentation of letters had become textual. In 1979, Priebatsch & Knight noted the existence of a mural with text proclaiming 'Believe in Ancestors' and a drawing accompanying it, depicting a man consulting a sangoma, who was reading the divine bones. Priebatsch & Knight believed that the English text indicated the influence of Western education via missionary schools and also noted that they saw English phrases incorporated into several other wall murals.[363]

- Sculptured Figurative Designs and Influences

Priebatsch & Knight (1979), also believed themselves to have been the first scholars to have noted the existence of sculptured art among the amaNdzundza: "The discovery of a sculptured figure came as even more of a surprise than the two-dimensional images. As we drove towards one kraal, we saw a large (approximately 1.5 meters tall) figure of a boy in unpainted clay, standing in front of the entrance. To one side of the kraal was a column-like object of similar height covered with a plastic bag to keep the clay wet for final modeling. The column was in fact another figure, this time of a young woman, wearing impressively large leg and neck rings and dressed in a pepitu. While in the same area, we came across a polychrome figure of a white man holding a walking stick. One particularly innovative homestead had two sculptures that stood in relief on either side of the entrance to the inner courtyard. Again, the young girl dressed in the pepitu was the subject. This particular kraal was a virtual compendium of innovative mural paintings, whose subjects included a double-decker bus, airplanes, and a mounted South African Policeman (SAP). The sculpted figures had a distinct relationship to their architectural surroundings, and this can to some extent be seen as a development of the structural embellishment that occurs regularly in Ndebele homesteads." [354]

It remains to be noted that a special relationship exists between the painting and its pallet, the architectural element. Internal surfaces of the walls of huts and houses, as well as girdle-walls tend to be given a fairly austere treatment.[365] At the corners of walls and buildings, horizontal lines continue from one surface to the other as to ensure unity in the design.[366] The architectural elements and their position in the settlement tend to govern symmetry in the paintings. Furthermore, architecturally articulated surfaces, such as the soffits of windows and doors tend to inspire special attention, especially in early phases of the mural tradition. It has already been noted how this had a specific metaphysical meaning amongst the baSotho artists, who tended to use whites in the vicinity of openings. The relationship between architecture and mural was also mutual. With the inception of the sculptural tradition, prominent tiered pedestals were added to the architectural repertoire as to accommodate these freestanding figures.

- **Pigment and Colors**

Pigments taken from the natural environment are milieu-specific, and differ considerably from Witbank to Bronkhorstspruit to Roossenekal, etc. Women usually continue to use the pigment as taught to them by their grandmothers, taking some pigment materials with them when moving because of marriage to a new environment. Similarly, many woman travel from kwaNdebele, their apartheid 'homeland' to their legitimate homelands to collect pigment materials for the decoration of their settlements.

To a lesser degree, the evolution of the art, internally, has caused a modification in the pallet. Initially the palette of the artist was confined to the earth tones: yellow, browns and pinks, plus black and white.[367] Subsequently, however, it was the introduction of synthetic paints that revolutionized the pallet of the amaNdebele mural artist. At least one chromatic development, though, was not linked to the either of these events. With the exposure, at the turn of the century, to washing blue (indigo), the amaNdzundza added the color blue to their palette. This came as the white traders started frequenting in the areas of their settlements.[368] Battiss expands on the early listing of natural pigments, after his observations in the 1950's: "White, black and earth-gray colors predominate, but yellow ochres, red ochres and other earth colors are also used. A most beautiful green earth color from the vicinity of Premier Mine and Cullinan. Another attractive color is blue-gray but both these natural colors of green and blue are unfortunately being replaced by cruder blue and green pigments purchased in the shops.[369]" Unlike what Battiss' description seems to predict, most modern scholars agree that the introduction of the acrylic paints did not cause the eclipse of amaNdzundza aesthetics. The keen artists adopted the new technology in the most tasteful of ways, as Preller described it in his <u>The Grand Mapogga</u>. Van Weiss[370], in 1963, surveyed the pigments used by the Southern Ndebele, showing the regional differences. Van Vuuren[371] has conducted a similar investigation in 1983, showing that little has changed in the pigment uses in the time period that elapsed between the two studies.

- **The Meaning and Function of the δ^m-Même amongst the amaNdzundza**

We have seen in the course of this investigation that the animals depicted in Hurutshe murals refer to the qualities of the chief (for example the giraffe, for its farsightedness). In amaXhosa murals, we have seen that the *umthi'* (tree) has acquired a symbolic meaning because of the inherent

process of construction. Amongst the baSotho, two meanings could be described as congoment and most important, namely the calling and pleasing of the ancestors, and secondly, that of being the traditional sign of a proper baSotho home. A further analysis of baSotho mural patterns has shown some inherent design meaning, pointing to a diverse range of symbols. The meaning of amaNdzundza beadwork and clothing lies in an expression of individual or social identity. Worn in various combinations, they communicate special status within the society.

The question now is what meaning or function the amaNdzundza mural art constituted. Schneider believes that the wall paintings are not traditional art but that they rather constitute an ethnic art, an art "developed by a minority group in a poly-ethnic society in which the emphasis is not so much on retaining tradition for its own sake, but on establishing a social identity."[372] As far as the author is concerned, this is no more than play on words, seeing that most vernacular art forms evolve in this fashion, with the subconscious establishment of social identity, bringing us to the first and predominant function or meaning of the amaNdzundza mural art. This function of the establishment of social identity becomes a strong incentive for the wife to decorate her house, and comes with tremendous social pressure. By painting her walls, she is not just expressing her creativity, but is also showing to her husband and people that she is a good amaNdebele wife. The social pressure that comes with the decoration was summarized well in a statement of a middle-aged woman towards Schneider: "Other people will laugh at and deride an amaNdebele woman who does not decorate her house."[373] A younger girl commented: "I don't want to make a laughingstock of my family and myself later on when I'm married by not knowing how (to paint)."

The establishment of a social identity should not just be viewed in its macro context, that of the amaNdzundza, but also in a micro context. It gives information about the chiefdom to which the family belongs. Thus various sub-styles of wall decoration came into being. In the 1980's, as we have seen previously, the amaNdzundza were divided into two chiefdoms, of which one group[374] lived on Trust Farms[375] in the Nebo magisterial district in the then eastern trans-Vaal,[376] under a autocratic headman who considered himself chief. The other amaNdzundza, constituting ninety-seven percent of the population, and being under the jurisdiction of the official paramount chief, lived on both Trust Farms and white-owned farms located in the southern part of the central trans-Vaal. Being so scantly scattered over the face of the Highveld, the mural art came to play an important role in the establishment of family and chieftainship affiliation. As an example of this,

the differences between the two chiefdoms, and the amaNdzundza from the farms, as it manifested itself in the 1980's, can be listed:

The Nebo amaNdebele:

- Colors: charcoal-gray and white (a typical color-scheme of dark river soil and whitewash).
- Positioning of murals: on the outside front courtyard walls, not on the dwelling itself.
- Symmetrical arrangement: bilateral and translational.
- Patterns: triangles and rectangles; sharply drawn white lines that move in various directions on the design field.

The amaNdebele from the paramount chiefdom:

- Colors: brightly colored (natural earth-toned pigments are highlighted or dominated by bright commercial paints or powdered oxides).
- Positioning of murals: totally cover both the dwelling and courtyard walls.
- Symmetrical arrangement: bilaterally symmetrical around a vertical axis (either a door or a window), but a number of them are biaxial (both vertically and horizontally symmetrical).
- Patterns: abstract design units are small and complex within the outlined design fields.

The amaNdebele from the white farms:

- Colors: local earth colors, whitewash, and washing blue; paint is seldom used.
- Positioning of murals: the homesteads are entirely covered.
- Symmetrical arrangement: there are many examples of bilateral symmetry, both vertical and horizontal, in the design units, as well as in the total composition.
- Patterns: exuberant display of a variety of large design units.[377]

This meaning is not just limited to social division in terms of family or chieftainship, but also include indicators of economic status, through the kind of pigments, colors and the motives in the design.[378]

All these functions of the art are linked to the idea of affiliation, whether cultural or economical, but the mural art also functions on other levels. It expresses values, ideas and emotions. Through her paintings, the amaNdzundza woman may show her knowledge of the city environment, her longing for material comfort and advancement, such as for electric lights, or for natural splendor. She could, for example, depict a garden full of lush plants, something seen in white suburbs, but unattainable at their settlements because of a shortage of water and fertile soil. It acts on a personal level as an expression of a young artist's ability, and thus invites suitors. To this extent, Elliott recorded a mother's remark concerning amaNdebele murals: "...but we (ama)Ndebele teach our daughters to paint for everyone to see... and enjoy! Then, too, one day there might even be a nice

young man come passing by. He will stop to admire her work... then... who knows! He might end up building walls for her!" In saying "building walls for her," the mother is referring to a possible marriage.[379] In another instance, one twenty-six-year-old confided, "It is bad for Ndebele girls if they don't decorate their houses. Men won't visit them, and so they won't get married. People will label them as lazy girls."[380]

5.4　Conclusion

Starting from the nineteenth century, the wall decoration of the amaNdzundza went through a rapid evolution in the space-time matrix. This rapid evolution took precedence over the development of the other elements of the dwelling complex (which dates back many centuries before the inception of the δm-même). The murals thus constitute a complex example of ideas and concepts, techniques and materials, more powerful than the underlying structural order of the dwelling complex. It allowed the amaNdzundza families living on isolated farms in the trans-Vaal to bond through the shared vocabulary of their mural art, and to thus acquire their own voice, in spite of the hostile political and economical environment.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

The main problem was to determine the role of the amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza *world* as it impacts on their settlement. In the second chapter it was found that in human history, culture comprises the aspects that are socially rather than genetically transmitted. Secondly, the nature of the evolution of culture was established in the light of Spengler's physiognomic method and Dawkins' conception of the meme as the cultural equivalent of the biological gene. The author adopted the French term 'même' in referring to Dawkins' 'meme', for the purpose of this thesis. We saw that the meme as a liquid element in an infinitely complicated and diverse system will not be interpreted here, as the gene is, as the building block of a mechanistic or Cartesian system. Then, the meaning of culture as the Heideggerian 'world' of the individual was established. The different social practices of a specific culture make up the 'world' of that culture. The author showed that diverse cultural cores are to be found in a given society, amongst which varying degrees of intercultural même-exchanges take place, causing the material cultures to evolve. Lastly, a parallel semiotics analysis was adopted in order to effectively use the idea of the même in a structured environment, and thus to explain the dynamics of evolution in the amaNdzundza architectural milieu.

The cultural environment of the amaNdzundza has been defined, starting from their amaNguni ancestors from Central Africa, who mingled with the San on their arrival in the South Continent. From the Quatlhamba Mountains, the amaNdebele under Musi separated from the amaHlubi at Lundini, and moved east towards the central trans-Vaal area. They came in close contact with the baKwena, the baHurutshe, and the baKgatla cultures, and dwelt at Emhlangeni and KwaMnyamana. The amaNdzundza separated from the amaNdebele, and moved to the eastern trans-Vaal area. There, they encountered a variety of cultures including the vhaMbedzi, baPai, baPulane, baKutswe, baRôka, baKoni, baTau and the baPedi cultures. Indirect contact was made with the European traders at Inhambane and Delagoa Bay on the East Coast. The amaNdzundza settled at KwaSimkhulu and KwaMiza until the maTêbêlê invaded and scattered them. They regrouped at KoNomtjharhelo, and were first subjected to the amaSwazi, and then the baPedi, the Boers and the British. They finally lost their independence during the Boer-amaNdzundza war of 1883, and were scattered onto the Highveld, working as indentured laborers for five years. In the

third chapter, the amaNdzundza cultural environment was thus defined, and expressed in terms of a space-time matrix within which même-exchanges took place.

In chapter four, the matrix, as the symbol of the amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza world, was used in determining the role of cultural mêmes in shaping the structure and evolution of amaNdzundza dwelling. A sample of the loci même-pools involved in the conception, construction and inhabitation of the cultures included in our matrix were outlined. These pools were those of the 'terra sacra' même-pool, the 'creation' même-pool, the 'fire' même-pool, the '-zi' même-pool and the 'ndlu' même-pool. The examples of the loci mêmes involved in the amaNdzundza architecture were grouped in semiotic equations, of which the final one reads:

CHORA (pre-colonial)= {∞~⊦τ ⁿᶜᵗˢⁱᵒⁿ→Σ (ζ'ˢᵃⁿˢⁱᵃⁿ⁺ᵒ⁺ⁱ⁻ⁿᵒʳᵗʰ (α⁺ᵍᶜᵉ⁺φ+β[α]⁽ᵇᵘʸᵃ⁺ⁿ⁾₊ᵏⁱⁿ[δ<α⁽ᶦ·ᵏⁱ·ⁿ⁾⁺ α>⁽ᵏ·ⁿ⁾]+n)+n)}

where   δ ᵃᵐᵃᴺᵈᶻᵘⁿᵈᶻᵃ ᶜᵒⁿᵉ⁻ᵒⁿ⁻ᶜʸⁱⁿᵈᵉʳ = {δᵉ¹→ϖ→δᵉ²→αᵐ/α'→φ→ι'}   ....(14)

During the analysis of the individual loci mêmes, the role of the amaNdebele ya amaNdzundza world as it impacts through mêmes on their built environment was clearly outlined. Most of the mêmes impacting on the amaNdzundza architecture were found to have been of amaNguni, baPedi or Western origin. This allows the author to conclude that the cultural environment of the amaNdzundza played the predominant role in the shaping of their dwelling(s), through a process of même evolution.

5.1   Reflections and Future Study Opportunities

The aim of this study was not to map all the cultural influences on the architecture of the amaNdzundza, but to determine the role of their *world* as it impacts on their *dwelling*. The caldron of southern African cross-cultural influences does not allow an as lofty a pursuit as the former would constitute. In establishing the role, a great deal of cultural mapping was necessary (see chapter 4). The limits placed on the length of this document forced the author to include only those comparisons that best illuminates the hypothesis, leaving the bulk of the research out of the final document. The author has found that the lack of historic information and the impossibility of complete cultural understanding and objectivity made an exhaustive investigation impossible. The exercise of tracing the origins of mêmes also proved to be no more than a theoretical and general one due to their slow and complex evolution from what seems like primordial time.

In pursuit of the identification of repetitive spatial phenomena in the amaNdzundza cultural milieu, the author opted to adopt into the discipline of architecture the biologist Dawkins's concept of 'memes'. In order to quantify these mêmes, the author altered the semiotic notation of Preziosi to function as a vehicle of même-grouping, rather than Preziosi's spatial grouping. In doing so, there was the risk of creating an artificial typology for ontological phenomena, which are much too complicated to be expressed in terms of a simple mathematical formula. Despite this danger, the methodology made possible both the comparative inquiries into the evolution of mêmes, as well as the study of their relationships in space. The inherent weakness of this notation is that, being in the format of a linear formula, it favors the architectural traditions conceived around a central axis. This, in truth, could be seen as the Achilles' heel of all semiotic notations in architecture.

In which ways does this identification of a system of mêmes impact on the practicing modern architect? If applied in a wider context, même-isolation could impact on the domain of modern architectural design in general. Having an abstract model for the study of loci-même dynamics, it is now possible not only to study the mêmes operating in the vernacular architecture of South Africa, but also to launch a comparative study of dwellings, both vernacular and modern, on a global scale. This would not just be of academic importance, but can be a powerful heuristic design tool for the architects of housing for the poor. Through même-isolation, the architect would thus be able to lift the masks of tectonics that hide the true (ontological) differences in governmental and vernacular dwelling conceptions.

Endnotes

[1] As defined by Heidegger, M. "Building, Dwelling, Thinking." Basic Writings: Nine Key Essays, plus the Introduction to Being and Time. ed. David Farrell Krell, 323-339. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978.

[2] Also see Heidegger's definition of the term as it applies throughout the thesis later.

[3] Rasmussen, R. K. "Ndebele Wars and Migration," Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1975, p. 28.

[4] Class number 6 (Meinof System) in isiNdebele and class number 3 in isiZulu (Shabangu, T. M. Isihlathululimezwi: an English-South Ndebele Dictionary. Cape Town: Mascew Miller Longman, 1989, p. XXIX).

[5] Rasmussen 1975:28

[6] Frescura, Franco. "Major Developments in the Rural Indigenous Architecture of the South Africa of the Post Difiquane Period." Ph.D. diss., University of Witwatersrand, 1985, pp. 27-28.

[7] (Van Warmelo, N. J. "The Classification of Cultural Groups." In The Bantu Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa, ed. W.D. Hammond Tookes. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974, p. 74) The three circumflexes used by van Warmelo are not used by all authors (e.g. Bryant, Alfred T. Olden Times in Zululand and Natal. Cape Town: Struik, 1929, p. 425).

[8] Van Warmelo, N. J. Transvaal Ndebele Texts. Pretoria: Department of Native Affairs, 1930, p. 7.

[9] He writes: "The name amaNdebele is better known in literature in the Sotho form Matebele, *which has been further corrupted* to Matabili, etc." Bold and italic font added by author (van Warmelo 1930:7).

[10] Bryant 1929:425

[11] Rasmussen 1975:28, also quoted in Schneider, Elizabeth Ann. "Ndebele Mural Art." African Arts 18, no. 3 (1985): 60-66 [p. 60].

[12] Van Warmelo, N. J. A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1935, p. 87.

[13] Frescura 1985:27-28

[14] Parsons, Neil. "Prelude to Difaqane in the Interior of Southern Africa c.1600-c1822." In The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History, ed. Carolyn Hamilton, 323-351, Johannesburg: University Press, c1995.

[15] Parsons cites Breutz, ed., The Tribes of Marico District. Pretoria, 1953-4, 19-21; Ngcongco, Aspects of the History of Bangwaketse, 48; Krige, Traditional Origins, 354; Transvaal Native Affairs Department, Short History of the Native Tribes of the Transvaal, Pretoria, 1905, 11-12.

[16] Wilson, Monica Hunter. The Oxford History of South Africa. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 98.

[17] Rasmussen 1975:28 [Schneider (1985:60) quotes van Warmelo 1935:87 to this effect, and Frescura (1985:27-28) quotes van Warmelo 1930]

[18] Van Warmelo 1974:74

[19] Frescura (1985:27-28) quotes Smith, E. M. Great Lion of Bechuanaland. London: London Missionary Society, 1957.

[20] Brown, J. T. Among the Bantu Nomads, London, 1926, pp. 229-30. Cited by Parsons 1995: 323-351.

[21] Breutz 1989:442 and 446; Van Warmelo calls them the *amaNala*.

[22] These terms replace the dated Southern 'Transvaal' Ndebele and Northern 'Transvaal' Ndebele.

[23] Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. (1989), S.v. "Dwelling", "Culture," etc.

[24] Shabangu,T.M. Isihlathululimezwi: an English-South Ndebele dictionary. Cape Town: Mascew Miller Longman, 1989, p. 184.

[25] Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. (1989), S.v. "Culture." [5b]

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26 The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology. 1988 ed., S.v. "Culture."

27 That is "...language, customs, morality, types of economy and technology, art and architecture, modes of entertainment, legal systems, religion, systems of education and upbringing, and much else besides..." Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 1998 ed., S.v. "Culture."

28 Rapoport, Amos. "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study." In Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space, ed. Susan Kent. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 11.

29 Frescura 1985:1

30 On this point Spengler is very dogmatic, ascribing one cycle of development to each culture, believing that each phase of the cycle of a culture is clearly marked. Thus he assumes a rigid deterministic mould to which the prime object of history must conform. So rigid is he concerning the cycles, that he ascribes an "ideal life of one millennium for each culture." (Spengler, Oswald. The Decline of the West. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1918, p. 21 and p. 110; and Sullivan, John. Prophets of the West, 1970, p. 165.) He distinguishes between culture and civilization, believing that civilization is the inevitable destiny of the culture. "Civilization is the ... conciliation, the thing-become succeeding the thing becoming. They are the end, irrevocable, yet by inward necessity."—Spengler 1918:31.

31 This 'physiognomic method' evolved as a reaction to the then predominant theories of Ranke, the inventor of the footnote and the archives.

32 He identifies this non-material 'gene' by tracing the evolution of what could be called 'non-human culture', such as the evolution in the songs of birds. In turning to the history of science, Dawkins compares the dynamics of these 'cultural genes' to those of biological genes, saying that they "may proceed as a series of brief spurts between stable plateaux" (Dawkins, Richard. The Selfish Gene. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. p. 204).

33 "to be pronounced to rhyme with cream"

34 Koestler, Arthur. Janus: A Summing Up. London: Hutchinson, 1978, p. 27.

35 from Lemay, E. and Pitts, J.A. Heidegger for Beginners. New York: Writers and Readers Publishing Inc., 1994.

36 *Dasein* can react in one of two ways to the *Anxiety* caused by the realization of the possibility of *the Nothing*. Heidegger calls the first reaction *Fallen-ness*, and it comes about when *Dasein* cannot bear the possibility of *the Nothing*, and immerses itself back into the *world* of *the One*, once again becoming *Inauthentic*. The other possibility is to become a *being-towards-death*. While *the One* defines all ways of life, every *Dasein* has to face the *Nothing*--has to die--on its own. Death becomes *Dasein's* most unique possibility. Once this is realized, *Dasein's* entire relationship with the *world* is transformed. Given that *Dasein*, not *the One* is responsible for its own death, *Dasein*, not *the One*, also becomes responsible for its own life. Heidegger calls this transformation *care*, and this mode of existence *Authentic*.

37 Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. (1989), S.v. "Dwelling."

38 The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology. 1988 ed., S.v. "Dwelling."

39 Heidegger 1978:323-339

40 Ibid. 323

41 Ibid. 324

42 Ibid. 325

43 Preziosi's three seminal works on architectural semiotics are: The semiotics of the built environment: an introduction to architectonic analysis. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979; Architecture, language, and meaning: the origins of the 'built world' and its semiotic organization. Hague: Mouton, 1979; and Minoan architectural design: formation and signification. New York: Mouton, 1983.

44 The study starts with an analysis of similarities and differences in two formations, and continues to establish the many complex relationships among objects in an environmental array. Thus the generic models that account for formative variation and invariance are built. The object of the study is not just the formative variation, but includes the relationship between formal variation and variation in meaning and reference. Thus

an architectonic sign becomes a combination of a formation (that which signifies) and a meaning (that which is signified).

[45] Space cells do not necessarily refer to the western concept of room, which is a physically bounded or delimited volumetric configuration or space. It includes the obverse of such a mass-bounded volume, namely a space-bounded mass. This can best be understood as an object and its surrounding.

[46] As an example of an architectonic system built up of space-cells, Preziosi takes eight houses at Knossos and their surroundings, and does a semiotic analysis on them. He first identifies three correlating functions in the structures, namely: light well, porch and hall. He then does a tabulated comparison of their boundary configuration, which he calls formal cellular realization, their relative size, their primary access, their sequential separation from the exterior of the building, their associated stairwells and their supply of secondary access. In observing the constants, he draws up a diagram, in the form of a mathematical equation, to serve as the minimum formula for the invariant sequential order of the formative features of the Minoan hall system. As a second example, Preziosi takes two Egyptian Hall-system houses, one built almost five hundred years after the other, and separately creates two equations for the sequential orders of their formative features. The correlation between the two equations is astonishing, and would never have been guessed, looking at the two footprints.

[47] In using a ceiling as an example, Preziosi states that "a given formative feature may have a dual or multiple signification, depending upon our perspective on the totality of the formations. Thus the ceiling of a structure is simultaneously meaningful systemically, as a component in the formal definition of a space-cell, and may also be significant in a given corpus sematectonically, as in the case where the ceiling of a house... is intended to symbolize the heavens..." (Preziosi, Donald. The Semiotics of the Built Environment: An Introduction to Architectonic Analysis. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979.)

[48] Van Vuuren, C. J. *"Die Vestigings Patroon van die Suid Ndebele."* MA thesis, University of Pretoria, 1983, p. 12.

[49] Breutz, P.L. A History of the Batswana and Origin of Bophuthatswana: a Handbook of a Survey of the Tribes of the Batswana, S-Ndebele, QwaQwa and Botswana. Natal: Thumbprint, 1989, p. 397; and van Warmelo 1930:9.

[50] Wilson 1969:98

[51] Derived from the Zulu 'uku-tekela', to pronounce certain consonants in the manner peculiar to these people' (Bryant 1929:7).

[52] Using 't' in their speech, in the place of 'z' (Wilson 1969:76).

[53] Ibid. 76

[54] Theal, George McCall. History and Ethnography of Africa South of the Zambesi: From the Settlement of the Portuguese at Sofala in September 1505 to the Conquest of the Cape Colony by the British in September 1795. London: Allen & Unwin, 1922, pp. 55-56.

[55] Wilson 1969:86-87

[56] Theal, George McCall. History and Ethnography of Africa South of the Zambesi: From the Settlement of the Portuguese at Sofala in September 1505 to the Conquest of the Cape Colony by the British in September 1795. London: Allen & Unwin, 1922, pp. 352-9.

[57] Soga, John H. The South-Eastern Bantu: (Abe-Nguni, Aba-Mbo, Ama-Lala). Johannesburg: [n.p.], 1930, pp. 50-51.

[58] Wilson 1969:86

[59] Wilson shows how one of Bryant's dates was a century late (Ibid. 90).

[60] Van Warmelo 1974:61

[61] Bryant 1929:5-8

[62] Ibid. 397

[63] The origin of the noun *eMbo* seems ancient: it is a noun in the locative case, meaning 'at the place called iMbo'. The people of 'eMbó' were generically termed abaMbo (isiNguni), UmuMbo (seSotho), the baMbo, or

aba-s-eMbó (isiNguni), owa-s-eMbó (seSotho), 'those of eMbó'. On the western coast of southern Africa dwells abaNtu people calling themselves the *ovaMbo*, a common noun that defies coincidence. This is, though, where the resemblance of the two peoples ends.

Where was eMbó? At a much later date, up to the end of the seventeenth century, the amaXhosa used the locative noun as a synonym for the then Natal. They thus referred to both the Tonga amaNguni and the eMbó amaNguni as the abaMbo. The noun still later got a secondary meaning as 'the land to the north', or simply 'the north'. The Tonga amaNguni seems to have accepted the name eMbó in early times. The survivors of the Portuguese ship 'Stavenisse' (wrecked near the Mzimkulu River in south Natal in the year 1686) placed it on record that the Natives thereabouts were called 'Emboas'. A century later, however, they did not accept this noun as their own (Bryant 1929:314).

[64] Agreeing with Wilson's oppinion that Soga's account of the eMbó is fictive (as taken from Theal's incorrect assumptions), the author nonetheless enlightens the reader here on Soga's thoughts relating to the amaHlubi. Soga does not agree with Bryant, who believed that the amaHlubi was part of the eMbó peoples. He believes that the amaHlubi sprang from a common ancestor with the amaBele, the link being Mhuhu. The latter's heir, Mhlanga, continued the tribal name imiHuhu through his descendants up to Mtimkulu's generation. At this point the tribal name became amaHlubi (Soga 1930:70-71). Soga places the amaZulu and the amaKumalo clans under this group (Soga 1930:77).

He believes that Mhlanga and Msi (the namesakes of the amaNdebele founders, who the author assumes to be the same persons during this thesis) were the tenth and eleventh chiefs of the amaHlubi, whereas the people got there amaHlubi-name after the 16th ruler.

[65] Bryant 1929:313-14

[66] Ibid. 316

[67] Concerning his amaHlubi genealogy, Bryant says: *"Naturally, we do not offer so long an ancestral train as gospel truth...."* Later on, the author compares the genealogies of Bryant with that of Soga, as well as that of the amaNdebele forefathers, so that the discrepancies will be clear to the reader.

[68] Bryant 1929:7

[69] Ibid. 314

[70] Ibid. 316

[71] The latter wore a skin-girdle, pendent in front and behind and open on the sides, whereas the amaHlubi replaced this with a cloth of supple skin passing between the legs and bound round the waist, probably because of baSotho influence. Unlike the Ntungwa-amaNguni head ring, the amaHlubi wore the hair in *"...pendulous twisted strings, matted together with grease, and falling, 3 or 4 inches long, around the head like an inverted mop (umYeko)"* (Ibid.147).

[72] Breutz 1989:4

[73] Ibid. 7

[74] Van Warmelo 1974:76

[75] Ibid. 75

[76] Breutz 1989:11

[77] Ibid. 12

[78] Translated by Kuhn to read: *"Um seinen Besitz streiten sich die Völker. Masemola sagt: 'Er ist unser Heimatberg.' Mapogo sagt: 'Er ist unser Heimatberg.' Sekoati sagt: 'Er ist unser Heimatberg.' Der Herrscher in Makobo streitet..."*

[79] (Lestrade, G. P. "Some Notes on the Ethnic History of the Bavenda and Their Rhodesia Affinities." South African Journal of Science XXIV (December 1927): 486-495 [pp.486-487].) Lestrade cites two theories regarding the baVenda spatial origin. Firstly, the theory of Beuster, placing them somewhere on the Congo River, a linguistic argument with which Lestrade disagrees. Secondly, and more probably, Gottschling (in an essay in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 35, 1905) placed their origin somewhere in the Great Lake Region (their language is called *TshiVenda*: see pp. 488-489).

[80] Hunt, D.R. "An Account of the Bapedi." <u>Bantu Studies</u> V (1931): 275-316 [p. 276].

[81] Ibid. 276

[82] Ibid. 276, the linguistic correlation supported by van Warmelo 1974:80

[83] Lestrade 1927:492

[84] (Van Warmelo 1974:80) This might have been the case while dwelling in the eastern trans-Vaal as well.

[85] Delius, Peter. <u>The Land Belongs to Us: the Pedi Polity, the Boers, and the British in the Nineteenth Century Transvaal</u>. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, p. 12.

[86] Van Warmelo 1974:65

[87] Ibid. 78

[88] Hunt 1931:281

[89] Ziervogel, D. <u>The Eastern Sotho: a Tribal, Historical, and Linguistic Survey of the Pai, Kutswe, and Pulana Bantu Tribes in the Pilgrim's Rest District of the Transvaal Province, Union of South Africa</u>. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik Ltd., 1954.

[90] Ibid. 10-11

[91] Ibid. 108

[92] Ibid. 110

[93] Van Warmelo 1974:65

[94] Hunt 1931:276

[95] Ibid. 277

[96] Delius 1983:17

[97] Hunt 1931:279

[98] Van Warmelo 1974:78

[99] Hunt 1931:279-80

[100] Ibid. 283

[101] Delius 1983:13

[102] Hunt 1931:275-6

[103] Ibid. 275

[104] Ibid. 276

[105] Ibid. 279

[106] One was against the baMongatane chief Mamaile, one against the baTau under Tseke at Mmopong, close to Manganeng, the present baTau headquarters in Geluks Location, and one against the baKoni at the stronghold known as Kutoane (and also known by some today as 'Buller's ant-heap' near Badfontein, south of Lydenburg).

[107] Hunt 1931:283

[108] For a description of all these people see earlier in this chapter.

[109] Hunt 1931:284

[110] Kuper 1978:110

[111] Delius 1983:22

[112] Ibid. 22

[113] Some other theories on the evacuation of the Steelpoort valley by the Ndwandwe can be found in the literature. Most notably, Bryant wrote that Zwide was stricken by an illness inflicted upon him by the Lobedu queen and thus decided to leave the area. Mujaji was widely reputed in the eastern Transvaal to control the movement of smallpox and other diseases, which might have inflicted members of the Ndwandwe.

[114] Delius 1983:24

[115] Magodongo's name is usually given in one of its Sotho forms: Makotoko, Rankokoto, or Enkokoto (Rasmussen 1975:84-5).

[116] Arbousset, T. and Daumas. Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. London: J. C. Bishop, 1852, p. 402.

[117] Bryant 1929:424

[118] Rasmussen writes that "...(ama)Ndzundza traditions corroborate (maTêbêlê) traditions on the essential points of the above account. They tell of Mzilikazi's 'conquering the chief Magodongo with an overwhelming force, while on his way to the north. Magodongo himself was killed, and the tribe lost all their property" (Rasmussen 1975:86 quoting van Warmelo 1930:10 and Transvaal Native Affaires Department 1905:55). "Sibindi's fate is not recorded, but it is clear that his chiefdom as a group was soundly defeated." (Rasmussen 1975:86 quoting van Warmelo 1930:17,19,80; Mhlangazanhlansi 1946:8.) On the fate of Sibindi, Thomas writes, "...(Mzilikazi's people) had conquered the whole country. The chief... Usibindi... had become their victim, and many of their people incorporated with the followers of their conqueror" (Thomas, Morgan. Eleven Years in Central South Africa. 2nd ed. London: Cass, 1971, p. 159).

[119] Fourie, H.C.M. "Amandebele van Fene Mahlangu en Hul Religius-Sociaal Lewen." Ph.D. diss., Rijks University, 1921, p. 38.

[120] Transvaal Native Affairs Department. Short History of the Native Tribes of the Transvaal. Pretoria: Government Printing and Stationary Office, 1905, p. 55.

[121] Kuper, Adam. "Fourie and the Southern Transvaal Ndebele." African Studies 37, no.1 (1978): 107-123 [p. 110].

[122] Rasmussen 1975:85 quoting A. A. Campbell to C.N.C., Insiza, 1 April 1898.

[123] Ibid. 88

[124] "In 1823 he (Mzilikatzi) passed through the district of Vryheid (Natal), reached the Komati River (Nkomazi) and Olifants River, where he raided tribes in the Pedi-country. His camp on the Momati was ekuPhumuleni ('the place of rest')" (Denoon, Donald and Nyeko, Balam. Southern Africa since 1800. London: Longman, 1984, p. 34).

[125] Bryant: 1929:427

[126] Rasmussen 1975:88

[127] "Their crops were parched, the springs dried up. Desperate at last, Mzilikazi ordered all procurable rain-doctors to be brought before him. He commanded them to make rain forthwith, or suffer the consequences. Each thereupon set to and plied for all he was worth his own infallible charm. But nothing happened—save that each and all were there and then trussed and dressed and thrown into the nearest river, where they drew down upon themselves more water than they had bargained for" (Bryant 1929:425).

[128] Rasmussen 1975:88

[129] Bryant 1929:425-6

[130] Arbousset and Daumas 1852:268-9

[131] The baKoni, baPai, baPulana and baKutswe groups, settled in the region between the core area of the baPedi polity and the heartland of the Swazi kingdom, remaing comparatively poor, fragmented and scattered well into the 1860s.

[132] Delius notes that the precise terms of the agreement, which was concluded in 1845, are unfortunately not known (Delius 1983:30-1).

[133] Furthermore, they also could not find a Tetse fly-free road to the coast. By 1846, the Trekkers started to cultivate wheat, maize and beans at Ohrigstad, and needless to say, the trade anticipated by the newcomers did not materialize.

[134] (Delius 1983:34) Because of the early setbacks of the settlers, and their subsequent movements, the initial attempts at a relatively concentrated settlement pattern had to be abandoned, and dispersed settlement increased the military vulnerability and anxiety of the settlers.

[135] Ibid. 34 see fn. 75

[136] Sekwati and Mabhogo were hold responsible for the changing balance of power in the region and for stimulating increasing resistance to Boer demands for labor and tribute. A combined commando from Zoutpansberg under Potgieter and Lydenburg led by P. Nel failed in an attack launched on Phiring in 1852, destabilizing the region even further.

[137] On the 17th January 1852, a meeting took place near the Sand River between the British Colonial High Commissioner and the Boer Trekkers, at which time Her Majesties consent was given to the Trekkers to form their own government.

[138] Van Vuuren 1987:164

[139] Mabhogo told them that he would fight to his death to protect his land. Seeing that Mabhogo accepted at least thirty of the forty heads of the cattle, the farmers argued that they bought the land from him.

[140] Sekhukhune told the Government that: "...the whole Lydenburg district as far as the Commatie River (and) to the west to the other side of Pretoria was all his territory and that he would continue to make claims upon it."

[141] (Aylward, A. The Transvaal of Today: War, Witchcraft, Sport and Spoils in South Africa. London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1881, p. 96) The farmers complained in 1873 that great amounts of fertile land were in the ownership of foreigners.

[142] The day after Sir Shepstone's departure from Lydenberg, in September 1879, three British subjects had been murdered at KoNomtjarhelo, the amaNdzundza stronghold.

[143] The amaNdzundza never allowed a missionary to be settled on their land. The Botshabelo station was in fact constructed (in the 1860s) on amaNdzundza hunting territory, but under the protest of the amaNdzundza. The history of the missionary station in the eastern trans-Vaal is thus best related from the baPedi point of view.

[144] Delius 1983:108

[145] By the late 1870s, it had a population of sixteen hundred, "a fine church, certainly the finest in the (trans-Vaal), stores, houses, workshops and a huge village." The description of the station by Delius tells us that to this list might be added: "...the station mill, wagon-building and repair works... for a time the largest school in the (trans-Vaal). It must have dwarfed Nazareth (later Middleburg--the nearest Boer town) and above the station 'situated on the summit of a high knoll and with a steep ascent to it on all sides' stood Fort Wilhelm, Merensky's answer to Thaba Mosego" (Ibid. 160).

[146] Ibid. 32, quoting van Rooyen, T.S. "*Die Verhoudinge tussen die Boer, Engelse en Naturelle in die Geskiedenis van die Oos-Transvaal tot 1882.*" Archives Year Book for South African History XIV, 1 (1951)

[147] Kuper 1978:110

[148] Delius 1983:96

[149] The attackers were soon demoralized by Pedi ambushes and routed by counter-attacks. The balance of African power was swinging, and the baPedi now launched a raid against an outlying amaSwazi village during which a large number of cattle and captives were seized. In 1871, the baPedi royal Mampuru, on the invitation of the Queen Mother of the amaSwazi, finally settled in the heartland of the amaSwazi kingdom.

[150] The amaSwazi warriors who led the attack found that once again their Boer allies failed to render them effective support and, while they penetrated to the heart of the settlement and killed Dinkwanyane, they suffered heavy casualties.

[151] Delius 1983:207

152 (Ibid. 26-7) Magakala launched a disastrous attack on the Maraba, and their chief Legadimene died, thus causing Sekwati's relative power to grow. Sekwati thus achieved dominance by the refashioning of existing relationships of power in the area.

153 Just as Sekhukhune's father realized years before, the absence of water on the mountain was the most pressing threat to the defenders of Phiring, and the baPedi thus placed it under siege. The baTau call this war Ntwa ya Lenyora ('the war of thirst'). Mabowe was eventually forced to sue for peace.

154 Delius (1983:243-4) describes the settlement as being located "...in the angle made by the eastern range of the Leolu Mountains as they curved to partially close the valley to the south. While cultivated lands stretched along the valley floor, the huts nestled along the valley's edge and encroached on the mountainside. These slopes were fortified by line after line of stonewalling pocketed by sconces at regular intervals. Long lines of rifle pits had been dug along the exposed perimeter of the town." In the heart of the valley there was a hill that became known as the 150 feet high 'Fighting Kopje' or Ntswaneng, which was hollowed with caves.

155 Ibid. 245

156 Ibid. 32 quoting: P. Bonner, "The Relations between Internal and External Politics in AmaSwaziland and the Eastern Transvaal in the mid-nineteenth century," I.C.S. S.A. Seminar 2 (1970): 38-40; and H.S. Pretorius and D. W. Kruger, "Voortrekker Argiefstukke" (Pretoria, 1937): 233-5; R117/46, copy of Purchase Agreement, 25. 7. 1846

157 Ibid. 33

158 Kuper 1978:110

159 Stals, W.A. "*Die Britse Beleid Teenoor en Adminestrasie van die Swartes in Transvaal 1877-1881.*" Ph.D. diss., University of Pretoria, 1985, pp. 512-5.

160 Van Vuuren "*Woninguitleg en hutrangskikking by die Suid Ndebele.*" Suid Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Etnologie 10, no. 3 (1987): 163.

161 Delius 1983:63-72

162 Ibid. 39

163 Ibid. 96-7

164 (Van Vuuren 1987:164) Massie placed these events in 1864, and agrees with the amaSwazi tradition: "... (an) (ama)Swazi army fell upon (Mabhogo, the amaNdzundza Chief) and routed him, and then attacked (Maleo) and nearly annihilated the tribe, leaving in one place alone the corpses of 854 men, and 2 840 woman and children. The (ama)Swazi then withdrew within their boundary, and it only remained for the Boers to collect the remnants of the hostile clans and assign them locations to live in." (Massie, R. H. The Native tribes of the Transvaal. London: Harrison, 1905, p. 104)

165 Delius 1983:98

166 Kuper 1978:110

167 Aylward 1881:19

168 Kuper 1978:109

169 If ignoring this custom, Nyabela would have lost the respect of his fellows and, by implication, would have had to defend himself in a war against Mampuru's supporters.

170 Massie 1905:110

171 The Volkstem of 18 July 1883 wrote: "The tribe of Mapoch was regarded by the other tries within and without the republic as the most powerful in the country (and) all the other tribes looked up to Nyabela. If he had succeeded in withstanding the Boer forces, it would probably have meant the end of the Transvaal Republic. An alliance of all hostile tribes would probably have followed, which would have made the habitation of the country by whites difficult, if not impossible."

172 Massie 1905:111

173 Shabangu 1989:xv

[174] Battiss, Walter. <u>The Art of Africa</u>. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1958, p. 102; and Breutz 1989:398

[175] (British Parliamentary Papers, 1884-1885, vol. 38:124) Taxes, fines, and the cost of clothing were deducted from that amount. Cited in Schneider 1985:66.

[176] 12.761 amaNdebele were dwelling on white owned property in the trans-Vaal by the mid-1930s. Of these, 1032 were dwelling in the Ermelo district, 334 in the Lydenburg district, 2664 in the Middleburg district, 500 in the Pretoria district, 4200 in the Reyton district, 1300 in the Springs district and 2712 in the Witbank district. In 1937 Breutz's survey (1989:399) identified four major groups of amaNdzundza living of white farms. The first was Mahlangu at Matombeni (the district Groblersdal/Moutse). The second was Litho Ndebele (a baTswana and Mahlangu amaNdzundza mixed people) at Sopotokwane (Witlaagte) in the Moretele/Moutse district. The third was a Litho-amaNdebele/amaNdzundza mixed people at Kalkfontein in the district Moutse and the fourth the amaNdzundza of Pone Mahlangu in the Nebo/Lebowa district.

[177] Shabangu 1989:xiv-xv

[178] Kuper 1978:111 and Shabangu 1989:xv

[179] Schneider 1985:66

[180] Shabangu 1989:xv

[181] Schneider, E. A. "Paint, Pride and Politics: Aesthetics and Meaning in Transvaal Ndebele Wall Art." Ph.D. diss., University of Witwatersrand, 1986, p. 209.

[182] Eliade, M. <u>Occultism, Witchcraft and Cultural Fashions</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.1976.

[183] Casey, Edward S. <u>Getting Back into Place. Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World</u>. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c1993.

[184] It is comparable to the Greek Omphalos at Delphi, the Islamic Ka'aba and the Roman Caput Mundi.

[185] For further reference to 'sacred earth', see for example Theophilus Shepstone.

[186] amaNdzundza kings have been buried only since Sobethabetheni, or uMxabule, thus not earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century. Before that, Fourie believed, some corpses were just left in a bush or a ditch and not buried, and kings were placed, seated, in a hole where they were eaten by ants and became the centers of anthills.

[187] Van Vuuren 1983:217

[188] Schapera, Isaac. <u>The KoiSan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots</u>. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1930, pp. 162-165.

[189] Moroamotshe's headquarters had to be moved higher up the Steelpoort River, to where the farm Goudmyn and Steelpoort Station now are. It was here that Moroamotse in turn died and was buried. He asked Thulare to bury him alongside Moroamotshe when he died. This request caused a serious division in the tribe because, when a few days later Mampura died and his son Molamoso buried him, Thulare went with a numerous force and exhumed the body and reburied it at the old head-kraal of the tribe on the lower Steelpoort. Mampuru's son Molamoso and his followers were so enraged that they attacked Thulare.

[190] Mönnig, H. O. <u>The Pedi</u>. Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1967, p. 54.

[191] The relatives in the order of their rank, thus showing the new order of authority in the settlement, dig the grave. The heir is the one to dig the first sod. Only the male relatives digging and the female relatives pointing out the position of the grave digging are allowed into the pen, the rest of the relatives remaining in the courtyard to protect themselves from contamination from the 'hot' or impure.

[192] Mönnig 1967:140.

[193] The structure of the settlement constitutes a similar order to that of family members under the head of the household, who finds himself in turn under the chief, who is directly under the king, who is the link with the ancestors. The architectural tragedy that was caused by missionary work amongst the abaNtu, as amongst all rural peoples around the world is thus evident: with the eclipse of the belief, comes the eclipse of the architecture.

[194] Mönnig 1967:56

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195 Ibid. 138

196 Ziervogel 1954:185

197 Ibid. 95

198 Eliade gives the example of the Achilpas, an Australian Arunda tribe. Their mythological, called *Numbakula*, made a sacred pole out of a gum tree trunk and climbed up into the sky with it; thus cosmicizing their territory. This pole came to represent their cosmic axis, and through it the profane world became their habitable world. As nomads, they kept their tribal pole in the air, and walked in the direction the pole slanted. When the pole broke, the Achilpas lost their existential world, and the members of the band sat down and allowed themselves to perish. The example illustrates the need for a people to cosmicize the world they live in. This cosmicization takes the form of meaning in dwellings and settlements.

199 Bryant 1929:20f

200 Raum, Otto Friedrich. The Social Functions of Avoidances and Taboos Among the Zulu. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1973, p. 159.

201 Theophilus Shepstone in Colenso 1884: 352. Cited in Raum 1973:160.

202 Kuper 1978:119-120 cites Fourie, p. 143

203 Fourie 1921:145

204 In the case of a death of a woman, her husband digs the first clod, followed by his brothers, her sons, and then other relatives. In the case of the death of a man, his sons act as gravediggers, digging in order of seniority, followed by his brother-in-law and then other relatives.

205 L. H. Samuelson. Zululand, its Traditions, Legends and Customs, pp 122, 123. Cited in Krige 1936:160

206 Colenso Dictionary. Cited in Krige 1936:160.

207 Lugg, Man, 1907, No. 73, p.117. Cited in Krige 1936:162.

208 Ludlow, Zululand and Cetewayo, p. 182. Cited in Krige, Eileen J. The Social System of the Zulus. London: Longmans, Green and co., 1936, p. 163.

209 Krige 1936:170

210 Schapera 1930:95

211 Mönnig 1967:58

212 Ziervogel 1954:97

213 Earlier only the chief had a chance to call and thank the ancestors ('ukubonga') (van Vuuren 1983:76).

214 Van Vuuren 1983:76

215 Ibid. 75

216 Eliade 1975:5

217 Breutz 1989:1

218 Ibid. 2

219 Schapera 1930:86

220 Raum 1973:146

221 Van Vuuren 1983:49

222 Delius 1983:55

223 Krige 1936:39

224 Raum 1973:172-3

225 Bryant, A. T. The Zulu People as They Were before the White Man Came. 2d ed. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1967.

[226] Frescura 1985:302

[227] Archaeological officer of the old KwaZulu Government at Ulundi, cited in Frescura 1985:315 note 16.

[228] Hunt 1931:276

[229] Ibid. 278

[230] Ziervogel 1954:99

[231] Arbousset and Daumas 1852:268-9

[232] Shabangu 1989:iv

[233] Walton, J. African Village. Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1956.126

[234] Hunt 1931:279

[235] Ibid. 279-80

[236] Hunt 1931:285

[237] Delius 1983:15

[238] Ibid. 29

[239] Ibid. 48

[240] Ibid. 49

[241] Arbousset and Daumas 1852:247

[242] (Ibid. 260) Another mention of the settlement of the baPedi is made in relation to the ancestors of the people, who call the ancestors, and ask them to go home: *"Pina ea Morimo, u ee gae! Ki lema ka lefa? U ee gae, u ee gae!* or 'Song of the Morimo, go home! Which is it that I raise (which hand) Go home, go home!' The word *gae* which we have translated home, is strictly there where one has built, or where one dwells, corresponding exactly to the English word employed."

[243] Biermann, B. E. "Maleoskop—Fort Wilhelm--Mapochsgronde." Architecture South Africa (January-February 1990): 37-40, p. 37.

[244] Ibid. 38

[245] Ibid. 39

[246] VI on the plan

[247] VII on the plan

[248] VIII on the plan

[249] Thus according to Biermann's informant, Mr. Spook who said that it was done *'om soos n klip te lyk'* ('to look like a rock').

[250] Ibid. 39

[251] Ibid. 39

[252] Van Vuuren 1983, p.45

[253] Meiring 1954:81-82

[254] Neis 1963:26 cited in Raum, 1973

[255] The old amaZulu settlement is referred to as the *inxiwa*. In isiNdzundza, it is called the *(Ama-) –rhubhi*, a word that might be akin to the Dutch and English *ruin/e*. This link can also be found in the isiNdebele word for ruin, which is also referred to as *(i- ama-) –rubhl*. The isiZulu roots are unrelated (*incithakalo; ukonakala; umbhidlika, okudilikileyo*--ruined building).

[256] (Van Vuuren 1983:42) In the early 20th century, the amaNdebele settlements were laid out on the flat 'Highveld', so slopes did not play an important role in the layout of the homestead anymore.

257 Ibid. 43

258 Meiring 1953:160

259 Raum 1973:145

260 Bryant 1967:75

261 (Raum 1973:144-145) The construction of the pen is governed by a basic sexual taboo. A specialist will draw the circle governing the construction process. The men cut the stakes, the women carry them to the site, and the men plant them. Any kind of timber may be used, but the strongest stakes are chosen for the gateposts.

262 It is perceived as an attack on the settlement, and such a person may be arrested by the police or fined one beast.

263 Warner made one of the first mentions about the amaNguni sexual basis for settlement layouts. He described in 1856 how the abaTembu built their homesteads. "The *ibotwe* or house of the great wife, ... on the upper side of the cattle fold, and ... opposite the gate thereof; and the houses of the other wives are arranged in a semi-circle right and left of it, according to their rank." (Warner, J. Kafir Habits and Customs. South African Library, Cape Town, 1856, Grey Collection. Ms. 52. Cited in Frescura 1985:301)

264 Bryant 1967:75

265 Krige and Wanger mention the two secondary entrances to the settlement, which are placed symmetrically around the central axis, one on the *iKhohlwa* side and one at the *indlukulu* side on the higher end of the settlement.

266 He must have the instruction of the chief or sometimes another inmate to enter. When entering, he leaves his weapons, his hat and any medicine he might be carrying at the gate.

267 Ziervogel 1954:99

268 Van der Walt 1952:23

269 Raum 1973:144

270 Van Vuuren 1983:49

271 The Southern Sotho called their gourd-shaped grass baskets the *sesiu*, and constructed them from coils of grass sewn together by grass rope and placed on a stone base, and rarely thatched. They were kept in position while empty by means of a tripod of branches, and were closed off when full by flat stone-slabs, which were sealed onto the granary with clay (see figure 18e-g). Walton describes a very similar basket technology used by the Kgatla (and the Kalahari and Ngwato—Walton 1956:147), going under the name *sesigo*. He describes it thus: "This rests in a ring of withes into which a number of oblique stakes are driven, each stake being supported by a short forked upright driven into the ground (see figure 19). The whole is protected by a conical thatch carried on a ring of posts. An almost identical granary, *etambo lomanda*, is found among the Kuanyama Ambo of (Namibia). This is supported by a number of forked stakes sloping into a ring of grass rope or withes which encircles the basket at a height of about two feet above the ground. A tiny conical thatch, carried on four poles, protects the basket from the rain."

272 Krige notes that although grains were sometimes stored here, temporary granaries were built between the huts (behind the huts in the examples of Wanger), consisting of roughly built grass huts, sometimes raised on a wooden platform. These granaries were called 'inQolobane', 'amaXhiba' or 'iliZele', depending on their type.

273 Krige 1936:44

274 The dirt from the pit may not be touched and is heaped up at the entrance, so that the cattle cannot enter. It is believed that if they would, they would break their legs. The wives may not join, and can only look at the construction process from outside the fence. Taboos are placed on women in their menses and on the brides of the settlement even for watching from outside of the pen.

275 Raum 1973:145

[276] Maze for example started being identified with the cylindrical granaries roofed with a conical thatch roof, whereas millet, peas and beans were identified with the gourd-shaped baskets, the mud or rubble jars and the pits.

[277] (Delius 1983:160) Unpaid labor for the erection of church and school buildings was provided by the tenants who, on their occasional relapse to tribal life, introduced these skills to their local settlements. Long hours of labor were required for quarrying and transportation of stone, and the forming and baking of clay bricks. In 1871 work was begun on a school building which, when it was completed, was reputed to be the largest in the ZAR. Once again stone had to be provided and the building required 40000 bricks. (Delius 1983:166)

[278] Fourie 1929:67 as cited in Kuper 1978:111

[279] Van Wyk 1998:59

[280] Ibid. 60

[281] The relationship between body and dwelling is not a monodirectional one. They are interrelated, and mutually influential, in that dwelling comes to exist in our image, and that we, in turn, take on certain of its properties. "How we are, our bodily being, reflects how we reside in built places. Such traits as reclusive or expansive, sinuous or straight, can characterize our somatic selves as well as the houses we inhabit." He concludes in comparing a bodiless architecture to a mindless philosophy. Casey, E.S. 1993. Getting Back into Place. Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World. (Two Ways to Dwell & Building Sites and Cultivating Places)

[282] Norberg-Schulz, Christian. The Concept of Dwelling: On the Way to Figurative Architecture. Milan: Electa, 1985, p. 16.

[283] Husserl, Edmund. *Die Krisis der europäischen Wissenschaften und die transzendentale Phänomenologie.* Hamburg: Meiner, 1977.

[284] Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. Phenomenology of Perception. London: Routledge & K. Paul, c1962.

[285] It is through this understanding of the 'thing' that Norberg-Schulz comes to his two-fold nature of 'dwelling', postulated as being the faculty of understanding the given things, and the making of 'works' that keep and explain what has been understood. The architectural aspect of 'dwelling', as understood through identification, comprises three aspects, namely the embodiment of existential meaning, the comprising of a rapport between *dasein*'s body and the body of the thing, the presenting of a *stimmung*, or atmosphere (*genius loci*). It is especially in the first of these aspects that the operations of the mémes become apparent.

[286] He believed the world to be earth, sky, mortals and divinities in mirror-play, each of the four mirrors being in its own way the mirror of the others.

[287] Walton 1956:11

[288] Ibid. 12

[289] Barrow, John. An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, in the Years 1797 and 1798. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp, 1968, pp. 239-40.

[290] Thomas Baines relates the story told to him in February 1850 by an acquaintance, Andries, who has seen the San painters in action. "...they mix red, yellow, or white clay, or charcoal and a black stone finely powered, with fat, and with pencils formed of various sized feathers imitate on the flat rocks about their dwellings the various animals of the country" (Baines, Thomas. Journal of Residence in Africa, 1842-1853. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1964, p. 13).

[291] Ibid. 20

[292] In an attack on one of the strongholds in the Mahera's kloof area, Aylward wrote that enemy shooting followed from "every cave, and terrace, and rock that could shelter a marksman..." (Aylward 1881:59). "...they would begin to resist, falling back as they were forced from one rocky grotto to another, and detaining us as much as possible in our approach to the center of the stronghold. It was simply wonderful into what a little hole a Kafir could insinuate himself. Sometimes three or four of them would get together in a small cave which could (only) be approached by working along the sides under the fire of dozens of other caves and loopholes, every one of which seemed scooped out for the especial purpose of creating a cross fire." (Aylward 1881:84-5)

[293] Tsatse (the last headquarters of the baPedi chief Sekhukhune) was situated in a fold of the Leolu Mountains and included 'Fighting Kopje' or Ntswaneng, a mass of rock and tumbled boulders 150 feet high. Ntswaneng was crisscrossed with caves, which were protected with stone breastworks. It was intended and destined to be the last line of defense. When the British conquered Tsatse and Fighting Kopje in the baPedi war, the caves remained crowded with men, woman and children who refused to surrender. The British forces resorted to dynamite and starvation tactics to force them into abandoning the caves. (Delius 1983:244-5)

[294] Arbousset & Daumas 1852:256

[295] Van Vuuren 1983:85

[296] Frescura 1985:374-375

[297] Biermann 1990:37

[298] (Aylward 1881:16) He adds that, "...people complain much of the Boers' houses, saying they are untidy, unfloored, and insufficiently lighted. It should be remembered, on the other hand, that the house is almost always the work of the owner's own hands. It has been put up under difficulties of the most exceptional nature, in a country but yesterday rescued from wild beasts and still wilder barbarians. Whether it be beside some beautiful stream, or standing upon a naked and desolate flat, or buried under steep hillsides in some lonely or almost inaccessible mountain kloof, it has been constructed without the assistance of skilled labor, and from rough materials found upon or near to its site. Beams do not grow in every direction ready cut and dressed to the builder's hand. Those that the Boers have used have been procured at a cost of much labor and expense from very considerable distances. The difficulty in obtaining heavy timber has exercised an influence even over the shape of the farmers, houses, which cannot afford the luxuries of immense rooms and spreading roofs. In the same way window-frames, and glass to fill them, were for years almost entirely unobtainable by the settlers north of the Orange and Vaal rivers. Therefor the windows are in many houses small and few in number, resembling, more often than otherwise, shot-holes." (Aylward 1881:17-18)

[299] Frescura 1985:247

[300] Livingstone, David. Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa. London: John Murray, 1857. Cited in Frescura 1985:210.

[301] Casalis, Eugene. Mes Souvenirs. Sixth Edition. Paris: Societe des Missions Evangeliques, 1930. Cited in Frescura 1985:210.

[302] Becker, C. J. Guide to the Transvaal. Dublin: J. Pollard, Printer. 1878. Cited in Frescura 1985:211.

[303] Frescura, Franco. "From Brakdak to Bafokona: A Study in the Geographical Adaptation and Cultural Transmission of the South African Flat Roofed Dwelling." Occasional Paper (University of Port Elizabeth, Department of Architecture), no.1 (1989).

[304] The first paragraph of the conclusion deals with the motivation for the change of construction culture in the country and asks the few following questions. "What...is the exact role played by climate and technical performance in predetermining man's choice of his own built habitat; at what stage do such choices cease to be guided by pragmatic factors and are overtaken by considerations of aesthetics, style and status; and finally at what point does architecture cease to be a matter of individual choice and become associated with the cultural mores and values of a larger group?"

[305] Casalis, Eugene. My Life in Basutoland. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1889. Cited in Frescura 1985:220.

[306] Warneck, Gustav. Modern Missions and Culture: Their Mutual Relations. Edinburgh: James Gemmell, 1888. Cited in Frescura 1985:228.

[307] Germond, Robert C. Chronicles of Basutoland. Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1967. Cited in Frescura 1985.

[308] Van Vuuren 1983:50

[309] Ibid. 48

[310] Meiring, A. L. "Amandebele van Pretoria." Helikon 4, no. 16 (1954): 81.

[311] The amaHlubi mural culture was a very late development, having its genesis long after the amaNdebele departure. The baSotho neighbors of the Drakensberg amaNguni probably did not have a mural art culture before it was introduced by the migrating baKwena cultures.

[312] The amaNdebele had, at that stage, an amaNguni thatching architectural technology for the construction of their huts and fences, but probably took up a partial adobe construction technology much earlier than the current literature asserts. As stated before, there was an environmental incentive to accept this technology, seeing that the grasses on the drier Highveld were less suitable for construction than the coastal grasses, which were shorter and drier grass species. Further more, the lower rainfall on the Highveld made adobe a much better choice of construction material than on the coast, because of the slow erosion of the walls. These environmental constraints, with the added incentive of imported cultural technology through cultural contact and intermarriage, probably brought mural art, in a minor way, to the amaNdebele before their migration to the eastern trans-Vaal.

[313] Burchell, 1953, quoted by Frescura (personal communication)

[314] Campbell, 1815, quoted by Frescura (personal communication)

[315] Stow, G.W. The Native Races of South Africa, 1905. Quoted by Walton, J. "Art and Magic in the Southern Bantu Vernacular Architecture." In Shelter, Sign and Symbol, ed. Paul Oliver, 119. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1975.

[316] He found the paintings "neatly finished," the interior of the walls being painted yellow, and decorated with 'i' patterns, and a cornice of red triangles. The 'i' patterns probably refer to the shape of the Tswana shields, as noted by Frescura, and would thus present us with the first documented instance of meaning in the non-figurative patterns of mural art. Frescura reminds us that the Tswana referred to their chiefs as the 'shield of the people', and that it is thus not surprising to find this symbolic representation in the chief's dwelling. The structure in the middle of the hut was decorated with "elephants, cameleopards (giraffe), etc.", thus once again pointing towards a figurative mural tradition. Van Wyk points to the different qualities of the animals (for example the farsightedness of the giraffe) and argues these zoological representations to be typical of the chief's dwelling. Campbell further found several houses decorated with "figures, pilasters, etc., molded in hard clay, and painted with different colours." (Campbell quoted in van Wyk, Gary N. African Painted Houses: Basotho dwellings of Southern Africa. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998, p. 88).

[317] It might be worth noting here that the first archeological record of symbolic representation of peoples and totem animals in Southern African art can be found in the ruins of Zimbabwe. This art form, executed in stone was dubbed 'patterned walling' by the great anthropologist James Walton (Walton, J. "Patterned Walling in African Folk Building." Journal of African History 1, no. 1 (1960): 19-30) and was studied and interpreted in more detail by Professor Hammond-Tooke (Snakes and Crocodiles). An influence of the Zimbabwe culture onto the Tswana in the trans-Vaal has not been established either spatially or chronologically, but certain similarities in symbolism seem to be evidence of such a link. One example of that would be the masonry chevron structures of Zimbabwe, a symbol of the teeth of the venerated and Totemic crocodile, which also reoccurs in the chevron in mural painting in trans-Vaal cultures, venerating the same animal.

[318] The current literature holds that the amaNdzundza still practiced a thatch technology during this phase. As the author has shown, though, the influences of the climate and flora of the Highveld, as well as the cultural exchanges (by paying tribute of building materials to their various overlords, and by intercultural marriages that brought the wall decorators--the women--of other peoples into the amaNdebele settlements) would suggest that the amaNdzundza partially adopted the adobe technology to low interior walls much earlier than previously assumed.

[319] Van Wyk 1998:78-115

[320] Ibid. 92

[321] A later development on the engraved pattern was the daga low-relief ornamentation. It usually is used in conjunction with architectural elements, such as the window, door and pediment, which the former serves to accentuate. The use of mosaics is seldom seen, and was usually executed by in-laying stones and peach pits into the wet daga surface. All these techniques could be used in chorus, but lately the use of modern acrylic paints seems to have replaced the former techniques almost completely, especially on the facade of the dwelling. The application of paints could be done in the wet daga, or as is the case of modern acrylics, on the dry wall.

[322] Van Wyk uses the example of the Yoruba, a Nigerian people, whose word for civilization literally means 'face with lined marks.' Some of the more abstract elements of decoration, such as the triangle can be traced into the prehistory of the culture, in the pottery excavated by archaeologists. The half-circle is named *kwena*, as in a baSotho culture, the Kwena. This would indicate that these patterns probably pre-date the other decorative patterns. Further meanings can be found in motives such as the dots, referring to seeds, and wavy lines indicating water. Also found amongst the motives on the walls are sun and moon motives, mostly included, as explained by the women, because they are beautiful, or because the ancestors showed them in a dream.

[323] The red ochres, *letsoku* (meaning the 'blood of the earth'), refer to water, or the blood of the earth. Not only is *letsoku* used in the rainmaker's rituals and the prosperity-bringing trading activity in southern Africa, but also its referent, blood, is closely related to prosperity through sacrifice and menstruation. Van Wyk writes *that* "red ocher in murals is precious earth, dug from beneath the 'skirts' of the earth, to sound a special call to the ancestors to feed the earth with the 'blood', the rain that the ancestors hold." The white in the murals, derived from chalk and other substances, is also used in initiation rituals, and connotes peace, happiness and purity. It is further related to clouds, light *lesedi* and enlightenment. Black, on the other hand, belongs to the realm of the shade, to *mosima* ('the abyss'). These three colors are often used to denote and accentuate architectural elements, such as outer edges, the roof and foundation lines, and the door and window soffits.

[324] Matthews, T. H. "Mural Painting in Southern Africa." <u>African Arts</u> 10, no.2 (1977): 28-33.

[325] Bruce, H. J. "The Arts and Crafts of the Transvaal Ndebele." In <u>African Byways</u>, ed. A.J. Smith. Johannesburg: A.D. Donker Publisher Ltd., 1976, p. 136.

[326] There is, of course, an important difference between the technological development of the two art forms. The bead, the basic building block of the beadwork, was not a natural product, as was the colored clay used for the murals. Beads had to be acquired through trading, making it an instant status symbol, considering that only the industrious people and the chiefs that controlled trade could acquire it. The color pallet was limited to the production of colored beads in Europe, and their bartering by the European traders. Furthermore, the development of beadwork was directly linked to the trade routes. Unlike beads, the mural art was a more democratic one. The poorest woman could decorate her hut. Although mural pigment later became an important trading commodity, the mural art seems to have developed into a distinction of cultural identity rather than the distinction of class. Once the mural art became figurative, however, all this changed. The woman who had seen the big cities suddenly had a system of heurisms for the themes of their murals beyond that of the average artist, and the class division suddenly started showing in the mural art forms.

A second important difference can be found in the demographics of pigments. Because pigments differ from area to area, the development of different styles amongst the mural art cultures of southern Africa was a natural consequence of its medium availability, and led to style differentiation, once again emphasizing cultural differences. The beadwork, being linked to trade routes, did not have the same impact, although the beads were manipulated in different ways by different cultures.

Thirdly, the genesis of modern beadwork was linked to the genesis of trade between the local population and the Europeans. This was not the case with mural art, which was in its turn linked to the development of the cone-and-cylinder hut. Whereas beadwork was popularized by Portuguese trading in the fifteenth century, archaeological records shows that the mural art tradition then already existed in the Magaliesberg, the later home of the amaNdebele. As has been noted previously, this sequence of events seems to have been inverted with the amaNdzundza, who, according to the current literature, have hung on to their thatching technology until relatively late in their development. It must be kept in mind here that the thatching technology is not necessarily a sign that mural art is absent in the huts. As the author has shown previously, the amaXhosa mural art actually preceded their cone and cylinder technology.

[327] Elliott, A. <u>The Ndebele: Art and Culture</u>. Cape Town: Struik, 1989, p. 14.

[328] In our analysis of the amaNguni mural art, we have seen that the thatching technology does not completely exclude the possibility of interior mural decoration, but it did make the surface of choice, the external walls, unsuitable for painted decoration.

[329] also see Schneider 1985:60

[330] Weiss, O. "Funksionele kunsuitenge by die amaNdzundza." MA Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1963, p. 84.

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[331] Berman, E. Art and Artists of South Africa. Cape Town: AA Balkema, 1970, p. 207.

[332] Powell, I. Ndebele: A People and Their Art. Cape Town: Struik, 1995, p. 48.

[333] In 1923, the royal family relocated to Weltevrede, with many of the amaNdzundza staying behind at Hartebeesfontein. These amaNdzundza people found themselves once again isolated from their cultural core and, according to some students, turned as a result to the mural decoration for the assertion of their cultural identity. This might not have been a conscious process, but, supported by both the research of Schneider and the amaNdebele artists, this seems to indicate that cultural identification was the main incentive of the evolution of the amaNdzundza mural from its archaic phase to the modern style. According to van Vuuren, western cultural influence was first seen in the wall decoration of the aManala branch of the South trans-Vaal amaNdebele, due to their greater contact with the emerging cities on the Highveld, but that was spread to the amaNdzundza by the 1920's and 30's. This would constitute an antithesis to the above-mentioned genesis.

[334] Frescura 1981:101

[335] Schneider 1985:60

[336] Battiss 1958:102-103

[337] Relief on wall surfaces was most popular in the Stoffberg-district, and is considered by van Vuuren as a very early development in the modern wall-decoration process. It consists of a 20-50mm thickening of surfaces surrounding entrances to the huts, as well as entrances to the dwelling complex as a whole. Where triangles, circles etc. are used around the door openings, they are combined in a chain of motives called an *isitseketsane*. Roping together twigs, and modeling them with clay shapes, the sculptures adorn the Ndebele entrances (van Vuuren, 1983).

[338] (Powell 1995:51-52) The author studied architecture at the University of Pretoria, the same school formerly headed by Professor Meiring. During the inception of my studies, the school was just emerging from the paradigmatic influences of the old South Africa. The school had a long history of interest in vernacular architecture, and the people of these settlements. I find it very unlikely that Prof. Meiring would have studied and attempted to save the amaNdzundza settlement from complete physical destruction with the intentions of furthering the aims of the apartheid government. If he can be accused of anything, it might be that he was a man of his time, a time when the deeper shortcomings of a tourist village, that were so clearly outlined by Prof. Franco Frescura post-factum, were not completely grasped.

His intention was no doubt a South African architectural-historical one, to save what was then perceived as a unique architectural phenomenon from 'physical' destruction. This was a difficult task, seeing that the amaNdebele culture, and thus architecture, belongs to the (highly advanced!) eco-systemical paradigm of dwelling. The architecture returns to its natural state of dust if not seasonally restored from the influences of the weather. The village was thus not a Notre Dame de Paris, which could be left as an artifact that, with the exception of the odd restoration, could stand the test of time. The artist and the artwork cannot be separated, and with the cultural evolution of the artist, comes the inevitable change or even demise of the artifact. The architectural scholars of the time saw the slow process of architectural change in the vernacular architecture of the rural areas as urbanization, industrialization, poverty and apartheid caused havoc amongst the rural communities.

This ran concurrent with the newly found interest in vernacular architecture, especially from a design point of view, by architects such as Norman Eaton and, later, Barrie Biermann. The only answer for what seemed the last hope of preserving these *material* artifacts, was the construction of a tourist village. The basic economical changes that had the biggest influence in the depopulation of the countryside could be countered by making the village self-sustainable. Today we know that this does not work, and yet we could not come up with a better alternative for the *physical* preservation of these beautiful artifacts. The fact that these architects concerned themselves so much with the artifact, that they did great injustice to the artists by placing them side by side with the structures, frozen in history, in a virtual 'museum', is another matter. The fact is that these writings, ascribing the incentives of Prof. Meiring to his wanting to further the cause of apartheid, cannot be entertained.

[339] (Schneider 1989:112) Quoting Schneider, the Americans Judith Perani and Fred Smith wrote in Visual arts of Africa: "The apartheid government not only provided materials, but also a stream of tourists... Thus the Ndebele effort that originally started as a way to visually express their cultural identity among non-Ndebele peoples was shortly appropriated by the minority government to showcase the 'otherness' of the oppressed majority... The Ndebele mural tradition (thus) became an embodiment of the white minority government's

idealized perception of 'the other'." (Perani, Judith. <u>The Visual Arts of Africa: Gender, Power, and Life Cycle Rituals.</u> Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1998, p. 345)

[340] As for the behavior of the artists at the tourist village, the critics will be well advised to remember that the settlement did not present the tourist with a real African village. They were not at 'home', in the true sense of the word, but at 'work.' They had low salaries, and due to the nature of their daily routine, preserved their environment not as home, but as a museum. Thousands of tourists came to visit them, this being a purely commercial act. The author can here only speak from personal experience. My wife and I had the privilege of visiting Ester Mahlanga at her modest home in a small Highveld village in 1998. She was at that time teaching little amaNdzundza children the art of mural painting, showing them how to use traditional implements rather than modern brushes, and how to mix the traditional pigments, rather than acrylic paints. She has then received us with the hospitality of the best of African hosts.

To drive this point home even further, the author might further share with the reader his personal experiences at the Botshabelo tourist village. As student I visited the village with a group of university colleagues, and after the departure of the tourists, we stayed for the night to sleep in the village. As soon as the tourists had left, the artists' attitude changed dramatically towards us. They were suddenly not at work anymore and, in the absence of the men that would have contributed to the social structure of a real amaNdebele village, shared the evening fire in the back courtyard with us. At this time they were excellent hosts, singing the no-longer-banned song of resistance of the African National Congress, Nkosi Sekelele, to our naive amazement. There was certainly no question of payment.

Last year my wife and I visited Mpumalanga, and ended up at the Bothshabelo village once more. Seeing that the owners of the farm did not have accommodation for us, we went to the tourist village to ask the artists if we could take our lodgings there. Although forbidden by the owners of the farm from doing so, she took us in late that night, concerning herself for the rest of our stay with our well-being, waking us in the mornings, bringing us blankets at night, and helping us to get the fire started in the hut. She did this, at the risk of loosing her job, with more hospitality than we could ever hope for from any other host or hostess. She certainly asked for no money at any time.

[341] The same can be said for Prof. van Vuuren, the anthropologist from the University of Pretoria, who did all his postgraduate studies on the amaNdebele. His intention for the construction of the tourist village, and for his Masters degree was the documentation and preservation of amaNdebele technical creations as part of their '*kultuurerfenis*[341*] (cultural heritage). In my personal communication with him, he has struck me as a man no less in love with the amaNdebele people and culture, than some of the other amaNdebele scholars, such as architect Peter Rich and Prof. Franco Frescura, whom I had the pleasure of meeting during this research.

The inadequacies and imperfections in the styles of mural art, which are cited by Schneider as an 'influence from the [old] South African Government', can be blamed on bad decisions or bad research done by the scholars. These scholars involved in the construction and management of these villages did belong to universities affiliated, as all universities are, to the government of the day (whichever it may be!). Nevertheless they cannot be classified, as Schneider did, as an influence, in the direct sense, of the apartheid government.

[342] A few of these, published within the first decade after its inception might be mentioned in chronological order:

> 1949. Meiring, A. L. "*Kultuur van die Bantoe: blanke Suid Afrika moet die kuns van die tradisionele Mapoggers help bewaar (Mappogerwonings).*" <u>Die Huisgenoot</u> 34.

> 1949. Potgieter, E. F. "*Dit moet mos so wees (Mapoggers)*" <u>Die Brandwag</u> (Jhb) 22 June (22 July--vWarmelo)

> 1951. De Wet, Sampie. "The art of Alexis Preller" in <u>Lantern</u> (September 1951): 348-352.

> 1951. Meiring, A. L. "*Iets oor die amaNdebele*" in <u>Lantern</u> Vol 1 (1): 219-221

> 1953. Moss, J. L. "Master Craftswomen of the Ndebele" in <u>The Outspan</u> (11 March 1953)

> 1953. Meiring, A. L. "*So Bou die Ndebele Hui hutte*" in <u>Lantern</u> 3 (September—December): 160 and 224.

1953. Venter, P. J. "*Sy nooi haar gaste met n steentjie seep. Hoe jong vrou van Mapochsland hubaar word.*" Huisgenoot 37 (17 April 1953).

1954. Meiring, A. L. "*Amandebele van Pretoria.*" Helikon 4 (16)

1954. Biermann, B. E. and Spence, B. "*M'pogga.*" The Architectural Review (July): 34-40.

1955. Meiring, A. L. "*Amandebele van Pretoria.*" South African Architectural Record (April 1955): 26-35.

1955. Biermann, B. E. Boukuns in Suid Afrika. Cape Town: A A Balkema.

1956. Walton, J. African Village. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

1957. Holtz, P. "A Visit to the Ndebele" in African World (February 1957).

1958. Battiss, W. The Art of Africa. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

[343] The response was usually the opposite, with people protesting what they considered an attempt of 'ethnic cleansing' of the bulk of the country by the racist government. There was a tripartite reason for their response. Firstly, the amaNdebele were of amaNguni stock, a people of strong nationalistic feelings. Secondly they were the smallest of South Africa's ethnic groups, and thirdly they were received with hostility in both territories considered 'white' by the government, and territories considered homelands of other ethnic groups. In the light of the amaNdebele enthusiasm for the establishment of their homeland, it might be mentioned that one of the most extensive programs of mural painting occurred in a region that is the center of amaNdebele government. In preparation for celebrations marking the attainment of tribal authority, the people began a large-scale renewal of the painted walls. (Priebatsch, S. & Knight, N. "Ndebele Figurative Art." African Arts XII, no. 2 (1979): 32-33)

[344] Schneider 1985:66, and her 1986 Ph.D. dissertation.

[345] Battiss 1958:108

[346] According to tradition, no decoration may be done during the mountain-school phase of the boys' initiation. During weddings, both parents' huts are decorated. During the mourning period after someone's death, no decoration or dung spreading may be done. It is interesting to note that after the death of the great Ndebele captain Mapoch in October 1961, the Ndebele stopped all decoration of their homesteads for 22 months. In modern homesteads, decoration also takes place during Christmas, New Year and Easter celebrations. (van Vuuren, 1983)

[347] It is a myth, though, that wall painting as a craft is only limited to married women. There are sometimes exceptions to the rule that women exclusively should do the painting. Battiss tells us of the inside of a hut at Benoni, where he saw a mural frieze based on a railway station scene done by a gifted boy (Battiss 1958:103-104). This though, is a rare exception, for the creativity of the men is expressed in the sculpturing of the walls, which serve as the clued pallet for the woman. These sculptural decorations anticipate the decorative forms that the woman will paint over or around them in a most astonishing way. It is hard to believe that the final product consists of two such different processes and artists.

The relation of the artists to their products is a complicated one. The task of decorating the structures of the dwelling complex is usually that of the wife of the patriarch, and she often asks her sisters and mother to help. The unmarried daughters often help with the *iphunyana* or the *isirhodlo*. Either their mother or sisters decorate the sons' hut. The grandmother or another female in her generation usually takes up the task of teaching the techniques of decoration to the younger generation. (van Vuuren 1983:170)

[348] (Van Vuuren 1983:170) She traditionally does not use a water level to determine horizontal lines, nor any rulers to guide straight lines or lengths. In modern times, a rope (*intambo*) is dipped in black paint and held against the wall, at each end, by two women. A third woman pulls it in the center away from the wall and releases it so that it hits back against the wall, and leaves a black footprint. When Elliott was photographing Esther Mahlangu (the amaNdzundza artist from Botshabelo, who was chosen by the Pompidou Art Museum to visit Paris during April and May 1989), he asked her if she ever used a straight edge. "She laughed derisively and said: 'you mean a ruler'." The design is usually traced out in black or white, after which color is filled in.

[349] Ibid. 164

[350] Ibid. 164

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351 Because of the importance of the paintings in the cultural life of the amaNdebele and the addition of sculptural elements that anticipated the murals, the wall surfaces tended to grow bigger. Elliott noted an amaNdebele artist explaining why they needed big surfaces for their paintings. The artist said: "...you know, you white people are funny. You pay lots of money for a little piece of canvas, you paint on it, then hide it inside your house where no-one can see it!" She laughed and continued: "...who does that help? ...we Ndebele teach our daughters to paint for everyone to see... and enjoy! Then, too, one day there might even be a nice young man come passing by. He will stop to admire her work... then... who knows! He might end up building walls for her!" The wall surfaces evolved into becoming, in many instances no more that canvases. Some husbands would build freestanding walls, on which their wives or daughters could paint.

352 These three developmental stages do not follow a strict chronology, but are all present in modern Ndebele wall decoration. Van Vuuren notes that the above patterns can be seen in the light of a deculturization process of the amaNdabele, and that there is a link between the pigmented medium used and the motives chosen for the design. The author does not believe that the changes in the mural art could be considered a process of deculturization. Rather, it is merely believed to be a process of cultural change, which, for better or for worse, was chosen by the amaNdebele because of their cultural aspirations and their exposure to the modern South African urban culture. Berman pointed out that a constant feature of amaNdebele design, despite the changing subject matter, has been the sub-division of the wall-surfaces into panels of varying proportion. He believes that it is by the virtue of formal strength of this device that it becomes possible for two distinct stylistic trends to occur alongside each other without destroying the integrity of the total mural scheme (Berman 1970:207).

353 Battiss, the brilliant South African artist specializing in modeled surfaces, and much influenced, as Preller was, by the amaNdebele art, stated in 1958 that he "...wish(es) to defend the contemporary artists who feel a strong creative urge to add something vital from their own experience. These new forms ought to be accepted as transitional forms that time will test out as suitable. Those new forms that are healthy and virile will persist and become classic like the circle, chevron, triangle and rectangle. They will tend to lose their realism and may become geometric or abstract." Battiss could not have predicted the sad political and economic changes that would soon have come to bear onto the amaNdebele material culture, but was at least partially correct in his predictions.

354 seevan Warmelo's documentation elsewhere in thesis.

355 Powell 1995:46

356 Biermann 1955--see elsewhere in thesis.

357 Berman 1970:207

358 Birkhoff 1933; Shepard in Hatcher 1967:63-64; Zaslavsky 1973:172-96; Schneider 1985:62

359 Priebatsch & Knight in 1979 believed themselves to have been the first scholars to note the existence of figurative art among the amaNdzundza. Their field research in the trans-Vaal led them to the 'unexpected' discovery of such images, both painted on walls and sculpted in clay. They wrote: "...enough examples were seen to suggest that a tradition does exist, although it may be of relatively recent origin. The matter first gained our attention when we happened upon a figure painted alongside a geometric design on a kraal wall. In the field we eventually came across a number of other examples of painted figures, which generally appeared in the traditional ceremonial garb of girls at the age of puberty." (Priebatsch & Knight 1979:33)

360 Elliott 1989:10

361 Battiss 1958:103

362 Elliott was surprised not to find many depictions of animals amongst the depictions of the amaNdebele figurative tradition. He notes that when they occur, they tend to show a characteristic of the animal rather than providing an accurate depiction. This kind of treatment of animal depiction could already be seen in the San petrogliths, and comes as no surprise, although the San must be said to have mastered this art better than the amaNdebele did. The author of this thesis does not find it surprising that wildlife is not often depicted, since the almost complete eradication of wild animals on the Highveld pre-dates the inception of the amaNdebele figurative mural art tradition. Neither is considered surprising that the amaNdebele chose not to depict their lifestock, considering that this is a standard omission in the figurative art of pastoral vernacular cultures around the world. (Elliott 1989:10)

363 Priebatsch & Knight 1979:33

364 Ibid. 33

365 see Berman 1970:207

366 Van Vuuren 1983:170, Weiss 1963:82-83

367 Berman 1970:207

368 Elliott 1989:8

369 Battiss 1958:103

370 Van Weiss 1963:37-39

371 Van Vuuren 1983:163

372 Schneider 1985:66

373 Ibid. 64

374 About three percent of the population.

375 i.e. Areas set aside for blacks by the then apartheid government.

376 Mpumalanga

377 Schneider 1985:64

378 Ibid. 62

379 Elliott 1989:10

380 In as far as cosmologies or other ontological symbolism is concerned, the mural art does not reveal the
same kind of significance as does, for example, the footprint or plan of the settlement. It also does not seem
that chromatic symbolism can be ascribed to the murals. As we have seen previously, the amaZulu had a
language of beads, in which certain colors depicted specific emotions or ideas. The amaNdebele mural pallet
and pattern repertoire does not carry such symbolism, as would, for example link yellow with wealth.
(Schoeman 1968:63; Twala 1951:115, cited by Schneider)

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