

**PATTERNS AND SHIFTS IN CULTURAL HERITAGE IN KWAZULU-
NATAL: SELECTED CASE STUDIES, 1977-1999**

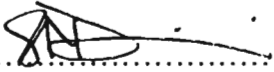
By

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DECLARATION:

The thesis represents original work by the author and has not been otherwise submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any other University. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.



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PREFACE

An analysis of why cultural heritage sites are created, preserved, and developed is what concerns the pages of this study. It identifies patterns and shifts in cultural heritage preservation in the period between 1977 and 1999 in KwaZulu-Natal, and analyses the motivations for the preservation of cultural heritage. Using specific case studies, I argue that in KwaZulu-Natal political necessities and ideas of economic development largely motivated cultural heritage preservation. I also examine the (dis)connection between academic historians and cultural heritage preservation. I indicate that their (dis)connection with cultural heritage preservation, especially its motivations, was a complex one. I argue that in complex ways some academic historians were drawn into the tendencies that were characteristic of cultural heritage presentations of history in KwaZulu-Natal during this period.

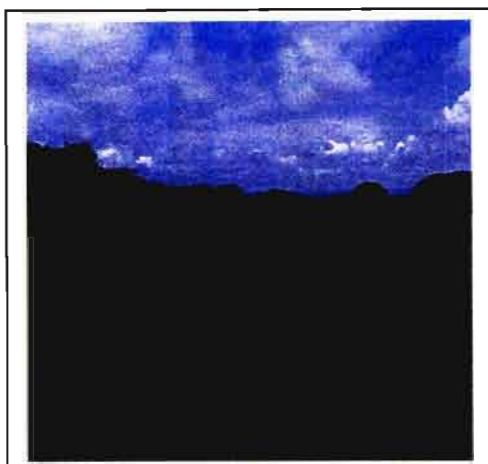
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ABBREVIATIONS

- ACTAG - Arts and Culture Task Group
 ADNC - Association of Directors of National Collections
 AKN - Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali
 ANC - African National Congress
 APC - Alan Paton Centre
 CMMH - Commission on Museums, Monuments and Heraldry
 CREATE - Commission for the Reconstruction and the Transformation of the Arts and Culture
 DACST - Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
 DDG - Deputy Director-General
 DEC - Department of Education and Culture
 DG - Director General
 DNE - Department of National Education
 FAK - Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge
 JEA - KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority
 IFP - Inkatha Freedom Party
 KCC - Killie Campbell Africana Library
 KCM - KwaZulu Cultural Museum
 KDM - KwaDukuza Museum
 KCMO - KwaZulu Cultural Museum and Ondini
 KEC - KwaZulu Executive Council
 KHF - KwaZulu Heritage Foundation
 KLA - KwaZulu Legislative Assembly
 KMC - KwaZulu Monuments Council
 KMF - KwaZulu Monuments Foundation
 KPRC - KwaZulu Planning and Research Committee
 KZNPMS - KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Museum Services
 LTMD - Lower Tugela Magisterial District
 MUSA - Museums for South Africa
 NHC - National Heritage Council
 NM - Natal Museum
 NMC - National Monuments Council
 NML - Natal Museum Library
 NPA - Natal Provincial Administration
 NPMS - Natal Provincial Museum Services
 RDP - Reconstruction and Development Programme
 SAHRA - South African Heritage Resources Agency
 SATOUR - South African Tourism Board
 SDAS - Shaka, KwaDukuza and Allied Sites
 SSS - Shaka Sites, Shakaville

Illustration 3. Images of the contemporary Reconstructed Ondini Royal Residence.



Hut floors of the Ondini Royal Residence, burnt on 4 July 1879.



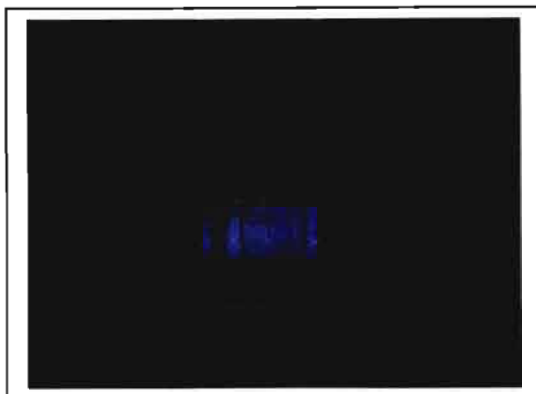
Reconstructed huts from the original hut floors.



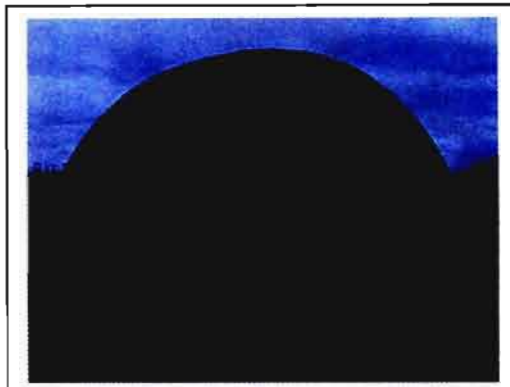
Outer palisade of the Reconstructed Ondini Royal Residence.



Main entrance at the inner palisade. A view from the reconstructed huts.



Model of the Ondini Royal Residence at the Interpretive Centre at the Ondini Complex



Reconstructed hut which, it is said, was King Cetshwayo's hut.



A bronze life-statue of King Cetshwayo.



Note by the Amafa aKwaZulu Natali about the continuity of the Ondini Reconstruction project.

Illustration 2. Model for the development of Ondini Royal Residence, 1980.

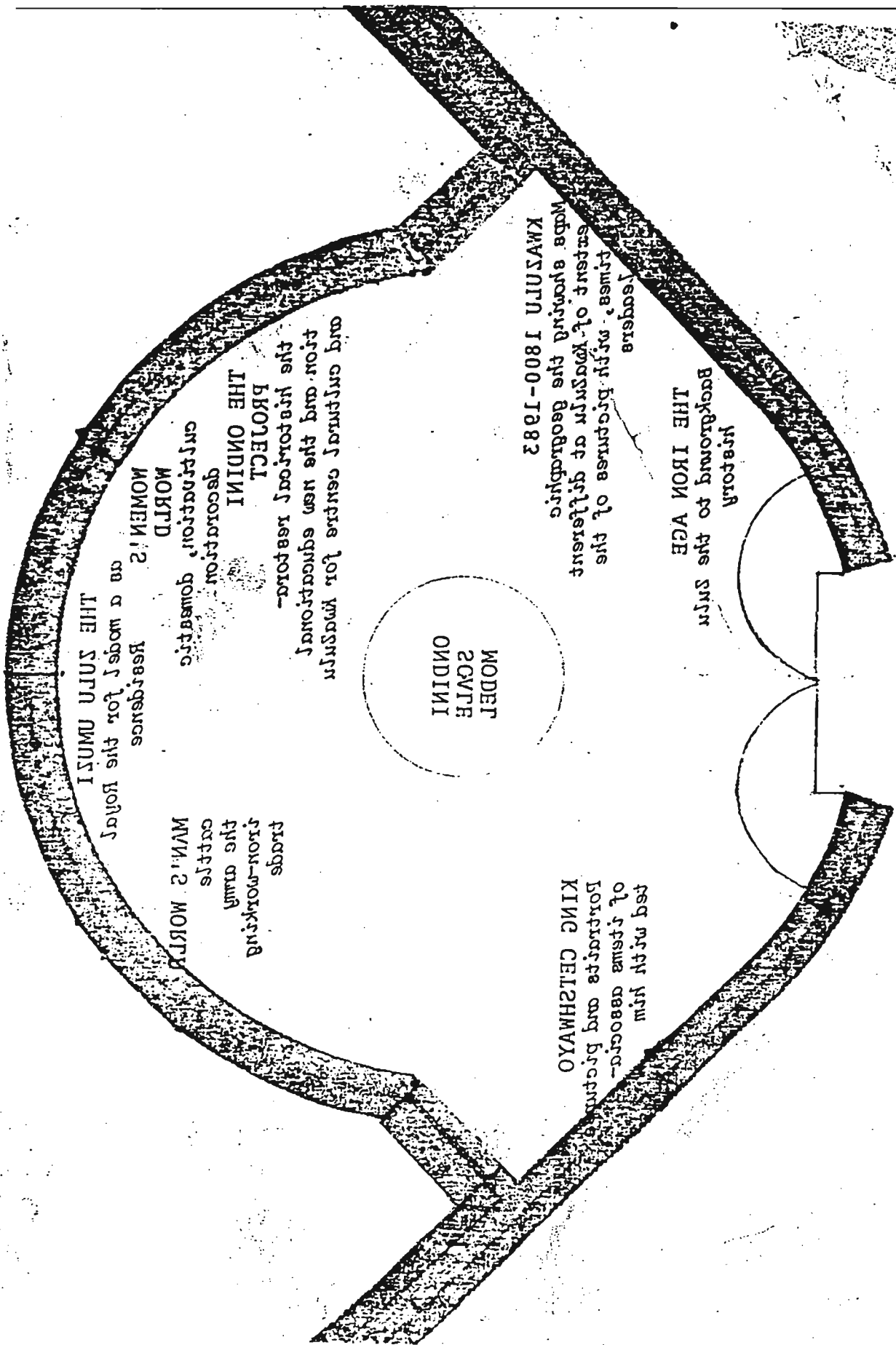


Illustration 3. Contemporary layout of the Ondini Royal Residence. It is now referred to as the Ondini Historic Complex.

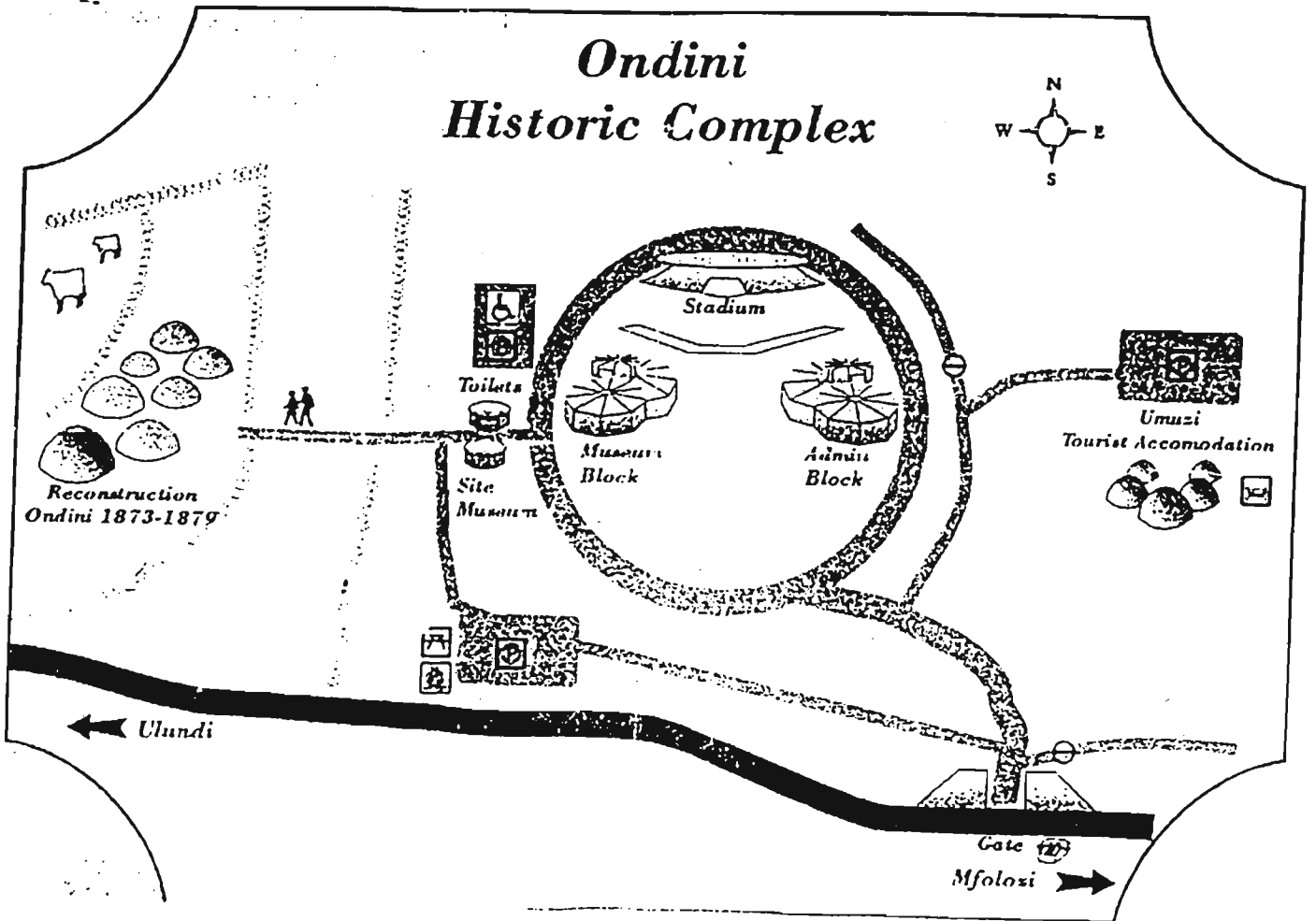
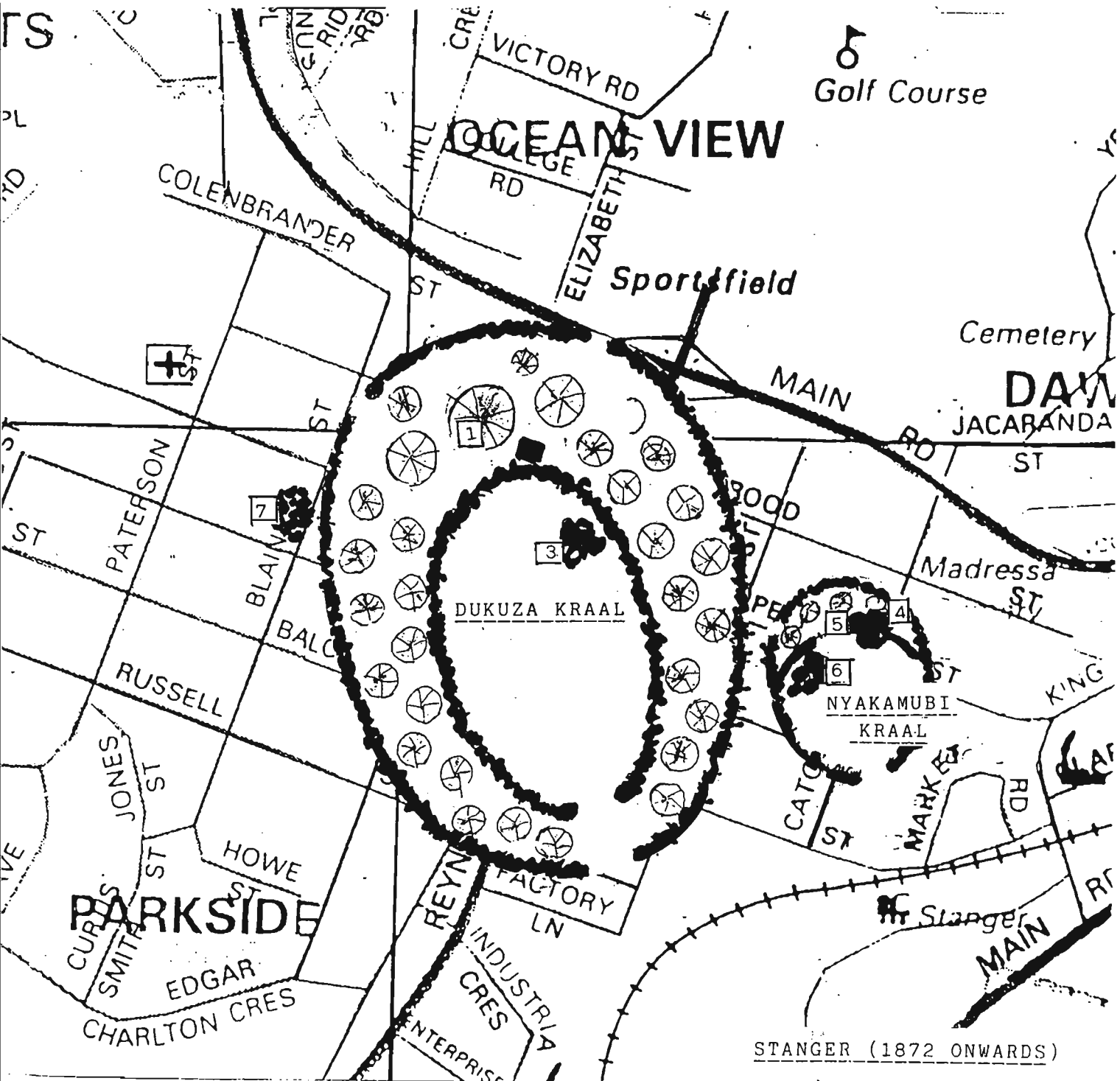


Illustration 4. Approximate position of KwaDukuza in Stanger. Including presumed positions of sites associated with King Shaka 1825-1828.



STANGER (1872 ONWARDS)

Illustration 5. Plan for the development of the area surrounding King Shaka's tree and Monument.

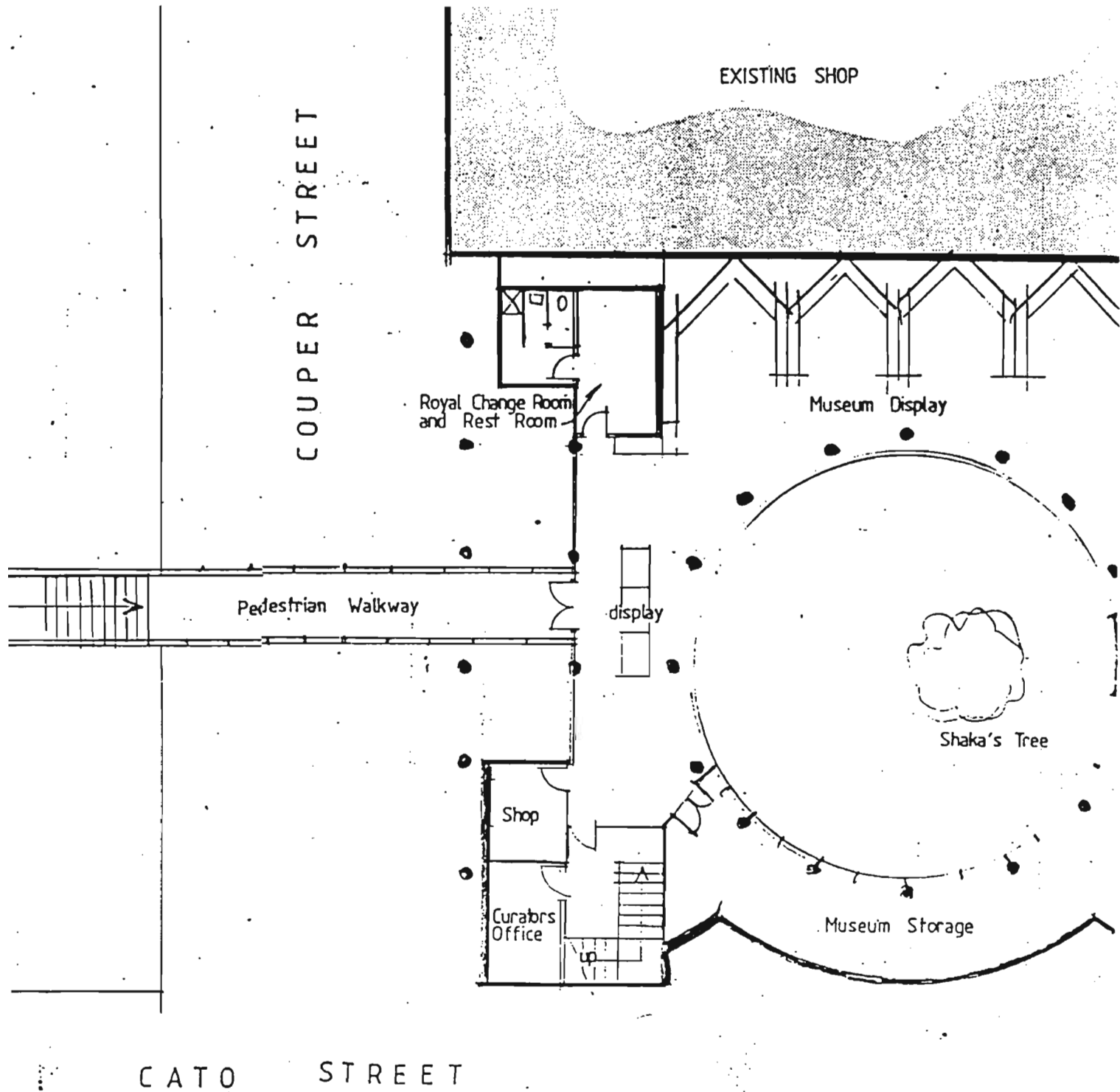


Illustration 6. A Map of the Conservation Area in Stanger. the shaded area indicates an approximate boundary.

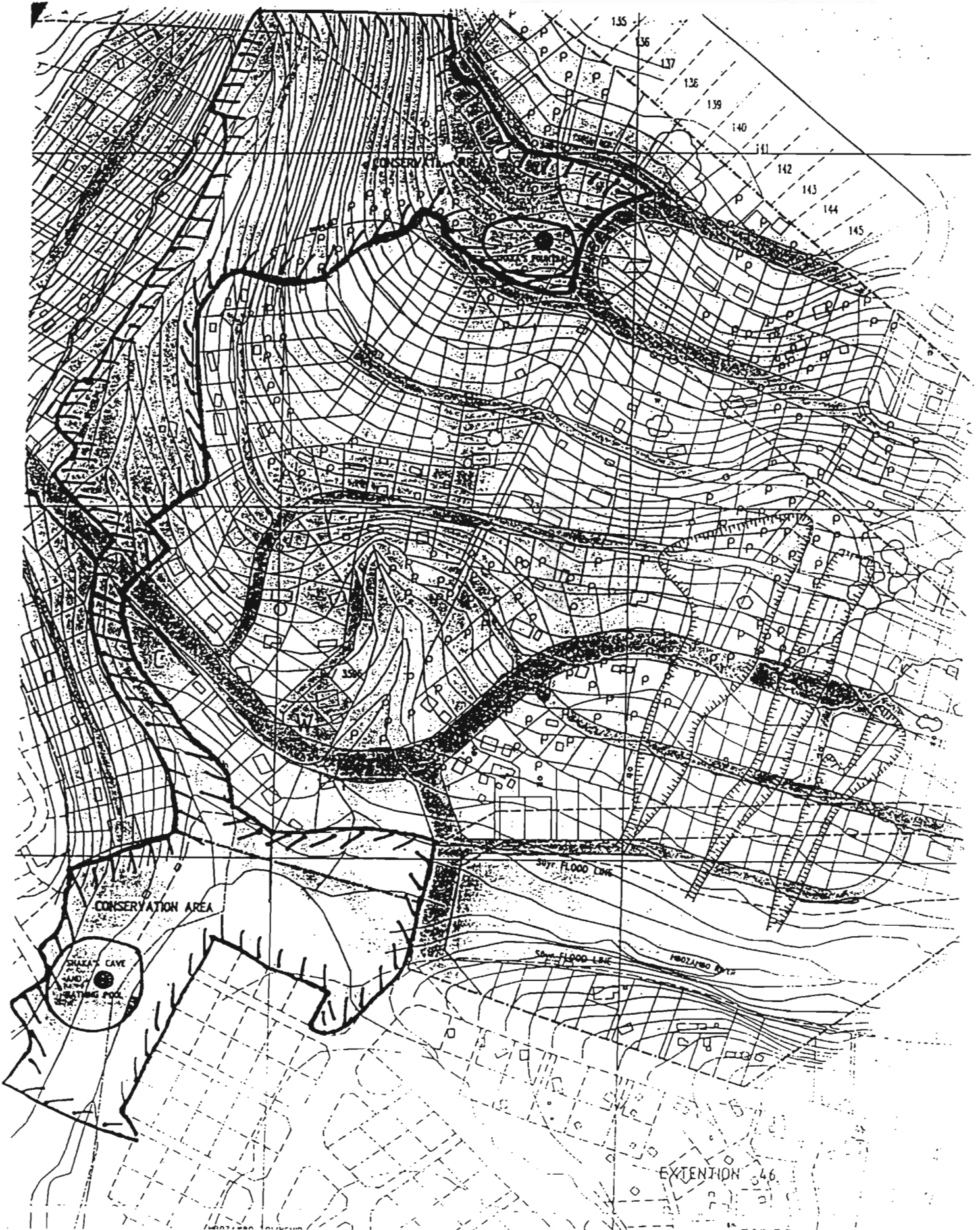
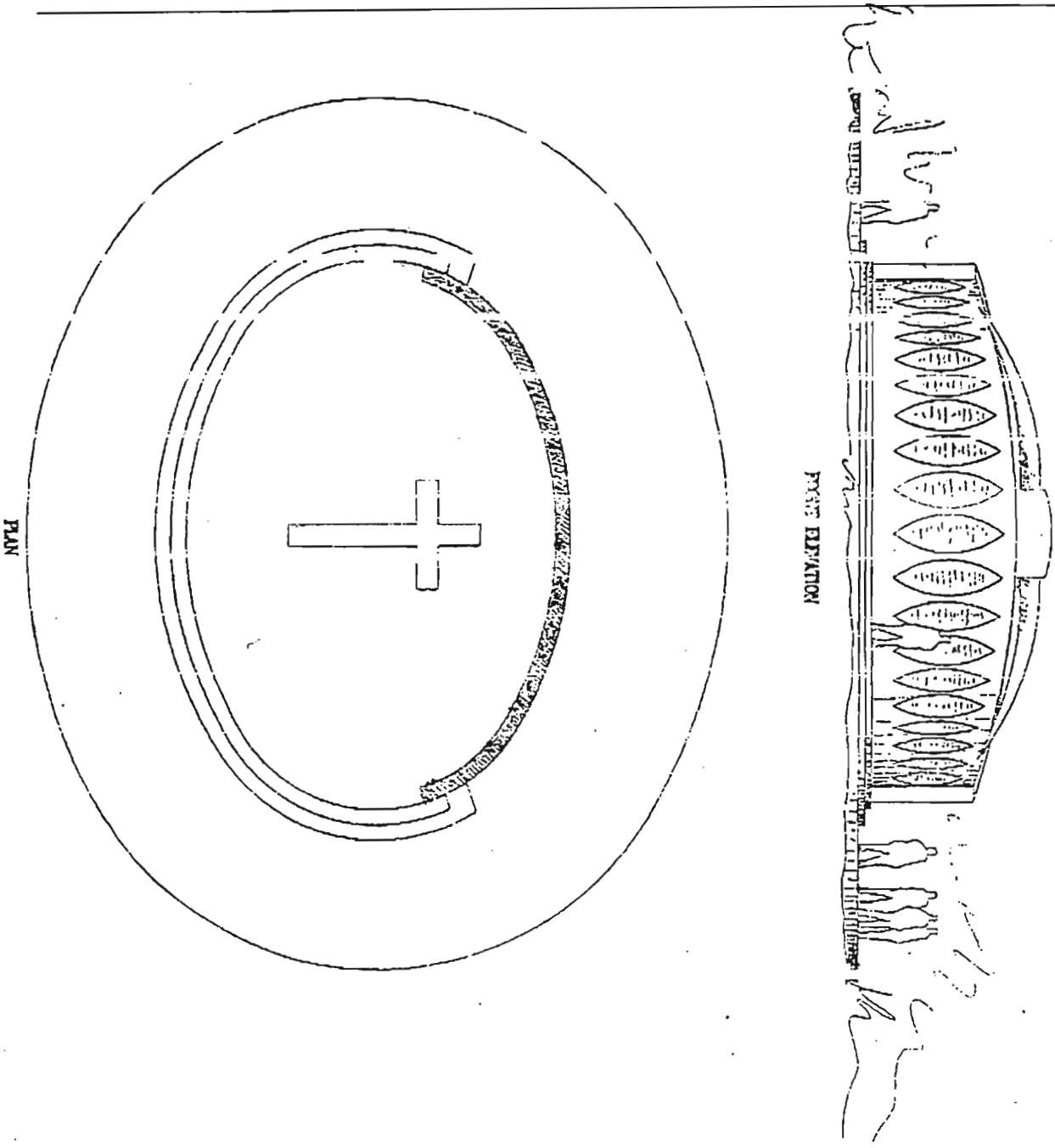


Illustration 7. A model for the Battle of Ncome Monument.



MONUMENT TO HONOR THE
 ZULU PEARL JEWELRY
 HOORNER 1919

Sources for Illustrations:

Illustration 1. Images of the contemporary Reconstructed Ondini Royal Residence.

Source - Images captured by the S.N. Dlamini (author). Available to interested researchers.

Illustration 2. Model for the development of Ondini Royal Residence, 1980.

Source - Amafa aKwaZulu Natali Headquarters (AKN), Ulundi, KwaZulu Planning and Research Committee (KPRC) file.

Illustration 3. Contemporary layout of the Ondini Royal Residence. It is now referred to as the Ondini Historical Complex.

Source - Obtainable as a Guide to the Ondini Historic Complex, KwaZulu Cultural Museum, Ulundi.

Illustration 4. Approximate position of KwaDukuza in Stanger. Including presumed positions of sites associated with King Shaka, 1825-1828.

Source - KwaDukuza Museum (KDM), KwaDukuza, King Shaka file.

Illustration 5. Plan for the development of the site with King Shaka's tree and Monument in Stanger.

Source - Amafa aKwaZulu Natali Office, Pietermaritzburg, Shaka, Dukuza and Allied Sites (SDAS) Vol. 4, No. 2/5/7.

Illustration 6. A map of the Conservation Area in Stanger. The shaded area indicated the approximate position of its boundary.

Source - Amafa aKwaZulu Natali Office, Pietermaritzburg, Lower Tugela Magisterial District: Shaka Sites, Shakaville (LTMD SSS) file, 9/2/418/5.

Illustration 7. A plan for the Battle of Ncome Monument.

Source - John Laband Ncome Project (JLNP) file, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal.

INTRODUCTION

Introducing his article on 'Public History and the Study of Memory', David Glassberg points to an 'explosion of scholarship examining the images and uses of history in Western culture.'¹ This new scholarship investigates how various versions of the past are communicated in society through a multiplicity of institutions and media, including government ceremonies, theme parks and landscape features designated as historical. It also analyses the motives for the communication of versions of the past in these spheres. One of the major areas of focus has been in the field of 'heritage'. The new scholarship sees heritage not as a 'collection of career paths', whether in museums or in tour guiding, but as a subject of study.² It is within this scholarship, that is also emerging in South Africa, that I position this study. 'Heritage' is increasingly becoming a buzzword in post-apartheid South Africa. South African universities are increasingly training their students in what is called heritage studies. Policy makers at both national and provincial levels have signalled their commitment to the 'reshaping' of heritage. The South African scene is a micro-cosm of a global 'upsurge of heritage'.³

Using selected case-studies, my study explores patterns and shifts in cultural heritage preservation in KwaZulu-Natal during the period between 1977 and 1999. Cultural heritage, in different phases, has been promoted to further both political and economic ideas and ends. The period after the creation of the KwaZulu 'homeland' is an interesting case where cultural

¹ D. Glassberg, 'Public history and the study of memory' *The Public Historian* Vol. 18, No. 2, 1996, 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ See D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 74-124. See K. Walsh, *The Presentation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-modern World* (London, Routledge, 1992), pp. 117-147.

heritage had a mobilising importance. Cultural heritage in the mid-1980s also gained importance as a vehicle for economic development. In the post-apartheid period, cultural heritage has been given prominence in the creation of a 'new' South African nation. The study seeks to point to the complexity of cultural heritage preservation during this period. This complexity is shown through a treatment of cultural heritage preservation at 'homeland', regional and national levels.

The first chapter attempts to develop a conceptual framework for the kinds of heritage examined in this study. I argue for a broader conception of heritage whose meanings go beyond its understandings as inheritance. In this chapter I also provide a theoretical framework for what is the main concern of this study, namely, an examination of motivations for cultural heritage preservation. I draw on theories that have been developed to explain the increase of interest in heritage in the West. I close the chapter with an outline of the increasing academic interest in heritage and its patterns in South Africa.

The second chapter examines motivations for cultural heritage preservation in the KwaZulu 'homeland' between the late 1970s and the mid-1980s. I point to a connection between cultural heritage preservation and political priorities. I analyse the role that certain political leaders played in the sphere of cultural heritage creation and preservation in KwaZulu 'homeland'. I argue that there was a connection between cultural heritage projects that were initiated during this period and the ambitions of specific political leaders. I also examine the connections and disconnections between cultural heritage projects and academic historians. I

argue that the texts that were produced by academic historians during the early to mid-1980s, were closely linked to heritage projects that were initiated during the period between the late 1970s and the mid-1980s.

The third chapter points to early shifts in cultural heritage preservation from a 'homeland' focus to the wider frame of regional co-operation with the province of Natal. I outline the nature of this co-operation. One of the areas where KwaZulu and Natal were supposed to co-operate was on sites related to King Shaka. Drawing on aspects relating to the preservation of sites associated with King Shaka, I will point to the 'limits' of this co-operation and the complexities of cultural heritage preservation that were emerging during this period. These include vigorous challenges to the authenticity of some sites associated with King Shaka and a possible inconsistency between the political ambitions of the KwaZulu leadership and cultural heritage preservation priorities. I also use this chapter to point to the emergence of economic development as a major motivation for cultural heritage preservation in KwaZulu, with particular reference to the battle of Isandlwana project. The chapter explores new directions, but also points to continuities with the period between 1977 and 1985.

The fourth chapter serves as a bridge to the fifth chapter. During the period 1994 and 1998 major structural and policy shifts were undertaken at both national and provincial levels. These were influenced by political changes that took place in the early 1990s and culminated with the election of the new democratic government in 1994. The reshaping of provincial boundaries saw structural and policy shifts in KwaZulu. In outlining patterns during this period I point to continuities and discontinuities with the earlier periods. Chapter five examines aspects of the cultural heritage preservation initiated by the South African national

government in 1998 and 1999. Through the lens of the battle of Ncome project I analyse an emphasis on national unity and economic development as central post-apartheid state motivations for cultural heritage preservation in the late 1990s. In this chapter I examine the limits of state objectives and attempt to explain reasons for these.

CHAPTER 1. Scaffolding for the Study: the ‘Heritage’ Concept, Motivations and the South African Academic Context

In exploring the motivations for ‘heritage’ preservation, development and creation, it is necessary to develop a theoretical framework. Much of the published theorising in English about heritage has been a Western phenomenon, produced in Britain and the United States of America. Relatively little academic work has been produced and published in South Africa on this kind of theorising. This chapter addresses a theoretical background for exploring issues and practices in cultural heritage preservation in KwaZulu-Natal during the period between 1977 and 1999. It is necessary to indicate the kinds of heritage that are examined in this study. The first section will be followed by a theoretical engagement with the perceived general increase of interest in heritage preservation. I will close this section with a discussion of the growing interest in the study of heritage by academic historians in South Africa, while stressing the absence of a detailed study of aspects of heritage in KwaZulu-Natal.

1.1. Beyond Inheritance: Conceptualising Heritage

‘Heritage’ is a concept spacious enough to accommodate widely discrepant meanings. It is a concept subject to a variety of presentations and interpretations. These can be divided broadly into two. The first is heritage in a natural sciences sense. Under this conception, heritage can be said to be represented by the natural environment, by fauna and flora. The second is the heritage that is viewed in cultural and political terms. Here the physical relics, historical sites, monuments and other recollections of the ‘past’ represent heritage.¹ The variety of heritage forms within these two categories has made it hard to arrive at a clear-cut definition of the heritage concept.

¹ See K. Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-modern World* (London, Routledge, 1992), p. 129, for a definition of the ‘past’.

At its broadest, cultural heritage can be understood to represent an individual's or a group's inheritance from a deceased ancestor or ancestors. Raban, for example, has pointed out that 'a heritage is something that we have possession of after its original owners, and we are free to use as we choose.'² This conceptualisation is interesting in that it points to some key aspects of heritage – possession and inheritance. This definition, in addition, points to the fact that heritage is not only owned and inherited, but is also used for different ends. The problem with this definition is the section, which says - 'we are free to use [heritage] as we choose'. Heritage which is recognised to be important is 'protected' (by for example, nature conservationists) which means that there are limits on the use of heritage.

Heritage, as I will show here, heritage is not always 'inherited' but can also be created. Based on this, I feel these aspects treated by Raban are inadequate and, perhaps, too simple to assist in our understanding of this complex concept. Dictionary definitions also tend to be deceptively straightforward: 'something that is inherited',³ 'anything transmitted from ancestors of past ages', and 'anything that is or may be inherited'.⁴ The name of the 'heritage body' *Amafa aKwaZulu-Natal* is an example of this conception of heritage as something inherited. The word *amafa* is a Zulu word referring to that which is inherited. Let me consider some of the key aspects of heritage which, although they are of utmost importance, are either ignored or simplified in the above definition.

² J. Raban, *God, Man and Mrs Thatcher* (London, Chatto and Windus, 1989), p. 24.

³ M. Robinson (ed.), *Chambers 21st Century Dictionary* (Edinburg, Chambers, 1996), p. 629.

⁴ Also see D. Thompson, (ed.) *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 9th ed. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 858.

Tunbridge and Ashworth identify aspects which are useful in developing a conception of heritage. The aspects they incorporate relate to both the cultural and the natural dimensions of heritage. Interestingly, these authors further categorise heritage into that represented by physical relics and that represented by non-physical relics of the past.⁵ Among the physical aspects, Tunbridge and Ashworth point to objects ‘significant enough to be included in museum collections, or major archaeological sites and designated monumental buildings.’⁶ On the non-physical aspects of the past, they point to memory, both individual and collective, as key representations of heritage. There is room to go beyond Tunbridge and Ashworth’s aspects of heritage. They miss the ideas of value and meaning which are central to both natural and cultural conceptions of heritage. In relation to these ideas, I will first look at ‘natural heritage’.

It is insufficient to say that heritage, in a natural environment sense, consists of places characterised by existing fauna and flora in a landscape. The fauna and flora cannot become heritage unless certain values and meanings are placed on them, for example, that they exhibit biodiversity or are threatened with extinction. In this sense both the flora and fauna in a landscape are placed in a context of meanings, whether social or scientific. The awarding of these meanings includes the redefinition of the importance of both fauna and flora to human

⁵ J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: the Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester, John Wiley, 1996), p. 1.

⁶*Ibid.*

life and existence. These meanings and values vary from place to place and from epoch to epoch.⁷ In many instances, landscapes with existing biodiversity and threatened fauna and flora are 'officially' preserved only when these values are identified. This preservation makes such landscapes a natural heritage. The conceptions of heritage in a natural sense are therefore not different to cultural conceptions of heritage.

Central to 'cultural heritage' are notions of value and meaning. 'Historical' events, personalities, memories, mythologies, buildings, 'surviving' physical relics, and historical sites are often referred to as cultural heritage. A historical event, site or personality is really not heritage unless these are given significance.⁸ In South Africa if this significance is officially recognised, a site will be declared a national monument and protected as cultural heritage. Even memories are not 'official' heritage unless they get recognised through, for example, recording and the storage of that memory in an archive. Influential groups or individuals (chiefs, politicians, academics, and businessmen) select what has value and meaning and so is worthy to become cultural heritage. They determine which aspects of the past are significant and worthy for preservation. Preservation is an integral part of a meaning-making process, perhaps a high-point in the making of a heritage. Meanings do not always need to be new; they can be recycled and recreated.

⁷ E.C. Penning-Rowsell and D. Lowenthal, (eds) *Landscape Meanings and Values* (London, Unwin Hyman, 1986), p. 1.

⁸ P. Boniface and P.J. Fowler, *Heritage and Tourism in the 'Global Village'* (New York, Free Press, 1996), p. 163.

The process of the creation of heritage involves selection, reinterpretation and abandonment of particular recollections of a past.⁹ Historical events and personalities in the process of the creation of heritage are given meanings which could be new or recycled meanings. Old houses and buildings in the townscape which were formally left to decay, become prized as living links to the past. Thus, heritage is a composite of both tamed aspects of the past and created versions of aspects of the past. These are represented in either physical or non-physical ways, highlighting both that which has survived the past and that which has been consciously created.

It is this conceptual framework that will guide the examination of cultural heritage in this study. I use an adjective, 'cultural', to illuminate my intentions. I am not dealing with natural heritage. Rather, I deal with heritage sites, monuments and commemorations. Museums are not a core aspect of this study, although I do mention them in my exploration of patterns and shifts in cultural heritage preservation in KwaZulu-Natal. The conceptual framework which I have outlined in this section, particularly the idea of the value of cultural heritage, underpins the study. It links well with an examination of motivations for the preservation and creation of heritage, a subject of the next section.

1.2. Motivations for Heritage Preservation and Creation: Nostalgia, Politics and Business

In the West since the 1970s, theatre, cinema and concert attendance has been decreasing, while paradoxically the number of visits to museums, heritage sites and restaurants that serve

traditional food, have not.¹⁰ Identifiable culture has become important to most societies and countries. In this section, I investigate possible reasons for the upsurge of interest in heritage activities. These include nostalgia, and the political and the commercial functionality of heritage. I argue that the ‘past’ is preserved and created not only because there is a demand for its revisit from ‘nostalgists’. I argue that it is also preserved to legitimate and validate ideas of modernity and progress.

1.2.1. Nostalgia: the Comfortable Past and the Uncertain Present and Future

In my exploration of nostalgia as a motivation for the preservation and creation of heritage, I will draw heavily from Lowenthal’s *The Past is a Foreign Country*.¹¹ According to Lowenthal, ‘escape’ from the present in the West provides a motivation for cultural heritage preservation. The past, according to Lowenthal, offers alternatives to an unacceptable present.¹² The past is seen as more comfortable than the future. The reason for this is that humans are ‘quite sure that the past really has its traces and memories reflect undeniable scenes and acts.’¹³ Moreover, Lowenthal argues that, in contrast with the past, the future may never arrive: ‘man or nature may destroy humanity’.¹⁴ He argues that ‘prospects of resource depletion, economic collapse, of nuclear Armageddon ... make the past a crucial haven.’¹⁵

⁹ See D.L. Uzzell, (ed.) *Heritage Interpretation: the Natural and Built Environment* Vol. 1. (London, Belhaven Press, 1989), pp. 3-4.

¹⁰ A.G.J. Dietvorst, ‘Cultural tourism and time-space behaviour’, Ashworth, G.J. and P.J. Larkham, *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe* (London, Routledge, 1994), p. 69.

¹¹ D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Technology and science which excite the 'partisans of progress' are now viewed by an increasing number of people as destructive. The past on the other hand, is 'tangible, and people think of it as fixed, unalterable and recorded.'¹⁶ Coupled with this, Lowenthal points out, is the 'refusal to face up to the dilemmas of the present.'¹⁷ This has amounted to the 'enormous popularity of reconstructed landscapes which were not known before.'¹⁸

Motivations for heritage preservation and creation, therefore, lie with what Lowenthal sees as the pervasiveness of nostalgia in Western industrial nations. The word nostalgia is associated with the sentimental yearning for past periods. It is a kind of universal catchword for looking back at earlier times.¹⁹ Nostalgia, according to Lowenthal, involves an 'imaginative reconstruction' of the past.²⁰ According to Lowenthal, it is the great changes of the times that have made nostalgia pervasive.²¹ The historical residues that have 'survived the past' and are created in the present, assist this 'imaginative reconstruction' of a past. These link nostalgists with the past, which in turn offers them a form of escapism. People visit historic sites to share and experience the past, which can be either familiar or unfamiliar to them, in this way enhancing their personal reminiscence. Heritage, therefore, has a functional purpose for nostalgists. This emphasis has been adopted by some other writers on heritage.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

One of these writers is Walsh. He argues that ‘there has been a growing need for “roots” as the experiences of (post-) modernity have intensified.’²² He argues that this growing need for the past is mainly fuelled by what he calls ‘time-space compression’, which is the main characteristic of the post-modern world. Globalising processes have brought social change mainly driven by ideas of progress which amount to a dissolving of familiar social environments. The inexorable flip side of this trend, according to these theories, is an increased sense of nostalgia. This, according to Lowenthal and Walsh, explains why there is increased preservation of heritage sites. There is another strand of theorising which points to political legitimisation, validation and ethnic or national unity as explanations for heritage preservation.

1.2.2. Heritage and its Political Functionality

According to Tunbridge and Ashworth, heritage can be used as a political resource to achieve two main objectives: to create ‘a’ nation and cement dominant ideologies within societies. Heritage has been used by politicians for political ends. In relation to the first objective, citing Lumley, Tunbridge and Ashworth argue that heritage can be used as a ‘political resource whereby national identities are constructed’²³ The usual cultural heritage that is used for such purposes is that which involves the suffering of the nation or its victories is usually the ones that are selected and developed into heritage. Heritage selected and developed, usually serves to unify the nation. According to Wright, the selection requires nothing less than the

²² Walsh, *The Representation of the Past*, p. 177. Also see, J. Urry, ‘Gazing on history’, in Boswell, D. and J. Evans, (eds) *Representing the Nation: a Reader, Histories, Heritage and Museums* (London, Routledge, 1999), p. 227.

²³ Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, p. 46. They cite, R. Lumley, (ed.) *The Museum Time Machine* (London, Routledge, 1988), p. 2.

name of a national heritage and projects that override social and political contradictions.²⁴ The importance of heritage as a source of political unity is not only limited to the nation, but also ethnic groups. Heritage has been seen as an important provider of a sense of identity, for either an ethnic group or a nation. It has been closely associated with the creation of unity amongst groups through its provision of a sense of identity and belonging among a particular ethnic group or nation. This has been the case in most parts of the world, especially in societies that have undergone drastic social transformation. Heritage, therefore, has been increasingly seen as an important building bloc in the making of ‘new’ nation-states.

An example would be Britain during the post-World War Two period. Heritage became important in restoring British national pride. The 1951 Festival of Britain, according to Samuel, was used to celebrate the beauties of British national life – ‘the British genius for compromise, the British love for fair play.’²⁵ Walsh further points out that reasons for the emergence of a ‘national heritage industry in Britain included its loss of Empire and the erosion of the power of landed classes since World War Two.’²⁶ He argues that this was not unique to Britain – it was also characteristic of other nation-states. He argues that heritage should be partly considered as an attempt to articulate an idea of “nation” at a time when many nation-states believe their power to be under threat. This threat is posed by multinational corporations that have become more powerful than some states. Heritage, in this case, has been useful in fostering patriotism in most parts of the world.

²⁴ P. Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: the National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London, Verso, 1985), p. 146.

²⁵ R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London, Verso, 1994), p. 219.

²⁶ Walsh, *The Representation of the Past*, p. 177.

The second use of heritage identified by Tunbridge and Ashworth is the validation of dominant ideologies. They point to the ‘dominant ideology thesis’ which states that heritage interpretation is framed with messages which are deliberately developed by ‘an existing or aspirant power elite to legitimise the existing dominant regime.’²⁷ According to the dominant ideology thesis, the selection and assembly of heritage is ‘indelibly linked to messages which are likely to have contemporary political consequences.’²⁸ Heritage, in this sense, is used as a tool to validate certain attitudes and actions, mainly of the political leaders, by affirming their contemporary actions and resemblance to former experiences.²⁹ Political actions here are justified by reference to the past. This kind of ‘historical precedent’ serves to legitimate what exists in the present, largely for political ends.³⁰ Aspects of the past are selected and developed into heritage to validate and legitimate collective or individual political claims. This is possible in relation to both physical and non-physical aspects of the past. Certain aspects of pasts can be carefully selected for development as heritage, with other ‘insignificant pasts’ being ignored because of their ‘uselessness’ as means of political validation and legitimation.

1.2.3. Heritage and Tourism: Tourism Resurgence and Economic Development

Heritage is also seen as an important economic resource. According to Tunbridge and Ashworth, if heritage plays a role in construction of political identities, then the commodification of the past can equally provide tradable products for the ‘economic

²⁷ Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, p. 47.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ See, Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 40.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

system'.³¹ The economic importance of heritage in the economic system is largely in tourism. Tourism is now big business internationally. In Britain, for example, by the mid-1980s tourism was the second largest earner of foreign currency: In 1984 nearly 200 million site visits were made.³² Spending by visitors on heritage sites in Britain was estimated at about 137 million pounds.³³ In 1994 this amount increased to about 24 billion pounds of foreign exchange.³⁴ The upsurge of heritage has been partly caused by the increased expansion and importance of tourism. Tourism has made heritage an industry, which is controlled and organised with an intention to yield a consumable product. Tourism is a marketing strategy by which heritage products are sold. Heritage and tourism have, therefore, become inextricably linked. The expansion of heritage, is therefore, a result of the expansion of tourism.

Indeed there is evidence that shows a global increase in tourism activities around the world. According to Urry, world-wide tourism would expand at a rate of 5-6 per cent per annum, tourism probably becoming the greatest source of employment by the year 2000.³⁵ The increase in tourism has also been a pattern in South Africa.³⁶ According to SATOUR reports, the period between the mid- and the late 1970s saw a decrease in the number of foreign tourists to South Africa. This was due to both external and internal factors. Externally, the

³¹ Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, p. 59.

³² P.J. Fowler, *The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now* (London, Routledge, 1992), p. 6.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London, Sage, 1990), p. 5.

³⁶ In tracing these trends, I drew largely from the South African Tourism Board annual reports from 1976 to 1995.

drop was caused by a world oil crisis which crippled the world economy. It was also caused internally, particularly by the unstable political environment in the years 1976 to 1977. From 1978 the growth in the number of foreign visitors picked up, but from 1985 it showed signs of decline. This was also due to the political turbulence that characterised the mid-1980s. A turning point came in 1990, when arrival figures exceeded one million visitors (generating about R2 474 million in earnings).³⁷ This increase was mainly due to the seismic change in South Africa's political climate.

Growth in the number of visitors continued. A continued decline in negative reports (mainly on the intensity of the apartheid system) in the international media and positive political developments which included the final lifting of trade and travel sanctions against South Africa in 1993, were seen as the primary causes of this increase in the number of foreign visitors to South Africa.³⁸ In 1995 the number of tourists to South Africa showed a further increase. Most tourists wanted to explore the rainbow nation that had been born. This increase was also caused by an additional pool of tourists from the Middle East and the Indian Ocean Islands, a trend that began in the 1990s.

My investigation of the reasons for the increase in tourism has not been extensive. I touch only briefly on some possible explanations for this increase. Improved communications and mobility, particularly in air travel, partly explain this increase. Also important is the existence of global inequalities between countries. Currencies in developing countries have been weaker as compared to, for example, the U.S. dollar and the British pound. Hence, for people from the

³⁷ SATOUR, *Annual Report of the South African Tourism Board*, 1991, (not paginated).

³⁸ See SATOUR Annual Reports, 1989 – 1993.

developed countries (those who want to fulfil their cultural, recreational and leisure needs), it becomes cheaper to spend their money in foreign lands such as countries in Africa, since those countries are price competitive.³⁹ The touring group is, therefore, expanded as many people from the developed industrial nations can afford to visit foreign countries.

The expansion of tourism has also been seen as part of a growing 'service class culture' whose members can afford touring around the world and within their countries.⁴⁰ The consumption of heritage has, therefore, gone some way to fulfil the cultural need of this expanding group. During the so called 'golden years' of Western Europe, which began in the 1950s and ended in the 1970s (its end caused partly by the OPEC oil crisis of 1973), there was a growth in food production, the stretching of life expectancy, population resurgence and technological advancement in the developed countries.⁴¹ However, important too in this period was the spreading mass market of goods and services (including tourism) that were previously confined to minorities to a mass market: this included tourism. According to de Kadt, this increase in the number of tourists, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, was the result of the growing affluence of the middle classes in western countries.⁴² Heritage, according to the above discussion, is preserved to meet the demands of this growing market, both for those

³⁹ This was the case in 1984 in South Africa when there was a 12,2% increase in the number of foreign visitors visiting the country. The rand's depreciation was held responsible for this increase. See *SATOUR Annual Report*, 1989, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Walsh, p. 125.

⁴¹ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: the Short Twentieth Century 1914 – 1991* (London, Michael Joseph, 1994), p. 275.

⁴² E. De Kadt, *Tourism: Passport to Development?: Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1976), p. ix.

who seek to learn and those who wish to be entertained. According to Ousby, tourism has increased as a service for those yearning for the 'good old days'.⁴³ The idea behind the development and preservation of heritage for this market, as pointed out above, is to promote economic development.

In this study I will identify patterns in the preservation, creation and development of cultural heritage to explain motivations for preservation. In identifying patterns and shifts in heritage preservation, I also engage with the subject of who influences the preservation or creation of heritage. Also part of the patterns identified here is the connection and disconnection between heritage preservation and academic historians.

1.3. South African Academic Historians, and Engagements with Heritage

In South Africa, academic historians have been involved with heritage in two ways – as experts in the production of heritage and as critics of the past presented as heritage. Studies of commemorations, the meanings of monuments, and interpretations of museum displays, described as public history in the West, are showing signs of growth within South Africa. In South African scholarly circles, engagement with heritage is a relatively recent development. Heritage and its meanings and usage have been largely addressed in academic forums through conferences and seminars. Work delivered in these forums has been published mainly in South African academic journals. It is becoming a norm for every conference to cover a heritage theme. The roots of this interest date back to the early 1990s.

⁴³ Ousby, I. *The Englishman's England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 7.

The first ‘heritage’ forum organised by academic historians was held in 1992 at the University of the Witwatersrand. In this conference there were signs that academic historians were showing increased willingness to engage with heritage themes. The conference on ‘Myths, Monuments, and Museums’ was held under the auspices of the History Workshop (HW) which, since 1977, had been producing academic work that contested the dominant historical paradigm which told history as if it was made by ‘White men’ only.⁴⁴ Civilisation and culture were presented as achievements by Whites under this paradigm. The HW also focused on a class dimension, stressing themes in popular social and political history. The HW committed itself to making ‘new histories available’ to people outside the academy. The 1992 conference was seen as consistent with the HW’s emphases, which had been made since 1977. A range of papers was presented by delegates from both the academy and the heritage sector. The main thread of the conference was that the past presented as heritage should change to accommodate different groups within South Africa. Monuments and their meanings was also an area which was explored during this conference.⁴⁵ Also a major part of the conference were papers that engaged with the exclusive and inclusive nature of heritage.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Author’s interview with C. Kros, Johannesburg, 16 Aug. 2001.

⁴⁵ See for example, D. Thelen, ‘Monuments and memory’, paper presented to a History Workshop conference on “Myths, Monuments, Museums: New Premises”, the University of the Witwatersrand, 16-18 July 1992, pp. 1-40.

⁴⁶ See for example, N. Worden, ‘Unwrapping history at the Cape Town Waterfront’, paper presented to a History Workshop conference on “Myths, Monuments, Museums: New Premises”, University of the Witwatersrand, 16 – 18 July, pp. 15 – 17. He also talks about ‘nostalgia’ evident in the Waterfront. See pp. 18 – 24.

In 1993, the *South African Historical Journal* published selected papers that were delivered during the 1992 conference. The journal volume featured L. Witz's article on the Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival Fair in Cape Town of 1952.⁴⁷ Witz argues that the Jan Van Riebeeck Festival served to justify the 'imperial project as a bearer of "civilisation"'.⁴⁸ Zulu people were present in their full 'tribal' dress and 'Bushmen' were on display during the festival. He argues the construction of these images (of both Zulu and Bushmen) served the purpose of hegemony and social control. The volume also included Delmont's article on the meaning of monuments, using the Voortrekker Monument as her case study. According to Delmont, the Voortrekker Monument commemorated the Afrikaner 'heroes' of the past and was used for building particular kinds of unity.⁴⁹ Her final conclusion is that heritage is used to entrench myths and further ideological interests. She highlighted heritage as an important political resource.

Academics' interest in heritage was, according to Johan Tempelhoff, influenced by the publication of Lowenthal's *Past is a Foreign Country*.⁵⁰ After the publication of this work, there was a marked critical rethinking of heritage. The HW conference and *SAHJ* papers were part of a trend that had already manifested itself in Britain, the U.S. and many European countries. In the South African situation the impact was even more comprehensive. The

⁴⁷ L. Witz, 'n Fees Vir Die Oog': looking in on the 1952 Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival Fair in Cape Town' *SAHJ* Vol. 29, 1993, pp. 5-27. Also see, C. Rassool and L. Witz, 'The 1952 Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: constructing and contesting public national history', paper presented to a History Workshop conference on "Myths, Monuments, Museums: New Premises", University of the Witwatersrand, 16 – 18 July 1992. L. Witz, C. Rassool and G. Minkley from University of the Western Cape, would become academic leaders in the field of heritage and history.

⁴⁸ Witz, 'n fees vir die oog', p. 12.

⁴⁹ E. Delmont, 'The Voortrekker Monument: monolith or myth' *SAHJ* Vol. 29, November 1993, p. 76.

⁵⁰ Author's interview with J. Tempelhoff, Durban, 18 July 2001.

country was in the process of transition to a majoritarian democracy. Power relations in the country were in the state of transition. The result was that many museums were anachronisms of a political and social dispensation that had been considerably eroded since 1989. Museums were amongst the last of institutions to make the transitions. Academic historians were critical of the slow rate of transition that was the order of the day in the museum sector.⁵¹ It was in this context that the HW conference was organised.

The second major academic forum which focused on heritage was 'The Future of the Past' conference which was held at the University of the Western Cape in 1996. The conference was organised by the Mayibuye Centre which felt that academic historians had 'been absent from the controversies surrounding the transformation of cultural sectors and state heritage in South Africa.'⁵² Moreover, the Centre felt that professional historians needed to 'acknowledge the diversity of historical practice'.⁵³ They therefore had to find new ways of making history that was 'relevant to South Africans'. Engaging with heritage was the immediate other sphere of historical practice. The conference was therefore a call for flexibility within the domains of the production of history.

An aspect which has been a major site of academic criticism of heritage in South Africa as been its commodification of the past. One of the academic centres which expressed its

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Author's interview with C. Kros, 16 Aug. 2001.

⁵² L. Waldman, 'The past: who owns it and what should we do about it' *SAHJ* Vol. 35, 1996, p. 149.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

frustration with this was the University of Natal history department in Durban.⁵⁴ It was partly for this reason that it organised a workshop on ‘Heritage, History and Tourism’, held on 20 November 1998.⁵⁵ The workshop was held to debate the issues raised in J. Guy’s paper, ‘Battling with banality’.⁵⁶ Guy’s paper was an attack on the commercial presentations of battlefield history for tourist consumption in KwaZulu-Natal. He was also critical of academic historians who participate in such presentations. Representatives from among academic historians, the tourism industry and other heritage sectors gave papers with a focus, as might be expected, on KwaZulu-Natal. J. Guy was central in the argument against the presentation of history as a commodity for a specific market.⁵⁷ He pointed to the link between the selling of the past through tourism and impoverishment. Talking specifically about the commodification of Anglo-Zulu War battle sites, Guy pointed to an uneasy relationship between the ‘local’ impoverished people and the rich tourists. Guy saw problems with this, especially since dispossession and impoverishment began with the war which is now a heritage attraction for tourists to KwaZulu-Natal.⁵⁸ He argued that the war led directly to today’s economic domination where ‘we see the “rich tourist” versus the “poor toured”’.⁵⁹ Based on this, Guy pointed to an existing tension between academic and market imperatives. He was quite critical

⁵⁴ Author’s interview with J Guy, Durban, 12 June 2000.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Natal Witness*, 27 November 1998. Also see, J. Guy, ‘Battling with banality’ *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* Vol. 18, 1998, pp. 156-193.

⁵⁷ J. Guy, ‘Tourism with integrity’, paper presented to a workshop on “Heritage, History and Tourism”, University of Natal, Durban, 20 November 1998. On criticism of tourist presentation of aspects of South African pasts, see, C. Rassool and L. Witz, ‘South Africa: a world in one country: moments in international tourist encounters with wildlife, the primitive and the modern’, *Cahiers d’Etudes Africaines* Vol. 143, No. xxxvi, 1996, pp. 335 – 371. Also see, C. Rassool and G. Minkley, ‘Tourist memories of Africa’, http://www.celat.ulaval.ca/franco/CAPE1/rassool_witz.htm

⁵⁸ Guy, ‘Tourism with integrity’, 20 November 1998.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

of the history that is presented in what is called the 'heritage industry'. Also in the same session, J. Wright pointed to the limits of heritage in KwaZulu-Natal. He argued that heritage in KwaZulu-Natal needs to be historicised.⁶⁰ He pointed to the major icons of tourist presentation of the history of KwaZulu-Natal, the 'brave British soldier' and the 'brave Zulu warrior'. He argued that there is a neglect of other important aspects of the KwaZulu-Natal past(s). In pointing to the above limits, Wright argued that heritage needs to be studied and analysed. Drawing from the discussion initiated by J. Carruthers in on H-AFRICA, an e-mail subscription list, Wright pointed to the need for academic history to look beyond itself and to recognise the validity of other forms of history.⁶¹ C. Rassool, who was tasked to be a discussant during the workshop, argued along a trajectory explored by Wright. Rassool pointed to the moves in the recent years by 'radical academic historians' who were moving from 'popular history to public history' not just in terms of research, but also in terms of policy.⁶² He pointed to the important role that academic historians have played in the formulation of heritage policies in South Africa. He also pointed to the museum and heritage training offered in the University of the Western Cape and argued that students are no longer trained to be history teachers, but for heritage (to work as tour operators, in museums and monuments) and its multiple contestations.⁶³

⁶⁰ J. Wright, 'Heritage: where do academics fit in (or not)?', paper presented to a workshop on "Heritage, History and Tourism", University of Natal, Durban, 20 November 1998.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* On the e-mail discussion, see J. Carruthers, 'Heritage and History', AFRICA FORUM No. 2, H-AFRICA (List for African History and Culture), 20 October 1998. Carruthers was critical of the history that is presented as heritage.

⁶² C. Rassool, Summing up the workshop on "Heritage, History and Tourism", University of Natal, Durban, 20 November 1998.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

The theme of heritage was further treated at the South African Historical Society (SAHS) conference held at the University of Western Cape in July 1999. Papers linking heritage with both business and politics were presented and panel discussions took place on these matters, with a greater focus and interest on 'reality' in the representations of the past.⁶⁴ I should point out that a publication which is typical of academic engagements with heritage in South Africa is Rassool's 'Rise of Heritage'.⁶⁵ Using post-apartheid South Africa as his case study, Rassool integrates academic historians' engagements with heritage, heritage's relationship to tourism and its use in the creation of the rainbow nation. According to Rassool, academic energies should not be directed to critiquing what he calls 'visual histories' and emphasis on hierarchy, viewing heritage as subordinate.⁶⁶ Rather academics should embark on a fruitful exploration of these histories. This, according to Rassool, can contribute to the fundamental reconstitution of the discipline of history in South Africa.⁶⁷ In addition, Rassool concludes that the heritage domain has become the most important sphere in which contests over South African pasts have been taking place.⁶⁸

In addition to conferences and publications outlined above, the NEXUS website yields evidence which shows that a number of projects sponsored by the Human Science Research

⁶⁴ See for example, L. Witz, G. Minkley and C. Rassool, 'Who speaks for "South African" pasts?' paper presented at the South African Historical Society (SAHS) conference on "Not Telling: Secrecy, Lies and History", University of Western Cape, July 1999, pp. 1-29.

⁶⁵ C. Rassool, 'The rise of heritage and the reconstruction of history in South Africa' *Kronos* No. 26, 2000, pp. 1-21.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4-5.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Council (HSRC) are carried out on the field of heritage. Major current projects on heritage indicate that Witz, Rassool and Minkley are presently ahead of most historians in South Africa in terms of engagements with heritage. They have authored a book which is still forthcoming, titled 'South Africa and the Spectacle of Public History'.⁶⁹ There are other interesting current projects in this field, particularly K. Koperski's 'The heritage and perceptions of Islamic Art in Natal' and B.B. Maritz' 'The Hindu Temples in the Natal coastal area: a Natal heritage'. Witz for example is working on a publication of his doctoral thesis on the Jan Van Riebeeck Festival. In addition to this, Witz is also working on a 'project on public past', a project which was started in 1999.⁷⁰

Indicated above is evidence of a growing interest in engaging with heritage amongst South African academic historians. In addition to these projects, some academic historians are encouraging training of students and participation of academic historians in what they see as a new area of historical practice.⁷¹ Clearly, public history is growing as a field of study in South Africa. My study can be seen within the increased academic interest in heritage. As pointed out, my study focuses, partly on the meaning of specific heritage projects in KwaZulu-Natal.

An academic study which is partly looks at this is by P. Forsyth. In his study of Chief M.G. Buthelezi's use of the past he has, to a limited extent, pointed to Buthelezi's use of museums

⁶⁹ See <http://csd.hsrb.ac.za/nexuslogin.html> a National Research Fund (NRF) site for completed and current researches in humanities.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Author's interviews with C. Kros, 16 Aug. 2000 and Tempelhoff, 18 July 2001.

to entrench his versions of history.⁷² Despite devoting a few pages to this usage of cultural heritage, Forsyth does not show how the museums served to present Buthelezi's version(s) of the past. He largely examines the speeches that Buthelezi presented to analyse the use of the past as a tool for political legitimation. There is therefore, little detailed study of the meaning and usage of cultural heritage in KwaZulu-Natal (particularly historical sites and monuments), an aspect which motivated my indulgence in this study. The contextual and shifting motivations for heritage preservation, the processes of the preservation and creation of heritage, the individuals involved in these processes, and the roles played by academic historians represent the major focus of my study of cultural heritage in KwaZulu-Natal.

1.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided a working conception of heritage, a task which has not received much attention in published academic South African academic texts. J. Wright is among the few South African academic historians who have attempted to conceptualise heritage. In his conceptualisation, he differentiated between heritage and academic history. He argued that heritage is about celebration of selected aspects of pasts.⁷³ Heritage is 'a feel good history, as opposed to feel-bad history, he argued.'⁷⁴ In this sense, heritage is different to academic history which is critical, relies on sources and also questions. Academic history relies on argument rather than assertion.⁷⁵ He argued, like religion, heritage is based on faith,

⁷² P.D.S. Forsyth, 'The past as the present: Chief A.N.M.G. Buthelezi's use of history as a source of political legitimation', M.A. thesis, Department of historical Studies, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1989, pp. 153 and 167.

⁷³ J. Wright, 'Heritage: where do academics fit in (or not)?', workshop, University of Natal, Durban, 20 November 1998.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

not argument.⁷⁶ This kind of conceptualisation of heritage was evident in the SAHS 1999 conference, expressed during a panel discussion on heritage, chaired by Witz. It seems an accepted conceptualisation, particularly within the academy. Within this conceptualisation, heritage is assumed as that which deals with the cultural and historical past. The environmental science aspects are, therefore, ignored as important aspects in the conceptualisation of heritage. In avoiding falling into this trap, in my study I analyse specific aspects of heritage which can be described as cultural heritage.

I have argued that heritage is, at its simplest, inherited. I have pointed out that in many cases the past that becomes heritage is emphasised by those in the upper echelons of the society. Cultural heritage preservation in KwaZulu-Natal, in many cases, has not been motivated by 'ordinary' people. Pasts selected by those who have less power are unlikely to become official heritage. The values and meanings that can attach to those pasts might not compete with those who hold power in the society. I have also pointed to the importance of ideas of value and meaning, which I have argued are central to any conception of heritage. I have placed a greater emphasis on these ideas not only because they are important, integral aspects of heritage, but also because they provide a useful conceptual framework for what this study seeks to explore. The study is concerned with explaining contextual motivations for the preservation of cultural heritage. It is for this reason that I have explored theories about motivations for cultural heritage preservation. These are closely linked to, even indistinguishable from, the values of cultural heritage. The motivations or values that I have selected for this study include the past as a service for nostalgia, politics and economics.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Also interview with J. Guy, 12 June 2000.

In the context of KwaZulu-Natal, the nostalgia theory does not seem applicable as an explanation for the cultural heritage preservation activities that took place during the period beginning in 1977 when the KwaZulu 'homeland' was formerly established. Rather, cultural heritage preservation was, I will argue, motivated by values of political validation and legitimation. Exploring patterns and shifts, I will also indicate that cultural heritage preservation was motivated by ideas of progress, namely economic development, through tourism. The next chapter looks at the period when the KwaZulu 'homeland' was established. This process was coupled with the establishment of conventional political structures. In providing this kind of background, I go on to argue that cultural heritage preservation was, like these political structures, an important aspect of the rebirth of KwaZulu. Cultural heritage, like political structures, had a significant political role in KwaZulu in the period between 1977 and 1985.

CHAPTER 2. The 'Rebirth of KwaZulu' and the KwaZulu Monuments Council: Mobilisations and the Prioritisation of Cultural Heritage, 1977 – 1985

This chapter seeks to test aspects of the frameworks outlined in the previous one. In 1972, KwaZulu was established as a 'homeland' as part of the South African government's separate development system. The process towards the complete establishment of KwaZulu as a 'homeland' was completed 1977. It was during the period after this that cultural heritage in KwaZulu was given importance. In the process, a range of aspects, identified as key to the understanding of heritage in the previous chapter, were at play. Those who held power in the new KwaZulu 'homeland' initiated cultural heritage preservation. Influential in this was Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was the main leader of the KwaZulu 'homeland'. He initiated projects and led the cultural heritage preservation committees that were established in KwaZulu in ways which furthered his political interests. I will use his speeches to point to connections with cultural heritage projects that were carried out during the period between the late 1970s and mid-1980s.

In exploring these patterns I will first look at the birth of KwaZulu, a result of national apartheid policy. I will argue that this process gave Buthelezi more power as a political leader of KwaZulu the Zulu nation that was (re)constructed. In this leadership role, Buthelezi was central in the establishment of cultural heritage committees in the late 1970s and early 1980s. I will then point to the origins of the Ondini project and the KwaZulu Monuments Council (KMC). I will examine the sites that were identified and selected by the KwaZulu Cabinet and the KMC for development and preservation. Alongside this, the publication of popular historical texts on the Zulu was supported. Also linked were the cultural heritage projects that were selected during this period. Political ideas of validation and legitimation of Buthelezi's

leadership of the Zulu nation motivated both cultural heritage projects and publications. This, I will argue, was to cause a disconnection between academics that were involved in the publications of aspects of Zulu history, and the rebirth of KwaZulu. I will close this chapter with an analysis of the selective commemoration of Zulu royal cultural heritage. In doing this, I will focus largely on King Dingane, while King Shaka's cultural heritage is analysed in the next chapter.

2.1. The Birth of New Structures and the Centrality of Buthelezi in KwaZulu

In the early 1970s, the South African government started to implement its 'homeland' system in KwaZulu. This system was part of the official policy which was articulated as apartheid policy. In KwaZulu, the political leadership led by M.G. Buthelezi took advantage of the system and consolidated its power bases using Zulu ethnicity and Zulu history. The appeal to Zulu ethnicity by Buthelezi intensified with the establishment of KwaZulu. In fact, it was during this period and through the 'homeland' structures that Buthelezi began to assert himself as the leader of the Zulu nation. New institutions and structures that were established in this period became important machinery for the reconstruction of the Zulu ethnic nationalism and Buthelezi's leadership of it.

One of these early institutions was the Zulu Territorial Authority (ZTA), established under the Black States Constitution Act No. 21 of 1971. The apartheid policy was founded on ethnic separation, the establishment of ethnically based administrations, and represented an attempt

to meet threats to white supremacy.¹ Increased worker militancy in the 1950s and rapid urbanisation by African people was one of the pressures exerted on the South African government.² The separate development system that saw the establishment of the ZTA sought to meet these pressures. Following the establishment of the ZTA, further developments towards the establishment of the KwaZulu ‘homeland’ occurred.

On 30 March 1972, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) came into being, with 75 nominated and 55 elected members.³ The KwaZulu Executive Council (KEC) was established as an executive body in the governance of the ‘homeland’ that was in the process of creation. The KEC was headed by the Chief Councillor, M.G. Buthelezi. KwaZulu was not a geographically unified area. It was composed of part of the historical Zululand – an area north of the Thukela and south of the Phongolo River, and several areas within the boundaries of Natal. The creation of the KLA was a first step in the granting of ‘self-government’ to KwaZulu. This was important to Buthelezi as it signalled the ‘rebirth of KwaZulu’.⁴ Towards further political consolidation, Buthelezi established a political movement which mobilised around ‘Zulu’ ethnicity.

¹ G. Mare and G. Hamilton, *Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of Loyal Resistance* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987), p. 29.

² *Ibid.*

³ See *Republic of South Africa Government Gazette*, No. 3436, Proclamation 70, 1972. Also see, T.G. Karis and G.M. Gerhard, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990, Vol. 5: Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979* (Pretoria, Unisa Press, 1997), p. 254.

⁴ APC, Natal Room Collection, Gerhard Mare Collection (hereafter GMC), PC 126/2, ‘A Luncheon Address to Members of the Rotary Club of Durban South. By Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Durban, 20 November. 1972’.

The year 1975 saw the launching of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement). According to Mare and Hamilton, Inkatha arose as a Zulu organisation which was inextricably tied to the KwaZulu 'homeland' structures.⁵ There is quite a detailed published history of Inkatha and a range of explorations of its role in KwaZulu. In this study I do not intend to engage in this area.⁶ Rather, I want to highlight the idea that Inkatha provided another structure for both the elevation of Buthelezi as a prominent leader in KwaZulu (some would say in South Africa) and the expression of 'Zulu' nationalism that was rejuvenated during this period. The KwaZulu Government structures, particularly at executive levels, had a symbiotic relationship with Inkatha.⁷ Key figures in the KLA and the KwaZulu Cabinet were members of Inkatha. Buthelezi said that 'no one escapes being a member [of Inkatha] as long as he or she is a member of the Zulu nation.'⁸ Inkatha was formed when KwaZulu had not become a self-governing territory. Further developments in this regard took place two years after the formation of Inkatha.

On 1 February 1977, KwaZulu became a self-governing territory in accordance with the provisions of the Black States Constitution Act. The KwaZulu Executive Council became a Cabinet, and the Councillors became Ministers, headed by the Chief Minister (M.G.

⁵ Mare and Hamilton, *Appetite for Power*, p. 60.

⁶ See, *Ibid.*, pp. 45-97.

⁷ T.G. Karis and G.M. Gerhard, *From Protest to Challenge*, p. 253.

⁸ *Verbatim Report of the Special Sessions of the Fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly* (hereafter *KLA Debates*), Vol. 5, 9-18 April 1975, p. 134.

Buthelezi) instead of Chief Councillor.⁹ One can say that this was the last stage in the official administrative creation of the KwaZulu homeland. In the homeland system certain responsibilities, such as external affairs and defence, remained the prerogative of the South African government and not the KwaZulu Government.¹⁰ This was the case since KwaZulu was not an 'independent sovereign state'. Significant in the establishment of the KwaZulu 'homeland' and the KwaZulu Cabinet was that the establishment of these structures elevated Buthelezi's leadership.¹¹ The official position that he obtained through these structures, according to Karis and Gerhard, enabled him to predominate over other chiefs and over King Goodwill Zwelithini.¹² Buthelezi was also able to sideline opposition within Inkatha.

Notable was the removal of Sibusiso Bhengu, Inkatha's general secretary since 1975, from the movement in 1979.¹³ According to Karis and Gerhard, Bhengu was dismissed because he was popular with students, mainly due to his criticisms of the exploitation of the workers. Buthelezi also successfully dealt with chiefs that opposed him in KwaZulu. These were mainly Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo and Chief Elphas Molefe.¹⁴ Maphumulo, who was

⁹ Thorrington-Smith, Rosenberg and McCrystal, Town and Regional Planning Consultants Development Economists, *Towards a Plan for KwaZulu: a Preliminary Development Plan* (Ulundi, KwaZulu Government, 1978), p. 7.

¹⁰ Thorrington-Smith, Rosenberg and McCrystal, *Towards a Plan for KwaZulu*, p. 7.

¹¹ D. Bonnin, G. Hamilton, R. Morrell and A. Sitas, 'Struggle for Natal and KwaZulu: workers, township dwellers and Inkatha, 1972-1985', in Morrell, R. (ed.) *Political Economy and identities in KwaZulu-Natal: Historical and Social Perspectives* (Durban, Indicator Press, 1996), p. 147. According to Bonnin *et al*, the composition of the KwaZulu Cabinet itself and Buthelezi's manipulation of KwaZulu elections further entrenched Buthelezi's power in the KwaZulu Cabinet.

¹² Karis and Gerhard, p. 253.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

¹⁴ See, *Echo*, 13 March 1980, *Natal Witness*, 28 March 1980, *Natal Witness*, 29 March 1980. On Molefe, see Mare and Hamilton, p. 32. Although they do not go into detail on this conflict, they do highlight the existence of the conflict during this period.

chief of the Maphumulo 'tribe' in the Mpumalanga Regional Authority, was accused by Buthelezi of a plot to overthrow the KwaZulu Government.¹⁵ He was also accused of encouraging King Zwelithini to resist the law which required that the King of the Zulu people 'hold himself aloof from politics'.¹⁶ Buthelezi's conflicts with Maphumulo resulted in the replacement of the chief as chairman of the Mpumalanga Regional Authority on instructions from Buthelezi.¹⁷ Buthelezi was equally successful against Molefe, chief of the Sotho people in the Nquthu District. Chief Molefe challenged Buthelezi's 'appeals to Zulu ethnicity under the banner of a common history and heritage.'¹⁸ According to Forsyth, Molefe and his Sotho-speaking following refused to be part of KwaZulu and wanted to create their own 'Sotho mini-homeland'.¹⁹ These moves were not successful, as the Nquthu area remained under KwaZulu, and an Inkatha branch was opened there in 1981.²⁰ Clearly, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Buthelezi was the most influential leader in KwaZulu.

He was thus 'free' to lead the ethnic mobilisation that was to characterise the 1980s. This ethnic mobilisation and the promotion of the personal political interests of Buthelezi, was advanced through the conventional political spheres (through structures outlined above).

¹⁵ *The Star*, 22 Oct. 1977.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Echo*, 24 April 1980.

¹⁸ P.D.S. Forsyth, 'The past as the present: chief A.N.M.G. Buthelezi's use of history as a source of political legitimation', Master of Arts Thesis, Department of Historical Studies, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1989, p. 127.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Also see *KLA Debates*, Vol. 6, 21-30 April 1975, p. 380.

²⁰ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'Inauguration of Inkatha Branches in the Molefe Area. Speech by the Hon. Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha; Chairman of the South African Black Alliance and Chief Minister of KwaZulu. Molefe Area, Nquthu District. 24 October 1981'.

However, as I will show here, cultural heritage was also central in the ethnic mobilisation that was promoted in KwaZulu. It also linked up with the promotion of Buthelezi's personal interests. The political interests of both Buthelezi and the 'Zulu nation' would be advanced in the cultural sphere. The preservation and, to some extent, the reshaping of the Zulu ethnic nationalist heritage were important in this regard.

Besides the establishment of new conventional political structures to formerly establish the KwaZulu 'homeland', there was the cultural rebirth, which was equally important to Buthelezi and some members of the KwaZulu leadership. In this regard, much energy was devoted towards the reconstruction of carefully chosen aspects of Zulu people's cultural heritage. Cultural heritage was therefore important to Buthelezi and some members of the KwaZulu leadership. As I will show in this chapter, there was an explicit link between cultural heritage preservation and political mobilisation in the period between the late 1970s and mid 1980s. This was partly symbolised by the formation of the 'informal' KwaZulu Monuments Committee (a forerunner to the KwaZulu Monuments Council), soon after the formation of the KLA.²¹ This committee saw Ondini II (King Cetshwayo's royal residence and the capital of the Zulu kingdom from 1872 – 1879) as an important starting point in this cultural rebirth of KwaZulu. The Ondini II project, and the origins and projects of the KMC were, as I will show here, evidence of the close relationship between cultural heritage and politics in this period.

²¹ M.G. Buthelezi, 'The approach of the KwaZulu Government to museums and the preservation of our cultural heritage', *SAMAB* Vol. 17, No. 4, 1986, p. 175.

2.2. Reconstructing King Cetshwayo's 'Great Place': a Brief Background, the KMC and Significant Cultural Heritage(s)

A brief historical background of the structural and legislative context of national heritage preservation (particularly relating to monuments) is an important introduction to the institutionalisation of cultural heritage preservation in KwaZulu. At a national level, formal cultural heritage preservation began in 1923. During this year, the first legislation to protect monuments, the Natural and Historical Monuments Act, was passed. The Act established the first official body responsible for the preservation of South Africa's heritage – the Commission for the Preservation of the Natural and Historical Monuments of the Union (commonly known as the Historical Monuments Commission).²² The Historical Monuments Commission (HMC) compiled a register of the monuments of South Africa, and passed laws that protected these monuments.

In 1934 the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act No. 4 replaced the previous Act. Through this Act, the HMC was given powers to recommend to the relevant minister that a place or object be officially declared a monument by notice in the Government Gazette.²³ More significant changes occurred in the late 1960s. These were marked by the passing of a new legislation, the National Monuments Act No. 28 of 1969.²⁴ Under this Act, a statutory body, the National Monuments Council (NMC), replaced the HMC. The NMC was given additional powers to protect monuments – known as declared 'national monuments' and other aspects of South African heritage.²⁵

²² See Section 1 (1) of the Act in *Gazette Extraordinary* No. 1311, 10 April 1923.

²³ *Government Gazette*, Proclamation No. 66, 4 May 1934.

²⁴ See the *Republic of South Africa Government Gazette* Vol. 46, No. 2343.

²⁵ See *Ibid.*, p. 4, Section 5 of the National Monuments Act.

The National Monuments Act accommodated all measures necessary for conservation of 'historic buildings and townscapes'.²⁶ Moreover, significant improvements in the legislation were made from previous laws. These included the introduction of provisional declaration of national monuments. This enabled the NMC to protect immovable properties for a maximum period of five years while it investigated the desirability of permanent declaration. As indicated, a detailed exploration of the legislative development of heritage legislation is not the intention of this brief section of the study.²⁷ Rather, the motive is to highlight that there were existing heritage legislative frameworks and structures which could possibly shape the emergence of the KwaZulu heritage legislation. The NMC, just like the HMC, had neglected sites associated with Zulu history as national monuments. It failed to do this even when 'native' administrators in the late 1930's and 1940s had pushed for the formal recognition of Zulu heritage.

H.C. Lugg, who was Chief Native Commissioner of Natal in the 1930s had identified Zulu cultural heritage sites, mainly those associated with the Zulu royalty.²⁸ These included sites relating to King Shaka, King Dingane, King Mpande and King Cetshwayo. In the case of Shaka, the focus was Shaka's grave which was declared a national monument by the HMC in 1939. In the case of Dingane, the focus of Lugg and the HMC was on his 'spring' at Mthonjaneni, his Mgungundlovu royal homestead and his grave. In the case of Mpande, the

²⁶ *Government Gazette*, Vol. 46, No. 2343, p. 2.

²⁷ For a detailed account of the development of heritage legislation, see C. van Riet Lowe and B.D. Malan (eds) *The Monuments of South Africa* 2nd ed. (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1949).

²⁸ See H.C. Lugg, *Life Under a Zulu Shield* (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1975), pp. 89-110.

focus was on the site of his former homestead, Nodwengu. In the case of Cetshwayo, his Ondini homestead was seen as worthy of preservation.²⁹ In 1940 a 'small part' of the Ondini site was fenced and declared a national monument.³⁰ Lugg was exploring the possibilities of the declaration of the sites associated with these kings as national monuments. With the exception of the King Shaka grave site and the Ondini site, none of the above sites were declared national monuments under the HMC. When the NMC took over the preservation of heritage from HMC in 1969, it inherited the management of these heritage sites. In 1975, Buthelezi wrote to the NMC requesting them to declare as national monuments sites relating to Zulu history.³¹ He was not successful in this.

It was evident for Buthelezi that he could not rely on the NMC to preserve Zulu cultural heritage in KwaZulu. There was, therefore, a need for new legislation since the National Monuments Act of 1969 was subjected to the provisions of the Black States Constitution Act of 1971. This meant that the jurisdiction of the NMC fell away within the self-governing territory of KwaZulu. The NMC's preservation activity was focused in Natal. Unlike defence,

²⁹ See, AKN Office, Pietermaritzburg, Ondini, Mahlabathini: Cetshwayo's Kraal (hereafter OMCK) file, Vol. 1, file No. 2/5/7/11; H.C. Lugg (Chief Native Commissioner: Natal) to the Secretary for Native Affairs: Pretoria, 23 June 1938 and 9 Nov. 1938. Also see H.C. Lugg to the Secretary of the Historical Monuments Commission (HMC), 17 Nov. 1938, file No. 2/5/7/11. For the period between the early 1940s and mid 1940s, see correspondence between H.C. Ward (Acting Assistant Native Commissioner: Mahlabathini) and Secretary of the Historical Monuments Commission (HMC). For the period from the late 1940s to 1950s, see correspondence between C.E. Mayer (Assistant Native Commissioner: Mahlabathini) and the Secretary of the HMC. See particularly, H.C. Ward to Secretary of HMC, 19 Nov. 1941, and C.E. Mayer to the Chief Native Commissioner, 11 Aug. 1945, file No. 2/5/7/11.

³⁰ M.G. Buthelezi, 'The KwaZulu Government, museums and cultural heritage' *SAMAB* Vol. 17, No. 4, 1986, p. 176.

³¹ AKN, Pmb, OMCK file, Vol. 1, 2/5/7/11, M.G. Buthelezi to the Secretary of Historical Monuments Commission [referring to NMC], 27 March 1975.

cultural heritage preservation was one of the symbolic features of ‘homeland’ independence, and the Ondini reconstruction project was to be the major new initiative.

2.2.1. (Re)creating Ondini Cultural Heritage: Buthelezi’s Idea and the Quest for Authenticity

The original idea of the reconstruction of Cetshwayo’s Ondini II homestead came with Chief Minister, Buthelezi.³² He proposed the idea to the KwaZulu Cabinet, saying that ‘for some years I have felt the need to recreate a Zulu village exactly as it may have been 100 years ago, as far as this is possible.’³³ He argued that the reconstruction of King Cetshwayo’s ‘Great Place’ would provide many advantages to the Zulu. What he had in mind as the finished product was ‘a replica of his Place exactly as it would have been, occupied at least by one family who will dress traditionally, have a herd of cattle and domestic animals and practice traditional skills such as the forging of iron, skin curing and the preparation of foods etc.’³⁴ Buthelezi emphasised the need for ‘authenticity’ in the reconstruction of Cetshwayo’s ‘Place’. He argued, ‘I do not think that a blade of grass should be cut or a sod of earth turned, until there has been proper research and planning.’³⁵ It is in this light that he proposed the establishment of the Planning and Research Committee for the Reconstruction of Ondini.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali Headquarters (hereafter AKN), Ulundi, KwaZulu Planning and Research Committee (hereafter KPRC) file, M.G. Buthelezi, Chief Minister, Memorandum to the Cabinet (undated).

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

The Department of Chief Minister and Finance, headed by Buthelezi, then invited experts to participate in the formation of the Planning and Research Committee.³⁶ He received positive responses from ‘heritage practitioners’ in both KwaZulu and Natal. In 1979 the Committee held its pre-launch meeting with J.K. Dladla (Organiser of Cultural Affairs within KwaZulu’s Department of Education and Culture), G.A. Chadwick (National Monuments Council), G.B. Cunningham (Architect) and J.A. Pringle (Natal Museum). Also part of the Committee was Chief Buthelezi and six Cabinet Ministers, three representatives of the Zulu King, the Zulu Royal Family and the KwaZulu Development Corporation.³⁷ R. Rawlinson and T. Maggs (an archaeologist from the Natal Museum) joined the Committee at a later stage. Important here was the balance between representatives of the KwaZulu Cabinet and Government, the Royal Family, and specialists.³⁸ Buthelezi chaired the meetings of the Committee, which were held in the KwaZulu Cabinet building in Ulundi. The Minister of Education and Culture chaired meetings in Buthelezi’s absence.³⁹ The decision to reconstruct Cetshwayo’s ‘Place’ at Ondini was taken on 11 March 1980 during the official launch of the Planning and Research Committee.⁴⁰ Here plans were laid for the partial reconstruction of Ondini II.

As pointed out above, a small part of the Ondini II had been declared a National Monument in 1940. Plans of the Committee called for archaeological excavations and research to establish

³⁶ AKN, Ulundi, KPRC file, The Department of Chief Minister and Finance to J. Pringle, 14 Dec. 1979. Also see, AKN Office, Pietermaritzburg; Ondini, Mahlabathini: Cetshwayo’s Kraal (hereafter OMCK) Vol. 1, G.A. Chadwick, (NMC: Natal Regional Office) to Prof. Nkabinde (Rector: University of Zululand), 19 March 1980.

³⁷ Buthelezi, ‘The approach of the KwaZulu Government’, p. 175.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 175 – 176.

³⁹ AKN, Ulundi, KPRC file, Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting of the Planning and Research Committee for the Reconstruction of Ondini, Cabinet Conference Room, Ulundi, 11 March 1980.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

knowledge about the ground plan. This would be followed by the reconstruction of parts of the site. There was, however, uncertainty with reference to terminology to describe Ondini II. Committee members were not sure whether to refer to the site as 'Ondini Great Place' or 'Ondini Royal Residence'.⁴¹ As a final decision could not be reached, the matter was taken to the Cabinet, which opted for the latter term.⁴² On 13 July 1981 the reconstruction of Ondini was officially launched with archaeologist R. Rawlinson starting excavations.

A viewsite coupled with a toposcope, a diorama, a fully equipped museum complex, a curio shop and an amphitheatre, were planned, while the Royal Residence would be 'a living, working entity with pottery, iron smelting and working, the preparation of skins for clothing or shields, typical Zulu agriculture, and cattle raising being practised in the typical Zulu way.'⁴³ The 'Royal huts', the palisade, the entrances, the princes and commander's huts and some military huts would be reconstructed.⁴⁴ Excavation of existing hut floors and research into the shape and dimension of Ondini was seen as an important aspect of the project. In 1981 the excavation of the hut floors was begun by Rawlinson, and progressed throughout 1982. In 1983, the outer palisade of the Royal Residence was erected. The cattle byre (*isibaya*) was also palisaded. Furthermore, a number of huts were reconstructed over the original floors exposed by excavation. The Ondini Royal Residence was opened on 24 November 1984. The period after the opening was characterised by the ongoing maintenance of the site.

⁴¹ AKN, Ulundi, KZPRC file, Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Planning and Research Committee for the Reconstruction of Ondini, Cabinet Conference Room, Ulundi, 15 Jan. 1981. For the model of the Ondini Royal Residence that was proposed, see Illustration 1 of this thesis.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.* Also see *Natal Mercury*, 30 July 1981.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Buthelezi was central in the emergence of the Ondini project. It was from his vision that the project emerged. He got support from both the KwaZulu government and some 'white' Natalians who were knowledgeable about aspects of cultural heritage preservation. Explaining the willingness of white experts from Natal to participate in the preservation of Zulu cultural heritage during this period has been one of the difficult tasks of this study. In fact I have not found a convincing explanation for this phenomenon. To speculate, during the late 1970s there was increased interest in the Anglo-Zulu War in Natal. This was mainly the result of the centenary of the war, which was celebrated in 1979 in Natal. I suspect, fuelled by these celebrations, that there was a growing interest in Zulu culture and the need for its preservation.

The Anglo-Zulu War commemorations were largely organised by white individuals from Natal under G.A. Chadwick of the NMC. The KwaZulu government also created a committee under F.T. Mdlalose, the Minister of Interior, to 'collaborate' in commemorations. Interestingly, the committee created in KwaZulu was also dominated by white Natalians, nominated by Buthelezi. A.B. Colenbrander, E.W. Hastie and I. Player, described by Buthelezi as Zulus, formed this committee.⁴⁵ The interest shown by these individuals, coupled with a possible lack of expertise by Zulu people in the area of commemorations, are possible factors for their involvement. These factors do provide the groundwork for further thinking about the participation of white experts on the Planning and Research Committee. This white group was also co-operative in the attempts to establish a formal monuments body specifically

⁴⁵ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'Anglo-Zulu War Centenary 1879 to 1979. Speech at a Function to Commemorate the Battle of Ulundi – the Final Battle of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. By Prince Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha YeNkululeko YeSizwe. Ulundi War Memorial: 26 May 1979'.

for the preservation of KwaZulu cultural heritage. The establishment of the Planning and Research Committee co-existed with attempts to establish a KwaZulu monuments body.

2.2.2. The Birth of the KMC and its Priorities

In 1977, there were attempts to establish a committee that would formulate legislation for the preservation of heritage in KwaZulu. The KwaZulu National Monuments Committee was established, closely attached to the Department of Education and Culture, and headed by J.A.W. Nxumalo. The developments towards the establishment of a formal statutory body for the protection and conservation of KwaZulu heritage were marked by the emergence of a Bill to establish this structure.

The Bill was drawn up and discussed in 1977. It was given to G.A. Chadwick (who was both a member of the KwaZulu National Monuments Committee and the Natal Branch of the National Monuments Council (NMC)), 'to make additions and amendments to the Bill based on the Republican Act [the National Monuments Act of 1969].'⁴⁶ These legislative developments amounted in 1980 to the passing of the KwaZulu Monuments Act (also known as the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Act No. 19 of 1980). The Act sought to provide for the preservation of certain immovable or movable property as monuments and to establish the KwaZulu Monuments Council for that purpose.⁴⁷ The Act meant that the KMC undertook custodianship of a number of historical sites in KwaZulu that had previously been under the

⁴⁶ AKN, Ulundi, KPRC file, Minutes of the KwaZulu National Monuments Council Meeting, Office of the Minister of the Department of Education and Culture, 9 Nov. 1977.

⁴⁷ See Section 2 of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Act No. 19 of 1980 (KwaZulu Monuments Council Act) *KwaZulu Government Notice* No. 28, 1981. The first Council was appointed by the Minister of Education and

custodianship of the National Monuments Council (NMC). These monuments included KwaMondi, the Prince Imperial Monument, KwaNodwengu, Dingane's Grave, and the Ulundi and Isandlwana battlefields.⁴⁸ With the exception of the latter battlefield, very little energy was to be devoted to the development of these sites during this period.

The KMC was tasked by the 'political leadership' to identify a number of heritage projects.⁴⁹ It was pointed out that 'some sites have much greater significance than others' and as a result it was decided that certain sites will be prioritised and classified as 'premier, major and minor projects'.⁵⁰ The Ondini site was described as the 'natural' premier project. Ondini was envisaged not only as partially a 'restored Royal Residence, but as a cultural centre for KwaZulu.'⁵¹

The Ondini project was, therefore, important to the KMC as well as the Planning and Research Committee. The KMC and the Planning and Research Committee worked closely together and they had overlapping membership. For example, Buthelezi was the chairman of the Planning and Research Committee and president of the KMC.⁵² A memorandum recommending the amalgamation of the KMC and the Ondini Planning and Research

Culture and was promulgated by the *KwaZulu Government Notice* No. 41 of 1983. The other Act of this nature came in 1989 when the Historical Monuments Act, 1989, of the Republic of Ciskei was passed.

⁴⁸ AKN, Ulundi, KMC Minutes file, Minutes of the KMC Meeting, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Conference Room, 5 Oct. 1984.

⁴⁹ Author's interview with L. van Schalkwyk, Pietermaritzburg, 16 Aug. 1999.

⁵⁰ AKN, Ulundi, KMC Reports file, KwaZulu Monuments Foundation, 'The Road to the Future: The Preservation, Restoration and Development of Monuments in KwaZulu (undated).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² See APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'A Short Address at the Official Opening of the Nodwengu Museum by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha. Nodwengu, 20 August 1983'.

Committee was soon made.⁵³ The Committee became a sub-committee of the KMC and its fund was operated from the KMC's account. Further consolidation in the sphere of cultural heritage preservation saw the establishment of a KwaZulu Monuments Foundation (KMF) which was launched for fund-raising purposes on 30 July 1981.⁵⁴

The KMF was launched by the KwaZulu political elite to elicit funds and aid for the 'preservation, restoration and development of KwaZulu's heritage.'⁵⁵ It became a registered fund-raising organisation on behalf of the KMC. It acted 'as a public arm' of the KMC. Amongst its main objectives, the KMF sought to give general support to the KMC; to make the aims and activities of the KMC known to the public and to elicit support; and to work for the increase of funds and facilities for the KMC.⁵⁶ The KMF, together with the KMC, prioritised cultural heritage projects that were to be carried by the KMC. As pointed above, the Ondini site had already been prioritised as a premier site. Other projects were identified as major and minor projects.

Amongst the major sites, Isandlwana battlefield was given priority. As is well known, this battle was fought on 22 January 1879 and was characterised by the 'bravery' displayed by both sides, the triumph of the Zulu army, armed mainly with traditional assegais and shields over the British using, for the period, modern firearms. The NMC had developed a viewsite

⁵³ AKN, Ulundi, KPRC file, Minutes of the KMC, Office of the Department of Education and Culture, Ulundi, 8 May 1980.

⁵⁴ *Daily News*, 1 Aug. 1981.

⁵⁵ AKN, Ulundi, KMC Reports file, KMF, 'The Road to the Future'.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

and a diorama on the site of the British camp, indicating company positions and marking the lines of the Zulu advance.⁵⁷ On developing the site, the KMC hoped to mark the 'graves of the Zulu dead in a fitting fashion and keep the British graves and monuments in good condition.'⁵⁸ The Isandlwana Sub-committee would be established in the mid-1980s to carry out the development of the site. Also amongst the major projects was the Itusi Hill about 2 km from Isandlwana. It was seen as 'an ideal spot to view the battlefield [Isandlwana] from the Zulu point of view'⁵⁹ Also part of the list was Mangeni valley, 17 kilometres southeast of Isandlwana where the British commander, Lord Chelmsford, intended to establish a new camp and where he concentrated about half of his troops on the day of the battle. The sites where the Prince Imperial of France was killed, the Ulundi battlefield, Fort Eshowe, the Inyezane battlefield, and the Gingindlovu battlefield were other major sites. However, no major energy was devoted to these projects, with the exception of Isandlwana.

Minor projects were defined as 'sites which played a significant role in the history of KwaZulu, but are not of such importance to warrant a major development.'⁶⁰ These sites included Chief Sihayo's stronghold; the Mabaso Hill, where the Zulu army bivouacked in the valley to the east of the hill the night before the battle of Isandlwana; the KwaPhindo area where a skirmish took place on the day of the battle of Isandlwana; KwaDwasa, where Cetshwayo was captured by the British on 28 August 1879; Enhlweni, an *umuzi* (homestead) where Cetshwayo was given shelter after he was driven from Ondini III and wounded in the

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

thigh during the disturbance on a ridge in the Nkandla forest; and lastly, Chief Mnyamana Buthelezi's grave.

In terms of the KMC's and KMF's prioritising, a larger part of the resources was allocated to the premier project, the reconstruction of Ondini Royal Residence.⁶¹ About R 1 980 000 was to be spent on the project, excluding the maintenance. Amongst the major projects, a bigger slice of resources was to be directed to the development of the Isandlwana battle site and the site of the death of Prince Imperial.⁶² Each was allocated R 60 000. These were two sites which symbolised Zulu triumph and bravery. I have touched above on the importance of the Isandlwana site to Zulu unity. The Prince Imperial's death site had similar significance, captured in Buthelezi's speech that he delivered on 1 June 1979 during the Prince Imperial's centenary commemoration. He said that the death of Prince Imperial was

'evidence of the picnic attitude that the invaders had towards the Zulu people and Zulu war, and the extent to which they underestimated the possible resistance that the Zulus were likely to put against that invasion of their country.'⁶³

The site was significant as the incident showed the power of the 'Zulu people' to the British. It was also important as the site of the death of an important figure, killed by the Zulu people in a campaign against them. Amongst the minor sites, the development of Chief Mnyamana's gravesite was allocated R 30 000. It was an amount bigger than that of the other minor sites joined together. In fact this amount was bigger than that allocated to other sites identified as major sites. This is evidence to support my argument that cultural heritage preservation in

⁶¹ See Appendix 1 of this thesis.

⁶² See Appendix 2.

KwaZulu was directly shaped by the political ambitions of Buthelezi. In the late 1970s Buthelezi was emphasising his maternal relationship, not only to King Cetshwayo but also to Chief Mnyamana, who was King Cetshwayo's Prime Minister. He said,

‘when the Zulu sovereign Nation was annihilated by the British ..., my mother's grand father King Cetshwayo, was the King of the powerful sovereign Nation, and my father's grand-father, Chief Mnyamana Buthelezi, was the Prime Minister of the sovereign Zulu Nation, and was also commander-in-chief of the entire Zulu army.’⁶⁴

This explains why the site with Mnyamana's grave was given priority for development by the KMC and KMF. It also explains why sites relating to King Cetshwayo were selected for development. Clearly, most of these projects related to the ‘heritage’ and history of Cetshwayo and the Anglo-Zulu War, which was fought during his reign. The year 1983 was declared King Cetshwayo Year by the KwaZulu Cabinet.⁶⁵

2.2.3. King Cetshwayo Year: a Highlight of Aspects of the Commemoration

The commemoration of Cetshwayo involved the creation of a life-like statue of the Zulu king, which was built at Ondini and was unveiled on 13 April 1985. Another major aspect of this commemoration was the declaration of the reconstructed Ondini II as a KwaZulu Monument. The Ondini Committee felt that the reconstructed and enlarged site should be declared a ‘National Monument in terms of the KwaZulu Monuments Act of 1980’ as part of the

⁶³ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, ‘Speech at a Function to Commemorate the Death of Prince Imperial of France. Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi; Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha YeNkululeko YeSizwe. Jojosini, Nquthu District, 1 June 1979’.

⁶⁴ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, ‘Inkatha YeNkululeko YeSizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement) KwaZulu Elections Rally. Speech by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi: Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha. KwaMashu, Princess Magogo Stadium, 12 February 1978’. Also see ‘A Luncheon Address to the Kimberly-Clark Corporation Board of Directors. Residence of B. Landau, Chairman of the Carlton Paper Corporation LTD, 3 December 1978’.

⁶⁵ See, *Daily News*, 1 Aug. 1981.

commemoration of Cetshwayo.⁶⁶ Both the KMC and the DEC planned the programme for the ceremony for the commemoration of King Cetshwayo, and the KwaZulu Cabinet indicated that the ceremony was to have both a ‘historico-cultural’ as well as a political theme.⁶⁷ This meant that both the Inkatha Youth Brigade and at least one regiment connected with King Zwelithini, such as uThulwana, should feature in the programme. The uThulwana regiment which was ‘trained at Eshowe by Prince Gideon Zulu’ would appear at the ceremony wearing the ‘same dress worn in the battle by the original regiment’.⁶⁸

On 20 August 1983, Cetshwayo was commemorated at Ondini Royal Residence.⁶⁹ The opening of the reconstructed section of the Ondini Royal Residence marked the occasion. It also saw the opening of a small interpretative site museum relating to Cetshwayo and his Royal Residence, Ondini II. It was also during this function that an enlarged area around Ondini II was declared as the first KwaZulu Monument (declared under Section 5.1(c) of the KwaZulu Monuments Act of 1980). In a speech during the ceremony, Buthelezi briefly explained the rationale behind the commemoration and cultural heritage preservation projects in KwaZulu. He said that, ‘those of us who are in leadership positions at this time, work at

great disadvantages because our roots were deliberately destroyed by many people, some even under the cloak of religion. The Cabinet of KwaZulu regards it as one of

⁶⁶ AKN, Ulundi, KMC Minutes and Drafts file, O.D. Dhlomo, Memorandum to the Cabinet, 29 March 1983.

⁶⁷ AKN, Ulundi, KCMO file, Minutes of the Steering Committee of Ondini, Ulundi, 16 Feb. 1983. Also see, AKN, Ulundi; KMC Minutes and Drafts file; O.D. Dhlomo, Memorandum to the Cabinet, 29 March 1983.

⁶⁸ *Daily News*, 30 July 1981.

⁶⁹ On this same day the Nodwengu Museum which commemorated King Mpande was opened. However, no relative energy in planning was devoted to this commemoration. As a result it is untraceable in the minutes and documents of the KMC.

our main duties to rehabilitate the damaged psyche of our people. Nothing did more to our people's psyche more than being made ashamed of their culture.'⁷⁰

The preservation and development of cultural heritage in KwaZulu sought to promote Zulu nationalism. The KwaZulu leadership, through cultural heritage preservation, sought to reconstruct the 'Zulu nation' which once existed in the 19th century. This was intended to serve and promote largely political interests of the Zulu leadership, whose success would be at a great disadvantage without reference to (selected aspects) of Zulu past. It was for this reason that the KwaZulu Cabinet declared 1983 King Cetshwayo year. It was part of a conscious political use of a cultural heritage. This is further captured in Buthelezi's speech. In this he pointed out that he had 'inherited the burden that King Cetshwayo picked up for the [Zulu] nation.'⁷¹ He used King Cetshwayo's heritage to legitimate his leadership position of the Zulu nation. Cetshwayo, according to Buthelezi, was central to Zulu unity, just like King Shaka. He pointed to growing Zulu unity, which he attributed to the legacy of King Cetshwayo.⁷² During the ceremony, a foundation stone for the KwaZulu Cultural Museum was laid.

The Umlazi Bakery and the flour manufacturers, SASKO, made considerable donations towards the purchase of cultural items and the development of the education programmes of the museum.⁷³ Part of the museum collection was a collection of 'old Zulu items, [and an]

⁷⁰ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'King Cetshwayo – King of the Zulu Nation: 1873-1884, "A King of Destiny Whose Wisdom and Statesmanship Live On". By Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, Chief Minister: KwaZulu, President: Inkatha and Chairman: The South African Black Alliance. Ulundi, 20 August 1983'.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'Oration by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha. Official Opening of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum, before the Unveiling of a Memorial to King Cetshwayo and those who served Him, by His Majesty the King of the Zulus. Ondini, Mahlabathini, 13 April 1985'.

authentic British officer's uniform' donated by the Froom family.⁷⁴ The archaeological material collected from the Ondini Royal Residence by R. Rawlinson and from the Thukela valley by L. Van Schalkwyk was also displayed in the new KwaZulu Cultural Museum.⁷⁵ Other cultural items for displays were loaned from the Natal Museum through T. Maggs.⁷⁶ The museum was officially opened on 13 April 1985 in a ceremony to commemorate Cetshwayo's death. In the opening speech of the museum, Buthelezi pointed to the importance of Zulu 'living culture'.⁷⁷ The projects that were planned and completed during this period were part of this living culture that was an important aspect in the rebirth of KwaZulu. It was during the opening of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum, that Buthelezi pointed to the impossibility of a casting aside of 'Zulu heritage'.⁷⁸ The KwaZulu Cabinet, together with the KMC, sought to promote selected aspects of the Zulu cultural heritage in conventional heritage spheres – in sites and museums, but also in literature.

2.2.3. Academic Historians and the 'Rebirth': Connecting and Disconnecting with the Zulu Nationalist Project

In accordance with the plans to commemorate King Cetshwayo, the KwaZulu Cabinet suggested that three publications be produced.⁷⁹ In this direction, the setting-up of an Editorial Sub-Committee was recommended. According to Buthelezi, this was intended to counteract

⁷⁴ AKN, Ulundi, KCMO file, Minutes of the KMC, Department of Education and Culture, Ulundi, 12 June 1985.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Interview with T. Maggs, 4 Oct. 2000.

⁷⁷ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'Official Opening of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum. Oration by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi: Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha. Mahlabathini, 13 April 1985'.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Interview with T. Maggs, 4 Oct. 2000.

the bias in so much of the literature on Zulu history, which was viewed from a colonial perspective.⁸⁰ T. Maggs and A. Koningkramer of the KMC were given the task of identifying the members of the committee and they recruited J. Laband, J. Wright and R. Rawlinson.⁸¹ In line with the 1983 commemorations, the KwaZulu Cabinet identified three subjects worthy of publication. These were the 'Guide to Ondini' by Rawlinson, the 'Biography of King Cetshwayo' by Laband and Wright, and 'Zulu Perspectives on the 1879 War' by Laband.⁸² Here I will focus on the latter two publications, as there is no available evidence of the publication process of the 'Guide to Ondini'. Old Mutual agreed to finance the costs of the publications.⁸³ These publications, it was suggested, 'should be seen by a senior member of the KwaZulu Government before appearing in print to avoid conflict in historical perspectives.'⁸⁴ The immediate energies were focused on the Cetshwayo publication.

The manuscript of the 'Life of King Cetshwayo' was written and presented for scrutiny to the Chief Minister, Buthelezi.⁸⁵ The KMC members who had read the manuscript made their remarks. They felt that the formal titles of characters that appeared repeatedly throughout the manuscript tended to be monotonous and spoil the otherwise good work.⁸⁶ It was intended

⁸⁰ Buthelezi, 'The approach of the KwaZulu Government', p. 177.

⁸¹ Author's Interview with T. Maggs, 4 Oct. 2000. Also author's interview with J. Wright, 7 Aug. 2001.

⁸² AKN, Ulundi, KMC Minutes and Drafts file, Minutes of the KMC, Department of Education and Culture Offices, Ulundi, 6 Oct. 1982.

⁸³ AKN, Ulundi, KMC Minutes and Drafts file, L. Hartmann to O.D. Dlomo, 17 Dec. 1982.

⁸⁴ AKN, Ulundi, KMC Minutes and Drafts file, Minutes of the KMC, Department of Education and Culture Offices, Ulundi, 6 Oct. 1982.

⁸⁵ AKN, Ulundi, KMC Minutes and Drafts file, O.D. Dlomo, Memorandum to the Cabinet, 29 March 1983.

⁸⁶ AKN, Ulundi, KMC Minutes and Drafts file, Minutes of the KMC, Department of Education and Culture Offices, Ulundi, 27 Jan. 1983. This constant usage of titles to refer to historical actors was the result of Maggs' emphasis that there should be considerable amount of respect when writing about Zulu history. As 'white

that, once approved, three leather bound complementary copies of the resulting book would be presented to King Goodwill Zwelithini, M.G. Buthelezi, and O.D. Dhlomo.⁸⁷ On the 20 August 1983, Laband presented the copies of *King Cetshwayo kaMpande* to these dignitaries.⁸⁸

The book was prefaced by Maggs who pointed to the popular nature of the booklet. It was the KMC's intention, according to Maggs, to produce booklets which were 'popular rather than academic but at the same time as accurate and authentic as possible in terms of modern historiographic standards.'⁸⁹ Writing a foreword for the book, Buthelezi pointed to the persistence of biased history both at school and university levels.⁹⁰ The publication was seen as an important beginning in a drive against biased histories. With this publication, Buthelezi was delighted that research had 'begun to explore our past in a more enlightened fashion'.⁹¹ Buthelezi could not resist articulating the history he was publicly presenting during this period in this foreword. He emphasised his maternal relationship to Cetshwayo and the importance of the king within the history of the Zulu nation.⁹² He also brought in Mnyamana in a fashion similar to the speeches he delivered during this period.

historians there was fear of insulting the KwaZulu leaders, especially Buthelezi'. Maggs therefore, insisted that the authors use titles constantly. Author's interview with J. Wright, 7 August 2001.

⁸⁷ AKN, Ulundi; KMC Minutes and Drafts file; Minutes of the KMC, Department of Education and Culture Offices, Ulundi, 5 May 1983.

⁸⁸ J. Laband and J. Wright, *King Cetshwayo kaMpande* (Pietermaritzburg, KMC and Shuter and Shooter, 1980). The publishers made a mistake here. The actual date for the publication of this book was 1983.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. ix-x.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. x.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. ix.

Interestingly 'white' academic historians participated in this cultural rebirth of KwaZulu. By 1979, white academic historians were already challenging some 'colonial views' on the history of Zulu people, particularly with regard to the Anglo-Zulu War. In 1979, *Reality: A Journal of Liberal and Radical Opinion* devoted its issue to both radical and revisionist interpretations of the Anglo-Zulu War. The main contributors to this were J. Wright, J. Guy, and P. Colenbrander. Writing an introduction to the volume, Wright wrote an article titled 'Beyond the Washing of the Spears' in which he pointed to the limits of D. Morris's now classical work, *The Washing of the Spears*⁹³ which, Wright argued, was still caught within the Eurocentric view that the war was the result of Zulu aggression.⁹⁴ Guy contributed an article titled, 'The British Invasion of Zululand: Some thoughts for the centenary year' in which he argued that the outbreak of the war could not be attributable to Cetshwayo, but rather to capitalist interests that were taking root in southern Africa in the mid-late 1800s.⁹⁵ Colenbrander focused on the role of the senior British officials in southern Africa in the late 1870s. He focused on Sir Bartle Frere's arguments that the war was provoked by Zulu aggression, and finds them to be without proof.⁹⁶ Significant about these contributions was that they confounded a long established view that Cetshwayo's aggression caused the war. This is captured in Wright's comment on the 100th Anniversary of the Anglo-Zulu War. He wrote,

⁹³ D.R. Morris, *The Washing of the Spears: the Rise and Fall of the Zulu Nation* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1966).

⁹⁴ J. Wright, 'Beyond the washing of the spears', *Reality: A Journal of Liberal and Radical Opinion* Vol. 11, No. 1, January 1979, pp. 3-4. Wright had also co-edited a book with C. de B. Webb on Cetshwayo in 1978. See, J. Wright and C. de B. Webb (eds) *A Zulu King Speaks: Statements Made by Cetshwayo kaMpande on the History and Customs of His People* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1978).

⁹⁵ J. Guy, 'The British invasion of Zululand: some thoughts for the centenary year', *Reality* Vol. 11, No. 1, January 1979, pp. 8-14.

⁹⁶ P. Colenbrander, 'An Imperial High Commissioner and the making of a war', *Reality* Vol. 11, No. 1, January 1979, pp. 15-19.

‘this month sees the one hundredth anniversary of the British invasion of the Zulu kingdom in January 1879. It also sees the beginning of a series of well-publicised “celebrations” organised by descendants of Natal’s colonial settlers to commemorate what most of them would unquestionably regard as a victory a century ago of British civilisation over Zulu savagery. Though most of them will not consciously recognise it, one of the main functions of their coming together for these occasions will be communally to reaffirm this view, and thus to reinforce the ideology of white superiority which the white-skinned ruling classes of South Africa have long used, and continue to use, to justify their political repression of the country’s black-skinned working classes.’⁹⁷

O.D. Dhloomo praised these contributions and expressed his appreciation, particularly of Guy’s contribution which he saw as opening ‘new horizons in the search for a just and historically balanced estimate of the Anglo-Zulu War.’⁹⁸ Clearly, these revisionist and radical white academic historians broadly supported the thrust of the KwaZulu heritage initiatives. This group of young ‘white’ academic historians supported Buthelezi in the late 1970s as he was the only major ‘black’ leader left within South Africa who spoke fearlessly against apartheid within South Africa.⁹⁹ John Wright also pointed to the continuing publishing of school texts that were largely written from colonial perspectives.¹⁰⁰ One of these was Joubert’s *History for Standard 10*.¹⁰¹ This book was not well received by black students who were increasingly becoming more militant in KwaZulu.¹⁰² It was in this context that some white academic historians participated in the rewriting of Zulu history.

⁹⁷ Wright, ‘Beyond the washing of the spears’, pp. 3.

⁹⁸ O.D. Dhloomo, ‘The Anglo-Zulu War of 1879: an evaluative review’, *Reality* Vol. 11, No. 2, March 1979, p. 19.

⁹⁹ Author’s interview with J. Wright, Pietermaritzburg, 7 Aug 2001.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ C.J. Joubert, *History for Standard 10* (Johannesburg, Perskor, 1980).

¹⁰² *Echo*, 9 April 1981.

In 1981, Duminy and Ballard recognised the need for academic historians to ‘produce’ histories that were relevant to that particular period in KwaZulu and Natal in their introduction to a book, *The Anglo-Zulu War: New Perspectives*. They argued that ‘the historians’ most challenging task is to portray history in convincingly relevant terms. By linking the past one hundred years of Zulu history with the present, a greater appreciation of one’s own historical and cultural heritage may be realised.’¹⁰³ They pointed at Buthelezi’s pleas to academic historians that a ‘Zulu approach’ to the history of Zulu people be developed.¹⁰⁴ It was in this context that Wright and Laband participated in the KMC’s Editorial Sub-committee. As Wright pointed out,

‘it was under these circumstances that I got involved and interested in the writing of a biography of King Cetshwayo. It gave us an opportunity to challenge apartheid interpretations on behalf of the chief [Buthelezi].’¹⁰⁵

It is for this reason that Wright chose to write a section on the period leading to the outbreak of the war, with Laband concentrating on the war itself.¹⁰⁶

The association between academic historians and the KwaZulu cultural heritage project was soon to end, as a result of the controversy surrounding the KMC’s second publication on the topic ‘Zulu Perspectives on the 1879 War’. The controversy caused by the conflict that

¹⁰³ A.H. Duminy and C.C. Ballard (eds) *The Anglo-Zulu War: New Perspectives* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1981), p. xix.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* This approach was to be developed by white academic historians, especially since as Buthelezi argued, ‘Black Universities’ were not allowing black students to ‘present interpretations which challenged the “traditional view of historical events”.’ See A. Duminy, ‘New challenges in South African history’, *Reality* Vol. 11, No. 3, May 1979. At the Anglo-Zulu War conference held in Durban 1979, only one Zulu historian, J.S. Maphalala, presented a paper. He was also a member of the Inkatha Central Committee. His office had been attacked on 28 October 1983 by the University of Zululand students. See Mzala, *Chief with a Double Agenda*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁵ Author’s interview with J. Wright, 7 Aug. 2001. Also author’s interview with J. Laband, 20 Aug. 2001.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* For the section written by Wright, see *King Cetshwayo kaMpande*, pp. 1-14, and pp. 15-32 for Laband’s section.

emerged between the KMC and the Editorial Sub-committee academics was mainly about their presentation of a history that contradicted the public history espoused by Buthelezi. During this period, ‘new’ oral testimonies in the *James Stuart Archive* volumes was increasingly becoming a basic source for most historians researching Natal and Zulu history. Laband was no exception. In preparing the manuscript of *Fight Us In The Open*, he used some of the accounts by Zulu contemporaries about campaigns during the Anglo-Zulu War.¹⁰⁷ One of these accounts pointed to Mnyamana’s poor generalship as the cause of the Zulu defeat of the Zulu armies in their encounters with British soldiers at Kambula on 29 March 1879. Laband also used Ruscombe Poole’s account, which pointed to the possibility that chief Mnyamana delivered Cetshwayo to Sir Garnet Wolseley.¹⁰⁸ On reading the manuscript, Dhlomo and Buthelezi were unhappy with these aspects of Laband’s analysis.¹⁰⁹ Dhlomo decided to telephonically communicate with Laband.¹¹⁰ He informed him of the need to withdraw the account and reshape his analysis. Laband, together with Wright, expressed their unhappiness with this request.

Laband was then visited by Dhlomo, who invited him for a drive in his Mercedes Benz.¹¹¹ During the drive, Dhlomo re-emphasised the importance of this withdrawal, which he spelt out in a letter to Maggs. According to Dhlomo, these particular accounts of Mnyamana’s roles

¹⁰⁷ J. Laband, *Fight Us in the Open: the Anglo-Zulu War Through Zulu Eyes* (Pietermaritzburg, KMC and Shuter and Shooter, 1985).

¹⁰⁸ AKN, Ulundi, KMC Minutes and Drafts file, Dr O.D. Dhlomo to Dr T. Maggs, 13 June 1984. See Appendix 3 of this thesis.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Wright, 07 Aug. 2001.

¹¹⁰ Author’s interview with J. Laband, Pietermaritzburg, 20 Aug. 2001.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

were ‘unacceptable as they will cause a lot of conflict among the Zulus’.¹¹² Laband was allegedly accused by Maggs of ‘being deliberately provocative’.¹¹³ The matter was resolved when Laband decided to withdraw the above-mentioned sections of this study. The reasons for his compliance were mainly that, he was under pressure and that he wanted ‘his’ work to get published.¹¹⁴ These conflicts marked the break-up of the Editorial Sub-committee. During the launch of *Fight Us In The Open* at Ondini in 1985, the author was not given a chance to speak about his work. Rather, Maggs spoke about the book, allegedly without mentioning and thanking the author.¹¹⁵ Wright, who was also against the exclusion of the above sections of the manuscript, was sidelined and not invited to subsequent meetings of the Editorial Sub-committee. This controversy marked the beginnings of ‘tensions’ between Buthelezi and these two academic historians, particularly Wright. Buthelezi’s versions of history from the mid-1980s would be increasingly challenged from within South Africa and abroad.¹¹⁶ Laband resumed contact with the KMC in the late 1980s and was involved in their publication of *The Battle of Ulundi* and *Isandlwana* in the early 1990s.¹¹⁷

What I have highlighted in this section is that in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the KMC and Buthelezi received support from some white academic historians. Their support for the KMC

¹¹² AKN, Ulundi, KMC Minutes and Drafts file, Dlomo to Maggs, 13 June 1984.

¹¹³ Interview with Laband, 20 Aug. 2001.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ On this see, *Natal Mercury*, 30 Sept. 1986. Mare and Hamilton’s *An Appetite for Power* is one of the major published works that challenged Buthelezi’s versions of history. See pp. 15-25.

¹¹⁷ See J. Laband, *The Battle of Ulundi* (Pietermaritzburg, KMC and Shuter and Shooter, 1988). And J. Laband and J. Mathews, *Isandlwana* (Pietermaritzburg, KMC and Centaur, 1992).

was part of a trend to rewrite Zulu history (particularly the Anglo-Zulu War), a trend which had an overt manifestation in the late 1970s. There were worries by the KwaZulu Government that there was not enough training of black academic historians during this period. Simon Maphalala was the only black academic historian who presented a paper at the 1985 conference on the history of Natal and Zululand, held at the University of Natal in Durban.¹¹⁸ This is a clear indication of the lack of black academic historians specialising in Zulu and Natal history during this period. This was part of the reason the KMC approached white academic historians, who were by then experts in their fields.¹¹⁹ Through their involvement in the KMC's Editorial Sub-committee, these academics produced a history that was in line with the cultural heritage that was promoted in KwaZulu during this period.

Their first publication captured all aspects of the heritage that was promoted during this period. Its central figure was King Cetshwayo, it touched on his war and subsequent injustices against him. The second publication focused on the Anglo-Zulu War aspect of Zulu cultural heritage. It provided a Zulu interpretation of the war. As shown above, this publication could have diverged from the history that was presented by Buthelezi. This was impossible, especially since Buthelezi read the manuscripts of both these books. It was no surprise then that he objected, through Dlomo, to the treatment that Mnyamana received in *Fight Us In The Open*. The two publications were consciously linked to the cultural rebirth of KwaZulu and were selected in line with cultural heritage projects that were given priority during this period.

¹¹⁸ His paper was on the 'Participation of the early whites in Zululand in the Battle of Ndongakusuka, 1856-1861'.

¹¹⁹ See Maggs's preface in Laband and Wright, *King Cetshwayo kaMpande*, p. vii.

These publications were part of a promotion of certain aspects and figures within Zulu royalty and the downplaying of others. Figures and aspects of Zulu royalty who were not prioritised for development and preservation as Zulu cultural heritage(s) during this period included King Dingane, King Mpande, King Dinuzulu, and King Solomon. On 20 August 1983, however, during the commemoration of King Cetshwayo, a museum commemorating King Mpande was also opened. The Nodwengu Museum was built on the Nodwengu Royal Residence, King Mpande's homestead. It was an initiative by the KwaZulu Government and the KMC.¹²⁰ In the KMC records there is little evidence about the emergence of the Nodwengu Museum project. It was not part of the KMC's prioritisation in terms of its three categories – premier, major and minor. Buthelezi saw the museum not as a tribute to Mpande, but a 'tribute to all the founding fathers of the Zulu Nation'.¹²¹ Rather than focusing on Mpande himself, as he had done with Cetshwayo, Buthelezi in his speech during the opening of the museum, focused on the 'cultural renaissance' that was emerging.¹²² This cultural renaissance would enhance the pride of Zulu people in their identity. He did not explore the role of Mpande in Zulu history, but concentrated on Cetshwayo and King Shaka. In the next section I explore the reasons for this emphasis and de-emphasis of the aspects and figures of the Zulu Royalty. Focusing on Dingane, I will briefly explore why his heritage was both insignificant and significant to KwaZulu. This section further points to the politics of validation and legitimation as motivations for cultural heritage preservation in KwaZulu during this period.

¹²⁰ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'A Short Address at the Official Opening of the Nodwengu Museum. By Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi: Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha. Nodwengu, 20 August 1983'.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

2.3. 'Rehabilitation' and Royal Cultural Heritage: Selectivity and Relevance

Dingane was insignificant in this rebirth of KwaZulu and the Zulu nation. Dingane became important to KwaZulu when the 'homeland' government was validating its claims to the Ingwavuma area, using Dingane's grave as a pretext. Prominent figures in the rebirth, as we have seen, were Cetshwayo, Shaka and Chief Mnyamana Buthelezi. Buthelezi emphasised his relationship to the above Zulu leaders, particularly Cetshwayo (his 'maternal great-grandfather') and Mnyamana.¹²³ Buthelezi made attempts to erase Dingane from his public history by emphasising a close relationship between Shaka and Cetshwayo. Shaka was constantly seen as Cetshwayo's uncle. This was done to forge a close relationship between Buthelezi and not only Cetshwayo, but also Shaka.¹²⁴ He emphasised Shaka's quest for black unity, which he used symbolically to suggest that was his role in Zulu politics during this period of the rebirth. Since 1972, Shaka had been commemorated annually in September in KwaZulu. These commemorations served as important political gatherings for Buthelezi, Inkatha and the 'Zulu nation'.¹²⁵ Mpande and Dingane were clearly not central to Buthelezi's public articulation of Zulu history. I want to argue here that central to the exclusion of Dingane was

¹²³ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement) KwaZulu Elections Rally. Address by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, President: Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement) and Chief Minister of KwaZulu. KwaMashu, Princess Magogo Stadium, 12 February 1978'. Also see 'A Luncheon Address by M.G. Buthelezi to the Kimberly-Clark Corporation Board of Directors. Residence of B. Landau, Chairman of the Carlton Paper Corporation LTD, 3 December 1978'. Also see 'Address by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi to the Eshowe Rotary Club. Eshowe Town Hall, 17 March 1978'.

¹²⁴ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'Speech by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, President of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement) and Chairman: The South African Black Alliance. Unveiling of King Cetshwayo's Tombstone. King Cetshwayo's Grave: Nkandla District, 27 September 1980'.

¹²⁵ D. Golan, *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism* (London, Boulder, 1994), p.5.

the fact that he was the one who led the killing of Shaka.¹²⁶ Buthelezi could not use Dingane for his political legitimation.

During the 1982 King Shaka commemoration at Ondini, Buthelezi argued that if anyone is as brilliant and as great as Shaka was, 'there is a tendency amongst those he overshadows to want to get rid of him'.¹²⁷ Buthelezi here was using Shaka to symbolically explain the situation he himself was facing. He was clearly talking about the 'threats' to murder him during this period.¹²⁸ He symbolically stated that Dingane had his attributes, but was 'clearly mediocre compared to King Shaka'.¹²⁹ He went on to say that 'these are tragedies of life when God allows even foolish people to change the whole course of history'.¹³⁰ This public denouncement of Dingane was coupled with his insignificance in the cultural heritage preservation sphere. None of the KMC's projects identified above related to Dingane's reign. He was equally absent in the publication plans of the KMC's Editorial Sub-committee. Dingane and the events that occurred under his rule were seen as insignificant in the rebirth of KwaZulu and the Zulu nation. Dingane only became significant in KwaZulu when he was needed by the KwaZulu Government in its battle over the retaining of Ingwavuma.

¹²⁶ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'King Shaka Commemoration Function. Speech by the Hon. Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi M.L.A.: Chief Minister of KwaZulu, President of Inkatha Yenkululeko yeSizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement) and Chairman: The South African Black Alliance. Ondini, 26 September 1982'.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'Tenth Anniversary Celebrations of the Enthronement of His Majesty King Zwelithini Goodwill Ka Bekuzulu Ka Solomon Ka Cetshwayo Ka Mpande. A Short Address by the Hon. Prince Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi M.L.A. Chief Minister of KwaZulu, President of Inkatha Yenkululeko YeSizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement) and Chairman: The South African Black Alliance. Mona Show Grounds, Nongoma, 5 December 1981'.

¹²⁹ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'King Shaka Memorial Celebrations. Speech by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi: Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha. Stanger, 24 September 1981'.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

After ruling the Zulu nation for twelve years, Dingane was defeated by his brother Mpande who was in alliance with the Boers from the Republic of Natalia. He fled across the Phongolo River and sought sanctuary in the Kwaliweni forest in the Lubombo Mountains, where he was killed by the members of the Nyawo ethnic grouping in 1840. The area of Dingane's death was part of the Ingwavuma district. The district, according to Webster, was largely administered by chiefs who not affiliated to the Zulu ethnic group.¹³¹ The rest of the Ingwavuma population was 'presumably' Zulu. Zulu influence in the area came in 1977, when KwaZulu was granted self-government status and its control extended to what had been Tongaland.

In 1982 the South African government sought to give Ingwavuma to Swaziland.¹³² The Zulu elite in the KLA opposed this move. According to Buthelezi, the attempt to give Ingwavuma to Swaziland was testimony to the existence of an alliance between 'South African Boers' and the 'Black "boers"' of Swaziland.¹³³ In responding to this, Buthelezi sent threats against the chiefs who wanted to join Swaziland.¹³⁴ This was coupled, according to Webster, by a 'Zulu jingoism' which involved enforced recruitment into Inkatha.¹³⁵ In this struggle for Ingwavuma, the Zulu elite used Dingane's historical presence in the area to legitimate their claim. Dingane's bones and his grave suddenly became important for KwaZulu. Buthelezi

¹³¹ B. Webster, 'Abafazi bathonga bafihlakala: ethnicity and gender in a KwaZulu Border Community' *African Studies* Vol. 50, No. 1 and 2, 1991, pp. 248.

¹³² For detailed contemporary accounts on why the South African government sought to give the area to Swaziland, see *Work in Progress* No. 4. April 1978, pp. 1-5; No. 5, June 1978, pp. 10-13; and No. 27, June 1983, pp. 14-22. Also see pro-Inkatha accounts in *Clarion Call* October/November 1984, pp. 16-17.

¹³³ *KLA Debates*, Vol. 25, 21 April – 11 May 1982, p. 761.

¹³⁴ *Natal Witness*, 06 Nov. 1984.

¹³⁵ Webster, 'Abafazi bathonga bafihlakala', p. 248.

insisted that he was not prepared to abandon Dingane's grave.¹³⁶ Dingane was now 'respected as a King just like any of his predecessors and/or successors'.¹³⁷ In May 1982 Buthelezi, together with the KwaZulu Cabinet and KLA members, visited Ingwavuma.¹³⁸ The objective of the journey was to visit Dingane's grave. The year 1982 therefore marked the beginnings of Dingane's significance in the rebirth of KwaZulu and the Zulu nation.

In 1983, the Zulu political elite engaged in a cleansing ceremony where Dingane's memorial and his tombstone were unveiled.¹³⁹ Buthelezi described this decision as 'a public act of political and national rehabilitation of King Dingane'.¹⁴⁰ In this rehabilitation, Buthelezi re-emphasised the supposed conspiracy between 'Swazis' and Boers. He argued that the killing of Dingane by Silevana Nyawo and Nondowana Mdluli of the Swazis were early signs of the conspiracy between the Swazis and the Boers against the Zulu nation. In this speech during the cleansing Buthelezi said,

'after King Dingane usurped the Zulu throne after King Shaka's assassination he was accepted by the Zulu Nation as the King of the Zulus. Part of the history which was enacted during his 12 years reign represents our history and our cultural roots.'¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ *KLA Debates*, Vol. 27, 4-28 June, 1982, p. 861.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 965.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 814.

¹³⁹ This was done despite the uncertainty on the exact location of Dingane's grave. Burton *et al* point out that 'the exact location of Dingane's grave was a matter which local people would not discuss'. See M.N. Burton, M. Smith, and R.H. Taylor, 'A brief history of human involvement in Maputaland' in M.N. Burton and K.H. Cooper (eds) *Studies in the Ecology of Maputaland* (Grahamstown, Rhodes University, 1980), p. 436.

¹⁴⁰ APC, GMC, PC 126/2; 'King Dingane Ka Senzangakhona – Second King of the Zulu Nation: Unveiling of a Memorial Near the Spot Where King Dingane Was Assassinated and of a Stone on His Grave by King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhekuzulu – the Eighth King of the Zulu. Speech by Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha. Gwaliweni, Ingwavuma, 18 June 1983'.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Although to a lesser extent, coupled with this 'rehabilitation' of Dingane, the battle of Ncome, fought on the 16 December 1838, began to be emphasised by KwaZulu leaders. In this rehabilitation, Boer victory was de-emphasised and replaced with an alternative re-interpretation in 1982. Led by Buthelezi, this re-interpretation asserted that not the whole Zulu army was defeated by the Boers in 1838. The Zulu army, according to this re-interpretation, was 'split in 1838 and only a section of them was annihilated by the Boers in 1838'.¹⁴² This re-interpretation served to suggest that the Boer victory during the battle of Ncome was not as major as was claimed by 'settler' historians.

Also emphasised in this rehabilitation was the significance of the battle in Zulu resistance against colonialism. Indeed on 16 December 1983, Dingane's Day was officially commemorated for the first time in KwaZulu. However, this was to be the only significant commemoration of the battle sanctioned by the Zulu elite in this period. Clearly, Dingane's heritage was only significant when KwaZulu faced prospects of losing Ingwavuma. He was not commemorated annually like Shaka. He was not emphasised as a major royal figure in Buthelezi's speeches. Unlike sites related to Cetshwayo's reign, those of Dingane's reign were not part of the KMC's prioritisation for development and preservation as heritage.

2.4. Conclusion

Clearly, in the period between 1977 and 1985, cultural heritage in KwaZulu was preserved for largely political reasons. I have pointed out here that aspects of Zulu history, particularly royal history, were selected in line with political objectives. The Ondini project, seen as a major

¹⁴² *KLA Debates*, Vol. 27, 4-28 June, 1982, p. 965.

cultural heritage project in KwaZulu, promoted Buthelezi's version of history, one which linked him closely to royalty. This was a history which sought to legitimate and validate Buthelezi's claims to the leadership of the Zulu nation that was being reborn. The 'cultural renaissance' that was taking place in KwaZulu during this period served aspects of this validation and legitimation. Aspects of royal heritage were carefully selected in line with political objectives. The two publications of the KMC were part of the usage of cultural heritage. Clearly, the publications, like the Ondini Royal Residence project, were part of a rebirth of KwaZulu. The subjects that were selected for these publications were in line with cultural heritage projects that were given priority during this period. They were also in line with the history that was presented by Buthelezi. The publications were, therefore, more than popular documents of Zulu history.

Shaka, like Cetshwayo, was also a major figure in public articulations of Zulu history by Buthelezi. He was commemorated annually by the 'Zulu nation'. Unlike Cetshwayo, however, no site associated with Shaka was developed and preserved by the KMC during this period. The only site relating to Shaka which was a declared national monument was the site of his grave in Stanger. The area was outside KwaZulu, so this monument fell under the NMC. The KMC would need to co-operate with the NMC to purchase or be involved in the development of the site. In addition to this, the NMC had identified a number of other sites associated with Shaka. The KMC was less involved in this. In the next chapter I attempt to analyse why the KwaZulu Government was less enthusiastic about the preservation of sites associated with Shaka, one of the central figures in Buthelezi's version of Zulu history. At the same time, during the 1980s, there were patterns of increased co-operation between the KMC and the NMC with regard to cultural heritage preservation. Alongside this new development were

signs of continuity. Using the Isandlwana project, I will analyse these phenomena and show how economic considerations became increasingly important for heritage preservation.

CHAPTER 3. KwaZulu and Natal: Co-operation, Shaka and Isandlwana, 1986 - 1993

During the period between 1986 and 1993, complex changes occurred in cultural heritage preservation patterns in KwaZulu and Natal. This chapter begins from 1986 mainly because that year marked a shift in cultural heritage preservation, especially in relation to levels of political governance. The year saw the beginnings of moves away from separate 'homeland' and Natal administrations to greater regional co-operation. During this period cultural heritage preservation became more clearly motivated by ideas of economic development, together with politics of legitimation and validation which were a continuity from the previous period. I end the chapter in 1993 mainly because it was during this year that the KwaZulu Monuments Council (KMC) was officially incorporated into cultural heritage preservation in Natal through being given control of the King Shaka Memorial in Stanger.

In 1986 there were initiatives to facilitate co-operation between the KwaZulu Monuments Council (KMC) and the Natal branch of the National Monuments Council (NMC). The NMC, together with the Natal Provincial Museum Service (NPMS)¹, were initiating projects that sought to preserve certain aspects of Zulu cultural heritage. These were mainly associated with King Shaka. To a limited extent, the KMC was to be involved in the preservation of these sites. The KMC was legally limited in its participation here beyond the territorial borders of KwaZulu, but it also displayed a lack of commitment to the King Shaka sites, with the exception of the King Shaka Memorial.

¹ In the records the Natal Provincial Museum Services (NPMS) is referred to as the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA). In this study I will refer to it as the NPMS as they were a different structure from the NPA despite the fact that they fell under it.

This, I will argue, showed a disjunction between the Zulu public history that was projected through speeches (particularly those by M.G. Buthelezi), in which King Shaka was an important royal figure, and the KwaZulu government's participation in the preservation of sites associated with King Shaka. Publicly, King Shaka was emphasised as a central figure in the emergence of the Zulu nation, but this was not paralleled by enthusiasm on the side of the KwaZulu government to be associated with him through cultural heritage preservation.

In exploring these patterns in cultural heritage preservation, I will analyse aspects of 'oral tradition' in relation to specific sites. In highlighting this theme, I will use the 'King Shaka tree' case study. I will use both the King Shaka tree and the 'Mavivane execution cliff' to point to challenges of authenticity that faced cultural heritage preservation during this period. The KMC and the KwaZulu leadership were still largely fascinated with the preservation and development of cultural heritage sites associated with the reign of Cetshwayo and with the Anglo-Zulu War. I will use the battle of Isandlwana project to highlight this continuity and to point to a greater emphasis on cultural heritage as an economic development tool.

I will, therefore, begin this chapter with a descriptive discussion of the initiatives that were undertaken to forge co-operation between KwaZulu and Natal on cultural heritage administration. This section will be followed by a discussion of the King Shaka sites where these institutions were supposed to co-operate. I point to a possible lack of commitment on the side of the KMC in acquiring other sites that related to King Shaka in Stanger. With the exception of the King Shaka Memorial, the KwaZulu government displayed limited enthusiasm with regard to the preservation, promotion and development of sites that related to King Shaka. I will close this chapter with a discussion of the Isandlwana project.

3.1. Co-operative Preservation: the KMC, NMC, and NPA

From the mid-1980s, there were initiatives towards closer co-operation between cultural preservation institutions in KwaZulu and Natal. This co-operation occurred at two levels. It occurred within Natal, between the NMC (Natal Branch) and the NPMS. It also occurred at the regional level between the KMC, NMC and the NPMS. The earliest form of co-operation in the sphere of cultural heritage preservation took place in Natal between the NMC and the NPMS in the early 1980s.² The NPMS sought to work with the NMC, which was a body which had expertise in the area of monuments, heritage sites and their formal protection. The NPMS had managed a number of museums which were also interested in the preservation of historical sites in Natal.³ The NMC offered structural support in its protection of sites in Natal. This resulted in the formation of a Natal Provincial Administration/National Monuments Council Liaison Committee in 1985.⁴ The NMC and the NPMS drew up a joint schedule of work. Furthermore, both the NPMS and the NMC made funds available for common projects. Since there was growing cultural heritage preservation activity in KwaZulu, there was a felt need for the NMC and NPMS to co-operate with the KMC at regional level. Chadwick who was director of the Natal Regional branch of the NMC, had already co-operated with the KwaZulu leadership, particularly in the drawing up of the KwaZulu Monuments Act of 1980.

Formal collaboration between the NPMS, NMC and the KMC started at a high political level.

The origins of this co-operation lie with the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba conference which began

² NPA, *Natal Provincial Administration Annual Report 1989/1990* (Pietermaritzburg, NPA, 31 March 1990), p. 13.

³ An example was the Stanger Museum which was involved in research about the declaration of King Shaka sites as national monuments.

⁴ NPA, *Annual Report 1989/1990*, p. 13.

on 8 April 1986 in Durban. The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba involved discussions between the Natal Provincial Council and the KwaZulu government over a joint administration and legislature in the region.⁵ It intended to negotiate a new legislative dispensation for Natal and KwaZulu as a 'single geographic, economic and administrative region'.⁶ The Indaba sought, according to Mare and Hamilton, to resolve the national crisis of profitability, governability and stability at a regional level.⁷ The delegates proposed a two-chamber legislature with a governor, a prime minister, a provincial executive, standing committees, cultural councils, traditional councils composed of chiefs, and an economic advisory council.⁸ Most of these proposals were not legislated. Only a provincial executive and standing committees were established. The provincial executive was formalised with the inauguration of the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) on 3 November 1987, an act which was sanctioned by the South African government.⁹ The JEA was established in terms of the Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Act, No. 80 of 1986.¹⁰ The Act meant

'to provide for the joint and co-ordinated exercise of power and performance of functions by the Government of KwaZulu and the provincial executive authority of the province of Natal, for the establishment for this purpose of a joint executive authority and for incidental matters.'¹¹

⁵ G. Mare and G. Hamilton, *Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of 'Loyal Resistance'* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987), p. 44.

⁶ Mzala, *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda* (London, Zed Press, 1988), p. 205.

⁷ Mare and Hamilton, p. 171.

⁸ Mzala, *Chief with a Double Agenda*, p. 207.

⁹ *Natal Witness*, 15 Aug. 1985.

¹⁰ See *Republic of South Africa Government Gazette* Vol. 255, No. 10411, 3 Sept. 1986. Also see NPA, *Annual Report 1987/1988*, p. 1. Also see *Natal Witness*, 4 Sept. 1986.

¹¹ *Government Gazette* Vol. 255, No. 10411, 3 Sept. 1986, p. 1.

The JEA was composed of ten members, five of whom represented the Natal province and five the KwaZulu Government. There were compelling factors that forced closer and formal co-operation between the KwaZulu Government and the NPA.

These imperatives ranged from social issues to serious economic and political issues. In the 1980s, the growth rate of urbanisation escalated in KwaZulu and Natal. The most rapid rise in urbanisation, according to A. Jeffery, occurred in the period after 1985.¹² In the period between 1985 and 1989, she points out that the urban growth rate was 2,4 percent. This growth in urbanisation coincided with economic recession which was characteristic of the whole of South Africa in the period under study. As Jeffery points out,

‘while economic trends in the country as a whole were negative from 1976 to 1994, KwaZulu/Natal experienced particular economic hardship as a result inter alia of its high population concentration, limited employment opportunities and inadequate economic growth as well as natural disasters such as droughts and floods.’¹³

These social and economic hardships were coupled with political unrest, which led to unrest and violence from the mid-1980s in the Natal and KwaZulu region. In 1984, for example, violence broke out when ‘crowds’ in Lamontville resisted Buthelezi’s visit to incorporate the ‘township’ under KwaZulu.¹⁴ Shaka Day rallies, which were held annually in Stanger, were increasingly becoming scenes of violence. According to Bonnin *et al*, in Stanger traders had to

¹² A. Jeffrey, *The Natal Story: Sixteen Years of Conflict* (Johannesburg, South African Race Relations, 1997), p. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 49 – 51.

close their shops on Shaka Day because of 'damage done by those who attended the rallies'.¹⁵ Since these factors affected both KwaZulu and Natal, it was necessary for the two to co-operate at an executive level. The KwaZulu government was unable, and perhaps unwilling, to deal with these issues alone. This was also the same with Natal which was equally affected by unrest. These factors were partly responsible for the formation of the JEA.

This co-operation at executive level led to the formation of different forums on areas of mutual concern between Natal and KwaZulu. One of these areas was the sphere of cultural heritage preservation. In this sphere, the KwaZulu government co-operated with Natal mainly because it was legally limited in its capacity to develop and preserve cultural heritage sites that related to the history of the Zulu people. It could not legally develop sites in Natal, as it had done with the Ondini Royal Residence. Furthermore, by the mid-1980s the KMC had realised the need for the expertise that both the NMC and the NPMS had in cultural heritage preservation. This expertise was needed to develop the sites within the boundaries of KwaZulu. Hence, co-operation extended not only to sites outside KwaZulu, but also to sites in KwaZulu.

The formation of the JEA led to the formation of the KwaZulu/Natal Heritage Liaison Committee in 1987, a standing committee proposed during the Indaba.¹⁶ This Liaison Committee fell under the JEA, and was composed of representatives from the NPMS, NMC

¹⁵ D. Bonnin, G. Hamilton, R. Morrell and A. Sitas, 'The struggle for Natal and KwaZulu: workers, township dwellers and Inkatha, 1972 – 1985', in Morrell, R. (ed.) *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu-Natal: Historical and Social Perspectives* (Durban, Indicator Press, 1996), p. 174.

¹⁶ KMC, *KwaZulu Monuments Council Annual Report for the year ending 31 March 1987* (Ulundi, KMC, 1987), p. 7.

and KMC. Natal was represented by two institutions, mainly because the NMC focused on the development and preservation of monuments whereas the NPMS focused on museums and curation. The KMC needed these skills in the development and preservation of Zulu cultural heritage sites. After its formation the Liaison Committee identified 'flagship projects' which would be areas of co-operation. These were the 'Ulundi/eMakhosini', 'Rorke's Drift/Isandlwana' and the 'Stanger/Dukuza' projects. By the Ulundi/eMakhosini project they referred to the continued development and maintenance of the Ondini Royal Residence and the development and preservation of the eMakhosini (the 'Valley of the Kings'). Described by J.L. Smail as 'a wide depression surrounded by numerous hills each studded with mimosa bush and euphorbias'¹⁷, the area containing the burial sites of the early Zulu kings, including Nkosinkulu, Phunga, Mageba, Ndaba, Jama and Senzangakhona.¹⁸ (The eMakhosini project did not materialise until the mid-1990s). The Liaison Committee also identified the Rorke's Drift/Isandlwana project as an area for co-operation. I will deal with this project in the last section of this chapter.

On the Stanger/Dukuza project, the Liaison Committee sought to preserve and develop sites that related to King Shaka, located in Stanger. This regional committee sought to provide a forum for the KMC's involvement in cultural heritage preservation and development, particularly in relation to sites associated with King Shaka in Natal. The KwaZulu Government, however, was interested in obtaining the King Shaka Memorial from the NMC, rather than all sites identified as relating to Shaka. The NMC did not lease the site with

¹⁷ J.L. Smail, *From the Land of the Zulu Kings* (Durban, A.J. Pope, 1979), p. 20.

¹⁸ Amafa KwaZulu-Natal, *The Valley of Kings: eMakhosini* (Ulundi, Sappi, undated), 1.

Shaka's Memorial to the KMC. In the next section, I explore these patterns, pointing to the complexity and problems associated with the production of cultural heritage.

3.2. The KMC and the 'Quest' for Shaka: NMC's Reluctance and Challenges

The historical sites that related to the history of King Shaka were sites where the KMC had minimal preservation activities. This was mainly due to the fact that these sites fell outside the jurisdiction of KwaZulu. Sites identified in this study were all located in Stanger, a town that was built in 1873 'over' the site of Shaka's royal settlement, Dukuza.¹⁹ Stanger fell under Natal and was administered by the NPA.

There were five sites, all located in Stanger. They were Shaka's Memorial; 'Shaka's spring'; 'Shaka's bath and pool'; 'Shaka's cliff' (also known as the Mavivane Execution Cliff) and 'Shaka's tree'.²⁰ With the exception of Shaka's grave site, known as Shaka's Memorial, all the other sites were not declared national monuments during the period covered in this chapter. From 1986, A. Gibb of the NPMS set about collecting oral data and records on the authenticity of these sites.²¹ In this section, I will look at challenges to cultural heritage preservation which were largely about the subject of authenticity. But, first, let me examine the KMC and the KwaZulu government's attempts to own Shaka's Memorial. The examination begins by highlighting the processes which were involved in the preservation and creation of King Shaka's grave as an official cultural heritage site. This will illuminate the

¹⁹ AKN, Pietermaritzburg, Shaka , Dukuza and Allied Sites (hereafter SDAS) file, Vol. 4, file No. 2/5/7, A. Gibb, 'Sites on the Natal Coast Pertaining to King Shaka' (undated).

²⁰ See Illustration 4 of this thesis on the supposed position of some of these sites in relation to KwaDukuza and Stanger.

discussion of 'Shaka's cliff' and 'Shaka's tree' whose knowledge was largely based on 'oral tradition'.

After Shaka was assassinated by his half-brothers, Mhlangana and Dingane, assisted by Mbopha, he was buried in a newly completed grain pit. Rocks were placed, in a pile, over the grave. In 1932, the 'Zulu people', led by King Solomon, erected a white granite memorial to commemorate Shaka's death. In June 1939, the memorial was proclaimed a national monument under the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act No. 4 of 1934.²² Under this Act, the site fell under protection of the Historical Monuments Commission (HMC), the forerunner of the NMC. In 1942, Killie Campbell, who was on the board of the HMC, attempted to track down sites associated with Shaka.²³ One of her correspondents informed her of 'a Large Boulder which ... could be seen from the main Road nearly opposite Chaka's [sic] Grave?'²⁴ He informed Campbell that his late father had told him that

'he had heard from an old Zulu that this stone was at the entrance of Chaka's [sic] Kraal and he used to sit on it and sun himself in the mornings and watch his cattle driven out. Further that he was actually sitting on it when he was stabbed by Dingaan [sic].'²⁵

The Native Commissioner of Stanger gave Campbell oral testimonies which were presented to the Commissioner in the early 1940s as affidavits about the rock and the exact situation of Shaka's grave. These informants pointed out that the site declared as a national monument

²¹ See the King Shaka file at KwaDukuza Museum.

²² *Ibid.* On details of the Act see *Government Gazette* Proclamation No. 66, 4 May 1934.

²³ See King Shaka file, No. 17403, Killie Campbell Africana Library (hereafter KCC).

²⁴ KCC, King Shaka file, No. 17403, B. Goddison to K. Campbell (HMC), 6 Aug. 1942.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

was a site where Shaka was buried.²⁶ Without further investigation into the site of the death of Shaka and the significance of the rock, the site was declared a national monument. In 1949, ‘Shaka’s rock’ was moved from a property across the road to the site of the monument.²⁷ It was placed behind the monument in order for it to be protected by the HMC which was responsible for the protection of Shaka’s monument. When the NMC was established under the National Monuments Act No. 28 of 1969, the site with Shaka’s monument fell under it. In highlighting the ways in which processes of cultural heritage preservation occurred until the mid-1980s, the NMC was, alone, involved in the protection of the site.²⁸ The NMC would not allow the KMC’s involvement in the development of the site as this was not legally permitted.²⁹ The KMC did, however, indicate its interest in inquiring about the possibility of the transfer of the site from the NMC to the KMC.

In 1984, the KMC requested the NMC ‘to lease the site’ to them for ‘a nominal rental’.³⁰ These requests took a serious tone in 1985 when the State Attorney of Natal advised that lots 169 and 170 in Stanger (the former was the lot where the monument stood and the latter was next to it) be transferred to the KMC.³¹ The State Attorney recommended that steps be taken towards the ratification of an agreement between the KMC and the Stanger Town Council as a

²⁶ See KCC, King Shaka file, No. 17403; Affidavits made by Nodhlela [sic] Dube, 4 Dec. 1941; and Makeni Nxele, 11 March 1942.

²⁷ KCC, King Shaka No. 17403, The Magistrate/Native Commissioner (Stanger) to Miss Killie Campbell, 21 Dec. 1949. Also see AKN, Pmb, SDAS, Vol. 3, 2/5/7, G.A. Chadwick, ‘King Shaka Memorial, Stanger’, 1982.

²⁸ AKN, Pmb, SDAS, Vol. 3, 2/5/7, G.A. Chadwick, ‘King Shaka Memorial, Stanger’, 1982.

²⁹ AKN, Pmb, SDAS, Vol. 3, 2/5/7, G.A. Chadwick to J.K. Dladla, 25 Oct. 1982.

³⁰ AKN, Pmb, SDAS, Vol. 4, 2/5/7, J. K. Dladla to the Director (NMC), 11 Oct. 1984.

³¹ AKN, Pmb, SDAS, Vol. 4, 2/5/7, State Attorney to the Director-General, 15 Aug. 1985.

prerequisite to the transfer of lots 169 and 170 to the KMC. Not much success was made by the KMC in acquiring the site, however, as no formal agreement was reached between the KMC and the Stanger Town Council. In 1987, the KwaZulu government purchased a 'residential property' in Stanger, opposite the King Shaka Monument.³² This move had positive implications for the KMC, as the purchased property would 'serve as a much-needed form of rest and change facility for the [Zulu] Royal Family and the Chief Minister during King Shaka ceremonies'.³³ The purchase of the site was finalised by the KwaZulu Department of the Interior in 1988.³⁴

The reason for the NMC's reluctance to lease the site to the KMC related to the politics of legitimisation. It wanted to legitimate its existence and dominance as a national body for the preservation of heritage through preserving more 'indigenous' heritage. This process had its origins in the 1930s and 1940s. The NMC was historically a body which focused largely on the preservation of white cultural heritage. The Shaka sites in Stanger were important to the NMC as the Council hoped to show that it represented all South Africans, black and white.³⁵ Here were signs of an early affirmative action strategy to preserve other cultural heritages beyond British colonial and Afrikaner cultural heritages.³⁶ According to an NMC statistical analysis conducted in 1991, there were only two 'Zulu' and five 'Anglo-Zulu' cultural

³² KMC, *Annual Report*, 1988, p.2.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁵ In 1990 the NMC was attempting to declare Chief Albert Luthuli's house a national monument. See AKN, Pmb, LTMD (SSS), No. 9/2/418/5, A. Gibb to A. Hall, 4 Oct. 1990.

³⁶ AKN, Pmb, Administration of Conservation Policy, 9/P, A. Hall, 'Strategy for Affirmative Action in Natal Region', 7 Aug. 1991.

heritage sites (mainly sites of the Anglo-Zulu War) declared by the NMC.³⁷ By contrast, there were 161 'white' monuments declared by the NMC.³⁸ With the exception of the King Shaka Monument, all the plans concerning sites associated with Shaka were the result of the NMC and NPMS initiatives. In 1993, the NMC sold the King Shaka Memorial site to the KMC.³⁹ In my research I was unable to establish why this transaction occurred in 1993 and not before that.

In 1986, the NMC identified sites which were said to be relate to Shaka. Influential here was A. Gibb of the Stanger Museum, which fell under the NPMS. She compiled reports on the sites that were identified. These reports were based on oral interviews she conducted with Zulu-speaking people in Stanger. The sites that were identified for development could be placed into two categories. Firstly, there were sites whose knowledge was less controversial and their authenticity less contested. The Shaka spring and Shaka bath and pool could be placed under this category. The other category was composed of sites whose authenticity was contested. The Mavivane cliff and Shaka's tree fell under this category Shaka's spring was on land owned by the Borough of Stanger. The interest in the site was raised by its mention in 'local tradition'. Gibb pointed out that 'according to local tradition it was from this spring that King Shaka's drinking and washing water was drawn every day.'⁴⁰ In addition, she pointed to

³⁷ AKN, Pmb, Administration of Conservation: Policy, 9/P, A. Hall, NMC Natal Region Memorandum: Statistical Analysis of the Relevance of Declared Monuments in the Natal Region, 2 May 1991. Also see, A. Hall, and A. Lillie, 'The National Monuments Council and a policy for providing protection for the cultural and environmental heritage' *SAHJ* Vol. 29, 1993, pp. 102-117.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ KMC, *KwaZulu Monumenns Council Annual Report*, (not paginated).

⁴⁰ AKN, Pmb, SDAS Vol. 4, 2/5/7, Minutes of Special Committee, Stanger, 4 April 1986.

local geographical features which, she argued, were in line with this local tradition.⁴¹ There was no similar spring anywhere in the vicinity and it was, according to Gibb, very similar to King Dingane's spring at Mthonjaneni where 'the water seeps out from a cleft in a sandstone layer'.⁴² Based on these accounts, the authenticity of the site was considered as beyond doubt. It was to be developed through fencing, providing a gate; improving access through the construction of a road and parking, the placing of signposts and the erection of an interpretative plaque. These activities would be performed together with the KMC, which would in addition provide the caretaker for the site.

The second site that was less controversial and less contested was Shaka's bath and pool, which also belonged to the Borough of Stanger. Again the founding of this site was linked to local tradition. The tradition here stated that Shaka was in the 'habit of bathing in the pool and then lying in the sun to dry on the ledge above it.'⁴³ According to Gibb, as the site was 'recognised by the Zulu Royal Family in the past', there was no reason to question it.⁴⁴ Like Shaka's spring, she pointed to the local geography which proved its authenticity. In developing the site the KMC and NMC planned to fence it to provide a 'service gate', improve access, and provide an interpretative plaque and the cutting of exotic flora.

⁴¹ KwaDukuza Museum (hereafter KDM), King Shaka file, A. Gibb, 'King Shaka Spring', 1986.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ KDM, King Shaka file, A. Gibb, 'King Shaka Bath and Pool', 1986.

These sites were provisionally declared as national monuments in terms of Section 5 (1) (c) of the National Monuments Act No. 28 of 1969.⁴⁵ They did not fall under the KMC in the period covered in this section. Rather, they were developed by the NMC into a conservation area in the mid- 1990s.⁴⁶ However, provision for the involvement of the KMC in the development of the above sites was made as an interim arrangement.⁴⁷ The third site was the ‘Mavivane execution cliff’, which like the other two, belonged to the Borough of Stanger. The cliff, however, did not become part of the plans for the conservation area. The reason for this was that the authenticity of the site and its borrowing from ‘tradition’ was problematic.

3.2.1. The Mavivane Execution Cliff: Tradition or Traders

On the outskirts of Stanger, rising up beyond the Mavivane stream, is a cliff known as Mavivane cliff (Mavivane means shivering with fear). Also drawing from ‘tradition’, the cliff was identified as a site where Shaka disposed of the ‘unwanted’. The idea that Shaka was ‘fond of disposing of errant subjects by having them thrown over high cliffs or hills is in fact correct’, stated A. Gibb who was curator at the Stanger Museum.⁴⁸ The ‘unwanted’, according to this tradition, were taken to the top of the cliff, stabbed, and their bodies thrown over the top of the cliff, down into a deep pool at the foot of the cliff in the Mavivane stream. Gibb pointed out that ‘one can still feel cold shivers going up and down one’s spine, and the

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ AKN, Pmb, Shaka Memorial, Dukuza Vol. 2, 2/5/7, Director (NMC) to The Town Manager, 4 Sept. 1987.

⁴⁶ AKN, Pmb, Lower Tugela Magisterial District: Shaka Sites, Shakaville (hereafter LTMD SSS), 9/2/418/5, Minutes of the NMC, 111 Harrington Street, Cape Town, 8 and 9 Nov. 1994.

⁴⁷ AKN, Pmb, LTMD (SSS), 9/2/418/5, Minutes of the NMC, Offices of the Struwig Mendes Associates, 1 Sept. 1994.

⁴⁸ KwaDukuza Museum (hereafter KDM), KwaDukuza, A. Gibb, ‘Mavivane Execution Cliff’(undated).

presence of foreboding and death, while standing at the foot of this cliff, and while visiting this site.’⁴⁹ The validity of this ‘tradition’ was not proven, however, and the cliff was, therefore excluded as a planned conservation area.

Recently, there have been academic research productions in the area of the negative imaging of Shaka as a despot. These productions have focused on the processes of the generation of such images of Shaka. Engagements in this area have included analyses of ‘oral traditions’ and their position within the imaging of Shaka. Much of the research in this area has focused on the legacy of N. Isaacs and H.F. Fynn. D. Wylie engages with the influences that texts produced by colonial officials had in shaping views about Shaka. He deals with Isaacs’ *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa* which, he argues, influenced subsequent views on Shaka.⁵⁰ He gives a similar treatment to Fynn’s diary which he also views as a major influence in the shaping of colonial and subsequent views about Shaka as a despot.⁵¹ The extent of the influence of these views is arguable, especially when one assesses their influence on the indigenous views of Shaka – the so-called local tradition. How likely or unlikely it is that these views might have been propounded by the contemporary indigenous people in the eastern parts of southern Africa is a difficult subject. It is on these grounds that D. Golan pointed out the difficulty in knowing how ‘traditions’ were ‘manipulated both by interest groups within Zulu society and by the Europeans who recorded the problems that might be

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ N. Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa* (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1836). See D. Wylie, *Savage Delight: White Myths of Shaka* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2000), pp. 83 – 104.

⁵¹ H.F. Fynn, *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn* ed. Stuart, J. and D.M. Malcolm, (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter & Shooter, 1950). See Wylie, *Savage Delight*, pp. 105 – 136.

associated with oral traditions, especially about the images of Shaka.⁵² In addition, she pointed to the lack of knowledge about the ways that oral traditions were ‘recorded, changed, and retold’.⁵³

C. Hamilton challenges these views that images of Shaka were largely shaped by the views of colonial officials and white traders.⁵⁴ In analysing the complex nature of tradition, she places a strong emphasis on the dialectical relationship between views of the contemporary indigenous people and those of traders.⁵⁵ She argues that to some extent, the traders’ ‘perceptions and representations’ of Shaka were influenced by those of the contemporary indigenous people.⁵⁶

3.2.2. Shaka’s Tree: Tradition, Cultural Heritage Methods and Challenges

Knowledge about Shaka’s tree, like that about the Mavivane cliff, was based on oral tradition. Since the tree was placed in a private property, the owners challenged the declaration of the site, pointing to the limits of knowledge of the authenticity of the tree. The provisional declaration of Shaka’s tree, like the three sites mentioned above, was based on tradition. ‘At dusk one evening, Mhlangana, Dingaan [sic] and Mbopa [sic] crept around a tree under which,

⁵² D. Golan, *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism* (London, Lynne Rienner, 1994), p. 130.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ C.A. Hamilton, ‘Authoring Shaka: models, metaphors and historiography’, Doctor of Philosophy thesis, The John Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1993, pp. 58 – 160.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁵⁶ C. Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: the Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Johannesburg, David Philip Publishers, 1998), p. 4.

on a rock, sat Shaka – the Great Chief of the Zulu people. He was stabbed by Dingaan and crawled away to a point approximately 100 yards from the tree, where he died. He was later buried in a grain pit in the cattle kraal. This is recorded history.⁵⁷ This was a 1983 account given by Gibb, who became aware of the ‘historical value’ of the tree in 1981.⁵⁸ She requested that, like the ‘ultimatum tree’ on the bank of the Tugela [sic] River, that Shaka’s Tree (a fig tree – *uMkhuhla*) be declared as a national monument with a ‘metal plaque/notice ... giving its history, in English, Afrikaans and Zulu, please’.⁵⁹ Positive responses to this plea only came in 1986 when the NMC indicated its willingness to apply provisional declaration as a national monument to the site with the ‘historic old fig tree’ thereon in terms of Section 5 (1) (c) of the National Monuments Act No. 28 of 1969.⁶⁰ In July 1986 the Stanger Town Clerk approved the provisional declaration of the property with Shaka’s tree located on it, and other sites that related to Shaka.⁶¹

It was proposed that once the site was purchased from its private owners, it would be consolidated with the site next to it – the one that was purchased by the KwaZulu government and managed by the KMC.⁶² The NMC had first to investigate matters of ownership before developing the site. Unlike other provisionally proclaimed sites (which were situated on the Stanger Townlands and were therefore held under the Borough of Stanger in terms of Deed of

⁵⁷ KDM, King Shaka file, A. Gibb, ‘Shaka’s Tree’ (undated).

⁵⁸ AKN, Pmb, Shaka Memorial, Dukuza Vol. 2, 2/5/7, A. Gibb, The Natal Provincial/National Monuments Council Liaison Committee: Report for the Natal Regional Committee of the NMC, 21 July 1987.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ AKN, Pmb, SDAS Vol. 4, 2/5/7, Director (NMC) to The [Stanger] Town Clerk, 03 June 1986.

⁶¹ AKN, Pmb, SDAS Vol. 4, 2/5/7, W.T. Byrnes (Stanger Town Clerk) to The Director (NMC), 21 July 1986.

⁶² See Illustration 5 on the model that was planned for the development of the site.

Grant No. 10052 of 1922)⁶³, the tree was situated on Lot 111 which belonged to Mr A.H. Desai and Mrs M. Desai.⁶⁴ The tree had to be provisionally declared a national monument to prevent the owner from developing the site.⁶⁵ The NMC informed the legal owners of the site with the tree thereon that the 'tree is deemed to be a national monument and protected as such in accordance with the Act for a period of six months under Section 12.'⁶⁶ This section stipulated that no person may damage, destroy or alter a monument except by virtue of a permit issued by the NMC. The next step, following investigation of the authenticity of the site, would be its declaration as a national monument.

Mr Desai objected to these attempts of the NMC to declare the tree as a national monument. The grounds for declaring the tree a national monument were based on the idea that it was under this tree that 'Shaka is reputed to have sat when he was murdered' and as such it was of 'historical, cultural and ethnological importance'.⁶⁷ In objecting to these 'values' attached to the tree, Desai argued that 'historical literature' showed that Shaka was assassinated 'on or about 22 September 1828' at his military 'kraal', Dukuza.⁶⁸ According to Desai, no detailed

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ AKN, Pmb, SDAS Vol. 4, 2/5/7, Acting Director (NMC) to Messrs A.H. and M. Desai, 12 April 1988. Also see, SDAS Vol. 4, 2/5/7; Acting Director (NMC) to The Registrar of Deeds, 12 April 1988.

⁶⁵ AKN, Pmb, SDAS Vol. 4, 2/5/7, G.B. Cunningham to G. Chadwick, 5 Feb. 1988.

⁶⁶ AKN, Pmb, SDAS Vol. 4, 2/5/7, Director (NMC) to M. Desai, 15 July 1987. Also see Acting Director (NMC) to Messrs A.H. and M. Desai, 12 April 1988, 2/5/7.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* Also see, AKN, Pmb, SDAS Vol. 4, 2/5/7, The Director (NMC) to Messrs A.H. and M. Desai, 21 Oct. 1988.

⁶⁸ AKN, Pmb, SDAS Vol. 4, 2/5/7, J.H. Nicolson, Stiller and Geshen (Attorneys) to The Director (NMC), 14 Nov. 1988.

descriptions relating to the site of Shaka's assassination are given in historical literature.⁶⁹ No mention is made of a tree, 'let alone the fig tree'. Furthermore, the fact that there were

'numerous trees growing in the vicinity of the Shaka memorial and to the fact that numerous trees have been felled in that vicinity over the years to make way for development in the Town. ...it seems more likely that, if he [Shaka] was sitting under a tree, there are and were a number of trees, both existing and which have been felled, elsewhere in the area which are more likely to have been the tree in question.'⁷⁰

The owner of the property also pointed out the age of the tree in his fight against declaration. As Shaka had died 160 years before 1988, the tree would need to have been more than 200 years old as it would have already been fully grown at the time of the assassination. This, according to Desai, was not possible, especially since his consultation with experts suggested that it was unlikely for a fig tree to have a life span as long as 160 or 200 years.⁷¹ By the early 1990s the NMC realised that there were problems surrounding the tree's authenticity. It was also aware of the pressure created by the legal correspondence to 'lift the [provisional] proclamation' of the tree as a national monument.⁷²

In response to these pressures, the NMC and KMC contracted H.M. Brooks, a history student at the University of Natal, to investigate the authenticity of the site. In her report, she challenged the methods that were employed by A. Gibb when proving the validity of the site. She pointed to the problematic nature of Gibb's interviews and how she uncritically treated

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

the information derived from these interviews as Zulu people's oral tradition.⁷³ One of these informants was Mr M. Mtembo. Brooks set about re-interviewing Mtembo. During interviews with Gibb, Mtembo said he was born in the area of Stanger on the 28 August 1908.⁷⁴ He knew the 'tree' site which he claimed had been shown to him by Mshiyeni, son of Dinuzulu. According to Mtembo, in his transcribed and translated interview,

'Mhlangana stabbed Shaka on his rock, no doubt, aiming for his heart, but because Shaka was wearing his skin cloak, the spear penetrated his left, upper arm/shoulder. Shaka sprang up off his rock, and [sic] was most disturbed to find that his assassins were his own two half-brothers, Dingane and Mhlangana ...'⁷⁵

According to Gibb's interview, Mtembo confirmed the view that Shaka was assassinated at the site, 'Shaka's sitting-under tree' and 'Shaka's throne [sic] rock'.⁷⁶ Brooks's interview with Mtembo added interesting revelations. Mtembo was not born at Stanger and spoke Zulu with a 'foreign' accent. His 'accent and the prepositions he used were not those of the vernacular Zulu but those used by immigrants.'⁷⁷ Mtembo confirmed that he was an immigrant from East Africa and not born and brought up in Stanger. He also said that he was not allowed, as a 'commoner', to comment on affairs concerning royalty.⁷⁸ These revelations,

⁷² AKN, Pmb, LTMD (SSS), 9/2/418/5, A.B. Hall to Proclamation Section, Internal Memorandum, Natal Division, 7 Nov. 1990.

⁷³ AKN, Pmb, LTMD (SSS), 9/2/418/5, H.M. Brooks, 'A Review and Assessment of Documentary and Oral Evidence on the Validity of Claims Made for Sites Associated with King Shaka in the Dukuza Area (Stanger)', Project Commissioned by the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority Heritage Advisory Committee, March 1992, p. 17.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Interview with Mtembo, conducted by Mrs Gibb, p. 5 of Appendix.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18. In these interviews Brooks was assisted by Sifiso Ndlovu for knowledge about the Zulu language.

⁷⁸ See Brooks' interview with M. Mtembo, translated by S. Ndlovu, p. 9 of Appendix.

according to Brooks, rendered all evidence collected by Mrs Gibb highly questionable. Brooks was also sceptical of assertions that Shaka was assassinated sitting on a stone under a tree. Here she challenged two 'pillars' on which rested the evidence to support the authenticity of the tree. These were the 'traditions' that Shaka was assassinated while sitting on a rock and that the original site of the rock and Lot 111 were one and the same. She refuted these views. In the case of the former, she pointed out that in no account of Shaka's assassination is a tree mentioned, nor a rock.⁷⁹ On the latter, she argued that the property which should be declared a national monument was Lot 106, not Lot 111. The NMC and the KMC had claimed that the rock came from Lot 111 which was owned by Mr G. Raju. The rock, according to this claim, was moved in 1949 from Lot 111 to the site of the King Shaka Memorial.⁸⁰ Brooks disputed this.

In her inquiry she used the Stanger Township Land register which was placed at the Deeds Office in Pietermaritzburg. This document recorded transactions concerning Lot 111 from 1873 to 1980. Using this source, she pointed out that Raju's name did not feature in the list as the former owner of Lot 111. This, according to Brooks, refuted claims that the rock came from Lot 111.⁸¹ She therefore, argued that 'there is thus no way in which the fig tree can be a tree beneath which Shaka was assassinated for it (the tree) and the rock were on different properties.'⁸² The property which was owned by Raju was Lot 106, which was two lots along

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Couper Street from Lot 111. She argued that 'if oral tradition that Shaka was assassinated while sitting on the rock is believed, then it is the site of Lot 106 which should be declared a national monument for that is the original location of the rock and thus the site of Shaka's death.'⁸³

Significant about this report was that it challenged methods that were used when identifying and declaring cultural and historical heritage sites. It showed a case-specific, relative thoroughness that cultural heritage preservation and creation should devote to research on the authenticity of sites in relation to specific past events. This report is clearly an indication of the critical nature and thoroughness that is often associated with academic history.⁸⁴ Perhaps more significant is that after 1992, no further energies were devoted to proclaiming Shaka's tree a national monument. It was no longer discussed in the Joint Liaison meetings. The focus was now the declaration of Shaka's spring, and Shaka's bath and pool as part of a conservation area that was proposed.⁸⁵ The Mavivane cliff also disappeared from the agenda. The provisional declaration status of the tree was lifted. It was not declared a national monument as was envisaged.

These challenges to the authenticity of the tree, as indicated, began with an objection to declaration by the owner of the property. Rationales for these objections might be obvious. There is however, a possibility that these might have been fuelled by some degree of suspicion

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Author's interview with J. Guy, Durban, 12 June 2000.

⁸⁵ See Illustration 6, of this thesis.

of the cultural heritage preservation activities that were undertaken by the KwaZulu Government through the KMC. This suspicion is captured in Desai's acknowledgement of the extreme sensitivity of the nature of his opposition to declaration of the site with the tree as a monument and the involvement of the 'KwaZulu Government which is the instigating force behind these declarations'.⁸⁶ One wonders if such suspicion was not in fact characteristic of many people in Natal.

Even though the KMC was involved in the development of the sites relating to Shaka, its roles were minimal, an aspect detectable from the records. It was often involved in the planning of the development of these sites, but largely inactive on more practical issues. On the subject of the authenticity of these sites, the KMC's contribution is not evident. In fact the representative of the KwaZulu Government and the KMC, J.K. Dladla, was constantly absent from the meetings of the Liaison Committee.⁸⁷ Active in the development and preservation of sites relating to Shaka was the NMC and the NPMS. It was these structures that were influential in appointing Brooks to research the authenticity of these sites. There is evidence which suggests that the energies of KwaZulu and the KMC were devoted elsewhere, in the development of the battle of Isandlwana site.

⁸⁶ AKN, Pmb, SDAS Vol. 4, 2/5/7, J.H. Nicolson, Stiller and Geshen (Attorneys) to the Director (NMC), 14 Nov. 1988.

⁸⁷ See Minutes of the Liaison Committee at the AKN Office, Pmb, under the file – Co-operation: KwaZulu/Natal Heritage Liaison Committee, file No. 13/10/16.

Shaka has been identified by many academic historians as central in the construction of Zulu history.⁸⁸ Interestingly, Buthelezi was never publicly vocal about these sites associated with King Shaka. This was the case despite his celebration of Shaka's achievements as a Zulu King and the annual King Shaka celebrations which were held in Stanger. The Shakan cultural heritage, instead, received far greater attention from the NMC and NPMS.

Maybe academic historians who have placed great emphasis on Buthelezi's use of Shaka are missing an important unexplored point which emerges from this chapter – that King Shaka was competing with Cetshwayo as the central figure for political mobilisation and legitimation of the KwaZulu leadership, especially Buthelezi. With regard to Shaka's tree, Buthelezi was asked to visit the site and discuss the fate of the tree.⁸⁹ He did not get involved in this regard. I have indicated in the previous chapter that Buthelezi was heavily involved with the activities of the KMC. Nowhere in the records does he talk about the Shaka Memorial and related sites, and the need for the KMC to be involved in their development. By contrast, he was constantly involved in cultural heritage that related to Cetshwayo. Cetshwayo, and the battle of Isandlwana which was fought under his reign, features in both Buthelezi's public articulations of Zulu history and in cultural heritage that he emphasised to be worth preserving. These two symbols were representations of the Zulu nation's struggles against colonial subjugation.

⁸⁸ See for example, D. Golan, *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism* (London, Lynne Rienner, 1994), p. 2.

⁸⁹ South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), Cape Town, Dukuzza/Stanger Shakan Sites, Lower Tugela District file, No. 11/89/1, A. Gibb (Hon. NMC Curator) to The Director (NMC) Natal Branch, 6 Jan. 1989.

Shaka was clearly suffering from the selectivity that characterised cultural heritage preservation in KwaZulu during this period. A possible explanation for this could be the sense of place. The Ondini site was situated in Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu - the seat of Buthelezi's and other Zulu elite's power. The reconstruction of Ondini, was therefore, part of the development and consolidation of KwaZulu. By contrast, at the site of the former KwaDukuza stood the town of Stanger. There is also a possibility that Buthelezi saw it as insignificant to emphasise the importance of the Shaka sites, as Shaka was a being beyond a place. If I may use this coinage, there was a 'historical aura' around Shaka which did not need extensive visual presentation. Shaka could exist on his own without a formal cultural heritage site.

3.3. Isandlwana: Development and Mobilisation

It was in the Isandlwana project that the KMC and institutions associated with it were active in the period under study. As I pointed out in chapter two, the Isandlwana battle site was one of the 'major sites' identified by the KMC in 1981. About 2,8 hectares of land had been previously declared by the NMC, before the transfer of the site to KwaZulu (especially since the site fell under its boundaries). A large portion of the area over which the battle was fought was left unprotected. This area amounted to a total of 1 000 hectares.⁹⁰ This area belonged to the local Mangwebuthanani 'Tribal Authority'. What emerged from this project was a strong linkage that developed between cultural heritage preservation and local economic development. This was not the case with other projects discussed in chapter two and in this chapter. The reason for this involvement of the local community was partly due to the fact that

⁹⁰ Author's interview with B. Marshall, Director of *Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali*, Ulundi, 27 Feb. 2001.

stationed at the battle site were built structures which were used as community services. These included a taxi rank, a road, a shop and a school.⁹¹ The removal of these structures would need the consent of the community.

In 1987, the KMC initiated negotiations with KwaZulu's Bureau of Natural Resources on the planned preservation of the Isandlwana battle site. These negotiations resulted in the formation of the KMC/Bureau of Natural Resources Isandlwana Committee.⁹² This committee opened negotiations with Chief Mazibuko of the Mangwebuthanani Tribal Authority over the establishment of the 'Isandlwana Historic Reserve and Community Conservation Area'. In 1988, the Natal Provincial Executive Committee and the KwaZulu Cabinet agreed to a proposal that the development of the 'Rorke's Drift/Isandlwana' historical sites be co-ordinated by the Joint Executive Authority, and that an advisory committee consisting of experts from the public and the private sector be established.⁹³ This resulted in the formation of the Rorke's Drift/Isandlwana Joint Heritage Advisory Committee in 1988.⁹⁴ This committee met several times to discuss the co-ordination of interpretation for Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift.⁹⁵

Partnering the KMC in the project were the KwaZulu Heritage Foundation (KHF), the former KwaZulu Monuments Foundation; the Mangwebuthanani Tribal Authority and the KwaZulu

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² KMC, *Annual Report*, 1988, p. 7.

⁹³ NPA, *Annual Report*, 1987-88, p. 1.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ NPA, *Annual Report*, 1989/1990, p. 13.

Bureau of Natural Resources.⁹⁶ The KMC and KHF, which had Buthelezi as its chairman, were to raise private sector funds for the project. The South African Sugar Association, South African Breweries, Sanlam, Hulett-Tongaat and Richards Bay Minerals were some of the major contributors to the project.⁹⁷ By July 1989, R500 000 had been raised from these donors.⁹⁸ According to van Schalkwyk, this sponsorship by the private sector was an indication that conservation efforts that were linked directly to the development of the community had 'merit in the eyes of commerce and industry's bosses'.⁹⁹ One can also argue that this sponsorship of the project was the result of a close relationship that had developed since the early 1980s between KwaZulu politicians and the capitalist class.¹⁰⁰ Buthelezi, as president of the KHF, was largely responsible for raising these funds. The capitalists were secure with Buthelezi, who was against the worker militancy during this period. Their sponsorship of this project can be largely explained in these terms.

Plans for the preservation of the battle site involved the removal of the taxi rank, the provision of a new road, a new shop, a new school and the extension of the Historic Reserve, as it was called. Development plans involved the establishment of the site museum and tourist accommodation. These required negotiations with the local people. Prince Gideon Zulu was the chief negotiator on behalf of the KMC with the Mangwebuthanani 'Tribal Authority', who were requested to 'part with nearly 1 000 hectares of agricultural land and [to] consider

⁹⁶ See *Ibid.* Also see KMC, *Annual Report*, 1987, p. 7.

⁹⁷ KMC, *Annual Report*, 1991-1992, p. 8.

⁹⁸ L. van Schalkwyk, 'A new relevance for old monuments: the Isandlwana model', *SAMAB* Vol. 21, 1995, p. 42. Also Interview with Marshall, 27 Feb. 2001.

⁹⁹ Schalkwyk, 'A new relevance for old monuments', p. 42.

¹⁰⁰ See G. Mare and G. Hamilton, *An Appetite for Power*, pp. 6, 107-115.

closure of the district road over the battle-site.¹⁰¹ The local school committee was also asked to authorise the demolishing of the existing community school, as was the shop owner.

Responses to these dragged on due to disagreements and because local people 'were fighting amongst themselves'.¹⁰² Despite these disputes the built structures in the site were removed in the late 1980s. The KMC declared 830 hectares of the site as a monument under Section 5 (1) (c) of the KwaZulu Monuments Act of 1980.¹⁰³ The funds that were raised by the KMC and KHF were used to build a new 'upgraded' school and a store outside the Historic Reserve. The KwaZulu Government, through its Department of Works, created an all-weather ring-road around the Historic Reserve.¹⁰⁴ The early highlights of the project were marked by ceremonies which were held on 21 January 1989 at the Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift battle sites. These were the 110th anniversary celebrations of the two battles.¹⁰⁵ The arrangements for these celebrations were co-ordinated by the Advisory Committee.¹⁰⁶ These were followed in October 1991 by the opening of the new Gadeleni High School. The formal opening of the National Historic Reserve of Isandlwana (as it became known) came on 18 January 1992.

¹⁰¹ Schalkwyk, 'A new relevance for old monuments', p. 41.

¹⁰² Interview with B. Marshall, 27 Feb. 2001. In the late 1980s the Nquthu area experienced considerable unrest, some which was directed against the non-Zulu chief in the area. See Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Proceedings Held in Vryheid, 17 April 1997, <http://www.truth.org.za/hrvtrans/Vryheid/vryheid2.htm>

¹⁰³ Interview with Marshall, 27 Feb. 2001.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ KMC, *Annual Report*, 1989, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ NPA, *Annual Report*, 1988/1989, p. 3.

The opening of the Historic Reserve was preceded by a memorial service in St. Vincent's Church.¹⁰⁷ Present at the ceremony were representations of various *amabutho* (Zulu age regiments), led by uThulwana, the Natal Carbineers, the KwaZulu Police Band, the Diplomatic Corp, the Memorable Order of the Tin Hats (M.O.T.H) organisation, the Mayor of Breton, a representative of the Royal Regiment of Wales, Councillor Chris Lewis, Chief M.G. Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini.¹⁰⁸

It was in this ceremony that ideas of economic development for the local people were articulated. These ideas were portrayed in Buthelezi's speech which he delivered during the opening ceremony. According to Buthelezi, the whole approach in the planning and execution of the Isandlwana project was 'to bring as many benefits to the local Tribal Authority and its people as possible'.¹⁰⁹ He pointed out that the local Nquthu area was a 'depressed economic area', far from everywhere. He pointed out the absence of employment, as was the case in the whole of KwaZulu. He said,

'we sought in every way possible for the development of the site to provide employment opportunities for the economically deprived people here. We had to move the school and the old visitors' centre. The new school which has been built was constructed with bricks made by the local community. Every brick here was made by peasant hands seeking to make a contribution to this place and to draw benefits from it.'¹¹⁰

The local community would also benefit from entrance fees that were to be charged from visitors visiting the reserve. The Mangwebuthanani 'Tribal Authority' would receive 25

¹⁰⁷ KMC, *Annual Report*, 1991/1992, p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, 'Official Opening of Visitor Centre and Isandlwana Historic Reserve: Introduction of His Majesty King Zwelithini Goodwill Ka Bhekuzulu King of the Zulus. By Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha Freedom Party. Isandlwana, 18 January 1992'.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

percent of all gate-takings.¹¹¹ The Zulu King also pointed to this economic development aspect of the reserve and requested further participation of the private sector in this development.¹¹² Indeed, the Isandlwana project was closely linked to the economic benefits of the local people.

The enlarged Isandlwana project served a two-dimensional function – economic and political. The project provided further opportunities for the ethnic mobilisation of the Zulu nation. According to Buthelezi, when he officially opened the new site in 1992, the over-riding significance of the battle of Isandlwana

‘where the Zulu army met the full force of the British army with little more than spears and their bare hands and defeated it, is the valour on the day of the battle. We as Zulus come from a warrior nation who know what valour and bravery is all about. We recognise it wherever valour and bravery are found.’¹¹³

This was typical of Buthelezi’s speeches during the 1970s and 1980s. The development of the site where the Zulu nation showed its ‘bravery’ would assist in the consolidation of KwaZulu which was forged around ethnic mobilisation. He said that projects like Isandlwana should be promoted as the future will be ‘filled with items, events and sites which preserve the Zulu awareness of who they are and what the Zulu Kingdom has meant to the people of KwaZulu and to the people of South Africa.’¹¹⁴ Through the developed and preserved reserve, the battle of Isandlwana was given national significance. It was called the Isandlwana National Historic

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* Also Interviews with Marshall, 27 Feb. 2001 and L. Van Schalkwyk, Pietermaritzburg, 16 Aug. 1999. Also see van Schalkwyk, ‘A New relevance for old monuments’, p. 42.

¹¹² APC, GMC, PC 126/2, ‘Official Opening of Visitor Centre and Isandlwana Historic Reserve. By His Majesty King Zwelithini Goodwill Ka Bhekuzulu King of the Zulus. Isandlwana, 18 January 1992’.

¹¹³ APC, GMC, PC 126/2, ‘Official Opening of Visitor Centre and Isandlwana Historic Reserve. M.G. Buthelezi, 18 January 1992’.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Reserve. The 'national' in its name could have been intended to assert the national significance of the Zulu nation. In their speeches, both Buthelezi and the Zulu King spoke about the role that the Zulu nation has played in shaping South Africa. This awarding of national value to the Isandlwana battle site co-existed with its 'celebration' in KwaZulu as an achievement by the Zulu people alone. Linked to this emphasis was KMC's non-participation in the development of the Rorke's Drift battle site.

The KMC did not devote much of its energy to the development of the Rorke's Drift battle site, despite its being the responsibility of the Liaison Committee. Equally, the NMC and the NPA were less involved with the Isandlwana project. Describing the involvement of the NMC and NPA in the Isandlwana project, Buthelezi stated that the project was 'technically also a joint project with the Joint Executive Authority'.¹¹⁵ He pointed out that the NPMS was responsible for the development of Rorke's Drift.¹¹⁶ The KMC spelt out that their responsibility was 'towards the people of KwaZulu'.¹¹⁷ The co-operation between the KMC and the NMC and NPA was therefore limited, concentrating on issues such as the 'joint logo' and 'mutual recognition' between these structures.¹¹⁸ In addition to these two aspects of co-operation, there were also talks about joint declarations of sites.¹¹⁹ The KwaZulu and Natal

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ KMC, *KwaZulu Mnuments Annual Report 1992-1993* (not paginated).

¹¹⁸ See, AKN, Pmb, Co-operation: KwaZulu/Natal Heritage Liaison Committee Minutes of the KwaZulu/Natal Heritage Liaison Committee, 1985 - 1992, NPA Museum Services Headquarters, file 13/10/16.

¹¹⁹ AKN, Pmb; Co-operation: KwaZulu/Natal Heritage Liaison Committee, 13/10/16; Memorandum: Joint Declaration of Sites by NMC and KMC (undated).

Joint Services Act No. 84 of 1990 had little impact in forging active co-operation in the sphere of cultural heritage preservation. As a result the relationship between KMC, NMC and NPMS was limited to 'technical co-operation'. This, I argue, was due to notions of the value of cultural heritage. Simply stated, since the battle of Rorke's Drift was won by the British army, it had a greater value to white people, whose cultural heritage was largely the focus of both the NMC and the NPMS. At Rorke's Drift a 'small British supply garrison of less than 120 able-bodied men withstood the 12-hour long, night-time attack by between three and four thousand Zulus.'¹²⁰ To British descendants, Rorke's Drift had a significance similar to that of Isandlwana to Zulu people.¹²¹ By contrast, the KMC saw the site as falling outside their priorities – as less valuable to warrant their involvement. This aspect links closely with a theoretical assertion that I have highlighted in chapter one: that in most cases, the cultural heritages that are created, preserved and developed are those that are celebratory. This partly explains the KMC's lack of interest in the development of the Rorke's Drift battle site, a site where the Zulu army lost a battle.

In 1986 the NPMS purchased a 5,2 hectare property, which included the battlefield and buildings on the Rorke's Drift site.¹²² The NPMS planned to establish a 'provincial field museum' in the 'hospital building' which was built after the battle.¹²³ The NPMS planned to house interpretative material on the battle there. In 1989 the building was renovated and a

¹²⁰ L. Vincent, and S. Henderson, 'Museum development in the context of a rural community: the example of Rorke's Drift', *SAMAB* Vol. 19, 1992, p. 23.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

museum completed.¹²⁴ In 1990 a relief model depicting the battle of Rorke's Drift was completed and included in the museum. This model was based on research that was conducted by G. Duminy and M. Coghlan, who were museum-based researchers.¹²⁵ These researchers were contracted by the NPMS and the NMC to undertake a 'detailed study' of the battlefield to enable an interpretive layout of the site to be planned and implemented.¹²⁶ I have been unsuccessful in locating this report. The Rorke's Drift Museum, officially opened in January 1992, sought to provide economic opportunities for the local community in the Shiyane area.¹²⁷ The NPMS raised R27 000 to cover the costs for the promotion of an Arts School and the Arts and Crafts Centre for the Shiyane community.¹²⁸ Vincent and Henderson have pointed to the development of the local community as the major motivation for the creation of the Rorke's Drift museum.¹²⁹ Clearly, during the period after 1986 there was an economic development significance that was awarded to cultural heritage in the Natal and KwaZulu region.

3.4. Conclusion

I have argued that from the mid-1980s cultural heritage preservation became increasingly complex. The apartheid government's 'homelands' system had created boundaries which

¹²⁴ NPA, *Annual Report*, 1989/90, p. 13.

¹²⁵ Author's interview with J. Pridmore, 7 Nov. 2001.

¹²⁶ KMC, *Annual Report*, 1988, p. 7.

¹²⁷ NMC, *Annual Report*, 1992, p. 2.

¹²⁸ Vincent and Henderson, 'Museum development', p. 24.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

sought to separate Zulu people, in this case the residents of KwaZulu, from white people in Natal.¹³⁰ In the mid-1980s there were attempts by both Natal and KwaZulu administrations to work across these boundaries. One of these attempts was in the sphere of cultural heritage preservation. I have pointed out compelling factors that brought the KwaZulu Government into close co-operation with Natal. One of these factors was that sites which were linked to the 'founder' of the Zulu nation lay in Natal. Although some permissive legislation was passed to legalise the KMC's involvement in the development of the Shakan cultural heritage in Stanger, its involvement was limited to committee meetings. It could not declare them as KwaZulu monuments. They could only be declared under the National Monuments Act. In these sites, the KMC and the NMC were confronted by new challenges in the cultural preservation sphere. Issues of authenticity of sites obstructed the declaration certain sites. Traditions showed their limits as sources of information on which declarations could be based.

In addition, in the period after 1985, groups of academic historians were increasingly suspicious of the public history that Buthelezi was presenting. In fact, Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Government were losing some of the academic support that they had received in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Some academic historians were beginning to publicly challenge his version of the past. John Wright, for one, argued that Buthelezi was using 'a very highly romanticised image of King Shaka to enhance his own political image.'¹³¹ Due to the sensitive nature of these challenges, other academic historians chose to be anonymous when pointing out the limits of Buthelezi's versions of Zulu history. Buthelezi's view of Shaka, one of them

¹³⁰ Note that Zulu people were a dominant ethnic group in KwaZulu, but they were not the only African grouping. There was also Sotho people, particularly in the Nquthu area and other urban areas under the KwaZulu Government.

¹³¹ *Natal Mercury*, 30 Sept. 1989.

argued, 'ignored the social, ecological and economic demands of the era that contributed to the rise of King Shaka.'¹³²

I have contrasted the Shaka sites scenario with the Isandlwana project. In the latter project the KMC was heavily involved. Unlike other projects, a basic objective here was to develop economically the impoverished local community. In addition to a 25 percent share of gate-takings, the Mangwebuthanani 'Tribal Authority' had shares in the tourist accommodation.¹³³ According to Marshall (who was director of the KMC), 'the biggest employer in the area is heritage'.¹³⁴ The local community would certainly benefit from this. I have, however, pointed out that the development of the local community was not the sole reason for the development of the site. I have argued that the importance of the battle of Isandlwana goes beyond the economics of development and tourism.

Buthelezi was closely involved with the project and ensured that it benefited from his association with the capitalist sector. The project was connected to Buthelezi's public articulations of Zulu history. This was part of the ethnic mobilisation of the Zulu people in KwaZulu and the emphasis on the national significance of the battle. He emphasised his maternal relationship with Cetshwayo and Mnyamana, the Zulu leaders during the Anglo-Zulu War in which the British were defeated at Isandlwana. Much activity by the KMC was devoted to sites relating to both Cetshwayo and Isandlwana.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Interview with Marshall, 27 Feb. 2001.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* Tourists to the KwaZulu-Natal region during this period had increased dramatically. See *Natal Mercury*, 17 July 1989.

The next chapter will be a bridge, linking this chapter with chapter five. I will explore the period between 1994 and 1998 which saw minimal new activities in KwaZulu and Natal related to major cultural heritage preservation projects. Much governmental activity during this period was focused on policy and structural shifts, mainly influenced by the new demands of the 'new' South Africa. During this period, the national government was highly active in transforming policies in the sphere of cultural heritage preservation. Contestations over cultural heritage became a new feature in the new KwaZulu-Natal province. In the fifth chapter one will notice the promotion of Zulu cultural heritage by the national government.

CHAPTER 4. Shifting National and the Provincial Cultural Heritage Stages: Policies, Structures, and Tensions 1994 – 1997

During the period between 1994 and 1997, the KwaZulu Monuments Council (KMC) was relatively inactive, especially when one considers the major projects that it carried out in the previous periods. In fact no ‘major’ project was started and completed by the KMC during this period. The maintenance of the Ondini and Isandlwana sites remained the focus of the KMC between 1994 and 1997. These were years of significant political transition in South Africa and KwaZulu. The new democratic government was inaugurated in 1994. I end the chapter in 1997, the year which marked the final phase of transition through which the KMC and NMC in KwaZulu-Natal merged to create a new body.

During this period, the eMakhosini sites received serious consideration as worthy of preservation and development. However, this development did not take place during the period under study. Most official activity centred on the transformation of the heritage sector in the new KwaZulu-Natal province, with Pietermaritzburg and Ulundi sharing the title of capital.¹ During this period, both the KMC and the NMC were engaged in structural and policy transformation negotiations. The museum fraternity was also engaged in similar activity initiated by the new province, but largely influenced by national structural and policy shifts.

With this chapter I intend to link two interesting periods in the history of cultural heritage preservation in the KwaZulu-Natal region. During the periods explored this far, cultural heritage preservation was mainly carried out at a local or regional level, in KwaZulu and

¹ For politics around this, see *Sunday Times*, 22 Nov. 1998.

Natal. The national government had not been involved in the identification and development of cultural heritage projects.² When the importance of cultural heritage was emphasised during the transformation period which began in the early 1990s, the national government was strongly instrumental in cultural heritage transformation initiatives which to some extent influenced the nature of transformations in KwaZulu-Natal. According to Nuttall and Wright, in the post-apartheid South Africa there were signs of an increase in the political worth of heritage.³ Heritage during the post-apartheid period would be central in the realisation of new officially sanctioned political discourses of reconciliation and nation-building. In this chapter I will highlight these national shifts which will serve to link the previous chapter and the next. I will use this section to highlight selected aspects of tensions over cultural heritage and possible explanations for the existence of these phenomena.

I will begin this chapter with a brief descriptive discussion of national policy and structural shifts in the heritage sphere. I will focus on the processes that were involved in these shifts. These will point to the pro-activeness of the museum fraternity at a national level and to how certain liberation movements challenged this. The result was a national initiative by the government towards the transformation of the heritage sector. I will argue that this intervention was the result of national government's realisation of the importance of heritage as a vehicle for economic development and tool for constructing the South African 'nation'. This section will be followed by a discussion of structural and policy transformations in

² The National Department of Education only funded the Natal Museum and Voortrekker Museum. The Minister also proclaimed monuments presented to him by the NMC. These were the only kinds of involvement by the national government in heritage.

³ T. Nuttall, and J. Wright, 'Probing the predicaments of academic history in contemporary South Africa' *SAHJ* Vol. 42, 2000, p. 31.

KwaZulu-Natal. These were marked by struggles over heritage, and I will close the chapter with an analysis of these results of the tensions.

4.1. The ‘Winds of Change’: National Heritage Policy and Structural Shifts

In February 1990, the State President of South Africa, F.W. De Klerk, announced his move to a new negotiated settlement. He announced the unbanning of resistance movements and the release of political prisoners. Coupled with these developments were public articulations of the need in the ‘heritage sector’ to adapt to these changes. Noticing these developments, in 1990 the South African Museums Association resolved that some of its senior delegates should seek an interview with the Minister of National Education in order to discuss with him the need for the formulation and implementation of a national policy for museums.⁴

This meeting took place in January 1991 and resulted in the formulation of the Pilot Committee for the Investigation of a National Museum Development Policy. Represented on the Committee were the South African governmental and provincial departments, departments of the homeland governments, museum organisations, the two committees of Heads of Declared Institutions and the Directors of National Collections (ADNC).⁵ Its first meeting was held on 25 May 1992 under the chairmanship of the Deputy Director-General of National Education. During this meeting the Museums South Africa (MUSA) committee was established.⁶ The challenge facing MUSA was to attempt a ‘reconciliation’ of views rooted in

⁴ MUSA, *Museums for South Africa: Intersectoral Investigation for National Policy* (Pretoria, July 1994), p. vii.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

the colonial and apartheid contexts with the democratic vision of the liberation movements and the newly emerging state structures. The main liberation movement which wanted to share its vision with MUSA on the national stage was the unbanned African National Congress (ANC).

The ANC made its own moves to influence the direction of national policy on cultural heritage preservation in South Africa. This was formalised in 1991 when it established a Commission on Museums, Monuments and Heraldry (CMMH).⁷ The main objective of the CMMH was 'to engage the state, develop future policy and push for the transformation and democratisation of the country's cultural institutions which had been shaped by apartheid and colonialism.'⁸ In March 1992, the CMMH convened a national consultative meeting in Bloemfontein to discuss 'heritage and cultural issues'.⁹ In April 1993, the ANC convened the International Cultural and Development Conference where guidelines for the future of cultural heritage in South Africa were adopted.¹⁰ In November 1993, the ANC disbanded the CMMH and replaced it with the Commission for the Reconstruction and the Transformation of the Arts and Culture in South Africa (CREATE).

⁷ Natal Museum Library (hereafter NM), South African Museums Transformation (hereafter SAMT) file, A. Odendaal (ANC) to B. Ngubane (Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology), 18 May 1994.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ The ANC believed that the formation of MUSA was a response to this meeting rather than a pro-active engagement with the transformation of the cultural heritage policy in South Africa.

¹⁰ NM, SAMT file, A. Odendaal, "'Give Life to Learning': the Way Ahead for Museums in a Democratic South Africa", paper presented on behalf of the ANC Commission for the Reconstruction and the Transformation of the Arts and Culture (CREATE) at the Southern African Museums Association Annual Conference, East London, 23 May 1994, p. 4.

The idea behind this move, according to Odendaal, was to take the transformation process further and also to encourage a broad 'non-sectarian' approach.¹¹ CREATE started reviewing legislation, policy and various initiatives of the government, especially MUSA. CREATE argued that the Department of National Education (DNE) which funded Declared Cultural Institutions and other national heritage organisations, and the 'South African museums fraternity' had not challenged past inequities. They argued that a report emanating from collaboration between the DNE and museums could not be broadly trusted to be in the interests of all South Africans.¹²

Many of CREATE's criticisms of the MUSA report centred around the idea that the MUSA group was elitist, with the report being written by a group of directors and other decision makers in the museum world and DNE.¹³ In February 1994, CREATE approached the Director-General of National Education requesting the DNE not to publish the MUSA report or proceed with its implementation, before sub-committees of MUSA and CREATE had had a chance to discuss the issues.¹⁴ These attempts by the ANC proved fruitless as the MUSA report was completed and published in March 1994, a month before the onset of a new democratic dispensation.

On 27 April 1994 the first inclusive general elections were held in South Africa, marking the ending of the formal apartheid system. It was now necessary to dismantle structures associated

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² NM, SAMT file, CREATE, Working Document: Comment on MUSA Intersectoral Investigation for National Policy; Draft Report, January 1994.

¹³ *Weekend Post*, 28 May 1994.

with the apartheid system, and to replace them with new structures. Broad responsibility for heritage shifted from the DNE to the new Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST). The reasons for this included a realisation that heritage had an importance which went beyond that of educating. Heritage was significant both politically and economically in the reconstruction of the South African nation. With the creation of the coalition government, the Government of National Unity (GNU), the DACST was placed under the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) ministry. The department's minister was Ben Ngubane with Winnie Mandela of the ANC as the deputy minister. It was this new department that initiated the transformation of the 'heritage sector' in post-apartheid South Africa. The DACST's initial drives to transform the heritage sector were symbolised by the establishment of the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG).

In the post-apartheid period, the DACST sought to address a 'holistic and inclusive' approach to cultural heritage preservation. It sought to create an integrated and interactive mechanism for transforming 'heritage management' as one of the democratic pillars of nation-building.¹⁵ In July 1994, Ngubane announced the department's intention to establish the ACTAG and asked members of the public to make submissions for its membership.¹⁶ In November 1994 the ACTAG was formed by the minister. Within ACTAG, museums, the National Monuments

¹⁴ NM, SAMT file, A. Odendaal to B. Ngubane, 18 May 1994.

¹⁵ A. Galla, 'Transformation in South Africa: a legacy challenged' *Museum International* Vol. 51, No. 2, 1999, p. 39.

¹⁶ NM, SAMT file, Media Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Ben Ngubane, 27 July 1994.

Council (NMC) and the National Archives formed the Heritage Sub-committee.¹⁷ As it focused on the development of policy for museums, monuments and other aspects of heritage, the ACTAG would take written and verbal submissions from all stakeholders and interested parties and make recommendations for arts and culture policies at national, regional and local levels. These recommendations would result in an a draft report which would be published for public comment. The final draft would result in a White Paper on Arts and Culture. The guiding principle for the drafting of the document was that heritage had to be linked to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

The RDP was an integrated socio-economic policy framework, which sought to mobilise all the people in South Africa and its resources toward the eradication of apartheid and the consolidation of democracy. South African museums were asked to provide a 'framework for the implementation of the RDP'.¹⁸ Cultural heritage was identified as an important agent in the quest for 'reconstruction' of the 'South African nation'. As N. Magan from the RDP office pointed out, 'cultural identity needs to be protected, nurtured and developed as we build a national identity' and heritage was central in this reconstruction.¹⁹ The ACTAG process of policy formulation was in line with the democratic principles, which were promoted by the RDP. Interest groups around the country submitted their comments on the draft document. The ACTAG Heritage Subcommittee, composed of both academics and heritage practitioners

¹⁷ U. Kusel, 'Negotiating new histories in a new South Africa', (unpublished paper), 07 June 1999.

¹⁸ NM, SAMT file, Revitalising the Nation's Heritage: A Discussion Document on the Involvement of South African Museums in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Pretoria, Nov. 1994.

¹⁹ NM, SAMT file, N. Magan, 'Beginning Where We Are: Arts, Culture and the RDP' (undated). Also see, NM, ACTAG Heritage Sub-committee, Draft Policy for Heritage Conservation in South Africa: Provisional Document for Discussion in Provinces before 22 February 1995, Jan. 1995.

nominated by the minister, drew up the draft policy for national heritage conservation.²⁰ Its membership had an interesting academic presence, represented by L. Callinicos (an academic historian), J. Deacon (an archaeologist) and J. Maphalala (an academic historian). There were complaints that there was no representation of 'natural history' which was seen as an important aspect of heritage, in the ACTAG Heritage Sub-committee.²¹ These complaints, however, were not effective, as the membership of the Heritage Sub-committee was not changed.

The Heritage Sub-committee focused on four areas of heritage which it defined as 'interest groups': the museums, 'monuments and heritage sites', archives, and '*amasiko* or oral history and living culture'. The last category was included for the first time as part of the official mainstream areas for heritage preservation, especially at the national policy level. The Heritage Sub-committee called for the promotion of the recording of 'popular culture and popular memory' as part of the preservation of national heritage.²² The Heritage Sub-committee report was subjected to public hearings which were held in all the nine provinces during the period between 20 April and 6 May 1995. Public comments were then integrated into the ACTAG Report which was submitted to the Minister in June 1995. According to the report, one of the major principles that should guide cultural heritage preservation, development and presentation was nation-building.²³ Other guiding principles that were

²⁰ NM, ACTAG Heritage Sub-committee, Draft Policy for Heritage Conservation in South Africa, Jan. 1995.

²¹ NM, Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG): Comments on Draft Proposals for Heritage, compiled by I. Plug and I.L. Rautenbach from individual submissions by members of the Association of National Collections and submitted to Dr Udo Kusel, 10 Feb. 1995.

²² NM, ACTAG Heritage Sub-committee, Draft Policy for Heritage Conservation in South Africa, Jan. 1995.

²³ ACTAG, *Report of the Arts, Culture Task Group Presented to the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology*, June 1995, p. 77.

identified included accountability, redress, diversity, and conservation.²⁴ This report was used as a key reference for the ministry in its subsequent investigations into the viability of different policy options.

From the report, a Draft White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage was released on 4 June 1996. Public comment was invited on the document.²⁵ The White Paper was then debated in the Council of Culture Ministers (made up of national and provincial government ministers of art and culture) on 30 July 1996. The Council recommended that the draft document become the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage.²⁶ The national Cabinet passed the White Paper on 4th September 1996. The 'living heritage' was officially given paramount importance in the reconstruction and development process in South Africa.²⁷ It argued for the permanent recording and conservation of oral history in the formal heritage structures.²⁸

The document further pointed to the narrowness of the term 'monuments' and indicated a preference for the term 'heritage resources'. This would also warrant the replacement of the NMC by a new National Heritage Council (NHC) which would encompass a broader conception of heritage conservation.²⁹ This would mean the replacement of the National

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ DACST, *Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Annual Report 1996* (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1997), p. 11.

²⁶ DACST, *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage* (Pretoria, DACST, 1996).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34. Also see, NMC, *National Monuments Council Annual Report 1995/1996* (Cape Town, NMC, 1996), p. 3 – 4.

Monuments Act with a new inclusive, holistic and integrated legislation. Advances in this regard would only be made in 1998 with tabling of the Bill for this transformation.³⁰ These shifts were also taking place in the KwaZulu-Natal province which was one of the nine new provinces created by the post-apartheid South African government. The KwaZulu-Natal heritage fraternity responded to the shifts that were taking place at the national level. In KwaZulu-Natal discussions towards transformation were characterised by struggles over control of particular aspects of heritage.

4.2. Shifts in the KwaZulu-Natal Province: A Struggle for Heritage

In September 1994, the KwaZulu-Natal Minister of Education and Culture (a ministry which was responsible for arts and culture in the province), V.T. Zulu, met with major role players concerned with the administration, conservation and development of museums and monuments in the province.³¹ As the South African Interim Constitution made provision for culture to be administered at provincial levels, the minister in KwaZulu-Natal appointed two task groups to advise him on how museums and monuments should be accommodated in a new provincial arrangement.³² The Museums Task Group was composed of individuals working in museums, belonging to the Natal Provincial Museum Service, in the Natal Museum and in the Voortrekker Museum. The Monuments Task Group was made up of individuals from the NMC Natal regional branch and the KMC. Both these task groups were required to prepare reports containing transformatory information on administrative structure,

³⁰ The new legislation was tabled for discussion in the National Assembly in 1998. See Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, *Republic of South Africa : National Heritage Bill*, 1998.

³¹ NM, SAMT file, J.G.H. Londt (Convenor, Museums Task Group) to Museums, Galleries and Museum Personnel in KwaZulu-Natal, 28 Feb. 1995.

³² *Ibid.*

legislation, and policy for their respective spheres in KwaZulu-Natal. The reports that were produced by these two task groups highlighted the existence of tensions over certain aspects of cultural heritage in the province. Central to these struggles were the so-called site museums.

The KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Museum Services (KZNPMS), the former NPMS, controlled three site museums, namely the Natal Parliament Building, Mgungundlovu (King Dingane's Royal Residence) and Rorke's Drift-Shiyane. The Museums Task Group argued that the KwaZulu Cultural Museum, which fell under the old KMC, should be brought under the proposed KwaZulu-Natal Museums Co-ordinating Council appointed by the Minister.³³ This structure would be the result of an amalgamation of the two national museums, the Natal and Voortrekker Museums, and would include the KwaZulu Cultural Museum and all provincially-controlled site museums. The Museums Task Group recommended that all site museums in the province, be conserved, developed and displays developed and maintained by museums, not by monuments structures.³⁴ On this note they argued that the KwaZulu Cultural Museum should be part of the museum component in KwaZulu-Natal heritage structure. This was to be the case because the KwaZulu Cultural Museum was not, 'in any event, a museum which reflects only the work of the KMC, but one which represents the culture of the Zulu people.'³⁵

³³ NM, SAMT file, Towards KwaZulu-Natal Museums for the Future: A Report to the Minister of Education and Culture on Provincial Museum Matters, Prepared by a Ministerial Task Group Convened by J. Londt for Presentation to the Minister at a Meeting to be held in Ulundi, 31 Jan. 1995.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

For its part, the Monuments Task Group recommended that the jurisdiction of the KMC be extended to the entire province and that new, more inclusive legislation be drafted for the conservation of heritage sites throughout KwaZulu-Natal.³⁶ They also called for the establishment of a statutory heritage conservation agency to be known as *Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali* – Heritage KwaZulu-Natal (AKN). The Monuments Task Group, made up of members of both the NMC and the KMC, was against the transfer of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum to the proposed Museums Co-ordinating Council. The Monuments Task Group, in addition, wanted Rorke's Drift, the Natal Parliament Building and the uMgungundlovu site, all of which were preserved and interpreted by the KZNPMS, to be brought under the proposed AKN. It also wanted the same done to the Blood River Monument (a monument near Vryheid which symbolised the Voortrekker victory against the Zulu armies in 1838) and Majuba sites, which were cared for by the Voortrekker Museum.

The bases for their claims centred on a view that these site museums were on sites because of the existence of 'historical sites'. Without the existence of these, there would not have been site museums. Since the sites in question fell into the category of 'interpretive centre' or 'site museum', they argued, such sites 'would not exist without the significance of the site on which they were situated'.³⁷ The Monuments Task Group argued that the 'primary/only

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ KMC, *KwaZulu Monuments Annual Report 1995-1996* (Ulundi, KMC, 1996), p. 1.

³⁷ NM, SAMT file, Monuments Task Group Report, April 1995. This Report is attached as Appendix in the Monuments Task Group Report, 'Towards KwaZulu-Natal Museums for the Future', 31 Jan. 1995.

purpose' of the site museum is to interpret the site rather than to preserve collections.³⁸ At the core of this controversy were two different types of institutions. There was a museum faction, which saw as its primary function the collection of cultural heritage items and their preservation as collections. The monument faction saw its function as the preservation of heritage sites. Why then was heritage contested in KwaZulu-Natal in the post-apartheid context?

I argue here that these struggles over cultural heritage were not simply a result of misunderstandings of the difference of the functions of museum and monuments. I will highlight two possible explanations. The first explanation is an obvious one - these struggles were the result of the established ownership of sites. The Rorke's Drift site museum, as I have pointed out in the previous chapter, was developed and owned by the KZNPMS. Transferring ownership of the site to the proposed AKN would not be a painless exercise. The KZNPMS was also unwilling to transfer Mgungundlovu (site which was King Dingane's royal residence) and the Natal Provincial Parliament (a building symbolic of Victorian architecture) which had been developed by it and therefore fell under it. I can also say the same with the KMC's refusal to withdraw its authority over the KwaZulu Cultural Museum.

There is, however, a possibility of a less obvious explanation – a post-apartheid 'quest' and 'pressure' to institutionally diversify cultural heritage, with both institutions wanting to perform the functions that are traditionally those of the other. During this period, cultural heritage institutions were moving towards diversification. Institutions that were associated

³⁸ *Ibid.*

with the preservation of colonial cultural heritage were pressured by national developments to include 'black' cultural heritages. Those that had been preserving aspects of black cultural heritage wanted to hold on to that as justification for continued funding, whether nationally or provincially. This partly explains why the KZNPMS wanted to hold on to the Mgungundlovu site museum. By contrast, the KMC wanted to preserve 'white' cultural heritage to justify its existence as a monument body in KwaZulu-Natal. Indeed, the provincial minister's appointment of the two Task Groups was a clear indication that there was pressure for these institutions to adapt to the transforming South Africa. By the year 1995 there had been no change with regard to the transfer and control of the above sites. The controversy over the transfer of the KwaZulu Cultural Museum to the museum faction was resolved in 1995 when it was agreed that the proposed AKN should administer the museum.³⁹ The transfer of the Rorke's Drift and Mgungundlovu site museums was not resolved.⁴⁰

In 1996, the minister of the provincial DEC, 'under pressure', decided to place Rorke's Drift and Mgungundlovu under the AKN.⁴¹ My informant, who was part of the Museums Task Group, was careful not to state clearly who pressured the minister to take this decision. Since the AKN's membership was made up of the old KMC, one can speculate that since the IFP was the majority party ruling KwaZulu-Natal, structures associated with the Zulu nationalist interests would be promoted.

³⁹ NM, SAMT file, J.G.H. Londt to Museums, Galleries and Museum Personnel in KwaZulu-Natal, 28 Feb. 1995.

⁴⁰ Author's interview with J. Vincent, Pietermaritzburg, 24 Oct. 2001.

⁴¹ Interview with J. Vincent, 24 Oct. 2001.

I pointed out in the previous chapters that the leader of what became KwaZulu-Natal, M.G. Buthelezi, placed an emphasis on the preservation of Zulu cultural heritage to mobilise around Zulu ethnicity and cement his 'traditional' leadership role within Zulu politics. The minister of the DEC, V.T. Zulu, belonged to the IFP. There was therefore, a possibility that the interest of the AKN would be supported by the ruling KwaZulu-Natal leadership. The AKN, however, could not get control of other sites, especially the Blood River site museum which was still curated by the Voortrekker Museum, and Natal Parliament Building, which was retained by the KZNPMS. The reason the AKN was not given the Blood River site museum was because matters relating to the site were to be dealt with at a national level, as the Voortrekker Museum was funded by the DACST. However, as I will show in the next chapter, even though the AKN did not get ownership of the Blood River site, the presence of the IFP at DACST would ensure that a Zulu monument and museum were to be built on the site. The reason why the AKN did not get the Natal Parliament Building is still obscure.

The provincial KwaZulu-Natal Museums Co-ordinating Council that was proposed never materialised. The Natal and the Voortrekker Museums remained national museums. This was the case despite attempts by the DACST to decentralise them to the province.⁴² The DACST sought to establish two flagship museums, the northern flagship which would be made up of the museums in the former Transvaal and the Southern flagship made up of museum in the former Cape Province. The remaining national museums, such as in KwaZulu-Natal would be

⁴² See, NM, SAMT file, Towards a New National Museums Service: A Vision for the Restructuring of Declared Cultural Institutions, Report of the Review Committee, Oct. 1996. Also see NM, SAMT, Department of Arts, Culture Science and Technology, Draft Generic Terms of Reference and Process for the Evaluation of the National Museum, Bloemfontein and the Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg, 1997. The Natal and Voortrekker Museums resisted this decentralisation. On this see, NM, Memorandum: Submission by the Natal Museum and Voortrekker Museum Regarding their Proposed Incorporation into the Provincial Administration, 22 Oct. 1996.

decentralised to the provincial governments. The Monuments Task Group was a 'victor' in this controversy. In terms of structural transformation, it achieved more than the museum fraction, which remained with the pre-apartheid arrangement.

Through the initiatives of the AKN, KwaZulu-Natal became the only province that moved towards the development of its own heritage legislation. According to G. Whitelaw, (an archaeologist of the Natal Museum who also worked for the old KMC) the roots of this 'independence lie in the fact that KwaZulu was the only homeland created by apartheid with a relatively effective heritage agency' – the KMC.⁴³ I pointed out in chapter two that the emergence of the KMC was closely linked to the interests of the KwaZulu leadership. Through the 1980s the KwaZulu political leadership, particularly Buthelezi, promoted the KMC and its projects. In fact this leadership was part of the KMC, especially since they led the KwaZulu Heritage Foundation (KHF) which was the KMC's public arm and its main fundraising organ. Buthelezi, I have pointed out, was the chairman of the KMC when it was started and was chairman of the KHF. These aspects accounted for AKN's effectiveness as a heritage agency. As cultural heritage was partly decentralised to provinces under the new dispensation, the regional office of the NMC and the KMC entered into discussions over the establishment of new legislation and a provincial heritage authority.⁴⁴ Consultations with experts were conducted and legislation from a number of countries consulted.⁴⁵ The

⁴³ Whitelaw, 'New Legislation for cultural heritage', p. 60.

⁴⁴ Author's interviews with B. Marshall, 27 Feb. 2001, L. van Schalkwyk, 16 Aug. 1999 and M. Taylor, 27 June 2000.

⁴⁵ Author's interview with J. Walker, 30 Oct. 1999. Also see, *KMC Annual Report 1995-1996*, p. 2.

framework for the new legislation was prepared, incorporating principles and ideas generated by submissions to the regional ACTAG public forums.

What emerged from this was a draft document which was submitted to the NMC for comment.⁴⁶ In March 1996, the draft legislation was then submitted to the provincial Minister of Education and Culture for review and wider public comment. These moves culminated in the passing of the KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Act (No. 10 of 1997), under which the *Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali* (AKN) was established, replacing the KMC and the NMC regional branch.⁴⁷ The headquarters of the new AKN were to be at Ulundi, at the former KMC offices at the Ondini Complex. Another office was to be in Pietermaritzburg at the former NMC Natal branch offices. The former Natal Branch staff members (M. Taylor and C. Curran) had to re-apply for employment in the AKN.⁴⁸ They, however, retained informal links with the NMC head office in Cape Town.⁴⁹ The directorship of the AKN was that of the former KMC, led by B. Marshall. All the projects that were carried by the NMC were now maintained by the AKN. These included heritage sites that had been largely 'ignored' by the KMC, among them sites that related to King Dingane, the Anglo-Boer War, and the British colonial heritage which had been under the NPMS and the NMC.

⁴⁶ *KMC Annual Report 1995-1996*, p. 2.

⁴⁷ For details of the Act, see, *Gazette Extraordinary: The Provincial Gazette of KwaZulu-Natal* No. 5254, 23 January 1998.

⁴⁸ Memorandum of Agreement Made and Entered into Between the National Monuments Council and Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali (undated). M. Taylor of AKN, Pietermaritzburg office made the document available to the author.

⁴⁹ NMC, *National Monuments Annual Report*, 31 March 1999, p. 12.

The projects that were identified by the KMC in the 1980s remained major projects of the AKN. There was continued maintenance and development of the Ondini Royal Residence, Nodwengu, Isandlwana and other sites relating to the Anglo-Zulu War. In 1994, the KMC had acquired ownership of the King Shaka Memorial, and had built an interpretive centre there, which was opened during the King Shaka celebrations of 24 September 1995.⁵⁰ In addition, the AKN would negotiate with the owners of eMakhosini site and Albert Luthuli House (the home of the former ANC president Nobel Prize winner, in Groutville) for the preservation and development of these sites.⁵¹ These two sites were privately owned, which made it difficult for the AKN to be involved in their development and preservation. As a result the development of the Luthuli House into a museum never materialised. The only progress with regard to these sites occurred in the eMakhosini valley. In 1997 the AKN voiced its intentions to purchase approximately 26 000 ha of farms in the eMakhosini valley and to proclaim them as a cultural conservancy, as had been done with King Shaka's spring, bath and pool.⁵²

The association between cultural heritage and the former KwaZulu leadership had not ceased after the creation of a new province. The KwaZulu Heritage Foundation (KHF), which had been formed to fundraise for the KMC, remained in operation and was responsible for fundraising for the AKN. It was now called the KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Foundation (KZNHF), with M.G. Buthelezi as its President and the former KwaZulu Minister of the

⁵⁰ KMC, *Annual Report*, (not paginated).

⁵¹ NM, Monuments Task Group Report, April 1995.

⁵² Interview with B. Marshall, 27 Feb. 2001.

Interior, F.T. Mdlalose, as its Vice President.⁵³ The AKN could still be seen to be largely associated with the preservation of Zulu cultural heritage, although it did give some attention to a wider ‘resistance’ heritage, through the Albert Luthuli House project.⁵⁴ During this period cultural heritage that was ‘Zulu’ received the most attention from the AKN.

Buthelezi pointed out that the reason people like John Aspinall were donating money to AKN projects was because of his admiration of the Zulu people.⁵⁵ Aspinall was a ‘wealthy English plutocrat, private zoo-owning conservationist, gambling casino czar, “white Zulu” patron of the Inkatha Freedom Party in South Africa ...’⁵⁶ He developed a ‘lasting love for Zulu people’ from an early age. This was a result of his reading of Rider Haggard’s *Nada the Lily* ‘which stimulated his imagination, serving as the most important influence in his life.’⁵⁷ According to Draper and Mare, when Aspinall was initiated into the Zulu ‘nation’ in 1990, as a ‘white Zulu’, and awarded the title of *Induna* (headman) by King Goodwill Zwelithini, ‘he realised a journey that goes back a long way in fantasy before he visited the continent.’⁵⁸ It was in this context that Aspinall contributed financially to the purchase of land at eMakhosini.

⁵³ AKN Brochure, *The Valley of the Kings: eMakhosini*.

⁵⁴ This drive to preserve colonial and apartheid resistance struggle was a national trend. See NMC Annual Reports from 1995 – 1998.

⁵⁵ M.G. Buthelezi in interview with the Helen Suzman Foundation, see http://www.hsf.org.za/focus_13/f13_int_gatsha.html

⁵⁶ See M. Draper and G. Mare, ‘Going in: the garden of England’s gaming zookeeper and Zululand’, paper presented at a conference on “African Environments: Past and present”, St Antony’s College, Oxford, 1999, and forthcoming in Beinart, W. and McGregor, J. (eds) *African Environments and Social Histories* (Oxford, James Currey and Heineman).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* Also see Buthelezi in interview with the Helen Suzman Foundation.

⁵⁸ Draper and Mare, p. 5.

Aspinall, according to Buthelezi, undertook to purchase the land at eMakhosini on behalf of the AKN because of his love for Zulu people.⁵⁹ In a speech he delivered at a Soweto rally of the IFP in 1991, Aspinall said that in his childhood he made two vows. 'One was to model my life on the values of the ancient Zulu Nation. The other was when time came, to come to KwaZulu and try and pay back the debt I owed your ancestors for giving me a model of how a life should be lived and also how somebody should die'.⁶⁰ His contribution to the eMakhosini fund contribution was, he claimed, part of this paying back.⁶¹

Zulu cultural heritage during this period was finding new space in new South African state. The 24th of September, which had since the early 1970s been celebrated as King Shaka Day in KwaZulu was declared a national public holiday in post-apartheid South Africa. However, it was no longer designated King Shaka Day, but Heritage Day, celebrated by all the provinces. On 24 September 1995, the first Heritage Day celebrations were held in South Africa.

4.3. Conclusion

Clearly, during the period between 1994 and 1997, cultural heritage preservation in South Africa and in KwaZulu-Natal had become a more complex phenomena than during periods explored in the previous chapters. This complexity was fuelled by developments that were unfamiliar in the cultural heritage sphere. Cultural heritage policy formulation was contested at the national level. The liberation movements, mainly the ANC, publicly challenged the

⁵⁹ Buthelezi in interview with the Helen Suzman Foundation.

⁶⁰ Draper and Mare, 'Going in', p. 5.

⁶¹ This is, however, disputed by L. van Schalkwyk. Author's interview with L. van Schalkwyk, 20 Aug. 2000.

heritage fraternity and the DNE on matters relating to the formulation of national heritage policy. After 1994, the public was invited to participate in heritage policy formulations. Indeed, during the pre-1994 period, the majority of the South African population had been denied any participation in the formulation of heritage policy. The ACTAG process was, therefore, a new trend in line with the demands of the new dispensation.

The post-apartheid period also saw the emergence of tensions over heritage in KwaZulu-Natal between museums and monuments structures. I have argued that these struggles were a result of the demands placed on the KwaZulu-Natal cultural heritage structures by the national political shifts. The quest to diversify cultural heritage preservation that was inclusive of all racial and ethnic groups in the province, was a major demand placed by national shifts on provincial cultural heritage structures. I have speculated that the successes of the AKN, which was largely dominated by the former KMC, can be explained by the KwaZulu government's long involvement in cultural heritage policy and practices. The KwaZulu-Natal government after 1994 was dominated by the IFP. Through its leadership of DACST, the IFP was beginning to play an influential role at national level. In looking ahead, given a long-established association between the IFP and the Zulu cultural heritage, the DACST would be suspected of promoting Zulu nationalist interests through cultural heritage.

This would coincide with the state promotion of cultural heritage that was inclusive of all ethnic and racial groupings within South Africa. An academic historian, C. Rassool, has pointed out that one of the discourses that emerged in the post-apartheid South Africa has

been the 'rainbow' nation which is forged around 'multiculturalism'.⁶² Cultural heritage was seen by the South African government, through the DACST, as important in promoting these discourses. These discourses, according to Rassool, have been 'emerging and taking shape in almost every sphere of heritage construction and public culture in South Africa.'⁶³ He points to the new monuments that were starting to emerge, as a state attempt to 'construct forms of observance, remembrance and commemoration.'⁶⁴ The Legacy Project (a national government initiative which sought to promote the cultural heritage of groupings who were marginalised by the apartheid system) was a major attempt by the state to construct the 'rainbow' nation. Such attempts had their complexities and contradictions which the next chapter attempts to analyse.

⁶² C. Rassool, 'The rise of heritage and the reconstruction of history in South Africa' *Kronos* No. 26, August 2000, p. 1.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 5. National Priorities and the Battle of Ncome Project: Exploring New Values and Complexities, 1998-1999

In this chapter I examine a case study of the motivations for cultural heritage preservation sanctioned at national level. In doing this I intend to identify shifts and complex patterns in cultural heritage preservation and development that were emerging during this period. The nation-state was assuming a leading role in the promotion and preservation of cultural heritage not only in South Africa, but also in KwaZulu-Natal. Despite the increased importance of cultural heritage at the national level, there was continued evidence of regional and local priorities. Cultural heritage promotion and interpretation in KwaZulu-Natal was no longer largely assisted through texts produced mainly by 'white' academic historians, a phenomenon which had characterised the 1970s and 1980s. 'Black' academic historians were now also consulted for such purposes. J. Maphalala, who was the only black historian who presented a paper at the 1985 conference on Natal and Zulu history, now became influential as an academic historian and a participant in cultural heritage projects. In this chapter I look at the period covering the years 1998 to 1999, from the formal establishment of the battle of Ncome project to its completion and the opening of a new museum. This focus forms the basic rationale for my periodisation.

As part of the post-apartheid state construction of the South African nation, the Legacy Project was initiated at Cabinet level. The Battle of Ncome was chosen as one of the Legacy Projects. The underlying objectives of the Legacy Projects were mainly influenced by the government's concern with the political unity and economic development of South Africa. This emerged from the notion that cultural heritage is an important resource in the making of new nation

states and in the development of tourism, which has emerged as an important economic sector in most countries. The Battle of Ncome project was launched to achieve similar objectives.

I will begin this chapter with a descriptive discussion of the state's conception of the project and its association with national priorities. I will indicate how these national priorities were basic motivations for the government to initiate the project. This section will be followed by an exploration of the tendencies that emerged to contradict national priorities.

5.1. State Memorialism: the Correction of Blood River, Nation-building and National Development

On 16 December 1838, a battle took place between the Voortrekkers and the Zulu army during the reign of King Dingane. The battle was fought on the banks of the Ncome River, a small stream flowing into the Mzinyathi River in northern KwaZulu-Natal. Under the command of Ntombela Ntuli, the Zulu army of about 12 000 to 16 000 men attacked the Voortrekker laager stationed on the western bank of the Ncome River.¹ The Zulu army, armed with spears and shields, found it difficult to penetrate the fortified laager, which was defended with superior firepower. The Zulu army was defeated during that encounter which has been referred to as the Battle of Blood River by English-speakers, *die Slag van Bloedrivier* by Afrikaans-speakers and *iMpi yaseNcome* (War of Ncome) by Zulu-speakers.

The Battle of Ncome project was part of the national government's Legacy Project initiative. The Legacy Project was initiated by the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST). It grew out of the government's aim to 'redress' South Africa's past in the interests

¹ See J. Laband, *Rope of Sand: the Rise and Fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1995), p. 98.

of nation-building and to reflect the diverse heritage of South Africa. Each project included within the Legacy Project had to meet certain principles that were agreed upon by the Cabinet. These were that the projects should link heritage with national economic and political priorities, affirm cultural diversity, promote cultural heritage that was inclusive of all groups, acknowledge the needs of disadvantaged communities, and promote public ownership of heritage projects through consultation.² Essentially, the Legacy Project was concerned with economic development and nation-building (a post-apartheid reference to the construction of the 'South African nation').

In January 1998, the government budgeted about 7 million rands for the Legacy Project.³ A draft portfolio of legacy projects was released for discussion by the National Legacy Committee, an inter-departmental committee that was tasked with the establishment of new and diverse commemorations, monuments and museums.⁴ Early in 1998 several projects were identified and approved by the Cabinet for inclusion in the Legacy Project. These were the Battle of Ncome project,⁵ the Women's March Memorial in Pretoria, the Samora Machel

² This idea of linking heritage with development priorities was articulated by A. Odendaal who argued that heritage institutions will 'have to link themselves to the principles of the Reconstruction and Development Programme'. See *Weekend Post*, 28 May 1994.

³ DACST, *Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology: Budget Overview 1999/2000* (Pretoria, DACST, March 1999), p. 21.

⁴ The Portfolio of Legacy Projects: A Portfolio of Commemorations Acknowledging Neglected or Marginalised Heritage, Discussion Document, Jan. 1998. Document made available to author by A. Monis of DACST. Each approved project had a Steering Committee that was constituted by various stakeholders relevant to each project. The secretariat aspect of each project was the responsibility of the Sub-directorate with DACST. See DACST, Briefing Document for President Mandela's Speechwriter, p. 2 – 3. Also see http://www.dacst.gov.za/arts_culture/culture/development/index.htm

⁵ This project was given different names by the Steering Committee – the Ncome/Blood River Project, Blood River Memorial Project, Blood River War Memorial Project, Battle of Blood River Project and the Battle of

Monument at Mbuzini (near Nelspruit), the Constitution Hill project in Johannesburg, the Nelson Mandela Museum in Umtata, the Albert Luthuli Memorial in Dukuza, the Anglo-Boer War centenary commemoration, a Freedom Park at Pretoria; and a Khoe and San heritage project.⁶

Two of these projects were situated in KwaZulu-Natal, the Battle of Ncome project and the Albert Luthuli Memorial project. The latter was suspended because ‘there were problems, you know KwaZulu-Natal’.⁷ According to Musa Xulu, Deputy Director-General at DACST, the Luthuli project was postponed ‘due to a difficult consultation process in which political interests were threatening to get in the way’.⁸ The consultation process with regard to the Battle of Ncome project was much easier, he said.⁹ Albert Luthuli’s 100th birthday, which was to be held on Christmas Day 1998, was to have been celebrated in KwaDukuza with the unveiling of a bust of Luthuli in King Shaka Street and the opening of his ancestral home as a museum on 27 December 1998.¹⁰ The postponement of this project made the battle of Ncome project the only legacy project that was completed in KwaZulu-Natal. In outlining the government's objectives for this project, DACST pointed to the need to honour the Zulu nation’s participation in the battle, to promote the preservation of the culture and cultural

Ncome Project. In this study I will use the latter mainly because it seems to be ‘politically correct’ and the name Ncome was adopted to name the new museum and the monument.

⁶ As of late 2001, all these projects have been completed except the Freedom Park, the Albert Luthuli House and the Khoe and the San project.

⁷ Author's interview with M. Xulu, Deputy Director-General, DACST, Pretoria, 08 Aug. 2000.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *The Cape Times*, 26 Dec. 1998.

objects of the Zulu nation, to create a site feature that would promote tourist and recreational opportunities, to create income opportunities for local people and to stimulate tolerance, reconciliation and nation-building.¹¹ The honouring of Zulu participation in the battle and the conservation of Zulu culture would serve to ‘correct’ the imbalance that existed in the dominant public representations to date of the Battle of Ncome. This correction of the past was partly linked to the above-mentioned economic and political objectives.

5.1.1. Correction and Elaboration

Before the battle, the Voortrekkers made a vow to God on 9 December 1838 at Danskraal, promising that if they defeated the Zulu army they would build a church to honour Him.¹² It was only in the 1880s that the Afrikaners in Natal thought about honouring their promise.¹³ The church was built in Pietermaritzburg (the building is now part of the Voortrekker Museum) as fulfilment of the promise made to God. Voortrekker descendants commemorated the victory, mainly for the consolidation of Afrikaner nationalism that was emerging in the late 19th century. Since then, on 16 December each year, groups of Afrikaner people have been commemorating their victory. The 16th of December became known as the Day of the Vow and also as Dingaan’s Day.

¹¹ John Laband Ncome Project (hereafter JLNP) file; Battle of Blood River/Ncome, New Monument: Wall of Remembrance, Business Plan, DACST: Directorate, Arts and Culture; Sub-directorate, Heritage Conservation, Legacy Project, Aug. 1998. I should thank J. Laband for making his file available for this research. Other members of the Steering Committee do not seem to have kept files with documents on the project.

¹² See for example, J. Meintjies, *The Voortrekkers: the Story of the Great Trek and the Making of South Africa* (London, Cassell, 1973), p. 134.

¹³ JLNP file, ‘Report of the Panel of Historians Appointed by the South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (Professor J.S. Maphalala, M. Kunene, J. Laband, C.A. Hamilton and Dr J.E.H. Grobler), p. 2.

Two monuments, the *Bloedrivier* Monument and the Wagon Lager, were built on the battle site on the western bank of the Ncome River (43 kilometres from Dundee and 72 kilometres from Vryheid). My research has not been able to yield the exact dates when these monuments were constructed. According to two historians on the legacy project's panel, these monuments celebrated Boer courage and bravery, and ignored 'the suffering and courage of their opponents, the soldiers of the Zulu army.'¹⁴ For the government, the Battle of Ncome project would make 'noble the loss of Zulu life' and would extol 'Zulu bravery as much as it does to that of the Boers'.¹⁵ A steering committee appointed to guide the implementation of the project comprised representatives from DACST, the Department of Education and Culture (DEC) of the KwaZulu-Natal province, the National Monuments Council (NMC), Amafa aKwaZulu Natali (AKN), the provincial heritage agency, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK), Foundation Blood River which managed the Blood River monuments jointly with the FAK, the Molefe Tribal Authority, and the Voortrekker Museum. Six academic historians were also appointed by the national department to constitute a panel of experts.

The Foundation Blood River, the NMC, the Voortrekker Museum, the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture and the academic historians were invited to the project with comprehensive roles to play. The Foundation Blood River was involved mainly because they ran the old *Bloedrivier* Monument and owned the property on the eastern bank of the

¹⁴ JLNP file, M. Kunene and C. Hamilton, 'Reconceptualising monuments', submission to the Panel of Historians (undated), p. 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Ncome River where the new Legacy Project building was to be constructed.¹⁶ The NMC was important since the project involved the legal survey of the battle site and its declaration as a national monument. The Voortrekker Museum had been involved with the *Bloedrivier* monument since it was established. The Voortrekker Museum director convened the project's technical committee, which fell under the steering committee. The KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture had to 'endorse the project' and 'advise on specific cultural and other related issues'.¹⁷ The roles of Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali and the Molefe Tribal Authority in the 'correction' project were not clearly defined. The project therefore functioned at two levels, the physical level, which involved the mounting of a physical structure, and the academic level, which involved the reinterpretation of the battle.¹⁸

At the physical level, public perception of the battle was to be corrected through the erection of a 'Wall of Remembrance' monument on the eastern bank of the Ncome River, which would incorporate the names of the Zulu warriors who died during the battle.¹⁹ These data, according to J. S. Maphalala, were available and people could be requested through *Ilanga* (a Zulu language newspaper published in KwaZulu-Natal) and *amakhosi* (chiefs) to furnish names.²⁰

¹⁶ The Foundation was mainly represented by H. de Wet. See JLNP file, I. Pols, 'Unveiling of the Battle of Ncome Memorial, 16 December 1998', 13 Aug. 1998.

¹⁷ JLNP file, M. Xulu, Legacy Project: Blood River Memorial, towards the reinterpretation of History (undated).

¹⁸ *Cape Argus*, 18 June 1998.

¹⁹ JLNP file, DACST, Battle of Blood River/Ncome, New Monument: Wall of Remembrance Business Plan, Directorate: Arts and Culture, Sub-Directorate: Heritage Conservation, Legacy Project, Aug. 1998, p. 2. The construction of the Wall of Remembrance Monument was planned as Phase 1 of the project and was allocated R500 000. See p. 8.

²⁰ JLNP file, Minutes of the Blood River/Ncome Steering Committee, 15 Aug. 1998, p. 6. Concerns expressed over whether the display of names of Zulu soldiers was compatible with Zulu culture. Maphalala responded by saying, 'The culture of the Zulu is dynamic and the Zulu nation will welcome the gesture to see the names of the fallen warriors of 1838.' See *ibid*.

At an early stage of the project, therefore, it was necessary that the required site on the eastern bank be 'incorporated' into the existing *Bloedrivier* national monument on the western bank of the river.²¹ In May 1998 the project steering committee recommended that a 'model of the monument would have to be designed, a scale model simulating the horns of the buffalo.'²² In June 1998 DACST invited submissions for tenders to design and plan the physical structure of the monument. Ten proposals were received from bidders.²³ The winning tender proposed a structure that simulated the 'war horn' attack formation of the Zulu army, supposedly introduced by Shaka in the early nineteenth century, the same design that was proposed by the project steering committee.²⁴ It was later decided, in July 1999, that the Ncome memorial should also include a museum to provide a facility for living cultural activities.²⁵

The other level of correction had an academic cast to it. The Minister of the DACST, L.P.H.M. Mtshali, appointed a diverse panel of academics: J. Laband, M. Kunene, C. Hamilton, J. Maphalala, J.E.H. Grobler, and L. Mathenjwa. This group was brought together by the minister to produce a detailed conceptual and historical document on the battle in order to reshape its intellectual framework.²⁶ The panel was required to give prominence to Zulu

²¹ JLNP file, D. Havemann to J. Laband (undated). The site was declared a national monument in terms of Section 10(3)(a) of the National Monuments Act, 1969 (Act No. 28 of 1969).

²² JLNP file, Steering Committee: Commemoration of the Battle of Blood River/Ncome, Schedule of Work, Commemorative Structure (undated), p. 1.

²³ Author's personal communication with D. Havemann, Pretoria, 8 Aug. 2000.

²⁴ Author's interview with J. Laband, Pietermaritzburg, 9 June 2000.

²⁵ The new institution is therefore seen as both a monument and a museum. I will therefore refer to the completed structure as a monument/museum.

²⁶ JLNP file, L.P.H.M. Mtshali to J. Laband, 10 Oct. 1998.

perspectives of the battle.²⁷ The panel was also asked to investigate ‘the extent of the participation of people other than the Zulus and the Afrikaners and the roles each of these participants played’.²⁸ The task of writing a detailed historical account of the battle was given to J. Laband (a military historian at the University of Natal), J. S. Maphalala (a historian from the University of Zululand) and J. E. H. Grobler (a historian from the University of Pretoria). Carolyn Hamilton (a historian from the University of the Witwatersrand) and Mazisi Kunene (a linguist attached to the University of Natal) were given the task of conceptualising and contextualising the monument that was planned. This included examining how the *Bloedrivier* Monument had developed, including the mythogenesis attached to both the monument and the battle.²⁹ L. Mathenjwa (a linguist from the University of Zululand) was given the task of conceptualising the ceremonial aspect of the project.

The ‘black’ academics on the panel were not all historians, unlike the ‘white’ academics. Only Maphalala was a practising historian; he could be described as a ‘Zulu nationalist’. There was a pool of ‘black’ historians from which the minister could draw in appointing the panel. In the light of this, the minister’s appointment of two linguists with Zulu nationalist leanings might have been a conscious choice to exclude academic historians who are not sympathetic to Zulu history. This intellectually diverse team of academics was asked to rework the meaning of the battle in a way that would be of symbolic benefit to post-apartheid South Africa.³⁰ Aware of

²⁷ JLNP file, M. Xulu, Convenor, Panel of Academic Historians, Legacy Project: Blood River Memorial: Towards a reinterpretation of history (undated), p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ JLNP file, M. Kunene and C. Hamilton, ‘Reconceptualising monuments’, a submission to the Panel of Historians, (undated), p. 1 – 3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

the diversity within the panel, DACST requested that the historians ‘reconcile their views’ on the project.³¹

The panel's final report focused on Zulu interpretations of the battle and used the events that led up to the battle to explain this interpretation. The report examined the emergence of the idea of the ‘covenant made with God’ by the Voortrekkers, some days before the battle.³² The panel pointed out that the Voortrekkers attributed their victory to divine intervention. The annual commemorations of the battle by Voortrekker descendants, according to the panel, promoted the perceptions that *Bloedrivier* was the birth place of the Afrikaner people, that the outcome of the battle represented a victory of Christianity over barbarism, and that God was therefore on the side of the Voortrekker descendants in their efforts to rule South Africa.³³ They point out that these perceptions have been challenged by some Afrikaner historians over the years. In saying this they concluded that there is no unanimous interpretation of the battle of Ncome. However, they indicate the Afrikaner interpretation which has over the years been a dominant one. They point out that the Voortrekkers

‘entered the battle with a view that it was a desperate fight to ensure their survival against overwhelming odds, and to secure for themselves a place to settle, a home to call their own, free of the shackles of any overlordship. From their point of view, they had treated appropriately with the Zulu king, and had sought in good faith to fulfil Dingane’s conditions for entry into the Zulu kingdom, but the latter had behaved treacherously towards them and defeat of the Zulu military was the only way they could guarantee their safety.’³⁴

³¹ JLNP file, M. Xulu, *Legacy Project: Blood River Memorial, towards the reinterpretation of history* (undated).

³² JLNP file, Report of the Panel of Historians Appointed by the South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1 Sept. 1998, p. 1.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Dingane's treachery was a major pillar of this Afrikaner interpretation.³⁵ The panel of academic historians did not provide a vehement challenge to the Afrikaner interpretation. They acknowledged the idea that the interpretation of the origins of the battle was a matter of considerable debate. In providing Zulu interpretations of the battle, the panel did not seem to downplay Afrikaner interpretations of the battle. This was in line with the spirit of reconciliation that was promoted through the project.

The panel provided Zulu interpretations of the battle through an analysis of the origins of the battle. They argued that the Zulu interpretations of the battle are 'less concerned with the battle itself, than with the encroachment of the Boers into the Zulu kingdom.'³⁶ Zulu interpretations of the battle centre on the perceived treachery and greed of the Voortrekkers, whom Zulu leaders portrayed as landgrabbers.³⁷ The panel recommended that 'any attempt to redress the current imbalance in the events at Blood River/Ncome needs to take into account the context in which King Dingane acted.'³⁸ In pursuing this line, the report highlights an incident in 1837 in which the Voortrekkers attempted to seize cattle which the Zulu *amabutho* (Zulu age regiments) had seized from Mzilikazi.³⁹ In addition, the panel argued that 'Dingane regarded the entry of Voortrekker parties onto the land being requested by the Voortrekkers

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁵ See P. Becker, *Rule of Fear: the Life and Times of Dingane King of the Zulu* (London, Longmont, 1964), pp. 206-226.

³⁶ JLNP file, Report of the Panel of Historians, p. 4.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

but which was not yet granted, as a demonstration that the settlers had scant regard for Zulu authority.’⁴⁰

The panel further pointed to an incident of the night of the 5th of February 1838 when Piet Retief and a party of Voortrekkers allegedly ‘attempted to surround uMgungundlovu [Dingane’s royal homestead]’ with the ‘intention to attack’.⁴¹ The panel used these incidents to contextualise Dingane’s decision to engage in a battle with the Voortrekkers. An important point worth noting here is that in the panel report the ‘Zulu’ emphasis on Voortrekker aggression sits alongside the ‘Afrikaner’ emphasis on Dingane’s treachery. The panel outlined both historiographical positions; its primary concern was not to overthrow the ‘Afrikaner’ emphasis but to add a ‘Zulu’ perspective. This was important in the reconciliation of the views and the balancing of the representation of the battle. The balancing did not mean the subversion of Afrikaner interpretations of the battle. This was the case despite the fact that the act of providing Zulu interpretations challenged Afrikaner interpretations.

Both the physical and the intellectual elaboration of the battle was central to the state memorialism of Ncome. However, as indicated above, the correcting of Ncome was supposed to feed another key objective, that of economic development. The physical structures, both monument and museum, were conceived as central both to attracting tourists to the site and providing recreational and economic opportunities for the local community in the Nquthu area.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

5.1.2. Ncome for Economic Development

Through the Ncome project, the state sought to achieve both economic and cultural development. The former was going to be achieved through the promotion of tourism to the site and the latter through its use for living cultural activities.⁴² A provincial by-road was built to serve as access for visitors to the western bank from the eastern bank of the river.⁴³ Targeted visitors were both local and international. The newly developed heritage resource, it was hoped, would attract around 30 000 of the estimated 1,6 million overseas visitors per annum to South Africa.⁴⁴ Furthermore, according to the 1994 SATOUR's survey of domestic tourism, some 3 million of the 12 million overnight trips in South Africa occurred in KwaZulu-Natal.⁴⁵ According to Lindiwe Magi (of the KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authorities), of all overseas and African air travel tourists visiting South Africa, 30 per cent come to KwaZulu-Natal.⁴⁶ SATOUR estimated that in the late 1990s foreign tourists would spend 15 per cent of expenditure on cultural aspects in South Africa, valued at 450 million rands per annum.⁴⁷ DACST pointed out that, if 3% of these visitors went to the Ncome River site, this would provide a potential 90 000 domestic visitors in 1999.⁴⁸ It was envisaged that the

⁴² See *The Cape Argus*, 04 April 1997.

⁴³ JLNP file, Battle of Blood River/Ncome, New Monument: Wall of Remembrance, Business Plan, DACST: Directorate; Arts and Culture, Sub-directorate; Heritage Conservation, Legacy Project, Aug. 1998, p. 2. This was placed under Phase III of the project. The amount of money that was to be spent in this phase is not indicated in the records.

⁴⁴ JLNP file, Battle of Blood River/Ncome, New Monument, p. 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Natal Witness*, 17 June 1999.

⁴⁷ Cited in J. Seymour, 'The impact of culture on the KwaZulu-Natal tourism market', paper presented to a workshop on "Heritage, History and Tourism", University of Natal, Durban, 20 November 1998.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

centenary commemorations of the Anglo-Boer War (1898–1901) would bring an additional flow of visitors to the site.

The KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Branch of the Steering Committee of the Anglo-Boer War Centenary celebrations was to encourage this.⁴⁹ The entry fee to the new Ncome Monument and the old *Bloedrivier* Monument was to be set at R10 per adult and R5 per student.⁵⁰ From these figures, it was anticipated that more than R900 000 could be generated through domestic tourism and about R300 000 through foreign tourism in 1999. These figures indicate the anticipated revenue from tourists visiting the site. They do not include revenue potentially earned by other participants in the tourism sector, for example, hoteliers. Also anticipated were monetary opportunities that would be opened to the local, largely rural community. Tourists coming into the area, it was hoped, would purchase cultural items that would be created by the local community.

5.1.3. Building the Nation

The state commemoration of the Battle of Ncome was also intended to achieve reconciliation between Zulu and Boer descendants, and so contribute to nation-building. Reconciliation and nation-building are broad national objectives of the post-apartheid government in South Africa. These goals were to be achieved through the use of symbolism of reconciliation at the site.⁵¹ According to Kunene and Hamilton, the Ncome project would be ‘full of current ideas’

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵¹ The Technical Committee, Convened by I. Pols, met with Rev. Van Rooyen to discuss the value of using symbolism in reconciliation. In the meeting it was pointed out that there are historical traces of such practice. It

selected in line with South Africa's political changes.⁵² One of the key symbolic elements was a footbridge over the Ncome River, which would link the *Bloedrivier* Monument (including the Wagon Laager) on the western bank to the new monument and museum on the eastern bank.⁵³ In addition, in their report, they indicated that the main lessons of the battle 'are no longer about the courage and suffering of the participants, but rather an imperative not to prolong the conflicts of the past.'⁵⁴ They therefore recommended that 'a message of reconciliation for everybody' be reflected in the new monument.⁵⁵ They proposed that the new monument be named *eKukhumelaneni umlotha* (place of reconciliation).⁵⁶ This idea of reconciliation was reflected in the DACST's planning of the unveiling ceremony, which was held on the 16 December 1998.

DACST recommended that the unveiling of the monument 'should take the form of a public ceremony, attended by the highest leadership of the country.'⁵⁷ It was anticipated that the event should include speeches from the 'country's and the Zulu top leadership, speakers from the Afrikaner leadership, ritual singing of *amahubo* songs, *volk* and other types of dances,

was pointed out that the Voortrekker Museum houses The king Mpande Stones. These stones were a symbol of friendship and peace between the Voortrekkers and the Zulu nation. See JLNP file, I. Pols, Convenor: Technical Committee, meetings of the unveiling of the Battle of Ncome memorial, 13 Aug. 1998.

⁵² JLNP file, M. Kunene and C. Hamilton, 'Reconceptualising monuments', a submission to the Panel of Historians, p. 1.

⁵³ JLNP file, Battle of Blood River/Ncome, New Monument: Wall of Remembrance, p. 2. The construction of the footbridge, like the Wall of Remembrance, belonged to Phase 1 of the project and was allocated R200 000. It was also planned that a 'low water bridge' (Phase 2) for vehicles was to be constructed to link the two monuments. See p. 8.

⁵⁴ JLNP file, Report of the Panel of Academic Historians, p. 9.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

praise singing and other forms of commemoration and celebration.’⁵⁸ It was planned that both Zulu and Boer descendants would walk across the footbridge to view the new Ncome Monument and the *Bloedrivier* Monument.⁵⁹ DACST argued that this would symbolise a working relationship between the ‘new initiative’ and the Foundation Blood River, which ran the old monument.⁶⁰ On the day of the unveiling, the programme theme was ‘nation-building and reconciliation’, confirming the government’s emphases.⁶¹

In this sense, the Ncome project was supposed to play a key symbolic role in the creation of the ‘new’ nation state. The construction of the nation-state in this context does not necessarily refer to the reworking of the nation as a unified cultural or social construct (particularly since South Africa has a diverse society). Rather, it refers to a gradual rebuilding of ‘public consensus’ around specific principles and values shared among various ethnic groups, irrespective of their historical backgrounds. The project was conceived to promote these principles and values, which included forgiving and reconciling. These values would create congruence between members of the new state under construction. The Battle of Ncome project was to serve a symbolic function in the promotion of these principles and values.

⁵⁷ JLNP file, M. Xulu, *Legacy Project: Blood River Memorial, Towards the Reinterpretation of History*, (undated), p. 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ JLNP file, Steering Committee: *Commemoration of Blood River/Ncome, Schedule of Work, Commemorative Structure* (undated).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ JLNP file, DACST, *Programme: Unveiling Ceremony; Ncome Commemoration, Legacy Project*, 16 Dec. 1998.

5.2. Political Values and a Contradiction of National Priorities

Despite the lofty principles that guided its conception, the Battle of Ncome commemoration of 1998 had features which deserve treatment in this study. These features emerged as contradictions of the broader national goals which motivated the development of the site of the battle of Ncome into a monument and museum. These contradictions were largely about exclusion of certain groups and histories in favour of ethnicised re-interpretations of the battle. Even though the project was motivated by a need for national unity and economic development, there was evidence that these 'positive' national ideas were confronted with intended or unintended silencing of specific actors who, I will argue, had had significant roles in the drama that led to the battle. These excluding tendencies relate mainly to the meanings and values attached to the monument, at a more local level. In the Ncome project, there were possibilities that cultural heritage preservation and associated symbolisms would be used to legitimate and validate a more narrowly defined 'Zulu' heritage.

The national department's injunction was to provide a commemoration of the battle that would be inclusive, not only of the Afrikaner and Zulu people, but also 'other' players during the events that led to the battle.⁶² As I will show in this section, there were other players that were excluded. Furthermore, the new Ncome Museum presented a reinterpretation of the battle that was clearly anti-reconciliatory. This section is an attempt to analyse possible explanations for the emergence of an exclusiveness that contradicted the state's conception of the project. In the previous chapters I have indicated how Inkatha, particularly through Buthelezi's leadership, was central to the preservation of Zulu cultural heritage. The Ncome

⁶² JLNP file, Legacy Project: Blood River Memorial: Towards a Reinterpretation of History (undated).

project provides an example of a complex continuation of this association. In the case of the Ncome project, however, Buthelezi showed support for the nation state's ideals of preserving and developing the battle of Ncome site. Clearly, the exclusion which became a phenomenon in the memorialism of the battle of Ncome was not part of the ethnic mobilisation and the legitimisation of Buthelezi's leadership position of the 'Zulu nation', a pattern which characterised the periods explored in the previous chapters.

In analysing possible reasons for the emergence of 'opposition' to state memorialism, I will look at the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in the context of the post-apartheid coalition government. Internal politics within the DACST to some extent point to tensions between senior IFP state officials and those that belonged to the ANC. Newspaper reports point to a possible use of the project by the IFP officials to promote party interests. In my analysis of this phenomenon I use these newspaper reports. Furthermore, some of the emphasis made by the panel of academic historians helped to create spaces in which a Zulu-centric portrayal of the battle could be stressed. One historian, in particular, became influential in an exclusive presentation of the battle at the Ncome Museum.

5.2.1. Political Party Values: Cultural Heritage and 'Homeland' Legacies

Contradictions that emerged in the battle of Ncome project could be attributed to party tensions within the leadership of DACST. After the April 1994 elections, a coalition government was established amongst major political parties in South Africa. One of these parties was the IFP, which was integrated into an African National Congress (ANC)-led government. DACST was one of the state departments where the ANC worked with the IFP. It is this case-specific functioning of coalition government which provided space for

contradictions to develop with the state's broad conception of the battle of Ncome project. DACST was 'given' to the IFP by the ruling ANC. The Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Lionel Mtshali, was an IFP leader. The roots of the contradictions to state goals were mainly the result of ANC-IFP tensions within DACST which were built into the department by the politics of the coalition government.

In my analysis I look at a key individual in the Ncome project, Musa Xulu, who was both a member of the IFP and the Deputy Director-General (DDG). I position Xulu within the politics of the coalition government and the 'homeland' legacies that were characterised by the IFP's marriage with Zulu nationalism and the use of cultural heritage preservation in its promotion. Prior to the appointment of Xulu, the ANC-aligned Roger Jardine, the Director-General (DG), and Carol Steinberg, the Chief Director of Cultural Development of DACST, were accused by IFP-aligned bureaucrats of using 'their political networks to achieve their ends' within the department.⁶³ According to these views, they allegedly undermined Mtshali as Minister in pursuing their political party goals. Inevitably Mtshali, who was appointed as minister in September 1996 after the 'redeployment' of his predecessor, Ben Ngubane, to KwaZulu-Natal, 'felt the need to have senior officials in the department whom he could trust (trust in this case being linked to political affiliation ...).'⁶⁴ It was in this context that Xulu was appointed to the vacant position of DDG early in 1997.

⁶³ *Sunday Independent*, 27 Jan. 1999. Also see, *The Cape Times*, 22 Dec. 1998 and *Cape Argus*, 4 Dec. 1998.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

This position had been advertised before Ngubane's departure and it was then that Xulu first applied and was interviewed.⁶⁵ According to a newspaper report, Jardine convinced Ngubane not to appoint Xulu as they were aware of Xulu's 'reputation' as chairperson of the KwaZulu-Natal's Arts and Culture Council, and that he had 'resisted ACTAG's recommendations for transparently selected arts and culture councils in the provinces.'⁶⁶ With the changing of the ministry, Xulu, who was then a member of the National Arts Council (NAC), was appointed to the post of DDG. The appointment of Xulu made it difficult for both Jardine and Steinberg to run arts and culture in the way they wanted.⁶⁷

As head of the Arts and Culture Branch of DACST, Xulu was supposed to facilitate the implementation of the Legacy Projects, including the Ncome project.⁶⁸ Xulu was therefore chairperson of the steering committee and also convenor of the panel of academic historians. He had a strong 'physical presence' and was influential in the running of the project.⁶⁹ The National Assembly's Portfolio Committee on Arts, Culture, Language, Science and Technology, which consisted of representatives from various political parties (but largely dominated by the ANC), had little influence on the direction that the project took. The Portfolio Committee was simply informed of the planned programme of events.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Author's interview with M. Xulu, Pretoria, 8 Aug. 2000.

⁶⁶ *Sunday Independent*, 27 Jan. 1999.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Author's interview with M. Xulu, 8 Aug. 2000.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ JLNP file, Minutes of a meeting of the Blood River/Ncome Steering Committee, p. 4.

The line of communication, therefore, was from DACST to its Minister Mtshali and then to Cabinet 'when necessary'.⁷¹ Because an 'uneasy relationship' existed between Jardine and both Xulu and Mtshali, most of the communication on the project occurred between Xulu and the Minister.⁷² The uneasy relationship was most probably attributable to Jardine's alignment with the ANC in contrast to the IFP membership of his deputy and the minister. It led to a 'breakdown in relations' between Jardine and Xulu and Mtshali.⁷³ Jardine in turn claimed that the DACST's 'policy and priorities were geared to the political advantage of the IFP'.⁷⁴ This association of competing political parties was 'inevitable', since coalition governance was operating. This is crucial in explaining the role of Xulu in the Ncome project and the contradiction between state and ethnic (Zulu) nationalism.

By 1998 Xulu and Mtshali were charged by ANC-aligned bureaucrats with attempting to use DACST to advance the IFP's sectional political interests. The battle of Ncome project was seen as one of the areas where these leaders pursued their political party goals. The IFP was (some might argue it is still) known for its links with both 'Zulu ethnicism' and cultural heritage. Xulu inherited this link and upheld its values, in this case the safeguarding of Zulu ethnic nationalism. The Ncome project was caught in this web of state and party (and some would add personal) interests. According to a DACST source, the Ncome project was exploited to achieve IFP objectives.⁷⁵ Here, I am not arguing that the project served the IFP as

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Mail and Guardian*, 20 Nov. 1998. This uneasiness 'resulted' in the resignation of Roger Jardine in November 1998, less than a month before the unveiling of the Ncome Monument.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *The Cape Times*, 28 Dec. 1998.

⁷⁵ *Mail and Guardian*, 20 Nov. 1999. Also see, *The Cape Times*, 28 Dec. 1998.

a political party, for example, by attempting to increase their following. Rather, I argue that the project served to promote Zulu cultural heritage which was traditionally associated with the IFP.

My research did not yield who precisely it was that proposed the eastern site of the battle of Ncome for development into a Legacy Project. As a result, one cannot say that the proposal was motivated by the senior political leadership of KwaZulu-Natal, the IFP or by African nationalists who had long celebrated Dingane (and the battle of Ncome) as a major figure within Zulu royalty.⁷⁶ However, there was evidence that the project was given priority within the DACST. It was one of the first projects to be launched as part of the Legacy Project in early 1998. The project was based in KwaZulu-Natal which was a political seat of the IFP. The resources that were allocated to the project were an indication of the perceived importance of the battle within the DACST. About R1,5 million, for example, was allocated to the construction of the road to the site and R500 000 to the opening function.⁷⁷ The second explanation for the emergence of an exclusive interpretation of the battle, especially at the museum level, relates to what I see as dynamics operating within the panel of academic historians.

⁷⁶ See, *Injula* November 1988, No. 1, pp. 12-17. J. Sithole, 'Changing images of the Battle of Blood River', paper presented at a seminar, University of Zululand, 31 October 1998, pp. 1-23. Also see, S.M. Ndlovu, 'The changing African perceptions of King Dingane in historical literature: a case study in the construction of historical knowledge in 19th and 20th century South African history', Draft PhD thesis, Department of History, University of the Witwatersrand, 2001.

⁷⁷ Author's interview with Xulu, 8 Aug. 2000.

5.2.2. (Im)balanced Re-interpretations: Analysing ‘New’ Productions on the Causes of the Battle of Ncome

In my analysis of the roots for the promotion of Zulu nationalism and the exclusion of the Sotho figures who were significant in the events that led to the battle, I point to two contextual aspects which relate to what I see as a complex production of history within the panel. Firstly, I examine the report of the panel which, I argue, provided spaces for the emergence of ethnically exclusive re-interpretation of the battle. Secondly, I point to a possible lack of cohesion within the panel and the emergence of influential interpretations that were not part of the national state’s idea of the re-interpretation of the battle. In pursuing this, I analyse J.S. Maphalala’s views on the events that led to the battle. I argue that he was to become influential at the Ncome Museum, unlike the other historians within the panel. I will argue that this influence possibly explains the way in which the battle was represented at the Ncome Museum.

I pointed out above that the state injunction was for academic historians to research the roles played in the battle by people other than the Voortrekkers and the Zulu. This was in line with the state ideas of reconciliation, which were seen as the foundation for the creation the new South African nation. In their report, the panel gave prominence to Voortrekker and Zulu historical actors in the events that led to the battle. It did not give much emphasis to the roles that were played by other historical actors who did not belong within the two ethnic groups. One of these was Sekonyela, who was Chief of the Tlokoa people during Dingane’s reign.

Late in 1837 Piet Retief and a party of Voortrekkers arrived at Mgungundlovu.⁷⁸ Their intention was to negotiate the cession of all the territory south of the Thukela to the Voortrekkers. Dingane apparently agreed to this provided that Retief and his party retrieved cattle, which had been stolen from the kingdom by Sekonyela. In December 1838, Retief and a Voortrekker commando crossed over the Drakensberg to recover the stolen cattle from Sekonyela. Retief successfully handcuffed Sekonyela and retrieved many of the cattle that were supposedly stolen, together with Sekonyela's firearms. On 3 February 1838, Retief arrived back at Mgungundlovu with the cattle. According to P. Colenbrander, it was after this incident that Retief and his party were put to death.⁷⁹ The 'simple trick of handcuffing the unsuspecting Sekonyela', coupled with the military success of the Voortrekkers against such formidable armies as those of Mzilikazi of the Ndebele, argues Colenbrander, unsettled Dingane even further. Furthermore, Colenbrander argues that the refusal by Retief to surrender Sekonyela's firearms pushed Dingane into killing Retief and his party on 6 February 1838.

In their re-interpretation of the battle, the panel of academic historians presented what could be seen as both a balanced and an imbalanced representation of the battle. As pointed out in a previous section, they did not seem to overtly dismiss the Afrikaner interpretation of the battle. They also pointed to the idea that Dingane and his advisors regarded the entry of the Voortrekkers onto the 'land being requested but which was not yet granted, as a demonstration

⁷⁸ P. Colenbrander, 'The Zulu kingdom, 1828-79', in Duminy, A. and B. Guest, (eds) *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1989), p. 93.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* Colenbrander draws from F.N.C. Okoye, 'Dingane: a reappraisal', *Journal of African History* Vol. 10, No. 2, 1969, pp. 234-235.

that the settlers had scant regard for Zulu authority.⁸⁰ They also identified Mzilikazi's defeat by the Voortrekkers as a major cause for the Zulu determination to fight the Voortrekkers. The panel also highlighted Piet Retief's refusal to hand over the horses and guns that he had taken from Sekonyela and the Tlokoa. This last point was not presented by the panel as a significant one leading to the execution of Retief and his party.

The panel de-emphasised the event which involved Sekonyela by pointing to the relative importance of the land grant that Dingane allegedly made to the Voortrekkers on the 4 February 1838.⁸¹ The panel argued that the supposed land grant could have forced Dingane to opt for the killing of Voortrekkers. The panel also gave prominence to the event of the night of 5 February 1838 when Retief and his men allegedly attempted to surround Mgungundlovu 'with an intention of attacking it'.⁸² They argued that that was why Dingane ordered his men to kill the Voortrekkers at Mgungundlovu.⁸³ In their analysis of the events that lead to the battle, the panel did attempt to provide a balanced re-interpretation of the battle. They mentioned key events that I have outlined above, including Sekonyela's stealing of Dingane's cattle. However, in my analysis of their treatment of Sekonyela I see an imbalance. Sekonyela, unlike Dingane and Retief, was not presented by the panel as a major figure in the events that led to the battle of Ncome. The panel in this sense reproduced a bipolar re-interpretation of the battle of Ncome. This is important in my analysis of the exclusionary tendencies that marked the project. In de-emphasising the significance of the Sekonyela affair, the panel provided

⁸⁰ JLNP file, Report of the Panel of Historians, p. 6.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸² *Ibid.*

room for the exclusion of Sekonyela and the Tlokoa in the representation of the battle of Ncome. This, as I pointed out, was in direct contrast with the state injunction to attempt a broad inclusivity.

Within the panel's bi-polar framework, J.S. Maphalala emerged as the key proponent of an entirely Zulu-centric portrayal of Ncome. There is a range of rationales for my focus on Maphalala. First, he was the only 'black' academic historian in the panel. I have pointed out that Kunene and Mathenjwa, who were other 'black' members of the panel, were better known as linguists than as historians. Secondly, he strongly propounded Zulu nationalist history. He had a long association with the promotion of Zulu nationalism through Inkatha in the KwaZulu 'homeland'.⁸⁴ Thirdly, Maphalala was to be highly influential in the creation of the new Ncome Museum. He was supervising a Master of Arts thesis by Bongani Ndhlovu, the person who was appointed curator at the new Ncome Museum in 1999. His son, Sikhumbuzo Maphalala, was appointed in 1999 as Education Officer of the Ncome Museum. These links point to the possible kinds of influence that J. Maphalala's interpretations of the battle would have in a new museum with a professional staff of just three people. Lastly, I focus on him because his oral presentation at a seminar organised by DACST at the University of Zululand on 31 October 1998 was different to other presentations in its anti-reconciliation stance; it was also different to the text of the paper he submitted at the seminar.

In attempting to develop a reconciliatory approach to the interpretation of the battle of Ncome, DACST planned a one-day academic forum for academic presentations on the re-

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Mzala, *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda* (London, Zed Books, 1988), p. 19.

interpretation of the battle of Ncome. This took place at the University of Zululand on 31 October 1998. The papers included one by J. Laband, which identified the battle of Ncome as just one aspect of the campaigns that were taking place during this period.⁸⁵ In this case, Laband de-emphasised the significance of the battle. Analysing it as a military campaign, he argued that the battle was just one of the campaigns that were characteristic of the period. J. Guy also de-emphasised the significance of the battle, and contextualised the battle within the 'diplomatic history of the early years of the [Zulu] Kingdom.'⁸⁶ J. Sithole explored an Africanist perspective of the battle, pointing to the significance of Ncome for national resistance movements.⁸⁷ M. Kunene's presentation pointed to the need for reconciliation. Speaking about historians, he said they should define themselves, 'not singularly but collectively, within a structure, a family, where people are actively engaged with each other.'⁸⁸ F. Pretorius proposed that academic historians develop jointly a new reconciliatory interpretation of the battle.⁸⁹ J. Grobler and L. Mathenjwa also adopted a similar take.⁹⁰ Interestingly, J. Maphalala's presentation was quite different from those of the other historians. Furthermore, his verbal presentation differed from his written text.

⁸⁵ J. Laband, 'The military significance of the Battle of Blood River/Ncome', paper presented at a seminar, University of Zululand, 31 October 1998, pp. 1-10.

⁸⁶ J. Guy, 'Re-interpretations of Zulu perceptions of the Boer/Zulu conflict in the 1830s', paper presented at a seminar, University of Zululand, 31 October 1998, pp. 1-3.

⁸⁷ J. Sithole, 'Changing images of the Battle of Blood River', paper presented at a seminar, University of Zululand, 31 October 1998, pp. 1-23.

⁸⁸ M. Kunene, 'A challenge to historians', paper presented at a seminar, University of Zululand, 31 October 1998, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁹ F. Pretorius, 'Blood River/Ncome: A plea for reconciliation and a new synthesis', paper presented at a seminar, University of Zululand, 31 October 1998, pp. 1-4.

⁹⁰ J. Grobler, 'Afrikaner perspectives on Blood River: a never-ending debate?', paper presented at a seminar, University of Zululand, 31 October 1998, pp. 1-8. Also see L. Mathenjwa, 'Reconciliation: a binding

According to the notes that I pencilled down during the seminar, Maphalala said the written text was for those who could not understand the Zulu language. He went on to present his talk in Zulu. (I must say I did not see a problem with this kind of practice. In fact this was not contradictory to reconciliation.) His talk adopted an anti-reconciliation stance. He said that *'abelungu bafika lapha ezweni lethu balala nomama bethu'* – 'white people came to our land and raped our mothers'. This tone was characteristic of his whole presentation. He was clearly anti-reconciliation, unlike other academics in the panel of historians.

His written paper was different from his oral presentation. The paper was a product of rational analysis of the events that led to the battle. He pointed out that the 'War of Ncome', as he referred to the battle, was part of the broader historical invasions of the African continent by Europeans and Asians since 300 BC.⁹¹ Unlike the report produced by the panel of academic historians, Maphalala in his re-interpretation of the battle provides deeper analysis of the role that Sekonyela played in the events that led to the battle of Ncome. According to Maphalala, the Voortrekker request for the land was met with scepticism from Dingane because they had attempted to capture the king's cattle in 1837 and also because there had been stock theft in the Zulu kingdom by people who were wearing similar clothes worn by the Voortrekkers.⁹² In his analysis, Maphalala challenged the idea that it was Sekonyela who had stolen Dingane's cattle.

commitment. Yesterday, today and tomorrow', paper presented at a seminar, University of Zululand, 31 October 1998, pp. 1-8.

⁹¹ J.S.H. Maphalala, 'The re-interpretation of the War of Ncome (renamed Bloed Rivier and Blood River by the Voortrekkers and the British respectively), 16 December 1838', pp. 1-4.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 9.

He argued that ‘most European historians in South Africa have attempted to shift the blame on *iNkosi Sigonyela* [sic] *kaMsashana* of the baTlokoa, ... for stealing the king’s cattle.’⁹³

According to Maphalala, the cattle Sekonyela had ‘were obtained as compensation after he had been invited by Mini Hlubi to help him in an *ubukhosi* (traditional leadership) dispute with Langalibalele long before the arrival of Boers in the Kingdom of kwaZulu.’⁹⁴

Interestingly, to back his argument, Maphalala draws from an account which reveals very little that supports this view. He cites Mabhonsa’s account which says,

‘Mini now made a proposal to Sigonyela. Sigonyela had mounted men with him. They came as an *impi* to our district on horseback. They attacked the people living in the bush country, the Ngwekazi people of Langalibalele’s tribe, on the north side of the Mzinyathi. They had guns. They killed everyone in the bush. They drove off the cattle.’⁹⁵

From this account there is no evidence suggesting that Sekonyela stole Dingane’s cattle. Nor does it reveal that the cattle were seized by Piet Retief, for they were those that Sekonyela had been given by Mini Hlubi. Maphalala suggests that Piet Retief, rather than Sekonyela, stole Dingane’s cattle.⁹⁶

In this interpretation Sekonyela is seen as innocent, and the Voortrekkers as culprits. Sekonyela’s innocence renders him and the Tlokoa insignificant actors in the events that led to the battle of Ncome. The Zulu people and the Voortrekkers are rendered as polarised opposites in Maphalala’s re-interpretation of the battle. This polarisation has the effect of

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* Cited from C. de B. Webb, and J.B. Wright, (eds) *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples* Vol. 2 (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1979), p. 73.

⁹⁶ Maphalala, ‘The re-interpretation of the War of Ncome’, pp. 9-10.

reducing the complexity of this particular history. Given the influence that Maphalala had at the museum, it comes as no surprise that Sekonyela and the Tlokoa receive no attention in the representation of the battle at the new Ncome Museum. Maphalala's re-interpretation and his influence partly explains the presentation of a polarised public history and its exclusion of the significant actors of the past.

I visited the Ncome monument and museum site on the 18 August 2000. The museum part of the complex is very small. The exhibition space is tiny and takes the shape of a 'traditional' shield. The exhibits are contained in four large two-dimensional display cases. In the first case the visitor encounters details of the life of King Dingane. On its reverse side is an exhibit that deals with the Battle of Ncome (referred to in the exhibit as the 'War of Ncome'), focusing particularly on the causes of the battle. The other three cases contain 'Zulu' material culture.⁹⁷ The key display case in this study of contradiction is that which deals with the 'War of Ncome'.

Ndhlovu described the reinterpretation of the battle at the museum as a 'radical' interpretation.⁹⁸ This reinterpretation of the 'War of Ncome' was largely shaped by a view that the Voortrekkers were initial aggressors. This interpretation employed conventional Zulu tradition as its main explanatory tool. According to Zulu tradition, stated Ndhlovu, a stranger

⁹⁷ Note that I have written 'Zulu' material culture to indicate that there are problems with their 'Zuluness'. Most of the beadwork, woodcarvings and earrings are not styles of the area, north of the Thukela River and south of the Phongolo River. Rather they are styles from the areas south of the Thukela River – different styles of AmaBhaca and AmaLala. Knowledge derived from author's communication with F. Prins a Anthropologist, 8 May 2000.

who arrives in the king's land (since the king is the custodian of the land) should, through the *Induna* (headman), request to be settled on a piece of that land.⁹⁹ The Voortrekkers, according to Ndhlovu, did not respect this tradition, which was a clear ignorance of king Dingane's authority.¹⁰⁰ From this reinterpretation, the Voortrekkers were initial aggressors - they were invading the king's land. The Zulu responses to this 'aggression' were therefore, justified.

The interpretation presented at the museum also gives prominence to the event of the 5 February 1838 as a major justification for Dingane's actions. It was clearly in line with Maphalala's interpretation.¹⁰¹ The re-interpretation presented at the new museum excluded the role that Sekonyela and the Tlokoa played during the events that led to the battle. In representing the battle of Ncome, the museum could have presented a broader representation of the battle. The provision of this broader representation of the battle would mean awarding Sekonyela a significant space in the presentation of the battle and the representation of the Tlokoa cultural heritage. I have two reasons for arguing for a broader inclusion of the Tlokoa in the 'Ncome memory'. Firstly, Sekonyela played a significant role in the events that led to the battle. Secondly, the act of giving Tlokoa cultural heritage recognition might have a positive impact in curbing local tensions in the Nquthu area.

⁹⁸ Author's interview with B. Ndhlovu, Curator, Ncome Museum, Pietermaritzburg, 14 July 2000.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ See J.S.H. Maphalala, 'The re-interpretation of the War of Ncome (renamed Bloed Rivier and Blood River by the Voortrekkers and the British respectively), 16 December 1838', unpublished paper presented at a seminar held at the University of Zululand, 30 Oct. 1998, pp. 10 – 13.

5.2.3. An Argument for a Broader Reinterpretation and Representation of Ncome: Sekonyela, the Tlokoa and the Molefe

The inclusion of Tlokoa cultural heritage in the representation of the battle of Ncome would have appealed to state memorialism of the battle. This was to be the case not only because the emerging representations would be more broadly inclusive, but also because of the significant roles that the Tlokoa played in the events that led to the battle. Furthermore, their inclusion would have a contribution in giving the Tlokoa descendants in the Nquthu area a space in the new nation that was in the process of creation.

Sekonyela was a key historical actor in the events that led to the battle of Ncome. There is no evidence to suggest that Sekonyela did not steal King Dingane's cattle. Sekonyela was allegedly notorious for stealing cattle.¹⁰² Dingane informed Retief that the culprits were people who had clothes, horses and guns, the Tlokoa.¹⁰³ Dingane was certain of this because the Tlokoa had also stolen cattle belonging to the Hlubi chiefdom under Langalibalele. According to Laband, king Dingane knew that the culprits were the Tlokoa, who raided and fought in the same style as the Boers and Griqua.¹⁰⁴ On 3 February 1838 the Boers reached uMgungundlovu with cattle they recovered from Sekonyela. Retief's success terrified the king who knew the power of Sekonyela. The Sekonyela affair was important because it demonstrated to Dingane the 'correctness' of stories he had heard about the power of the Boers. Given this, the event of the 5 February 1838, when Retief and his party supposedly

¹⁰² Laband, *Rope of Sand*, p. 102.

¹⁰³ Laband, *Rope of Sand*, p. 83. On Dingane's explanation of the culprits, Laband draws on J. Bird (compiler), *The Annals of Natal 1495 – 1845* (Cape Town, facsimile reprint, 1965), Vol. I, pp. 361 – 2: Dingaan to Retief (witnessed by Owen), 8 Nov. 1837.

surrounded King Dingane's homestead, possibly assumes a secondary position in a critical analysis of the immediate causes of the battle. This event, coupled with the Boer defeat of Mzilikazi of the Ndebele, pressured King Dingane to take action against the Boers, resulting in the killing of Retief's party.¹⁰⁵

The second aspect of my argument for a broader representation of the battle relates to a rather complex marriage of the historical presence of the Tlokoa in the Nquthu area and the more recent political tensions involving the Tlokoa descendants in the area. The Nquthu community is characterised by a strong presence of both Zulu and Sotho people. The area which became the Nquthu district in 1879 (which formed the western borderlands of the Zulu kingdom during King Cetshwayo's reign) was inhabited by the Ngobese chiefdom under Sihayo.¹⁰⁶ After the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879, Sihayo and the Ngobese were expelled from the Nquthu district by the victorious British colonial government.¹⁰⁷ Hlubi Molefe, the Tlokoa chief was brought by the British to the district. The British were returning a favour, as Hlubi and his followers had assisted the British forces in the war against the Zulu kingdom.¹⁰⁸ Hlubi and his

¹⁰⁴ Laband, *Rope of Sand*, p. 83.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁰⁶ Mgodini kaMncakwana's account in C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds), *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples* Vol. 3 (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1982), p. 114.

¹⁰⁷ Ndukwana ka Mbengana's account in Webb and Wright, *JSA* Vol. 4, , p. 285. Also see E. Unterhalter, 'Confronting imperialism: the people of Nquthu and the invasion of Zululand', in A. Duminy and C. Ballard (eds) *The Anglo-Zulu War: New Perspectives* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1981), pp. 98 – 119.

¹⁰⁸ The Tlokoa had left the Orange Free State-Lesotho region during the 'Shakan upheavals'. Before settling in a location near Estcourt in Natal, the Tlokoa moved around some parts of the Free State. See Unterhalter, 'Confronting imperialism', p. 117. Laband points out that the Tlokoa came from areas over the Drakensberg. See J. Laband, *Rope of Sand*, p. 336.

followers had fought alongside the Natal Native Corps against Sihayo. Hlubi became one of the thirteen chiefs that were appointed to rule in Zululand after the Anglo-Zulu War.¹⁰⁹ The Sotho people built on the land given to them in the Nquthu district, mixing with Zulu people who were still living in the area.¹¹⁰ According to Unterhalter, Hlubi gave land to Sotho 'settler' families from Natal and the Free State in his first year in Nquthu.¹¹¹ Other non-Zulu speakers from the Dundee and Msinga districts in Natal were also given land by Hlubi.

This historical account explains the contemporary presence of Sotho descendants and the roots of ethnic diversity in an area formerly falling within the Zulu kingdom. The presence is symbolised by the contemporary existence of the Molefe Tribal Authority which governs the area, including KwaMathambo in which the Ncome site is situated. The area is ruled by Chief Elphas Molefe, a Tlokoa chief. There had been historical tensions between the Sotho chief and the former KwaZulu government. Molefe had challenged the placement of their Sotho group under the KwaZulu government in the late 1970s and early 1980s.¹¹² There was also continued resentment of the Sotho group and its leader by the KwaZulu government in the late 1980s which continued during the period covered in this chapter.

In chapter two I pointed out that the Sotho people under Molefe in the Nquthu District had challenged Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government's non-recognition of their cultures and

¹⁰⁹ Ndabankulu kaQubabanye's account in Wright and Webb, *JSA* Vol. 4, p. 388. Also see, J. Guy, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: the Civil War in Zululand, 1879-1884* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1994), pp. 73-74.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹¹¹ Unterhalter, 'Confronting imperialism', p. 109.

¹¹² See chapter two of this study.

history.¹¹³ Despite the reconciliation that occurred between Buthelezi's Inkatha and Molefe, animosity from the KwaZulu leadership against the Sotho people, especially Molefe's chieftaincy, continued until it reached a high point in 1988.¹¹⁴ In the early 1990s Molefe was asked by M.G. Buthelezi (who was Chief Minister of KwaZulu) to resign as chief in the Nquthu district.¹¹⁵ This was followed by violent incidents against the Sotho chiefs in the area.¹¹⁶ This context becomes important especially since 'Zulu' interpretations of the battle are focused more on the events before the battle rather than the actual physical encounter. These local tensions were an aspect consciously or unconsciously ignored by intellectuals involved in the Ncome legacy project.

One can go on to argue that the bipolar representation and interpretations of the battle provided spaces for the emergence of what Liisa Malkki calls 'mythico-history'.¹¹⁷ This is a brand of history which provides a narrative which 'reinterprets history in fundamentally ... nationalistic or political terms'.¹¹⁸ Mythico-history can be used 'to subvert established and hegemonic historical interpretations'.¹¹⁹ In this brand of narrative, historical events are

¹¹³ Also see, Mare and Hamilton, *Appetite for Power*, p. 74.

¹¹⁴ See Testimony by Chief Elphas Molefe, Truth and Reconciliation Commission Proceedings held at Vryheid, 17 April 1997, pp. 25 – 26, <http://www.truth.org.za/hrvtrans/Vryheid.vryheid2.htm>

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ L. Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory and National Cosmology Among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago, 1995), pp. 54 – 55, cited in G. Cuthbertson and A. Jeeves, 'The many-sided struggle for southern Africa', *SAHJ* Vol. 41, November 1999, p. 21.

¹¹⁸ G. Cuthbertson and A. Jeeves, 'The many-sided struggle for southern Africa', *SAHJ* Vol. 41, November 1999, p. 21.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

arranged and rearranged in a 'sectional way to affirm a moral superiority and ascribe a particular identity.'¹²⁰ Representations of the battle in the new Ncome Museum and Monument, developed by Ndhlovu with technical assistance from the Voortrekker Museum, selected the account emphasised by Maphalala, an 'exclusive' reinterpretation of the battle. The new Ncome Museum was reproducing in new guises the mythico-history that had long been produced in the *Bloedrivier* Monument. The interpretation of the battle now consisted of two opposing mythico-histories. The Ncome mythico-history does not only confront *Bloedrivier* mythico-history, it also erases from the history that surrounds the battle 'other' Africans who are 'non-Zulus' – the Tlokoa in the Nquthu district.

Based on the above analysis, one can argue that through the Ncome legacy project the Nquthu area was being Zuluised, its past re-ordered in a revival of an exclusive ethnic nationalism. This was the case despite inclusive national priorities which motivated the project, displaying the complexity that cultural heritage policies and practices were expressing in this period. Clearly, national pleas for reconciliation and national unity coexisted with anti-reconciliatory tendencies. This was equally the case with some Afrikaners. To highlight this, I will briefly look at the unveiling ceremony of the monument.

5.3. The Unveiling of the Monument: Shifts and Challenges to Nation Building

The 16th of December 1998, the national Day of Reconciliation as it was now called, was marked by the unveiling of the new Ncome monument. About '15 000 people attended' the

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

event. M.G. Buthelezi, now the national Minister of the Interior, called for the creation of a new covenant which would join both Afrikaner and Zulu people together.¹²¹ He called for the putting behind of 'horrors and monsters of the past so as to create a new covenant which projects the pain which in the past we had to endure, into the promise that together we can fight the monsters and the horrors which are bedevilling our present and our immediate future.'¹²² These 'horrors and monsters' would, according to Buthelezi, give Zulu and Afrikaner people the strength to forge a new nation conceived in diversity and dedicated to the proposition that, within a framework of equality and mutual respect, diverse people can strive together. He was certainly speaking in a tone different from that of the 1970s and 1980s.

The other notable change in Buthelezi's emphasis was that Dingane was seen as a significant leader in the history and struggles of Zulu people. On this, he spoke of Afrikaner leaders who referred to him as 'a modern Dingane' because of his role in black resistance politics and the struggles of the Zulu people.¹²³ The DACST Minister, Mtshali, also spoke of reconciliation between the two 'former' protagonists. He said that the 'two monuments at the site of the battle, commemorating the participation of both sides, will complete the symbolism. They will unite the protagonists of 160 years ago.'¹²⁴ In so doing, he argued, these monuments will 'hopefully help reconcile conflicting interpretations'.¹²⁵ Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki, who

¹²¹ 'M. Buthelezi, Minister of Home Affairs, Chairman of the House of Traditional Leaders of KwaZulu-Natal and Undunankulu KaZulu. Presentation of His Majesty the King of the Zulu Nation at the Inauguration of the monument to Ncome/Blood River. Vryheid, 16 Dec. 1998.' Thanks are due to Sue Felgate for making this speech available to the author.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Cape Argus*, 19 Dec. 1998.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

also delivered a speech during the ceremony, called for unity between the two groupings.¹²⁶ Notable here was evidence of a consolidating Africanist elite interest in cultural heritage. Buthelezi was part of this African elite that was emerging. He was now embracing Dingane and the battle of Ncome, aspects of Zulu history which had for long been celebrated by Africanists as symbols of the struggle against apartheid.¹²⁷

S. Ndlovu argues that ‘the presence of Minister Mtshali, a very important member of the IFP national executive committee, at the commemoration of the battle, and its re-interpretations, including the recasting of the image of the King and subsequently the history of amaZulu suggests a major shift in the IFP position on the role of King Dingane in shaping the politics of post-apartheid South Africa.’¹²⁸ He further states that it did not matter whether Shaka Day or “Dingane’s Day” was commemorated as ‘both kings now represented the political victory of Africa’s peoples in post-apartheid South Africa, thus promoting the idea of nation-building.’¹²⁹ Ndlovu romanticises these shifts. The Africanist approach that Ndlovu celebrates is problematic, particularly when looking at the case of the Sotho people and the kinds of cultural heritage that were being promoted in Nquthu. At more local, even provincial levels, ethnicism was still prevalent.

The idea of reconciliation was also promoted by some Afrikaner leaders during the ceremony. But embracing this idea proved difficult for those who proposed contrasting paradigms.

¹²⁶ See, *The Star*, 17 Jan 1999. Also see, *The Cape Times*, 13 Jan. 1999.

¹²⁷ See Sithole, ‘Changing images of the Battle of Blood River’, pp. 1-23.

¹²⁸ S.M. Ndlovu, ‘The changing African perceptions of King Dingane’, p. 185.

Hennie De Wet, Executive Director of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereninge (FAK), despite his call for unity, stated that Afrikaner and Zulu people

‘have different customs and traditions. For us [Afrikaners] the day is holy and we treat it as the Sabbath day. Whilst recognising that all cultures should rise up, and not one at the expense of the other, we should also recognise that we are different and cannot commemorate this day together.’¹³⁰

Here he justified the two commemorations that occurred side by side on 16 December 1998.

While speeches on the need for reconciliation were delivered during the opening of the new Ncome Monument, a group of Afrikaner right-wingers were holding their own separate commemoration. This group of Afrikaners included Barend Strydom, who had killed eight black people in central Pretoria in 1988. In the middle of the Wagon Laager, they laid a wreath and flew flags of the old Transvaal Republic (the *Vierkleur*), along with an Afrikaans banner written ‘*Apartheid is Heilig*’ (Apartheid is Holy).¹³¹

Two signboards were side by side, one saying ‘Ncome Monument’, with an arrow pointing to where the Zulu gathering was. The signage to the two monuments during the ceremony was not symbolic of the quest for unity and co-operation. The other board showed the way to the ‘Blood River Monument’. Clearly, Afrikaner ethnic nationalism was still prevalent and resistant to new ideals of reconciliation and nation-building espoused by the new black elite. However, as I intend showing here, Zulu ethnic nationalism was also undergoing conscious or unconscious mobilisation, in forms not as overt as the Afrikaner versions. This mobilisation was spearheaded, not by Buthelezi, but by state bureaucrats who were closely aligned to Zulu

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

¹³⁰ *Sunday Independent*, 22 Dec. 1998.

¹³¹ See, *The Star*, 17 Dec. 1998. Also see, *Saturday Star*, 30 Dec. 1998 and *Saturday Argus*, 30 Dec. 1998.

ethnic nationalism and the IFP. Particular Zulu nationalist historians were influential in this mobilisation of Zulu ethnic nationalism. The main manifestation of the contradiction to state memorialism was that the new Ncome Monument and Museum tended to exclude reference to local people who did not belong to the Zulu ethnic group.

5.4. Conclusion

Ideas of cultural and economic development for the local community are materialising with the new monument and museum. Nquthu Community Tourism, a grouping composed of local people (mostly women), sells cultural items in the Ncome Museum shop. The local people who are not affiliates of the Nquthu Community Tourism also get a chance to sell their curios to the Ncome Museum visitors¹³². The museum also organises 'live lunch-hour performances of Zulu dancing' on Wednesdays in its promotion of living culture.¹³³ More often, entertained visitors give some money to performers.¹³⁴ This, it can be argued, opens comforting spaces for the local Nquthu community. However, as I have argued, this has been shadowed by the less obvious exclusion of other parts of the memory of this historical event.

In the Ncome project we witness a clash between the commonly acknowledged need of the state to eliminate forms of exclusion and the counter-struggle for a revival of exclusive identity, which usually spawns ethnic nationalism. It displays continuities with the values that motivated cultural heritage preservation in KwaZulu during the 1970s and 1980s. However, as I have indicated, Buthelezi was no longer centre-stage. He had been swallowed into the new

¹³² Interview with B. Ndhlovu, Pietermaritzburg, 14 July 2000.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

national elite that emerged after 1994. The preservation and presentation of Zulu cultural heritage was spearheaded by a complex mixture of academic historians, notably Maphalala, and national bureaucrats that were still attached to the KwaZulu-Natal province and associated with the IFP.

CONCLUSION

In the late 1990s, the battle of Ncome had assumed significance within constructions of Zulu ethnic nationalism. This construction was led not by M.G. Buthelezi but by a young Zulu nationalist elite made up of state bureaucrats and some academic historians. Linking the battle of Ncome project to the conceptual framework that I developed in chapter one, I argue that the project was motivated by both political and economic necessities. On the former, the project emerged out of a need to construct a 'South African nation'. Nation-building and reconciliation were, therefore, its guiding principles. The reason the Ncome project passed as a Legacy Project was mainly because it was perceived as important in the building of the nation. The project also had potential as a tourist attraction. The most targeted visitors, were overseas visitors. These drawn from the West, where there is an increase of nostalgia and service-class culture. Cultural heritage projects in South Africa, are also targeting this growing market. I have argued that these largely positive motivations were coupled with contradictory tendencies which were largely political. I pointed out that the Ncome project could also be seen as a validation of Zulu historical claims to the KwaMathambo area under Chief Molefe. This aspect points to continuity with the period beginning in 1977 on the use of cultural heritage preservation for political validation and legitimation.

I have argued that the marriage between cultural heritage preservation and politics in the KwaZulu 'homeland' was largely linked to the prominent role that certain political leaders assumed in the promotion of cultural heritage. Analysing the period between the late 1970s and mid-1980s, I identified Buthelezi as an important leader who shaped the direction that cultural heritage preservation took in KwaZulu. The cultural heritage preservation structures

in KwaZulu, I have argued, prioritised aspects of KwaZulu cultural heritage that, among other things, promoted Buthelezi as a leader of the Zulu nation and sought to contribute to the 'rebirth' of KwaZulu. Certain carefully selected aspects of Zulu cultural heritage were a focus of preservation and development. These aspects were mainly about King Cetshwayo's reign and aspects of the Anglo-Zulu War. I have pointed out that, as part of the rebirth of KwaZulu, the KwaZulu government motivated for the 'popular' publication of certain carefully selected aspects of Zulu history. These aspects were synonymous with cultural heritage projects that were prioritised for creation and preservation. I have identified tensions during the production of the publication titled *Fight Us In The Open*. These, I argue, were a clear indication of a link between these publications and the construction of the Zulu nation, constructed around Buthelezi's leadership.

From the period beginning in 1986, cultural heritage preservation began to gain economic significance for official heritage practitioners in KwaZulu. This was largely the case in the Isandlwana project. The development of the Mangwebuthanani community was given priority in the project. This development was both financial and infrastructural. However, I have argued that the association between cultural heritage preservation and political ideas was a continuous phenomenon. I pointed to the importance of the battle in Zulu history and linked it with the priorities of the KwaZulu Monuments Council (KMC). Also in this period there were shifts to the management of cultural heritage at a regional level. Through the KwaZulu/Natal Heritage Liaison Committee, the KMC, Natal Provincial Museum Services (NPMS) and the NMC were supposed to co-operate at a regional level in the preservation of cultural heritage.

I have argued that this co-operation was limited as these bodies focused their cultural heritage preservation energies on the development of sites which seemed to celebrate specific histories. The KMC, for example, devoted its resources to the development of Isandlwana, whilst the NPMS exclusively developed Rorke's Drift, which was a site symbolising British triumph over the Zulu armies. It was during this provincialisation of cultural heritage preservation that dynamic patterns in emerged. For example, knowledge about certain cultural heritage sites, and their authenticity, were questioned. I have used the 'Mavivane cliff' and the 'King Shaka tree' site to explore this phenomenon.

In the period after 1994 the KwaZulu-Natal province was established. This was coupled with structural and policy shifts in cultural heritage, both nationally and in KwaZulu-Natal. I have pointed out that these shifts gave space for the emergence of tensions within the cultural heritage sector in KwaZulu-Natal. These tensions were over 'site museums' in the province. Structures which were associated with the legacy of KwaZulu emerged victorious in these tensions. The Monuments Task Group which was dominated by the KMC retained the KwaZulu Cultural Museum and obtained the Rorke's Drift site museum which had been under the KZNPMS. Furthermore, the AKN (largely dominated by the former KMC) emerged as the only statutory cultural heritage preservation body in KwaZulu-Natal. Its staff were also numerically dominated by those of the former KMC. I have argued this was partly due to a continued association between the AKN and the political leadership of IFP-led KwaZulu-Natal. This association between the IFP and cultural heritage preservation continued to the national level.

I have used the Ncome project to partly point to this pattern. The DACST which managed the promotion and preservation of cultural heritage was brought under the IFP ministry. I have pointed out in this study that Buthelezi, who was the founder of the contemporary IFP was active in specific matters relating to cultural heritage preservation. This partly explains why the IFP seems comfortable leading the above ministry. It also explains the importance of Zulu cultural heritage that is emerging in the national cultural heritage agenda. However, the legacy identified above does not explain why the ANC 'gave' the DACST ministry to the IFP.

Throughout this study I have attempted to position academic historians within the discourse of cultural heritage preservation. Academic historians have been constantly invited to produce texts to support aspects of the cultural heritage that was promoted. I have pointed to the problems that are associated with this practice. In the mid-1980s, I pointed out that certain academics were limited in their production of history in that they had to produce that which promoted specific political discourses. They could only produce what the KwaZulu leadership wanted. In the case of the battle of Ncome project in the late 1990s the practice of requesting academic historians to produce a guiding text was a complex one. Despite this, it is rather pleasing to see that professional knowledge(s) is given space within the presentations of history in the sphere of cultural heritage.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. The KMC's and KMF's Financial Breakdown for the Development of the Ondini Royal Residence, 1980.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT AT ONDINI : KING CETSHWAY'S
ROYAL RESIDENCE

1. To be funded by the KwaZulu Government 1982/83
 - 1.1. Diorama and completion of toposcope..... R 16 000
 - 1.2. Parking facilities, paths and planting
of indigenous plants R 10 000
 - 1.3. Building of huts, palisade; cattle enclosures,
etc (Mr Rawlinson, Mr Stewart, work gang,
caretakers, material) R 50 000
 - 1.4. Earthworks for future development (see
below) R 80 000
 - 1.5. Roadworks and provision of seating in the
arena R 44 000

R200 000

2. To be funded by donors and/or future provision
of funds by the KwaZulu Government
 - 2.1. Museum complex, including display rooms
outdoor display, shops and offices R590 000
 - 2.2. Workshops, restaurant and administrative
complex R570 000
 - 2.3. Building of huts, palisade, cattle en-
closures, etc R 50 000
 - 2.4. Auditorium, including necessary fittings,
closed circuit TV, etc, R360 000
 - 2.5. Erection of stage and external seating to ... R190 000

2.6. Completion of roads, drainage and gardening... R220 000

R 1 980 000

NB : THE ABOVE INCLUDES ALL SERVICES, EG: LIGHTING,
HEATING, WATER, ETC.

GRAND TOTAL R 2 180 000

Appendix 2. The KMC's and KMF's Financial Breakdown for the Development of Selected Sites in KwaZulu, 1980.

RESTORATION OF SELECTED SITES IN KWAZULU

TOTAL COSTS :

Ondini.....	R 1 980 000
Isandlwana battlefield	60 000
Itusi Hill	30 000
Mangeni	30 000
Prince Imperial Site	60 000
Ulundi Battlefield	25 000
Inyezane Battlefield	10 000
Gingindlovu battlefield	15 000
King Cetshwayo's Grave	25 000
Chief Sihayo's stronghold	5 000
The Mabaso Hill	8 000
The Phindo	3 000
KwaDwasa	6 000
Enhlweni	5 000
Prince Mnyamana's grave	<u>30 000</u>
TOTAL	R 2 292 000

NB : KWAZULU GOVERNMENT BUDGET FOR 1982/83 NOT
INCLUDED.

Appendix 3. Letter from O.D. Dhlomo to T. Maggs, 13 June 1984.



UNGOONGOOSHE WEZEMFUNDO
NEMPUCUKO

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
AND CULTURE

Inkomba:
Ref. No.:

PRIVATE BAG XC
ULUNDI
3838

Ucingo:
Tel. No.: (0358) X04 9433

13 June 1984

Dr T. Maggs
Natal Museum
237 Loop Street
PIETERMARITZBURG
3201

Dear Dr Maggs

Thank you for your letter of 7 June 1984 and a copy of the revised draft of Mr Laband's manuscript: "Fight Us In The Open". The first major objection to the manuscript is that King Cetshwayo's narrative as recorded by Ruscombe Poole on page 35-36, gives the impression that Prime Minister Mnyamana Buthelezi delivered the King to Sir Garnet Wolseley. This is clearly unacceptable as it will cause a lot of conflict among the Zulus. You will surely understand that many Zulu people who will read the manuscript will not appreciate the scientific fact that this is a mere record of the testimony of historical witnesses. They will take the testimony as gospel truth, as it were. If Mr Laband and your Editorial Committee would find this acceptable, I suggest that the last six (6) lines of King Cetshwayo's tale on pp. 35-36, be excluded altogether.

The second objection concerns the testimony of Mpatshana on page 29, where he attributes the defeat at Khambule to Prime Minister Mnyamana Buthelezi's alleged poor generalship. This allegation will also have serious implications and I would be pleased if Mr Laband and your Committee could agree to exclude it from the revised manuscript. Otherwise, I am happy with the rest of the manuscript.

Mr M.Z. Khumalo, the Administrative Secretary of Inkatha is an accomplished Zulu translator, but he is equally busy. I will nevertheless approach him to find out if he couldn't translate "King Cetshwayo KaMpande" in his spare time, for an agree fee.

Warm regards

Yours sincerely

DR O.D. DHLOMO
MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Sources for Appendices:

Appendix 1. The KMC's and KMF's Financial Breakdown for the Development of the Ondini Royal Residence, 1980.

Source - Amafa aKwaZulu Natali Headquarters (AKN), Ulundi, KwaZulu Monuments Council Reports file, The KwaZulu Monuments Foundation, 'The Road to the Future: the Preservation, Restoration and Development of Monuments in KwaZulu' (undated).

Appendix 2. The KMC's and KMF's Financial Breakdown for the Development of Selected Sites in KwaZulu, 1980.

Source - AKN, Ulundi, KMC Reports file, The KwaZulu Monuments Foundation, 'The Road to the Future: the Preservation, Restoration and Development of Monuments in KwaZulu' (undated).

Appendix 3. Letter from O.D. Dhlomo to T. Maggs, 13 June 1984.

Source - AKN, Ulundi, KMC Minutes and Drafts file

LIST OF SOURCES

NOTES ON SOURCES

I have organised my list of sources into two broad categories; primary sources and secondary sources. I have further sub-divided each category. Primary sources are sub-divided into archival and contemporary sources; official documents, reports and speeches; government gazettes; newsletters; newspapers; and interviews. I have sub-divided secondary sources into magazine articles; journal articles; books and articles in books; and conference and seminar papers; unpublished theses; and websites. I have included a detailed list of archival sources for two reasons. One is that, with the exception of the APC speeches, the material from the AKN Ulundi and Pietermaritzburg offices, John Laband's file and the Natal Museum have not been used in an academic study before. The Natal Museum material has only been used by Sharynne Hearne, its collector, to create a 'Bibliography of South African Museums Transformation', which was part of her partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Information Technology. It has not been used to analyse the wider context of cultural heritage. Secondly, I have also included a detailed list of archival sources that I consulted for specialist readers who want a close reading of this study.

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