‘*Ah Jongumsobomvu*! An analysis of the commemorative statues of Nkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma.

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Abstract

Nkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma, a nineteenth-century anti-colonial resistance figure, has become an increasing presence in the South African cultural landscape, a process that culminated in the renaming of Fort Beaufort to KwaMaqoma in March 2023. This minor dissertation examines two commemorative statues of Nkosi Maqoma with the aim of unpacking the very different local and national political projects in which his memory has recently been mobilised.

The first statue, commissioned by the Eastern Cape government through independent heritage project Zemk'iinkomo: uNkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma, is a concrete representation of Maqoma initially designed to stand opposite the statue of Queen Victoria in Qonce. Instead, it was erected on the mountain of Ntaba kaNdoda in 2015, a site of particular significance to both Maqoma and the history of the amaJingqi. Here, thirty-eight years after Maqoma's supposed bones were reinterred on the mountain as part of an attempt to turn him into the father of the Ciskean Bantustan and create a Ciskean national identity, Maqoma was once again mobilised by local political groups in defence of a disputed claim to traditional authority. The second statue is a bronze of Maqoma found amongst more than a hundred other bronze statues as part of Dali Tambo's Long March to Freedom Exhibition. This national memorial project is currently situated next to Canal Walk (a shopping and entertainment precinct) in Cape Town. In this Exhibition, Maqoma is portrayed as part of a linear history of resistance to apartheid that culminated in African National Congress (ANC) rule. The history, figurative and literal mobility of these two heritage-tourism projects opens a window to consider the complex questions and contestations of memory, heritage-tourism, and politics in which Nkosi Maqoma's statues are currently embroiled.

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Introduction

This minor dissertation is centred on analysis of two memorial statues depicting the founder of the amaJingqi chiefdom, regent of the amaRharhabe and notable military commander of the nineteenth century's Wars of Dispossession – Nkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma. Born in 1798 in what is today iXesi (formerly Middledrift) in the Eastern Cape, Nkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma was the eldest son of amaRharhabe Paramount Ngqika kaMlawu's eight sons. He led three campaigns in the century long Wars of Dispossession: the 1834-36 War of Hintsa, the 1846-47 War of Axe and the 1850-53 War of Mlanjeni. Throughout his adulthood, Nkosi Maqoma was displaced from his homeland along the Eastern Cape's Kat River and he relentlessly pursued reclaiming the land he lost to British colonial expansion in 1829.

However, his resistance efforts would ultimately fail, and he was captured by the British and sent to Robben Island twice – first in 1857-1869 and a second time from 1871 until his death in 1873. While Nkosi Maqoma was mobilised to fashion a Ciskeian national identity following the creation of the Ciskei Bantustan in 1981, it was only twenty years after the end of white minority rule in 1994 that the fifth term government of the African National Congress (ANC) mobilised his memory in the public memorial landscape through the construction of two statues.

The first statue (Figure 1) was constructed by East-London based artist Mziwoxolo Makalima in 2014 for Zemk'iinkomo: uNkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma, a local heritage project funded by the Mzansi Golden Economy Grants, a 2011 initiative of the National Department of Sports, Arts and Culture. The purpose was to encourage job creation and

economic development within South Africa's arts and culture industry.[1] The Zemk'iinkomo project described itself as a decolonial project which, according to its founder Thando Mama, aimed to promote local Eastern Cape heroes through engaging in public art. The statue was meant to be juxtaposed with that of Queen Victoria in Qonce. Instead, through the intervention of the Maqoma Legacy, Trust led by a claimed descendant of Nkosi Maqoma, the statue was installed in 2015 on the historic mountain site of Ntaba kaNdoda, thirty kilometres outside of Qonce. The statue was placed opposite the 'National Monument' built in 1981 by Lennox Sebe, on an empty plinth that once housed Sebe's statue (see Figure 2).

[1] Parliamentary Monitoring Group. *Mzansi Golden Economy: Department of Arts and Culture briefing*. Cape Town: PMG, June 20, 2017. https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/24632/

Figure 1 Maqoma captured in battle stance, standing on Ntaba kaNdoda. Photograph taken by Kineiloe Matose, 15 June 2022.

Figure 2 Concrete statue of Nkosi Maqoma facing Ntaba kaNdoda: National Monument to the Republic of Ciskei.

Taken by Kineiloe Matose, 15 June 2022

Figure 3 The bronze statue of Nkosi Maqoma in the Long March to Freedom Exhibition. Photograph taken by Kineiloe Matose, Century City, 27 May 2022

The second statue (Figure 3) was constructed in 2016 by Knysna-based artist Suzanne Du Toit for the national-scale heritage tourism endeavour 'the Long March to Freedom Exhibition'. The Long March to Freedom Exhibition (LMTF) is a bronze-based statue display conceptualised in 2011 by Dali Tambo, son of ANC stalwarts Adelaide and Oliver Tambo, to depict individuals who contributed to various anti-colonial and anti-apartheid movements in South Africa. The bronze Exhibition was approved by the National Arts and Culture department in 2013 and launched to the public in September 2015. It was viewed as a heritage-tourism project that would increase the economic revenue of the City of Tshwane in its initial location of Groenkloof Nature Reserve. However, a lack of visitors saw it moved to the Cradle of Humankind at Maropeng and then its current position in Century City, a suburb of Cape Town.

The mobilisation of Nkosi Maqoma in heritage-tourism projects is interesting and conflicting. Heritage-tourism is a multi-faceted approach to tourism which engages cultural, historical and physical sites that showcase the diversity of cultural experiences and traditions within South Africa.[2] It has been acknowledged by the ANC government as a means of providing social cohesion as it encourages tourists to visit destinations in rural communities or non-tourist centric locations and promotes economic development for local communities whilst contributing to the formation of a diverse national identity through the preservation of perceived cultural and historical markers.[3]

[2]Viljoen, Johan, and Unathi Sonwabile Henama. "Growing heritage tourism and social cohesion in South Africa." *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 6, no. 4 (2017): pp. 2-4

[3]Sitas, Rike. "Cultural policy and just cities in Africa." *City* 24, no. 3-4 (2020): pp.476-480; Butler, Gareth, and Milena Ivanovic. "Cultural heritage tourism development in post-apartheid South Africa: Critical issues and challenges." *Cultural Tourism in Southern Africa* (2016): pp. 61-65.

Heritage-tourism endeavours post-1994 have sought to identify and commemorate figures from the country's past who represent pre-colonial life and anti-colonial resistance to raise the awareness of memories that provide a counter-perspective to the visual memorial landscape still dominated by colonial-apartheid memorials. The initial location of Nkosi Maqoma's concrete statue would have fulfilled this brief by providing a counter-perspective to colonial iconography through its placement opposite a visual likeness of Queen Victoria. However, its placement instead on the mountain site of Ntaba kaNdoda in 2015 and the revitalisation of the Bantustan era Nkosi Maqoma's gravesite in 2022, indicates how heritage-tourism of nineteenth century resistance has been mobilised to shore up support for traditional authority and ANC rule in the Eastern Cape Province.

This was enabled by the provincial government's heritage branding endeavour of the 'Home of Legends', initiated in 2012 by former Eastern Cape Premier Noxolo Kiviet.[4] This campaign was supposed to generate tourism in one of the country's most under-developed provinces through the memorialisation of 'pre-colonial' anthropological knowledge and nineteenth century frontier resistance memory in conjunction with traditional leaders.[5]

The Ciskei's National Monument (Figure 2) was built in 1981 as a symbol of Lennox Sebe's Ciskeian nationalism. Located approximately one hundred and fifty metres from where the supposed bones of Nkosi Maqoma were buried in 1978 after the Ciskei government exhumed them from Robben Island in Cape Town, it fell into a state of ruin following the coup d'etat in 1990 and the Ciskei's subsequent reintegration into the Eastern

[4] Ford, Simthandile, "Deeper research for "Home of Legends" campaign', Daily Dispatch. 22 March 2017

[5] Webb, D., and M. Ndletyana. 2018. "The Home of the Legends Project: The potential and challenges of using Heritage sites to tell the precolonial stories of the Eastern Cape." In Whose History Counts: Decolonising Pre-colonial African Historiography, edited by J. Bam, L. Ntsebeza, and A Zinn, pp. 155–178, African Sun Media

Cape province after the 1994 democratic elections. Following the relocation of the statue to Ntaba kaNdoda by the Maqoma Legacy Trust in 2015, the site once again became an increasingly significant locus for regional heritage endeavours attempting to mobilise Maqoma's memory for political and financial gain. These efforts continued with the revitalisation of Maqoma's grave between 2020 and 2022; the visitation by President Cyril Ramaphosa in October 2022; and the declaration of Ntaba kaNdoda as a national heritage site in February of 2024.

The second statue of Nkosi Maqoma is found in 'The Long March to Freedom' (LMTF) Exhibition – a bronze statue Exhibition which depicts more than one hundred individuals from various ethnic, racial, religious, and political backgrounds, who were curated to represent South Africa's long journey from initial anti-colonial resistance to democracy. It presents them within a linear narrative of the 'struggle' as a progressive endeavour. However, unlike the concrete statue, the bronze Exhibition has placed itself in spaces that are not laden with historical meaning or connection with its depicted figures. Nkosi Maqoma and the rest of the bronze procession, was relocated from Tshwane's Groenkloof Nature Reserve at the end of 2018 to Johannesburg's Cradle of Humankind and eventually to Cape Town's Century City by the end of 2019.

What is interesting about both statues of Nkosi Maqoma is how they share a particular narrative of resistance – a narrative of armed combat. The statues each portray a version of Maqoma that is engaged in armed conflict. The concrete Maqoma of Ntaba kaNdoda is armed with an assegai and knobkerrie, two traditional weapons of the Bantu-Nguni peoples,

whilst the bronze Maqoma is armed with a knobkerrie, a rifle and a bandolier.[6] The armed nature of both statues, as subsequent chapters will discuss, illustrate a clear intent of the commissioners to embed Nkosi Maqoma into the visual memorial landscape – through military resistance to colonialism.

The movement of the concrete statue to the mountain of Ntaba kaNdoda saw it located into what French historian Pierre Nora refers to as a 'milieux de mémoire'. Milieux de mémoire (or 'true environments of memory') are social environments, or everyday spaces where collective memories are retained, transmitted and collected through the engagement of cultural practices, be they rituals, placement of objects, or oral traditions of a community.[7] The mountain of Ntaba kaNdoda should be viewed as a milieux de mémoire given how it has the historical memory of nineteenth century resistance, the twentieth century Ciskei nation and, post 1994, the engagement of alleged descendants of Jongumsobomvu Maqoma who seek to apply their own memory-work to the site. This will be explored more within Chapter 2.

Conversely, the bronze Nkosi Maqoma is a lieux de mémoire – a site of memory or what Nora describes as purpose-built places or monuments which facilitate a community's remembrance of significant events or members of the community.[8] According to Themba Wakashe, lieux de memoires are constructed to be able to perform history through the presentation of memory deemed no longer tangibly accessible.[9] The Long March to Freedom presents historical figures who engaged in anti-colonial and anti-apartheid resistance from the

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[6] A bandolier is a shoulder belt used to carry cartridges or bullets

[7]Rothberg, Michael. "Introduction: Between memory and memory: From Places of memory to Nodes of memory." *Yale French Studies* 118/119 (2010): pp. 3-4

[8]Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): p. 13.

[9]Marschall, Sabine. *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in post-apartheid South Africa*. Brill, 2009, pp. 32, 308,

1600s to the 1990s. Thus, these two statues offer a lens to analyse how Nkosi Maqoma has been mobilised in very different ways by opportunistic national and local political actors who seek to gain or leverage their authority, in the process embroiling him in complicated contemporary customary and national politics of traditional authority and nation-building at a time when the ANC's grip on power is beginning to slip.

Chapter Breakdown

Chapter One provides a brief outline of Nkosi Maqoma's life paying particular attention to the context of production of his photographs that have played an important role in his portrayals in contemporary memorials. It examines how Nkosi Maqoma's role in anti-colonial resistance has been recorded primarily through Timothy Stapleton's biography *Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1873,* which has become the de facto source material.[10] Through the analysis of Stapleton's work, the chapter provides us with the insight of how Nkosi Maqoma has been recorded over time and to see how particular aspects of his life have been re-interpreted through commemorative efforts. This chapter is essential for us to understand how, in Chapters 2 and 3, Nkosi Maqoma's memory has been used for the construction of Ciskein identity and the politics surrounding his mobilisation.

Chapter Two engages with how Nkosi Maqoma has been mobilised in the attempted construction of a Ciskeian identity and the importance of Ntaba kaNdoda in this process. Chapter Three builds on this analysis of the mobilisation of Maqoma's memory on Ntaba kaNdoda by analysing how his statue, designed to be erected opposite that of Queen Victoria

[10] Stapleton, Timothy J. *Maqoma : Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1873*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1994 is the first edition whilst Stapleton, Timothy J. *Maqoma the Legend of a Great Xhosa Warrior*. Claremont: Amava Heritage Publishing, 2016 is the second republished edition.

in Qonce, ended up on Ntaba kaNdoda by being drawn into local struggles over traditional leadership. The chapter will illustrate how the politics of traditional leadership, particularly discourses of chieftaincy come into play through the Maqoma Legacy Trust, and how the ANC provincial government supported this mobilisation under the pretext of developing social cohesion through heritage-tourism.

Chapter Four focuses on the bronze statue of Nkosi Maqoma in the Long March to Freedom Exhibition. It begins by discussing the conceptualisation of the Long March to Freedom by highlighting how the heritage-tourism endeavour was supported by the ANC national government. It then highlights the modularity of the Exhibition by tracing its journey from Groenkloof Nature Reserve to Century City. The chapter argues that the history of resistance has been commodified for foreign tourists' consumption through the appropriation of bronze statuary.

Chapter 1: Aah! He who watches the sun rise

Nkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma was born in 1798 in the region now known as Keiskammahoek in the Eastern Cape. He was the son of Nomvakalisa Nothontho of Ngqosini and the eldest son of amaRharhabe Paramount iKumkani Ngqika KaMlawu's eight children.[11] Nkosi Maqoma, albeit being the eldest son of the amaRharhabe Paramount, was born to the Right-Hand house, which meant that he would not be able to ascend to Paramount status. This status was instead reserved for his younger brother, iKumkani Mgolombane Sandile, who was born to the Great House in 1820.

Nkosi Maqoma was raised near Ngqika to learn about his father's dealings with western missionaries and colonial officials. Stapleton notes that his accompaniment of Nkosi Ngqika during his encounters with westerners allowed a young Maqoma to learn how to engage diplomatically with the British and missionaries who had begun to establish posts along the eastern frontier. These early encounters with missionaries and settlers enabled Maqoma to develop an understanding of the complicated nature of frontier politics as he observed how Ngqika sought British support for his faction during intra-clan power struggles.[12] It was this early exposure to British colonial authorities that gave a young

[11]Dictionary of African Biography, pp. 146-148; Thiyane Duda and Janine Ubnik highlight how English titles like king, chief and headman do not adequately describe the levels of traditional leadership hierarchy of the amaXhosa. Thus, their closest translations for these words are the following: iKumkani for King, Nkosi for senior traditional leader and inkosana for headman or headwoman. See Ubink, Janine, and Thiyane Duda. "Traditional authority in South Africa: Reconstruction and resistance in the Eastern Cape." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 47, no. 2 (2021): p. 191

[12]Stapleton, Timothy J. (Timothy Joseph). *Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1873.* Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1994., pp. 18-19

Maqoma insight to manoeuvre and negotiate the political dynamics along the frontier once he established his own chiefdom in 1821.

It was also during Nkosi Maqoma's youth, and ritual initiation into manhood, where he acquired his praise name 'Jongumsobomvu' which translates to 'he who rises with the sun'. This spoke to how he was known to ponder in the morning as he witnessed dawn.[13] This aspect of Nkosi Maqoma could also be understood to further the idea that he had an attachment to his natural surroundings – his early rising behaviour showing a keenness to witness the dawn glow on lands surrounding the Kat River, lands he would later lose access to following iKumkani Ngqika's concessions of the Kat River to the British to gain their support in his internal power struggle against his uncle and former Rharhabe regent, Nkosi Ndlambe, from 1817 to 1819.[14]

To understand why this occurred, I will briefly summarise the formation of the Rharhabe. The amaRharhabe kingdom is one of two divisions stemming from the lineage of Phalo – a descendant of the amaXhosa kingdom's founder Tshawe.[15] Rharhabe was the Right-Hand, the eldest son of Phalo who attempted to usurp his younger brother Gcaleka for the title of Paramount (iKumkani). Rharhabe could not usurp his brother and was afforded followers of his own by Phalo and moved west of the Kei River. Rharhabe's migration across the Kei led him to the Amathole area where he would be confronted by pre-existing Khoikhoi settlements who attempted to defend their lands from being dispossessed.[16]

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[13]Stapleton, *Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1873,* p. 25

[14]To understand more about the division of the Xhosa royal divisions of amaGcaleka and amaRharhabe, I suggest reading pages 45-67 of Peires, Jeffrey B. *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa people in the days of their independence*. University of California Press, 1982.

[15] Peires, Jeffrey B. *The house of Phalo: a history of the Xhosa people in the days of their independence*. Univ of California Press, 1982., pp. 46-50

[16] Webb, Denver A., and Mcebisi Ndletyana. "The Home of Legends Project." In *Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography* 3 (2018): p. 146

Rharhabe had two sons Mlawu, father to Ngqika, and Ndlambe who became Regent of the amaRharhabe following the patriarch's death in 1782. Ndlambe, according to Jeffrey Peires, Denver Webb and Mcebisi Ndletyana, is fondly remembered for bringing stability amongst the fractured relations between the amaRharhabe (who had settled west of the Kei river) and the amaGcaleka (who settled in the region of what became the Transkei).[17] Ndlambe was highly favoured amongst the amaRharhabe which, supposedly, is why when Ngqika ascended to the position of iKumkani he was unpopular amongst senior figures of the amaRharhabe and amaGcaleka who believed he undermined the stability brought by Ndlambe before him.[18]

iKumkani Ngqika, in 1817, conceded sections of amaRharhabe land along the Kat River to the Cape Colonial government, then under Lord Charles Somerset, with the aim of gaining support from the Cape Colony. Ngqika tried to get the support of the Cape government as he became aware of the growing number of disgruntled chiefs within the amaRharhabe who disapproved of his co-operation with the British and his concessions of land. These disgruntled sentiments led to Ngqika being confronted by his paternal uncle Chief Ndlambe (former Regent of the amaRharhabe) in the Battle of Amalinde in 1818 as he rejected Ngqika's growing relationship with colonists as well as his lack of communication with his councillors.[19]

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[17] Peires, Jeffrey. "'He Wears Short Clothes!': Rethinking Rharhabe (c. 1715–c. 1782)." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38, no. 2 (2012): p.344; Webb and Ndletyana, p. 147

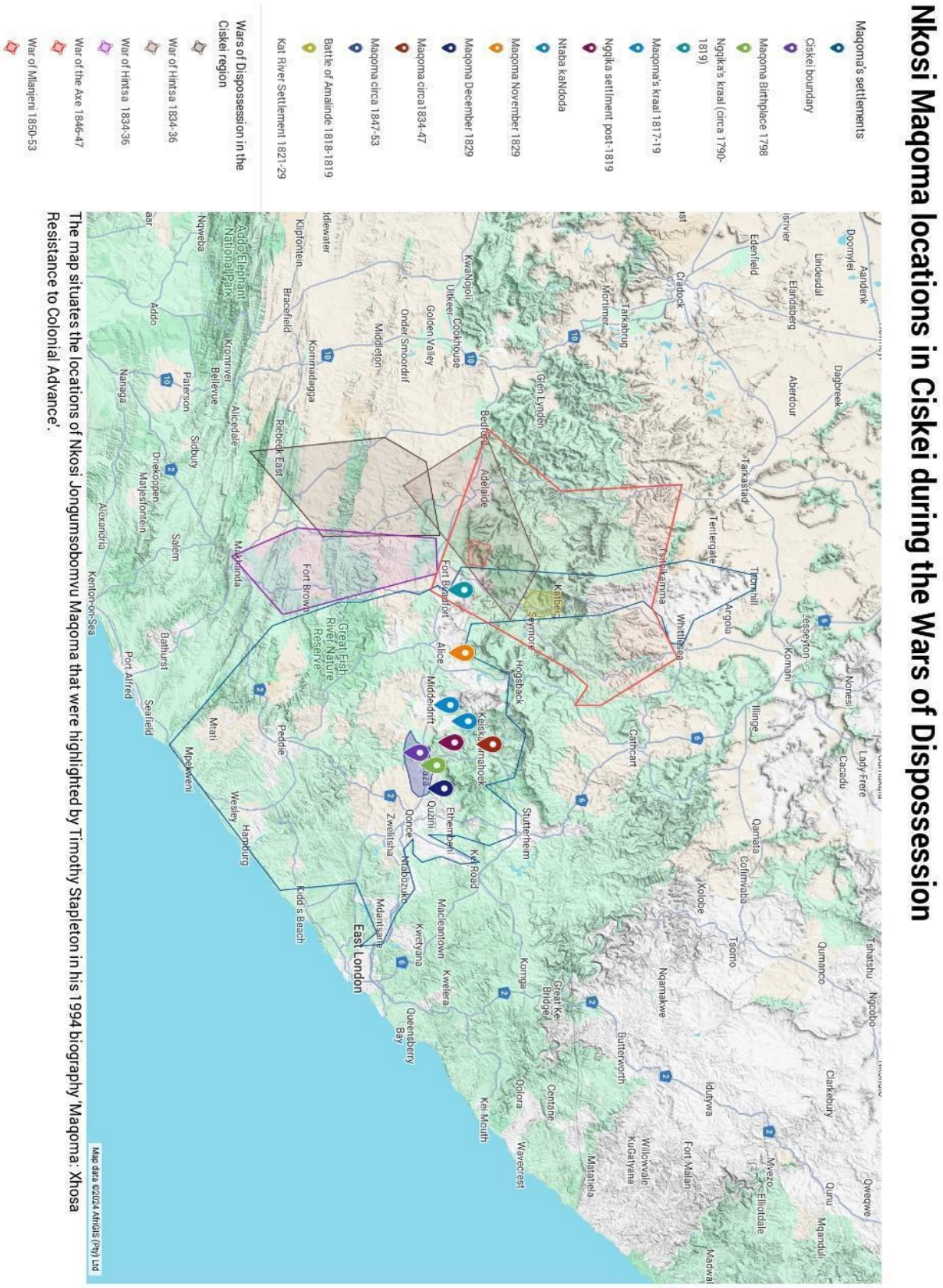
[18] Admittedly, there is more to the split amongst the Xhosa kingdom that led to the formation of the amaRharhabe and amaGcaleka and the tensions between Ngqika and Ndlambe. I would strongly suggest Peires, Jeffrey B. *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa people in the days of their independence*. University of California Press, 1982., pp. 45-67 and Mqhayi, Samuel E. K, and L. V. Mabinza. *Abantu Besizwe: Historical and Biographical Writings*. Wits University Press, 2009 for a deeper understanding.

[19] One of the practices Stapleton mentions is how King Ngqika did not go through traditional council whereby he consults the other chiefs within council to the Paramount.

Maqoma, having no option as the eldest son of the Rharhabe paramount, reluctantly participated in the battle as a representative of Ngqika. Here, Maqoma not only engaged in his first moment of warfare, but also experienced his first military defeat. John Laband mentions how Maqoma was stabbed on the shoulder by a spear and had to be carried away from combat.[20] Even though he was defeated in the Battle of Amalinde, Maqoma established himself within the Rharhabe as a brave commander and garnered the respect of the chiefs aligned with Ndlambe in the battle.[21]

[20] Laband, John. The land wars: The dispossession of the Khoisan and AmaXhosa in the Cape Colony. Penguin Random House South Africa, 2020., pp. 163-164

[21] Stapleton, Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1873, pp.30; and p. 164



The map situates the locations of Nkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma that were highlighted by Timothy Stapleton in his 1994 biography Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance'.

Map 1: Map of Nkosi Maqoma's locations and engagements in the Wars of Dispossession.[22]

[22] For a more interactive experience with the map and the marked locations, follow this link to the map I constructed:

In fact, it is interesting how the narrative surrounding the commemoration of Nkosi Maqoma is centred around him being a successful anti-colonial military commander, yet his first engagement in combat witnessed the Xhosa legend experiencing heavy defeat in an intra-Rharhabe conflict in part over Ngqika's growing relationship with colonial powers – a point that seemingly has not discredited how he has been remembered. His defeat and severe injury in the Battle of Amalinde led him to seek refuge on the mountain of Ntaba kaNdoda, where he stayed until 1820 before he returned to Ngqika's kraal after recuperating.[23] Maqoma's refuge on the mountain began the spiritual connection between Ntaba kaNdoda and the memory that Ciskeian officials would draw on in their attempt to establish an ethno-national identity.

His refuge on the mountain would not be the only time he would use it as a base of operations due to its proximity to the Kat River as well as its physical properties which made it a natural fortress against colonial pursuit. Maqoma's use of the mountain links to its mobilisation by Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe as a sanctuary for the Ciskeian nation where its citizens would also find refuge and identity by entering a space once used by Maqoma in his efforts to reclaim the sovereignty of the Rharhabe chiefdom. This linkage will be expanded upon in Chapter 3, which delves further into the connection between Nkosi Maqoma and the Ciskei nation-state.

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https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/edit?mid=1p7qQJqlNSD_LZGITrF7hx1v9_8SEz7g&usp=sharing

[23]Wells, Julia C. The Return of Makhanda – Exploring the Legend (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2012), p227

Nkosi Maqoma's role in anti-colonial resistance

Following his defeat in the Battle of Amalinde, Nkosi Maqoma denounced Ngqika's concession of his ancestral home and, as was custom for the son of the Right-Hand house, established his own chiefdom of the amaJingqi, named after the bull he received following his transition to manhood.[24] Nkosi Maqoma's establishment of the amaJingqi on the periphery of the Kat River was subversive as, per Paramount Ngqika's agreement with the Cape Colonial Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, this section of land alongside the Kat River was designated a 'Neutral Zone' intended to create a buffer between fledgeling British settler communities and the amaRharhabe chiefdoms. This 'Neutral Zone' was essentially a reservation where the British placed Khoi settlements in 1829 to act as the buffer between white-farms and the Xhosa.

It is important to note that Nkosi Maqoma was able to do this without opposition from the Cape Colonial Office as he exploited the relationship between Ngqika and the Cape government. Stapleton suggests that Maqoma had the foresight to recognize the utility of having a mission station near his chiefdom as this granted him an intermediary that would enable him to communicate directly with the Colonial Office. Additionally, he encouraged members of his chiefdom to learn from missionaries, as he realised the importance of literacy in being able to communicate with colonists through the modes and institutions he had witnessed whilst he lived with Ngqika.

[24]Stapleton, *Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1873*, p 9; Fort Beaufort, as of 2023, has been renamed KwaMaqoma as an effort by the Eastern Cape government to provide symbolic redress by the changing of colonial names to those that highlight nineteenth, and pre-nineteenth, century indigenous communal settlements.

Furthermore, between 1820-29, Nkosi Maqoma's reputation amongst the Xhosa populace grew. His opposition of iKumkani Ngqika's open complacency and collaboration with settler-colonists garnered him favour with his paternal great-uncle Nkosi Ndlambe and the amaGcaleka Paramount, Hintsa kaKhawtu, as well as other smaller chieftains of the amaRharhabe who were also disgruntled with Ngqika and the shift in authority in the eastern frontier because of the arrival of five thousand new British settlers and their location in the neutral territory. Not only did Maqoma begin to garner support from the ranks of the amaXhosa Inkosi and Inkosana, but he also gained support from some of the Khoi in the region given his close relationship with his mother Nothontho, who had Khoi ancestry.[25]

This connection to the Khoi, who shared a similar history of displacement and exile by white settlers in the Eastern Cape, allowed Maqoma to amass inter-ethnic political support for his chiefdom, and to mobilise a variety of different alliances in the wars of dispossession. When iKumkani Ngqika passed in 1828, Maqoma's amaJingqi were displaced by the Cape Colonial government from their Kat River settlement to create a buffer zone between white farm settlements and the Xhosa communities in what became the Ciskei.[26]

Thus, Maqoma spent the remainder of his adult life displaced from the lands he founded his chiefdom on and would, according to Stapleton, live along the border of the white settlements, primarily near King Williams Town, in what would become British Kaffraria in 1846.[27] His presence on the outskirts of colonial settlement and his desire to

[25] Stapleton, p. 41; Camissa museum; Stephanie Victor
[26] Stapleton, p. 9; Blackbeard, p. 26, 29
[27] Stapleton, pp 142

reclaim his homeland meant that Maqoma became a constant thorn in the flesh for the Cape Colonial government through his campaigns during the wars of dispossession.[28]

Mapping commemoration: Maqoma through mediums

Following the exile of Nkosi Maqoma and his chiefdom from the lower Kat River, he challenged the Cape Colony government by becoming a prominent Xhosa leader in the wars of dispossession from 1834 to 1853. His strategic guerilla campaigns made use of his extensive knowledge of the terrain to conceal his forces which resulted in ambush attacks that hindered British forces.[29] Although he has been recorded to have lost each war he participated in from the 1818-19 Battle of Amalinde through to the 1850-53 War of Mlanjeni, there is still something noteworthy to be taken away from how each of his campaigns saw his leadership impact the credibility of Cape officials in their attempts to end indigenous resistance on the eastern frontier despite numerous costly military engagements.[30] Across the governorships of Sir Benjamin D'Urban to George Cathcart, Nkosi Maqoma continued to ignore orders from the British imperial state, which has been celebrated in contemporary local newspaper publications, notably in the *Daily Dispatch*, which likened his defiant nature to twentieth century Argentine guerilla figure Che Guevara.[31]

One of his more celebrated campaigns was the battle of Waterkloof in 1851. During this campaign, Nkosi Maqoma earned his praise name 'The leopard of Fordyce' when a

[28] Keegan, Thomas. "The arrival of Grey: a re-evaluation of George Grey's governance at the Cape of Good Hope, 1854-1861." PhD diss., University of Cape Town, 2015: p. 102

[29]Stapleton, p. 220

[30]Legassick, Martin. The Struggle for the Eastern Cape 1800-1854: Subjugation and the Roots of South African Democracy. Johannesburg: KMM Review Publishing Company, 2010, pp. 15-18

[31]Feni, Lulamile, 'Maqoma likened to Guevara at plaque unveiling', Daily Dispatch. 27 January 2019; Jacob, Bhongo.'Exhibition honours Chief Maqoma and other icons of Xhosa history', Daily Dispatch. 29 May 2021; More will be said about this to Che Guevara in Chapter 3 as it highlights how the Eastern Cape government is attempting to fashion the remembrance of Nkosi Maqoma

Khoisan sniper in his forces killed Lieutenant Colonel J. Fordyce after co-ordinating a guerrilla strike within the forested valleys of Waterkloof.[32] Even though this battle has become celebrated in amaJingqi historiography, Nkosi Maqoma failed to win the war. By 1853, alongside his younger brother, amaRharhabe Paramount iKumkani Mgolombane Sandile, Nkosi Maqoma would surrender to the British – leading to the loss of approximately eighteen thousand square kilometres of land being incorporated into 'British Kaffraria'.[33] After surrendering following the War of Mlanjeni, Nkosi Maqoma found himself as one of many Inkosi embroiled in the heavily contested 1856-57 Cattle-Killings.

The 1856-57 Cattle-Killings were the result of a millenarian prophecy by a young prophetess Nongqawuse who is believed to have prophesied the resurrection of the dead as ancestral spirits. This would occur through the cessation of crop cultivation and the slaughtering of cattle and would lead to European settlers being driven out .[34] Cattle in Xhosa culture were significant in the formation of social hierarchy as they were a means for inkosi to gain retainers and expand their chiefdoms by loaning cattle to inkosana - thus, to kill cattle was to disrupt the very social order of the amaXhosa.[35]

Renowned scholar Jeffrey Peires suggested the 1856-67 Cattle-Killings was a complex movement that was attributed to the spread of a lung sickness epidemic in 1854, the religious hybridization of traditional spirituality with Christianity and class tensions amongst

[32]Stapleton, p. 144

[33]Stapleton, p. 166; Lester, Alan. "Settlers, the state and colonial power: The colonization of Queen Adelaide Province, 1834–37." *The Journal of African History* 39, no. 2 (1998): 221-246.

[34]Bradford, Helen, and Msokoli Qotole. "Ingxoxo enkulu ngoNongqawuse (a great debate about Nongqawuse's era)." *Kronos* 34, no. 1 (2008): pp. 66-105.

[35]Peires, Jeffrey B. "The central beliefs of the Xhosa cattle-killing." *The Journal of African History* 28, no. 1 (1987): p. 45; Stapleton, *Maqoma: Xhosa resistance to Colonial Advance*, p. 172

the peasant class of Xhosa society.[36] Peires also suggests Nkosi Maqoma was a strong believer of Nongqawuse's prophecy due to his defeat in the War of Mlanjeni and choosing to fall in line with the orders of iKumkani Sarhili of the amaGcaleka who supported Nongqawuse's prophecy.[37]

However, Stapleton strongly disagrees with Peires' sentiment and argues that Nkosi Maqoma would not have advocated for a prophecy that would have stripped the traditional structure of Xhosa society that he fought to uphold throughout the Wars of Dispossession.[38] Rather, Stapleton argues that oral historiography of the amaJingqi maintains Nkosi Maqoma was a strong unbeliever of the millenarian movement and accused Peires of dismissing the credibility of oral historiography due to a predisposition to written sources.[39] Stapleton asserts that Nkosi Maqoma reluctantly killed his cattle as an attempt to pressure the Cape colonial state by making it seem as though he joined the Cattle-Killing movement to feed his supporters – as a benevolent chief – and argues colonial records used this as an opportunity to cast Nkosi Maqoma alongside other Xhosa senior leaders who engaged in the millenarian movement.[40]

This seems far-fetched and overly romanticised as there is no way of proving Nkosi Maqoma had such an elaborate strategy. It also would not make sense for Nkosi Maqoma to concede cattle (this symbol of traditional authority of Xhosa society) to the Cape government to access the Kat River as that would have meant him forfeiting his own authority to the very same colonial government, he spent the last twenty-nine years fighting against. Additionally,

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[36]Peires, Jeffrey B. "The central beliefs of the Xhosa cattle-killing." *The Journal of African History* 28, no. 1 (1987): pp. 44-6

[37]Peires, *The dead will arise*, pp. 265-66.

[38] Stapleton, *Maqoma: Xhosa resistance to Colonial Advance*, pp. 174-175

[39] Stapleton, Maqoma: Xhosa resistance to Colonial Advance, p. 182

[40] Stapleton, *Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance*, p. 184

Cynthia Kros observed how Stapleton failed to question or challenge the oral historiographical accounts he was provided by the claimed descendants he interviewed to counter Peires' position of Nkosi Maqoma's stance on the millenarian movement.[41] Thus, it is difficult to properly provide an exact account of whether Nkosi Maqoma was a supporter of the 1856-57 Cattle-Killing.

According to Stapleton, Nkosi Maqoma was sentenced to Robben Island as Cape Government officials maintained that even after his supposed reluctant slaughter of cattle that weakened his social status, he was still a threat to British Kaffraria and white farm settlements through potential cattle-raids.[42] Thus, he was imprisoned along with his favourite wife Katye in 1857, and paroled in April 1869.[43] Although there are no photographs that depict Nkosi Maqoma upon his arrival on Robben Island, a photograph of an incarcerated Nkosi Maqoma was taken circa 1859 (see Figure 4).

[41] See Kros, Cynthia. "Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance." (1995): p. 667-669.
[42] Stapleton, *Reluctant slaughter*, p. 368
[43] Victor, Stephanie. 2014. "Women in Captivity: Nonesi and Katye, the Wives of Xhosa Chiefs." *Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa* 68 (2): pp. 156–157.

Figure 4 Nkosi Maqoma and wife Katye (bottom right) alongside other Xhosa senior leaders on Robben Island. Photograph taken by Frederick Arlington Viner York, circa 1859. Sourced from the Mail & Guardian.[44]

[44] Mager, Anne, and Phiko Jeffery. "Our land of empty promises." *Mail & Guardian*. May 31, 2019. https://mg.co.za/article/2019-05-31-00-our-land-of-empty-promises.

This photograph was taken by Frederick Arlington Viner York. York, an Englishman, moved to Cape Town in 1855 and worked as a professional photographer from 1855-61 after having previously worked as a chemist in Britain.[45] In this photograph, Nkosi Maqoma is seen on the bottom right seated alongside his wife Katye who is draped in a white blanket. Visible in the photograph are other inkosi who were also veterans of the 1850-53 War of Mlanjeni and were imprisoned with Nkosi Maqoma and Katye. From the back left is Nkosi Fadana, Nkosi Siyolo, Nkosi Xhoxho, Nkosi Stokwe and on the front left is Nkosi Dilima, Nkosi Mhala and Nkosi Siyolo's wife Nonesi.[46]

It was during his first sentence on Robben Island that Nkosi Maqoma became the subject of portrait photography by Europeans. As seen already in Figure 4, Nkosi Maqoma was captured within photographs due to his being a political prisoner of the Cape Colony – he was thus likely unable to display autonomy over having his likeness captured. This becomes even more apparent when we observe Figures 5 and 6 below.

[45]Victor, Stephanie. 2014. "Women in Captivity: Nonesi and Katye, the Wives of Xhosa Chiefs." *Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa* 68 (2): p. 173.
[46]Victor, *Women in Captivity*, pp. 154-156; Stapleton, *Maqoma Xhosa resistance to colonial advance*, pp. 195-197

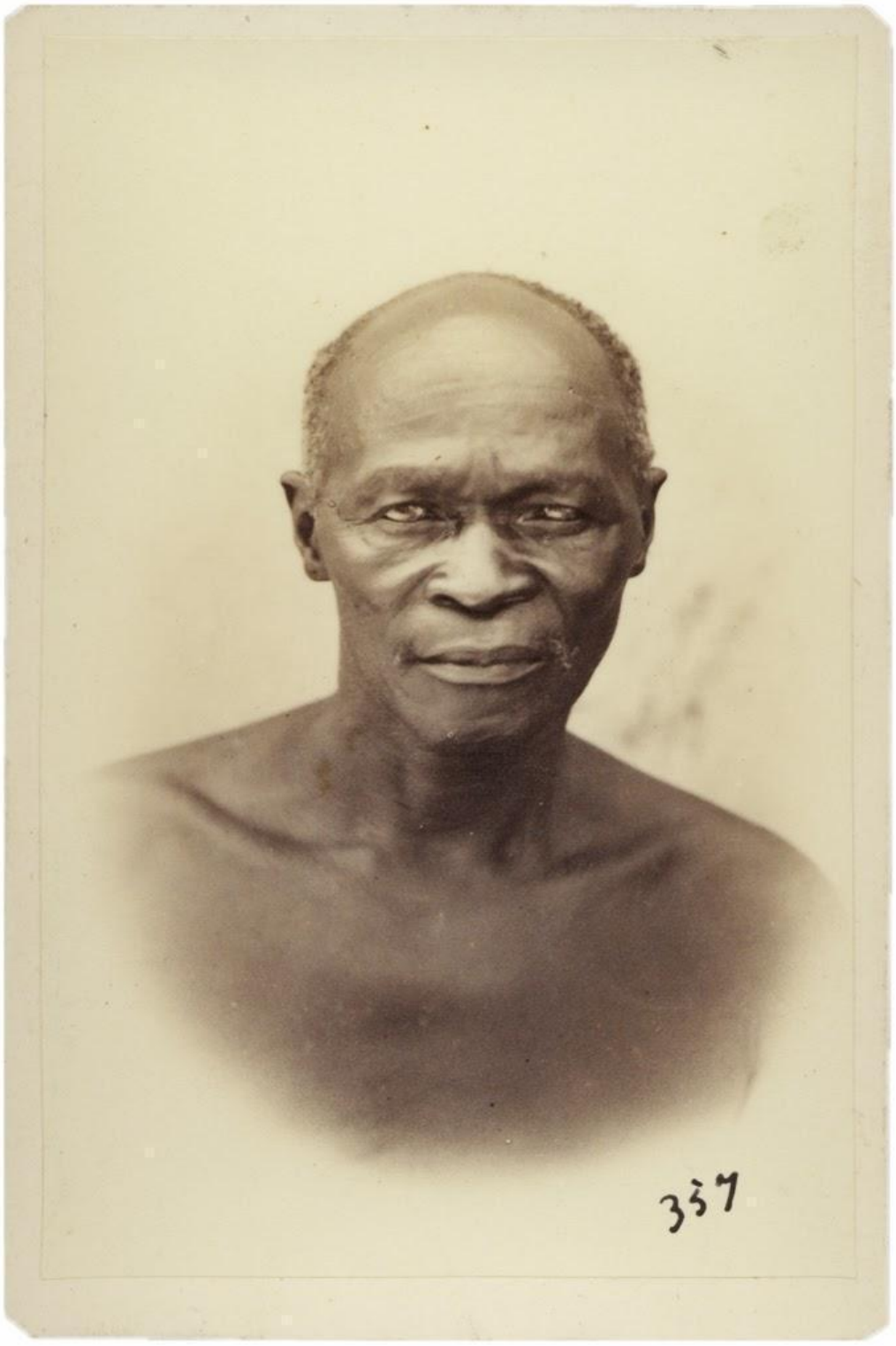

Figure 5 Portrait photograph of Nkosi Maqoma courtesy of Gustav Theodor Fritsch Collection, taken 1863, Robben Island

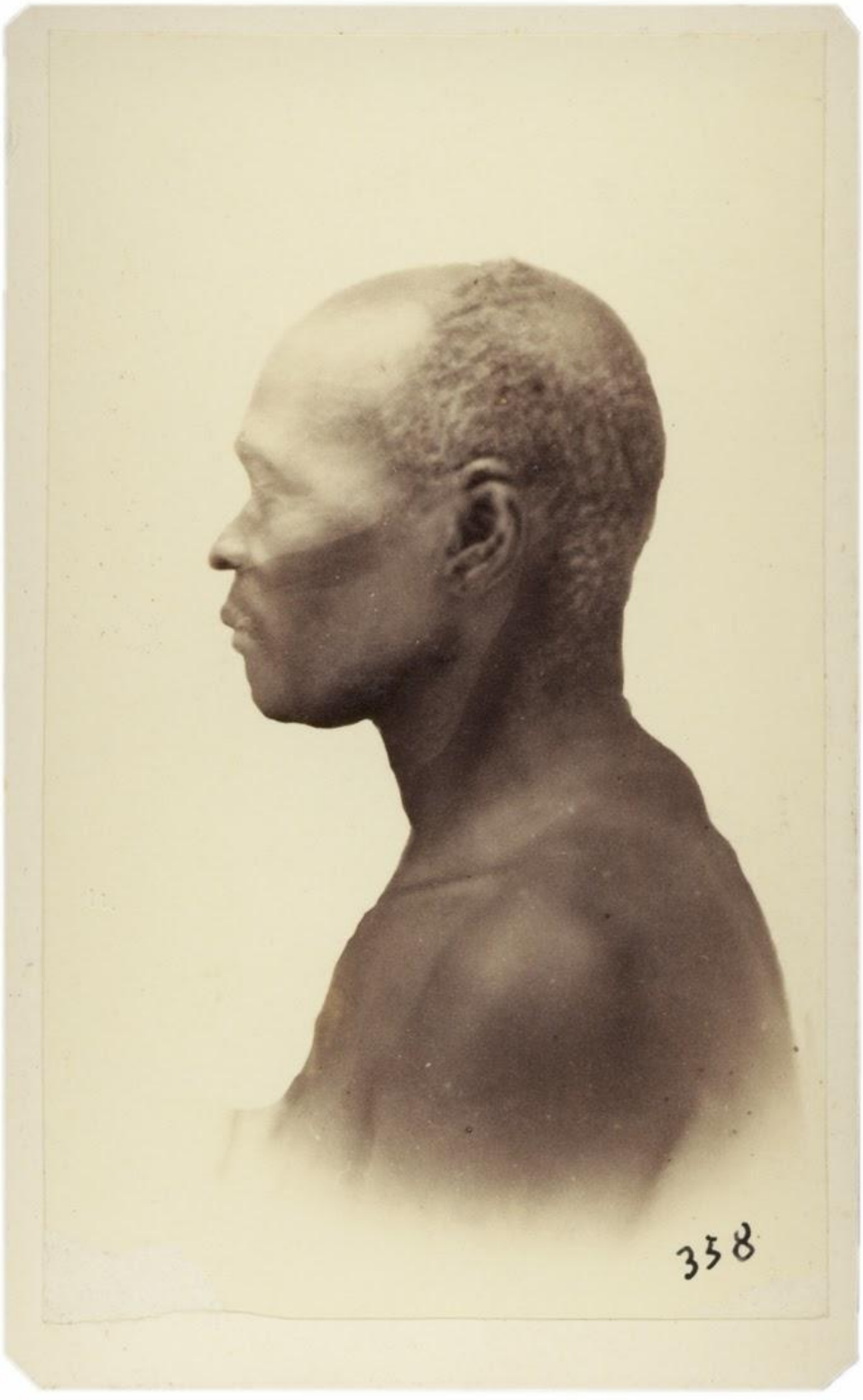

Figure 6 Portrait photograph of Nkosi Maqoma courtesy of Gustav Theodor Fritsch Collection, taken 1863, Robben Island

Figure 5 and Figure 6 showcase Nkosi Maqoma aged 65-years-old, six years into his incarceration on Robben Island in 1863. These photographs were part of German anthropologist Gustav Theodore Fritsch's series of over 100 ethnographic portraits of 'native subjects'.[47] According to Andrew Bank, the collection of ethnographic portraits was intended to provide German anthropologists with a visual catalogue of the various 'racial types' of natives in Southern Africa.[48] In just over a century from their creation, with particular attention to Figure 5, Fritsch's ethnographic portrait of Nkosi Maqoma has been utilised by Timothy Stapleton (as the cover of his biography) and authors Virginia Scarff and Nicholas Dekker for their books on Maqoma. [49] In addition, the same portrait (Figure 5) has been used on Nkosi Maqoma's grave on Ntaba kaNdoda, seen in Figure 7, and served as the primary visual reference for the concrete statue by Mziwoxolo Makalima on Ntaba kaNdoda as seen in Figure 1.

Nkosi Maqoma was granted parole by Governor Sir Phillip Woodhouse on April 18th, 1869. One of the parole conditions was to attend a dinner at Zonnebloem College in Cape Town which, at the time, functioned as an educational institution for Xhosa children collected by the Cape Government following the 1856-57 Cattle Killing.[50] According to Stapleton, Nkosi Maqoma was told by the colonial government that he was banned from accessing the land that would later become the Ciskei and he would only be allowed to live in the small territory designated to iKumkani Sandile within what would become the Transkei region.[51]

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[47]Bank, Andrew. "Anthropology and portrait photography: Gustav Fritsch's' Natives of South Africa', 1863-1872." *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* 27, no. 1 (2001): p. 47

[48]Bank, *Anthropology and portrait photography*, p. 75

[49]Nicholas Dekker was an abalone diver whose work was published in 2017 by Amava Heritage Publishing – the same publisher who republished Stapleton's biography on Maqoma in 2016. I could not find any biographical information on Virginia Scarff outside of her being an education consultant in Gauteng. This means, apart from Stapleton, there have been few formal academics who have published full length publications on Nkosi Maqoma to provide an alternative biographical perspectives.

[50]Victor, Women in Captivity, pp. 167-168; Stapleton, *Maqoma Xhosa resistance to colonial advance*, p. 200

[51]Stapleton, *Maqoma Xhosa resistance to colonial advance*, pp. 201-203

Additionally, he was instructed that he needed permission from the Cape government to travel outside of iKumkani Sandile's territory by communicating his intentions to colonial officials within the region.[52] But with the promise of land unfulfilled, Nkosi Maqoma relentlessly subverted the restrictions placed on his movement as he continuously travelled to King William's Town (Qonce) whilst amassing sympathetic followers to aid his final attempts to reclaim his homeland. However, once colonial officials caught wind of Maqoma's movement and accumulation of followers, he was apprehended and received his final sentence to Robben Island in December 1871, where he remained until his death in1873.[53]

His death on the island is shrouded in ambiguity. Stapleton states that colonial sources from the time asserted that Nkosi Maqoma died from old age and dejection following a failed attempt to access his homelands for the last time. Though Stapleton acknowledged how colonial sources purport Nkosi Maqoma died from old age, he did not seem convinced this was the case. When we look at the repatriation of Nkosi Maqoma's bones from Robben Island to Ntaba kaNdoda, we see a challenging narrative to the circumstances surrounding Nkosi Maqoma's death on Robben Island which suggest he may have died from physical violence. The death of Nkosi Maqoma meant he was far removed from his community, who were unable to mourn him. Furthermore, it compounded a sentiment of how Cape Town, as a spatial/geographic location, was the epicentre of the political dispossession of Nkosi Maqoma and the amaXhosa, brought on by British colonial expansion.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 205
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 206

Exhumation: Return of Nkosi Maqoma's Bones

In 1978, more than a century after his passing on Robben Island, Nkosi Maqoma's bones were retrieved by the Ciskeian government represented by Chief Minister Lennox Sebe, Chief Lent Maqoma (Chief Minister of the Interior), and Ms Charity Sonandi – a sangoma, with the assistance of the South African Navy. As Jeffrey Peires describes it, Sonandi "allegedly discovered a few manacled bones on Robben Island to the accompaniment of rainfall, thunder and lightning. These supposed remains were loaded on a South African warship and carried off to Ntaba kaNdoda for a hero's burial in August 1978".[54] The repatriation of his supposed bones was meant to signify the return of Nkosi Maqoma to his home on the former eastern frontier.[55]

Chief Minister Lennox Sebe and Chief Lent Maqoma sought to politically benefit from the repatriation of Nkosi Maqoma's bones as the potential success of their effort would enable them to further their authority. Chief Lent Maqoma, a valuable informant for Stapleton's research, served in the Ciskei government as Chief Minister of Interior Affairs and claimed to be a descendant of the original Maqoma through the line of his third son Makrexana. Before his exile to the Transkei Bantustan in 1985, Lent Maqoma viewed the repatriation of his great ancestor's bones as an opportunity to cement his position amongst the amaRharhabe chiefs in the Ciskei by being the descendant who brought home the bones of Nkosi Maqoma.[56]

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[54]Peires, Jeffrey B. "Ethnicity and pseudo-ethnicity in the Ciskei" in W. Beinart and S. Dubow (eds) *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London, Routledge, 2013), p. 274.

[55]Although Ntaba kaNdoda was not his birthplace nor was it the site of the chiefdom of the amaJingqi. Ntaba kaNdoda, as Chapter 2 will elaborate further, was a site of refuge during the Wars of Dispossession.

[56]Stapleton noted how Lent Maqoma was viewed as a 'westernised chief' by chiefs within the Ciskei parliament but does not elaborate on why exactly he carried this perception.

Lennox Sebe, on the other hand, benefitted from the repatriation of a legend of frontier resistance through the acquisition of a historical origin for the Ciskei. Nkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma's bones would serve as the foundation for the Ciskei's national identity, which Sebe literally attempted to build on by constructing the Ntaba kaNdoda National Monument on the mountain in 1981. This site would also be the home of a statue of Sebe and became an important symbol of his oppressive rule.

The commemoration of Nkosi Maqoma

The first port of call to see how Nkosi Maqoma was remembered by his contemporaries is by looking at the vernacular archive. It is important to note that the origins of vernacular texts from Xhosa scholars were made possible through the involvement of missionary institutions such as Lovedale Missionary School, established outside the town of Alice in 1824 by the Glasgow Missionary Society. The first Xhosa writers, who notably converted to Christianity, emerged here in the mission stations and published Xhosa literature marking the foundations of a text-based Xhosa archive.[57]

These Xhosa scholars, as Jeff Opland has studied, were attempting to capture the linguistic nuances of oral traditions in written text. A notable oral tradition of the amaXhosa that would find itself transferred into textual form is the izibongo, praise poems, and their entrance into the written archive is important to highlight. Izibongo, as an oral historiographical form, are a mixture of memories and live improvised exhortations that add

[57]Gambade Emilie, 'Lovedale: A printing press that tells the stories of black writers, literature, history and so much more', Daily Maverick. 17 August 2020; https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-08-17-lovedale-a-printing-press-that-tells-the-stories-of-black-writers-literature-history-and-so-much-more/

theatrics to the performance of the praise when the imbongi (praise poet) performs in front of an audience.[58] Izibongo carry a fixed-structure as they are passed down from one imbongi to the next in order to provide a consistent reflection of how people viewed the figure being praised.[59] Archie Mafeje suggests izibongo are a form of memory-work reserved for chiefs and figures of authority amongst the amaXhosa. This classist dynamic influences who receives izibongo and how the oral tradition is used to highlight events which add reverence or significance to the recipient of the praise-poem.[60]

Another izibongo, albeit not written by the poets of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, appears on the grave site of Nkosi Maqoma on Ntaba kaNdoda, which was unveiled in 2015 by the Eastern Cape Heritage Resource Agency. The izibongo, seen in Figure 7, makes several references to key moments of Maqoma's life which are like the thematic observations of the chapter titles of Timothy Stapleton's biography of Maqoma.[61]

[58]Kaschula, Russell H. "Intellectualisation of isiXhosa literature: the case of Jeff Opland." *Tydskrif vir letterkunde* 54, no. 2 (2017): pp. 5-10

[59] Stapleton, Timothy J. "The memory of Maqoma: An assessment of Jingqi oral tradition in Ciskei and Transkei." *History in Africa* 20 (1993): p. 323

[60]Mafeje, Archie. "The role of the bard in a contemporary African community." *Journal of African Languages* 6, no. 3 (1967): pp. 193-194

[61]If you look at the title for each chapter of Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance, you can see an interaction between the izibongo on the gravestone and Stapleton's work. For example, the first two lines of the gravestone izibongo correspond with the title of the first chapter. This also occurs with line 9 which also corresponds with the third chapter of the book.

Table 1 below illustrates these references:

Chapter Titles:	**Izibongo Parallels:**
'The Mirror of Nothonto' (Chapter 1)	Mirror of Nothonto, for his mother's likeness
Leaning against the mountains of Mnqwazi (Chapter 2)	Learning life lessons here at the Ngcamngeni foot of this Ntaba kaNdoda
'The Black Water Snake That Crosses Rivers' (Chapter 3)	The Black Water snake from Xhukwane
'War Does not Make us Rich' (Chapter 4)	'Eloquent Intellect'
The Leopard of Fordyce (Chapter 5)	'The Black Water Snake who crossed famed rivers, who fought in valiance in the Waterkloof'
On the White Man's Island (Chapter 7)	'All the way to the island'

Table 1: Synergy between "Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance" chapter titles and Figure 7's izibongo

Figure 7 Gravestone of Nkosi Maqoma at Ntaba kaNdoda, unveiled in 2015 by the Eastern Cape Heritage Resource Agency. Taken by Kineiloe Matose, 15 June 2022.

The izibongo of Figure 7 shows us how Nkosi Maqoma has been remembered through Stapleton's interpretation of vernacular historiography, while the accompanying image is the ethnographic portrait taken by Gustav Fritschseen in Figure 4. The Fritsch portrait of Nkosi Maqoma being recycled by the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture (DSRAC) is interesting because it shows how the image has value in providing a visual representation of Maqoma for people to connect to. Furthermore, it suggests a subtle erasure of the ethnographic nature of the original photograph by placing it next to an izibongo that provides a visual reference to Maqoma in its own way.

Praise poems, as an archival source, are interesting and complex. As Wandile Kuse notes, izibongo can either serve as reflections of the happenings in everyday life of the society from which they were created or be honorific accounts of an individual/subject to be recognised as a heroic figure.[62] Praise poems, like all literature and forms of remembrance, can omit details of individuals or events depending on the achievements or failures of the praised subject. Additionally, names carry specific functions. Praise names used in the poems can be attached to actions/achievements, their environment and significant individuals associated with the poem's protagonist.[63]

As we see in Figure 7, the izibongo make use of praise names attached to Maqoma without mentioning his name. This illustrates that praise poems are constructed in a way that is understandable to the community using metaphors that connect the recipient to their environment. Metaphorical names like 'The Black Water Snake from Xhukwane' and 'The Black Water Snake who crossed famed rivers' highlight the geographic location where Maqoma was born and the areas he traversed. The descriptor 'The Black Water Snake' is inherently symbolic. On one hand, it illustrates how Nkosi Maqoma always had access to rivers such as the Thyume, Kei and Kat Rivers. But it also is a sign of respect. Black snakes represent authority and the potential to strike fear because of being dangerous.[64] According to Ansie Hoff, water snakes are known for broad bodies perceived as having a sense of beauty attached to them which correlates to how Stapleton notes the description of Maqoma as a

[62]Kuse, Wandile F. " Izibongo Zeenkosi"(The Praises of Kings): Aspects of Xhosa Heroic Poetry." *Research in African Literatures* 10, no. 2 (1979): pp. 215-218
[63]Kuse, *Izibongo Zeenkosi (The Praises of Kings)*, p. 208
[64]Cocks, Michelle L., Tony Dold, and Susi Vetter. "'God is my forest'-Xhosa cultural values provide untapped opportunities for conservation." *South African Journal of Science* 108, no. 5 (2012): p. 4

strong-bodied attractive figure – a visual representation which we find in the bronzed Maqoma statue in Figure 2.[65]

The final stanza of izibongo on Maqoma's gravestone in Figure 7, further highlights his personality traits of stoicism and intellect. Throughout the izibongo, references are made to land and emphasise Maqoma's participation in the wars of dispossession. Thus, in its entirety, the praise poem functions as a historical record written to provide a sense of who Maqoma was in the eyes of his followers.

However, the izibongo on the gravestone is not a historical product. Rather, it is a contemporary creation based on the historical literature on Nkosi Maqoma. Whilst the author is unknown, my dialogue with Mazibuko Jara, co-founder of Ntinga Ntaba kaNdoda, suggested that his organisation collaborated with the Eastern Cape Heritage Resource Agency in its construction for the commemorative project on Ntaba kaNdoda in 2015. This reflects a contemporary effort to commemorate Nkosi Maqoma within the poetic tradition of the izibongo.[66]

The utility and perceived relevance of Stapleton's work became more evident in 2016, through Cape Town-based Amava Publishing. His book '*Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to the advance of colonial hegemony*' was republished as '*Maqoma: The Legend of a Great Xhosa Warrior*'. Stapleton's intervention in the historiography of Nkosi Maqoma is worth its own scrutiny. It is interesting how a Canadian student was able to gain access to the Ciskei and Transkei in apartheid South Africa in the 1980s to conduct research on an anti-colonial figure

[65]Hoff, Ansie. "The water snake of the Khoekhoen and/Xam." *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* (1997): p. 24

[66] I believe there is a certain irony in the izibongo being based on the work of a Canadian scholar and written in English and how this indicates that the site is aimed towards tourists rather than locals as part of the heritage tourism industry.

during the period when the regime was subjected to international academic boycott for its oppressive governance. Furthermore, it is necessary to highlight how his relationship with his collaborators can be paralleled to the colonial impulses he positions himself against in his study, which presents itself as though he is rescuing Nkosi Maqoma from being inadequately remembered.

His privileged position as a foreign researcher of the lore of colonial resistance of the amaXhosa in the independent homeland of the Ciskei is reflected by the way in which he was able to garner support from that government and the collaboration from claimed descendants of Nkosi Maqoma across both Ciskei and Transkei. Whilst it would be audacious to speak to the intentions of the Ciskeian state's collaboration without material evidence, there is no doubt that the presence of a Western researcher would have aligned with the Ciskeian government's efforts to ratify its ethno-national origin to an international community. Nonetheless, Stapleton's research on Nkosi Maqoma positioned him as an expert within the 'genre' of African military history and he has since published on other figures like the amaPondo King Faku kaNgqungqushe and Southern African anti-colonial military history.

The republished '*Maqoma: The Legend of the Great Xhosa Warrior*' is an update with name corrections, such as Amathola to Amathole, and referring to Maqoma as Nkosi instead of chief as means to subvert the colonial-archive's gaps. Aside from linguistic changes, the book still serves as a gateway for those who were unfamiliar with Nkosi Maqoma and seek to understand his role in the nineteenth century. Anecdotally, when I engaged with the sculptors of the Nkosi Maqoma statues which initiated my research, I realised how the accessibility of the republished Stapleton book is the first port-of-call for

those outside of academia. Stapleton's work has become inseparable from the study of Nkosi Maqoma.

But one critical point I have of Stapleton's works is the emphasis on the warrior status of Nkosi Maqoma, a feature that has also been emphasised in the statues of Maqoma that will be analysed in the chapters that follow. No doubt the emphasis on Maqoma's contributions to the Wars of Dispossession are a point of interest for the African military historian, but all the other aspects of his life story are secondary to the narrative of the amaJingqi figure's military endeavours. Maqoma's astute diplomacy and strategic interactions with colonists are mentioned in both editions of the biography but rarely emphasised is his repugnance of warfare.

I would argue that all Nkosi Maqoma's strategic engagements with British colonial officials were attempts to prolong periods of relative stability on the frontier and remove the threat of warfare. His wisdom, which fictional author Mphuthumi Ntabeni aptly emphasised in his imagining of Maqoma, of recognising the futility of warfare meant there would be no victors as the price of warfare is harmful to all who participate.[67] This view of Maqoma is unmarketable to those who wish to become enthralled in the violent lore of the Wars of Dispossession. A stoic, pacifist leader does not portray resistance in the convention of the South African government's desire to commemorate heroic anti-colonial figures from the nineteenth century. Furthermore, it is this version of Nkosi Maqoma, the warrior chief, that has been focused on in the two memorial statues. Their emphasis on portraying Maqoma as a warrior, as opposed to an astute diplomat tells us from the outset that the memory of militant

[67]Ntabeni, Mphuthumi. *The Broken River Tent*. Auckland Park, South Africa: Blackbird Books, 2018.

leadership is central to his remembrance and that his other qualities can be omitted as secondary.

This chapter has focused on how entangled Nkosi Maqoma's memory is to politics. These politics presented themselves through the removal of his bones from Robben Island and their subsequent reburial on Ntaba kaNdoda, the usage of colonial-era images on which his gravestone on Ntaba kaNdoda makes use of as well as the use of colonial images on Timothy Stapleton's biography. What these politics have illustrated is how the memory of Nkosi Maqoma underwent a militarisation by those who sought to mobilise his memory in the twentieth century. This militarisation of Nkosi Maqoma's memory has, by and large, become the default interpretation of his memory. Throughout the rest of this thesis, we will see how this militarised recollection of Nkosi Maqoma materialises itself through his commemoration on Ntaba kaNdoda, in the Ciskei and democratic Eastern Cape, and in Dali Tambo's Long March to Freedom.

Chapter 2: Ciskei state identity, Ntaba kaNdoda and Nkosi Maqoma

To understand the memorialisation of Maqoma during the twentieth century in the Ciskei and in the Eastern Cape province of post-apartheid South Africa, we need to comprehend the complex issue of the location where he is memorialised - Ntaba kaNdoda. This mountain site holds communal significance to the amaRharhabe and the Khoi communities who once called it their home. Ntaba kaNdoda is part of the Amathole escarpment and is seventy kilometres from KwaMaqoma (Fort Beaufort). It carries a history of dispossession, spirituality and ethno-nationalism. In his work on Ntaba kaNdoda, Thando Mama attested that it should be understood as a site of memory, or *lieux de mémoire*, as it is a physical space where the collective memories of communities in the Eastern Cape were deposited and these communities, visit these spaces to remember and reckon with their pasts.[68]

However, I would suggest that Ntaba kaNdoda should be seen as a milieux de mémoire as it is a living environment that has collective memories connected to it. Ntaba kaNdoda's shared historical significance to the Khoi, the amaRharhabe, the Ciskei and now democratic Eastern Cape, illustrates that collective memories are layered on the mountain site and new meanings are continuously being attached to it. To understand this, a brief background on Ntaba kaNdoda is necessary and how these memories become contested with the establishment of the Ciskei homeland and the memorialisation of Nkosi Maqoma from 2015 onward.

[68]Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): p. 13. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520.

Ntaba kaNdoda as an environment of memory

The name Ntaba kaNdoda is believed to have been derived, as Janet Hodgson notes, from a Khoi chief Ndoda – who died in combat against the Xhosa.[69] Khoi people, as Susan Blackbeard notes, are believed to have settled along the Kat River, and by extension Ntaba kaNdoda, prior to 1752 as a Dutch expedition recorded encounters with Khoi settlements there in the mid-eighteenth century.[70] By the late eighteenth century, the encroachment of the Xhosa into the Kat River Valley meant a new communal identity would be added to the layering of memory associated with Ntaba kaNdoda. The arrival of the chiefdom of Rharhabe, Right-Hand son of Xhosa Paramount Phalo (who failed in an attempt to usurp his younger brother Gcaleka as heir to Phalo) to the region of the Kat River culminated in conflict between the settled Khoi and encroaching Xhosa.[71] The conflict between the Khoi, who were indigenous to the region, and the amaRharhabe resulted in the dispossession of the Khoi and the establishment of Xhosa claims over the lands west of the Kei River, and with that, a claim over the mountain of Ntaba kaNdoda.

Whilst the name of the mountain was carried over by the amaRharhabe, which illustrates an acknowledgement of the prior custodians of the site by the new claimants, the meaning of the mountain from the 1790s onward became attached to the memory of the amaRharhabe internal conflicts, spirituality and anti-colonial resistance. This intra-Rharabe conflict relates to the 1818 Battle of Amalinde. The conflict transpired out of growing tensions amongst the amaRharhabe as Paramount Ngqika made concessions of land along the

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[69] Mama, Luthando Vukile James. "“Forgetting Ntaba kaNdoda”: reciting performative memories at the Ntaba kaNdoda Monument." (2018), p. 1

[70] Blackbeard, Susan Isabel. “Kat River Revisited”. University of Cape Town, 2018., p. 32

[71] Laband, *The land wars.*, pp. 89, 93

Kat River to the British Cape Colony which, notably, angered other chiefdoms as they rejected his alliance and alienation of land without consulting the Great House of the amaGcaleka which oversaw the broader amaXhosa.[72]

The Battle of Amalinde, which occurred in the foothills of Ntaba kaNdoda, resulted in the defeat of Maqoma's forces described earlier as well as the defeat of Ngqika's faction. During my research in the Eastern Cape when I drove along the provincial R63 from my base in East London to Ntaba kaNdoda, the scenic lands left me with an uncomfortable feeling. Whilst I was bewildered by the spectacularly picturesque views of rural Eastern Cape, I was unable to temper my imagination about the Battle of Amalinde and the blood spilt on the veld throughout the nineteenth century. To pass through the lands where a young Jongumsobomvu Maqoma would experience the pitfalls of war evoked an emotional response to my own pilgrimage to Ntaba kaNdoda.

Figure 8 Grounds of the Battle of Amalinde along the R63. Taken by Kineiloe Matose, 14 June 2022

[72]Laband, *The land wars.*, p. 93

Following the Battle of Amalinde and Maqoma's retreat to the mountain, it served as his strategic stronghold throughout the Wars of Dispossession. With its abundance of forested paths and its difficult terrain, the mountain posed a challenge for British troops to access and served as a natural fortress for Maqoma in the wars of 1834-53. Additionally, when not at war, Ntaba kaNdoda provided Nkosi Maqoma a space to retreat and reassess his movement around the vicinity of Qonce (then King William's Town), Fort Beaufort (renamed KwaMaqoma in 2023) and the Kat River. Located 100 kilometres north-west of the Great Place of his amaJingqi kingdom from which he was exiled, the mountain thus played an integral part in his exile from the Kat River settlement.[73]

Outside of Nkosi Maqoma's relationship with the mountain of Ntaba kaNdoda, the site has a connection to the spirituality of the amaRharhabe. Janet Hodgson has shown how the forests of Ntaba kaNdoda were a sacred ground to the amaRharhabe and only certain people of counsel and authority were permitted to enter the site. Following the amaRharhabe's colonisation of the lands west of the Kei in the late 18th century, their iinkosi would be buried on the mountain site to encourage patriarchal oversight over the community as guiding ancestral presence.[74] The burial of iinkosi adds a spiritual element to the site as the presence, or perceived presence of ancestors is believed not only to protect, but also offer guidance to those who make pilgrimage to the mountain.[75]

This was further emphasised to me when I had an introductory meeting with the spokesperson of the Maqoma Legacy Trust (on which more will be said in Chapter 3). I was

[73]Laband, *The land wars*, pp. 93-98
[74] Hodgson, Janet. "Ntsikana: history and symbol studies in a process of religious change among Xhosa-speaking people." PhD diss, University of Cape Town, 1985, p. 264
[75]Opland, Jeff. "The bones of Mfanta: A Xhosa oral poet's response to context in South Africa." Research in African Literatures 18, no. 1 (1987): p. 48

informed that those who wish to enter Ntaba kaNdoda supposedly need to gain permission from the leadership council of the amaRharhabe. This was surprising as I had conducted my fieldwork on the mountain in June 2022 and had no issues accessing the mountain. There were no stop signs or indicators that suggested one required such permission nor had any of my interlocutors suggested the need for such permission. This, then, suggests an attempt to assert some form of traditional authority over the mountain. [76]

Nkosi Maqoma and Ciskei identity

The significance of Ntaba kaNdoda as a spiritual site is particularly visible through the connections Ntsikana Gaba made between the spiritual and physical worlds on the mountain. Ntsikana Gaba was one of the most prominent Xhosa spiritual figures of the nineteenth century. He was born around 1780 to a prominent house within the amaRharhabe where his father served as a councillor to the amaRharhabe Paramount. Ntsikana would follow in his father's footsteps and serve as a councillor to Paramount Ngqika. Furthermore, Ntsikana was a spiritual diviner who was taught the lessons of pre-colonial Xhosa religion. However, with the expansion of western missionaries and contact with Johannes van der Kemp as a youth, Ntsikana accepted Christianity which represented a turning point in the religious and political stance of the amaXhosa.

Janet Hodgson notes how when Ntsikana was an adult, tending his cattle kraal, he experienced a divine prophecy which urged him to convert to Christianity in 1816, making him one of the first recorded Xhosa converts to Christianity. Hodgson notes that Ntsikana,

[76] Interview with Maqoma Legacy Trust, virtual meeting, Cape Town. 01 February 2024; admittedly, when I conducted my fieldwork on Ntaba kaNdoda, I had made no prior contact with the traditional leadership for permission to enter the grounds. I relied on my collaboration with local academics Thando Mama and Mazibuko Jara who made no mention of this need to apply for access. I assume they did not know that this was even the case, nor is there anything on the government or Maqoma Legacy Foundation websites stating this.

rather than fully abandoning the pre-colonial traditions of Xhosa spirituality, observed the practices of Xhosa religion after his conversion which signalled an opportunity for hybridity amongst his followers in that they could maintain their 'traditional' cultural roots whilst accepting Christian religious teaching.[77]

Ntsikana's attachment to Ntaba kaNdoda was due to his promotion of spirituality on the site. Not only did he engage in the Battle of Amalinde as an advisor to the young Nkosi Maqoma, but he also used the mountain as a site to disseminate his teachings. With the belief that amaRharhabe iinkosi were buried on the mountain, the diviner sought to mobilise the location as a site of unification for the Xhosa in their resistance against settler-colonialism.[78] Hodgson elaborates on how Ntsikana's religious association with the location of Ntaba kaNdoda transcended his lifetime as S.E.K Mqhayi, who converted to Christianity during his time at Lovedale, would write poetry on Ntaba kaNdoda which echoed Ntsikana's rhetoric of the site being significant to the unification of the Xhosa – that a unified front would gather at the 'seat of God'.[79]

However, rather than a site of unification, Ntaba kaNdoda became a key site in Lennox Sebe's attempts to construct a Ciskeian ethno-national identity in the twentieth century as part of the apartheid state's attempts to permanently fracture the Xhosa nation by creating separate nation states based on a division between the amaRharhabe and the amaGcaleka (who were supposedly based in the homeland of the Transkei). It is to the

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[77] Hodgson, *Ntsikana: history and symbol studies in a process of religious change among Xhosa-speaking people*, pp. 235-242

[78]Hodgson, *Ntsikana: history and symbol studies in a process of religious change among Xhosa-speaking people*, pp. 244-246

[79]Hodgson, Janet. "Ntaba kaNdoda: orchestrating symbols for national unity in Ciskei." *Journal of theology for Southern Africa* 58 (1987): pp. 24-25; Mama, *Forgetting Ntaba kaNdoda*, p. 24

importance of the mountain and the reinterment of Nkosi Maqoma's bones atop it in this ethno-nationalist project that I wish to briefly turn to next.

The establishment of the Ciskei and the Balkanisation of the Xhosa

Following the end of the Wars of Dispossession, the British distributed lands confiscated from the amaRharhabe to their indigenous collaborators – the Mfengu. The Mfengu, a broad term for groups who fled from Zululand during the reign of Shaka kaSenzangakhona, initially settled amongst amaXhosa within the lands that later became the Transkei and Ciskei. The relation between the Mfengu and Xhosa was one of assimilation as Mfengu leaders were made subservient within the hereditary hierarchy of the Xhosa who granted them permission to settle upon their land.

Jeffrey Peires suggests that the British recognised the lack of political authority of the Mfengu within Xhosa society and coerced them to join their crusade against the Xhosa by promising access to land should they convert to Christianity and accept western cultural practices.[80] The Mfengu, seeing an opportunity for their survival, fought alongside the British from 1835 onwards which placed them politically above the amaRharhabe Xhosa who resisted the British and were ultimately displaced.[81] This, in turn, led to resentment between the amaRharhabe and the Mfengu as they regarded the latter as agents of their dispossession who socially and economically benefited from colonial expansion. These tensions were sustained by the creation of the Ciskei Bantustan in the twentieth century.

[80] Peires, *Ethnicity and pseudo-ethnicity in the Ciskei*, pp. 261-263
[81] Peires, *Ethnicity and pseudo-ethnicity in the Ciskei*, pp. 261-264

The formation of the Ciskei came about because of the apartheid government's establishment of specific areas to serve as 'homelands' for the various black ethnic groupings in South Africa. The Ciskei, which meant 'On this side of the Great Kei River', was to serve as one of two homelands for Xhosa-speaking people – with the Transkei being the second Xhosa homeland. Given this understanding of the name of the Ciskei and taking note of Laura Evans' description of the region as an administrative 'dumping ground', we can understand how there was a long-standing effort by South Africa's government to reductively shape and formalise African social structures through preconceived notions of customary rule and pre-colonial authority.[82]

The fragmented nature of reserves reflects the practice of settler-colonial authorities dispossessing indigenous populations and placing them on inhospitable lands. Mohammed Adhikari has noted in his analysis of nineteenth century settler colonial projects how the creation of reservations was a tool of population control whereby indigenous populations could be monitored, and be readily available to provide physical labour for nearby white settlements and industrial centres.[83] The nineteenth century development of reserves which comprised agriculturally poor lands, was for white settlers to determine who had access to land – superseding any ethnic, or socio-political claims of lands by pre-existing communities in the region. Thus, the construction of reservations in the late nineteenth century began a process of systematic dumping of various Xhosa communities within the borders of what would become the Ciskei (see Map 2).

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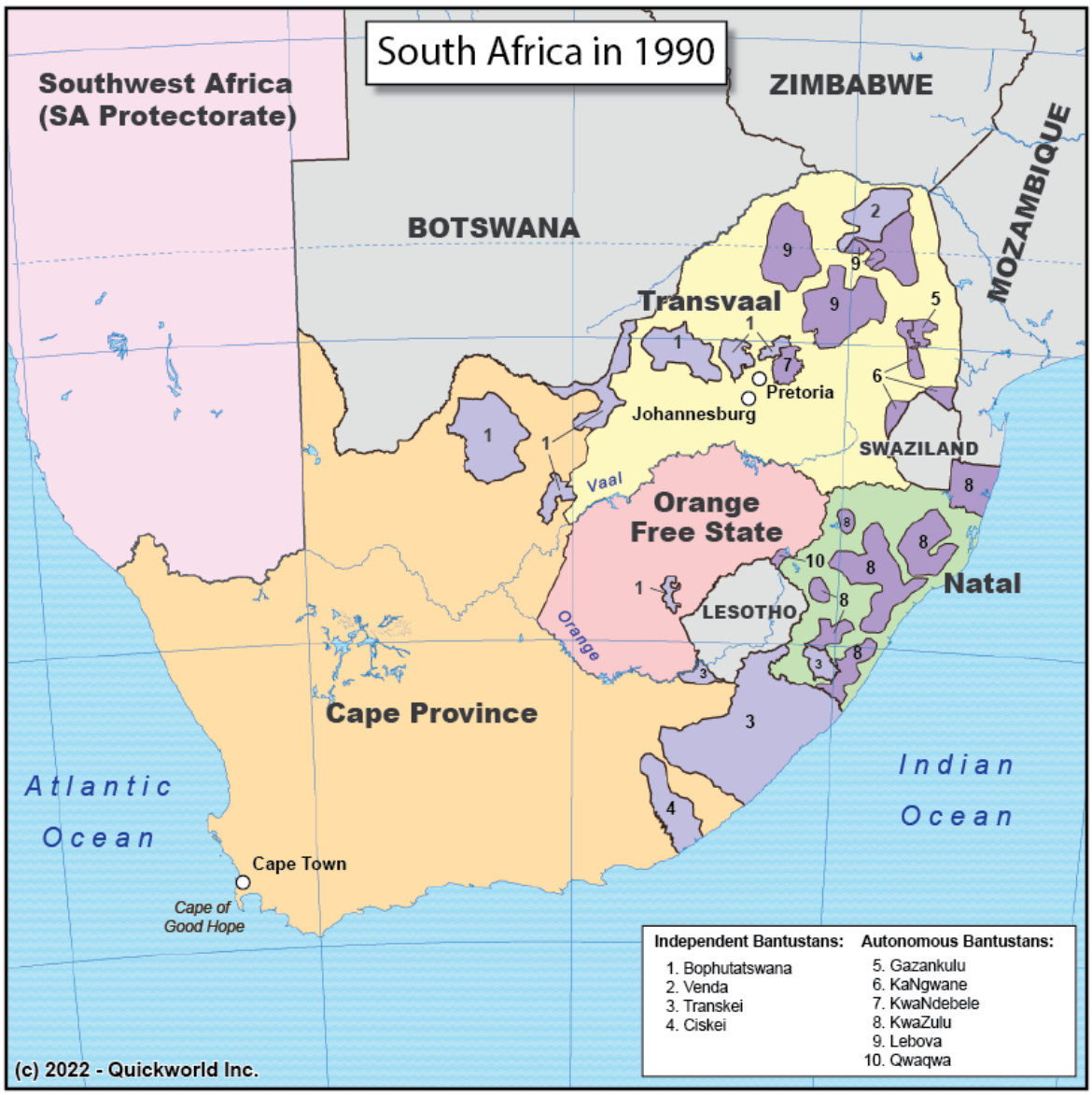
[82] Evans, Laura. *Survival in the 'Dumping Grounds': a social history of apartheid relocation*. Brill, 2019., pp. 48,52-65, 111

[83] Adhikari, Mohammed, "Improved from the Face of the Earth": The Genocidal Destruction of Queensland's Aboriginal Peoples', in Adhikari, *Destroying to Replace*: *Settler genocides of Indigenous peoples*: Hackett Publishing, 2022., p. 35-39.



Map 2 Map of South Africa and the Bantustans in 1990. Sourced from Quickworld's Map of the Day, published 23 November 2022. [84]

The Ciskei and Transkei were established administratively at least, in some bastardised understanding of centuries of migration of the amaXhosa, Khoekhoe, and amaThembu pre and post their engagements with European colonial-expansion. The Ciskei was under the administration of the National Party government from 1959 to 1972 - a period characterised by forced removals and mass resettlements or 'dumping'. In 1972, the Ciskei

[84] https://mapoftheday.quickworld.com/posts/apartheid-south-africa

Bantustan was declared a separate administrative enclave from South Africa and its borders were fixed by the National Party government to supposedly coincide with pre-colonial settlement before becoming official in 1979. This period, as Peires noted, threatened the political status of the Mfengu as the security they enjoyed under British authority was subverted by the National Party which sought to embrace the pre-colonial political structures in their effort to window-dress and appear as champions of African independence.[85]

Within the Ciskeian government, power-struggles between Mfengu leaders, who were viewed as an educated elite, and Lennox Sebe, who had the support from Rharhabe chiefs, continued throughout the 1970s. Sebe mobilised the resentment of the landless Rharhabe against the Mfengu to consolidate his own position and influence within the government. However, when the Ciskei achieved its independence from the South African state in 1981, Sebe outwardly changed his rhetoric as he sought to construct a homogenous national identity for the Ciskei – one that overwrote the ethnic divisions of Rharhabe and Mfengu by unifying them in an ethno-nationalist identity as citizens of the Republic of Ciskei.[86]

What was interesting about Sebe's desire to construct a homogenous ethnic Ciskeian identity was how his ethno-nationalist project was centred around the site of Ntaba kaNdoda. He consulted the spiritual narratives of Ntaba kaNdoda constructed by Ntsikana and S.E.K Mqhayi, and to provide historical legitimacy to his nation-building exercise he made Ntaba kaNdoda the epicentre of Ciskeian national identity in order to build and draw on the importance of the mountain to the amaRharhabe and its links to their leaders. Between 1978

[85]Peires, *Ethnicity and pseudo-ethnicity in the Ciskei*, p. 260

[86]For more on the forced migration and resettlement in what became the Ciskei, see Wotshela, Luvuyo. "Territorial manipulation in apartheid South Africa: resettlement, tribal politics and the making of the northern Ciskei, 1975–1990."Journal of Southern African Studies 30, no. 2 (2004): pp. 317-337 and Evans, Laura. 'Survival in the 'Dumping Grounds': a social history of apartheid relocation. Brill, 2019.

and 1985, Sebe promptly set about constructing memorials and national symbols on the mountain for the newly established Ciskeian republic.[87]

It was as part of the creation of Ciskeian identity that the exhumation of Nkosi Maqoma's supposed bones on Robben Island and reinterment on Ntaba kaNdoda described earlier, took place. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavic have noted how the South African state supported the claim of Ms Charity Sonandi's vision of Nkosi Maqoma's grave on Robben Island as a potential propaganda boon, which explains why the Departments of Prisons and Defence assisted in transporting the bones to Ntaba kaNdoda, where a crowd of 15,000 people gathered to see them reinterred on 13 August 1978.[88] There was no scientific proof provided that these were in fact Maqoma's bones. Rather, the appeal to the authority of Sonandi, as well as the claims of confirmation by the South African and Ciskeian officials that Sonandi had successfully found the bones seems to have been evidence enough to make them Maqoma's bones.

I would argue that the inability to verify whether the bones 'divined' by Ms Charity Sonandi were indeed Nkosi Maqoma's appealed to both the Ciskeian and apartheid government. Given that the apartheid government provided resources and support to the Ciskeian delegation's repatriation of their ancestral chief, they wanted to promote the narrative of their support of independent African nations, thus it would have been in their best interest to believe in the efficacy of Ms Sonandi's divination without scrutiny. For the Ciskei government, we can also argue that Sebe and Lent Maqoma needed to assert the validity of the supernatural powers of Xhosa diviners. Their acceptance of the bones found through Ms

[87]Mama, *Forgetting Ntaba kaNdoda*, p. 34
[88]Judin, Hilton, and Ivan Vladislavic. "Architecture, apartheid and after." Roterdã: Netherlands Architecture Institute (1998)., p. 115

Sonandi served to prove the validity of their appeal to traditional spiritual practices and their ability to successfully bring Maqoma's bones 'home'.

When we consider how the bones of his younger brother iKumkani Mgolombane Sandile were exhumed in 2004 to confirm whether those found in his grave in Stutterheim (in the AmaHlathi Municipal District) were his, the question has to be asked why Nkosi Maqoma's bones have not been verified through DNA testing by his own claimed descendants or by the Eastern Cape government.[89] Again, I can only suggest that there is the reverence for the traditional prowess of Ms Sonandi who has been held in high regard by the descendants of Nkosi Maqoma as the one who found the bones of their ancestor and enabled him to be buried on 'local' soil.[90] Due to this reverence of Ms Sonandi by the descendants of Nkosi Maqoma, there would be no incentive for them to undergo a process of verification of the buried bones.

Lastly, I would argue the sense of urgency for the success of the repatriation effort for Sebe and Lent Maqoma's political endeavours required them to ratify the claim that the bones found on Robben Island were Nkosi Maqoma's. Considering the circumstances surrounding the repatriation endeavour; the involvement of the NP government, the desire for Lent Maqoma to entrench his own position in customary authority and Sebe's desire to use Maqoma in his attempt to construct a Ciskeian identity, a high burden of proof may not have been a prerequisite for all involved.

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[89]See Nienaber, Willem C., Maryna Steyn, and Louisa Hutten. "The grave of King Mgolombane Sandile Ngqika: Revisting the legend." *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* (2008): pp. 46-50.
[90]Feni, Lulamile. "Life of celebrated Ugie seer Sonandi being honoured." *DispatchLive*. June 6, 2023.

My brief interactions with the Maqoma Legacy Trust reinforced the idea that the repatriated bones were those of Nkosi Maqoma. The memorial trust overseen by Luvuyo Maqoma, maintain the idea that Nkosi Maqoma's bones were collected from Robben Island and taken to Ntaba kaNdoda where he was buried in 1978.[91] There is a fundamental belief, influenced by the claims of the Ciskeian state authorities, that the prominent ancestor was laid to rest on the charged mountain site. But to this day, there has not been any evidence which can verify this to be true.[92] What is important, however, is not whether scientific proof exists, but rather the perception that the buried bones have been accepted as Nkosi Maqoma's and played a part in establishing Sebe's claim to authority by burying one of the great amaRharhabe leaders on this spiritually charged site. It is no surprise then that Sebe positioned the Ntaba kaNdoda national monument, a key physical manifestation of his power, as well as his own statue, within spitting distance of Nkosi Maqoma's reinterred bones.

The burial of Nkosi Maqoma on the mountain site of Ntaba kaNdoda in a ritual ceremony and slaughtering of sheep and speeches, added a new meaning to how the mountain would be interpreted. Ciskeian chiefs were joined by South African state officials in the commemoration – signalling a new historical moment. The construction of the National Monument to the Republic of Ciskei on Ntaba kaNdoda three years after the burial of Maqoma, was the first installation of a series of monuments erected by Lennox Sebe (see Figure 10).

[91] Luvuyo Maqoma lays claim to Maqoma's lineage as a descendant of Tini – the fourth son of Maqoma who died in the final war in the Wars of Dispossession.

[92] I would like to say that I recognise this is a charged perspective. Whilst there is no evidence to prove the bones of Maqoma were buried on Ntaba kaNdoda, I challenge my own biases as an academic for chasing the need for documentation or written proof to confirm this query. My own naivety on Xhosa spirituality should not deter me from the possibility of the potential of the bones being Maqoma's as I do recognise how, at times, the academic elite tend to impart rational cynicism and scepticism to the realm of the supernatural with an air of condescension.

This monument, designed in 1979 by East London based architects Chris Swales and William Marais (who were part of architectural firm ZAI Architects), was Sebe's attempt to construct a national shrine where Ciskeian citizens would be able to affirm their national identity through memory and space.[93] It is believed that the monument cost R860 000 to construct (with inflation this would be approximately R23 million today). It was equipped with a conference venue and open-air amphitheatre that could seat 18,000 people.[94] Interestingly, Peires and Sabine Marschall have noted how Sebe was inspired to construct his National Monument following his visit to Israel's Mount Masada in 1977.[95] He was supposedly inspired by how Israel and other nation-states had sites or cultural objects that contributed to a sense of nationalist pride.[96] Thus, he saw the Ntaba kaNdoda National Monument as a necessary marker of the Ciskei cementing itself as a nation-state with its own national landmark.

We should not overlook how the construction of the monument next to the burial grounds of a venerated figure expressed a cultural/ethnic nationalism attached to Xhosa historical lore.[97] The memory of Nkosi Maqoma, in this context as a beloved warrior chief, functioned as the foundation ancestor for the nationalism of the Ciskei which was soon to gain 'independence' from South Africa. For the Ciskei as a political and self-governing entity, it placed the act of ancestral veneration (whereby traditional leadership had greater

[93]Interestingly, ZAI Architects still exists in the present but now under the name of ZAI Consultants. I contacted them to inquire if they had any materials from the company's operations in the Ciskei. Surprisingly, after being directed to a managerial staff member, I was informed that a *client* had asked the firm to destroy files on their Ciskei operations prior to the democratic transition in South Africa.

[94] https://www.amahlathi.gov.za/ntaba-ka-ndoda-memorial/;

[95]Peires, *Ethnicity and pseudo-ethnicity in the Ciskei*, p. 272; Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, p. 139

[96]Peires, *Ethnicity and pseudo-ethnicity in the Ciskei*, p.272

[97]Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J., and Wendy Willems. "Making sense of cultural nationalism and the politics of commemoration under the Third Chimurenga in Zimbabwe." *Journal of southern African studies* 35, no. 4 (2009): pp. 946-948

social authority before colonial institutions erased their significance) as the moral compass of the Ciskei.

Sebe went on to construct more monuments on Ntaba kaNdoda in the 1980s which furthered his vision of the space. It has been claimed that a 'Heroes Acre' was constructed with the burial of approximately thirty one chiefs, who were curiously not named in newspaper articles, to build upon the burial of Maqoma on the mountain and reinforce it as a sacred site of the nation's ancestors.[98] However, on my visit to Ntaba kaNdoda and engagement with scholars of the region, there was no evidence that indicated the presence of the Heroes Acre mentioned in the *Daily Dispatch* newspaper and by Jeffrey Peires in his study of the Ciskei.[99] With the lack of a Heroes Acre, we could argue Nkosi Maqoma's remains were all that was required for Sebe to embark on his ethno-nationalist project.

Lent Maqoma was a crucial component in Sebe's ability to make use of Maqoma's legacy. He was a claimed descendant of Nkosi Maqoma and was Regent of the Ciskei amaRharhabe between 1977-1978. Lent Maqoma also held the position of Chief Minister of the Interior in the Ciskei government due to his status as descendant of a royal inkosi.[100] To secure his own position in the Ciskeian government, Lent Maqoma supported Sebe's ascent to power and efforts to enhance the position of Rharhabe chiefs in the Ciskei. This provided Sebe with access to amaJingqi memory through one of the descendants of the late Nkosi Maqoma. Therefore, if Lent Maqoma could cement his political status by being the descendent that repatriated the bones of uJungomsobomvu from Robben Island and provided him with a proper burial, it consolidated his position and claims to chieftaincy.

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[98]Daily Dispatch, 1978; Umthombo, June 1978
[99]Peires, *Ethnicity and pseudo-ethnicity in the Ciskei*, p. 273
[100]Peires, *Ethnicity and pseudo-ethnicity in the Ciskei*, p. 274

Stapleton, in his fieldwork in the Ciskei and Transkei, noted how Lent Maqoma had positioned himself as the strongest claimant of Nkosi Maqoma's lineage through efforts to discredit Wati Maqoma, a descendant of Nkosi Maqoma's great son/heir Namba, by claiming that his relative was mentally unstable and an alcoholic – similar to how Nkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma was discredited by British colonists who aimed to undermine him.[101] Stapleton noted how during his research in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Lent Maqoma's political manoeuvring made him the de-facto point of reference for amaJingqi oral historiography and that no other descendants of Nkosi Maqoma had the political clout to challenge his claims to chieftaincy.[102]

After Sebe and Lent Maqoma buried the bones of Maqoma in 1978, Sebe promptly sought to construct a monument that would enable him to project his image of Ciskeian nationalism. This came to fruition with the construction of the National Monument to the Republic of Ciskei in 1981 (see Figures 9, 10 and 11).

[101]Stapleton, *The Memory of Maqoma*, p. 322
[102]Stapleton, *The Memory of Maqoma*, pp. 328-332

Figure 9 Inscription plaque on the National Monument to the Republic of Ciskei, Lower Rabula. Taken by Kineiloe Matose, 15 June 2022.

Figure 10 National Monument to the Republic of Ciskei exterior. Photograph taken by Kineiloe Matose, 17 June 2022.

Figure 11 Amphitheatre of Ntaba kaNdoda Monument, Lower Rabula District. Taken by Kineiloe Matose, 15 June 2022.

According to Jeffrey Peires and Thando Mama, the National Monument became a site of memory for citizens of the Ciskei where they would be forced to participate in pageantries of nationalism orchestrated by Sebe.[103] Sebe would host national days of remembrance and celebrations whereby civil servants, whether police or nurses, would be celebrated for their service to the Ciskei in the amphitheatre of the monument. The ambition of hosting 'national' celebration events at the monument on Ntaba kaNdoda, publicly understood as a shrine to the Ciskei, was to instil a sense of national unity and have some form of spiritual pilgrimage for citizens to be connected to the spirit of the ancestors buried in proximity to the monument.[104]

[103]Umthombo, 15 August 1978; Peires, *Ethnicity and Pseudo-Ethnicity in Ciskei*, p. 273

[104]Mama, *Forgetting Ntaba kaNdoda*, p. 36; Peires, *Ethnicity and Pseudo-Ethnicity in Ciskei*, pp. 274-275; Umthombo, 15 August 1978

The last addition by Sebe to the site of Ntaba kaNdoda in 1981 was a bust of himself on a concrete plinth.[105] In 1983, Sebe declared himself as 'Leader for life' after exiling Lent Maqoma in fear of his former collaborator garnering influence in the cabinet following the repatriation of his ancestor.[106] This addition by Sebe can be read as the clearest indication of how he attached himself to Ciskeian identity. Furthermore, by memorialising himself in close proximity to the grave of Nkosi Maqoma and the supposed Ciskeian heroes acre, it illustrates how Sebe forced his way into the discourse of Ciskei 'ancestors' by presenting himself as the successor of Nkosi Maqoma and other chiefs buried on the mountain.[107] It is worth pointing out now how this tactic of Sebe has been used by the ANC government in the Long March to Freedom Exhibition, which we will discuss in Chapter 4, whereby as its popularity wanes, the party inserts itself as being the successors of a much longer and broader tradition of anti-colonial resistance and defenders of customary traditions.

Following a military coup d'état in 1990 led by Brigadier Oupa Gouzo, disgruntled citizens ransacked the National Monument and the statue of Sebe.[108] What remained was a monument left in a state of ruin and an empty plinth where Sebe's statue once stood.[109] Maqoma's grave fell into a state of dilapidation until 2015 when the Eastern Cape government began to revamp the location under its heritage campaign of the 'Home of Legends'.

[105]After many searches online and through newspaper archives, there does not seem to be any photograph available that shows us what Lennox Sebe's statue may have looked like.
[106]Peires, *Ethnicity and Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Ciskei*, p. 274
[107]The statue of Sebe would be removed from Ntaba kaNdoda during the 1990 coup but was lost before it could be placed in a storage facility.
[108]Peires, *Ethnicity and Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Ciskei*, p. 275
[109]Stephanie Victor once told me that the head of the statue was all that remained, but it was lost from a storage facility from Qonce before it could enter the possession of the Amathole Museum

Figure 12 Empty concrete plinth where Sebe's bronze once stood in the centre of Ntaba kaNdoda monument. Nguni cows wander in the background. Photograph taken by William Martinson, 2014.

Conclusion

We have seen how the location of Ntaba kaNdoda was a fundamental fixture to the memorialisation of Nkosi Maqoma in the Ciskei during the twentieth century. This period witnessed the repatriation of his bones from Robben Island for reburial on the mountain that held significance to the spiritual and oral traditions of the amaRharhabe. His movement from the location where he died as a captive of British colonialism to a site where he once sought refuge during the Wars of Dispossession can be understood to have added an additional layer of historical meaning to the mountain site.

The construction of monuments on the mountain by Lennox Sebe represented the first moment whereby the memory of Nkosi Maqoma would be mobilised for the construction of a national mythology. Whilst the Ciskei national project ultimately failed, the memory of Nkosi Maqoma was left open for both local claimants to customary authority and the democratic government of the ANC to claim as part of their own efforts to construct legitimacy. It is to the importance of the installation of the concrete statue of Nkosi Maqoma on Ntaba kaNdoda in 2015 as part of these local contestations around customary authority that we turn to next.

Chapter 3: The Petrified Water Snake

This chapter focuses on the commemoration of Nkosi Maqoma on the site of Ntaba kaNdoda through the concrete statue erected in 2015 and the restoration of his grave between 2015 to 2022. By looking at the statue of Nkosi Maqoma on Ntaba kaNdoda, we can see how the politics of the former Ciskei Bantustan remain active in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape through the symbiotic relationship between senior traditional leaders and the provincial ANC government. The placement of the statue on Ntaba kaNdoda in 2015 was done by Luvuyo Maqoma, a claimed descendant of Nkosi Maqoma, operating through The Maqoma Legacy Management Trust. The statue's presence provides a frame through which to consider the continued impact of Lennox Sebe's attempts to reshape traditional leadership to contain and mobilise Mfengu and amaXhosa tensions. It also provides a frame to consider how new claimants are mobilising Nkosi Maqoma's memory and legacy.

Origins of the concrete elder

To understand the origins of the statue of Nkosi Maqoma on Ntaba kaNdoda (see Figure 14), I conducted three interviews in June and July 2022. The first was with Thando Mama who commissioned the statue. The second with Mziwoxolo Makalima, the sculptor of the statue, and the third with Mazibuko Jara.[110] Admittedly, when I conducted my fieldwork in 2022, I had initially intended to interview Thando Mama and Mziwoxolo Makalima in their respective locations in the Eastern Cape. However, after a moment of serendipity, I was given the contact information of Mazibuko Jara who was familiar with the happenings on

[110] As I mentioned earlier in the thesis, Mazibuko Jara is a co-founder of Keiskammahoek based NGO Ntinga Ntaba kaNdoda that works on the communal development of the Keiskammahoek region.

Ntaba kaNdoda due to his Non-Government Organisation, Ntinga Ntaba kaNdoda, which focuses on the development of communities around Keiskammahoek in the Amathole District Municipality. Whilst he was not directly involved in the statue's construction, he was involved in the Eastern Cape government's restoration of the gravesite of Nkosi Maqoma from 2015 to 2016 and was familiar with the contestations surrounding the mountain site.

The concrete statue of Nkosi Maqoma on Ntaba kaNdoda was commissioned by the Zemk'iinkomo: uNkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma project. This was a heritage project initiated by Thando Mama in 2013 and completed in 2014. According to Mama, he established the Zemk'iinkomo: uNkosi Jongumsobomvu Maqoma in 2013 as a decolonial project to commemorate local heroes who were relatively unknown and introduce them into the public memorial landscape. Mama viewed Nkosi Maqoma as a critical figure in remembering nineteenth century anti-colonial resistance in the Eastern Cape and that his story represented the resilience and strength of the amaXhosa in the Wars of Dispossession. Thus, he viewed the commissioning of a statue commemorating Nkosi Maqoma as an opportunity to commemorate nineteenth century anti-colonial resistance in the town centre of Qonce – the intended location.[111]

[111] Interview with Thando Mama, University of Fort Hare. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 15 June 2022.

Figure 13 Queen Victoria Statue in Qonce town centre. Photograph taken by Giles Batiss, circa 2016.

Both Thando Mama and Mziwoxolo Makalima expressed how the statue was to act as a counter-monument and stand opposite a bronze statue of Queen Victoria in the town centre of Qonce (see Figure 13).[112] The statue of Queen Victoria was erected in 1897 as a celebration of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee – an event settler colonists throughout the British empire celebrated to demonstrate their allegiance and reverence for the monarch.[113]

[112]Interview with Thando Mama, University of Fort Hare. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 15 June 2022; Interview with Mziwoxolo Makalima, Cape Town. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 14 July 2022
[113]Plunkett, John. "Of death and dominion: Queen Victoria and the cult of colonial loyalty." In *Ruler Personality Cults from Empires to Nation-States and Beyond*, pp. 79-103. Routledge, 2020.

The Zemk'iinkomo project commissioned Mziwoxolo Makalima to construct the statue of Nkosi Maqoma in 2014. Makalima was scouted by Churchill Madikida, a member of the Zemk'iinkomo project, who he encountered at Walter Sisulu University in East London.[114] Makalima expressed how he was unfamiliar with the history of Nkosi Maqoma when he was commissioned for the project. He justified his unfamiliarity by stating that he had grown up in the former Transkei, and thus felt removed from a history he associated more with the Ciskei but saw the commission as an opportunity to garner exposure for his career as a local sculptor.[115]

For the construction of the statue, Makalima stated the primary visual reference he used was the portrait of Nkosi Maqoma captured by Gustav Fritsch seen in Figure 5.[116] Makalima's brief was to represent Nkosi Maqoma in a manner that corresponded with the objectives of the Zemk'iinkomo project to depict an indigenous anti-colonial figurehead. This, according to Makalima, led to the representation of Nkosi Maqoma that we see in Figures 14 and 15.

[114] Interview with Mziwoxolo Makalima, Cape Town. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 14 July 2022.
[115] Interview with Mziwoxolo Makalima, Cape Town. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 14 July 2022.
[116] The use of Gustav Fritsch's portrait as the primary visual to depict Nkosi Maqoma by the Mziwoxolo Makalima illustrates how the connotations/perceptions of the image has shifted following its capture.

Figure 14 Maqoma captured in battle stance, standing on Ntaba kaNdoda. Photograph taken by Kineiloe Matose, 15 June 2022.

Figure 15 Side profile of Nkosi Maqoma concrete statue. Photograph taken by Kineiloe Matose, 15 June

Given how the statue was to confront that of Queen Victoria in Qonce, the rendition of Nkosi Maqoma constructed by Makalima in a battle stance was intended to showcase a visual confrontation between the two royal figures that would suggest a reckoning of Qonce's colonial past within its central square. A battle ready Maqoma, juxtaposed to a standing Queen Victoria, would have portrayed a silent, yet pungent visual discourse of how a Xhosa

royal figure of the nineteenth century stood against the imposition of the British empire in the region.

Through this confrontation, the statue would function as a counter-monument. According to James E. Young, counter-monuments are constructed to highlight an absence of memory represented through traditional state-commissioned memorials and monuments to develop more inclusive urban spaces.[117] In contemporary post-apartheid South Africa, the memorials and monuments commissioned by the governing African National Congress were constructed as counter-monuments that could provide some form of symbolic redress through the public presentation of 'struggle' figureheads and attempt to redress the dominance of the inherited colonial-apartheid visual-objects in South Africa's visual-memorial landscape.[118] This, to me, informed the visual form of Nkosi Maqoma that we are presented with as the statue's confrontational posture does not shy away from displaying the nineteenth century figure as one of a warrior opposing colonialism.

The statue itself is an interesting composition in that the representation of Nkosi Maqoma is in concrete. In talking to Makalima, I was made aware of how his sculptures, which have been entered in numerous art competitions in the country, were centred on the use of concrete. Given how concrete is a composite made from earth-based materials, the presentation of Nkosi Maqoma in this material portrays a connection to the earth – reinforcing the idea of a son of the soil standing against the bronze form of an imperial monarch. Additionally, Makalima claimed to have been paid approximately R60 000 to

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[117] Young, James E. "The counter-monument: memory against itself in Germany today." *Critical inquiry* 18, no. 2 (1992): pp. 267-296; Strakosch, Elizabeth. "Counter-monuments and nation-building in Australia." *Peace Review* 22, no. 3 (2010): pp. 268-275.

[118] For more on symbolic redress in South Africa during the 2000s, see Naidu, Ereshnee. "Symbolic Reparations: A fractured opportunity. "*Braamfontein: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation* (2004): pp.1-20; Hamber, Brandon, and Richard A. Wilson. "Symbolic closure through memory, reparation and revenge in post-conflict societies." *Journal of Human Rights* 1, no. 1 (2002): pp. 35-53.

construct the concrete statue of Nkosi Maqoma.[119] The cost of the statue was interesting to me as it dwarfed the cost of the Long March to Freedom Exhibition bronze Nkosi Maqoma statue which cost approximately R950 000 in 2016.[120] The cost of the concrete statue illustrated how the Zemk'iinkomo project had limited access to funding from the provincial government compared to the state funds directed to the Maqoma Legacy Management Trust's memorialisation endeavours on Ntaba kaNdoda which we see further on.

Notably, the statue in Figure 14 depicts the elderly Nkosi Maqoma and given the reference material used; we can see it was an attempt to achieve an accurate likeness based on Fritsch's photograph. This photograph was also used on the headstone of Maqoma's grave, showing how this image of an elderly Nkosi Maqoma has been accepted by heritage practitioners seeking to commemorate him. The ethnographic nature of the portrait taken over a century and a half ago has shifted in its meaning, or at the very least, is being appropriated by heritage practitioners as a suitable representation of an ancestor – an elderly figure now in combat.

Makalima's portrayal of the elderly Nkosi Maqoma wields the traditional weapons of an assegai and knobkerrie with a blanket shield draped over his arm. I found this interesting as Nkosi Maqoma utilised both traditional weaponry as well as firearms, confiscated or purchased from Europeans and Cape Mounted Rifle patrols in his campaigns against settler-colonists.[121] Yet, Makalima's statue of Nkosi Maqoma does not carry any representation of firearms or suggest the potential usage of such weaponry. This suggests an appeal to tradition - representing him bearing traditional arms – especially when we remember that the statue

[119] Interview with Mziwoxolo Makalima, Cape Town. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 15 July 2022.
[120] Interview with Sarah Haines, Long March to Freedom, Century City. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 02 August 2022
[121] Laband, *The land wars*, p. 180

was meant to counter that of Queen Victoria. This raised my curiosity as to why, then, the statue of Nkosi Maqoma was erected on Ntaba kaNdoda.

Nkosi Maqoma and Ntaba kaNdoda

When I questioned Thando Mama on the placement of the Nkosi Maqoma statue on Ntaba kaNdoda, he mentioned how the Zemk'iinkomo project attempted to gain permission from the Buffalo City Municipality to erect the statue in Qonce throughout 2014 but was rejected.[122] This meant the statue remained in a storage facility in Qonce after completion in mid-2014. Both Mama and Makalima claimed the statue was moved to Ntaba kaNdoda by the Maqoma Legacy Management Trust in 2015. Mama expressed how he was informed by a member of the Eastern Cape Heritage Resource Agency that descendants of Nkosi Maqoma were involved in the statue's removal whilst Makalima claimed to have only noticed the statue's placement on the mountain through online photographs.[123] This meant that I had to travel to the mountain site of Ntaba kaNdoda to view the statue but I was fortunate to have Thando Mama offer to take me there and provide his experiences in studying the site for his own Master's dissertation years prior.

My excursion to Ntaba kaNdoda benefitted immensely from Mama's presence as he provided context of Ntaba kaNdoda's meaning following the collapse of the Ciskei and the integration of the former 'homelands' into the Eastern Cape. He informed me how interviews he conducted with residents of the former Ciskei indicated that the National Monument to the Republic seen in Figures 10 and 11 became a symbol of repression and complicated

[122] Interview with Thando Mama, University of Fort Hare. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 15 June 2022.
[123] Interview with Thando Mama, University of Fort Hare. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 15 June 2022; Interview with Mziwoxolo Makalima, Cape Town. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose 15 July 2022.

memories to local resident communities.[124] This sentiment was echoed by Mazibuko Jara, who I interviewed a few days after Mama, and who informed me that his NGO Ntinga Ntaba kaNdoda conducted a ritual cleansing ceremony with the Eastern Cape Department of Arts and Culture in 2011 to acknowledge the mountain's prior history as part of the Ciskei.[125] When I got to see the statue, one of the features that struck me was the plinth upon which Nkosi Maqoma stands. This plinth (see Figure 12) previously held Sebe's statue until it was torn down during the 1990 Ciskei coup.[126] To see the statue of Nkosi Maqoma on the plinth of the former Ciskei ruler was provoking as I assumed it was an attempt to assert the memory of Nkosi Maqoma over the mountain. However, it had less to do with the preservation of memory and more to do with the assertion of one descendant's status as an inkosi in the region under the guise of heritage.

Prior to my visitation to Ntaba kaNdoda, I looked at images of the concrete statue online to familiarise myself with the monument to form the base of my questions (see Figures 16 to 18). The addition of the ingcawe to the statue, which is a cloth blanket typically worn at significant events at family meetings or gatherings of elders, made me curious as to who was making the effort to alter the statue and if there was any added visual meaning to the gesture.[127] I asked Makalima if he was aware of the addition, to which he replied that he understood the symbolism of the garment but was not aware of the intentions behind its placement

[124] To gain more on his perspective, I would suggest his article Mama, Thando. "Reciting Performative Memories: Spectral Photography at the Ntaba kaNdoda Monument and Mountain." *de arte* 56, no. 1 (2021): pp. 46-70.
[125] Interview with Mazibuko Jara, Lower Rabula District, Keiskammahoek. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 17 June 2022
[126] Marshcall, *Landscape of Memory*, pp. 139-140
[127] Interview with Mazibuko Jara, Lower Rabula District, Keiskammahoek. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 17 June 2022

Figure 16 Nkosi Maqoma statue in 2017. Photograph taken by Michael Pinyana, circa 2017.[128]

[128] Feni, Lulamile. "Brave Maqoma's legacy looms large." September 10, 2018. Accessed May 21, 2024.

Figure 17 Nkosi Maqoma statue in 2019. Photograph taken by Thembela Ndlumbini, circa 2019.[129]

[129] Ndlumbini, Thembela. "Maqoma grave unveiled." GO! & Express. February 7, 2019. Accessed May 21, 2024. https://www.goexpress.co.za/2019/02/07/maqoma-grave-unveiled/.

Figure 18 Nkosi Maqoma statue in 2021. Photography taken by Jacob Prinsloo, circa 2021.[130]

I posed the same question to Mazibuko Jara, who believed the ingcawe was placed there by the locals of Keiskammahoek as an act of covering an elder they saw standing on the mountain.[131] Jara suggested that by draping the statue with the ingcawe, it could be a critique by local communities in the Amahlathi Municipal District, of the Maqoma Legacy Management Trust who left the statue of a half-naked old man exposed to the elements on Ntaba kaNdoda's summit.[132] Alternatively, it could have been their intention to illustrate their own claim to land against the Maqoma Legacy Management Trust and Luvuyo Maqoma, who have made continuous efforts to highlight the amaRharhabe's claim to land. The

[130] Prinsloo, Jacob. "Ntaba kaNdoda." Atlas Obscura. March 9, 2021. Accessed March 5, 2024. https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/ntaba-ka-ndoda.
[131] Interview with Mazibuko Jara, Lower Rabula District, Keiskammahoek. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 17 June 2022
[132] Interview with Mazibuko Jara, Lower Rabula District, Keiskammahoek. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 17 June 2022.

memorialisation of Nkosi Maqoma on Ntaba kaNdoda is part of a larger effort by traditional leaders showcasing their influence across the Eastern Cape and this is evident through The Maqoma Legacy Trust.

Thiyane Duda and Janine Ubnik have studied how traditional amaXhosa leaders in the Eastern Cape have attempted to impose their authority over various lands to enhance their authority over amaMfengu communities that have their own traditional authority structures.[133] Under the leadership of Luvuyo Maqoma, the Maqoma Legacy Management Trust appears to be attempting to impose its authority over the surrounding communities of the Amahlathi Municipal District through the memorialisation of the nineteenth century figurehead on Ntaba kaNdoda – a site which the Eastern Cape government is hoping to transform into a heritage-tourism site.[134]

After a brief virtual meeting with both the personal assistant to Luvuyo Maqoma and the supposed inkosi himself, who claimed to be a descendant of Tini Maqoma, I was unable to get any answers from the Maqoma Legacy Management Trust.[135] All that was claimed by the Maqoma Legacy Trust was that they moved the concrete statue to Ntaba kaNdoda in 2015 as part of their effort to commemorate their ancestor. Luvuyo Maqoma presents a layer of complexity in understanding the memorialisation process that has occurred. He claims to be inkosi of the Amahlathi (and for a period was recognised as such by the Eastern Cape Government) but faced continuous challenges from members of the Amahlathi community contesting this claim. This led to him being stripped of his status as inkosi and the

[133] Ubink, Janine, and Thiyane Duda. "Traditional authority in South Africa: Reconstruction and resistance in the Eastern Cape." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 47, no. 2 (2021): pp. 191-193

[134] https://ivanyayethu.org/blog/chapter-2-the-legend/; Premier of the Eastern Cape, Eastern Cape Vision 2030

[135] I attempted to contact the Maqoma Legacy Trust multiple times following our initial engagement with them, but they stopped responding to my communication.

accompanying state allowance in 2018, something I only became aware of following my interview with the Trust. These contestations provide a crucial backdrop for the removal of the statue to Ntaba kaNdoda by the Maqoma Legacy Management Trust.

Contested legacy: Luvuyo Maqoma and Ciskei inheritance in Eastern Cape.

The case of Luvuyo Maqoma's chieftaincy being a contestable subject in contemporary rural Eastern Cape is a byproduct of Lennox Sebe's Ciskei regime. From 1973 to 1982, Sebe utilised the history of the nineteenth century's Wars of Dispossession to consolidate power in the Ciskei legislature. He mobilised sentiments of the rivalry between the amaMfengu and the amaXhosa – a rivalry stemming from the amaXhosa viewing their dispossession as a result of the amaMfengu collaboration with British forces and subsequently being rewarded with land.[136]

The Ciskeian political sphere was largely divided between the Ciskei National Party, an amaMfengu backed party, and Sebe's Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) which was supported by the amaXhosa.[137] Sebe's CNIP won the general election in 1973 and immediately set about consolidating its position through the installation of iinkosi to various communities in the Ciskei in order to reduce the political authority of Mfengu communities. This, according to Duda and Ubink, impeded the hierarchical structure of Mfengu communities as these communities historically elected their own headmen and, unlike the amaXhosa, never had traditional leaders who were born into the position.[138] Sebe's installation of Rharhabe traditional leaders in Mfengu settlements in the Ciskei meant these

[136] Ubink and Duda, *Traditional authority in South Africa*, p. 197
[137] Ubink and Duda, *Traditional authority in South Africa*, p. 195
[138] *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197

communities would lose their political authority since Sebe's iinkosi would only be accountable to the government.[139] These installed iinkosi were well remunerated, but had no real legitimacy in these communities as they were essentially puppets to the directives of Sebe and the government.[140]

One of the iinkosi Sebe installed was Nontsapho (Nonesi) Maqoma, who was made the traditional leader of the Amahlathi community, which was a Mfengu settlement. Her installation as an inkosi in a community that upheld communal decision making was unpopular amongst residents.[141] These sentiments were validated to me by an informant from the Amahlathi, recommended by Thiyane Duda, who explained how Nonesi Maqoma's appointment as a traditional leader undermined the community's decision-making ability by forcing them to have their issues communicated through an undemocratically installed figure.

My informant Xolani Mbandazayo also enlightened me on how Nonesi Maqoma's origins were understood to be fabricated by Sebe to justify her installation as the community's tribal authority.[142] Sebe's installation of inkosi in the Ciskei witnessed the emergence of various chiefdoms from the amaRharhabe. Mbandazayo, as well as Ubink and Duda, claimed that the Amahlathi community leaders claimed Nonesi as a product of the apartheid government's forced removal policies as she was a resident of Mdantsane in East London and thus had no prior connection with the rural community.[143] Nonesi's presence as

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[139] *Ibid.*, p. 198
[140] *Ibid.*, p. 198
[141] *Ibid*, pp.198-199
[142] Xolani Mbandazyo is an informant recommended to me by Thiyane Duda. He is a trusted member of the Amahlathi community who was a witness to the court dispute between the Amahlathi Community Council and Luvuyo Maqoma.
[143] Ubink and Duda, *Traditional authority in South Africa*, pp. 199-200

inkosi, thus, was largely ineffective and her authority as any form of traditional leader faded following the Ciskeian coup in 1990.

This forms the basis of the complications with Luvuyo Maqoma, Nontsapho Maqoma's son, who began to assert his claim to the chieftaincy of the Amahlathi in 2004. This claim was officially recognised by the Eastern Cape government in 2006. Luvuyo Maqoma was able to gain this recognition due to the passing of the Eastern Cape Traditional Leadership and Governance Act in 2005. This legislation provided an opportunity to reassert himself as a traditional authority figure over the Amahlathi, which had reverted back to communal decision-making and communal-elected representatives after 1990 until Luvuyo's resurfacing.[144]

Luvuyo Maqoma's recognition as an inkosi was contentious to the Amahlathi communities as they viewed his claims of chieftaincy as potentially an attempt to assert control over their land and usurp government resources for his own benefit when they could go toward communal development.[145] These concerns were expressed by my Amahlathi informant, as well as Mazibuko Jara, who claimed Luvuyo Maqoma sought to make infrastructural developments in the Amahlathi as well as Keiskammahoek region and laying claim to these lands by invoking how the amaRharhabe had settled in the region in the period of Kumkani Ngqika and Nkosi Maqoma prior to their displacement in 1829.[146]

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[144] Adrienne Carlisle. "Amahlathi villagers in court challenge to chief's authority". *The Herald (South Africa).* June 27 2017 Tuesday. https://advance-lexis-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5NWJ-VYH1-JB2D-50BK-00000-00&context=1516831; Ubink and Duda, *Traditional authority in South Africa*, p. 199

[145] Ubink and Duda, *Traditional authority in South Africa*, p. 199

[146] Ubink and Duda, *Traditional authority in South Africa*, p. 200; Interview with Mazibuko Jara, Lower Rabula District, Keiskammahoek. Conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 17 June 2022

In 2013, Amahlathi residents established the Amahlathi Crisis Committee (ACC), with the aid of scholar Jeffrey Peires and the University of Cape Town's Land and Resources Centre, to contest Luvuyo Maqoma's status as inkosi of the Amahlathi. They did so by taking him to the Eastern Cape Committee on Traditional Leadership and Dispute to highlight to the provincial legislature how they, since 1850, have never had a hereditary customary leader and the presence of one in the community was through Sebe's installation of illegitimate traditional leaders.[147] Furthermore, the ACC argued that Luvuyo Maqoma's claim to be a hereditary leader of the Amahlathi was not possible as neither his mother nor any paternal relative could be traced to the line of Tini Maqoma whose lineage he claims to descend from.[148]

However, even with this evidence, then provincial Premier Noxolo Kivet reaffirmed Luvuyo's status as inkosi. They rejected the ACC's case by claiming that the Mfengu community had never 'defeated' the amaRharhabe to occupy the land in the nineteenth century. Thus, their settlement in the land made them subjects to the customary leadership structure of the amaXhosa.[149] This claim by the then Eastern Cape Premier was based on a belief of settlement being linear. It is a claim that disregards how land settlement in the Eastern Cape has been a fluid ebb and flow of various communities and that land occupancy should be tied to previous occupants as opposed to understanding how land settlement in the Eastern Cape, and broadly South Africa, has been an ebb and flow of settlements and thus can never truly be claimed by one ethnic group.

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[147] Ubink and Duda, *Traditional authority in South Africa*, pp. 200-201
[148] Ubink and Duda, *Traditional authority in South Africa*, p. 200
[149] Ubink and Duda, *Traditional authority in South Africa*, p. 201

Furthermore, the claim made by former Premier Kivet that the Rharhabe had not been defeated by the Mfengu was proven to be a case of revisionism that ignored the loss of the amaXhosa in the 1850-53 War of Mlanjeni and 1856-57 cattle-killing which effectively saw the land settled by the Rharhabe transferred to the amaMfengu by the British colonial government.[150] Thus, the ACC appealed Noxolo Kivet's judgement in 2017 through the Bhisho High Court. The Bhisho High Court upheld the ACC's appeal and revoked Luvuyo Maqoma's status as the Amahlathi's senior traditional leader in 2018.[151] However, even though Luvuyo Maqoma lost his status and his state salary as a traditional leader, I was told by my informant that he has threatened to file a rescission application to the Bhisho High Court to overturn the decision since 2019, but has not done so as he was able to get his state salary reinstated in November 2023.[152]

On the 4th of February 2024, I contacted the Maqoma Legacy Management Trust to probe their intentions on the movement of Nkosi Maqoma's statue to Ntaba kaNdoda and the status of Luvuyo Maqoma as a senior traditional leader in the region. The Maqoma Legacy Management Trust claimed their activity on Ntaba kaNdoda was an engagement in the heritage space to validate their claim to land that 'belonged' to their ancestors and an opportunity to encourage heritage-tourism that would generate economic development in the rural communities in the Amahlathi Municipal District.

The amaRharhabe assertion that the land belonged to them aligns with the revisionist view of ex-premier Noxolo Kivet in 2013 and 2016. This adheres to a notion Anne Mager

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[150] Ubink and Duda, *Traditional authority in South Africa*, pp. 201-202

[151] Ubink and Duda, *Traditional authority in South Africa*, p. 201; Adrienne Carlisle. "Legitimacy of chief a court issue". *Daily Dispatch (South Africa).* June 27, 2017, Tuesday.

[152] I attempted to search through Government Gazettes and various legal and newspaper databases to verify my informants claim. Unfortunately, I was unable to find any source materials which could confirm or deny Luvuyo Maqoma's salary being reinstated.

raised of the complexities of land ownership and land dispossession being misconstrued to enable traditional leaders to claim rural land through opportunistic government institutions.[153] But before probing Luvuyo Maqoma further, his headman demanded that I become the historian who would construct a biographical account of the inkosi. When they realised that I was evading their request, and attempted to redirect the conversation, our meeting was cut-short. I could only assume, being cognisant of the Bhisho High Court decision, the desire to have a historian write his biography was to potentially counter the Bhisho High Court's ruling which stripped him of senior traditional leadership in 2018.

Perfect symbiosis: ANC appropriation of Nkosi Maqoma

As alluded to above, the ANC government of the Eastern Cape worked symbiotically with the senior traditional leaders of the rural Eastern Cape. This symbiotic relationship is designed to ensure that senior traditional leaders gain dominion over rural communities in similar fashion to the Ciskei-era, with support from the provincial legislature in return for the ANC receiving their electoral support. This is why Luvuyo Maqoma was able to continue with the memorialisation efforts on Ntaba kaNdoda in conjunction with the provincial government.

His claim of Nkosi Maqoma's memory being a potential economic driver, aligns with the Eastern Cape government's own attempts to encourage heritage tourism in the province.[154] This connects the ambition of the Trust with the Eastern Cape government's aim of encouraging social cohesion through heritage-tourism endeavours like the 'Home of

[153] Mager, Anne K. and Phiko Jeffrey Velelo. 2018. *The House of Tshatshu. Power, Politics and Chiefs North-West of the Great Kei River c. 1818–2018.* Cape Town: UCT Press., pp. 10-12
[154]Private communications with Maqoma Legacy Trust, February 2024

Legends' campaign. This is evident from Eastern Cape Premier Oscar Mabuyane's State of the Province Address of 2023, where he expressed how the memorialisation of Nkosi Maqoma on Ntaba kaNdoda was a significant task for the development of social cohesion of rural communities through the memorialisation of resistance figures and their role in the historical narrative in the Eastern Cape.[155] The address by the Premier actively ignored, or was oblivious to, how the statue and gravesite of Nkosi Maqoma have been a key feature for oppressive and opportunistic traditional leadership contests. This makes the desire for 'cohesion' slightly more sinister given the undercurrent of the active contests occurring on Ntaba kaNdoda.

The ANC government was able to co-opt the efforts of Luvuyo Maqoma and the Maqoma Legacy Management Trust. The statue and its plinth were refurbished in 2022 and a plaque was installed on the plinth. This was done to coincide with municipal by-elections and President Cyril Ramaphosa's visit to Ntaba kaNdoda in October 2022. Subsequently, Nkosi Maqoma's grave and his statue were designated as national heritage sites by the ANC provincial government in February 2024.[156]

[155]https://www.gov.za/news/speeches/premier-oscar-mabuyane-eastern-cape-state-province-address-24-feb-2023

[156] I was made aware of this designation during my interview with the Maqoma Legacy Management Trust on the 1st of February 2024. I was even sent a formal invitation email which illustrated how members of the Eastern Cape Heritage Resource Agency and Department of Sports, Arts and Culture would be in attendance of the designation ceremony. However, following the 14th of February 2024, I had not found any press report or government gazette that confirms this.

Figure 19 Facelifted Nkosi Maqoma statue now with information plaque. Photograph taken by Buntu Duku circa 2023[157]

It is interesting how the plaque on the plinth (Figure 14) is the only information-plaque on Nkosi Maqoma written in isiXhosa on Ntaba kaNdoda. On the other hand, the gravestone of Maqoma shown in Figure 7, as well as the information plaque in Figure 6 were written in English – which I understand as an effort to appeal to a tourist audience rather than local communities. What is also significant in the placement of the plaque on the plinth is

[157] Ntabeni, Mphuthumi. "Chapter 2: The Legend." *Ivanya Yethu*. December 11, 2023. Accessed February 23, 2024. https://ivanyayethu.org/blog/chapter-2-the-legend/.

how it highlights the presence of President Cyril Ramaphosa, and by extension the ANC, in the 'unveiling' of the revitalised memorial grounds – marking it as a 'new' moment for the memorialisation project.

The significance of President Cyril Ramaphosa's unveiling of the revitalised Maqoma memorial on Ntaba kaNdoda in October 2022 cannot be understated. As mentioned earlier, since 1994, the ANC government has used traditional leaders in the region to garner votes for each election cycle. Since taking office in February 2018, President Ramaphosa continued the efforts made by former President Jacob Zuma, a staunch traditionalist, in empowering traditional leaders of the Eastern Cape in their expressions of authority and their revisions of history.[158] In June 2021, President Ramaphosa made the legislative decision to recognise the amaRharhabe as a royal kingdom – a decision which overturned the 2008 Nhlapo Commission's report, which previously recognised the amaGcaleka House to be the principle monarch of the amaXhosa.[159] By overturning the Nhlapo Commission's report and recognising the amaRharhabe as a legal indigenous kingdom in South Africa, President Ramaphosa emboldened the position of the amaRharhabe in the rural lands of the former Ciskei.

It was the recognition of the amaRharhabe as a kingdom in 2021 and the later visitation of President Ramaphosa to Ntaba kaNdoda in October of 2022 that, I believe,

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[158] Ainslie, Andrew, and Thembela Kepe. "Understanding the resurgence of traditional authorities in post-apartheid South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, no. 1 (2016): pp. 22-24

[159] Reports for paramountcies (Nhlapo Commission), Determination on the position of the paramount chief of amaRharhabe, pp. 118-136 (2011); Dayimani, Malibongwe. 'Cyril Ramaphosa recognises amaRharhabe 'kingdom'', News24, 03 June 2021
For a background on the Nhlapo Commission origin and purpose, I would suggest reading Buthelezi, Mbongiseni and Skosana, Dineo. "The Salience of Chiefs in Post apartheid South Africa: Reflections on the Nhlapo Commission" In *The Politics of Custom: Chiefship, Capital, and the State in Contemporary Africa* edited by John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, 110-133. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018.

culminated in the official renaming of Fort Beaufort as KwaMaqoma in March 2023.[160] All these public heritage-based developments centred around revisions of the nineteenth century's Wars of Dispossession in the Amahlathi. These revisions are made visible to us through witnessing how the statue of Nkosi Maqoma is now linked to the interests of the ANC provincial government who, like Sebe, seeks to secure the political backing of traditional leaders. Such supposed leaders, like Luvuyo Maqoma, in turn seek to assert their authority over land through complex legacies of displacement for their own benefit.

Conclusion

The concrete statue of Nkosi Maqoma is an extremely layered visual object. Through this chapter, we have seen how the statue was intended to be a counter-monument to the bronze statue of Queen Victoria in Qonce. Had the concrete statue been erected in the town square of Qonce as intended, I believe it would have been a radical monument speaking against the ideals represented by a bronze colonial relic. However, the statue gained a new conservative meaning in 2015 through its relocation to Ntaba kaNdoda by the Maqoma Legacy Management Trust, making it a layered object that confirms the legacies of the Ciskei, apartheid-era forced removals, and the nineteenth century Wars of Dispossession.

The movement of the statue to the summit of Ntaba kaNdoda, seemingly with the tacit approval of the Eastern Cape provincial government, meant that it was forced into the

[160] Sithandiwe Velaphi, Renaming of Fort Beaufort to KwaMaqoma welcomed, Daily Dispatch, 18 March 2023. The processes of renaming would have most likely begun prior to President Ramaphosa's visitation to Ntaba kaNdoda in October 2022. The name changes fall in line with the post-apartheid toponymy, the study of place names, whereby name changes have transpired in all nine provinces to reflect indigenous experiences that were overshadowed by colonial intrusion. For more on this topic, I would suggest Ndletyana, Mcebisi. "Changing place names in post-apartheid South Africa: Accounting for the unevenness." *Social Dynamics* 38, no. 1 (2012): pp. 87-103.

complex discourse of traditional leadership, the authority of chieftaincy and claims of succession by Luvuyo Maqoma and his organisation. The fact that the statue received an audience with the President illustrates how it has now become a marker of the ANC national and provincial government's continued messy, yet seemingly symbiotic, relationship with traditional leaders and illustrates how the government will continue to support opportunistic traditional leaders in co-opting nineteenth century resistance memory for their own political gain.

Rather than acting as a counter-memorial to the colonial cultural legacy of Qonce, it instead highlights the difficulties of disentangling the colonial past from contemporary politics. The current ANC government revitalises the colonial past through their support of divisive traditional leadership. The following chapter will analyse the ANC government's attempts to appropriate Southern African resistance memory through Dali Tambo's Long March to Freedom Exhibition situated in Cape Town's Century City.

Chapter 4: The bronzed leopard of Fordyce marches on

Carrying on the discussion on the memorialisation of Nkosi Maqoma in statuary, we reach our final location, the bronzes of the Long March to Freedom Exhibition. The Long March to Freedom (LMTF) is a heritage-tourism project that was the brainchild of Dali Tambo. It consists of more than one hundred bronze statues portraying individuals who participated in various anti-colonial and anti-apartheid movements.[161] The Exhibition was launched in Groenkloof Nature Reserve near Tshwane in September 2015, before being moved to Maropeng near the Cradle of Humankind in 2018 and then relocating at the end of 2019 to its current location in Century City, Cape Town. The mobility of the Exhibition across various sites of leisure and consumption illustrates the desire of the creators of the LMTF to commodify the narrative of anti-colonial and anti-apartheid resistance while also producing a linear story that places the ANC as the successor of these significant figures.

[161] To note, the Exhibition claims to have 100 bronze statues, but this figure is inaccurate. There are 98 individuals cast in bronze, but the Exhibition includes the 5 bronzed animals in the procession to the claim having just over 100 statues.

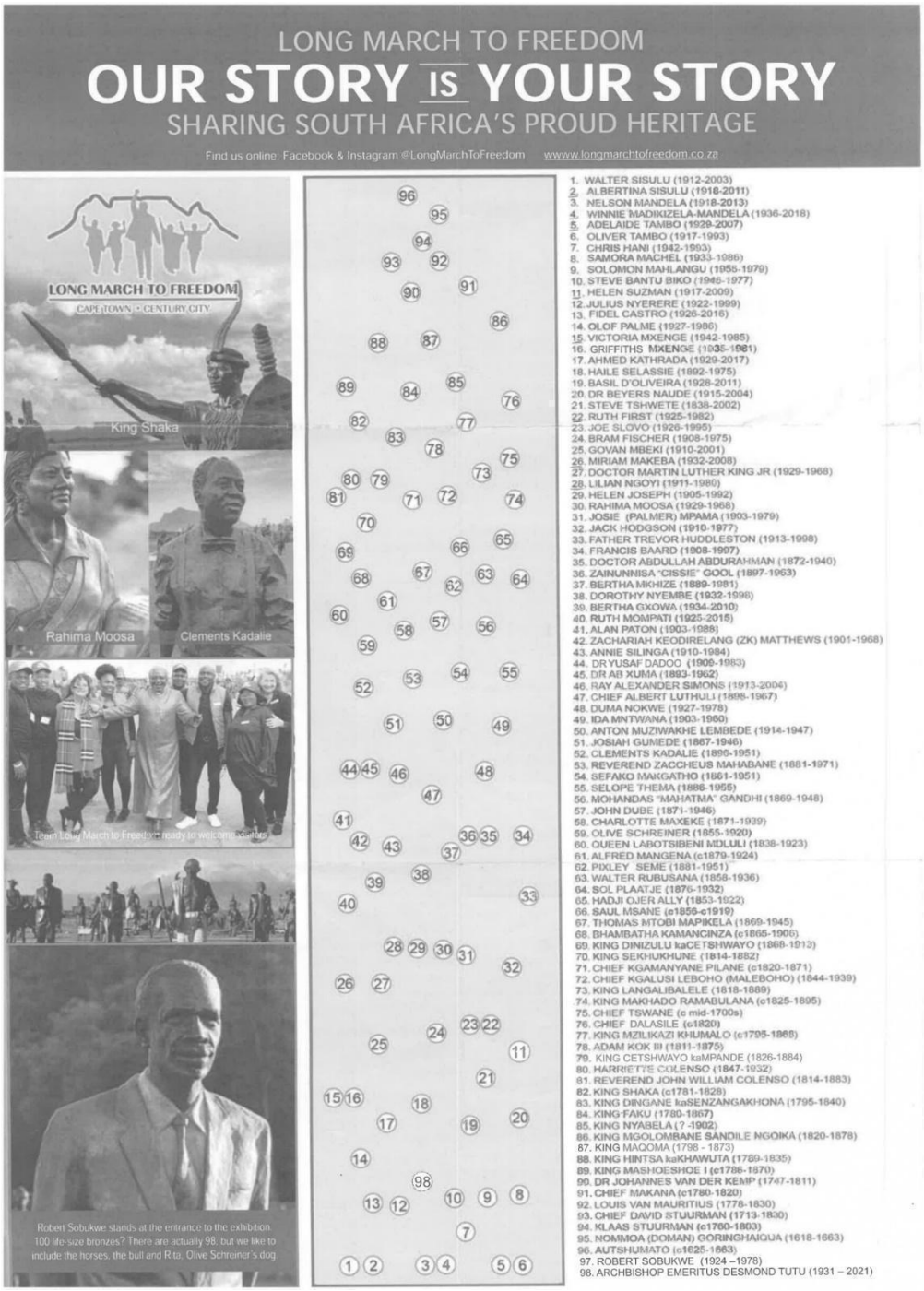

Figure 20 Long March to Freedom Exhibition layout map. Sourced from National Heritage Project Company.

Nkosi Maqoma is found at the back of the Exhibition, as statue 87. [162]

[162]This is how Nkosi Maqoma currently appeared in the Cape Town layout of the Exhibition as of the time of this research. There is a possibility of his statue being repositioned should more statues be added later.
Additionally, one can go on a virtual tour of the Long March to Freedom Exhibition's website: https://www.longmarchtofreedom.co.za/Home/StatuesNames.

Figure 21 iKumkani Hintsa kaKhawtu, Nkosi Maqoma and iKumkani Sandile mounted in-row within the Long March to Freedom, Century City. Taken by Kineiloe Matose, 06 June 2023.

Origins of the Long March to Freedom

The Long March to Freedom (LMTF) Exhibition was conceptualised in 2011 by Dali Tambo, media personality and son of ANC struggle stalwarts Oliver and Adelaide Tambo. It has been noted in news media publications how Dali Tambo was unimpressed with the lack of public memorials dedicated to his father Oliver Tambo for the role he played in the liberation movement.[163] After visiting his late-father's grave, he subsequently claimed to have experienced a vision in his dreams whereby his father instructed him that if he were to

[163] Oliver Reginald Tambo served as the President of the African National Congress from 1967 to 1991 – which made him the longest serving head of the former liberation party - and as a result lived in exile from 1960-1990. Oliver Tambo was an astute lawyer who played an instrumental role in establishing the 1958 Freedom Charter. In addition, Tambo was a key figure in organising international critique against the apartheid regime. For more on Oliver Tambo, see https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/oliver-tambo.

honour his memory, he should honour all those who contributed to the liberation movement. Thus, the call to action to 'honour them all' of the Exhibition came forth.

Between 2012 to 2013, Dali Tambo proposed the concept of a 400 bronze sculpture Exhibition, which would stretch for over a kilometre, honouring individuals who led resistance to colonialism and apartheid over a 350-year period to the African National Congress during their annual end-of-year conference in Mangaung in December 2012. There, he received support from then President Jacob Zuma and the ANC caucus. With the support of the ANC, Tambo presented the proposal to Parliament in October of 2013, where he again received unanimous support, including from opposition parties, for the potential economic benefits from a large-scale heritage-tourism project.[164] Parliament specifically approved the proposal for the heritage project on the basis that the Exhibition would be accompanied by an adjoining water-park (hailed as the 'largest African themed water-park') and a memorial garden of remembrance. It was hoped that the entirety of the Exhibition would provide jobs and additional foot-traffic to Groenkloof Nature Reserve – only five kilometres away from the Voortrekker Monument – and encourage the economic development of Tshwane.

According to Sarah Haines, the right hand of Dali Tambo's heritage enterprise, Tambo and Jacob Zuma had a close relationship which enabled the former to gain support for his heritage project.[165] So, not only did Tambo have the benefit of political clout through his

[164] Parliamentary Monitoring Group, Dali Tambo on National Heritage Monument Project; Department of Arts and Culture on its annual report for 2012/2013, with minister & deputy in attendance: PMG, October 15, 2013, https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/16534/; Interview with Sarah Haines, Long March to Freedom, Century City, conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 02 August 2022

[165] Interview with Sarah Haines, Long March to Freedom, Century City, conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 02 August 2022

status in public life and as the son of ANC stalwarts, he had the benefit of a personal relationship with the head of state which gave him access to resources not available to others.

However, the 'African themed waterpark' and garden of remembrance did not come to fruition after the Democratic Alliance (DA), the official opposition to the ANC, publicly denounced plans for its construction due to concerns over environmental damage to the surrounding ecosystem of Groenkloof Nature Reserve. In addition, news media reported the R700 million price-tag to construct the heritage-tourist display, which would have been paid from public funds as well as private-financing. This scrutiny was pertinent given the country's lack of social-economic transformation since 1994 and the growing misuse of state-finances in various sectors of government expenditure due to the brazenness of so-called 'tenderpreneurs'.[166] Even though the LMTF presented itself as an inclusive revision of South African historiography (through its depiction of various ethnic, religious, and ideological figures), there were still debates about the need for the Exhibition.[167] There have always been debates on whether the construction of new monuments is a priority when the country suffers chronic social and infrastructural failures that had not been addressed by iterations of ANC government that have made continuous claims of social rehabilitation following the 1994 elections.[168]

[166] The term tenderpreneur is a South African colloquialism used to describe businesspersons who make use of their political connections to secure contracts or funding that they would otherwise not have access to.
[167] Gamedze, Thuli. "Heritage For Sale: Bronze Casting and the Colonial Imagination." *ArtThrob*. November 20, 2015. https://artthrob.co.za/2015/11/20/heritage-for-sale-bronze-casting-and-the-colonial-imagination/.
[168] Marschall, Landscapes of Memory, pp. 206, 237

Figure 22 Minister of Arts and Culture Nathi Mthethwa, and Dali Tambo, admire the statue of Queen Labotsibeni Mdluli, in the Long March to Freedom Exhibition at Groenkloof Nature Reserve. Sourced from Independent Online. Picture by Masi Losi, 27 February 2016

Irrespective of the news media's criticism and intervention from the DA in halting the water-park construction, the LMTF ultimately opened to the public at Groenkloof Nature Reserve in September 2015. The former Minister of Arts and Culture Nathi Mthethwa, alongside Dali Tambo, unveiled 56 bronze statues (see Figure 22).[169] However, after its unveiling, the Exhibition did not last at its Groenkloof site. By the end of 2018, it was decided that the Exhibition would be relocated to The Cradle of Humankind in Maropeng, due to insufficient revenue generation [170]

Sarah Haines attributed part of the failure to generate revenue to the inability to construct the adjoining waterpark and other privatised recreational facilities. This hindered

[169]Moatshe, Rapula. "55 new struggle icon statues unveiled." IOL News, September 16, 2015: https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/55-new-struggle-icon-statues-unveiled-1917081

[170]Interview with Sarah Haines, Long March to Freedom Century City, Cape Town, conducted by Kineiloe Matose 14 July 2022

other potential revenue sources for the LMTF as profits from this enterprise would have been split between the management of Groenkloof Nature Reserve and the Exhibition's parent company. Additionally, the position of the LMTF within the Groenkloof site meant that the figures were relatively hidden to the public unless patrons actively sought out the bronzes.[171]

Thus, according to Sarah Haines, it was hoped that the move to The Cradle of Humankind, a paleoanthropological World Heritage Site, would enable the LMTF to generate a sustainable revenue stream while the Exhibition continued to expand the size of its procession.[172] However, the LMTF Exhibition only stayed at the heritage site for less than a year. By the end of 2019, it was decided that the bronze procession, which had swelled to 96 figures, would relocate once more. This time it would be placed next to Canal Walk (one of the largest malls in South Africa) in the Cape Town suburb of Century City.[173]

The March to Century City

In December of 2019, Maqoma and the bronze brigade completed the march from the ANC-governed province of Gauteng to the DA-governed Western Cape, where it resides in the suburb of Century City, in the popular tourist destination of Cape Town.[174] Century City, situated along the N1 highway, is a mixed-use megaproject developed in 1997 on former

[171]See, for example, https://2summers.net/2019/01/22/join-the-long-march-to-freedom-art-walk/

[172]Sarah Haines is the Project Manager of the Long March to Freedom Exhibition and right-hand to Dali Tambo's heritage enterprise.

[173]https://furtherafrica.com/2022/12/04/10-biggest-shopping-malls-in-south-africa/

[174]Jacobs, Kirsten, ed. 2019. Review of *Long March to Freedom Exhibit Launches in Cape Town*. Cape Town ETC. Habari Media. November 15, 2019. https://www.capetownetc.com/cape-town/long-march-to-freedom-exhibit-launches-in-cape-town/.; Linea Smidt, "The Long March to Freedom Statues Move to Century City," Rabie.co.za, October 17, 2019, https://www.rabie.co.za/the-long-march-to-freedom-statues-move-to-century-city/.

state-owned wetlands in the hope of encouraging local and international economic investment in post-apartheid Cape Town. [175]

The now defunct property developers Monex believed Century City could reproduce neo-liberal free-market economic prosperity that would trickle down to the neighbouring municipalities connected to the N1. In addition, they believed it would generate a climate of social integration and economic inclusivity of Cape Town residents and act as an example to foreign capital of a successful and lucrative opportunity to invest in the area.[176] Century City was thus designed to normalise consumption behaviours from the global marketplace and was an attempt to create a utopian imagining of what the post-apartheid Cape Town could become if it embraced Western urban market forces and Eurocentric architecture.[177] I believe this requires us to view Century City as a non-place – a term coined by French anthropologist Marc Augé to describe spaces that are designed to not foster a sense of community as their nature encourages individuals to diminish their identity and relation to social discourse.[178]

What makes this megaproject a non-place, is how (despite its claims of fostering social integration) its structure actively attempts to illustrate difference from the local context of Cape Town as a city of diverse cultural experiences formed through the city's evergreen legacy of settler-colonialism and forced population removals. As a non-place, it desires anonymous consumption whereby patrons purchase an escape from the realities faced in South Africa by indulging in a curated space of capitalistic modernity. With its 141 000 square metre mall, with endless retail stores and offerings of leisurely activities, Century City

[175]Kamalie, Mariam. "Urban Megaprojects: How they are justified and who they benefit. The case of Century City." Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 2020., pp. 1, 35

[176] Marks, Rafael, and Marco Bezzoli. "Palaces of desire: Century City, Cape Town and the ambiguities of development." In *Urban forum*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 27-29, 35. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2001.

[177] Marks, and Bezzoli, *Palaces of desire: Century City, Cape Town and the ambiguities of development*, pp. 30-32; Foucault, Michel, and Jay Miskowiec. "Of other spaces." *diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): pp. 22-27.

[178] Sharma, Sarah. "Baring life and lifestyle in the non-place." *Cultural studies* 23, no. 1 (2009): pp. 129-148.

is not focused on developing a sense of community as it prioritises the transactional exchanges between its labourers and consumers.[179] Should one amenity in Century City close down, another will take its place and the mixed-use suburb will continue to sustain itself through capital investors who see value in Century City's neo-liberal affinity to consumerist escapism. Century City's lack of historical identity and emphasis on the consumption of perceived modernity made it a suitable venue for the procession of bronzes. Nkosi Maqoma would thus return to Cape Town nearly a century and a half after his death on Robben Island, just fifteen kilometres away from Century City, and would now command the gaze of tourist audiences who find him at the back of the Exhibition.

It is necessary to underscore the movement of the LMTF across the country as this helps us think through how the memory of Nkosi Maqoma is engaged with in the Exhibition and more broadly. As Lisa Blee has explored through the mobility of commemorative statues of Massassoit, Chief of the Wampanoag Tribe of First Nation Americans in the United States, the statues either lost or gained meaning depending on the geographical contexts they traversed in the American visual-cultural landscape.[180]

When the statues of Massassoit relocated into non-places designed for consumerist impulses such as shopping malls, or heritage sites marketed for tourists to engage with local histories, the narrative surrounding Massassoit lost resonance with tourist audiences as it failed to leave any lasting impression on them as heritage consumers.[181] A similar process occurs with the bronze of Nkosi Maqoma who experienced mobility into geographic contexts

[179] Adeaga, Favour. "Top 20 biggest malls in South Africa you should visit in 2024." *Briefly.co.za*. February 2, 2023. Accessed April 27, 2024. https://briefly.co.za/27200-biggest-malls-south-africa.html.
[180]Lisa Blee, pp. 117, 126
[181]Blee, Lisa, and Jean M. O'Brien. *Monumental Mobility: The Memory Work of Massasoit*. UNC Press Books, 2019., pp. 126-128

far removed from the rural Eastern Cape explored in the previous chapters, where nineteenth century Xhosa colonial-resistance memory has more resonance. His continuous movement across the country illustrates how Nkosi Maqoma's bronze, much like in his own life experience, has no certainty that it will remain in Cape Town. An article in 2021 suggested that the LMTF may become an international Exhibition through the mediation of 'World Touring Exhibitions', a United Kingdom based organisation that facilitates the movement of various art and cultural Exhibitions.[182] In addition to this article, Haines expressed in our interview in 2022 the possibility of the LMTF being taken abroad in the hopes that the international exposure would lead to an increase in national interest and public investment in the heritage project.

The bronzed Leopard of Fordyce

The sculpture of Nkosi Maqoma stands as one of the most visually striking in the hundred-strong bronze statue Exhibition. Not only do we find him mounted on a white horse, but also positioned between two statues depicting amaGcaleka Paramount iKumkani Hintsa and amaRharhabe Paramount iKumkani Sandile, who are also mounted on horseback to create a row of three mounted royal chiefs. The presentation of Maqoma mounted on a white horse is visually striking as he is the only figure mounted on an animal that is distinguishable in the procession. No other animal in the procession of bronzes is painted or made to have its own visual differentiator which suggests a desire to have Nkosi Maqoma as an alluring figure that draws the attention of patrons to the back of the procession. What stood out when I first encountered Nkosi Maqoma in the LMTF was how his young, incredibly athletic, form

[182] Coates, Charlotte. "World Touring Exhibitions presents The Long March to Freedom." blooloop. July 15, 2021. Accessed June 18, 2024. https://blooloop.com/museum/news/world-touring-exhibitions-long-march-to-freedom/; "World Touring Exhibitions | Exhibitions For Hire | About Us." *World Touring Exhibitions | Exhibitions For Hire*. Accessed June 18, 2024. https://www.worldtouringexhibitions.com/about-us.

contrasted with the concrete statue on Ntaba kaNdoda of an elderly Nkosi Maqoma confronting the legacy of the Ciskei on Ntaba kaNdoda. Therefore, to understand how Nkosi Maqoma in the LMTF got his form, I interviewed the sculptor Suzanne Du Toit in June of 2022.

Figure 23 Side profile of a mounted Maqoma in the Long March to Freedom. Taken by Kineiloe Matose, Century City, 06 June 2023.

Suzanne Du Toit is a Pretoria born artist based in Knysna, Western Cape.[183] Du Toit's career has been primarily based around private and corporate commissions of sculptures and paintworks. Prior to her involvement in the LMTF, her commissioned sculptures primarily focused on the depiction of indigenous African wildlife and mythical creatures for establishments like the Swakopmund Casino in Namibia, Montecasino, the Sandton Towers in Johannesburg and private clientele who commission her works for their residences.[184] Many of Du Toit's prior works were therefore also created for non-places that encourage escapism through anonymous consumption.

After conducting my fieldwork in the Eastern Cape, I organised an interview with Du Toit at her private studio in Knysna, Western Cape. I was interested to find out how she secured the opportunity to participate in the heritage-tourism project and what brief she was given for the LMTF's rendition of Nkosi Maqoma. Her background in corporate and private commissions interested me as it suggested that she was outside of the heritage space and chose to not engage in politically charged representations. In our interview, she described herself as "rather apolitical" in her works and chooses to produce artworks that primarily focus on animals and nature aesthetics as they avoid topical discourses.[185] This, to me, was interesting and confusing as her construction of the statues of Nkosi Maqoma and iKumkani Hintsa for the LMTF Exhibition is inherently political.

Nevertheless, Du Toit revealed how she received the opportunity to participate as a sculptor in the heritage project through word of mouth. She expressed how veteran sculptors

[183]Suzanne Du Toit was born in Pretoria in 1954. She briefly art at the City of London Polytechnic between 1972-1973 before she finished a Fine Arts degree from the University of Pretoria in 1977.

[184]Interestingly, Du Toit expressed how some of her private clientele have included the Russian-businessman who infamously bought the Lichtenstein Castle in the suburb of Hout Bay in 2012. See "Spooky castle gets new owner." *News24*. September 22, 2012. Accessed March 28, 2023. https://www.news24.com/news24/spooky-castle-gets-new-owner-20150429.

[185]Interview with Suzanne Du Toit, Knysna, Western Cape, conducted by Kineiloe Matose. 22 June 2022

Zelda Stroud and Andre Prinsloo, who were recruited for the Exhibition and previously engaged in other heritage-based sculpture commissions, contacted her through a network of local professional artist-sculptors to participate in the LMTF and she gladly obliged.[186]

I was curious to find out from Du Toit what visual materials were used for her bronze depiction of Nkosi Maqoma to see the contrast of inspiration between her rendition and that of Mziwoxolo Makalima on Ntaba kaNdoda. Du Toit informed me that she received little-to-no visual archival material to work with when conceptualising her maquette for Exhibition. She mentioned how the relative lack of visual material she received on Nkosi Maqoma made her construction of the amaJingqi figure difficult.[187] This was understandable as Mziwoxolo Makalima also struggled to find visual materials other than the commonly used portrait of the elderly Nkosi Maqoma taken on his first stint on Robben Island by Gustav Fritsch.[188] Instead of feeling restricted by the limitation of the visual archive, Du Toit explained how she employed artistic freedom by taking inspiration for her interpretation of Nkosi Maqoma from literature written by Timothy Stapleton.[189]

What culminated was a desire to construct the bronze by interpreting Stapleton's biographical texts – the visual of a young, handsome man. Du Toit believed that the portrayal of a younger Nkosi Maqoma would be able to give off a sense of bravery, passion, strength, and pride in the figure that would attract viewers into learning more about him.[190] Thus, she deviated from the standard of portrait statuary by not using the portraits of Nkosi Maqoma

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[186]*Ibid.*

[187]Interview with Suzanne Du Toit, Knysna, Western Cape, conducted by Kineiloe Matose. 22 June 2022

[188]Interview with Suzanne Du Toit, Knysna, Western Cape, conducted by Kineiloe Matose. 22 June 2022; Interview with Mziwoxolo Makalima, Cape Town, conducted by Kineiloe Matose, 14 July 2022

[189]The updated Stapleton biography of Maqoma was mentioned as being the primary reading source she was given.

[190]Interview with Suzanne Du Toit, Knysna, Western Cape, conducted by Kineiloe Matose. 22 June 2022

which she recognised came at a particular moment of anguish. Rather, Du Toit chose to portray her interpretation of Nkosi Maqoma as an allegorical representation of specific ideals and values – namely self-sacrifice, strength and bravery.

Furthermore, her romanticised perception of Nkosi Maqoma is made apparent through the depiction of the figure mounted on a white horse. As mentioned above, Nkosi Maqoma is in a row of Xhosa royalty of the nineteenth century where all three men are mounted on horses. The mounted Xhosa chiefs on horses could potentially be read as the Exhibition's understanding of their social status and ranking. But the rationale behind the decision for Nkosi Maqoma's presentation on horseback was rather arbitrary. Du Toit explained how she was initially commissioned to construct the statue of iKumkani Hintsa and it was requested that he be on horseback, a task that may have been daunting to other artists but she relished it, given her specialisation in animal and mythical sculptures.[191] After hearing positive feedback from Dali Tambo on the construction of a mounted Hintsa, Du Toit recalled how Tambo had asked her to produce the sculpture of Maqoma with a specific criteria:

S: and, so, when he asked me to do the second one, he asked me if I would do Maqoma on his horse. This time, he made the specification. He said, uhm… "I want him to be sitting on a kickass horse!"

K: [laughing] amazing!

This recollection of her conversation with Dali Tambo informs us that there was no intention for there to be a row of mounted royal Xhosa figures. Rather, the striking visual was a serendipitous development for the Exhibition that was the direct result of Dali Tambo's

[191]Interview with Suzanne Du Toit, Knysna, Western Cape, conducted by Kineiloe Matose. 22 June 2022

desires having had a strong influence in the curated representation of figures in the Exhibition. It begs the question of how far removed from the memory of Xhosa warrior resistance Dali Tambo was in his attempt to memorialize this figure through an *epic* portrayal. It shows how there was a conscious appeal to a Eurocentric audience without making any visual gestures that portray a connection to Xhosa culture to illustrate to those familiar with Nkosi Maqoma that the representation they see carries some essence of his likeness.

In the Long March to Freedom Exhibition, Nkosi Maqoma is heavily armed for battle and is marching north. This representation of Maqoma, as seen in Figure 23, shows him wielding a knobkerrie in a combat position and a rifle, being the most common gun amongst other armed nineteenth century figures in the procession, slung across his back and a bandolier of ammunition across his chest. Aside from being heavily armed, which can be read as a visual suggestion of his engagement in the gruesome violence of combat along the colonial frontier, Nkosi Maqoma is shown wearing an indwe as well as a tooth necklace.[192] These function as the only cultural signifiers adorned on the amaJingqi founder's sculpture.

It was worthwhile for me to show Figures 14 and 23 to Mazibuko Jara so he could see the way in which Nkosi Maqoma was being portrayed in a large-scale heritage project. His response showed intrigue at the bronze statue and the depiction of a youthful figure, but he was primarily concerned about the lack of cultural symbols that would enable onlookers to understand the rank and status of Nkosi Maqoma. The symbols that Jara suggested were missing were a leopard skin kaross, which is recognised as the traditional garment worn by royal Xhosa men. This would have been placed over his shoulders and would function as a

[192] The indwe is a traditional headdress made from blue crane feathers worn by Xhosa warriors who have been recognised for their bravery.

cloak in times of cold in battle or serve as a shield. Additionally, he was curious as to why Nkosi Maqoma was not wearing a blue beaded crown, in a similar fashion to the concrete statue of Nkosi Maqoma at Ntaba kaNdoda, to reiterate his social and political status as he viewed the crane-headdress as primarily indicative of the status of warrior.

During our interview, Jara made an extremely sobering point about how we should refrain from narrowing the contributions of figures like Maqoma into the categories – such as the category of warrior – for the sake of making simplified historical revisions. This is further accentuated when we look at the narrative of the Exhibition through its time periods. The Exhibition begins with a narrative of armed resistance from the 1600s with Ashumato, and later transitions to figures armed only with literature in the late nineteenth century. Thus, Nkosi Maqoma is set in a section of armed warrior figures that are separated from the age of intellectual and civil society-based resistance figures portrayed further up in the Exhibition. What was clear to Jara and me from viewing the bronze depiction of a young, athletic, and commanding Maqoma was that it was not aiming to provide a perspective that encourages patrons to engage with the multiple facets of his life. Rather the LMTF rendition of Nkosi Maqoma, in line with its selective remembrance and ANC-bias, wants patrons to perceive the amaRharhabe royal figure as a linear predecessor to the ANC liberation front that ushered the nation to democracy in 1994.[193]

The last piece to the bronze statue is its accompanying info-plaque. The presence of the information-plaque next to Nkosi Maqoma and his companions in stride is meant to enable Exhibition patrons to ‘get to know’ the leader. The information-plaque being positioned next to the statue suggests an understanding from the LMTF management that

[193]Kim Miller, Commemorating Solomon Mahlangu, p. 127

figures like Nkosi Maqoma, who are relatively unknown to the general public, and international tourist audiences, require physical captions to provide Exhibition patrons assurance that the figure they see is Nkosi Maqoma.[194] The words inscribed on the plaque need to provide a written-image that compliments the visual object and also assists in locating how his narrative intersects with that of other memorialised individuals he stands amongst. What can also be seen on the information-plaque, in a font not as large as the summary of Maqoma, is the sculptor, the foundry where the bronze was finalised and the social media handles for the Exhibition – where visitors are encouraged to share their photographic experiences of walking through procession to attract potential visitors.[195]

[194] Ma, John. *Statues and cities: honorific portraits and civic identity in the Hellenistic world*. Oxford Studies in Ancient Cult, 2013., pp. 43, 45

[195] Fubah, M. A., and C. Ndinda. "Struggle heroes and heroines' statues and monuments in Tshwane, South Africa." (2020)., pp. 227-228

Figure 24 Information plaque next to the bronze of Maqoma, Long March to Freedom. Taken by Kineiloe Matose, Century City, 27 May 2022.

Making meaning of the wandering leopard

Nkosi Maqoma is not commemorated in the LMTF with the desire of communicating the difficult and unsuccessful efforts of indigenous leaders in the Eastern Cape's Wars of Dispossession. Rather, in the context of the Exhibition, it serves as a commodity first and a memorial second. Even if there was the pseudo-altruistic desire to commemorate Maqoma under the banner of 'honour them all', one cannot look at the structure of the Exhibition, its search for a permanent location and overt desire for tourist engagement without recognising that the effort to commemorate was secondary to the commodification of historical narratives.

What is clear from the movement of Nkosi Maqoma as part of the Exhibition was that the LMTF was unable to establish its linear narrative of anti-colonial and anti-apartheid resistance from its original locations. The lore of a shared liberation-resistance struggle that supposedly transcended generations and socio-ethnic backgrounds against white settler-colonialism from the 1600s to 1990s, may not have resonated with the publics of Groenkloof Nature Reserve and Maropeng in the way that it has seemingly survived in Cape Town's Century City. But what their movement could also suggest is how the LMTF is not focused on solely seeking local tourists. All the locations inhabited by the LMTF, to varying degrees, cater to international tourists who have the financial resources and time to travel to these locations to engage with the tourist-centric Exhibition. And of all the sites the LMTF has been, Cape Town provides it the best access to international tourists.

As the sculptor strived to create a bronze that could portray a figure of strength, resilience, and pride, it is possible to view Nkosi Maqoma's involvement in the Eastern Cape's Wars of Dispossession as a heroic tale of indigenous rebellion. Coupled with his status as one of the earliest political prisoners of Robben Island which attaches his legacy to some of the figures in the Exhibition who also served sentences on the penal island, the themes of his life enable the everyday person to be enamoured by his self-sacrifice. There is no opportunity for the bronze of Nkosi Maqoma to engage with the various tourist-spectators of Century City, and those of his previous posts in Groenkloof and Maropeng and provide them with a more nuanced account of the complexities he engaged with in his resistance to the British during the nineteenth century. Thus, in the confines of the Long March to Freedom Nkosi Maqoma is presented to be an attraction that can draw tourist attention to the Exhibition and a placeholder for the memory of indigenous resistance.

Conclusion: How do we honour legacy?

This thesis initially intended to analyse the two memorial statues of Nkosi Maqoma found on Ntaba kaNdoda and the Long March to Freedom Exhibition. As the introduction outlined, the objective was to conduct a comparative analysis of how the two statues engaged in heritage-tourism to generate the social cohesion desired by the post-1994 ANC government. However, as my research began to uncover the origins and purposes of each statue, it dawned upon me that there was more to these statues that needed to be addressed.

The memorialisation of Nkosi Maqoma over a period of fifty years illustrated to me how through three instances, the memory of the figurehead has been politicised for particular purposes under the umbrella of heritage. Heritage functions as a mechanism whereby Nkosi Maqoma has been used to construct a unified nation-state, to counter the settler-colonial memorial landscape, to bolster claims to traditional authority and to construct a teleological exposition of resistance to settler-colonialism. These projects do not differ from each other in their intentions and interpretations of Nkosi Maqoma as they have all constructed him as a state-maker and resistance leader.

Lennox Sebe and his mobilisation of Nkosi Maqoma

Lennox Sebe and the Ciskei represented the first instance of Nkosi Maqoma being mobilised within a 'westernised' notion of heritage that strives to form a homogenous state identity. This was evident through Sebe's recovery and burial of Nkosi Maqoma on Ntaba kaNdoda and the construction of a national monument at his gravesite. We established in Chapter 1, through the analysis of Timothy Stapleton's 1994 biography, how Nkosi Maqoma

was remembered within colonial and vernacular historiography of the amaRharhabe. This text illustrated how the former, comprised of settler-colonist perspectives, mobilised Maqoma as an antagonist to nineteenth century British 'liberal' expansion whilst the latter, through cultural practices of izibongo, as a heroic ancestor that fought to uphold traditional practices. We witnessed how Stapleton himself was sympathetic to the vernacular interpretation in his construction of Nkosi Maqoma's biography which, since its publication in 1994, has become the foundational contemporary reference.

As we witnessed in Chapter 2, Sebe secured his position in the Ciskeian government through the mobilisation of nineteenth century colonial-era rifts between the amaRharhabe and amaMfengu people settled in the former Ciskei. By aligning himself with the amaRharhabe, Sebe's government activated these colonial-era tensions to secure his position in the bantustan government before his attempt to construct a homogenous Ciskeian identity. With the Ciskei becoming an 'independent' bantustan in 1981 and the construction of the Ntaba kaNdoda National Monument to the Republic of Ciskei in the same year, Sebe made use of Ntaba kaNdoda and Nkosi Maqoma as the founding father of the Ciskeian national project.

However, outside of the physical memorialisation, Chapter 2 illustrated how Nkosi Maqoma was not the central focus for Sebe but an instrument for securing his political power. Following the burial of Nkosi Maqoma and the independence of the Ciskei, Sebe installed traditional leaders to consolidate his position. Some of these, such as Nontsapho Nonesi Maqoma were put forward as supposed descendants of Maqoma in an attempt to justify their newly created claims to power. This invention of traditional authorities was not challenged by South Africa's apartheid government, who themselves had a history of inventing traditional

leaders and supported the Ciskei's assertion of 'independence'. What came out of Sebe's usage of Maqoma ultimately resulted in a complicated inheritance for the post-1994 Eastern Cape, and other provinces across South Africa, that manifests in the dynamic between the democratic government and traditional authorities – a process that became visible through the contestation of Luvuyo Maqoma's leadership and his attempt to mobilise Maqoma's statue to highlight his supposed ancestral link to Maqoma.

The efforts of Luvuyo Maqoma on Ntaba kaNdoda being supported by the Eastern Cape's ANC provincial government have been shown to be one of the more intriguing insights from this thesis. There is no denying that the provincial ANC government's support of Luvuyo Maqoma continues the legacy of the Ciskei Bantustan's installation and propagation of pseudo traditional authorities. Such support emerging two decades into democratic South Africa is ironic as the institution of traditional authority is criticised for being undemocratic.[196]

The reinforcement of traditional authorities having political sway in the supposed development of tourism, and heritage-production, within the rural Eastern Cape perpetuates colonial-era modes of control by the state. With the Eastern Cape government collaborating with (or finding use for) Luvuyo Maqoma on Ntaba kaNdoda, they are ensuring they are able to expand or retain political control within the region through what they purport to be the preservation of cultural memory in which traditional leaders, such as Nkosi Maqoma, play a significant part.

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[196] Ntsebeza, Lungisile. *Democracy compromised: Chiefs and the politics of the land in South Africa*. Vol. 5. Brill, 2005.

Ntaba kaNdoda post-1994

The memorialisation of Nkosi Maqoma on Ntaba kaNdoda was, as stated by the provincial Premier in 2023, an effort to promote social cohesion for the nation state project of a 'liberated' South Africa. This attempt to develop social cohesion led to a concrete statue of Maqoma being commissioned in 2013 with the purpose of being a counter-monument in Qonce. However, the removal of the statue to Ntaba kaNdoda by Luvuyo Maqoma and his Maqoma Legacy Management Trust saw the statue instead being repurposed to act as a tool in local contestations over traditional leadership that has instead reopened old divisions fostered under colonial and apartheid rule, arguably hindering rather than promoting social cohesion.

But due to heritage being framed as a tool to promote social cohesion, it appears that the provincial government of the Eastern Cape outwardly feigned ignorance of the contested histories surrounding not only Ntaba kaNdoda as a site of memory but also the dynamic between the traditional authorities it collaborates with, and the local communities directly impacted by the projects of said traditional authorities.

The ANC government appropriated the memorialisation efforts by Luvuyo Maqoma after it seemingly discarded him. The ANC shoring up the concrete statue and the memorial grounds of Ntaba kaNdoda illustrate how the state, too, appropriates the history of resistance to appear as active in the development of the provincial heritage landscape without engaging directly in the nuanced, contested, politics of dispossession which are entrenched in the memorialised subjects. These politics made themselves apparent with President Ramaphosa's

visit to the mountaintop in December of 2022 and its supposed designation as a heritage site in February 2024 which were done in celebration of a forgotten hero.

Dali Tambo's Long March To Freedom

The Long March to Freedom Exhibition, like the memorialisation on Ntaba kaNdoda, was meant to be a heritage-tourism project committed to the development of social cohesion. Within the exhibition, Nkosi Maqoma is lost in the crowd, just another one of more than a hundred who did 'extraordinary' acts and so forms part of the heritage project's linear narrative of South Africa's journey to democracy from the 1600s to 1994. The Exhibition claimed to be a heritage project that would aid in the development of the South African economy through job creation and the generation of revenue through local and international tourism in its intended location at Tshwane's Groenkloof Nature Reserve.

As explained in Chapter 4, the Exhibition was unable to generate a profit in Tshwane and had to migrate to Cape Town's Century City to arguably have more direct access to tourist revenue. The Exhibition, with its nomadism, has the potential to relocate from Cape Town to another tourist centre in South Africa or even travel abroad should it be decided that its presence at Century City is no longer serving this purpose. The nomadism of the Exhibition also indicates how the heritage-project attempts to promote itself as an educational platform that informs audiences on the history of South Africa's struggle to democracy.

What is not, however, explicitly shown through the exhibition is how the narrative presented in the exhibition is curated by Dali Tambo. What is sidelined with every addition to the exhibition is how it spawned as a project whereby Dali Tambo could serve himself by constructing bronze statues of his late father and mother. All other representations of anti-

colonial and anti-apartheid figures in the Exhibition are merely justification for the direction of resources to Dali Tambo's heritage endeavour by the national ANC government which have supported the Exhibition since 2013. Furthermore, the Exhibition's reluctance to release annual visitor traffic figures thwarts any attempt to assess the economic impact of the heritage project. The lack of information on the Exhibition enables it to continue requesting and receiving resources from the state, and private sponsors, who want to benefit from pushing 'social cohesion' through the blatant commodification of Southern African historiography.

Broader implications of this research

The mobilisation of Nkosi Maqoma's memory by the ANC-led government as an unsung, or forgotten, heroic ancestor of the democratic South Africa is not irregular when we contextualise this with memorialisation campaigns in neighbouring countries. In my native country of Zimbabwe, similar mobilisations of liberation struggle, or chimurenga, memory has been utilised by the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) government. Since Zimbabwe achieved independence from white-minority rule in 1980, the ZANU-PF has attempted to construct its own heritage whereby it 'acknowledges' figures it recognises as heroes that could be attached to the new patriotic identity of Zimbabwe under the former liberation movement. Some critiques of the ZANU-PF government have highlighted how the individuals and historical memories invoked by the Zimbabwean-state have primarily centred on Shona experiences of anti-colonial resistance which has suppressed

the communal experiences of other liberation movements led by other ethnic-groups in the country.[197]

But what has stuck out from South Africa and Zimbabwe's use of heritage to promote 'social cohesion' in their post-colonial reality is how they both experience a generational crisis in their nation-building exercise. Both nation-states are governed by former liberation movements yet major state-funded heritage projects focus on a history removed from 20th century anti-colonial movements. Both 'liberation' governments have had to deal with 'born-free' generations who have come of age with no lived experience of the anti-colonial struggle. In both cases the so-called 'born-frees' have mobilised against the liberation movements' accommodations with settler colonialism, corrupt practices and a failure to achieve the societal transformation they promised during the struggle. As a result, both Zimbabwe and South Africa have experienced youth-led social movements critiquing the post-colonial government's reanimation of colonial governance tactics which has continued to perpetuate systemic discrimination of marginalised communities.

In response, both post-colonial governments have endeavoured to claim a teleological origin from the deep past unsullied in the memory of the born frees. These pasts, as I've shown through the commemoration of Nkosi Maqoma, can be malleable for the post-colonial governments to utilise for their engagement in state formation. For Nkosi Maqoma, it is interesting how he could be the father of the amaRharhabe for the Ciskei Bantustan project yet has now been mobilised by the ANC's South African project as a national ancestor.

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[197] For a more in-depth understanding of Zimbabwe's construction of heritage since 1980, I would strongly recommend the following literature Kriger, Norma. "From patriotic memories to 'patriotic history' in Zimbabwe, 1990–2005." *Third World Quarterly* 27, no. 6 (2006): pp. 1151-1169; Goredema, Dorothy, and Percyslage Chigora. "Fake heroines and the falsification of history in Zimbabwe 1980-2009." (2009)., pp 76-83; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J., and Wendy Willems. "Making sense of cultural nationalism and the politics of commemoration under the Third Chimurenga in Zimbabwe." *Journal of southern African studies* 35, no. 4 (2009): pp. 945-965.

This leads me to the second point I believe this thesis has highlighted and that is, the mobilisation of Nkosi Maqoma in post-colonial South Africa is in a post #RhodesMustFall climate. #RhodesMust Fall was a moment whereby the ANC government was forced to recognise the inequality of the memorial landscape and the state's 'solution' has been to construct 'counter-monuments' as an attempt to foster social cohesion. But what has been shown above, when we look at the ANC's dealings on Ntaba kaNdoda, is how the politics of social division (particularly between the amaRharhabe and Mfengu) from the colonial-apartheid regimes are being reanimated and brought to the forefront in these heritage endeavours.

Lastly, the final point I want to conclude with is what this all means for Nkosi Maqoma and how we view his memory. We need to think about how we engage with the interpretations of Nkosi Maqoma that have been brought to the public on Ntaba kaNdoda and in the Long March to Freedom. We need to be able to scrutinise whether or not there is a legitimate, singular, means to understand his legacy as opposed to how he has been historicised by the likes of Timothy Stapleton. Is there any difference between the Nkosi Maqoma historicised in the archives as interpreted by his chief biographer, Timothy Stapleton, or by his present cheerleaders Dali Tambo and Luvuyo Maqoma - who have been sanctioned, to varying degrees, by the ANC-state?

Nkosi Maqoma himself built his reputation by a combination of playing along with the colonial state whilst, at other junctures, resisting it when it threatened his position as a traditional authority. At each moment in his life, Nkosi Maqoma showcased himself as a liminal person yet his remembrance in the nation-state teleology of the ANC does little to

suggest this. Therefore, we need to think critically about what resistance memory we are being told to honour when figures like Nkosi Maqoma are presented to us: figures who can be easily transfigured by both the nation-state to suit their agenda of official state heritage and by local actors in contestations over traditional authority and power.

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