

HERITAGE IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF
CONSTRUCTION AND UPGRADING OF INGOUZA HILL TO
MANGWANINI ACCESS ROADS,
FLAGSTAFF,
EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA

Prepared for

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Management summary

eThembeni Cultural Heritage was appointed by WSP Environment & Energy to undertake a heritage impact assessment of the construction and upgrade of access roads in the Eastern Cape Province, in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act No 25 of 1999. eThembeni staff members inspected the area on 14 May 2010, and completed a controlled-exclusive surface survey and a database and literature search.

Observations

We observed ancestral graves at three locations within the proposed development area. All human remains have high heritage significance at all levels for their social and spiritual values. The proposed access roads are also located in the landscape of the Pondoland Revolt, the scene of rural resistance to government intervention during the 1960s. The Ingquza Hill Memorial and the graves of people who died during the battle are located alongside the proposed road upgrade. The memorial, graves and surrounding landscape have high heritage significance at all levels for their social, cultural, spiritual and historical values.

Recommended mitigation measures

– Graves and burial grounds

Human remains may not be altered in any way without the permission of the next-of-kin and a permit from the relevant heritage authority.

Grave 1 comprises a probable ancestral grave located about 14 metres from the existing road edge, which will not be affected by the proposed road upgrade. However, we recommend that the developer demarcate the grave with barrier tape for the duration of construction activities to avoid inadvertent damage.

Grave 2 comprises three or more ancestral graves located immediately adjacent to the proposed access road, close to an occupied homestead. No construction activities may occur within two metres of the graves, which should be demarcated with barrier tape for the duration of construction activities to avoid inadvertent damage.

Grave 3 comprises a probable ancestral grave located immediately adjacent to the proposed access road. No construction activities may occur within two metres of the grave, which should be demarcated with barrier tape for the duration of construction activities to avoid inadvertent damage.

– Battlefields

The provision of further facilities at the Ingquza Hill memorial site should take cognisance of existing research, particularly in light of alleged community disillusionment and conflict concerning proposed developments on Ingquza Hill. We recommend the following:

- The proposed road upgrade may continue as planned.
- No interventions of any other nature, including parking areas and permanent fences, may occur within fifty metres of the existing Ingquza Hill memorial without a permit from the South African Heritage Resources Agency.

- Natural features and intrinsic parts of the intangible landscape of Ingquza Hill should be identified and recorded for posterity by a suitably qualified heritage practitioner and local community members. This knowledge should inform future developments on the hill. Documented material should be curated appropriately for the benefit of present and future generations.
- A heritage site management plan should be compiled for Ingquza Hill in accordance with the wishes of local communities and the requirements of the South African Heritage Resources Agency. Once approved by all stakeholders, this document will guide future developments on the hill.
- The heritage site management plan should take the following issues into account:
 - o The heritage significance and values of the multiple tangible and intangible aspects of the site and the surrounding landscape;
 - o The need for physical protection of the graves against damage by large livestock;
 - o Proposals for the provision of a parking area and the erection of an 'arts' centre';
 - o The desirability of an interpretive display about the Pondoland Revolt and the significance of Ingquza Hill;
 - o The incorporation of natural features into a guided trail for visitors.

- **General**

The client should enquire about the existence of any heritage resources that might be affected by the proposed project at appropriate opportunities during the public participation process, including community meetings. The results of such enquiries should be submitted to the South African Heritage Resources Agency for consideration in conjunction with this report.

Recommended monitoring

None at present, but the heritage site management plan will make recommendations for appropriate monitoring of the site and proposed development activities.

Conclusion

We recommend that the development proceed with the proposed heritage mitigation and have submitted this report to the South African Heritage Resources Agency in fulfilment of the requirements of the National Heritage Resources Act.

If permission is granted for the development to proceed, the client is reminded that the Act requires that a developer cease all work immediately and notify SAHRA should any heritage resources, as defined in the Act, be discovered during the course of development activities.

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1. Introduction

eThembeni Cultural Heritage was appointed by WSP Environment & Energy to undertake a heritage impact assessment of the construction and upgrade of access roads in the Eastern Cape Province, in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act No 25 of 1999 (refer to Appendix A).

South Africa's heritage resources are both rich and widely diverse, encompassing sites from all periods of human history. Resources may be tangible, such as buildings and archaeological artefacts, or intangible, such as landscapes and living heritage. Their significance is based upon their aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic, economic or technological values; their representivity of a particular time period; their rarity; and their sphere of influence.

The integrity and significance of heritage resources can be jeopardized by natural (e.g. erosion) and human (e.g. development) activities. In the case of human activities, a range of legislation exists to ensure the timeous identification and effective management of heritage resources for present and future generations.

This report represents compliance with a full Heritage Impact Assessment for the proposed development, excluding a palaeontological assessment, which we do not deem necessary given the nature of the project and its location.

2. Terms of reference

A Heritage Impact Assessment must address the following key aspects:

- the identification and mapping of all heritage resources in the area affected;
- an assessment of the significance of such resources in terms of heritage assessment criteria set out in regulations;
- an assessment of the impact development on heritage resources;
- an evaluation of the impact of the development on heritage resources relative to the sustainable social and economic benefits to be derived from the development;
- the results of consultation with communities affected by the proposed development and other interested parties regarding the impact of the development on heritage resources;
- if heritage resources will be adversely affected by the proposed development, the consideration of alternatives; and
- plans for mitigation of any adverse effects during and after completion of the proposed development.

3. Project description

The project comprises the construction and upgrading of approximately 10.5km of gravel road including a low level bridge structure and ancillary works from the AC60272 forming a 'Y' split to both Mhlwazini and Ramzi Villages in Ward 27 in the Ingquza Hill Local Municipality.

The current access road provides a thoroughfare for the local villagers, school children, tourists and farm workers. Limited public transport facilities are available. The proposed access is currently a clayey loamy gravel track road approx 3.5m wide traversing rolling relatively flat valleys with steep inclines on one part. There are rock (shale) outcrops in several isolated areas making road conditions harsh and difficult and sometimes inaccessible especially during the frequent rainy periods, especially for the school buses that feed to the Jikindaba SS from surrounding villages.

The works included in this contract shall comprise the following:

- Construction of approximately 10.5km of gravel road to surfaced standards. The first leg runs in an easterly direction from the surfaced road and is approximately 6.5km long with a surfaced width of 5.0m. The second leg extends in a southerly direction from approximately km1.6 for approximately 4.0km and has a surfaced width of 3.5m.
- Construction of stone pitched or gravel stabilized (soilcrete) side drains.
- Construction of cross drainage by concrete lined drifts or box culverts, as required.
- Construction of mitre drains.
- Low volume surfacing seal.
- Construction of a low level culvert / river crossing over the Hlabati River.
- Parking area and beautification facilities at the heritage site.

Design principles

- All designs, documentation and drawings to be done on site.
- The road shall be aligned according to the existing condition (footprint) in the village or follow the natural ground topography, where necessary.
- The final road alignment to have a crossfall in one direction where possible.
- Positions and size of cross drainage culverts / drifts, etc. to be determined on site.
- Minimal or no property fences shall be removed.
- All survey shall be localised. Setting out of works and benchmarks to be determined on site.
- No Eskom or Telkom poles to be moved.
- No graves to be exhumed.
- No houses to be demolished and re-erected.
- Construction of mitre drains at closer intervals on steep gradients to prevent erosion in lower lying areas.
- No pedestrian walkways to be constructed.

Construction works

- Establishment on site, including provision of building facility for site offices; storage container / areas for material, fuel, plant, fencing, ablution, etc.
- Clearing and grubbing of site.

- Construction of fill, selected and roadbed layers by conventional methods.
- Construction of pavement (sub-base) layers by labour intensive methods (task work).
- Construction of a stabilised treated base layer by labour intensive methods (task work).
- Construction of bituminous surfacing seal (Otta seal, Gravseal, etc) by labour intensive methods.
- Construction of concrete lined drifts as determined on site.
- Construction of stabilized gravel / stone pitched side drains.
- Procurement and erection of road signs.
- Testing of materials (Acceptance Control).
- Construction of bus and taxi bays.

Specific target groups

The unemployment rate in the Ingquza Hill-Flagstaff area is estimated at 89.0%. Residents rely on government grants as well as the elderly pension benefits from the state. From these statistics it can be seen that the majority of people live in poverty conditions. The intended target groups are the unemployed and the illiterate to empower them with skills that will be beneficial and enhance employment opportunities once the project has been completed.

Expected outputs

- Create short term employment opportunities for local residents.
- Enhance opportunities for local ABE's contractors and sub contractors.
- Labour intensive methods of construction techniques in line with the Government's CBPWP programme.
- Skills development through training of local SMMEs in road construction through the learnership plan to promote learner-contractor programme for the construction of access roads in their municipality.

Expected impacts

- The proposed low level structure and pavement improvement will facilitate easy access to local amenities like schools, hospitals / clinics, tourist venues and agricultural land.
- Improve freight logistics and general accessibility.
- Ease of commuting farm workers from their residences to maize plantations during harvesting months.
- Improve the use of public transport systems including taxi operators, delivery vehicles, undertakers, etc.
- Enhance opportunity for further growth of agricultural, tourism, social and other development.
- Maximise abundant social, natural and rich heritage potential of the area.
- Release potential agro-forestry-tourism activity corridor with Port St Johns, Lusikisiki and Flagstaff as the main nodes.
- Contribute to the aim of bringing an integrated development package to the Pondoland region as espoused in the Pondoland Revival Project headed by the Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs.

4. Project location

The project is located in the north-east of Ingquza Hill Local Municipality, approximately 35km south east of Flagstaff Town travelling for 5km along the R61 towards Mbizana then turning right on surfaced DR18023 (Figure 1). The facility can be accessed via the surfaced DR18023 from the R61 passing the Holy Cross Hospital. The proposed access road AC60272 is located about 5km from the Mtontsana Police Station (on the right hand side).

The proposed access road runs in a north easterly direction for 6.5km passing through the villages of KwaCoka, Sixonteni and Mhlwazini. At approximately 1.6km along this proposed access road, it branches in KwaCoka village south east for 4.0km, passing through Ramzi village and the Jikindaba Secondary School, before crossing the Hlabati River to join the gravel section of DR18023 towards Mkhambati Game Reserve and the Indian Ocean.



Figure 1. The locations of heritage resources relative to existing and proposed access roads.

5. Observations

No development activities associated with the proposed project had begun at the time of our visit, in accordance with heritage legislation. The following table summarises the heritage resources assessed, and our observations.

Heritage resource type	Observation
Living heritage	The entire study area comprises living heritage. However, the proposed road upgrade is part of the dynamic development of this landscape that will make a positive contribution to residents' lifestyles. See the Battlefields section below.
Ecofacts	None were identified within the proposed development areas.
Places, buildings, structures and equipment	None were identified within the proposed development areas.
Places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage	The entire study area is associated with living heritage. However, the proposed road upgrade is part of the dynamic development of this landscape that will make a positive contribution to residents' lifestyles. See the Battlefields section below.
Historical settlements and townscapes	None were identified within the proposed development area.
Landscapes and natural features	No formally protected landscapes or natural features are located within the proposed development area, but see the Battlefields section below.
Geological sites of scientific or cultural importance	None were identified within the proposed development areas.
Archaeological sites	None were identified within the proposed development areas.
Graves and burial grounds	See discussion below.
Movable objects excluding any object made by a living person	None were identified within the proposed development areas.
Battlefields	See discussion below.
Traditional building techniques	None were identified within the proposed development areas.

Table 1. Heritage resources and observations: Ingquza Hill to Mangwanini access roads.

– Graves and burial grounds

We observed ancestral graves at three locations within the proposed development area, as follows (also see Figure 1 and Appendix C):

Number	Location
1	S31 12 15.7; E29 43 51.1
2	S31 11 45.6; E29 42 43.2
3	S31 11 45.0; E29 42 50.6

All human remains have high heritage significance at all levels for their social and spiritual values.

– **Battlefields**

The proposed Ingquza Hill to Mangwanini access roads are located in the landscape of the Pondoland Revolt, the scene of rural resistance to government intervention during the 1960s. Appendix E provides a background to the Revolt, with extracts from Chapter 9 of Govan Mbeki's 1964 publication 'The Peasants' Revolt'; a report on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's intention to hear testimony concerning the uprising; a paper suggesting methods for documenting the heritage of Pondoland; and a paper examining the intangible heritage of the battlefield.

The Ingquza Hill Memorial and the graves of people who died during the battle on 6 June 1960 are located alongside the proposed road upgrade, at S31 10 40.0; E29 45 03.3 (Figure 1 and Appendix C). However, the surrounding landscape in which the battle was fought includes numerous places associated with the battle, as well as with aspects of living heritage:

'The name ["Ngquza"] refers to the coming of age ceremony, the Mngquzo, where Mpondo virgins are initiated into womanhood. These ceremonies were conducted frequently at the Hill. Another custom was also associated with the Hill: If a man fell in love with a woman, he would take a stick with a white cloth and put it on the top of the Hill. Everyone would see it and know his intentions, thus he could go to the girl's parents and be allowed to see the girl after paying a number of goats to the mother and father. This Hill has additionally long been regarded as the place where people went to announce something to the community' (Müller 2008: 125-6).

The memorial, graves and surrounding landscape have high heritage significance at all levels for their social, cultural, spiritual and historical values.

The proposed road upgrade includes the creation of a parking area and beautification facilities at the memorial site.

6. Recommended mitigation measures

– **Graves and burial grounds**

Human remains may not be altered in any way without the permission of the next-of-kin and a permit from the relevant heritage authority.

Grave 1 comprises a probable ancestral grave located about 14 metres from the existing road edge, which will not be affected by the proposed road upgrade. However, we recommend that the developer demarcate the grave with barrier tape for the duration of construction activities to avoid inadvertent damage.

Grave 2 comprises three or more ancestral graves located immediately adjacent to the proposed access road, close to an occupied homestead. No construction activities may occur within two metres of the graves, which should be demarcated with barrier tape for the duration of construction activities to avoid inadvertent damage.

Grave 3 comprises a probable ancestral grave located immediately adjacent to the proposed access road. No construction activities may occur within two metres of the grave, which should be demarcated with barrier tape for the duration of construction activities to avoid inadvertent damage.

– **Battlefields**

Müller's 2008 paper (see Appendix E) provides insight into the intangible qualities of the landscape of Ingquza Hill, as well as the problems that arise from the creation of interventions such as memorials, which shift the focus of the heritage site from the entire landscape to the site of the monument:

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

'Thus, erecting a tangible element within a landscape with an essentially intangible heritage could destroy part of its heritage and meaning. In development, it is preferable in these types of landscapes to highlight those aspects intrinsic to the intangible heritage and integrate them into the design and future planning of the site. The purpose of this would be to retain those landscape elements which serve as mnemotechnic devices, ensuring the conservation of the intangible dimension' (Müller 2008: 134).

The provision of further facilities at the Ingquza Hill memorial site should take cognisance of this research, particularly in light of alleged community disillusionment and conflict concerning proposed developments on Ingquza Hill.

We recommend the following:

- The proposed road upgrade may continue as planned.
- No interventions of any other nature, including parking areas and permanent fences, may occur within fifty metres of the existing Ingquza Hill memorial without a permit from the South African Heritage Resources Agency.
- Natural features and intrinsic parts of the intangible landscape of Ingquza Hill should be identified and recorded for posterity by a suitably qualified heritage practitioner and local community members. This knowledge should inform future developments on the hill. Documented material should be curated appropriately for the benefit of present and future generations.
- A heritage site management plan should be compiled for Ingquza Hill in accordance with the wishes of local communities and the requirements of the South African Heritage Resources Agency. Once approved by all stakeholders, this document will guide future developments on the hill.
- The heritage site management plan should take the following issues into account:

- o The heritage significance and values of the multiple tangible and intangible aspects of the site and the surrounding landscape;
- o The need for physical protection of the graves against damage by large livestock;
- o Proposals for the provision of a parking area and the erection of an 'arts' centre';
- o The desirability of an interpretive display about the Pondoland Revolt and the significance of Ingquza Hill;
- o The incorporation of natural features into a guided trail for visitors.

– **General**

The client should enquire about the existence of any heritage resources, both tangible and intangible, that might be affected by the proposed project, at appropriate opportunities during the public participation process, including community meetings. The results of such enquiries should be submitted to the South African Heritage Resources Agency for consideration in conjunction with this report.

7. Recommended monitoring

None at present, but the heritage site management plan will make recommendations for appropriate monitoring of the site and proposed development activities.

8. Summary of findings in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act 1999 Section 38(3)

- The identification and mapping of all heritage resources in the area affected
We observed ancestral graves at three locations within the proposed development area. The Ingquza Hill Memorial and the graves of people who died during the battle are located alongside the proposed road upgrade.
- An assessment of the significance of such resources in terms of the heritage assessment criteria set out in regulations
All human remains have high heritage significance at all levels for their social and spiritual values.
The memorial, graves and surrounding landscape have high heritage significance at all levels for their social, cultural, spiritual and historical values.
- An assessment of the impact of development on such heritage resources
All identified heritage resources could be damaged inadvertently during the construction phase of the proposed development. The memorial and associated graves could also be damaged by livestock trampling.
- An evaluation of the impact of the development on heritage resources relative to the sustainable social and economic benefits to be derived from the development
The development can only be considered sustainable if the recommended mitigation measures are implemented.

- The results of consultation with communities affected by the proposed development and other interested parties regarding the impact of the development on heritage resources
The client has undertaken such consultation in terms of statutory requirements and retains the relevant documentation.

- If heritage resources will be adversely affected by the proposed development, the consideration of alternatives
Graves and burial grounds
Grave 1 must be demarcated with barrier tape for the duration of construction activities.
Grave 2 should be demarcated with barrier tape for the duration of construction activities and no construction activities may occur within two metres of the graves.
Grave 3 should be demarcated with barrier tape for the duration of construction activities and no construction activities may occur within two metres of the grave.
Battlefields
The proposed road upgrade may continue as planned.
No interventions of any other nature, including parking areas and permanent fences, may occur within fifty metres of the existing Ingquza Hill memorial without a permit from the South African Heritage Resources Agency.
Natural features and intrinsic parts of the intangible landscape of Ingquza Hill should be identified and recorded for posterity by a suitably qualified heritage practitioner and local community members. This knowledge should inform future developments on the hill. Documented material should be curated appropriately for the benefit of present and future generations.
A heritage site management plan should be compiled for Ingquza Hill in accordance with the wishes of local communities and the requirements of the South African Heritage Resources Agency. Once approved by all stakeholders, this document will guide future developments on the hill.

- Plans for mitigation of any adverse effects during and after completion of the proposed development
None at present, but the heritage site management plan will make recommendations for appropriate monitoring of the site and proposed development activities.

9. Conclusion

We recommend that the development proceed with the proposed heritage mitigation and have submitted this report to the South African Heritage Resources Agency in fulfilment of the requirements of the National Heritage Resources Act. According to Section 38(4) of the Act the report shall be considered timeously by the Council which shall, after consultation with the person proposing the development, decide –

- whether or not the development may proceed;
- any limitations or conditions are to be applied to the development;
- what general protections in terms of this Act apply, and what formal protections may be applied to such heritage resources;
- whether compensatory action shall be required in respect of any heritage resources damaged or destroyed as a result of the development; and
- whether the appointment of specialists is required as a condition of approval of the proposal.

Relevant staff members may be contacted at the SAHRA Cape Town head office (Mariagrazia Galimberti MGALIMBERTI@sahra.org.za).

APPENDIX A

STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS

Section 38(1) of the National Heritage Resources Act No 25 of 1999 requires a heritage impact assessment in case of:

- the construction of a road, wall, power line, pipeline, canal or other similar form of linear development or barrier exceeding 300m in length;
- the construction of a bridge or similar structure exceeding 50 m in length;
- any development or other activity which will change the character of a site—
 - (i) exceeding 5 000 m² in extent; or
 - (ii) involving three or more existing erven or subdivisions thereof; or
 - (iii) involving three or more erven or divisions thereof which have been consolidated within the past five years; or
 - (iv) the costs of which will exceed a sum set in terms of regulations by SAHRA or a provincial heritage resources authority;
- the re-zoning of a site exceeding 10 000 m² in extent; or
- any other category of development provided for in regulations by SAHRA or a provincial heritage resources authority.

The Act defines a heritage resource as any place or object of cultural significance i.e. of aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance. This includes, but is not limited to, the following wide range of places and objects:

- living heritage as defined in the National Heritage Council Act No 11 of 1999 (cultural tradition; oral history; performance; ritual; popular memory; skills and techniques; indigenous knowledge systems; and the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships);
- ecofacts (non-artefactual organic or environmental remains that may reveal aspects of past human activity);
- places, buildings, structures and equipment;
- places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage;
- historical settlements and townscapes;
- landscapes and natural features;
- geological sites of scientific or cultural importance;
- archaeological and palaeontological sites;
- graves and burial grounds;
- sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa;
- movable objects, but excluding any object made by a living person;
- battlefields; and
- traditional building techniques.

Furthermore, a place or object is to be considered part of the national estate if it has cultural significance or other special value because of—

- its importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa's history;
- its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;
- its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;
- its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of South Africa's natural or cultural places or objects;
- its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group;
- its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period;
- its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons; and
- its strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in the history of South Africa.

A 'place' is defined as:

- a site, area or region;
- a building or other structure which may include equipment, furniture, fittings and articles associated with or connected with such building or other structure;
- a group of buildings or other structures which may include equipment, furniture, fittings and articles associated with or connected with such group of buildings or other structures;
- an open space, including a public square, street or park; and
- in relation to the management of a place, includes the immediate surroundings of a place.

'Structures' means any building, works, device or other facility made by people and which is fixed to land, and includes any fixtures, fittings and equipment associated therewith.

'Archaeological' means –

- material remains resulting from human activity which are in a state of disuse and are in or on land and are older than 100 years, including artefacts, human and hominid remains and artificial features and structures;
- rock art, being any form of painting, engraving or other graphic representation on a fixed rock surface or loose rock or stone, which was executed by human agency and is older than 100 years including any area within 10 m of such representation;
- wrecks, being any vessel or aircraft, or any part thereof, which was wrecked in South Africa, whether on land, in the internal waters, the territorial waters or in the culture zone of the Republic, as defined respectively in sections 3, 4 and 6 of the Maritime Zones Act, 1994 (Act No. 15 of 1994), and any cargo, debris or artefacts found or associated therewith, which is older than 60 years or which SAHRA considers to be worthy of conservation;
- features, structures and artefacts associated with military history which are older than 75 years and the sites on which they are found.

'Palaeontological' means any fossilised remains or fossil trace of animals or plants which lived in the geological past, other than fossil fuels or fossiliferous rock intended for industrial use, and any site which contains such fossilised remains or trace.

'Grave' means a place of interment and includes the contents, headstone or other marker of and any other structures on or associated with such place. Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali and / or the South African Heritage Resources Agency will only issue a permit for the alteration of a grave if they are satisfied that every reasonable effort has been made to contact and obtain permission from the families concerned. eThembeni adheres to the following procedures:

- Notification of the impending removals (using appropriate language media and notices at the grave site);
- Consultation with individuals or communities related or known to the deceased;
- Satisfactory arrangements for the curation of human remains and / or headstones in a museum, where applicable;
- Procurement of a permit from Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali and / or the South African Heritage Resources Agency;
- Appropriate arrangements for the exhumation (preferably by a suitably trained archaeologist) and re-interment (sometimes by a registered undertaker, in a formally proclaimed cemetery);
- Observation of rituals or ceremonies required by the families.

APPENDIX B

METHODOLOGY

eThembeni staff members inspected the area on 14 May 2010. We completed a controlled-exclusive surface survey, where 'sufficient information exists on an area to make solid and defensible assumptions and judgements about where [heritage resource] sites may and may not be' and 'an inspection of the surface of the ground, wherever this surface is visible, is made, with no substantial attempt to clear brush, turf, deadfall, leaves or other material that may cover the surface and with no attempt to look beneath the surface beyond the inspection of rodent burrows, cut banks and other exposures that are observed by accident' (King 1989¹).

We consulted various provincial databases, including historical, archaeological and geological sources. We assessed the value and significance of heritage resources, as defined in the National Heritage Resources Act 1999 and the criteria contained in this Appendix.

Geographic coordinates were obtained with handheld Garmin 60 and nuvi 500 global positioning units. Photographs were taken with a Nikon Coolpix camera and a representative selection is included in Appendix C. A statement of independence and a summary of our ability to undertake this heritage impact assessment are included in Appendix D. Appendix E includes selected documents that provide a greater understanding of the study area and identified heritage resources.

The assumptions and limitations of this heritage impact assessment are as follows:

- We have assumed that the description of the proposed project, provided by the client, is accurate.
- We have assumed that the public consultation process undertaken as part of the Environmental Impact Assessment is sufficient and adequate and does not require repetition as part of the heritage impact assessment.
- Our observations were limited to a linear area of 5 to 15 metres alongside the road or track proposed for upgrade. Heritage resources such as ancestral graves or structures located within demarcated homestead boundaries are not identified in this report, since they will not be affected directly by the proposed development.
- Soil surface visibility was low to moderate. Heritage resources might be present below the surface or in areas of dense vegetation and we remind the client that the Act requires that a developer cease all work immediately and notify Amafa should any heritage resources, as defined in the Act, be discovered during the course of development activities.
- No subsurface investigation (including excavations or sampling) were undertaken, since a permit from Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali is required to disturb a heritage resource.
- We are not able to provide a specialist palaeontological assessment, but do not deem such an assessment necessary due to the nature of both the project and the environment.
- A key concept in the management of heritage resources is that of non-renewability: damage to or destruction of most resources, including that caused by bona fide research

¹ King, T. F. 1989. The archaeological survey: methods and uses. Quoted in Canter, L. W. 1996. Environmental impact assessment. Second Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

endeavours, cannot be reversed or undone. Accordingly, management recommendations for heritage resources in the context of development are as conservative as possible.

- Human sciences are necessarily both subjective and objective in nature. We strive to manage heritage resources to the highest standards in accordance with national and international best practice, but recognise that our opinions might differ from those of other heritage practitioners.
- We take no responsibility for the misuse of the information contained in this report.

Criteria for assessing the significance and value of heritage resource sites

The following guidelines for determining site significance were developed by the South African Heritage Resources Agency in 2003. We use them in conjunction with tables of our own formulation (see that for the Southern African Iron Age, below) when considering intrinsic site significance and significance relative to development activities, as well as when recommending mitigatory action.

Type of Resource

- Place
- Structure
- Archaeological Site
- Palaeontological Site
- Geological Feature
- Grave

Type of Significance

1. Historical Value

It is important in the community, or pattern of history

- Importance in the evolution of cultural landscapes and settlement patterns
- Importance in exhibiting density, richness or diversity of cultural features illustrating the human occupation and evolution of the nation, Province, region or locality.
- Importance for association with events, developments or cultural phases that have had a significant role in the human occupation and evolution of the nation, Province, region or community.
- Importance as an example for technical, creative, design or artistic excellence, innovation or achievement in a particular period
- It has strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in history
- Importance for close associations with individuals, groups or organisations whose life, works or activities have been significant within the history of the nation, Province, region or community.
- It has significance relating to the history of slavery
- Importance for a direct link to the history of slavery in South Africa.

2. Aesthetic Value

It is important in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group

- Importance to a community for aesthetic characteristics held in high esteem or otherwise valued by the community.

- Importance for its creative, design or artistic excellence, innovation or achievement.
- Importance for its contribution to the aesthetic values of the setting demonstrated by a landmark quality or having impact on important vistas or otherwise contributing to the identified aesthetic qualities of the cultural environs or the natural landscape within which it is located.
- In the case of an historic precinct, importance for the aesthetic character created by the individual components which collectively form a significant streetscape, townscape or cultural environment.

3. Scientific Value

It has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of natural or cultural heritage

- Importance for information contributing to a wider understanding of natural or cultural history by virtue of its use as a research site, teaching site, type locality, reference or benchmark site.
- Importance for information contributing to a wider understanding of the origin of the universe or of the development of the earth.
- Importance for information contributing to a wider understanding of the origin of life; the development of plant or animal species, or the biological or cultural development of hominid or human species.
- Importance for its potential to yield information contributing to a wider understanding of the history of human occupation of the nation, Province, region or locality.
- It is important in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period.
- Importance for its technical innovation or achievement.

4. Social Value

It has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons

- Importance as a place highly valued by a community or cultural group for reasons of social, cultural, religious, spiritual, symbolic, aesthetic or educational associations.
- Importance in contributing to a community's sense of place.

Degrees of Significance

Rarity

It possesses uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of natural or cultural heritage

- Importance for rare, endangered or uncommon structures, landscapes or phenomena.

Representivity

It is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of natural or cultural places or objects

- Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a range of landscapes or environments, the attributes of which identify it as being characteristic of its class.
- Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of human activities (including way of life, philosophy, custom, process, land-use, function, design or technique) in the environment of the nation, Province, region or locality.

Sphere of Significance: High, Medium, Low

- International; National; Provincial; Regional; Local

Southern African Iron Age

	Significance		
	low	medium	high
Unique or type site			Yes
Formal protection			Yes
Spatial patterning	?Yes	?Yes	?Yes
Degree of disturbance	75 – 100%	25 – 74%	0 – 24%
Organic remains (list types)	0 – 5 / m ²	6 – 10 / m ²	11 + / m ²
Inorganic remains (list types)	0 – 5 / m ²	6 – 10 / m ²	11 + / m ²
Ancestral graves			Present
Horizontal extent of site	< 100m ²	101 – 1000m ²	1000 + m ²
Depth of deposit	< 20cm	21 – 50cm	51 + cm
Spiritual association			Yes
Oral history association			Yes
➤ Research potential			High
➤ Educational potential			High

The management of cultural landscapes

The Cultural Landscape Foundation² defines cultural landscapes as follows:

A cultural landscape is a geographic area that includes resources and natural resources associated with a historic event, activity, or person. Sometimes cultural landscapes are the result of one person or group of people acting upon the land. Other times they are the result of an idea one person or a group had and then created at that time. Cultural landscapes can range from thousands of acres of rural lands to a small homestead with a front yard of less than one acre. They include grand estates, farmland, public gardens and parks, college campuses, cemeteries, scenic highways and even industrial sites.

Four general types of Cultural Landscapes, not mutually exclusive, are:

- Historic Sites
- Historic Designed Landscapes
- Historic Vernacular Landscapes
- Ethnographic Landscapes

Cultural Landscapes can:

- Be man-made expressions of visual and spatial relationships.
- Serve as texts and narratives of cultures.
- Be valuable expressions of regional identity.
- Be works of art that are part of our national heritage.
- Exist in relationship to their ecological contexts.

What are cultural landscapes? by Alice E. Ingerson, Institute for Cultural Landscape Studies³

² Though professional techniques for identifying, documenting, and managing cultural landscapes have evolved rapidly in the past 30 years, the results of the professionals' work often fails to reach the general public. Consequently, many of the places in which we live, work, and play often change considerably—sometimes over years and sometimes overnight! The Cultural Landscape Foundation is the only not-for-profit foundation in America dedicated to increasing the public's awareness of the importance and irreplaceable legacy of cultural landscapes. Through education, technical assistance, and outreach, the Cultural Landscape Foundation aims to broaden the support and understanding for cultural landscapes nationwide in hopes of saving our priceless heritage for future generations. The CLF achieves this mission by: (1) heightening the awareness of those who impact cultural landscapes; (2) assisting those groups and organizations who are working to increase the appreciation and recognition of cultural landscapes; and, (3) developing educational tools for young people to better connect them to their cultural landscape environs.

Virtually all landscapes have cultural associations, because virtually all landscapes have been affected in some way by human action or perception. Therefore, the Institute for Cultural Landscape Studies does not use the phrase "cultural landscape" to mean a special type of landscape. Instead, we use "cultural landscape" to mean a way of seeing landscapes that emphasizes the interaction between human beings and nature over time. ICLS also works with many other organizations, some of which have contrasting or even conflicting definitions of "cultural landscape":

individual, special, aesthetic, collective, representative, useful, cultural, related to the arts (consciously designed objects), ideas of enduring value related to the everyday beliefs and practices of a group of people, the work of landscape architects or garden designers, scenery portrayed in a painting or photograph, or that is seen as worth painting or photographing, the land that can be seen from a single vantage point (usually larger than a "site", smaller than a "region"), "nearly everything we see when we go outdoors" — Peirce Lewis 1979

The National Park Service and the National Register of Historic Places, as well as organizations that look to these agencies for management models and standards, use the operational definition of "cultural landscape" from the 1996 Secretary of the Interior's . . . Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes:

a geographic area (including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein), associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values.

Historic landscapes, unlike works of art, have to function as contemporary environments — we have literally to enter and become involved with them. — Catherine Howett 1987

Much public discussion about cultural landscapes is about preserving special or historic places. Yet the definition of "special" varies over time, among different cultures, and in different places. A landscape valued by one group may be simply invisible, or even offensive, to another. Next to an official historic district may be a neighborhood that is not eligible for any special treatment but has deep meaning and associations for the people who live there. Mobile homes may be critical to a farm economy, though they jar the sensibilities of visitors expecting to see only white clapboard houses and wooded hillsides from a "scenic overlook" in a state forest. The historic district and the ordinary neighbourhood, working farms and protected forests, are all cultural landscapes. Even when landscape preservation standards are broadened to include a wide range of landscape types, strict preservation is not always an appropriate stance. Designers and communities may also choose to transform existing landscapes or create new ones. Managing cultural landscapes thus involves planning for positive change as well as preventing negative change.

³ From the website of the Institute for Cultural Landscape Studies of the Arnold Arboretum (<http://www.icls.harvard.edu>), © The President and Fellows of Harvard College. The Institute for Cultural Landscape Studies was formed in 1997 to support the emerging community of professionals and volunteers who manage and interpret landscapes with a significant history of human use, particularly in the northeastern United States. These practitioners work with a wide variety of places, from historic gardens and public parks to urban streetscapes, broad agricultural or industrial regions, and conservation or ecological reserves. These landscapes are neither static nor self-contained. Managing them requires active experimentation and continuous learning, to understand how past events and decisions produced today's landscapes, and how today's decisions and events are already producing tomorrow's landscapes. The Institute for Cultural Landscape Studies worked with nonprofit organizations, public agencies, and colleges and universities to capture place-based knowledge about cultural landscapes, and to respond to emerging issues.

APPENDIX C

PHOTOGRAPHS



Plate 1. One of the three or more ancestral graves at location 2.



Plate 2. An ancestral grave at location 2 with the proposed access road in the background.



Plate 3. Detail of an ancestral grave at location 2.



Plate 4. Probable ancestral grave at location 3.



Plate 5. Ingquza Hill memorial and graves, facing east.



Plate 6. Ingquza Hill graves, facing east, indicating the access road.



Plate 7. Landscape south and east of the Ingquza Hill memorial and graves.



Plate 8. Ingquza Hill memorial and graves, facing south-west.



Plate 9. Ingquza Hill memorial – names of men who died at Ingquza.



Plate 10. Ingquza Hill memorial – names of men who were executed in Pretoria after the battle.

APPENDIX D

SPECIALIST COMPETENCY AND DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Specialist competency

Len van Schalkwyk is accredited by the Cultural Resources Management section of the Association of South African Professional Archaeologists to undertake heritage impact assessments in South Africa.

Mr van Schalkwyk has a master's degree in archaeology (specialising in the history of early farmers in southern Africa) from the University of Cape Town and 20 years' experience in heritage management. He has worked on projects as diverse as the establishment of the Ondini Cultural Museum in Ulundi, the cultural management of Chobe National Park in Botswana and various archaeological excavations and oral history recording projects. He was part of the writing team that produced the KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Act 1997. He has worked with many rural communities to establish integrated heritage and land use plans and speaks good Zulu.

Mr van Schalkwyk left his position as assistant director of Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali, the provincial cultural heritage authority, to start eThembeni. During the past ten years he has directed more than 800 heritage impact assessments throughout South Africa, as well as in Mozambique.

Beth Wahl has a BA Honours African Studies (first class), with archaeology and sociology majors, and has completed various Masters courses in Heritage and Tourism at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. She is a member of the Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA).

Ms Wahl has undertaken more than 800 heritage impact assessments and monitoring projects throughout South Africa. She was an excavator and logistical coordinator for Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division's heritage programme at Isandlwana Battlefield; has undertaken numerous rock painting surveys in the uKhahlamba / Drakensberg mountains, northern KwaZulu-Natal, the Cederberg and the Koue Bokkeveld in the Cape Province; and was the principal excavator of Scorpion Shelter in the Cape Province, and Lenjane and Crystal Shelters in KwaZulu-Natal.

Ms Wahl has undertaken surveys and monitoring of archaeological sites, excavation of a human skeleton and subsequent community liaison, and written a heritage management plan for Catalina Bay in the iSimangaliso Wetland Park World Heritage Site. She compiled the first cultural landscape management plan for the Mnweni Valley, northern uKhahlamba / Drakensberg, and undertook an assessment of and made recommendations for cultural heritage databases and organisational capacity in parts of Lesotho and South Africa for the Global Environment Facility of the World Bank for the Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation and Development Area. She developed the first cultural heritage management plan for the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site, following UNESCO recommendations for rock art management in southern Africa.

Declaration of independence

We declare that Len van Schalkwyk, Beth Wahl and eThembeni Cultural Heritage have no financial or personal interest in the proposed development, nor its developers or any of its subsidiaries, apart from in the provision of heritage impact assessment and management consulting services.

APPENDIX E

BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH AREA

– THE PONDOLAND REVOLT

Mbeki, G. (1964). *The Peasants' Revolt, Extracts from Chapter 9*, London: IDAF.

(Full text available on <http://www.anc.org.za/books/peasants.html>).

South African peasants have a long history of resistance to oppression. They know what it is to be crushed by the armed forces of the Whites, to be imprisoned without trial, banished to desolate parts of the country, and banned from normal social contact.

Since the enforcement of the Nationalist Party's policies by harsh and frequently violent means, peasant resistance has been widespread and organized. Africans have resisted forcible removal from their homes to new territory. They have opposed the imposition of Bantu Authorities, the extension of passes to women, and schemes for the rehabilitation and reallocation of land.

Between 1946 and 1962 risings have been provoked in Witzieshoek, on the border of Basutoland; in Marico, just south of Bechuanaland; in Sekhukhuneland, in the north-west Transvaal; in Zululand, on the South Coast; and throughout the Transkei, especially in Pondoland. They have been suppressed with brutal force.

THE TRANSKEI

Struggles against the Bantu Authorities Act were fought in the Transkei, where the resistance of the peasants culminated in the Pondo revolt which broke into the open early in 1960. At first the government pretended that nothing untoward was happening in Pondoland. But soon it became clear that a minor war was in progress.

Emergency Proclamation 400 was gazetted in 1960 and according to the official figures, 4,769 men and women were held in custody for indefinite periods during that year. Of this number, 2,067 were eventually brought to trial. (House of Assembly Debates, 27 January 1961, C. 226)

The government suppressed the revolt by bringing in the military to assist the police, by using sten-guns, Saracen armoured cars, and jets against unarmed peasants, by terrorism and mass arrests. By that time, however, the Pondos had successfully smashed the Bantu Authorities system. Members of the Tribal and District Authorities had fled, while peoples' courts were dealing with collaborators, and Chiefs were in the protective custody of the government.

Why did Eastern Pondoland of all places rise in the way it did and on the scale it did? The Pondos have been well known in South African history for their allegiance to authority. There is no record of the Pondos ever having taken up arms against even the early British forces who first occupied Pondoland. On one occasion in 1895, when it seemed that a clash was inevitable over the refusal of the Pondos to pay taxes and a British punitive force was on the point of marching to Pondoland, the situation was saved by Chief Sigcau himself, who surrendered at Kokstad and was subsequently transported to Robben Island. From these early days successive governments have allowed Pondo Chiefs a much greater measure of control over the tribal structure than elsewhere. Here, as probably nowhere else, the missionaries, most of them from the Wesleyan Church, exercised great influence over the principal Chiefs. Chiefs' sons, the heirs to chieftainship, were trained at the homes of the White missionaries, many living with them as members of their families. On the completion of their apprenticeship, they returned to their people, bringing vigour and a new approach to the conduct of chieftainship.

Both at Qaukeni (Eastern Pondoland) and Nyandeni (Western Pondoland), the Chiefs erected modern offices and conducted cases on the pattern of a magistrate's court. With slight modifications to adapt the pattern to real conditions, the Pondo courts had officers, a dock, a fairly good recording of proceedings, and proper systems of filing.

For a long time the Pondo Paramount Chiefs were the only Chiefs in the Transkei with civil jurisdiction. They exercised real power over the distribution of land within the framework of government policy, and they used these comparatively wide powers to entrench their chieftainship. Up to the time that Bantu Authorities were introduced the people contributed to the Chiefs' treasuries with little complaint.

Then the Nationalist government moved to invade the area with its new policies, and from the very start it went wrong, making the serious mistake of choosing as the arch-champion of Bantu Authorities Chief Botha Sigcau, a man already discredited in the eyes of his people. As far back as 1939, when the choice had to be made of a successor to the Paramount Chief of East Pondoland the government of the day had picked on Chief Botha in preference to his half-brother Nelson, who had been regarded by many as the rightful heir. The use of Chief Botha by the Nationalists to introduce Bantu Authorities, in the face of popular opposition to his chieftainship, was bound to provoke widespread resentment.



Transkei, Eastern Cape: March of the Impi - Pondo tribesmen on horseback pour into Bizana for a peaceful march-past on their way to listen to the officials report on the Government Committee's findings on the recent Pondoland disturbances (Photo: Drum Photographer © Baileys African History Archives)



Pondo tribesmen gather on an airfield near Bizana (Photo: Drum Photographer © Baileys African History Archives)

LUSIKISIKI AND BIZANA

Several years before revolt finally flared, the government had made efforts to induce the peasants to accept Bantu Authorities. In 1953 it tried, through Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau, to force the rehabilitation scheme upon Eastern Pondoland, but at a meeting held in Lusikisiki at which Botha Sigcau was present, the people categorically rejected the scheme. The meeting was highlighted when one man by the name of Mngqingo turned his backside to Botha Sigcau, a sign of non-confidence; the people supported him and booed the chief and the officials. A few days later a large contingent of police entered the area, and Mngqingo took a large peasant army with him to the thick forests. When the government appeared to give up the affair, however, Mngqingo emerged and disbanded his impi. He was eventually

arrested and deposed to the district of Cala and the opposition to the government measure gradually subsided.

Discontent then manifested itself in the district of Bizana, which lies between Lusikisiki in the south and the Umtamvuna River on the border of Natal in the north. In September 1957, the Pondos of Bizana rejected Bantu Authorities, Bantu Education and the rehabilitation scheme at a meeting to which the peasants came in their thousands. They demanded that Botha Sigcau should publicly declare whether he was the head of the Pondo tribe or the boot-licker of Verwoerd, the then Minister of Native Affairs. Botha Sigcau left surreptitiously, and the meeting went out of control, ending in disorder and the widespread cry - 'Umasizipathe uya Kusebenza sifile', or 'Bantu Authorities will operate over our dead bodies.'

Then, in 1958, all the Pondoland districts were invited to send representatives to a large gathering called by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr de Wet Nel, and Botha Sigcau. The people were led to believe that the gathering was some sort of celebration, but found on arrival that it was an attempt to get Bantu Authorities under way.

Chief Botha announced that he had been promoted to take over the chair of the Chief Magistrate of Umtata, and that in turn some of the Chiefs would be promoted in the various districts. The Pondo Court would be enhanced in status, and great changes would be brought about. In short, the people were told that they were getting self-government. (Memorandum sent to the U.N. by the Mountain Committee)

In practice, however, Chief Botha alone made promotions; it was he who selected councillors for the courts from his own supporters. The people steadily lost confidence in the courts, and corruption set in among the councillors, who knew that their position depended not on the goodwill of the people, but on their maintaining their friendship with Chief Botha. This cancer in the heart of tribal justice was one of the main reasons for the breakdown of the whole tribal structure, and for the subsequent development of a new system during the Pondo revolt.

They rotate ever deeper into the once healthy organism of tribal life.



Pondo tribesmen listen to the official's report on the government's Committee's findings on the recent Pondoland disturbances. This is a peaceful demonstration on their way to the meeting place at the air field. (Photo: Drum Photographer © Baileys African History Archives).

Government appointees to positions of authority were increasingly spurned by the people, and had to rely on the police and the magistrates to impose their authority. Many Chiefs and headmen found that once they had committed themselves to supporting Bantu Authorities, an immense chasm developed between them and the people. Gone was the old give-and-take of tribal consultation, and in its place there was now the autocratic power bestowed on the more ambitious Chiefs, who became arrogant in the knowledge that the government's might was behind them.

Frustration and dissatisfaction were mounting, and at the Isikelo Location in the district of Bizana anger boiled over. The people called a meeting to demand that Mr Saul Mabude, Chairman, and members of the District Authority explain Bantu Authorities to them. Mabude did not attend. The meeting was punctuated with grim silence, a premonition that all was not well in Pondoland. Laughter and easy talk, characteristics of the Pondos, were totally absent. The meeting ended in disorder. On a Sunday morning, some time later, a large impi marched to Mabude's kraal, while the women raised the war cry — 'I —

iwuuu I ii wu iwu! Mabude's house was surrounded, his pigs and fowls were slaughtered, and his hut was set on fire.

The government struck back savagely. Police traversed the country in heavily meshed cars; armed police swarmed into the kraals on the hillsides, terrorizing women and children, arresting the men. Two battalions of the Mobile Watch moved in with armoured vehicles and camped at the villages of Bizana, Lusikisiki and Flagstaff. 60 'Native' police underwent special courses to assist in the training of home guards.

THE MOUNTAIN COMMITTEE

A vast popular movement of resistance arose amongst the people in March 1960, and although meetings were illegal, they were held just the same and attended by thousands of peasants, who came on foot and on horseback to chosen spots on the mountains and ridges. This is how the movement became known as 'Intaba' (the Mountain), when it was not referred to as 'Ikongo' (Congress).

The Mountain Committee rallied the majority of the tribesmen in their Bizana district into open struggle against the authorities and their henchmen. But its series of huge meetings, summoned to discuss the plight of the Pondos and make plans to carry on their struggle, inspired neighbouring tribesmen from other districts in East Pondoland who carried back the news to their areas.

Repeated requests by the Mountain Committee for the magistrate to come and hear the people's grievances were ignored, and the only reply returned was that the meetings were illegal and should cease at once. At this stage the government officials made it clear that they would have no dealings whatsoever with the leaders of the popular movement and would continue to carry out government policies through the channel of Bantu Authorities.

The Pondos then found that news of their meetings was reaching the magistrate's ears and that their new-found unity was being undermined from within by government agents. Drastic action was taken against these informers; their huts were fired, and many were forced to flee from the area. Between March and June, 27 kraals were reported to have been burnt down.

The most serious clash took place on June 6 in a valley adjoining Ngquza Hill, between Bizana and Lusikisiki. Africans from a score of kraals had met there to discuss their complaints. Two aircraft and a helicopter dropped tear-gas and smoke bombs on the crowd, and police vehicles approached from two directions. The Africans raised a White flag to show that their meeting was a peaceful one, but police suddenly emerged from the bushes surrounding the meeting-place and fired into the crowd. At first the government refused to disclose how many had been killed, but strong representations were made and finally an inquest was ordered. Relatives found the bodies of 11 men which had been left all day for dogs and other animals to feed on. Twenty-three Pondos were arrested after the meeting on a charge of 'fighting', and of these nineteen were convicted and sentenced to terms ranging from 18 months with 6 strokes to 21 months.

Subsequently, at an inquest on the shootings, the magistrate declared that the firing of sten-gun bullets was 'unjustified and excessive, even reckless'. Several of the men shot by the police had been found with bullets through the backs of their heads.

Policing of the area increased after this incident. Saracens and radio cars were brought in. The breakdown between the authorities and the Pondos was complete.

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

Recognizing that police massacres could not break the people's resistance, the government announced that a Commission of Inquiry, composed of Bantu Administration officials, would be appointed to hear popular grievances.

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

The findings of the Commission were announced at a public meeting near Bizana on October 11 and it is significant that on this occasion the government was forced to by-pass its much vaunted Bantu Authorities machinery in order to convey its findings to the people, and negotiate with the Mountain Committee which had become the generally accepted tribal representative.

The Commission ignored or brushed aside the popular demands and gave irrelevant replies to selected grievances. For instance, to the request that Africans should receive the same education as Whites, the Commission replied: 'Bantu Education is not inferior.' On the hardships of reference or pass-books, the Commission's comment was that 'the hardships were due to non-compliance with the law.' (Cape Times, 12 October 1960)

The Pondos were far from satisfied with the Commission's findings. At a meeting on 25 October, they formally announced their rejection of the report, and expressed their determination to continue the struggle against Bantu Authorities. They decided to stop paying taxes.

This momentous decision taken by thousands of Pondos, many of them delegates from distant locations, was a sharp reminder that the Pondos were in a desperate frame of mind.



White officials report to Pondo tribesmen on the government's Committee's findings on the recent Pondoland disturbances. This is a peaceful demonstration on their way to the meeting place at the air field near Bizana. (Photo: Drum Photographer © Baileys African History Archives)

At the same time, five top leaders of the Pondoland National Committee surrendered to the police as they had lost their appeal to the Supreme Court and had been refused bail. They had been sentenced to over a year in prison for attending an illegal meeting!

As a mark of their anger at the jailing of their leaders, and in protest at the attitude adopted by most of the Whites in Bizana, the people decided to boycott the town. The Pondos felt that the traders in Bizana had shown partiality towards the government instead of sympathizing with the people from whom they made a living. One Pondo explained: 'We boycott the traders because they helped the government in trying to break us. When we boycott them, we are boycotting the government.'

LUSIKISIKI March 23 1997 — © South African Press Association, 1997

TRUTH BODY TO HEAR OF PONDOLAND REVOLT

Nearly 37 years after the event, survivors of the 1960s Pondoland Revolt - one of the bloodiest chapters in the rural struggle against apartheid - are to get the chance to tell their stories to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The story of how the Mpondo people rose up in protest in 1960 against state interference in their affairs will be recounted during a three-day human rights violations hearing in Lusikisiki this week. Eastern Cape TRC spokesman Phila Ngqumba said up to 100 people were expected to testify during the hearing, which will also look at human rights abuses perpetrated in Eastern Pondoland during the reign of former Transkei ruler Kaiser Matanzima.

According to a commission research document, the Pondoland revolt in the districts of Lusikisiki, Flagstaff, Bizana, Tabankulu and Mount Ayliff was triggered by opposition to the introduction of Bantu Authorities.

The Mpondos were also unhappy about government's appointment of Chief Botha Sigcau - Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau's father - as their paramount chief.

The rebels formed an "Intaba" (mountain) committee and retreated to the safety of the hills, where they set up a rival administration and burnt the huts of government informers.

Government responded swiftly by sending armoured units and aircraft to crush resistance. This led to a police assault on the rebel headquarters at Ngquza Hill, situated between Bizana and Lusikisiki, on June 6 1960.

Two aircraft and a helicopter dropped teargas and smoke-bombs on the crowd. Police fired on the crowd, killing at least 11 people.

Government declared a state of emergency and thousands of men and women were jailed. Twenty others were sentenced to death for their part in the revolt.

Government also banished and imprisoned most of the rebel leaders while a heavy police presence in Eastern Pondoland helped subdue the Mpondo people.

Ngqumba said survivors of the revolt would testify on Monday while the remainder of the hearing would focus on the abuses perpetrated in Eastern Pondoland under Matanzima's government.

Systematics for Mapping and Managing Heritage in a developing country Dr. Gwen Breedlove

University of Pretoria, South Africa

Note – plates omitted

ABSTRACT

This paper applies, in GIS, a proposed systematics (workable methodology) for South African cultural landscapes. The systematics strengthens the analytical potential of existing methods by expanding a suitable platform for collaboration to supplement biophysical ecologies with the cultural ecologies. The premise is that a systematics for cultural landscapes must comply with the requirements of the relevant South African acts and declarations, and international conventions. Although all the aims mentioned in the new National Heritage Resources Act are required for a complete management system for South African cultural resources, without a workable identification, and assessment process, management will be ineffectual. This paper addresses and proposes a systematics, coupled with GIS to accomplish this fundamental requirement of a complete management system. Pondoland in the Eastern Cape Province is used as a representative case study.

Keywords: cultural landscapes, mapping culture, cultural mapping, geographic information systems (GIS), heritage management, heritage impact assessments.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cultural heritage consists of those ideas, things, and places we have inherited from past generations and desire to leave as our legacy for future generations. Cultural heritage is important because it helps us to define who we are, where we have been, and where we are going. A people without a tangible, visible, knowable past is indeed poor, no matter how many contemporary riches they may possess. Preserving ones cultural heritage is an important aspect of preserving ones culture itself. Cultural heritage includes language, belief systems, knowledge, and ideas, as well as the more tangible places and things. All aspects of culture interrelate, so it is important to understand that one cannot change one part of a culture without it creating changes in many other aspects of culture. The built cultural heritage includes buildings, bridges, and other human constructions, and also the affected environment of the landscape near such built things. The landscape provides the context for the built environment, and together they provide the context for understanding the present, by examining the past. Adams (2001) rightfully says that: *Only by looking at the past, can we plan the future.*

After nearly a decade of debate, in 1992 the World Heritage Committee, the administrative body for the World Heritage Convention, adopted a definition for cultural landscapes of outstanding universal value. The members (<http://www.unesco.org/whc/archive/nara94.htm> 19/05/01 16:20:55 pm.) agreed that:

cultural landscapes represent the combined works of nature and of man illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.

While research is ongoing and documentation is undertaken and maintained by various research institutions to document the South African biophysical landscape there is, as yet, no co-ordinated system for the recording of, or data-bank for, the South African cultural landscape. In an attempt to alleviate this shortcoming and extend the ambit of the National Monuments Act 1969, the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999 has been promulgated.

Although the National Heritage Resources Act encourages South African communities to identify and bring the landscapes and places they value to the attention of the authorities, a comprehensive adaptable and implementable systematics does not exist that could assist the communities to accomplish this daunting task. It is the aim of this paper to generate a data capturing procedure so as to complete a cultural landscape map that could be linked to existing data projection products. This research supplements current programs by the South African National Parks (Spude. 1995) that are considered to be holistic, combining African cultural perspectives on environmental values with the traditional western approach to conservation, thus amalgamating cultural and biophysical issues. (Dladla 1998)

It is possible to propose a definition for South African cultural landscapes from a compilation with reference to Helen Armstrong (2001), Danny O'Hare (1999), and UNESCO, World Heritage Commission (1992)

Cultural landscapes are tangible and intangible, dynamic, active, living, inhabited, sacred or spiritual places that consist of an articulation between the biophysical setting, human transformations and the meanings of the resulting landscape as expressed in events, activities, customs, beliefs, stories, or myths, which may be applied to traditional artefactual residue, wilderness or everyday landscapes representative of national identity, cultural groups or single cultures.

1.1 Applicability to Pondoland

Pondoland lies along the eastern shores of South Africa in the province of the Eastern Cape. It is home to the Mpondo people a subgroup of the Xhosa. They have lived in the area for centuries and are known as one of the most respected warring nations of the Southern African continent.

The area is being considered for incorporation into a National Park due to its unique scenic beauty and the strong traditional lifestyles of the people. The National Park will be a contract park, with management of both natural and cultural resources for the benefit of both.

The proposed systematics for the cultural landscapes of Pondoland to be displayed in GIS are comprised of five comprehensive and interrelated steps:

1. Identification of places that are potentially significant
2. Recording, documenting, archiving and publishing
3. Assessing the data and grading the area for local, provincial or national significance
4. Management proposals to include monitoring and maintenance
5. Recommending additional research

Prior to evaluating the Pondoland cultural landscapes it is necessary to understand the local and international legislative context.

2. HOW ARE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSERVATION POLICIES CONCERNED WITH SIGNIFICANT CULTURAL LANDSCAPES?

Although the South African National Heritage Resources Act defines cultural heritage and stipulates criteria for evaluation of significance, it is clear from a review of the regulations that there is no provision for the identification, evaluation, classification, grading, or categorisation of heritage or cultural landscapes. This is of particular importance because words have different meanings for different cultures. Sowell (1994 p.13) states that:

Even if all races all over the globe have identical innate potential, tangible economics and social results [that] do not depend upon abstract potential, but on developed capabilities. The mere fact that different peoples and cultures have evolved in radically different geographical settings is alone enough to make similarity of skills virtually impossible.

From this statement and others (Chatwin 1987), it is plausible that different cultures in South Africa like elsewhere will have different regard for the same place, object, structure or relic. The challenge is in the development of adaptable measurable criteria, for application in a national system that encompass the traditional and contemporary values and views.

The National Heritage Council Act (Item 2(iii)) defines culture in terms of living heritage, and the same Act (Chapter 1, Part 1, Item 5(7)(a) to (f)) introduces an integrated and interactive system for the management, protection, and guidance of the national heritage resources. When defining the national heritage, the National Heritage Council Act (Chapter 1, Part 1, Item 3(1) to (3)) includes among others:

- a. *places of cultural significance,*
- b. *historical settlements, l*
- c. *landscapes and biophysical features of cultural significance,*
- d. *archaeological and palaeontological sites.*

These could be translated into cultural landscapes. However, it leaves the interpretation to the reader, the national or the provincial agent to identify, interpret and define the cultural landscape/s of South Africa. Neither the National Heritage Council Act nor the accompanying regulations address how to identify a cultural landscape, nor what will constitute a cultural landscape under the Act.

The clarifying phrase that offers the widest margin for interpretation is the definition of cultural significance offered by South African Heritage Resources Agency (Definitions, Section 2(vi)), which states that:

cultural significance means aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance.

This indicates that '*significance*' and '*value*' must be interpreted to be able to identify, evaluate or categorise the South Africa cultural landscapes.

2.1 Applicability to Pondoland

A comprehensive procedure is used at Pondoland that fits within the South African legislative system, and that is representative yet adaptive and that meets the requirements of tangibility and intangibility, that considers the historical aspects, that recognises the evolution and changes of landscapes and that recognises the associative and indigenous meanings of landscapes.

3. INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL LANDSCAPES POLICIES CAN INFORM SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEMATICS

International legal instruments seldom deal with cultural landscapes as a separate concept, but usually divide the address into two main fields. The first deals with the definition of cultural landscapes or heritage and the second deals with the procedures regarding protection, ownership, or management of cultural heritage and/or cultural property. In the past decade international heritage agencies have recognised cultural landscapes within their various cultural resource management programs. The policies of countries such as

Canada, United States of America, Australia and New Zealand have implementation guidelines and management strategies that can particularly inform South African systematics. In addition, the State of the Environment report for Finland (www.vyh.fi/eng/viron/state/state.htm5/13/02 5:47:7pm) provides specific criteria for cultural heritage.

The various countries concerned with cultural heritage often distinguish between the tangible versus intangible, the movable versus immovable, biophysical versus cultural heritage, but current thinking is leaning towards referring to associative cultural heritage that brings these together as indivisible. (Kusel 2001)

The international organisations and charters are informative in the support it provides to countries, research organisations, individuals and others in the management of the world's cultural landscapes. The major common focus of these organisations and charters are strategic programmes that support sustainable economic, social and cultural development schemes and linked with policies to promote social stability, economic development, mutual understanding and peace, while protecting the cultural, historic, scientific, and biophysical heritage. They also provide opportunity for professional dialogue and a vehicle for the collection, evaluation, and dissemination of information on conservation principles, techniques, and policies. The Burra Charter, the San Antonio Charter and the Nara Document on Authenticity are of particular interest and offer substantial informative aspects that can be considered in a South African systematics.

The review of the legal instruments, guidelines and procedures showed that there are aspects of culture that are common among countries and institutions and that there are others that are unique to a particular country. These aspects can be distilled into a single list that is representative of those issues deemed to fit either criteria, that of commonality or that of uniqueness.

- a. Heritage has movable and/or immovable qualities,
- b. Heritage studies involve ethnographic studies of autochthonous populations,
- c. Culture is a product of human activity,
- d. Heritage includes an area of land having a distinctive or beautiful scenery or geological formation, contain a rare, beautiful fauna or flora, object of historical, archaeological, historical, scientific interest,
- e. Heritage could include an avenue of trees or an old tree,
- f. Heritage could include an old building and any object man-made or biophysical of aesthetic, of historical, archaeological, historical, scientific interest,
- g. Heritage could include folkways, mores, customary laws and various linguistic groups and tribal areas,
- h. Heritage could include anthropological, animal or botanical remains,
- i. Heritage could include traditional African ceremonies,
- j. Cultural heritage is constructed, produced or modified by human agency,
- k. Ancient workings are to include mining purposes,
- l. Strong association with a particular community for social, cultural or spiritual reasons.
- m. Any area that has been modified, influenced, or given special meaning by people.
- n. Parks and gardens, urban and rural historic districts, associative cultural landscapes.
- o. An area that includes both cultural and biophysical resources.
- p. Designed, ethnographic, and vernacular landscapes.
- q. The traditions, beliefs, practices, life ways, arts, crafts, and social institutions of any community .
- r. The ancestral lands are inseparable from the identity and well being of the people.
- s. Place is any land, including land covered by water, and the airspace forming the spatial context to such land.
- t. The idea of place is areas which multiple groups may experience shared or devise attachment.
- u. The most important quality of cultural landscapes is their unifying perspective.

3.1 Applicability to Pondoland

The evaluation of the international heritage frameworks and processes provides a strong affirmation of the requirement for authenticity and significance. Any systematics must also recognise associative landscapes workable processes that can be adopted at grass roots level with the support of higher government.

4. CULTURAL LANDSCAPES WITHIN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT CAN BE CHARACTERISED

A central question in conceptualisation of cultural landscapes is whether man (humans) should be considered as a part of nature (landscape) or somehow a creature apart. This relationship has been explored in literature in exhaustive detail. During the Renaissance nature was considered a system of resources which man could modify and transform as he pleases. (Jellicoe & Jellicoe. 1995. p 154-163). However, opposition to this rather cavalier view has already begun in the 18th-century, and later in 1864 the first work detailing the affects of man's destructiveness, G.P. Marsh's *Man and Nature* (1864, 1965, 1974) was published. Marsh drew attention in his book to the crucial fact that nature in its original state, as man inherited it, was not able to support civilisation. Marsh's views did not receive wide attention again until the 1960s when a discernible political and philosophical ideology which has been loosely termed the "environmental movement" emerged. After humans saw the earth from space for the first time there was a global change in the attitude of humans towards the earth and its fragility

Fernández-Armesto (2001 p.31) suggests a system of classification for civilisations. He says that civilisations can be described according to their geographic locations and the landscape within which they live (environment). These classifications may be

relevant to the autochthonous conditions, but to characterise landscape one has to understanding how people perceive and use landscapes. For example, to characterise a landscape for its mining potential is quite different from characterising it for recreational potential or scenic character. To "characterise" means to describe or portray the particular qualities, features, or traits. (Guralnik 1980) As a guideline for use, we can look towards J.B Jackson (Jakle. 1987.p.x) who in founding the journal "Landscape" (1951), the trade magazine dedicated to landscape interpretation, took as a guiding principle the notion that landscape are to be read and interpreted according to function rather than merely appraised visually. Mere seeing was deemed less important than understanding landscapes as lived in places. Real comprehension grows from awareness of function in the identification of cultural, social, economic, and political contexts.

It is thus necessary to understand the interrelated components that constitute a particular landscape before one can successfully characterise it. For the purpose of characterising the Pondoland cultural landscapes the components of landscape are divided into five broad categories after Fernández-Armesto (2001) and Smith 1992 .

- a. People observing - thus visual perception.
- b. People growing or breeding - thus agricultural crop production or animal husbandry
- c. People conquering or defending - thus protection or defence
- d. People living - thus human settlement, ancillary uses and recreation
- e. People digging or mining - thus extraction of resources.

4.1 Applicability to Pondoland

South African landscapes can be characterised according to these five interrelated components but are clearly varied based on the environmental background of people and for which function or use the action is required. At the heart of the landscape characterisation however, are cultural values and beliefs relating to the biophysical character and how they are expressed in particular landscapes and environments. Treating land as private property, for example, ubiquitous in European industrial societies, is a grave and continuing offence to many indigenous peoples. (Haikai, Tane 2000)

The characteristics that occur in every culture known and which have been ethnographically recorded, as identified by George P. Murdock (1978 p.21) provide us with the initial descriptive terms to identify the similarities and differences in cultures. To be used in a South African systematics for cultural landscapes, the list has been expanded to include terms that are known to occur in South African cultures.

Table 1: List of terminology for identification of cultural heritage and cultural landscapes associated with particular or numerous peoples.

Age groups	Ethics	Language	Sexual restrictions
Alphabet	Ethno-botany	Legal Structure	Singing
Ancestors	Expansion	Life styles	Slaves
Artistry	Fabrics	Luck superstition	Social standing
Athletics	Faith healing	Marriage	Soul concepts
Beliefs	Farming	Material use	Sports
Bio-physical features	Fire making	Mealtimes	Storage
Bio-physical threats	Food	Meaning	Story telling
Bodily adornment	Food taboos	Medicine	Struggles
Bravery	Funeral rites	Mining	Suicides
Chronology	Furniture	Music	Supernatural beings
Cleanliness	Games	Mystique	Superstition
Clothing	Gender	Obstetrics	Surgery
Communications	<i>Genius Loci</i>	Penal sanctions	Symbolism
Community organisation	Geographic location	Performance	Technology
Construction methods.	Gestures	Personal names	Threats
Co-operative Labour	Gift giving	Population policy	Tool making
Cosmology	Government	Possible extinction	Trade
Cultural links	Greetings	Postnatal care	Training
Currency	Habits	Pregnancy	Transportation
Dance	Hair styles	Products	Travelling
Dates of discoveries	Head coverings	Property rights	Utensils
Defence	History of place	Propitiations of supernatural things	War
Descendants	Hospitality	Puberty customs	Waste
Divination	Household	Punishment	Water
Division of labour	Hunting	Recording events	Wealth
Domestic animals	Hygiene	Related settlements	Weaponry

Dream interpretation	Incest taboos	Relationships	Weather control
Drink	Inheritance rules	Religious rituals	Weaving
Education	Inspiration to others	Rites of Passage	Wildlife
Elderly	Joking	Rituals	Writing
Eschatology	Kinship nomenclature	Settlement pattern	

Identification of places that are potentially significant in Pondoland involved completing the list of possible cultural aspects. The aspects of culture that was identified served as a topic of investigation and attempts were made to gather as much information as possible regarding each topic. One hundred and thirty three sites were visited and evaluated for presence of different aspects of culture.

5. SUITABLE METHODS TO DISPLAY THE CHARACTERISTICS OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

There are various methods in which parameters are used to display spatial data with an aim to convenient access, maintenance, expansion and retrieval. In addition, methods of data capturing, evaluating, classification and storing are available to identify the most suitable options for cultural landscapes.

A parameter is defined in Webster (1996) as '*a variable, a limit, a boundary, or a guideline.*' It indicates a defined quality or quantity that changes within limits. In order to set a parameter for the cultural landscape, the qualities and quantities of the cultural landscape have to be defined. These must be identifiable or measurable but could encompass various types and amounts of information. Different terms (Hart. 2001 p.6) that have been used to describe this activity are:

- Cultural mapping,
- Indigenous knowledge mapping,
- Indigenous cultural landscape mapping,
- Knowledge mapping.

Hart (2000) criticises the existing methods of knowledge mapping and proposes a model that does not set out to capture- from the outset- indigenous landscape knowledge of the country. He says that to follow this "old" system will merely reinvent the same "relic" approach consistent with archaeological and anthropological [analogue] studies of the past; that confined indigenous cultures to indigenous landscape knowledge as it is being applied to land. In contrast, he proposes a model that attempts to reconcile aspects of indigenous landscape knowledge mapping, which presently exist, with those that need to be developed. Hart (2000 p.15) also theorises that indigenous land can be spoken "for", as opposed to land that is spoken "about". This theory may present an opportunity to activate and apply this system of knowledge in new and dynamic ways. However, the system requires participation on the part of individuals or communities to share their knowledge.

The onus is on the people that map culture to move away from the traditional way of capturing data in space and time and towards a method that allows the continuous update and change of the data by the concerned individuals of groups.

The individual steps in the recommended process each could be presented with spatial and a non-spatial characteristic. As with all geographic information systems, the spatial data is presented in point, lines or polygons, and the non-spatial data as numeric, alpha or raster or photographic representation.

Table 2. Potential spatial and non-spatial characteristics of documentation.

Method	Spatial data	Non-spatial data
Identification	Point, polygon or line	Alpha description
Documentation	Point, polygon or line	Alpha description with photographic representation
Evaluation	Point, polygon or line	Alpha or numeric listing
Classification	Point, polygon or line	Alpha or numeric listing
Archiving	Point, polygon or line	Numeric
Publishing	Point, polygon or line	Alpha description, photographic representation and numeric listing
Maintenance	Point, polygon or line	Alpha and numeric listing.
Monitoring	Point, polygon or line	Alpha and numeric listing.

The proposed systematics suggests a relational model as applied to a geographic information system as the most suitable for the recording, compiling and managing of a database. The proposed systematics further suggests that a matrix can be created that

indicates the relationship between the procedural requirements and the database requirements. It was found necessary in completing the database to produce a user-friendly field worksheet that related to the type of information that was (or is) available rather than focussing on the data required by the National Heritage Resources Act

The database was set up as an electronic database in Microsoft Access TM. It is a generic database that could be used for any area that could require cultural mapping.

Table 3: Relationships between procedural requirements and database requirements.

Procedural Requirements (down) Database Requirements adequately accomplished (across)	Acquisition and verification	Compilation	Storage	Updating and changing	Management and exchange	Manipulation	Retrieval and presentation	Analysis and combination
Identification								
Recording								
Assessment								
Grading								
Archiving								
Management								
Recommendations for research								

5.1 Applicability to Pondoland

It was found necessary in completing the database to produce a user-friendly field worksheet that related to the type of information that was (or is) available rather than focussing on the data required by the National Heritage Resources Act, or the conventional map data. The list of data categories for the field worksheet that was produced focussed on setting up the relational correlation between the field data and possible spatial display options in the geographic information system. Various sources of data were identified on the worksheet to assist in the compilation of the data and to standardise the types and level of detail of the data that was gathered for each category. An indication of the method of display, such as a point, polygon or line is also included on the worksheet as a reminder to the fieldworker of the types of appropriate information for each category. A detailed base map at a scale of 1:50000 was provided onto which the data were recorded for input into the geographic information system.

Table 4. Work sheet items for data capturing

Item No	Category of data to be captured for each data point.
1	Current demographics with demarcated areas indicated.
2	Current languages and distribution of the languages of the areas per EA.
3	History of current towns and other settlements inside the study area or adjacent
4	History of communities in and adjacent to the study area.
5	Any archaeological finds and exploration in the area Compile a thorough sequence of history and events in the area
6	Any historic buildings, artefacts or other national estate
7	Activities of current daily lives. Review list as provided herewith and record information regarding any of the topics on the list.
8	Activities of historic daily lives. Review list as provided herewith and record information regarding any of the topics on the list.
9	Recorded battles or battlefields at any time in the history of SA
10	Any recorded prominent persons or groups of people in the area or adjacent
11	Chronological record of events, peoples and places. What was there, when and why?
12	Assign the categories of NHRA to item

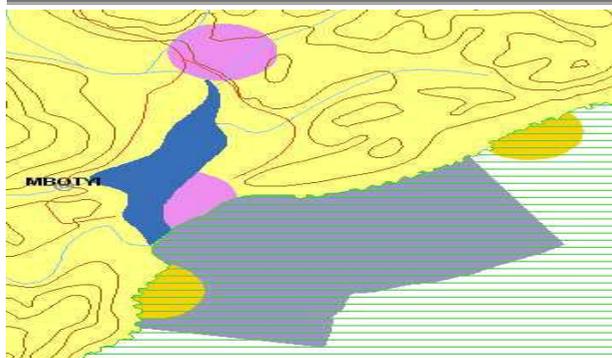


Figure 6. Example of cultural mapping

From the data and a comprehensive view and description of a heritage the significance of the cultural landscape sites are determined. The criteria used for the evaluation are those presented by the National Heritage Resources Act and supplemented by suggestions from Kerr (1996). Due to the fact that Pondoland is being reviewed in its entirety for the inclusion into a National Park, the evaluation was completed on the site in its entirety. Each area is colour-coded based on the conclusions of the process. Monitoring and management guidelines are also included for each site and linked into the database. From the evaluation it can be stated that the Pondoland study area is of high provincial importance and that the area should be considered for evaluation of national importance.

	Level of Significance
a.	Associated with one community.
b.	Associated with a region with more than one represented community.
c.	Level of deterioration is low and the significance of the place/landscape is certainly evident/visible, it may be tangible or intangible.
d.	The place or landscape is rare, unique, excellent example, or of high scientific value. Kerr (1996) also suggests the following criteria that may be considered. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. The level of importance of the associated events or persons to the locality of the nation ii. The level of intimacy and duration of the association. iii. The extent in which evidence of the association survives, either in physical evidence at the place, or as evidence of impact of the place, on people or persons, literature and events iv. Intactness, or evocative quality of the place and its setting relative to the period of association.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT, MONITORING AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Effective management and monitoring can only be completed with the aid of an integrated geographic information system. The proposed system provides for the interactive participation of the inhabitants to keep the data bases updated. Aspects of monitoring and remedial action tasks are also linked to the point data base and continually updated. Decision making parameters are provided to inform decision-making regarding the general management of the areas. Specific guidelines can thus be developed for each site as required. It is recommended that the management plan must at minimum comprise of the following:

1. An Advisory and Review Panel
2. A written Heritage Resource Management Plan
3. A Conservation Policy
4. An Implementation Strategy

In conclusion it is recognised that associative cultural landscapes mark a significant move away from conventional heritage concepts rooted in physical resources, whether the monuments of cultural heritage or wilderness in biophysical heritage. The indivisibility of cultural and biophysical values in cultural landscapes is accentuated. The range of biophysical features associated with cosmological, symbolic, sacred, and culturally significant landscapes may be very broad. They include: caves, coastal waters, groves, hillsides, lakes, mountains, outcrops, plains, pools, rivers, trees, uplands, or woods. While many landscapes have religious, artistic or cultural associations, their associations with the biophysical environment rather than by their material evidences, which may be minimal or entirely absent, distinguish associative cultural landscapes.

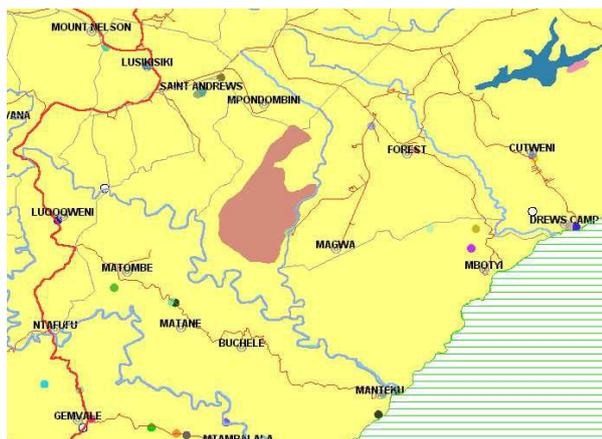


Figure 7. Areas are colour-coded to display their cultural significance.

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Intangible and tangible landscapes: an anthropological perspective based on two South African case studies

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Notes, plates and figures omitted

The relationship between landscape and culture, or landscape and memory, is a developing discourse in anthropological and other cross-disciplinary fields in recent years. During the late nineties, tangible and intangible aspects in culture also became more prominent in anthropological discussions. There is currently a global movement towards a unified vision of landscape, focussing on the integration of culture and nature and incorporating the conservation of the identities of people and places. Within the development industry in South Africa, the concept and realities of preserving intangible heritage are still misunderstood, with the role of memory and meaning of place largely ignored in conservation policies. Formal training as a Landscape Architect focussed the researcher on the physical and spatial aspects of landscape. Subsequent training in the anthropological field added a unique dimension to the studies of landscape. Through qualitative anthropological fieldwork methods it became possible to access its intangible aspects. These intangible values of meaning, memory, lived experience and attachment, in relation to people's connection to locality and landscape, were then traced back to the tangible fabric of place. In this paper, the researcher will attempt to illustrate with two case studies, the complexity of interpreting intangible landscapes and its relation to the tangible fabric, specifically focussing on the role of memory.

Keywords: memory, landscape, mnemotechnics, landscape architecture, anthropology.

The relationship between landscape and culture, or landscape and memory, has been a developing discourse in anthropological and other cross-disciplinary fields in recent years. Scholars such as Barbara Bender, Adrian Franklin, Simon Shama, Tim Ingold and Mcnachten and Ury contemplated and analysed this relationship. During the late nineties, tangible and intangible aspects in culture also became more prominent in anthropological discussions. This emanated from the 2003 ICOMOS International Scientific Symposium: "Place, memory, meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites", where the dialogue surrounding cultural and intangible landscapes was further elaborated. The subsequent European Landscape Convention signed in Florence (Italy) came into force on 1 March 2004 (Council of Europe Treaty Series no. 176). The Convention introduced the concept of "landscape quality objectives" into the protection, management and planning of landscapes, and highlights the role of public and professional identification of landscapes to be protected, managed or developed according to the set quality objectives (Council of Europe 2000).

There is currently a global movement towards a unified vision of landscape, focusing on the integration of culture and nature and incorporating the conservation of the identities of people and places (Scazzosi 2004:336). The most recent Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas, adopted in Xi'an, China by the 15th General Assembly of ICOMOS (2005) paved the way for landscape to be understood as being integrally part of cultural heritage.

Within the development industry in South Africa, the concept and realities of preserving intangible heritage are still misunderstood or ignored. Most development projects in South Africa show little or no recognition of the role of memory and meaning of place in present or for future conservation policies (Bakker 2003). Current legislation provides broad guidelines as to how cultural heritage should be interpreted, but the field of intangible landscapes remains vague.

In this paper, I will attempt to illustrate with two case studies, the complexity of interpreting intangible landscapes and its relation to the tangible fabric, specifically focussing on the role of memory.

Background

As a trained Landscape Architect, the core of my profession is primarily focussed on the physical and spatial aspects of landscape. It is a profession that focuses on the relationship between people and the environment, striving to design social spaces by identifying, connecting and constructing with local resources. Problems are usually solved at multiple scales in collaboration with other design professionals and community members (UP 2007).

From my experience in the field, I believe the above definition is true in its ideology, but the reality of the profession could not be further from it. The development sector is predominantly time and money driven, resulting in the sidelining of the ideologies cited above. The premise, the "relationship between people and the environment" is seated in the tangible and intangible aspects of the landscape. In a recent article in the South African Archaeological Bulletin, Scheermeyer (2005:121) states that "...the practical integration of intangible heritage into mainstream heritage resources management has been sorely lacking". Furthermore, in a paper presented at the 2003 ICOMOS General Assembly, Bakker (2003) stated that "...many local planning authorities and most developers are not sensitised to and cannot practically deal with the concept and the realities of preserving intangible heritage". From my experience within the development and heritage sectors, I fully agree.

Whereas tangible aspects are thoroughly defined and understood in the landscape architectural profession, I believe methods of gaining insight into the intangible aspects could be developed further. Integration of the intangible dimension into the design and development process could lead to a more satisfactory solution. Methods in studying and understanding the tangible and intangible aspects of landscape are seated in anthropological profession. As a result of subsequent training in the anthropological field, I realised that through qualitative anthropological fieldwork methods (participant observation, individual and focus group interviews, accompanying individuals or groups to places of interest) it becomes possible to access the intangible aspects related to the landscape. These intangible values of meaning, memory, lived experience and attachment, in relation to people's connection to locality and landscape, can subsequently be traced back to the tangible fabric of place as documented previously.

Intangible heritage has been defined by UNESCO (2001) as:

"People's learned processes along with the knowledge, skills, and creativity that inform and are developed by them, the products that they create and the resources, spaces, and other aspects of social and natural context necessary to their sustainability. These processes provide living communities with a sense of continuity with previous generations... and are important to cultural identity..."

In South Africa, the White Paper on Arts and Culture, existing Policy on Indigenous Knowledge Systems, the National Heritage Resources Act (No 25 of 1999) and the National Heritage Council Act (No 11 of 1999) constitute the major policy and legislative frameworks attempting to define intangible heritage and the protection thereof. The general principles of the NHRA refer to "heritage resources, which are of cultural significance or other special value for the present community and for future generations that must be considered part of the country's national estate". These include, and are not limited to: places, buildings, structures of cultural significance, archaeological, palaeontological sites, graves, sites of significance to the history of slavery in South Africa and objects to which oral traditions are attached (NHRA No. 25 of 1999, Government Gazette 28 April 1999, No. 19974, Vol. 406: 14(3)). One of the most important elements of the new legislation is the opportunity it provides for communities to participate in the identification, conservation and management of heritage sites, and the eminence it gives to the intangible dimension of heritage (Mbangela 2003).

The question that arises, however, is how the above could be practically applied in the development field of South Africa. As a start, it is imperative to understand the phenomenon of 'landscape' in its physical and socio-cultural context. A brief overview of the theory of tangible and intangible landscapes will prove insightful at this stage.

Landscape

The term "landscape" has been much debated in the past ten years, where many authors have proposed different meanings or roots for it. In the assimilation of different definitions, it could be stated that the term may refer to both an environment shaped by human action, and to a representation (particularly a painting or artwork) which signifies its meanings (Ucko and Layton 1999:1). The term 'landscape' is therefore not tantamount to the bio-physical environment, but rather a generic term for the expression of particular ways of perceiving the environment (Darvill 1999: 105 and Duncan & Ley 1993:262). Subsequently, this polysemic term amalgamates a number of different disciplines and approaches, ranging from classical geography to historic to socio-economic and even design professions (Scazzosi 2004: 337).

Stewart and Strathern (2004:4) took the idea further and linked the term with the concepts of place and community. They define landscape as "the perceived setting that frames people's senses of place and community". Landscape is therefore a key component of how people perceive, memorise and represent history. It leads to the construction of collective memory of a social group or population, which is one of the sources of identity² (Guo 2004: 193). In other words, it becomes a physical manifestation of a culture's knowledge and understanding of its past and future (Kuchler 1993: 85 and Spiegel 2004: 8, 9).

Landscape is thus primarily seated in perception and does not exist as a material object per se (Ucko & Layton 1999: 1, 7). The primary way in which we should view landscapes is thus as a social phenomena. Landscape implies the human as its key element; human ideas and concepts about a certain landscapes differentiates it from an environment and ushers in the cultural. Physical features and relationships in the landscape are socially mapped through cultural or cognitive factors and meanings or values are attributed to them (Allison 1999: 276).

We consequently perceive, understand and create the landscape around us through the filter of not only our social and cultural milieu, but also specific time, place, material and historical conditions (Schama 1995: 12). Therefore, in most cases, landscape may have different meanings and interpretations for different cultural groups or individuals (Mbangela 2003:1 and Cooney 1999:46). The response to landscape is therefore not necessarily universal (Green 1996:31).

Ermischer (2004:380) continued this concept by investigating the idea of landscape as a mental construct and the role of the image, or perception in change. The image of a landscape, that which is determined by the cultural or social background of the viewer, determines the way it is perceived, observed or treated. Therefore, people's ideas and concepts are part of landscape change and the change of perception. Landscape is therefore a "living canvas" and will inevitably change.

Tangible / Intangible Landscapes

From the above discussion, it is clear that landscapes typically comprise intangible as well as tangible elements. Regular users attribute significant meanings to a landscape in whose culture it was constructed. Occasionally, the cultural significance of such landscapes is understandable to outsiders, but typically, even in those cases, concealed meanings and levels of significance are attainable to only a few (Todeschini 2003:online).

The relationship between tangible and intangible landscapes is inseparable. The intangible is materialised by the tangible, and the intangible plays a vital role in the establishment of tangible (Ito 2003:online). Furthermore, the concept and perception of landscape can be used to help build a critical link between the tangible fabric of places and the meanings, memories, cultural traditions and social practises that form part of the associated intangible values. This connection or critical link is clearly explained by Clarke & Johnson (2003: online):

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

Reading the landscape as an expression of meanings and memories seated in past or present cultures, i.e. its intangible dimension, will depend on "identifying a community's reference to external features that we can also perceive" (Ucko and Layton 1999:11). Communicative discourse (language) and participant observation - both qualitative anthropological fieldwork methods - are thus proposed as means of obtaining an understanding of a landscape. Language, the basis of both these techniques, can thus be considered the primary device that gives definition and expression of the tangible and intangible dimension in order to interpret the associations users have with a landscape (Mbangela 2003).

Memory & Mnemotechnics

All cognition is embedded in interpretation. All landscapes are interpretations when seen as something, by somebody. Landscapes are semiotic entities, signs. The iconic quality of the landscape as a sign is obvious and appreciated, and often exploited in landscape research which addresses the communication of landscape change to observers (Arnesen 1998:42).

In the perception of landscape we find a dichotomy. Within a typically western society, there is a predominantly visual perception and experience of landscape. It is thus an individualist and predominantly pictorial landscape (Bender 1993:1). Kuchler (1993:84) argues that the 'Western' view, which originated from landscape art since the Renaissance, "treats landscape as an inscribed surface, as an aide memoir of cultural knowledge and understanding of its past and future". However, in less complex societies, landscapes are experienced through multiple senses: oral recollections, storytelling, touch, olfactory exploration and social experience (Franklin 2002:186). In this case, the visual may not be the most significant aspect. For these societies, landscape is not the inscription of memory or encoding of memories, but the "process of remembering" (Kuchler 1993:85).

The western conceptualisation – 'landscape of memory' – sees landscape as a fixed, objectifiable and measurable description of a surface, while the indigenous conceptualisation – 'landscape as memory' –

sees landscape as something that is affected by the project of its representation and remembrance, as part of the process of remembering (Guo 2004:200).

Scazzosi (2004) introduced the idea of landscape as a document or palimpsest, leading from the perspective of landscape of memory. In his paper, "Reading and Assessing the Landscape (2004:335), he argued that mere perceiving the landscape in a visual sense is no longer valid.

Landscapes should be viewed as archives or living documents, where the history of the place and traces of eras are combined with the activities of the present. Landscape is thus a "reading of the world in its complexity; a means to contemplate our own history and to build our future, being fully aware of the past." It is a multi-layered document with elements of the past merged with the tangible present.

The alternative to landscape as defined as an inscribed surface and 'aide memoir' of culture is the perspective of landscape as a key component in the process of memory. This perspective of landscape as memory, rather than inscription of memory, follows from the above discussion on the dichotomy between western and traditional views of landscape (Kuchler 1993:103).

Spiegel (2004:8) subsequently argues that landscape is an agent of memory inscription; and that it exists in a dialectical relationship with memory. Memories and stories are significant parts of living heritage of a community or an individual, including the social and cultural connections between people (Mbangela 2003). Spiegel proposed the premise that the only way landscape can make memory (landscape as memory) is through intellectual or cognitive processes. It is necessary for memory to cognitively reinterpret and (re)compose the landscape through the intellectual processes in order to recollect earlier experiences (Spiegel 2004: 3, 7).

Integral to this discussion of the connection between landscape and memory, is the practice of mnemotechnics. It had its inception during the Greek and later Roman times and was primarily a sub-discipline of speech-making, namely the "art of memory". Classical orators extensively used place analogies as an aid in memorizing argumentative themes or rhetoric of their speeches. "Study of mnemonic theory - including constructs of modern art theory, philosophy and cognitive psychology, along with ideas developed by classical orators - suggests that mental organization structures itself in a fundamentally spatial manner" (Parker 1997:147).

This concept was originally explored by Jan Vansina, the Belgium anthropologist who worked in Central Africa (1985:45). He advocated that memory often needs mnemotechnic devices (mnemonic = designed to aid the memory) to be efficiently activated. These can be objects, landscapes, or forms of music.

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

Intangible change

To summarise, one might understand the landscape and its perception, as revealed in visual and verbal representations, as a result of the process of memory, from an acutely acculturated process of remembering to a personal and measurable capacity (Kuhler 1993:103). The practices that perpetuate memory are inscribed on the landscape, and respectively inscribe the landscape itself into memory (Spiegel 2004: 8). The intangible dimension is continually recreated because, in contrast to written history, "oral history is more inclusive and involves the history in which each generation adds its knowledge and transmission of past generations" (Mbangela 2003). In effect, the perception of the landscape respectively changes as it is essentially embedded in the intangible dimension of culture (Franklin, 2002:37).

Today's landscape is inevitably processual and transforming, integral to processes of objectification and the sedimentation of history, subjected to poetic and hermeneutic interpretation and a place where value and emotion coincide (Morphy 1993:205).

Continuity of intangible cultural values often requires a tangible materialization. This may be a place where the relationship between the fabric of the place and the intangible associations (meanings and memories) with that place to a specific culture or group, have continued through time. However, in the event of the continuity of the relationship of intangible value and place is disrupted, often due to external or material changes, the intangible connection to that place is at risk of breaking (Truscott, 2003).

This discussion attempted to clarify the concept of landscape and memory and described two seemingly opposing, but actual congruent approaches to understand the role of memory in the landscape. The one position describes the landscape as a document of past and present memories, while the other sees the landscape as a process in the perpetuation of memory. Both highlight the relationship between the landscape and culture. Consequently, two unique South African case studies will be discussed in order to further elucidate this concept.

Discussion

My first professional exposure to the relationship between the tangible and intangible dimensions of landscape occurred during a study I completed for the Environmental Potential Atlas of South Africa (ENPAT) in 2000. I was contracted to compile an inventory of places, landscapes, structures and localities with inherent cultural value for Pondoland in the Eastern Cape. A database with extensive information on each specific site was linked to a GIS spatial map of the area. As a landscape architect with no formal training in anthropological fieldwork methods, I stayed with local families in the area, doing informal interviews with community members and walking the land with others. This resulted in the identification and mapping of a number of significant localities. However, the most important personal consequence was the discovery of Ngquza Hill. During my fieldwork, almost every community member I interviewed referred to Ngquza Hill as the most significant place in Pondoland. I realised that I needed to conduct additional research on the Hill, which came to fruition in an Honours Thesis in Anthropology in 2002. At this stage, I acquainted myself with the full spectrum of anthropological fieldwork methods.

In July 2004, Union Buildings Architectural Consultants (UBAC) appointed Cultmatrix, to develop a Conservation Management Plan for the Union Buildings Estate. As part of Newtown Landscape Architects, I was appointed as a sub-consultant to carry out a Heritage Audit of the Estate to complement Cultmatrix's audit of the buildings. During my research, I predominantly utilised qualitative fieldwork methods in addition to archival research to gain insights into the significance of the site. In both projects, the significance of accessing the intangible dimension of the landscape in order to fully understand and contextualise its tangible aspects, became abundantly clear to me. Subsequently, the role of memory in the construction of landscape was investigated on a variety of levels.

Case study 1: Ngquza Hill, Pondoland

This case study revolves around a relatively unknown site in the Eastern Cape. Ngquza Hill hosted one of the most tragic events in Mpondo history. The event had a profound impact on the lives of all the people involved, their families and also the Mpondo community as a whole.

Ngquza Hill is located in the northern part of Pondoland, within the Eastern Cape, South Africa. It is approximately 20km south-east of Flagstaff, which is the closest town, and 40km north-east of Mkambati Nature Reserve on the coast. The main secondary road that runs from Flagstaff to Mkambati is currently the only access road to Ngquza Hill.

The Pondoland Revolt of 1960 – 61 was based on grievances about the Bantu Authorities System, Bantu Education, the Betterment Schemes and appointed chiefs. Public discontent resulted in the formation of a formalised group disputing the governing bodies. When not referred to as 'Intaba' (The Mountain) the organization, known as 'Ikongo' (Congress), dominated the affairs of an area of about 4000 square kilometres, comprising a population of 180000. This area consisted of the towns of Flagstaff, Bizana and Lusikisiki and the areas adjacent to them.

After a ban was placed on all public meetings in the area and police and military presence increased, Ikongo requested a meeting with the magistrate of Lusikisiki. This meeting resulted in a military ambush at Ngquza which ended in the killing of eleven men, the further execution of more captives, and the declaration of the State of Emergency issued a week before the infamous Sharpeville shootings.

After thorough archival and literature research into the history of the event, the fieldwork research focussed on anthropological research methods to decipher the intangible legacy of the landscape. After a number of informal and focus group interviews with community members, a number of key informants were identified. I walked the site with a number of veterans of the event, documenting their observations and mapping the events, linking the tangible aspects of history and the landscape with the intangible values related to the people who experienced the events.

As an initial outsider, a white Afrikaans girl with a very elementary understanding of Xhosa and the Mpondo culture, my first encounter with Ngquza was from the homestead of the family that I stayed with in Kwa Bhala. Nosipho Holweni, the eldest sister of the family and the local schoolteacher, took me outside and conveyed the story of Ngquza (Personal Communication: Holweni 2001). At that stage, I had never been to the site and only noticed the hill from a distance. Nosipho briefly told me about the Pondoland Revolt and that members of their community died during the Ngquza incident. She then went

on to explain the cultural root of the name “Ngquza”. The name refers to the coming of age ceremony, the Mngquzo, where Mpondo virgins are initiated into womanhood. These ceremonies were conducted frequently at the Hill. Another custom was also associated with the Hill: If a man fell in love with a woman, he would take a stick with a white cloth and put it on the top of the Hill. Everyone would see it and know his intentions, thus he could go to the girl’s parents and be allowed to see the girl after paying a number of goats to the mother and father. This Hill has additionally long been regarded as the place where people went to announce something to the community (Personal communication: Sipolo 2001).

The day we were scheduled to visit the oldest surviving witness to the event, Mr Sipolo, it rained profusely. We had to walk all the way up a steep hill and down the opposite side in pouring rain. It is clear that I did not get a very clear view of the setting of the event during my first visit. I did however receive the most thorough and unbiased account of the events from this old man who rescued the survivors from the valley after the incident with the armed forces.

He carefully related every detail of the event and was still visibly pained from recollecting that tragic day. Unfortunately, this man died before I could officially visit Ngquza again two years later.

The Reburial

The second visit occurred on the day of the reburial ceremony of the bodies of those executed after the events in 1961. On 6 June 1998, The Ngquza Hill Commemoration Committee, with the assistance of the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture of the Eastern Cape, erected a monument commemorating the men who died in the massacre on 6 June 1960, and the men who were executed in 1962 at the Pretoria Central Prison (now the Pretoria C Max Prison) after being arrested due to involvement with the Ikongo. During May 2001, the remains of all the executed men were exhumed at the Mamelodi Cemetery outside Pretoria and on 6 June 2003, twelve of the men were reburied at the site of the Ngquza monument. This event was planned and paid for by the Government and had a very strong ANC focus. It was widely attended, with busloads of residents from Pondoland streaming to this remote setting. During this event, I had the opportunity to interview a number of younger community members, but also the veterans of the event itself.

The following day, I was to meet with a number of these veterans to walk the site and utilise landscape features to serve as mnemotechnic devices triggering memories of the event. Only two men, Clement Gxabu, veteran and spokesperson for the Ngquza Hill Steering Committee and Mr Silangwe, another veteran and part of the Steering Committee, accompanied me. A number of veterans were expected to give a more complete view of the happenings, and this meeting was regarded as an introduction for follow-up individual meetings. With only two veterans attending this meeting, it was rather disappointing. I enquired about why there were only two veterans attending the meeting. They stated that there were no other veterans, and that they were the only other people that knew what had happened during the massacre.

This contradicted the fact that a number of veterans were observed and introduced to the researcher during the reburial of the exhumed bodies two days before. Mbambo (2000:12) discussed the resistance of the community to talk about the event: “...those that took part in the Mpondo Revolt are sceptical to talk about anything related to the Ngquza massacre...Those that are keen to talk about it are those who did not take part, but who know what happened”.

However, the day proved very insightful and I was able to construct a detailed spatial account of what occurred during the day of the event (refer to Müller 2004). After spending a day on the slopes of the hill and in the valley, I obtained a thorough understanding of the tangible aspects of the landscape. However, more importantly, by listening to the eyewitness accounts of the veterans, documenting the locations of individual events, understanding the consequences of the day, I began to access the intangible dimension of the landscape that was seated in the memories of the veterans.

Beyond the Reburial

My third visit to Ngquza was two years later, with a friend who had no previous knowledge of the event. I found it insightful to note his response to the landscape. In a typically western view (refer to Kuchler and Bender previously), he only perceived a beautiful landscape. He did not have the same access I had to the intangible dimension of memory connected to the landscape.

During this time, I again met with the Ngquza Hill Steering Committee. At the previous meeting, they had plans to develop Ngquza Hill as part of a larger provincial initiative to boost tourism in the area. At this second meeting, nobody was willing to elaborate on the plans, but it did not seem that there was any progress. From informal interviews within the community, I did however gather that there was a mounting disunity amongst its members concerning Ngquza. Apparently, another group of veterans were contesting the validity of Mr Gxabu and Mr Silangwe, or the Ngquza Hill Steering Committee.

My most recent visit to Ngquza (September 2007) was two years after the first formal meetings by the Ngquza Steering Committee and the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture. After enquiring about any progress on the project, I was met with a despondent response from most community members. Up to date, nothing has been done. Many community members do not believe that any development would occur, their views supported by the fact that, after more than twelve years of being promised basic services such as water and electricity, they still have no infrastructure. Due to this reason, many have decided not to be involved in the Ngquza development process (personal communication: Holweni 2007).

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

After speaking to the departmental officer responsible for the site and project, Mrs M Wopula, it was troubling to note that the development of Ngquza would not entail the development of the site, but would comprise the erection of an Arts Centre next to the existing monument.

She argued that an Art Centre would better serve the needs of the community as they can sell their crafts at the Centre. Nothing was said about the site's inherent heritage value and the conservation thereof in the development process (personal communication: Wopula 2007).

In the face of the growing indifference towards Ngquza and politically driven development proposals in the pipeline, continual studies into the shifting perceptions, meaning and significance of this landscape would prove insightful.

Case Study 2: Union Buildings Estate: Omitted for brevity

Memory and landscape: intangible and tangible

In the case of Ngquza, the natural landscape – the valley and the hill - is the seat of its significance.

For years, the community referred to the geographical and natural features when describing the event. The entire landscape served as a visual reminder of the incident, and individual landscape elements served as mnemotechnic devices triggering recollection of specific details. However, the intangible dimension of the landscape is only clear to the community and those that were affected by the event. An outsider, who has no insight into the event, would only admire the beauty of the natural environment. The deeper, intangible meanings would be completely lost to such a person. With the erection of the monument in 1999, the focus of the heritage site shifted from the entire landscape, to the site of the monument. Here, a tangible object was placed in the landscape to enable the uninformed access to the intangible aspects connected to the site. Unfortunately, in so doing, many of the details surrounding the event became lost. In the transmission of the history of the event from older to younger generations and in referring to Ngquza, community members refer mostly to the monument site or the hill. The significance of the valley is slowly disappearing. Furthermore, with the dawning of 'development' prospects and the potential exploitation of the tourism industry, the meaning of the site has shifted from its original significance to that of monetary value and political gain.

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

If one considers the memory connected to both sites [Ngquza and Union Buildings Estate], one gains insight into the fluid nature of memory (landscape as memory) and subsequently, the intangible dimension of landscape. It has already been stated that memory and landscape are integrally linked (Kuchler 1993:85 and Spiegel 2004, 9). In the inevitability of the physical landscape changing due to external factors such as development, change of power, neglect or the course of nature, the memory connected to those landscapes will change resultantly (Mbangela 2003).

Likewise, collective or individual memory can also change due to change in living circumstances, change of political power, or changes in the social paradigm. This results in an altered perception of the landscape.

Conclusion

It could be stated that landscape and memory are fundamentally interconnected through the intangible dimension. Both are part of a continuum and both are equally susceptible to change. The above examples illustrate the interrelationship between the intangible and the tangible landscape and that they are inseparable. The tangible landscape guides, informs and shapes the intangible landscape, and vice versa.

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

The study and understanding of intangible cultural heritage will offer an important basis for the maintenance, custody, conservation, and repair of tangible cultural heritage (Ito 2003).

The integration of intangible values (memory and meaning) into conservation practice, whether associated with place, landscape or both, will require a fundamental shift from a somewhat static view of significance to one that recognises the dynamic and contextual nature of social meaning (Clarke & Johnson, 2003).

The inherent nature and practice of Anthropology, considering the numerous fieldwork and research methodologies of accessing the intangible, offers the most thorough and unique way of understanding the landscape.

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