DSPACE

https://dspace.org/

Ngiphathel’ uGubhu Lwam’ Ekhaya Lapha, Mnawami! UMntwana uMagogo and the photographic image

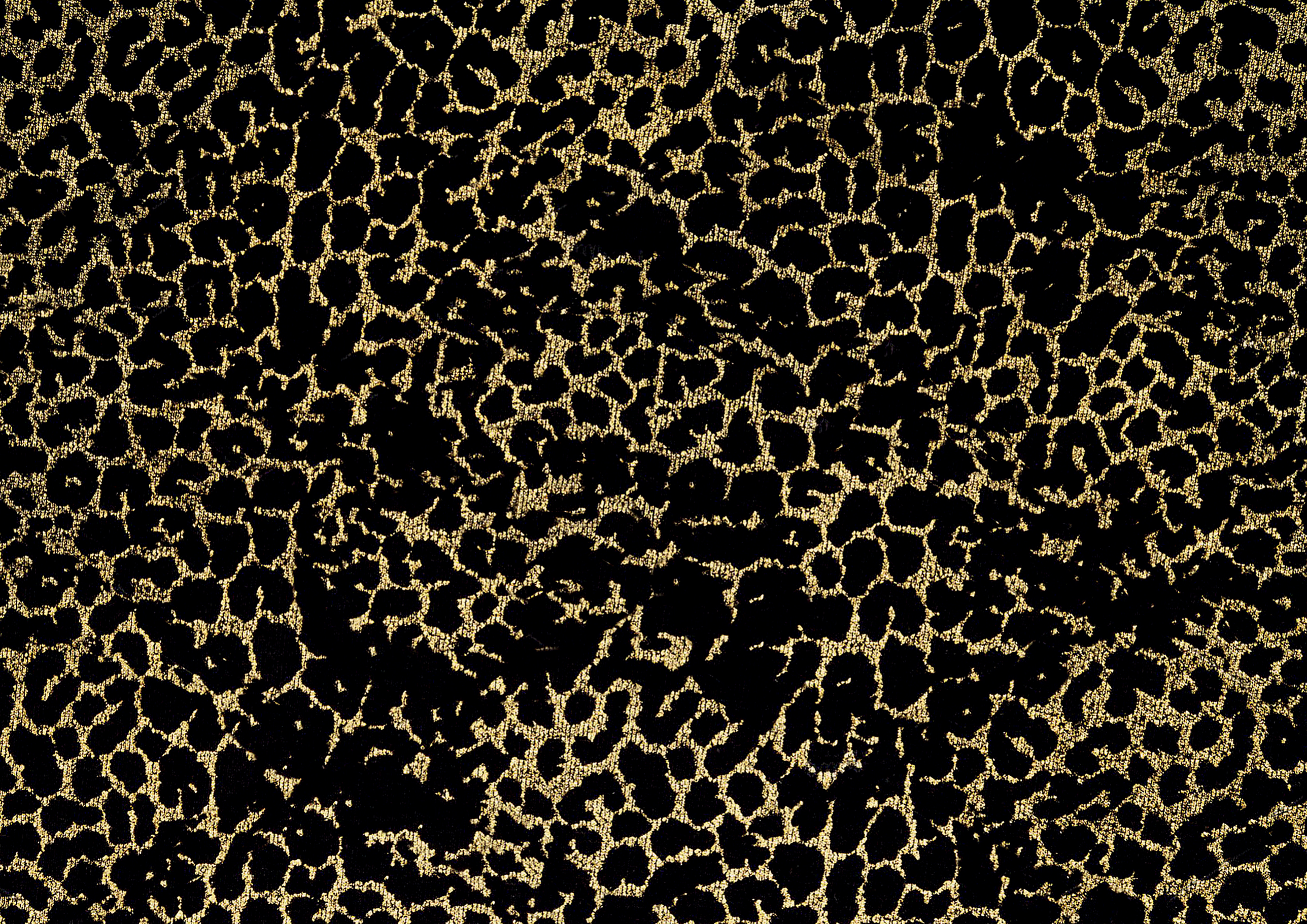
Shange, Belinda Kholeka

2020
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/30758

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Ngiphathel' uGubhu
Lwam' Ekhaya Lapha, Mnawami!
UMntwana uMagogo and the Photographic Image

Kholeka Shange



Ngiphathel' uGubhu
Lwam' Ekhaya Lapha, Mnawami!
UMntwana uMagogo and
the Photographic Image

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

by
Kholeka Shange
Supervisor: Dr Nicola Cloete

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it at any university for a degree.

_____ Date: 20 March 2020

ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER
H19/02/29

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the Author and the Finisher of my Faith[1].

1 See Hebrews 12: 2

Acknowledgements

In the acknowledgements section of her PhD thesis titled *Lived and Embodied Suffering and Healing amongst Mothers and Daughters in Chesterville Township, KwaZulu-Natal,* Nthabiseng Motsemme aptly observes that "It takes a village to complete a PhD!" (2011: iii). Motsemme's profound words resonate deeply with me as I am a doctoral candidate whose thesis could not have materialised without the critical contribution of a community of people that have held me throughout this daunting journey. As I think of my 'village' which comprises of my supervisor, family, friends, and the academic community at large, I draw on the isiZulu proverb "Ukubonga ukuzibekela" (Nyembezi, 1974: 185), which may be interpreted as "To express thanks is to provide for one's future" (ibid). I am particularly fascinated by this adage because it not only frames gratitude as an attitude but it conceives of it as a praxis that has a bearing on one's trajectory. In this regard, I say thank you with the idea that my [academic] future is built on the efforts of multiple people, organisations, institutions and/ sponsors.

To Dr Nicola Cloete, thank you for your supervision. To Professor Innocentia Brenda Mhlambi, the History of Art department (especially Stacey Vorster) and the Wits School of Arts at large (particularly Professor Brett Pyper, Dr Andile Khumalo and Dr Donato Somma), I am grateful for your support.

KuMntwana wakwaPhindangene, Ndabezitha! Ngokukhulu ukuzithoba, ngiyabonga ukuthi wahlela ukuthi ngithole izithombe zikaMntwana uMagogo ngisizwa ithimba lase Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi Museum. To the International Library of African Music/ ILAM (Diane Thram in particular), thank you for granting me access to uMntwana uMagogo's photographs and music. To the South African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO) and the artist Velaphi Mzimba, thank you for giving me permission to

theorise around the painting/catalogue representing uMntwana uMagogo. To Tsepo Gumbi, thank you for allowing me to access to your incredible photography.

To the National Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS) in association with SAHUDA, the South African Society for Research in Music/SASRIM (particularly Dr Mareli Stolp and Dr Lindelwa Dalamba), Stein-Lessing, the Academic and Non-Fiction Authors' Association of South Africa/ANFASA, and the Theory from Africa (1st series) workshop founding team (Professor Dilip Menon, Professor Anthony Bogues and Professor Clapperton Mavhunga), thank you for your sponsorship and guidance.

To ukhokho uMtwana uNosulumane, my mother Nomfundo Shange, my brother Reatile Koka, my uncles Buthanani Shange and Khayelihle Shange, ugogo uGloria Shange, my second mother Thembi Hadebe, umkhulu uBhekinsizwa Mathe, umamncane uKusilingene Gimbi Jiyane, ugogo uMkhize, uMntwana wakwa Khuzwayo, uMntwana wakwaMtshali, umama wakwaMazibuko, usisi Gabi, uMaSithole wasezansi kwaGwala (ugazi lami), ugogo wakwaMchunu, uma'am Ngcobo and uma'am Ntshangase; you have all raised me in varying ways. Your fervent prayers, warm hands and open hearts have gotten me here. Thank you!

To umfundisi uMkhwanazi, ubaba uMsweli ongasweli, umfundisi uMpontshane, umfundisi uMawawa, umfundisi uSibiya, umama uMasikane and ubaba uMathebula; you have seen me at my most vulnerable and you have prayed me out of the scariest places I have ever seen. UNkulunkulu anibusise for speaking life over me.

To my editor and skeem uNjabulo Zwane, hhoyi hhoyi! Ngiyabonga kakhulu bhuti wami. To the designer of this thesis Naadira Patel, I thank you for your hard work.

To Matamela Mulaudzi (the librarian at Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand), waze wangisiza baba. Ngiyabonga ngayoyonke imizamo yakho ukuthi ngithole izichazamazwi ezahlukahlukene. Waze wangithumela eJohannesburg City Library (JCL) ukuyothola isithombe sikaMntwana uMagogo esavela ku *Sunday Tribune* ngo 1972. Mangifika lapha eJCL, ubaba u-Julius Dlamini (the Library Assistant) waba lusizo olukhukulu ehla enyuka esizana nami bakithi. Naze nangenza umuntu. UNkulunkulu anandisele.

To Dr Nosipho Mngomezulu, Buyaphi Mdledle, Kgafela oa Magogodi, Lindiwe Mole, Zukolwenkosi Zikalala, Dalisu Mncube, Nozipho Dlamini, Jessica Lejowa, Thandiwe Dlamini, Sanele ka Ntshingana, Sikhumbuzo Makandula, Nombulelo Gongqa, Ngqiqokabawo Ncwadi, Kgomotso Moshugi, Phumla Hadebe, Eric Sunu Doe, Vuyelwa Maluleke, Dr Athambile Masola and Katlego Disemelo; your words of encouragement kept me going. Ningadinwa nangomuso.

Abstract

'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is a historical figure whose prominence and acclaim has been primarily documented through 'Zulu' historiography. She has been immortalised as the daughter of 'King Dinuzulu'[1], the mother of 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi' and an unparalleled musician, imbongi[2], instrumentalist, composer, performer and custodian of 'Zulu culture'. However, in this thesis, I posit that the way in which this seemingly larger-than-life 'Zulu' royal woman has been commonly represented is in many ways one-dimensional and patriarchal. In this study I explore how her obscure existence in 'Zulu' historiography not only perpetuates the marginalisation of 'Zulu' royal women's histories at large, but is also an illustration of how white supremacist capitalist heteropatriarchy relegates the experiences of Blackwomen to the margins. Moreover, through the use of a Blackwomen-centric feminist methodology, I examine how a re-reading of photographic representations of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' not only challenges the peripherilisation of these histories, but I investigate how this historic woman's hypervisibility (as a 'big' woman in 'Zulu' historiography) paradoxically renders the everyday woman that I refer to as uMntwana uMagogo invisible. In this regard, I am interested in how normative readings of the aforementioned images may be disrupted through various methods that I employ in each chapter. As such, 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is re-conceived as an ordinary Blackwoman that was not only a colonised subject, but existed in twentieth century South Africa as a Blackwoman wherein institutionalised race-based domination was systemised through apartheid.

Keywords: Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu, 'Zulu' Royal women, 'Zulu' historiography, Photography, Black Feminism.

---

1 'King Dinuzulu' is at times referred to as 'King Dinizulu' (sic) or 'King Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo'.

2 A Nguni term meaning praise poet.

Contents

Declaration 6

Dedication 7

Acknowledgements 8

Abstract 11

List of Figures 14

Introduction 17

Blackwomen-centric Feminism as a Methodology 20

Thinking and Writing through isiZulu Concepts 26

The Names We Go By: From Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu to uMntwana uMagogo 28

Naming Things: The Meanings Behind the Thesis Title 33

Locating and Theorising My Positionality 35

Traversing through Izithombe 48

Aestheticising the Thesis as a Multisensory Object 54

Thesis Structure 59

Chapter One 65

Zwakala: Umsindo woGubhu and uMntwana uMagogo

Chapter Two 109

Okabani Na LowoMntwana? UMntwana uMagogo and Isizwe

Chapter Three 159

Picturing an Aesthetic of Blackness in uMntwana uMagogo's Living Space

Conclusion 185

Bibliography 193

List of Figures

FIGURE 1 Circa late 1920's. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uNosulumane with a child suspected to be her first born son Mqandamini. **38**

FIGURE 2 Circa 1986. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of my mother Nomfundo Shange in North Carolina, USA. **39**

FIGURE 3 Circa 1990. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uNosulumane and me in Section A, Ulundi, KwaZulu. **39**

FIGURE 4 Circa late 1960s. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of ugogo uGloria Thandekile Shange. **40**

FIGURE 5 1984. A scan of a letter my mother Nomfundo Shange wrote from North Carolina, USA to ukhokho uMntwana uNosulumane in Section A, Ulundi, KwaZulu. **41**

FIGURE 6 1965. A scan of an affidavit found in uMntwana uNosulumane's trunk in Section A, Ulundi, KwaZulu. **49**

FIGURE 7 Year and photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uSibuyiselwe Angela Buthelezi and uMntwana uMagogo (commonly known as 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' or 'Princess Magogo kaDinizulu') at kwaPhindangene in eNkonjeni, KwaZulu. **72**

FIGURE 8 1972. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo and uMntwana uSibuyiselwe at kwaPhindangene in eNkonjeni, KwaZulu. **77**

FIGURE 9 1972. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo at kwaPhindangene in eNkonjeni, KwaZulu. **85**

FIGURE 10 1962. H. R. Dent. Oil painting of uMntwana uMagogo and uMntwana wakwaPhindangene (commonly known as 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi' or 'Chief Buthelezi'). **86**

FIGURE 11 1972. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo at kwaPhindangene in eNkonjeni, KwaZulu. **88**

FIGURE 12 Circa early 1970s. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo, uMntwana uSibuyiselwe and undocumented children in at kwaPhindangene in eNkonjeni, KwaZulu. **89**

FIGURE 13 Circa early 1970s. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo, uMntwana uSibuyiselwe and undocumented children in at kwaPhindangene in eNkonjeni, KwaZulu. **89**

FIGURE 14 2002. Vuyani Mzimba. Acrylic painting of '*Princess Constance Magogo kaDinuzulu Buthelezi'*. **92**

FIGURE 15 2015. A scanned cover of SAMRO Foundation booklet. **92**

FIGURE 16 2015. A scanned index page of SAMRO Foundation booklet. **94**

FIGURE 17 Year and photographer undocumented.. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo playing ugubhu. **100**

FIGURE 18 Year and photographer undocumented.. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo playing ugubhu. **101**

FIGURE 19 1988. A scanned cover of *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction.* **120**

FIGURE 20 1988. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo reproduced in *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction.* **125**

FIGURE 21 Year, photographer and colourist undocumented. Colourised photographic portrait of uMntwana uMagogo. **126**

FIGURE 22 2018. Screenshot of Google search of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. **130**

FIGURE 23 2018. Screenshot of Google search of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. **131**

FIGURE 24 2018. Screenshot of Google search of 'Princess Constance Magogo. **131**

FIGURE 25 2018. Screenshot of Google search of 'Princess Magogo'. **132**

FIGURE 26 2018. Screenshot of my Google search of 'uMntwana uMagogo'. **132**

FIGURE 27 2006. Photograph of Sibongile Khumalo as 'Princess Magogo' and Ntsikelelo Mali as Khiphakonke Ndwandwe, her love interest before marrying Chief Mathole Buthelezi. **134**

FIGURE 28 2002. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo reproduced in Liz Gunner's *A Royal Woman, an Artist, and the Ambiguities of National Belonging: The Case of Princess Constance Magogo.* **136**

FIGURE 29 2015. Tsepo Gumbi. Photograph of Maggie Tenku Gumbi's living room in Putswastena, Sharpeville. **140**

FIGURE 30 1972. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo, uMntwana uSibuyiselwe and undocumented people at a Shaka's Day commemoration in Umlazi Stadium, KwaZulu (reproduced in Ben Temkin's *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman*). **142**

FIGURE 31 1972. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana wakwaPhindangene and photograph of uMntwana uMagogo and uMntwana uSibuyiselwe reproduced in the *Sunday Tribune.* **143**

FIGURE 32 1972. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo, uMntwana uSibuyiselwe and undocumented people at Shaka's Day commemoration in Umlazi Stadium, KwaZulu (reproduced in Ben Temkin's *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman*). **144**

FIGURE 33 1972. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana wakwaPhindangene reproduced in the *Sunday Tribune*. **151**

FIGURE 34 1976. Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo and uMntwana wakwaPhindangene reproduced in Ben Temkin's *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman.* **164**

FIGURE 35 Photographer undocumented. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo reproduced in Liz Gunner and Mafika Gwala's *Musho! Zulu Popular Praises* (1991). **165**

FIGURE 36 Screenshot of Kwesta and Wale's music video titled *Spirit* (2019) **172**

FIGURE 37 Screenshot of Kwesta and Wale's music video titled *Spirit* (2019) **173**

Introduction

'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' has been widely historicised and celebrated as "the greatest living authority of Zulu music" (Rycroft, 1975/1976), "an expert performer without peer" (*ibid.*), "the most authoritative voice on the interpretation of beadwork" (Jolles 1991: 59), an imbongi[1], an instrumentalist, a musician, a composer and a custodian of 'Zulu culture'[2] (Tracey, 1939; Cope, 1959; Rycroft, 1975/76; Buthelezi in Gordon, 1988; Gray, 1988; Kgalane, 1996; Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 2000, Gunner, 2002; Khumalo, 2002; Xaba, 2008; Classic Feel, 2009; The Presidency Republic of South Africa, 2013; Mhlambi, 2015; Buthelezi, 2017; Khoza, 2018; Dodd, 2019). She has been primarily identified as the daughter of 'King Dinuzulu', the wife of 'King Mathole Buthelezi', the sister to 'King Solomon kaDinuzulu' and the mother of 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi' (*ibid.*). And recently, she has been interestingly memorialised as a philosopher and a feminist[3] (Khoza, 2018).

---

1 Although 'imbongi' is commonly understood to mean a praise poet, Mbongiseni Buthelezi notes that a royal praise poet is particularly referred to as "inyosi" (2012: 25). Interestingly, in 'Zulu' historiography, 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is predominantly framed as imbongi, which is an 'ordinary' praise poet (ibid). This is fascinating because often, she is set apart from everyday people—an argument that is central to this thesis. In this regard, I use the term imbongi with the idea that the quotidian is critical in the telling of the narrative of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'.

2 I have placed this phrase in quotation marks because multiple scholars have interrogated the homogeneity of Zuluness (Gunner and Gwala, 1991; Gunner, 2002; Carton, 2009; Mokoena 2011; Buthelezi, 2017).

3 While Mbuso Khoza's conception of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as a feminist is subversive, ironically, in his effort to interrogate patriarchy, he finds himself affirming this oppressive ideology. During his interview with the *Mail & Guardian's* Kwanele Sosibo, Khoza states "She [Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu] demystified and challenged the function of patriarchy by transcending gender-based boundaries […] Her feminism was not from the approach of: "I can do what a man can do," which, I feel is what feminism has become now. Her approach was more to say: "I can also play that role"" (2018). Khoza's act of pitting the feminist praxis of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' against other feminists (who are women like her I assume?) is concerning because this historic woman is exceptionalised as a feminist above other feminists. In a way, Khoza plays into her singularisation that disconnects her from other women…particularly Blackwomen. Moreover, his framing of contemporary feminism as a movement that is concerned with people (who are clearly not men) "do[ing] what […] m[e]n can do" (ibid) is contentious because it maintains the idea that men are the standard that all people who are not men must aspire or even adhere to. In addition, Khoza's use of the category 'men' presupposes that men are a homogenous group that is interested in doing "what m[e]n can do". He suggests that there are activities that are inherently masculine and he posits that due to her 'extraordinariness', 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is able to access this homogenised masculinity in a way that is non-threatening (which is contrary to 'other' feminists that are conceived of as a threat to dominant masculinity).

However, as critical as this documentation of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' has been, I propose that the manner in which this seemingly larger-than-life historic figure has been predominantly written about has in many ways been one-dimensional and patriarchal.

In this regard, 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as a hyper-visible[4] 'big'[5] woman of 'Zulu' historiography has paradoxically rendered the everyday woman that I refer to as uMntwana (a title I explore later in the thesis) uMagogo invisible. As such, I investigate the multiple ways in which the latter has displayed agency to define herself for herself—an idea that not only signals the multiplicity[6] found in the individual but it also reflects how identity is a heterogeneous ontological site. Moreover, I examine how the obscure existence of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' in 'Zulu' historiography not only perpetuates the marginalisation of women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's histories but it is also an illustration of how white supremacist capitalist heteropatriarchy relegates the experiences of Blackwomen[7] to the margins.

---

4 My use of this expression is informed by the Foucauldian idea of "constant…visib[ility]" (1975:197) wherein the marginalised (who are often framed as aberrant, deviant and transgressive) are under the continual scrutiny of the dominant order. As such, those who are located in the peripheries are subjected to the regulatory gaze of those who are in the centre—a site of power and authority (Foucault, 1975). In this context, to be on the margins is to be inordinately placed on display for one's 'difference' and 'Otherness'—the antithesis of what constitutes the ruling class that is situated in the centre. In the haunting words of Foucault, "Visibility is a trap" (1975: 197).

5 The adjective 'big' is often used to describe the extent of the size of a person or a thing. This is commonly done in a comparative context wherein people or things are juxtaposed. In this case, the person or thing that is 'big' is considered larger than what they are compared to. Moreover, a person's 'bigness' may signal their seniority or their status in society. In this thesis, I use the term in the latter sense. In isiZulu, there is a particularly interesting title that is given to someone who is seen as important in society. Sibusiso Nyembezi and E. O. H. Nxumalo's *Inqolobane Yesizwe* refers to this kind of a person as "isikhulu" (1966: 264) which they define as "isiphakanyiswa" (ibid) and "umuntu ophakeme ngozalo" (ibid). The noun 'isikhulu' is especially intriguing because of the suffix –khulu meaning 'big'. In this regard, the prefix isi- frames this 'bigness' as something that belongs to a person of great significance in society. As stated by Nyembezi and Nxumalo (ibid), this person is 'isiphakanyiswa' (which loosely means 'one who has been raised up or given a higher rank') and 'umuntu ophakeme ngozalo' (which loosely means 'a person who is of a higher rank because of their birth, lineage or descent). In this study, I use 'big' to signal the esteem allotted to the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' due to her lineage, her artistic and cultural praxis and her marital status. As suggested by Nyembezi and Nxumalo, isikhulu is given the ranking by others and in the context of this thesis, I argue that the place of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' in 'Zulu' historiography is one that has been constructed and affirmed by historians and documentarians. 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is not just a 'Zulu' royal woman appearing in 'official' historiography, but in juxtaposition to other Women in the 'Zulu' monarchy, she is big while they appear small or not at all.

6 See *Redefining an African Sky: South African Women's Writing Post-Apartheid* (2002) wherein Gina Wisker cites Mae Gwendoline Henderson's idea of "the plural aspects of self that constitute the matrix of black female subjectivity" (2002: 142-143).

7 Following Pumla Dineo Gqola in *Ufanele Uqavile: Blackwomen, Feminisms and Postcoloniality in Africa* (2001), I combine the words "Black" and "women" in order to highlight how race and gender cannot be treated as mutually exclusive for Blackwomen. And my use of the category 'woman' or 'women'—instead of the currently used expression 'womxn' (a Rhodes Must Fall/ Fees Must Fall inspired neologism that interrogates the homogeneity of womanhood)—should be considered in light of the time in which 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' lived. Moreover, in South Africa, the terms black, Indian and coloured were established as racial categories through the promulgation of apartheid laws in the late 1940s. Before then, people of colour were referred to as African (Ntombela, 2013). In this thesis, I use the term 'black' in line with Bantu Stephen Biko's definition of Black Consciousness. In *I Write What I Like 40th Anniversary Edition,* Biko defines black people as "those who [were] by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society" (2017: 53).

Furthermore, I submit that she was an ordinary person that has been singularised[8] and exceptionalised at the expense of the many unnamed and undocumented women that informed her identity as the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. Therefore, I am interested in examining how multiple photographs that represent 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' offer an opportunity to re-conceptualise her as uMntwana uMagogo who was ugogo[9], umama[10] who had multiple daughters and a Blackwoman in twentieth century South Africa. My framing of her as umama, ugogo and a Blackwoman is my attempt to locate her within Black quotidian[11] life in twentieth century South Africa.

---

8 While I interrogate the singularisation of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', I am aware that Black art historians and curators such as Portia Malatjie (2011), Nontobeko Ntombela (2013) and Same Mdluli (2015) have argued against the homogenisation of Black artists in South Africa. Ntombela's MAFA thesis titled *A Fragile Archive: Refiguring|Rethinking |Reimagining |Re-presenting Gladys Mgudlandlu* aptly states "The fact that the Ndebele women are included as a collective and not as individual artists is questionable here. Was the inclusion of these women perhaps intended to fulfil the needs of 'window dressing', as they were still grouped and labelled within ethnographic practices by calling them "Ndebele women" artists? Ironically, [Gladys] Mgudlandlu was the only black women (sic) artist who is individually identified in this show, yet she is also the only one not critically analysed in the catalogue" (2013: 56). In this thesis, I propose that even though the individualisation of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' appears progressive in that it disrupts the common practice of treating Black artists as a homogenous group, in many ways, the manner in which this historic woman is written about re-inscribes the homogeneity of the South African Black artist. In this study, I question why the 'tribal' identity of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is over-emphasised as seen in the "Ndebele women" (ibid) artists that Ntombela refers to. I continue to note how her singular identity is actually not as heterogeneous as it appears on the surface. Often, 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is inextricably tied to 'big' men of 'Zulu' historiography and the homogenised 'Zulu' nation at large. In some instances, she is pitted against other Blackwomen—as illustrated by my critique of Khoza in footnote 3 in the Introduction. And in other instances, she is constructed as a figure that had no contemporaries. In other words, 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is not treated as an individual Blackwoman. Additionally, her singular celebration comes at the expense of the many Blackwomen—who were artists in their own right—that played a critical role in her success as an artist.

9 Although this isiZulu term is commonly translated to only mean 'grandmother', Babalwa Magoqwana (2018) and Nomalanga Mkhize (2018) note its gender fluid nature. They posit that this noun may also be used to refer to a traditional healer who may not fit neatly into the homogenised category of 'woman' (Magoqwana, 2018; Mkhize, 2018). In this thesis, I use the phrase 'ugogo' or 'gogo' following Magoqwana's idea that the expression 'grandmother' has "inherent epistemological challenges" in the context of "re-inserting the notion of the 'extended family' as a norm" (2018: 76). In this regard, ugogo is framed as an active member of the family which is dissimilar to how the elderly are "neglected and invisibilised in our societies as 'unproductive bodies'" (Magoqwana: 2018: 78). In addition, my reference to ugogo is in line with Magoqwana's proposal that ugogo or 'uMakhulu' [which is an isiXhosa equivalent of ugogo] is "an institution of knowledge that transfers not only 'history' through *iintsomi* [italics in original] (folktales), but [is] also […] a body of indigenous knowledge that stores, transfers and disseminates knowledge and values" (ibid).

10 A Nguni term meaning 'mother'.

11 Gqola emphasises how central the everyday experiences of Blackwomen are to Black feminism. She affirms "Central to both Black feminism and womanism is the valuing of the everyday experiences of Blackwomen. Indeed many theorists have identified this as central to the formation and sustenance of ideologies/critiques which place Blackwomen's experiences at the centre" (2001: 17). As such, in this thesis, I draw on Black feminist theory which I discuss in the 'Blackwomen-centric Feminism as a Methodology' section. In addition, my work is also informed by Tina Campt's conception of the quotidian in relation to the lives of Black people which have been dispossessed (as seen in the history of colonialism, slavery and apartheid in South Africa). Campt discusses, "My approach to these images, archives, and the image-making practices that produced them revalues the quotidian as a site of cultural formation that Georges Perec designates as "infra-ordinary"—everyday practices we don't always notice and whose seeming insignificance requires excessive attention. Attending to the infra-ordinary and the quotidian reveals why the trivial, the mundane, or the banal are in fact essential to the lives of the dispossessed and the possibility of black futurity" (2017:8). Therefore, when I speak about the everyday, I do so with the idea that the ordinary is not only a site of "cultural formation" (Campt, 2017: 8) but it is also a device through which Blackwomen's lived experiences may be revalued and rigorously theorised about. Campt's citation of Perec's notion of the infra-ordinary is particularly productive because it allows one to take part in the practice of "learn[ing] to see" (hooks, 1990: 65)—see chapter three for hooks' concept (which is inspired by her 'grandmother' whom she calls Baba) of learning to see [refer to footnote 9 in the Introduction, which discusses why the use of the term 'grandmother' is contentious]. Furthermore, Campt's act of linking the everyday to the possibility of black futurity is not only a courageous one in that she imagines the interminable existence of blackness but she also projects, and perhaps even time travels [and thereby collapsing the linearity of time as framed through the West (Gordon, 2015)] in order to assert the significance of Black people's day-to-day experiences.

Blackwomen-centric Feminism as a Methodology

As a fifth-generation descendant of undlunkulu (a title I explore later in the thesis) uAgnes Mamuyaliwa (née Ntshangase) and inkosi (a title I explore later in the thesis) uDinuzulu, I have not only been troubled by the marginal status of 'Zulu' royal women's histories in "official historiography" (Mhlambi, 2015: 294), but I have also been concerned with how 'Zulu'-centricity[12] in the aforementioned master narratives has resulted in various forms of erasure. Consequently, the "dearth of historical work relating specifically to the role that 'royal' women played in the 'Zulu' state" (Weir, 2000: 3) not only indicates the necessity of (re-)writing these women's histories, but the paucity of their stories is also symptomatic of how 'official' history in South Africa have relegated the experiences of multiple women to the peripheries (Hamilton, 1985; Qunta, 1987; Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994; Bradford, 1995; Arnold, 1996; Hanretta 1998; Arnold and Schmahmann, 2005; Gasa 2007; Gqola, 2007; Ntombela, 2013; Shamase, 2014; Ntwape, 2016; Weir, 2007). In the case of 'Zulu' historiography, the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' and multiple royal women exist within the context of the "accumulation of the construction of 'Zulu' identity around male figures, and around a particular kind of machismo and patriarchy" (Gunner, 2002: 105). I am interested in subverting this through a feminist methodology that does not solely reposition the narratives of these women from the margins to the centre; but it ruptures the margin/centre[13] binary.

Even though there are multiple forms of feminism. In this thesis, I specifically draw from feminist theory and practice that aims to prioritise the experiences of Blackwomen. This is important because the idea of a universal sisterhood amongst all women in the world has been interrogated by feminists who have felt and continue to feel that not all feminisms take the experiences of Blackwomen seriously (Smith,

---

12 See Mbongiseni Buthelezi's PhD thesis titled "*Sifuna umlando wethu" (We are Looking for our History): Oral Literature and the Meanings of the Past in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (2012). In it, he explores 'Zulu' centricity (particularly Shaka-centricity) in 'Zulu' historiography. Buthelezi's work focuses on how "pre-Zulu kinship identities" (e.g. the Ndwandwe and Nxumalo clans) were suppressed through their assimilation into the 'Zulu' kingdom in the 1820s.

13 In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison*, Michel Foucault posits that the centre and the periphery are sites of power (1995: 196). Through his use of the analogy of a 17th century circular prison structure called the panopticon, Foucault proposes that omniscient and omnipresent power is often concentrated in the centre where authority figures (that are literally located in a centred watch tower) are given the privilege to monitor and regulate the behaviour of those they relegate to the margins (ibid). Moreover, Foucault submits that what makes this power pervasive and automatic is its visibility and unverifiability (ibid: 198). In this regard, the (hyper)visibility of those in the margins is constant while the character and breadth of the powerful (who are located in the centre) is indeterminate and all-encompassing. In this context, those who are the subject of the gaze (of those in the centre), are prompted to internalise and enact this power through self-regulation (ibid: 196-197). Furthermore, Foucault affirms that both the centre and the periphery as spaces of exclusion maintain "…Binary division and branding (mad/sane; dangerous/harmless; normal/abnormal)" (ibid: 196). In addition, he submits that in exclusionary spaces, "The coercive assignment of differential distribution" (Foucault, 1974: 196) is also perpetuated. As such, the margin/centre binary is not only about juxtaposition, but it is also about how difference (particularly on the periphery) is pathologised.

1977; Ogunyemi, 1985; Combahee River Collective cited in Collins, 1986; Walker, 1983; Collins, 1986, 1999, 2001; hooks, 1990, 1995, 1997; Nnaemeka, 1995; Ebrahim, 1998; Gqola, 2001, 2017; Taylor, 2001; Oyěwùmí, 2003; Bowden and Mummery, 2009; Malatjie, 2011; Lewis, 2012; Amadiume, 2015). Additionally, I am interested in the kind of feminism that acknowledges the intersection[14] of various forms of oppression in Blackwomen's lives.

Similar to Gqola (2001), I am particularly drawn to 'Molara Ogundipe-Leslie's metaphor of the African[15] woman who carries six mountains her back (1994). Through Ogundipe-Leslie's visceral imagery wherein each mountain is representation of a form of oppression, one is able to understand how extensive and systemic oppression is in the day-to-day experiences of Blackwomen. In *Ufanele Uqavile: Blackwomen, Feminisms and Postcoloniality in Africa*, Gqola relates

> The six mountains on our backs in her ['Molara Ogundipe-Leslie] analogy represent the meanings emanating from our location in Africa with the accompanying history of interlocking oppressions in the burdens we carry. However, because these are on our backs, as Ogundipe-Leslie suggests, we are able to move with them. This analogy is mindful of the nexi of power relations at play in Blackwomen's lives whilst acknowledging the agency with which we engage with them. The mountains are not overwhelming, even if they are monumental and strenuous, and we are not passive (2001: 12).

Despite the fact that there are various theorists of intersectionality who have argued that sites of power converge in differential ways in Blackwomen's lives, I have chosen to draw from Ogundipe-Leslie because as Gqola observes, she specifically addresses the condition of Blackwomen in Africa. My particular focus on Ogundipe-

---

14 See Kimberlé Crenshaw's *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Colour* (1991).

15 While Ogundipe-Leslie uses the expression 'African woman', in this thesis, I specifically use the phrase 'Blackwoman' in order to emphasise the importance of race in some African women's lives. I am aware that not all African women (or African people at large) identify with the idea of blackness. However, since I am a Blackwoman writing from an African country where Blackwomen have been oppressed because of their gender and race (amongst other things), it only makes sense that I think from a place of blackness… particularly Black Consciousness. In *Why I'm No Longer Talking to Nigerians about Race*, Panashe Chigumadzi who has "the experience of living between two African countries [South Africa and Zimbabwe] that suffered white minority, settler-rule late into the 20th century" (2019) affirms this conundrum. Chigumadzi calls this dilemma the "'experience gap' between black people on the continent" (ibid). In her text she confesses that she has come to anticipate a "…generally dismissive and flippant tone towards the subject of race and blackness [from] many Africans who did not grow up in "former" settler colonies" (ibid). And in her rightful effort to argue why race politics are pertinent in Africa and the African diaspora, she emphasises "All of us are suffering coloniality, it's just that the significance presence of white bodies in South Africa and the United States make it easier to visualize. The sophisticatedness of white supremacy means that even with the visuality and presence of whiteness in one location and its invisibility and absence in another, both spaces continue to suffer similar kinds of psychic, material and discursive impact " (ibid). In light of Chigumadzi's thought-provoking observations which are reflective of my own personal experiences as a Blackwoman that was raised in the township of Section A, Ulundi, South Africa, I maintain the significance of taking the racialisation and consequential oppression of Blackwomen seriously.

Leslie does not mean that I am proposing that she is the only African feminist scholar to address the oppression of Blackwomen in Africa. I am captured by her work because I find the allegory of the six mountains especially compelling because unlike the complex sounding English noun 'intersectionality', this analogy is easy for most people who are not scholars of intersectional/Black feminism to understand. Often, I like to say that Ogundipe-Leslie's evocative imagery is something 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' herself could easily grasp as she did not speak, think, read and write in English. For me, this powerful imagery is more intelligible[16] than the term 'intersectionality'.

In addition, Ogundipe-Leslie's idea that the "heritage of tradition" (1994: 33) is one of the mountains that Blackwomen in Africa have to contend with is important because 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' and the multiple unnamed and undocumented women that were in her life had to grapple with the norms and conventions of 'Zulu' customs and traditions. Although the idea of intersectionality is critical, I have found that most theorists of intersectionality speak from the Global North and thus their place of theorisation does not consider the complexities of being burdened with the heritage of tradition within an African context. Moreover, as Gqola notes, Ogundipe-Leslie's metaphor is considerate of the specificities and the complexities of the histories that exist within the African continent.

Furthermore, Gqola asserts that even though Blackwomen do carry these many mountains on their backs, they "refuse to inhabit the world passively and reject the myriad of ways in which we [Blackwomen][17] are defined under white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (2001:12). In other words, Blackwomen have agency to not only inhabit the world in ways that liberate them but these women build new worlds for themselves. Gqola highlights that Blackwomen are involved in the "practice of worlding [their] environs, reshaping and actively engaging with the world [they] inhabit" (ibid). Therefore, when I refer to a feminist methodology in this thesis, I do so with the idea that it is critical to explore the many ways in which oppressions intersect in the lives of Blackwomen and it is equally important to reflect on the innumerable ways in which these women define themselves for themselves.

In this thesis, I draw on personal experiences to capture how my research is not an 'objective' exercise wherein I take on a third person register as though the words on the page are not coming through me and from me; rather, this research is informed

16 In this thesis, intelligibility is important because it is not only a practice that ensures accessibility and inclusivity, but it is one of the core elements of Blackwomen-centric feminist praxis which values and recognises everyday Blackwomen that might not necessarily have access to obscure, academia-centred terminology.

17 Not in original text.

by my positionality as a Blackwoman who was raised by a 'Zulu' royal woman (whom I speak briefly about in the researcher background section) whose history has been largely excluded in 'Zulu' historiography. As demonstrated in my writing practice, I use the pronoun 'I' as a way to acknowledge my own subjectivity in the thesis. I do this in order to contribute to what bell hooks' *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics* refers to as the "recovery of women's history" (2000: 20).

While hooks' statement suggests that there is a homogenous history that belongs to all women, in this study, I am interested in the idea that through a particular dominant history, many histories are then erased. In the case of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', it is not only the histories of other women in the 'Zulu' monarchy that are marginalised but I am proposing that this master narrative called the history of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' also disregards how dynamic uMntwana uMagogo was. Following hooks, I am interested in 'recover[ing]' (2000) those things that are not deemed 'history worthy' (Hartman, 1997). However, I use the term 'recovery' with great caution because even in this exercise of writing this thesis, my subjectivity continuously intervenes. In other words, izithombe that I write about do not constitute a conclusive[18] photographic archive.

The personal[19] dimension found in this thesis is in line with Patricia Collins' feminist conception of the personal as a "significant source…of knowledge" (1986: S29). Moreover, Judith Butler's *Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in*

---

18 Carolyn Hamilton et. al's *Refiguring the Archive* affirms the fragmentary and partial nature of archives wherein they state that "The archive is…always already being refigured: the technologies of creation, preservation and use, for instance, are changing all the time; physically the archive is being added to and subtracted from, and is in dynamic relation with its physical environment; organisational dynamics are ever shifting; and the archive is porous to societal processes and discourses" (2002: 7). In addition, Ntombela highlights the fragility of archives and archival knowledge. For Ntombela, fragility is not solely a descriptor of the state of archives and the knowledge thereof but, it is also an active exercise wherein one deliberately works with what she calls "doubt, uncertainty or something delicate" (2013: 78). In a way, fragility is a call to work and rework, make and unmake that which cannot be easily pinned down or 'ordered' as seen in Michel Foucault's *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1990). In Ntombela's world, doubt and uncertainty are not states of paralysis, rather this delicacy is reimagined as a provocation to (re)work and in the case of her MAFA, it is an invitation to do the (re)work of centering the narrative of a marginalised Blackwoman artist called Gladys Mgudlandlu. And similar to Ntombela, this study is not only concerned with re-locating Blackwomen's narratives from the margins to the centre but it also conceives of the margins as "a hive of productivity, rigorous debate and healthy dissent" (Smith, 2000: 41). In this regard, my thesis as a whole is preoccupied with "drawing strength from the margins" (Smith: 2000).

19 See Babalwa Magoqwana's *Repositioning uMakhulu as an Institution of Knowledge: Beyond 'Biologism' towards the body of Indigenous Knowledge* (2018) and Pamela Maseko's *Language as Source of Revitalisation and Reclamation of Indigenous Epistemologies: Contesting Assumptions and Re-imagining Women Identities in (African) Xhosa Society* (2018) for discussions on how personal and childhood experiences may influence how one theorises as a scholar. Maseko reflects "I start the chapter by locating myself within the research and present a narrative on the value of knowledge in language as presented by the elders I grew up with in my village. I argue that these experiences were critical in spurring on my sociolinguistic studies, specifically on the relationship between language and dominance" (2018: 37-38). On the other hand, Magoqwana deliberates "Growing up with *uMakhulu* [all italics in original] in the 1990s, I have experienced this institution [here Magoqwana speaks of ugogo or uMakhulu as a "foundation of historical knowledge" (Tisani in Magoqwana, 2018: 82] through iintsomi (sic) and amabali. In fact, I still remember stories by my grandmother about pride of who we are, about ancestors, about marriage and so on […]" (2018: 82-83). In consideration of Magoqwana and Maseko's acknowledgement of how their everyday lives as children influenced their roles as scholars, it is equally vital for me to do the same. As demonstrated in this thesis, my childhood experiences inform the kind of scholarly work I am interested in theorising about.

Phenomenology and Feminist Theory affirms that

> The personal is…implicitly political inasmuch as it is conditioned by shared social structures, but the personal has also been immunized against political challenge to the extent that public/private distinctions endure. For feminist theory, then, the personal becomes an expansive category, one which accommodates, if only implicitly political structures usually viewed as public. Indeed, the very meaning of the political expands as well. At its best, feminist theory involves a dialectical expansion of both these categories (1988: 522-523).

In this regard, the personal is a microcosm that encapsulates the workings of broader political structures that are often deemed unrelated to everyday individual experiences. Butler's conception of the personal highlights how taking the personal seriously means that the false dichotomy between the private and the public is destabilised. In this context, the personal which is commonly framed as belonging only to the private domain becomes a site through which political structures may be contested and disrupted. As such, the use of my own personal narratives in this thesis is not an exercise wherein I do not simply navel gaze[20] but it is a political act that aims to demonstrate how the aforementioned narratives re-affirm the marginalisation of 'Zulu' royal women's histories in 'official' historiography. Additionally, the personal anecdotes illustrate how the master narrative of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' overshadows other women in the 'Zulu' monarchy while it limits how she is understood as a Blackwoman in South Africa.

Even though this thesis contains citations from many scholars, their words have been carefully chosen[21] by me in order to substantiate why the work I am doing

---

20 In *Lesbian and Gay Theory: The Question of Identity Politics* (1989), Diana Fuss explores the limitations of 'navel gazing' or the personalisation of politics. In this text, Fuss cautions that "A severe reduction of the political to the personal leads to a telescoping of goals, a limiting of revolutionary activity to the project of self-discovery and personal transformation. "The personal is political" reprivatizes social experience, to the degree that one can be engaged in political praxis without ever leaving the bedroom […] The personal, I am arguing is not political, in any literal or equivalent fashion. It might be more useful to see the relation between these two terms as a complex co-implication rather than a simple equation" (1989: 101). As suggested earlier, in this thesis, I invoke the personal not as a self-indulgent, self-focused exercise that narrowly serves my experiences at the expense of a broader discourse around the representation of Women in the 'Zulu' monarchy. Rather, I am interested in mobilising the personal as a navigation process through which I can locate myself as a feminist Blackwoman scholar who is theorising about Blackwomen whose histories continue to impact the contemporary landscape in South Africa.

21 In *You're a Big Girl Now: Subjectivities, Feminism and Oral History* (1994), Mary Stuart politicises the act of compiling one's bibliography. Stuart cites Jackie Stacey who states "…'The selection of key texts is not simply a question of personal choice, but rather poses the problem of the establishment of a "feminist canon"…' (1994: 55). Stuart interprets "In other words, by suggesting key texts we create a kind of academic hierarchy of knowledge which excludes 'other' voices" (ibid). In consideration of Stacey and Stuart's observations, I am aware that the scholarship I draw from in this thesis is not only reflective of my personal choices but it is also an illustration of an academic praxis wherein I hierarchise knowledge. And as suggested by Stuart, the ordering of knowledge is in itself a practice of epistemic inclusion and exclusion. In this regard, self-reflexivity which is central to the feminist methodology that I employ allows me room to continuously reflect on my positionality as a theorist that is interested in challenging how 'Zulu' historiography has included and excluded particular experiences and knowledges.

is critical in the discourse around the representation of 'Zulu' royal womanhood in 'Zulu' historiography—an idea that is explored throughout this thesis particularly in Chapter One and Two. And it is through feminism that I am able to centre the experiences of these women in a world that has perpetuated

> …the view of women in the Zulu state as a homogenous group marked by universal subordination. For the most part, however, the Zulu past, in particular, has predominantly been written about with an emphasis on masculine militarism that overrides and suppresses the political and militarised activities of certain women (Weir, 2007: 3).

In other words, the reason why I am using a feminist methodology is because the manner in which women in the 'Zulu' monarchy have been written into and out of the master narrative that is commonly referred to as 'Zulu history' is reflective of patriarchal practices in historiography. Multiple feminist scholars have opted for the term "herstory" (Yates, 1997; Carby, 1982; Mama, 2001; Zungu, Manqele, Vries, Molefe and Hadebe, 2014; Gqola, 2017) instead of "history" because 'official' historical narratives often construct women as apparitions in the lives of 'big' warrior and combatant men that single-handedly conquered wars and liberated nations. It is within this context that I find a feminist methodology useful.

As an extension to the aforementioned methodology, I also draw from a range of disciplines that have shaped my scholarly thinking over the years. In many ways, my varied academic experiences in diverse fields have made me reluctant to firmly locate myself within a particular discipline…albeit I acknowledge that I have been long situated within the humanities. Even though this thesis is written within the discipline of History of Art, I am hesitant to claim the role of an art historian because, as stated earlier, my academic trajectory has been wide-ranging.

While my academic background has been mostly centred around the politics of representation in cinema, television and theatre, I do not see my position as a limitation, rather, I think of myself as an interdisciplinary scholar that is interested in how multiple disciplines may speak to each other. Consequently, in this thesis, I draw from and across various disciplines as a way to disrupt the canon that is 'Zulu' historiography.

My research methodology has been largely influenced by Buikema et al's *Theories and Methodologies in Postgraduate Feminist Research* (2011). In this text, they observe

> Gender research be it disciplinary, interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary should be understood, first of all, as a transformatory practice. The point is not to simply add to disciplinary canons but also to intervene them (Buikema et. al, 2011: 7).

In consideration of Buikema et. al's conception of gender research, it is critical that the methodology that I utilise is transformative and disruptive of the canon that is 'Zulu historiography'. In this regard, my feminist praxis aims to continuously interrupt dominant representations of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' and women in the 'Zulu' monarchy at large.

Thinking and Writing through isiZulu Concepts

Although I do not have a Linguistics or an African Language Studies background, I am a first language isiZulu speaker who has deliberately chosen to use terms[22] from isiZulu because each word carries its own particularities and contexts. Unlike English which is replete with western gendered concepts that are not easily transposable into isiZulu, my use of isiZulu (albeit in a limited way) allows me the space to interrogate certain gender limitations that are imposed by English (Oyěwùmí, 1997). While isiZulu is not without sexism, it does not prioritise gender in the same way that English does (Mkhize, 2018).

Paradoxically, since the majority of this thesis is written in English, it would be correct to propose that my work still maintains the marginal status of indigenous African languages. Initially, this thesis was entirely in English but my research surrounding uMntwana uMagogo necessitated that I re-think the English concepts that have been used to construct the grand narrative of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. In

22 When I use concepts from isiZulu, I do not italicise them unless they signal a book title or some form of title. In select parts of this thesis, I use single quotation marks for particular isiZulu (and English) expressions in order to identify and emphasise these phrases as the central ideas in question. That is to say that the single quotation marks used for isiZulu statements are not meant to signal that this language is secondary or subordinate to English. In *Much with the Dead and Mum with the Dying, or Rigidities of rationalism, Camaraderie Criticism and Contemporary South African Literature*, Unathi Slasha propose that italicisation, glossarisation and the translation of indigenous African languages (into English) is "a practice that perhaps implicitly acknowledges the marginal status of [these languages]?" (2008). He continues to submit that the aforementioned acts are "A kind of reading and narrating that, as Dambudzo Marechera's Chris suggests 'should be blown out of [writer's] lives'?" (2018). Therefore, as a writer who uses concepts from isiZulu to rethink how the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is predominantly framed, I begin (even if it is in part) the work of resisting the practice of writing as though my first language is an appendage.

other words, I did not see the value of theorising in isiZulu from the onset, but it was the subject matter itself that led me to this decision. My disregard of isiZulu in the beginning had to do with my own internalised assumptions about what constitutes an academically rigorous thesis. As suggested by Bhekizizwe Peterson (2000), I grew up with the idea that English was 'supreme' over indigenous African languages[23]. In this study, I am working[24] through challenging this detrimental presupposition, albeit in a restricted way. I propose that even though most of this thesis has been written in English, my limited use of isiZulu will contribute to re-thinking aspects of the historic narrative of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'.

Despite the fact that I only utilise isiZulu in a restricted way, I continue to be interested in how this indigenous African language offers a critical way of not only thinking through processes of visual representation, but also how isiZulu as a "social institution"[25] reflects how speakers of isiZulu make sense of the world[26] around them through this language. The use of isiZulu has been critical to this thesis because it has helped me to constantly shift (even if it is happening in a small way) my academic voice as well as the voices of 'Zulu' royal women within the discourse around the representation of 'Zulu' royal women's histories in 'Zulu' historiography.

---

23 In *Parallel Times, Parallel Signs, Discordant Interpretations,* Peterson emphasises how English has historically been used as a language of power in South Africa. In this text, he affirms "The dominant status accorded to English in colonial society as the language of tuition, industry and government resulted in the overwhelming attitude that African fluency in English was tantamount to an identity crisis, if not outright cultural betrayal" (2000: 65). Although Peterson's assertion specifically refers to early twentieth century Natal, it is evident that the question of the dominance of English in contemporary South Africa is still relevant, albeit eleven official languages are recognised by the country's constitution.

24 My attempt to embrace my mother tongue (even in part) as my own is my way to "possess…[or in my words access rather than possess] the world expressed and implied by [this] language" (Fanon, 2008: 9). As stated by Frantz Fanon in *The Negro and Language*, "Mastery of language affords remarkable power" (ibid). In this regard, my use of terms from isiZulu allow me to write from a place of power...a power that is not possessive nor oppressive but one that is liberatory.

25 In *The Translation of Cultures: Engendering Yorùbá Language, Orature and World-Sense* (1997), Oyèrónkè Oyěwùmí highlights the societal importance of language. She states "Language is a social institution and at the level of the individual affects social behavior. A people's language reflects their patterns of social interactions, lines of status, interests, and obsessions" (1997:157).

26 See *Ngugi wa Thiong'o's Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (1986) where he links the idea of language to the notion of a "mental universe". In this text, wa Thiong'o elaborates, "The domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised" (1986: 16). Wa Thiong'o's idea of a "mental universe" is fascinating because the assumption is that the universe is simply the spatial environment in which people live, and yet, he states that one's "universe" can also be embodied in the mind. What this means is that because a person's "internal world" is dominated and colonised, it is crucial to begin the process of decolonisation through one's awareness of how language has been used to conquer and dominate.

The Names We Go By[27]*: From Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu to uMntwana uMagogo*

Even though it is a common practice to refer to women in the 'Zulu' monarchy as 'queens' and 'princesses'[28], in this thesis, I use the terms 'ndlunkulu' and 'Mntwana'[29] for two reasons. Firstly, as stated throughout this thesis, I use concepts from isiZulu because they are imbued with particularities and contexts that English ones may not have. And secondly, I use these terms because they locate royalty within the framework of isithembu[30], which is contrary to the colonial, imperialist British conceptualisation of royalty that has been contentiously transposed to African royalty.

The phrase 'ndlunkulu' is often assumed to signal a wife's position in a hierarchical marital system that uses a first-come-first-served approach. Scholars such as Norma Masuku maintain the dominant idea that to be undlunkulu means to be the first 'wife' in isithembu. In *Perceived Oppression of Women in Zulu Folklore: A Feminist Critique* (2005), Masuku claims that undlunkulu is the first 'wife' who is allocated indlunkulu or main homestead. She also affirms that undlunkulu is expected to bear indlalifa or heir, voice the concerns of abanabakhe or 'co-wives', be a principal hostess of customs, rites and ceremonies and care for her mother-in-law. On the other hand, Sibusiso Nyembezi and O. E. H. Nxumalo's *Inqolobane YeSizwe* challenges the idea that undlunkulu is inevitably the first wife. Nyembezi and Nxumalo state "Endlunkulu-ke ilapho kuhlala khona inkosikazi yomnumzane ezozala indlalifa noma inkosazana" (1966: 39) which translates as "The main homestead is where a

27 I have borrowed this phrasing from Gqola who explores the power of self-naming in light of the "damaging power of **being** [emboldening in the original text] named" (Gqola, 1997 cited in Gqola 2001:16) which she states "has been felt and experienced by people of colour everywhere" (ibid). She continues "…We are well aware of the derogatory names accorded to Black women […] In contrast to this is the affirming power of labels which originate from the subjects they describe" (ibid). Although, I do not propose that the name 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is necessarily pejorative, I do suggest that this form of naming is symptomatic of the broader issue of male-centricity and patriarchy in 'Zulu' historiography's western representations of Women in the 'Zulu' monarchy. As such, I submit that it is important for Women in the 'Zulu' monarchy to be named in such a way that their power is not undermined. In the case of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', I have chosen to draw on a form of naming that is commonly used in day-to-day conversations of isiZulu speakers in KwaZulu-Natal.

28 Although it is seemingly ahistorical, the idea of 'queens' and 'princesses' is also evocative of disneyfied fairytale characters. See *Seeing White: Children of Color and the Disney Fairy Tale Princess* (Hurley, 2005) for an in-depth discussion on how the trope of the fairytale 'princess' is mobilised to normalise whiteness. In this text, Dorothy Hurley argues that "The images found in fairy tales […] have particular importance for children of color in relation to the internalization of White privileging" (2005:221).

29 I capitalise the word "mntwana" in order to indicate that the noun in its capitalised form refers to the title given to people of royal descent instead of the commonly understood definition of "mntwana" as "child".

30 IsiZulu term meaning polygamous marriage.

man's inkosikazi[31] [not necessarily the first] [32] will bear an heir or the first daughter".

Despite the idea that Nyembezi and Nxumalo's definition demonstrates that undlunkulu is not necessarily the first wife, the fact that they speak of inkosazana and indlalifa as mutually exclusive terms means that daughters are not deemed as izindlalifa or heirs. The word 'heir' does not capture the power that lies in the idea of 'indlalifa'. The term "ndlalifa" literally means 'the eater or the consumer of an inheritance'. Indlalifa as a gendered concept illustrates the patriarchal practice of excluding women by disallowing them access to the family inheritance. Often, the assumption is that daughters will marry men exogenously. Therefore, they will take on the identity of their husband's clan which means that they cannot 'preserve' the history of their maiden name. Even though married women are called "ma (insert maiden surname)" by isiZulu speakers, they are perceived to be disconnected from the family which raised them. In this context, they no longer belong to ekhaya (the home in which they grew up), but they are of emzini (the home they marry into) wherein they become umakoti[33].

Moreover, the *Scholar's Zulu Dictionary* defines undlunkulu as the "chief wife" [an expression that does not indicate whether the chief 'wife' is the first 'wife' or not][34] (Dent and Nyembezi, 2009: 478), while "indlunkulu" is interpreted as "main hut; hut of the chief wife; royal house; royal family" (ibid). In addition, the idea that a woman like ukhokho[35] uMamuyaliwa was commonly referred to as undlunkulu even though her children were not izindlalifa of the 'Zulu' ubukhosi further complicates what characterises a ndlunkulu.

---

31 While this noun is commonly translated as 'wife' (Doke et. al, 1996: 561), it is important to note that Maseko interrogates this interpretation. She notes that in isiXhosa (which is a Nguni language that is closely related to isiZulu), the term inkosikazi has not always meant 'wife'. She suggests that this gendered contemporary understanding of this isiXhosa (and isiZulu) noun was informed by colonialism in the Cape Nguni region of South Africa. She locates the beginnings of the change in meaning of this term to Kropf who was "amongst the first missionaries to offer a comprehensive and systematic lexicographic work in isiXhosa in 1899" (2008: 43-44). Maseko highlights that Kropf's work was marred by "cultural and religious (Christian) prejudice" (2008: 44). She continues "In a few instances [Kropf] records this prejudice, and acknowledges the missionaries as having replaced certain knowledge with that which would serve the missionary agenda, or that which would be palatable to the colonial governance" (ibid). Maseko declares "Such examples is the missionaries' shifting the meaning of inkosikazi (chieftainess) to 'wife' and [Kropf] proudly acknowledges that "this was introduced by the missionaries" (Kropf 1899/1915 cited in Maseko, 2008: 44). In consideration of Maseko's contentions, I am reluctant to simply interpret the expression inkosikazi as 'wife'.

32 Not in original text.

33 IsiZulu term meaning bride and wife.

34 Not in original text.

35 An isiZulu term that is commonly translated as 'great grandmother'. See footnote 9 in the Introduction, for Magoqwana's interrogation of the term 'grandmother'. In addition, Nyembezi and Nxumalo define the ungendered noun ukhokho as "umzali kamkhulu noma kagogo kuye emuva [the parent of umkhulu—commonly translated as 'grandfather'— or ugogo/any person that existed before ugogo and umkhulu]; isivimbo [a lid]; isiphuzo [a drink]" (1966: 263) [the English translations are not in the original text]. In this thesis, I use the expression 'ukhokho' in line with Nyembezi and Nxumalo's first definition. And similar to Magoqwana's interrogation of the translation of ugogo as simply 'grandmother', the phrase 'umkhulu' is also not easily transposable to the idea of a 'grandfather'. In the world of traditional healing, umkhulu is a gender fluid noun—as seen in Mkhize's conception of ugogo in *A Conversation with Gogo Ngoatjakumba* (2018).

I use the term 'ubukhosi' instead of 'kingdom' because in the second chapter, I argue that kingship and ubukhosi are not necessarily the same thing. Although the term 'inkosi' is often translated as 'king', I propose that in the context of ubukhosi of the 'Zulu' clan, one could be inkosi while not being recognised as king by the British state. In this case, when I refer to inkosi uDinuzulu (who is the father of uMntwana uMagogo and ukhokho uMntwana uNosulumane), I am referring to a figure that was formally recognised as 'paramount chief' (instead of king), while the isizwe (a concept I discuss in chapter two) of the 'Zulu' clan continued to acknowledge[36] him as their inkosi.

Additionally, I use the expression 'uMntwana uMagogo' as opposed to 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as a way to emphasise how the latter is not only an embodiment of the erasure of 'Zulu' royal women's histories—through its patrilineal tracing of the lineage of 'Princess Magogo' (an idea I discuss in detail in Chapter Two)—but it also epitomises the many forms that patriarchy takes through 'official' historiography and through oral practices like ukuthakazela or clan praising. Moreover, isiZulu speakers identified and continue to recognise 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as 'uMntwana uMagogo' or 'uMntwana uMagogo kaDinuzulu' instead of 'princess'. Furthermore, it is critical to note that as much as uMntwana uMagogo is framed as a person of royal lineage, she was also undlunkulu who had to contend with the realities[37] of being in isithembu. And Liz Gunner affirms uMntwana uMagogo's status as undlunkulu. Gunner proposes that uMntwana uMagogo had already chosen the person she wanted to marry when her brother inkosi uSolomon was "struggling

---

36 It is interesting to note that Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1966) as well as Jeff Opland's *The Nation's Bounty: The Xhosa Poetry of Nontsizi Mgqwetho* (2007) reflect on the idea that inkosi is 'made' by the people. In the former instance, Nyembezi and Nxumalo frame this notion within the context of izaga or proverbs. They summarise, "**Inkosi yinkosi ngabantu** [emboldening in the original text]—Inkosi ifanele ibaphathe kahle abantu bayo ngoba kayinkosi uma bengekho" (1966:176), which may be loosely translated as **"An inkosi is an inkosi because of the people**—Inkosi must treat people well because without them the inkosi is no inkosi at all". In addition, Nyembezi and Nxumalo claim that there is another isiZulu proverb that means the same thing as the aforementioned one. According to them, the isaga (singular for izaga) "Akunkosi ngokwayo" (ibid), which may be interpreted as "An inkosi cannot exist on their [I use this possessive determiner in order to avoid gendering a statement that is ungendered in isiZulu] own" affirms the idea that an inkosi is constituted by the people. Moreover, Opland who focuses on isiXhosa speakers in particular corroborates Nyembezi and Nxumalo's assertions. He proclaims "All the Xhosa-speaking peoples acknowledged the authority of a chief, inkosi, and a king, ikumkani, paramount to the chiefs, who were members of a royal clan. […] The chief allocated land and presided over court cases, but there were checks on royal authority: *inkosi yinkosi ngabantu* [italics in original text], a chief is a chief by virtue of people. If subjects were unhappy with a regime, they were free to leave and seek another chiefdom" (2007: xvi). While Opland clearly draws a distinction between inkosi (which he translates as 'chief') and ikumkani (which he decodes as 'king'), the principle is still the same. At this point it is critical to note that in isiZulu what Opland refers to as a 'chief' would be identified as an induna; and interestingly, Nyembezi and Nxumalo open this term up by defining it as "umuntu osesikhundleni sokubheka abanye" (1966: 240) meaning, "a person who has a position that requires them to look after others". Although there are slight differences in how isiXhosa speakers and isiZulu speakers name various royal authority figures, there is a shared philosophy of royal rulership being people-centred vis-à-vis how royal figures such as inkosi uShaka have been predominantly represented as tyrannical and authoritarian [refer to footnote 10, Chapter 1 for a discussion on 'Zulu' historiography's representation of this historic figure].

37 Although contentious for her framing of undlunkulu as necessarily the first wife, see Norma Masuku's subsection titled "Status of Married Women in a Polygamous Marriage" (pp. 98-103) in *Perceived Oppression of Women in Zulu Folklore: A Feminist Critique* (2005).

to wield together a new cohesion around a Zulu nationalism that embraced both elements of tradition and modernity" (2002: 209). In an effort to construct a unified 'Zulu' identity through 'Zulu' nationalism, he "promised [uMntwana uMagogo] in an important political marriage to the grandson of Mnyamana Buthelezi, in an attempt to heal a rift between two powerful groups in the old Zulu polity" (ibid). In this context, uMntwana uMagogo is alleged to have said the following in an interview with Nicholas Cope and J. C. Dladla

> I had made my choice elsewhere. I was taken away from my fiancé by Solomon with his own hands. [She recounts how a number of royal girls were called into the presence of Solomon and his councillors and asked to name their sweethearts. She does not name hers and instead is one of the group who agrees to 'put up our top knots' and so make it clear that they were eligible for marriage. She continues:] We three agreed, not knowing whether … we would be given men with head rings, going grey (Cope and Dladla as cited in Gunner, 2002: 209).

While the above citation does not indicate that uMntwana uMagogo was married into isithembu, Rycroft states that in the year 1923 (wherein uMntwana uMagogo was 23 years of age) "She abandoned the man she had hoped to wed and married Chief Mathole Buthelezi as his tenth but principal wife, in order to heal a rift with the Buthelezi clan (the former Chief Mnyamana Buthelezi having been prime minister under King Cetshwayo, her grandfather)" (1985: 245).

In other words, the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' was not only undlunkulu and a royal woman whose 'Zuluness' was dominant through her inextricable link to her father's history, but she was a woman who had to relinquish her desires for the establishment of tribalised national unity. Therefore, uMntwana uMagogo's subjectivity was subsumed under a patriarchal ethnic nationalist political agenda that demanded that she gives up the pursuit of a love chosen on her own terms in order to facilitate a recuperative process between two political factions. In this context, uMntwana uMagogo was framed as a "mother of the nation" (Gqola, 2017: 153), whose role it was to serve as a site of reparation and cohesion for a broken nation that never was.

Inkosi uSolomon's act of giving uMntwana uMagogo away to the Buthelezi clan through marriage is reminiscent of Danai Mupotsa's idea that "Marriage practices place women at the centre of a ritualised transfer in kinship mergers and exchanges" (2014: 258). In this regard, the marriage between uMntwana uMagogo and 'Chief' Buthelezi was not about love and desire but it was about a political coalition-cum-

kinship merger and exchange between the Zulu and the Buthelezi clan. As such, uMntwana uMagogo was not solely the centre of a ritualised transfer as seen in Mupotsa but she was a conduit through which 'Zulu' nationalism could be maintained by any means necessary. Therefore, the establishment of this political coalition at the expense of uMntwana uMagogo's agency highlights how the traditions and customs of 'Zulu culture' may be used to marginalise women in the 'Zulu' monarchy. In this context, it is the institution of marriage that is the site of contention.

In *White Weddings* (2014), Mupotsa suggests that the idea of marriage is inextricably linked to nationhood and the heteronormative nuclear family. And Frantz Fanon's *The Negro and Psychopathy* asserts that "There are close connections between the structure of the family and the structure of the nation" (2008: 109) wherein the family is a microcosm of the nation. Although the nuclear family as a unit that reifies the "mommy-daddy-me" (Mupotsa, 2014: 24) dynamic does not neatly apply to uMntwana uMagogo as a woman who was in isithembu, there is an undeniable relationship between her marriage to the Buthelezi clan and the homogenised polity that is the 'Zulu nation' (an idea explored in depth in Chapter Two).

The fact that the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is constantly referred to as the woman 'ka' or 'of' (a possessive pronoun that suggests that a person or thing is a part of a whole) Dinuzulu perpetuates the idea that she is never of herself but she belongs to or is the property of a particular person or people (the idea of belonging will be discussed further in chapter two). And the expression 'kaDinuzulu' gives the impression that she was solely the daughter of inkosi uDinuzulu and yet she was also the daughter of undlunkulu uSilomo (Rycroft 1975/76; Gunner, 2002; Mhlambi, 2015; Khoza, 2018). The deliberate exclusion of undlunkulu uSilomo's history through the insertion of the prefix 'ka' and the name of uMntwana uMagogo's father is illustrative of patrilineality and patriarchy through orality as well as the written—a practice that I not only interrogate throughout this thesis but I attempt to reposition women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's narratives from the margins to a centre that is ever-shifting.

As suggested in the works of Rycroft (1975/76), Gunner (2002), Mhlambi (2015) and Khoza (2018) about the historical 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', uMntwana uMagogo also has a maternal genealogy that is linked to the Mdlalose clan, which is a clan that is barely written about in 'official' historiography which prioritises a 'Zulu' (the royal isibongo[38] and clan) centric narrative. Moreover, it is critical to note that although the aforementioned scholars and writers recognise uMntwana uMagogo's

38 Isibongo is defined as "surname; clan name; gratitude" (Dent and Nyembezi , 2009: 366). In this thesis, I use the term as a reference to the first two interpretations.

maternal genealogy, both her paternal and maternal genealogical histories are patrilineal. As such, the telling of the histories of isiZulu speaking men and the marginalisation of the histories of isiZulu speaking women becomes a motif[39] in the genealogy[40] of isiZulu speakers.

Hlonipha Mokoena's *Genealogies of Blackness: From Zulu Nationalism to Pan-Africanism* (2011) highlights the role that genealogical narratives play in upholding particular histories. She states "Genealogies and notions of descent are the foundation of many oral traditions. The succession of begetters [...] is often the beginning of any narrative about the birth of a nation or clan in oral narratives" (2011: 95). Mokoena's idea that the birth of a nation or clan may stem from oral traditions is particularly important in this thesis because the continuous oral and written invocation of who begot the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is not only a recitation of her forebears but it is an affirmation of her attachment to a male-centric homogenous 'Zulu nation'. As such, in this thesis, I do not use the expression "kaDinuzulu" in order to challenge the idea that 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' could not exist as a whole woman without affiliations with a homogenised, hyper-masculinised 'Zulu' identity. And I utilise feminism as a way to destabilise patriarchy in 'Zulu' historiography as well as in oral histories (as demonstrated through acts of ukuthakazela).

Naming Things: The Meanings Behind the Thesis Title

The title of this thesis includes terms from isiZulu. The expression "Ngiphathel' Ugubhu Lwam' Ekhaya Lapha, Mnawami!" has been extrapolated from a nineteenth century song titled "Unomagundwane" (Rycroft, 1975/76). According to David K. Rycroft's *Zulu Bow Songs of Princess Magogo*, the former means "Bring me my musical bow, in the house here, O my younger sister!" (1975/6: 52) and the latter translates as "woman-of-the-rats" (1975/76: 51). However, according to a number of oral interviews I have conducted with first language isiZulu speakers, the term "mnawami" does not solely refer to a biological sister or the age thereof. This expression may be used in the context of isithembu. In this case, amakhosikazi or

39 In *'I Shall Need to Use Her to Rule': The Power of 'Royal' Zulu Women in Pre-Colonial Zululand,* Jennifer Weir corroborates "Zulu historiography does not generally accord an important political place to Zulu women. There are few studies that focus on the role of *amakhosikazi* [italics in original] and *amakhosazana*. They have generally been treated as peripheral or insignificant in the politics of the state. The predominance of research on Zulu militarism and, therefore, men may not seem very remarkable because Zulu society is generally taken as a model of hierarchical patriarchy where men dominated both domestic and political affairs, and with the king at the apex (2000:4).

40 See Buthelezi (2012) for a comprehensive discussion on how izithakazelo (kinship group or clan names) perpetuate androcentrism.

the wives refer to each other as mnawami, which alludes to a sense of sisterhood that is shared between them. Additionally, women dating the same man may use the term mnawami.

I find this line powerful because it challenges the idea that women in isithembu only exist within an antagonistic framework wherein they are always each other's adversaries. In popular representations (such as *Kwakhala Nyonini*)[41] of isithembu, these women (who are often portrayed as old rural women) are predominantly typified as jealous women who are willing to do whatever it takes to be the centre of their husband's life. This envy is epitomised by the trope of umthakathi wherein women in isithembu are depicted as desperate beings that will use umlingo to gain the husband's love and affection. The idea of "mnawami" suggests that even though there are complexities within isithembu, there are moments of agency and solidarity that the women experience. Evidently, "the evocation of a politicized sisterhood, so crucial at the onset of early feminist movements" (hooks, 2000:11) is thematic in the music sung and composed by uMntwana uMagogo. In this thesis, I propose that uMntwana uMagogo's choice to incorporate this song into her repertoire is indicative of her advocacy for unity and camaraderie between women. This mutual trust and friendship between women is critical because in this thesis I argue that 'Zulu' historiography has constructed 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as 'big' historic woman, who is disconnected from a community of unnamed and undocumented women that were in her life.

Moreover, Rycroft's translation of the term "ekhaya" to "house" is contentious because "house" refers to a habitat, a space or a building that an individual might not necessarily have a relationship to. According to the *Scholar's Zulu Dictionary,* the term "khaya" refers to a home (2009: 388). A home symbolises a place of belonging or a place in which one has built a life. The isiZulu equivalent of Rycroft's translation is "indlu" not "ikhaya". In the *Scholar's Zulu Dictionary* the term "ndlu" is translated as "house; hut; room; dwelling place" (Dent and Nyembezi, 2009: 422). In the context of this thesis, uMntwana uMagogo's reference to home invokes intimacy and a sense of familiarity with the place she identifies as ekhaya. For me, this line captures a private and personal moment that is communally experienced by women that have formed a sisterly bond beyond biological constraints. This moment is one where uNomagundwane is experiencing heartbreak due to being rejected by the man that she and umnawakhe have/had a relationship with. Through this line, uNomagundwane is characterised as a woman that is unafraid to display her pain and vulnerability.

41 One of South Africa's 1990's celebrated television shows that have dealt with the subject of isithembu.

Furthermore, the line's reference to ugubhu highlights how this instrument has been overdetermined in the formation and representation of the identity of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' (to be discussed in detail in Chapter One). Moreover, my quotidian framing of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as uMntwana uMagogo (who was umama of multiple daughters, ugogo and a Blackwoman in twentieth century South Africa) illustrates my interest in how the latter allows for a reimagination of the dominant narrative that surrounds the 'big' historic woman that is 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'.

Locating and Theorising My Positionality[42]

Initially, my interest in the place of 'Zulu' royal women in 'Zulu' historiography was prompted by the non-existent 'official' documentation of ukhokho uMntwana uNosulumane who is also known as uMntwana uNosulumane kaDinuzulu (see Figure 1) who raised me from the mid 1980s to the early 1990s in Section A, Ulundi, KwaZulu. After giving birth to me at the end of 1983, my twenty year old mother Nomfundo Shange (see figure 2), with the help of her father Professor Elkin Thamsanqa Sithole (who was an ethnomusicologist and composer based at Northeastern University of Illinois in Chicago), received a United Nations scholarship that offered her the opportunity to pursue tertiary studies in Business Administration at Bennett College, Greensboro in the United States of America (USA). Towards the end of 1984, she hesitantly left Ulundi for the USA while my seventy four year old khokho stayed with me in our four roomed township house (see living room in Figure 3). While away, my mother sent letters, money, records and clothes to ugogo

42 I have included this section—which comprises of accounts of personal experiences (though a few) with a 'Zulu' royal woman—in order to confront the paradox that lies in the fact that similar to 'Zulu' historiography, I centralise 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. In this thesis, I not only critique 'Zulu' historiography's over-representation of this historic woman at the expense of other Women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's narratives, but I argue that the manner in which she is written into 'official' historiography is limited and patriarchal. At the same time, I examine the ways in which she may be located within a larger community of undocumented and unnamed Women in the 'Zulu' monarchy that critically contributed to the making of the historic figure she is celebrated as. And to a large extent, I re-inscribe her dominance by centering my thesis around her, however, I propose that a quotidian framing of her may not only demystify her but it may also destabilise the larger-than-life image that 'Zulu' historiography has constructed through the telling of her master narrative. In addition, even though my initial interest was ukhokho uMntwana uNosulumane's narrative, I wanted to challenge my assumption that Women in the 'Zulu' monarchy who are written into mainstream history are necessarily represented in dynamic and multi-faceted ways. Moreover, the frustration of not finding much about ukhokho led me to a place of asking questions around Women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's appearance in 'Zulu' historiography in order to address the 'non-existence' of women like ukhokho. Furthermore, I must also admit that I really struggled to write about ukhokho's 'absence' once I realised how the presence or the documentation of Women in the 'Zulu' monarchy in 'official' historiography is in itself questionable. This is not to suggest that I have no interest in in-depth reflections on ukhokho's lived experiences. Rather, it is to say that as a scholar who has no academic background in history (and art history), I thought it important to explore how historians and documentarians treat the subject of 'Zulu' royal womanhood. Thus, I came to a conclusion that perhaps it is in future that I will be better equipped to write extensively about undocumented Women in the 'Zulu' monarchy like uMntwana uNosulumane.

uMntwana Gloria Thandekile Shange (see Figure 4) who was in Durban. The objects that my mother posted made their way to our family in Ulundi and other parts of what was called KwaZulu at the time.

During the early stages of my research, my mother discovered a letter (see Figure 5) that she wrote to ukhokho after she had finally settled in the USA. This document is important because it shows that despite the dominant idea that ukhokho was 'illiterate'[43], she could clearly read isiZulu. I found this letter endearing because it illustrated how much love my mother had for ukhokho who was already sickly and struggling to keep up with my young self, but it also saddened me because I could not imagine what it must have felt like for my mother to leave a child she had just given birth to in her early 20s.

And with the help of ugogo, my uncle uMntwana Buthanani Goldenblessing Shange, ukhokho's close friends ugogo uMkhize, ugogo uMtshali, uMntwana wakwaKhuzwayo and ugogo umaNgwenya; I was raised to understand that parenthood is not biologically determined but it is informed by continuous acts of love, affirmation, support and guidance—an experience that informs my argument around the discursive construction of uMntwana uMagogo as a child who was under the tutelage of multiple unnamed women there were not always biologically linked to her.

Moreover, the manner in which I was raised also demonstrates how in the context of Black families, the normalised idea of the nuclear family is disrupted. In *White Woman Listen! Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood*, Hazel Carby proposes that feminist theory (propagated by white women) which frames the "Western nuclear family structure" (1982: 126) as a site of oppression for all women has "neglected the very strong female support networks that exist in many black sex/gender systems" (ibid). And as shown by my own personal narrative, I was mostly raised by Blackwomen that did not fit neatly into the Western nuclear family structure. As stated earlier, the majority of these women were not genealogically linked to my family and yet they took on the responsibility of bringing me up as their own.

And as compelling as it might be to confine my mother to the category of 'single mother', Oyèrónkè Oyěwùmí's *Conceptualising Gender: The Eurocentric Foundations of Feminist Concepts and the Challenge of African Epistemologies* (2002) cautions against this limited characterisation of women…particularly African women. In her text she states

43 I grew up hearing the expression "Ugogo akafundanga" (meaning ugogo was not educated) from some family members.

> Theorizing from the confined space of the nuclear[44] family, it is not surprising that issues of sexuality automatically come to the fore in any discussion of gender. Even a category such as mother is not intelligible in white feminist thought except if the mother is defined first as the wife of the patriarch. There seem to be no understanding of the role of a mother independent of her sexual ties to a father. Mothers are first and foremost wives. This is the only explanation for the popularity of that oxymoron: single mother. From an African perspective and as a matter of fact, mothers by definition cannot be single. In most cultures, motherhood is defined as a relationship to progeny, not as a sexual relationship to a man (2002: 2-3).

Oyěwùmí's observations are critical because they not only complicate the idea of motherhood by suggesting that it is not restricted to the woman's sexual ties to the father of the child, but they also suggest that the nuclear family is a socially constructed phenomenon that may be interrogated in order to reframe what constitutes a family. In my case, my family extends beyond the woman that gave birth to me. In fact, drawing from Oyěwùmí 's assertions means that even the idea of being a mother goes beyond "nuclear motherhood" (2002: 3). Although I referred to most of the women that raised me as 'gogo', it is critical to note that, in my mother's absence, they actively took on the role of parent. As such, their genealogical disposition and seniority did not hinder them from being mothers. And ukhokho's frailty also did not impede upon her intentionally undertaking the colossal task of raising a one year old.

While I lived with ukhokho, various people came to visit our home. It is only when they recited izithakazelo (as seen in the letter written by my mother in Figure 5) of ukhokho and ugogo uGloria that I was reminded of her royal status. According to ukhokho's nephew umkhulu uBhekinsizwa Mathe (who lived with her in Vryheid from the age of three until sixteen), she had in-depth knowledge of the history of the 'Zulu' clan. This is particularly interesting because her sister, the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', was widely celebrated for this knowledge. Mathe also stated that royal women often had their own language of ukuhlonipha[45] for that history.

For instance, there were words that ukhokho would not say out of respect of amakhosi of the 'Zulu' clan. So instead of calling the weather 'izulu', she called it

---

44 Oyěwùmí defines the nuclear family which she affirms is Euro-American in origin as "…A gendered family par excellence. As a single-family household, it is centered on a subordinated wife, a patriarchal husband, and children" (2002: 2).

45 According to Joseph, ukuhlonipha is "a code of respectful behaviour to which women, in particular are subject" (1983: 58).

'ibinga' and instead of calling news 'izindaba', she said 'imosa' (which my mother confirmed). The words that she used as substitutes were used because a certain inkosi had a name that sounded like the object in question (e.g. there were amakhosi whose names were Zulu and Ndaba) or a certain royal person's name had a particular syllable that she would not use out of ukuhlonipha.



Figure 1. Circa late 1920's. Photographer and place undocumented[i]. The earliest photographic record of uMntwana uNosulumane with a child suspected to be her first born son Mqandamini who passed away at the tender age of two.

---

i Although it is common to write "photographer unknown", I use the word "undocumented" instead because even though the metadata of a photograph might not be easily accessible to people who were not present when the image was made, the very fact that the photographer and the person or people photographed were present and conscious of the visual process at hand, means that the information was/is known but it is unrecorded in the form of 'traditional' archival practices. In other words, just because something is not recorded does not mean that it is not known in one form or another. Additionally, the practice of framing knowledge as simply 'unknown' legitimises what has been recorded over what is unnamed. And as illustrated throughout this thesis, obscurity is not an impasse, rather it is a place where marginalisation may be actively interrogated.



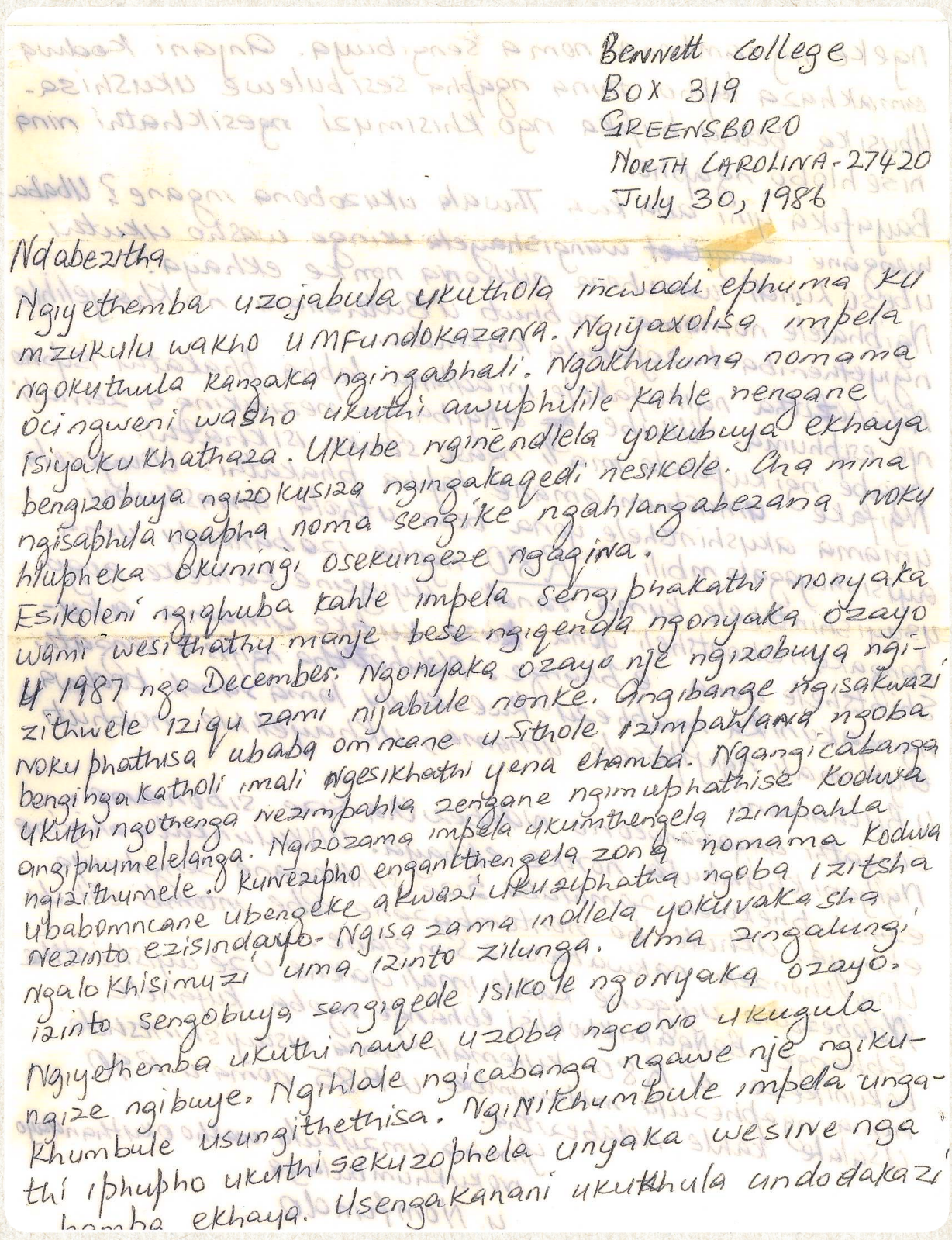
Figure 2. Circa 1986. Photographer undocumented. My mother uMntwana uNomfundo Shange in North Carolina, USA.



Figure 3. Circa 1990. Photographer undocumented. UMntwana uNosulumane and me in Section A, 'Ulundi, KwaZulu.



Figure 4. Circa late 1960s. Photographer undocumented. Ugogo uMntwana uGloria Thandekile Shange at an undocumented studio in Durban.



Bennett College
Box 319
GREENSBORO
North Carolina - 27420
July 30, 1986

Ndabezitha

Ngiyethemba uzojabula ukuthola incwadi ephuma ku mzukulu wakho uMfundokazana. Ngiyaxolisa impela ngokuthula kangaka ngingabhali. Ngakhuluma nomama ocingweni wakho ukuthi awuphilile kahle nengane isiyaku khathaza. Ukube nginendlela yokubuya ekhaya bengizobuya ngizokusiza ngingakagedi nesikole. Cha mina ngisaphila ngapha noma sengike ngahlangabezana noku hlupheka okuningi osekungeze ngaqina.

Esikoleni ngiqhuba kahle impela sengiphakathi nonyaka wami wesithathu manje bese ngiqenda ngonyaka ozayo u 1987 ngo December. Ngonyaka ozayo nje ngizobuya ngizithwele iziqu zami njabulo nonke. Angibange ngisakwazi ukuthi ngothenga nezimpahla zengane ngimuphathise kodwa angiphumelelanga. Ngizozama impela ukunthengela izimpahla ngizithumele. Kuvezipho engakuthengela zonke nomama kodwa ubabomncane ubengeke akwazi ukuziphatha ngoba izitsha nezinto ezisindayo. Ngisa zama indlela yokuvakasha ngalokhisimuzi uma izinto zilunga. Uma zingalungi izinto sengobuya sengiqede isikole ngonyaka ozayo.

Ngiyethemba ukuthi nawe uzoba ngcono ukugula ngize ngibuye. Ngihlale ngicabanga ngawe nje ngikukhumbule usungithethisa. Ngiyikhumbule impela ungathi iphupho ukuthi sekuzophela unyaka wesine nga hamba ekhaya. Usengakanani ukukhula undodakazi

Ndabezitha[46]

I hope that you will be happy to receive a letter from your granddaughter[47] *Mfundokazana*[48]*. I am very sorry for not writing for a while. I spoke to my mother on the phone and she told me you are not feeling well and my daughter has become a handful. If I had a way of coming back I would, but I have to complete my degree. I am doing well although I have been through some challenges, which have made me stronger though. My studies are going well and I am in the middle of my third year. I might complete my degree in December 1987 and come home and you will all be happy about that achievement. Babomncane*[49] *is coming back to South Africa; unfortunately I am unable to send him with some clothes to carry for all of you. I also bought you gifts of chinaware/cookware etc. that he could not carry because of extra weight. If I find a way to visit home I will try and come in December for Christmas. If things do not go according to plan then I will come back after I complete school next year. I hope you get better soon and be healthy until I come back home. I always think of you and miss the times you would reprimand me for being naughty. I miss all of you and I cannot believe it is nearing the fourth year since I have been overseas. How big is my daughter now?*

My mother recounted how ukhokho once gave her a hiding because she used the word 'mcwayizeni' to refer to a digital watch (Shange pers. comm., 2018). It is common for isiZulu speakers to refer to a digital watch as umcwayizeni because of its blinking action. According to Dent and Nyembezi, the verb "cwayiza" means to "blink" (2009: 376). When I asked my mother why she received a hiding, she said that ukhokho told her that 'Mcwayizeni' is the name of a certain royal person in the 'Zulu' clan. As a child, my mother was subversive so she told me that in the absence of ukhokho, she would go to the mirror and say the word many times and laugh. My mother's narrative not only revealed how complex relationships between adults and children can be but in her display of rebellion, I saw more than the woman

46 Isithakazelo for the Zulu isibongo (Gunner and Gwala, 1991).

47 See footnote 9, Chapter 1, for a discussion on why this particular translation is contentious.

48 A term of endearment given to my mother by ukhokho.

49 An isiZulu term that is contentiously translated as "uncle". In its literal sense, the noun 'ubab'omncane' means "the young father" which suggests that ubaba (father) is not necessarily the person who gives life biologically, rather, fatherhood is a fluid concept.

who birthed me. This anecdote signalled the agency that children exercise in the midst of policing and discipline (an idea I explore in Chapter One wherein I argue that the photographic presence of uMntwana uMagogo's young mzukulu uMntwana uSibuyiselwe is an illustration of children's subversiveness and power).

Mathe commented further on the idea of ukuhlonipha and language in relation to royal women. He said that ondlunkulu from royal homesteads such as Celinhlanhla which was opposite the royal homestead of Nsindeni (which is where ukhokho was born in 1910 to undlunkulu uMamuyaliwa) called the royal homestead of kwaPhindangene 'kwaPhintshangene' because out of respect for inkosi uDinuzulu, they would not pronounce the letter "d" as seen in his name. He also claimed that the royal women of the Buthelezi clan would not use the word 'thola' (meaning to find) out of respect for inkosi uMathole but they would use the term 'cosha' (meaning to pick up) instead. They also did not use the word 'imali' (meaning money) out of respect for inkosi uMaliyamakhanda but they would say 'nkece' instead. Although the term "nkece" is not found in most isiZulu dictionaries, a variation of this word may be found in the Seventh-Day Christian hymnal *Khence Khence!* And this apparent reimagination of normative isiZulu terms by multiple royal women highlights how much agency they had to (re)shape the world they inhabited (Gqola, 2001). However, one could also argue that their refusal to use syllables that are particularly found in the names of amakhosi (of the Zulu and Buthelezi clans) is reflective of how male-centric the practices of isiZulu speakers can be.

Although some people saw ukhokho's 'royalness' as her most prominent feature, in our day-to-day lives, she was ugogo. We listened to the afternoon dramas on Radio 'Zulu' together. She loved cooking izindlubu[50] and amahewu[51]. She watered her many trees. And one of the things that I will not forget her for was her love for orature. She particularly loved to recite a children's game that Nyembezi and Nxumalo refer to as "umdlalo kakholo" (2018: 32). According to Nyembezi and Nxumalo, this game is usually played outdoors wherein children chant poetic prose when they see a bird called ukholo[52] (which is also known as a Black-shouldered Kite or a Blouvalk). And my framing of ukhokho as an everyday woman parallels my quotidian conception of uMntwana uMagogo. As demonstrated throughout this thesis, the everyday is reconceptualised as a site of transgression.

---

50 IsiZulu term meaning boiled dry corn.

51 IsiZulu term meaning sour porridge.

52 Nyembezi and Nxumalo describe ukholo as "Inyoni exube umbala omnyama nonsundu, okuthi uma isekudeni ibukeke imnyama tsu. Le nyoni idla amatshwele" (2018: 81) which means "A bird with a colour mixture of black and brown. When it is far it looks black. This bird is known for eating chicks".

As stated earlier, it is through the absence of ukhokho's narrative in 'official' history that I arrived at focusing on uMntwana uMagogo's story. Initially, my assumption was that uMntwana uMagogo's presence in 'official' historiography meant she showed up as a multi-dimensional woman who had a big voice in a sea of 'big' men's voices. In the early stages of my research, I worked with the idea that uMntwana uNosulumane and uMntwana uMagogo were women of the same royal lineage and yet one was over-represented while the other was nowhere to be found except in the memories of those who knew her.

In the beginning, I asked[53] my family why ukhokho's narrative was not captured in 'official' historiography but only through an obscure online source[54] titled *World of Royalty* (Soszynski, 2001-2018). The online platform's owner Henry Soszynski (who is based in Australia) asserts that this website is "devoted to Royalty and nobility in countries outside of Europe" – wherein the history of the 'Zulu' royal clan is located under the banner of "other states". I found the idea that Soszynski is interested in capturing the histories of royalty outside Europe while othering those very same histories perplexing. Similar to this thesis, Soszynski and I seem to be driven by the same impulse. We both recognise that to speak about "princes" and "princesses" is often to invoke images and histories from the Western world; and yet in his attempt to destabilise this hegemony, he ends up re-inscribing the marginality of the histories he claims his website is "devoted to". To speak about "other states" is to suggest that these states are different or distinct from states that are already known or accepted. Without realisation (I assume?), Soszynski ends up othering the very histories he wants to place at the centre.

As I clicked away on his website, the term "Zulu" appeared with the parenthesis "tribal nation". Again, by emphasising the contentious idea of "tribe" which Archie Mafeje in *The Ideology of 'Tribalism'* (1971) proposes is the construction of European colonialism, Soszynski not only exoticises this history but he also homogenises 'Zuluness' by suggesting that there is a unitary 'Zulu' ethnic identity which is

53 As part of my research journey, I had multiple informal telephonic conversations with my family regarding ukhokho's life history. As stated in this study, I could not locate much 'official' documentation on her narrative. As such, I consulted people who knew her intimately. My choice to include these voices is informed by my methodology which centres knowledge that is not traditionally considered 'history worthy'. My use of orality is informed by the idea that "We have to go outside the scope of what history usually is. We need to look at folk beliefs, at magic, as the means by which people sought control over sexuality, fertility and birth. The personal testimony of any woman who can remember - not just women who have witnessed major political events - is a source for this history" (Stuart citing Sheila Rowbotham, 1994: 58). In this regard, I am interested in the many ways in which the histories of Blackwomen…specifically women in the 'Zulu' monarchy may be captured. This may be seen in my interdisciplinarity as well as my feminist methodology which prioritises everyday lived experiences of Blackwomen.

54 Even though this website does not set itself up as distinctly alternative to hegemonic 'Zulu' historiography, I examine it at length in order to illustrate the pervasiveness of the marginality of 'Zulu' royal women's narratives. Therefore, it is critical to note that the relegation of 'Zulu' royal women's histories is not only found in the telling of the master narrative of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', but it is also evident in the account of other 'Zulu' royal women's narratives (albeit not exactly in the same way).

inextricably linked to nationhood (a concept I problematise in chapter two). And the subheadings "TITLE: Inggonyama (sic)", "STATE: South Africa (kwaZulu-Natal)", "RELIGION: Anglican" and "DYNASTY: Zulu" which are placed right under the image of the multi-coloured flag of the 'new' democratic South Africa, re-inscribe the idea that to be 'Zulu' is to take on an uncontested fixed identity. The fact that Soszynski speaks about the "PRESENT RULER" who is said to be "HM Inggonyama (sic) ZWELITHINI GOODWILL, Inggonyama of the Zulu Nation since 1968" is problematic, because scholars such as Jeff Guy (2013), Mbongiseni Buthelezi (2012) and Hlonipha Mokoena (2011) have explored how 'Zulu'-centricity has been resisted by multiple clans, which refuse to be subsumed under an indistinguishable 'Zulu' identity when they have their own amakhosi and histories. This is to say that not all isiZulu speakers willingly acknowledge inkosi uZwelithini as their inkosi.

Although Soszynski recognises the existence of women in the 'Zulu' monarchy, he concretises 'official' historiography's framing of them as women who are of their fathers or of their husbands. And while he acknowledges ukhokho through his platform, he misspells her name as "Sulumane". This is by no fault of his own because until recently I also found out that her full name was Nosulumane not Sulumane. In our family, there is a misconception that her name was Sulumane and through looking at her Identity Book (which is unfortunately now lost) my mother discovered that it was actually 'Nosulumane Tryphina Shange'. And my mother's experience of 'discovery' emphasises how marginalised the narratives of women in the 'Zulu' monarchy are. In a way, asking questions about ukhokho has taught my mother and I multiple things about our family and we have also learned more about ourselves as women[55].

Soszynski has this to say about ukhokho: "Princess Sulumane Zulu, married Thanduzako (sic) Rogers Shange". As stated earlier, like other royal women in 'official' historiography, uMntwana uNosulumane appears as a woman of a husband who never was. "Thanduzalo Rogers Shange" was actually ukhokho's son who worked as a court interpreter and clerk in Empangeni and Mtubatuba. While serving as a court interpreter, he also later became a prosecutor in Nquthu, Umlazi and Durban. UMntwana uNosulumane's husband was Austin Mfihlo Shange – who was a police man at the Ncunje police station in Vryheid. He was also known as the eldest brother of the renowned isiZulu writer Othaniel Lashington Shange (commonly known as O.

55 While my mother was digging through ukhokho's trunk, she found a medical certificate that stated that ukhokho had cervical cancer. None of us knew this information. In fact, whenever my mother and I had been to gynaecologists, we had denied any history of cervical cancer in our family. In this regard, through the quotidian act of looking through a trunk, we found crucial information that will literally save the lives of many women in our family.

L. Shange) who wrote the book *Injula Nokujiya KwesiZulu* which was first published in 1953.

Interestingly, Soszynski also includes uMntwana uMagogo on his website. He states this about her: "Princess Constance Magogo Zulu, born 1900, married 1926, Inkosi Mathole Buthelezi, and had issue. She died 1984." Again, the milestones in her life are birth, marriage, children and death. What I find compelling about this website is that it notes that in the 'Zulu' royal clan, royal people are referred to as "AbaNtwana". Right at the bottom of the page, Soszynski writes "Note: The children of King Mpande, and their descendants are all referred to as AbaNtwana". It is not often that texts that are about the 'Zulu' royal clan note this. However scholars such as Liz Gunner and David Rycroft do make a note of this in their work.

As stated earlier, I enquired why it is that my uMntwana uNosulumane was not as prominent as uMntwana uMagogo in 'official' historiography and I was told that unlike her sister 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', she was not a musician; did not marry a man of prominence like inkosi uMathole Buthelezi; her three children (Mqandamini, Gloria[56] Thandekile and Thanduzalo Rogers Shange) were not eminent political figures like the renowned Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) founder and leader 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi'; and unlike uMntwana uMagogo, whose mother was a principal 'wife', ukhokho's mother undlunkulu uMamuyaliwa was not. I was also told that uMntwana uNosulumane's occupation was not one that made her notable as she was an assistant to mentally ill patients during their railway trips from Vryheid to hospitals based in Pietermaritzburg and in Queenstown, Eastern Cape (amongst other unknown hospitals). And after her husband's death in 1964, her compromised financial position led her to becoming a 'skokiaan queen' and a cook in order to support her children and grandchildren. In Vryheid, she was referred to as "uMntwana wakwaShange" (an anomaly in the context of how women in the 'Zulu' monarchy are often tied to their identity as daughters, sisters and wives of men from the 'Zulu' clan) and people in the community of eBhekuzulu and surrounding areas came to her house to buy umqombothi and food. Although the year is undocumented, she was eventually arrested by the police for the illegal sale of alcohol. A white Vryheid official by the name Nowoloza intervened and insisted that 'uMntwana kaDinuzulu' could not be arrested like a 'commoner'. She was released from prison and continued to sell iskokiyane (as it was commonly known then) to put my mother, uncles and others through school.

---

56 Gloria Thandekile Shange was my mother's mother and a teacher at various Primary Schools in Durban including Mkhumbane, Velabahleke and Hubushe where she eventually retired. She was a member of the Durban Teacher's Choir which was later renamed the Amazwi AkaZulu choir when people who were not teachers were incorporated into it. In its existence, a number of people functioned as the choir's conductors including Nkabinde, Dubazane and Harris Mzondi.

As indicated before, she married a man of her choice who was not of royal descent and they lived together at a police compound in Vryheid. The idea that ukhokho was a royal woman who married a man of her choice and was not politically affiliated with any royalty is very critical. Unlike her sister uMntwana uMagogo, ukhokho had the agency to love and marry a person she desired. I suspect that part of that agency came from her 'anonymity'. In other words, her 'unofficial' status in the public imagination meant that even though she was a woman of royal descent whose father was widely written about in history books, she did not have impositions posed by the demands of being a historical, singularised public figure as seen in the case of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'.

An affidavit found in ukhokho's trunk (see Figure 6) states that she had a 'customary union' on 5 July 1930. In this 'official' document, only her English name is used and her unnamed parents are framed as 'illiterate'[57] even though both parents had in-depth indigenous knowledge and inkosi uDinuzulu was a pianist who wrote eloquent English letters while he was exiled for high treason in the island of St. Helena in the late 1800s. The apartheid state's erasure of ukhokho's indigenous name is a reminder that she was a black subject that existed in a world that was anti-black. Although the affidavit states that ukhokho had a 'customary union', she was in a monogamous marital union. Unlike 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' who had to grapple with the complexities of being in isithembu, ukhokho had to contend with a monogamous marital reality which came with its own particularities. Scholars have written about this historic 'Zulu' royal woman's embittered experiences in isithembu as represented through izangelo[58] that she composed.

In other words, as I was having conversations with my family and as I was reading about uMntwana uMagogo through the lens of 'official' historiography, I realised that the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is a woman who is invisible through hypervisibility. In master narratives, she is not only constructed as an exceptional 'big' woman who was disconnected from a wide network of royal women who inculcated in her all that she is celebrated for, but she is painted as a grand figure belonging to national projects that aim to assign her a larger-than-life status that erases her humanness and the stories of multiple women that existed in her life.

---

57 Since uMntwana uNosulumane could not speak or write in English, it is safe to assume that it is the office of the Commissioner of Oaths that translated the content of the affidavit from isiZulu to English. Therefore, the "I" in the document does not necessarily refer to ukhokho. Rather, it is an 'official' I created by the apartheid state. Ironically, the term "illiteracy" was initially misspelled as "illiteracy" in a document that claims that ukhokho's parents were the 'illiterate' ones.

58 See Liz Gunner's *Songs of Innocence and Experience: Women as Composers of Izibongo Zulu Praise Poetry (1979) and Norma Masuku's Perceived Oppression of Women in Zulu Folklore: A Feminist Critique* (2005).

And as proposed in this thesis, a quotidian understanding of this historic 'Zulu' royal woman not only contributes to her demystification but it also exposes the many ways in which the narratives of Women in the Zulu monarchy that were in her life have been erased.

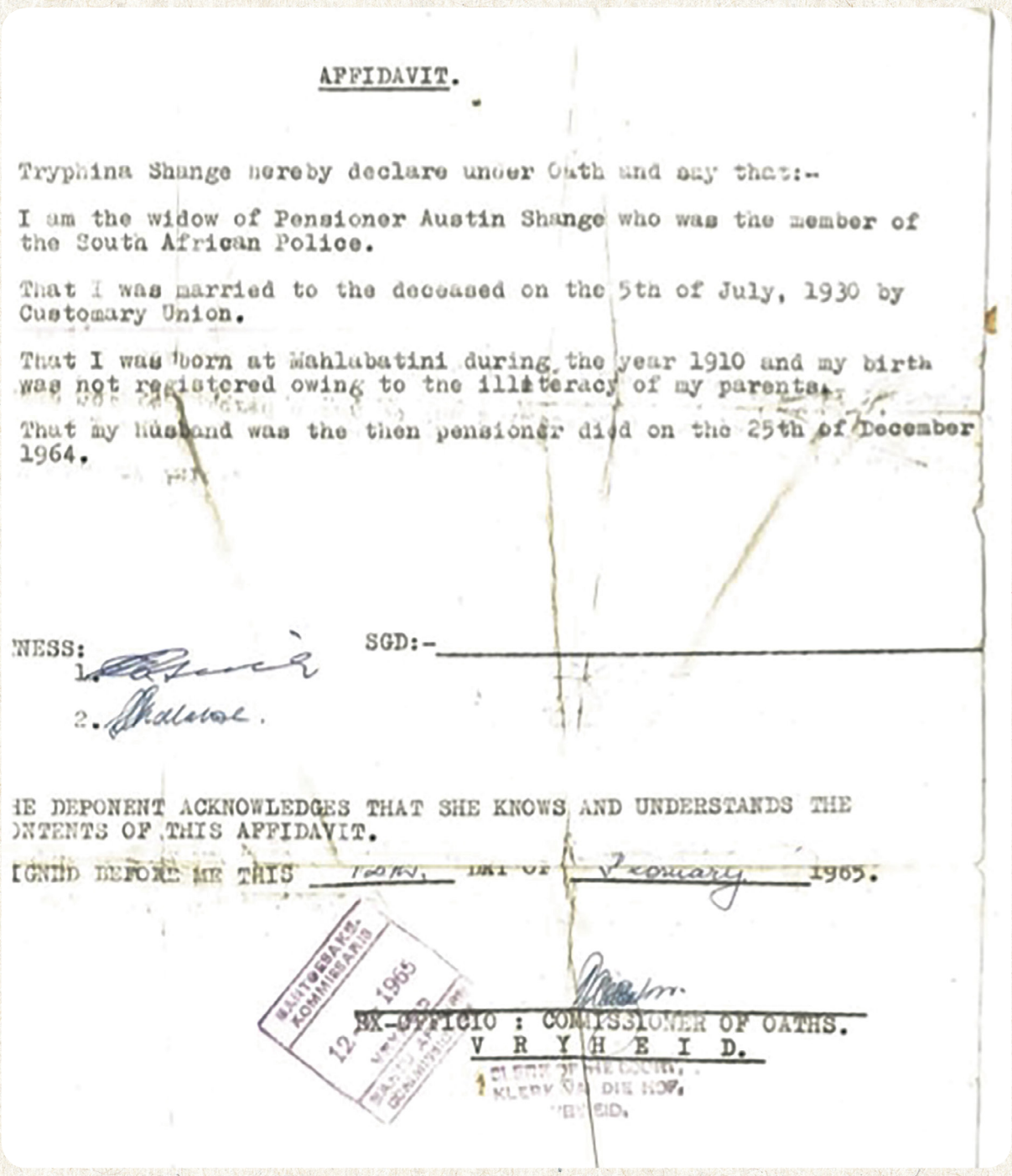
Traversing through Izithombe

This thesis centres around a number of images that I frame as izithombe. I use this isiZulu noun because it encompasses multiple forms of representations. Often, the assumption is that the term 'isithombe' only refers to a photograph. However, A. T. Bryant's *A Zulu-English Dictionary* attests to this term's dynamism by referring to it as the "likeness of anything, actually or mentally drawn; hence, statue, image, doll, picture, photograph" (1905: 641), while Doke et al's *English-Zulu Zulu-English Dictionary* defines it as an "image, statue", a "doll", an "idol", a "picture, photograph" and a "dwarf" (1958: 800) and A.C. Nkabinde's *Isichazamazwi 1* conceives of isithombe as "umfanekiso wento" or the likeness of a thing (1982: 111).

In this regard, the polysemic nature of this term allows me to explore how the images included in this thesis are not just photographs but they are re-presentations of photographs or pictures of photographs. Since most of izithombe that are in this thesis are reproductions of photographs, one needs to think about how the act of re-producing a photograph in a book "may bring to the fore ways of remembering and ways of reconfiguring photographic representation, memory and history" (Thompson, 2011: 40). And even though most of the photographic scans have been sourced from books that do not necessarily centre around 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', the very act of including images that represent her is a way of re-membering and re-configuring her history through imagery (and text) and it is also a way through which the histories and memories of and about women in the 'Zulu' monarchy may be re-presented.

Moreover, I use the concept of isithombe because I propose that it may be linked to ukuthakatha[59]—an idea that allows me to conceive of isithombe as an object that is imbued with power and authority as seen in Mbembe's idea of the archive (2002). In this study, I argue that the nexus between photography and ukuthakatha is power. Although most people conceive of the practice of capturing a photograph as "ukushutha" (meaning to shoot), isiZulu speakers also refer to this process as

59 IsiZulu term meaning witchcraft.



AFFIDAVIT.

Tryphina Shange hereby declare under Oath and say that:-

I am the widow of Pensioner Austin Shange who was the member of the South African Police.

That I was married to the deceased on the 5th of July, 1930 by Customary Union.

That I was born at Mahlabatini during the year 1910 and my birth was not registered owing to the illiteracy of my parents.

That my Husband was the then pensioner died on the 25th of December 1964.

NESS: 1. 2.

SGD:-

HE DEPONENT ACKNOWLEDGES THAT SHE KNOWS AND UNDERSTANDS THE ONTENTS OF THIS AFFIDAVIT.

IGNED BEFORE ME THIS ... DAY OF February 1965.

EX-OFFICIO : COMMISSIONER OF OATHS.

V R Y H E I D.

Figure 6. 1965. Scan of an affidavit found in uMntwana uNosulumane's trunk in Section A, Ulundi, KwaZulu-Natal.

"ukuthwebula". In isiZulu, the term "ukuthwebula" has multiple meanings. Amongst isiZulu speakers, this expression is not just limited to image making but it also refers to a ritual where umthakathi[60] uses umlingo[61] to take another's power. In *Isichazimazwi Sanamuhlula Nangomuso*, Sibusiso Nyembezi offers interesting variations of this concept. In his work, he speaks about "umthwebulo" and "ithwebulo" as a person's state of (un)consciousness that results from losing one's power and sense of self through the ritual of ukuthwebula. In his own words, he states that umthwebulo is "isimo esidalwa ngumlingo ophendula umuntu angazazi" (a state of not knowing oneself due to a magical ritual or what I call ukuthakatha), while ithwebulo is "ukuthatha amandla omuntu ngomlingo, umlingo ophendula umuntu angazazi" [taking another's power through 'magic', 'magic' that turns one into a person who does not know themselves] (1992: 512).

According to Nkabinde and the *Scholar's Zulu Dictionary*, the camera (whether it captures still or moving images) is understood as "[u]mshini wokuthwebula izithombe" (1982: 114; Dent and Nyembezi, 2018: 36). As such, in this thesis I propose that the act of ukuthwebula in the form of image making is not so far removed for the practice of ukuthakatha through umlingo. I am of the opinion that the camera not only documented but the ways in which it did so and the ideologies of the people that came with the camera into South Africa had to do with power and dispossession. In *IMIFANEKISO: An Introduction to the Photographic Portraits of Dr R.J. Mann*, Jeff Guy's description of the arrival of the camera in South Africa sounds a lot like ukuthakatha. In this text, he states

> By default, the African men being photographed were not just posing but asking questions. It is their questions which make the portraits so powerful—because although no one could answer them then, we can answer them now, and the answer is that this new technology at which you are looking, and these people who have brought it here, will conquer you, strip you of your rights, remove you from the land, tax you, and record technologically the way in which it is done. You will lose your independence, you will work for others, and you will be impoverished. We know, history has told us, the answer to the questions you ask in

60 Although 'umthakathi' is commonly translated to mean 'witch', Nyembezi suggests that this term may also be used to refer to "izinyo elibuhlungu" (a sore tooth), "amazinyo omntwana omncane" (a toddler's teeth), "inyongo eningi egazini esifuna ukukhishwa" (a form of illness that is untranslatable in English) and "umuntu onekhono" [a person who is gifted in a particular field] (1992: 275).

61 Even though it is tempting to simply translate the word 'umlingo' to 'magic', the idea of umlingo does not function in the same way that the Western idea of magic does. The popular images of card games, rabbits in hats and stage lights does not easily fit into the idea of umlingo. In the context of isiZulu speakers, umlingo is commonly tied to ukuthakatha. According to Nyembezi, umlingo is "isenzo esimangalisayo esingakholeki, into engaqondakali ukuthi yenzeka kanjani, umgilingwane" (1992: 275) which loosely translates as "an surprising deed that is unbelievable, a thing that is incomprehensible).

> these photographs by your long questioning, concerned gaze, and it is an answer we cannot give you (2014:176).

In this regard, the photograph and its history in South Africa is one that cannot be easily separated from the colonial[62] enterprise. And in light of colonial photography's dominance in the historical visual representation of Africa, I argue that umthwebuli comes in the form of a photographer (or filmmaker since ukuthwebula is not limited to photography) who not only decides who or what (and how) to capture at any given moment but, ukuthwebula as a visual concept also calls attention to the power dynamics that are involved in processes of image making. In the world of photography, authority—albeit limited in relation to the power that institutions such as galleries and agencies hold—is often assigned to the photographer (Geary, 1991). It is a common practice that the person who is photographed is framed as a subject of 'the photographer's work'. It is the photographer's name that appears in big bold letters at gallery exhibitions. The photographer's name becomes prominent while the names of those who are photographed are either unidentified or they remain in obscure captions that are written in fonts the size of ants.

In *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003), Susan Sontag refers to the powerlessness that comes with being an unnamed photographic subject. In addition, she speaks about the 'cult of celebrity' that exists in the photography world. In this text, she affirms

> In their focus on the powerless, reduced to their powerlessness…it is significant that the powerless are not named in captions. A portrait that declines to name its subject becomes complicit, if inadvertently, in the cult of celebrity that has fuelled an insatiable appetite for the opposite sort of photograph: to grant only the famous their names demotes the rest to representative instances of their occupations, their ethnicities, their plights (Sontag, 2003: 70).

---

62 See *Old Pictures, New Approaches: Researching Historical Photographs* (1991) wherein Christopher M. Geary discusses the relationship between photography and colonialism in Africa. In this text he states "We should be well aware of the fact that all these images [historical photographs in Africa] were created in a power relationship predicated on the colonial situation: the photographer/colonialist could impose and enforce his will if he so desired […] There were certainly variations and even some situations where a more personal relationship between photographer and photographed narrowed the distance between the powerful and powerless […] Yet, the conditions under which many historical and present-day photographs were taken in Africa need to be contemplated, and issues such as inherent racism and visual exploitation of those pictured need to be raised" (1991: 98).

It is vital to note the gendered nature of Geary's language. When he speaks of the photographer whom he also refers to as the colonialist, he does so with the idea that this role is inherently male. As indicated in this thesis' feminist methodology that centres around Blackwomen, it is crucial not to dismiss the role that white women have played in the oppression of Black people. Therefore, when Geary frames the colonial photographer, he needs to do so with the idea that white women were also complicit in the perpetuation of colonialism. However, one may empathise with Geary's position in the sense that often, colonial history is male-centred. And perhaps the androcentrism found in Geary's reflection also highlights how photography is a field that commonly celebrates male photographers albeit many women photographers have produced critical work over time.

In the extract above, Sontag emphasises the gravity of being an unidentified photographic subject. In this text, not only does she propose that namelessness is inextricably linked to powerlessness but people who have been photographed in this context are reduced to their line of work, struggles and homogenised identities. In this case, it is only the famous (i.e. the person or people behind the camera) that are humanised through the acknowledgement of their individuality. This photographer-centred phenomenon is also underscored through the photographer's artist statement wherein the photographer's vision and intentions are explicated. And depending on how much clout the photographer has, it is them that decide[63] which institution will house 'their' photographic archive. As such, archives are not only shrouded in contention but they are imbued with power and authority (Mbembe, 2002)—an idea that I will explore further as I discuss the multiple images I examine in each chapter of this thesis.

As stated earlier, I frame the aforementioned images within the context of ukuthwebula. And the vital thing about ukuthwebula is that it can be disrupted and resisted. In the case of ukuthakatha, there may be recuperative[64] acts that may liberate the person in question from ukungazazi or not knowing oneself. And in the context of photography, there may be multiple ways in which photographers can destabilise normative photographic practices. One example that comes to mind is how Zanele Muholi insists that people who are photographed are visual participants[65] not subjects.

---

63 In the contemporary South African photography landscape, David Goldblatt is the epitome of a photographer with power and privilege. See *'I Will Not Compromise About My Work': David Goldblatt on Artistic Freedom, Censorship, and Moving His Archive Out of South Africa (*Scher, 2017) for a discussion on how Goldblatt decided to move his archive (which he had initially donated to the University of Cape Town or UCT) to Yale University after members of the Fees Must Fall movement at UCT were said to have 'damaged' artworks they deemed an extension of the colonial project. Goldblatt's agency to make this contended choice is glaring when one considers how Boitumelo Mofokeng (who is a poet, writer, activist and the 'wife' of the acclaimed Black South African photographer Santu Mofokeng) is currently in a legal battle with agent Lunetta Bartz over Santu Mofokeng's ownership of his intellectual property. See *Agent and Wife in War over Legend Santu Mofokeng's Legacy* (Blignaut, 2019) for more information.

64 In this context, I am particularly thinking of the band The Brother Moves On's recuperative sonic chant "Sixosha abakathathi" [meaning we are banishing abathakathi] in their song titled Wena Wetla (2015). What is critical about their incantation is that it is a collective act of naming that which is not only psychically detrimental, but it is about exposing oppressive systematised powers that appear invisible. Often, when the idea of abathakathi is invoked, there is fear and trepidation. And yet, these young Black people call out the 'unseen' (which is very similar to the Foucauldian idea of panoptic power being unverifiable and all-encompassing) through banishment or resistance. And the idea that The Brother Moves On's popularised expression "Sixosha abathakathi" may be mobilised to think critically about what it means to be a Black person in postcolonial and post-apartheid South Africa, has been influenced by my encounter with Njabulo Zwane's *The Dream to See Ourselves Clearly* (2018) wherein he emphasises the importance of everyday acts of resistance by Black people in contemporary South Africa. In this text, he asks us to "ukuxosha abathakathi" (2018) in our day-to-day lives as Black people.

65 Muholi's framing of subjects as visual participants is reminiscent of Santu Mofokeng's idea that abantu basekasi are anything but passive photographic subjects (2000). In *Trajectory of a Street Photographer,* he states "Most township people felt vulnerable and exposed when they gave you permission to take (or make) an image of them. Many felt that their 'shade' (the new anthropology term), 'seriti/isithunzi' (in the vernacular), or 'soul' (the older missionary term) was implicated in the process. They feared that their essence could be stolen or their destiny altered by interfering with the resulting image or images: 'Camera-man, why are you taking so many photos of me. What are you going to do with the rest of them?' Often I found myself at pains trying to explain why I have to make many exposures or to do a reshoot" (2000: 43). Moreover, the relationship between seriti or isithunzi and isithombe further emphasises how it is that photography is seen as a ritual that is close to ukuthakatha.

In this thesis, 'isithombe' and 'ukuthwebula' are terms that are used to highlight how the photographic camera, umthwebuli in the form of a photographer and the photographic images are political. In this regard, I re-read the images that represent the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' in consideration of the abovementioned contentions.

Following Karina Eileraas' *Reframing the Colonial Gaze: Photography, Ownership, and Feminist Resistance*, I position myself as a feminist reader of these images. In her text, Eileraas states

> The feminist reader of images does not just deconstruct representations of the feminine. She also invents an alternative aesthetic by appropriating the "powerful fantasies and anxieties that keep those images circulating"—and that might be used to authorize other narratives and histories" (2003: 811).

Therefore, my reading of images included in this thesis is not solely about analysing them in relation to normative representations of 'Zulu' royal womanhood, but, my aim is also to offer ways of thinking through how these photographs may be re-conceived. For instance, in chapter one, even though my main objective is to re-imagine the dominant image of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as only a singer and a performer of 'Zulu bow music', I use Tina Campt's method of 'listening' to photographs (2017) as a way of disrupting how these images are often only understood to be visual objects.

In this context, I use Campt's 'invent[ion] of an alternative aesthetic' through the appropriation of 'powerful fantasies and anxieties that keep [these] images circulating'. This is particularly critical because some of the images in chapter one have been iconised and widely circulated as representations of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. Moreover, I use the method of zooming into photographs in order to emphasise minute details that one would not normally register when looking at a standard sized photograph. Additionally, my use of Toni Morrison's idea of rememory (2007) and bell hooks' conception of an aesthetic of blackness (1990) to re-read the photographs in chapter two and three illustrates my interest in drawing from work written by Blackwomen and how the ideas within their work may be utilised to read izithombe that represent 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' in feminist ways.

Aestheticising the Thesis as a Multisensory Object

Santu Mofokeng's *The Black Photo Album/ Look at Me: 1890-1950* (2013) has played a critical role in facilitating my thinking around the aesthetics of this thesis. Mofokeng's text has allowed me the freedom to reflect on my own process of visualisation. As such, I have worked hand-in hand with the designer Naadira Patel[66] to assemble this thesis into a customised publication. The size and the overall design of this work is meant to create a sense that this text may be read as an intimate portrait of uMntwana uMagogo. In a way, Patel and I want this thesis to feel like a familiar object that one could possibly store in a kist, trunk or room divider (as seen in township homes in South Africa). However, the familiar is not understood to be unimaginative and conventional.

The black, gold, white and off white colour scheme has not only been used to keep the palate as plain as possible, but we have also chosen these colours in order to capture the aesthetics of a precious family photo album. We have printed this thesis as a hardcover because I grew up surrounded by family photo albums that had hard covers. At times, these hard covers would be wrapped in plastic as a protective[67] measure. And as suggested earlier, this album was stored under lock and key in kists, room dividers, displays and trunks.

Although our use of gold may seem extravagant, the family photo albums I grew up seeing in Ulundi were intricately embellished. At times they had gold detail. We have included a gold and black leopard print not only to ornamentalise this object

---

66 Naadira Patel is an artist, designer and a researcher. She currently runs StudioStudio, a multi-disciplinary studio for art, research, design and project management, covering a range of publishing related practices, predominantly focused on issues concerning social justice, mining, and education, while lecturing part time in the Department of Visual Arts, Wits School of Arts, Johannesburg. She has an MA in Cultural Analysis (2015) from the University of Amsterdam's School for Cultural Analysis, The Netherlands and a BA Fine Arts (2010) from the Wits School of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

67 This is particularly important because of the dominant discourse around the deteriorative state of South African archives. At the recent *A Black Aesthetic: A View of South African Artists* (1970- 1990) exhibition (2019), Standard Bank's curator and manager Dr Same Mdluli emphasised how urgent it is to train specialists in the art of archive conservation. She noted that some of the works of Black artists from Fort Hare University's art collection could not be included in the aforementioned exhibition due to their dilapidated condition (ibid). Additionally, Nontobeko Mabongi Ntombela's MAFA thesis titled *A Fragile Archive: Refiguring|Rethinking |Reimagining |Re-presenting Gladys Mgudlandlu* (2013) highlights this issue in relation to Mgudlandlu's collected works. She states "Though the works [Mgudlandlu's] were in very poor condition, I decided to include them on the basis that they spoke to the issues around history, archive, memory and preservation. Their poor condition also embodied the title in relation to notions of fragility" (Ntombela, N., 2013: 77). In light of Mdluli and Ntombela's assertions, it is interesting to note how family photo albums in township homes like ukhokho's were conserved albeit 'informally'. Growing up, the family photo album was not an object that one could handle carelessly. And as proposed earlier, this item was allotted an ornamental status like the china only visitors could use. In the event that the family photo album was taken out of the kist, trunk, room divider or display, its custodian had to be present…and often that was ugogo. In other words, when it comes to the family photo album in township homes in South Africa, the Blackwoman has been its "archon" (Derrida, 1995: 10). Moreover, the Blackwoman's inscriptions on the back of family photographs was not only her way of providing meta data but she was contextualising and historicising the photographs for posterity.

but this pattern of ingwe[68] also signifies royalty. The gleaming nature of this pattern is also a haptic[69] invitation to the reader/viewer/listener[70].

This thesis in its materiality may be thought of as archival and it may be compared to Sigmund Freud's "mystic writing pad" which "provides not only a receptive surface that can be used over and over again, like a slate, but also permanent traces of what has been written" (1925: 211). In this regard, this thesis as the mystical writing pad may be touched, read, viewed and listened to over and over again. And as this happens, the reader/viewer/listener and toucher leaves traces of themselves as they run their hands on this print.

Similar to ornate china (which often has gold detail) that ukhokho used to exhibit in the room divider and in the display[71], we are interested in how this thesis can function as a collectible to be cherished and interacted with. On a practical level, we have chosen the hardcover binding method because of its assumed longevity. We use the adjective 'assumed' because we are aware of the precarious and fragile nature of this perceived 'everlasting-ness'. In a way, our thinking around the durability or permanence of the thesis as a material object is evocative of the desire to preserve and guard that which has been captured between the hard cover. This inclination to store (for as long as possible) that which has been recorded is reminiscent of Jacques Derrida and Eric Prenowitz's exploration of Freud's "death drive"[72] (1995: 13).

In *A Shaft of Darkness: Derrida in the Archive* (2002), Derrida conceives of the death drive as an impulse to struggle against forgetting. He states

> …In order to oppose the destruction, you want to keep safe, to accumulate, the archive, as such, not simply living memory — because we don't trust living memory, you trust the archive. […] The gesture which consists in accumulating the archive, in the monument of the document, is another way, as I said earlier, of producing forgetting. That is, there is a

68 IsiZulu term meaning leopard.

69 Growing up, the act of touching was a playful one. As children in the township of Section A in Ulundi, we played a game called 'touch' (which we pronounced as 'thash'). This game signalled the conclusion of a long day on the playground. The objective of the game was to ensure that one was the last to touch the person or people they played with. In this context, the toucher had power. Before the act of touching, one would begin by tapping their palm against their lips while uttering the sound "wo". "Wo wo wo wo wo" the contender would chant while calculating how to touch their opponent without being touched in return. In the end, the winner would be the one who was swift enough to touch and run home fast enough not to be touched. As such, the idea of touch is a playful one in this thesis. The texture of the leopard print is an invitation to "Wo wo wo wo wo wo thash!"

70 An idea explored in chapter one.

71 Instead of calling the display cabinet as such, ukhokho (and people in the township of Section A, Ulundi) referred to it as 'i-display'. The (re)naming of a display cabinet as 'i-display' is vital because it demonstrates how objects are appropriated and re-appropriated by people. In this case, the objects are given new meanings and functions that are ever changing.

72 Derrida and Prenowitz note that Freud also refers to the 'death drive' as the "aggression drive" or the "destruction drive" (1995: 13).

> perverse, a perverse, desire for forgetting in the archive itself. The death drive is not simply at work in killing, in producing death, but in trying to save, in a certain way, the memory. And you can't escape forgetting, and forgetting in that case is not simply repression in psychoanalytical terms. There is repression in the psychoanalytical sense, but there is more than repression, there is an erasure that doesn't keep the repressed thing in some other place, but which produces forgetting by remembering, so to speak (2002: 66).

In consideration of Derrida's observations, our instinct or drive to protect and cover the monument of the document that is a thesis about a well-known historical figure is in itself a work of producing death. In many ways, this thesis has been written as a means to re-member the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. And in re-membering her through this thesis, we cultivate forgetting. Paradoxically, by (re) writing something into being, there is a false 'relief' that convinces one that that thing has at least been recorded, and therefore there is no longer an urgency to remember. In this regard, there is a death albeit a symbolic one.

And in thinking about how this notion of 'death' has been prompted by the materiality of the thesis (as a multi-sensory object), we reflect on the osmic. As stated earlier, we are imagining this thesis as a family-photo-album-like object that may find itself in a kist, trunk, room divider or a display. As such, we are compelled to think about scent. This is particularly the case because these repositories (the trunk, kist, room divider and the display) found in South African townships are commonly accompanied by the smell of *Mr Min* and *Pledge* furniture spray, *Furnigloss* polish and uzamlandela[73] or moth balls (in the case of a trunk and the kist). In some instances, the smell of *Windowlene* may be invoked because the display and the room divider are made of glass and wood.

The pungent smell of uzamlandela (which is scientifically known as naphthalene) is especially interesting because it symbolises a deliberate struggle against decay. While *Mr Min, Pledge* and *Furnigloss* are used for the preservation of wood, their floral and at times musky odour suggests that these substances are manufactured with the idea that they need to be pleasurable to the nose. This is particularly the

73 While it is tempting to translate this term as "They followed him or her", the reality is that it is not easily translatable into English. My use of "they" in the translation does not function because the prefix 'za-' suggests that the thing that is the 'follower' may not be a person or people. But one may argue that it could be a group of people who are of a particular category (i.e. izizwe). One could say "Zamlandela izizwe". However, it is not likely that the 'follower' is a person considering the idea that moth balls are about the preservation of objects. I imagine that the thing that follows the unnamed person (whose gender is not specified) is not human. Perhaps it could be izinto or things. But then again, the noun "into" signals more than an object. In other words, I have difficulty translating this term into English and as such, I will not.

case because the room divider and the display are often found in the living room, which is a space where most people spend their time of leisure.

Uzamlandela on the other hand is commonly unseen. It is used in dark, warm and obscure places with the intention of repelling moths and other insects that may deteriorate clothes, curtains, blankets, doilies and paraphernalia such as old money notes, photographs, pamphlets, obituaries, letters and newspaper clippings. In a way, uzamlandela is the epitome of Derrida's idea of the production of death through saving a memory of a person or thing. Uzamlandela does not disguise itself as anything but a substance that is there to conserve. Its scent is overpowering and reminiscent of what needs 'saving'. Often, uzamlandela is associated with old people that care for things of yesteryear. It has a scent that evokes images of old Blackwomen hunched[74] over padlocked trunks and kists searching for family photo albums or *Kiwi* polish containers carrying photographs to show to visitors waiting in the living room.

In many ways, the osmic and the haptic are affective. In *Archive and Affect in Contemporary Photography*, Sarah Bassnett submits that archival based work may invoke an "embodied sensation" wherein there is a "process of seeing feeling where feeling is both imagined and regenerated through an encounter with an artwork" (2009: 242). In this context, the person/people interacting with this artwork are "stricken with affect" (ibid).

74 In the novel *Tjieng, Tjang, Tjerries and Other Stories* (2016), JoyIn Phillips beautifully captures how critical the act of searching and finding family photographs is. In Phillips' chapter titled *The Photograph,* the character Jony reflects on a poignant moment where her aggrieved mother is looking through her things only to find a photograph of Wapie, her late son who is also Jony's older brother. Jony says "She is scratching through my things. Sometimes it seems like she looks through my things hoping to find me there. She completely ignores me watching her go through my things. In my mother's house, there is no such thing as private. 'Look what I found!' she says excitedly. She gives it to me. It's a picture of my brother and me. 'He was daarem a beautiful child,' she says smiling" (Phillips, J., 2016: 13). In this heart-breaking scene where a mother has lost a child and perhaps parts of herself, the found photograph becomes an object that generates a dialogue (albeit a strained one). In this context, the image serves as some sort of bridge between two women that have loved and lost the man represented in the photograph. At the end of Phillips' chapter, it is interesting to note that as the mother physically connects with Jony, she simultaneously runs her fingers against Wapie's face on the photograph. Phillips' notes "She [Jony's mother] says, 'I miss you,' rubbing over my face and Wapie's face on the photo" (ibid). In this case, the relationship between the haptic and the image is vital because it engenders a palpable or material connection between a somewhat estranged mother and daughter.

Consequently, our emphasis on a multi-sensory[75] approach to the thesis and the visual representations contained within it is an attempt to trigger an "affective response" (ibid) from the reader/viewer/listener/toucher/smeller. In some way, we want the thesis to feel like a four-roomed township home that I grew up in. Through multiple senses, the reader/viewer/listener/toucher/smeller can navigate through the pages. The featured inserts (which contain visual representations of the trunk, room divider and the kist) not only work as breaks between the various sections in the thesis but they also serve as affective signposts that guide the reader/viewer/listener/toucher/smeller through this 'home'. Each insert is meant to capture "An obscure assemblage of lives called up, then forgotten" (Mofokeng, S., 2013). The inserts are meant to do more than elicit nostalgia. As such, the idea of 'seeing feeling' is useful because it is not only about regeneration through the eye but it is also about one's imagination which is limitless, cosmic and multifaceted.

Following Mofokeng, this thesis as a multi-sensory family-photo-album-like object is about "the world between the real and the imaginary" (2013). In this liminal space, "moments [are][76] reduced to simple apparitions, flashes of a reflected [and perhaps refracted?][77] light captured and stored in the film's memory" (ibid). And as we draw on this Mofokengesque world of elusive shadows, ever-shifting light and tenuous memory, we think of the reader/viewer/listener/toucher/smeller as a traveller whose voyage maybe transient or perennial.

---

75 On the 8th of May 2019, Zukolwenkosi Zikalala presented a paper titled *Black Femmes in the Garden: Aesthetic Form, Sensorium and World-Making in From a Distance.* During his presentation, he framed this paper and his Master's thesis at large as a "journey book" (Zikalala, 2019) that a reader could navigate through using multiple senses. In many ways, Zikalala affirmed my own interest in the idea of the sensorial or "sensorium" as he calls it. Similar to him, I too am interested in thinking about how a reader may become more the person who uses their eyes and mind to (re)imagine. Zikalala's framing of the audience/viewers as 'journeyers' is reminiscent of Jyoti Mistry's *Johannesburg: Vocabularies of the Visceral and Expressions of Multiple Practices* (2010). In this text, Mistry explores the importance of the "visceral experience of...Johannesburg" (2010) . She proposes that in order for one to experience Johannesburg in its complexity, it is critical to walk or in the words of Zikalala, journey through it. And the term 'journey' is useful because it challenges linearity. Often, journeying is conceived of as an act of putting one foot in front of the other (as though one is moving in progression) and yet the reality of journeying is much more complex than that. It is possible to journey annularly or non-linearly. Moreover, the idea of journeying is commonly assumed to be a slow-paced one and yet one may run, jump, sit, eat, sleep, cry, laugh, love and struggle during this act. And while journeying, disruptive events may happen. And it is imaginable that while journeying, the traces of one's foot imprints may be erased depending on the nature of the surface one is journey's on. In conclusion, Zikalala's idea of the "journey book" has encouraged me to think about how my own thesis can be navigated in multi-sensory ways.

76 Not in original text.

77 Not in original text.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into three chapters:

CHAPTER ONE explores how late twentieth century photographs that are predominantly conceived of as visual representations of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' performing 'Zulu bow music' may be reimagined through a sonic methodology. In this chapter, I utilise Tina Campt's approach of 'listening' to images not only to destabilise the dominant reading of the aforementioned photographs as field photography, but I am also interested in how 'listening' to these visual representations may be used as a device through which images are read beyond the ocular. Moreover, I examine how the sonic opens up the possibility of generating meanings that disrupt the idea that 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' was a singular, larger-than-life historic figure that was dislocated from a community of royal women that critically contributed to the making of a distinct history vis-à-vis histories. In this context, the 'ear' is attuned to detecting frequencies and vibrations that frame this historic woman as an ordinary person who was under the tutelage of a number of dexterous but undocumented women that taught her everything she is celebrated for globally. In many ways, these women attuned the ears of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' to hear, envision and bring to life an array of sounds that transcend ugubhu.

CHAPTER TWO examines how photographs that represent the multiple identities that 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' embodied throughout her life, may be used as a vehicle through which she may be delinked from dominant 'Zulu' male figures, and the homogenised 'Zulu' nation at large. In this chapter, I argue that as a mother to daughters, ugogo and a twentieth century Blackwoman—who was once a child that sat and learned music, poems and indigenous knowledge at the feet of okhokho (a term I explain later in the thesis), her mother and her mother's co-wives—'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' defined herself for herself. Her self-definition which was informed by the guardianship of multiple un-historicised women interrupts the proliferation of dominant narratives that construct this 'big' woman as belonging to 'big' men of history. Through the use of Toni Morrison's idea of rememory, I frame the images discussed in this chapter as sites of remembering and un-remembering her and the women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's histories that are embedded in her narrative. Additionally, I explore how the rememory of her as a historic woman results in the marginalisation women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's histories.

CHAPTER THREE investigates how photographs that represent 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' in the privacy of her living space encapsulate bell hooks' idea of an aesthetic of blackness, which she not only links to the beauty of the everyday, but she locates it within the context of Black womanhood. Through a close analysis of these images, I explore how the home of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'—as a quotidian space that is commonly limited to domesticity—may be re-read as a site of contestation and a place where multiple histories may be made and remade. In this regard, 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' may be understood as an ordinary person who grapples with the mundane. Additionally, my framing of her home as a repository of many histories is an extension on the idea that one cannot tell the story of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' without telling the stories of the numerous unrecognised royal women that were active in her life.

CONCLUSION: By revisiting photographic representations of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', I demonstrate how the marginal ways in which this historical woman has been written and visualised into be-ing (through the canon that is referred to as 'Zulu historiography') may be interrogated and reimagined. Throughout this thesis, I illustrate the necessity and the value of reframing this larger-than-life 'Zulu' royal woman as an everyday twentieth century Blackwoman that I refer to as uMntwana uMagogo. I posit that this quotidian lens offers multiple ways in which 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' may not solely be limited to the role of a prominent figure that eclipses the critical contributions of women that played an important role in the formation of the historiographical construction of her as a world acclaimed 'Zulu' royal woman. And it is in each chapter that I journey through a number of strategies to demystify this remarkably mythologised (see Roland Barthes' *Mythologies* (1972)) figure.



Chapter One

ZWAKALA: UMSINDO WOGUBHU AND UMNTWANA UMAGOGO

Introduction

In this extensive chapter, I explore how eight photographs[1] captured in the late 1900s may be read as conduits of umsindo that may be 'heard' in an image. Six of the photographs included in this chapter have been sourced from the International Library of African Music (ILAM) in Makhanda (formerly known as Grahamstown), Eastern Cape. During my 2017 research trip at ILAM, I had an informal conversation with Diane Thram (who was the outgoing Director of this organisation at the time) wherein she stated that it was unclear how these images were digitised. While I was in Makhanda, Thram also noted that the organisation was in the process of repatriating these images and the 'Zulu bow music' of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' to the Buthelezi clan based in kwaPhindangene (the homestead of Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu), Enkonjeni.

Another image that is included in this chapter been sourced from the Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi Museum in Ulundi, KwaZulu-Natal. This image was received after following the long established practice of letter writing between my family in Section A, Ulundi and 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi' in kwaPhindangene. In the past, ukhokho and ugogo exchanged letters written in isiZulu with 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi'. After ukhokho and ugogo passed away, my mother took on the responsibility of continuing this letter writing which mostly revolved around the familial. And as my research required me to communicate with 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi', my mother insisted that I write to him in isiZulu stating what my research

1 Despite the idea that it is not clear who photographed any of the images included in this chapter, my interest is not so much in the photographer as it is in the people who are photographed. This is so because in photography, the power often lies with the person behind the lens. In the interest of undermining this power, I am invested in the power of what Zanele Muholi aptly calls the visual participant instead of subject.

entailed and what I needed. Since my proficiency in isiZulu is not as good as my mother's, the letters were edited by her. She emphasised that I had to ukuthakazela as part of ukuhlonipha within my written request. And I unfortunately did not know the royal clan praises which she assisted me with. Interestingly, when I wrote the first letter to 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi', he thought that I wanted access to the written history of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. That is when he sent me a one-pager that he wrote for the book *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction (1988)*. It was only with my follow up letter that he understood that I was requesting access to photographs which he sent me in the form of a CD. And since most of the photographs he sent were already given to me by ILAM, I could only use one image from his museum. Lastly, the other image included in this chapter has been sourced from Ben Temkin's *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman* (1972).

My framing of these images as sonic objects is informed by two core ideas in this thesis. Firstly, I propose that a re-reading of photographs that represent the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' may challenge the marginalisation of the everyday woman that I identify as uMntwana uMagogo. Secondly, I suggest that by revisiting these images, one may disrupt the peripheral status of women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's histories in 'Zulu' historiography.

As a result, umsindo may be used as an aural device through which the 'ear' may identify what is not readily audible as a way to demystify the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. Consequently, this historic woman may be conceived through the quotidian wherein her history is connected to the histories of various unnamed women that contributed to her making as the notable 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. And interestingly, it was the sonic-based work of these particular un-historicised women that played a critical role in the formation of the artistry and the skilfulness of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as an authority[2] on 'Zulu music' (Rycroft, 1975/76), imbongi, composer, instrumentalist, performer and guardian of 'Zulu culture'.

---

2 It is worth considering that while Rycroft's *The Zulu Bow Songs of Princess Magogo* (1975/76) identifies 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as 'The greatest living authority on Zulu music', Rosemary Joseph's *Zulu Women's Music* (1983) refutes this assertion. Joseph suggests that even though her informants (who are bow playing women musicians [of the Biyela, Hadebe, Masuku, Mdlalose, Mkhize, Mlaba, Mncunu, Mvubu, Ngema, Shandu, Zulu and Zungu clans] from Ekuthuleni, Nkwenkwe, Ondini, Nhlungwane, Ntilingwe and Dumaneni, which are all areas in what is formerly known as KwaZulu) acknowledge the musical expertise of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', they emphasise that her musical knowledge of ugubhu and umakhweyana is only limited to the Buthelezi and 'Zulu' clans. In other words, these women interrogate the presupposition that 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is an authority of all music that belongs to clans that have been absorbed under the banner of 'Zuluness'. In addition, as much as Rycroft characterises 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' in a manner that subsumes her under homogenised 'Zuluness', he paradoxically confirms that she was particularly knowledgeable in the music of the Buthelezi and 'Zulu' clans—which are clans she grew up under (1975/76). These observations are important because of how 'Zulu' historiography has constructed the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as a cultural representative of the homogenised 'Zulu nation'. Joseph's text not only highlights the contentious nature of 'Zuluness' but it also destabilises the idea that 'Zulus' (as conceived through 'Zulu' historiography) uncritically accept 'Zulu' hegemony.

Although the isiZulu noun 'msindo' or 'umsindo' has multiple meanings that are linked to the broad idea of sound, this term has been pathologised through its common association with noise. Often, when isiZulu speakers talk about umsindo, they do so with great vexation. Expressions such as "Ubanga umsindo" (You are making noise) or "Yehlisa umsindo" (Keep the noise down) or "Ave unomsindo" (You are so noisy) are frequently used to frame umsindo as denotative of unbearable sound. Interestingly, the *Scholar's Zulu Dictionary* defines umsindo as noise, while it defines sound as umsindo (Dent and Nyembezi, 2009). While this contradiction shows that the idea of umsindo is a contentious one, I am interested in how the fluidity of this concept may be used as a vehicle through which normative ways of reading photographs may be subverted.

Even though my title appears to limit umsindo within the framework of ugubhu, it is critical to note that this concept is a dynamic one as it encompasses diverse meanings that go beyond the sonic. Nyembezi and Nxumalo complicate the idea of umsindo. In their interpretation of the term, umsindo is not only sonic but it is also ceremonial (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1966: 293). Their reference to umsindo as "umgcagco wamabhinca"—a marital ceremony between amabhinca—not only highlights how intricate this concept is but it further emphasises how this idea is pathologised in multiple ways.

Often, when isiZulu speakers refer to people they identify as amabhinca, they frame them as unbelievers. Nyembezi and Nxumalo themselves define ibhinca as "umuntu ongakholwa osagqoka isiZulu" (1966: 229) which loosely translates as "a person who is an unbeliever and dresses in 'Zulu garb'". In this regard, the term umsindo is also laden with colonial baggage and the politics of respectability and as such, it is critical for it to be reimagined. Therefore, my use of the term is about destabilising the assumed inescapable relationship between umsindo and noise; and it is also about recuperating the notion of umsindo. In this chapter, this recuperative act is vital because not only does it extend upon the universalised idea that sound is constituted through frequencies and vibrations (Campt, T., 2017: 7-8), but it also politicises the practice of sound making. That is to say that the idea of umsindo is not just about that act of making and listening to sound, but it is also about the ideological frameworks through which the sonic is understood. This is particularly important in an African context where colonialism played a critical role in the othering and the exoticisation of sound making practices in Africa.

In the case of this chapter, the sonic is located within a South African context wherein the focus is on the relationship between umsindo wogubhu and the photograph.

As stated earlier, I am proposing that the photographs that I will be exploring in this chapter are carriers of umsindo. This proposal may seem counterintuitive because photographs are ordinarily conceived of as 'silent'[3] representations. And by 'silent', I mean that they are inaudible. The common perception is that one simply looks at them and literally does not hear anything from the objects themselves. However, it can be argued that a photograph 'speaks' through what it conveys. The adage "a picture is worth a thousand words" is commonly used to highlight how a single image can carry multiple meanings at the same time, and how these meanings can 'speak' for the 'picture' in question.

In this chapter, I will be using Tina Campt's idea of 'listening' to images as a way to think beyond the visuality of photographs. This method necessitates a rethinking of what Fred Moten refers to as "ocularcentrism that generally—perhaps necessarily—shapes theories of the nature of photography and our experience of photography" (2003: 197). That is to say, photographs communicate through frequencies and vibrations, which are critical elements in the composition of sound (Campt, 2017). In this chapter, 'listening' is not only centred around ugubhu, but it is about hearing beyond the distinct presence of the musical instrument. In this context, 'listening' includes reading against the grain in the form of identifying acts of resistance from the person or the people who are photographed—a strategy I use to destabilise the power often allotted to umthwebuli or the person behind the lens.

While the idea of 'reading against the grain' has been widely explored, I am particularly fascinated with Saidiya V. Hartman's conception of this praxis. In *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (1997), she describes this process as

> Writ[ing] a different account of the past, while realizing the limits imposed by employing […] sources, the impossibility of fully recovering the experience of the enslaved and the emancipated, and the risk of reinforcing the authority of these documents even as I try to use them for contrary purposes. The effort to "brush history against the grain" requires excavations at the margins of monumental history in order that the ruins of the dismembered past be retrieved, turning to forms of

3 See Allan Sekula's article *The Body and the Archive* wherein he links photography to the notion of silence. In this text, Sekula claims that in mid nineteenth century Europe, an "English gentleman-amateur scientist" named William Henry Fox Talbot critically contributed to discourses around the "promise of photography" (1986: 6). Sekula asserts that because Talbot understood photographs to be evidence of a legalistic 'truth', he spoke of these images as being "mute testimon[ies]" that could silence. Sekula calls this silence a "silence that silences" (ibid). In my thesis, I re-think the ideas espoused by Talbot (as seen in Sekula's work) by proposing that photographs are objects that are not only polysemic but, they are 'loud' representations that 'speak' through frequencies and vibrations.

> knowledge and practice not generally considered legitimate objects of historical inquiry or appropriate of adequate sources for history making and attending to the cultivated silence, exclusion, relations of violence and domination that engender the official accounts (1997: 10-11).

Even though Hartman speaks about reading against the grain within the context of slavery in America, I am interested in how her practice can inform my process of destabilising dominant representations of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' in 'monumental history' I refer to as 'Zulu' historiography. Similar to Hartman, it is important for me to acknowledge the limitations that come with this challenging exercise. Although I generate particular meanings through a re-reading of the images included in this chapter and the thesis at large, Hartman's idea of the impossibility of recovery of past lived experiences cannot be escaped. In my case, as much as I claim that there is a necessity of re-writing or re-thinking normative historic representations of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', my thinking outside the 'norm' is in itself a subjective exercise that is replete with constraints. And in an effort to interrogate dominant representations of this historic woman, there is a danger of overemphasising or re-inscribing the power or authority of 'official' historiography in the form of homogenised 'Zulu' history.

Hartman's conception of reading against the grain is particularly fascinating because she proposes that it is possible to work from the margins. In this regard, she offers a space where one is not working to forcibly insert themselves into a centre that never prioritised them in the first place. Rather the margins become an ever-shifting location, wherein the linearity of historic time and its fixed larger-than-life historic figures may be interrogated. Moreover, Hartman affirms that working from the margins means that one may recover—even in part— ruins or fragments from a place that is commonly understood to be one of obscurity. In Hartman's world, obscurity is actually illumination. In her universe, the peripheral is a place of vitality. In addition, her idea of 'brushing history against the grain' means that the monumental history can itself be interrupted. In this regard, the fixity and the 'official-ness' of grand history can be interfered with.

Furthermore, Hartman's proposal to turn *to* instead of away *from* knowledges and practices that are not considered to be as 'official' as dominant narratives is not only encouraging, but it is reminiscent of Peterson's call to

> …Desist, […] from consoling ourselves by imbuing such material [considered 'subversive' by the apartheid state][4] with a subversive,

4 Not in original text.

> underground anonymity, as when we talk about the 'experiential archive' of black people that is somehow simply 'out there' beyond the soiled fingers of officialdom (2002: 31).

Both Hartman and Peterson highlight how important it is to demystify and legitimise knowledges and practices that are not deemed as 'official' objects of historical inquiry. Peterson interrogates the popular assumption that paraphernalia, work produced by activists, writers and cultural practitioners, and other materials "stored in the stubborn memories of people, in suitcases and plastic bags under beds, in wardrobes and in ceilings" (2002: 31) have an inherent 'unofficial-ness' about them.

In this regard, I submit that even though photography is commonly associated with an 'official-ness'[5] (Barthes, 1981) that other visual representations are not, the photographs that are included in this chapter and the thesis at large have been used as illustrations or appendages to the 'official'. Therefore, when these photographs have appeared next to a master narrative, they have been featured as 'visual aids' or secondary/tertiary sources that support what has been officially documented. As such, it is important to legitimise images as objects of historical inquiry—a key tenet of visual art history[6].

In addition, Hartman's idea of reading against the grain requires an acknowledgement of how master narratives are fraught with silences, violations, exclusions and domination. Accordingly, this chapter and the thesis at large will also be an exploration of how 'Zulu' historiography engenders the aforementioned practices.

---

5 Though photographs are assigned with a "'truth-value' or [an] evidentiary nature" (Boyd and Brenner, 2016), it is critical to be cognisant of their constructed and subjective character. In this context, it is worth thinking through George Mahashe's idea that photographs function and circulate as "rumours" (Mahashe cited in Boyd and Brenner, 2016: 125). The concept of the photograph as a 'rumour' allows the viewer to "engage with why something has been said, or imaged, rather than evaluating the truth of its content" (Boyd and Brenner, 2016: 125). In addition, this notion creates room for the viewer to understand that "images [are] surrounded by and entangled with a range of readings and mis-readings or misinformation" (Boyd and Brenner, 2016: 137).

6 While I maintain a reluctance to locate myself firmly within the discipline of art history because of my interdisciplinary academic background, I am aware of the significance of being a Blackwoman scholar (in the department of History of Art at Wits University) who is theorising about a Blackwoman artist in South Africa. In speaking about the South African art historical landscape, Nontobeko Ntombela highlights the paucity of Blackwomen in this field which she specifically frames as "visual art history writing" (2013:63)—a praxis I find myself in through writing this thesis. Ntombela argues "This field of visual art history writing on black women is still dominated by white women scholars such as Marion Arnold, Brenda Schmahmann, Brenda Atkinson, Sue Williamson, Sabine Marschall, Lize van Robbroeck, Nessa Leibhammer, Jillian Carman, Anitra Nettleton and Elza Miles, among others" (ibid). In her citation of Portia Malatjie, Ntombela continues, "There remains an absence of black feminist theories and discourse that enable one to theorise and critique work by black women artists in that light [...] this problem is bound to occur when black women are absent from art history" (Malatjie in Ntombela, 2013: 63). In this regard, when I refer to the centrality of images in the practice of history making, I do so with an appreciation of the aforementioned gender and race dynamics in the South African visual art history context. Therefore, my writing practice as a Blackwoman scholar in History of Art is not solely about legitimising images as objects of historical inquiry but it is about the realisation that these images exist within a broader discourse of "Giving voice to black women […] [and] […] mobilis[ing] […] their subjectivity, which is necessary if they are to inscribe themselves in history" (Malatjie cited in Ntombela, 2013: 63). As such, I, as a Blackwoman write about images as sources of history making in order to contribute to the feminist idea that "Black women need to self-determine" (ibid).

And lastly, in this chapter and the thesis at large, I use the method of zooming into photographs in order to emphasise particular aspects of them. Since some of the images have been photographed in a manner that renders some visual elements seemingly insignificant, zooming in does the work of bringing features that are on the peripheries to the fore. Similar to Hartman's idea of working from the margins, the act of zooming in means that photographic elements that the photographer intended to keep on the fringes become a place through which normative readings of photography may be disrupted.

In one instance, I digitally inscribe[7] on Figure 9 as a way to further highlight visual elements that are not easily perceptible to the eye. Once more, this is reminiscent of Moten's phonic substance which requires a reading of the obscure in a photograph. In a way, my inscription on this image mimics what a photographer would do with a lens. It is through this lens that the photographer directs the gaze and in my case, it is through this scribble (albeit perfectly circular) that I direct the photographic ear to 'hear' that which the photographer never intended to emphasise.

The photographs that I discuss in this chapter have two things in common. One, is the presence of uMntwana uMagogo and the other is the continuous appearance of the musical instrument ugubhu. The phrase 'zwakala' (as seen in the title) has multiple meanings. In isiZulu it means "audible, perceptible, comprehensible; be liable to perception by the senses of hearing, feeling, tasting, smelling…" (Doke et. al.,1996: 901). And in Tsotsi Taal, zwakala is a call to come (Molamu, 2003). In this chapter, this phrase functions on two levels. Firstly, it is an acknowledgement of the presence of the spectator as a reader/viewer/listener (and an all round multi-sensory person). Secondly, it is an invitation to the spectator to come and partake in the act of ukuzwa umsindo wogubhu that is embedded in photographs that I conceive of not solely as visual objects, but I also frame them as "bear[ers] [of] a phonic substance" (Moten, F., 2003: 62).

7 In Catherine Boyd and Joni Brenner's *The New Rumour,* Boyd digitally manipulates photographer George Mahashe's black and white portrait of his unnamed—a practice I interrogate throughout this thesis—great grandmother making snuff as a way to "shift […] focus on various elements of the image" (2016: 126). In a way, my act of inscribing as well as zooming into the images in this thesis does a similar thing that Boyd's visual interventions do. Similar to Boyd, I digitally manipulate images as a way to shift focus on or to emphasise particular elements in the various images found in this study. Additionally, through Boyd's digital intervention and my own, a "concentrated analysis of each of the elements in the image […] mobilise[s] a deep and comprehensive reading of the photograph" (ibid).

Picturing the Sonic: ILAM's[8] Photographic Archive

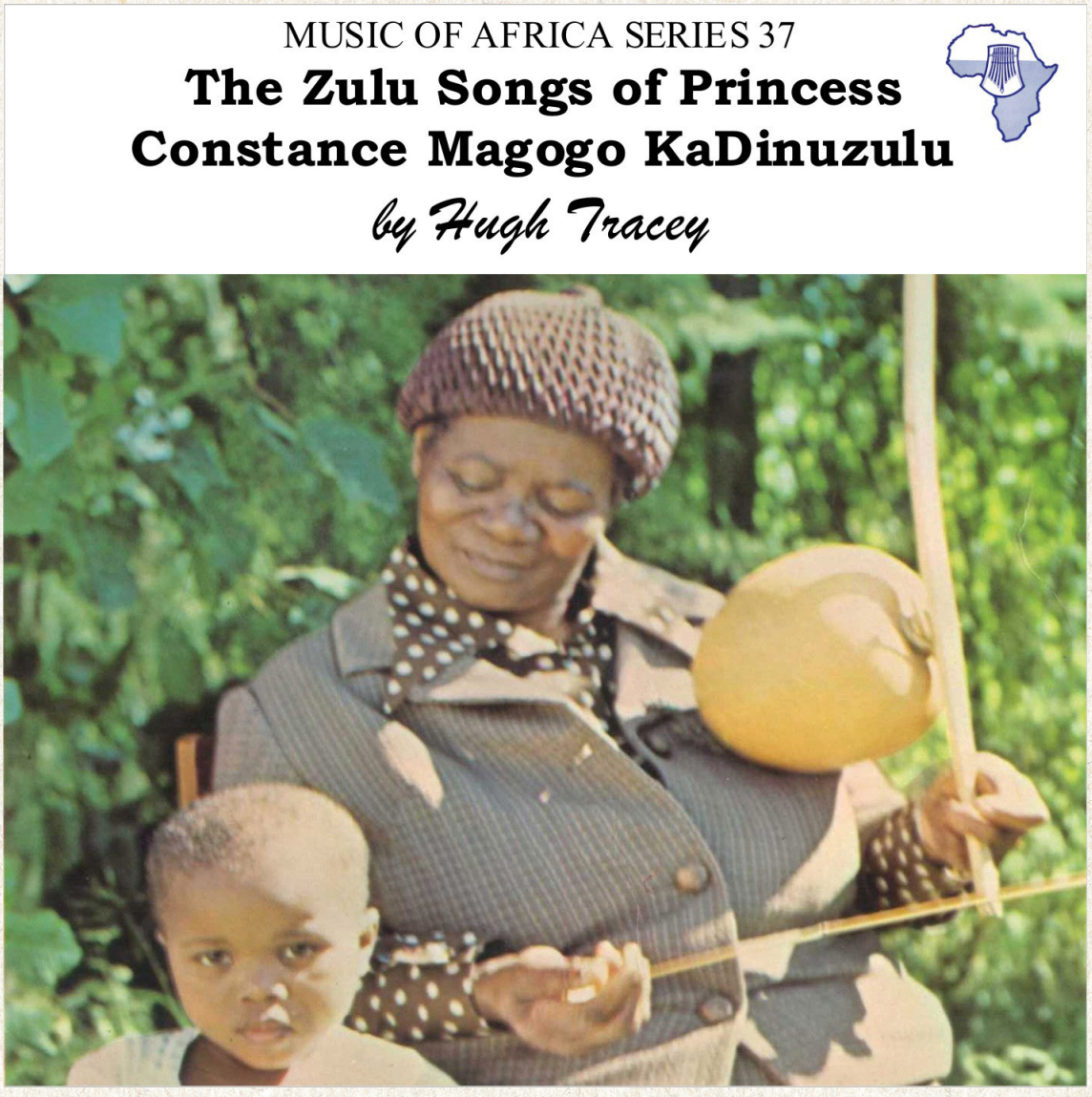


Figure 7. 1972. Photographer undocumented. UMntwana uSibuyiselwe Angela Buthelezi and uMntwana uMagogo at kwaPhindangene in eNkonjeni.

8 While this subsection focuses specifically on photographic images that have been sourced from ILAM, I reflect on visual representations (that are not necessarily photographic) from other institutions in order to demonstrate and emphasise the observations I make about ILAM's photographic archive. Even though this thesis is not particularly focused on the aforementioned visual representations, it is clear that these images require deep study and reflection.

My analysis begins with Figure 7 which has been iconised through its circulation as a Long-Playing (LP) cover. Although this image appears to function within the confines of music, it may be read in multiple ways. Firstly, the text encased in the white rectangle not only 'frames' the entire image as something more than a photograph but the contrast between the white background and the capitalised, emboldened and italicised black text also directs the spectator's gaze to the top of photograph before engaging it. The use of upper case in "MUSIC OF AFRICA SERIES 37" and the bold typeface in "The Zulu Songs of Princess Constance Magogo KaDinuzulu" emphatically mark the photograph as a representation of an 'African' musical event that involves the performance of "Zulu songs" by uMntwana uMagogo, while the italicised typeface in "by Hugh Tracey" makes it explicit that this performance (as captured in audio format) necessitated the 'critical' involvement of Hugh Tracey.

Although this image also captures uMntwana uSibuyiselwe Angela Buthelezi who is uMntwana uMagogo's mzukulu[9], the text clearly does not acknowledge her presence. Text plays a critical role in making one meaning more dominant than many other meanings that may be interpreted in a photograph (Barthes, 1980). The text in this image works in the same way that captions work. It manages the spectator's reading of the photograph by highlighting the intention of the photographer or publisher of the photograph. In this case, it is under the authority of Hugh Tracey and ILAM that this photograph is selected to function as an album cover for his "Music of Africa Series 37".

Tracey's use of the term "series" to classify what he terms as "Music of Africa" suggests that this recording of uMntwana uMagogo's music exists within a broader body of work that is framed through a homogenous "genre" he calls "music of Africa". The logo that represents an "incomplete" (i.e. not inclusive of Madagascar and being filled by a blue substance) African continent where the Mbira[10] is superimposed on Africa is a visual reiteration of the music's 'African-ness'. Under the banner of an indistinguishable 'African-ness', there is another collective identity at work. The expression "Zulu songs" uses ethnicity as a marker of difference. As such, a tribal reading of the photograph takes precedence because of how the text

9 An ungendered isiZulu noun that means "umntwana womntwana wakho" (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1966: 306), which may be loosely translated as "a child of your child". In addition, this expression may be linked to the broader generational idea of isizukulwane which Nyembezi and Nxumalo define as "abantwana babantwana" (ibid) or "the children of children". In other words, to call a person umzukulu is to acknowledge their inextricable link to the many people that came before them. In a way, the use of this term is an invocation of multiple histories.

10 According to Trevor Cope's *"African Music", a Lecture Given at Natal University,* "This instrument is sometimes known as the hand piano. It consists of a small slab of wood to which is attached a number of metal tongues, and it is played by plucking these tongues with the fingers" (1959: 34).

foregrounds 'Zuluness'. In other words, since the 'Zuluness' is inextricably linked to the songs, the text suggests that ugubhu is inherently 'tribal'.

According to John Wright, the term 'Zulu' as an ethnic classification for black people predominantly living in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, has a contentious history. He asserts that 'Zuluness' as an ethnic identity has been questionably constructed as homogenous by various stakeholders in history (2008). He proposes that British and Afrikaner colonisers, 'Zulu' intellectuals (predominantly amakholwa[11]) and the 'Zulu' aristocracy played a significant role in advocating the idea of a unified 'Zulu' identity that was supposedly[12] established in the nineteenth century at the hands of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona (2008).

Additionally, Carolyn Hamilton and Nessa Leibhammer affirm that the term 'Zulu' as an ethnic category is in many ways "overdeterminedly tribal" (2016: 15). And they complicate the adjective 'tribal' by interrogating the notion of the 'tribe'[13], which they claim has a controversial history wherein it was popularised through "nineteenth-century evolutionary and racist theories concerning the designation of some people as less than others" (2016: 13)—as already illustrated in Mafeje's argument against the European and colonial ideology of tribalism in what he refers to as 'African history' (1971). They claim that in the late twentieth century, the term 'tribe' was commodified through discourses of heritage. And they also propose that it is through this commodification that the category "tribe" is currently understood and contested in South Africa and the rest of the world (2016:13).

Furthermore, Hamilton and Leibhammer state that social anthropologists repudiated the term for its "analytical…useless[ness]" and it was used to mark difference in places such as Rhodesia[14] (1965-1979) and apartheid South Africa (2016: 13). In this case, to codify difference through a process that Hamilton and Leibhammer call "tribing", is to explore how the notion of the "tribe" is linked to conceptions of "tradition", which in turn normalises the assumed dichotomy between modernity and what is deemed "tribal" (2016: 14). Therefore the dialectic between modernity

11 While this isiZulu term has been predominantly translated to mean 'Christian converts', it is critical to note that the practice of ukukholwa [the act of believing] transcends Christianity.

12 Wright claims that contrary to popular belief, a unified 'Zulu' identity was concretised in the early twentieth century not the nineteenth century.

13 Hamilton and Leibhammer define "tribe" as a verb wherein there is a consideration of the power dynamics involved in the reification of what they refer to as an "[un]observable thing" and "activity" (2016: 13). Through this process of "tribalising", there is a focus on "the advocacy of tribe and how people are mobilised with reference to tribe" (2016: 13). Additionally, Mbongiseni Buthelezi's *We Need New Names Too* allots the contentious that nature of the term "tribe" to "at least two centuries of the development of a sophisticated apparatus corralling colonised people into administrative units termed 'tribes', under the cover of recognizing pre-existing African forms of social organisation" (2016: 587).

14 Now identified as Zimbabwe.

and tribalism has meant that the "tribal" has been "denied changing history and an archive and endowed instead with timeless culture, attested to by other forms of evidence, notably ethnographic in nature and often in the form of material culture" (2016: 15). Thus, to talk about "Zuluness" as a fixed ethnic classification is to refer to it as "tribal", "traditional" and the overall antithesis of modernity. And Mbongiseni Buthelezi suggests that the dialectic between the traditional and the modern; the barbaric and the civilised is as a result of South Africa's colonial and apartheid pasts that legislated land dispossession[15] of colonised people and normalised civilizing missions (2016: 589).

In this regard, Ethnomusicologists, academic writers, researchers and documentarians such as David Rycroft, Trevor Cope, Liz Gunner, Percival Kirby, Dave Dargie and others have taken the 'tribal quality' of ugubhu for granted. Although the instrument has been defined as "a large musical bow with a single undivided string, having a calabash resonator attached near the lower end of the stave" (Rycroft, 1975/6: 58), the tribal element has been emphasised time and time again. The idea that 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' dichotomised ugubhu and umakhweyana—both musical bows—through the tribal and the national has been highlighted by Rycroft, (1975/76). He claims that 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' described ugubhu as a 'classical' 'Zulu' instrument while she said that umakhweyana was "not truly a Zulu instrument, but was borrowed from the Tsonga of Mozambique" (Rycroft, 1975/6: 58). The phrase "not truly a Zulu instrument" (ibid) suggests that some musical instruments have an inherent 'authentic Zuluness' in them while others do not.

The expression "not truly a Zulu instrument" (ibid) is evidently paraphrased because uMntwana uMagogo only spoke, read and wrote in isiZulu. In other words, works that are written about her wherein she is cited demonstrate how her words are not solely reworded but they are also translated from isiZulu to English. Since most of these written works do not usually include transcripts of her words spoken in a language that she was proficient in, it becomes difficult to contend with the idea that she simply confined umakhweyana within a tribal discourse. Although she ascribed to Zuluness in many ways, it is critical to pay attention her moments of resistance regarding this. In this context, her adeptness in playing umakhweyana—a diasporic[16] instrument that has had movements across parts of

15 The Land Act of 1913.

16 This instrument can be found in Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Uganda, Swaziland, South America and South Africa.

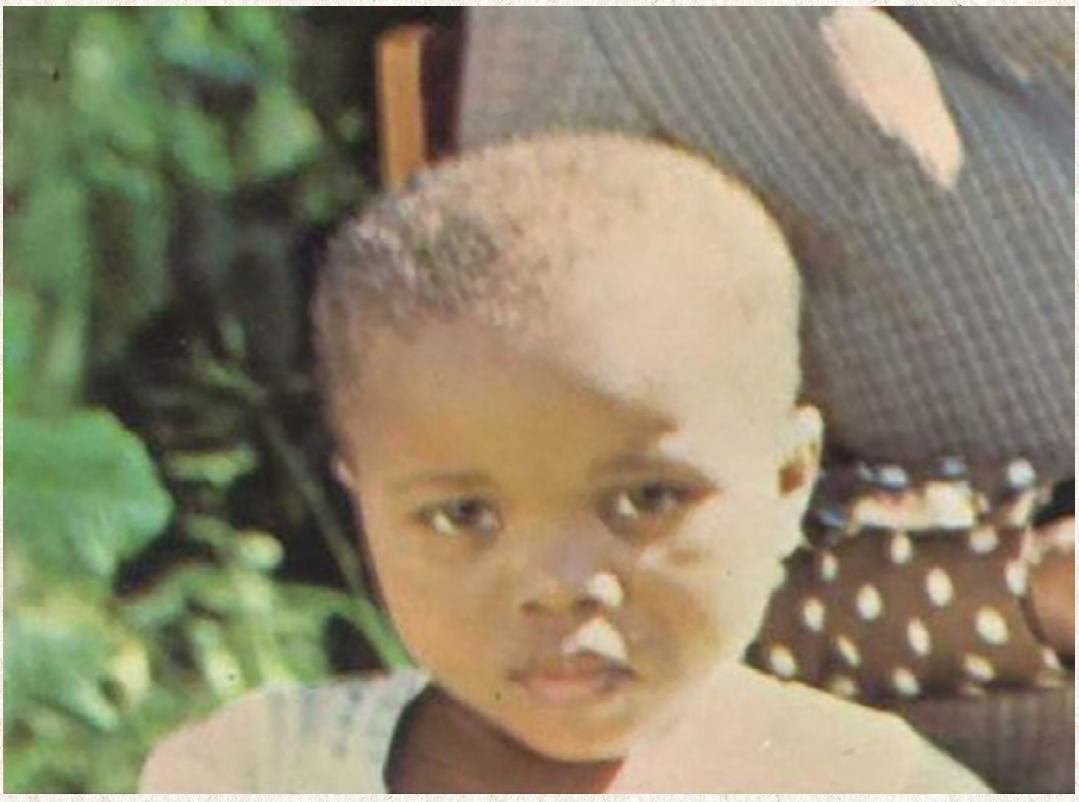
the Global South—is an illustration of a resistant sonic praxis that rupture tribalism and nationalism.

In Figure 7, the text functions as a prescriptive device that prioritises one meaning over many possible meanings. It aims to foreground the recordings as facilitated by Tracey and its objective is to maintain a tribal conception of the image while the photograph transcends this limitation. Without the dominant text in the image, this photograph may be critically read as a family portrait that does not only capture a musical performance but it also represents an intimate moment between ugogo and her three year old mzukulu. As seen in this image, uMntwana uMagogo's eyes[17] are orientated in the direction of her mzukulu. Her half smile and her warmly raised cheeks signal a closeness with uMntwana uSibuyiselwe Angela Buthelezi whose presence is sharply felt in the photograph.

On the surface it appears as though uMntwana uMagogo, ugubhu and Hugh Tracey are the primary 'subject'. However, I propose that uMntwana uSibuyiselwe's gaze is the "punctum" (Barthes, 1980) of the photograph. A punctum is a "detail" which does not only captivate the spectator but it ruptures normative readings of a photograph (Barthes, 1980). Her fearless confrontational gaze and gathered lips represent a critical resistance because in this image, she is not only directing her gaze at the camera lens, but she is engaging the photographer and the spectator who looks at her through the photograph. When the spectator looks at the image, they see how the high contrast between light and shadow creates an optical illusion wherein her left cheek appears to have a tear like line that runs through it and connects to what appears to be a spot just above her upper lip.

This sharp diagonal line that is registered through a shadow that 'carves' imprints on her young face, creates the visual impression of defiance and possible pain which is not easily 'readable' unless one zooms into the image to listen to the frequency or "detail" that makes one find a new photograph in an old photograph that has been vastly circulated in the form of an LP cover. It is not simply a frequency that the spectator 'hears' in this photograph but the light and its shadow could be an illusionary ukukhala (which can be understood as 'crying' but it is

17 See *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* wherein Marianne Hirsch refers to the idea of "familial looks" (1997: 2) shared between 'photographic subjects' in an image. In this text, she states that these looks "both create and consolidate the familial relations among the individuals involved, fostering an unmistakable sense of mutual recognition" (ibid). In the case of this chapter, I draw on Hirsch's assertions. I argue that the look that uMntwana uMagogo gives uMntwana uSibuyiselwe in a number of images, constitutes a mutual recognition between people who are familiar with each other through familial relations. It is in this context that I read Figure 7 as a family portrait. Additionally, Boyd and Brenner affirm the relationship between the familial and portraiture by stating that "Recording family likenesses and mapping lineages are unquestionably features of portraiture" (2016: 129). Therefore, portraiture transcends visual re-presentation (in the form of mimesis) as it invokes the mapping of family histories through generations.



Zoomed in image of Figure 7.



Figure 8. 1972. Photographer undocumented. UMntwana uMagogo and uMntwana uSibuyiselwe at kwaPhindangene in eNkonjeni.

also understood to mean audible sound), which is registered in a 'frozen tear' that never was.

One would ask what the reason behind 'the tear' would be but the answer to this question would not be critical. What would be critical would be her choice to be photographed despite it. The choices that she makes as a visual participant is evidenced in how as a young Blackgirl photographed in 1972, she continues to gaze confrontationally at the camera. Her gaze politicises this photographic encounter because not only does she subvert the looking relations between a photographer and 'subject', but she also destabilises the idea that children are not full[18] participants in photographic processes. bell hooks affirms the political nature of children's gazes. She states,

> Since I knew as a child that the dominating power adults exercised over me and over my gaze was never so absolute that I did not dare to look, to sneak a peep, to stare dangerously, I knew that the slaves had looked. That all attempts to repress our/black people's right to gaze had produced in us an overwhelming longing to look, a rebellious desire, an oppositional gaze, By courageously looking, we defiantly declared "Not only will I stare. I want my look to change my reality" (1992: 115-116).

In this image, uMntwana uSibuyiselwe visually confronts a mechanical eye that Jeff Guy refers to as "new technology" that not only documents but also carries with it the power to dispossess and conquer the people who were/are photographed. UMntwana uSibuyiselwe ruptures the text that refuses to acknowledge her presence. She eclipses the adults in the image (whether visualised or made visible through text). And the idea that she stands slightly in front of uMntwana uMagogo demonstrates how she asserts herself in the photograph.

On the surface, Figure 8 can easily be dismissed as 'imperfect' because uMntwana uMagogo is caught with her eyes closed and the upper left corner of the photograph appears overexposed. The idea of an 'imperfect' photograph is one that the photographer Santu Mofokeng explores. In his article Trajectory of a Street Photographer, Mofokeng (who grew up in Orlando East, Soweto) locates the practices of image making within the context of South African townships. He notes that it is through "the language of the township" (2000: 42) that people who

---

18 In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices,* Stuart Hall states that children are not solely "biological individuals" but they are also "cultural subjects" that "learn the system and conventions of representations, the codes of their language and culture, which equip them with cultural 'know-how' enabling them to function as culturally competent subjects" (1997: 22).

live in the township make sense of photographs. He asserts that in this setting, "photographs are not developed [but] they are washed" (2000: 43). And it is in this world of 'washed' photographs that the notion of 'imperfect' photographs is grappled with.

In his written work, Mofokeng frames photographic 'imperfections' as "technical mishaps" (ibid). He claims that in the language of the township, visual 'accidents' such as underexposures and/or overexposures are considered as "burns" (ibid). He proposes that when people from the township encounter these visual 'mishaps', they actively enquire, "Why did you burn my face so much? Why am I so black? Why do you make me look like an albino?" (ibid). He continues to note that the act of visually 'burning' people may result in the following responses from people who are photographed:

"I don't like his (read the photographer's) pictures because he burns people'" or "I can't pay you for this/these picture(s) because it is/they are burnt. You have to do them again" (ibid).

Mofokeng's deliberations demonstrate a number of things. Firstly, as stated in the introductory section of this thesis (see footnote 65 on page 52), photographed Black people that live in the township are not passive visual subjects, but they are active participants in image making processes. Secondly, their queries around the photographer's visual 'mishaps' affirm their visually literacy. The second point is particularly important because it illustrates the idea that even though the mentioned images will most probably be archived in family photo albums, it is still critical that these photographs are created with technical proficiency.

Thirdly, highlighting Black visual participants' attention to the visual quality of photographs that represent them is vital because it means that the archival of an image with 'technical mishaps' is not only intentional but that particular image has been assigned a value that goes beyond the act of visually recording an individual/s. In other words, this image may carry nostalgic and affective value because of the specific person/s that has been photographed.

In the case of Figure 8 which represents a historical person that has been widely documented (through the written, the sonic and the visual), 'technical mishaps' are not understood to be obstacles that render a photograph as one that needs to be "do[ne] again" (as seen in Mofokeng's work). Although this photograph which represents uMntwana uMagogo has a slight overexposure on the left corner while she is also caught with her eyes closed, one wonders what she is smiling about.



Zoomed in image of Figure 8



Zoomed in image of Figure 8

One wonders what this near laugh is about. It is clear that she is not playing the instrument or singing in this moment. It is evident that the initial gap between her and the photographer has been minimised. This closing of the gap in this moment suggests a sense of intimacy and a familiarity between her and the photographer. The low angle suggests that the photographer is lingering above her while she sits. This low angle also emphasises the power dynamic between 'subject' and photographer.

In this instance, uMntwana uMagogo is not on the same eye level as the photographer. If she had to open her eyes, she would have to look *up* at the camera. And looking up at something connotes that that thing is of superiority or it holds a position of power in that moment. In this case, it is the photographer who holds that power. If her eyes were opened in the Figure 8, she would look directly at the camera. Her eye line would be on the same level as the mechanical eye. And the fact that in this series, her eyes are captured as shut, slightly open or looking away from the camera makes one wonder what her relationship was with the camera and the photographer. Although in these images she is warm, smiling and candid, her gaze is never directed at the camera. Instead, she seems to disappear into herself, into her mzukulu or into the instrument. This may be read as an act of defiance wherein it is the familiar and the everyday in her life that she immerses herself in while she chooses not to recognise the presence of the camera or the photographer.

In Figure 8, the instrument in her hand makes her visually 'readable' as a musician, composer and performer and yet, something else is happening. When the spectator attunes to the frequencies therein the photograph, they realise that there is an unheard laughter. An inside joke of some sort. When one 'listens' to the photograph, one realises that this is a candid moment not between the photographer and uMntwana uMagogo but this is an intimate moment between ugogo and umzukulu.

The question then becomes "What mzukulu?" She is not in this photograph. And yet, in the bottom left corner of this image is the "prick" (Barthes, 1980) of the photograph. Therein lies the visual stimulus for uMntwana uMagogo's casualness. Her casualness seems at odds with her serious costume and instrument and yet in this moment, she ceases to solely be the 'Zulu' royal woman performer, composer and instrumentalist. In this moment, she is informal; she is present in the image as something else. She is a laughing being. She is an everyday woman. Her everyday laughter is prompted by the 'prick' in the image. In Figure 8, the 'prick' is the

crown of a young child's head that is hidden right behind uMntwana uMagogo's right arm.

In Figure 8, uMntwana uMagogo has laid her thatched grass aside to engage what is happening behind her. One assumes that the head that appears in the corner of the image belongs to none other than uMntwana uSibuyiselwe because Figure 9-12 appear to be photographed on the same day around the same time.

This act of 'hiding' can be read in multiple ways. One reading is that uMntwana uSibuyiselwe is hiding because she does not want to be photographed in this moment. Another reading could be that she is being requested not to appear in the photographs and she insists on appearing regardless. Another reading could be that this is a conversation between ugogo and umzukulu who hides as a response. Or this is a conversation between the photographer and uMntwana uSibuyiselwe and she hides behind ugogo. Either way, hiding is something that children are known to playfully do. Even though uMntwana uSibuyiselwe is aware that she can be seen, she insists on creating a world where she is invisible. The feeling I get when I look at this image is that perhaps before the iconic image (see Figure 7) was finally captured, uMntwana uSibuyiselwe had to be convinced to pose for the camera. In this regard, her hiding could be read as an act of resistance. I find the resistance of children particularly interesting because, I was raised in an environment where children were only seen and heard at the behest of adults. In the case of the images discussed in this chapter, it is fascinating for me to see a young black girl (who like me was very close to a 'Zulu' royal woman) displaying possible signs of independence at such a young age. In fact, it is interesting to note how the images of uMntwana uMagogo as well as those of ukhokho uMntwana uNosulumane (Figure 1 and 2) have children in them. This visual motif is reminiscent of Magoqwana's idea of ogogo as institutions that pass on indigenous knowledge to younger generations (as seen in the photographs of uMntwana uNosulumane and uMntwana uMagogo).

The images I have discussed thus far are interesting because they offer a reading outside the mode of ethnographic or field photography. In this context, uMntwana uMagogo is not solely defined along ethnic musicological lines but she is read in her fullness as an everyday woman whose existence goes beyond royalty and music, which are the two key characteristics that draw the wide interest of scholars, documentarians, researchers and (ethno)musicologists.

The image (Figure 8) is compelling because unlike the multiple iconic images that frame the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as pristine and 'camera ready', the

detail in this image humanises her. When one zooms into this image, it becomes visible that the shirt that uMntwana uMagogo is wearing has a missing button. This may seem like a trivial[19] detail, but in the face of the construction of a larger-than-life historic woman, it is critical to note the importance of mundane[20] features that may demystify a person of such stature. One can imagine that like other gogo's in South Africa, she may have seen the presence of a camera as an opportunity to put her best foot forward by wearing her 'Sunday best'. One would say umeshile meaning that she has chosen an outfit that is carefully colour coded as seen in township gogos who dress up in their best clothes in preparation for isonto or church on a Sunday.

In this context, her bedazzled brooch, coat, formal polka dot shirt and hat become symbolic of her desire to represent herself in a particular fashion. Without her elaborate royal regalia (which comprises of the iconic leopard hide) that sets her apart from women that are not of royal descent, she ceases to be this grand figure of legendary proportions and becomes visually and sonically 'readable' as an everyday woman. Through these photographs, she is represented as an everyday woman who did more than perform, compose, educate, read, write and create. Unlike the photographs where she is often represented in a solitary state with ugubhu, these images connect her to a broader community that she interacts with on a day-to-day basis.

Although these photographs never display her with adults, it is critical to note that the rest of the photographs, which are included in the thesis at large have her interacting with adults mostly. The photographs with her mzukulu are critical because they locate her outside a 'serious' register wherein she is always a well-poised royal individual who is not accessible to ordinary people. UMntwana uSibuyiselwe's playfulness and boldness disrupts this 'composure' through her

19 While analysing Mahashe's monochrome portrait of his great grandmother—whom they frame as an 'elderly African woman'—Boyd and Brenner interestingly note that she too has a button missing on her dress (2016). They affirm "She is wearing a simple, checked, sleeveless dress. It has a button missing but is clean, which tells us that while she is not wealthy, and the dress is not new, there is obvious care taken with her appearance" (Boyd and Brenner, 2016: 126-127). In this context, I pay attention to the missing button that is seen in the image representing uMntwana uMagogo because this seemingly unimportant sartorial fact connects her to ordinary Blackwomen in South Africa. Similar to Mahashe's great grandmother, who is evidently concerned with self-representation, uMntwana uMagogo depicts herself with a sense of self-regard despite an 'essential' object that appears to be gone. Although I do not think that it is befitting for Boyd and Brenner to speak about Mahashe's great grandmother's 'cleanliness' as though it is something that is exceptional for women of her calibre (this is in reference to how she is conceived of as "not wealthy"), it is vital to note how something as mundane as a missing button may bring in another layer to the reading of an image. Additionally, Boyd and Brenner's act of equating a missing button with poverty is questionable because surely people of all classes have to contend with the reality of missing buttons and perhaps even the mystery of missing socks. In other words, it is problematic to simply assume that because an 'elderly African woman' has a button missing, she must be a working class woman.

20 See Boyd and Brenner's discussion on identifying the monumental in the ordinary, mundane or everyday (2016). In their text, they state that Mahashe's great grandmother's solitary and personal act of producing snuff in the privacy of her homestead is not solely about this specific moment, but, her visual presence elicits histories of snuff-making and use in southern Africa (ibid).

presence in the photographs. The assumed formal rapport between the photographer and uMntwana uMagogo is destabilised by uMntwana uSibuyiselwe's fixed look and her playful gesture where she 'hides' while the spectator must 'go seek' for her presence. This 'hide-and-seek' quality of the photograph requires the spectator to actively engage all corners of the photograph to see and 'hear' her.

The 'ordinariness' and the 'everydayness' of these photographs is reminiscent of how uMntwana uMagogo, as a child herself, received her musical training from women around her at the time. According to Rycroft, "Her earliest musical education…was at the hands of her grandmothers[21], the widowed queens of King Cetshwayo, in whose huts she frequently slept as a child, as well as her mother and mother's co-wives" (1975/76: 42). It is interesting to note how history is repeating itself in the photographs as she is now the adult that imparts musicological knowledge (and other forms of knowledge) to her mzukulu by performing in her presence.

UMntwana uMagogo's continuous attachment to a larger community of women has also been noted by Liz Gunner (2002). She states

> Princess Magogo's troubled early life, and loss of her mother did not, ironically, isolate her from the company of other royal women, the mothers of her father Dinuzulu, and her many grandmothers, the widows of her grandfather, King Cetshwayo. It was in the company of these women — however difficult the proximity may have been at times — that Magogo absorbed the forms of cultural production that give such a deep insight into the complex subjectivities of Zulu women in the earlier precolonial and the colonial era. It is when the material disseminated by Magogo is put alongside other fragments of cultural insights, and asides, that a possible different reading of the balance of genders and their interaction in the articulation of Zulu culture begins to emerge.

Gunner's account of uMntwana uMagogo's painful life changing events further demystifies her. The idea that she underwent the loss of her mother at a young age meant that her upbringing had to be facilitated by a community of women[22]

---

21 In the article, *The Question of Nationalism in Mzilikazi Khumalo's Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu* (2002), Innocentia J. Mhlambi identifies some of uMntwana uMagogo's gogo's as OkaMkhayiphi and OkaMaganda. In addition, see Kholeka Shange's article *'Ngibambeni, ngibambeni bomama!' Refiguring Princess Magogo* (2020) wherein she emphasises the critical role that these gogo's, undlunkulu uSilomo and her 'co-wives' played in in the making of the historic Princess Magogo as a 'Zulu' royal woman and artist.

22 In *Zulu Women's Music* (1983), Rosemary Joseph critically notes that the women whose tutelage 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' was under, came from clans that did not fall under the Zulu isibongo. Joseph's observation is important because it interrogates 'Zulu'-centricity in the telling of the history of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as a musician. This means that what is predominantly categorised as 'Zulu



Figure 9. 1972. Photographer undocumented. UMntwana uMagogo at kwaPhindangene in eNkonjeni.



Zoomed in image of Figure 9

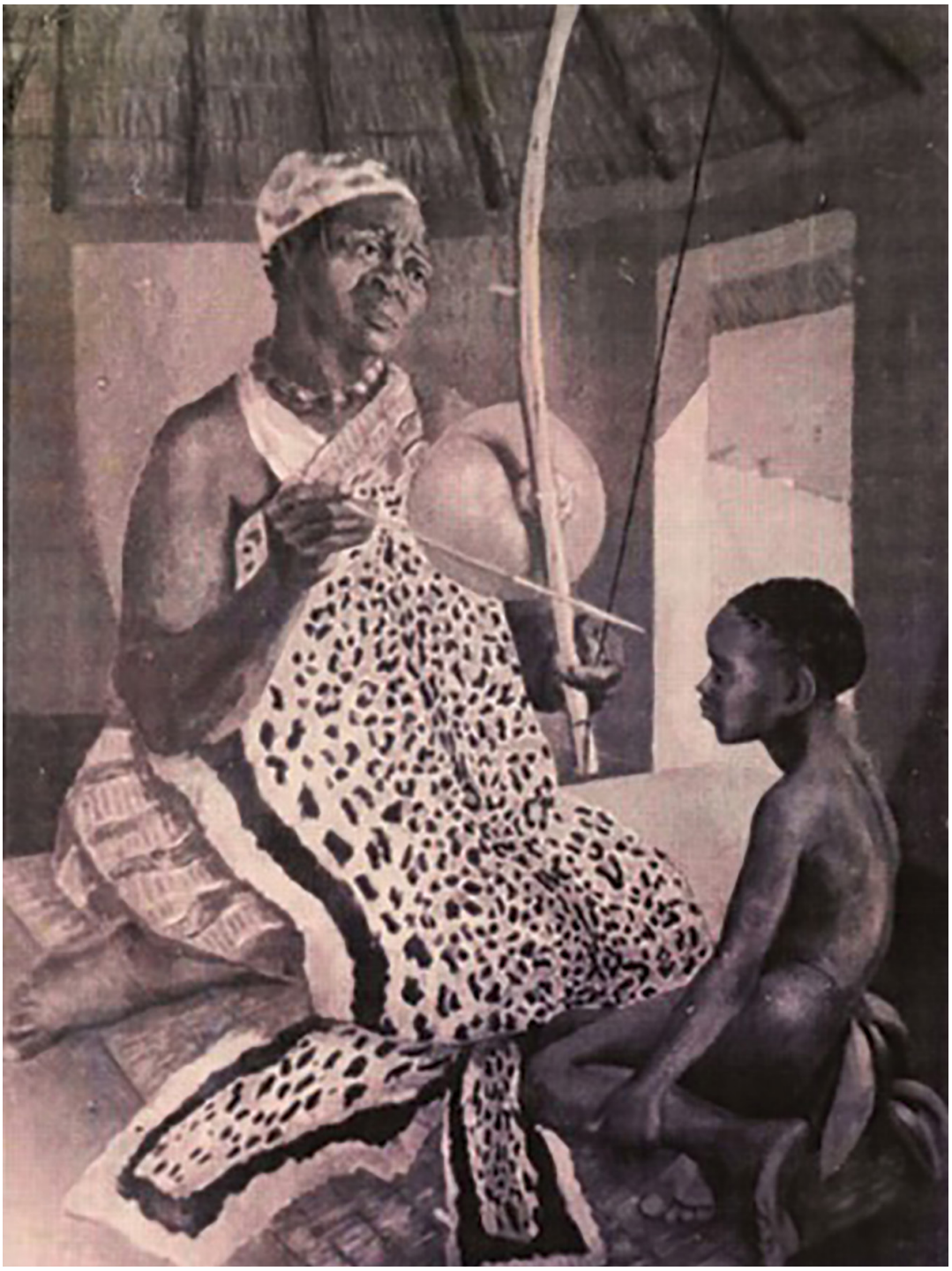


Figure 10. 1962. H. R. Dent. Oil painting.

that also collectively contributed to "forms of cultural production" that she became renowned for historically and in contemporary times. The reference to a community of royal women albeit invisible in their namelessness (while their husband's and son's names are explicitly identified) reminds the spectator that what they see in these photographs is but a fragment of uMntwana uMagogo's historical and personal narrative. And what they read in the namelessness of this community of women is reflective of 'Zulu' historiography's tendency to remember history along gendered lines. In this context, it is the names of 'Zulu' royal men that are often at the forefront while the names and narratives of women in the 'Zulu' monarchy are scantily remembered. As suggested, it is critical to recognise the subjectivities of 'Zulu' women across generations. The images included in this chapter map this intergenerational exchange between a young royal girl born in 1969 and a royal woman born in 1900.

Figure 9 contextualises this intergenerational exchange within the homestead of KwaPhindangene at Nkonjeni near Mahlabathini in northern KwaZulu. In this photograph, a beige home with a white rooftop and bits of red or maroon can be seen in the background. This image is unlike the others, which do not give a clear indication of where uMntwana uMagogo and uMntwana uSibuyiselwe are except for being under a tree on what appears to be a hot summer's day. This image is interesting because it makes one wonder why the instrument is not played within the household. All the images in this chapter locate ugubhu within a public sphere. In this context, the instrument is not solely confined to the hearing of those who have access to the privacy of the home but it is played outdoors.

It is interesting how this image destabilises the 'traditional' vs. the 'modern' divide. This image is in contrast to H. R. Dent's painting (Figure 10), which locates the instrument not just within the home, but it is within a milieu that is stereotypically conceived of as 'traditionally Zulu'. Although my focus is not on visual art[23], it is worth noting how Dent's imagination of an intimate moment that takes place between uMntwana uMagogo, her son uMntwana uMangosuthu Buthelezi and ugubhu is confined within a setting of a bare rondavel with a thatched roof, which is often seen as the antithesis of the home in the previous image.

In Figure 10, the mother and son are imagined in 'traditional garb' where they are seated on icansi instead of isigqiki or a chair as seen in the images presented in

---

music' in the case of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' actually reflects diverse histories that do not neatly fit into a homogenised idea of 'Zuluness'.

23 It is worth noting that a thorough study exploring the representation of uMntwana uMagogo through visual art is necessary.



Figure 11. 1972. Photographer undocumented. UMntwana uMagogo at kwaPhindangene in ENkonjeni.



Zoomed in image of Figure 11.



Figure 12. Circa early 1970s. Photographer undocumented.



Figure 13. Circa early 1970s. Photographer undocumented.

this chapter. In this image, the rectangular door serves as a frame within a frame. Through it the spectator gets a glimpse of a people-less land replete with rondavels on what appears like hilltops. This image is primarily about this awkward and somber interaction between a mother and son. Looking at this very solemn image in juxtaposition to uMntwana uMagogo's ease and casualness with her mzukulu in the other images is interesting. Perhaps this painting is an indication of the painter's own ideas about who 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' was.

The zoomed in image of Figure 9 further highlights how she continuously challenged the traditional/modern binary. Although it is eclipsed by the shade, the circled part of the image illustrates that she underwent a ritual called "ukuklekla" (Dent and Nyembezi, 2009: 452) which is process through which an ear is stretched as a rite of passage.

In this instance, an individual with a stretched ear would wear iziqhaza. Interestingly, iziqhaza do not just refer to earplugs, but the word also connotes "an uneducated person" (Dent and Nyembezi, 2009: 525). In this instance, the 'traditional' is associated with illiteracy and backwardness. UMntwana uMagogo's stretched ear illustrates what her son states in *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction*

> [She had] a strong devotion to the Anglican Church (though speaking no English) with a deep attachment to Zulu tradition. Her background made her a deeply religious woman. She went through the Zulu bible thrice in her lifetime from cover to cover. She knew many of the Psalms of David by heart and often recited them when she conducted Prayers which she did twice everyday apart from praying privately during the day (1988: 236).

In other words, she functioned as a contemporary individual who never drew a sharp distinction between the 'traditional' and the 'modern'. If anything, it appears as though she was more interested in the contemporary more than the idea of 'modernity' which poses itself as progressive while the 'traditional' is perceived as the antithesis of it. UMntwana uMagogo's contemporaneity was evident in her vast interest in multiple instruments that were not necessarily confined within tribal tropes. Although the photographs in this chapter represent her with only one instrument, her musical repertoire extended across various musical genres. Even though she is never visually captured playing the piano, Autoharp, umakhweyana and isithontolo, her body of work (as captured through audio and annotated transcripts) reveals an individual whose versatility transcended the of idea 'Zuluness' as fixed or unchanging.

Figure 11 and the zoomed in image below it capture uMntwana uMagogo in musical motion. In this case, umsindo wogubhu is registered in the movement of the thatched grass in her right hand and that of the calabash resonator against the left side of her chest. Her grip and the visual indistinctness of the grass gives the spectator the impression that the string has been struck and a vibration, which is embodied as resonant sound in the calabash is the end result that the spectator can never audibly perceive but they can imagine. It is through this process of imagining the sonic that the spectator 'hears' the phonic substance. 'Hearing' in this case destabilises the referential nature of the photograph. What this means is that it is not necessary for the spectator to be familiar with the 'actual' sound that the instrument makes in order to 'hear' the photograph's sonic quality. What is critical is the vibration that is perceived through the visual and thereby the aural. What is vital is what lives in the imagination in the form of a triadic dialogue between the photograph, the vibration in the photograph and the spectator's 'mental ear'.

Although Figure 12 and 13 have been sourced from ILAM, it is unclear what year they were captured. Judging from uMntwana uSibuyiselwe's age, which appears to not be too far off from when she was photographed in 1972, these photographs appear to have also been captured in the early 1970s.

Figure 12 and Figure 13 constitute a series of two individual images. It is important to note this individuality because Figure 13 may easily be read as a zoomed in image of Figure 12. The following elements are what distinguish these photographs from each other:

1. Figure 12 is in profile while Figure 13 is almost frontal.
2. In Figure 13, the shadow that is cast on uMntwana uMagogo's dress collar is long and uneven while the shadow that falls on her collar in Figure 12 is short and symmetrical.
3. UMntwana uMagogo's grip of the ugubhu's stave and string is not the same. In Figure 12, her thumb and forefinger are in close contact and in Figure 13 there is a slight gap between the two.
4. The thatched grass used to strike the string is present in Figure 12. On the other hand, it is absent in Figure 13.

On the surface, Figure 12 and 13 appear mundane. They read as snapshots that could easily end up in a laminated family photo album that is safely stored under lock and key in a kist. The snapshot quality of these photographs is emphasised through tonality, composition and cropping. Although each photograph is not



Princess Constance Magogo KaDinuzulu Buthelezi by Velaphi Mzimba (2002)
Acrylic on canvas: 150 X 150 cm
Collection: The Southern African Music Rights Organisation, Limited

Figure 14. Caption by South African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO) Foundation: "Princess Constance Magogo kaDinuzulu Buthelezi by Velaphi Mzimba (2002). Acrylic on canvas: 150 x150 cm. Collection: The South African Music Rights Organisation, Limited".

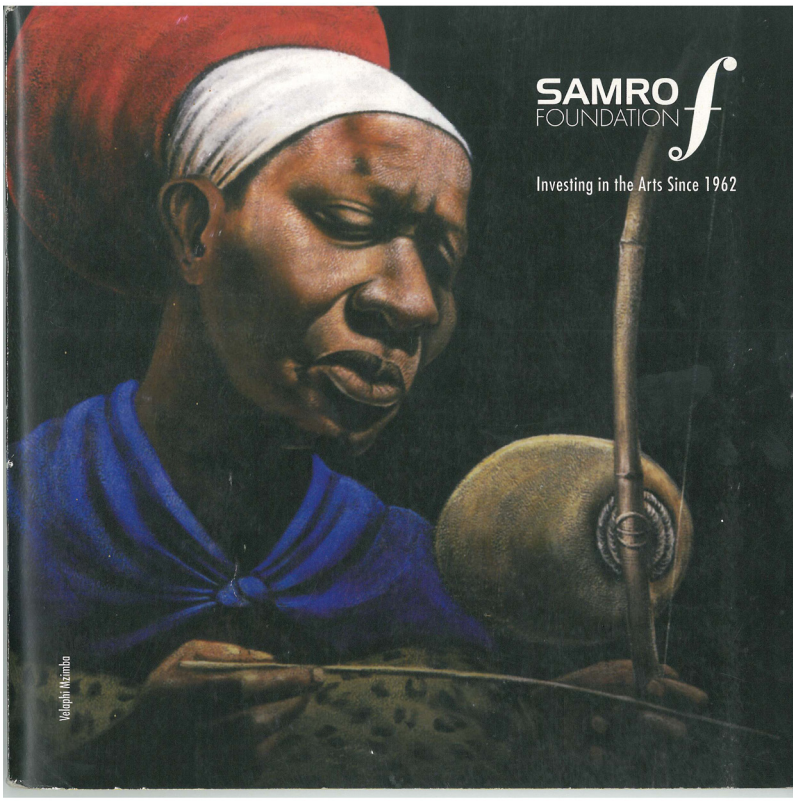


Figure 15. 2015. Cover of SAMRO Foundation booklet.

in the conventional box shape of a Polaroid image, the greenish tonality of the images is reminiscent of a Polaroid. The crude cropping of the undocumented child and indistinguishable person sitting next to uMntwana uSibuyiselwe who is on the left side of uMntwana uMagogo suggests that this photograph was taken without a deep consideration of the visual elements. By that I mean the head of the child sitting next to uMntwana uSibuyiselwe is chopped off. The person sitting next to this child is almost non-existent in that their face is unidentifiable. One assumes that this too is a child because their shoulder is at the same level as that of the child sitting next to uMntwana uSibuyiselwe.

Seemingly, Figure 12 and 13 are not just snapshots but they also serve as visual 'evidence' that a field trip took place wherein Tracey most likely recorded the audio. Although in principle the spectator is made aware of the location of the photograph through the backstory wherein Tracey is known to have travelled to the homestead of KwaPhindangene, the image itself does not give a sense of a distinct environment. In actual fact, even though Figure 9 is photographed with a home in the background, the place in which this home is located is not visually clear unless the spectator reads the image within the context of Tracey's field trips to uMntwana uMagogo's homestead. Figure 12 offers no environmental context except for an obscure cemented floor and greenery or a shadow thereof. Again, ugubhu is being played outside but the difference this time is that the instrument is being played in front of a slightly bigger audience. Their presence highlights how uMntwana uMagogo functioned as a member of a larger community. Usually, the images that are publicly circulated are those where she is represented alone with the instrument. In this regard, Figure 8 and Figure 14 are the iconic images wherein she is seen playing ugubhu.

In fact, Figure 14 has been used by the SAMRO Foundation as part of their corporate identity. In 2015, Figure 14 was reproduced as the cover of the SAMRO Foundation booklet (see Figure 15) that contains the Foundation's programme and prospectus for that year.

In this cover, the inclusion of the Foundation's striking logo, its by-line which says "Investing in the Arts Since 1962" and the subtle presence of the painter Velaphi Mzimba's name renders the painting that represents uMntwana uMagogo emblematic. That is to say that because of the corporate presence of the SAMRO Foundation, uMntwana uMagogo as a visual representation reads as an extension of the organisation's collective identity wherein "the arts" which are framed mostly in terms of music are at the centre. Also, the presence of the painter's name means



Figure 16. 2015. Index page of SAMRO Foundation booklet.

that this image is not simply a representation of uMntwana uMagogo but it is also a visual demonstration of the Mzimba's skill and genre of painting which is linked to his oeuvre. And the conception of "the arts" as music is also epitomised by the logo's use of music dynamics' symbol for fortissimo (which means to play music very loudly) and the Foundation's depiction of uMntwana uMagogo with ugubhu reinforces the idea of art as music or art as indigenous African music. And since this cover does not establish the woman in the image as 'Princess Constance Magogo kaDinuzulu Buthelezi' (an interesting identification that acknowledges her as a woman who is also linked to the Buthelezi clan) as seen in Figure 12, this image functions as a symbol of 'Zulu' royal womanhood which is embodied through isikhumba sengwe or leopard hide and the red isicholo. Ingwe in the context of isiZulu speakers is worn to symbolise royalty or sovereignty. And isicholo is often worn by married women in isiZulu speaking communities. The donning of the cape is also commonly seen in isiZulu speaking women are married.

Interestingly, the reproduction of Figure 15 in the index page (see Figure 16) locates uMntwana uMagogo within SAMRO Foundation's archival project which the organisation states is "one of the largest archives of original South African music across different genres, with a sheet music collection of over 100 000 scores by local composers as well as valuable collections" (2015: 17). The SAMRO Foundation goes on to say "This impressive repository of indigenous music affirms SAMRO's long-standing commitment to conserving, preserving and promoting South African music" (ibid).

In the context of contemporary South Africa, 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' continues to be predominantly framed within the confines of traditional indigenous music that must be conserved, preserved and promoted (The Presidency Republic of South Africa, 2003). In this regard, she is visualised as a lone musician who is isolated from a community of the royal women that multiple scholars have affirmed were the people that taught uMntwana uMagogo about this prized music. And as stated earlier, this thesis will not be focusing on the paintings that represent uMntwana uMagogo. However, Figure 14-17 have been included to highlight the idea that she has been popularly depicted as a singular figure that is dislocated from a broader community of people that contributed meaningfully to the making of her history and the production of indigenous knowledge(s). As such, Figure 12 is critical in the sense that it disrupts the often-perpetuated narrative of individualism over community.

The visual participants in Figure 12 share a collective gaze that signals activity that exists beyond the frame. Although the camera's presence is apparent, they do not acknowledge it or the photographer. Their looking away is deliberate since the photographer's proximity to them can be felt. Not only is the photographer close, but he is also hovering over them. In other words, he is not simply photographing but he is doing so using a low angle which signals power. However, in them choosing to disregard his presence and that of the mechanical eye, they create an invisible wall between them and him. In fact, the young unidentified boy with a checkered yellow shirt has a smirk on his face. In this context, the smirk may be read as a resistant near laugh—one that is reminiscent of the township childhood game Is'thombe Esihle (a beautiful image) wherein one person would play an imaginary photographer while the others would pretend to be photographic subjects. In this game, the 'subjects' were expected to 'freeze' in tableaux form. Movement was an immediate disqualifier. Often, young Black children in the various townships across South Africa would have smirks on their faces because the act of having to pose for an imaginary camera was contrived. They 'froze' like statues on the verge of laughter. Some could not hold the statuesque position so they ruptured the 'fourth wall' and became kinetic people full of laughter instead of frozen inaudible subjects. During Is'thombe Esihle, the role of the 'photographer' was never set. That means that at any given moment, the subjects could be photographers and vice versa. In this way, power was never hierarchical but shared.

Although Figure 12 may be read as a group portrait, compositionally, uMntwana uMagogo and ugubhu take up the majority of the photograph. This fact emphasises how the photographer was more interested in her and ugubhu as 'subjects/objects of inquiry'. On the other hand, uMntwana uSibuyiselwe, the young boy in the yellow checkered shirt and a person whose face is excluded are not only in soft focus but they are meant to serve as backdrops. In this image, uMntwana uMagogo is tightly framed, in focus and slightly cropped. Her bottle green iduku with yellow stripes attracts the eye. Under this harsh natural light, it shimmers while it reveals metallic salt and pepper hair.

In Figure 12, the wearing of iduku may be read as an adherence to a 'code' or 'codes' of ukuhlonipha or respectability wherein married women were/are not permitted to display their hair especially in the presence of in-laws. Conversely, iduku can function as a protective style or a form of self-care wherein one's hair is shielded from the elements.

In this image, uMntwana uMagogo is participating in the act of self-fashioning wherein her iduku not only gleams because of the sun but it does so because of golden embellishments. This is no plain iduku. It appears to be hand-picked for its aesthetic. Its colour palate is aligned with her striped brown and cream button up dress. Its silkiness and embellishments suggest that like many people, she too was concerned with style. Like ordinary folk, she too was interested in tailoring. In other words, aesthetics mattered. Through self-fashioning, she had agency to present herself how she wanted to be perceived. In Figure 12 and 13, it is easy to dismiss her dress code as simply ordinary. This is so because the image of ugogo and iduku or inkosikazi (married woman) and iduku has been over-determined. Historically, iduku has been predominantly perceived as a sign of seniority and a symbol of marital status. Furthermore, it has been framed as a gendered clothing item belonging only on the crowns of women. However, in contemporary South Africa, iduku—otherwise referred to as a 'head wrap'[24] or 'turban'—has been un-gendered and worn by different people for varying purposes including sartorial ones. It is interesting to note that in Figure 12, her right ear is not stretched. This fact is uncommon because in the customs of ukuklekla, both ears are usually stretched. This observation might highlight one of three things. One, the hole in the left ear is not as a result of the process of ukuklekla. Two, she underwent the process of ukuklekla and the one ear closed up. And three, only one ear was stretched for reasons known only to her and those who knew her intimately. Whatever the reason is, it is unconventional to have one ear stretched in this manner. This is particularly so in the context of isiZulu speakers.

In Figure 12, the sonic is not solely captured in the form of umsindo wogubhu but uMntwana uMagogo's open lips suggest a vocal utterance which is likely to have been recorded through "Tracey's enterprise" (Coetzee, P., 2014: 102). In this image, the presence of ugubhu not only frames this utterance as ukuhlabelela[25] but the over-representation of this particular instrument (in this image and the rest of the images included in this chapter), limits the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' within the scope of Tracey's 'Zulu bow songs'. This practice of over-emphasising

24 See Rea Khoabane's *Doeks: Mark of a Good Woman-or a Bad Hair Day?* (Sunday Times, 2017).

25 I use the term ukuhlabalela following Joseph's definition of it as inclusive of "not only what in Western culture is commonly accepted as singing, but also [as] a type of vocal delivery intermediate between speech and song" (1983: 60). In this context, she refers to ukuhlabelela as a "recitational mode" instead of a "recitation" (ibid). She shuns the latter because of its common association with izibongo or praise poetry. I partly draw from her conception of ukuhlabelela because I propose that uMntwana uMagogo's method of vocalisation may be described as something between ukukhuluma (speaking), ukubonga (praising), ukukhala (lamenting) and ukucula (singing). Furthermore, it is important to note that Joseph states "…While it is possible to make an etic distinction between a 'song mode' and a 'recitational mode, in the 'Zulu' concept of ukuhlabelela, the 'Zulu' themselves do not acknowledge any such distinction emically" (ibid). I have included this last citation because it is emphasises my submission that English concepts do not always fit neatly into the world of first language isiZulu speakers (and first language speakers of indigenous African languages at large).

ugubhu in her musical life is peculiar because uMntwana uMagogo was musically diverse. Not only did she play umakhweyana but she was a pianist, an auto-harpist, and she also sang amahubo[26], choral music and many other genres. And even though there are audio recordings of her singing performing without ugubhu, I have not come across any images that represent her playing instruments outside ugubhu.

Furthermore, the ubiquity of ugubhu in the master narrative of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' may be explored to a greater extent. Firstly, the theorisation of ugubhu as 'rare' meant that it became an exotic instrument worthy of 'inquiry' and 'study' by Western scholars, ethno-musicologists and documentarians. It became a fetish through which the West could 'discover', 'explore', 'study' and 'document' that which was the antithesis of the West (e.g. tribally marked indigenous musical instruments of Africa). In this regard, the hierarchical construction of difference meant that what was 'non-Western' was framed as inferior or as an aberration to the 'norm'. And secondly, since the idea of the 'tribe' has been critical to the maintenance of colonially constructed Otherness and difference, ugubhu served as an "authentic artifact" (Parker, B., 2008: 61) which functioned as an "authentic representation… of 'centuries-old' traditions" (ibid) that were perceived as anachronistic. In other words, in the context of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', the piano and the autoharp were not exotic, tribal or 'Zulu' enough.

Figure 13 captures sound through the emphasis of ugubhu. Without Figure 12, this image cannot be read as a representation of uMntwana uMagogo. The removal of her face means that a spectator may read the presence of the instrument without necessarily drawing from her history and dominant ideas of 'Zuluness'. Although uMntwana uSibuyiselwe is unidentifiable through cropping, her topless torso and what appears to be a pair of black panties may be read as a perpetuation of the trope of the "half-naked" African as captured through the White masculine gaze.

However, the specificity of context is crucial in this image. As demonstrated in Figure 12 and 13, these photographs were taken around noon when the sun is at its harshest. The hard shadows that are cast on the subjects' faces suggest that it is extremely hot. As such, it is common for children to run around topless. In Figure 12, uMntwana uSibuyiselwe's stance wherein her left hand is rested on her left

26 Amahubo are predominantly defined as "royal songs", "clan anthems" or "love songs" in the case of amahubo othando, songs sung by a group of 'Zulu' people or "hymns" (see Bryant 1949, Rycroft 1975/76, Joseph, 1983, Dargie 2007, Dent and Nyembezi 2009 and McNulty 2013).

hip while the other is on her right knee demonstrates her audacity to 'pose like an adult'. In the customs and traditions of IsiZulu speakers, placing one's hand on one's hip is the equivalent of ukubamba ukhalo or placing one's hand on one's waist.

Adults often scold children for ukubamba ukhalo because it is seen as a 'grown folk gesture'. This gesture is often used in a context where an adult is exclaiming or carefully evaluating a particular situation. Since children are taught that they have no business being concerned by 'adult' situations, it is assumed that there is no room for such gestures in their repertoire of expressions. UMntwana uSibuyiselwe collapses the polarity between childhood and adulthood by using a gesture that is not only closely linked to ukubamba ukhalo but one that is also perceived to be idiosyncratic of abantu abadala—grown folk. In other words, these gestures are not inherently characteristic of age; rather they are arbitrary physical responses that have been over-burdened with social and cultural meanings.

In closing, the images sourced from ILAM are much more than Tracey's field photographs that constitute ILAM's photographic archive. When read through the sonic, these photographs emit sound that undermines dominant ocular-centric readings. Through the sonic, these images have a quality ezwakalayo (one that may be heard). They do not simply speak but they shout in a piercing frequency.



Figure 17. Photographer, date and place undocumented.



Figure 18. Photographer, date and place undocumented. Image reproduced in Ben Temkin's *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman* (1972).

This subsection explores photographs that visually read as a series even though they may have been photographed by different people at varying times. Although the name/s of the photographer/s and the year/s of capture are undocumented, the approach of 'listening' to what is unavailable in the normative visual register allows me the freedom not to view the absence of this metadata as a limitation. Rather, this absence is a liberatory tool through which I can 'listen' beyond the photographer's narrative. In this regard, the analysis is not about the 'maker' of the visual history of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', rather it is about what the images themselves offer through a sonic methodology.

Figure 17 and 18 may easily be read as constituting the 'single story' of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. In this subsection, I draw on Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's idea of a 'single story'[27] (2009) as a means to underscore the multiple stories that are disregarded in the telling of the grand story of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. As stated earlier in this thesis, this historic woman has often been singularised and monumentalised in a manner that has disconnected her from a wider community of people that she was inextricably linked with in reality. In this regard, despite the fact that 'Zulu' historiography has isolated her through exceptionalising her, I propose that her story is a story of multiple people… Blackwomen to be specific.

At first glance, Figure 17 and 18 are monochromatic and colour photographic representations of a single subject with a musical instrument. What the eye sees is the story of one woman and yet, what the ear 'hears' is the story of many. As suggested earlier in this chapter, ugubhu is a communal instrument that uMntwana uMagogo often played in the presence of others. Moreover, her musicological knowledge was acquired through a community of women that existed in her life (Rycroft, 1975/76 and Gunner, 2002). In other words, the presence of ugubhu in the images included in this chapter is an invocation of collective women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's histories that are embedded in this instrument. Since the instrument is accompanied by the singing of amahubo that were communally disseminated by a community of women to uMntwana uMagogo, its visual presence in the photographs functions as an extended metaphor which symbolises multiple women's histories.

Moreover, the idea that the hands of uMntwana uMagogo made the instrument that is seen in these images means that it is not simply an "authentic artifact"

27 While I draw on Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *The Danger of a Single Story* (2009)— a TED Talk wherein she cautions against the dominance of a single narrative—it is critical to note that multiple scholars have theorised about the disruption of master narratives or 'official' historiography (Spivak in Landry and MacLean, 1996; Hartman, 1997; Gunner, 2002; Gasa, 2007; and Mhlambi, 2015).

or object but it is an embodiment of collective African feminist practice. In this context, the women not only make knowledge but they pass it down through the act of sharing and teaching. Dissimilar to the Cartesian philosophy of "I think, therefore I am", this feminist practice centres around communal conceptions of knowledge(s). Furthermore, the material quality of the instrument is inextricably linked to umhlaba[28]. As such, ugubhu as captured in the photographs may be read as a visual trope which not only emphasises the link between women's cultivation of land, its produce, the reusability and the reimagination of that produce through amahubo and the passing down of knowledge and skill; but this visual trope which I link to umhlaba also frames ugubhu players (which are known to be predominantly Blackwomen)[29] as global subjects whose music transcends borders.

UMntwana uMagogo's donning of isikhumba sengwe or leopard hide reiterates the idea that her story is the story of many people. However, in the case of uMntwana uMagogo, this isikhumba is meant to highlight her 'Zulu' genealogy. And as emphasised earlier in the paper, the idea that this part of her identity remains dominant while other parts of her identity remain on the margins is symptomatic of how 'Zulu' centricity relegates other forms people's histories to the peripheries.

Similar to Figure 7, 8 and 14, Figure 17 captures uMntwana uMagogo with her eyes closed. In Figure 17, the closing of her eyes appears to be motivated by song. The movement of the thatched grass and the "o" shape which her lips takes illustrates that she is caught in the middle of the performance of ihubo. Her shut eyes while singing signal passion and zeal which she has clearly decided to contain within herself by disconnecting with the gaze of the camera, photographer and spectator. This act is important because she chooses to limit how much access the camera, photographer and spectator have to her in this moment of performance. Often, it is assumed that when subjects perform, they are doing so for spectators or the camera. However, in this instance, uMntwana uMagogo appears to be performing for herself. And by virtue of singing amahubo, she invokes the histories of the people unseen in the photograph. The rustiness of the image as well as the manner in which she wears iduku is evocative of family photographic archives commonly stored by old Black women in shoeboxes, kists and room dividers located in various townships of South Africa.

---

28 While this noun is commonly understood to only refer to land and country (Dent and Nyembezi, 2009: 165), it is critical to note that this isiZulu term goes beyond territorialism as it applies to the planet earth or the world.

29 See Percival Kirby's *Musical Instruments of the Indigenous People of South Africa* (2013).

In contrast, Figure 18's monochromatic register, uMntwana uMagogo's pose and dramatically averted look are reminiscent of a portrait tradition wherein the subject is overtly performing for the gaze of the photographer, camera and spectator (Barthes, 1981)[30]. In Figure 18, uMntwana uMagogo appears to be a reluctant photographic subject who is under the direction of the photographer. The photograph's formal composition, the use of a shallow depth of field, natural lighting that highlights uMntwana uMagogo's strong features and the fact that she is wearing her royal regalia emphasises the idea that the photographer had visual control. In this image, the movement of the thatched grass illustrates that she is playing a composition even though her lips do not suggest that she is singing. Her frown and pursed lips while ugubhu is playing is in dissonance with the majority of the images included in this chapter. In most of the images, she is relaxed and interactive with the people around her. Figure 18 is similar to Figure 14 in that she has a melancholic expression while ugubhu plays.

Figure 17 and 18 read as images that are meant to focus on uMntwana uMagogo as an instrumentalist, performer, composer, singer and 'Zulu' royal woman. And as stated earlier, most work that explores her narrative often focuses on these aspects of her identity (Tracey 1939, 1955 and 1973; Huskisson, Y., 1969; Rycroft, 1975/76 and Gunner, 2002). Through this chapter and the thesis at large, I attempt to reimagine her identity outside this framework. In addition, I try to find ways in which her narrative as the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is decentered in order to make room for the quotidian.

In closing, in this chapter, I have not only illustrated how photographs that are commonly conceived of as visual representations of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' may be read as conduits of umsindo, but I have demonstrated how the method of 'listening' to these images offers meanings that disrupt dominant ideas around this 'big' woman in 'Zulu' historiography. I have also shown how the singularisation of this grand historic figure perpetuates the marginalisation of the

30 See *"Operator, Spectrum and Spectator" in Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (Barthes, 1981). In this short chapter, Roland Barthes not only explores the triadic relationship between the camera, the photographer and the person who is photographed; but he frames the photographic act as a spectacle. In this text he states, "I observed that a photograph can be the object of three practices (or of three emotions, or of three intentions): to do, to undergo, to look. The *Operator* [all italics in the original text] is the Photographer. The *Spectator* is ourselves, all of us who glance through collections of photographs—in magazines and newspapers, in books, albums, archives…And the person or thing photographed is the target, the referent, a kind of little simulacrum, any *eidolon* emitted by the object, which I should like to call the *Spectrum* of the Photograph, because this word retains, through its root, a relation to "spectacle" and adds to it that rather terrible thing which is there in every photograph: the return of the dead" (Barthes, 1981: 9). I have cited Barthes at length in order to demonstrate the complexities of photo-making. In this regard, the person being photographed—as seen in Figure 18—is not only undergoing the photographic process but they are an object of a gaze (i.e. a referent) that embodies a symbolic death. And Barthes' figurative 'demise' is expressed through photography's ability to "reproduce to infinity [what] has occurred only once" (Barthes, 1981: 4). Consequently, the 'death' of what has occurred in real-time results in a perpetual symbolic resurrection. In a way, photographs are visual resuscitations.

many unnamed women that contributed immensely to the creation of the historic woman the world continues to celebrate. And through a close reading of eight images sourced from ILAM, the Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi Museum and Ben Temkin's *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman* (1972) I have not only decentred Hugh Tracey in the telling of the history of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' but I have also explored how the popularised and exceptionalised 'princess' paradoxically flattens uMntwana uMagogo's narrative as ugogo and a self-defining twentieth century Blackwoman in South Africa.

Lastly, Campt's method of 'listening' to photographs has offered me a way to "attune […] to certain frequencies of encounter that aren't always available to us in [visual][31] register" (Campt, 2017).

31 Not in original text.



Chapter Two

OKABANI NA LOWOMNTWANA?
UMNTWANA UMAGOGO AND ISIZWE

Introduction

In this chapter, I investigate how photographs that represent the multiple identities that 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' embodied throughout her life, may serve as a means through which she may be delinked from prominent 'Zulu' male figures, and the homogenised 'Zulu' nation at large. In this regard, I examine how her roles as umama to daughters, ugogo (as seen in chapter one) and a twentieth century Blackwoman—whose artistic and cultural praxis as a child[1] was influenced by her gogo's, her mother and her mother's co-wives (as seen in chapter one)—is an illustration of self-determination[2]. I argue that this self-definition which has been informed by the tutelage of multiple un-historicised and unnamed women destabilises 'official' historiography's construction of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as a 'big' woman that belongs to 'big' men of 'Zulu' nationalistic history. In this chapter, I use Toni Morrison's idea of rememory (2007) to frame these photographs as sites of remembering and un-remembering 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' and the women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's histories that are embedded in her narrative.

---

1 As I highlighted in the first chapter, it is important to think critically about the childhood experiences of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. This is so because her adult experiences are often emphasised over her childhood ones. In fact, when her childhood is invoked, it is predominantly confined to her musical education, her mother's death—which is said to have necessitated that she takes on the role of motherhood in relation to her brothers (albeit she needed parenting herself)—and the ill-treatment she experienced at the hands of older women once her mother died (Rycroft 1975/76; Buthelezi, 1988; Gunner, 2002 and Khoza, 2018). And in light of this dominant narrative of the troubled child protégé, one wonders if 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' ever took part in the day-to-day activities found in the lives of Black children in Zululand and South Africa at large in the early 1900s. And as illustrated in the photographs of uMntwana uSibuyiselwe in chapter one, it is evident that despite her royal status, she was able to still partake in the ordinariness of being a child. In many ways, one may wonder what would happen if images of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' the child were accessible? Would she be as subversive as her mzukulu? In this thesis, I propose that it is difficult to imagine this historic woman as an ordinary child that did other things besides playing musical instruments because 'official' historiography has constructed her as a larger-than-life figure that cannot be demystified.

2 As seen in Malatjie's idea that self-determination is a key element in Black feminist praxis wherein Blackwomen not only assert their voices but they also define themselves for themselves (2011).

In this study, I propose that the multiplicity of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is important because is often framed as a historical figure who is inextricably linked to the monolithic history of the 'Zulu nation'[3] wherein particular male figures (e.g. inkosi uShaka kaSenzangakhona, inkosi uMpande kaSenzangakhona, inkosi uCetshwayo kaSenzangakhona, inkosi uDinuzulu kaCetshwayo and inkosi uSolomon kaDinuzulu) remain prominent while women in the 'Zulu' monarchy continue to be kept on the margins (Hamilton, 1998; Gunner, 2002: 206, 208; Buthelezi, 2012; Shamase, 2014: 1 and Mhlambi, 2015: 294-295).

In this context, the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is first and foremost a daughter of inkosi uDinuzulu kaCetshwayo, a sister[4] to inkosi uSolomon kaDinuzulu, a 'wife' to inkosi uMathole Buthelezi and a mother to the *Inkatha Freedom Party* leader and current inkosi of the Buthelezi clan uMntwana wakwaPhindangene who is commonly known as 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi' (Cope, 1959: 33; Rycroft, 1975/76: 41-43, 1985: 244; Temkin, 1976; Gunner, 2002: 208 and Mhlambi, 2015: 295). The latter is particularly telling of the aforementioned androcentrism of 'Zulu' history because uMntwana uMagogo had daughters whose names are uMntwana uMorgina Phikabesho Dotwana (née Buthelezi) and uMntwana uAdmara Phokunani Vilakazi (née Buthelezi). As stated in chapter one, when people write about the historical 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', they do so with the idea that she was solely the mother of 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi'. In many ways, 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi' appears to be right at the centre of her narrative and in this chapter, I am proposing that through his ubiquity, her narrative and that of her daughters become marginalised. In this regard, it is important to disrupt the dominant idea that in order for her story to be told, his must be at the centre. And as I suggest throughout this thesis, the act of decentering the 'big' men of 'Zulu' historiography (such as 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi') challenges the grand narrative that is 'Zulu history' to not only take into account the critical role of 'Zulu' [royal] women but the displacement of these larger-than-life historic male figures also means an interrogation of the idea of 'Zulu history' itself.

In this chapter, the title does two things. Firstly, as noted in the introductory section of this thesis, the employment of concepts from isiZulu which is not only my first language but was uMntwana uMagogo's as well is a critical part of my methodology. Often, when scholars write about the historical 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', they do so using English concepts that at times impose meanings that

3 The idea of a homogenous 'Zulu' nation is contentious. Gunner (2002), Mokoena (2011) and Buthelezi (2012) have called into question the assumption that isiZulu speakers necessarily identify with this polity.

4 Rycroft (1975/76) and Mhlambi (2015) note that she was also a sister to inkosi uMshiyeni kaDinuzulu.

are not found in isiZulu. These impositions are discussed further in this chapter and the thesis at large. Secondly, this chapter's title suggests that the central question explored in this text is who uMntwana uMagogo was or is[5] in light of male-centric nationalist discourses that dominate her narrative?

In this regard, the historical 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as post-apartheid South Africa's 'national treasure'[6] 'belongs' not just to a masculinised 'Zulu nation' but she has been woven into the country's master narrative of reconciliation and nation building (Mhlambi, 2015). This act of subsuming her history under a nationalist (be it Zulu-centric or 'post-apartheid' South Africa-centric) master narrative is symptomatic of how nationhood is not only hegemonic but it makes use of multiple forms of erasure to "dismember" women (Samuelson, 2007).

Yuval-Davis (1997), McClintock (1997), Samuelson (2007) and Gqola (2017) maintain that nationhood is gendered. In this regard, the constitution of nationhood comprises of constructing women as "bear[ers] [of] the symbolic weight of nationalism; their bodies [being]…contested sites on which national identities are erected and national unity is forged" (Samuelson, 2007: 2). As such, 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' becomes a contested site onto which the homogenised identity of the 'Zulu nation' and 'post-apartheid' South Africa is erected and forged. Moreover, as an "outstanding contribut[or] to the preservation and development of traditional music in South Africa" (see footnote 6, Chapter 2), 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' also becomes a site through which "nation-time" (McClintock, 1997: 91-92) is fixed.

---

5 I have used both past and present tense because even though 'official' historiography has framed 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' within a particular epoch (e.g. the twentieth-century), her practice as a composer, performer, instrumentalist, imbongi and custodian of indigenous knowledges (that go beyond the Zulu clan) demonstrates that she drew from knowledges that precede and transcend this period. The fact that 21st century scholars, artists, writers, musicians, performers and such continue to draw from those knowledges illustrates her relevance in the contemporary world. The most notable example of her pertinence in the 21st century is the production of Mzilikazi Khumalo's opera *Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu* (2002), which garnered considerable governmental and corporate support in South Africa (Mhlambi, 2015). And as recent as November 2017, musician Mbuso Khoza founded the *Princess Magogo International Music Symposium* wherein the works of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' are celebrated through song, poetry and the presentation of academic and non-academic papers. Additionally, composer, academic and cellist Thokozani Ndumiso Mhlambi's esteemed Zulu Song Cycle (2018) is inspired by the musical and poetic influences of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. In his interview with the *Mail & Guardian's* Alex Dodd, Mhlambi notes that the *Zulu Song Cycle* is "in part, a compilation of songs that draw on the spirits and cultural legacy of the KwaZulu-Natal region, with the likes of renegade singer Busi Mhlongo, Zulu classical composer, musician, singer poet Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu and epic poet Mazizi Kunene" (2018). He continues "One thing I get from Princess Magogo and Mazizi Kunene, who are both modernisers of African performance traditions, is their economy of means. Magogo sings her own dramas; she answers to herself, while she is playing ugubhu [a stringed bow and calabash instrument]" (2018). I have quoted Mhlambi at length because contrary to Zulu historiography, he frames 'Princess Magogo' as a modern subject doing work that is not incongruous with the contemporary [South] African artistic landscape. In addition, I find his conception of the historic 'Princess Magogo' interesting because he also imagines her as a speaking subject that 'answers to herself'. As such, Mhlambi affirms this thesis' idea that uMntwana uMagogo is not solely a Blackwoman who belongs to many but she belongs to herself for herself.

6 In 2003, the former President of South Africa Jacob Zuma awarded "Princess Constance Magogo Sibilile Mantithi Ngangezinye Ka Dinizulu (sic)" with The Order of Ikhamanga in Gold for "A life of prolific musical composition, and outstanding contribution to the preservation and development of traditional music in South Africa" (The Presidency Republic of South Africa, 2003). More information on this particular award is available on www.thepresidency.gov.za/national-orders/recipient/princess-constance-magogo-sibilile-mantithi-ngangezinye-ka-dinizulu-1990 (Accessed: 18 June 2018).

In "*No longer in a Future Heaven": Gender, Race and Nationalism*, McClintock refers to Tom Nairn's idea of the nation as "the modern janus" (1997: 91). That is to say that the nation as a 'modern' (which is perceived as an antithesis of the "traditional"—as seen in the citation wherein uMntwana uMagogo is a preserver and developer of the 'traditional') entity ironically looks back into a 'prehistoric' time in order to locate its modernity which is supposedly perpetually forward looking. In this regard, nationalism "presents itself both as a modern project that melts and transforms traditional attachments in favour of new identities and as a reflection of authentic cultural values culled from the depths of a presumed communal past" (Mclintock, 1997: 92). In the case of uMntwana uMagogo, the language used within the context of a 'new' (i.e. modern) democratic South Africa is one that locates her in a 'traditional' framework wherein collectivised music of yesteryear is conserved and 'developed'. In other words, nationalist discourse perpetuatues the dialectic between the 'traditional' and the 'modern'.

Okabani na lowomntwana?	Whose is that baby?
Ngowalendod(a) eMacebecebana[9]	It is [the baby] of that man who talks such a lot.[9]
Ib(e) iyabon(e) ithi kuyaphothulwa;[10]	Whenever he sees [household activities] he thinks food is coming;[10]
Phuma mntanam(i) (u) bonise phandl(e)![11]	Go out, my child, and show the outside![11]
Okabani na lowomntwana?	Whose is that baby?
Umkadad(e) uyephi na?	Our sister's husband, where has he gone?
Engasaqonywa-nj(e) uyephi na?[12]	Since he's courting no longer, where has he gone?[12]
Engenantombi-nj(e) uyephi na?	Having no girl, where has he gone?
Umkadad(e) uyephi na?	Our sister's husband, where has he gone?
Engasaqonywa-nj(e) uyephi na?[13]	Since he's courting no longer, where has he gone?[13]
Engakaganwa-nj(e) uyephi na?	Being not yet married, where has he gone?
Uyotheza yini na?	Has he gone to gather firewood?
Uyogawul(a)? uyephi na?	Has he gone to fell trees? Where has he gone?
Engasaqonywa-nj(e) uyephi na?	Since he's courting no longer, where has he gone?
Engenantombi-nj(e) uyephi na?	Having no girlfriend, where has he gone?
Wen' usemsamo, wen' usemnyango![14]	You at the back of the hut, you by the doorway![14]

The question "Okabani Na lowoMntwana?" is extrapolated from what Rycroft calls "umlolozelo" (1975/76: 45) or a "children's song" (ibid) titled *Uyephi Na*[7]. This song is included in uMntwana uMagogo's musical repertoire, in the album *The Zulu Songs of Princess Constance Magogo KaDinuzulu.* Although Rycroft translates "Uyephi Na?" as "Where has he gone?", I propose that the use of the male pronoun "he" is contentious because the expression "umkadade" which is the person that the singer/s asks about does not necessarily allude to a male figure. "Umkadade" is an amalgamation of the nouns "mka" and "dade". According to the *Scholar's Zulu Dictionary*, "u-mka" is defined as "wife of" (Dent and Nyembezi, 2009: 470)

7 See David Rycroft's article *The Zulu Bow Songs of Princess Magogo* (1976/5: 45) for the lyrics to this song.

while "u-dade" is interpreted as "sister" (ibid: 376). On the other hand, Rycroft translates "umkadade" as "our sister's husband" which is clearly in opposition to how the dictionary defines it. This is not to suggest that dictionary definitions are not contestable, however, as an isiZulu speaker myself, 'umkadade' is understood the way the it is conceived of in the *Scholar's Zulu Dictionary*.

Additionally, Rycroft's use of the possessive pronoun "our" makes one question whose voice is asking where "umkadade" is in the song. His translation suggests that this song is sung collectively and he does note that there is contention between how uMntwana uMagogo talks about this mlolozelo and how A. T. Bryant speaks about a song that is closely similar to it. Rycroft states that while Bryant claims that this song was "sung by a bride and her bridesmaids as an '***isimekezo***[8] hymn', on the second day of the marriage ceremony"; uMntwana uMagogo "considers… its use in such circumstances…very unlikely, however. She says it is specifically a song for lulling a baby to sleep on an occasion when the father is away" (1975/76: 45). In other words, this song has been interpreted in multiple ways by various people including uMntwana uMagogo herself. As such, I want to suggest that settling on "English gendered kinship categories" (Oyěwùmí, 1997: 42) limits the many possibilities in which this song may be read and heard.

Moreover, the possessive and collective pronoun "our" could possibly make sense in the context of isithembu wherein women married to the same man would refer to each other as mnawami, which alludes to a shared sisterhood that is not governed by biology. In this case, "umkadade" would be a "sister's wife" meaning, "umnawakhe" or "co-wife". Often, when I make the suggestion that this song does not only centre around a male character, the response I usually get is that the expression "Engasaqonywa na, uyephi na?" (which Rycroft translates as 'since he is courting no longer, where has he gone?') could only relate to a male character because it is only men abaqonywayo[9]. This assumption suggests two things. The first being that the phenomenon of ukuqonywa only happens to men. And the second being the idea that this relational interaction strictly happens between men and women.. This is said despite the fact that gender fluidity[10] is historically evident

8 The text is emboldened and italicised in the original text.

9 This isiZulu noun stems from the verb "qoma". In the English-Zulu, Zulu-English Dictionary, Doke et al. provide multiple definitions of this term. According to them, "qoma" means to "Choose, select, prefer" and it also means to "Choose a lover (as does a girl)" (1996: 210). On the other hand, in Isichazamazwi SesiZulu, Mpume Mbatha frames ukuqoma as "Ukuvuma kwentombi insizwa eyeshelayo" (2014: 609), which may be loosely interpreted as "A young woman accepting the advances of a young man who 'woos' her". In both Mbatha and Doke et al.'s definitions, it is clear that ukuqoma is commonly framed as something that only happens between men and women even though footnote 10 demonstrates that some isiZulu speaking communities are/were gender fluid.

10 See *Four Women, Four Chiefships: Case Studies in the Divergent Choices and Negotiations With Power of Amakhosikazi in Nineteenth-Century Natal* (Jackson, 2014). In this text Eva Jackson proposes that in nineteenth century Natal, there were isiZulu speaking communities that had

in the lives of isiZulu speakers. In this regard, I propose that there are numerous ways in which this song may be interpreted. And this contention around translation is important because it highlights the complexities of translating from indigenous African languages to English—a point that I emphasise throughout this thesis. In the context of "Uyephi Na?", it is evident that because Rycroft is using English as his primary point of reference, he imposes this language's gendered classificatory framework to uMntwana uMagogo's music repertoire.

I have included the line "Okabani Na LowoMntwana?" in this chapter's title as a playful literary device through which the relationship between ideas of belonging, uMntwana uMagogo's identity or identities and isizwe may be explored. Rycroft rightly translates this line as "Whose is that baby?" (1975/76: 42). As stated in the introduction of this thesis, the noun "mntwana" is commonly understood to mean baby or child (Dent and Nyembezi, 2009: 499). However, in the context of the 'Zulu' royal family and this thesis, "Mntwana" (with a capitalised "M" in this thesis) refers to a person of royal descent (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1966: 208, Dent and Nyembezi, 2009: 499). That is to say that this line may be understood to mean "To whom does this person of royal descent belong?" or since the person of royal descent is identified in this thesis, this expression may be read as "To whom does uMntwana uMagogo belong?"

This question is asked with the idea that the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is often assumed to 'belong' to the 'Zulu nation'. In this regard, she, as a prominent member of the 'Zulu' royal family is often understood to be a product of a history that centres not only around Zuluness but Shaka-centricity[11]. Moreover, in the

---

women who were identified as 'honorary males' and 'female chiefs' (2014). Interestingly, she cites a 'Zulu' royal 'woman' that is commonly referred to as 'Princess Mkabayi kaJama'—who is also popularly represented as inkosi uShaka's cunning aunt in 'Zulu' historiography. Jackson notes that izibongo of 'Princess Mkabayi kaJama' include the use of a male epithet which she regrettably does not identify (ibid). However, in *The Royal Women of the Zulu Monarchy-through the Keyhole of Oral History: Princess Mkabayi KaJama* (c. 1750- c. 1843), Maxwell Shamase (2014) affirms Jackson's assertions. Shamase states "…She [Princess Mkabayi kaJama] shunned marriage and played an active role in the nurturing of the 'Zulu' monarchy. She was regarded as being a prince, not a princess, and was accordingly addressed as Baba by all her subjects and her nephews who became the powerful rulers of the 'Zulu' nation […] As a result, we find Mkabayi's praises being very similar in content to the large body of praises that were composed in honour of men and that she displayed qualities that were highly regarded among them as opposed to women" (2014: 21). While Shamase acknowledges the gender fluidity found in izibongo of uMntwana uMkabayi, it is ironical that he continues to frame her as 'Princess' even though he claims that uMntwana uMkabayi was formally recognised as baba which means father. It is also interesting to note how he re-inscribes western logic in his insistence of re-imagining uMntwana uMkabayi as a 'Prince'. As I have argued in the introduction, gendered English kinship categories such as 'Prince' are not easily transposable into the context of isiZulu speakers. The term 'baba' signals an identity that goes beyond royalty. As I suggested earlier, it is a gendered noun that is invoked in relation to fatherhood. Therefore, I submit that to merely substitute 'baba' with 'prince' is inadequate. In addition, although the focus of my study is not on izibongo of Women in the 'Zulu' monarchy, this subject is worth deep study and reflection. Even though Shamase has undertaken this critical scholarly task, it is necessary to think about how one may rethink the deconstruction of izibongo through the use of isiZulu. I say this because Shamase's use of English evidently limits him as he finds himself re-inscribing what he is critiquing. Moreover, it is perhaps worth investigating how a Black feminist methodology with its critical consideration of the plurality of identity in the lives of Blackwomen may offer more nuance to the subject.

11 See Mazisi Kunene's seminal *Emperor Shaka the Great:A Zulu Epic* (2017) wherein he locates the emergence of 'Zulu' nationalism within a Shakan context—a historiographical praxis that Mbongiseni Buthelezi interrogates in his PhD thesis which focuses on the histories of

context of post-1994 South Africa wherein "rainbow nationalism" (Mhlambi, 2015: 294) is hegemonic, she is to a certain degree framed as an exemplary historical national figure or "national woman" (Mhlambi, 2015: 295) who embodies the 'new' country's ideals of national unity—a key characteristic of nationalism.

As demonstrated in this chapter's title, the term 'isizwe' is used instead of 'nation'. This choice is informed by the fact that the idea of a 'nation' is not only Europeanised but it is a point of robust contention in scholarship that explores the genesis of nationalism (Anderson, 1983; Bhabha 1990). In addition, my choice to use 'isizwe' instead of 'nation' is also influenced by the idea that it is through nationhood that space is dermacated into nation-states wherein institutionalised bureaucratic tools such as borders are created and maintained to exclude individuals or groups of people that do not fit neatly into ideas of citizenship and nationality. Although the term isizwe is typically reduced to only mean 'nation' (Dent and Nyembezi, 2009: 583), it may be used to refer to a "people" (ibid) that function under a polity that is not necessarily informed by a European conception of nationhood.

Nomathamsanqa Cynthia Tisani's *Continuity and Change in Xhosa Historiography During the Nineteenth Century: An Exploration Through Textual Analysis* asserts that the interpretation of 'isizwe' and 'izizwe' (plural for isizwe) as 'nation' and 'nations' is a modern phenomenon (2002: 156, footnote 127). Tisani claims that in the mid-nineteenth century these two terms (commonly used in IsiNguni which predominantly comprises of languages such as isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiSwati and isiNdebele) may have functioned to refer any political entity that was independent. She goes on to suggest that J. B. Peires' idea (as seen in *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence*, 1981: 196, footnote

---

pre-'Zulu' kinship identities that were later subsumed under 'Zulu' hegemony in 1820 (2012). In this Shaka-centric text, Kunene affirms inkosi uShaka as "the great military genius, the great political organizer [and] the great visionary" (2017: xxxvi) who single-handledly established the notorious 'Zulu nation' that has captured the imagination of many. He boldly states "Few African rulers have been highlighted and made into legend as much as Shaka on the 'Zulus'. This is not only because of his own qualities as a warrior king but his genius as a military strategist of consummate quality. Shaka transformed the society and thinking of the whole central and southern Africa. In little more than ten years he had imprinted his political and military ideas in the vast region of southern Africa and prepared the regions for later confrontations with the invading whites. Shaka is perhaps the last of the heroic figures of past African history" (2017: xviii). In addition, Biko's *Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity* positions inkosi uShaka as a "Great nation-builder" (2017: 105). In this regard, inkosi uShaka is not only represented as the founding father of 'Zulu' nationalism—as seen in Ntongela Masilela's assertion that "Shaka is remembered in South African history for his genius as a Nation-Builder who created the Zulu nation" (2017: xvi); but he is also framed as a figure whose influence goes beyond the shores of South Africa. In fact, Masilela who writes the foreword to Kunene's text cites Jordan Kush Ngubane who proposes that the "development of the idea of Pan-Africanism by the New Negro scholar W.E.B. Du Bois in 1900, the founding of the African National Congress by the New African political leader Pixley ka Isaka Seme in 1912, the launching of Inkatha Freedom Party by Gatsha Buthelezi after the Soweto Rebellion of 1976, were the expression of the legacy of Shaka's process of Nation Building: Du Bois and Seme could be regarded as heirs and descendants of this paradigm" (ibid). In other words, inkosi uShaka has been conceived of as a ruler who espoused the philosophies of pan-Africanism and African nationalism. The evidently grand manner in which he has been historicised highlights how central inkosi uShaka is in 'Zulu' historiography. And interestingly, inkosi uShaka's looming presence may be felt in the exploration of Figure 31-33 in this chapter. Therefore, it is critical to disentangle the narrative of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' from this 'Zulu' royal androcentrism.

6) that isizwe is used to mean clan and chiefdom is disputable. In her explanation of what constitutes isizwe, she states

> There is a difference in the use of the word *isizwe*[12]. In the narrow sense the word is used to refer to a clan, an exogamous group that claims to descend from one ancestor. In such a context the word isizwe emphasizes the autonomy of a clan in relation to other clans. This is usually noted in religious contexts. Isizwe under inkosi is a politically independent unit that is separate from other izizwe, with different iinkosi.. (2000: 90, footnote 121).

Although Tisani is speaking specifically about isiXhosa speakers, her observations are in line with similar assertions made by isiZulu speaking writers Nyembezi and Nxumalo. They affirm that isizwe and izizwe[13] are "Abantu abaphethwe yinkosi eyodwa" (1966: 307) which may be translated as "People under the rulership of a particular inkosi". In this regard, when I speak of isizwe, I am referring to Tisani, Nyembezi and Nxumalo's definitions. The idea of isizwe is particularly important in the context of this chapter because despite the British colonial state's refusal to formally recognise inkos' uDinuzulu kaCetshwayo as the king of Zululand (Mokoena, 2011: 128), some isiZulu speakers in Zululand and Natal[14] continued to identify him as inkosi. In other words, the isizwe in the form of isiZulu speakers that acknowledged him as inkosi did not subscribe to the British colonial state's notion of nationhood and kingship. As illustrated in this chapter, I use the term inkosi) in order to establish a distinction between a European conception of kingship and isiZulu speakers' idea of ubukhosi.

And as discussed earlier, in this chapter, I will be focusing on how two photographs sourced from Ben Temkin's *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman* (1972) and Ruth Gordon's *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction* (1988) represent the multiplicity of uMntwana uMagogo's identity. I am particularly interested in these historic texts because they include photographs that have been and continue to be invoked in the public imaginary in reference to the 'big' nation woman that is 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. And although the image in Temkin's text is not as popular or as easily recognisable as the one included in Gordon's book, its prior appearance in a widely known newspaper makes it an iconic image.

---

12 Italics in the original text.

13 Nyembezi and Nxumalo also note that the term 'izizwe' does not only refer to "Abantu abaphethwe yinkosi eyodwa" but it can also mean "ufufunyane" which is a form of mental illness. However, Dent and Nyembezi define 'izizwe' as "insanity; evil spirits" (2009: 583).

14 A British colony that was established in 1843 (Erlmann, 1999).

Rememorying 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'

In this subsection, I use Toni Morrison's idea of rememory (2007) to explore how the reproduction of uMntwana uMagogo's photographs in the public domain not only illustrates the many identities that she represented in her life but the ways in which those identities have been re-membered through photography.

In Toni Morrison's novel *Beloved* (2007: 43), a conversation takes place between two Blackwomen who are mother and daughter. Denver the daughter asks Sethe her mother "What were you talking about?" (ibid) Sethe retorts, "You won't understand baby" (ibid). Denver responds, "Yes, I will" (ibid) and Sethe replies,

> I was talking about time. Some things go. Pass on. Some things just stay. I used to think it was my rememory. You know. Some things you forget. Other things you never do. But it's not. Places, places are still there. If a house burns down, it's gone, but the place—the picture of it—stays, and not just in my rememory, but out there in the world. What I remember is a picture floating around out there outside my head. I mean, even if I don't think it, even if I die, the picture of what I did, or knew, or saw is still out there. Right in the place where it happened (ibid).

Denver asks "Can other people see it?" (ibid) And Sethe says,

> Oh, yes. Oh, yes, yes, yes. Someday you will be walking down the road and you hear something or see something going on. So clear. And you think it's you thinking it up. A thought picture. But no. It's when you bump into a rememory that belongs to somebody else (ibid)

I have quoted Morrison's novel at length in order to capture the complexity of the idea of rememorying. As illustrated in the citation above, rememorying is an act of remembering in a context where the sequence of time (be it linear or non-linear) imposes a form of forgetfulness which the mind, body and spirit resists in significant ways. Rememory also appears to be a place where the image of something or someone that has physically disappeared continues to live. I link the mind, body and spirit because Sethe states that it is also outside one's mind that the picture has a life. And not even death can stop this image from being. The body may be gone but the aura or the seriti/isithunzi (to borrow from Santu Mofokeng's conception of a photographic image) of the image remains out there without the physical presence of the person with the rememory. Sethe also seems to suggest that the space in which something happens is important because the space in itself

becomes a repository of things that stay or do not stay in the rememory. In other words, the space always remembers even without the rememory that is linked to a person or people. This notion of space as a repository of what is remembered and unremembered in the rememory is reminiscent of how South Africa's colonial, slavery and apartheid legacies prevail despite rainbow nationalist discourses that aim to create a collective picture of national unity and freedom.

Rememorying as a concept is fundamental because it allows one to think about how histories of people, places and things that have 'burned down' like the house in Beloved are remembered. In *The Evidence of Things Not Photographed: Slavery and Historical Memory in the British West Indies* (2011), Krista Thompson observes that Morrison's idea of rememory, "characteriz[es] […] the way the traumatic experiences of the past maintain a living presence with the world of slaves and their descendants" (2011: 57).

Although my use of 'rememory' is not particularly linked to slave memory, I am interested in Thompson's proposal of an undying remembrance which may also be seen in Peterson's idea of stubborn memory (2002). In the case of this thesis, the idea of rememory (as captured through Sethe) has prompted me to ask what it means when a house in the form of a historic person has been consumed by the proverbial fire and yet their picture stays in the rememory?

In the context of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', the rememory of her means asking how she is remembered in light of the fire that is time (that threatens to foster forgetfulness) and her literal disappearance in the form of her eventual death in 1984. And interestingly, as much as Sethe is referring to an intangible picture that floats in unnamed places she calls "out there in the world" and "out there", the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' has literal images that do not aimlessly float in an unidentifiable place (albeit in the realm of the world in one sense), rather her images (in the form of literal photographs and master narratives that surround her) are carefully curated and directed to exist within a space wherein larger-than-life historic people go. Her pictures live in books, newspapers and on the internet which may be read as Sethe's "out there" since data on the web lives in space, floating, roaming and endlessly migrating. However, in the existence of these pictures through places "out there [in the world]", much is forgotten and much is gone as seen in Sethe's description of her experience of rememorying.

My close reading will begin with an image that has been widely used as a form of remembering the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. As stated earlier, I am interested in how the images in this chapter offer multiple ways in which the

historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' may be remembered. And I emphasise the importance of the 'many-ness' of this woman's faces in order to serve this thesis's larger objective to reimagine 'Zulu' historiography's conceptions of her. And this act of subversion is done not only as a way to look at her in more nuanced ways but it is also to highlight how women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's narratives remain hidden from rememory through the telling of her story as a larger-than-life historic figure. However, in this chapter, I propose that unlike the character Sethe who cannot remember through the passage of time, the forgetfulness around women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's narratives is methodical and systemic. As I have illustrated throughout this thesis, 'Zulu' historiography has methodically represented 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' in limited ways. Additionally, I have demonstrated how the telling of her master narrative has resulted in the systemic marginalisation of women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's histories.

Figure 19 is a visual representation of how the aforementioned forms of erasure are perpetuated. Below is the cover of Ruth Gordon's *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction*. Paradoxically, this book features the narrative and image of 'Princess Constance Magogo (mother of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi)'. Gordon dedicates the book to "all women of Natal and Zululand" and yet the illustration in Figure 21 only represents white womanhood in its multiplicity. Right at the pinnacle is the white settler mother with child and right below her is the settler woman by herself (i.e. without child) and below that appears a seemingly younger and less conservative looking white woman and right at the bottom is the university educated white woman with her graduation gown and her books that carry the "history of Natal". This image makes it clear that to speak of women of Natal is to speak of white womanhood. And so the question remains, if this book is dedicated to "all women" then where are the women that do not fall into the idealised image of the 'woman of Natal'? It is also interesting how the image of the family woman is right at the top while the educated woman is placed at the bottom corner of the book cover. This positioning seems to suggest that there is a dichotomy between motherhood and education. And to be educated seems to mean to turn one's back from where one seems to come from (as seen in the literal turning back of the woman with the graduation gown).

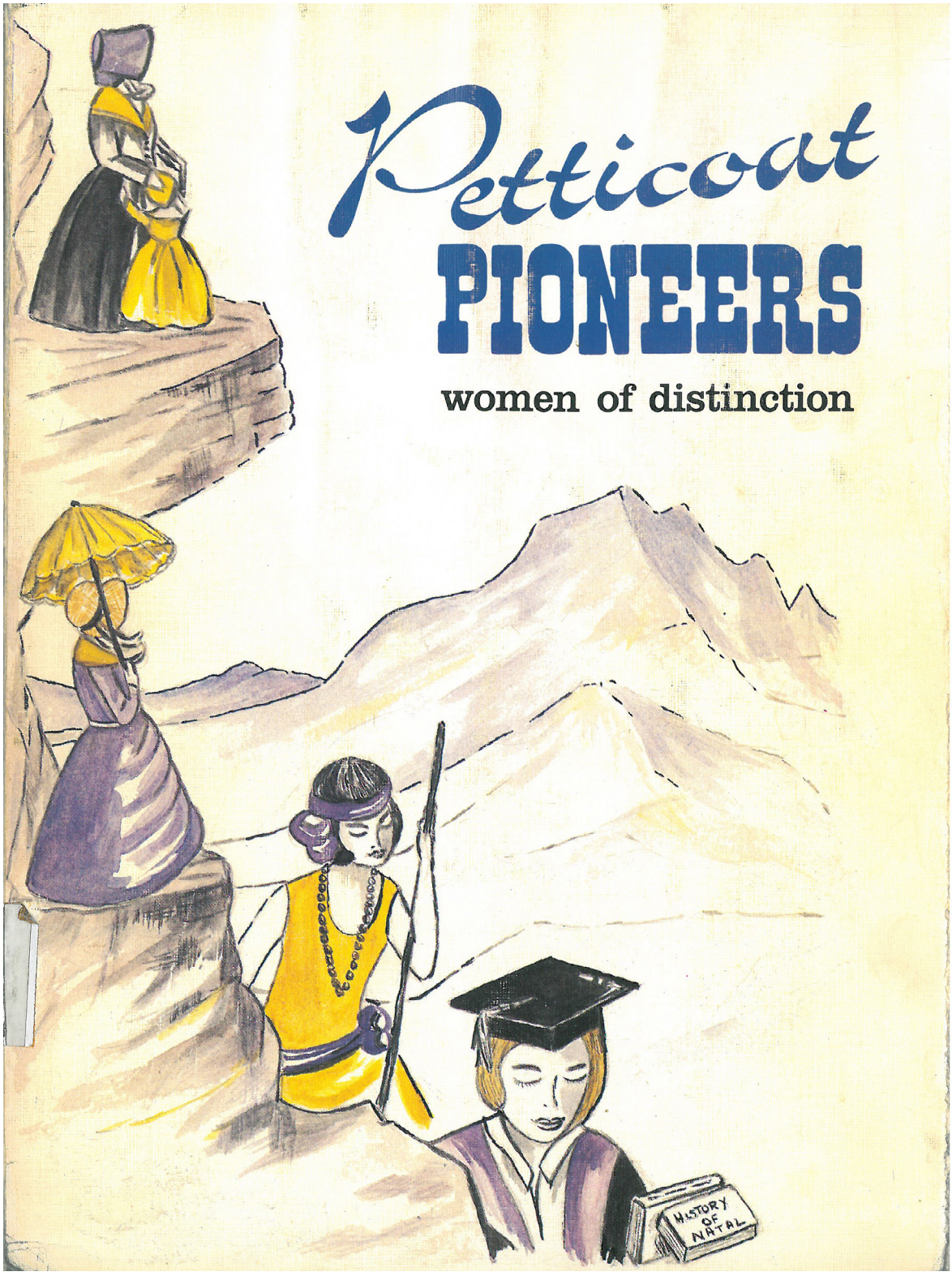


Figure 19. 1988. Cover of *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction* (Gordon, R). Cover illustration by Mrs K. Skinstad of Uvongo Women's Institute.

In this image, the white woman in her multi-dimensionality takes stock of unoccupied land, which is a trope perpetuated through 'official' historiography to justify the dispossession of land from black people by colonisers. It is only the settler mother and settler woman without child that are ironically 'settled' on mountain tops that the viewer may assume are located in the colony of Natal. In this image I find it quite telling that the illustration places the settler right at the peak wherein they look over land that they will not simply settle in but land that will forcibly occupy. Instead of indigenous peoples of that land being on mountaintops, it is them that scan and gaze at land devoid of people of that land. In fact, the mountains are the colour of the women themselves. And yet mountains are known to be brown like the colour of the indigenous people of the land that became 'Natal' through colonisation. The mountains also take on the colours of the outfits worn by these women. In other words, there is a seamless relationship between white womanhood and land. It is the young, non-conservative, educated white women that are not placed on mountaintops as pedestals and yet their whiteness still locates them at the centre of this visual narrative while women that look like uMntwana uMagogo are nowhere near this scene.

In speaking about the women she dedicates the book to, Gordon quotes Ecclesiasticus which is a biblical book only found in early versions of the King James Bible. In her book, Gordon cites Ecclesiasticus 44: 7 which states 'All these were honoured in their generations and were the glory of their times'. Although the bible's year of publication is not made clear, Gordon evidently chose this verse as a way to suggest that the women featured in her book are honourable and glorious as seen in the generations referred to in the bible. And as captured by the book's title, the phrase "women of distinction" suggests that these women were considered exceptional women of the time. And this exceptionalism is seen in Mrs Ann Cadman's foreword written on 24 December 1987 wherein she states

> These are pen-sketches of women who are notable for their contribution to the communities they have lived in and to their efforts in their advancement of their own fields of interests and activities. Women who came here in the early pioneering days brought with them the influences of the older European cultures and the impetus of emerging feminism. Unsupressed by the inhibitions of primitive conditions they threw a rope to progress and in following it pulled along with them countless others in their path to a more enlightened future […]

> This is a book about women who have had the inspiration and drive to extend the boundaries of the status quo, where others have been content to confine their activities to maintaining acceptability within the contemporary milieu. We are more easily able to appreciate the exceptional achievements of the women of our time, but it is a pleasurable task for the imagination to appreciate the conditions our forebears contended with to achieve what they did. We are always pioneers, in differently structured territories, in the battle against ignorance and the prevailing environment's inequalities and imbalances (cited in Gordon, 1988).

It is worth citing Cadman's foreword at length because it emphasises how Blackwomen in the form of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' are at the margins of this colonial feminist text which aims to centre white women. This relegation affirms Sojourner Truth's idea that the category "woman" is one that has historically excluded Blackwomen. In her speech titled *Ain't I Woman* (1851), Truth proposes that it is through white normativity that an invocation of anti-Black womanhood is naturalised. Cadman's invocation of feminist politics is critical because it highlights why it is that Blackwomen have advocated for feminisms that centre their experiences as racialised beings in the world[15]. In other words, it is possible for white women to speak of a feminist agenda while being oppressive towards women that do not fit their ideas of what constitutes womanhood. The foreword above is a good example of how white dominated feminism relegates Blackwomen to a status of inferiority.

In the foreword above, white womanhood is associated with enlightenment, progress, exceptionalism, pioneering and the antithesis of what Cadman refers to as 'ignorance' brought on by existing in "differently structured territories". These territories appear to be the places that European women 'settled' in (e.g. Natal). And it is clear that Cadman frames this book as a text that centres around what she refers to as "women of Natal". That is to say that the European women who were part of the British colonial enterprise took on the identity of being women of the colony of Natal. In this regard, these women were implicated in the colonial project wherein black people were treated as the Other. It is in their pursuit of Europeanised feminism that women such as uMntwana uMagogo are subsumed under the grand narrative of the white woman as saviour.

---

15 Hazel Carby affirms the racialisation of Blackwomen. In her text she states "The fact that black women are subject to the simultaneous oppression of patriarchy, class, and "race" is the prime reason for not employing parallels that render their position and experience not only marginal but also invisible" (1982: 111).

Although the title of the book suggests that all women in the book are pioneers (albeit in petticoats), it is clear through Cadman's writing that the real 'pioneers' are the women who came from Europe to South Africa during what she calls the "pioneering days". Her tone is nostalgic as she reminisces about European culture of yesteryear that continued to be inculcated in what she calls the contemporary milieu.

And as much as it is critical to look at the content within Gordon's book, it is equally critical to explore how the visuality of the cover of the book perpetuates patriarchy. When one looks carefully at the book cover's fonts, there is a underlying gendered ideology at work. The use of distinctly different fonts in the expression "petticoat pioneers" emphasises how the idea of pioneering is associated with hypermasculinity while the undergarment that is the petticoat is associated with western ideals of femininity. The font used for the term "pioneers" is reminiscent of Hollywood cow boy films wherein thick bleeding fonts (similar to the one in the cover) fill the screen while gun toting, cow boy hat wearing, white men with thatched grass between their teeth saunter through saloon doors in preparation for showdowns. And the lightness of the stroke of the paint brush like font used for the phrase "petticoat" appears to communicate the delicacy of this often over-feminised piece of clothing.

I propose that it is no coincidence that it is the idea of the pioneer that takes on a font that has been widely used in films that perpetuate patriarchal notions of masculinity. Equally, the font used to represent the petticoat as a garment understood to be worn by women, is intentional. In other words, the pioneers in this book are not only gendered class of people but they are framed as a group of women that symbolise western conceptions of femininity. And this form of femininity may be seen in the kind of photographs that are included in this publication.

Unlike the photographs discussed in chapter one, the images presented in Gordon's book are formal portraits that read as classical portrait paintings. And the way in which 'Princess Constance Magogo (mother of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi)' is visually presented in this book falls within formal studio portraiture (see Figure 20 and 21) that is reminiscent of the aforementioned classical portrait paintings wherein the portrait could be "concerned with likeness as contained in a person's physical features" or it can "represent the subject's social position or 'inner life', such as their character or virtues" or it may "probe the uniqueness of an individual in a way that sets the sitter apart from his or her context" (West, 2004: 21). In addition, these images reflect Ernst van Alphen's conception of the photographic

portrait in *The Portrait's Dispersal: Concepts of Representation and Subjectivity in Contemporary Portraiture* (1997). In this text, van Alphen speaks of the pictorial genre of portraiture as one that "doubly cherishes the cornerstone of bourgeois western culture" (1997: 239). He continues,

> The uniqueness of the individual and his or her accomplishments is central in that culture. And in the portrait, originality comes in twice. The portrait is highly esteemed as a genre because, according to the standard view, in a successful portrait the viewer is not only confronted with the 'original', 'unique' subjectivity of the portrayer, but also of that of a portrayed (ibid).

In other words, Figure 20 and 21 are not just re-presentations of the physical features of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' but these portraits also communicate particular ideas about her social standing and inner qualities; and they epitomise her subjectivity as a 'sitter' and a Zulu royal woman. Furthermore, despite the anonymity of the photographer, Figure 20 and 21 also captures their subjectivity. I propose that Gordon's selection of this particular portrait—which is devoid of an environment that may situate or locate 'Princess Constance Magogo (mother of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi)' within a particular spatial context¬—is deliberate in its emphasis of her status as a prominent member of the Zulu royal family and a widely celebrated all-round artist.

I posit that this image—in its multiple reproduced forms—has been chosen in order to align with the aesthetics of the book wherein monochromatic formal portraiture is dominant. Although the book includes photographs that do not necessarily adhere to this genre of photography, many images in this publication qualify as formal black and white studio portraiture. These portraits depict mostly white women as sitters either looking off into the distance as though they are unaware that a camera is in their presence or posing with a confrontational gaze that disrupts the invisible fourth wall between the 'subject' and the spectator. Additionally, there are a number of images of women with communities of people that are either family or colleagues in the work they are celebrated for in the book. And not all the images in this book are photographs. Some are illustrations, while others are tapestries.

As demonstrated in Figure 20, uMntwana uMagogo is presented as a princess and the mother to a son whose identity as a doctor with an honorary doctorate of law (1976) from the University of Zululand seems critical. And unlike other narratives in

She has sung under prominent conductors at Sadlers' Wells and Covent Garden and made a name for herself internationally for her rendering of Wagnerian arias.

She returned to South Africa in 1963 and has been the leading soprano for the Performing Arts. She has done numerous broadcast programmes.

R. E. GORDON

PRINCESS CONSTANCE MAGOGO

(Mother of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi)

Princess Constance was the daughter of King Dinizulu and Queen Silomo. Her father was exiled to St Helena and her mother and another wife of her father Queen Zihlazile went into exile with him. Two of her brothers King Solomon Maphumzana Ka Dinizulu and Prince Arthur Edward Mshiyeni Ka Dinizulu were born on the island of St Helena during their parents' stay there in exile. Princess Constance Magogo Sibilile Mantithi Ngangezinye Thombisile was born at the turn of the century during the Anglo-Boer War after her father returned from exile. She lived at different times in some of her father's Royal Residences as child and adult. These were Nobamba, Osuthu, Zibindini, Mahashini and Kwadlamahlahla. She had her primary education at Nkonjeni Anglican School. She was confirmed by Bishop Vyvyan and married the late Chief Mathole Buthelezi in 1926.



Princess Magogo

235

Figure 20. Photograph of uMntwana uMagogo reproduced in *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction* (Gordon, 1988). Photographer, year and place of capture undocumented. Caption presumably by the author of article: "Princess Magogo".



Figure 21. uMntwana uMagogo. Photographer, year and place undocumented.

the book, the written story of this historic woman takes on the tone of an obituary. This makes sense considering how a footnote in the book notes that the text about uMntwana uMagogo or the historic woman framed as 'Princess Constance Magogo (mother of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi)' has been sourced from the obituary section of the *London Times* (4 December 1984). In other women's narratives in the book, poetic prose may be found, while the text in Figure 22 is a recollection or should I say a summary of momentous events that took place in the life of the historic 'Princess Constance Magogo (mother of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi)'.

As stated throughout this thesis, the idea that the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is publicly noted as being a mother only to a son[16] is indicative of the prevalence of patriarchy in history making. Throughout this thesis, I keep emphasising that uMntwana uMagogo was also the mother of daughters that are often unacknowledged except in a limited number of texts. Although the title of this obituary has the words "mother of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi" parenthesised, the text written by 'Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi' does note that "She gave birth to a daughter Princess Morgina Phikabesho in 1931 and a son died in infancy in 1940 and another daughter was born in 1942" (Buthelezi cited in Gordon, 1988: 236). And as much as one daughter's name is noted, the name of the uMntwana uAdmara Phokunani Vilakazi (née Buthelezi) is not mentioned.

Moreover, the idea that the historic 'Princess Constance Magogo (mother of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi)' is framed as a child (in Figure 20) is interesting because uMntwana uMagogo as a widely historicised figure is often catapulted into big historic womanhood as though she was never born a child with childlike qualities. And when her childhood is discussed, her story is often told with an 'against all odds' heroism where she is confronted with a world riddled with malicious old Blackwomen that threaten her livelihood. And paradoxically, people who write this

16 Interestingly, Makhosazana Xaba's *Tongues of their Mothers* (2008) underscores how 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi' has been a central character in the master narrative of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. In this poem, Xaba advances the displacement of his dominant presence in the story of this historic woman. Xaba (2008) recites:

> I wish to write an epic poem about Princess Magogo Constance Zulu,
> one that will be silent on her son, Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
> It will focus on her music and the poetry in it,
> the romance and the voice that carried it through us.

Xaba's words are compelling because instead of singularising 'Princess Magogo Constance Zulu', she connects her to a larger community that she calls 'us'. In this context, the 'us' is an invocation of Xaba's identity as a Blackwoman who is also imbongi like 'Princess Magogo Constance Zulu'. The collective nature of the pronoun 'us' also suggests that Xaba acknowledges the many Blackwomen that have been repositories of the music (poetry and the romance contained within it) of 'Princess Magogo Constance Zulu'. Additionally, the presupposition 'through' in the expression "carried it through us" (2008) alludes to an infinite temporality that connects 'Princess Magogo Constance Zulu' and many Blackwomen who lived during her time and beyond. Furthermore, Xaba's choice to deliberately inject the predominant space that 'Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi' occupied with the artistic practices of 'Princess Magogo Constance Zulu' is an indication of how for Xaba, absence is not a place of hindrance, rather it is one of activity and growth. By repositioning 'Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi' in the grand narrative of 'Princess Magogo Constance Zulu', Xaba sees an opportunity to make 'Zulu' royal womanhood more visible.

story also note that it is these very same women that taught uMntwana uMagogo all that she knew about music and indigenous knowledge she is widely celebrated for. In other words, without trivialising uMntwana uMagogo's childhood traumas wherein "she was often dealt with severely by other wives of her father" (Buthelezi cited in Gordon 1988: 236), it is critical to address how important it is that these old women are represented in their multiplicity.

It is also interesting to note that while old Blackwomen in uMntwana uMagogo's life are vilified, when she becomes an old woman herself, she is depicted as a self-sacrificial woman who renounces her own desires for the welfare of izizwe (i.e. the Buthelezi and the 'Zulu' clans). The above childhood narrative is similar to popularised Euro-American fairy tales wherein old women are painted as villains who are after the youthfulness and promise that young women and girls represent. And I draw this parallel because this narrative not only pits old women against young women and girls but it also flattens the complexity that old Blackwomen embody. The dynamism carried by old Blackwomen is demonstrated in uMntwana uMagogo's life as an old Blackwoman herself.

Figure 20-22 illustrates the multiplicity of uMntwana uMagogo's identity as an old Blackwoman who had agency. Although I speak of Figure 20-22 as though they are separate images, it is critical to note that these are simply varying manifestations of the same image. One might ask why I have insisted on including Figure 20 if it can already be seen in its monochromatic form in Figure 21? As suggested in my methodology, the manner in which photographs are selected and organised is not a superficial exercise. The size of an image, its placement in a text and its relationship with other images which it may be intentionally or unintentionally juxtaposed with critically influences how the spectator reads the image in question. In fact, it is possible for a spectator to not even notice an image because of its location. In this regard, I propose that the miniature size of the photograph in Figure 20 renders it an appendage to the written text. I emphasise the idea of the written because a photograph may be read as a critical text albeit a visual one.

Although Gordon's book at large does not reflect on the photographs included except for short captions, the mere fact that these images have been featured means that there is an understanding of the importance of seeing the faces of historic figures. And as much as my argument in chapter one centres around how visuality in the form of ocularcentrism must be subverted in photographic discourse, I do not take for granted what the experience of seeing does. This is especially the case with larger-than-life historic figures which are often constructed

in super-human like fashion as though they were not everyday people. In a way, seeing images of people like this demystifies them albeit the manner in which they are often visually represented perpetuates their 'bigness'. And as stated earlier, it is no coincidence that a book which deliberately sets itself up as a document of 'women of distinction' chooses this particular portrait of uMntwana uMagogo as a representation of her 'bigness'.

And paradoxically, my choice to reproduce the photograph in Figure 20 into large images (see Figure 21 and 22) that are only bound by the margins of the page emphasises the 'bigness' of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' or in the case of Gordon's book 'Princess Constance (mother of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi)'. Although the meta data of this multifaceted portrait is not easily accessible, it remains critical to explore how this image continues to play a role in the rememory of this 'big' woman. And even though it is not clear who colourised or painted this image in Figure 22, it is interesting how popularised this image is in the world. A Google search of common names that people (who are mostly not isiZulu speakers) use to refer to uMntwana uMagogo brings forth this portrait in its multiplicity (see Figure 23-26)[17]. And interestingly the expression "uMntwana uMagogo" does not bring this image forth in the same way that the phrases "Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu", "Princess Constance Magogo" and "Princess Magogo" do.

In fact, the Google results under "uMntwana uMagogo" display isiZulu-based newspaper publications wherein her son is dominant. As suggested earlier in this thesis, the inextricability of uMntwana uMagogo's narrative from the history of her son 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi' or 'Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi' (names he is commonly known as) is not surprising, because 'Zulu' historiography has framed her life around the men in her life. And although the focus of this study is not about the workings of search engines and the politics thereof, it is worth noting how visual results of dominant search engines such as Google illustrate how contemporary representations of uMntwana uMagogo have not shifted much from those in 'official' historiography. In other words, as much as the content behind each image in Google Images may not necessarily marginalise the history of uMntwana uMagogo, I remain interested in how a visual archive in the form of search engine results communicates particular ideas.

17 Although these screenshots do not include the Google Image results in their entirety, I am interested in seeing which images are privileged in relation to uMntwana uMagogo and the many iterations her names take in historiography and in contemporary society which goes beyond South Africa.



Figure 22. uMntwana uMagogo. Photographer, colourist, year and place undocumented.

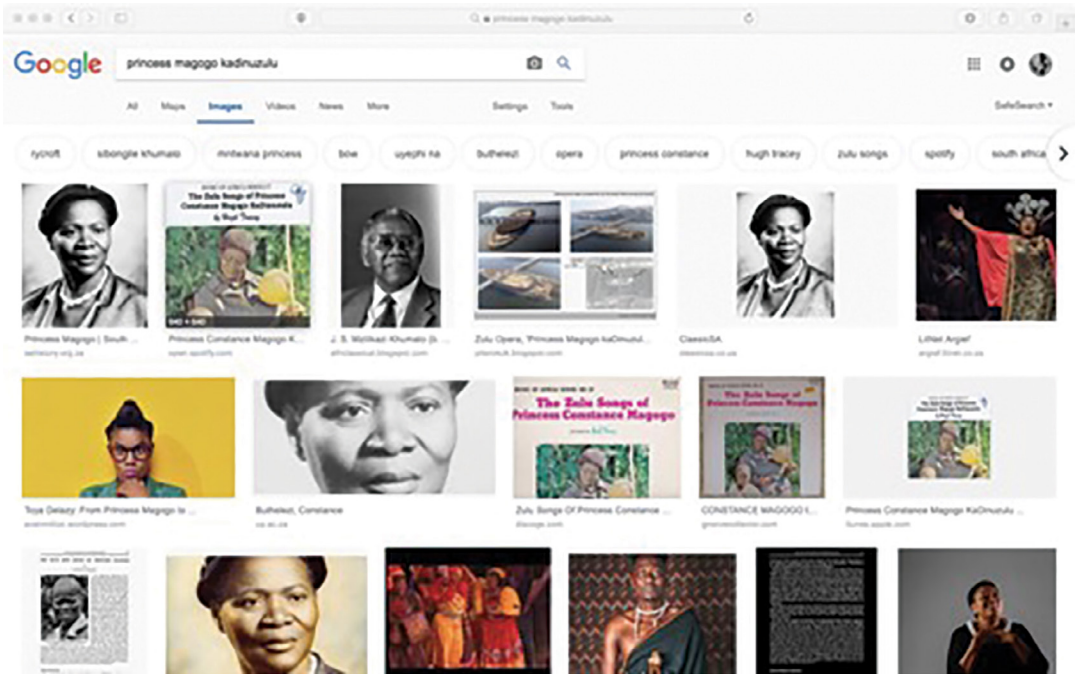


Figure 23. Screenshot of my Google search of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' captured on 28 August 2018.

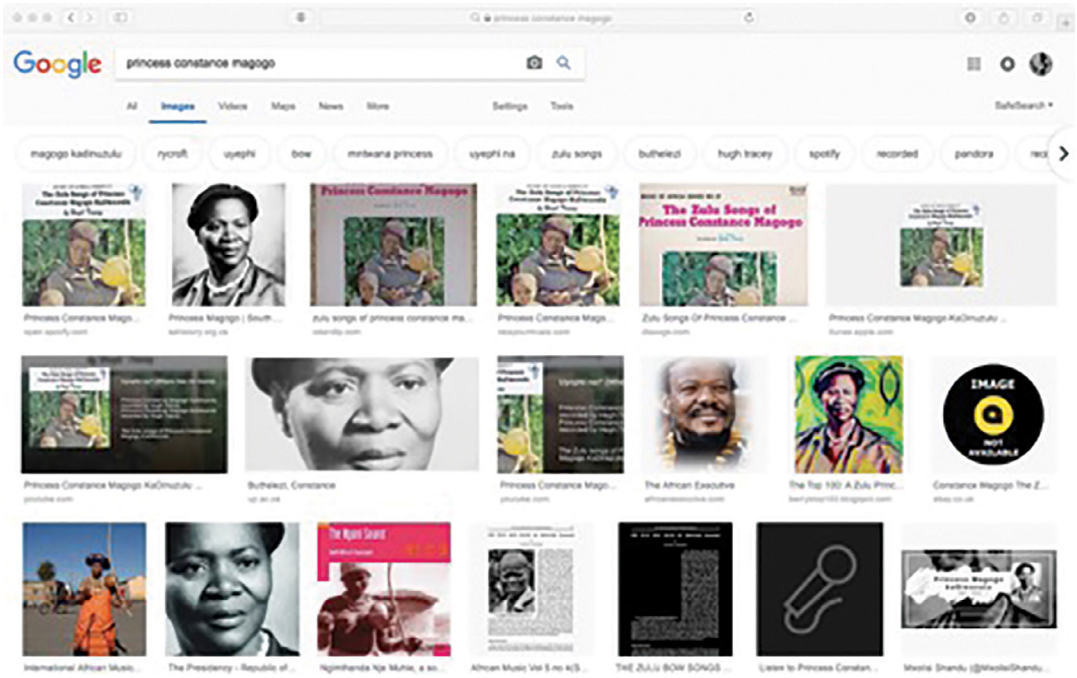


Figure 24. Screenshot of my Google search of 'Princess Constance Magogo captured on 28 August 2018 .

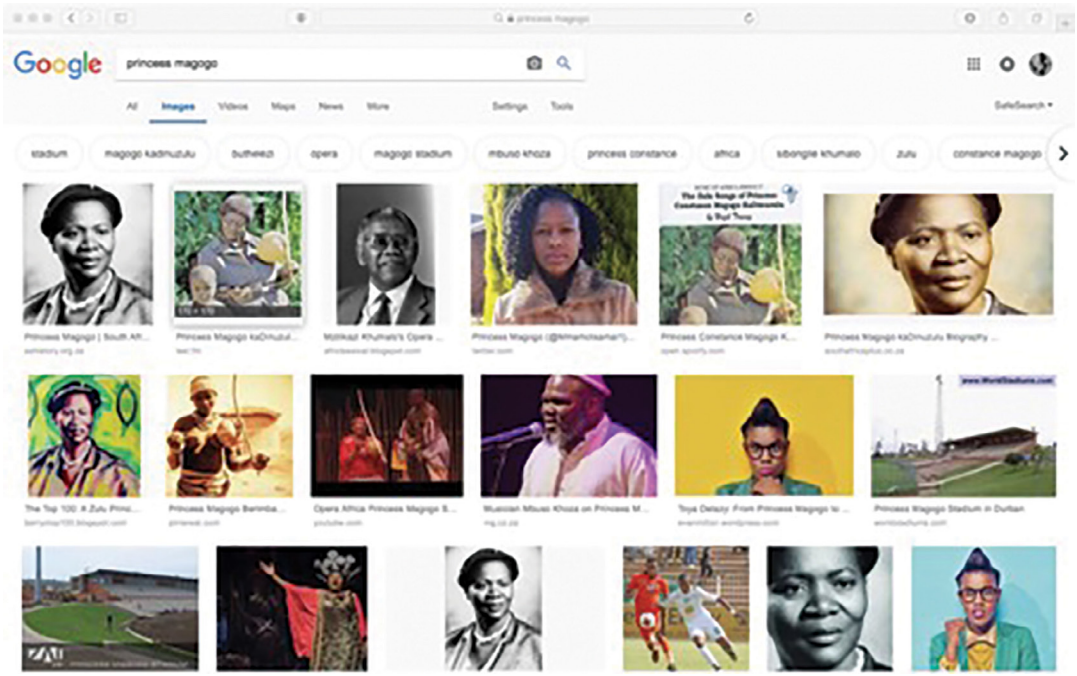


Figure 25. Screenshot of my Google search of 'Princess Magogo' captured on 28 August 2018 .

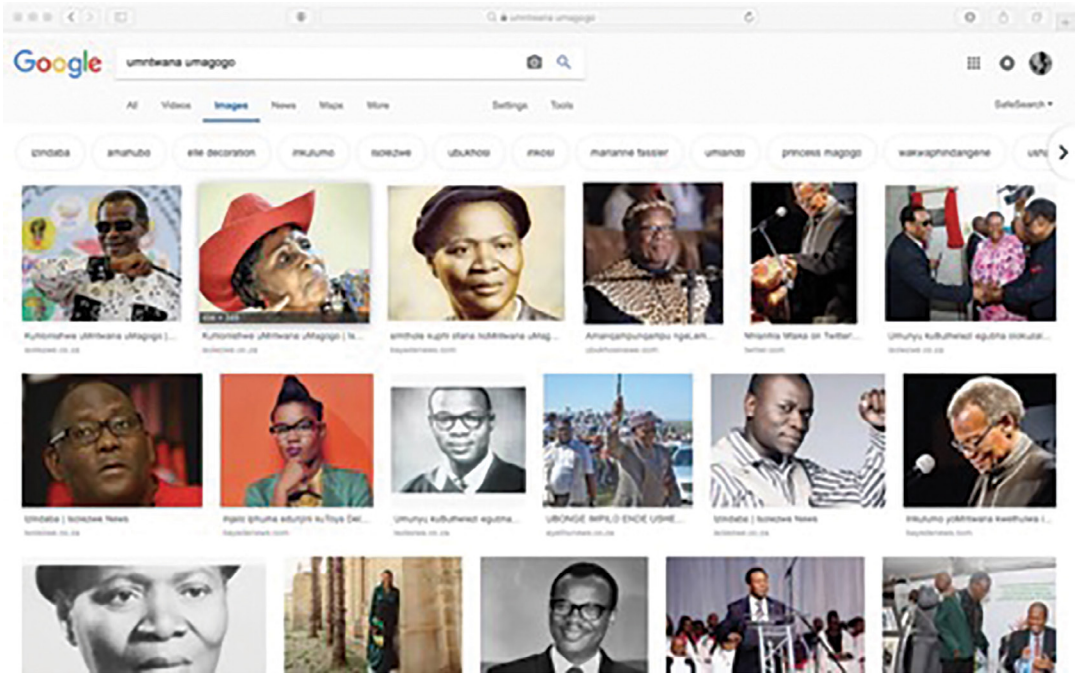


Figure 26. Screenshot of my Google search of 'uMntwana uMagogo' captured on 28 August 2018.

For instance, it is interesting how the first few images in Figure 23-26 include men that have played a central role in the telling of the story of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. Figure 23 and 25 include Professor Mzilikazi Khumalo who was commissioned by Opera Africa to compose music for the opera titled *Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu* (2002) wherein Professor Themba Msimang wrote the libretto, Michael Hankinson orchestrated the opera and the distinguished multi award-winning singer Sibongile Khumalo portrayed 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu (see Figure 27).

Classic Feel asserts that *Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu* (2002)

> Tells the princess's story using flashbacks, both historical and personal. Through this plot device we learn of the hardships of the Zulu nation during the 20th century, the return of King Dinuzulu from exile on St Helena and the Bambatha rebellion; as well as the extent of the princess's religious faith and her great love affair, which she sacrificed for the good of the Zulu nation (2009: 41).

Although this thesis does not necessarily focus on the opera, it is worth noting that the reason why Professor Mzilikazi is affiliated with 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' and 'Princess Constance Magogo' in Figure 23 and 25 is because of his involvement in the aforementioned opera.

Additionally, the presence of Mbuso Khoza in Figure 25 is as a result of his roles as the founder of the *Princess Magogo International Music Symposium* and an artist who performs compositions and songs from uMntwana uMagogo's musical repertoire. And the dominant appearance of uMntwana uMagogo's son 'Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi' is a phenomenon that is widespread in most narratives written about the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. And as stated earlier, the idea that his story and her story are treated as synonymous is symptomatic of how male figures continue to be at the centre of 'Zulu' historiography. And it is also critical to note how the invocation of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' and uMntwana uMagogo renders her mzukulu, pianist and vocalist Latoya Nontokozo Buthelezi (who is commonly known as Toya Delazy) visible. In other words, it is important that the young women in the lineage of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' are brought to the fore (as seen in uMntwana uSibuyiselwe in chapter one) through the telling of her story.

It is evident that the studio portrait in Figure 20-22 is an iconised image that finds itself in many places. Often, when the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' who is inextricably tied to homogenised ideas of nationhood is remembered, she is



Figure 27. Opera Africa. 2006. Sibongile Khumalo as Princess Magogo and Ntsikelelo Mali as Khiphakonke Ndwandwe, her love interest before marrying Chief Mathole Buthelezi. Photograph captured at the Het Muziektheater in Amsterdam.

rememoried in the form of this image. Although there is a monochromatic and a colourised version of this portrait, scholars and writers at large that have published in journals and books use the latter. Interestingly, Liz Gunner's reproduction of the black and white portrait in *A Royal Woman, an Artist, and the Ambiguities of National Belonging: The Case of Princess Constance Magogo* (2002) (see Figure 28) traces the provenance of this image to Gordon's *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction* (see Figure 19) while latter does not include any meta data except for stating that the person in the image is 'Princess Magogo'.

And as demonstrated in Gunner's reproduction of a reproduction, she chooses to re-insert the expression 'kaDinuzulu' (an idea I problematise throughout this thesis) in the caption while Gordon's book does not include it. In other words, as much as Gunner is reproducing aspects from Gordon's book, she re-inscribes her own perceptions of uMntwana uMagogo as a historic royal woman whose narrative cannot be disentangled from that of her father inkosi uDinuzulu. It is also interesting to note how in Figure 28, Gunner frames the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as a royal woman first and as an artist after (as seen in the top left corner of the image).

Gunner's reproduction of the image in Figure 21 is interesting because her version of this image visually reads like a dark photocopy with text bleeding into it. This typed text could either belong to the page before or after this image. Figure 28 may be read as a visual metaphor wherein written history is literally inscribed and imposed onto the larger-than-life image of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' "a royal woman, an artist" (Gunner, 2002).

Unlike the images in chapter one which have been captured in outdoor settings with natural light, the image in Figure 20-22 has been photographed in a studio setting wherein high key lighting has been used to highlight uMntwana uMagogo's physical features. In this image, the photographer's direction can sharply be felt through uMntwana uMagogo's posture. In this regard, the slightly strained neck, the diagonal angle of uMntwana uMagogo's torso and her controlled distant gaze is reminiscent of classic formal portraits that commonly frame the person represented in the image as a sitter. And the noun 'sitter' is inadequate because in this image, it is clear that uMntwana uMagogo does more than 'sitting'. The positioning of visual participants as sitters is limiting because the idea of 'sitting' gives the impression that the person in the image has no agency whatsoever. Although uMntwana uMagogo's posture indicates the direction of the photographer, the act of being photographed is an active one wherein the person in front of the camera participates in a visual



Photo of Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu in *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction*, comp. Ruth Gordon.

before the group set out on its 'world' tour. There may have been other reasons as well, for its popularity. It chose to highlight the popular musical form known as *maskanda*, thought to have grown from what was originally a women's form of solitary song (James 72) which allows modern troubadour figures to sing in a form that is recognisably contemporary and yet clearly draws on 'tradition'. Its practitioners, the most famous of whom was the male singer, Umfaz' Omnyama [Black Woman], whose early death from cancer in April 2001 occasioned a near

Figure 28. Screenshot of Liz Gunner's article *A Royal Woman, an Artist, and the Ambiguities of National Belonging: The Case of Princess Constance Magogo* (2002)

ritual or ukuthwebula (which is discussed in the methodology section) wherein they have the power of self-representation.

Her matching polka dot formal suit with floral detail is reminiscent of the polka dot shirt that she wears in Figure 7-9 and 11 (which may be found in chapter one). As discussed in the first chapter, uMntwana uMagogo often appears in photographs wearing her 'Sunday best'. And in all the photographs in this study, her hair is always covered (albeit sometimes slightly uncovered) by a hat or iduku or isicholo. In Figure 20-22 and 28, her velvet looking hat emphasises how she, like her ukhokho inkosi uCetshwayo, presented herself as a sartorial figure. Hlonipha Mokoena's *Legal Selves in Question: Defining African Personhood from Colonial Times to the Present* has this to say about inkosi uCetshwayo

> As Jeff Guy observes, "From the start Cetshwayo objected to being regarded as a curiosity. Once in Cape Town he insisted on wearing European clothes and being treated with the deference due to a head of state" (1994a, 125) […] For the other image of Cetshwayo, namely that, of the Victorian gentleman, a different kind of reconstruction is necessary. The period between September 1879 and July of 1882, when Cetshwayo travelled to England for his audience with Queen Victoria, could therefore be said to be the realisation and culmination of the sartorial kingship he had begun constructing while on board the SS Natal.

Following Mokoena's idea of sartorial kingship, I propose that uMntwana uMagogo's presentation of herself in European clothes may be read as her assertion of a sartorial identity, which disrupts the image of the exoticised and tribalised 'Zulu woman'. And even when uMntwana uMagogo incorporates garments that highlight her connection to 'Zulu' royalty, she maintains this European sartorial identity wherein she wears pencil skirts, leather sandals, T-shirts, scarves and hats at the same time she's donning isikhumba sengwe (see Figure 17, 18 and 30-32).

Conversely, Figure 20-22 and 28 may be hastily read as an image wherein she is wearing a European attire and yet her umgexo or neckpiece is of beadwork that she most likely designed because she often created 'letters' in the form of beads. Although this study does not focus on the intricacies of beadwork, it is important to note that the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' was considered "The most authoritative voice on the interpretation of beadwork" (Jolles, 1991: 59). Interestingly, her unnamed khokho's taught her this skill (ibid).

Therefore, the visual representation of beadwork in her studio portrait as well as in Figure 17-18 (in chapter one) and 35 is not only a sartorial choice but these ornaments are an invocation of the histories of women in the 'Zulu' monarchy that cannot be seen in the images. That is to say that the vibrations and frequencies of their stories may be 'heard' (as seen in chapter one) in the beadwork. And Frank Jolles' reference to beadwork made by uMntwana uMagogo as 'letters' is critical because it beautifully captures how history does not have to live between pages. As such, the bleeding screaming letters (which may be metaphorically read as a representation of the impositions of 'Zulu' historiography) inscribed onto the image of historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' or 'Princess Magogo' or 'Princess Constance Magogo' in Figure 30 are continuously disrupted by the 'letters' woven through the teachings of undocumented royal women. In this regard, the unnamed women in the 'Zulu' monarchy become what Toni Morrison refers to as "highly vocal ghosts" that are "hidden, but not completely; deliberately buried, but not forgotten" (2007: xi).

Lastly, the colourisation of Figures 20-21 and 28 is interesting not because of how the warm tawny colours contrast with black, white and pastel blue hues; but rather how this act of digitally or manually adding colour[18] to this portrait is reminiscent of township living rooms wherein painted portraits of old black couples hang on the part of the wall, which is usually above a display or a room divider as a form of rememory (as seen Figure 29). When reading Figures 20-22 and 28, the impulse is to solely tie it to Europe's renaissance era wherein important or aristocratic figures commissioned portraits similar to this image as an exercise to

> Bring out whatever it is in which the sitter differs from the rest of humanity and would even different from himself were he portrayed at a different moment or in a different situation […] On the other hand [a portrait] seeks to bring out whatever the sitter has in common with the rest of humanity and what remains in him regardless of place and time (Panosfky cited in West, 2004: 24).

---

18 See Ruth Jacobson's MA Research Report titled *"Picture Perfect": Hand-coloured photographic portraiture in South Africa in the 20th century; a study of the collection of the Aqua Portrait Studio, Johannesburg* (2017) . In this text, Jacobson notes that the practice of colouring black and white photographs is an American phenomenon (founded by the entrepreneur Mr. Popov) that was introduced to South Africa in the 1930s. She claims that in South Africa, the popularisation of this visual method "in which ordinary photographs of people were enlarged, coloured and enhanced in whatever way their subjects desired, and then framed" thrived until the late 1990s. Jacobson suggests that these images became particularly widespread in Black townships because they came to represent more than the likeness of a person or people. In her work, she proposes that in Black townships, these images were not only about self-fashioning but they were also seen as symbols of status, dignity, respectability, selfhood and relational togetherness. In addition, these visual representations were an invocation of people who were absent either because of multiple forms of migration or death. In terms of the latter, Jacobson states that these images also became venerated as visual shrines wherein people who had passed on could be consulted. In this regard, these coloured photographs were conceived of as objects that created a sense of proximity to living people and those who had passed away.

However, since the feminist methodology I am using allows me the freedom to centre the experiences of Blackwomen, I am particularly invested in how the colourised version of Figure 20-22 and 28 is an invocation of Blackwomen's lived experiences in South Africa…especially ekasi[19] which is where I grew up.

As discussed earlier, the painted portrait seen in the photograph captured by Tsepo Gumbi[20] in the living room of his gogo Maggie Tenku Gumbi (née Maluleke) is a site of remembering or rememory. The link between Figure 22 and 29 is fascinating because both images are paintings living in photographs wherein the agency of Blackwomen dressed in their 'Sunday best' is exercised. The parallels between these photographs-cum-paintings collapse the idea of commissioned painted portraiture being the preoccupation of the wealthy and the aristocratic as determined by the West. Ma Maggie's portrait (alongside her debonair husband Julius Gumbi who performs his own agency) highlights how everyday Blackwomen in South Africa have always understood their power to re-present themselves regardless of their social status. That is to say, even though ma Maggie has not been historicised in ways that 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' has been, the visual re-presentation of her as a self-assured figure affirms how the agency of Blackwomen in South Africa is not solely determined by who beget them. And the beautification of ma Maggie's living room attests to how Blackwomen have always understood the importance of making and remaking oneself through spatiality. The presence of the lace curtain and the ivy which is pinned down by white cable holders is not only a demonstration of the deliberateness of embellishment in a space not meant to be livable for Black people in South Africa, but these everyday objects become ornamentalised through the re-imagination of Blackwomen.

It is evident that Figure 22 is more than a 'coloured in' version of Figure 20-21 and 28. In this thesis, this image is read as a place where many histories may be mined. Its wide circulation online might mean that in a number of years, this image may become more iconic than the black and white photograph found in *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction* (Gordon, 1988) and academic articles such as

---

19 According to Christopher Stroud and Sibonile Mpendukana's *Towards a Material Ethnography of Linguistic Landscape: Multilingualism, Mobility and Space in a South African Township,* the term kasi was "originally an Afrikaans word ('Kasie') meaning township" (2009:376). Historically, the 'lokasie', 'location' or township was reserved for people that the apartheid government classified as 'black' or 'African', 'coloured' and 'Indian'. Through the institution of the Land Act of 1913 and the Group Areas Act of 1950, 'black' or 'African', 'coloured' and 'Indian' were dispossessed of land and forcibly moved to townships which were racially stratified.

20 Tsepo Gumbi photographed this image as part of his *Re-imagining Sharpeville* series. According to Gumbi's artist statement, this body of work is "a visual documentation of contemporary Sharpeville. It explores themes and subjects that are overshadowed by historical narratives of township life. Through his lens [he] introduces us to a new- ordinary Sharpeville. Combined with traces of his childhood memories, [he], documents Sharpeville's ordinary happenings and every day life activities to present one possible reality of life in a South African community. This set of images challenges mainstream perspective of this controversial space and calls for re-thinking, re-visioning, and re-imagining of Sharpeville" (2015).



Figure 29. 2015. Tsepo Gumbi. Image photographed on 25 December 2015 in Maggie Tenku Gumbi's (who is Tsepo Gumbi's gogo) living room in Putswastena, Sharpeville. Reproduced by permission of Tsepo Gumbi.

Gunner's *A Royal Woman, an Artist, and the Ambiguities of National Belonging: The Case of Princess Constance Magogo* (2002). And as suggested earlier, the absence of its meta data does not mean that its history dies; rather new art histories are made and remade about it. Therefore, reading of this image in this study constitutes a making and remaking of its history.

Following is a reading of a photograph (see Figure 30) sourced from Ben Temkin's *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman* (1976). Although this image was included in Temkin's publication in 1976, it is critical to note that it first appeared four years earlier (i.e. 24 September 1972) in the *Sunday Tribune* (see Figure 31-32) as part of the inaugural Shaka's Day (now known as Heritage Day) celebrations in Stanger, KwaZulu. In this thesis, the manner in which Figure 30 is discussed as a stand-alone, large-scale image is not aligned with how this image is juxtaposed with a photograph of a homogenised 'Zulu' nation called 'the Zulus' (as seen in Figure 31-32). In this thesis, I have chosen to treat Figure 30 as a single image in order to visually centre uMntwana uMagogo, uMntwana uSibuyiselwe and the women (that were in their lives albeit undocumented in the newspaper and Temkin's work).

Temkin's *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman* is a biography that centres around the life of "Chief Buthelezi"[21] (1976: vii). In the book's preface, Temkin (ibid: viii) states that the book

> Tells the story of Buthelezi chronologically until the inauguration of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in 1972. Thereafter, the book deals with specific issue, the material for each issue being dealt with chronologically. The last chapter is a description of how Chief Buthelezi lives at the time of writing and is also a conjecture of what is likely to happen to him and what he is likely to do [in the context of the Soweto Uprisings of 1976].

In this regard, it is clear that this book does not frame uMntwana uMagogo as the main character, but she is included in the book as the mother of a 'Chief', the daughter of inkosi uDinuzulu and the "Great Wife" of 'Chief' Mathole (Temkin 1976: 19-20). As the potential 'Great Wife' of 'Chief' Mathole, the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is said to have been concerned about the idea that he was infertile and as such, she could not bear him an heir. According to Temkin, 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' had a lengthy conversation with her brother inkosi uSolomon about the rumour (supposedly told to 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' by a nameless woman in an unnamed kraal) that the 'Chief' could not bear children. Temkin

21 In the preface, Temkin notes that even though he uses the title "Chief", he is aware that isiZulu speakers use uMntwana or Shenge to refer to him (1976: vii).



Figure 30. Caption by Ben Temkin: "Princess Magogo and Angela Buthelezi at a Shaka's Day celebration at Umlazi Stadium 1972. (Sunday Tribune)". Photographer undocumented.



Figure 31[ii] 1972. Reporter undocumented. Caption by 'Tribune Reporter': Photograph on far left "The crowd at Stanger listens as Chief Buthelezi says: cut out racialism". Photograph on the right: "Princess Magogo, Chief Buthelezi's mother and direct descendant of Dinizulu (sic) and her son's daughter, Angelina. Photographer undocumented.

ii The visual quality of Figures 31-33 is low because scanning is not permitted by the Johannesburg City Library or JCL, which is the archival holding where the *Sunday Tribune* newspaper is currently stored. According to JCL, this process compromises the already deteriorating newspaper archives—a reality that is unsurprising considering Mdluli's commentary on the urgent need of archive conservation in South Africa (see footnote 67 in the Introduction). As such, Figures 31-33 are photographs of photographs. Additionally, these images were not easy to obtain due to the charge of R154 that was attached to them. In this regard, the experiences that I have had in relation to trying to retrieve these photographs is illustrative of how inaccessible archives can be in South Africa. In *The Archives and the Political Imaginary,* Peterson affirms "the problem of access that seems to stalk the archives" (2002: 30).



Figure 32. 1972. Reporter undocumented. Caption by 'Tribune Reporter': Photograph on far left "The crowd at Stanger listens as Chief Buthelezi says: cut out racialism". Photograph on the right: "Princess Magogo, Chief Buthelezi's mother and direct descendant of Dinizulu (sic) and her son's daughter, Angelina. Photographer undocumented.

claims that she questioned her brother inkosi uSolomon: "Your highness, why do you give me in marriage to a man who is no longer able to father children; who is infertile?" to which he responded: "Has not this man been the father of many children"? to which she responded affirmatively. Temkin (ibid: 20) further asserts

> The princess married Chief Mathole, but there was to be a long period of agonized waiting before she became a mother. Her expressive eyes echoing the dramatic story of this period, she told off years on her fingers as she described the wait to me: 1926 passed and she did not fall pregnant. 1927 passed and she was sad beyond measure. She fasted and prayed to God for a male child. She did, indeed, fall pregnant. Her prayers, she feels, were answered and, perhaps with some hindsight, she says she knew even then that the child would be special.

When reading the above citation, the impulse is to respond by framing uMntwana uMagogo's longing to be a mother to a male child as well as her brother's interference in her love life as a form of (internalised) patriarchy. However, I would like to propose that even though I have asserted that 'official' historiography has limited the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinizulu's' narrative within the confines of motherhood and marriage, it is important to acknowledge that she could exercise her power within these structures that are often conceived of as oppressive. This is evident in her act of probing why her brother was marrying her off to a man that would not grant her the desire to be a mother. And the interrogative "why?" means that she was unafraid to confront normative customs wherein women married off to men they had no thorough knowledge of.

In this regard, the act of confronting her brother, after hearing about inkosi uMathole's infertility from an unnamed woman, means that uMntwana uMagogo took the story she heard from this woman seriously. Although Temkin frames this narrative from this unnamed Blackwoman as a 'rumour' (a term suggestive of the stereotypical notion that old Blackwomen are omam'gobhozi or the ultimate gossipers), uMntwana uMagogo's subsequent actions wherein she questions her brother because of it means that she saw beyond the trope of Blackwomen as disseminators of izindaba zabantu.

Often, when isiZulu speakers refer to someone they consider a speaker of 'izindaba zabantu', they do so with great contempt. To speak izindaba zabantu is to utter that which does not belong between your teeth. When this expression is used, it is used in patriarchal ways wherein Blackwomen are painted as omam'go (short for omam'gobhozi). As umam'go, a Blackwoman (either in the rural areas

or in the township or both) is seen as unable to withhold information. In her act of speaking, she is said to ukugobhoza. In the *Scholar's Zulu Dictionary*, the verb 'gobhoza' is defined as "flow" (2016: 406). In other words, to be a Blackwoman who is umam'gobhozi is to be a cistern that streams with no end. And when omam'gobhozi speak, they do so as humour relief. This trope may be seen in the popular early mid 1990s TV show *Hlala Kwabafileyo* where an old Blackwoman character is literally called 'umam'gobhozi' and in the show her life's purpose is to run from one household to another in order to spread izindaba zabantu. Conversely, when black men are affiliated with speaking 'that which should not be uttered', they are politicised and called 'izimpimpi'. In this context, they are framed as strategic figures that deliberately collaborate with the oppressor in order to derail the collective struggle of black people in South Africa. That is to say, izimpimpi and omam'gobhozi are gendered concepts, wherein the former is seen as speaking with an agenda, while the latter is seen as speaking because they simply cannot help it.

The anonymity of this woman in Temkin's text perpetuates the erasure of women's narratives. However, the naming of this woman in relation to the trope of umam'go is also a reification of the idea that Blackwomen…especially old Blackwomen are inherently gossip driven. What appears to be the intention behind the framing of the unnamed woman as a gossiper is Temkin's subsequent discussion about the jealousy that ensues when uMntwana uMagogo marries the 'Chief' and has 'Chief' Buthelezi as indlalifa.

However, Temkin's exploration of animosity between women in isithembu is not unfounded. As discussed earlier, scholars have written about how izangelo of uMntwana uMagogo capture the difficulties she experienced in isithembu (Gunner, 1979; Masuku, 2005). In her izangelo, she highlights how she was in conflict with abanabakhe. However, the proliferation of the stereotype of the envious gossiping old Black woman who will do whatever is necessary to break a marriage is worth considering when dealing with representations of Blackwomen.

Additionally, the idea that uMntwana uMagogo prayed to God to answer her prayers regarding the birth of a son is illustrative of her Christian disposition, as well as the societal expectation that as the undlunkulu, she is to legitimise her role through the bearing of a male child (who will be indlalifa). In this regard, it seems reasonable to apply Yuval-Davis' idea that nationhood often frames women as "biological reproducers of the nation" (1997: 22). However, since I have chosen to use the term 'isizwe' instead of 'nation', it becomes debatable whether Yuval-

Davis' argument may be easily transposed to this context. This is particularly so because biological reproduction in the case of nationhood is framed within a nuclear family structure that does not necessarily consider isithembu as a reality. Moreover, the fact that this male child would be born within the genealogical history of the Buthelezi clan that has a distinct history from the homogenised 'Zulu nation' which is imbued with grand ideologies of what constitutes a nation means that "westocentric"[22] ideas of nationhood cannot be easily applied to this context. But it remains critical to note that because the Buthelezi clan's genealogical history is patrilineal, the concept of 'isizwe' may also be read as gendered. Furthermore, the idea of a boy child being framed as "special" by uMntwana uMagogo not only exceptionalises masculinity but it also suggests that children that do not fall within this category are unremarkable. As stated in the introduction of this chapter, uMntwana uMagogo had daughters and in Temkin's text they are not spoken of using similar adjectives as uMntwana wakwaPhindangene. In this book, uMntwana uMagogo is often depicted as having particularly extended herself for uMntwana wakwaPhindangene. In this regard, it is evident that the book's objective is to centre his narrative while other narratives are secondary and at times tertiary.

In this Temkin's text, uMntwana uMagogo is represented as a critical supporter of her son uMntwana wakwaPhindangene's education. Temkin claims that when he was a toddler, he approached uMntwana uMagogo about attending school because at the age of five he could already read and write a few words in a language that is not stated in the book. It is alleged that uMntwana uMagogo immediately organised with a nearby school wherein he studied until Standard Six. Over and above that, when uMntwana wakwaPhindangene was enrolled at Fort Hare University under the disapproval of some members of the Buthelezi clan, uMntwana uMagogo paid for his fees. She allegedly used her own financial resources when her son's paternal uncle 'Chief' Maliyamakhanda withheld funds. Therefore, uMntwana uMagogo's continuous confrontation of the men in her family demonstrates that although she subscribed to gendered ideas, she was unafraid to assert herself in ways that undermined overbearing masculinity. She is also said to have sold a beast that Temkin does not identify as a way for her son to return to her homestead of kwaPhindangene from Nongoma.

Temkin also frames uMntwana uMagogo as a political leader who worked with 'Princess Irene' (uMntwana uMagogo's daughter in law) to organise and lead a 1950s anti-pass campaign wherein a delegation of African (a term used by Temkin)

22 Yuval-Davis uses the term "westocentric" rather "Eurocentric" to "highlight the fact that the 'western front' expands far beyond Europe" (1997: 25).

women marched to the office of the local Native Commissioner to submit their passes. UMntwana uMagogo's involvement in this political activity shows how she was conscious of herself as a black subject within an oppressive dispensation that discriminated against and dispossessed people of their land, wealth, humanity and dignity on the basis of their skin colour. The fact that she mobilised with other women means that she did not see herself as a singular figure that was supposed to concern herself only with royal matters. And because this anti-pass campaign was not isolated but it was organised with an awareness of a larger anti-apartheid discourse amongst Black people in South Africa, it is evident that uMntwana uMagogo was aware of the Black condition in the country. This political act also meant that her son's 'official' installation as 'Chief' by the apartheid government was jeapordised by her and uMntwana u-Irene's involvement in the anti-pass campaign.

When 'Chief' Luthuli allegedly wrote a letter to uMntwana wakwaPhindangene, he indicated that he suspected that uMntwana uMagogo and uMntwana u-Irene's political participation in the anti-pass campaign was the reason behind the government's delay in 'formally' installing him as 'Chief' but Luthuli emphasised how grateful he was that they took part in this campaign. UMntwana uMagogo's political involvement despite having full knowledge that this might affect her son's installation illustrates that she did not subscribe to homeland politics wherein homeland leaders would maintain the status quo in segregated South Africa. Additionally, her collaboration with her daughter-in-law disrupts the common idea that mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law are in continuous conflict wherein they do not share experiences as women…Black women in the world. This idea of a community of Blackwomen that existed alongside uMntwana uMagogo is illustrated in Figure 30-32.

Although the women behind and around uMntwana uMagogo (who is framed as 'Princess Magogo, Chief Buthelezi's mother and direct descendant of Dinizulu (sic)' or 'Princess Magogo') are unnamed in Figure 30-32, their visual presence is an assertion of their existence. The gaze of the young woman (seen in the image below) seated right behind 'Princess Magogo' is haunting because on the surface she appears to be camera shy but there is a tension between shyness and the desire to not be photographed. In isiZulu one would describe this tension as "ukushalaza" which is a deliberate act of avoidance of being seen by people or in this case being seen by people through the lens. It is an act that one chooses and those who see the individual in question will state that the person is actively choosing ukushalaza unlike amahloni or shyness which may be seen as an impediment of some sort. When she averts her gaze, she does so in a diagonal fashion wherein her face also

turns slightly away from the camera. It is also interesting to note how her face and that of uMntwana uMagogo merge. In a strange twist of visual poetry, the young woman's face begins where uMntwana uMagogo's face ends and uMntwana uMagogo right side of her face begins in the middle of the young woman's face. In this ironical optical illusion of some sort, their stories overlap. Her story on top of her story on top of uMntwana uSibuyiselwe story who is the youngest figure in the photographs. In a way, this is an image that is a visual representation of various generations of Blackwomen. And although the woman on the far right of the image appears disconnected, the darkness between her and uMntwana uMagogo creates yet another illusion where the people seated behind appear as apparitions. In a way, uMntwana uMagogo and this woman wearing umnqwazi reminiscent of women of the Shembe religion are connected through the darkness. The unnamed woman's dark cape slightly joins with uMntwana uMagogo's shoulder and here in the visual realm, they too become one thing but at the same time their distinct presence is felt.

In this image, the women collapse the dichotomy[23] between the 'modern' and the 'traditional' by offering hybridised or synthesised identities that do not fit neatly into the trope of a 'traditional' 'Zulu' woman. As much as they are wearing what is considered imvunulo or 'traditional attire' of isiZulu speakers, they do so with T-shirts or dresses? This phenomenon can also be seen in the unnamed (as seen in 'Zulu' historiography's erasure of the multiple women that contributed to the making of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu') man (who has interestingly been cropped out Figure 31-32) on the right of uMntwana uMagogo who is wearing umqhele or head ring with a suit. Often, when images of 'the Zulus' are shown in 'Zulu' historiography, there is an emphasis on how 'traditional' they are through their dress. Umqhele is often shown alongside ibheshu and beadwork such as amadavathi, ulimi, igcagcane, umbhijo, ubusenga, izigqizo, umgexo and at times with iziqhaza or earplugs (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1966). As discussed earlier, the fact that uMntwana uMagogo is wearing beadwork and isikhumba sengwe which

23 In *From State of Emergency to the Dawn of Democracy: Revisiting Exhibitions of South African Art Held in South Africa* (1984–1997), Same Mdluli posits that the binary between modernity and the 'traditional' is one that equates the former with change and the latter with immobility (2015). Therefore, there is a "presupposition of a form of premodern, sometimes pristine and noble, other times corrupt and vicious, existence advanced under the rubric of 'tradition'" (Gordon, 2014: 10). In addition, Lewis Gordon's *Justice Otherwise: Thoughts on Ubuntu* (2014) interrogates the homogenisation of the 'modern' by proposing that there are varying forms of modernity (i.e. modernities). He further suggests that modernity as defined by the West is entangled with colonialism. He asserts "The story of modernity shifts, when it is read through its colonial correlate. Colonialism imposes a peculiar crisis on colonised people, since every colonial regime offers itself as the only viable future for its subjects. Colonised subjects face possible futures of (1) their disappearance, either through genocide or cultural erasure or assimilation and/or (2) their adaptation, through transformation in the form of hybridization and synthesis" (Gordon, 2011: 11). In this regard, the tribal/modern separation is not only contentious but it is one that is perpetuated through colonial logic and praxis.

represents her royal lineage over a T-shirt, a black pencil skirt with pantyhose and sandals reaffirms the idea that the 'traditional' and the 'modern' are not mutually exclusive.

In Figure 28, it is interesting to note that besides the unnamed woman's act of ukushalaza, the adults who are in focus in the photograph are also looking away at the camera but this time, they appear to be engaged in something that is taking place outside the frame. Their eye-lines appear to be directed at this occurrence which the viewer understands to be something that has to do with the Shaka's Day celebration that Temkin mentions in his captioning. And as demonstrated in Figure 31-32, this event is where 'Chief' Buthelezi is claimed to have read his entire speech using a magnifying glass. In fact, the front page of the newspaper has a photograph of him holding the object at hand (see Figure 33).

As expected, the narrative that has made the headlines in this newspaper centres around the homogenised image of "thousands of stick-wielding Zulu warriors [who] brought traffic to a stop in Stanger as they ran through the streets chanting a war song" (Sunday Tribune, 1972: 12). And as suggested earlier, the black and white photograph of "the Zulus" (ibid) as a faceless mass of men wielding their sticks and causing disorder on Stanger streets is juxtaposed with the regal and composed image of 'Princess Magogo' whose royal lineage is emphasised in the paper. According to the *Sunday Tribune*, the idea that 'Princess Magogo' is the direct descendant of 'Dinizulu' (sic) affirms her status as a 'real' 'Zulu' royal woman in the public imagination of 1972 South Africa. The newspaper also frames her as the mother of a 'Chief' which it has centred the 'Zulu warrior story' around. In this regard, 'Chief' Buthelezi is quoted as stating that "the spirit of King Shaka, the non-racist, be born again in the hearts of all people in South Africa" (Sunday Tribune, 1972: 1). The newspaper goes on to say that 'Chief' Buthelezi "hit out […] at Whites who misuse occasions such as the Day of the Covenant to instil fear and hatred of Blacks" and he is also quoted as saying

> I pray to God that underdeveloped as we are in material things, we may have strength to set an example for our 'betters', by never stopping to abuse our national days in this manner. A day like Dingaan's Day was used by some people in the past to inculcate fear and hatred of Blacks into minds of the young. I am not certain if this has stopped even now (Sunday Tribune, 1972: 12)

Although the focus of this study is not on the representation of 'Chief' Buthelezi, it is critical to highlight how the *Sunday Tribune's* promotion of the stereotype of



GETTING THINGS INTO FOCUS

CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI used a magnifying glass to read his speech to 10 000 Zulus at the first Shaka Day celebrations in Stanger yesterday. The KwaZulu Chief Executive prayed "that the spirit of King Shaka, the non-racist, be born again in the hearts of all people in South Africa."

More pictures: Page 17

Figure 33. 1972. Photograph of front page of the Sunday Tribune (24 September 1972). Photographer and reporter undocumented.

hyper-masculinised 'Zuluness' not only perpetuates the erasure of isiZulu speaking women's experiences but it concretises the contentious idea that all isiZulu speakers consent to being subsumed under a unitary 'Zulu' identity that is inherently violent and generally disruptive. In this newspaper article, uMntwana uMagogo features as an appendage albeit everyone around her has been cropped out or darkened (see Figure 31-32) in order to render them invisible while her presence is emphasised. In other words, it is important that in Temkin's publication, the photograph that includes uMntwana uMagogo (see Figure 30) is not visually manipulated to erase people that constituted a community that surrounded the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'.

The citations above wherein 'Chief' Buthelezi calls upon the spirit of Shaka and his referral to 'Zulu warriors' in the form of inkosi uDingaan is a reminder of how 'Zuluness' is centred around maleness. And it is fascinating how inkosi uShaka is used as a symbol of non-racialism in apartheid South Africa when 'Zulu' historiography (written by white historians) predominantly paints him as a militaristic tyrant (Buthelezi, 2012; Kunene, 2017; Masilela, 2017). In this context, it is not clear whether it is in service of 'Zulu' nationalism that inkosi uShaka's narrative is reimagined or if there is a broader anti-racist agenda. Either way, this narrative is an imbizo[24]. In this masculinised narrative, the men gather, they speak, they disrupt, they reimagine. And while they do all this, unnamed women and pristine historic figures look on in carefully composed photographs.

And in Figure 31-32, it is the girl child that calls the image making process into order. While the adults appear to be engrossed in the celebrations of Shaka's Day, uMntwana uSibuyiselwe stares at the camera as if to say "You again?" Her facial expression is that of a person who has been in an event so long that they want to leave. As discussed in chapter one, children are full participants in image making processes and as such, their honesty cannot be dismissed as simply childish whims. It is clear from chapter one that uMntwana uSibuyiselwe is no stranger to the camera. As seen in Figure 9 in chapter one, she is able to confidently confront this mechanical eye. As her younger self, she poses with self-assurance. But in this chapter, she appears slightly agitated. One can only imagine what a day filled with

24 According to Nyembezi and Nxumalo, imbizo is "Umhlangano omenywe yiNkosi noma induna noma umnumzane oyisiphakanyiswa" (1966: 232) which loosely means "A meeting gathered by a 'king', a 'chief' or a man of high status". As stated throughout this thesis, I use the terms 'king' and 'chief' with caution. And as demonstrated in footnote 10, Chapter 2 in some nineteenth century isiZulu speaking communities, the status of chief could be occupied by a woman. Therefore, even though I use the idea of imbizo to suggest that the aforementioned historical narrative is a reification of the dominance of male voices, I am aware that this concept may include gender fluidity. In this regard, I use this term with the dominant conception that imbizo is a collective dialogical activity that is only between men.

formalities like speeches too long for a child to sit through might feel like for her. While adults are invoking spirits of tribalised warrior men, the "long questioning, concerned gaze" (to borrow from Jeff Guy) of the girl child remains. Similar to Santu Mofokeng's visual participants in the township, her eyes also ask "Camera-man, why are you taking so many photos of me?" (as seen in my methodology).

It is interesting how in Figure 31-32 (unlike in the images in chapter one), she too is dressed to perform 'Zuluness' on Shaka's Day. Paradoxically, her eyes ask why she is the spectacle on this day? And it is clear that the unnamed photographer has crouched down to her level in order to be on the same eye line as her and yet she is not excited by this attention. Instead, she appears to be slightly aggravated.

Outside the festivities of Shaka's Day, this is an intimate moment between ugogo and umzukulu. This moment is reminiscent of the closeness explored in the first chapter. UMntwana uMagogo and uMntwana uSibuyiselwe appear inseparable when she plays ugubhu (as seen in chapter one) or when she attends formal events like the one in question. It is assumable that even when uMntwana uMagogo is not partaking in these activities in particular, her mzukulu is never too far. The half-smile appears to be a motif in photographs wherein uMntwana uMagogo is in front of the camera. This same smile may be seen in the photographs analysed in chapter one. What this smile suggests is that uMntwana uMagogo has also developed a somewhat indifferent but conscious relationship with the camera and photographers. On the other hand, the unnamed women with averted gazes in Figure 28 also appear to have pacifying near-smiles. The lingering camera not only documents but it reifies old-age patriarchal norms wherein women and girls are mere ghosts. What the camera and its people do not know is that these Blackwomen and Blackgirls are highly vocal as seen in Morrison's *Beloved*.

In closing, in this chapter, I have explored how photographs that represent the multiple identities that 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' embodied throughout her life may be used a conduit through which prominent 'Zulu' male figures (in her master narrative) may be decentred; and I have also demonstrated how she may be delinked from the homogenous 'Zulu nation'. I have investigated how her identities as umama to daughters, ugogo and a twentieth century Blackwoman are an illustration of her self-determining and self-defining subjectivity. And I have also shown that this subjectivity is tied to the subjectivities of various undocumented and unnamed women that played a vital role in the formation of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. I have used Toni Morrison's idea of rememory (2007) to explore how photographs included in this chapter function as sites of remembering

and un-remembering the histories of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' and those of women in the 'Zulu' monarchy. In addition, I have examined how each historical text—that has reproduced images that represent 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'—has contributed not only to the marginalisation of uMntwana uMagogo herself, but how these acts of erasure translate into the broader issue of the effacement of women's narratives in South African 'official' historiography.



Chapter Three

PICTURING AN AESTHETIC OF BLACKNESS IN UMNTWANA UMAGOGO'S LIVING SPACE

> *This is a story about a house. It has been lived in by many people. Our grandmother, Baba, made this house living space. She was certain that the way we lived was shaped by objects, the way we looked at them, the way they were placed around us. She was certain that we were shaped by space. From her I learn about aesthetics, the yearning for beauty that she tells me is the predicament of heart that makes our passion real. A quiltmaker, she teaches me about color. Her house is a place where I am learning to look at things, where I am learning how to belong in a space. In rooms full of objects, crowded with things, I am learning to recognise myself. She hands me a mirror showing me how to look. The color of wine she has made in my cup, the beauty of the everyday. […] Do you believe that space can give life, or take it away, that space has power? These are the questions she asks which frighten me. […] She has taught me how to look at the world and see beauty. She has taught me "we must learn to see".*
>
> *- bell hooks*

As demonstrated in my citation of bell hook's *An Aesthetic of Blackness: Strange and Oppositional* (1990), I am interested in exploring how photographs that represent 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' in her living space (which I also refer to as home or umuzi[1]) embody hooks' idea of an aesthetic of blackness that she not only

1 I identify this space as umuzi instead of ikhaya because the former is commonly understood to refer to the home that a married woman occupies/builds with her husband who is then called umyeni; while the latter constitutes the place where a person grows up with their kin, albeit, it is not always the case that one is raised by their kin—as seen in the case of uMntwana uMagogo who had to live with the

links to the beauty of the quotidian, but, she locates it within the context of Black womanhood—an element I argue is critical in the demystification of the larger-than-life 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. Through a close analysis of the aforementioned images, I examine how umuzi of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'—as an everyday space that is commonly limited to domesticity—may be re-imagined as a place where multiple histories may be made and remade. My conception of her umuzi as a repository of many histories extends on the idea that her master narrative is inextricably linked to the narratives of multiple un-historicised women that were active in her life. In addition, I am invested in how 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' may be understood as an ordinary person who grapples with the mundane.

Hooks' conception of a living space is vital because it involves a process wherein an elderly Blackwoman (like uMntwana uMagogo and the many undocumented women that were in her life) is actively shaping her space—as seen in Gqola's feminist idea of Blackwomen worlding their environs (2001). In this context, a house is not merely an architectural structure but it is a site of reimagination. It is a place where Blackwomen are in conversation about what space means to them in light of the age-old idea that "The woman, [particularly][2] the wife, is the keystone of the household" (Maxeke, 1928: 111)[3]. As hooks notes, her gogo which she refers

---

Buthelezi clan after her mother's death in the early 1900s (Rycroft, 1975/76). In 'Zulu' historiography, ikhaya of uMntwana uMagogo is said to be the Usuthu royal homestead in Nongoma (where she was born in 1900), while her umuzi which was built for her by her husband inkosi uMathole Buthelezi (whom she married in 1923) is said to be in kwaPhindangene in Mahlabathini (Rycroft, 1975/76; Rycroft, 1985; Gunner, 2002 and Mhlambi 2015). Therefore, the framing of uMntwana uMagogo's living space (which is represented in the photographs discussed in this chapter) as umuzi means that her act of aestheticising this particular environment may be read as one wherein she is boldly establishing a sense of ownership and belonging as seen in hooks' citation above. This act of making her presence felt through the aesthetics I explore in this chapter is vital in light of the fact that multiple scholars and documentarians (Rycroft, 1975/76; Buthelezi in Gordon, 1988; Gunner, 2002 and Masuku, 2005) have noted how troubled uMntwana uMagogo was during her marriage to inkosi uButhelezi. I propose that in many ways, uMntwana uMagogo is "learning to recognise [her]self" in umuzi that is "full of objects [and] crowded with things" (hooks, 1990: 65).

2 My addition

3 In *Social Conditions Among Bantu Women and Girls,* Charlotte Maxeke also observes that in order for a household to be deemed functional by society…particularly a Christianised one, "It is […] essential that the home atmosphere be right, that the mother be the real "queen" of the home [and] the inspiration of her family" (1928: 111). In this regard, the woman (who is a mother) is socialised to centre her world around domesticity as prescribed through a masculinised, Christian framing of womanhood which is inextricably tied to the nuclear family model. In addition, Deborah Gaitskell's *Housewives, Maids or Mother: Some Contradictions of Domesticity for Christian Women in Johannesburg,* 1903-1939 corroborates:

> "Th[e] […] family model which female missionaries considered the Christian ideal in the early twentieth century and which they tried to inculcate among women and girls of the urban black churches: male breadwinner, dependent housekeeping wife and mother, dependent school-going children […] had its roots in the domestic ideology produced by evangelism in answer to industrialization and increasingly adopted not only by the middle class in Britain and America but, by the end of the nineteenth century, the working class as well. As home and workplace gradually separated, women became progressively more isolated from production; but domestic ideology gave to the married woman a new importance as the 'angel' in the ever more private and child-centred house. 'The woman, as wife and mother, was the pivot of the family, and consequently the guardian of all Christian (and domestic) virtues'" (1983: 9).

Therefore, in consideration of Maxeke and Gaitskell's observations, it is critical to note that the idea of a feminised domestic ideology that is continually perpetuated through a gendered socialisation of girls and women, is not innocent or neutral. Maxeke and Gaitskell clearly propose that the assumed association of womanhood and home/domesticity not only has historical roots but it is a dogma that has been inculcated through capitalism and religion as an ideological state apparatus (see following footnote for more information on

to as Baba is asking important questions about space. She critically asks if a space has power and she probes whether a space has the capacity to give life or to take it away.

In this chapter, I work with Baba's provocations to think through how uMntwana uMagogo organises and re-organises space within the context of her home. This is particularly pertinent in the case of South Africa wherein spatiality is political. In *Space and Power in South Africa: The Township as a Mechanism of Control*, Glen Mills affirms

> Any building is essentially a "domain of knowledge" in that it embodies a spatial ordering of categories, and a "domain of control" in that it is an ordering of boundaries. […] Buildings are discursive expressions of knowledge and forms of control, or power" (1989: 65).

Mills then continues by locating this argument within an apartheid framework which is the historical context in which the photographs analysed in this chapter are captured (i.e. 1950s and 1976). He observes

> "…Apartheid, is so inherently spatial—requiring a stringent pattern of segregation and differentiation between (apparent) categories of people—that without the township, and ultimately the regional compartmentalization of society into discrete "nation states" or Bantustans, the system will not work" (Mills, 1989: 65-66).

I have cited Mills at length in order to demonstrate how spatiality in South Africa is constituted through the Repressive and Ideological State Apparatus[4] that is the apartheid regime. In this context, uMntwana uMagogo's living space is constructed

---

the complexities of ideological state apparatuses). In this context, the woman as a wife to her husband and a [biological] mother to her children becomes a custodian of her place (the home as imagined through an androcentric lens) and the promulgator of the values that *this place* signifies. It is in this prescribed place that the woman is expected to guard and foster "Christian (and domestic) virtues" as Gaitskell asserts.

4 See *Louis Althusser's Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)* (1971) wherein he defines Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA's) as "a certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions" (1971). Althusser goes on to classify ISAs under the following institutional categories "the religious ISA (the system of different churches), educational ISA (the system of the different public and private 'schools'), the family ISA, the legal ISA, the political ISA (the political system, including the different parties), the trade-union ISA, the communications ISA (press, radio and television etc.) [and] the cultural ISA (literature, the arts, sports etc.)" (ibid). He states that there is a distinction between ISAs and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs). He explains "At first moment, it is clear that while there is one (Repressive) State Apparatus, there is a *plurality* [italics in original] of Ideological State Apparatuses. Even presupposing that it exists, the unity that constitutes this plurality of ISAs as a body is not immediately visible. […] It is clear that whereas the unified (Repressive) State Apparatus belongs entirely to the public domain, much the larger part of the Ideological State Apparatuses (in their apparent dispersion) are part, on the contrary, of the private domain". In this context RSAs "function […] 'by violence'" while ISAs "function 'by ideology'". Althusser also affirms "…The Repressive State Apparatus functions massively and predominantly by repression (including physical repression), while functioning secondarily by ideology. (There is no such thing as a purely repressive apparatus.)" (ibid). I have included these comprehensive quotations from Althusser as a way to illustrate the complexities of State Apparatuses. Apartheid was not only an ideological project of a massive scale but it also meted out wide-reaching physical repression. It used every institution outlined by Althusser to oppress and violate Black people.

within this political milieu. It is during this violent and ideologically separatist administration that she asserts her agency through the beautification of her space—which is reflective of a practice wherein "aesthetics [are] shaped by black women who […] fashion…an aesthetic of being, struggling to create an oppositional world view for their children, working with space to make it livable" (hooks 1990: 71). And Blackwomen's resistant ability to (re)shape their spaces to form 'an aesthetic of being' (which may also be referred to as an aesthetic of blackness) is particularly important in the case of uMntwana uMagogo because her living space is not solely a personal space but it is one that cannot be divorced from broader Bantustan[5] politics in mid to late twentieth century South Africa.

And as Mills observes, the apartheid regime compartmentalised South African society through a systematised emphasis on ethnic/tribal difference. Therefore, it is critical to not only think of uMntwana uMagogo as a Blackwoman in South Africa during this time, but it is equally important to conceive of her as a person whose ethnic/tribal identity (as a 'Zulu') was fetishised and perhaps even weaponised through the apartheid government's segregationist policies. In this regard, uMntwana uMagogo's home that is represented in the photographs that I will be examining, may be seen as a 'domain of knowledge' as Mills suggests in his citation. UMntwana uMagogo's umuzi may also be framed as a 'domain of control' outside the apartheid regime's impositions. In other words, this place may be re-imagined through uMntwana uMagogo's own sense of authority and power which are vital elements that constitute her subjectivity as a Blackwoman who defined herself for herself—as seen in the central argument of this thesis.

The photographs discussed in this chapter frame uMntwana uMagogo in two ways. In Figure 34—which Temkin claims was photographed in the 1950s—she is depicted as the mother of "Chief Buthelezi" (1976); while in Figure 35—which Gunner and Gwala claim was captured in 1976—she is portrayed as "Princess

5 See Biko's *Let's Talk about Bantustans* (2017). In the introductory section of this newsletter written by Biko, the editor who is unnamed states "The concept of 'BANTUSTANS', or independent/autonomous African 'homelands', is the cornerstone of the Nationalist Government's 'native' policy. The theory is that South Africa consists of many ethnic groups, and that peaceful co-existence can only be attained by enabling each group to develop in its own area. Introduced practically in the early 1960s, it attempted to put the clock back, to 're-patriate' to their alleged 'homelands' an already extensively de-urbanised people" (2017: 88). In his newsletter, Biko vehemently opposes the establishment of Bantustans. In fact, he interrogates the political stance of uMntwana uMagogo's son 'Buthelezi' (this is how Biko referred to him) who was the "leader of the Zulu Territorial Authority established in 1972 as part of the apartheid creation of self-governing ethnic territories" (2017: xxvii). Biko firmly affirms "No bantustan leader can tell me that he is acting at his own initiative when he enters the realms of Bantustan politics. At this stage of our history we cannot have our struggle being tribalised through the creation of Zulu, Xhosa and Tswana politicians by the system" (2017: 95). In response to 'Buthelezi' specifically Biko expresses "The white press knows only too well the limitations of bantustan theory; that it is a far cry from what the blacks want but goes on to build up the image of Matanzima [the leader of the Transkei Territory] and Buthelezi in order to harness them to the path they have already chosen and to make the non-analytic masses believe that a great victory is just about to be achieved. […] Thus for white South Africa, it is extremely important to have a man like Buthelezi speaking and sounding the way he is doing. […] For me as a black person it is extremely painful to see a man who could easily have been my leader being so misused by the cruel and exploitative world" (2017: 94).

Constance Magogo KaDinuzulu, the 'wife' of Chief Mathole Buthelezi and mother of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi" (1991). The former identifies her solely as a mother to a son; while the latter represents her as a royal woman who is first and foremost the daughter of her father, the mother of a son and the 'wife' of her husband. Therefore, similar to the preceding chapters in this thesis, she is inextricably linked to the men in her life and she continues to be spoken of as a woman who was only a mother to a son when she did have daughters (refer to chapter two for their names). Following the second chapter, the captioning that accompanies these images insists on the idea that the historic 'Princess Constance Magogo KaDinuzulu' belongs to all these men but herself.

Similar to chapter one and two, I propose that uMntwana uMagogo not only had agency to define herself for herself, but the community of unnamed women that raised her and those who were around her, critically contributed to the making of the historical woman that is 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. In my analysis of the images seen in Figure 34-35, I am interested in how the home—a space that has been mobilised to normalise the mammyfication[6] of Blackwomen—may be reimagined to be the living space that that hooks refers to.

As suggested earlier, Figure 34 has been sourced from a text wherein uMntwana uMagogo is not at the centre of the narrative (refer to chapter two for a discussion on the aim of Ben Temkin's *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman*). As such, the

---

6 See *Mammy, Jezebel, Sapphire and their Homegirls: Developing an "Oppositional Gaze" towards images of Black Women* (West, 2008). Although Carolyn M. West locates the origins of the mammy trope (i.e. Blackwomen being over-represented as self-sacrificing, home-bound and overly domesticated chronic caregivers, nurturers and healers of all people) within a southern American context, I propose that this troubling imagery is also reflected in how Blackwomen in South Africa have historically been over-determined as perpetual 'kitchen girls' (a pejorative and infantilising term to refer to Blackwomen working as housekeepers in white South African homes) that are overburdened with the task of taking caring of everybody but themselves. West emphasises how Blackwomen are often 'mistaken' as people who are occupying roles of servitude. She states "As I was leaving the hotel restaurant, a White woman asked me to show her to a table. She had mistaken me for a waitress. […] This is a disturbingly common event. Many Black women professors have been mistaken for clerical staff and even prostitutes" (2008: 287). West continues "...For me this event illustrates how stereotypes can become institutionalized and sometimes internalized by Black women. […] With few employment opportunities after slavery, many African American women worked as domestic servants well into the twentieth century. Because they were overrepresented in these fields, it appeared that Black women were inherently suited as domestics and caregivers" (2008: 288). In addition to West, Elaine Salo's *Women in the Academy* (2008) contextualises this racist and sexist practice within South Africa. Her focus is particularly on the academic world wherein she uses the University of Cape Town as a case study. She affirms West's idea of Blackwomen's mammyfication by stating "For black and African women in particular, […] gendered experiences are further heightened by race, so that they constantly have to fight off the perception that they are bodies out of place in the academy. There are only so many times African women academics can courteously reply that they are not the cleaning staff. Individual woman face a lonely struggle as they constantly have to assert their place, and legitimate their authority to students and colleagues alike" (2008: 206). I have cited West and Salo at length because it is vital to understand how rampant racial and gender stereotyping is in the day-to-day lives of Blackwomen in Africa and the African diaspora. While the mammy trope has its inception during slavery in southern America, it has mutated and traversed beyond these borders. Furthermore, West's emphasis on how the mammy figure naturalises the dangerous cliché of "thestrongblackwoman" (2008: 290) is important because as West asserts, this imagery is detrimental to Blackwomen's mental health. West notes the idea of "thestrongblackwoman" (coined by Joan Morgan in 1990) is spelled as such in order to highlight that "*strong, black, and woman* [italics in original] are inseparable parts of a seemingly cohesive identity" (ibid). In this regard, Blackwomen are not only the ultimate caregivers but they are also ascribed with super-human like strength that is limiting and harmful.



Figure 34. Photograph sourced from Ben Temkin's *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman* (1976). Caption by Temkin: "At home with his mother in the 1950s". Photographer undocumented.



Figure 35. Photograph sourced from Liz Gunner and Mafika Gwala's *Musho! Zulu Popular Praises. Caption by Liz Gunner and Mafika Gwala: "Princess Constance Magogo KaDinuzulu, the wife of Chief Mathole Buthelezi and mother of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, at Nkonjeni, Mahlabalhini (sic), February 1976. The late Princess Magogo was a gifted musician and a respected imbongi of the Zulu royal lineage*[iii]". Photographer undocumented

---

[iii] Italics in original

images of uMntwana uMagogo that have been included in Temkin's publication are featured with the intention of serving the broader narrative about 'Chief' Buthelezi. In this regard, it is not surprising that the tone of Temkin's caption is assumptive in that the viewer is presumed to obviously know who the possessive pronoun "his" belongs to in the photograph. Although 'Chief' Buthelezi is unnamed in this caption, the fact that this image is in a book that centres around him means the author may simply refer to his gender and the viewer would be aware that it is him that is the he in the text.

Figure 34 is also somewhat similar to Figure 30-32 (in chapter two) in that these photographs represent uMntwana uMagogo the reader. The image of uMntwana uMagogo as a reading woman is interesting because it counters how some scholars that have written about the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as an illiterate person. Frank Jolles who wrote extensively on uMntwana uMagogo's knowledge on beadwork states "In 1963 Princess Magogo, herself illiterate, referred to 'the modern illiterate miss' using 'her own designs and colours to mislead her parents and rivals' (Grossert 1968: 148)" (2006: 124). In other words, even though uMntwana uMagogo is said to have read the isiZulu bible from front to back three times in her life time (see chapter one for citation from her son), Jolles still frames her as 'illiterate'. Jolles' assumption begs the question: What is literacy? It appears as though the idea of literacy is linked to knowing English. This presumption by Jolles is reminiscent of Peterson's idea that English has historically been granted supremacy over indigenous African languages.

Consequently, uMntwana uMagogo's living space as seen in Figure 32 is not simply a visual re-presentation of umuzi but it is where uMntwana uMagogo gets to express parts of herself that are not always reflected in 'official' historiography. Although one may argue that this image is of a staged reading, the mere fact that she chooses to portray herself in this manner means that the activity of reading is important to her. On the right hand side of 'Chief' Buthelezi appears what looks like a stack of books with some kind of ornamental pot on top. Again, this is not to suggest that actual reading is taking place in this image, however, the re-enactment or the performance of it is enough to warrant the idea that reading is central to uMntwana uMagogo's self-representation. And the notion that a stack of books are on display alongside ornamental objects suggests that reading is not just an exercise wherein one expands their mental universe, but a book in itself is an object worth exhibiting as a sign of something bigger. That bigger thing may be the kind of ideas imbued in the practice of book reading as a black person during a time where black people were painted as primitive, uneducated and inherently

tribal. This photograph of a literate, sartorially conscious, isiZulu speaking woman who reads alongside her university educated son in the comfort of her ornamented living room flies in the face of the stereotype of the hypersexualised[7] and exoticised 'Zulu' royal woman as seen in 'Zulu' historiography.

Therefore, my critique of 'Zulu' historiography's framing of 'Zulu women' (a categorisation used in 'Zulu' historiography to subsume isiZulu speaking women under a contentious unitary ethnic identity) as the Other is in line with Carby's idea that the West represents white womanhood as the norm while black womanhood is characterised as an aberration. Carby states

> The black women's critique of history has not only involved us in coming to terms with "absences"; we have also been outraged by the ways in which it has made us visible, when it has chosen to see us. History has constructed our sexuality and our femininity as deviating from those qualities with which white women, as the prize objects of the Western world, have been endowed (1982: 110).

Carby proposes that it is not sufficient for Blackwomen to simply be made visible but it is in *how* they appear in history that matters. In this thesis, I have explored how the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is made visible and invisible in 'Zulu history'. And I have also examined the consequences of her visibility/ hypervisibility in relation to the broader conversation around the representation of women…especially Blackwomen in South African 'official' historiographies.

The idea that 'Zulu women' appear as corporeal beings in 'official' historiography is reminiscent of Oyèrónkè Oyěwùmí's assertion that Western discourses are somatocentric (1997). That is to say that the West has a particular fascination with the body…especially one it deems an aberration from the norm. Following Oyewùmí, I am interested in thinking beyond somatocentrism[8]. And even though one cannot

---

7 See Cecil Cowley's *Kwazulu: Queen Mkabi's Story* (1966). In this text, Cowley demonstrates the hypersexualisation and exoticisation of Women in the Zulu monarchy. In his account of the interaction between 'Princess Mkabayi' and 'Mkabi', he portrays the former as a patriarchal figure that hypersexualised young women. He claims that 'Princess Mkabayi' asked 'Mkabi' "Would you kindly unrobe so that we may see your buttocks, shikilela! Possibly I may make a report to him [king Senzangakhona]" (1966: 2). Cowley continues "And so the young girl, nothing to loath, on receiving the request to 'shikilela' took the great pot of beer from her head and put it on the ground, and in accordance with the manner of the time removed her tiny bits of covering, two leather frills about six inches square, suspended by a string low round her hips, and, extending her arms, slowly turned her naked body round and round, posed for critical examination, and on request flexed her arms and legs and displayed her buttocks and muscles" (ibid). This account of the exchange between the 'Princess Mkabayi' and 'Mkabi' depicts an image of a slowly gyrating 'Zulu' sexed body (with no subjectivity) which is evidently projected through a white masculine gaze. The elaborate attention paid to the buttocks, hips and then arms of 'Mkabi' is illustrative of the hypersexualisation of the body of a Blackwoman through a colonial patriarchal gaze. Therefore, it is not through uMntwana uMkabayi's eyes that the reader gazes at the objectified body of 'Mkabi', rather, it is through Cowley's eyes that the reader imagines this imagery. Cowley's fascination with the corporeality of Black womanhood echoes Carby's idea that the West has typically represented Blackwomen as the Other through hypersexualisation and exoticisation (1982).

8 See Maseko (2008) for an in-depth discussion on how the grammar of late nineteenth and early twentieth century literary or

deny the necessity of the body as a vehicle through which one experiences the world, there is an issue with how the body is overemphasised (Gordon, 2015) especially when it comes to representations of black people through the lens of the West.

In isiZulu, when one refers to the body as an independent entity that is divorced from one's spirit and soul, then one speaks of isidumbu or a corpse. It is understood that once the spirit and soul have left the body, one ceases to exist as umuntu[9], but they become umufi[10] (Berglund, 1972) or the one who has died. When the expression 'umzimba'[11] (which refers to a human body with life in it) is used, it has to be stated to whom that particular mzimba belongs (e.g. Umzimba ka [insert the name of the person the body is linked to] or the body of…). In other words, umzimba womuntu or the body of a person (because a body may belong to beings that are not people) is continuously inscribed with a multi-dimensional idea of personhood that goes beyond the physical.

In isiZulu, one would not refer to themselves as a 'black female body'. If that had to be the case they would have to refer to themselves as 'umzimba omnyama

---

lexicographic works of isiXhosa demonstrate how isiXhosa speaking societies at that time were not somatocentric. In her work, Maseko proposes that isiXhosa's "obvious 'non-genderedness'" (2008: 49) is as a result of the language's lack of "pronominal gender markers that are characteristic of the English language" (ibid). She goes on to say that this absence is one out of multiple examples that isiXhosa is not body-centric. Maseko suggests that when a child is born, their sex and gender is not prioritised, rather it is their being that is valued. She asserts, "IsiXhosa is not fixated on type of body […], but on being" (ibid). In relation to the idea of being, Maseko then invokes the notion of the living being/human which she refers to as umntu (which is umuntu in isiZulu). She suggests that whenever a living being or a human is referred to by isiXhosa speakers, the prefix "u" is used regardless of the person's sex or gender (and interestingly this is the same in isiZulu). For Maseko, the idea that isiXhosa in itself does not insist on a continual identification of the kind of body the person referred to occupies is an illustration that English imposes body-centrism that does not exist in isiXhosa. And I propose that the critical observations that Maseko makes may be applied to isiZulu.

9 See Axel-Ivar Berglund PhD thesis titled *Zulu Ideas and Symbolism* (1976) wherein he discusses what constitutes a human being in the lives of isiZulu speakers. In it, he affirms "Zulu are very conscious of the fact that when they speak of umuntu [all emphases found in original text], man, they are referring to an entity which is the living human being" (Berglund, 1976: 119). Berglund's informant whom he only identifies as a "Zulu medical practitioner" without a name explains how isiZulu speakers deal with the subject of illness in their communities. He elucidates "Whites have failed to see that in Africa human being is an entity, not in the first instance divided up into various sections such as the physical body, the soul and the spirit. When a Zulu is sick it is the whole man that is sick, his physical as well as his spiritual being that which is affected" (1976: 119).

10 Berglund confirms "When a person is dead, he is referred to as umufi, the body of umufi termed isidumbu" (1972: 120). He continues to state that the use of the term 'umufi' is limited to human beings who have died not carcasses of animals. Berglund also notes that an unnamed "diviner-informant" observed that when umuntu turns into umufi they are no longer exist as umuntu that once lived with a soul and spirit, but, they are now "umuntu oshonileyo", meaning that one who has passed (1976: 121).

11 According to Berglund, "Umzimba is more than merely the material body of a living human being. It implies the bodily appearance of a person. […] The idiom umzimba uzwiwa umniniwo [emphasis in original text] covers a human's feelings as well as his health" (1976: 121-122). In addition, performer, writer and educator Billy Langa conceives of the human body, which he critically links to the idea of language, as a "poem written in landscape, relative to both space and time" (2018: 11). In this context, language is "a tool of communication, [which like the human body is] relative to space and time" (ibid). In this regard, umzimba is not static or fixed but it is a transient entity that exists within a spatial-temporal continuum that is fluid. It is through umzimba that the spirit and soul found in it may express itself (albeit the spirit and soul transcend the limitations of the materiality of the human body). And in his collection of performative poems he titles Tswalo (2018), Langa emphasises that language may also find expression through umzimba which he frames as an organism that has more than a mouth. In this regard, when I refer to umzimba, I do so with the idea that it is a multifarious and mutable living thing or even an institution of knowledge and histories as seen in Magoqwana (2018).

wesifazane' and isiZulu speakers do not conceive of umzimba as something that is separate from the spirit, soul and mind (Berglund, 1976). To speak of umzimba is to invoke the image of a person (who lives inside that body) who has agency to define themselves for themselves. And to speak of isidumbu is to disconnect the person from the body. As such, I propose that the West frames bodies belonging to black people as izidumbu not imizimba yabantu.

Additionally, the manner in which the West racialises and hypersexualises the body is not found in isiZulu. In the case where one refers to blackness, one would do so in relation to personhood. That is to say, in isiZulu, one would start with the person and then they would state that they are black (e.g. umuntu omnyama or a person who is black). The same may be found in relation to gender. It is the person first and then their gender (e.g. umuntu wesifazane[12] or umuntu wesilisa[13]). In other words, in isiZulu, the person is central and their physicality is secondary. And as a first language isiZulu speaker, it is difficult for me to continuously write about 'the body' as though it is the more central that the spirit, soul and mind. At the same time, I am cognisant of how Western discourses have pathologised black people's bodies to a point where it is critical if not urgent for black people to reclaim their bodies as their own. As such, even though I am grappling with the above, I understand the importance of the body in light of broader discourses around the politics of the representation of black people and their bodies.

As stated earlier, Figure 34 destabilises normative representations of 'Zulu womanhood' as imagined through 'Zulu' historiography. In this image as well as in Figure 35, it is interesting to note the ubiquity of the display behind uMntwana uMagogo. Although the captioning in both images simply states that these photographs were either captured "at home" or "at Nkonjeni, Mahlabalhini[14] (sic)", for me, the exact location in the home is important to note. In these images, the presence of the display suggests that the spaces seen in these photographs are two living rooms.

Growing up in the late 1980 and early 1990s, the living room was a place where children only existed when summoned. This is where adults held conversations

12 While this phrase is often translated as 'woman', I propose that these terms are not necessarily synonymous. This is so because the gendered noun 'woman' only refers to one's gender while the phrase 'umuntu wesifazane' highlights the idea that this is a person first and their gender is secondary. This distinction is critical because of how patriarchy has historically dehumanised women because of their gender. In light of patriarchy, it is vital that women…especially Blackwomen are humanised. And the popularised idea of feminism as "the radical notion that women are people" affirms this.

13 As suggested above in footnote 12, this expression cannot be easily translated to 'man' because this gendered noun only refers to one's gender while the phrase 'umuntu wesilisa' highlight one's personhood first and their gender after.

14 The correct spelling is 'Mahlabathini'.

that children were not allowed to partake in. And this is where visitors were treated to *Joko, Trinco* or *Five Roses* tea with sponge cake or *Choice Assorted* biscuits. In this instance, children only entered this space to deliver trays carrying tea, biscuits or food or to bring indwangu yokusula (meaning the cloth to wipe one's hands). And even though adults insisted that a 'child's place' was phandle or outdoors, a child had to be close enough so that ukuthuma could take place. Ukuthuma came in many ways. It was not just a practice wherein adults barked orders at children, but ukuthunywa also entailed being trusted with 'adult things' like making tea all by yourself. Or organising ubheseni or an enamel basin for a communal washing of hands before breakfast, lunch or dinner.

Part of the excitement yokuthunywa, especially where food was involved was that in one way or another, the biscuits left behind by adults would make their way to your tummy. It was not often that *Choice Assorted* biscuits were had and so when your name was called to serve abantu abadala or adults, you would get excited. However, in the event that a seriously competitive game of umasigalobha[15] (which is usually pronounced as 'umas'galobha) was being played outside and your name was called indoors, no amount of *Choice Assorted* biscuits would convince you to leave the game. But since it was understood that children could not say no to

15 While lomdlalo or this game may be dismissed as a banal pastime activity for Black children in South African townships, I propose that when looked at through the act of seeing (as captured in hooks' Baba's idea of learning to see), this game may be reimagined to mean much more (see Okot p'Bitek's *The Horn of my Love* (1974: 1-4) which explores the complexities of children's oral games and songs in Uganda). Lomdlalo is predominantly perceived as a young girls game albeit there have been many instances where multiple forms of children have participated in it. The objective of the game is to meet the physical demands of jumping over a recycled pantyhose that has been shredded into pieces that are tied to form an oval structure held up by two people on either side. Opposing teams are chosen and they compete on the basis of displaying good coordination and precision as they jump in and out of this contraption that is called ugusha in some townships. The term ugusha is derived from the noun amagusha (a Black colloquialism meaning pantyhose). The team that wins is one that has been able to jump in and out of ugusha with the skill of meeting multiple requirements that are prescribed by the structure of the game (i.e. using one's legs to form a criss-cross shape on the pantyhose). Although this sounds easy, the trick is that with each step, ugusha elevates on the bodies of the people who are holding it up. The first step means that ugusha is around the ankles then it moves to the knees and then it moves to the hips and then it moves to the waist until it reaches the tips of ones fingers which are propped by one's raised arms. What makes this game challenging is that those who are holding ugusha up may be really tall and as such, it becomes an almost impossible task for those who are vertically challenged (like me) to succeed. This game requires athleticism. Often, township streets are filled with Black children reaching for the sky while playing umasigalobha (and I still see this in the township I grew up in). And it is in this act of flight that I reimagine this game. In this chapter, I submit that the expression "umasigalobha" is not coincidental. I suggest that this phrase is derived from the noun ugalo meaning "ithambo lengalo noma lomlenze" (which may be loosely translated as "a bone found in an arm or a leg"). Usually, when players are participating in this game, their entire bodies, minds (and dare I say souls and spirits) are at work. I posit that the statement "umasigalobha" is not only about centering bodily elements but it is about Black children defying gravity, which in this context may be metaphorically read as factors which systemically confine them. In this regard, I frame gravity as multiple systems of oppression Black children face in the township—a space whose inception "correlates highly with the formal construction of the apartheid state which got under way in 1948"; And it is critical to note that for the apartheid regime "a key principle high on the political and economic agenda was […] control" (1989: 66). Therefore when Black children in South African townships boldly reflect "umasigalobha" (an expression that may be broken down as "uma si galobha"), which I argue could be taken to mean "When we gallop", they position themselves as aeronautical beings whose flexible limbs and imaginations lick the sun. In many ways, this collective Black and youthful act of soaring is reminiscent of the equally liberatory and defiant gesture of ukulahla umlenze (as seen in Gqola, 2005 and Mazwai, 2006) which may be loosely be translated as throwing one's legs in the air in the form of ukujayiva/ukujay'va or dancing. Thus, umasigalobha the game is not just an act of leisure but it represents Wanuri Kahui's idea of "frivolous fun" as a political way of being in a world that is set on dispossessing Black people (as seen in Campt's notion of the quotidian being essential in the lives of dispossessed Black people).

ukuthunywa, one had to oblige and go into the living room, a space where adult stories were shared. And even though you entered this space with ears wide open, you had to behave as though you had none. Now and then, the adult conversations would stop and this is when you would be asked yet again what standard you are in. And without fail, one of the adults would say "Usuzoba uthisha!" (You are going to be a teacher soon!) or "Usuzoba u-miss" (You are going to be a mistress soon!) or "Usuzoba iphoyisa" (You are going to be a police *man* soon!) or "Usuzoba u-nurse!" (You will be a nurse soon!) as a way to suggest that you are progressing far in your studies. These expressions were also indicative of how in the township, the professions that were seen as viable for black people were being a teacher, a nurse and a policeman. And since I was a girl child, the expression I would get the most would be "Usuzoba uthisha!" or "Usuzoba u-miss!" because girls were not seen as potential police. And conversely, boys were not seen as potential nurses. And the phrase "mistress" was used to refer to a woman teacher…especially a young one, while "u-ma'am" was used to describe an old woman teacher.

The above anecdotes may seem like a digression from academic discourse, however, my account of them is to demonstrate how the living room in black homes has always been a place where transgressive acts happen but it is also a place where stereotypical ideas have been normalised. It is in this very room that isitulo sikababa (the father's untouchable chair) has been designated. It is in this room that the television has infiltrated everyday conversations. And it is also in this room where family meetings have been conducted and it is in this room where omama bomthandazo (women's praying guilds) have worshipped and prayed. That is to say, even though the living room is not the room where people lay their heads, it remains a space where their lives unfold. And similar to e-passage or the passage way seen in Figure 35, the living room is a liminal space where people's ephemeral but daily activities happen. It is an in-between space where people grow while the display, the television, the sofas and the porcelain ornaments wither while the children become adults that will repeat the rituals practiced therein the living room they grew up in.

The photographs that represent uMntwana uMagogo's living rooms in Figure 34 and 35 are reminiscent of many living rooms in Black South African homes. Figure 36-37 are key examples of the shared aesthetic between uMntwana uMagogo's umuzi (as represented in Figure 34-35) and the multiple Black homes I refer to.

The display (in Figure 34-35) and the room divider (in Figure 36-37) have been historically found in most Black homes in South Africa. These cabinets which were

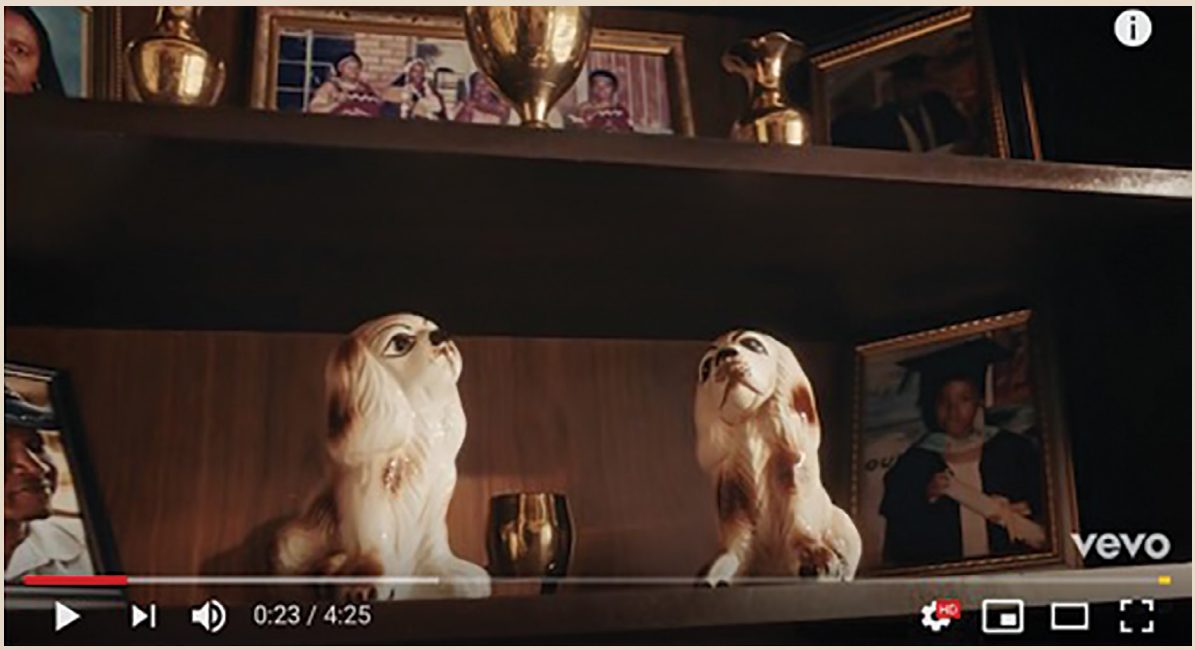


Figure 36. Screenshot[iv] of Kwesta and Wale's music video titled *Spirit* (2019)

---

iv I have intentionally included YouTube's interface as a playful visual device that elicits the viewer to think sonically (as seen in chapter one) about these still images. This is particularly the case with Figure 37 wherein there is an image of Brenda Fassie with her mouth open in song. Although the scenes represented in these images are of contemporary South Africa, it is critical to think about uMntwana uMagogo's place not just within the confines of the historical, but it is vital to consider what her legacy and that of the many un-historicised women she represents means in post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa. The very fact that I have been doing this PhD research for the past five years clearly illustrates that this historic woman's narrative is pertinent in present day South Africa. As stated throughout this thesis, it is important to think about 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' in the everyday sense. And for me, the kind of written work I have undertaken in this thesis does not only reflect the historical and the present but it is also about thinking of black futurity (see footnote 11 in the Introduction for a discussion on Campt's idea of black futurity). Interestingly, for some, Brenda Fassie is a historic figure, while for others (like me) she continues to have relevance in contemporary South Africa. Drawing from a popularised expression that has been extrapolated from a speech that Julius Malema delivered in honour of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela after her passing, it is almost as if Brenda Fassie "did not die but she multiplied" (2018). And perhaps this is a stance that one can take in relation to uMntwana uMagogo. It is worth considering the idea that her existence meant that multiplication of many women's narratives.

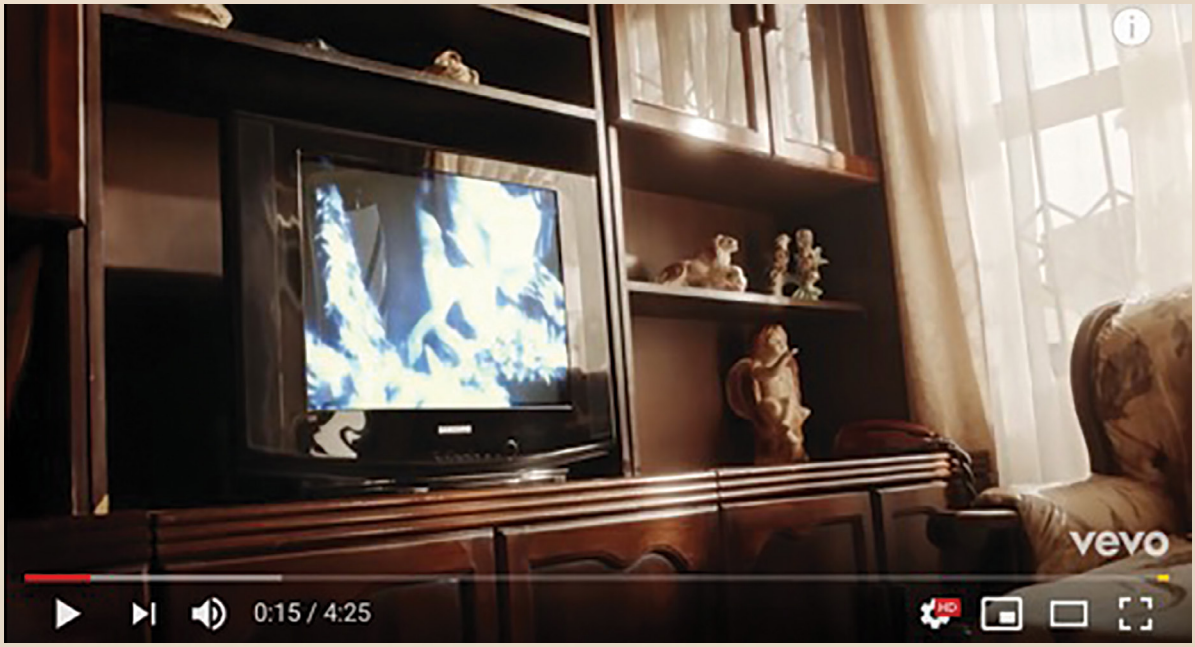


Figure 37[v]. Screenshot of Kwesta and Wale's music video titled *Spirit* (2019)

v See footnote iv on previous page.

usually ornamentalised by Blackwomen were prized objects that were considered a critical element in the making of a living room in a Black home. In them would be found expensive china, photographs, postcards, rarely used cutlery and other decorative objects such as snowballs or old keys. And right at the top of these repositories would be a clock, doilies and porcelain horses, dogs or other domestic animals (as seen in Figure 34-37). If the ceramic statues had openings, then more objects would be stored in them. It could be marbles, receipts, letters and other small materials that can fit.

In this chapter, when I refer to these fragile objects as seen in Figure 34-37, I do so with the understanding that objects are not just things but they speak in many ways. The objects in this chapter are conceived of as complex things imbued with multiple ideas and histories. In *The Object Reader*, Candlin and Guins frame objects in the following ways

> [Objects] are […] found, loved, desired, worshipped, remembered, hated, feared, lost, scrutinized, studied, revered and much more. In all these forms objects surround us; they have practical uses, helping us to eat, sleep, wash, move and work, they keep us warm and cool us down, let us in and out, provide ease or speed, and equally, badly designed, malfunctioning or worrying objects can stymie our abilities to act or rest…objects have symbolic function, embodying and representing our gods and spirits, averting demons and encapsulating memory. They likewise have social meanings. They are used to assert status or power, circulate value, demarcate our habits and habits, and enforce the law, as well as to connect us to and disconnect us from friends, colleagues or strangers. These objects can make us rich or ruin us; they can contribute to and utterly impoverish our environment. Indeed, our day-to-day, spiritual, emotional, sexual, cultural and political lives are conducted in relation to objects and thoroughly mediated by them in whatever forms they take, qualities they possess and complex practices they help enable (2009:1)

Following Candlin and Guins' conception of objects as multi-layered things that mean different things to different people, I propose that the display cabinet and the room divider represent more than pieces of furniture. Even though the look like mundane objects, their ornamentalisation by Blackwomen transform them

into repositories of fragile knowledge (Ntombela, 2013)[16] passed down from one Blackwoman to another.

In my case, following ukhokho's death, her display became the responsibility of her daughter ugogo uGloria and since her death, my mother has taken on the role of being the curator of the objects in the display. Interestingly, my mother herself has not shifted much around. In a way, she has become particularly nostalgic about the arrangement of the objects in this seemingly mundane cabinet. And I must admit that some of the objects that come from this cabinet invoke colonial history in South Africa. For example, there is an off white tray that I would frame as colonial ephemera. This tray[17] has the year '1652' stencilled on it and right below is an illustration of Jan Van Riebeek who takes on a gallant posture in his iconic army ensemble as he looks out into a far distance that is implied to be the Cape, which he and many like him not only 'settled' in but they systematically colonised (as seen in the history of colonialism throughout South Africa) for 262 years until the establishment of apartheid in 1948. As a child, I never understood the history behind this particular object. Now that I am older, I have many questions that I have never dared to ask in the fear of appearing disrespectful to my family. And I imagine that even if I asked these questions, the people who incorporated this item and others like it into our family archive that is constituted in the form of crockery,

16 In her MAFA thesis, Ntombela not only speaks about the delicate nature of knowledge but she does so in the relation to archives. In her work which she frames around the idea of a fragile archive, she formulates "A Fragile Archive speaks on many levels to the idea of working with doubt, uncertainty or something delicate. [It]…dr[a]w[s] on the notion that despite the fact that they are repositories of evidence of events and contexts, archives are often incomplete and inconclusive. This speaks to the fragility of knowledge in relation to archives". Ntombela's conception of fragility is worth deep consideration because for her, fragility is not solely a descriptor of the state of archives and the knowledge thereof but, it is also an active exercise or a verb wherein one deliberately works with what she calls "doubt, uncertainty or something delicate" (2013: 78). In a way, fragility is a call to work and rework, make and unmake that which cannot be easily pinned down or 'ordered' as seen in Michel Foucault's *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Science*s (1990). In Ntombela's world, doubt and uncertainty are not states of paralysis, rather this delicacy is reimagined as a provocation to (re)work and in the case of her MAFA, it is an invitation to do the (re)work of centering the narrative of a marginalised Blackwoman artist called Gladys Mgudlandlu. And similar to Ntombela, this study is not only concerned with re-locating Blackwomen's narratives from the margins to the centre but it also conceives of the margins as "a hive of productivity, rigorous debate and healthy dissent" (Smith, 2000: 41)

17 I have deliberately chosen not to include an image of this tray because I am particularly interested in the quotidian relationship between people and the things that not only surround them but ones that they cherish. In this case, I am not fascinated by the trope of the isolated and fetishised object—a praxis that is common in the study of object biographies as seen in *Activate/Captivate: Collections Re-engagement at Wits Art Museum* (De Becker and Nettleton, 2015) and material culture studies at large. And interestingly, Hirsch reflects on how Barthes talks about a family photograph that he chooses not show the reader in *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (1977). Instead, he relies on the reader's imagination to construct this image. Hirsch affirms "Our own look as readers of Barthes's description is excluded from that exchange: the picture Barthes finds and cherishes is the only photograph he discusses in detail that is not reproduced in the book. Barthes cannot show [italics in original] us the photograph because we stand outside the familial networks of looks and thus cannot see the picture in the way the Barthes must. To us it would be just another generic family photograph from a long time ago. He cannot show it because, although it is a picture of his mother and uncle, he claims it as a very private kind of self-portrait, revealing unexpectedly, the most intimate and unexposed aspects of himself. This picture of his mother provokes a moment of self-recognition which, in the reading process, becomes a process of self-discovery, a discovery of a self-in-relation " (1997: 2). While I do include intimate family photographs in this thesis, I find Barthes' optical refusal compelling. In a way, it is a methodological choice that offers a non-ocular way of reading images (as seen in my discussion of ocularcentrism in chapter one). I propose that there is something powerful about seeing an image beyond what the eye can offer. As such, I follow Barthes' optical refusal for reasons I have mentioned.

cutlery (composed mostly of sugar spoons ugogo collected in Europe during her choir days), dolls and other objects have died. In my mind, I suspect that ukhokho and her mother undlunkulu uMamuyaliwa would be the right people to ask about the details of this specific object.

As I have grown up, I have seen how objects I have gifted my family have been accorded the 'special' status in the display. Somehow, this act of placing gifts I have given in the display has made me feel like a 'grown up'. These days, one of 'my mugs' is now used to serve visitors. And yet, nagging questions plague me. Why is it that women are the ones that have to take on the responsibility of ensuring that these prized 'mundane' objects are taken care of? Where are the men when tea and scones are being served in these objects? Why is it taken for granted that when the women pass on, it is women that must continue the 'tradition' of maintaining the 'special' status of these objects? And the answer to these critical questions lies in the age-old idea the private sphere) is a 'woman's place', while any space that is not 'domestic' (i.e. the public sphere) is the place of men. Although I am proposing that Blackwomen have found ways to transgress these stereotypical notions through transforming the seemingly 'banal' into repositories of their histories, there remains the practice of placing what happens in the home on the shoulders of Blackwomen.

What is also interesting about objects found in and on the display cabinet is that their fragility is embodied in their 'death'. A lot of the items found in and on this cabinet are made out of porcelain and glass and so, if they are not handled with care, they are considered 'dead'. In isiZulu, when a porcelain cup or a glass breaks, it is said "ifile", meaning it has 'died'. In this context, 'ukufa' refers to the fragility of the object. And as seen in ukhokho's display cabinet, each object has a story which is invoked in the rare event that the item in question is used. Unlike objects that stay in the kitchen cupboard, the things stored in and on the display cabinet are considered particularly special and historical. When they are in use, the ritual of remembering or rememory (refer to chapter two) through story telling happens.

Therefore, the everydayness of the personal space of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is important in light of how she has been painted as a larger-than-life historic figure that is disconnected from the everyday practices of Blackwomen in South Africa. In *Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought*, Patricia Collins speaks about the importance of the everyday in Blackwomen's lives. In this text she states

> …if Black women simultaneously use all resources available to them—their roles as mothers, their participation in churches, their support of one another to encourage others to reject objectification, then Black women's everyday behaviour itself is a form of activism. People who view themselves as fully human, as subjects, become activist, no matter how limited the sphere of their activism may be. By returning subjectivity to Black women, Black feminists return activism as well (1986: S24)

In the citation above, Collins frames the day-to-day practices of Blackwomen as activism. In this regard, the lived experiences of Blackwomen are not simply mundane doings not worth theorising about, but the personal lives of Blackwomen are places of politicisation. Furthermore, the idea that subjectivity and the personal can be politicised is captured in Patricia Van Der Spuy and Lindsay Clowes' *Accidental Feminists? Recent Histories of South African Women* (2007) wherein they assert the "need to listen for women's voices" (2007: 214) which they suggest is "a continuing contentious concern within feminist histonography (sic)" (ibid: 214-215).

Therefore, my reading of Figure 34-35 (as well the rest of the images in this thesis) is about finding ways in which the unreachable, exceptionalised, 'big' figure that is the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' may be demystified to a point where everyday Black South African women see themselves in her narrative. My framing of uMntwana uMagogo's living room as an ordinary place where everyday Blackwomen could possibly reside is my attempt to challenge 'official' historiography's problematic practice of constructing figures so monumental that they disappear in the mythicised world of stick wielding black male warriors, war mongering ethnic kings and villainous 'kingly' Blackwomen that eat their young.

As I intimated earlier, the hypervisibility of the colossal figure that is 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' does not necessarily mean that representations of her have presented her in complete and conclusive ways. In fact, even this thesis in itself is a demonstration of how fragile uMntwana uMagogo's photographic archives are. And as I have discussed in this thesis, I refer to these photographs as archival because of their inextricable relationship with institutions of power and authority such as Wits University and ILAM which is affiliated with the university currently known as Rhodes. In other words, in this thesis, I reconstitute these images into some form of archive albeit a fragile one. In this regard, I have had to work with doubt, uncertainty and the delicate (as seen in Ntombela, 2013). It is clear in my captioning and my reading of the images included in this thesis at large that I do

not know the provenance of most of the images and I do not often have access to people's names or to places in which the images have been captured. However, none of these gaps and absences[18] have resulted in paralysis. As a result, the incompleteness of things does not render me silent. Rather, it catapults me into a place painted by Nontsizi Mgqwetho in her poem titled *Ukutula Ukwakuvuma!* (circa 1920s) which Opland translates as "silence implies consent" (2007: 158). In this powerful poem, the line "Asinakutula umhlab' ubolile" which Opland contentiously interprets as "We can't sit silent, the country is rotten"[19] (Mgqwetho in Opland, 2007: 159) has pushed me to speak boldly about the marginality of women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's narratives in 'official' historiography.

In Figure 35, uMntwana uMagogo is caught telling a story. In fact, in all the images included in this thesis, this is the only photograph where she is represented as a speaking woman. In the other images, she is caught smiling, singing or in a pensive mode wherein she is engrossed in the music. In this instance, without the presence of ugubhu and people around her, she appears as a speaking woman. For her, iduku is not just something one wears to cover one's head, but it is an item that may be playfully worn around one's neck. UMntwana uMagogo's attention to how she dresses is a demonstration of how she continuously self-represents as a sartorially conscious figure. And her crossed ankles are reminiscent of Butler's idea of the performativity of gendered identities. Butler states

---

18 See *Women and Society in Native Life in South Africa: Roles and Ruptures* (Hughes, 2016). In this text, Heather Hughes discusses the difficulty of locating African women's narratives in an archive that relates to Sol Plaatjie's book titled *Native Life in South Africa* (1913). She notes "In an archive generally marked by absence or patchiness, the challenges of locating African women (which I refer to as Blackwomen in this thesis) are immense. There are tantalising hints of correspondence that passed between protagonists but no extant letters of organisations that women founded and ran and whose papers have vanished. This has skewed (and will likely continue to skew) the way in which African women's public role, political though and reach of influence are presented. Whatever the difficulties, however, it is important not to equate a lack of evidence with a lack of participation in debate and struggle" (Hughes, 2016: 158-159). I have cited Hughes in particular because the obstacles that she encountered are somewhat similar to the glaring absences that I had to contend with. Additionally, Hughes' idea that a lack of evidence should not be conceived of as an affirmation of the non-existence of African women's active involvement in early twentieth century South African public life is incredibly crucial. As a writer who has reflected on similar archival challenges myself, I submit that it is important for theorists and documentarians at large to acknowledge the hurdles that one encounters especially when it comes to archival materials that represent marginalised people in South Africa. Peterson aptly interrogates the continuing issue of inaccessibility in [South African] archives. He asserts "We have to establish what other forms of knowledge and record have been deemed inconsequential and inappropriate and consequently excluded from archival holdings. We have to be critical of the methods that have gone into the acquisition, cataloguing and interpretation of the material. Except for a few cases, and, in particular, public archives in South Africa, have been monolingual: they have embodied and voiced only the experiences and discourses of the successive white oligarchies that have governed throughout the twentieth century. These experiences and insights of African, women, workers and other communities were generally ignored or criminalised, at times even banned and destroyed" (2002: 30-31). In this regard, archives in South Africa are not only contentious and highly subjective but they are fragmentary (as seen in Hamilton, 2002). It is vital that 'other forms of knowledge and record' (as Peterson notes) are consulted to make sense of the persisting gaps.

19 As demonstrated in earlier discussions in this thesis, the noun "mhlaba" transcends the idea of nationhood. To speak of umhlaba is to refer to the world in its entirety. Therefore, Opland's translation of umhlaba as "country" is questionable. In this thesis, I use this expression with Athambile Masola's translation in mind. On the 22nd of November 2018, Masola presented a Charlotte Maxeke Memorial Lecture at UNISA's Institute for African Renaissance Studies. In her discussion of Mgqwetho's poem which I cite in this thesis, Masola translates the line "Asinakutula umhlab' ubolile" as "We shall not be silent while the world is in shambles" (2018).

> Gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceede; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time—an identity instituted through a stylised repetition of acts. Further, gender is instituted through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self (1988: 519)

Butler's assertion that umzimba womuntu is not neutral, but it is imbued with multiple acts that are stylised in very particular ways, is useful in that photography as a visual medium emphasises the materiality of the human body (as seen in the images discussed in this thesis as a whole) and the things the person inside that body does. As discussed in chapter one, wherein I propose a sonic reading of the images in question, the visual idea of stylised bodily acts or do-ings remains and is not easily escapable. For instance, uMntwana uMagogo's donning of what I term 'Sunday best' (in most of the photographs included in this thesis) is a visual motif wherein she re-presents her body to read as one that does not fit neatly into the tribalised image of a 'Zulu woman', rather, she stylises umzimba wakhe (or her body) as one that is 'ethnically ambiguous' through the sartorial.

As suggested earlier, it is no coincidence that uMntwana uMagogo's ankles are crossed in the way they are in Figure 35. This gesture is reminiscent of how as a young girl, I was taught how a girl sits. Ukwenaba or having my legs together while sitting on the floor is something that I was taught by the Blackwomen in my life. This 'lesson' came when a Blackwoman whose face I cannot recall saw me sitting with my legs wide open. She looked at me with mortification and said "Hayi! Intombazane ayigovozi" which loosely translates as "No! A girl does not keep her legs wide open". What I remember are her hands gesturing for me to close my legs and from then on, I would be told over and over again how I needed to sit the way a girl is 'supposed to sit'. As Butler states, it is through repetition that I learned that to be a girl meant performing 'feminine' acts that proved my 'girl-ness'.

In Figure 35, the crossing of the ankles is something I recognise as an act similar to the one I have just described. I use the word 'recognise' because I have seen this ankle crossing amongst many women. Although my aim is not to suggest that women do not have agency to do with their bodies what they desire, I am stating that this particular gesture is something that I grew up understanding was an act of 'femininity' and 'self-respect'. Crossing the ankles in this way meant the absence of ukugovoza, which was an act that was framed as a masculine one. In other words,

'the act' seen in Figure 35 is not neutral but it has historically been imbibed as a demonstration of one's womanhood.

However, the beautiful thing about using a feminist methodology that centres around the lived experiences of Blackwomen and Blackgirls is that there is much room for Blackwomen and Blackgirls of all kinds to define themselves for themselves. As such, uMntwana uMagogo's choice to present herself as an ankle crossing, dress and scarf wearing, speaking Blackwoman is an illustration of her agency to decide how she wants to be perceived. In this image, yet again, she chooses not to engage the photographer and their camera. As demonstrated by the multiple images in this thesis, uMntwana uMagogo continuously and deliberately ignores the presence of the mechanical eye and by so doing, she owns her moments for herself. Her moving mouth, pointed finger and animated gaze suggest that she is not only engaged in a conversation beyond the frame of the photograph but she is surrounded by a community of people. The latter is important because of how 'official' historiography has singularised her as a lone figure disconnected from a larger community that does not necessarily comprise of the men constantly invoked in her master narrative.

Additionally, the overall manner in which uMntwana uMagogo has been historicised in 'official historiography' is aligned with Lato Frank Ntwape's idea that

> Coverage in general histories of South Africa of women's history[20] has not been sufficient. Where women's roles were mentioned, the focus could have been more prominently on how women were able to fight for their rightful positions within historical events (2016: 17).

In other words, the exploration of how the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' appears in 'official' historiography is not only about addressing her marginalisation and the absence of women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's histories in 'Zulu' historiography but it is also about examining the "coverage in general histories of South Africa of women's history" (Ntwape, 2016: 17). As suggested throughout this thesis, the idea that mainstream history prioritises the written over multiple ways in which histories may be captured plays a big role in the insufficiency of 'women's histor[ies][21]' in South Africa. In this thesis, I propose that photographs are able to speak as much as the written does.

---

20 As demonstrated in earlier discussions in this thesis, the noun "mhlaba" transcends the idea of nationhood. To speak of umhlaba is to refer to the world in its entirety. Therefore, Opland's translation of umhlaba as "country" is questionable. In this thesis, I use this expression with Athambile Masola's translation in mind. On the 22nd of November 2018, Masola presented a Charlotte Maxeke Memorial Lecture at UNISA's Institute for African Renaissance Studies. In her discussion of Mgqwetho's poem which I cite in this thesis, Masola translates the line "Asinakutula umhlab' ubolile" as "We shall not be silent while the world is in shambles" (2018).

21 Plural not in original text.

Although Figure 34 and 35 have been dismissed as visual demonstrations of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' at home, I have illustrated how these images are more than that. For instance, the representation of uMntwana uMagogo's ubhoko or the walking stick (as seen in Figure 35) alone can be spoken of at length. Out of all the images in this thesis, Figure 35 is the only photograph wherein she is seen with ubhoko. And the irony of its presence is in the idea that as a 'Zulu woman', she too may be read as a 'stick wielding Zulu', however, the 'stick wielding Zulu warrior' referred to in chapter two is a gendered trope wherein it is the black man who is not simply a 'wielder' of sticks but a disruptive one.

And ubhoko is critical in that it alludes to the fragility of the body which may be read as an archive in itself. In its aging process, wherein mobility and (re)memory (refer to chapter two) may be lost, umzimba womuntu is a physical and perhaps metaphysical reminder of how time works against archives in their materiality. In this regard, it is strange how none of the narratives I have encountered about the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' state how she died. It is almost as though she simply vanished from 'history'. In 'official' historiography, she comes in as a silent child surrounded by despicable Blackwomen and she suddenly transforms into an extra-ordinary, larger-than-life-figure and soon after that, she dissolves into four numbers which are 1984, the year in which she ceased to be visible. And yet, even in her death, her narrative continues to be fixed around her 'big-ness' and in a way, what is suggested by this preoccupation is that 'big' people do not really die. They continue to live on as giant figures whose names are monumentalised as statues, stadiums, schools, streets and hospitals.

Interestingly, most people know 'Princess Magogo' as a soccer stadium kwaMashu. Some know her as a street name found not too far from a major Ulundi shopping centre ironically named after her ukhokho inkosi uSenzangakhona. And in this thesis as a whole, I am proposing that as long as the world perpetuates the image of her as a 'big' woman who was never ordinary, her name will remain on the tongues of a few and eventually when those tongues cease to speak, her name will only exist in books and academic articles written mostly by white men and women who saw her as an exception.

In closing, in this chapter, I have proposed the importance of framing 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' an everyday woman that has transformed indlu or a house into a living space animated with life and living things—as seen in hooks. And similar to hooks wherein her story is not only centred around the house, this chapter's narrative has been about a Blackwoman who has occupied umuzi and

turned it into the living space that hooks alludes to. Like Baba's living space, many lives have traversed uMntwana uMagogo's umuzi. As noted by multiple scholars, many people from all over the world visited the homestead of kwaPhindangene in order to document the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' for her wide-ranging knowledge on 'Zulu culture' and 'Zulu music'. In addition, this homestead was (and continues to be) an ordinary place where mundane activities such as eating, sleeping, watching television, reading etc. have taken place.

In this chapter, I have also demonstrated how like Baba, uMntwana uMagogo illustrates how objects inform people's lives (hooks, 1990). In this context, objects are things that people not only look at but they situate and re-situate them as way to express their identities through the act of aestheticising. In this regard, the power that is ascribed to space (and the things within it) is determined by the people who occupy it. And as I discussed earlier in the chapter, I postulate that uMntwana uMagogo asserted her subjectivity through beautifying a space that was at times difficult (see footnote 1, Chapter 3) to contend with. Similar to hooks, one may learn about aesthetics from uMntwana uMagogo. And the idea of learning from her as an ordinary Blackwoman in twentieth century South Africa is important because like Baba "She did not inherit her contemplative preoccupation with aesthetics from a white western literary tradition" (hooks, 1990: 71).

In her work, hooks notes the importance of "shar[ing] the aesthetic inheritance handed down to [her] by [her] grandmother and generations of black ancestors, whose ways of thinking about the issue have been globally shaped in the African diaspora and informed by the experience of exile and domination" (ibid). To hooks, her Baba's memory "stands as a challenge to intellectuals, especially on the left, who assume that the capacity to think critically, in abstract concepts, to be theoretical, is a function of class and education privilege" (ibid). She continues, "Contemporary intellectuals committed to progressive politics must be reminded again and again that the capacity to name something (particularly in written terms like aesthetics, postmodernism, deconstruction, etc.) is not synonymous with the creation or ownership of the condition or circumstance to which such terms may refer" (ibid).

Therefore, as I have explored the 'aesthetic inheritance' that uMntwana uMagogo has left behind in the form of the images discussed in this chapter, I have postulated that 'her' aesthetic is not hers alone but it is a reflection of the interiors of many Black people's homes (especially township ones) in South Africa. As a result, to

critically look at the photographic representations of uMntwana uMagogo's home is to grapple with how Blackwomen[22] have made sense of the spaces they have willingly or unwillingly occupied. In a way, uMntwana uMagogo, like hooks' Baba, "hands [s] [us] a mirror showing [us] how to look" (1990: 65) at a Black home as a site of the "infra-ordinary" (Campt, 2017: 8). In multiple ways, the aesthetics of uMntwana uMagogo's umuzi encapsulate Baba's notion of "the beauty of the everyday" (hooks, 1990: 65). "Do you believe that space can give life, or take it away, that space has power?", the photographs in this chapter probe. And dissimilar to hooks, these questions do not frighten me. If anything, as a Blackwoman who grew up in a home whose aesthetics looked like most Black homes in South African townships, I want to understand how the space I grew up in informs how I see the world around me.

22 Even though I focus specifically on how South African Blackwomen reimagine the aesthetic of their homes, it is critical to note that South African Black people at large have participated in this activity. The photographer Andrew Tshabangu's series titled *Hostel Interiors* (2011) serves as a critical example of how multiple Black people in hostels have taken ownership of these spaces which have been predominantly represented as masculinised apartheid constructs. An unnamed reviewer at MOMO Magazine reflects on Tshabangu's work. The reviewer asserts that the importance of Tshabangu's Hostel Interiors photography series lies in the idea that this work "retain[s] the private nature of these spaces [meaning hostels]" (2017). This is done in lieu of the idea that "in the South African imagination, hostels have come to define the absence of beauty or tenderness, instead representing a kind of hard, survivalist masculinity" (MOMO Magazine, 2017). In this context, it is crucial to examine how various acts of aesthetising spaces such as hostels and homes like uMntwana uMagogo's may offer interesting ways to think about how Black people in South Africa perhaps share an aesthetic that may be compared to hooks' idea of an aesthetic of blackness (1990).

Conclusion

These are just some of the epic poems I wish to write
about women of our world, in the tongues of their mothers.
I will present the women in forms that match their foundations
using metaphors of moments that defined their beings
and similes that flow through our seasons of eternity.
But I am not yet ready to write these poems.

- Makhosazana Xaba

I am no poet. And yet, I am of the view that similar to the poet Makhosazana Xaba, my thesis has been written from a wishful place. In isiZulu, the English verb 'wish' may be interpreted in multiple ways. In this context, the act of wishing may be understood to mean "[uku]funa, [uku]fisa" (Doke et. al, 1996: 564) and "[uku]thanda" (ibid). I find C. M. Doke, D. M. Malcolm, J. M. A. Sikakana and B. W. Vilakazi's conception of this term useful because in their world, wishing becomes more than a longing to do something. For them, to wish is to search and want (i.e. ukufuna), desire (i.e. ukufisa) and love (i.e. ukuthanda). In many ways, this hard-to-write thesis was not only a labour of love but it was an exercise of "yearning for beauty that [hooks' Baba] tells [her] is the predicament of heart that makes our passion real" (see chapter three for hooks' citation). And the manner in which hooks links Baba's yearning for beauty to the actual manifestation of one's

passion/s may be connected to how Xaba's desire to write epic poems for (Black)[1] women is realised in her process of writing the poem that she titles *Tongues of their Mothers* (2008).

Like Xaba, bengifuna (I searched and wanted), bengifisa (I desired) and bengithanda (I loved) to one day "write about women of our world, in the tongues of their mothers" (2008). For me, the women of *my* world were not only Blackwomen that I grew up around but they were also Blackwomen that I grew up hearing about. And as mentioned in the necessarily extensive introductory section of this thesis, the key figure in my formative years was ukhokho uMntwana uNosulumane, who in many ways informed my interest in rethinking how 'Zulu' historiography has represented 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as an non-relatable (in the everyday sense) colossal historic figure. And as Gqola aptly observes "The task of representing Blackwomen in postcolonial[2] ways is challenging since it demands from us that we create and refashion forms of representation which continue to break new ground" (2001:15). Therefore, to re-present 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' in the form of this thesis meant contending with the challenging task that Gqola refers to.

Although I attempted to refashion this historic figure's limited and patriarchal representation in 'Zulu' historiography, I emphasised how this study is not conclusive of her narrative. As much as I endeavoured to offer one out of the many ways in which her master narrative could be reimagined, my thesis did not claim any kind of incontestability and completeness. And Nomboniso Gasa's stance in relation to her exploration of various South African women histories informed how I viewed my own work as fragmentary. In *Women in South African History: Basus'iimbokodo, Bawel'imilambo/ They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers* (2007), Gasa (as the editor and part writer of this text) notes the limited nature of this book. In the introduction she states

> This [meaning the book] is not a corrective effort to make women visible in history, to write women's history or to fill the gaps which are missing in various historical and social science works about women's place and

1 I have inserted the term 'Black' (in the Biko sense) because Xaba's poem centres specifically around historic Blackwomen such as Sarah Baartman [who is predominantly framed as Khoi], 'uMnkabayi kaJama Zulu', Daisy Makiwane, 'Princess Magogo Constance Zulu', Victoria Mxenge and Nomvula Glenrose Mbatha (2008).

2 In her work, Gqola frames the postcolonial as "the growing body of writing, literary and scholarly, which critiques the implications of the relationship of power between the former colonisers and the colonised" (2001: 13). She continues, "Whilst placing this very relationship under discussion, this scholarship is opposed to processes of 'Othering' and the oppressive/distortive inscriptions of the colonised which are central to it. Postcolonial writing/theory therefore not only subverts and resists what is associated with (previously) colonising culture, it also recognises the inevitability of the contamination of the colonised with practices of the dominant imperial culture. Thus hybridity becomes crucial to the postcolonial project since there is no possibility of 'purity' from the signs of the imperial power. Postcolonial theory offers the tools to carve out solutions for a series of dilemmas I have not been alone in encountering" (ibid).

> location. Such an approach has a limited scope and the very nature of a 'corrective approach' means an acceptance of the dominant paradigm (2007: xviii).

Gasa's position is fascinating because she is not interested in locating women within dominant 'South African history'. In a way, she is defining a new terrain altogether— as seen in Gqola (2001). Although I am not certain that I did what Gasa claims in this book, I attempted to "brush [Zulu] history against the grain" (Hartman, 1997: 10).

And while I highlighted that my background is not in Linguistics or African Language Studies, Xaba's idea of writing in the tongues of our mothers' mothers did not escape me. As a first language isiZulu speaker who has only[3] written in English in my academic past, I found value in using a writing method that drew from isiZulu concepts. As I began the journey of thinking and writing in isiZulu (albeit in a limited way), I found that the concepts I used from the tongues of my mother's mothers (i.e. isiZulu in this case) carried their own particularities and contexts. Dissimilar to English which has many western gendered concepts, I realised that the gendered meanings found in this language could not be simply be interchanged with those in isiZulu. In addition, Oyewumi's proposal for an "epistemological shift" (1997)—wherein gender categories are conceived of as impositions of the West on indigenous African languages— influenced how I thought about the issue of gender in isiZulu. And as expected, I encountered multiple instances where I had to rethink certain western gendered ideas that have been imposed in the telling of the 'official' history of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'.

---

3 As a first language isiZulu speaker who formally learned the English language in Standard Eight (i.e. Grade Ten), I struggled with expressing myself in this language at university. When I encountered NoViolet Bulawayo's *We Need New Name*s in 2013, I finally understood the shame that I had carried for many years over not being able to 'master' this supposedly critical 'academic language'. When I read the character Darling Nonkululeko Nkala's poignant reflection on what it feels like to speak English when it is not your first, second or even your third language, I felt freed. In this novel, this young girl critically observes "The problem with English is this: You usually can't open your mouth and it comes out just like that--first you have to think what you want to say. Then you have to find the words. Then you have to carefully arrange those words in your head. Then you have to say the words quietly to yourself, to make sure you got them okay. And finally, the last step, which is to say the words out loud and have them sound just right. But then because you have to do all this, when you get to the final step, something strange has happened to you and you speak the way a drunk walks. And, because you are speaking like falling, it's as if you are an idiot, when the truth is that it's the language and the whole process that's messed up. And then the problem with those who speak only English is this: they don't know how to listen; they are busy looking at your falling instead of paying attention to what you are saying" (Bulawayo, 2013: 194). As I have stated in this thesis, though the majority of it is still written in English, I have found incredible value in the idea that I could theorise in a language that I grew up thinking, joking, dreaming, praying, getting angry and loving in. The last time I wrote 'seriously' in my mother tongue was in Gabangaye Primary School which is in Section A, Ulundi. After my schooling there which continued until Standard Four (i.e. Grade 6), I went on to learn everything (including English) in Afrikaans at Utretch Hoërskool in Utrecht, KwaZulu-Natal. When I started my education at an English speaking multiracial—that is how this school classified itself—private school Bishop Bavin School St. George's in Bedfordview, Johannesburg, I spoke isiZulu and Afrikaans with more fluency than I did English. And so my journey with the English language (and actually Afrikaans) has been a tumultuous one. And while I was in Gabangaye Primary School, I was taught English in isiZulu. And in many ways, I spoke English ngesiZulu.

Moreover, Pamela Maseko's suggestion that isiXhosa "does not do gender"[4] (2018) was particularly eye-opening because of this language's close[5] ties to isiZulu. Similar to isiXhosa, there is an assumption that isiZulu is inherently gendered. Maseko notes that it is common for people to make the argument that any isiXhosa noun with the suffix '-kazi' and '-azi' (which are suffixes that may also be found in isiZulu) strictly signals femaleness (2018). She cautions against the grave erroneous nature of this assumption as she maintains "When added to a noun as a suffix, this morpheme [meaning -kazi] adds a kind of superlative, a degree of greatness and awesomeness in the noun" (2018: 50). Maseko notes that even though nouns that contain these suffixes are commonly used to refer to women, they do not exclusively apply to them. She explains:

> When the terms *indodakazi,* great man (sister-in-law), *ubawokazi*, great father (paternal uncle), *umhlekazi*, awesome/beautiful one (sir and *umamakazi*, great mother (maternal aunt) are translated into English they do not begin to convey the meaning embedded in the root and suffix of the word. In isiXhosa, the responsibility of the carrier of the name and the connection in terms of social relation is, instead, of great worth" (Maseko, 2018: 50).

In consideration of Maseko's assertions as well Oyěwumi's language-related observations that I discuss in the thesis, I understood the importance of theorising using concepts from a language I grew up speaking. In many ways, my limited use of isiZulu challenged my own long-held assumptions about what constitutes an academically rigorous thesis. In my mind, to theorise meant mastering the language of an English-centred academy. Writing this thesis has been a liberatory act that has allowed me to take part in Xaba's multiverse wherein Blackwomen are drawing upon other Blackwomen's many ways of making sense of their everyday lives. And as stated earlier, I was raised mostly by Blackwomen and as such, my thinking about the world has been largely informed by them.

In addition, I utilised my interdisciplinary background to write beyond what the 'Zulu' historiographic canon has presented as 'the history' of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu'. This interdisciplinarity was important because it offered me ways to think beyond an art historical framework. And as demonstrated in my thesis,

4 Maseko asserts "The notions of gender when applied to African social relations, and specifically in isiXhosa-speaking Nguni societies, seem to be premised on Eurocentric conceptions of gender. […] Several studies on language and gender in (southern) Africa have followed this trend of thinking about gender, using the English lens in looking at a phenomenon in an African context" (2008: 47-48).

5 IsiXhosa, isiZulu, isiNdebele and isiSwati are referred to as Nguni languages which are similarly structured linguistically (Magoqwana, 2018).

I did not solely undertake a formal analysis of the images included in it, but I attempted to find multiple ways in which normative readings izithombe that represent 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' could be disrupted.

In the chapters of this thesis I analysed photographic images from various sources (e.g. ILAM, the Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi Museum, the *Sunday Tribune* newspaper (1972), *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman* (Temkin, 1976) and *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction* (Gordon, 1988)). Some of the images which were not the focus of this study but were necessary for the broader discussion around the representation of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', were sourced from the visual artist Velaphi Mzimba (2002) with the help of SAMRO, SAMRO (2015), the photographer Tsepo Gumbi (2015) and YouTube (2019).

The central aim of this thesis was to reimagine the representation of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as a seemingly larger-than-life 'Zulu' royal woman who was not only delinked from the histories of multiple undocumented and un-historicised women in the 'Zulu' monarchy that existed in her life, but, I was also interested in disrupting the limited and patriarchal ways in which 'Zulu' historiography wrote her into being. In the three chapters found in this study, I explored how 'official' historiography's maintenance of her obscurity could be destabilised. Moreover, I investigated how revisiting photographic representations of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' could not only undermine the marginalisation of the many unnamed women that contributed to her making as a celebrated historic figure, but I argued that the hypervisibility of this colossal historic figure inadvertently rendered uMntwana uMagogo, the everyday woman (who was umama to daughters, ugogo and a twentieth century Blackwoman) invisible. In this regard, 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' was reconceptualised as an ordinary twentieth century Blackwoman that not only had to contend with the reality of colonialism but she grappled with the politics of apartheid South Africa.

Chapter one examined how late twentieth century photographs that have been commonly framed as visual representations of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' performing 'Zulu bow music' could be revisited through a sound-based methodology. In this chapter, I drew on Tina Campt's approach of 'listening' to photographs to not only reimagine how the aforementioned images have been conceived of as field research photographs, but I was interested in how the idea of umsindo could be used to think beyond the visuality of these images. Moreover, I interrogated how the idea of umsindo opened up the possibility of multiple meanings that interrupt the dominant representation of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as a singular, larger-

than-life historic figure that was divorced from a community of royal women that critically contributed to the construction of her widely celebrated dexterity. In this regard, I imagined the use of an invisible ear that could be attuned (as you would a radio while you search for the right frequency) to hear the 'un-hearable'. In this chapter I argued that the many unnamed women whose tutelage 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' was under literally taught her how to hear, imagine and realise the many forms of (sonic) knowledge that goes beyond the ubiquitous presence of ugubhu in her master narrative.

Chapter two explored how images that represent the various roles that 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' epitomised during her life, could be used as a conduit through which she could be disentangled from dominant narratives of 'Zulu' male figures and broadly, the homogenised 'Zulu' nation. In this chapter, I proposed that 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' who was a mother to daughters, ugogo and a twentieth century Blackwoman, was not only a child who learned all that she knew at the feet of okhokho, her mother and her mother's co-wives, but I posited that she was a self-defining woman. I suggested that her act of self-actualisation was as a result of her interactions with the many unacknowledged women that were in her life. I submitted that this act challenged the proliferation of master narratives that have maintained her as a 'big' woman whose existence is inextricably linked to 'big' men of history. And I used Toni Morrison's idea of rememory to think about how the photographs analysed in this chapter could be considered as visual 'places' of remembering and un-remembering 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as well as the many women that played a critical role in her life. Furthermore, I examined how her remembrance as the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' reified the marginal status of women in the 'Zulu' monarchy's narratives.

And lastly, chapter three focused on images that represent 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' within the confines of her home. In this chapter, I drew on bell hooks' idea of an aesthetic of blackness in order to explore how this aesthetic is embodied in these photographs. Since my thesis centred around a quotidian framing of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu', I was interested in seeing how hooks' idea of the beauty of the everyday could be applied to these images. I was particularly enthralled by this notion because hooks frames it as an aesthetic praxis that is cultivated by Blackwomen. This was critical in the case of 'Princess Magogo' because 'Zulu' historiography has predominantly disconnected her from a larger community of Blackwomen. I employed a close analysis of these photographs as way to frame umuzi of 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' as an everyday space where various histories could be (re)made. In this context, I argued that 'Princess Magogo

kaDinuzulu' could be comprehended as an ordinary person who contended with the mundane like other Blackwomen who lived during her life in South Africa. In addition, my conception of her home as a carrier of multiple narratives supported my argument which claimed that to tell the story of the historic 'Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu' is to tell the story of the many Blackwomen who came before, during and after her existence.

In closing, I hope to have re-presented uMntwana uMagogo and the many Blackwomen that injected life into her everyday life "in forms that match their foundations using metaphors of moments that defined their beings and similes that flow through our seasons of eternity" (Xaba, 2008). Similar to Xaba, throughout the writing process of this thesis there was an un-readiness to write it. In many ways, I was not yet ready to write this work as Xaba observes. And so, this thesis is "just [one] of the [written works] I wish to write about [Black]women of our world, in the tongues of their [Black]mothers" (Xaba, 2008).

ASINAKUTULA UMHLAB' UBOLILE!

Bibliography

1. Acholonu, C., O. 1995. *Motherism: The Afrocentric Alternative to Feminism.* Afa Publications: Owerri.
2. Adichie, N., C. 2009. *The Danger of a Single Story.* TED Talk. URL: https://youtu.be/D9lhs241zeg [Accessed 11 May 2019].
3. Adichie, N., C. 2014. *We Should All Be Feminists.* Vintage Books: New York.
4. Amadiume, I. 2015. *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society.* Zed Books Ltd.
5. Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso: London.
6. Anderson, K., et al. 1987. "Beginning Where We Are: Feminist Methodology in Oral History" in *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 15(1), pp. 103-127. Oxford University Press on behalf of the Oral History Association. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3674961 [Accessed on 14 June 2016].
7. Arnold, M. 1996. *Women and Art in South Africa.* Cape Town: David Phillip.
8. Arnold, M and Schmahmann, B. 2005. *Between Union and liberation, Women Artists in South Africa* 1910–1994. Ashgate Publishing Limited: London.
9. Atkins, K. 2005. *Self and Subjectivity.* Blackwell Publishing Ltd: Victoria.
10. Barthes, R. 1972. *Mythologies.* The Noonday Press: New York Farrar, Straus & Giroux
11. _____.1977. *Image-Music-Tex*t. Fontana Press: London.
12. _____.1981. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography.* Hill & Wang.
13. Bassnett, S. 2009. "Archive and Affect in Contemporary Photography" in *Photography & Culture*, Vol 2 (Issue 3), pp. 241-252.
14. Berglund, A. 1972. *Zulu Ideas and Symbolism.* PhD thesis. University of Cape Town.
15. Bester, R. 2015. *Writing Photography's Archive of Apartheid: Theories and Methods for Understanding the Work of David Goldblatt.* PhD Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.
16. Biko, S. 2017. "Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity" in *I Write What I Like (40th Anniversary Edition).* Picador Africa: Johannesburg.

17. _____. 2017. “The Definition of Black Consciousness” in *I Write What I Like (40th Anniversary Edition)*. Picador Africa: Johannesburg.

18. _____. 2017. “Let’s Talk about Bantustans” in *I Write What I Like (40th Anniversary Edition)*. Picador Africa: Johannesburg.

19. Blacking, J. 1964. *Black Background: The Childhood of a South African Girl*. Abelard-Schuman: New York.

20. Blignaut, C. 2019. “Agent and Wife in War over Legend Santu Mofokeng’s Legacy” in *City Press*. URL: https://city-press.news24.com/News/agent-and-wife-in-war-over-legend-santu-mofokengs-legacy-20190522 [Accessed 2 June 2019].

21. Boyd C and Brenner J. 2016. “The New Rumour” in *Lifescapes: Six Object Biographies*. Wits Art Museum: Johannesburg.

22. Bowden, P., and Mummery. 2009. “Differences Among and Between Women” in *Understanding Feminism*. Acumen Publishing: Stocksfield.

23. Broude, N., and Garrard M., D. 1982. *Feminism and Art History*. Harper and Row Publishers: New York.

24. Buikema, R., Griffin, G., and Lykke, N. 2011. *Theories and Methodologies in Postgraduate Feminist Research*. Taylor & Francis.

25. Bulawayo, N. 2014. *We Need New Names*. Vintage: London.

26. Buthelezi, M. 2012. *“Sifuna Umlando Wethu” (We are Looking for Our History): Oral Literature and the Meanings of the Past in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. PhD thesis. University of Columbia.

27. _____.2016. “We Need New Names Too” in *Tribing and Untribing the Archive*. UKZN Press: Scottsville.

28. Buthelezi, M., G. 2017. “Address by Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, MP, Son of Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu and President of the Inkatha Freedom Party” at the Launch of the *Princess Magogo International Music Symposium*. KZN Heritage Foundation and KCAP Theatre: KwaMashu. URL: www.ifp.org.za/launch-princess-magogo-international-music-symposium/ [Accessed 29 May 2019].

29. Butler, J. 1988. “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory” in *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 519-531. URL: http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=01922882%28198812%2940%3A4%3C519%3APAAGCA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C [Accessed 19 October 2007].

30. _____.1990. *“Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity”*, pp. 16-25. Routledge: New York.

31. _____.1996. *Bodies that Matter-on the Discursive Limits of Sex*. Routledge: New York and London.

32. _____. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. Routledge: New York.

33. Ballard, C. 1988. *The House of Shaka*. Emoyeni Books: Republic of South Africa.

34. Buikema, R., Griffin, G., and Lykke, N. 2011. *Theories and Methodologies in Postgraduate Feminist Research*. Taylor & Francis.

35. Cameron, E., L. and Peffer, J. 2013. *The Fieldworker and the Portrait*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington.

36. Campt, T. 2017. *Listening to Images*. Duke University Press: Durham.

37. Carby, H. *White Woman Listen! Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood*.

38. Carton, B. 2009. *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. Oxford University Press: United States of America.

39. Centre for Humanities Research. 2018. *Sound Workshop with Dr. Thokozani Mhlambi*. URL: *www.chrflagship.uwc.za/sound-workshop-with-dr-thokozani-mhlambi/* [Accessed 11 May 2019].

40. Chigumadzi, P. 2019. *Why I'm No Longer Talking to Nigerians about Race*. Africa is a Country. URL: https://africaisacountry.com/2019/04/why-im-no-longer-talking-to-nigerians-about-race [Accessed 11 May 2019].

41. Church, M. 2002. "Sibongile Khumalo: A Diva in Durban" in *Independent*. URL: https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/features/sibongile-khumalo-a-diva-in-durban-9163239.html [Accessed 29 May 2019].

42. Classic Feel. 2009. O*pera Africa's Royal Success*. URL: http://www.operaafrica.co.za/uploads/6/5/6/2/6562888/classic_feel_92.pdf [Accesssed 04 October 2019]

43. Coetzee, P. 2014. *Performing Whiteness; Representing Otherness: Hugh Tracey and African Music*. PhD thesis. Rhodes University.

44. Connell, R., W. 2002. "The Question of Gender" in *Gender*. Blackwell Publishing Inc: Malden, MA.

45. Cowley, C. 1966. *Kwazulu: Queen Mkabi's Story*. C. Struik (PTY.) LTD.: Cape Town.

46. Collins, P. 1986. *Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought*. University of California Press.

47. _____.1999. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Routledge: New York.

48. _____. 2001. "What's in a Name? Womanism, Black Feminism and Beyond" in *The Black Scholar*, Vol. 26 (1).

49. Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1991. *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Colour*. Stanford Law Review 43: 6.

50. Damhorst, L. M., Miller-Spillman, A., K., and Michelman, O., S. 2005. *The Meanings of Dress* (2nd Ed). Fairchild Publications, Inc.

51. Davies, E. C. 1994. "On Transformational Discourses and Hearing Women's Voices: "Find(ing) A Light-Filled Place" in *Recreating Ourselves: African Women and Critical Transformations*. Africa World Press: Asmara, Eritrea and Trenton, New Jersey.

52. De Becker, L., and Nettleton, A. 2015. *Activate/Captivate: Collections Re-engagement at Wits Art Museum*. Wits Art Museum: South Africa.

53. De La Rey, C. 1997. *South African Feminism, Race and Racism in "Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity",* Vol 13:32, pp. 6-10.

54. Dent, G., R. and Nyembezi C., L., S. 2009. *Scholar's Zulu Dictionary* (Revised) (New Orthography). Shuter & Shooter Publishers (Pty) Ltd: Pietermaritzburg.

55. Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. 2000. "Music" in *Women Matching in the 21st Century: Wathint' Abafazi, Wathint' Imbokodo.* Shereno Printers: South Africa.

56. Derrida, J. and Prenowitz, E. 1995. "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression" in *Diacritics,* Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 9-63. The Johns Hopkins University Press. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/465144 [Accessed: 20 September 2009].

57. Devault, L., M. 1990. "Talking and Listening from Women's Standpoint: Feminist Strategies for Interviewing and Analysis" in *Social Problems* Vol. 37 (1), pp. 96-116. Oxford University Press on behalf of the Society for the Study of Social Problems. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/800797 [Accessed on 14-06-2016].

58. Doke, M., C., Malcolm, M., D., Sikakana, A., M., J., and Vilakazi, W., B. 1996. *English-Zulu Zulu-English Dictionary.* Wits University Press: Johannesburg.

59. Dohne, L., J. 1853. *A Zulu-Kafir Dictionary.*

60. Dosekun, S. 2007. *Defending Feminism in Africa.* Postamble Vol. 3 (1).

61. Ebrahim, H. 1998. "Towards a Pan-African Feminist Criticism" in *Re-Viewing the Tropical Paradise: Afro-Caribbean Women Filmmakers.* PhD Thesis. Northwestern University of Illinois.

62. Eileraas, K. 2003. *Reframing the Colonial Gaze: Photography, Ownership, and Feminist Resistance,* pp. 807-840. Johns Hopkins University Press. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3251988 [Accessed on 10 March 2016].

63. Enwezor, O. and Zaya, O. 1996. "Colonial Imaginary, Tropes of Disruption: History, Culture, and Representation in the Works of African Photographers" in *In/Sight African Photographers, 1940 to the Present.* The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum: New York.

64. Erlmann, V. 1999. "Variations Upon a Time: The Zulu Choir in London, 1892-93" in *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West.* Oxford University Press: New York and Oxford.

65. Dodd, A. 2018. *Song Cycle Unlocks Cultural Ties.* Mail & Guardian. URL: https://mg.co.za/article/2018-05-25-00-song-cycle-unlocks-cultural-ties [Accessed 11 May 2019].

66. Faber, P., and van der Merwe, A. 2003. *Group Portrait South Africa: Nine Family Histories.* Kwela Books and KIT Publishers: Cape Town and Amsterdam.

67. Fanon, F. 2008. "The Negro and Language" in *Black Skin, White Masks.* Pluto Press: London.

68. _____. 2008. "The Negro and Psychopathy" in *Black Skin, White Masks.* Pluto Press: London.

69. Foucault, M. 1970. *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences.* Random House Inc: New York.

70. _____. 1982. "The Subject and Power" in *Critical Inquiry,* Vol. 8, pp. 777-795. University of Chicago. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/1343197 [Accessed 31 May 2019].

71. _____. 1995. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison,* pp. 195-228. Vintage Books: New York.

72. Fuss, D. 1989. "Lesbian and Gay Theory: The Question of Identity Politics" in *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature and Difference.* Routledge: New York and London.

73. Gasa, N. 2007. "Introduction: Basus'iimbokodo, Bawel'imilambo, New Freedoms and New Challenges, a Continuing Dialogue" in *Women in South African History: Basus'iimbokodo, Bawel'imilambo/ They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers.* HSRC Press: Cape Town.

74. Gaidzanwa, R. 1992. "Bourgeois Theories of Gender and Feminism and their Shortcomings with Reference to Southern African Countries" in *Gender in Southern Africa: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues*. Sapes Books: Harare.

75. _____. 2007. "Feminisms, Motherisms, Patriarchies and Women's Voices in the 1950s" in *Women in South African History: Basus'iimbokodo, Bawel'imilambo/ They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers*. HSRC Press: Cape Town.

76. Gaitskell, D. 1983. "Housewives, Maids or Mothers: Some Contradictions of Domesticity for Christian Women in Johannesburg, 1903-39" in *The Journal of African History, Vol. 24, No. 2, The History of the Family in Africa,* pp. 241-256. Cambridge University. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/181643 [Accessed 03 July 2019].

77. Geary, M. C. 1991. "Old Pictures, New Approaches: Researching Historical Photographs" in *African Arts,* Vol. 24, No. 4, Special Issue: Historical Photographs of Africa, pp. 36-39 and 98. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3337042 [Accessed on 10 March 2016].

78. _____. 2002. *In and Out of Focus: Images from Central Africa,* 1885-1960. National Musem of African Art, Smithsonian Institution.

79. Glover, D., and Kaplan, C. 2000. *Genders*. Routledge: London and New York.

80. Gordon-Chipembere, N. 2016. *Representation and Black Womanhood: The Legacy of Sarah Baartman*. Palgrave Macmillan: England, Hampshire.

81. Gordon R., L. 2017. "Problematic People and Epistemic Decolonization: Toward the Postcolonial in Africana Political Thought" in *Postcolonialism and Political Theory* (edited by Nalini Persram). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.: Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto and Plymouth, UK.

82. _____. 2011. "Justice Otherwise: Thoughts on Ubuntu" in *Ubuntu: Curating the Archive*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press: Pietermaritzburg.

83. Gordon, R. 1988. *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction*. Shuter and Shooter (Pty) Ltd: Pietermaritzburg.

84. Gqola, D., P. 2001. "Ufanele Uqavile: Blackwomen, Feminisms and Postcoloniality in Africa" in *Agenda*, 16:50, pp 11-22.

85. _____. 2001. "Contradictory Locations: Blackwomen and the Discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South Africa" in *Meridians*, Vol. 2 (1), pp. 130-152. Indiana University Press. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40338805 [Accessed on 21 May 2016].

86. _____. 2005. "Yindaba Kaban' U'ba Ndilahl' Umlenze? Sexuality and Body Image" in *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, No. 63, African Feminisms" Vol 2 (2), pp. 3-9. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. on behalf of Agenda Feminist Media. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4066622 [Accessed on 21 May 2016].

87. _____. 2007. "'Like Three Tongues in One Mouth': Tracing the Elusive Lives of Slave Women in (Slavocratic) South Africa" in *Women in South African History: Basus'iimbokodo, Bawel'imilambo/ They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers*. HSRC Press: Cape Town.

88. _____. 2018. "A Mothering Feminist's Life: A Celebration, Meditation, and a Roll Call" in *Feminism Is: South Africans Speak their Truth*. Kwela Books: Cape Town.

89. Guins and Candlin. 2009. *The Object Reader (In Sight: Visual Culture)*. Routledge.

90. Gunner, E. 1979. “Songs of Innocence and Experience: Women as Composers and Performers of “Izibongo”, Zulu Praise Poetry” in *Research in African Literatures* Vol. 10 (2), Special Issue on African Song, pp. 239-267. Indiana University Press. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3818990 [Accessed on 23 May 2016].

91. Gunner, L., and Gwala, M. 1994. *Musho! Zulu Popular Praises*. University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg.

92. Gunner, L. 2002. “A Royal Woman, an Artist, and the Ambiguities of National Belonging: The Case of Princess Constance Magogo” in *Kunapipi 24,* (1&2). University of Wollongong: Australia.

93. Gunner, L. 2012. *The Politics Of Language And Chief Albert Luthuli’s Funeral, 30 July 1967.*

94. Guy, J. 2014. “IMIFANEKISO: An Introduction to the Photographic Portraits of Dr R.J. Mann” in *Safundi*, Vol. 15:2-3, pp. 155-178. URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17533171.2014.925647 [Accessed 28 April 2016].

95. _____. 2016. “‘A Paralysis of Perspective’: Image and Text in the Creation of an African Chief” in *Tribing and Untribing the Archive*. UKZN Press: Scottsville.

96. Hall, S. 1992. “The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power” in *Formations of Modernity*, pp. 275-331. Polity Press: Open University.

97. Hamilton, C. 2002. *Refiguring the Archive*. Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht.

98. Hamilton, C. 1998. *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*. Harvard: UP, Cambridge. Mass.

99. Hamilton, C., and Leibhammer, N. 2016. *Tribing and Untribing the Archive: Identity and the Material Record in Southern KwaZulu-Natal in the Late Independent and Colonial Periods.* University of KwaZulu-Natal Press: Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

100. Harding, S. 1987. “The Method Question” in *Hypatia,* Vol. 2 (3), pp. 19-35.Wiley on behalf of Hypatia, Inc. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3810120 [Accessed on 14 June 2016]

101. Harris, V. 1997. *Exploring Archives: An Introduction to Archival Ideas and Practices in South Africa*.

102. _____. 2002. A Shaft of Darkness: Derrida in the Archive in “*Refiguring the Archive”*. Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht.

103. Hartman, V., S. 1997. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. Oxford University Press.

104. Hayes, P. 2007. *Power, Secrecy, Proximity: A Short History of South African Photography*. University of Cape Town. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41056585. [Accessed 03 March 2015].

105. Head, B. 2001. “A definition of Imperialism” in *English in Africa*, Vol 28 (1).

106. Hirsch, M. 1997. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory*.

107. Holly, A., M. and Smith, M. 2008. *What is Research in the Visual Arts? Obsession, Archive, Encounter*. Yale University Press: New Haven and London.

108. hooks, b. 1990. “Third World Diva Girls” in *Yearning-Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*. South End Press: Boston.

109. _____. 1990. “An Aesthetic of Blackness: Strange and Oppositional” in *Yearning-Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*. South End Press: Boston.

110. _____. 1992. “Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance” in *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. South End Press: Boston.

111. Jacobson, R. *“Picture Perfect”: Hand-coloured photographic portraiture in South Africa in the 20th century; a study of the collection of the Aqua Portrait Studio, Johannesburg*. MA Research Report. University of the Witwatersrand. Title to be italicised.

112. _____. 1992. “The Oppositional Gaze: Black Female Spectators” in *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. South End Press: Boston.

113. _____. 2000. *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*. South End Press: Cambridge.

114. Holly, A., M. and Smith, M. 2008. *What is Research in the Visual Arts? Obsession, Archive, Encounter*. Yale University Press: New Haven and London.

115. Hughes, H. 2016. “Women and Society in Native Life in South Africa: Roles and Ruptures” in *Sol Plaatjie’s Native Life in South Africa: Past and Present*. Wits University Press: Johannesburg.

116. Hurley, D., L. 2005. “Seeing White: Children of Color and the Disney Fairy Tale Princess” in *The Journal of Negro Education,* Vol. 74, No.3, pp. 221-232. URL: https://www.jstor.prg/stable/40027429 [Accessed 31 may 2019].

117. Jackson, E., A. 2014. F*our Women, Four Chiefships: Case Studies in the Divergent Choices and Negotiations with Power Of Amakhosikazi in Nineteenth-Century Natal*. Master of Arts, in History (Society and Social Change Cluster, School of Social Sciences). University of KwaZulu-Natal: South Africa.

118. Jolles, F. 1991. “Comments on bead literacy-based on items collected in the Msinga and Maphumulo Regions of KwaZulu (South Africa)” in *Natal Museum Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 3.

119. Jolles, F. 2006. “Negotiating Relationships: Village to City, Beadwork to SMS” in *South African Humanities*, Vol. 18 (2), pp. 119-138. University of KwaZulu-Natal: Pietermaritzburg.

120. Jorritsma, R. M. 2001. *South African “Songprints”: The Lives and Works of Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph, Princess Constance Magogo, and Rosa Nepgen*. Masters Thesis. Rice University.

121. Joseph, R. 1983. “Zulu Women’s Music” in *African Music* 6 (3): 53–89.

122. Kaplan, G. 1995. Feminist Methodology: Is It Fact or Fiction? in “*BMS: Bulletin of Sociological Methodology / Bulletin de Méthodologie Sociologique”*. Sage Publications, Ltd. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/24311494 [Accessed on 14 June 2016].

123. Kgalane, G., V. 1996. *Black South African Women’s Poetry (1970-1991): A Critical Survey*. Masters Dissertation. Rand Afrikaans University.

124. Khan, S. 2007. “Gatekeeping Africa” in *Artlink*. URL: https://www.artlink.com.au/articles/2959/gatekeeping-africa/ [Accessed 29 May 2019].

125. Khoza, M. 2018. *Princess Magogo Demystified: Deciphering how her Societal Roles Neutered Patriarchy and Transcended 20th Century Gender Based Boundaries*. Africa Day Celebrations Lecture: University of the Witwatersrand.

126. Khumalo, M. J. 2002. *Princess Magogo KaDinuzulu*. Durban: Opera Africa.

127. Kirby, R., P. 2013. *Musical Instruments of the Indigenous People of South Africa*. Wits University Press: South Africa.

128. Knowles, J., G. and Ardra L. Cole. 2008. *Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research: Perspectives, Methodologies, Examples, and Issues*. Sage Publications: Los Angeles.

129. Koloane, D. 1993. "The Identity Question: Focus On Black South African Expression" in *Third Text 23*, pp. 99-102.

130. _____. 1996. "Moments in Art: a story from South Africa" in *Seven Stories: About Modern Art in Africa*, pp. 141-157. Whitechapel: London.

131. _____. 1998. "Art Criticism for Whom?" in *Art criticism and Africa*, pp. 69-72. Saffron Books: London.

132. Kunene, D., P. *The Zulu Novels of C.L. S. Nyembezi: A Critical Appraisal*. The Edwin Press: Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter.

133. Kunene, M. 2017. *Emperor Shaka the Great: A Zulu Epic*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press: Pietermaritzburg.

134. KwaZulu Cultural Museum and Local History Museums. 1996. *Zulu Treasures: Amagugu kaZulu*. The Local History Museums: Izinqolobane Zezomlando Wesifunda: Durban.

135. Lamula, P. 1967. *Isabelo SikaZulu*. Lincroft Books: Pietermaritzburg.

136. Lancaster, N. R., and di Leonardo, M. *The Gender/Sexuality Reader: Culture, History, Political Economy*. Routledge: New York and London.

137. Langa, B. 2018. *Tswalo*. Junkets Publisher: Pinelands.

138. Levine, P. 2008. "States of Undress: Nakedness and the Colonial Imagination" in *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 2, Papers and Responses from the Fifth Annual Conference of the North American Victorian Studies Association, Held Jointly with the Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada, pp. 189-219. Indian University Press. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/40060320 [Accessed 08 June 2019].

139. Lewis, D. 2001. "African Feminisms" in *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity,* Vol 16:50, pp. 4-10.

140. _____. 2008. "South Africa, African Feminism and the Challenges of Solidarity" in *Gender Activism: Perspectives on the South African Transition, Institutional Cultures and Everyday Life*. Rhodes University.

141. Mafeje, A. 1963. *Leadership and Change: A Study of Two South African Peasant Communities*. Master of Art thesis. University of Cape Town.

142. _____.1971. "The Ideology of 'Tribalism'" in *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 253-261. Cambridge University Press. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/159443. [Accessed: 14 May 2018].

143. Magoqwana, B. 2018. "Repositioning uMakhulu as an Institution of Knowledge: Beyond 'Biologism' towards the body of Indigenous Knowledge" in *Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography*. African Sun MeDIA.

144. Magwaza, T. 2001. "Private Transgressions: The Visual Voice of Zulu Women" in *Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, Vol. 49, Culture: Transgressing Boundaries", pp. 25-32. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. on behalf of Agenda Feminist Media. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4066489 [Accessed on 21 May 2016].

145. Mahashe, T., G. 2019. *MaBareBare, a Rumour of a Dream*. PhD Thesis. University of Cape Town.

146. Mahatey, N. 2004. "Highest Honour: South African National Orders" in *Chancery of Orders, The Presidency*, p. 102. Pretoria

147. Malatjie, P. 2011. *Framing the Art of Tracey Rose and Berni Searle*. Master's Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.

148. Mannathoko, C. "Feminist Theories and the Study of Gender Issues in Southern Africa" in *Gender in Southern Africa: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues*. Sapes Books: Harare.

149. Maseko, P. 2018. "Language as Source of Revitalisation and Reclamation of Indigenous Epistemologies: Contesting Assumptions and Re-imagining Women Identities in (African) Xhosa Society" in *Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography*. African Sun MeDIA.

150. Masilela, N. 2017. "Foreword to New Edition" in *Emperor Shaka the Great: A Zulu Epic*. University of KwaZulu-Natal: Pietermaritzburg.

151. Masola, A. 2018. *Charlotte Maxeke Memorial Lecture*. University of South Africa: Institute for African Renaissance Studies.

152. Masuku, N. 2005. *Perceived Oppression of Women in Zulu Folklore: a Feminist Critique*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of South Africa.

153. Maxeke, C. 1928. "The Progress of Native Womanhood in South Africa" in *Christianity and the Natives of South Africa: A Year-book of South African Missions*. Lovedale Institution: Lovedale.

154. _____. 1928. "The City Mission" in *Christianity and the Natives of South Africa: A Year-book of South African Missions*. Lovedale Institution: Lovedale.

155. _____. 1928. "Social Conditions Among Bantu Women and Girls" in *Christianity and the Natives of South Africa: A Year-book of South African Missions*. Lovedale Institution: Lovedale.

156. Mbatha, M. 2017. *Isichazimazwi SesiZulu*. The South African National Lexicography Units

157. Mbembe, A. 2002. "The Power of the Archive and its Limits" in *Refiguring the Archive*. Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht.

158. Mbilinyi, M. 1992. "Research Methodologies in Gender Issues" in *Southern Africa: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues*. Sapes Books: Harare.

159. McClintock, A. 1997. "No longer in a Future Heaven": Gender, Race and Nationalism" in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives, Cultural Politics,* Vol. 11. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis and London.

160. McEwan, Gwen. 2003. "Building a Postcolonial Archive? Gender, Collective Memory and Citizenship in Post-Apartheid South Africa" in J*ournal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 29 No 3, pp. 739 – 757. Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group.

161. Mdluli, S. 2015. *From State of Emergency to the Dawn of Democracy: Revisiting Exhibitions of South African Art Held in South Africa (1984-1997)*. PhD Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.

162. Meena, R. 1992. "Gender Research/Studies in Southern Africa: An Overview" in *Southern Africa: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues*. Sapes Books: Harare.

163. Mhlambi, J. I. 2015. "The Question of Nationalism in Mzilikazi Khumalo's Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu" in *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 27:3. Routledge.

164. Mhlophe, G. 2018. *African Stories: The Importance of Telling our Own Stories*. ENCA. URL: https://youtu.be/BD1ENtLgseQ [Accessed 28 May 2019].

165. Mills, G. 1989. "Space and Power in South Africa: The Township as a Mechanism of Control" in *Ekistics* 334, 335.

166. Mirzoeff, Nicholas (ed.) 1998. *The Visual Culture Reader*. Routledge: London and New York.

167. Mistry, J. Year. 2010. "Johannesburg: Vocabularies of the Visceral and Expressions of Multiple Practices" in *African Cities Reader*. Cape Town: South Africa.

168. Mkhize, N. 2018. "A Conversation with Gogo Ngoatjakumba" in *Feminism Is: South Africans Speak their Truth*. Kwela Books: Cape Town.

169. Mofokeng, S. 2000. "Trajectory of a Street Photographer" in *Journal of Contemporary Art*.

170. _____. 2013. *The Black Photo Album/ Look at Me: 1890-1950*. Göttingen: Steidl; New York: Walther Collection.

171. Mokoena, H. *Legal Selves in Question: Defining African Personhood from Colonial Times to the Present*.

172. _____. 2011. *Magema Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual*. University of Kwazulu Natal Press: South Africa.

173. MOMO Magazine. 2017. *Turning the Pages:* Footprints. URL: https://momothemagazine.com/turning-pages-footprints/ [Accessed on 24 June 2019].

174. Morrison, T. 2007. *Beloved*. Vintage Books: London.

175. _____. 1995. "Site of Memory" in *Inventing the Truth: The Art and Craft of Memoir*. Houghton Mifflin: Boston, New York.

176. Moten, F. 1997. *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition*. University of Minnesota: Minneapolis and London.

177. Motsemme, N. 2011. *Lived and Embodied Suffering and Healing amongst Mothers and Daughters in Chesterville Township, KwaZulu-Natal*. PhD Thesis. University of South Africa.

178. Msimang, C., T. 1975. *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*. Shuter and Shooter: Pietermaritzburg.

179. Mupotsa, S., D. 2014. *White Weddings*. PhD thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.

180. Ndebele, N. 2003. *The Cry of Winnie Mandela*. Picador Africa: South Africa.

181. _____. 1991. *Rediscovery of the Ordinary: Essays on South African Literature and Culture*. COSAW: Johannesburg.

182. Ndlovu, S. 2017. *Ethnic Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Case Study of Southern Ndebele Identity in the KwaMhlanga Region in Mpumalanga Province*. PhD thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.

183. Nkabinde, C., A. 1982. *Isichazamazwi 1.* Shuter and Shooter: Pietermaritzburg.

184. Nkumane, G. 2001. *The Traditional Dress of the Zulu Woman: A Return To The Roots.* Indigenous Knowledge Conference.

185. Ntombela, M., N. 2013. *A Fragile Archive: Refiguring |Rethinking Reimagining |Re-presenting Gladys Mgudlandlu.* Master of Arts in Fine Arts (MAFA) Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.

186. Ntwape, F., L. 2016. A *Historiography of South African Women's History from c. 1900: A Survey of Monographs, Anthologies and Journal Articles.* Magister Hereditatis Culturaeque Scientiae (MHCS) thesis. University of Pretoria.

187. Nyembezi S. and Nxumalo O. E. H. 1966. *Inqolobane YeSizwe.* Shuter & Shooter (Pty) Ltd: Pietermaritzburg.

188. Nyembezi, S. 1996. *Isichazimazwi Sanamuhlula Nangomuso.* Reach Out Publishers: Pietermaritzburg.

189. Nuttall, Sarah & Coetzee, Carli. (eds). 1998. *Negotiating the Past: The Making of memory in South Africa.* Oxford University Press: Cape Town.

190. Ogundipe-Leslie, M. 1994. "African Women, Culture and Another Development" in *Recreating Ourselves: African Women and Critical Transformations.* Africa World Press: Asmara, Eritrea and Trenton, New Jersey.

191. _____. 1994. "Stiwamism: Feminism in an African Context" in *Recreating Ourselves: African Women and Critical Transformations.* Africa World Press: Asmara, Eritrea and Trenton, New Jersey.

192.185._____. 1994. "The Bilingual to Quintulingual Poet in Africa" in *Recreating Ourselves: African Women and Critical Transformations.* Africa World Press: Asmara, Eritrea and Trenton, New Jersey.

193. _____. 1994. "The Female Writer and her Commitment" in *Recreating Ourselves: African Women and Critical Transformations.* Africa World Press : Asmara, Eritrea and Trenton, New Jersey.

194. Opland, J. 2017. *The Nation's Bounty: The Xhosa Poetry of Nontsizi Mgqwetho*

195. Oyěwùmí, O. 1997. "The Translation of Cultures: Engendering Yorùbá Language, Orature and World-Sense" in *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses.* University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis and London.

196. _____. 2002. "Conceptualising Gender: The Eurocentric Foundations of Feminist Concepts and the Challenge of African Epistemologies" in *A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies,* Vol. (2).

197. p'Bitek, O. *The Horn of my Love.* London Heinemann: Lusaka, Nairobi and Ibadan.

198. Peterson, B. 2000. "Parallel Times, Parallel Signs, Discordant Interpretations" in *Monarchs, Missionaries and African Intellectuals.* Africa Research and Publications: United States.

199. _____. 2002. "The Archives and the Political Imaginary" in *Refiguring the Archive.* Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht.

200. _____. 2018. *National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS) Doctoral Conference.* Birchwood Hotel: Johannesburg.

201. Petö A. and Waaldijk B. 2011. “Histories and Memories in Feminist Research” in *Theories and Methodologies in Postgraduate Feminist Research*. Routledge: Taylor & Francis.

202. Phillips, J. 2016. “The Photograph” in *Tjieng, Tjang, Tjerries and Other Stories*. Modjadji Books: Cape Town.

203. Praeg, L., and Magadla, S. 2014. *Ubuntu: Curating the Archive*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press: Pietermaritzburg.

204. Qunta, C. 1987. *Women in Southern Africa*.

205. Remmington, R., Willan, B., and Peterson, B. *Sol Plaatjie’s Native Life in South Africa: Past and Present*. Wits University Press: South Africa.

206. Rycroft K., D. 1976/5. *The Zulu Bow Songs of Princess Magogo*, African Music, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 41-97. International Library of African Music. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/30249726 [Accessed on 18 November 2015].

207. _____. *A Royal Account of Music in Zulu Life: With Translation, Annotation, and Musical Transcription*.

208. SABC Digital News. 2019. *Mangosuthu Buthelezi Speaks at Princess Magogo Lecture*. URL: https://youtu.be/KRt1TS67cjg [Accessed 29 May 2019].

209. Salo, E. 2001. “Talking about Feminism in Africa” in *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity,* Vol 16:50, pp. 58-63.

210. Salo, E. 2008. “Women in the Academy” in *Gender Activism: Perspectives on the South African Transition, Institutional Cultures and Everyday Life*. Rhodes University.

211. Samuelson, M. 2007. “Introduction. Rememberings and Dismemberings: Female Subjects of a Nation in Transition” in *Remembering the Nation, Dismembering Women? Stories of the South African Transition*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

212. Scher, R. 2017. “‘I Will Not Compromise About My Work’: David Goldblatt on Artistic Freedom, Censorship, and Moving His Archive Out of South Africa” in *Artnews*. URL: www.artnews.com/2017/06/23/i-will-not-compromise-about-my-work-david-goldblatt-on-artistic-freedom-censorship-and-moving-his-archive-out-of-south-africa [Accessed 31 May 2019].

213. Scott, J., W. 1988. *Gender and the Politics of History*. Columbia University Press: New York.

214. Sekula, A. 1986. *The Body and the Archive*. The MIT Press. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/778312 [Accessed: 27 August 2020].

215. Shamase, Z., M. 2014. *The Royal Women of the Zulu Monarchy through the Keyhole of Oral History: Queens Nandi (c. 1764 – c.1827) and Monase (c. 1797 – 1880)*. Inkanyiso, Jnl Hum & Soc Sci, 6(1).

216. _____. 2014. *The Royal Women of the Zulu Monarchy – through the Keyhole of Oral History: Princess Mkabayi Kajama (c.1750 – c.1843)*. Inkanyiso, Jnl Hum & Soc Sci, 6(1).

217. Shange, K. 2020. “‘Ngibambeni, ngibambeni bomama!’ Refiguring Princess Magogo” in *Mail & Guardian*. URL: https://mg.co.za/friday/2020-07-02-ngibambeni-ngibambeni-bomama-refiguring-princess-magogo/ [Accessed 2 July 2020].

218. Shange, O. L., 1953. *Injula Nokujiya KwesiZulu*. Shuter and Shooter (Pty) Ltd: Pietermaritzburg.

219. Slasha, N. 2018. *Much with the Dead and Mum with the Dying, or Rigidities of Rationalism, Camaraderie Criticism and Contemporary South African Literature*. URL: http://blackghostbooks.co.za/2018/01/27/much-with-the-dead-mum-with-the-dying/ [Accessed 11 June 2019].

220. Smith, Barbara. 1977. *Toward a Black Feminist Criticism*. New York: Out & Out Books.

221. Smith, G. 2000. "From Suffering in Silence, to Drawing Strength from the Margins" in *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, No. 46, *The Politics of Writing*, pp. 34-4. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4066277 [Accessed: 21 May 2016].

222. Sontag, S. 2003. *On Photography*. RosettaBooks, LLC: New York.

223. _____. 2003. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. Penguin Books: England.

224. Sosibo, K. 2018. *Musician Mbuso Khoza on Princess Magogo and Neutered Patriarchy*. Mail & Guardian. URL: https://mg.co.za/article/2018-05-04-princess-magogo-and-neutered-patriarchy [Accessed 11 May 2019].

225. Soszynski, H. 2001-2018. *World of Royalty*. URL: http://members.iinet.au/~royalty [Accessed 15 August 2017]

226. South African History Online (SAHO). 2016. *Princess Magogo*. URL: http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/princess-magogo [Accessed 29 May 2019].

227. Spivak, G., C. 1996. "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography" in *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*. Routledge: London.

228. Stanczak, C., G. 2007. *Visual Research Methods: Image, Society, and Representation*. Sage Publications, Inc: California and Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd: New Delhi.

229. Steady, Filomina Chioma. 1987. "African Feminism: A Worldwide Perspective" in *Women in Africa and the African diaspora*. Howard University Press: Washington, DC.

230. _____. 1992. "African Feminism: (Re)Visioning the Social Order" in *The Afrocentric Scholar* 1, no.1:183-194.

231. _____. 1993. "Women and Collective Action: Female Models in Transition" in *Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women*. Routledge: London and New York.

232. Stroud, C., and Mpendukana, S. 2009. *Towards a Material Ethnography of Linguistic Landscape: Multilingualism, Mobility and Space in a South African Township*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd: Oxford and Malden.

233. Stuart, M. 1994. "You're a Big Girl Now: Subjectivities, Feminism and Oral History" in *Oral History,* Vol. 22 (2), pp. 55-63. Oral History Society. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40179365 [Accessed on 14 June 2016].

234. Temkin, B. 1976. *Gatsha Buthelezi: A Zulu Statesman*. Purnell.

235. The Brother Moves On. 2015. "Wena Wetla" in *The Golden Wake*. Independent: Johannesburg.

236. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation. 1996. *In/Sight African Photographers, 1940 to the Present*. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum: New York.

237. Thompson, K. 2011. "The Evidence of Things Not Photographed: Slavery and Historical Memory in the British West Indies" in *Representations 113*. The Regents of the University of California.

238. Tisani, C., N. 2002. *Continuity and Change in Xhosa Historiography During the Nineteenth Century: An Exploration Through Textual Analysis*. PhD thesis. University of Cape Town.

239. Tracey, H. 1974. *The Zulu Songs of Princess Constance Magogo kaDinuzulu*. Music of Africa Series No. 37. Gallo SGALP 167.

240. Tribune Reporter. 1972. "It's a Great Day for the Zulus" in *Sunday Tribune*.

241. Truth, S. 2006. "Ain't I a Woman" in *Great speeches by African Americans: Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Barack Obama, Jr., and others*, edited by James Daley. Dover Publications: Mineola, N.Y.

242. Tyagi, R. 2014. "Understanding Postcolonial Feminism in Relation with Postcolonial and Feminist Theories" in *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 1 (2).

243. Van Alphen, E. 1997. *The Portrait's Dispersal: Concepts of Representation and Subjectivity in Contemporary Portraiture*

244. _____. 2008. Archival Obsessions and Obsessive Archives in *"What is Research in the Visual Arts? Obsession, Archive, Encounter"*. Yale University Press: New Haven and London.

245. Van Der Spuy, P. and Clowes, L. 2007. "Accidental Feminists? Recent Histories of South African Women: Representation and Reality", review of *Portraits of Women's Lives in the Western Cape 1948-1976,* by Helen Scalon; and *Women in South African History: Basus'iimbokodo, Bawel'imilambol They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers,* edited by Nomboniso Gasa", Kronos, 33.

246. Washington, B., T. 1901. *Up from Slavery*. The Country Life Press: Garden City, New York.

247. Weir, J. 2000. "'I Shall Need to Use Her to Rule': The Power of 'Royal' Zulu Women in Pre-Colonial Zululand" in *South African Historical Journal*, 43:1, pp 3-23.

248. _____. 2007. "Chiefly Women and Women's Leadership in Pre-colonial Southern Africa" in *Women in South African History: Basus'iimbokodo, Bawel'imilambol They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers*. HSRC Press: Cape Town.

249. West, S. 2004. *Portraiture (Oxford History of Art)*. Oxford University Press.

250. West, C., M. 2008. "Mammy, Jezebel, Sapphire and their Homegirls: Developing an "Oppositional Gaze" Towards Images of Black Women" in *Lectures on the Psychology of Women*. McGraw Hill Editors.

251. Wisker, G. 2002. "Redefining an African Sky: South African Women's Writing Post-Apartheid" in *Kunapipi 24* (1&2). University of Wollongong: Australia.

252. Wilson, J. *One Way or Another: Black Feminist Visual Theory*.

253. Wright, J. 2008. "Reflections on the Politics of Being 'Zulu'" in *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press: Scottsville.

254. Xaba, M. 2008. *Tongues of their Mothers*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

255. Yuval-Davis, N. 1992. *Gender and Nation*. Sage: London.

256. Zikalala, Z. 2019. "Black Femmes in the Garden: Aesthetic Form, Sensorium and World-Making in From a Distance" in *African Literature Seminar Series*. University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg.

257. Zwane, N. 2018. *The Dream to See Ourselves Clearly*. URL: https://ilisozine.wixsite.com/ilisomagazine/post/the-dream-to-see-ourselves-clearly [Accessed 29 April 2019].

258. Zungu, M., Manqele, N., de Vries, C., Molefe, T., and Hadebe M. 2014. "HERstory: Writing Women into South African History" in *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*.

