

The origins of the twentieth century Zulu beer vessel styles

by

Frank Jolles

Hon. Research Associate Natal Museum, Hon. Research Associate University of KwaZulu-Natal, P. Bag X01, Scottsville, 3209 South Africa; jolles@mweb.co.za

ABSTRACT

The term *Zulu* is placed in its historical, ethnic and regional context. Twentieth century beer vessels are then classified according to four main types: *imbiza*, *uphiso*, *ukhamba* and *umancishana*, which also correspond to the use to which they were put. Within these types five main regional styles based on form and surface decoration emerge: Phongolo, Nongoma, Hlabisa, Melmoth-Eshowe, Lower Thukela and Msinga. The styles are illustrated by means of a classified database of 106 beer vessels. During the last quarter of the twentieth century, stylistic boundaries were frequently blurred due to relocations of people and the increased mobility of the pot making families.

There is no evidence that the characteristic blackened Zulu ceramic ware existed before the middle of the nineteenth century. It is absent from excavations of late eighteenth century settlements. During the disruptions of the early decades of the nineteenth century, beer baskets were in common use as drinking vessels. It is likely that the distinctive regional stylistic features of the ceramic vessels developed in the nineteenth century Shepstonian locations in Natal (from about 1848) and the redefined tribal regions of the former Zulu kingdom after the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. It is suggested that the reasons for the spread of this distinctive pottery are to be sought in the socio-political and religious transformations of the time.

INTRODUCTION

It is a curious circumstance, that in spite of the loss of political independence, far-reaching destruction of their social organisation and the relegation of the people at large to a depressed and subservient economic status, Zulu rural material culture enjoyed an unprecedented flowering during most of the twentieth century. This applies equally to carving, ceramics, beadwork and the use of fibres for weaving and basketry. In the following I try to unravel some of the causes underlying this apparent anomaly with specific reference to beer vessels.

The century opened on a particularly inauspicious note. A series of natural disasters swept over Zululand, causing widespread malnutrition and starvation, and disrupting the traditional way of life based on agriculture and animal husbandry. Between 1895 and 1907 there were six years of serious drought. In 1895–96 and again in 1898, 1903–04 and 1906 swarms of red locusts devastated the crops. In 1897 an epidemic of rinderpest wiped out an estimated 85 % of the cattle, and before the herds had time to regenerate they were struck down by east coast fever in 1904–05 (Laband & Thompson 1989: 223; Meyer 1909: 942f.). The effects of these natural disasters were aggravated by the degradation of the environment, which had taken place in the last decades of the

Dedicated to the memory of Dieter Reusch of the Natal Museum Services, Pietermaritzburg, tragically killed by unknown assailants outside Tugela Ferry on his return from a field trip in June 2002. His meticulous study of local Zulu ceramics is exhibited in the Natal Museum.

nineteenth century. The wholesale slaughter of wild life through indiscriminate hunting for its own sake and for the trade in ivory and skins, the destruction of the forests, soil erosion caused by overgrazing in the pre-rinderpest years and the introduction of ploughing profoundly altered the entire physical environment and deprived the African population of their traditional safety-net of natural resources in times of drought. The situation was exacerbated by a rapid rise in the population, which increased by about a third between 1891 and 1904¹ (Duminy & Guest 1989: 429f.; Lambert 1989: 386f.).

The impact of colonialism was hardly less disastrous. As early as 1872 taxes, duties and fines imposed on Africans in the colony of Natal accounted for approximately 75 % of total revenue, whilst less than 4 % of total expenditure was devoted to 'Native Purposes'—a spectacular transfer of wealth. As Etherington (1989: 175) puts it: '... while Africans suffered taxation without representation, white settlers enjoyed representation virtually without taxation'. Many of the levies, such as the hut tax and the surprisingly high fee of £5 for the registration of African marriages, had to be paid in cash. This in turn forced Africans onto the labour market—be it in the cities or on settler owned farms—thereby undermining the homestead economy and its social order.

With introduction of 'Responsible Government' in May 1893 the Africans were deprived of what little protection they had enjoyed under the previous dispensation enshrined in the Natal Constitution. The Imperial Government was aware of the pressures to which the African population were likely to be subjected. It attempted to forestall some of them in the Natal Constitution Amendment Law of 1875, which, in the words of Sir Garnet Wolseley, Special Commissioner to Natal, was intended to 'enable Her Majesty's Ministers through the Governor here to direct the future policy of Natal and to prevent hasty and dangerous local legislation' (Guest 1989: 160). Such legislation was not slow in coming once 'Responsible Government' had been instituted. Between 1893 and the end of the first decade of the twentieth century a cascade of new acts and measures were introduced, the general effect of which was to 'deprive Africans of access to land, to destroy their independence and to make it difficult for them to work outside the Colony'.²

The crisis came in 1906 when the Government decided to impose an additional tax on the already indebted and impoverished population—a poll tax of £1 on every adult male excepting those liable for hut tax (Lambert 1989: 383f.). Sporadic resistance to the tax over a wide area was met with 'much criticized measures of defence and reprisal' by the obviously insecure administration (Brookes & Webb 1987: 221f.). These included the declaration of martial law, public executions, floggings and extensive burning of dwellings and crops. The situation escalated into what has become known as the 'Bambatha rebellion', in which a minor chief of the Umvoti area and his followers resorted to force in resisting payment of the tax and then fled into the Nkandla forest. The 'rebellion' was broken in an encounter on 10 June 1906 when Bambatha was taken by surprise in the nearby Mome Gorge. Bambatha and nearly 600 of his followers were massacred, with no opportunity given for surrender. In the aftermath over 5 000 'rebels' faced court martial, and Dinuzulu, the Zulu King, was sentenced to four years imprisonment.

¹ It is estimated that the population increased from 456 000 to 608 527 (cited in Lambert 1989).

² This process reached its final conclusion in the Land Act of 1913, after Natal had become a part of the Union of South Africa (1910). It 'prevented Africans from purchasing land or remaining as squatters on the property of white land-owners' (Lambert 1989: 397).

The Bambatha uprising marks the end of an epoch in more than one sense. Although the break-up of the kingdom dated from the settlement at the end of the Anglo-Zulu war in 1879, widespread loyalty to the institution of the monarchy and the person of the King survived the political demise of the kingdom, despite his banishment after the annexation of Zululand in 1887 to St Helena for ten years. Even after his return from St Helena, and in spite of his installation as salaried 'Government Induna', most Zulus still regarded Dinuzulu as the head of their nation. His imprisonment after the uprising³ and subsequent death in 'exile' in 1913 on a farm in the Transvaal spelled the end of the spiritual authority of the monarchy (at least until its revival two generations later in the guise of a new nationalism). This was reflected in much of the material culture of the period by the loss of normative styles and the disintegration of Zululand into distinct stylistic regions. Furthermore, the Zulu royal family had come to be feared 'as a focus of national resistance to the ambitions of white settlers to obtain Zulu land and labour' (Lambert 1989: 395f.). Whether or not such fears were justified, large-scale settler penetration into the interior of Zululand with all its consequences for the indigenous population first took place in the post-Bambatha period.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE MAIN STYLISTIC REGIONS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY AND THEIR ORIGINS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY LAND ALLOCATIONS

Very few Zulu ceramics from the nineteenth century have survived. Beer pots, unlike weapons, beadwork and carvings, were not collectors items and did not make it into European or North American collections. Whilst beer pots occasionally figure on early paintings and photographs, they are outnumbered by baskets for storing and transporting water and beer. So it is difficult to trace twentieth century Zulu pottery styles back into the nineteenth century. On the other hand many twentieth century regional stylistic features can be shown to follow late nineteenth century political and administrative boundaries. This is quite evident in the case of beadwork (Jolles 1994, 2004), to a lesser extent it also holds good for woodcarving (Jolles 2001: 121f.). In order to determine whether twentieth century ceramics fit into the same pattern as the other forms of Zulu material culture, it is necessary to sketch the historical subdivisions of today's KwaZulu-Natal as they developed in the course of the nineteenth century.

The first major partition of the region in the post-Shakan period was the annexation of Natal as an autonomous district of the Cape Colony on 31 May 1844. The appointment of Theophilus Shepstone as Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes in 1846 saw the creation of subdivisions within Natal as 'locations'⁴ (reserves) for the indigenous population. In 1846 and 1847 Shepstone 'supervised the movement of nearly 80 000 Natal Africans ... into locations he had demarcated for their occupation, the rest of the area being cut up into farms for white ownership' (Ballard 1989:124f.). With relatively

³ He was released from prison in 1910 by Louis Botha, the first Prime Minister of the Union.

⁴ The term 'Location' was applied to the territories reserved for black settlement in the former Colony of Natal in the Shepstonian dispensation. In 1902, after the conclusion of the Boer War, the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission was set up to demarcate 'sufficient land' for 'native locations', and set aside the rest for grants to whites (Laband 1995:439). In its report (1904) the term 'Reserves' was used to describe the land set aside for blacks in Zululand. These formed the basis of the self-governing homeland of KwaZulu during the apartheid era. In this article, the term 'Location' will be used in the general sense of land allocated to blacks, and more particularly for such lands in the colony of Natal. For Zululand/KwaZulu the term 'Reserve' will be used. The term 'Reservation' is also used in the general sense.

minor alterations Shepstone's dispensation remained the basis of land allocation in Natal until the end of white rule in 1994. In the meanwhile the borders of the Kingdom of Zululand suffered a series of revisions under the encroachments of the Boers and the British until it was finally annexed in 1887. By that time the British policy of weakening the influence of the royal house by playing off the various factions of the Zulus against each other, coupled with the establishment of the Boer New Republic in the north, had effectively redrawn most of the internal tribal territorial divisions of Zululand.

Finally, on 29 December 1897 Zululand was incorporated into Natal. A land commission set up in 1902 submitted its report in 1904. The former Kingdom was divided into regions for white settlement (1 057 467 hectares or 40.1 %) and black reserves (1 573 047 hectares). Laband (1995: 439) comments as follows:

In going about their task, the commissioners ... were consciously 'actuated by a desire to exclude from the Reserves, which were to be inalienable, as much land as [they] conscientiously could'. Put in another way, this meant that they identified as reserves regions undesirable in terms of their potential for commercial agriculture and white settlement.

First in Natal and subsequently in Zululand, people of diverse tribal backgrounds were resettled in reservations with well-defined permanent borders. Such reservations often lay outside the main routes linking different parts of the country. Large tracts of white farmlands separated many of them from one another. As a result, people tended to travel between their homes in the reservations and their places of work in the cities rather than between one reservation and the next. This pattern was supported and formalised by Act 49 of 1901, 'To Facilitate the Identification of Native Servants', which decreed that all Africans other than labour tenants had to possess an identification pass by means of which their movements could be controlled (Lambert 1989: 383). The relative paucity of local transport in the reservations during the first half of the twentieth century meant that many people spent their lives within a radius of a few miles of their homesteads. In the course of time the reservations developed identities of their own, which redefined the previous tribal allegiances that had been imported into the communities when they were formed.⁵

This is the basis of the so-called fourth-world entities, pseudo-polities without representation or self-determination, dependent for their survival on the shedding of population to the outside world, in this case to the cities. In Natal and Zululand they languished on throughout most of the twentieth century with little change in the rhythm of daily life. The self-contained nature of the reservations preserved them from many of the incursions of the outside world and enabled the creation of a relatively stable social environment for those who stayed behind.⁶ This lasted into the 1970s when the effects of overcrowding and soil erosion began to make themselves felt. As a mitigating factor the reservations benefited from the general growth of the economy with its concomitant transfer payments. That may account for what seems to have been a widely

⁵ In so far as they were reflected in the beadwork and other artefacts these new identities proved relatively stable. They could survive transplantation into other regions (including Johannesburg) for two generations (Jolles 1994: 58, 1997: 50f.). This is also well documented in the Erlandson Collection in the Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg.

⁶ The contrast between life in the cities and the rural areas was a recurrent theme in the interviews I conducted with woodcarvers. Health problems caused by overcrowding and stress, and the inability to come to terms with city life psychologically were the reasons given by a number of people for returning to the rural areas in the 1970s and 1980s.

held impression that disposable income and the quality of life were slowly but surely improving. This was reflected in a renaissance of the crafts, including pottery, carving, grass weaving and beadwork, during the second and third quarters of the twentieth century. Based on the study of beadwork three main periods emerge: up to the 1940s, when the old rural order was still largely the norm, from 1950s to about 1980, the migrant labour epoch, and the last two decades of the twentieth century, which witnessed the general decline of traditional beadwork (except the religious beadwork of the Shembe sect) and the emergence of a commercial tourist craft industry.

SOURCES AND CURRENT DISTRIBUTION OF TWENTIETH CENTURY CERAMIC BEER VESSELS

Most twentieth century ceramic vessels were made in the locations and reserves. There seems to have been no continuous tradition of making ceramics on white-owned farms. Within the locations there were certain regions in which the making of beer vessels, cooking pots and large storage containers flourished, reaching a high degree of technical perfection and developing distinctive styles. In other regions only small to medium sized rather basic sparsely decorated forms could be found in the field. In some others, particularly those in which communities of christianised blacks (*amakholwa*) settled and purchased land in the nineteenth century, ceramic pots have not been in use for a long time.⁷

From the late 1980s onwards, partly as a result of publications and partly dealer-driven, a collectors' market for 'antique' Zulu beer pots developed in Europe and North America. Old pots were often selected for particular marketable features, for instance patterns formed out of small applied nodules of clay—*amasumpa*—which were regarded as the hallmark of Zulu beer vessels. The large unburnished and undecorated *izimbiza*, on the other hand, and many pots decorated with incisions were left in the field. Provenances were not preserved; indeed, many dealers purposely withheld information in order to prevent others from discovering their sources. These pots were largely acquired by private collectors in Europe and the United States of America.⁸ Most dealers maintained workshops to 'restore' pots to make them more marketable. They filled in and coloured chips in the rim and other broken sections, repaired cracks and waxed the surface.

Apart from the reduction of authenticity, a great deal of information was lost through the process of selection and the disposal of pots that were deemed unsaleable. South African public collections do not hold comprehensive collections of Zulu ceramics. The museums did not pursue a systematic collecting policy, as ceramics were not highly regarded at the time that they would have been available. As a result, most of the pots in local museum collections stem from bequests. As such, they do have acquisition dates

⁷ Compare the map in Lambert 1989: 382.

⁸ This accounts for the fact that many of the ceramics in public and private collections are without any provenance. A striking example is the two pots included in the prestigious catalogue: *Africa: the art of a continent* (1995), edited by Tom Phillips (p. 221, 3.39a, 3.39b). Both are by a well-known potter from Nongoma, Azolinah Mbatha, who, as she told me, sold them personally to a dealer from Belgium. The only provenance given is 'KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa'. Not only has the place of origin been suppressed but even the name of the artist. Ethical considerations apart, the dealer presumably thought the commercial value of the artefacts would be enhanced by locating them in an anonymous proto-historic tribal past rather than attributing them to a living artist who made them in the 1970s.

but are rarely provenanced beyond that. In more recent times, lack of resources and competition from dealers and their 'runners' in the field have made it impossible for South African museums to acquire representative collections. At the time of writing there are still a few large *izimbiza*, but hardly any other old pots left in their original homesteads.

The current survey is based mainly on some 800 beer pots in public and private collections in South Africa and the United States. Many were collected and provenanced between 1992 and 2003. However, in despite of this relatively large database, the survey cannot, unfortunately, be regarded as comprehensive. In particular, some important areas, such as Nkandla, had been depleted before they could be recorded.

IDENTIFICATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF ZULU BEER VESSELS

Beer vessels are imbedded in a wealth of information. This includes specific information from primary sources, such as potters and owners of particular vessels, as well as more general economic, social and cultural aspects, which have a bearing on our understanding of the vessels. Given that the aim of this survey is to describe and classify the pottery in its development and distribution, it can limit itself to addressing questions of form, function and ethnicity. Form, in this context, is defined as the totality of physical features in the sense of *Gestalt*, 'an organised whole in which each individual part affects every other, the whole being more than the sum of its parts' (Fowler & Fowler 1966: 513). Function includes not only the basic utilitarian use of the artefact, but also its wider social and religious implications. Within this framework form and function are interdependent, describing the same object from different perspectives.

So, in the first place, the description of twentieth century ceramics must address a number of general issues:

- the meaning of 'Zulu' in the context of pottery (regional; tribal; identity);
- general taxonomy of Zulu pottery (functional typology, size, shape, treatment of the surface: burnishing, blackening, decorations, including different patterns and techniques, etc.);
- the origins of Zulu pottery;

before proceeding to an examination of the specifics of style:

- regional, and within the regions, chronological variations;
- categorisation of the main regional styles;
- the impact of individual potters and pot-making families within the regional framework.

'Zulu' in the context of pottery

In the context of this survey 'Zulu' is defined in regional, political and linguistic terms as that part of eastern South Africa comprising the former Colony of Natal and the former Kingdom of Zululand, in which Zulu is spoken as the main language. The two defunct political entities, the Colony of Natal and the Kingdom of Zululand, enjoyed an afterlife throughout most of the twentieth century. It found expression above all in the rural settlement pattern: white farmlands offset by Shepstonian locations for the indigenous population. From the narrow perspective of the craft of beer pot making in

the twentieth century, the regional basis of the term 'Zulu' can be reduced to those locations in Natal and the corresponding reserves in Zululand in which the customs and 'thought patterns' (Berglund 1976) of the past still regulated the daily lives of most people.

This definition seeks to forestall the concept of a distinct 'Zulu identity' as a determinant of style formation. As the consequences of the settlement of 1879—the break-up of Zululand into rival chiefdoms—clearly demonstrate, the Kingdom of Zululand was never a 'nation state' in the European sense (although some of the settlers of that time may have chosen to regard it as such). Instead it consisted of a central polity with a number of client polities, some more dependent than others, grouped around it.⁹ It was characterised by internal rivalries overridden by the loyalties engendered through the centralised *amabutho* institution of military service.¹⁰

It would be wrong to suggest that a 'Zulu identity' was the determinant of the styles of Zulu pottery; rather, the main features common to all Zulu pottery emerged throughout a region settled by a group of clans sharing a common system of customs and beliefs but not integrated into a unified political order. This is not to deny that the centre of political power exerted a formative influence on the material culture of the area under its immediate control.

Main features of Zulu pottery

Four distinct types of beer vessel according to volume and function can be distinguished: *imbiza*, *uphiso*, *ukhamba* and *umancishana*. *Imbiza* (plural: *izimbiza*) are large storage and brewing vessels that may be up to 90 cm high. In some places they are set into the floors of huts as permanent features. In a few areas small *izimbiza* used to be made. The distinguishing feature of *izimbiza* is that they are fired only once in an oxidising environment producing a reddish to yellowish surface, depending on the iron content of the clay. They are usually covered with a slip applied with a broad circular motion.

Uphiso (plural: *izimpiso*) are medium to large usually round-bodied pots of up to 30 litres capacity, although exceptionally one may come across ones that are considerably larger. They have a small usually cylindrical neck (typically between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the diameter of the pot) to prevent liquid from spilling. Their main function is to transport water or beer. They are always burnished and fired twice to produce the familiar black surface. They are decorated on the shoulders and sometimes on the body of the pot according to region.

Ukhamba (plural: *izinkamba*), also *isikhamba* (plural: *izikhamba*)¹¹ are used for serving beer. The beer is lifted out of the pot with a ladle made from a bottle gourd (*inkhezo*,

⁹ However, Adulphe Delegorgue, an astute observer who travelled in southern Africa between 1838 and 1844, nevertheless recognised that there was such a thing as a Zulu sense of national identity: 'The Zoulou is born proud and possesses to a high degree a sense of nationhood'. He compared them to the French (Delegorgue 1997: 120f.).

¹⁰ Or, more famously in the words of Sir Theophilus Shepstone: 'The Zulu nation is a collection of tribes, more or less autonomous, and more or less discontented; a rope of sand whose only cohesive property was furnished by the presence of the Zulu ruling family and its command of a standing army' (Laband 1995: ii, cit *British Parliamentary Papers* [C 5531], enc.in no.13).

¹¹ I have come across both forms used to describe the same type in different areas. Doke *et al.* (1990) distinguish between *ukhamba*, 'earthenware pot, general term', and *isikhamba*, 'open-mouthed pot such as is used for serving beer or sour milk'. They also cite a further form: *umkhamba*, plural: *imikhamba*, 'broad-mouthed earthen pot'. In my experience this type of pot is used for cooking porridge.

plural: *izinkezo*), which holds about 300 ml. The beer is usually drunk directly from the *inkhezo*, which is passed round, but it can also be drunk from the *ukhamba* itself. *Izinkamba* come in many sizes, from 1500 ml to 50 litres and more. In shape they vary from almost conical to bag-shaped, round, shouldered, tapered or squat. Such variations may be regional or the work of particular families of potters. They are usually richly decorated. It has been suggested that the decorations serve to give a grip on the pot when it is slippery with beer.

Umancishana, (plural: *omancishana*) is a small version of the *ukhamba* holding between 500 and 1500 ml of beer. The name is derived from *ncintshana*, 'to be stingy with, niggardly towards' (Doke *et al.* 1990: 531). It is usually near spherical, undecorated or decorated in a manner similar to *izinkamba*. In the middle of the twentieth century *omancishana* were sometimes made with a foot. It has been suggested that this was a stylistic transfer from the form of a European chalice (Tim Maggs pers. comm.). They might also be derived from Sotho pedestal cups as illustrated by Barley (1994: 26). They are usually reserved for guests or the spirits of the ancestors. The beer is drunk directly from the pot.

With very few exceptions Zulu pots have a flat base. This is in contrast to the majority of ceramic vessels in many parts of Africa, which have rounded bases. A rounded base allows for a better distribution of heat from a traditional hearth, where the pot sits on three stones or directly in the embers. On the other hand pots used mainly for serving or storing liquids need to be able to stand on a level surface. This is the case for most beer pot applications. Twentieth century Zulu cooking pots are not very common, because most cooking is done in metal pots. They can be recognised by their wide mouths. The bases of the cooking pots are no different from those of serving pots. This may be on account of the technique used in the construction of all Zulu clay vessels by coiling upwards from a flat base.

The treatment of the surface varies with the type of vessel. *Izimbiza* are usually coated with a thin slip of clay mixed with cattle dung applied in a circular motion. The other three types, *izimpiso*, *izinkamba* and *omancishana* are painstakingly burnished with a small river pebble such as an agate at the leathery stage and then fired twice. The first firing produces a red to yellowish bisque texture. The second firing is done in a reducing environment. This fuses free carbon into the surface of the clay, producing a hard semi-matt black finish.¹²

Izimbiza remain undecorated apart from the shallow circular patterns produced by the application of the slip. *Izimpiso*, *izinkamba* and many *omancishana*, on the other hand, are highly decorated with a large variety of motifs and patterns. Some of these can also be found on beadwork, wood carvings and scarifications, whilst others are specific to ceramics. A number of techniques are used to create the patterns: incising, impressing, gouging, applying pressure to the inside of the half-dried vessel to force up shallow rounded bumps on the outside, and applying nodules (*amasumpa*), carved plaques and ropes of clay to the surface of the pots. Many of these have regional connotations, as do specific patterns.

¹² The Igbo in Nigeria achieve a similar effect by spraying the pot with the sap of a creeper whilst it is still red hot from the firing (personal observation, 1978).

The origins of Zulu pottery

The present state of historical and archaeological research would seem to support Laband's assertion (1995: 13) that after 'about AD 1500 the evidence indicates that the Iron Age people of the Natal-Zululand region were culturally, linguistically and physically the direct ancestors of today's black population'. Despite this, little is known about the origins of pottery with the characteristics described above. Archaeological evidence indicates that from about AD 1700 to 1850 black burnished vessels were much the exception rather than the rule. Decorations are present on a small number of the sherds. They are restricted to lines of fingernail impressions and a few raised elongated lozenges.¹³ Hall and Mack (1983) report that at eLangeni, the 'capital' of the Buthelezi chief Phungashe in the late eighteenth century, they found only three black decorated, and 34 black undecorated sherds out of a total of 8 338. They conclude: 'it can be seen that more than 95 per cent consisted of undecorated and unburnished sherds, mostly from the bodies of vessels. The remaining small proportion of sherds does, however, have distinctive characteristics that allow an impression of the pottery industry from this site' (Hall & Mack 1983: 179).

A similar picture emerges from the excavations at Mgoduyanuka (Maggs 1982), on the Thukela near Bergville, dated to the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, and at the similarly dated site of Nqabeni on the plateau between the White Umfolozi and the Buffalo River: 'Only 6,7 % of all sherds showed any type of burnish, and only 0,3 % were decorated ... Red ochre had been used on a smaller proportion of the burnished surfaces, while black burnish was still rarer and may represent accidental blackening from firing rather than a deliberate black colouring' (Hall & Maggs 1979: 170).

While Fynn came across burnished pots at the court of Shaka (Stuart & Malcolm 1969: 269), the evidence from excavations is supported by the pictorial record, the most comprehensive of which is contained in the works of George French Angas (1822–86).¹⁴ Angas visited Natal in 1847. In 1849, after his return to England, he published *The Kaffirs Illustrated*, a volume of 30 hand-coloured lithographs, of which 18 depict scenes from Natal and Zululand, and 11 wood engravings, of which six deal with themes taken from Zulu domestic life (Angas 1974). Eleven of the plates and two engravings depict beer vessels among other utensils of domestic use. They include 27 beer baskets, 22 *izimbiza*, 13 *izinkamba*, including three blackened ones (one of them probably wooden) and two small *omancishana*, either ceramic or basketry. There are also a number of gourds that might have been used for beer. By far the most common drinking vessels were baskets. They came in various shapes and sizes: bottle shaped (reminiscent of the gourds), spherical, tall narrow, and open bowl-shaped ones.¹⁵ In

¹³ The only instance of the survival of precolonial motifs into the late nineteenth or early twentieth century is to be found in a number of unprovenanced beer vessels which formed a part of the Old Durban Museum Collection, now in the Local History Museum, in Durban. They are illustrated in Reusch (1996: 128) as numbers C1, C2, C3 and C5. The first three (LHM 95/1444–6) are *izinkamba* shaped like the familiar wooden milking pails (*amathunga*) and might have come from the Muden area, where similarly shaped vessels survived into the twentieth century. The fourth one is a spherical *uphiso*.

¹⁴ The main repositories of his works are in South Australia. South African collections that hold some of his works are the Africana Museum, Johannesburg; the William Fehr Art Collection; Rust en Vreugd, Cape Town; and the SA National Gallery, Cape Town.

¹⁵ Fynn notes in his diary that 'All pottery is made by the women', but whilst 'mats' (the making of which would dominate fibre weaving—sleeping mats, mats for eating) were 'made by the females of almost every family', baskets were 'the work of men, and are of very neat workmanship'. Nowadays, of course, baskets are made almost exclusively by women (Stuart & Malcolm 1969: 269).

one of his accompanying texts Angas (1974: 59) describes how King Mpande sent him 'an Induna with a live bullock, an enormous basket of beer (*'outchualla'* [*utshwala*]), borne by two men, and a jar of Dutch aniseed cordial'. Compare also the illustration (Colenbrander 1989: 102), which shows King Mpande watching an elephant's foot being prepared for roasting, with his beer basket beside him.

Baskets were also used in adjoining regions. In Pondoland, particularly, they were in use from the earliest recorded instance until well into the second half of the twentieth century. 'He [Faku] ordered 2 baskets of beer to be placed before me', the Rev. Francis Owen noted in his diary entry for 8 June 1837, during his overland journey from Port Elizabeth to Durban on his way to Dingane (Cory 1926: 17). However, Charles Rawden Maclean (a.k.a. John Ross) recollected that on his first visit to Shaka in 1825, 'every evening a large earthen vessel, containing from three to four gallons of beer, was sent them [i.e. Maclean and his companions] from the king's private brewery' (Gray 1992: 76). This was probably an *imbiza* or large red *ukhamba* as shown on the Angas lithographs.

The majority of the pots that Angas illustrated were *izimbiza*, for storage, fermenting and cooking. This usage may also have applied to some of the *izinkamba*, as they have wide openings associated nowadays with vessels used for cooking porridge. Only three are burnished and blackened.¹⁶ By the end of the nineteenth century the situation had changed entirely. The photographic record shows that burnished, blackened ceramic beer vessels representing many of the familiar twentieth century types were in widespread use, whilst the once common baskets had all but disappeared from the scene.

How did this change in usage come about—particularly in view of the far-reaching social implications associated with the drinking of beer (Krige 1950: 58f., 198, 202)? The explanatory models commonly applied to the introduction of new cultural practices are: (1) cultural diffusion, i.e. borrowing or diffusion from neighbouring communities; (2) demic diffusion, i.e. importation of new cultural practices through the movement of peoples; and (3) local adaptations to new or changing circumstances. All of these may have played some part: cultural diffusion in the spread of the custom throughout the greater Zulu community from one area to another; demic diffusion through the movement of people due to Shaka's military campaigns and their aftermath; and, finally, adaptations to the new circumstances that arose in both Natal and Zululand during the course of the nineteenth century. Hall and Mack (1983: 192) conclude that in the eighteenth century the exogamous patrilocal marriage system facilitated the spread of pottery styles across political boundaries from one chieftaincy to the next. Marriages were frequently contracted between parties from different chieftaincies. When the women, who were the potters, married, they took their skills with them from their paternal homes to those of their husbands, enabling the stylistic features of their pottery to spread across a wide area. This would be an example of diffusion. By way of contrast, architectural designs, which were the reserve of men, did not spread, but tended to vary from one chieftaincy to the next. However, the third model—adaptation to changing circumstances—seems to offer the most compelling explanation for the changes.

To varying degrees most of Zululand was suitable both for a pastoral and an agricultural way of life. This held good so long as the population density remained low enough to

¹⁶ One of these (Angas 1974: plate 21) is of the ovoid to cylindrical type similar to an *ithunga* (wooden milking pail).

allow for the more extensive form of exploitation necessary to a pastoral economy (including for instance, a lower crop yield per hectare, and the seasonal movement of herds in search of better grazing). The mixed economy provided people with the flexibility of food production appropriate to an environment subject to periodic droughts. Transhumance, cattle raiding and in extreme circumstances, a return to a semi-nomadic condition (with the likelihood of a concomitant reduction in population density) enabled them to survive when crops failed for any length of time.

The disruption of agricultural activity on account of the political upheavals and military campaigns of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, had an effect that was in some respects similar to a prolonged period of drought. The most urgent consideration for communities under threat was to preserve their cattle from capture and to remove themselves as far as possible from the perceived source of danger. This, in fact, many were able to do successfully. It implied reverting to a nomadic pastoral way of life until a new area to settle in had been identified and cultivation could be resumed. The transitional ‘nomadic’ period involved a change of diet from one based on grain to one consisting mainly of meat.¹⁷ There was less opportunity for brewing beer and no need for the wide range of heavy and fragile ceramics to do so.

Other factors also played an important role. No doubt the impact of colonialism in Natal and the reverberations of colonialism in Zululand must be counted among them. Furthermore, Natal and Zululand were among the most heavily missionised territories in the world. A plethora of denominations including Catholic, Church of England, Lutheran, Methodist, and even Trappist, from a range of European countries and North America, competed with varying degrees of success for converts. Whereas the impact of colonialism undermined and finally destroyed the authority of the King and the integrity of the Zulu socio-political system, the missionaries had an equally devastating effect on everyday family life (Webb & Wright 2001: 20–22). The two main missionary injunctions that affected Zulu material culture were the insistence on the wearing of clothing—or rather the elimination of nakedness, particularly in the case of young women—and the prohibition of beer (*utshwala*) drinking because of its alcohol content (1–2 %) and its association with reverence for the ancestors. Both were sensitive issues with deep roots in Zulu culture.¹⁸

The well-nigh universal shift away from beer baskets and the adoption of blackened ceramic vessels in their stead, had important ritual concomitants. The serving of beer was an integral part of most ceremonial occasions in which the spirits of the ancestors were thought to be involved, such as births, marriages and deaths, the ear-piercing ceremony, the Feast of First Fruits, and many family occasions (Krige 1950: 69, 84, 131, 164, 253, 258). As the shades were known to shun sunlight and bright places, the blackening of the beer vessels constituted an invitation to the ancestral spirits to be present at the ceremonies and sip their beer in the comfort of darkness (Berglund 1976: 176; Reusch 1996). Taken in this context, the introduction of blackened beer vessels in place of the time-honoured baskets could be interpreted as a measure to invoke the assistance of the ancestors in defending the customary way of life against the incursions

¹⁷ This is also well attested for armies on lengthy campaigns away from home (which might be considered analogous to a nomadic way of life) in the early part of the nineteenth century.

¹⁸ The removal of *utshwala* from the diet of the rural African population is held to have contributed to widespread mineral and vitamin deficiencies (Tim Maggs pers. comm.).

of the outsiders. This does not necessarily imply that it was part of a new ritual instituted as a result of a conscious strategic decision, but rather an emotional quest for security in a deeply disturbing and threatening spiritual environment.¹⁹ In addition to the above, it could also be argued that the very emphasis placed by the missionaries on the prohibition of beer drinking imbued it with an enhanced ritual significance in the eyes of the people.

Regional variations in pottery styles

The situation described by Hall and Mack (1983) for the late eighteenth century involved a conglomerate of chieftaincies, each of which held a relatively small area of land with contiguous boundaries. However, by the time the turmoil of the first half of the nineteenth century and its aftermath had subsided most of the original population of Natal had moved to other regions or had been resettled in locations. As has been shown, the process of resettlement was extended to Zululand after annexation in 1887, and completed after the report of the Land Commission of 1904. Where the locations were separated from one another by tracts of white farmlands, any stylistic diffusion through exogamous marriage would, on the whole, have come to a halt at the boundaries of the locations. In the long term one would expect this to encourage the development of location-based styles. In practice the situation was more complex. The institution of chieftaincies—albeit with greatly reduced responsibilities—survived the creation of the locations, and indeed continues to the present day. It is reflected in the system of *izigodi* (singular: *isigodi*, ‘district, division of territory’), which has remained the basic unit of administration in the former locations with regard to many everyday matters. Most locations comprised considerable tracts of land, extensive enough to support a number of such diminished chieftaincies. Many also had common boundaries with adjacent locations. A study of the beadwork of the Msinga area, based on the variations in colour combinations (‘colour conventions’) and patterns, has shown that distinctive location-based colour conventions did indeed develop. However, they were not static but subject to an ongoing process of modification brought about by migration and changes in the social environment of the makers and wearers of beadwork (Etherington 2001: 345; Jolles 1994: 47–52, 2001: 102f.; Reusch 1996: 116). It remains to be seen whether similar processes determined the evolution of pottery styles.

Most of the information in this section is derived from field research. In addition to the approximately 800 pots collected and documented between 1990 and 2003, a number of pots collected by the African Art Centre in Durban for sale at their annual ‘Treasures – Amagugu’ exhibitions have been included, particularly in those cases for which a good provenance was available. Although many of the beer vessels in South African public collections lack provenance, they are often the only vessels from the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century for which an accession date is available. They thus form an important addition to this survey. Well documented beer vessels in public collections are held by the KwaZulu Cultural Museum in Ulundi, collected by Nick Penney in the 1980s, and in the South African Museum in Cape Town, collected by Margaret Shaw and Anne Lawton in the 1960s. The main constraining

¹⁹ A similar motive has been attributed to the rise of the characteristic patterns of Ndebele beadwork which can be traced back to the subjugation and dispersal of the Ndebele by the Boers in 1883 (Levy 1990: 26f.). Compare also Davison (1985: 19): ‘it became imperative both to retain customs and to develop new ways of expressing and defending their identity in alien surroundings’.

factor in compiling a comprehensive database has been the activity of commercial collectors and their local field agents ('runners') in the period before this survey commenced and whilst it was being carried out. Some regions had been so depleted by the time we arrived that it was no longer possible to obtain a representative sample of their pottery.

During the course of the twentieth century very few changes were made to the distribution of land for reserves and locations and the land allocated to white farms and plantations. Some land was acquired from reserves for the extension of wild life reservations, in particular the 'corridor' between Hluhluwe and Umfolozi. In a number of places white-owned farms were bought back for inclusion in KwaZulu before 1994. More recently some white-owned farms, mainly in areas bordering KwaZulu, have been abandoned under the pressure of incursions. Others have been transferred to black ownership under a government scheme of 'willing buyers and willing sellers'. These changes have not materially affected the distribution of Zulu beer vessels. As the settlement of Natal and Zululand proceeded over a long period of time and in a piecemeal manner interrupted by conflicts and the progressive erosion and final annexation of the Kingdom of Zululand, it is not surprising that the pattern that finally emerged should present such a chequered and seemingly chaotic appearance.

Why has the production of Zulu beer vessels in the twentieth century been largely limited to the locations in KwaZulu and in Natal? One explanation might be the rather obvious one: that traditional crafts (like any others) are a product of their cultural environment. They depend on a functioning infrastructure, in this case the rural infrastructure and the indigenous knowledge that goes with it, and on a socio-economic support system. For ceramics, the former would include the routine of collecting fuel (wood, cow dung, dried aloe leaves, whichever is available), the ability to recognise the right clays and additives, and above all the flexibility of working time required to adjust to the contingencies of pottery, such as weather conditions. All these imply a degree of personal freedom of disposition, which was not characteristic of the life of a wage labourer on a farm.

The socio-economic support system includes the question of a ready market for the product. Here again, the farm tended to be linked to the cash economy of the industrial state which supplied most needs, (including metal and plastic vessels to take the place of indigenous ceramics), through a network of farm shops. The rural economy, on the other hand, was largely based on barter, though it too was connected to the larger economy through the operation of markets which sold both local and industrial products and through trading posts. Thus, Phiwayinkosi MaMthethwa Ngobese of Mayakazi, Hlabisa (born about 1930 in Vryheid), related how 'a long time ago, in the days before there were any motors', she used to sell pots at the monthly Mona Market. It was a two-day walk each way. She and her daughter would carry the pots, spending a night at a friend's house half way. At Mona Market there was a good turnover, better than she could get back home. The pots were sold for cash, whereas at home they were bartered against chickens: two large or three small chickens for one large pot. She said that I could not imagine how many chickens she used to have, 'there were chickens everywhere!' She always brought the money she earned at Mona back home with her. It was used for buying building materials, such as corrugated iron, and also for [sacrificial] goats at R3 to R5 each (interview, 19 October 1998).

The close relationship between producer and customer in the rural economy seems to have encouraged innovation and the development of new styles. The pots that Phiwayinkosi made for her neighbours differ from those she made for sale at Mona Market. Of course, size was a factor: the larger pots were difficult to transport and less economical in terms of unit costs. But apart from this, the medium sized pots made for Mona Market were more likely to sell when they corresponded to the expectations of the potential (anonymous) buyers. Innovation was reserved for the neighbourhood community. This included the beautiful and technically demanding but impractical squat shape and incised patterns using a comb, which Phiwayinkosi claims she was the first to develop. It is noteworthy that even in cases in which the potter managed to break into the commercial and tourist market, as Nesta Nala did, the driving impetus originated in the rural economy and only the second and third generation of potters moved their production base to the cities. There, their work, divested of its primary function, became decontextualised. Whilst the craftsmanship was preserved²⁰ and the decorations often displayed a sense of humour (applied animals, football matches, etc.), these new beer pots lack the dignity that the best of their prototypes derived from integration into the daily life and ritual of the rural community (Jolles 2001: 311f.).²¹

Zulu beer vessels of the four functional types may be classified by their form and decoration according to the following rather broad categories:

- Forms may be *squat*, *bag-shaped*, *tulip-shaped*, *spherical*, *ovoid* and *with shoulders*. They may have *large* or *narrow openings*, sometimes with *everted lips*. They may also have *cylindrical* or *inverted conical necks* to avoid spillage.
- Decorations may be *applied*, *impressed* or *incised* depending on whether clay was added to the surface or removed from it. Within the first category are the various types of *amasumpa*, described later, and ‘ropes’ of clay. In the last the clay may be *cut*, *gouged out*, *scraped with an instrument such as a comb*, *patterned with a roulette*, and *combinations of the above*.

The beer vessels can be separated into six main regional styles. All but the first of these are large, well-populated areas. The main distinguishing features are as follows:

- Phongolo: bag shaped to near spherical form with outward (everted) curvature towards the opening; applied decorations.
- Nongoma: near spherical, sometimes ovoid and bag shaped forms mainly with applied decorations, but also some incised patterns.
- Hlabisa: often squat form, incised decoration.
- Melmoth-Eshowe: mostly somewhat squat forms with *amasumpa* carved from applied plaques or strips of clay. Some are near spherical with incised, gouged and impressed patterns making use of different techniques on the same vessel.
- The Thukela and its tributaries from the Manyane and the Nsuzi through to the southern bank of the uMhlatuze: near spherical form with both applied and incised decorations.

²⁰ In some cases the use of unfamiliar clays in the production of over-ambitious large pots led to instability with the pots fracturing when exposed to changes of temperature, as in sunlight (Paul Mikula, BAT Art Centre, pers. comm.).

²¹ A striking example of a similar development is the boom and bust of the trade in Ndebele dolls, which became mass-produced curio items in the 1990s.

- Msinga: older pots have mainly near spherical forms, more recent ones have pronounced shoulders tapering towards the base, incised decorations. A very old type from Muden preserves the tall slightly bulging cylindrical form similar to milking pails (*amathunga*) (cf. footnotes 13 and 16).

Areas which were visited with a view to collecting beer vessels but in which nothing of significance was discovered include the Umzimkhulu valley and the region bordering Pondoland south and east of Harding in southern Natal, and areas to the south and west of Bulwer.

The regional variations in detail

I suggest that regional pottery styles reflect formative influences reaching back to the creation of the location system and the subsequent encroachments of colonialism. The emergence of a particular style will depend upon the emergence of a local sense of identity, which may well vary from place to place. In Natal, chieftaincies based on clan loyalties seem to have arisen shortly after the creation of the original locations, perhaps in the 1850s. In Zululand, on the other hand, continuous instability and warfare reinforced the *amabutho* system with its strong centripetal effect. However, the Wolseley settlement after the conclusion of the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879, which installed thirteen competing semi-autonomous chieftaincies whilst the king was held prisoner in the Cape, created a power vacuum at the centre and strong incentives towards the development of regional identities. In troubled times clan affiliation was a matter of survival. So by the time the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission submitted its report in 1904 most of the basic styles of pottery both of Natal and Zululand would already have been formed.²²

Once a regional style had been established, the balance between retention of the original configurations and newly introduced variants brought about an ongoing evolution of styles. As rural mobility increased, the balance shifted in favour of innovation, leading to a plethora of new motifs (some of which, such as references to beadwork styles, can be used as markers in dating pots). They reflect the ever-evolving situation in which changing circumstances and allegiances are echoed in the material culture of a people.

The Phongolo Region (Appendix 1.01–1.05)

This is the northernmost stylistic region of Zulu pottery. It covers a relatively small area reaching from west of the town of Phongolo and south of the Swazi border, following the course of the Phongolo River mainly on the northern side to beyond Golela. It is quite distinct from the other regions. The fairly large adjoining area contained by the Lebombo Mountains and the Swazi border on the western side, the Mozambique border in the north and the Indian Ocean in the east does not belong to this region, rather it is inhabited by people related to those of Nongoma, and also relocated people from the Weenen area in Msinga. The pottery there is similar to that from Nongoma.

Before the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 the territory north of the Phongolo had been a part of the Swazi Kingdom (Laband 1995: 122). In the settlement of 1879 it became a

²² Compare the photograph of 'Dinuzulu's drinking vessels and his wives who made his beer' c.1896–1907 in the Pietermaritzburg Archive Repository (Ref. No. C611). Frontispiece in *Ubumba* (Bell & Calder 1998).

part of a tribal chiefdom, first under Mgojana and then Zibhebhu, the main opponent of the Zulu royal house. After the defeat of Zibhebhu in 1884 it was ceded to the Boers and formed part of the New Republic. On annexation of Zululand in 1887, it formed no part of the settlement; subsequently it was amalgamated with the Transvaal. It was not a part of the territories ceded to Natal in 1903, which included most of the former New Republic (Laband 1995: 375, 378, 438). It was assigned to Natal for administrative convenience in 1994.

The Phongolo beer vessels are characterised by their everted rims not found elsewhere in Zulu ceramics,²³ their elegant slightly bulging form tending towards the bag-shaped and their fine thin-walled, evenly-fired, well tempered quality, which seems to make them less liable to developing hair cracks at the rim than is normally the case. The decoration consists of applied strips of clay divided into very fine *amasumpa* by cutting lengthwise and across and then rounding off the ridges. There are few motifs, which keep recurring: chevrons, V's, W's and short zigs-zags and derivatives of zigzags, long horizontal lines encompassing most of the circumference of the pot and narrow horizontal or oblique panels (1.01–1.05). These motifs are not necessarily specific to vessels from Phongolo, but the manner in which they are made and applied is distinct and easily recognizable.

Perhaps the decoration on the oldest pots (cf. 1.03) is a little more delicate than on more recent examples. Apart from this, there seems to have been little progression in style or decoration since the late 1930s, which would be the earliest I have come across. This, in itself, is noteworthy and suggests that further research into the development of the distinctive Phongolo style is indicated. It would be interesting to know more about the formative period for the development of the style. Was it driven by a need to maintain a separate identity in the late nineteenth century, as suggested above? After all Zibhebhu had been largely responsible for the demise of the Zulu monarchy, and Dinuzulu had protested: 'We cannot live together with the man who killed our king' (Laband 1995: 391). What enabled this style to persist for such a long time whilst others to south were continuing to evolve?

The Nongoma Region (Appendix 2.01–2.25)

This region lies to the south of the Phongolo area separated from it by a wide band of hilly farmland. It is an extensive mountainous terrain intersected by river valleys. It borders on Hlabisa in the east and is connected to the Thukela region in the south by a broad corridor, and by another narrower one with the lowland area between Empangeni and Eshowe. In the southwest and west it is contained by the middle reaches of the White uMfolozi river, which formed a boundary between KwaZulu and the white farmlands around Melmoth and Babanango, and by the farmlands of the Vryheid region.

The Nongoma region has long been considered as the origin of the applied decorations known as *amasumpa*, which are a characteristic feature of Zulu ceramics and carvings. However, applied motifs of this type occur on ceramics in many parts of Africa, and in southern Africa can be traced back several centuries to the beginning of the Blackburn ceramic sequence (associated with Nguni speakers), dated from the early eleventh century

²³ Though some pots in an old style from the Pomeroy (Msinga) area show a slight everted curvature of the rim section of an otherwise rather different bag-shaped form. There is an example in the Phansi Museum in Durban.

near Durban (Davies 1971). Similar decorative features also occur rarely in the first millennium sequence (Gavin Whitelaw pers. comm., 2005).

Different types and configurations of *amasumpa* occur in different parts of the region. These may reflect the spheres of influence of local families of potters. There are four main types: *amasumpa* carved out of applied panels of clay, these are most common (2.09–2.16 and many others); those ‘pinched’ and applied singly (2.03, 2.04); small rounded *amasumpa* (like ‘Smarties’ chocolates) also applied singly and flattened (2.06, 2.07); and lastly those pressed out from the inside of the pot and made good again whilst the clay was still pliable, these tend to be large, shallow and rounded (no examples illustrated).

The most useful general classification in this case is probably one based on pattern (N1–N4). However, I have included the sub-dominant decorative technique of removing clay by means of incisions and gouging (rather than adding clay) as a fifth category (N5):

N1: small applied panels of carved *amasumpa* (2.01–2.02);

N2: circles of mostly ‘pinched’ *amasumpa* (2.03–2.04);

N3: other motifs in *amasumpa*, including chevrons, zigzags and pendant triangles.

These are most often in the ‘Smarties’ type *amasumpa* (2.05–2.11);

N4: various large motifs usually in carved panels or strips of *amasumpa*, including alphabetic texts (2.12–2.18);

N5: incised and gouged motifs (2.17–2.25).

Many of the more expansive *amasumpa* patterns, including those with texts in bold letters, are the work of the potters of ekuShumayeleni referred to below. In the region around Nongoma there is a tradition of incised patterns based on a number of specific motifs, a particularly striking one with a broad spectrum of variations being *amehlo* (eyes) (2.17, 2.18, 2.19, 2.20). Occasionally several techniques, such as incisions with notches may be combined on one and the same pot (2.21).

The Hlabisa Region (Appendix 3.01–3.23)

In broad terms the Hlabisa region may be regarded as extending eastwards from the Mona River and its confluence with the Black uMfolozi up to the farmlands of the coastal region. It is truncated by the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Game Reserve, which has tended to isolate the eastern part of the area from the main body of KwaZulu.

From a stylistic point of view, Hlabisa could probably have been regarded as an extension of the Nongoma region during the first half of the twentieth century. But, according to the people I spoke to, it received a steady stream of immigrants from further west, including Vryheid. These were not necessarily relocations resulting from apartheid expulsions: apparently word had got round that Hlabisa was a good place to live, and my informants concurred that this was still the case. Some of the potters that came adopted the regional styles for sale at markets, particularly the monthly Mona Market not far from Nongoma. There they were competing with the local potters. They also continued making their own styles for their friends and neighbours. In the course of time, these imported styles underwent further developments of their own, for instance with the introduction of new techniques such as the use of a comb or matchsticks to make parallel incisions. By the 1960s a distinctive Hlabisa style involving ratios of

height to diameter of around 1:1½, with decorative incisions, had gained wide acceptance, particularly for very large *izinkamba* (3.03, 3.11, 3.14 and others). This is less than for most regions, in which the ration of height to diameter (H:D) would typically vary between 1:1 and 1:1¼. It is also more difficult to make and use, as the upper surface is often close to horizontal. This imported style continued in use well into the 1990s alongside the original *amasumpa* style (3.06, 3.07), which is related to that of the Nongoma region.

The most useful classification is again by pattern:

- H1: zigzags and their derivatives;
- H2: waves and their derivatives;
- H3: motifs derived from playing cards;
- H4: others.

The characteristic Hlabisa pattern seems to be the zigzag (*imfolozi*, pl. *izimfolozi*) (H1). It occurs widely on beadwork, ceramics and the famous basketry of the region. In the selection of beer vessels illustrated here, it figures as a dominant motif (3.01–3.07). It is supremely adaptable and can be worked in a number of variations: parallel bands (3.01, 3.02), inverted bands (3.04), inverted step translation (3.03), bands making use of incisions or roughening to highlight triangles (3.05), diamonds (3.06) and a combination of both (3.07). In Hlabisa it occurs both in incised patterns and those formed from *amasumpa*.

Wave patterns (H2) occur widely in ceramics, but less so in the media based on weaving: beadwork, basketry and grass weaving, in which it is difficult to produce curved lines. They also have a wide range of variations: parallel waves (3.08), intermittent waves on a base line (3.09), continuous waves on a base line (3.10), opposing waves in a number of modulations with and without a central separator (3.11–3.16) and superimposed opposing waves in step translation (3.17). Among the opposing wave patterns there are some which are essentially identical to the Nongoma ‘eye’ motif (3.15, 3.16). This suggests that the incised ‘eye’ patterns of the Nongoma area may also be imports, and namely from the Vryheid area in the early 1940s (compare interview with Phiwayinkosi Ngobese, described above, and 3.05). Where patterns derived from basic motifs are compared with their derivatives the degree of relationship can be expressed through the retention or displacement of the symmetries of the basic patterns. So, in principle it should be possible to trace the chronology and distribution history of related ceramic artefacts through symmetry analysis, as in the case of beadwork (Jolles 2004: 127f.).

The motifs derived from playing cards (H3: 3.18–3.21) seem to be specific to the Hlabisa region and are probably the inspiration of a particular potter. They go back to the 1950s or earlier, so their origin is lost in the mists of time. This type of decoration is fundamentally different from the two previous ones in that it is based on a number of stand-alone motifs rather than a continuous band. In that regard it is similar to the many patterns based on separate panels of modified surface found in Nongoma, Phongolo and elsewhere, as well as in Hlabisa.

The Melmoth-Eshowe Region (Appendix 4.01–4.21)

This comprises mainly the magisterial district Mtonjaneni south of the white uMfolozi through to the uMhlatuze; it also includes some areas north of Eshowe such as the hill

country above Nkwalini and the slopes leading down to the uMhlatuze on the southern side. It is an area that has seen quite a lot of movement of people in the course of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, over much of its range a distinctive decorative style, that has its origin in the late nineteenth century or the early years of the twentieth century, is still in evidence: medium to large somewhat squat vessels (typically H:D = 1:1¼) with a well defined range of motifs in *amasumpa*. Some of the same motifs appear on the archival photograph entitled ‘Dinuzulu’s drinking vessels and his wives who make his beer’, c. 1896–1907, which shows some 17 beer vessels with four young women posing behind them.²⁴ In other respects Dinuzulu’s vessels differ from those found today, most of which were made in the second half of the twentieth century. His *izinkamba* were larger and had the wide mouths nowadays associated with cooking pots rather than beer vessels, whilst the two *izimpiso* had much shorter necks. Other vessels from the region tend to be somewhat closer to spherical in shape, many of them are large, with complex patterns executed in a number of incised and impressed techniques (4.14–4.21).

Of the six areas studied, the first two—east and south of Melmoth (M) and KwaKunzempunga (K), (‘the place of the grey bull’)—yielded mostly the first type, namely vessels with *amasumpa* (ME1). The other four—eFofoloji (F), uGatsha (G) (from *igatsha*, ‘small branch, twig-branch of a tree’; also a praise name of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi), eMatshensundu (M), (‘brown stones’), and eNdundulu (N)—were found to have vessels with broadly similar forms but a number of decorative features from adjoining areas. The classification is based on the two types outlined above:

ME1 - mainly squat vessels with patterns formed with *amasumpa*:

ME1(M) from the Melmoth region (4.01–4.04, 4.06, 4.13);

ME1(K) from KwaKunzempunga (4.05, 4.07–4.12).

ME2 - vessels with incised patterns:

ME2(F) from eFofoloji (4.15);

ME2(G) from uGatsha (4.19);

ME2(M) from eMatshensundu (4.16);

ME2(N) from eNdundulu (4.14, 4.17, 4.18).

As far as the forms are concerned there is not much difference between the two groups. The decorations tell a rather different story. Those of the first category (i.e., with *amasumpa*) form a coherent group. Many of the basic motifs of Zulu decorative art familiar from beadwork and carvings are represented: single rectangular panels (4.01, 4.02), linked rectangular panels (4.03, 4.04), continuous bands (4.10, 4.12), broad arches (4.11), zigzags (4.05), and a series of derivatives of zigzags not encountered elsewhere (4.07, 4.08, 4.09).

All this points to the formative influence of an important socio-political centre. The Melmoth-Eshowe region had been a showplace of royal activity since the 1850s when Mpande founded the first oNdini, an *ikhanda* (military kraal) for his son Cetshwayo on the southern bank of the lower uMhlatuze, about 25 km southeast of the present site of Melmoth and about the same distance northeast of Eshowe. The *ikhanda* was destroyed

²⁴ Pietermaritzburg Archive Repository (Ref.No.C611), also published as the frontispiece of *Ubumba* (Bell & Calder 1998).

on 6 July 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu war, but the style seems to have survived the subsequent partitionings of Zululand in 1879 and 1883. After the report of the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission, the region became a reserve (Laband & Thompson 1989: map p. 220).

The vessels with incised patterns (ME2) have affinities with a number of the neighbouring regions: the leaf motifs and the notched technique encountered in Oyaya, Thukela (4.14), incised patterns also found in the Nongoma region (4.15, 4.16), a distinctive pattern associated with the region south of Eshowe (4.19), whilst the very old *uphiso* illustrated (4.17) was said to have been brought into the area from the north around Babanango, though the area around the middle reaches of the uMzinyathi (Buffalo River) seems more likely. As in the case of Hlabisa, family migrations from neighbouring areas and farther afield seem to have imported their pottery styles into Melmoth-Eshowe without actually displacing the original more ancient 'regal' style of the region.

The Lower Thukela Region (Appendix 5.01–5.23)

This encompasses the region south of the uMhlatuze river and east of the uMzinyathi on both sides of the Thukela. It includes Nkandla and Qudeni in the north, the territory between Eshowe and Kranskop and the tributaries of the Thukela: the Nsuze, the Manyane and the other lesser ones. At first sight it appears to be a transitional region containing pots with decorations based on those of the applied patterns to the north, and ones with the incised patterns of the west. However, on closer examination it becomes clear that the patterns themselves are not directly derived from those of adjoining regions. The similarities that exist, say between patterns employing a motif such as pendant triangles (4.19, 5.01), are more likely to be a part of a common heritage than a direct derivation. There is no obvious 'hierarchy of symmetries'. The same applies to the 'phyto-patterns' of the Thukela valley itself: they can not be said to be derived from similar designs found upstream (5.16, 5.23).

The pottery of the Manyane valley is known for its complex configurations of *amasumpa* carved from applied panels of clay (5.01–5.07). It was heavily collected by European dealers in the early 1990s, so a representative sample is no longer available. The area marks the southern limit of the *amasumpa* technique. The valley of the next major tributary of the Thukela downstream, the Nsuze, which reaches up into Nkandla, was also heavily collected. Some pots with *amasumpa* pressed out from the inside come from there.²⁵ The adjoining region to the northwest between Nqutu and the uMzinyathi was settled by Sotho people. It does not contain any Zulu pottery.

The Lower Thukela region is also home to a number of families of distinguished potters, such as the Magwazas (cf. Armstrong 1998: 41–5) and the Nalas, who have had a profound influence on the styles of their localities. Of the latter, Nesta Nala († July 2005) is the most well known. She exhibited her work nationally and abroad, winning a number of prizes (Garrett 1998: 47; Jolles 2001: 314f.). In 1983 she introduced patterns into her work from first millennium sherds excavated in the Thukela valley by archaeologist Len van Schalkwyk. However, this innovation made little impact on the local market and was not copied by other potters, though it helped to establish Nesta's

²⁵ The Brooklyn Museum in New York has an outstanding example dating from around 1900.

international reputation.²⁶ Beer pots made for the local market by members of the Nala family are represented by four *izinkamba* by Nesta's mother Siphwiwe (5.17, 5.18, 5.19, 5.21).

The distribution of styles within the Thukela region is differently structured to that of the previously described regions to the north. It contains the meeting of distinct technical styles: the canonical *amasumpa*-based tradition of applied decorations from the north and the more fragmented clan-based incised patterns from the west,²⁷ but it is not characterised by an original uniform style overlaid through immigration by styles from adjoining regions. The historical genesis of the Lower Thukela styles would appear to be more complex: the reach of the formative influence of the central kingdom represented by the *amasumpa* style petered out somewhere in Nkandla and the upper reaches of the tributaries of the Thukela. For the rest, the development of decorative styles depended on local clan divisions and the influence of the families of professional potters such as the Nalas and the Magwazas.

The Msinga Region (Appendix 6.01–6.09)

Named after the Msinga mountain massif, this stylistic region embraces the middle reaches of the Thukela between the Mooi River in the south and the uMzinyathi in the east. In the south it includes some of the farmlands of the Weenen-Mudena area that have drawn on indigenous labour for a long time. In the east it extends across the uMzinyathi a short distance, particularly where the river is easily fordable, and in the west it reaches almost as far as Ladysmith. In the north it is bounded by the Ntabankulu and Mankamane mountains and by the farmlands of the Dundee area, some of which (east of Helpmekaar) have been abandoned and are reverting to bush. It incorporates the fertile Thukela basin, but much of it consists of semi-arid eroded mountainous terrain interspersed with hilly country and steep river valleys. As it is a part of the old colony of Natal, the settlement of this region goes back to the locations demarcated by Shepstone in 1846–47. As discussed above, a number of regional 'clan-chieftaincies' crystallised out of the medley of peoples that Shepstone had resettled—Mchunu, Thembu, Mabaso and others. This process coincided more or less with the emergence of the black beer vessels.

The patterns of this region are all based on incised decorations. A few old pieces from the Mooi River Valley retain the *ithunga* (wooden milking pail) form with rectangular incised panels reminiscent of coastal beadwork motifs (cf. 6.01). Plant motifs tend to dominate on the pots from the Thukela Valley, whilst further north around Pomeroy and west towards Ladysmith geometrical designs based on triangles prevail (6.04). Sometimes both stylised plant and geometrical themes are combined on the same pot (6.05).

The uMzinyathi river south of Rorke's Drift forms a sort of semi-permeable stylistic boundary between Msinga and the adjoining Qudeni region. Whilst the beadwork on the Qudeni side is in the Msinga style, the pottery belongs to the

²⁶ Garrett 1998: 47 'Van Schalkwyk showed Nala iron-age shards from the site and commissioned her to replicate some of the forms for him. Nala was quick to realise the potential of applying these designs to her work and soon developed a new repertoire of decorative motifs.' I have not encountered any pots with these imported motifs in the field. *Vice versa* the wonderfully refined *izinkamba* that Nesta Nala and her mother Siphwiwe made for the local trade did not reach the tourist market.

²⁷ The use of applied rope-like waves with incisions by Zungakhohlwa Ndlovu (5.20) and some other potters of her neighbourhood might be interpreted as a fusion of the two techniques.

Lower Thukela region (6.06). Some vestiges of an older style from the Muden area occur. Apart from 6.01, 6.07 may also belong to this category. Its owner Mrs Ngubane, stated that it was bought in Mtubatuba from a family from near Muden. Relocations from Muden to Mtubatuba took place during the late 1960s and early 1970s (Jolles 2004: 128). This would indicate that 6.07 may have been made during or before that period. Local people said it was an old Msinga style. Another pattern from the 1950s or 1960s involves large semicircular incised arches alternating with zigzags (Jol 388, not illustrated) or butterflies (African Arts Centre, Durban, ref. no. 300/72/00, p.16 2002). The pattern is called *inyanga* (moon). The older pots from Msinga tend to be almost spherical, whilst more recently, pots with pronounced shoulders tapering towards a narrow base have become popular. The two *izimbiza* (6.08, 6.09) demonstrate a similar trend towards a narrow base.

Although it covers such a wide terrain abutting on a number of regions of different historical backgrounds, the Msinga ceramic and beadwork styles have remained clearly demarcated with distinct and easily recognizable regional variations throughout the twentieth century. It remains doubtful whether any of today's patterns can be traced directly to a formative period in the middle of the nineteenth century. But the relative stability and the sequence of fashions in the twentieth century enables one to determine and even to date the movements of people into and out of the area (Jolles 1994: 58). In this regard the Msinga region is differently structured from the Zululand regions described above. The Msinga styles reflect the social and political consequences of unbroken and hence relatively consistent colonial rule over an extensive region in which the distribution of land and people had been enforced from the outset.

CONCLUSIONS

The origins of the great flowering of Zulu pottery in the twentieth century must be sought in the second half of the nineteenth century, when clay pots replaced baskets as the most common drinking vessels. The spread of the *izinkamba*, the twice-fired blackened beer pots, which represent the main output of Zulu ceramics, probably dates back to the reign of Mpande (1840–72). However, it is doubtful whether any pots have survived from that era. I would suggest that the differentiation of regional styles developed during the period after the Wolseley settlement of 1879, which effectively split the Kingdom into 13 tribal areas.

Wood (1996: 149) comes to a similar conclusion. She attributes the diversification of beadwork styles to a diminishing centralised control, which she believes began during the reign of Mpande: 'The combination of lack of centralised control, greater access to beads and, probably, a desire by various groups to build an identity for themselves led to a proliferation of beadwork styles'. Wood (1996: 148) surmises that 'beadwork styles in the early Zulu Kingdom were similar, if not actually uniform'. During the course of the twentieth century the original styles of the post 1879 period became increasingly overlaid by styles imported from adjoining areas by women marrying across tribal boundaries, or whole families moving in search of a better life or evicted from white-owned farms. These 'imported' styles did not necessarily displace the existing ones. In many cases both continued being made side by side giving rise to the mix of shapes and techniques that could be observed in the later decades of the twentieth century in parts of the Nongoma, Hlabisa, Melmoth-Eshowe and Thukela regions. There is additional

evidence from the archival and the oral record to support such a view for Hlabisa and Melmoth-Eshowe.

For the period following the report of the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission it would be inaccurate to speak of stylistic regions with distinct boundaries, but rather of regions in which certain forms, patterns and motifs had emerged as an aesthetic expression, but in which both the boundaries of the regions and the forms and patterns themselves were in a continuous state of flux. In a few instances a more specific case could be made for the continuity of a style from its origins in the nineteenth century. For instance, the distinctive style of the ekuShumayeleni *isigodi* might hail back to the time when this was a centre of political influence as the ancestral homestead of the intrepid Dabulamanzi, half-brother of Cetshwayo. Similarly the *amasumpa*-patterns from Melmoth might have evolved under the auspices of the first oNdini in the late 1850s. But in general the internal stylistic configurations of the regions differ according to the particular circumstances affecting them, such as internal migrations, migrant labour and the breakdown of social cohesion, the impact particular families of potters producing ceramics on a large scale, and so on.

The integration of the consumption of beer as an indispensable part of traditional nourishment with the protective role attributed to the ancestral spirits in Zulu society conferred the status of an icon on the blackened beer vessel.²⁸ It had its place of honour in *umsamo*, the place of the ancestors in the dwelling hut. The drinking of beer became ritualised in deference to their presence. It is this integral socio-religious function that has ensured the survival of the beer vessels. The extraordinarily innovative new styles and patterns of the migrant labour period in the second half of the twentieth century, coupled with a marked refinement of the potter's art, bear witness to the reawakening pride in a specifically Zulu identity in the face of competing African ideologies in the townships and industrial compounds of the cities.²⁹

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the first place I wish to thank Kevin Conru for introducing me to the aesthetics of Zulu beer vessels (and the *utshwala* they contained) by inviting me to accompany him on one of his collecting trips back in 1991. My particular thanks are due to Ian Calder for his help with photography and in setting up a database, and for the many hours he shared his expertise in reviewing and discussing public and private collections of Zulu ceramics. I owe a debt of gratitude to my anonymous reviewers. My special thanks go to Innocence Mkhize for guiding me safely more times than I can remember through the unmapped pathways of rural KwaZulu. Lastly, I wish to thank the makers and original owners of the vessels illustrated here for their hospitality and patience in responding to my many questions: they are all named in the text or the database.

²⁸ This icon has been resurrected in the political domain in the shape of the 'Spirit of the eMakhosini' monument (*eMakhosini* is used as another term for *umsamo*, the place of the ancestors in the hut) on KwaNkhombo Hill outside Ulundi. It consists of a gigantic beer pot (with rather inaccurately configured *amasumpa*) surrounded by bronze plaques depicting scenes from 'traditional' Zulu life. 'The beerpot was chosen as the symbol for the monument as across Africa it symbolises people coming together in friendship' (*Natal Witness*, 21 February 2004, p.14).

²⁹ I am indebted to Professor John Wright for his elucidating comments on the revival of a Zulu identity in the twentieth century.

REFERENCES

- ANGAS, G. F. 1974 (1849). *The Kaffirs Illustrated*. Facsimile reprint, Cape Town & Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema.
- ARMSTRONG, J. 1998. The Magwaza Family. In: Bell, B. & Calder, I., eds, *Ubumba. Aspects of indigenous ceramics in KwaZulu-Natal*. Pietermaritzburg: Tatham Art Gallery, pp. 41–5.
- BALLARD, C. 1989. Traders, trekkers and colonists. In: Duminy, A. & Guest, B., eds, *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910: a new history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, pp. 116–45.
- BARLEY, N. 1994. *Smashing pots. Feats of clay from Africa*. London: British Museum Press.
- BELL, B. & CALDER, I. eds. 1998. *Ubumba. Aspects of indigenous ceramics in KwaZulu-Natal*. Pietermaritzburg: Tatham Art Gallery.
- BERGLUND, A.-I. 1976. *Zulu thought-patterns and symbolism*. London: C. Hurst & Co., Cape Town: David Philip.
- BROOKES, E. H. & WEBB, C. DE B. 1987 (1965). *A history of Natal*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- COLENBRANDER, P. 1989. The Zulu kingdom, 1828–79. In: Duminy, A. & Guest, B., eds, *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910: a new history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, pp. 83–115.
- CORY, G. E. ed. 1926. *The diary of the Rev. Francis Owen, M.A., Missionary with Dingaan in 1837–38*. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society
- DAVIES, O. 1971. Excavations at Blackburn. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 37: 34–43.
- DAVISON, P. 1985. Southern African beer pots. *African Arts* 18 (3): 74–7.
- DELEGORGUE, A. 1997 (1847). *Travels in Southern Africa*. Vol. 2. Webb, F., trans., Alexander, S. J. & Guest, B., eds. Durban: Killie Campbell Africana Library, and Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- DOKE, E., MALCOLM, D. M., SIKAKANA, J. M. A. & VILAKAZI, B. W. 1990. *English-Zulu; Zulu-English Dictionary*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press.
- DUMINY, A. & GUEST, B. 1989. Conclusion. In: Duminy, A. & Guest, B., eds, *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910: a new history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, pp. 428–37.
- ETHERINGTON, N. 1989. The 'Shepstone system' in the Colony of Natal and beyond the borders. In: Duminy, A. & Guest, B., eds, *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910: a new history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, pp. 170–92.
- 2001. *The great treks: the transformation of southern Africa, 1815–1854*. Cape Town: Longman.
- FOWLER, H. W. & FOWLER, F. G. 1966. *The concise Oxford dictionary of current English*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- GARRETT, I. 1998. Nesta Nala: an overview. In: Bell, B. & Calder, I., eds, *Ubumba: Aspects of indigenous ceramics in KwaZulu-Natal*. Pietermaritzburg: Tatham Art Gallery.
- GRAY, S. ed. 1992. *The Natal papers of 'John Ross'*. Durban: Killie Campbell Africana Library, and Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- GUEST, B. 1989. Colonists, confederation and constitutional change. In: Duminy, A. & Guest, B. eds, *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910: a new history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, pp. 146–69.
- HALL, M. & MACK, K. 1983. The outline of an eighteenth century economic system in south-east Africa. *Annals of the South African Museum* 91: 163–94.
- HALL, M. & MAGGS, T. M. O'C. 1979. Nqabeni: a Later Iron Age site in Zululand. *South African Archaeological Society, Goodwin series* 3: 159–76.
- HAMILTON, C. & WRIGHT, J. 1993. The beginnings of Zulu identity. *Indicator SA* 10 (3): 43–6.
- JOLLES, F. E. F. 1994. Messages in fixed colour sequences: another look at Msinga beadwork. In: Sienaert, E., Bell, N. & Cowper-Lewis, M., eds, *Oral tradition and its transmission: the many forms of message*. Durban: Natal University Press, pp. 47–62.
- 1997. Zulu earplugs. A study in transformation. *African Arts* 30 (2): 46–59.
- 2001. Tradition and innovation: woodcarvers at the confluence of the Umzinyathi and Umngeni rivers, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Southern African Humanities* 13: 97–124.
- 2004. Continuity and change in Zulu beadwork conventions: the interaction of color and pattern. In: Washburn, D. K. & Crowe, D. W., eds, *Symmetry comes of age*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, pp. 100–34.
- KRIGE, J. E. 1950 (1936). *The social system of the Zulus*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.
- LABAND, J. 1995. *Rope of sand: the rise and fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.
- LABAND, J. & THOMPSON, P. 1989. The reduction of Zululand, 1878–1904. In: Duminy, A. & Guest, B., eds, *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910: a new history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, pp. 193–232.

- LAMBERT, J. 1989. From independence to rebellion: African society in crisis, c. 1880–1910. In: Duminy, A. & Guest, B., eds, *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, pp. 373–401.
- LAWTON, A. C. 1967. Bantu Pottery of Southern Africa. *Annals of the South African Museum* **49**: 1–440.
- LEVY, D. 1990. *Continuities and changes in Ndebele beadwork: c. 1883 to the present*. MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- MAGGS, T. M. O’C. 1976. *Iron Age communities of the southern highveld*. Pietermaritzburg: Natal Museum.
- 1982. Mgoduyanuka: terminal Iron Age settlement in the Natal grasslands. *Annals of the Natal Museum* **25** (1): 83–113.
- 1986. Spatial parameters of Late Iron Age settlements in the upper Thukela Valley. *Annals of the Natal Museum* **27** (2): 455–79.
- MEYER, H. J. 1909. *Meyers Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 16. Leipzig and Vienna: Bibliographisches Institut.
- REUSCH, D. 1996. Reflections concerning the pottery from KwaMabaso, Msinga. In: Wood, M., ed., *Zulu treasures: of kings and commoners*. Ulundi: KwaZulu Cultural Museum, and Durban: Local History Museums, pp. 115–30.
- PHILLIPS, T. ed. 1995. *Africa. The art of a continent*. London: Royal Academy of Arts, and New York: Prestel.
- STUART, J. & MALCOLM, D. McK. eds. 1969 (1950). *The diary of Henry Francis Fynn*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.
- WASHBURN, D. K. & CROWE, D. W. 1988. *Symmetries of culture. Theory and practice of plane pattern analysis*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.
- WEBB, C. DE B. & WRIGHT, J. eds. 2001. *The James Stuart Archive of recorded oral evidence relating to the history of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples*. Vol. 5. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, and Durban: Killie Campbell Africana Library.
- WOOD, M. 1996. Zulu Beadwork. In: Wood, M., ed., *Zulu treasures: of kings and commoners*. Ulundi: KwaZulu Cultural Museum, and Durban: Local History Museums, pp. 143–70.

APPENDIX

Systematic review of Zulu beer vessels by region. Unless otherwise stated, all vessels were collected by the author, and are illustrated, following the same sequence, at the end of the text.

< >: date of collection; H: height of vessel (mm).

The Phongolo Region**1.01, Ph:01**

Jol 480
Umancishane [or small ukhamba], H: 150
Provenance: African Art Centre, Durban
Collected by Nomusa Dube, 2003. Clan:
Phongolo-Shoba. [1960s. Patina suggests older.
Surface has been waxed.]

1.02, Ph:03

Jol 481
Umancishane [or small ukhamba], H: 148
Provenance: African Art Centre, Durban.
Collected by Jabulani Sibisi, 2003. 'Used by
head of family to drink beer.' Place of origin:
Phongolo. Clan: Mzinzangu. Owner: Shabangu
family. Date: 1960s.

1.03, Ph:04

Jol 334
Ukhamba, H: 282
Provenance: William Raats.
Collected in the Hlabisa area. Owner said it was
'Very, very, old' [1930s].

1.04, Ph:05

Jol 482
Ukhamba, H: 226
Provenance: African Arts Centre, Durban
Collected by P.Khumalo, 2003. Place of origin:
Phongolo. Clan: Mzinzangu, Ndwandwe family.
Date: 1970s.

1.05, Ph:07

Jol 483
Ukhamba, H: 218
Provenance: African Art Centre, Durban
Collected by Nomusa Dube. Place of origin:
Phongolo. Clan: Shoba, Jali family.

The Nongoma Region**2.01, N1:02**

Jol 073
Umancishana, H: 150
Provenance: ekuShumayeleni, Nongoma side,
[c.1980].
<mid 1990s> Applied panel of *amasumpa*
roughly carved.

2.02, N1:04

Jol 098.4
Ukhamba, H: 300
Provenance: ekuShumayeleni, Nongoma,
[1960s].

<mid 1990s> Panels of *amasumpa* carefully
applied.

2.03, N2:01

Jol 076.1
Ukhamba, H: 190
Provenance: Nongoma [1960s?]
<c. 1996> Circle of *amasumpa* applied singly,
pot fired once only. Wide opening, probably for
porridge.

2.04, N2:05

Jol 112.1
Ukhamba, H: 265
Provenance: Nongoma [1960s?]
<1996> Large ukhamba with pinched *amasumpa*
in a circular motif.

2.05, N3:01

Jol 100.2
Ukhamba, H: 210
Provenance: eSassane, Nongoma [c. 1970]
<1996> Small *amasumpa*, chevron motif, worn
black patina allows underlying red of the fired
clay to show through.

2.06, N3:05

Jol 124.1
Ukhamba, H: 270
Provenance: Khohlokolo, Nongoma. Ndwandwe
household [1960s].
<1996> Pendant triangles of small *amasumpa*.
worn patina.

2.07, N3:13

Jol 220
Uphiso, H: 349
Provenance: Mahlabatini/Nongoma border
region [1940s?].
<1995> An old style *uphiso* with a ring of small
amasumpa in the pendant triangle pattern below
the neck (cf. 2.06). Small repair to rim.

2.08, N3:06

Jol 134
Ukhamba, H: 280
Provenance: Nsongweni, Nongoma. Ndwandwe
household [c. 1970].
<1995> Inverted 'W' motif, *amasumpa* carved
from an applied panel of clay. Straight 'W'
motifs are also frequently encountered.

2.09, N3:09

Jol 212.1
Ukhamba, H: 319
Provenance: Mahlabatini [1970s].
<1996> Partially superimposed regular zigzags

made of *amasumpa* carved from panels of clay. Combinations of zigzags, in parallel or as here in opposition, are characteristic of the Mahlabatini region. They figure on beadwork and basketry as well as ceramics (cf. Jolles 2004).

2.10, N3:12

Jol 215

Ukhamba, H: 318

Provenance: Nongoma, possibly from ekuShumayeleni [1970s].

<1996> Superimposed upright and inverted chevrons made up of several applied panels. The motif is repeated three times. The same motif also exists in small, made up of a single line of *amasumpa*.

2.11, N3:11

Jol 216

Ukhamba, H: 299

Provenance: Nongoma, possibly from ekuShumayeleni [c. 1970].

<1996> Four right angles on a curved surface. The fact that they are slightly obtuse frustrates the viewer's expectation of perfect right angles. This, and the fact that they are not uniform, is responsible for the disorienting effect of reduced symmetry, which enhances the aesthetic appeal of the pot. *Amasumpa* carved from panels of applied of clay.

2.12, N4:06

Jol 218.1

Uphiso, H: 346

Provenance: ekuShumayeleni (near top end), Nongoma [1970s].

<1996> Expanded eye pattern with central diamonds. *Amasumpa* from strips of applied clay.

2.13, N4:05

Jol 219.1

Ukhamba, H: 268

Provenance: Nongoma [1970s].

<1996> Wave pattern: three rows of *amasumpa* from applied strips. In this pattern a small 'wave' frequently completes the sequence. This is another example of reduced symmetry (cf. 2.11).

2.14, N4:07

Jol 182

Ukhamba, H: 303

Provenance: ekuShumayeleni, Nongoma [1970s].

<1995> Pot with text formed out of strips of *amasumpa*. The text reads: ALALA MA O HAMEN. Such texts are often difficult to decipher, as the illiterate pot makers depended on school children for writing the words. Here there seems to have been some confusion about the use of 'H'. So this text was probably intended to read: ALALA MA O AMEN, 'Bravo, Mother, so it's you. Amen' (personal information Jacob Ngwenya, 21/01/2004).

2.15, N4:09

Jol 379

Ukhamba, H: 371

Provenance: Qule, Nongoma. Maker: Phozia Shoba, deceased. Owner: Maria Shoba, pensioner, born 1914. She did not want to say when it was made, but all the other people present said it was before they were born [1930s?].

<01/01/1997> Squat form diameter greater than height (1:1.164, D = 432 mm). Alternating large designs in *amasumpa* on shoulder.

2.16, N4:10

Jol 354.1

Ukhamba, H: 279

Provenance: eMgovuso, Hlabisa. Maker and owner Emmelina Khumalo, born c. 1923. 'She made it before she was old—she is old now' [c.1980?].

<17.10.1998> Alternating large motifs in *amasumpa*, including the circles characteristic of the Nongoma region, and human figures based on the widespread hourglass motif. In the latter case creative modification of traditional material.

2.17, N5:01

Jol 225

Ukhamba, H: 210

Provenance: Nongoma [1970s].

<1997> Incised, plain 'eye pattern'.

2.18, N5:04

Jol 175

Uphiso, H: 443

Provenance: Nongoma [1960s].

<1995> Incised 'eye pattern' with multiple connecting links.

2.19, N5:02

Jol 156.1

Ukhamba, H: 281

Provenance: Nongoma [1960s].

<1995> Modified 'eye pattern' with broken diamond centres.

2.20, N5:03

Jol 082.1

Ukhamba, H: 260

Provenance: Nongoma [1970s].

<1994> Eyes embedded in an incised band, with a wave pattern running along the top.

2.21, N5:08

Jol 075

Ukhamba, H: 210

Provenance: Nongoma [1970s].

<1994> Translation pattern of incised diamonds running between two lines.

2.22, N5:10

Jol 166

Ukhamba, H: 253

Provenance: Nongoma. Maker and owner

Azolinah Mbatha [1970s].

<1997> Translation pattern of horizontal triangles embedded in an incised band.

2.23, N5:07

Jol 081

Ukhamba, H: 265

Provenance: Nongoma [late 1960s].

<1994> Alternating upright and inverted incised triangles with spacers in between in a band surmounted by a wave pattern.

2.24, N5:09

Jol 164.1

Ukhamba, H: 230

Provenance: Nongoma [1980s].

<1996> A zigzag running between two parallel lines forming alternate upright and inverted triangles each containing a smaller triangle pointing downwards.

2.25, N5:11

Jol 179

Ukhamba, H: 195

Provenance: Nongoma, made for sale on Mona Market [1980s].

<1997> Though at first sight it does not seem so, this is the same pattern as 2.24 with the addition of a band of matching triangles running along the top.

The Hlabisa Region

3.01, H1:04

Jol 236

Ukhamba, H: 390

Provenance: Hlabisa [c. 1970 or late 1960s].

<20.08.1998> Squat form with three rows of parallel incised zigzags. The zigzags and their derivatives are the most widely distributed motifs of the Hlabisa area. They also figure in basketry and beadwork.

3.02, H1:01

Jol 305.1

Ukhamba, H: 270

Provenance: Hlabisa [c. 1970].

<21.08.1998> Nearly spherical with two rows of parallel incised zigzags (cf.3.01).

3.03, H1:24

Jol 353

Ukhamba, H: 268

Provenance: uMgangatho, Hlabisa. Maker Phiwayinkosi Ngobese, owner Jabu Ngobese [1970s].

<17.10.1998> Squat form with two parallel rows of zigzags with space between them incised. In terms of plane pattern symmetry this is an example of 'glide reflection'. Derivative of 3.02.

3.04, H1:09

Jol 286

Ukhamba, H: 310

Provenance: Hlabisa. [c. 1970].

<21.08.1998> Two 'opposing' zigzags, (i.e. the lower one is shifted left or right by half a length), with the space between them filled with incisions. In terms of plane pattern symmetry this is an example of reflection around an axis passing through the centre of the rhomboids as well as vertical reflection.

3.05, H1:14

Jol 332

Ukhamba, H: 374

Provenance: KwaMayakasi, Hlabisa. This is in the mountains on the north side of the lower reaches of the Mona river. Maker and owner Azolinah Ngobese, born c.1928. Her family moved to KwaMayakasi from the Vryheid area in the 1940s when she was an *itshitshi* (teenager). She learnt pottery from her mother c. 1977.

<17.10.1998> The pattern is called *umcijwane* (diamond), but it also refers to playing cards, i.e. 'Diamonds'. Technically it is a two-dimensional pattern consisting of hexagons each formed from six equilateral triangles. It is characterised by reflection through vertical axes and rotation through 60°. (Washburn & Crowe 1988: 163). But it may also be regarded as a derivative of the zigzag motif.

3.06, H1:17

Jol 339

Ukhamba, H: 215

Provenance: Qulwane, Hlabisa. Maker: Annie Sishwile [1970s or 1980s].

<17.10.1998> Mona Market ware (but not bought on Mona Market) with rather crude *amasumpa*. Double zigzag pattern enclosed in containing lines as in some of the beadwork from this area.

3.07, H1:33

Jol 375

Ukhamba, H: 268

Provenance: KwaQule, Nongoma. Owner Manqele, who said she bought it 'a long time ago' [1970s?].

<01.01.1999> Characteristic of Mona Market ware (see 3.06). Superimposed double zigzag pattern; the symmetry is translation and rotation through 180°.

3.08, H2:19

Jol 342

Ukhamba, H: 273

Provenance: Bought at KwaSishwile, but from uMgangatho, Hlabisa. Owner: Pauline Mhlungu, maker not known. 'It is an older pot' [c. 1970?].

<18.10.1998> Squat Hlabisa form with double parallel incised wave pattern.

3.09, H2:26

Jol 355

Ukhamba, H: 300

Provenance: uMgangatho, Hlabisa. Made by Phiwayinkosi MaMthethwa Ngobese [1970s]. <19.10.1998> Characteristic squat form, variations on single wave pattern.

3.10, H2:27

Jol 356

Ukhamba, H: 287

Provenance: uMgangatho, Hlabisa. Made by Phiwayinkosi MaMthethwa Ngobese [1970s]. <19.10.1998> Characteristic squat form, variations on single wave pattern.

3.11, H2:30

Jol 359

Ukhamba, H: 310

Provenance: uMgangatho, Hlabisa. Owned and made by Khunjuliwe Xulu [1970s]. <19.10.1998> Double wave pattern displaying symmetries of translation, vertical and horizontal reflection and rotation through 180°.

3.12, H2:29

Jol 358

Ukhamba, H: 356

Provenance: Qulwane, Hlabisa. Maker Doreen Sishwili, born about 1928 [1970s]. <19.10.1998> The pattern is copied from her mother; it is called *inyanga* (the moon). The symmetries are much reduced compared with the very similar pot by Khunjuliwe Xulu (3.11); they are translation and vertical reflection.

3.13, H2:07

Jol 282

Ukhamba, H: 180

Provenance: Hlabisa [1980s?]. <21.08.1998> Opposing waves with incisions (combed area) between. Symmetries: translation, reflection through vertical and horizontal axes, rotation through 180°.

3.14, H2:12

Jol 328

Ukhamba, H: 355

Provenance: uMgangatho, Hlabisa. Made and owned by Trifina Phumlaphi Gamede. She said she did not know the name for this pattern; many copied the design from other people [late 1960s?]. <19.10.1998> Very large ukhamba with the characteristic squat form, H:D = 1:1.58. Opposing waves filled in with combed incisions. Symmetries as for 3.13.

3.15, H2:05

Jol 273

Ukhamba, H: 247

Provenance: Hlabisa [1970s]. <1996> Opposing wavemaking an 'eye pattern'. Symmetries as for 3.13.

3.16, H2:06

Jol 281

Ukhamba, H: 375

Provenance: Hlabisa [c. 1970]. <1996> Combination of wave pattern and diamond pattern. The original symmetries are retained.

3.17, H2:02

Jol 165

Ukhamba, H: 239

Provenance: Hlabisa [1970s]. <1996> Offset opposing waves: symmetries of translation, reflection through vertical axes and glide reflection.

3.18, H3:03

Jol 183

Ukhamba, H: 294

Provenance: Hlabisa [1950s?]. <1996> Motif from playing cards, 'Hearts'. Very early pot of this type.

3.19, H3:35

Jol 408

Ukhamba, H: 416

Provenance: KwaGwebu, Nongoma, but in Hlabisa style. Owners: Zulu family [late 1970s] <12.03.2000> A very large ukhamba (about 30 litres) for special occasions. The incised decoration is an elaboration of the 'Hearts' motif.

3.20, H3:18

Jol 340

Ukhamba, H: 236

Provenance: Mayakazi, Hlabisa. Maker: Busisiwe MaHlabisa Ngobese, 1982. <18.10.1998> The motif is *ugqebhe* (Spades). Doke *et al.* (1990) for *ugqebhe*, give 'heart-shaped pattern on pottery', and 'playing-card with red heart on it'. Spades is given as *igeja*. So there is some confusion here.

3.21, H3:20

Jol 343

Ukhamba, H: 262

Provenance: Mayakazi, Hlabisa. Made by Azolinah Ngobese, born c. 1930. [1970s]. <18.10.1998> Mrs Ngobese said she did not know the name of the pattern, but that it was taken from playing cards. Then someone else said it was called *impukane* (fly).

3.22, H4:22

Jol 346

Ukhamba, H: 216

Provenance: Qulwane, Hlabisa. Maker: Lesaya Cele, who 'died long ago' [1960s]. <17.10.1998> A characteristic Hlabisa form with Nongoma motifs: two-row panels of *amasumpa*. Despite its narrow opening this pot was used for *amahewu* (fermented maize porridge).

3.23, H4:23

Jol 348

Ukhamba, H: 136

Provenance: uMgangatho, Hlabisa. Maker Phiywayinkosi Ngobese, owner Jabu Ngobese [1970s].

<19.10.1998> Characteristic Hlabisa form (H:D = 1:23) with Nongoma/Melmoth motifs: slanting incised rectangles.

The Melmoth-Eshowe Region**4.01, ME1(M):07**

Jol 310

Ukhamba, H: 260

Provenance: Melmoth region [1970s or early 1980s].

<21.08.1998> Horizontal rectangles, *amasumpa*.

4.02, ME1(M):06

Jol 306.1

Ukhamba, H: 220

Provenance: Melmoth region [1970s or early 1980s].

<21.08.1998> Slanting rectangles, *amasumpa*.

4.03, ME1(M):08

Jol 308

Ukhamba, H: 225

Provenance: Melmoth region [1970s or early 1980s].

<21.08.1998> Slanting rectangles linked in two groups of four, *amasumpa*.

4.04, ME1(M):09

Jol 314

Uphiso, H: 290

Provenance: Melmoth region [1970s or early 1980s].

<21.08.1998> Uphiso with flared neck. Slanting linked rectangles, *amasumpa*.

4.05, ME1(K):09

Jol 268.1

Ukhamba, H: 240

Provenance: KwaKunzempunga (approx. 28°46'S:31°22'E), above north bank of uMhlatuze) [circa 1990].

<20.08.1998> Zigzag pattern, *amasumpa*.

4.06, ME1(M):03

Jol 232

Ukhamba, H: 270

Provenance: Melmoth region [1960s?].

<20.08.1998> Single zigzag motif with filled in apexes, *amasumpa*. As far as I know, this motif and its extensions are specific to the Melmoth-Eshowe region.

4.07, MpE1(K):04

Jol 243.1

Ukhamba, H: 310

Provenance: KwaKunzempunga [1960s?].

<20.08.1998> Extension of motif of 4.06.

4.08, ME1(K):06

Jol 262

Uphiso, H:355

Provenance: KwaKunzempunga [1980s].

<20.08.1998> Half zigzag derived from 4.06?

Another example Jol 261 (not illustrated). Neck decorated with light incisions.

4.09, ME1(K):10

Jol 269.3

Ukhamba, H: 330

Provenance: KwaKunzempunga [1960s].

<20.08.1998> Two semi-zigzag motifs, *amasumpa*.

4.10, ME1(K):12

Jol 271

Ukhamba, H: 230

Provenance: KwaKunzempunga [1980s].

<20.08.1998> Plain belt of *amasumpa*. Compare also Jol 270 (not illustrated) which has the same motif but with a triangular addition like the fastener of a belt.

4.11, ME1(K):08

ME1 Jol 266.1

Ukhamba, H: 310

Provenance: KwaKunzempunga. Maker: Khoza [1980s].

<20.08.1998> Arcs of *amasumpa*.

4.12, ME1(K):01

Jol 234

Uphiso, H: 360

Provenance: KwaKunzempunga/uMhlatuze, Melmoth region [1940s].

<20.08.1998> Two bands of *amasumpa* with upright triangles at their ends. The *amasumpa* of the triangles are set at an angle to those of the bands. Extremely fine regular work. The neck is flared in line with the regional convention; it is very slightly off-centre. Originally the pot had a rounded bottom; later a cement base was added enabling it to stand on a flat surface.

4.13, ME1(M):11

Jol 318

Ukhamba, H: 260

Provenance: Entembeni, Melmoth [1970s].

<21.08.1998> Narrow applied single line of *amasumpa* made by incising the applied strip.

The two small motifs are both familiar ones reduced in size. In this form they seem to be specific to this *isigodi*. The maker called them *amanunu* (in this context 'insects'?).

4.14, ME2(N):07

Jol 299

Small Ukhamba, H: 195

Provenance: eNkundulu, above Nkwadini [1970s].

<21.08.1998> Incised and notched motifs on shoulder, leaf shapes. Said to be an old Eshowe style.

4.15 ME2(F):01

Jol 256

Ukhamba, H: 290

Provenance: eFofoloji, above north bank of uMhlatuze near Goedetreu Dam. The owner said it came from Eshowe. Maker: Nzuzu [c. 1980]. <20.08.1998> Linear incisions, spaced opposing triangles between bands. Translation, reflection through vertical axes, rotation through 180°.

4.16, ME2(M):01

Jol 257

Ukhamba, H: 255

Provenance: eMatshensundu (brown stones), Melmoth area. Maker: MaMthembu [c.1980]. <20.08.1998> Linear incisions, obtuse angled triangle motif.

4.17, ME2(N):04

Jol 298

Uphiso, H: 355

Provenance: eNdundulu, above Nkwalini [1960s].

<21.08.1998> Linear incisions: slanting groups of rhomboids interspersed with butterfly motifs.

4.18, ME2(N):03

Jol 294.1

Ukhamba, H: 355

Provenance: eNdundulu, above Nkwalini.

Maker: MaSibiya (who referred to it as isikhamba) [1970s].

<21.08.1998> Notched.

4.19, ME2(G):01

Jol 293

Ukhamba, H: 300

Provenance: uGatsha, uMhlatuze, Melmoth area [1970s].

<21.08.1998> Wave pattern, incised and impressed (roller?). This pattern and variations of it are characteristic of the area.

4.20, ME2(K):13

Jol 275

Umancishane, H: 150

Provenance: KwaKunzempunga, uMhlatuze, Melmoth area [1960s?].

<21.08.1998> Incised on shoulder. Reminiscent of an old Msinga design.

4.21, ME2(K):14

Jol 276

Ukhamba, H: 225

Provenance: KwaKunzempunga, uMhlatuze, Melmoth area [c. 1980].

<21.08.1998> Notched.

The Lower Thukela Region

Three main subdivisions centring on the following *izigodi*:

LT1(M) - Manyane, the valley of the tributary of the Thukela of the same name from its confluence at Jameson's Drift. These pots mainly have applied decorations;

LT2(K) - eKhohlwa, the area around Middledrift and the confluence of the Nsuze and the Thukela;

LT3(O) - Oyaya, a fairly large area downstream from Middledrift.

LT2 and LT3 have predominantly incised decorations, though some rope-like applications occur in LT3. In this region, there are considerable tracts of country which could not be included in the survey because they were completely collected out. This was particularly true of the eastern part of the adjoining Nkandla area. The heights of the 1993 series (5.01–5.04 and 5.06–5.08) were not recorded.

5.01, LT(M):01

Jol 1993-109

Ukhamba

Provenance: Manyane [1980s].

<1993> Applied *amasumpa*: upright triangles.

5.02, LT1(M):09

Jol 1993-108

Ukhamba

Provenance: Manyane [1980s].

<1993> Detail of *amasumpa*.

5.03, LT1(M):02

Jol 1993-115

Ukhamba

Provenance: Manyane [1980s].

<1993> Applied *amasumpa*: pendant triangles.

5.04, LT1(M):03

Jol 1993-124

Ukhamba

Provenance: Manyane [1980s].

<1993> Pendant triangles, variant of 5.03.

5.05, LT1(M):05

Jol 198.1

Ukhamba, H: 230

Provenance: Manyane [1970s].

<1995> Double triangle motifs on band, *amasumpa*.

5.06, LT1(M):07

Jol 1993-062

Ukhamba

Provenance: Manyane [1970s].

<1993> Derivation of 5.05.

5.07, LT1(M):08

Jol 1993-014

Ukhamba

Provenance: Manyane [1970s].

<1993>

5.08, LT1(M):04

Jol 1993-120

Ukhamba

Provenance: Manyane [1960s].

<1993> Collection Nessa Leibhammer, Johannesburg.

5.09, LT2(K):01

Jol 244

Ukhamba, H: 250

Provenance: eKohlwa, Middledrift, but probably brought from Oyaya [1960s or 1970s].

<1996> Linear incisions, offset double wave pattern with glide reflection.

5.10, LT2(K):02

Jol 246

Small Ukhamba or Umancishane, H: 170

Provenance: eKohlwa, Middledrift, but probably brought from Oyaya [1960s or 1970s].

<1996> Linear incisions on shoulder, offset double wave pattern (cf. 3.13).

5.11, LT2(K):05

Jol 279

Ukhamba, H: 245

Provenance: eKohlwa, Middledrift [1970s].

<1996> Three motifs, incised and carved.

5.12, LT2(K):07

Jol 285

Ukhamba, H: 220

Provenance: eKohlwa, Middledrift [1970s].

<1996> Linear incisions on shoulder, separated wave pattern.

5.13, LT2(K):06

Jol 284

Ukhamba, H:200

Provenance: Middledrift [1970s].

<1996> Linear incisions, upright triangles.

5.14, LT2(K):09

Jol 319

Uphiso, H: 380

Provenance: eKohlwa, Middledrift [1960s].

<1997> Notched, vertical zigzag.

5.15, LT2(K):10

Jol 325

Uphiso, H: 380

Provenance: eKohlwa, Middledrift [1960s].

<1997> Notched, single wave with 'pendants'.

5.16, LT2(K):11

Jol 323

Uphiso, H: 320

Provenance: Near Middledrift, on the road to the grave of King Cetshwayo [1960s].

<1997> Incised and notched leaf pattern characteristic of the region downstream from Tugela Ferry.

5.17, LT3(O):01

Jol 435

Ukhamba, H: 269

Provenance: Oyaya. Made by Sipiwe Nala, owner Tombinyana MaPhungula [1940s?].

<26.07.2000> Linear incisions, wave pattern. Sipiwe Nala's 'Old style'.

Ratio H:D = 1:1.3

5.18, LT3(O):03

LT3 Jol 430

Ukhamba, H: 247

Provenance: Oyaya. Made by Sipiwe Nala, owned Ndlovu household. 'Made long ago when Sipiwe Nala was the only one making pots.'

Her 'old style' [1950s].

<26.07.2000> Linear incisions, two motifs with triangles and circles (not visible in photo) on wave pattern.

5.19, LT3(O):02

Jol 438

Ukhamba, H: 255

Provenance: Oyaya. Made by Sipiwe Nala 'long ago' [1950s or 1960s].

<26.07.2000> Linear incisions (cf. 5.09).

5.20, LT3(O):05

Jol 437

Ukhamba, H: 230

Provenance: Oyaya. Made by Zungakhohlwa Ndlovu (born 1949), owned Ndlovu household.

'Made four or five years ago' [mid 1990s].

<26.07.2000> Applied waves with incisions.

Ratio H:D = 1:1.174.

5.21, LT3(O):09

Jol 444

Ukhamba, H: 279

Provenance: Oyaya. Made by Sipiwe Nala, owned Ndlovu household. Sipiwe Nala's 'new style' [1960s].

<26.07.2000> Linear incisions.

5.22, LT3(O):08

Jol 442

Ukhamba, H: 360

Provenance: Oyaya. Made by MaMkhize who 'died long ago' [1950s].

<26.07.2000> Style of uphiso but without the neck. 'Bought long ago'. Notched rectangles.

5.23, LT3(O):06

Jol 427

Ukhamba, H: 235

Provenance: Oyaya. Made by MaMkhize Mahlaba, 'who died long ago', owned Ndlovu household [1960s ?].

<28.07.2000> Thukela plant motifs, incised.

The Msinga Region**6.01, M:01**

Jol 335.2

Umancishane, H: 223

Provenance: Muden. Owner Lutile Mchunu [1940s or 1950s ?].

<1998> Old Muden style *ithunga* (milking pail) form. Compare unprovenanced examples in the Local History Museum, Durban, (Wood 1996: 128), but here with incised rather than applied motifs reminiscent of beadwork patterns.

6.02, M:02

Jol 385A

Ukhamba, H: 246

Provenance: eMbangweni. The owner, Khanyisele Ngubane, who was 86 years old in 1996, came from eMkhuphula-MaBomvini. She said she bought the pot in Mtubatuba a very long time ago from a family who had moved there—or who may have been expelled—from a farm called Riverside at eMsamo near Muden. The text reads: WENA PHUZA UthULE UMSINDO (You, drink, stop the noise). The use of text would suggest a date in the late 1950s. At the earliest, the style and the history imply 1940s. <1996> The tapered shoulder form with its small base is characteristic for the Msinga region, whilst the design is somewhat reminiscent of the Nongoma-Hlabisa region (however cf. 6.04). The local people assured me that it was an old Msinga design.

6.03, M:03

Jol 187

Ukhamba, H: 228

Provenance: Msinga [1980s].

<1995> Three incised motifs: butterfly, zigzag, and Greek cross—the latter suggests the uMzinyathi area, but it could also be Tugela Ferry as there was a fair amount of coming and going between the two. The shoulder tapering to a narrow base is characteristic of Msinga vessels.

6.04, M:06

Jol 240

Umancishane, H: 180

Provenance: KwaMajozi near Tugela Ferry.

Mkhize household, probably bought in Pomeroy [1980s].

<1998> This linear incised design (upright triangles on a base line) was still fashionable in the Pomeroy area in the 1990s.

6.05, M:09

Jol 242

Ukhamba, H: 265

Provenance: Tugela Ferry area, Msinga

[c. 1980].

<1998> Leaf pattern with interspersed triangle motif using broadly spaced incisions.

6.06, M:11

Jol 250.

Ukhamba, H: 370

Provenance: uMngeni Valley, uMzinyathi region [1970s ?].

<1998> Incised band with geometrical motifs.

6.07, M:12

Jol 458

Ukhamba, H: 289

Provenance: KwaHlalele, opposite Mahlaba on eastern side of uMzinyathi [1970s ?].

<2001> Though on the eastern side on the uMzinyathi this area belongs to the Msinga stylistic region where beadwork is concerned, so I have included it here. It is an area in which very few pots have survived. The broad band of incised geometrical motifs bears some relationship to the pots from the uMngeni valley a few miles downstream on the western side of the uMzinyathi.

6.08, M:13

Jol 416

Imbiza, H: 446

Provenance: KwaMagwaza, Msinga. The owner Mrs MaMbatha Nogwazi, said it was bought more than 50 years ago (i.e. before 1946) at Phalafini, Msinga [1940s].

<1996> Characteristic broad shouldered form (max. D = 515) tapering to a very narrow base.

6.09, M:14

Jol 417

Imbiza, H: 707

Provenance: Embangweni, Msinga. The owner Mrs. MaMkhize, said it was already in the household when she married in 1964. Said to have been made at eManzinhlophe, Opathe, Msinga, (Muden area).

<1999> The largest *imbiza* I have found—capacity over 450 litres—tapering from an elliptical opening (D at opening = 705 + 620 mm) to a narrow base.



1.01



1.02



1.03



1.04



1.05



2.01



2.02



2.03



2.04



2.05



2.06



2.07



2.08



2.09



2.10



2.11



2.12



2.13



2.14



2.15



2.16



2.17



2.18



2.19



2.20



2.21



2.22



2.23



2.24



2.25



3.01



3.02



3.03



3.04



3.05



3.06



3.07



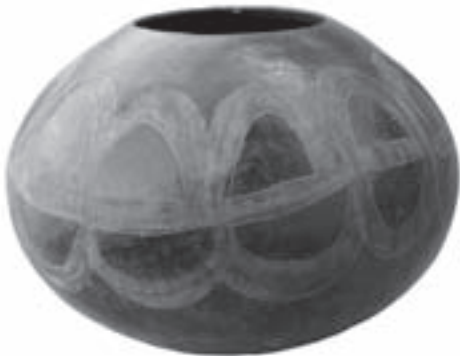
3.08



3.09



3.10



3.11



3.12



3.13



3.14



3.15



3.16



3.17



3.18



3.19



3.20



3.21



3.22



3.23



4.01



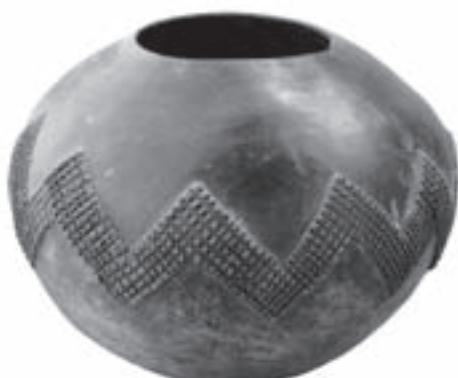
4.02



4.03



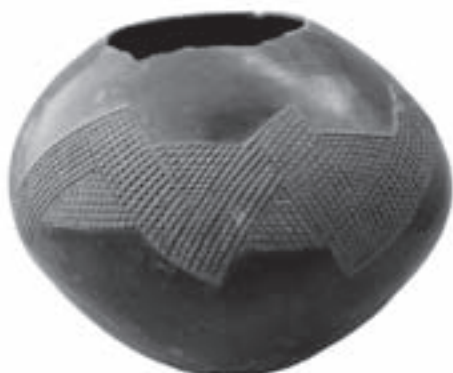
4.04



4.05



4.06



4.07



4.08



4.09



4.10



4.11



4.12



4.13



4.14



4.15



4.16



4.17



4.18



4.19



4.20



4.21



5.01



5.02



5.03



5.04



5.05



5.06



5.07



5.08



5.09



5.10



5.11



5.12



5.13



5.14



5.15



5.16



5.17



5.18



5.19



5.20



5.21



5.22



5.23



6.01



6.02



6.03



6.04



6.05



6.06



6.07



6.08



6.09

