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Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom

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proper to intervene in the heavens on behalf of the nation - not in the Christian sense of the heavens as the celestial home - but in the heavens as the source of rain, and in the control of lightening.[61] Nonetheless, they retained a residual authority as the result of their birth which lent them status and power when placed in high office.

Political office holding and status among the collateral clans

Whilst the position and status of Mapitha and Mukabayi was above and apart from that of other of Shaka's highest officers, prominent political figures and important office holders were drawn from all the collateral Zulu clans. In contrast to the case of Mudhli, the separation of their lines from the royal house and the adoption of new izibongo functioned to both separate them from the ubukhosi and yet to continue to identify them with royal power and imbue them with the authority of the rulers. Officers from the collateral clans, and indeed the clans themselves, could be scattered across the kingdom as their connection with the royal clan and to each other could be constantly reaffirmed through marriage alliances.

Prominent members of the emGazini included the sons of Ncidi: Hlathi, a renowned warrior and Mdhlaka, the induna yesive, supreme commander of the Zulu nation, induna of the Ohlangezwa ibutho, and induna-in-charge of esiKlebheni, one of the most ritually significant establishments and important training quarters for new amabutho. Mdhlaka was a close counsellor and advisor of the Zulu king.[62] Fynn described Mdhlaka as being the second most important figure in the whole nation.[63] Other prominent emGazini include Tshemane kaNyati, induna of the Ohloko ibutho, and Masiphula kaMamba, initially an inceku to the Zulu king, ultimately to

become the most powerful figure in all Zululand under Mpande.[64]

The descendants of Zivalele who comprised the eGazini included Mkhanyile and Mataka, described as men of 'high standing', having a 'following of their own';[65] and Sitayi and his sons Nkunga and Mbopha, of whom the latter, as Shaka's assassin, is probably the most renowned. Mbopha was an inceku to the king, working in close proximity to the monarch within the isigodlo, and at the political heart of the kingdom. Mbopha was also in charge of the area south of the Nsuze river, below Kombe at Qudeni, where he built two large establishments, 'Egumeni' and 'Egumaneni'.[66]

Mvundhlana kaMenziwa was probably the most powerful and illustrious member of the Biyela collateral clan. Praised as 'He whose flaming walls answer my call' he is recalled in the traditions as a famous warrior, a commander in the Zulu army and regional governor of an area across the Mhlathuze alongside the Ntombela, and close to the heights of Mthonjaneni.[67] The emGazini leaders Mdhlaka and Masiphula both resided under Mvundhlana, as did Shaka's half brother, Ngwadi.[68] Other prominent Biyela were Mbonambi kaDidi and Vumandaba kaNteti, also to become important izinceku; and Gala kaNodade, remembered for his bold remonstrances with the king.[69]

The Ntombela collateral clan also had its share of illustrious notables. The Ntombela originally inhabited the area immediately to the south of the Mkhumbane valley, in which they built two main establishments, Mungwini and Manqineni. They subsequently moved to an area just north-west of the core Zulu area, just beyond the Mpembeni tributary of the White Mfolozi. This move appears to have occurred some time shortly after the

accession of Shaka.[70] Leading scion of the Ntombela was Nzobo kaSobadli, alias Dambuza, of the amaWombe ibutho, who eventually became one of the most important political figures in all Zululand, and the most senior Zulu general.[71] Under Shaka, the Ntombela were under the rule of Lukwazi kaMatwana, a councillor of the king and a leading isikhulu (notable of high rank). Sidubele kaMakedama was another member of the Ntombela who achieved high office. He was appointed induna of the Dhloko ibutho.[72] From the Mdhlalose, Shaka drew on the services of Ntlaka who was made head induna at Qulusini, his son Seketwayo, a prominent induna, Sotshangana, a royal advisor and Ndengezi kaKhuzwayo, one of the greatest amagawe ('hero')figures in all Zululand.[73] Of the known izinduna of Shaka's reign, just under one third were members of the collateral clans, and of those all,with only a single exception, were described as holding especially high office. Significantly, there are no records of any izinduna from the Zulu clan proper.[74]

Evidence gleaned from the oral record also suggests that the reign of Shaka and the following generation saw a high incidence of intermarriage amongst the various sections of the Zulu clan and its collaterals, a point noted by both Bryant and Stuart, and commented on by Stuart's informants.[75] While details of specific marriages are limited, it should be noted that there seems to be a complete absence in the oral record of references to marriages contracted by the Zulu and collateral clans with other outsider clans. Informants interviewed by Stuart typically mentioned the name of only one wife of the prominent figure under discussion. This wife was presumably the chief wife, and mother of the heir, or at least an important wife.[76] It is significant nonetheless that the choice of important wives followed a pattern of preference amongst the collaterals. Whilst other wives were chosen as a matter of personal preference or for a particular

strategic reason affecting the husband-to-be, the choice of the chief wife was a diplomatic decision, involving the whole lineage or clan. It was a liaison symbolic of the relations between the two groups concerned. The lineage or clan usually contributed to the lobola of the chief wife, and the amount of cattle involved tended to exceed that needed for other marriages.[77] The chief wife of a prominent man had important administrative responsibilities to fulfill, in particular the organisation of the head establishment, and the provision of food and shelter for visitors and travellers. Where her husband was the local chief, the house of the chief wife also had a crucial role to play in ritual matters affecting the whole clan.[78]

The effect of the dabula practice and the consequent preferential marriage pattern which arose, at least at the level of choice of chief wife, allowed wealth to follow an increasingly restrictive route, for it was the daughters of important men for whom the really large lobola's were demanded.[79] Whereas properly exogamous practices would have seen women of outsider lineages installed as the chief wives in the homesteads of the country's most important nobles, intermarriage amongst the collaterals meant these positions of influence and power were largely occupied by women of the Zulu clan and its collaterals. Where a chief wife was only barely an outsider in the home of her affines, her integration into her clan of marriage was more immediate and facilitated her development of authority in the homestead.[80] Finally, the fact that a limited group provided the mothers of the heirs of the most important lineages functioned to widen the division in Zulu society between the rulers and the ruled.

The dabula'ing of clans, and their adoption of new izibongo functioned to obscure what was effective intermarriage amongst the Zulu rulers. *It allowed* the social principle of exogamy to be upheld and Nguni-speakers continued to speak disparagingly of the Sotho as 'those who wear breeches and marry their sisters'.[81]

Analysing the intermarriage of near-kin amongst the Tswana. Schapera noted a marked correlation between the incidence of kin marriage and polygamy.[82] He observed that '... the fewer the wives, the fewer the children, *the fewer the cousins in the next generation*'[83] and the less opportunity for a marriage between kin. The inverse argument doubtless holds good - the more wives a man had, the greater the opportunities for his descendants to marry their kinspeople. Polygamy, *Schapera notes further*, was a practice generally confined to nobles, both because of their greater need to secure political alliances and because of their greater wealth.

The right to dabula a clan, the necessary prerequisite to intermarriage in Nguni-speaking societies, appears to have been a royal perogative.[84] Intermarriage was thus restricted to the Zulu clan and its collaterals. Together with the strict prohibitions which prevailed in the society on marriage with a person of the same isibongo and on incest (punishable with death), the limitation of the creation of collateral clans to the royal Zulu meant *that other groups in the kingdom were* unable to follow a similar strategy.[85]

Further implications of the maintenance of a principle of exogamy and the practice of marrying kin by the *elite are illuminated by* Preston-Whyte's discussion of the effects of exogamy and endogamy on the social

organisation of Nguni and Sotho-speaking societies.[86] She suggests that where exogamous marriage practices prevail, a bride remains an outsider amongst her affines for a long time, and competition between the agnatic groups of the bride and groom is intensive, entrenching the development of defined clans and lineages. Endogamous marriages, on the other hand, were marked by the easy integration of a new bride amongst her affines and an absence of competition between the bride and groom's families. The effect of this was to make clans difficult to locate and to make lineages shallow in depth, and was associated with the conditions of little corporate activity by a group(s) claiming common descent. The effects of the marriage practices of the Zulu and its collateral clans clearly do not fall into either of these neat categories. However, effective endogamy in an otherwise exogamous society seems to have had the effect of blurring some of the distinctions between clans and creating grey areas in then current genealogical frameworks. The expansion of the Zulu kingdom saw a movement of some of the collateral clans away from the area of the original Zulu chiefdom to posts in other areas and on the peripheries of the kingdom. The effect of their dispersal was a decline in the corporate identity of the Zulu clan. However, this fissiparous tendency was counteracted by the practice of intermarriage amongst the scattered Zulu and collateral clans which reaffirmed their ties.

Kuper observed a similar phenomenon amongst the Swazi, noting that clan 'fission' occurred with the greatest frequency among the Nkosi clan, while intermarriage was only amongst collateral clans which were original.[87] She considered that the main reason behind the fission of the Swazi royal clans was to allow their intermarriage, and through so doing, to create a ruling elite to which access was

curtailed. The creation of collateral clans amongst the Swazi had the further effect of placing powerful relatives of the king at one remove from the kingship by providing them with new tibongo (Zulu: izibongo) and a new status, different and separate from that of the royal house. Kuper ascribed this tendency towards intermarriage to the blending of the kinship patterns of the subject Sotho in Swaziland with those of their Nguni-speaking rulers. However, recent interviews conducted amongst the Swazi have addressed precisely this issue, and have shown that fission within the royal Swazi clans is recalled by informants in precisely the same terms employed in the Zulu traditions of *dabula*. Similarly, they indicate that the period of the most intensive fission amongst the royal Swazi clans was experienced by the expanding Swazi state.[88] It is not clear from the limited available data on Zulu marriages in the reign of Shaka whether intermarriage followed clear patterns of preference as occurred amongst the Swazi. Nonetheless, the comparative Zulu and Swazi data suggests that clan fission and the intermarriage of collateral clans exclusive to their ruling elites cannot be seen simply as a Sotho-borrowing, but appears to be a strategy for the entrenchment of clearly defined and bounded ruling elites in circumstances of state formation.

It has been argued elsewhere that the ideological foundation of the Zulu kingship lay in the fundamental conception that the spiritual and material welfare of the nation was associated with that of the king. The king was considered to be the necessary intermediary between the nation and the Zulu ancestors, the previous Zulu kings, who could be invoked to intervene in the present when necessary on behalf of the Zulu nation. The centrality to the Zulu kingship of the ancestors meant that

> Opposition could be mounted effectively only by members of the ruling lineage. Moreover, the likelihood of opposition being so expressed was enhanced by the fact that the ruling lineage was collectively identified with the ubukosi since the ancestors of the inkosi were also those of members of the ruling lineage; the latter could therefore take on the mantle of the inkosi's ideological preeminence without a change in the hierarchical arrangement of lineages.[89]

Members of the collateral clans were excised from the ruling lineage and could not readily lay claim to the Zulu kingship. Imbued with a degree of royalty as office holders and administrators they wielded real power, but it was a power subject to the ideological limitations imposed by their new distance from the ubukhosi.

The excision of [illegible]ns of the ruling clan in terms of dabula was [illegible] strategy which functioned to secure the position of the monarchy vis-a-vis the rest of the Zulu clan, and would have been especially significant in the initially vulnerable period following Shaka's usurpation of power, as a means of entrenching h[illegible] rule. The creation of collateral clans had the f[illegible]ther strategic effect of facilitating intermarriage within the Zulu ruling elite at the apex of the society. This practice, and the existence of evidence which indicates that Shaka's highest izinduna were drawn from this group, suggests that Mael's notion of the emergence of a nascent appointive bureaucracy of commoners under Shaka, demands revision.[90] This is one of the questions more fully addressed in the next chapter which examines the early expansion of the Zulu kingdom and the close assimilation of the new Zulu royal house and collateral clans with the chiefdoms of their earliest conquests to form an extended aristocracy in the emerging state.

1. J. Omer-Cooper, 'Aspects of political change in the nineteenth century Mfecane', in L. Thompson (ed.), African Societies in Southern Africa, London, 1969, pp. 215-16; R. Mael, 'The Problem of Political Integration in the Zulu Empire', Ph.d. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974, pp. 29, 30.

2. Ibid., p. 39.

3. A.W. Hoernlé, 'The Importance of the Sib in the Marriage Ceremonies of the South-Eastern Bantu', South African Journal of Sciences, 22 (1925), p. 483.

4. Krige, Social System, p. 156.

5. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 581.

6. E. Preston-Whyte, 'Kinship and Marriage', in W.D. Hammond-Tooke (ed.), The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa, London, 1974, pp. 195, 205; Krige, Social System, p. 121; C. Lévi-Strauss, The Elementary Structures of Kinship, London, 1969.

7. I. Schapera, 'Marriage of the near kin among the Tswana', Africa, 27, 1 (1957), p. 157.

8. B. Sansom, 'Traditional Rulers and their Realms' in W.D. Hammond-Tooke (ed.), The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa, London, 1974, p. 246; Krige, Social System, p. 36.

9. Döhne, Dictionary, p. 56; Bryant, Dictionary, p. 88; Colenso, Dictionary, p. 80.

10. Rev. W. Wanger, 'The Zulu Notion of God', Anthropos, 19 (1924), p. 561.

11. See above, p. 31.

12. Callaway, Religious System, pp. 1-2.

13. Ibid.

14. Wanger, 'The Zulu Notion of God', 20 (1925), p. 361; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 208, evidence of Mangati (original Zulu, FN.59, p. 220).

15. Stuart, uVusezakithi, p. 100.

16. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 584; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 37, 40.

17. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 42, item xi, essay by Stuart entitled 'The Zulu Tribal System. How New Clans came to be Formed', p. 14.

18. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 214, evidence of Mangati. Also see Gluckman's comments, 'Kinship and marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal', in A.R. Radcliffe-Browne and D. Forde (eds.), African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, London, 1950, p. 170.

19. Krige, Social System, p. 210.

20. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 214, evidence of Mangati.

21. Döhne, Dictionary, p. 95, gives the etymology of the word 'igazi' as being from 'ga' meaning 'to force or to cut', and 'izi', meaning 'that which is coming' - suggesting thus a conceptual proximity

to the term dabula. Also see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 37, 39; Wanger, 'The Zulu Notion of God', 20 (1925), p. 361; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 212-14, evidence of Mangati. (It is interesting to note that a dabula'd Langeni section was given a name of similar symbolic significance, viz. Magwaza from the verb 'ukugwaza' meaning 'to stab').

22. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 734. The particular blood-metaphor names selected for most of the collateral clans tended to be associated by informants with place names. Thus, eGazini and emGazini were also said to have been the names of very early Zulu royal establishments - possibly a case of retrospective appelation. Nonetheless, this aspect of the naming of the collateral clans stands in further contrast to that of daouka'd clans. (K.C., Essery Papers, Ms. 2429, 'List of Zulu Kraals'; also see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 39, 40; Bryant, Dictionary, p. 756; Cope, Izibongo, p. 200; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 202, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 212, evidence of Mangati.)

23. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73, p. 106, evidence of Ndukwana.

24. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 210, evidence of Mkehlengana.

25. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 255, evidence of Mayinga.

26. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 165, evidence of Hayiyana. On Ntombela and Mdhlalose as historic persons also see J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 202, evidence of Ndukwana in the testimony of Jantshi; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73, p. 95, file 74, p. 140, evidence of Ndukwana; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 53.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 53; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 210, evidence of Mkehlengana; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 2; Guy, Destruction, p. 30.

28. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 37.

29. K.C., *Stuart Papers*, file 42, item xi, essay by Stuart, 'The Zulu Tribal System', p. 14.

30. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 208, 210, 211, 212, evidence of Mangati.

31. *Bryant*, Olden Times, *pp.* 37-40.

32. EGazini: J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 29, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 202, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 355, evidence of Luzipo; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 210, 211, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 162, evidence of Mkando; Guy, Destruction, p. 35; Bryant, Dictionary, p. 758. EmGazini: J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 208, 210, evidence of *Mangati*; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 355, evidence of Luzipo; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 111, evidence of Mkehlengana. Biyela: Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 39, 40, 632; J.S.A., Vol. 2, *pp. 210-11, evidence of Mangati*; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 11, evidence of Mgidhlana. Bryant's version of the excision of the eGazini (Olden Times, *p. 39) claims that a daughter of* Ndaba's married her clansman, and that the latter's branch of the family was then separated from the *Zulu clan by Ndaba, and called the eGazini.* This version flouts the conventional form of dabula accounts in which the story of an excision usually *took the form of a king marrying his clanswoman.* The doubts about Bryant's accuracy raised by this deviation are confirmed by evidence of contradictory *claims implicit in Bryant's rendition of the eGazini*

genealogy, Bryant identifies the 'clansman' as Jama, a son of Ndaba. Jama, however, became the next Zulu king. Clearly, his section of the Zulu clan was not excised by Ndaba. Bryant's data on the creation of the Ntombela seems to be equally unreliable, there being considerable confusion as to the identity of the chief actor, as well as a strange conflation of excisor and excised, contrary to the usual form assumed by the story of a clan excision. (Olden Times, p. 37.) Likewise, Bryant claims that the family of one Xoko became both the emGazini and Biyela collateral clans. (Olden Times, pp. 39-40)

33. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 463; also see Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 609; Colenso, Dictionary, p. 423, and Bryant, Dictionary, p. 456.

34. See, for example, J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 208, evidence of Mangati; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 2; Gibson, The Story of the Zulus, p. 224 in conjunction with Guy, Destruction, p. 32.

35. See below p. 221; Guy, Destruction, p. 37; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73, pp. 95, 96, evidence of Ndukwana. Another Zulu section about which even less evidence survives was the Fakazi, under Mkasana, which occupied an area near Babanango. (J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 29, evidence of Baleni; Webb and Wright, A Zulu King Speaks, p. 2; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 44)

36. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 45; Fuze, The Black People, p. 177, editor's n. 1. On the status of foundlings see p. 432, and Faye, Zulu References, p. 101.

37. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 202, evidence of Jantshi; Guy, Destruction, p. 37.

38. Fuze, The Black People, p. 177, editor's n. 1; Cope, Izibongo, p. 200; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 44-5.

39. Guy, Destruction, p. 37; Hedges, 'Trade and Politics', p. 214 - 16. On Sojiyisa also see K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73, p. 98, evidence of Ndukwana; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 282, evidence of Lugubu.

40. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 212, evidence of Mangati.

41. Guy is therefore mistaken on two counts with regard to the historic status of the 'Mandlakazi' in unambiguously designating Mapitha as the grandson of Jama, and in claiming that the 'Mandlakazi' separated from the Zulu before the reign of Senzangakhona. (Destruction, p. 71)

42. Stuart, uHlangakula, p. 18; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 282, evidence of Lugubu; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 214, 258; Guy, Destruction, pp. 17, 37 (using the evidence of Ndukwana dated 20 October 1900 and 28 October 1902.)

43. See below, p. 350.

44. Guy, Destruction, p. 200.

45. Hedges, 'Trade and Politics', p. 215.

46. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 343, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 152, evidence of Mkando.

47. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 330, evidence of Lunguza; Guy, Destruction, p. 37.

48. Cope, Izibongo, p. 202; also see Fuze, The Black People, p. 49; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 213, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 211, evidence of Mkehlengana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 268, evidence of Mmemi.

49. Cope, Izibongo, p. 202: also see Fuze, The Black People, p. 144; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 179, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., Vol. 3 p. 258, evidence of Mmemi.

50. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 25, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 202, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 304, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 244, evidence of Mmemi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 317, evidence of Mpatshana.

51. Guy, Destruction, p. 252.

52. Ibid., p. 36.

53. Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 503, 515; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 61, notebook 45, evidence of Ngidi.

54. Fuze, The Black People, p. 62.

55. See below p. 450.

56. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 41, 48; Fuze, The Black People, p. 45; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 178-79, evidence of Jantshi.

57. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 208, evidence of Mangati.

58. Krige, Social System, p. 41; Preston-Whyte, 'Kinship and Marriage', p. 182.

59. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 182, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 84, evidence of Melapi.

60. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 6, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 195-96, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 182, 187, 194, 195, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 74, evidence of Melapi.

61. See below, p. 339.

62. Fuze, The Black People, p. 50; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73, p. 95, evidence of Ndukwana; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 208, 209, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 246, 258, 268, 270, evidence of Mmemi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 43, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 217, evidence of Mkehlengana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 55, 66, evidence of Mcotoyi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 273, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 61, evidence of Madikane; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 279, 622.

63. Fynn, Diary, p. 50.

64. Gibson, The Story of the Zulus, p. 224; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 25, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 208, evidence of Mangati; Guy, Destruction, p. 32.

65. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 29, evidence of Baleni; also see J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 202, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 210, 213, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 162, evidence of Mkando; see also note 66.

66. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 130, 660; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 258, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 213, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 355, evidence of Jantshi; Fuze, The Black People, p. 71; Bryant, Dictionary, p. 756; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 93, evidence of Magidigidi. The precise genealogical relationship between the various members of the eGazini are not clear from the available evidence. Zivalele, which may have been alias for Sitayi, was the son of one of the Zulu kings, either Ndaba or Jama. Some sources claim that he was the father of Mkhanyile, Nobete and Sitayi(?), whilst others claim that Zivalele was their brother. (See Bryant, Olden Times, p. 39; Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 757, 758; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 29, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 202, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 355, evidence of Luzipo; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 210, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 162, evidence of Mkando.)

67. Fuze, The Black People, p. 49.

68. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 273, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 255, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 208, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 26, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 151, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 211, evidence of Mkehlengana; also see J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 357, editors' n. 18.

69. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 25, evidence of Baleni; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, 'Historical Notes', p. 89.

70. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 29, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 255, evidence of Mayinga;

Bryant, Olden Times, p. 37.In 1850, Guy notes, the Ntombela were resident near present-day Vryheid. (Destruction, p. 32)

71. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 429; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 201, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi.

72. Ibid., J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 25, evidence of Baleni; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 65, notebook entitled 'The Diary of James Stuart', p. 14, evidence of Tshingana; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 429-30, 560; Guy, Destruction, p. 32.

73. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 52, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 109, evidence of Mgidhlana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 79, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 267, evidence of Mmemi; Guy, Destruction, p. 36. Ndengezi kaKhuzwayo fought bravely against Zwide, but felt that he was not adequately rewarded by the king. He refused the cattle which he was offered, and he was banished from the Zulu kingdom by Shaka. His family remained behind however.

74. See below, pp. 390-92.

75. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 734; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 39, 40; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 42, item xi, essay by Stuart, 'The Zulu Tribal System', p. 14; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 23, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 104, evidence of Mgidhlana; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73, p. 95, evidence of Ndukwana.

76. Preston-Whyte, 'Kinship and Marriage', p. 181.

77. Hoernlé 'The Importance of the Sib', pp. 484-85.

78. Isaacs, Travels, Vol. 1, p. 35; Callaway, Nursery Tales, p. 266, Krige, Social System, p. 40.

79. See Shooter's comments, The Kaffirs, p. 50; also Gardiner, Journey, p. 89; Callaway, Nursery Tales, p. 261; G. Whitfield, South Africa Native Law, Cape Town, 1948, pp. 60-1.

80. See Preston-Whyte, 'Kinship and Marriage', pp. 203-5, her discussion of the effects of endogamy amongst the Sotho. She comments of the new wife's position that 'Above all, she is known to her husband's ancestors, and indeed shares and sacrifices to many of them' (p. 205).

81. A.R. Radcliffe-Browne, 'Introduction', African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, London, 1950, p. 69. There is no question but that exogamy amongst Northern Nguni-speakers was as much the general social rule in the early nineteenth century as it was when documented by the early ethnographers in the twentieth century. In his evidence to the 1852 Commission to Enquire into the Past and Present State of the Kafirs in the District of Natal (p. 65), Fynn confirmed the early existence of exogamous practices.

82. Schapera, 'Marriage', pp. 139 - 60.

83. Ibid., p. 145.

84. See, for example, the problems encountered by Nqeto, in marrying a clanswoman, because he was not a king (J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 249, evidence of Mmemi). Also see Krige, Social System, p. 35; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 37; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 583.

85. Fynn, 1852 Commission, p. 68; Krige, Social System, p. 224; Preston-Whyte, 'Kinship and Marriage', p. 201; A.C. Myburgh, 'Law and Justice, in D.W. Hammond-Tooke, (ed.), The Bantu Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa, London, 1974, p. 286.

86. Preston-Whyte, 'Kinship and Marriage', pp. 194-95, 203-5.

87. Kuper, An African Aristocracy, Chapter 2, also p. 233, and appendix II. Kuper, 'Kinship Among the Swazi', in A.R. Radcliffe-Browne and D. Forde (eds.), African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, London, 1950, p. 86.

88. Interviews with Nyanza Nhlabatsi at kaZamaya, Swaziland, 3.09.83; with Matsebula informants at Mbangweni, Swaziland, 20.09.83; with Simbimba Ndlela at eTibondzeni, Swaziland, 17.08.83.

89. Hedges, 'Trade and Politics', pp. 219, 220.

90. See note 1.

CHAPTER FIVE

'UKWEHLA NGESILULU':[1] THE EMERGENCE OF THE AMANTUNGWA AS THE RULING CLASS IN ZULU SOCIETY

The previous chapter was concerned with shifts and changes within the ruling Zulu clan, and the consolidation of royal power around the king. In this chapter, we turn to examine the extension of Zulu power over non-Zulu lineages, in what can be broadly described as the first phase of Zulu expansion, i.e. from c. mid-1810s to c. mid-1820s.

The first section of the chapter examines the terms of incorporation of these lineages and identifies a pattern of close assimilation of the non-Zulu lineages incorporated earliest by the Zulu. In the next section, the basis of a growing cohesion amongst these lineages is analysed, while the final section looks toward the second phase in the expansion of the Zulu kingdom to consider the effect and significance of the development of a common identity by this group of lineages as against the remaining non-Zulu lineages within Zulu society.

The first phase of Zulu expansion: the incorporation of the upland neighbours of the Zulu

The murder of Dingiswayo and the attendant collapse of the Mthethwa paramountcy altered the position of the new Zulu chief dramatically, and with it, the course of Zulu history. The head of Dingiswayo was arrayed alongside that of other Ndwandwe trophies at the back

of Ntombazi's (Zwide's mother's) hut, the main section of the Mthethwa forces had been routed, and the Ndwandwe seemed near-invincible.[2]

Either by fate or through cunning, the Zulu contingent of the Mthethwa army had avoided encountering the Ndwandwe, and remained intact under Shaka in the west, but it was not long before Zwide descended on the Zulu. A brief engagement ensued, and in a desperate holding action, the small Zulu force managed to stay the Ndwandwe, although not without the loss of the greater part of their herds. It was clearly not the last the Zulu had seen of Zwide.[3]

Despite the addition of the Buthelezi, Qungebeni, and sections of the Langeni and Mbatha to the Zulu army while Dingiswayo was still alive, the Zulu army was the numerical inferior of that of the Ndwandwe.[4] Shaka was now faced by an urgent need to expand the military strength of his chiefdom if it was to survive further Ndwandwe attacks. This was to be achieved primarily through strategic local expansion, and the creation of a network of supportive alliances.

The precise sequence in which the Zulu extended their control over a still wider range of their neighbours cannot be established with any certainty for the period prior to the arrival of the first chroniclers of Zulu history in 1824. However, the rough sequence and direction of Zulu expansion can be shown to have been shaped by a variety of factors, chief amongst which were the relative strengths and weaknesses of the surrounding chiefdoms, their relative proximity to the Zulu chiefdom, and the resources which they could offer the Zulu.

The Sibiya occupied the area immediately east of the Mkhumbane heartland of the Zulu chiefdom, and it seems that they were probably the earliest object of Zulu attention both because of their proximity, and because of a long historical association with the Zulu, as evidenced by the intermarriage of their ruling lineages in the past.[5] The Sibiya submitted voluntarily to the Zulu after the death of Dingiswayo, and immediately provided battalions to augment the Zulu forces. They also provided important resources in the form of extensive holdings in cattle, and their renowned hunting skills. Of the wealth of the Sibiya it was said, 'Nampo-ke aba kwaSibiya, nga nkomo abanye bebiya ngamahlahla' ('the Sibiya fence their cattle byres with cattle whilst others use branches').[6]

The Zulu chiefdom then embarked on a cautious campaign of conquest. One immediate priority was to secure the intervening area between the Zulu and the Ndwandwe. The earliest Zulu overtures in this region were directed towards the Zungu, and the related Makhoba and Mpungose people. They occupied the strategic area immediately north and north-east of the Zulu and Sibiya, incorporating what later became known as the Ulundi plain, stretching from the isiHlalo and Ncwana mountains eastwards to Hlopekhulu mountain, between the Black and White Mfolozi rivers.[7]

The Zungu thereby commanded access to the plains of the Mfolozi valley and straddled the high ground between the two rivers. This was a highly desirable area because of the diversity of resources available within a small radius. The range of temperature and rainfall characteristic of this area permits the development of a variety of grazing and vegetation cover. The highest areas were likely to have been well-wooded, the intermediate zones covered in sourveld grassland, while

the river valleys would have provided access to the all-important sweetveld winter grazing.[8]

A major factor impelling the Zulu to occupy this area was probably the concentration of the expanding Zulu army in a few establishments in the Mkhumbane valley and the mounting pressure which this would have placed on local grazing resources and on the available arable land. The Zungu area was the nearest point which would have ensured the Zulu access to a wider range of environments than was to be found in and around the Mkhumbane valley, and which could be easily exploited from the existing establishments of the original Zulu chiefdom.[9] This direction of expansion is consistent, on a smaller scale, with Guy's argument that the expansion of the Zulu kingdom, like that of the Mthethwa and the Ndwandwe, was along the line of the finest grazing.[10]

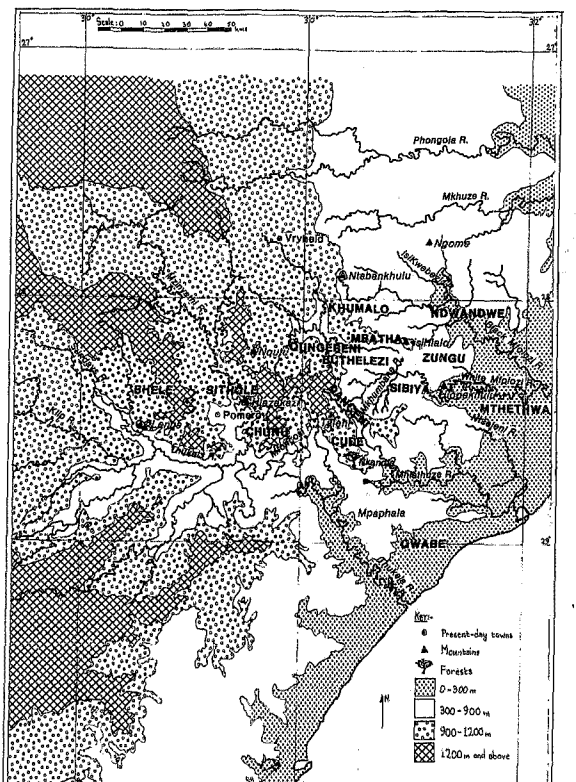
Sandwiched between the expanding Zulu and Ndwandwe states, the Zungu initially sought to play off their two powerful neighbours against each other and so maintain an independent position at the pivot of an uneasy equilibrium. Although an informal alliance existed between the Zulu and the Zungu, in terms of which the Zungu forces conducted joint manoeuvres with the Zulu, Zulu expansionism was initially resisted by the Zungu chief, Manzini kaTshana. This led him to flirt with the Ndwandwe in the north. Impatient with Zungu equivocation, the Ndwandwe acted decisively. When the Zungu proposed the holding of an ijadu (so-called 'love dance') with the Ndwandwe (supposedly to facilitate inter-marriage between the two groups, and to develop a potential base for allied action), the Ndwandwe used the event as an opportunity for a surprise attack. The ijadu ended in a bloodbath. Manzini, the Zungu chief, having spurned earlier Zulu advances, was now forced to seek refuge amongst the

Qwabe, while the majority of his people, under his son, Sidinanda, sought Zulu support.[11] Zwide then attempted to promote the claims of a pretender, named Mjiza, to the Zungu chieftaincy.[12]

In the face of this, Shaka moved to bolster the rule of Sidinanda amongst the Zungu, and subsequently even sought out his father Manzini, and had him killed, thus removing a potential focus for Zungu disaffection.[13] He presented Sidinanda with a Zulu bride to cement the association. According to Bryant, the Zulu erected at least one establishment right in the Zungu territory, and were in the habit of hunting in the area.[14] The Zungu corps, the renowned amaNkenetshane, 'the Wild Dogs', joined the Zulu army. The amaNkenetshane seem to have initially retained their identity as a regional unit, and proved to be a decisive addition to the Zulu fighting force. Men of the Zungu and related groups were also drafted into Zulu amabutho at esiKlebheni and at Nobamba.[15] Baleni, one of Stuart's informants from amongst the Mpungose, an offshoot of the Zungu, commented of the Zungu contribution to the Zulu war effort,

> The tribe we sprang from is that of Zungu, but we are very intimately associated with the Zulu tribe ... When Tshaka became king, my father fought for him. It was the capacity of the Mpungose people to get very angry in wartime that caused so deep an alliance to spring up between them and the Zulu's. By 'angry in war' I mean so staunch, brave and absolutely true to the Zulus.[16]

Zungu related sections such as the Mpungose, Makhoba, Gwabini, Sengwayo, Pakati, Hlabaneni, Zembeni, Kunene and Nduneni followed the Zungu in tendering their allegiance to the Zulu.[17] The existence of a number of diverse izibongo within the Zungu polity amongst whom the intermarriage was possible suggests that it was probably an expanding political unit at the time



The defensive Zulu state, c.1820

of its embroilment in the Ndwandwe-Zulu conflict, as do Baleni's remarks on its formidable military reputation and its independent political stance. The incorporation of the Zungu proved to be a successful opening gambit by Shaka. The Zungu constituted a stable and important component of the new kingdom emerging under Shaka's leadership.

The Thembu seem to have been the next major group to attract Zulu attention. According to Bryant, the Thembu were divided into a senior and a junior branch. The former lived along the Ntseleni river, near its confluence with the lower Mhlathuze, and were previously under the Mthethwa paramountcy. After Dingiswayo's death, this branch moved off and established themselves elsewhere in Zululand. The junior branch lived up-country in the area just south of the White Mfolozi, and recognized the Buthelezi as their suzerains. When Shaka conquered Buthelezi, this branch was driven some distance from the Zulu base, across the Mzinyathi river, to the area around Hlazakazi mountain.[18]

The evidence contained in Bryant's account of the junior branch of the Thembu suggests that they flourished at Hlazakazi, and were joined by other groups, such as the Sithole and Mbatha, who claimed an historical association with the Thembu. The local inhabitants, like the Khuze, 'Nhlangwini' and others already living in the area were forcibly incorporated by the newcomers. Within a short space of time, a flourishing new polity had emerged on the south-western border of the Zulu kingdom, stretching from the Thukela in the south, to the old Hlubi country in the north.[19]

Like the Zungu at the time of their incorporation into the Zulu kingdom, the Thembu polity was characterised by a proliferation of different lineage names indicative

of an expanding polity and the development of a closed ruling elite.[20] Although the Thembu army was not organised on an age-basis, the Thembu polity appears to have been highly militarised, and Thembu warriors were renowned for their skill and daring. Lugubu, in his testimony to James Stuart, implied that the Thembu soon came to represent a serious threat to the Zulu.[21] The very quality of the Thembu military establishment would presumably have invited its cooption by the Zulu.

The Zulu army was soon despatched against the Thembu. After an initial engagement at Nqutu, the Thembu beat off Shaka's Bhekenya corps. The Thembu chief, Ngoza, then sought to consolidate his gains by enlisting the support of the Chunu nearby, but this alliance was pre-empted when Shaka sent reinforcements to displace the Chunu. Before they could be deployed, Ngoza, along with certain sections of the Thembu, and a section of the Mbatha, took flight southwards towards the Mpondo chiefdom of Faku.[22]

Some Thembu, however, remained behind, and while Ngoza's flight removed the cream of the Thembu fighting force from Shaka's reach, those that stayed were to play an important role in the expansion of the Zulu kingdom. Their numbers included the Dladla section of the Mbatha, another section of the Mbatha under Dilikana, who *khonza'd Shaka after staging a brief resistance*, and a section of the Sithole under Jobe.[23]

Precisely why one section of the Sithole chose to remain, when the greater part of the Thembu polity and the rest of the Sithole under Mbulungeni decamped, is not clear, but one possibility is that the division reflected tensions which existed within the polity prior to the Zulu attack. Indeed, some traditions suggest that Jobe actually conspired with the Zulu king against his

Thembu overlords.[24]

The issue is clouded by the existence of conflicting claims about Sithole origins. The relationship between the Thembu, and their erstwhile subjects, the Sithole, was the subject of considerable debate, at least in the 1920s. In an interview at that time, the Sithole chief Bande, and Mamunye Sithole of Mhlumaya, an authority on Sithole history, vehemently denied that the Sithole were in any way related to, or were ever subordinate to the Thembu. They claimed that prior to their incorporation into the Zulu kingdom, the Sithole had existed independently at Qudeni under the father of Jobe, Mapitha.[25]

The following year however, at a meeting of Thembu and Sithole clansmen in Helpmekaar, the interviewer, a local Resident Magistrate named Essery, heard a tradition to the effect that the Sithole people originally stemmed from a foundling taken in out of the bush and reared in the household of an early Thembu chief, Gela. The foundling was given the isibongo 'Sithole' by the chief. The connection between the Thembu and Sithole, denied by Sithole informants, was generally attested to by Thembu and other non-Sithole informants. Essery noted however, that the historical controversy was a consequence of political factionalism in the 1920s, and in particular a then-current debate over the chiefship of the area.[26]

Bryant's account of Sithole origins reflects similar contradictions and is presumably a product of the same controversy. In the text of Olden Times he suggests that the Thembu and the Sithole were related, yet his list of izithakazelo in the same volume indicates that they did not share any address-names, as was usual between related lineages.[27] Other sources, however,

claim that one of the Sithole izithakazelo was 'Mthembu'.[28] Olden Times was published in 1929. It can be inferred that the ommission of the isithakazelo 'Mthembu' from Bryant's list was a product of the same Sithole-Thembu conflict noted by Essery in the early 1920s. Indeed, the correlation between Essery's notes and Bryant's text, and the personal correspondence between the two men suggests that Bryant's information was garnered on his behalf by Essery.[29]

Sithole assertions of an origin independent of the Thembu are rooted in the time of the Thembu flight and Jobe Sithole's assumption of governorship of the southern reaches of the Zulu kingdom. The version of these early events credited by Bryant, Essery and Bird was that Jobe, a local headman amongst the Sitholes, came to the notice of Shaka during the Thembu-Zulu engagement. Jobe apparently met the Zulu king on a hill overlooking the battle and conversed with him. Shaka was alone, and according to the tradition, Jobe did not recognise him as the Zulu leader, until a messenger arrived bringing news of the battle.[30] Whether the tradition has any literal substance to it or whether it was simply a retrospective rendition of Jobe's subsequent position, is immaterial. Either way, the tradition expressed a view of Jobe as a Zulu collaborator. At the same time, it stressed the *highly personal aspect of his loyalty toward Shaka.*

After Ngoza's flight, Shaka sought to bring order to the war-ravaged Thembu territory. He appointed the loyalist Jobe to take charge of the entire area between the Thukela and the Mzinyathi, extending westwards to the Drakensberg, 'a magnificent dukedom' including the notorious cannibal outpost of eLenge.[31] Jobe based himself in a stronghold near present-day Pomeroy, in an establishment called Ndini. He also built at

Mangeni, Hlabankosi and Ekupula near Mpukunyoni.[32] Jobe's accession was challenged by another chiefly aspirant among the remaining Sithole, but he was bolstered from the centre with Zulu military assistance. It was clear that 'he held his appointment by the grace of Tshaka alone', and that he had no power base of his own amongst the Sithole.[33] Shaka insisted that Jobe was accorded the status that befitted his station, and permitted Jobe considerable autonomy. He could, for example, put people to death without consulting the king.[34] It would seem that the king was able to repose considerable confidence in him precisely because of his dependence on royal favour. The extent of this is indicated by the care taken by Jobe at all times to avoid antagonizing his suzerain.

> Jobe tactfully forbade his tribe to refer to him as nkosi or give him the royal salute. He stressed the fact that there was but one nkosi, viz. Shaka, and that he (Jobe) was but a mnumuzana.(sic)[35]

Jobe was so fearful of Shaka's displeasure, the traditions record, that he had a hut built with two doors, so as to facilitate rapid egress in the event of a surprise attack. Similar fears underlay his reluctance to attend at the royal capital in person.[36]

Jobe was given one of Shaka's sisters in marriage, and his other marriages seem to have been diplomatic moves designed to build alliances, notably with the Thembu and Madondo over whom he ruled. Jobe also married his daughter to a son of Ngoza, and his son to a woman of Shaka's izigodlo.[37] Under Shaka, the prestige of Jobe and of the Sithole was greatly enhanced, and over time, the power of the new ruling Sithole lineage was firmly entrenched.

As was the case with the groups incorporated earlier, like the Zungu, the Thembu, the Mbatha and the Sithole who

remained behind in Zululand were all rapidly incorporated into the Zulu amabutho.[38] The circumstances of the incorporation of the Mabaso closely paralleled that of the Mbatha. Some Mabaso accompanied the Thembu south and only returned after the death of Ngoza, but others joined the Zulu immediately and were drawn into the Zulu amabutho in the typically integrative manner characteristic of the assimilation of the early components of the kingdom.[39]

The establishment of Zulu control over the old Thembu area was significant for a number of reasons. It contained a highly advantageous combination of resources, probably the basis of earlier Thembu prosperity, and rapidly became an important supplying area of the Zulu kingdom.[40] Large royal herds were quartered in this area and it was the chief source of much of the royal insignia, notably of shields for the army, blue monkey skins, lourie plumes and crane feathers for amabutho dress, and especially softened hide skirts for the 'princesses'.[41]

> The best cattle, the handsomest, with the best hides came from Jobe's country in the Nkandla district near the Mzinyathi and that is where Tshaka's shield used to come from.[42]

Jobe was also responsible for the collection of aloes for the tanning of the hides. This territory supplied the royal establishments with fat-tailed sheep, and in particular, with the fat with which it was the prerogative of the royal women to rub themselves. Finally, Jobe was also required to cultivate and supply a special white amabele (cereal) for the women of the izigodlo.[43]

Next to attract the attention of the Zulu king were the Chunu. Ngoza's appeal to Macingwane for assistance against the Zulu had focused the attention of the Zulu on the Chunu people resident in the south-east, on the

Mzinyathi river near Taleni mountain.[44]

Like the Qwabe and Zungu, the Chunu appear to have been a large and politically diverse chiefdom composed of numerous lineages.[45] It seems that there were deep cleavages and tensions within the Chunu chiefdom prior to the Zulu-Chunu conflict. The Mcumane section had decamped north to join the Hlubi. The Ndlela moved to Ntabankhulu because of local conflict, while the Ndlovu, renowned 'doctors' amongst the Chunu, are recalled in the traditions as having brought down the wrath of Macingwane on their heads for having worked the 'wrong magic'. They ultimately absconded to the Mbo and khonza'd Zihlandhlo. Shortly after the rise of Shaka, the Ximba separated off from the Chunu and went to live between the Mvungane and the White Mfolozi rivers.[46] Macingwane, the Chunu chief is remembered in the oral traditions as a fiercely repressive ruler who, fearing to be overthrown, killed off all his heirs.[47] The degree of internal conflict within the Chunu chiefdom suggests that the Chunu would have been an easy target of the expanding Zulu kingdom. Control over the Chunu was moreover of supreme importance to the Zulu king because the Chunu were 'responsible for arming their enemies, being famous as iron smelters and manufacturers of metal implements and weapons'.[48]

According to Magidigidi, one of Stuart's Chunu informants, Shaka's first foray into Chunu country was against the Ndawonde after the Ndawonde had attacked local Cube suppliers of brass and copper to the Zulu kingdom and had cut their supply route. The umGumanqa ibutho was dispatched against the Ndawonde.[49] In the meantime, the bulk of the Zulu army was engaged in battle with the Thembu nearby. When Ngoza requested Chunu assistance against the Zulu, the Zulu launched a preemptive strike against the Chunu. Macingwane fled

south leaving a trail of desolation across Natal. The Zulu army caught up with the Chunu and captured the bulk of their cattle. Macingwane disappeared, and the greater part of the leaderless Chunu returned to Zululand to khonza to Shaka. Their numbers included the young sons of the Chunu chief, Mfusi and Pakade. An immediate amnesty was extended to the returning Chunu and they too were rapidly incorporated into the Zulu amabutho.[50]

At more or less the same time Shaka undertook another foray against the nearby Cube. In a skilful feint, the Zulu outmanoeuvred the Ndwandwe who were also bidding for control over the Cube. Mvakelele, the Cube chief, was killed and his heir dispossessed. Shaka then appointed the son of his mother's sister, *Zokufa kaMtsholoza, to the chieftaincy.* Zokufa is remembered in the traditions as a great favourite of the Zulu monarch and as permitted considerable independence.[51]

Incorporation of the Cube into the emergent Zulu kingdom was likewise an enormous advantage for the highly militarised Zulu, for the Cube were the most renowned smiths in all Zululand. They produced spears for the king to distribute amongst the amabutho from a local ironstone known as umngamunye. Mqaikana commented

> The Cube used to work iron for the whole country; hoes were got there. The iron-working went on in other tribes, but not on so general a scale.[52]

Ironstone found elsewhere in the Zulu kingdom was usually taken to the king and exchanged there for cattle. The iron was then presumably sent to the Cube smiths. In this way, the king established a royal monopoly over weaponry for war, and over ceremonial knives and spears, such as the izinqindi, carried by

women during marriage ceremonies.[53] The Cube also used to manufacture prestige items out of the king's itusi (copper or brass) brought from the Thonga.[54]

The Cube were based in the Nkandla area, and the great Nkandla forest with its hidden paths and caves, such as those in the Mome gorge, offered a strategically important retreat for the Zulu, as did the nearby mountain fastness of Manzipambana. The broken country around Nkandla was used to great advantage by Shaka sometime later in his retreat from Zwide.[55] Finally the Cube were also renowned for their possession of rare magical skills, notably of itonya, the power to gain ascendancy over others, an important asset for a would-be conqueror like Shaka.[56]

Yet another early addition to the Zulu state were the Bhele (or Ntuli). Historically, the Bhele occupied the area around eLenge (also known as Jobe's Kop). Bryant suggests that the Bhele were scattered across a wide area bounded by the Biggarsberg hills, the Klip river and the Thukela. The loose Bhele polity was composed of numerous sections - the Ntshangase under Qunta, the Bhele paramount, resident near Klip river, the Shabane under Hlati, the Memela under Mdingi on the Sundays river, and the cannibals under the notorious Mhlaphahlapha, resident between eLenge and the Mzinyathi, as well as sections under the chiefs Jojo and Maliwa.[57]

The traditions tend to characterise the Bhele as a kind of fringe group at the time of Shaka's accession. One informant described the Bhele thus,

> These people lived in caves and caverns (emigedini nasemihhumeni) and were called Beles. They lived by hunting game and stealing cattle from other tribes which had many possessions while they themselves had none. They lived on meat and wild fruits as well as honey.[58]

It seems that the social dislocation of the Bhele was a consequence of the move south in the early nineteenth century of the Ngwane, and later, the Thembu and Chunu. Many Bhele were displaced by these waves of migrants, but those that remained did so amidst ongoing upheaval and devastation.[59] One refugee from this desolation found his way to the Zulu chiefdom and khonza'd Senzangakhona. He was Sompisi, alias Nkobe, so-called because he ground grain (nkobe) for the Zulu king. Sompisi became an inceku (attendant) in the royal household, and rose to prominence in that office.[60] Senzangakhona then married Bibi, a daughter of Sompisi, who is remembered in the traditions as his most favoured wife. It was about her that the saying arose 'una luhke; u njengo, Bibi ka Nkobe okube ku ya vele leyo nkosi ku be uve' (he has good fortune, he is like Bibi, the daughter of Nkobe, who, whatever king may reign, is the head within).[61] Sompisi's sons, Nduvana and Ndlela, were butha'd into the Zulu army.[62] Nomantshali, another Bhele woman, was married to Mpande, a son of Senzangakhona, and, like Bibi, was considered to be the most favoured and influential of all Mpande's wives.[63]

When Shaka took over the Zulu chiefship, the fortunes of the Bhele family continued to prosper. Ndlela was appointed governor of a large district along the Thukela river, between the Mpaphala flats and the Mfongosi river, and became an important army commander.[64] According to the essayist Yende, Shaka, in urgent need of fighting men, approached other Bhele living outside of the Zulu chiefdom. His overture was apparently rejected, but the Bhele were subsequently induced, by offers of cattle to assist the Zulu. Against Mhlaphahlapha, Shaka was obliged to mount a military campaign. The cannibals were defeated, and the Bhele became Zulu subjects. Henceforward, they were to be found in the forefront of Zulu campaigns.[65]

> ... Shaka enlisted many regiments from the Ntuli tribe as it seemed that they conquered many tribes for him. They united and were known as the Zulu tribe.[66]

Later generations of Bhele also prospered, with intermarriage common between the royal family and the Bhele as were Bhele marriages to the women of the king's izigodlo. Shoba, of the Bhele, became one of Shaka's izinyanga with a special responsibility for the doctoring of the Zulu army. Bhele men and women joined the male and female *amabutho of the Zulu army, and increasingly* came to claim an intimate connection with the Zulu.[67] They were well rewarded for their loyalty by Shaka, and it was he who gave them the name 'Ntuli', from the saying 'dust (ntuli) of the cattle at Bhele's', a *reference to their growing wealth.*[68]

Very little information survives concerning the early history of yet another of the groups which Shaka first attended to, the Khumalo, apart from the claim that they originated together with the Mabaso. By the time Shaka acceeded to the Zulu chiefship, it seems that the Khumalo and Mabaso were politically distinct groupings, with the Mabaso incorporated into the *Thembu* polity and the Khumalo having shifted northwards and having undergone internal splits. The Khumalo finally settled under four chiefs. They were Donda wesiZiba (the latter being his praise and having the literal meaning *'of the deep pools') in the area between* esiKwebezi and the Black Mfolozi; Beje, chief in the area around Ngome hill between present-day Nongoma and Vryheid; Mashobana, and subsequently his son Mzilikazi, around the upper Mkhuze; and finally a *section under* Mlotsha beyond the Mkhuze at the 'Mapondwana' hills.[69]

Prior to the accession of Shaka, the Khumalo appear to have recognised a loose form of Mthethwa hegemony, but

they occupied an especially invidious position between the Ndwandwe and the southern powers. When the Mthethwa were shattered by the Ndwandwe, the Khumalo chief Donda intervened to ensure that the Ndwandwe victory was not total. He warned Shaka of an imminent trap and in so doing succeeded in both upholding an uneasy equilibrium between the two superpowers, and bringing down the wrath of the Ndwandwe on himself. The traditions, in which there is an emphasis on the trickery used by the Ndwandwe against the Khumalo, suggest that the Khumalo were probably a powerful military force themselves. Bryant relates that Zwide lured the Khumalo to the usual ijadu, and having thus trapped them, murdered Donda and his heir. Zwide also slaughtered Mashobana, but his son Mzilikazi survived and apparently first khonza'd Zwide, before fleeing to Shaka. The remainder of the Khumalo appeared to have khonza'd Shaka soon afterwards, possibly after a light Zulu attack.[70]

Evidence on Khumalo-Zulu relations in Shaka's time is characteristically uneven, making a close periodisation of their subjugation a difficult exercise. While it seems that the Khumalo initially submitted to the Zulu early in the reign of Shaka, the evidence indicates that by c.1822, the Khumalo attitude to the Zulu was generally recalcitrant. When Shaka requested the participation of a Khumalo contingent in his campaigns into Natal, two of the Khumalo chiefs who nominally recognised Zulu overrule, Beje and Mlotsha, refused to participate. They subsequently resisted Shaka for three seasons, until 1826, when Shaka was obliged to call on the firepower of the traders at Port Natal to re-establish control over them. Finally defeated, the Khumalo were at last fully integrated into the Zulu kingdom.[71]

The story of the contumacy of Mzilikazi is better known. Initially, it seems that Mzilikazi was highly thought

of by the Zulu monarch. Later he was sent on a campaign into the Transvaal, and on his return, it was claimed that he kept back a portion of the spoils for himself. When Shaka sent messengers to enquire after the outstanding booty, Mzilikazi is reputed to have cut off the plumes of their headdresses. Another version has it that when summoned to go and 'cook meat' at the capital, he refused outright. Either way, Mzilikazi was then forced to flee across the Drakensberg.[72]

Although Khumalo resistance dragged on until 1826, the first phase of Zulu expansion really came to a close around 1821, by which time, the Zulu army had expanded sufficiently to administer a decisive blow to the Ndwandwe, and to drive them from the northern reaches of Zululand.

By then, Zulu rule had been extended over the immediate neighbours of the Zulu - the Mbatha, Qungebeni, Langeni, Buthelezi, Sibiya and Zungu.[73] The Zulu had also attacked groups further afield, such as the Thembu, Sithole, Mabaso, Chunu, Bhele and Cube, who were forced to submit or to flee from Shaka. In the lowlands, both the Mthethwa and the Qwabe were incorporated by the Zulu. This process had been characterized by the close assimilation of all the groups concerned, and it was the expansion of the Zulu army through the absorption of their able-bodied men which provided the means for the Ndwandwe rout.

Historical origins and the development of political cohesion

The thrust of early Zulu expansion seems to have been towards the full assimilation of those groups which acknowledged Zulu hegemony. The first phase of Bonner's two phase model of Swazi expansion can appropriately be applied to the Zulu. In the 1810s, when the Zulu nucleus

was still small and vulnerable, its first priority was to expand its nuclear strength, and a policy of intensive incorporation was accordingly pursued. Amongst the Swazi, the groups which were closely assimilated by the Ngwane came to be known and distinguished from the rest of Swazi society as the bemdzabuko (lit. those who originated together.)[74] Amongst the Zulu, a common historical origin was claimed by all the groups which had been assimilated by the Zulu in the earliest phase of expansion - that of amantungwa. It was their common identity as amantungwa, which provided the ideological basis of the social cohesion of this otherwise highly heterogeneous group.

Elsewhere, John Wright and I have argued that conflict between groups of genealogically unrelated chiefdoms would have escalated with the emergence of state societies in the later eighteenth century, to become a permanent feature of the political scene.[75] Under such conditions, we argued that the political arena saw the mobilisation of alliances based on ethnicity. We noted further that in small lineage-based chiefdoms, the political position of the dominant lineage was based primarily on the functions which its senior member, the chief, exercised in the sphere of ritual. State formation however, saw the development of new centrally controlled institutions of social domination, such as the amabutho, the so-called 'regiments', which dramatically increased the coercive capacity of the dominant lineage. This, we suggested, had the effect of allowing the emergence of clear social divisions between the ruler and the ruled. The distinction between such categories was no longer demarcated by criteria of genealogical descent but by various cultural markers. We argued that the culmination of these tendencies was to be found in the Zulu kingdom, where processes of class formation coincided with processes

of differentiation on ethnic lines.

As was indicated in the previous chapter, there emerged at the apex of Zulu society a high aristocracy made up of members who could demonstrate genealogical links with the Zulu royal line. However, the privileged, ruling echelon of Zulu society was not confined to the Zulu clan and their relatives, but embraced a wider category of people politically aligned with the Zulu aristocracy. Although this wider group could not demonstrate precise genealogical links with the royal house, they claimed to have the same historical origins, to share certain cultural traits through a common identity, as amantungwa.

The main argument of the next section of this chapter is that their identity as amantungwa was fabricated during the reign of Shaka. This claim will be supported from two directions. The first, focusing on the question of 'fabrication', will be concerned to demonstrate that the claims of the amantungwa groups to common historical origins are fundamentally contradictory in a manner indicative of systematic adulteration. In terms of the second direction, the question of the timing of this intervention will be addressed. It will be argued that the amantungwa identity was only ever applied to groups who were incorporated into the Zulu kingdom early in the reign of Shaka. Where one section of a chiefdom fled from the Zulu and another submitted, it will be demonstrated that only the latter claimed to be amantungwa, notwithstanding their genealogical relationship with the former. While 'ntungwa'may have had another, rather different, currency in earlier times, it will be argued that under Shaka it came to be applied to a genealogically heterogeneous nucleus in the Zulu kingdom, conferring a common identity on that group and distinguishing it from the remainder of the subject chief-

doms within the kingdom.

It will be further argued that this intervention was not only obscured by the natural process of adjustment of historical traditions to ideological shifts, but that the amantungwa identity was uncritically assimilated, and expanded on by subsequent scholars, notably Bryant, in such a way that contradictory evidence was ignored or effaced. Since Bryant's writings, more than any others', have served to fix notions about the origins of Nguni-speakers, it is to these that we must turn first.

Bryant classified all the Bantu-speakers of south-east Africa as 'Nguni' and distinguished them from the highveld Sotho-speakers to the west, and the Tsonga-speakers in the north-east. Amongst the 'Nguni', he distinguished between three different cultural and linguistic groupings, the Xhosa, the 'Tekela-Ngunis', and the 'Ntungwa-Ngunis'. The Xhosa, with whom we are little concerned here, separated from the rest of the stream and migrated rapidly southwards, almost in isolation, and evolved their own dialect.[76]

Bryant suggested that the 'Tekela-Nguni' and the 'Ntungwa-Nguni' separated in the very early stages of their existence. Beyond noting their membership of the same broad language family, he, in fact, offered no evidence as to why he considered them to have ever been connected. Their common origin, somewhere in the remote past, as 'Pure Ngunis', must, as John Wright has pointed out, be recognised as 'a substantial over-simplification, even a distortion of the historical picture'.[77] Wright has advanced a sophisticated explanation of how and why the term 'Nguni' came to be used as a generic label in this sense, and demonstrated at some length differences in its generic usage from

the original meaning of Nguni, and the manifold regional differences in the way that it was employed by the indigenous inhabitants of south-east Africa. Similar reservations need to be sounded about the rest of Bryant's typology.

Unlike 'Nguni', the terms 'Tekela-Nguni', Ntungwa-Nguni', 'Tsonga-Nguni' and 'Mbo-Nguni' were not picked up and much used by later scholars. Consequently, the unravelling of their meanings is slightly less complex than that of 'Nguni'. Bryant's 'Tekela-Nguni' category was so-called because it comprised speakers of the tekela dialect, distinguished by the pronouncement of certain consonants differently from the 'Ntungwa-Ngunis'. According to Bryant, the 'Tekela-Ngunis' shared the further common characteristic of having originated in the north-east, 'eNyakato'.[78] Bryant divided the 'Tekela-Ngunis' into the 'Tsonga-Nguni' and 'abaMbo', distinguished from each other by minor dialect differences and by having entered Zululand along coastal and interior routes respectively. Thus the 'Tsonga-Ngunis' demonstrated a strong 'Tsonga' connection and were associated with the coastal lowlands. The 'abaMbo' on the other hand, were credited with a strong 'Swazi' connection, and the Lubombo mountains served as a common point of reference to their claims of origination.[79] Neither of the terms 'Tekela-Nguni' nor 'Tsonga-Nguni' appear to have had any currency amongst Stuart's informants. Tekela speech was identified by numerous informants as a dialect specific to certain groups, such as the 'Lala', while Tsonga was the name given to the clans to the north-east of the Zulu kingdom. Both usages were highly specific and bore no resemblance to Bryant's compound categories.[80]

The term 'abaMbo' appears to have had three usages and meanings for the inhabitants of Zululand - Natal. Mbo was the isibongo of a group situated along the Thukela, and which, in Shaka's day lived under the chief Zihlandhlo. Known as the 'Mbo'of Mkhize' (their isitakhazelo) this group claimed to have originated amongst the Swazi.[81] The term 'Mbo' also occurs in oral traditions in a non-clan specific sense, with two meanings. In c.1900, it was being used by the people to the south of Natal as a general description for the inhabitants of Natal.

> The Natal people are called abaMbo by the Pondos without discrimination. A wind coming from the direction of Natal is said to come from the country of the abaMbo.[82]

Evidence of the informants Maziyana and Mahaya indicates that the 'Mbo' designation was also used by the Mpondo in the south to distinguish original inhabitants within their community from refugees from Natal -the so-called 'abaMbo'.[83] According to the accounts of the survivors of the wreck of the Stavenisse, 'Emboas' inhabited the Natal area as early as 1686.[84] But the term 'Mbo' also crops up far to the north in the early shipwreck records in the form 'Vambe'. In 1589, according to early Portuguese documents, the inhabitants of the coastal country to the south of Delagoa Bay were known as the 'Vambe'.[85] This suggests a very great age to the second non-clan specific usage of 'Mbo' which occurs in the testimonies of Stuart's informants. In terms of this usage, 'Mbo' was used to designate a common origin with 'the Swazi'.[86]

A number of clans within Swaziland today likewise claim to have 'Mbo' origins. The Swazi groups which acknowledge that the term 'Mbo' is of significance to them are the bemdzabuko (the so-called original Swazi), who claimed to have come from the east coast, over the Lubombo mountains, into Swaziland. Bemdzabuko informants today are generally uncertain as to the exact meaning of the

term, but vigorously claim it as an aspect of their identity and history. Two informants claimed that the name derived from 'imbo', a Swazi and Zulu term for malaria. Malaria was rife in precisely those areas around Delagoa Bay from which the bemdzabuko and a number of the Natal 'Mbo' claimed to originate.[87] This detail may confirm the notion of 'Mbo' as associated with a coastal, lowland identity in the north. Indeed, the various usages of 'Mbo' - as the isibongo of the *people under Zihlandhlo, the appellation of the inhabi-* tants of and refugees from Natal, and as connoting a connection with the 'Swazi' - all fit the broad geographical description as being, or having come from, coastal, lowland people in the north, in much the same way that John Wright has demonstrated that the term Nguni gained a directional connotation.[88] Moreover, the tekela dialect which characterized the speech of the Natal 'Mbo', was akin to siSwati, and this was one *of the elements cited as underlying their common cate-* gorization as 'Mbo'.[89]

Whether or not 'Mbo' was a term which harked back to a previous era when the Natal 'Mbo' and the bemdzabuko lived together, is difficult to ascertain, but what does emerge clearly from the above review is its clear geographical connotations. These were picked up by Bryant, and explicitly opposed to his other major *Nguni category, the upland, interior 'Ntungwa-Nguni',* with their own distinctive dialect.[90] According to Bryant, between c.1580 and c.1750, the 'Ntungwa-Nguni' migrated into Zululand from the south eastern Transvaal. The distinguishing feature of the 'Ntungwa-Nguni' was their adherence to a tradition of having come down from the interior with, or by means of a grain basket (isilulu). As will be shown later in this chapter, Bryant's employment of the term 'Ntungwa', like that *of 'Mbo' and the other terms discussed above, differed*

from its usage in the oral traditions which were current in the period when he did his research.

It is important to note that Bryant was working within the late Victorian scholarly traditions of Darwinism and diffusionism in a period when the theory of Bantu-migrations was emerging as an explanation of the historical 'tribes' of sub-equatorial Africa. The works of Theal, Stow and McKay had already advanced *accounts of the populating of southern Africa.*[91] It was this theory of migrations embraced by Bryant which gave form and a rigidity to his classificatory system which was absent in the oral traditions from which he derived his material.

Perhaps the most important consequence of these scholastic influences was Bryant's intervention in his data to eliminate from his account all inconsistencies. This was *in accordance with his stated aim*

> to put the record straight and to fill in the gaps, linking together disconnected facts by probabilities based on other knowledge, moulding discrepant statements so that they harmonize with their surroundings, drawing conclusions following naturally from well-founded premises.[92]

The greatest difficulties of evidence encountered by Bryant occurred when he attempted rigidly to classify all the clans of Zululand - Natal as either 'Ntungwa-Nguni' or 'Mbo-Nguni', for there were a number of clans who claimed to be related to both 'Ntungwa-Nguni' and 'Mbo-Nguni' clans.

Occasionally, Bryant made these dilemmas of evidence explicit in his texts. One example of this is to be found in his discussion of Zungu origins. The Zungu, he noted, claimed to be related to both the Zulu (classified by Bryant as 'Ntungwa-Nguni') and the Zizi (classified by Bryant as 'Mbo-Nguni').[93] More often,

however, Bryant preferred to efface such contradictions from his account by choosing between the items of conflicting data, as can be seen by comparing his discussion of Bhele origins with those contained in the Stuart testimonies. It was widely stated by Stuart's informants that the Bhele were 'ntungwa'. At the same time, it was also claimed that they were related to the 'non-ntungwa' Zizi.[94] In his discussion of Bhele origins, Bryant classified the Bhele as non-'Ntungwa-Nguni', on the basis of the Zizi connection, and disregarded widespread Bhele claims to be 'ntungwa'.[95] A similar method was evident in his treatment of Nzuza origins. The Nzuza were described by Stuart's informants as being 'ntungwa', yet Bryant did not. He classified them as 'Ntungwa-Nguni'.[96] Bryant's failure to reproduce the contradictions typical of the oral testimonies helped to reify the category of 'Ntungwa'.

In the oral testimonies, two distinct types of contradictions concerning the common historical origins of the ntungwa can be identified. The first is that which occurs between the testimonies of two or more informants. Since this type of contradiction was unlikely to have been obvious to the informants concerned, it is usually easily located by the analyst of oral traditions. However, in northern Nguni-speaking societies, this exercise is hampered by the paucity of relevant sources, and frequent reliance on a single source or on fragmentary data, which militates against comparisons. The second type of contradiction is in the nature of a palimpsest, where a new (and fictitious) tradition of origin is imposed, but where the imprint of a previous tradition is not fully erased.[97] Where, for whatever reason, one point of origin came to be replaced by another, the informant would have tended to drop one location entirely, in favour of the other. However, other ingredients of

an informant's story of a group's origins are likely to be retained, and may tacitly continue to point to the other point of origin, giving rise to implicit *contradictions within the text.*

Deeper-lying contradictions of this nature have been explored in the case of the Qwabe, where, it was argued, a further dimension to the contradictions within the traditions was added by the processes of *struggle and resistance in which the* Qwabe engaged.[98] A similar example is provided by the Chunu, who, like the Qwabe claimed an origin in common with the Zulu through the Mālandela tradition, asserting that their progenitor, 'Mchunu' was the third son of Malandela, and a brother of Zulu and Qwabe. The Chunu claim is subject to all *the same reservations expressed about* that of the Qwabe, and is similarly contradicted by other implicit and residual data which survives in Chunu oral traditions.[99] Similarly, the oral traditions of the Thembu, Mbatha and Mabaso are characterized by palimpsest-like signs of contradictions between their claims to a *common origin with the Zulu, and the complex evidence* of their separate origin elsewhere.[100] The evidence of contradictions strongly suggests that traditions of origin and statements of identity had been tampered with.

Reference to the izithakazelo (or 'address-names' of clans) confirms this suggestion. Izithakazelo are a much neglected and misunderstood body of evidence. In contrast to a claim made by the ethnologist Van Warmelo that izithakazelo are accurate indicators of historical origins, it should be noted that izithakazelo *were, rather, a prime site of the manipulation of,* and intervention in, the historical record.[101] Address-names appear to have been altered to suggest historical connections between groups who were entirely unrelated.

Indeed, Hilda Kuper in her comments on tinantelo, the parallel address-name form amongst the neighbouring Swazi, notes that the name 'tinanatelo' derives from the verb, kunana, meaning to borrow, with the intention of returning, a point which emphasises the flexibility and flux of address-names.[102] Where certain izithakazelo were common to a number of izibongo they were used to suggest that the izibongo were related to each other. The acquisition of izithakazelo appears therefore to have been one means of cementing alliances between groups, and perhaps ultimately a part of the process of creating a common political identity. Within the traditions, these claims were usually consistent with overt claims to 'ntungwa' or 'Mbo' origins. Thus, all the groups who claimed the amantungwa identity tended to share the same izithakazelo. Where Bryant, in his concern for consistency often effaced from his text the overt claims of certain groups to being amantungwa in favour of implicit evidence of other origins, he often neglected to remove the traces of links to amantungwa groups contained in the izithakazelo. Thus, in the case of the Nzuza, we see that the contradiction between the claims of Stuart's informants that the Nzuza were 'ntungwa', and Bryant's claim that they were 'Mbo-Nguni', is reflected in a contradiction between Bryant's claim in his text that they were 'Mbo-Nguni', and the evidence in his izithakazelo list, which indicates that they shared an address-name with the Ntombela, an 'Ntungwa-Nguni' group, with whom they thereby claimed a historical connection.[103] Similarly, the Sibiya were described in Bryant's text as being 'Ntungwa-Nguni', while his list of izithakazelo reveals an ambiguity in Sibiya origins. This took the form of an implicit contradiction between the two Sibiya address names, Gumede and Ndaba, which connoted lowland (or 'Mbo-Nguni') and upland (or 'Ntungwa-Nguni') connections respectively.[104]

Patterns to the contradictions in the evidence on origins suggests that the claims of the groups to a common descent may have been imposed over other, disparate claims of origin. How did this occur? The assumption of new izithakazelo was a recognized social practice. A number of traditions survive which testify to izithakazelo being acquired through exchange for goods or services.[105] From this, it can be inferred that the 'borrowing' or acquisition of new izithakazelo demanded the agreement, or at least the appearance of agreement of both parties concerned. Clearly it would have been of little effect for one party to claim that it was related through its izithakazelo to another party, if the latter denied the relationship, and if the former had no authoritative sources with which to bolster their claim to a particular izithakazelo. This is borne out in the traditions by the emphasis placed on the transactions involved in the change, and by the negative evidence of the absence of any accounts of the forcible appropriation of izithakazelo.

Shaka himself was one of the prime exponents of this practice and used it to mesh the widely disparate lineages incorporated under Zulu hegemony. It was noted in chapter three that the Qwabe isithakazelo of Gumede, and the designation 'Nguni' were both appropriated by the Zulu.[106] Likewise, the Khumalo isithakazelo, of 'Ndabazitha' was also assumed by Shaka. This address-name was common to the Mbatha, Mabaso, Buthelezi and Thembu as well.[107] It was likewise variously claimed that 'Ndabazitha' was taken by Shaka from either the Mbatha or the Thembu, i.e. the quiescent uplanders, rather than the recalcitrant Khumalo.

> Tshaka substituted it (the old Zulu name, Lufenulwenja) for the isibongo 'Ndabazitha' which he took over from the people he had conquered in war, viz. the Mbata tribe.[108]

In the Qwabe case we noted a similar trend, insofar as it was the quiescent element of the Qwabe who acknowledge Shaka's claims to the Gumede isithakazelo and to the 'Nguni' identity.

Where the Zulu kingdom found resistance to the imposition of its rule, as amongst the Khumalo and the Qwabe, we find that ideological co-option took the form of recourse to the arena of the izithakazelo so as to suggest a historic relationship between the rulers and the ruled, and to lend legitimacy to the new relations of dominance. The historical content of izithakazelo was characteristically obscure, and therefore proved difficult to challenge in historical terms. In recent discussions with Swazi and Zulu informants, izithakazelo/tinanatelo were frequently referred to as indicators of the common origin of groups, even where the content of the address-names was acknowledged as being without meaning to the informants, and where they sometimes existed in spite of further information indicating otherwise.[109]

The widespread daily use of the izithakazelo made them an ideal vehicle for the transmission of new ideas concerning historical and socio-political relationships. In Zulu society, it was considered very important to know a wide range of izithakazelo and to be able to address people with the correct names.[110] The izithakazelo enjoyed daily currency,

> Everyone was familiar with the izithakazelo of the clans about him, and in addressing their members, habitually used them.[111]

Assumption of the 'Ndabazitha' isithakazelo by the Zulu meant that it was by this name that the Zulu were henceforward to be the most commonly addressed,

> ... to a member of the Zulu clan (aba-kwaZulu) it could not be said, Sa-ku-bona Zulu (Good morning Zulu) - this could be said properly only to the Zulu king, as Zulu's living representative - but Sa-ku-Bona Ndabazitha (Good morning Ndabazitha), this latter being the isitakazelo (or address name) of this particular clan.[112]

The assumption of the 'Ndabazitha' isithakazelo by the Zulu thus had the effect of suggesting common origins and genealogical connections between the Zulu and their quiescent Mbatha and Mabaso subjects, the less amenable Thembu, and the strongly resistant Khumalo. It also connoted that these groups shared a common ancestor, Ndaba.[113]

Shaka did not limit his attempts to create a common identity between the recalcitrant Khumalo and the Zulu, to manipulating the Ndabazitha isithakazelo. In the same way that the Zulu appropriated the 'Nguni' appellation which was a distinctively Qwabe identity, they also laid claim to an appellation that was widely attested to as originally being a Khumalo identity: ',,, the Kumalo are the real abaNtungwa for they say "Mntungwa" to each other',[114] 'The Kumalo ... especially ... are amaNtungwa',[115] 'I know the Kumalo people only as being the amaNtungwa ... When one of the Kumalos gave one food, one originally said, "E" Mntungwa, but, continued the latter informant, 'Now, of course, many tribes are Ntungwa'.[116] What was originally an isithakazelo of the Khumalo was widely extended becoming less of an isithakazelo, and assuming more of the character of a statement of origin - and becoming the rallying point for a new political unity of the groups assimilated into the early Zulu kingdom.

Thus Stuart records,

> Mxaba spoke of natives as abentungwa (umntungwa). He J.K. [the informant, J. Kumalo] and Mabaso are all of different clans, yet they sprang from one source, the one named.[117]

It would seem therefore, that similar circumstances underlay the adoption by the Zulu of the Nguni and amantungwa identities of the rebellious Qwabe and Khumalo. In chapter three above, it was argued that the Nguni identity was mobilised by dissident Qwabe to assert the greatar antiquity of the Qwabe vis-a-vis the Zulu, and to resist incorporation under the Zulu in a wider Zulu identity. Shaka's appropriation of the Nguni identity in turn, was an attempt to nullify *this assertion of an independent status. Similarly,* the adoption of the amantungwa identity served to annul the apparent distinctiveness, and the independent s[illegible]h the Khumalo sought to preserve for themselves. Unlike the Nguni identity, however, amantungwa came to be applied far more widely than to simply the Zulu.

The question which the next section addresses is when *the term amantungwa was extended beyond the Khumalo, to* apply to a large number of disparate chiefdoms. It was claimed by Stuart's informants that the term 'came into vogue principally in Tshaka's day'[118] and this claim is supported by widespread evidence that the amantungwa designation applied only to groups who shared the common experience of incorporation into the Zulu kingdom in the first phase of its expansion, regardless of their origins.

This evidence is marshalled in the charts on pp. 298 and 299. The charts contain the names of all the clans known to have been described as amantungwa. Of these names, four appear to have been designated amantungwa in error, and do not reflect wider usage. The Ndwandwe, for example, were described by a single informant as being amantungwa. This claim was denied by a number of Stuart's informants, by the early Zulu *historian Bryant, by a student of the Swazi, Kuper, and*

by Ndwandwe informants interviewed in 1983.[119]

Similarly, only one informant described the Xhosa as amantungwa, in what seems to be an otherwise entirely unsupported claim. Recourse to the major historical writings on the Xhosa yields no mention of amantungwa, and in fact, this claim was explicitly denied by two sources, one of whom was the Zulu king, Cetshwayo himself, the other, one of Stuart's informants.[120] Another apparent error concerns the application of the amantungwa designation to the Mpondo, again by a single source, Bryant. Bryant's claim, which occurs in his list of clans in Olden Times was only tentative, and elsewhere, is negated by his claims that the Mpondo spoke the tekela dialect, and were 'Mbo-Nguni'.[121]

A number of the names which appear on the list, are those of groups today resident in Swaziland. Of these, there appears to be one certain error, that of the 'Tabete'. This group was classified by Bryant as 'Ntungwa-Nguni', and, he noted that it was a Swazi group,[122] 'Tabete' probably corresponds to the modern Swazi sibongo of Thabedze. Matsebula, the Swazi historian, also describes the Thabedze as 'Ntungwa-Nguni', but he appears to be following Bryant, one of his chief sources.[123] Thabedze informants resident in Swaziland today, when questioned on this issue, expressly deny that they are or ever were amantungwa and describe themselves as being 'Sotho' in origin. There are no apparent anomalies in the accounts which they give which might indicate their claims to be incorrect.[124]

Turning now to firmer claims, the amantungwa identity of another Swazi group, the Simelane, is well-attested to by a number of sources. Under Shaka, the Simelane occupied the area between the Ndwandwe and the Ngwane on the Phongola. Writing on the early Simelane, the

essayist, Dalisu Simelane noted that the Simelane were first defeated by the Ndwandwe, under whom they remained for a short while. The Simelane subsequently came under the rule of the Zulu. Shaka permitted them to occupy their old lands, and to accrue to themselves considerable prestige. The Simelane were closely connected to their neighbours, the Ngwane, Khumalo and the Hlubi, and may have claimed a genealogical connection with the latter. Dalisu Simelane described the Simelane as the 'uncultured Ntungwas', possibly a reference to the distance at which they resided from the Zulu capital, and their concomitantly rude country ways. The Simelane only departed for Swaziland after their chief Magutshwa kaLuthuli was killed either later in the reign of Shaka, or by Dingane.[125] Little is known about the early history of the Matse, another Swazi clan which claimed to be amantungwa, beyond that they, like the Simelane, were incorporated into the Zulu kingdom by Shaka and subsequently moved northwards, into Swaziland.[126]

The early history of another Swazi group described as amantungwa, the Maseko, constitutes rather more of a problem. It was claimed by a single source, Bryant, that the Maseko were 'Ntungwa-Nguni'.[127] The only confirmation which this receives is an isolated reference in the testimony of a Maseko informant, given in 1970, to the effect that his ancestors arrived in Swaziland 'hidden in a grass-made grain storage tank', presumably the isilulu conventionally associated with the amantungwa identity.[128] Against this, it was strongly asserted that the Maseko were the original inhabitants of Swaziland, that they were Sotho in origin, and the fact that none of their izithakazelo (Swazi: tinanatelo) connected with the known izithakazelo of other amantungwa groups.[129] The root of the confusion seems to lie in unsatisfactorily explained connections claimed between

the Simelane and the Maseko. Both groups attested to the relationship, but the Maseko claimed that the Simelane were, like themsleves, original inhabitants of Swaziland, a point denied by the Simelane account of their later settlement of the area. Further research is required to account for this tension in their respective claims this would presumably also account for the isolated reference to the Maseko being amantungwa, against substantial evidence that they were not even Nguni-speakers.

With the exception of the problematic Maseko, the Swazi clans which were credited with being amantungwa, were thus all upland groups incorporated by Shaka early in his reign, either prior to, or immediately after, his defeat of the Ndwandwe. Indeed, it would seem that this applies to the remaining names on the list - all of which are the clans or sections of the clans whose incorporation was discussed in detail in the first section of this chapter. Two apparent exceptions to this claim were the Hlubi and Ngwane, both of whom are probably best known for their dramatic departures from the Zulu kingdom, and their involvement in the upheavals of the so-called Mfecane.

Around c.1819-1820, the Hlubi chiefdom under Mehlmkhulu in the north-west of Zululand came under attack from the neighbouring Ngwane under their chief, Matiwane. The Hlubi chiefdom disintegrated and the various fragments flew off in different directions. The bulk of the Hlubi appear to have fled across the Drakensberg, but one section remained behind, and submitted to the Zulu king. These Hlubi were butha'd together, and named the iziYendane, after their especially Hlubi characteristic of wearing their hair dangling in twisted tails. Hlubi izinduna were appointed from their ranks, and the iziYendane

were encouraged to identify closely with the new Zulu kingdom of which they were becoming a part.[130] However, the Hlubi proved to be contumacious subjects and appear to have occupied a precarious position within the kingdom.

According to Wright and Manson, another Hlubi remnant came to be incorporated into the Zulu kingdom on its return from the west, and was permitted to continue occupying the area around the Mzinyathi river, the original Hlubi lands. This section of the Hlubi appears to have had little or no significance in the history of the emerging Zulu state.[131] The different status of the two Hlubi sections under the Zulu is reflected in fundamental contradictions in the accounts of Hlubi origins. On the one hand, the primary source on Hlubi origins, Mabonsa kaSidlayi, claimed that the Hlubi originated in the east, in the Lubombo mountains and were related to the Swazi. Mabonsa likewise asserted very strongly that the Hlubi were not amantungwa, nor Nguni, and pointed to the differences between Hlubi dress styles, and dialect, compared to those of the Zulu.[132]

Other informants claim that the Hlubi were amantungwa, noting that they spoke the same dialect as the Khumalo and shared Khumalo and Mabaso cultural features, like refusing to eat amasi (soured milk).[133] Explanation of these contradictory claims comes from the testimony of the informant Mbovu. Mbovu notes that it was the iziYendane who were known as amantungwa, while those Hlubi who were not incorporated into the Zulu army were not considered to be amantungwa.[134] Mabonsa, the informant who denied vehemently that the Hlubi were amantungwa, had no connections with the iziYendane, but had been raised together with Langalibalele outside the Zulu kingdom. It would seem that Mbovu's contention

was borne out.[135] The Hlubi who submitted to Shaka claimed to be amantungwa, and those who departed from the Zulu kingdom did not, despite the fact that they were of one clan, and had, in pre-Shakan times all belonged to the same chiefdom.

The evidence on the origins of the Ngwane demonstrates a similar pattern of anomalies. On the one hand, it was claimed that the Ngwane had a strong historical connection with the Swazi, a connection supported by the number of names which the Ngwane chiefly genealogy had in common with the royal Swazi genealogy, by the significant number of clan names common to both chiefdoms, and by the evidence that a clan such as the Mdluli, which was of important ritual significance to the Swazi, enjoyed a similar status amongst the Ngwane.[136] On the other hand, it was strongly asserted that the Ngwane were amantungwa.[137]

The starkly contradictory quality of this evidence can be understood in terms of the specific history of the Ngwane, and their relations with the Zulu state over time. The Ngwane were one of the groups which were attacked by Shaka on behalf of the Mthethwa, and who became Mthethwa tributaries. According to Bryant, pressure on the Ngwane from their Ndwandwe neighbours and the looming presence of the Zulu eventually forced the Ngwane to move to the Drakensberg, into the vicinity of Champagne Castle. Then Shaka invaded Natal, and the Zulu army drove many of the Ngwane westwards, across the Drakensberg.[138]

According to the historian Magema Fuze, conflict between the Ngwane and the Zulu was a protracted affair, and one section of the Ngwane, known as the Mpembeni split off from the main group.[139] Amongst the Mpembeni were a section known as the Dladla, who gave their

allegiance to Shaka, and became renowned as the foremost amongst Shaka's rain makers.[140] Some sections of the Ngwane moved down towards the coast, and others, under a member of the Ngwane royal house, khonza'd Shaka. According to Fuze, Shaka wanted to see as many of the Ngwane as possible remain and settle down under Zulu rule.[141]

As was the case with the Hlubi, it was those Ngwane who remained behind and gave their allegiance to Shaka who appear to have been known as the amantungwa, while those who departed were the ones who stressed a common origin with the Swazi, and their 'Mbo-ness'. Amongst the Ngwane however, the sharpness of this dichotomy is complicated by the subsequent return to Zululand following the assassination of Shaka of those Ngwane who had left with Matiwane. Initially, this group was well received, and was permitted to settle in the old Ngwane lands. However, as Matiwane began to recoup some of his former power, regrouping the scattered Ngwane fragments, he attracted adverse attention and before long, he and many other Ngwane were brutally executed by Dingane. A large number of Ngwane then joined the Thembu chief in flight across Natal. Another section fled with Matiwane's heir to seek shelter amongst the Swazi. Their sojourn in the north was brief, for they were confronted there with a plot to kill the young heir, and they were forced to return to Zululand, finally to settle in Natal, under the Drakensberg.[142] Thus, one section of the Ngwane never experienced Zulu rule, another did so for only a short while, and still others became fully integrated Zulu subjects.

Msebenzi, the chief Ngwane informant, was the son of Macingwane kaMatiwane, the Ngwane regent after the death of Matiwane. It seems that Msebenzi belonged

therefore to the section of the Ngwane who had only a brief experience of the Zulu; Msebenzi was, moreover, trained as the historian of the Ngwane, and his accounts can be assumed to reflect prevailing subtleties of the history of the Ngwane people. Significantly, his extensive history of the Ngwane avoids the question of their origins.[143] In addition, his account reflects the tension between the section of the Ngwane who had originally left Zululand under Matiwane, and the section which remained behind - a point also evident from the praises of the Ngwane chief Matiwane and confirmed by other sources. The praises of Matiwane contained in Msebenzi's account are particularly interesting for the fact that the Zululand to which Matiwane returned is described as 'ebuNtungwa', translated as 'Ntungwaland'. It thus seems that the Ngwane who fled Zululand early in the reign of Shaka did not consider themselves to be amantungwa, whereas those Ngwane who remained behind and khonza'd Shaka did.[144]

The traditions of origin of the Buthelezi provide a further example of the connection between claims to be amantungwa and assimilation into the Zulu kingdom. Of all the non-Zulu clans within the nation, the Buthelezi were, and still are, the closest to the Zulu monarchy. The Buthelezi were considered to be amantungwa, but it was also claimed that they were connected to the 'Mbo-Nguni'. Moreover, those Buthelezi who were not close to the Zulu monarchy, i.e. the Buthelezi refugees in Natal who had fled from Shaka, were designated 'Lala', a term closely associated with the 'Mbo-Nguni' identity.[145] As with the Hlubi and Ngwane, it seems that it was those Buthelezi who were directly incorporated under Shaka that claimed to be amantungwa, while those sections which left the Zulu kingdom claimed other origins. The term amantungwa seems therefore to refer to a specific form of incorporation under Shaka, rather than to pre-Shakan

origins. This, together with the pattern of contradictions identified in the relevant origin traditions suggests that there was little historical basis to the claims of a common origin as amantungwa.

The way in which these claims of connection were formed through the appropriation of izithakazelo has been noted, but the question which remains is as to how new claims of origin (as amantungwa from the north) were reconciled, as rapidly as they evidently were, with pre-existing and highly disparate origin claims?

One way in which this was achieved was through the connection between the amantungwa identity, and the tradition to which all the amantungwa adhered, of having originated up-country in a grain basket. A number of versions of the grain basket (isilulu) tradition exist, most typically stating that

> That the amaNtungwa are said to have come down in a grain basket (isilulu), by means of a grain basket (ngesilulu).[146]

but the informants who attested to this were themselves *puzzled by its exact meaning. One informant* suggested that

> This means that they came floating down the river in this silulu. (The silulu seems to have been made of skins sewn together ...)[147]

whilst informants interviewed more recently simply repeated the story and evinced amusement at the imagery.[148]

In order to interpret this tradition, it is useful to examine a version of the tradition which is rather different from the standard account. Mangati, a Bhele informant, related to Stuart that the Bheles were

> blood relations of the Basutu. Our place of origin is eLenge. Our great-grandfathers, the grandfathers of Ndlela, came down into the Zulu country by means of a grain basket. The grain basket rolled from eLenge (Job's Kop) with them inside it. There were people inside it. A piece

> of fat appeared in the basket at the place where they were living. The person with the piece of fat ran away to the Zulu country. They followed him and so came to the Zulu country, travelling by means of a grain basket. They arrived in the Zulu country, at a time when the house of the Zulu was still small and had not yet increased in size ... We amaBele are amaNtungwa. These originated upcountry.[149]

In this version, the isilulu tradition is used in a unique manner, to explain the early history of a single group, the Bhele, whereas in the other instances of its occurence, it is used typically to describe the origins of a number of groups. The chief feature of the Bhele version is the use of the isilulu as the vehicle of explanation for the entry of the Bhele into the Zulu orbit. This suggests that the tradition functioned as a device of association, indicating the way in which the Bhele and the Zulu came to be connected.

In the versions of the isilulu tradition which refer to the origins of a number of groups, the isilulu metaphor refers to a number of such groups once having been together (within the isilulu) journeying together (rolling down from the north), coming to rest, and then dispersing, like so many granules of grain. Early izilulu were distinguished by their rounded shape, narrow openings, the closeness of their weave, being sturdy yet flexible.[150] They were thus an appropriate sort of symbol for the movement of peoples across difficult terrain.

A significant comment made by two of Stuart's informants was that the tradition only ever referred to there being a single isilulu.[151] This suggests that the isilulu tradition was the means by which a common origin (in a single basket) was suggested, for a number of very separate groups (the grain inside). The type of common origin thus suggested would have been very

different from that which was asserted through the tradition that lineages were connected as were the offshoots of the reed which had stooled independently from a central reed which was typical of the lowland or zansi people.[152] Whereas the latter type of tradition implied that one reed was begotten of another, the isilulu tradition conveyed a sense of there being many separate entities contained together within the basket, rolling and tumbling against one another, and eventually dispersing, yet with that experience in common, and having had that contact with, and exposure to, each other. The association was thus one based on shared experience, history in common, a common direction of origin and a common region of subsequent settlement, rather than the creation of genealogically traceable connections. The tradition may also have referred specifically to the movement of the uplanders into the lowland, so as to facilitate the cultivation of grain, the symbol of the isilulu having the double meaning of movement of grain cultivation into the lowlands, and the ideas of the association of disparate elements, and a shape conducive to movement. As Madikane noted,

> ... they rolled from the north to the south where the country is wide and there settled, just as a grain basket rolled down a hill eventually rolls onto the flats below and its contents empty themselves there.[153]

Whereas the Nguni designation stressed the antiquity of occupation of a region by that group, the amantungwa-associated isilulu tradition was concerned to emphasise notions of movement, of expansion, settlement and colonization, and entry into new contexts and milieus,

> ... they spoke of themselves as having come down in a grain basket meaning that as compared with the other inhabitants they were not aboriginals or ancient occupants but had come from the north.[154]

The connotations of the term amantungwa itself are more difficult to elucidate. Like that of Nguni, it seems to have been appropriated by the Zulu rulers from a recalcitrant subject group. It was modified by the rulers to become a term suggestive of common origin, and was extended in its application to a much wider constituency, that of the chiefdoms first incorporated by the Zulu kingdom. Together with the isilulu tradition, this served to connect all of these disparate groups, conveying a sense of common origin and identity, and which distinguished the amantungwa from the rest of Zulu society who were not considered to be amantungwa.

The name amantungwa, unlike that of Nguni, 'Mbo' or 'Lala' has no echoes in European records prior to 1824. It may have had pre-Shakan resonances which have not survived, for it may have been a term geographically specific to the uplands, i.e. the interior of south-east Africa, into which the first Europeans only ventured much later than was the case with the coastal Nguni, 'Mbo' and 'Lala'. However, the origins of the term are suggested by the correspondence which exists between the distribution of the groups who claimed to be amantungwa as shown on the map on page 251, and the distribution of a distinctive grass type, Hyparrhenia Hirta, known in Zulu as inTunga grass. Typically found at low to mid-altitudes in the upland regions, inTunga is an important veld component, being particularly useful for grazing in early summer, and when it occurs in conjunction with Themeda Triandra (Z. iNsinde), as is common, it provides a 'valuable mixed veld acceptable to animals for about 8 months of the year'.[155] inTunga is also an important thatching grass, and it should be noted that the large grain izilulu were typically made of such thatching grass.[156] Certainly, Stuart's informant, Ndambi kaSikakana understood this to be the

origin of the name. Describing the Mkhumbane valley, the heart of the new Zulu kingdom, he commented,

> Insinde and intungwa grass is to be found there. Ntungwa grass is used to weave the mats used for thatching huts.
>
> I have asked the amaNtungwa people the origin of their name, and they said that it originates from the intungwa grass (entungweni yo tshani). This grass will stick in clothes and prick one. That is, the name arose from the grass used for thatching huts. Grain baskets (izilulu) were also made of intungwa grass.[157]

The intunga grass is characteristic of the upland veld region, particularly in late summer when it grows especially high and is tufted. It may well be that it was drawn on as a dominant symbolic feature for a rough association between the upland chiefdoms, an association which was further invested with connotations of common origin, by means of the isilulu tradition. The roughness of the claimed association was probably a consequence of the expediency and the haste under which the Zulu kingdom was first assembled, but at the same time, the very looseness of the connection was the greatest strength of these claims, for it made them near impossible to challenge on historical grounds.

Discussion of the historical origins of the groups who claimed to be amantungwa demonstrates that their assertions of a common origin were inherently contradictory, in a manner which strongly suggests that the claim of a common origin as amantungwa was imposed over a variety of other disparate origins. It was further suggested that the term amantungwa was originally a specifically Khumalo appellation, which was subsequently extended to a wider group of chiefdoms. The special circumstances surrounding its appropriation were illuminated through comparison with the occurrence of similar processes amongst the Qwabe. It was suggested that these processes

were probably characteristic of the extension of the rule of one group over another, where the ideological mechanisms employed were shaped by the nature of the resistance encountered.

These circumstances arose in the cases of both Qwabe and *Khumalo incorporation into the Zulu kingdom.* The thesis that the amantungwa identity was extended to a wider group of chiefdoms in the reign of Shaka was suggested by statements to that effect made by Stuart's informants, and by claims that the associated isilulu tradition sprang up at that time.[158] By means of a lengthy survey of the history of incorporation under Shaka of all groups designated amantungwa, these claims have been confirmed. The survey indicates a close connection between being amantungwa and incorporation into the Zulu kingdom early in the reign of Shaka. *Negative confirmation comes from the evidence that* groups related to the amantungwa who resisted incorporation eschewed the amantungwa identity. It seems therefore that the reign of Shaka saw the manipulation of the category 'ntungwa' notably in its extension to refer to a number of the chiefdoms of the Zulu kingdom, as well as to the Zulu clan itself.

The chief effect of this intervention lay in the unity and distinctiveness conferred on the groups concerned, in a form that was both credible and difficult to challenge on historical grounds. It was a unity which had reference to typically ethnic criteria - vague notions of a common origin and a shared history, common cultural and linguistic features, and a broad territorial affiliation. The distinctiveness conferred by the amantungwa identity functioned to distinguish the amantungwa from the rest of Zulu society.

The proposition will be advanced that it was the amantungwa who came to constitute the ruling echelon of Zulu society, and that members of the amantungwa lineages exerted a monopoly over access to privilege and appointment to high office. 'Ntungwa' origins would have been used as the criteria in the limitation in the preservation of this monopoly and as the basis of its legitimation.[159]

The demonstration and substantiation of amantungwa monopolization of privilege is complicated by the fragmentary nature of the available evidence, and attendant problems of its quantification. Two slightly different methods will be used. In the following chapter, the names of all known office holders within the army are listed and located according to their izibongo. This serves to indicate the extent to which high office within the Zulu army was filled by the amantungwa. However, a number of army officers also held office outside of the military establishment. Likewise, the names of many important figures occur in the oral record, about whom there are no references to an army rank, but whose prestige and power is attested to. The final section of this chapter will endeavour to give a sense of the status enjoyed by amantungwa outside of the army beyond that already discussed in the first section of this chapter. Further corroboration concerning the privileged position of the amantungwa can be gained by reversing the hypothesis, and examining the incidence of army officers, and extra-army office holders amongst the 'non-ntungwa'.

The charts on pp. 390-92, list all the known army officers of Shaka's reign. Although their discussion here anticipates the analysis advanced in chapter six, it should be noted that they suggest that of the thirty-six officers about whom data survives, twenty-two were amantungwa. Of the remaining fourteen, twelve

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were 'refugees' in the Zulu kingdom, whose status was quite special and different from that of Zulu subjects within the incorporated chiefdoms, and two were of the clan of the queen mother, whose status was also exceptional. There were no officers drawn from the commoner clans.

The oral traditions typically credit almost all men of importance with being 'heroes' in battle. Conversely, there are few if any accounts that describe 'non-ntungwa' as valorous. The amantungwa notables were also typically credited with having the power to pass the death sentence without consulting Shaka, and the freedom to rebuke the king.[160]

Thus it was said of the Mbatha, one of the amantungwa groups, that they provided the core of the fighting izinduna of the army.[161] The Mbatha also occupied important positions outside of the army. One of the most preeminent members of the Mbatha was Manyosi kaDlekezele, who held high office in Shaka's domestic establishment as well as being induna of esiKlebheni. He was greatly favoured by Shaka, as was another famous Mbatha, the chief Dilikana kaHlakanyana, who rose to become one of the most powerful figures in all Zululand.[162]

Another leading figure in Zululand who held office both within and outside of the army was Ngqengelele kaMvulane, of the Buthelezi. Under Shaka, the Buthelezi as a whole rose to a position of preeminence, but those Buthelezi who had defected to the Zulu before the Buthelezi were defeated by the Zulu, found themselves in the forefront of the Zulu king's favour. Chief amongst their ranks was Ngqengelele, a member of the Buthelezi chiefly house, who had early on thrown in his lot with the Zulu. Ngqengelele rose slowly through the ranks of the Zulu. 'He was at first literally a

hewer of wood and a drawer of water to Tshaka's people, also a nurse',[163] within the royal household. He was subsequently appointed inceku to the Zulu king, and later intsila responsible for the well-being of the king.[164] He then became head induna at esiKlebheni, and was appointed to the Buthelezi chieftaincy. He eventually controlled the whole area from Mhlabathini to the Phongola.[165] Baleka, one of Stuart's informants, described him as 'a prominent figure who commanded the attention of the whole nation; when he spoke, no-one else would speak, only the king would speak.'[166] Following Ngqengelele, numerous other Buthelezi gained high office.[167]

Sotobe kaMpangala of the Sibiya was another of the kingdom's foremost political figures. He was best known for having led the Zulu embassy to the Cape in 1828. When questioned there on his status within the Zulu kingdom, he observed that it was only the king 'and two or three of his principal chiefs' who were allowed to wear the bunch of red feathers which he sported.[168] His special brief was care of the royal cattle, vast numbers of which were pastured at posts under his command. Sotobe was especially trusted and favoured by Shaka and under him governed the inland Thukela region. Under Dingane, Sotobe became the principal chief south of the Thukela.[169] Another Sibiya who occupied high office was Langazana kaGubetshe, a wife of the late king Senzangakhona. The details of her position are discussed at length in chapter seven.[170]

Of the Mabaso, information survives about one figure, the famous spy Nongila. Nongila was in charge of Zulu intelligence. His son, Jantshi commented that he enjoyed such status that people thought that he must be a member of the royal family. Amongst their relatives, the Khumalo, Mzilikazi was probably the best known of

Shaka's appointees.[171] Sidinanda kaManzini, chief of the Zungu, was probably the best known of the Zungu notables, but the names of many others who achieved prominence survive in the oral record. Under later kings too, the Zungu were favoured. Many became royal officers, either izinduna or izinceku.[172]

The Nzuza were renowned under Shaka as izinyanga ('doctors'), because of their possession of specialist skills. It was the Nzuza who contributed the important 'medicines of power', the intelezi (a prophylactic against misfortune and lightning, and crucial in the preparation of the army for war), ikathazo (a malaria preventative) and indungula (a general protective), and it was the Nzuza who were entrusted with their administration.[173] Mqalane kaNongweni of the Nzuza, was the foremost of all Shaka's izinyanga, and is credited in the oral record with having caused the Zulu to triumph in battle over their most powerful enemies, a fame shared by the other renowned Nzuza, Nondumo and Mbeleko. The Nzuza were also remembered as being amongst the most doughty of all Shaka's warriors, Maqoboza and Nozitshada being two of their greatest heroes.[174]

The only men to occupy positions of power inside the Zulu kingdom, who were not amantungwa, were those who did so by virtue of their positions within their own chiefdoms, such as Zihlandlo, chief of the Mbo, and Magaye, chief of the Cele. Although Zihlandlo was a chief in his own right, it was noted that when at the Zulu capital, his status was diminished. The case of Magaye is considered at greater length in chapter eight; suffice to note here that it was constantly reiterated that he owed his position to nothing more than the favour of the Zulu king.[175] While amantungwa who were not chiefs occupied positions of status, both within

and outside of the army, there seem to be few, if any records of 'non-ntungwa' who were not chiefs occupying such positions. Similarly, the traditions record a predominance of prominent amantungwa being permitted to contract marriages with women of the king's izigodlo.[176]

Conclusion

It has been argued that the survey of the origin traditions of the groups incorporated in the first phase of Zulu expansion suggests that assumptions about the historical immutability of their identity as amantungwa are both unwarranted and have obscured key processes of social and political change within the Zulu kingdom. Rather, it has been argued, the amantungwa identity should be seen primarily as being a product of the emergence of the Zulu state. In the early years of the Zulu state, the amantungwa identity was probably not yet fully articulated as the basis for the cohesion of the lineages of the young state. Ideas about their common origin were probably bouncing off the existing traditions of genesis of the individual lineages in an unsystematic fashion. At that time, the primary cohesive force would have arisen out of the need for concerted action by a number of disparate lineages against the Ndwandwe. At the same time, the reformed amabutho system, through a variety of means (discussed at length in the next chapter) facilitated the emergence of a national unity as the loyalties of the men of numerous, disparate lineages were refocused on the person of the Zulu king, and the ascendancy of the Zulu royal house was constantly affirmed.

Once the Ndwandwe threat had fallen away, and as the Zulu kingdom expanded and prospered, the 'era of primitive accumulation passed', and the core group of amantungwa lineages became sufficiently numerous to extract tribute and military support from new subjects, without

sharing the full privileges of citizenship. This saw the Zulu kingdom move in Bonner's terms, into the second phase of its development.[177] The sharper focus of the amantungwa identity can be traced to a particular phase in the development of pre-capitalist systems. In this phase, the amantungwa identity would have gained in significance as it came to be the means whereby the privileged in Zulu society were distinguished from those without privilege, and the means whereby that distinction was legitimated.

Connected in terms of the amantungwa identity, this group of otherwise unrelated lineages came to occupy a particular position in the relations of production and surplus extraction in the Zulu kingdom. The discussion in the following chapters, on the amabutho, the position of the amantungwa in the amabutho and their position vis-a-vis the rest of Zulu society will extend this analysis to indicate a coincidence of the processes of ethnic differentiation and of class formation.

Claims to be amantungwa[178]	Name of 'parent-clan'[179]	Denials of the amantungwa identity[180]
Bhaca[181]	Zulu[182]	
Bhele[183]	Bhele	Bhele[184]
Bisini[185]	Khumalo[186]	
Bomvu[187]	Ngwane[188]	
Buthelezi[189]	Buthelezi	
Cebekhulu[190]	Ngwane[191]	
Chunu[192]	Chunu	
Cube[193]	Cube	
Dletsheni[194]	Khumalo[195]	
Dlamini[196]	Ngwane[197]	
Gogo[198]	Khumalo[199]	
Gwabini[200]	Zungu[201]	
Hlubi[202]	*Hlubi*	*Hlubi*[203]
Khanyile[204]	Chunu[205]	
Khoza[206]	Qwabe, Qwabe?[207]	
Khumalo[208]	Khumalo	
Langa[209]	Mbo	
Mabaso[211]	Mabaso	
Magubane[212]	*Unknown*	
Manzi[213]	Qwabe[214]	
Maseko[215]	Maseko	
'Mate'[216]	*Matse*	
Mazibuko[217]	Mbatha[218]	
Mgabi[219]	Khumalo[220]	
Mlambo[221]	*Unknown*	
Mpondo[222]	Mpondo	Mpondo[223]
Mpungose[224]	Zungu[225]	
Mtiyane[226]	Sithole[227]	
Myeni[228]	Mabaso, Chunu(?)[229]	
Ncube[230]	Khumalo[231]	
Ndhlovu[232]	*Zungu, Chunu(?)*[233]	
Ndwandwe[234]	Ndwandwe	Ndwandwe[235]
Ngadi[236]	Qwabe[237]	
Ngwane[238]	*Ngwane*	Ngwane[239]
Ngwe[240]	Ngwe(?)[241]	Ngwe[242]

Claims to be amantungwa	Name of 'parent-clan'	Denials of the amantungwa identity
Nkabini[243]	Khumalo[244]	
Ntsele[245]	Khumalo[246]	
Nthuli[247]	Bhele[248]	
Nyawo[249]	Sibiya[250]	
Nzuza[251]	Nzuza	
Qungebeni[252]	Qungebeni[253]	
Qwabe[254]	Qwabe[255]	
Sibiya[256]	Sibiya	
Simelane[257]	Simelane	
Sithole[258]	Sithole	
'Tabete'[259]	Thabedze	
Thembu[260]	Thembu	
Wushe[261]	Bhaca(Zulu)[262]	
Xhosa[263]	Xhosa	Xhosa[264]
Zelemu[265]	Bhaca (Zulu)[266]	
Zondo[267]	Ngwane [268]	Ngwane[269]
Zulu[270]	Zulu	
Zungu[271]	Zungu	

1. To originate in, or by means of, a grain basket.

2. See above, p. 137.

3. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 174-75.

4. See above, pp.

5. The Sibiya were described as being amongst the 'first people' attacked by Shaka, as were the Zungu and Thembu. It is likely that Sibiya who lay between the Zulu and the Zungu were the object of Shaka's attention before the Zungu. (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 27, also see position of the Sibiya on enclosed map; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 256, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 81, evidence of Melapi, Maziyana, Socwatsha; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 109, evidence of Mgidhlana.)

6. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 27; Fuze, The Black People, p. 13.

7. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 25, 176, also see position of the Zungu on enclosed map. Bryant gives the pre-Shakan location of the Mpungose as south-west of the Zulu core area, but Guy, Destruction, pp. 32-4, says that the Mpungose spread from the White Mfolozi across the Mhlathuze in Shaka's time. Guy's sources are, unfortunately, not cited directly, but the location which he gives fits best with the Zungu traditions concerning pre-conquest Zungu history which stress the notion of the Zungu as sandwiched between the Zulu and Ndwandwe. Guy's location is also borne out by Zungu claims to have originated 'at Mahlabatini', i.e. the heart of the area described

by Guy. The mountain called the Ncwana suggests that the Zungu territory stretched at least as far to the north-west as its situation, for Ncwana was the name of the Zungu founding ancestor; Fuze, The Black People, p. 22; H.P. Braatvedt, Roaming Zululand with a Native Commissioner, Pietermaritzburg, 1949, p.3; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 104, evidence of Magojela; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 81, evidence of Dinya in Melapi's testimony.

8. Based on Hall, 'The ecology of the Iron Age', chapter 8.

9. On the localized environmental crisis experienced in the Mkhumbane valley, see below pp. 354-55.

10. J.J. Guy, 'Some Aspects of the History of the Zulu Kingdom', paper presented to the History Workshop, Gaborone, Botswana, 1973, p. 7.

11. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 176-77,216, 218; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 104, evidence of Magojela. Magojela, a grandson of the Zungu chief Manzini, argued that Shaka, threatened by the prowess of the Zungu army, killed Manzini outright. However, Manzini was only killed in 1827, some years after the Zungu were incorporated by the Zulu (See note 13 below).

12. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 176-77.

13. Ibid., p. 219; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 104, evidence of Magojela.

14. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 218-19.

15. Ibid., p. 177; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 21, evidence of Baleni.

16. Ibid., pp.21-2.

17. Ibid., pp. 22, 29; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 105, evidence of Magojela; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 176, 219, 684, 697; Fuze, The Black People, p. 22.

18. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 242-48; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 37, 57, 61, evidence of Mbovu. Like the Sibiya and the Zungu, the Thembu were described by informants as being amongst the earliest objects of Zulu attention. The political coherence achieved by the Thembu in the period between their displacement following Shaka's attack on the Buthelezi, and their flight under Ngoza suggests that a development period of some length had elapsed. It seems likely therefore that Zulu expansion to the south-west occurred after that in the areas immediately surrounding the Zulu chiefdom.

19. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 242-48; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 282, evidence of Luguba; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 297-98, evidence of Lunguza.

20. These appear to have included the Khuze, 'Nhlangwini', Baleni, Caluza, Conci, Magosa, Mapanga, Mkulisa, Ncadi, Mvelase, Ngxongo, Nyawose, Sokela, Sosibo, Tinta and Qunta. (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 242-48, 681-97; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 290, evidence of Lugubu.).

21. Ibid., pp. 281, 282; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 249.

22. Ibid., pp. 246-53; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 281, 282, evidence of Lugubu; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 61, notebook 37, pp. 5-7.

Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 221, 226, 253, 259; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 292, evidence of Lugubu; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane; K.C., Essay Competition, 1950, 'Mankayiyana' by Theunissen A. Mbata, pp. 6-8.

24. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 250-52; Fuze, The Black People, p. 21; K.C., Essery Papers, page marked C.N.C. 1724.09, 'The Sitoles', by G.V. Essery, 1922, at Helpmekaar, see appended genealogical tree; K.C., Essery Papers, correspondence, Essery to C. Faye, Helpmekaar, 29 Nov. 1922; Bird, The Annals of Natal, Vol. 1, p. 144.

25. K.C., Essery Papers, correspondence, Essery to Faye, Helpmekaar, 29 Nov. 1922; K.C., Essery Papers, 'The Sitoles'.

26. Ibid.

27. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 251, 696.

28. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 301, evidence of Lunguza.

29. K.C., Essery Papers, KCM 2429, articles on 'Zulu Tribes', by A.T. Bryant, collected by G.V. Essery, Vol. 2. Also see Essery Papers at Riet Valley, Mhlali, correspondence Bryant to Essery (n.d.). Also note the close correspondence between the evidence given to Essery by Njobo Ngubane, at Helpmekaar, 4 Dec. 1924 (K.C., Essery Papers) and Bryant, Olden Times, p. 259.

30. See note 24 above.

31. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 259; K.C., Essery Papers, statement by Njobo Ngubane.

32. K.C., Essery Papers, correspondence, Essery to Faye, 29 Nov. 1922; 'Sitole Genealogy' and statement by Njobo Ngubane; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 301, 335, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 61, evidence of Madikane; Fuze, The Black People, p. 21; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 259.

33. K.C., Essery Papers, correspondence, Essery to Faye, 29 Nov. 1922.

34. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 314, 330, 331, evidence of Lunguza.

35. K.C., Essery Papers, 'The Sitoles', p.2.

36. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 326, 345, evidence of Lunguza.

37. Ibid., pp. 314, 332; K.C., Essery Papers, 'The Sitoles', and correspondence, Essery to Faye, 29 Nov. 1922.

38. K.C., Essery Papers, statement by Njobo Ngubane; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 302, 308, evidence of Lunguza.

39. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 49, 243, 417-18,685; Fuze, The Black People, p. 18; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 174, 175, 176, 201, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 45, evidence of Madhlebe; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 97, evidence of Magidigidi.

40. See note 8 above.

41. K.C., Essery Papers, correspondence, Essery to Faye, 29 Nov. 1922; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 321, 322, 324, 325, evidence of Lunguza: also see T.V. Bulpin's remarks, in Shaka's Country, 1952, London and Cape Town, p. 66.

42. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane; also see J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 322, evidence of Lunguza.

43. Ibid., pp. 318, 324, 330.

44. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 56, 262, 270, also see the position of the Chunu on the enclosed map; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 5, evidence of Baleka.

45. These included the Khanyile, Ndlovu, Ndlela, Majola, Mcumane, Ndawonde, Ximba, Hlela, Congco, Manyoni, Malembe and Ngqulanga. (Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 262-65; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 89, 90, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 255, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 39, evidence of Mbovu.)

46. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 146, 262-65; Fuze, The Black People, p. 15.

47. Ibid., p. 52; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 264; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 57, notebook 2, evidence of Mqaikana.

48. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 262.

49. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 85, evidence of Magidigidi.

50. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 267, 270, 271; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp.285, 288, evidence of Lugubu; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 304, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol.2, pp. 83, 91, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 296, evidence of Maziyana; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 57, notebook 2, evidence of Mqaikana.

51. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 9, item 12; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 322, evidence of Mpatshana.

52. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 57, notebook 2, p. 14, evidence of Mqaikana; also see K.C., Stuart Papers, file 9, item 12; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 41, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 84, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 213, evidence of Socwatsha, in the testimony of Mkehlengana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 234, evidence of Mlokotwa.

53. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 74, p. 7, evidence of Ndukwana.

54. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 85, evidence of Magidigidi.

55. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 77, evidence of Mageza; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 271, evidence of Mmemi.

56. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 322, evidence of Mpatshana.

57. Bryant, History, p. 35; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 58, 347; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 24, evidence of Mabonsa; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 56, evidence of Mcotoyi; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 57, notebook 2, evidence of Mqaikana.

58. K.C., Essay Competition, 1950, 'The Ntuli Tribe', by David A. Yende.

59. K.C., Essay Competition, 1942, 'Tribal History - Ngwanes, Beles, Chunus, etc.', by Mrs. Andrina; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 154, 347-49; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 251, evidence of Mayinga.

60. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 52, 202; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 199, 202, evidence of Mangati.

61. Stuart, uKulumetule, chapter 2, and p. 35 especially; also see Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 52, 202; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 206, evidence of Mangati.

62. Ibid., pp. 199, 213; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 58-9.

63. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 207, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 106, evidence of Mgidhlana.

64. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 209, evidence of Mangati.

65. K.C., Essay Competition, 1950, 'Ukudabuka kwesizwe sakwaNtuli', by T.S. Dube; essay by Yende; essay by Mrs. Andrina.

66. K.C., Essay Competition, essay by Yende, p. 8; also see K.C., Essay Competition, 1942, 'Some Historical Records of Places', by S.N. Mbhele, pp. 5-6; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 202, evidence of Mangati.

67. K.C., Essay Competition, essay by Mbhele, p. 9; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 208, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 230-31, evidence of Maputwana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 152, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 261, evidence of Mmemi; also see note 62 above.

68. K.C., Essay Competition, essay by Yende, p. 8.

69. Fynn, Diary, pp. 128-29; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 418-20; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 183, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 25, evidence of Mabonsa.

70. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 183, evidence of Jantshi; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 102, 172, 566.

71. Ibid., pp. 595-97; Fynn, Diary, pp. 20-1, 128, 130; Isaacs, Travels, pp. 88, 91-3.

72. Fuze, The Black People, pp. 2, 22; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 422; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 307, evidence of Lunguza.

73. For Zulu incorporation of the Qungebeni, Buthelezi and Langeni, see pp. 135-36 above.

74. On Bonner's two phase model see Kings, chapter three; on the bemdzabuko, see H. Kuper, An African Aristocracy, London, 1947, pp. 13-4.

75. Hamilton and Wright, 'The Making of the Lala', p. 8.

76. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 3-9.

77. Wright, 'The invention of the Nguni', p. 7.

78. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 11.

79. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 6-8.

80. On the 'Lala', see below, pp. 478-79.

81. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 118, evidence of Dinya;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 6, evidence of Mbokodo;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 31, 42, evidence of Mbovu;
Bryant, Olden Times, p. 403.

82. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 129, evidence of Mahaya; also see J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 19, evidence of Mbokodo.

83. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 216, evidence of Mahaya;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 274, evidence of Maziyana.

84. Bird, Annals, Vol. 1, pp. 41, 47.

85. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 288.

86. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 118, evidence of Dinya;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 129, evidence of Mahaya;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 6, evidence of Mbokodo;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 29, 31, 38, 42, 44, 45, evidence of Mbovu;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 57, evidence of Mcotoyi;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 134, evidence of Mini;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 225, evidence of Mkotana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 240, evidence of Mmemi.

87. Interview with Lushaba, Manzini, Swaziland, 8.03.83; Interview with Simbimba Ndlela, eTibondzeni, Swaziland, 27.07.83; Interview with Dlamini, kaHhohho, Swaziland, 17.07.83.

88. Wright, 'The invention of the Nguni', pp. 2-5.

89. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 279, evidence of Maziyana.

90. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 748; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 11.

91. G.M. Theal, History of South Africa 1486 - 1872, 5 Vols, London, 1888 - 1900; G.W. Stow, The Native Races of South Africa, London, 1905; J. McKay, The Origin of the Xosas, Zulus and others, Cape Town, 1911.

92. Bryant, Olden Times, p. viii.

93. Ibid., p. 25; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 104, evidence of Magojela. Both sources locate the claims of the Zungu to a close connection with the Zulu in the Malandela tradition, the fundamental contradictions of which were discussed at length in chapter three.

In that tradition, the Zungu people were named as the clanspeople of Nozinja, mother of Qwabe and Zulu. The Zungu also claimed to have originated at Babanango, from whence Malandela himself was said to have come. At the same time, the accounts of Stuart's informants, and of Bryant, contradict these claims of origin. These contradictions take a number of forms, one of which was the claim made by Bryant that the Zungu were also related to the Zizi. This contradicted the connection between the Zulu and the Zungu, because Zizi origins were manifestly different and separate from those of the Zulu. (J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 104, evidence of Magojela; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 255, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 135, evidence of Stephen Mini; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 25, 175, 697).

94. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 126, evidence of Dunjwa; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 290, evidence of Lugubu: J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 129, evidence of Mahaya; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 203, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 246, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 42, evidence of Mbovu.

95. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 355, 681; Bryant, History, pp. 1, 18, 34; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 134-35,evidence of Stephen Mini.

96. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 57, 175; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 211, evidence of Mkehlengana;J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 240, evidence of Mmemi.

97. On palimpsests in oral traditions see Vansina's discussion, 'Comment', p. 320.

98. See above, chapter three.

99. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 83, 84, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 45, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 129, evidence of Mini.

100. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 40, Olden Times, pp. 37, 222, 417-18; K.C., Essay Competition, 1942, 'The Story of Shandu kaNdaba', by S.U. Shandu; essay by Mbatha, J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 175, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 281, 283, 288-89, 290, 291, evidence of Lugubu; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 297, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 97, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 45, evidence of Mbovu.

101. Van Warmelo, Survey, p. 71.

102. Kuper, An African Aristocracy, p. 110.

103. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 694.

104. Ibid., pp. 25, 695.

105. Fuze, The Black People, p. 17; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 25.

106. See above p. 187, and J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 243, evidence of Mmemi.

107. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 221, 682, 684, 685, 686; Van Warmelo, Survey, pp. 26, 27, 29, 31, 32; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 298, evidence of Lunguza, J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 146, evidence of Mkando.

108. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 174, evidence of Jantshi.

109. Interviews conducted in southern Swaziland and northern Zululand, 1983; pers. comm. Henry 'Hlahlamehlo' Dlamini, 1983.

110. Van Warmelo, Survey, p. 71.

111. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 436; also see p. 209.

112. Ibid., p. 436.

113. Bryant, Dictionary, p. 40; Fuze, The Black People, pp. 43, 164 (Eds. n. 3, chapter 20).

114. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, p. 12, 'Historical notes on Zululand', evidence of Socwatsha.

115. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 211, evidence of Mkehlengana.

116. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 12, evidence of Mabonsa; also see, J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 292, evidence of Lugubu.

117. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 264, evidence of J. Kumalo; also see J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 211, evidence of Socwatsha in the testimony of Mkehlengana.

118. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 54, evidence of Madikane; also see J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 12, evidence of Mabonsa.

119. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 692; Kuper, An African Aristocracy, p. 42; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 118, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 354, evidence of Luzipo; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 263, evidence of Mmemi; interview with Dabuluhlanga Nxumalo, at eSikotheni, Swaziland, 17.09.83.

120. Peires, The House of Phalo, particularly p. 13; J.H. Soga, The South-Eastern Bantu, Johannesburg, 1930, p. 6; C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (*eds.*), A Zulu King Speaks, Pietermaritzburg, 1978, p. 2; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 98, evidence of Dinya.

121. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 8, 227, 690.

122. Ibid., p. 696.

123. J.S.M. Matsebula, A History of Swaziland, Cape Town, 1972, p. 9.

124. Interview with Mangembu Thabedze, at Nsingizini, Swaziland, 1.09.83; interview with Thabedze informants at kwaMalinza, Swaziland, 30.9.83.

125. K.C., Essay Competition, 1950, 'The Simelane Tribe', by Dalisu Simelane; Matsebula, History p. 9; interview with Sidlane Simelane, at Ntshaseni, Swaziland, 9.07.83; interview by Bonner with Simelane Simelane and Jozi Simelane at KoNtshingila, Swaziland, 6.05.70 (see in particular answers to questions b, c and x; interview by Bonner with an Nkambule informant at Buseleni, Swaziland, 24.04.70; Sw.A, R.C.S. 115/14, encl. Marwick to Honey, 15.12.16; encl. Dawson to Marwick, 11.12.16; Kuper, An African Aristocracy, p. 59.

126. Interview by Bonner with Mandanda Mthethwa and Mkhabela at Sigodzi, Swaziland, 23.04.70.

127. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 687.

128. Interview by Bonner with Mahlobo Maseko, at Nqabaneni, Swaziland, 19.03.70.

129. Ibid.; J.S.A. Vol. 2, p. 11, evidence of Mabonsa; H. Kuper, The Swazi, Ethnographic Survey of Africa, 1952, see tinanatelo lists, pp. 58-81.

130. J. Wright and A. Manson, The Hlubi Chiefdom in Zululand - Natal, Ladysmith, 1983, pp. 12-14, 17; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 26, evidence of Mabonsa.

131. Wright and Manson, The Hlubi, p. 22.

132. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 147; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 11, 12, 15, 25, 28, evidence of Mabonsa; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 134, evidence of Mini.

133. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 176, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 45, evidence of Madhlebe; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 97, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 277, evidence of Maziyana; Fuze, The Black People, p. 22.

134. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 45, evidence of Mbovu.

135. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 20, evidence of Mabonsa; Wright and Manson, The Hlubi, p. 16.

136. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 134, evidence of Mini; Kuper, An African Aristocracy, pp. 79, 81, 233; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 146; N.J. van Warmelo, A History of Matiwane and the amaNgwane, Dept. of Native Affairs, Ethnological Publication, Vol. VII, p. 10, and chapters 23 and 24, where Msebenzi does not list 'Mntungwa' as one of the Ngwane izithakazelo.

137. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 692, lists 'Mntungwa' as an Ngwane isithakazelo. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 281, evidence of Lugubu; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 203, evidence of Mangati.

138. Van Warmelo, Matiwane, chapter 1; Fuze, The Black People, p. 318; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 136, 137, 139.

139. Ibid., p. 690; Bryant, Dictionary, p. 749; Fuze, The Black People, pp. 16, 38; van Warmelo, Matiwane, p. 66.

140. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 331, 335, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 90, evidence of Magidigidi.

141. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 58, notebook 18, pp. 1-3, evidence of Singcofela; Fuze, The Black People, p. 50; van Warmelo, Matiwane, pp. 72, 74; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 616, Isaacs, Travels, pp. 189-9, editor's note 14.

142. Van Warmelo, Matiwane, chapters 7, 8 and 9; Fuze, The Black People, pp. 16-17, 51; Fynn, Diary, pp. 169, 320; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 145; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 126, evidence of Mahaya; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 37, evidence of Mbovu.

143. Van Warmelo, Matiwane, see p. 7 in particular.

144. Ibid., p. 67.

145. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 28; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 283, evidence of Lugubu; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 42, evidence of Siganandà, and p. 45, evidence of Mbovu.

146. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 134, evidence of Mini.

147. Ibid.

148. *Interview with Sidlane Simelane at Ntshaseni*, Swaziland, 9.07.83; interview with Simbimba Ndlela, at eTibondzeni, Swaziland, 17.08.83.

149. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 202-03, evidence of Mangati.

150. Interview with laLukhele at Mahagane, Swaziland, 12.07.83.

151. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 281, evidence of Maziyana and Socwatsha.

152. See above pp. 164-66.

153. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 57, evidence of Madikane.

154. Ibid.

155. T.N.M. Tainton, D.I. Bransby and P. de V. Booysen, Common Veld and Pasture Grasses of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1976, p. 188, also see distribution map, p. 7.

156. Pers. Comm., Henry 'Hlahlamehlo' Dlamini, Swaziland, 1983; also see note 157 below.

157. J.S.A., Vol. 4 (forthcoming), p. 176, evidence of Ndambi. I am indebted to John Wright for bringing this comment to my notice, and to him, and A. Koopman, also of the University of Natal, for helpful discussions on the origins of the term 'Ntungwa'.

158. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 53-4, 57, evidence of Madikane.

159. Any claim that the amantungwa identity is one associated with privilege needs to take cognizance of a body of evidence which might, mistakenly, be interpreted as suggesting that the term 'ntungwa' was an insult. (See, for example, J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 264, evidence of Mmemi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 199, evidence of Mahaya).

The notion of 'ntungwa' as a perjorative expression has already been raised in chapter three. It was noted in that context that the amantungwa identity was readily acknowledged by the royal Zulu, and their supporters. Indeed, Stuart's informants credited Shaka with having personally laid claim to being an intungwa. (see above, p. 177). These points indicate that the term itself was not opprobrious. It was further suggested that insults of the Zulu ruling group, in which the term 'ntungwa' figured, were probably a consequence of the declining significance of 'ntungwa' as against Nguni, for historically specific reasons, in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Likewise, insults directed against the Zulu rulers in any form were likely to have been a product of the decline of the Zulu royal house in the late nineteenth century (See Wright's discussion, 'The invention of the Nguni'). Even where such insults occurred in the later period, with retrospective reference to the Shakan period, it should be noted that there is no evidence to suggest that 'ntungwa' alone had any inherent or associated derogatory connotations. Wherever Shaka was recorded, by a late nineteenth century informant, as having been insulted, the nub of the insult lay either in diminuition or in derogatory references to sexual organs. Thus,

> What sort of little Ntungwa is this, the one with the little half-cocked penis? (J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 180, evidence of Jantshi)

Another insult of Shaka which echoes this remark, was a retort supposedly delivered by the Qwabe chief Phakathwayo to Shaka,

> Tshaka proposed to Pakatwayo that they should hold an ijadu dancing competition. Pakatwayo said 'How do you hope to surpass me, son of Senzangakhona?' He said that he would not dance with a man whose forces were not numerous enough to go round one's neck [the reference

> is to a bead necklace] whereas the Qwabe were unsurpassed in strength. Nor would he dance, with a little Ntungwa fellow from up-country, whose penis stood erect. (J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 168, evidence of Makuza).

In another version of Shaka's exchange with Phakathwayo, the insults about the size of Shaka's forces were repeated, but without any reference to Shaka being 'Ntungwa.' In the versions of this story recorded by Fuze and Bryant, Shaka is not referred to as the 'little Ntungwa', but as the 'troublesome stumpy little stick'(igamathandukwana), apparently a reference to the size of his penis. (Fuze, The Black People, p. 23; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 196; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 177, evidence of Mandhlakazi.)

160. See pp. 223, 256.

161. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 281, evidence of Lugubu; also see p. 292; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 225, and Kunene, Emperor Shaka, p. 85.

162. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 18, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 292, evidence of Lugubu; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 52, 227; Bryant, Dictionary, p. 755. For other famous Mbatha see J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 292, evidence of Jantshi; K.C.,Essay Competition, essay by Shandu, p. 2.

163. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 54, p. 134, evidence of Ndukwana.

164. The latter was an appointment of great significance, for the intsila of the king as the recipient and guardian of all the king's expectorations, excretions, secretions and body wastes like nail parings, the intsila was responsible for the well-being of the king, and by implication, through him, that of the nation. If such body discharges were to have

fallen into the hands of an enemy of the king, it was believed that powerful forces could have been invoked against the king. Another early office of Ngqengelele's was overseeing the brewing of beer at the royal household. He became a renowned herbalist and inyanga, thus investing his growing authority with a further mystical aspect. For a discussion of the role of the intsila, see Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 474-75, and Kuper, An African Aristocracy, pp. 78-83 for comparative material on the Swazi. On the career of Ngqengelele see B. Temkin, Gatsha Buthelezi, Cape Town, 1976, pp. 10-11; Fuze, The Black People, p. 18; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 134; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 79, evidence of Magidi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 159, evidence of Mkando; K.C., Essay Competition, 1950, 'Izwe zase Mahlabatini' by S. Mkhize, p. 2, and 'The Buthelezis' by Benedicta Buthelezi, pp. 4-5; K.C., Essay Competition, 1942, 'Some Zulu Customs' by O.F. Gumbi; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, p. 9, 'Historical Notes on Zululand'; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73, p. 98, evidence of Ndukwana.

165. Temkin, Buthelezi, pp. 11, 14; K.C., Essay Competition, essay by Buthelezi, p. 5; essay by Gumbi, p. 2; essay by Mkhize, pp. 1, 7, 9, 10; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 602.

166. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 12, evidence of Baleka; also see K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73, p. 98, and file 74, p. 34, evidence of Ndukwana; and J.S.A., Vol. , p. 190, evidence of Jantshi; Kunene, Emperor Shaka, p. xxxii.

167 J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 355, evidence of Luzipo; also see below, p. 390.

168. Isaacs, Travels, p. 120.

169. Ibid., pp. 66, 123, 173; Fynn, Diary, pp. 141, 184, 207; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 389, 495, 546, 560, 616, 621, 671; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 162, evidence of Makewu; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 235, evidence of Maquza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 252, 254, 257, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 267, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 74, 81, 89, evidence of Melapi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 268, evidence of Mmemi.

170. See, for example, Leslie, Among the Zulus and Amatongas, Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1875, p. 70; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 49, 50; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 256, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 292, evidence of Mpambukelwa. More generally on Sibiya officeholders see J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 165, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 253, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 301, evidence of Mpatshana.

171. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 175, evidence of Jantshi.

172. Fuze, The Black People, p. 22; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 24, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 107, evidence of Mgidhlana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 311, evidence of Mpatshana; Braatvedt, Roaming Zululand, p. 3.

173. Callaway, The Religious System, pp. 434-37.

174. Ibid., Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 57, 204-5, 226, 588; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 184, 185, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 206, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 240, 241, evidence of Mmemi.

175. Isaacs, Travels, p. 78; see below, p. 471.

176. Zungu: Bryant, Olden Times, p. 218;
Buthelezi: K.C., Essay Competition, essay by Benedicta Buthelezi, p. 5.
Mbatha: Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 52, 227;
Sithole: K.C., Essery Papers, 'The Sitoles';
Cube: K.C.,Stuart Papers, file 9, item 12;
Bhele: see p. 262 above, Also see J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 152, evidence of Mkando.

177. Bonner, Kings, chapter three.

178. Arranged alphabetically, the names which appear in the first column are those described as being amantungwa. The source of each claim, is indicated in the associated footnote.

179. The names in the second column are those of the groups to which the names of the first group were connected, i.e. what Bryant calls the 'parent-clan'. The basis and sources for connecting a name in column one with a name in column two are indicated in the associated footnotes listed in column two.

180. The third column simply gives the incidence of claims that the group concerned were not 'ntungwa'.

181. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 116, evidence of Mahaya.

182. The Bhaca were once a section of the Zulu, who, under Sonyangwe, separated from the Zulu, and fled south, across the Thukela. The relevant traditions are ambiguous, and it is not clear whether this occurred early in the reign of Shaka (because of a conflict over resources, viz., brass or millet)

or if it occurred just after the assasination of Shaka. This section gained its name, Bhaca, which means 'to hide', during their sojourn in Natal as fugitives. See Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 352, 369; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 5, evidence of Baleka; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 98, 108, 118, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 51, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 85, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 113, 115-19, evidence of Mahaya; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 254, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 272, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 57, evidence of Mcotoyi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 264, evidence of Mmemi.

183. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 290, evidence of Lugubu; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 203, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 246, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 42, evidence of Mbovu.

184. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 18, and Olden Times, p. 681.

185. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 682.

186. Ibid., p. 114.

187. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 231, evidence of Lugubu.

188. Fuze, The Black People, p. 23; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 682.

189. Ibid; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 118, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 159, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 211, evidence of Mkehlengana.

190. Van Warmelo, Survey, p. 72.

191. Ibid.

192. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 682; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 84, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 48, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 263, evidence of Mmemi.

193. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 682; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 84-5, evidence of Magidigidi.

194. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 683.

195. Ibid, p. 116; van Warmelo, Survey, p. 82.

196. Ibid., pp. 72, 204.

197. Ibid., p. 205.

198. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 684.

199. The only information which I have been able to locate on the name 'Goqo', is a single reference in Olden Times, p. 684, that the Goqo isithakazelo was Ndabazitha. This places the Goqo *squarely* amongst the amantungwa, suggesting that it was a *section of the Mbatha*, Mabasa, Thembu, Buthelezi or Khumalo. The essential point, i.e. that it was one of the lineages incorporated in the first phase of Zulu expansion still holds, no matter to which 'parent-clan' it belonged. For convenience, Khumalo is used on the list.

200. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 684.

201. Ibid., p. 697. Bryant notes that the Gwabini and the Zungu were related, but suggests that it was the Gwabini who were the senior section. See p. above, where other evidence is marshalled to

indicate that the Zungu were, in fact, the senior section.

202. Van Warmelo, Survey, p. 26; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 277, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 45, evidence of Mbovu; also see implicit suggestion to this effect, J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 46, evidence of Madhlebe.

203. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 584; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 12, 15, 28, evidence of Mabonsa.

204. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 263, evidence of Mmemi.

205. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 90, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 39, evidence of Mbovu.

206. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 685.

207. Ibid. p. 655, but also see p. 274, and Dictionary, p. 749.

208. Van Warmelo, Survey, pp. 32, 35; Fuze, The Black People, p. 2; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 685; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 118, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 264, evidence of Kumalo; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 281, evidence of Lugubu; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 12, evidence of Mabonsa; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 45, evidence of Madhlebe; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 97, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 209, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 280, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 42, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 211, evidence of Mkehlengana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 263, evidence of Mmemi.

209. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 45, evidence of Mbovu.

210. The name Langa is common in the genealogies of the amantungwa, but in this case, there are no pointers to which Langa refers.

211. Van Warmelo, Survey, p. 33; Bryant, Olden Times, P. 686; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 118, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 264, evidence of Kumalo; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 281, 290, evidence of Lugubu.

212. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 687.

213. Ibid.

214. Ibid. p. 283.

215. Ibid. p. 687.

216. Ibid.

217. Ibid. p. 688.

218. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 291, evidence of Lugubu. It should be noted that the Mazibuko lived as subjects of the Ngwe (J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 19, evidence of Mabonsa).

219. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 689.

220. Ibid.

221. Ibid.

222. Ibid., p. 690. It should be noted that Bryant's claim was tentatively advanced.

223. Ibid. pp. 8, 27.

224. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 29, evidence of Baleni.

225. See note 17, above.

226. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 690.

227. Ibid.

228. Ibid., p. 337.

229. Ibid.

230. Ibid., p. 691.

231. Ibid., p. 114.

232. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 211, evidence of Mkehlengana.

233. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 592.

234. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 118, evidence of Dinya.

235. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 354, evidence of Luzipo; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 263, evidence of Mmemi; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 692; Kuper, An African Aristocracy, p. 42; interview with Dabuluhlanga Nxumalo, at Mbilaneni, Swaziland, 17.09.83.

236. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 692.

237. See above, p. 156.

238. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 137. 245, 692; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 281, evidence of Lugubu; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 203, evidence of Mangati.

239. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 18, evidence of Mabonsa; van Warmelo, Survey, p. 222; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 18.

240. Van Warmelo, Survey, pp. 27, 29; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 281, 290, evidence of Lugubu.

241. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 181.

242. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 181. The contradictory quality of the evidence on the Ngwe suggests that, like their neighbours, the Hlubi and the Ngwane, sections of the Ngwe may have been incorporated by Shaka, whilst others may have fled the Zulu kingdom at the outset. Unfortunately, data on the early history of the Ngwe is limited.

243. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 693.

244. Ibid., p. 114.

245. Ibid., p. 694.

246. Ibid.

247. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 126, evidence of Dunjwa; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 42, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 211, evidence of Mkehlengana.

248. See above, p. 260.

249. Interview with Sipho John Nyawo, at Mpatseni, Swaziland, 28.07.83; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 694.

250. Interview with Sipho John Nyawo at Mpatseni, Swaziland, 28.07.83.

251. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 211, evidence of Mkehlengana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 240, evidence of Mmemi.

252. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 695.

253. See above p. 135 for a description of their early incorporation into the Zulu kingdom.

254. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 104, evidence of Dinya;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 84, evidence of Magidigidi;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 110, 116, evidence of Mahaya;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 281, evidence of Maziyana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 211-12, evidence of Mkehlengana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 259, evidence of Mmemi;
Bryant, Olden Times, p. 695.

255. On Qwabe incorporation into the Zulu kingdom, see above, chapter three.

256. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 695.

257. Interview with Sidlane Simelane, Ntshaseni, Swaziland, 9.07.83; van Warmelo, Survey, p. 35.

258. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 696;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 281, 290, evidence of Lugubu;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 12, evidence of Mbovu.

259. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 696; Matsebula, Swaziland, p. 9.

260. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 696;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 281, 290, evidence of Lugubu;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 297, evidence of Lunguza;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 117, evidence of Mahaya;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 42, evidence of Mbovu;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 239, evidence of Mmemi.

261. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 697.

262. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 51, evidence of Madikane;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 57, evidence of Mcotoyi.

263. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 116, evidence of Mahaya.

264. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 98, evidence of Dinya;
Webb and Wright A Zulu King Speaks, p. 2.

265. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 697.

266. Ibid., p. 369; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 116, evidence of Mahaya.

267. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 697.

268. Van Warmelo, Matiwane, p. 222;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 18, evidence of Mabonsa.

269. Ibid.

270. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 104, evidence of Dinya;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 84, evidence of Magidigidi;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 110, 116, evidence of Mahaya;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 281, evidence of Maziyana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 75, 87, evidence of Melapi;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 42, evidence of Mbovu;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 105, evidence of Mgidhlana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 210, evidence of Mkehlengana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 263, evidence of Mmemi;
Bryant, Olden Times, p. 697.

271. Ibid., p. 175.

CHAPTER SIX

THE AMABUTHO SYSTEM UNDER SHAKA, AND THE PROPAGATION OF A NEW IDEOLOGY OF STATEHOOD

Introduction

Recent analyses of the development of the amabutho system (sing. ibutho - the organisation of young men and women into 'age-sets') have suggested that it was a key aspect of state formation in south-east Africa, and that the dominance of the Zulu ruling group was closely associated with its control over the amabutho.

Focusing on changes in the regional economy, Jeff Guy has posited that the amabutho emerged as a response to an environmental crisis which developed in the region in the late eighteenth century and culminated in the disasterous Madlathule famine in the early nineteenth century. Guy argues that this crisis was caused by an 'imbalance between population density and existing resources',[1] and resulted in a need to reorganise social relations. This was the underlying dynamic in the development of the amabutho as the means by which labour power came to be 'rationalised' under central state control. The diversion of labour into the service of the state through the amabutho, Guy argues, served to concentrate control over the process of production in the hands of the king. Through the restrictions placed on the marriage of the amabutho, the king also gained control over social reproduction.[2]

A similar conclusion was reached by Henry Slater.[3]

However, his argument employed the notion of a labour shortage, rather than that of overpopulation and environmental crisis, to account for the development of the amabutho. While much of Slater's thesis cannot be uncritically accepted, the notion of a 'labour shortage' in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be buttressed from a number of directions, and appears convincing.[4] Slater argues that an increase in the trade at Delagoa Bay, and later at Port Natal, encouraged powerholders to expand the production of local commodities for exchange. This necessitated the extension of their control over their subjects, achieved through the amabutho.

While for different reasons, both Guy and Slater were concerned to emphasise that the amabutho were primarily units of labour, each, in terms of his own thesis, considered the predominantly military character of the amabutho to be a consequence of the need to expand, territorially in the one case, and demographically in the other.

A third perspective on the amabutho has been advanced by David Hedges. While broadly agreeing with the notion that the amabutho permitted the intensified extraction of surplus labour and the exploitation of the ruled by the rulers, Hedges argues that the character and form of the amabutho system was shaped by the displacement of the trade with Delagoa Bay in ivory, a commodity of little local value, by a new trade in cattle, a highly valued commodity. This switched the emphasis in the activities of the amabutho from hunting, to raiding and tribute collection, and underlay the strong military inflection which characterized the amabutho under Shaka.[5]

The focus of these scholars on the labour functions of the amabutho greatly extends our understanding of the processes of precolonial state-formation, but has resulted in the development of an essentially structural-functionalist understanding of the amabutho system itself. To some extent, this problem has been countered by the more historical perspective advanced by John Wright on the development of the early age-sets out of precursor circumcision schools.[6] Wright suggests that the development of age-sets to replace territorial fighting units was a corollary of the abolition of circumcision, and that this change had the effect of postponing the time when men achieved social maturity. He argues that these changes should be understood in terms of the restructuring of institutionalized relationships between elders and juniors. In a time of social upheaval, he maintains, male elders would have sought to extend their control over the labour power of the society's primary producers. This extension was affected through the abolition of circumcision which hitherto marked the passage of boys of about seventeen years of age, from youth to manhood, after which marriage conventionally occurred.

Wright's argument is persuasive, but his emphasis on increased economic exploitation through the amabutho is at the expense of an understanding of the role of both the earlier circumcision schools and the amabutho in the socialisation of youths. It will be suggested in this chapter that the amabutho, under Shaka, were crucial mechanisms in the resocialization of adult men from a number of different chiefdoms, into a Zulu-dominated state society, and in the socialization of the youth of the new kingdom.

A further issue raised by the present state of research into the amabutho system is the need for the development

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A further issue raised by the present state of research into the amabutho system is the need for the development

of a contingent and processual perspective on the amabutho system itself, especially in response to the period of immense political flux which accompanied the emergence of the Zulu state. These issues demand systematic investigation through close empirical research. Because of the nature of the evidence available, this can only be done for the reign of Shaka and not the earlier period, and it is therefore on the reign of Shaka that this chapter will concentrate.

The changing functions and form of the amabutho are perhaps most dramatically indicated by the shifting geographical location of the bulk of the amabutho, and by modifications in their composition. Indeed, the mutability of the amabutho has constituted a complex problem in terms of evidence. For example, various sources indicate some five different sites for the amabutho residence of Nobamba, all within a few kilometers of each other, while two sites of the establishment Bulawayo are known, hundreds of kilometres apart. Again, men of the Dubinhlangu ibutho (alias 'Jubinqwanga'), were sometimes referred to as the men of 'inTontela' and at other times, as the men of the 'iziMpohlo'. Yet not all the men of the inTontela or of the iziMpohlo were of the Dubinhlangu. None of these names could be exactly equated, for each referred to a slightly different constituency, and came into usage in slightly different periods during the reign of Shaka.

Some of these problems, and their implications were spelt out at length by Julian Cobbing in an exploratory paper on the Zulu amabutho and production. Cobbing raised the important questions of how often, and under what circumstances, amabutho were created, and where they were based.[7] In another paper on amabutho, Cobbing answered some of these questions for the Ndebele system, which had its roots in that of the Zulu. Cobbing suggested

that earlier analyses of the amabutho were 'improbable' in respect of the degree of 'precise army organization' which they conferred on the system. Cobbing's study demonstrated that amongst the Ndebele 'at any given moment ... (amabutho) settlements of different composition and "stage" existed side by side' and that they 'not only moved physically from time to time, but were simultaneously in a state of evolution'.[8]

It will be suggested in this chapter that the continuing confusion over these questions with regard to the Zulu amabutho is the consequence of a static conception of the amabutho system. Viewed dynamically, the name and site variations of the amabutho and of the amakhanda bases reflect the development process of the system, both in response to the changing circumstances of the Zulu state, and in terms of its own internal dynamics - the establishment and training of the amabutho and their maturation into fully-fledged units.[9]

In the following discussion, the emergence of the Zulu amabutho system will be examined in terms of three development phases, defined by shifts in the geographical centre of the kingdom under Shaka. The period during which the centre of the kingdom continued to be located in the old Zulu heartland of the Mkhumbane valley will constitute the first phase. The second phase opened when the Zulu capital and the major amakhanda moved into the coastal lowlands around present-day Eshowe, sometime between 1818 and 1820. The third and final phase occurred when these establishments moved southwards across the Thukela river, in late 1825. It will be argued that these shifts were one of the major factors in the shaping of the amabutho system.

It will further be suggested that over time, the amabutho

provided a mechanism for entrenching the new amantungwa elite, both within and between various amabutho, and that existing notions of a rigid age-basis to the amabutho, and the possibilities of individual advancement through them, have in this context, to be at the very least qualified, if not abandoned.

Phase one: the reorganization and expansion of the army inherited from Senzangakhona and the establishment of training bases in the Mkhumbane Valley

The installation of Shaka as the new Zulu chief, c1816, introduced a new military imperative into the [illegible]orn reaches of Dingiswayo's domain, centered on the small Zulu tributary. It was required of Shaka both to remodel the existing military structures along the lines of the Mthethwa army, and to expand the strength of the armed forces at his disposal.

When Shaka first arrived amongst the Zulu to lay claim to the chieftaincy, he faced strong opposition from within the Zulu royal family. He ultimately gained the chieftaincy only by seizing it, and murdering the designated heir, Sigujana, and others like Mudhli and Zivalele, who opposed his accession. He was supported in his bid for the Zulu chieftaincy by the Mthethwa, and was accompanied amongst the Zulu by an armed Mthethwa contingent. In the opening years of his reign, Shaka had to contend with the continued opposition of powerful relatives and attendant tensions within the chiefdom. Consequently, he was forced, at least initially, to rely on external support for his rule, both from the Mthethwa, and other non-Zulu elements. Even prior to the incorporation of neighbouring chiefdoms, Shaka made efforts to secure access to their military forces. The Nkenetshane, a Zungu 'regiment', for example, was used by Shaka for some time before the incorporation

of the Zungu into the Zulu kingdom and their integration into the Zulu amabutho..[10] Over time, the army inherited from Senzangakhona was extended to include many non-Zulu who had tendered allegiance directly to Shaka, and, as Shaka reorganized and implemented reforms in the military system, the men of the original nucleus were subjected to a process of resocialization into the new Shakan social order, such that the amabutho were eventually to become the very basis of the king's power.

The initial hostility to Shaka's accession indicates that a powerful impulse is likely to have existed for Shaka to undertake a fundamental restructuring of the army's reordering of old loyalties. Shaka appears to have inherited three units from Senzangakhona, the amaWombe, isiPezi and the 'inTontela'.[11] The amaWombe veteran, head-ringed and married-men were little affected by this reorganisation.[12] The isiPezi, another veteran and head-ringed unit, was by contrast, subjected to radical restructuring.

Initially, the isiPezi were permitted to retain their prestigious headrings, probably until after the death of Dingiswayo, when Shaka felt sure of sufficient support within the kingdom to enforce potentially unpopular reforms. One form which these took was the command that the isiPezi remove their headrings, and thus symbolically renounce the social maturity of which the headring was the outward manifestation. The isiPezi, again in contrast to the amaWombe, were further prohibited from marrying, although they were initially permitted to form liaisons with women (known as the izingodosi), whom it was intended they would one day marry. The izingodosi remained at the homes of their parents, and limited sexual relations were permitted in terms of the relationship. However, this privilege too was subsequently withdrawn.[13]

The 'inTontela', or more accurately, the section of the 'inTontela' known as the Dubinhlangu, was another veteran unit which experienced similar treatment. The Dubinhlangu was a unit butha'd (formed; 'called up') by Shaka from amongst Senzangakhona's men and who had already thunga'd (i.e. sewn on, or assumed the headring). They too were made to relinquish this mark of status when they entered the service of the new Zulu monarch.

> Tshaka ... ordered the Jibinqwanga to cut off their headrings because they were still so young and had not attained the age of dignity. He said they were to drink from the udders like boys again.[14]

The name 'Jibinqwanga' (Jubinqwanga), given to the Dubinhlangu, was a reference to their shorn headrings, and a lasting reminder of their demotion.[15]

The effect of the removal of the headrings from the greater proportion of Senzangakhona's veterans was to reduce them to the status of izinsizwa ('warriors'), entirely in the king's service, and to expose them once more to the training process undergone by the newest recruits. Subjected and rendered susceptible in this way to the full ideological panoply of the new Zulu state, these elements were to be resocialized into a state society in which the person of the Zulu king bulked large.

The process by which the loyalties of veterans and new recruits alike were focused on the Zulu king was complex, and extended over time, for it involved an enormous shift in the conceptualisation of society then current. At the same time, the new Zulu rulers were under great pressure to mobilise a large army in a very short time. To achieve this as rapidly as possible, ideological elements from the previous era were mobilized to underpin the legitimacy of the new order. One obvious source of significant and powerful elements lay in appealing to

the hierarchy of Zulu ancestors. This was achieved through the concentration of the newly-enrolled units and the demoted veterans in the ideologically significant area of the Zulu kings' grave-sites.

The amaWombe and Dubinhlangu amabutho were initially based at esiKlebheni, probably together with the isiPezi, although no direct evidence exists on the isiPezi residence.[16] Units subsequently butha'd by Shaka, and a number of those butha'd by Dingane were also based initially at esiKlebheni or at nearby Nobamba.[17] Both of these establishments were taken over by Shaka from his father.[18] EsiKlebheni had been erected by Senzangakhona as his chief residence, and later became the site of his grave. Subsequently rebuilt by Shaka and Mpande, esiKlebheni assumed the significance and ideological weight of an ancestral establishment, and became an evocative and sacred site. In Shaka's time, esiKlebheni was situated in the heart of the original Zulu lands, on the summit of a high ridge overlooking the middle Mkhumbane river, amidst other significant and ancient sites.[19]

Nobamba was originally constructed by either Ndaba or Jama, and re-erected afterwards by successive Zulu chiefs.[20] The original Nobamba, like esiKlebheni, became a royal grave-site, since the burial of chiefs and kings usually took place in the isibaya (cattle enclosure in the centre of a residence) of the dead man's chief residence. Usually a keeper was appointed to look after the grave-site and to maintain a small establishment at the site. The original residence would be shifted to another site nearby.[21] Nobamba is known to have occupied some five different sites in roughly the same locality. Under Shaka, it was located on the banks of the Mpembeni.[22]

It was common therefore for a single name to refer to a number of establishments at different sites, at different points in time. As the name of a particular establishment was resurrected repeatedly over time, it gained in ritual significance.

The recurrence of site names was not only a consequence of kings' deaths causing shifts in the sites of major residences, but was also a device deliberately employed where rulers sought to evoke the legitimacy of an ancient kingship behind a new status quo.[23] The maintenance of old names under new circumstances suggested a continuity in the order of things and served to link back directly to the ancestors of the nation.

The whole Zulu heartland of the Mkhumbane valley was an especially important ritual centre. Known reverently as the Makhosini (place of kings), it was said to contain the graves of all the important Zulu ancestors - Zulu, Ntombela, Nkosinkhulu, Punga, Mageba, Ndaba, Jama and Senzangakhona.[24] The Makhosini became an increasingly reserved area associated with which were a whole range of taboos and respectful avoidances which had the effect of enhancing the prestige of the ruling lineage. Stuart noted that a person passing through the area would not dare to poke the ground with a stick, for it would be construed as stabbing at the king, and the person would be killed. 'Merely walking through the area was to walk in fear of death'.[25]

It was in the Makhosini, and at *Nobamba* and *esiKlebheni* in particular, that invocations for rain were addressed to the Zulu ancestors.[26] *It was there that the army* was ritually strengthened before battle, and the intervention of the ancestors *sought to ensure* its success.[27] It was there too that the umkhosi (the 'first-fruits' *ceremony*) was *celebrated*.[28] The Makhosini

was hallowed ground. Fugitives could seek safety there, such was its invio' bility, and as one informant described it, its' 'sacredness'.[29] The whole of the Makhosini district was thus invested with a very strong sense of the continuity of the Zulu ruling lineage, its' 'sacredness' and its' antiquity. In particular, the Makhosini served to emphasise the proximity of the Zulu ruling lineage, and the king, to the ancestors on whom the well-being of the nation depended.

It was at esiKlebheni too, and to a lesser extent at Nobamba, that the new recruits to the Zulu army spent the first period of their training. The use of these establishments for this purpose continued even after the bulk of the Zulu amabutho shifted into the coastal lowlands. It would seem that the Makhosini served as an ideologically powerful environment for the reorientation of new recruits towards the idea of a Zulu nation, united under a Zulu king. The training period amidst the very graves of the Zulu ancestors created the opportunity for non-Zulu recruits to come to identify with the Zulu king and ancestors, at the same time that respect and fear of Zulu 'ancestral' power was inculcated in the men through their participation in the associated rituals.

The Makhosini was the home of the inkatha, the symbol of unity of the new Zulu nation.[30] The inkatha was a coil of grass and 'medicine', plastered with the vomit and body wastes of the men of the amabutho.[31]

> All the men had great affection for their king. It could not be otherwise for they were songwa'd (rolled or tied together). This songa'ing took place in the shape of an inkata.[32]

Only the king had the power to construct an inkatha. It was thus an important symbol of the unity of the amabutho, of their intimate connection with the king and the legitimacy of his authority.[33]

The first experience of the Makhosini of many of the recruits to the Zulu amabutho was gained between the ages of thirteen and sixteen as udibi (carriers) for the men of the amabutho. Some of the youths carried for their fathers or brothers. Others amongst the ranks of the udibi had been taken as captives in war, and entered the Zulu military establishment as udibi, later to become izinsizwa

As udibi, the young boys became acquainted with amakhanda life and gained a taste of campaigning, although they were kept well in the rear of any battles.[34] 'This was really the commencement of their public career'.[35] On campaign, they carried food, mats, karosses, wooden pillows, gourds of water, spoons, and according to Bryant, 'chamber pots'.[36]

Their activities were not confined to porterage. At the amakhanda they collected firewood and cleaned the huts of the men for whom they carried. At an ikhanda, one boy sometimes worked for men of two or three huts. They also laboured in the gardens of the ikhanda, and participated in the ritual life of the establishment.[37]

> They learnt the life of high quarters which had to conform to fashions, requirements and orders which emanated from the King's royal kraal and these were very stringent and proper.
>
> They also heard the history of their ancestors, the sagas of the lands with respect to kings and heroes, war songs and regimental war songs, and imbibed them, some better and some worse than others and were fired with the desire to emulate those heroes of yore and to do and die for their native land. They were thus built up to be brave and loyal citizens of their country.[38]

They absorbed the military ethos of Zulu society from an early age, and doubtless, many, by the time they formally entered the King's service, subscribed to the social values of heroism and an armigerous life.

The udibi carriership was not a static institution at this time, but, like the amabutho system itself, was evolving under Shaka and his successors. It was claimed that under Shaka, the numbers of the udibi were augmented by their sisters, although the girls, unlike the boys, did not spend long spells at the amakhanda. This seems to indicate that there was pressure for such forms of auxilliary labour.[39] The evidence also suggests however, that, over time, the period for which the boys 'carried' was progressively decreased while the next stage in their training was extended, until eventually, the udibi functions were fulfilled by 'weaklings (abafokazana); young men unsuitable to be enrolled',[40] or as Krige still later described the udibi, 'servants who were rather harshly treated'.[41] It seems that the immediately post-pubescent youths who had previously been the udibi were then drawn directly into the military cadetship, as the udibi-ship altered from being a 'junior' occupation to being an 'inferior' one.[42]

The next stage in the cadet's training was to kleza (lit. to drink milk directly from the udders of cattle) at esiKlebheni or Nobamba. The youths who kleza'd were all post-pubescent, and probably kleza'd for a couple of years, until they were about eighteen years of age, when they were formally constituted as an ibutho, and would go to war. The kleza period was thus the key training period which occurred over a long time, and at a particularly formative stage. It was the time when boys were taught to use weapons and were apprised of fighting techniques. Rivalry between factions of youths from the same areas would have become an established feature of their new existence, expressed in dancing and stick fighting competitions. Together with intensive drilling under the supervision of veteran soldiers, these activities

developed their martial prowess.[43]

It was also a key period in the shaping of their perceptions of society. The youths were harshly treated and unquestioning obedience was demanded. Any youths who had not yet had their ears incised were made to do so that their ears would be 'open' that they might 'hear' the commands given to them. Their loyalty to their king was constantly emphasised, as was the developing notion of the new Zulu nation. One form which this took was the requirements that they use only the Zulu dialect.[44]

The cadets were not only concerned with military training. They ran messages for the officers, hunted with dogs, and did chores for the women resident at the amakhanda. Their chief activity, in the early years of Shaka's reign, was to tend the royal herds at the amakhanda and to do the milking, in the course of which duties they were said 'to drink directly from the cattle udders'. However, in the same way that the functions of the udibi came to be taken over by social inferiors, aspects of the labour of the cadets seem to have become the responsibility of certain inferior but, by definition, older amabutho.[45] These shifts in the activities of the udibi and the cadets suggest that an 'ageist' society was gradually giving way to a new order characterized by stratification on the basis of birth and privilege.

Whilst kleza-ing, the cadets lived in temporary huts which they built alongside the amakhanda at which they were based. They erected a permanent base only after they were formed into fighting units (butha'd). This occurred at the time of the umkhosi (the annual 'first fruits' ceremony), where they were confronted with their king at the apogee of his ritual preeminence.[46]

The early amakhanda were all first established in close proximity to the sources of Zulu authority in the Makhosini. The amaWombe, for example, left esiKlebheni and built the emBelebeleni ikhanda close to the Mfolozi-Mkhumbane confluence.[47] The Dubinhlangu left and built the ikhanda inTonteleni on the Mthonjaneni ridge, just south of esiKlebheni;[48] while the isiPezi built the umGumanqa ikhanda near emBelebeleni, on the White Mfolozi, in the Mahlabatini country.[49]

Each ibutho consisted of a number of sections. These were usually made up of groups which had kleza'd together, and thus the sections tended to have a regional identity. The sections were further divided into amaviyo, which tended to correspond to the original groups from particular areas in which youths had come up to an ikhanda to kleza. Sometimes, their numbers were augmented by youths from other areas.[50] The new amabutho were distinguished from one another by the insignia which were assigned to them by the king. He also provided them with the implements of war, and gave them their names.[51]

The training programme to which the cadets were subjected, and indeed, the system into which they subsequently entered, was being refined over time, but it also comprised phases in the achievement of social maturity. In the eighteenth century, chiefdoms of Zululand, and amongst the neighbours of the Zulu like the Pedi, Xhosa and Sotho, social maturity was marked by circumcision, after which marriage was permitted. Under Shaka however, circumcision was no longer practiced. It was suggested by a number of Stuart's informants that the demise of circumcision was the result of an increase in the scale of warfare in south-east Africa in the early nineteenth century.[52] In such circumstances, the long period of seclusion

following circumcision would have been an enormous disadvantage as the 'people would not be able to fight'.[53] The abolition of circumcision also had the effect doing away with what was previously the chief marker of marriageability, and indeed, under Shaka, marriages of the men of the amabutho were curtailed. Celibacy however, was not demanded of amabutho. The social rules only demanded that conception should not occur. A form of external intercourse, known as ukuhlobonga, was widely practised.[54] It was the status of married men that was denied to the men of the amabutho, and the concomitant capacity to establish their own production units in the form of homesteads.

It is this aspect of delayed marriage and delayed social maturity which demands closer attention. How is it to be explained? Wright has suggested that the delay in marriage needs to be understood in terms of the restructuring of relationships between elders and juniors, where elders sought to delay the achievement of full status by juniors. He argues that

> where elders were seeking to extend the scope of their authority over juniors, it would have been to their advantage to abolish circumcision and to replace it with another custom, such as the putting on of headrings, which could be carried out at a later stage in a man's life and so prolong the period when he was still regarded as a youth.[55]

Wright sees thungaing (the sewing on of the headring) as a new ceremony marking the attainment of social adulthood.[56] The isicoco (headring) became the

> formal and public recognition ... that now these men had attained their majority, as men, and conferred upon them a new dignity and superior status (that of amaKehla, or 'ring men') ...[57]

Wright's argument marks a significant advance in our understanding, but it does not explain why circumcision

did not simply take place at a later time, say at the age of thirty-five, as happened among the Swazi. On face value, the abolition of circumcision is at least as well explained by reference to the period of seclusion mentioned by Stuart's informants. The abolition of circumcision and the delay in thunga'ing could be completely unrelated. Yet their very coincidence in time suggests that they were. What other connections can be found? One suggestive piece of evidence, already noted in this chapter, was Shaka's instruction that certain men who already had headrings were to remove them. The enormity of this command is indicated by Krige's note to the effect that

> one of the greatest insults that can be offered to a man would be to pull off his headring or even to catch hold of it in a moment of anger. This would be taken as an affront to his manhood, and to the chief who allowed him to wear it.[58]

The removal of the isicoco was thus symbolic of the removal and denial of social maturity and status. It was also the denial of the rights of the man's previous chief to confer that honour. It was the demand for a new allegiance.

Thunga'ing was moreover an easy process to reverse, whereas circumcision was not. Seeking the most rapid and expedient way to assert a real dominance over the men of the army, the question of thunga'ing was emphasised as the sign of social maturity, whilst circumcision was designated insignificant. Whilst this was, on the one hand, an expedient measure, the emphasis on thunga'ing also had the effect of making the attainment of full status revokable by the king, thus putting in his hands a new source of power. This revokability, I would suggest, was one of the factors underlying the replacement of circumcision with the rite of thunga'ing.

This demand for new allegiances also points to other aspects of the circumcision ceremony largely neglected in the literature. Amongst the Tswana and Pedi, the circumcision ceremony tended to mark the end of a period (of varying length) of service for the king or a chief. Only the most senior chief in a polity could authorise the holding of the ceremony. In the circumcision schools, the emphasis was on the inculcation of social values and appropriate modes of behaviour, notably loyalty to their chief. Strict notions of social hierarchy were also enforced. 'The aim of the exercise was to teach them where they belonged in the tribe'.[59] Clearly, one of the prime functions of the circumcision schools was the socialization of the youths.[60]

It is likely that the same processes of socialization characterized the circumcision schools of eighteenth century Nguni-speaking societies. The principal thrust of the abolition of circumcision by the early nineteenth century seems to have been the substitution and extension of the period of socialization associated with circumcision, by the period of a man's service in the amabutho. This was not without parallel in southern African Bantu-speaking societies. There were wide variations and limited juggling of the age of circumcision and the timing of marriage. In the Tswana case, the period involved was anything between six months and four years.[61] Where Shaka differed was in the extremities to which he went in postponing the timing of marriage and in the length of the period of socialization which the amabutho underwent.

A new and distinctively Zulu ceremony was introduced to inaugurate this period of socialization, that of ghumbuza, the incision, rather than the piercing, of the ears.[62] This occurred at the age of puberty.

Like circumcision, it was important because it signified an increase in the status of the child, although to a much lesser degree than that of circumcision previously. It was proclaimed through the wearing of distinctive clay or horn ear-studs, known as izivilíba.[63] Those with unbored ears were known as izicuthe (lit. deaf persons),[64] or, according to Bryant, as 'oDlela emkombeni weMpaka' (lit. people who eat out of the trough of a wild cat),[65] suggesting that the ..umbuza ceremony 'opened the ears', and prepared the youths to hear commands. During the ghumbuza ceremony, social codes were taught to the youths by their elders, inculcating notions of respect and of rank. It was the time when every individual was placed in terms of the Zulu social hierarchy. The izivilíba thus became symbolic of the obedience of every child to the commands he or she was to be given and the acknowledgement of their deference to the social order. Ghumbuza thus involved a strong emphasis on the integration of individuals into society, an aspect of the ceremony which was probably most important at the time of the emergence of the Zulu state.[66]

It was after ghumbuza that youths could herd cattle, and could go and kleza. The ghumbuza ceremony therefore marked the entry of the youths into the military world and the service of the king. The advantage of ghumbuza was that the incisions were relatively painless, and little or no subsequent seclusion was necessary.

The introduction of ghumbuza meant that where previously there was one transformation in the status of a male from boy to man, together with thunga'ing, there were now two phases. This had the effect of separating the moment when a youth was old enough to labour outside his family home, from the moment of the achievement of

full adult status and marriage. Whereas previously a youth was circumcised, thunga'd and got married all in reasonably quick succession, the introduction of qhumbuza had the effect of creating a new status of a limited social maturity.

These changes which were effected under Shaka were not simply concerned to delay the attainment of social maturity and thus postpone the time when the king would lose the labour of a subject. They also had the effect of making the labour of youths available to the Zulu state earlier, through the introduction of qhumbuza.

Thus, Shaka's reorganization of the amabutho system served the twin purposes of extending royal control over the men of the kingdom, and in association with the ideological panoply of the Makhosini, integrating the component elements of the amabutho with each other, and connecting them to the person of the king.

The process of integration, it has been suggested, occurred in two stages. The first of these saw Shaka consolidate his chiefship with the assistance of external military support. After the death of Dingiswayo and the destruction of the Mthethwa paramountcy however, Shaka increasingly came to rely on support from within the army, as its numbers were expanded to include Mthethwa warriors and men from clans outside of the original Zulu chiefdom. Their effective integration together with Senzangakhona's veterans demanded extensive restructuring of prevail[illegible]ystems of ideas about society. This was a[illegible]ough mobilisation around the ideologically powe[illegible]bols of the Zulu kings graves in the Makhosini [illegible]che associated rituals performed there. This integration was symbolized by the Zulu inkatha.

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The Makhosini continued to play a crucial role in this way even once the heart of the Zulu kingdom shifted away from the Mkhumbane valley and into the coastal lowlands. As such, the discussion in this section of the restructuring of the Zulu army through reference to the Makhosini should be understood to have telescoped into the early period of Shaka's rule, processes and changes centered on the Mkhumbane valley, but which were probably much more extended over time. Nevertheless, the early years of Shaka's reign, characterized by an emphasis on amabutho expansion, differed from the subsequent period which saw the extension and diversification of amabutho activities, and growing differentiation within and between amabutho. The following sections consider such changes in the amabutho system associated with their move into the coastal lowlands.

Phase two: diversification of the amabutho and their move into the coastal lowlands

The second phase in the evolution of the Zulu amabutho was marked by the movement of the bulk of the Zulu amabutho out of the Mkhumbane valley down into the coastal lowlands around present-day Eshowe, and by the expansion and diversification of the army, well-beyond the original nucleus of Senzangakhona's veterans. This latter process, while greatly accelerating in this period, had its roots in the early phase of Zulu expansion. Indeed, as will be argued later in this section, the earlier primary growth of the amabutho was the major impetus in forcing a relocation of the kingdom's heartland from the Mkhumbane valley to the coastal lowlands. The move heralded a shift in the whole role of the amabutho, and in the character of the Zulu state.

Shaka's capital, Gibixhegu, was first erected in the Makhosini, on the banks of the Mhodi, a tributary of the Mkhumbane.[67] By 1824, when the first traders visited

Shaka, *Gibixhegu* was already rebuilt on the coastal plain between the Mhlathuze and Mlalazi rivers. Shortly afterwards, the name of the capital was changed to *Bulawayo*, and the inkatha was moved there from the Makhosini.[68]

The traders' accounts of Bulawayo are the earliest descriptions of a Zulu establishment available. The entire establishment was roughly five kilometers wide, and contained some one and a half thousand 'beehive' grass huts. About ten thousand men were resident at Bulawayo, but on special occasions, *Fynn* estimated, up to eighty thousand people could be accommodated. Isaacs described its surroundings thus,

> ... its appearance was singularly magnificent, and the scenery imposing and attractive. The kraal was situated on an eminence forming an oblong square, within a circumference of about 3 miles, and partly encompassed by a deep ravine. The whole was surrounded by high and irregular land, covered with lofty and thriving timber, the shading branches of which added much to the interest excited by the landscape.[69]

The whole of the outer circumference of Bulawayo was surrounded by a pallisaded fence.

Within the fence the huts were arranged in a broad circular band. They were divided into two sides (uhlangoti). The huts nearest the gate were occupied by the persons of least consequence whilst the king himself resided at the point furtherest from the gate at the top end of the establishment, in what was, in effect, a royal reserve. The huts of the most important officers and councillors were situated alongside this reserve; for example, Ngomane kaMqomboli, one of Shaka's closest advisors, had his quarters at the highest point, on the right hand side, alongside the royal reserve. Some of the huts were almost permanently occupied by full-time administrators and personnel of

the ikhanda as well as by the amabutho of the ikhanda. The remainder of the huts were occupied temporarily by members of the king's retinue who accompanied him from one ikhanda to the next, and by people who came to the capital to attend to the king, to participate in national ceremonies, to khonza (*give fealty, on an* ongoing basis), to attend court proceedings and for a *variety of other reasons.*[70]

In the centre of the huts was the isibaya, the great cattle enclosure. It was divided into areas in which cattle were kept and into an area where the men of the amabutho assembled and danced. *There were two mounds* in this latter area, on which the king stood to address *the men. It was here that cattle were issued for* slaughter for the amabutho, that justice was meeted out, and where the king consulted with the leading men of the amakhanda, and of the nation. It was at the Bulawayo Isibaya that the early traders were first received by Shaka. It was, quite literally, the public arena of affairs of state.[71] The resiting of *the capital in the coastal lowlands of the Qwabe* country meant that whole centre of the Zulu kingdom had shifted.

A number of the amabutho accompanied Shaka into the lowlands. The amaWombe were based at Bulawayo itself, while the Fasimba, butha'd just prior to the move, built an establishment in the immediate vicinity *and remained* closely associated with Bulawayo. The umGumanqa also *built a new establishment* nearby called kwaKhangela. The isiPezi erected their own separate establishment near kwaKhangela. The inTontela too shifted into the area and erected an ikhanda on the northern slope of the oBanjeni ridge, between the Mlalazi and Nyezane rivers.[72]

One ibutho which was formed earlier but which only built it's own establishment at this time was the Gibabanye. The Gibabanye was initially attached to inTonteleni, but when it's numbers were increased through the addition of a younger section, the Dlangubo, the latter section remained at inTonteleni to complete its training, while the veteran senior section left to build a new establishment nearer the coast. This establishment, known as MkhandlWini, was situated on the lower Mhlathuze.[73]

A number of entirely new units appear to have been butha'd after Bulawayo was moved, so that when they left esiKlebheni on the completion of their training, the first establishments which they entered or built were situated in the coastal lowlands. One such unit was the inDabenkulu, of which there was, like the Gibbabanye, a senior section, known as the Bhekenya, or the 'Great Ndabenkulu', and the junior section, simply known as the inDabenkulu.[74] The Gibbabanye and the inDabenkulu, together with a number of other units butha'd still later, such as the Fojisa, umFolozi and Ngqobolondo, joined with the old inTontela and came to be known collectively as iziMpohlo, the 'bachelors' unit.[75] Another unit butha'd at that time, and which built its first ikhanda in the lowlands near the Mlalazi, was the Dlangezwa,[76] into which was later tela'd (added) a further section known as the abeSutu.[77]

By 1824 at least, the Zulu capital, and the bulk of the Zulu amakhanda had moved from the old Mkhumbane heartland onto the coastal plain between the Mhlathuze and Mlalazi rivers. The inland amakhanda in the Makhosini continued to exist, but with curtailed functions. They were evolving into centres that were exclusively concerned with ritual matters, and with the training of recruits, and were increasingly separate

from the daily administration and government of the kingdom. This separation of the ritual and administrative centres of the kingdom may well have been a function of the growing security of the Zulu king's position at this time, and would have served to invest the ritual centres with increased mystique.

The shift to the coastal lowland which saw the further expansion of the amabutho, and which produced these changes was probably the product of three related factors in the evolution of the Zulu state: enormous pressure placed on the limited resources of the Mkhumbane valley by the rapid expansion and centralization of the amabutho; changing political circumstances both externally (the defeat of the Ndwandwe), and internally (Qwabe rebellion), which respectively permitted and promoted a move to the coast; and thirdly, the enormous ecological advantages offered by the coastal lowlands.

The ecology of the Zululand area, and the notion of ecological crisis in particular, has been the subject of considerable debate and discussion, although in the rather different context of accounting for the broader phenomenon of state formation. In his study of the physical environment of Zululand, Guy has noted that the long dry Zululand winter places a particular emphasis on the availability and careful management of winter grazing. He noted that the grasses of Zululand are especially vulnerable and susceptible to the degenerative effects of human activity. The effect of over-stocking is rapidly to destroy the grass cover, which in turn gives rise to soil erosion and bush encroachment.[78] Shula Marks has argued in a similar vein that increased crop cultivation would also have led to soil erosion.[79]

While these theses are cast in terms of regional

overpopulation having such effects across Zululand as a whole, the same arguments can be marshalled to suggest that a specifically localised pressure on the environment of the Mkhumbane valley would have had similarly disasterous effects. It was likely that the concentration of the amakhanda in the Makhosini had precisely such an effect, placing great pressure on the limited resources of the area.

The decisive defeat of the Ndwandwe by the Zulu, c1819, permitted the Zulu, for the first time to turn their attention away from their northern border. It made possible movement out of the Mkhumbane valley, into more productive regions. It also permitted a degree of decentralization of the amakhanda, with some remaining in the Makhosini whilst others moved. Furthermore, the amabutho were freed to turn their attention to unrest internal to the kingdom. The most pressing problem appears to have been ongoing opposition in the Qwabe country, discussed at length in chapter two. It was in the very midst of the Qwabe that the new amakhanda were erected.

Qwabe opposition would have been one of the reasons for the movement into the Qwabe area of substantial Zulu forces, but the large-scale movement of the majority of the Zulu amabutho into the coastal lowlands is better accounted for in terms of the ecological advantages of the area.

Daniel's early study of the location of the Ndwandwe, Mthethwa and Ngwane (Swazi) capitals indicated that they had three features in common - they were located in areas with adequate water for crop cultivation, all had access to suitable soils, and most importantly, they were able to control access to both sweet and sour veld grazing.[80] The movement of the Zulu capital

and the bulk of the Zulu amakhanda into the Qwabe lowlands represented an improvement in terms of all three of these factors. Madikane's remark to Stuart that the move occurred because the land was better seems to be borne out.[81]

The area into which the amakhanda moved was on the edge of huge forest reserves, which would have provided a plentiful supply of fuel, for domestic use as well as in the large quantities necessary for iron working.[82] Game abounded and hunting prospects were better there than in the uplands. The accounts of Fynn and Isaacs indicate that hunting was a common activity at Bulawayo.[83] Their impression of the area was highly favourable.

> Nature had been bountiful in supplying this district with innumerable objects of an attractive kind. Splendid scenery and magnificent landscapes, a luxu[illegible]t soil, rich vegetation, animal food in abun[illegible] fish very plentiful and water from innumer[illegible]ngs were to be found through the whole dis[illegible] The forests in the neighbourhood, which ar[illegible]y extensive, contain almost every species of animal indigenous to Southern Africa, and are called by the natives Loonggoie. [Ngoye][84]

The low-lying areas also offered vastly increased access to vital sweetveld wintergrazing, for the more fertile soils of the lowlands nurture grasses which are palatable throughout the year. At the same time, the area between the Mhlathuze and Mlalazi rivers is a narrower coastal plain than is the case north of the Mhlathuze Spurs of highland, such as the Ngoye and others, extend deep into the coastal plain, allowing easy access to highland areas and permitting a seasonal exploitation of different grass types. The development of rotational grazing systems based on seasonal changes in the productivity between sweet and sourveld allows the crucial sweetveld areas a period of rest and facilitates the maintenance of overall high productivity.

These factors made the area excellent for game, but more importantly, from a Zulu point of view, they provided excellent conditions for cattle-keeping.

Grassland productivity is affected by many of the same factors which are important to crop cultivation. However, cereals, and maize in particular, are drought-sensitive. The territory occupied by the Qwabe receives a much higher annual rainfall (between 1040mm and 1300mm, or more) than the areas to the interior, and in particular, in comparison to the area originally occupied by the Zulu (between 690mm and 780mm).[85] Not only is the average rainfall higher, but the region in question is well-watered with large areas adjacent to rivers and streams which would have provided suitable growing conditions for crops even in times of drought. The coastal margin of the lowland area would have provided an insurance that was absent inland, against drought devastation, for Hall has demonstrated that the nature of the grasses which occur on the immediate coast in marshland conditions improves in quality in drought conditions.[86]

The sturdier and more productive coast l lowland area in which most of the amabutho were settled by 1824 was thus suited to intensive exploitation. The move, in its turn created the conditions for the further extension of the number of men in the amabutho and for a decrease in their reliance for subsistence on the products of raiding and tribute exaction, and on 'food from home'. It also created the circumstances for the extension and diversification of the productive activities of the amabutho, in the spheres of both agriculture and animal husbandry.

It has been noted that under Shaka, and subsequent Zulu kings, the rigid sexual division of labour typical of

Zulu society described by later ethnographers did not prevail in the amakhanda. There, the men were occupied in the 'building of military kraals, planting and reaping and making gardens for the king.'[87] While it is correct that the amabutho did perform agricultural labour, in the intensive campaigning era of Shaka's reign their agricultural activities at the amakhanda were probably less pronounced than was the case in later years. It will be suggested in the next chapter that, under Shaka, the numbers of women resident at the amakhanda were uniquely high and that the greater part of the agricultural labour was performed by them. Nonetheless, the men of the amabutho carried out key agricultural tasks at peak periods in the agricultural season.[88]

Phase three: the extension of Zulu rule across the Thukela and the shift of a number of amakhanda further south

The third phase in the development of the Zulu amabutho was marked by a move southwards across the Thukela, firstly by the Zulu herds and cattle posts, followed shortly by a large number of amakhanda, and ultimately by the Zulu capital.

The iziYendane were the first Zulu unit to move south. Their initial mission was to intervene in the civil war which had erupted in the Cele chiefdom just south of the Thukela. They were instrumental in securing the Cele chieftaincy for Shaka's candidate, Magaye. The movement of the Zulu across the Thukela, and the establishment of a series of cattle posts was then negotiated with the compliance of the new Cele chief. This was already in progress by 1824, when the first traders made their way northwards to Bulawayo through the Cele territory.[89]

Late in 1826, the Zulu capital itself was shifted from Bulawayo, to Dukuza, on the site of present-day Stanger. Isaacs, on his return from a trip into the interior witnessed the move.

> We passed several Zoola kraals, the natives of which had lately removed from the other side of the river Ootoogale: they were the people belonging to the new regiment, Toogoosa, and were taking possession of the kraal appointed for them, driving the Cayles (the original possessors of it) farther to the westward.[90]

The Fasimba, Bhekenya and other amabutho moved with Shaka. The Gibbabanye also settled south of the Thukela.[91]

The last unit to be butha'd by Shaka was the iNgcobinga (or iziNyosi), which was mostly comprised of youths of about twenty. They were also stationed at Dukuza, after the completion of their training at esiKlebheni.[92]

A new establishment was erected for Nandi, the queen mother. Known as Nyakumbi, it was there that the private herds of the king were based.[93] (Possibly a similar arrangement had prevailed previously at Bulawayo, with the king's private herds based at that time at Nandi's Mkhindini residence.)

Zulu cattle posts were erected between the Mvoti river and the Mzimkhulu. The inDabenkulu erected two cattle posts - one on the Bluff near present-day Durban, known as the 'Kayisa of the Ndabenkulu', and another further inland, known as the 'Ndomba of the Ndabenkulu' (Ndomba being the name of the herd at the post). After these cattle posts were erected, the inDabenkulu withdrew to the new capital, leaving local Thuli people to maintain the posts. The 'Kayisa' cattle were herded by young unmarried herders sent down by the king, while the 'Ndomba' cattle were herded by married men. The 'Ndomba' was a herd of oxen, and the cattle post was

probably used to supply beasts for the king to slaughter.[94]

Njanduna, situated between the Mdhlothi and Thongati rivers was one of the largest cattle posts. It was initially a Cele establishment, but was taken over from the Cele chief by Shaka. The Cele inhabitants were retained to run the post. In the same way that the inDabenkulu ibutho was associated with the Thuli-run inDabenkulu cattle posts, the amaPela ibutho was associated with the Cele-run Njanduna cattle post.[95]

There were other cattle posts further south, such as the Mfume post near the iLovu river.[96] Yet another post, Mpiyake, was situated south of the Mkhomazi.[97] Shiyabantu was near present-day Stanger,[98] while another port was located on the Mlazi river.[99] The cattle post Mdimbili was near Mhlali, enTlangwini was on the emuShana river, and the Gqikazi establishment was located north of the Mdhloti.[100] One cattle post, under Lukilimba, was located as far south as the Mzimkhulu.[101] There were, presumably others, about which no records survive.

Khangela, another cattle post, was built on the site today known as 'Congella', and was probably the largest of all the posts.[102] It was erected by a section of the umGumanqa ibutho, who were known as the 'uKangela amankengane', the guards. The term amankengane is a term usually applied to low class persons,[103] and indeed, the cattle posts south of the Thukela appear to have been in the care of lower-class amabutho, or of the Thuli and Cele, who were known collectively by the derogatory appellation of amalala.[104]

These cattle posts were stocked largely with herds seized by the Zulu from the inhabitants of Natal and

from the Mpondo further to the south.[105] The quartering of cattle south of the Thukela offered a number of advantages. The coastal plain there was considerably narrower than that in the Qwabe territory, such that complementary grazing zones were in relatively greater proximity to each other. Presumably, the slightly more temperate climate south of the Thukela, and the lower densities of game than those of great river valleys and plains of the north, lowered the risk of trypanomiasis, and added to the attractiveness of the cattle country south of the Thukela.[106]

Another advantage was the natural barrier constituted by the Thukela itself. Melting snows on the Drakensberg and heavy summer rains rendered the Thukela impassable for at least three months of the year, while crocodiles were a perrenial crossing hazard. Shaka took steps to exert a monopoly over the ways of crossing the river. One way in which this was achieved was through guarding the few drifts. Another was the monopoly which he exerted over the so-called 'water-doctors', whose job it was to conduct travellers across.[107] Such was the importance of this monopoly that when Shaka heard that the traders had a boat which they used to cross the river, he was immediately eager for a demonstration of its 'powers'.[108] The natural advantages of the Thukela were reinforced by the settlement of a length of the river by Shaka's closest allies within the kingdom, Ndhlela kaSompisi, Ngomane kaMqomboli and Mbikwana kaKhayi, and, further inland, the Mbo chief, Zihlandhlo.[109]

Access from the north of the kingdom to the great Zulu herds based in the south was thus limited, and controlled by the Zulu king. Similarly, the amakhanda enjoyed a new measure of security afforded by the Thukela. Zulu enemies to the north of the kingdom, amongst them the Ndwandwe, Swazi and the followings

of the renegades Mzilikazi, Nxaba and Soshangane who were, on the whole, more formidable than their southern neighbours amongst whom, the already twice defeated Mpondo were the only polity of any significance.

More importantly, however, the move south placed the Thukela between Shaka and the most recalcitrant elements within the kingdom. The historical record indicates that there were deep rumblings of discontent within the Zulu kingdom at this time, and suggests that it was a period of internal crisis. The pointers of crisis include the death (possibly murder by Shaka) of Nandi; the elaborate and stringently enforced mourning observations which ensued, and which were used to eliminate obdurate factions within the kingdom; the excessively harsh action taken by Shaka at that time against a recalcitrant ibutho; and the attempted assassination of Shaka, witnessed by Fynn and Isaacs.[110] It was immediately following the attempt on his life that Shaka moved,

> One day as the Assembly debated the affairs of the land, Shaka spoke words that alarmed everyone. He said, 'I am moving from the capital of Bulawayo. The grounds of Bulawayo have begun to smell of death.' [11]

It was claimed that he moved because '...they threatened (xakalaze) him with spears at Bulawayo. Saying that Bulawayo was wild cat country (ku se Mpaka) he moved across the Tugela and settled there.'[112] The name of the new capital, Dukuza, was said to refer to a 'hide-away', or a place where one might get lost, which was, as Isaacs remarked, appropriate to Shaka's 'design of being absent from his palace Umbulali[ ] or from the wish of his people that he should retire while they attacked his enemies'.[113]

The precise circumstances which gave rise to these expressions of unease are not known, but a year and a

half later, Shaka was dead, having been assassinated in a palace coup. The move south, towards the Port Natal settlement, must be seen against this backdrop. The military strength and firepower of the traders had received widespread publicity after their successful participation in the campaign against the Khumalo chief, Bheje. The intimacy between Shaka and the traders served to stifle dissension within the kingdom, while the greater proximity of the Zulu capital to the traders' settlement would have appeared daunting to the kingdom's external enemies. Shaka's grant of land north of Dukuza, near the Mlalazi river mouth, to the traders meant that from a Zulu point of view, the traders would then have afforded the capital protection from both the north and the south.[114] The proximity of Dukuza to Port Natal also made the actions of the traders easier to monitor.

The move south was delayed until the final defeat of the Ndwandwe in 1826.[115] Thereafter, it seems that the orientation of Zulu foreign policy was to the south. Shaka was eager to establish relations with the British at the Cape, as evidenced by the Zulu deputation to the Cape. Moreover, the Mpondo in the south had, in the last campaign, provided the Zulu with a great booty in cattle, and were probably seen as a new sphere of raiding operations for the Zulu amabutho.[116]

Age, ranking and privilege in the amabutho

Close periodisation of the amabutho system thus resolves many of the difficulties in the mass of amabutho and amakhanda names which characterize the oral literature. It also emphasises the changing nature and function of the amabutho under Shaka, revealing a system that was still evolving, and was in the process of being refined.

Within this perspective, an implicit notion still exists of the relative homogeneity of the amabutho. However, this was far from the case. Indeed, it would be surprising to find an institution as uniform and systematic as the amabutho have generally been described. A further tendency exists within the literature on the amabutho to conceive of the units as being age-based, with a consequent failure to disaggregate individual amabutho, to discern status differences between them and the bases of privilege within them. In order to consider the complex questions of age, ranking and privilege within the amabutho, it is useful to distinguish between the Zulu forces living in the north of the kingdom, and those based in the south.

While the heart of the Zulu kingdom and the greater part of the army shifted steadily southwards, the northern reaches of the kingdom were protected by a few major amakhanda, kwaMandlakazi, Qulusini, Mphangisweni and oSebeni. Unlike the southern amakhanda, these were not erected by specific amabutho as their headquarters. They were amakhanda with a pronounced regional definition associated with a particular territory. The armed forces associated with these four amakhanda either lived permanently in the amakhanda or built homesteads in the vicinity. Their function was not simply the protection of the northern flank of the kingdom; they were also involved in the subjugation and colonization of the northern areas, and the integration of the local inhabitants into the Zulu kingdom.[117]

The position of the kwaMandlakazi establishment and the associated 'Mandlakazi' people has been discussed at length in the previous chapter. The character of the other three northern amakhanda resembled that of

kwaMandlakazi very closely.

The Qulusini ikhanda was erected in the north-western *extremity* of the kingdom near Hlobane, once the original Ngwe, Hlubi and Ngwane inhabitants of the *area* had moved.[118] Ntlaka, of the Mdlalose collateral Zulu clan, was sent by Shaka to build Qulusini, and to act as induna-in-charge. He was accompanied by numbers of the Mdlalose who settled near the ikhanda. The area of authority of the induna at Qulusini extended north across the Phongola, abutting on the Swazi kingdom. Mnkabayi, a senior member of the Zulu ruling lineage, and a paternal aunt of Shaka's was placed in supreme command of Qulusini.[119] As occurred with the 'Mandlakazi', Shaka resettled recalcitrant elements from other regions in the Qulusini area. By Cetshwayo's time, the people known as the Qulusi numbered thousands.[120]

The Qulusi were neither an ibutho nor a clan, or clan section. Ndukwana, one of Stuart's informants explained it thus,

> Baqulusi is not the name of a regiment but of a people: these people take their name from the kraal of Mkabayi, twin sister of Mmama, daughter of Jama.[121]

Similarly, Guy notes that

> ... the importance of the amakhanda had *eclipsed* the importance of the clan insofar as the relations of its members to the state were concerned.[122]

There was no isibongo 'Qulusi'. Mdlalose, Zulu, Mthethwa, and the Ndwandwe *izibongo appear* to have been the most common names at the ikhanda.[123] Neither was the *ikhanda name 'Qulusini' ever* used as a collective designation for a number of amabutho, in the way that 'emBelebeleni' *or* 'inTontoleni' were.

Guy described both the 'Mandlakazi' and the Qulusi as 'royal sections', in an apparent reference to their creation by the Zulu royal house. He elaborated saying,

> They were not drafted into the conventional regiments but mobilised and fought as a royal section and they were not represented in the king's council by a chief, because they represented the power of the Zulu royal house, not a pre-Shakan chiefdom.[124]

Little is known about the Mphangisweni establishment, but its circumstances appear to be very similar to those of kwaMandlakazi and Qulusini. Mphangisweni was built at the sources of the Black Mfolozi river. It was initially occupied by the men of emBelebele, and also comprised a large Mthethwa contingent. It was under the control of members of the Zulu royal family. Abutting on the recalcitrant Khumalo, it acted as a watch-out post against the Ndwandwe. After the defeat in 1826, of Sikhunyana kaZwide, numerous Ndwandwe were incorporated into the Zulu kingdom, through Mphangisweni.[125]

The oSebeni ikhanda, again appears to have been very similar to the other northern amakhanda. It was established near the Nhlazatshe under Mmama, twin sister of Mnkabayi, and was considered to be another royal section, comparable to the Qulusi.[126]

Guy has claimed that these 'royal sections represented the most radical departure from the pre-Shakan past and reduced the importance of the independent clans'.[127] It is his contention that the sections like the Sebeni were a new and important means of social advancement for their non-Zulu members, but Guy gives little indication of precisely what this entailed. In fact, under Shaka the top offices at these amakhanda seem to have continued to be monopolized by the Zulu royals

and members of the collateral Zulu clans.

The principle purpose of all four amakhanda thus seems to have been as resettlement establishments, and the amakhanda were charged with the business of integrating the refugees and other settlers in their districts.

This seems to have determined a crucial difference between the amakhanda of the north and those of the south, which was their respective characteristics of permanence and mobility. The northern amakhanda had an especially long life.[128] Presumably, this difference related to the functions which they performed. The northern amakhanda dominated areas of conquered or tributary peoples. The emphasis was on their integration into the kingdom, and their effective government by the Zulu state. The exceptionally powerful members of the Zulu clan who commanded the northern amakhanda stood in marked contrast to an absence of any commanders from the Zulu clan, in the amakhanda in the south. This was probably because the emphasis on integration which prevailed in the north demanded powerful ideological foci. The royal or royal-related figures brought to the far north the power of the Zulu kingship, the ubukosi, for they were related to the line of the Zulu kings but as Mnkabayi and Mmama were women, and Mapitha and Ntlaka were members of collateral clans, it would have been difficult for them to seize power themselves. In the south, the peoples amongst whom the amakhanda were situated, were not incorporated into the Zulu kingdom in an inclusive, integrative way. They remained separate and distinct as outsiders. The amakhanda in the south were less concerned to consolidate the area in which they were built, than to exploit it for its cultivatable and pasturage potential.

The men of the northern amakhanda were thus one section of the Zulu army that was not organized on an age-basis. A similar qualification needs to be made regarding the amabutho settled in the south. The units inherited from Senzangakhona were generally older than those butha'd by Shaka in the 1820s and while they may, originally, have been age-sets, under Shaka, this was not the case.

According to Bryant, the amaWombe were mostly between the ages of 35 and 40, and comprised 'the eldest of Senzangakhona's fighting men (b. c.1775-85...)'.[129] Under Shaka, the amaWombe was acknowledgedly the most senior unit, but this did not necessarily mean that it comprised the oldest men of the military establishment. Ndhlela kaSompisi, for example, was an eminent induna (officer) who was not of the amaWombe, but of the 'inTontela', conventionally considered to be a younger man's unit. His younger brother however, was a member of the amaWombe.[130] Analysis of the known membership of the amaWombe shows it to be overwhelmingly the ibutho of the royal Zulu and collateral clans, and the other elite amantungwa clans. It was, moreover, the ibutho of Shaka himself. Within the oral record, it was the amaWombe who enjoyed the greatest reputation of all the amabutho. Their bravery and prowess was extolled. They were praised and rewarded by Shaka, and in that way, their superior status was constantly enhanced.[131]

The case of the amaWombe suggests two things; that the amabutho were not exclusively age-based, and secondly, that differences in status were not necessarily related to age. These points are borne out in examination of other amabutho. The veteran isiPezi and Dubinhlangu who were roughly the same age or older than the men of the amaWombe. In contrast to the amaWombe, they saw their

status under Shaka diminish with the removal of their headrings.[132]

The distinctions in the status of these amabutho were daily manifest in the primary difference between the head-ringed and the ringless men. Those amabutho which were entitled to thunga (to assume the headring) were known as the 'white' amabutho as opposed to the 'black' amabutho, the men without headrings. Battle accounts typically depicted the 'white' amabutho as the veterans and the great warriors, whilst the 'black' amabutho were described as being inexperienced, if lusty.[133] As has been noted in a number of instances however, the 'black' amabutho were, in fact, seasoned soldiers who had been reduced to the status of recruits. This distinction was emphasised in the mainly white shields of the former, and the primarily black shields of the latter.

> It was the "great warriors" that carried predominantly white shields, the young warriors who had black shields and the "Umfaudais" (inferiors) (umfokasi) who had red shields.[134]

The distinctive garb of each ibutho - ornaments, ways of dressing the hair, habiliments, and colours and styles of fighting sticks - rendered its members distinguishable at a glance, and was strictly adhered to.[135] Lunguza commented to Stuart that

> It was a great offence for a man not belonging to a particular regiment to carry a shield of a colour used by a particular regiment.[136]

Any age-basis to the amabutho was further subverted through the practice of tela'ing (adding, or pouring into, as in adding one unit or section of a unit to another). To the amaWombe at emBelebeleni were tela'd the Nomdayana, Mpondozobekwapi, amaPela, iziKwembu and other units.[137] Collectively, and sometimes individually, the units were called the emBelebele,

with whom Shaka 'used to harass (belesela) other nations.[138] Indeed the emBelebele featured prominently in the accounts of almost all the major campaigns. They were frequently credited with turning the tide in battle in the favour of the Zulu. The emBelebele, more than any other unit, was said to have constituted the core of the Zulu army.[139] They were described as 'the headrest of our mothers at our place',[140] and the early trader Isaacs referred to them as 'the well-known invincibles'.[141]

To the Dubinhlangu too were added a number of units, notably the Dhlangubo, who were sometimes referred to by their common ikhanda name of inTontela. The inTontela also fought in the major campaigns against the Ndwandwe and the Mpondo.[142] To the isiPezi at umGumanqa were tela'd the Khangela, Nteke and possibly the Mbonambi (also known as the Zibolela). Collectively, and sometimes singly, these units were referred to by their ikhanda name, the umGumanqa. The umGumanqa featured prominently in a number of campaigns, notably against the Mpondo, and in the rout of the Ndwandwe.[143]

As the Zulu kingdom expanded, men of these units were sent further and further afield. EmBelebeleni was razed to the ground by the Ndwandwe, and was subsequently rebuilt on the Qwabe border. After the defeat of the Ndwandwe in 1818, it was the emBelebele who erected Shaka's new capital Gibixhegu, later called Bulawayo. Still later, the emBelebele were sent by Dingane to build beyond the Swazi border.[144]

Whilst Shaka was still a lieutenant of Dingiswayo, the inTontela was moved from the Mthonjaneni and sent

south to settle disturbances amongst the Nyuswa, another Mthethwa tributary. InTonteleni was rebuilt on the Mamba river and Nyuswa men were called up by Shaka and tela'd into the inTonteleni.[145] Shaka's Badaneni establishment was erected close to inTonteleni, and placed in the charge of Sirayo, a local Nyuswa man. The Badeneni ikhanda was responsible for the tobacco tribute which was demanded from the Nyuswa, and was presumably supervised from inTonteleni nearby.[146] These two amakhanda were situated on the southern border of the kingdom. They functioned thus as look-out posts, and border guards, and probably controlled the major inland drifts by which the Thukela could be crossed.[147] Ndhlela kaSompisi was a member of the inTontela, and had been granted a march territory abutting on the inTontela ikhanda, and extending along the Thukela.[148] Another prominent figure at inTonteleni was Sotobe kaMpangala of the Sibiya. He was apparently not a member of any of the amabutho based there, but was an induna in charge of the king's cattle in the area placed in the care of the inTontela.[149]

The larger divisions, consisting of a number of amabutho, were likewise distinguished from one another in terms of status, as well as being differentiated within themselves. The emBelebele was clearly the most prestigious division of all, and the available evidence strongly suggests that the men of the emBelebele were drawn from a narrow constituency comprising the Zulu royal clans, the collateral Zulu clans and men from clans with especially close ties to the royal house, such as the Nthuli.[150] Yet within the emBelebele, the amaWombe ibutho enjoyed the greatest status.

Similarly, within the inTontela division, it was the Dubinhlangu which was the most senior unit, and which enjoyed the greatest prestige, although not on a par with that of the amaWombe. The composition of the inTontela *altered over time with the addition of new* units, but on the whole, the available evidence indicates that its membership was drawn from a wider constituency than that of the emBelebele. Like the amaWombe, the inTontela drew members from the collateral Zulu clans and from the Nthuli, but there is no evidence of it having any royal Zulu members. The inTontela which also consisted of large numbers of Nyuswa, in the form of *an exclusively Nyuswa section*, thus had the appearance of being a somewhat less exclusive division than the emBelebele.[151]

Within the izimPohlo division, there were also marked *differences of status amongst* the amabutho, for while the majority of its sections were 'black' units, others, like the Fojiyisa, carried the red shields of 'inferiors'. Lacking any 'white' units, the izimPohlo was less prestigious than the emBelebele and the inTontela.[152] The umGumanqa division was the most diverse division of all. Samuelson suggested that the name 'umGumanqa' derives from the verb ukugumanqa, *meaning to place in a combined heap in a hole*, in the way that mielies are when thrown into a pit and begin to 'conglomerate'.[153] Certainly, the umGumanqa was made up of men of highly disparate backgrounds, including men of the Langeni, the Gasa, the Mbonambi and Kubisa (i.e. of the old Mthethwa polity), the Chunu, the Dladla and others. Of all the divisions, it was the least exclusive. Like the izimPohlo, there were units in the umGumanqa *which carried* shields that were predominantly red, but the umGumanqa also had units that carried predominantly white shields. Within the umGumanqa, the isiPezi and the

Khangela were the senior units, and were made up of older, generally experienced men. However, the umGumanqa also contained the newly butha'd youths of the Mbonambi unit.[154] There were also amabutho like the iziYendane, Badeneni and Njanduna which were made up exclusively of Hlubi, Nyuswa and Cele respectively, and which contained men of all ages.[155]

In contrast, one unit, the Fasimba, never became part of a wider division. The Fasimba passed through both esiKlebheni and emBelebeleni, but once Shaka's capital, Bulawayo had been erected, it became their base. They also built in outlying districts, such as amongst the Qwabe, but for the most part, they were remained in close proximity to the Zulu king.[156] The close identification between this ibutho and the monarch was probably an important factor in the increasingly strong position of the monarchy. The Fasimba was,

> the one group which could be trained in his methods, from the start of his career ... here he placed his greatest reliance and it became the prototype for the regiments that followed.[157]

As the first unit butha'd of men who had not been in the Zulu army under Senzangakhona, it was made up of younger men than the amabutho already discussed. It was destined to become the cream of the Zulu amabutho. It was said to be Shaka's favourite ibutho, and was known as 'Tshaka's Own'.[158] The Fasimba carried shields that were all white, made from the hides of Shaka's pure white 'Phongola' herds. They were further distinguished from the other amabutho by ornamental incisions on the inner calves of their legs. References to the clan origins of the men of the Fasimba are scarce, but amongst the few available, the names of men of the collateral Zulu clans predominate in a manner that echoes the composition of the amaWombe. Like the amaWombe, the much younger Fasimba clearly

enjoyed high status.[159]

The picture which emerges from this evidence is one of the development of the amabutho on a contingent basis as new units were added to the original amabutho. The divisions which comprised the army were not uniform sections, but differed from one another in terms of both their status and their composition. Within the divisions, the component amabutho manifested similar distinctions, which qualify the notion of their rigid age-basis. Clear distinctions existed between privileged units and inferior units. The evidence suggests that access to former was determined by birth, rather than by age or ability, and was restricted to a specific, and privileged sector of Zulu society.

The restrictions on marriage to which the amabutho were subject, operated to enhance the position of privileged sectors within the army. From the perspective of Guy's thesis of ecological crisis and relative overpopulation, the enforced delay in marriage is seen as having had the effect of reducing the fertile span of women, and thus the potential rate of population increase, and by extension, the intensity with which the environment was exploited.[160] It has also been argued that the strict enforcement of marriage restrictions allowed elders to 'tighten their control over the means by which their positions of dominance were reproduced through time',[161] i.e. over human reproduction as much as over production. However, marriage controls appear to have been enforced predominantly over men, rather than over women. Women were centralized in two institutions, the izigodlo and the female amabutho, but their numbers were insignificant compared to the numbers of men in the amabutho.[162] Furthermore, Zulu society was polygamous, and while fewer men were able to marry under Shaka, where men were sufficiently wealthy, they

could marry large numbers of women, and in theory at least, could beget as many children as they cared to. Effectively, this meant that the marriage restrictions served rather to concentrate the advantages of marriage in the hands of an increasingly restrictive group.

In addition, not all the men of the amabutho thunga'd and married at a late age. Some were more privileged in this respect than others. While the delay in the marriage age of the amabutho under Shaka can be understood as the extension of elder powar over juniors, this intersected with the extension of the power of the Zulu aristocracy over the commoners. Many of the men who were required to remove their headrings were older, often circumcised men of considerable maturity and experience. Conversely many younger men sported headrings. It was claimed, for example, that under Shaka, 'it was the custom there in Zululand, that a man, if he was an only son, should tunga and marry for that reason',[163] even where his ibutho was prohibited from so doing. Nor were only sons the only young men to sew on the headring. Ndhlela kaSompisi, Zulu kaNogandaya and others of the 'black' 'bachelors' amabutho, thunga'd, married and had children during Shaka's reign. Similarly, the men of the elite amaWombe corps were permitted to marry, while those of the less privileged isiPezi who were of the same age and possibly older than the amaWombe, were not.[164] The development of the amabutho system under Shaka seems therefore, to have been characterized by the emergence of privileged sectors within the army, whose positions were not determined by age or experience.

Stratification within and amongst the amabutho reflected a wider transformation taking place within the Zulu. The reign of Shaka seems to have seen a steady advance in the power and prestige of the aristocracy in an

emerging new order where age, previously venerated, increasingly came to be denigrated. When Shaka first assumed the reins of government, he seems to have had encountered opposition from the Zulu elders who had hitherto monopolised power. His response was to eliminate a faction of that opposition and at least initially, to win over the support of the remainder.[165] Tensions re-emerged as the reorganisation of the Zulu army effected by Shaka made inroads into the traditional areas of elder authority. Sometime after the defeat of the Ndwandwe in 1818, Shaka delivered a final coup to those elements which still opposed his rule.

In a dramatic move, the 'old men' of the kingdom were 'thrown out', an event recalled thereafter in the name of Shaka's new capital, Gibixhegu.[166] According to Melapi, one of Stuart's informants, this action of Shaka's was precipitated by an attempt on his life.[167]

> The Ndwandwes were no sooner defeated than he collected all the aged men in the country and had them killed. A special song was composed on that occasion, the words of which were: produce the cowards, etc. Each regiment produced its own, when they were at once carried off and killed.[168]

The twin elements of the story, cowardice and agedness, were repeated in other versions of this event, and the story seems to have an allegorical quality, being symbolic of the passing of the old order and the induction of the new.[169] The individuals who were removed at that time were not literally the oldest people. Many elder statesmen favoured by Shaka continued in high positions, notably Ngomane kaMqomboli, Sotobe kaMpangala and Manyosi kaDhlekezele.[170]

The precise sequence of events leading up to this action cannot be established, but it seems likely that the 'old men' were opponents of the Shakan regime. What is most significant about their elimination is

the form taken by the account, and in particular the emphasis on the negative aspect of agedness in which it was cast, and indeed, it seemed to be a common theme in stories about the Shakan kingdom.

Shaka's own desire for the traders' remedy for grey hair, macassar oil, is well known.[171] The reign of Shaka seems to have seen a process whereby the ideological basis for access to power was shifting, and being shifted, away from the elders and traditional local leaders, and concentrated in the hands of an increasingly narrow ruling elite.

The new accent as reflected in the tales about heroes, and in the traditions, was on youth, ability and bravery. The story of the rise to power of a great warrior like Zulu kaNogandaya was typical. Mandhlakazi, one of Stuart's informants told the story of Zulu like this:

> I shall now tell you how Zulu won renown as a great warrior ... It was Zulu who opened the attack at Nomveve. It was he who stabbed first, and it was his opponent who was the first to fall. They drove the enemy back and forced them to retreat. It was reported to Tshaka that Komfiya, the son of Nogandaya, was fighting fiercely. When Tshaka was told, he said that he could hear where Zulu had been fighting, Zulu 'the heavens which thundered in the open, where there are no mimosas or acacias...'. The enemy army was reported to be in the wilderness, retreating homewards. The warriors broke into a war dance, but Zulu did not join in until Tshaka cried, 'Dance, Heavens which thundered in the open, where there are no mimosas or acacias!', upon which the son of Nogandaya danced. A number of cattle were selected and Zulu's mat-bearer was told to take them to Mtshaseni. (Zulu's residence).[172]

The traditions asserted the principle that it was courage and loyalty which brought reward and advancement in the Zulu army. In practice however, those already in power exerted a monopoly over 'bravery in battle', for it was the izinduna who reported the

courageous acts on which advancement was based.

Stuart's informants noted that this practice was widely abused. It was said of the izinduna that

> they masked many heroes through mere self-seeking. A hero who had perhaps killed 3 or 4 would be silenced by its being said by the indunas that some other men, some special favourite (like a prince) had killed a couple of the very men claimed, and someone else would be declared to have killed the others, thereby leaving the true hero without anything to boast of.[173]

The 'princes' who were reported in an advantageous way repaid the favour by promoting the interests of the izinduna concerned.[174]

The common soldiers had no means of redress against *such abuses, beyond appealing directly to the king* himself. This was a rare occurrence for the izinduna monopolised access to the king. It was they whom the ordinary people had to rely on to intercede with the king on their behalf, and it was they who tried all cases except for the most serious.[175]

The izinduna saw to the distribution of the king's bounty to the men, not only as cattle rewards, but on a daily basis in the form of food and beer. They also supervised the arming of the amabutho. It was the induna of an ibutho who approached the king to beg for new shields for the unit. The izinduna were also powerful intermediaries in the redistribution of prestige goods and ornaments to their men. Writing in the mid-thirties, at a time when he considered the power of the izinduna of the Zulu army to have diminished significantly from what it was under Shaka, Gardiner commented

> Considerable authority is delegated to the principal Induna of each ekanda, as well as to inflict punishment as to reward, and he is always entrusted with a supply of brass armlets and collars for those whom he considered deserving of such distinctions.[176]

The izinduna under Shaka wielded thus enormous power. They occupied a position of great security for they were protected and could only be killed on the orders of the king himself. But they, in their turn, had the power of life and death over those who they commanded.

> It was the izinduna who were responsible for the indiscriminate killing off that went on. Sometimes a man rewarded with cattle by the king would be killed just as he reached his home, and his cattle seized. These cattle ... would be taken off to the izindunas' kraals, and they would report that nothing in the shape of cattle was at the kraal.[177]

Cruel beatings were common. The izinduna were also notorious for illegally appropriating for themselves a portion of the cattle raided by the amabutho on campaign, a practice against which the men of the amabutho had no redress.[178] The izinduna were thus able to use their offices to amass wealth for themselves often at the expense of the men under them. Their rank entitled them to a number of further benefits. If one of the men under their command took girl captives in battle, he would give a portion of them to his commanding officer. The ransom for boy captives would accrue to the induna, and where boy captives were not redeemed, the induna would redistribute them amongst his men.[179] Many of the great izinduna were granted access to large estates which provided the basis for the development of great cattle herds, and on which, over time, they were able to build up followings of their supporters, through the extension of their patronage.[180]

The izinduna sat on the isiqoqo, the main council at the king's headquarters, and it was the isiqoqo which ultimately decided 'who was to be allowed to have authority, and would preserve power for themselves...'[181] In practice, honours were only conferred on men of rank, and new officers 'would be recruited from only the very

largest (i.e. most important) men'. It was asserted that 'anyone who was xwayile (wide awake) was bhekelwa'd (appointed) ... made an induna. A man who was hlakanpili (clever) was placed in a position though he was not of high birth', but as the same informant wryly noted, the sons of 'notable men' would be selected first.[182] These remarks by Stuart's informants suggest that the izinduna constituted an elite to which access was strictly limited. To what extent are their observations borne out by the composition of the izinduna class?

Any analysis of the composition of the group of officers in the Zulu army under Shaka is necessarily impressionistic because of the nature of the evidence available. Sources are sparse, and where the names of the izinduna have survived at all, it is often in isolation, apart from any further details of the clan, ibutho or status of the man concerned. On the accompanying chart all the available names of izinduna have been listed according to the ibutho or ikhanda over which they had command. The names on the list have been culled primarily, though not exclusively, from four sources - the works of the Rev. A.T. Bryant, the writings of the early Zulu historian, Magema Fuze, the three published volumes of the James Stuart Archive, and the archival holdings of the Stuart collection.[183] Only limited use was made of the latter source because of the difficulties involved in constantly cross-checking the loosely ordered original papers, without an index in the manner demanded by the drawing up of such at table. The data in the chart can and should be expanded on once the remaining section of the Stuart collection is published.

Writing in the early 1830s, Gardiner considered there to be between two and ten izinduna to every ibutho,

of whom one was the commander, and the others merely in charge of sections of the ibutho, seeing to the day-to-day administration of the ikhanda. The position of the commander was thus quite different from that of the subordinate officers, whom Gardiner described as an 'inferior class', and was probably a political appointment.[184] The chart sample probably represents this better-known, upper echelon of the induna class, since it can be assumed that over time, it is the most significant power holders of an era that are most likely to be remembered by informants, except where they refer to their relatives.

As a survey, the data on the chart is neither complete, nor is it necessarily representative. It simply reflects the existing state of information. Nonetheless, a number of significant patterns emerge in the data, which support claims made in a more general way about izinduna by various informants. It will be argued on the basis of this correlation that, like the men of the most prestigious amabutho, the izinduna were drawn from a limited sector of Zulu society.

The chart contains the names of forty-two individuals explicitly designated as izinduna in the original sources. Of these, there is no further data available on two of the names, and for the purposes of the following discussion, only the remaining forty izinduna will be considered.

Of the sixteen izinduna whose own amabutho are known, nine became izinduna over amabutho other than the ones to which they themselves belonged. Five of the remaining instances are indeterminate because the individuals are described as being izinduna at amakhanda rather than of specific amabutho. In some cases, this may have reflected the use of the ikhanda-name as a

collective term for the amabutho based there, or in other cases it may indicate that the individuals concerned were not in charge of specific amabutho but were simply officers at a particular ikhanda. Of these five however, four were described as being 'head izinduna', with functions that generally exceeded the scope of command of a single ibutho. Thus, only two izinduna on the chart were listed as being in command of the same amabutho as those to which they themselves belonged. Of these, Mapholoba kaNgomane was almost certainly appointed induna of his ibutho, the iziNyosi, after the death of Shaka. The other induna was Nduvana (brother of Ndhlela kaSompisi), who was himself of the amaWombe, the ibutho over which he was also appointed induna. As has already been noted, the status of the amaWombe was greater than that of the other amabutho. It would, presumably, have been difficult for an induna from any other, lower status unit to take charge of the amaWombe. The figures taken from the chart confirm thus the informant Mpatshana's observation that 'The izinduna were usually taken from the outside'.[185] Indeed, it makes sense that the men who were appointed as the izinduna of new units would usually have been older and more experienced.

Examination of the third column of the chart shows that the clan names of thirty-six of the forty izinduna are available. Of these thirty-six, the breakdown was one Sibiya, one Cube, one Buthelezi, two Mbatha and four Nthul , all from chiefdoms incorporated in the first phase of Zulu expansion. There were two izinduna from the Langeni, the clan of the queen mother, four Ndwandwe izinduna, eight Mthethwa, and ten izinduna from the collateral Zulu clans (including the Mandlakazi). Nine of the ten izinduna drawn from the collateral Zulu clans were described as 'head' or 'great' izinduna (see column one). Of the other eight

izinduna also described as 'head' izinduna, there were three Mthethwa, one Mbatha, one Ndwandwe, two Nthuli and one Langeni.

The data contained in the chart suggests that high office within the Zulu amabutho system was dominated by men of the collateral Zulu clans (including the Mandlakazi). The absence of izinduna drawn from the Zulu clan itself is conspicuous. The men of the old Mthethwa army were also important contenders for high office. Their appointment was probably determined in part by their military experience, as well as by their usefulness to Shaka as outsiders. The Ndwandwe who achieved high office were all men who had defected from the Ndwandwe early on, and who had khonza'd Shaka. They too would have been experienced in military affairs, and would have depended on the king himself for their advancement. It was also undoubtedly a significant coup for Shaka to be able to win over the officers of the army of his arch rival.

Of the thirty-six izinduna whose clan names are known, further genealogical information is available for eighteen of them. Ten of these were connected to the Zulu royalty (i.e. through the collateral clans or as royal sections). All of the remaining eight were either the sons of chiefs, or connected closely to the chiefly house of a clan. Not one of the izinduna listed came from a clan that was without status under Shaka. It seems that commoners were unlikely to gain high office under Shaka without a concommitant improvement in the status of the lineage to which they were connected. At the same time, it seems that high office was not a monopoly of royalty. On the contrary, men of Shaka's immediate family, and of the Zulu clan more generally seem to have been excluded from high office in the amakhanda. While the collateral clans

tended to dominate the office holding class, an equal number of appointments seem to have been made from lineages which were not directly related to the ruling lineage. Yet the group of outsiders from whom such appointments were made was itself extremely curtailed. These izinduna were thus all either amantungwa, 'outsiders' like the Ndwandwe, or renowned Zulu loyalists. The officer class constituted a new elite that appears to have been narrowly defined and to which access was limited. Its criteria were not simply those of birth or genealogical seniority. New men did gain power, but as they did so, so the status of their lineages necessarily grew as well. The izinduna under Shaka were not the old pre-Shakan power holders in new positions, nor were they 'brave heroes' who gained high position through dint of their hard efforts.

For the entire period of Shaka's rule, the Zulu army was under the supreme command of a triumvirate consisting of the king, the elder Mthethwa statesman Ngomane kaMqomboli, and the commander-in-chief of the army, Mdhlaka kaNcidi.[186] The balance of elements in this upper leadership echoed the composition of the class of izinduna.

Shaka belonged to the elite amaWombe corps. He was depicted in the traditions as an active member of the military establishment and was credited with a record for bravery in action whilst amongst the Mthethwa. He is remembered as being fit and agile, and as having accompanied his army on campaign. He moved across his domains regularly, inspecting the amakhanda and drilling the amabutho. The traditions represented Shaka as a warrior king par excellence.[187]

Ngomane kaMqomboli, of the Dletsheni, had occupied high office amongst the Mthethwa, probably as Dingiswayo's

head induna at oYengweni. When the young Shaka first arrived in the Mthethwa country to khunza Dingiswayo, it was into the care of Ngomane that this son of the Zulu chief was entrusted.[188] The traditions indicate that a relationship of especial closeness prevailed between the two. Ngomane was then 'already an old man', and he was given to Shaka as an elder guardian and advisor. 'Here is your father', Dingiswayo said to him.[189] Shaka lived at Ngomane's establishment, and later enrolled under him in an Mthethwa ibutho. The traditions relate that it was Ngomane who accompanied Shaka on his return to the Zulu to challenge the succession of his brother Sigujana, together with the rest of Shaka's immediate family, and his Mthethwa retinue, including a contingent of Mthethwa warriors.[190]

Ngomane and the Mthethwa who accompanied Shaka played a crucial role in the earliest phase of Shaka's reign, when the new Zulu chief sought to consolidate his position vis-a-vis his powerful royal siblings, and other challengers. After the murder of Dingiswayo, Ngomane as a powerful and respected Mthethwa representative at the court of the Zulu king would have been an absolutely key figure in the reorganization of the Mthethwa kingdom under Shakan hegemony, and in facilitating the incorporation of the fragments of the once great Mthethwa army into the Zulu forces. It was Ngomane who manoeuvred on the delicate issue of the Mthethwa chieftaincy to ensure that its resolution was favourable to Zulu interests. The new incumbent, Mlandela kaMbiya, had trained together with Shaka in the Mthethwa army, and was subsequently enrolled in the iziMpohlo.[191]

Ngomane was accorded great prestige in the new Zulu kingdom. One informant claims that he was allowed the 'signal favour' of keeping an isigodlo (establishment

of women) generally a royal perogative.[192] Other sources claimed that Ngomane was the king's foremost councillor and 'stood high in his esteem'.[193] He played an important role in the national rituals.[194]

Mdhlaka kaNcidi was described as the supreme commander of the army, the 'induna yeswe'.[195] Some sources claim however that he was not as senior a figure as Ngomane. Although Mdhlaka was an influential advisor of the king's, and an important policy maker, his primary role was in the field. He personally conducted the major campaigns, while Ngomane remained in control at home in the absence of the army, and often, of the king himself.[196]

The Zulu high command demonstrated thus a balance between the old and the new orders. The hierarchy of elder power was present in the figure of Ngomane, although, significantly, its representative was not of the royal line. Ngomane also represented the large Mthethwa contingent in the army. Mdhlaka represented both the ideal of a great hero, and at the same time, as a member of the emGazini, represented the power of the collateral clans.

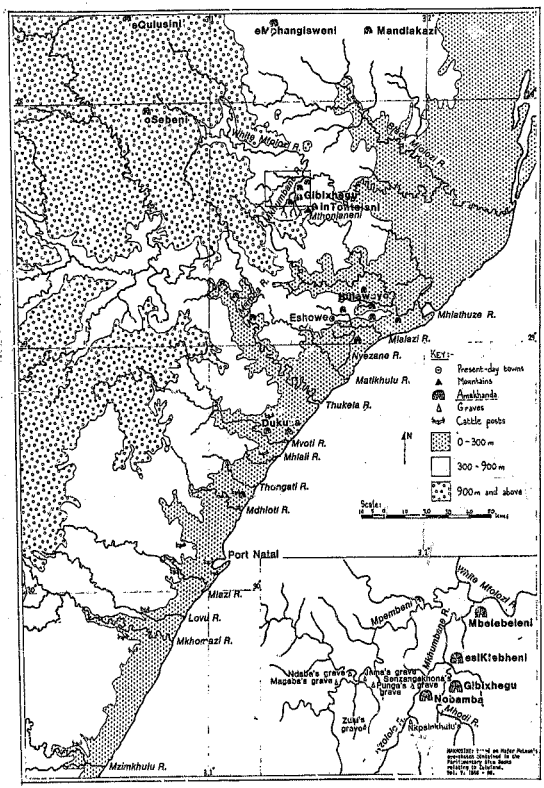
Their offices were not rigidly fixed positions nor was the composition of the induna class, but were evolving in response to the changing circumstances and conditions of existence of the kingdom itself. In the early years of Shaka's reign, the influence of Ngomane probably exceeded that of Shaka's local advisors. As the Zulu king consolidated his rule, and then dabula'd certain sections of his family, to create the collateral clans such as the emGazini, so then did it become possible for there to be a shift away from reliance on 'external' elements. When Dingane became king, he found himself to be in a position of insecurity reminiscent of that

which Shaka first experienced. The effect of this seems to have been a harsh reaction on his part against his powerful relatives, and a renewed reliance on izinduna from other clans loyal to the Zulu monarchy, such as the Nthuli and Buthelezi represented by Ndlela kaSompisi and Klwana kaNgqengelele respectively.

The chart further indicates the extent to which high offices and other appointments were held by the sons and other relatives of the senior izinduna. Klwana, induna of the emBelebele, was the son of Ngqengelele, the new chief of the Buthelezi, and a prominent figure in Shaka's government.[197] Klwana's brother, Mnyamana, succeeded to the Buthelezi chieftaincy, was induna of the Thulwana ibutho, and eventually became Cetshwayo's 'chief minister'.[198] Another brother, Mvubu also became a senior induna.[199] Ndlela, and his brother Nduvana were both izinduna of consequence, as was Ndlela's son, Godide, who became a member of the king's council. Another son of Ndlela's, *Mavumengwana, was made second-in-command to Mnyamana* in the Thulwana ibutho, and yet another son, Mpandemana became a senior induna.[200] Ngomane's son, Mapoloba, was appointed induna of the iziNyosi, and Nyambose, son of Shaka's senior induna, the chief of the Magwaza, Manqondo, was also appointed to high office. Mbikwana *kaKhayi, a direct descendant of the Mthethwa royal line,* and an induna of the umGumanqa, was directly succeeded in office by his son, Sidunge.[201] The sons of Mapitha kaSojiyisa were also made izinduna, as were the sons and grandsons of Sotobe kaMpangala.[202]

Consideration of the composition of the izinduna class reveals thus a clear pattern to the organization of rank within the amabutho, and demonstrates its restriction to a limited constituency. The data examined indicates that all the officers came from

the amantungwa clans, with the specific exception of those drawn from the old Mthethwa army. Furthermore, the picture of the amabutho which emerges, is one of a highly diverse system, with multiple and varied functions at different points in time. Yet within that diversity, a further pattern can be located, the concentration of the men of the amantungwa clans (including the royal and collateral lineages) in a few select amabutho which enjoyed greater status than the rest of the amabutho. Access to the privileged amabutho and to the office within the system was thus not determined by age (or ability), but by both and social position. The waning significance of age was a symptom of a changing socio-political order. The amabutho constituted thus the primary site for the entrenchment of new ideas. As such, over and above being the mechanism whereby labour was centralized, marriage controlled, and coercion exerted on contumacious subjects and enemies, the amabutho were a crucial aspect of the process of the ideological restructuring which permitted the emergence of the Zulu state.



The distribution of amakhanda and cattle-posts in Zululand, Natal, c.1827

OFFICE[203]	NAME	CLAN[204]	OWN IBUTHO[205]	HEROES	STATUS	
Wombe	Nduvana kaSompisi	Nthuli	Wombe			(206)
emBelebele	Klwana kaNgqengelele	Buthelezi	-		Son of the new Buthelezi chief	(207)
Dlangezwa isiKlebhe (Head Induna)	Mdhlaka kaNcidi	emGazini	-	Hero	Collateral Zulu clan	(208)
iziNyosi, isiKlebhe (Head Induna)	Manyosi kaDlekezele	Mbatha	(known to be elderly during the reign of Shaka)	Hero		(209)
Nobamba	Nomapela	Ndwandwe	('Nobamba')			(210)
umGumanqa	Mbikwana kaKhayi	Mthethwa	-		Mthethwa Royal line	(211)
umGumanqa	Sidunge kaMbikwana	Mthethwa	-	-	Mthethwa Royal line	(212)
umGumanqa Zwangendaba	Mbilini kaCungeya	Mthethwa	-	Hero		(213)
umGumanqa (Head Induna) Dukuza	Mbopha kaSitayi	emGazini			Collateral Zulu clan	(214)
Fasimba	Nombanga kaNgidhi	-	-	Hero		(215)
Fasimba iziNyosi	Mpangazitha kaMncumbata	Ndwandwe	(was elderly during the reign of Shaka)			(216)
iziNyosi (Head Induna) emBelebele	Mvundhlana kaMenziwa	Biyela	-	Hero	Collateral Zulu clan	(217)
iziNyosi	Mapoloba kaNgomane	Mthethwa (Dletsheni)	iziNyosi			(218)

OFFICE	NAME	CLAN	OWN IBUTHO	HEROES	STATUS	
Ovbinhlangu iziMpohlo	Dilikana kaHlanyana	Mbatha			Chief of Mbatha	(219)
inTontela	Mangena kaNokupata	Ndwandwe (Nxumalo)				(220)
inTontela	Sotobe kaMpangala	Sibiya	(was elderly during the reign of Shaka			(221)
iziMpohlo Hlomendhlini	Zulu kaNogandaya	Qwabe (Ncwana)	umGumanqa	Hero	Ncwana	(222)
iziMpohlo	Ntobolongwane kaMatshwayi-bana	Cube		Hero	Junior line of Cube chiefly house	(223)
Gibbabanye Fojisa	Mfetshe kaMutiwensanga	Mthethwa (Kubisa)				(224)
Vungameni	Masawuzana	Qwabe				(225)
Mdadasa	Lukilimba kaMbasa			Hero		(226)
iziYendane	Nxazonke	Langeni			Clan of the queen mother	(227)
Njanduna (Head Induna)	Khokhela kaMncumbata	Ndwandwe	Pela	Hero		(228)
Dukuza	Bilibana	Nthuli (Thusi)	-	-		(229)
Dukuza (Head Induna)	Dambuza kaSobadhli	Ntombela	Wombe		Collateral Zulu clan	(230)
Dukuza Hlomendhlini	Nongalaza kaNondela	Qwabe (Nyanda)				(231)
Qulusini (Head Induna)	Ntlaka	Mdlalose			Collateral Zulu clan	(232)

OFFICE	NAME	CLAN	OWN IBUTHO	HEROES	STATUS	
iziNyosi (Head Induna)	Lukwazi ka Zwana	Ntombela			Collateral Zulu clan	(233)
Bulawayo (Head Induna)	Godide kaNdlela	Nthuli	iziNyosi			(234)
imiHaye	Buto kaVumazonke	-	inDabenkulu			(235)
imiHaye	Somuntsha	-	inDabenkulu			(236)
Dlambedlu	Ndhlela kaSompisi	Nthuli	inTontela	Hero		(237)
inTonteleni	Ndengezi kaKhuzwayo	Mdlalose	Wombe	Hero		(238)
(Head Induna)	Mayanda kaVeyane	Mthethwa (Mkhwanazi)			Chief of the Mkhwanazi	(239)
(Head Induna)	Masiphula kaMamba	emGazini	Wombe		Collateral Zulu clan	(240)
(Head Induna)	Sitshaluza kaMamba	emGazini			Collateral. Zulu clan	(241)
(Head Induna)	Manqondo kaMazwana	Langeni				(242)
(Head Induna)	Ngomane kaMqomboli	Mthethwa (Dletsheni)				(243)
(Head Induna)	Nqoboko ka Yanga	Mthethwa			Chief of the Sokhulu	(244)
(Head Induna)	Mapitha kaSojiyisa	'Mandlakazi'				(245)
iziYendane	Nonzamo					(246)
Gibbabanye	Manyundele kaMabuya					(247)

1. Guy, The Destruction, p. 9.

2. Ibid., pp. 9-11; also see Guy, 'Ecological factors'.

3. Slater, 'Transitions', chapter 9. For a discussion of the notion of a labour shortage, see p. 6.

4. Hamilton, 'A fragment of the jigsaw: authority and labour control amongst the early nineteenth century Northern Nguni', B.A. (hons.) dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1980, chapter 1.

5. Hedges, 'Trade and Politics' pp. 198-99.

6. Wright, 'Pre-Shakan age-group formation' pp. 23-9.

7. J. Cobbing, 'Zulu amabutho and production: Some preliminary questions', unpublished paper, Rhodes University, Oct. 1977.

8. J. Cobbing, 'The Evolution of the Ndebele amabutho', Journal of African History, XV, 4 (1974), *especially pp. 610, 617, 619.*

9. It is not possible, in a single chapter, to discuss all the amakhanda and amabutho known to have existed in the 1820s. Many names occur in the evidence as isolated references. Those which have been selected for discussion in this chapter are the ones about which some further data is available.

10. See above, p. 250.

11. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 50, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 94, 96 evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 249, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 204, 210, 211, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 146, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 180, 189, evidence of Jantshi; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 42, item [illegible], evidence of Ntshuku (?); K.C., Stuart Papers, file 61, notebook 39, evidence of Ngidi, p. 5; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 235. Samuelson claimed that 'Kangela' was another 'regiment' of Senzangakhona's taken over by Shaka. This name was, in fact, given to an establishment erected in Shaka's reign by the umGumanqa unit (see below p.260) It may be, nonetheless, that Khangela, like the isiPezi was a section of the umGumanqa, dating back to the reign of Senzengakhona. Khangela was also the name of a section of one of Dingane's units, the Khokhothi. (J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 310, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 94, evidence of Magidigidi.) Likewise, Bryant claimed that the Dhlambedhlu or umGamule was another unit which had seen action in Senzangakhona's day, and was taken over by Shaka. In this claim, he is clearly in error, for according to a range of other sources, the Dhlambedhlu were butha'd by Dingane c.1829, and only saw action in the next decade. (Bryant, Olden Times, p. 64; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 214, evidence of Kumalo; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 110, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 304, 312-13 evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 62, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 81, evidence of Magidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 83, 90, 92, evidence of Magidigidi.

12. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 642; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 204, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 50, evidence of Madikane; Mmemi, however, (J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 270) contradicts the bulk of the sources, claiming that the amaWombe and the isiPezi, were not married. In the amaWombe case, individual instances indicate that the unit contained both married and unmarried men. See p.390 below.

13. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 16, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 303, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 94, 95, 96, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. ?, p. 235, evidence of Maquza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 249, evidence of M[illegible]nga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 51-2, evidence of [illegible]o; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 84, evidence of Melapi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 148, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 270-71 evidence of Mmemi; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 53, item 2a, evidence of Mayeza. It should be noted that another of Stuart's informants, Tununu considered the isiPezi to be a section of the amaWombe. (K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, p. 83).

14. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 213, evidence of Kumalo.

15. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 642. On the Dubinhlangu, also see K.C., Essery Papers, 'AmaZulu', chapter 2, entitled 'Zulu Royal Regiments', p. 128.

16. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 642; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 253, evidence of Mayinga.

17. Bryant. Olden Times, pp. 642-43; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 304, 308, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 91, 93, evidence of Magidigidi; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 9, item 13, evidence of Xubu; K.C., Essery Papers, 'Zulu Royal Regiments', p. 128.

18. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 46; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 28, evidence of Baleni; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 57, notebook 7, evidence of Mgidhlana.

19. H.C. Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, Pietermaritzburg, 1948, p. 112; Stuart, uKulumetule, p. 122; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 46.

20. Ibid., pp. 20, 46,

21. Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 289; Krige, Social System, p. 161; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 108, evidence of Mgidhlana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 141, evidence of Mjobo.

22. It should be noted further that, on the death of its founder, Nobamba moved from its original site on the White Mfolozi, near the upper Mpembeni, and a small establishment called eMqekwini 'remained behind' at the old site. Under Jama, Nobamba was the residence of his chief wife, Mntaniya, and Senzangakhona was born there. This Nobamba was probably located on the Qanqato ridge, near the 'Munqwa' stream. Senzangakhona erected yet another Nobamba nearby, after the death and burial of his father at the previous Nobamba. This Nobamba was built on the Mthandane, a small tributary of the Mkhumbane. Finally, Shaka in his turn rebuilt Nobamba on the banks of the Mpembeni, very near to its former site. (K.C., Essay Competition, 1942, 'Historical Documentation of the Valley of Mqangqatho', by Charles Mpanza, pp. 1-2; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 28, 29, 36, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 90, 94, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 159, evidence of Mkando; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 57, notebook 7, evidence of Mgidhlana; K.C., Essery Papers 'AmaZulu', chapter 13 entitled 'Royal Kraals'. p. 131; Bryant, Olden

Times, pp. 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, and the enclosed map; also see Report of E.G.H. Rössler, Assistant Magistrate, Babanango, 24 January, 1917, 'Sites of the Graves of Zulu Kings at Makosini', reproduced in Olden Times, p. 21; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, pp. 225, 257, 258; Fynn, Diary, p. 86; 'History of Chaka from the works of N. Isaacs and Lieutenant King, quoted by Isaacs', in Bird, Annals. p. 166.

23. See also, for example, the revival of Mfemfeni, an establishment of Senzangakhona's mother, which was 'reawakened' by one of Senzangakhona's sons, Nzibe, and still later again, revived for Nzibe, when Mpande gave it to Hamu. Similarly, eMqekwini was another old establishment which was 'reawakened' by Dingane as the name of his new residence after the boers burnt Mgungundhlovu. Also see the instance of the revival of Mlambongwenya, in J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 24, evidence of Baleni. Lugg, Historic Natal, p. 112; Stuart, uKulumetule, p. 122; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 22, 50; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 40, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 179, 189, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 91, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 252, evidence of Mayinga.

24. Lugg, Historic Natal, p. 117; Bryant, Olden Times, Rössler's report, p. 21; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 108, evidence of Mgidhlana. Also see Stuart, uKulumetule, chapter 39.

25. Ibid.; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 253, evidence of Mayinga.

26. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 69, evidence of Bikwayo.

27. See below, p. 446.

28. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 253, evidence of Mayinga.

29. K.C., Essay Competition, 1942, 'Some Places of Historical Importance in Natal and Zululand', by Thomas Dlamini, p. 1; Stuart, uKulumetule, chapter 39; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 61, evidence of Bikwayo ; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 253, evidence of Mayinga.

30. Lugg, Historic Natal, p. 112; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 40, evidence of Baleni. The essayist Mpanza who described the Makhosini at length was aware of its role in the creation of social cohesion, commenting thus on Nobamba, 'The name carries with it a special significance. It was called Nobamba for keeping the Zulus together, or 'catching the Zulus', ukubamba being a Zulu verb meaning 'to catch'.' (K.C., Essay Competition, 'Historical Documentation'. pp. 1-2).

31. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 40, evidence of Baleni; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, p. 11, 'Historical Notes', evidence of Socwatsha.

32. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 60, notebook 28, p. 19, evidence of Tununu.

33. Ibid.; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, p. 11, 'Historical Notes', evidence of Socwatsha; also see K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 41, evidence of Baleni; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 476; Stuart, uKulumetule, chapter 20.

34. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 163, evidence of Mkando. On the age of the udibi see K.C., Stuart Papers,

file 61, notebook 31, p. 3, evidence of Ndukwana, who notes that while some boys became udibi at a young age only the udibi over about fourteen would accompany the army on campaign. Also see Bryant, Zulu People, p. 494; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 128, evidence of Mini kaNdhlovu, who was himself an udibi, although after the death of Shaka.

35. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 496; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 355.

36. Ibid.; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 187.

37. Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 355; Krige, Social System, p. 112; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 316, evidence of Mpatshana; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 61, notebook 31, pp. 3, 4, evidence of Ndukwana.

38. Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, pp. 355-56.

39. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 145, evidence of Mkando; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 61, notebook 31, p. 3, evidence of Ndukwana.

40. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 316, evidence of Mpatshana.

41. Krige, Social System, p. 112.

42. See, for example, the case of the Mbo, who were not butha'd into the Zulu army, but who were used as 'porters' (Isaacs, Travels, p. 78). Also see J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 21, evidence of Baleni, on carrier units.

43. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 96, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 181, 182, evidence of Mandhlakazi; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, p. 96, evidence of Socwatsha.

44. Krige, Social System, pp. 109-12, Samuelson, pp. 237, 253; Döhne, Zulu-Kafir Dictionary, p. xv; I.S. Kubeka, 'A Preliminary Survey of Zulu Dialects in Natal and Zululand', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1979 pp. 1-2. On ear-incision, see below, pp. 347-49.

45. On the herding activities of inferior amabutho, see below pp. 358-60. Krige, Social System, p. 107; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 34, evidence of Baleni; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 61, notebook 31, evidence of Ndukwana.

46. J.S.A. Vol. 2, p. 251, evidence of Mayinga; K.C., Essay Competition, 1942, 'Some Zulu Customs', by O.F. Gumbi, p. 3.

47. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 19, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 253, evidence of Mayinga, also see editors' note 50, p. 261.

48. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 124; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 252, evidence of Mayinga.

49. Ibid., pp. 246, 252.

50. Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 496, 497; Krige, Social System, p. 262; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 301, evidence of Mpatshana.

51. Fynn, Diary, pp. 284-85.

52. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 76, evidence of Melapi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 248, evidence of Mmemi.

53. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 76, evidence of Melapi.

44. Krige, Social System, pp. 199-12, Samuelson, pp. 237, 253; Döhne, Zulu-Kafir Dictionary, p. xv; I.S. Kubeka, 'A Preliminary Survey of Zulu Dialects in Natal and Zululand', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1979 pp. 1-2. On ear-incision, see below, pp. 347-49.

45. On the herding activities of inferior amabutho, see below pp. 358-60. Krige, Social System, p. 107; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 34, evidence of Baleni; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 61, notebook 31, evidence of Ndukwana.

46. J.S.A. Vol. 2, p. 251, evidence of Mayinga; K.C., Essay Competition, 1942, 'Some Zulu Customs', by O.F. Gumbi, p. 3.

47. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 19, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 253, evidence of Mayinga, also see editors' note 50, p. 261.

48. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 124; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 252, evidence of Mayinga.

49. Ibid., pp. 246, 252.

50. Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 496, 497; Krige, Social System, p. 262; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 301, evidence of Mpatshana.

51. Fynn, Diary, pp. 284-85.

52. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 76, evidence of Melapi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 248, evidence of Mmemi.

53. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 76, evidence of Melapi.

54. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 12, evidence of Baleka.

55. Wright, 'Pre-Shakan age group formation', p. 27.

56. Ibid.

57. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 141.

58. Krige, Social System, p. 373. On Swazi circumcision see J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 284, evidence of Mkonkoni.

59. I. Schapera, Bagwera Kgatla initiation, Phulthadikobo Museum Publications, Mochudi, 1978, p. 6.

60. Ibid., pp. 6, 7; G.M. Pitje, 'Traditional Systems of Male Education among Pedi and Cognate Tribes', African Studies, IX, No.'s 2, 3, 4, (1950), pp. 53-75, 105-24, 194-201.

61. Schapera, Bogwera, p. 7.

62. K.C., Essay Competition, essay by B. Buthelezi, p. 5; K.C., Essay Competition, essay by Gumbi, p. 2; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73, p. 98, evidence of Ndukwana; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 100, evidence of Dinya.

63. [illegible]a, Diary, p. 293; Krige, Social System, pp. 81-7; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 87, evidence of Magidigidi.

64. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 112.

65. Ibid.

66. Krige, Social System, pp. 81-7.

67. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 123; Lugg, Historic Natal, p. 124; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 40, evidence of Baleni; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, p. 7, 'Historical Notes' evidence of Socwatsna.

68. Isaacs, Travels, p. 149; also see note 31 above; K.C., Essery Papers, 'Royal kraals', p. 132.

69. Isaacs, Travels, p. 49, also see p. 35; Fynn, Diary, pp. 71, 78; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 475; Krige, Socizl System, p. 42.

70. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 473; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 313, evidence of Mpatshana.

71. Fynn, Diary, p. 31; Isaacs, Travels, pp. 52, 64-5, 72-5, 157; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 473; Shooter, The Kafirs, p. 116.

72. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 124, 569, 643, 649; Isaacs, Travels, p. 85; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane. The Mdadasa ikhanda, about which little is known, was situated near inTonteleni. (K.C., Essery Papers, 'Royal kraals', p. 132.)

73. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 644, 645; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 236; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 180, 196, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 213, evidence of Kumalo; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 61, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 90, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 235, evidence of Maquza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 248-49, evidence of Mayinga; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 42, item 29, evidence of Ntshuku (?); K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, p. 7, evidence of Socwatsha; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 57, notebook 2, p. 58, evidence of Mgcukana (?) The Gibbabanye was also known by the name of 'uPoko'. (J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 248, evidence of Mayinga).

74. Bryant claimed that the inDabenkulu was an ibutho of Senzangakhona's (Olden Times, pp. 643, 645), but other sources indicate that it was first 'raised' by Shaka. (Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 241; Isaacs, Travels, p. 100; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 213, evidence of Kumalo; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 94, 96, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 249, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 160, evidence of Mkando.)
Maquza claimed that the Bhekenya was a section of the iziNyosi (J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 235), but this is unlikely for the Bhekenya participated in a campaign against the Thembu before the iziNyosi were butha'd. (J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 298, evidence of Lunguza)

75. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 642, 643, 645; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 236; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 108, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 213, evidence of Kumalo; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 303, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 90, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 175, evidence of Mandhlakazi; It is not absolutely certain whether they were banded together late in the reign of Shaka or early in that of Dingane (see, e.g. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 90, 91, 96, evidence of Magidigidi). They had all trained at esiKlebheni. It seems to have been Shaka's policy to merge amabutho into larger divisions. In his reign, there were only two exceptions: the amabutho which were called-up just before his death, viz. the Dlangezwa and Ncobinga, which were not yet ready to merge; and the Fasimba, known to be exceptional in that they 'stood alone'. (Bryant, Olden Times, P. 645: J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 31, evidence of Baleni.)

76. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 303, evidence of Lunguza; K.C., Essery Papers, 'Royal kraals', p. 132.

77. Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, pp. 241, 247; Lugg, Historic Natal, p. 136; Fynn, Diary, p. 249; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 644, 645; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 299, 303, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 94, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 148, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 271, evidence of Mmemi.

78. Guy, 'Ecological factors', pp. 4-10.

79. Marks (1967) quoted in Hall, 'The Ecology of the Iron Age', p. 269.

80. Daniels, 'A Geographical Study of Pre-Shakan Zululand'.

81. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane.

82. On the importance of large timber reserves, see the discussion in Hall, 'The Ecology of the Iron Age' pp. 259-60; also see Isaacs description of the wooded reserves at the time, Travels, p. 49.

83. Isaacs, Travels, p. 53; Fynn, Diary, p. 131. This discussion draws on Hall's ecological data, 'The Ecology of the Iron Age', chapters 8 and 9.

84. Isaacs, Travels, p. 89, also see pp. 85, 103.

85. Figures drawn from Guy, The Destruction, map, p. 6.

86. Hall, 'The Ecology of the Iron Age', especially p. 253.

87. Quoted in Guy, The Destruction, p. 29.

88. See below, pp. 438-42 , for a fuller discussion of agricultural production at the amakhanda.

89. On the role of the iziYendane, see below, p. 471. J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 79, 83, evidence of Melapi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 37, evidence of Mbovu; Isaacs, Travels, pp. 245-46.

90. Ibid., p. 84.

91. Ibid., p. 140.

92. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 31, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 161, evidence of Makewu; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 296, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 83, evidence of Melapi; Isaacs, Travels, p. 577; Grant, Zululand, p. 73; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 643; K.C., Essery Papers,'Zulu Royal Regiments', p. 128.

93. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 661; Fynn, Diary, p. 156; K.C., Essery Papers, Ms. 1473, 'The Murder of Shaka Zulu'; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 232, 237, evidence of Maquza.

94. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 31, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 249, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 293, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 66, evidence of Mcotoyi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 83, evidence of Melapi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 245, evidence of Mmemi.

95. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 541, 644; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 236; Fynn, Diary, p. 223; Isaacs, Travels, pp. 246, 260; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 53,

evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 71, evidence of Mageza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 236, evidence of Maquza.

96. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 249, evidence of Mayinga.

97. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 237, evidence of Maquza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 249, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 83, evidence of Melapi.

98. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 644; Isaacs, Travels, p. 89; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 83, evidence of Melapi.

99. Ibid.

100. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 644; K.C., Essery Papers, 'Royal Kraals', p. 132.

101. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 83, evidence of Melapi.

102. Isaacs, Travels, p. 182.

103. Doke and Vilakazi, Zulu-English Dictionary, pp. 379, 576; K.C., Essery Papers, 'Zulu Royal Regiments', pp. 128, 132.

104. Fuze, The Black People, p. 65; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 643, 644; Kunene, Emperor Shaka, p. xxv. There was another cattle post of the same name inland, near the Thukela. (Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 247; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 249, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 161, evidence of Makewu.)

105. Isaacs, Travels, p. 127; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, pp. 402-3; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 245, evidence of Mmemi.

106. I am grateful to John Wright for important insights in assessing the grazing capacity of this area.

107. Isaacs, Travels, pp. 41-5, 47, 89.

108. Isaacs, Travels, p. 45.

109. Isaacs, Travels, pp. 45, 77, 85, 86, 114; Fynn, Diary, p. 65; also see pp. 261,476.

110. Isaacs, Travels, pp. 71-5; Fynn, Diary, pp. 83-6.

111. Kunene, Emperor Shaka, pp. 303-4.

112. Stuart, uKulumetule, chapter 2.

113. Isaacs, Travels, p. 77.

114. Fynn, Diary, pp. 87-8.

115. Isaacs, Travels, pp. 71-2.

116. Ibid., p. 119.

117. Guy, Destruction, pp. 36-7; see above, pp. 219, 222.

118. K.C., Essery Papers, 'Royal kraals', pp. 131, 132; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 181.

119. Ibid; Fuze, The [illegible]le, p. 62; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 230; evidence [illegible]wana.

120. Ibid.; Guy, Destruction, pp. 36, 63, 72, 252.

121. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 53, p. 95, evidence of Ndukwana.

122. Guy, Destruction, p. 36.

123. See the izibongo lists in Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 681-97; and Bryant, Dictionary, pp. 748-51.

124. Guy, Destruction, p. 36.

125. Ibid., p. 37; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 57, pp. 95, 96, evidence of Ndukwana.

126. Guy, Destruction, p. 37; Hedges, 'Trade and Politics', pp. 214-16 Stuart, uKulumetule, p. 86; Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 41, 42.

127. Guy, Destruction, p. 37.

128. Ibid., pp. 22, 36-7; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 42; C. Vijn, Cetshwayo's Dutchman, (ed) J.W. Colenso, London, 1880; p. 94.

129. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 642, also see p. 645.

130. Ibid., p. 59; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 199, evidence of Mandhlakazi, J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 202, 213, evidence of Mangati.

131. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 24, evidence of Dinya;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 189, evidence of Jantshi;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 52, evidence of Madikane;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 89, evidence of Magidigidi;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 201, 211, 213, evidence of Mangati;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 228, evidence of Manyonyana;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 257, evidence of Mayinga;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 129, evidence of Mini;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 151, 162, 166, evidence of Mkando;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 258, 260, 270, evidence of Mmemi.

132. See above, pp. 336-37.

133. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 91, evidence of Magidigi;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 271, evidence of Mmemi.

134. Isaacs, Travels, pp. 157, 159; also see
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 303, evidence of Lunguza.

135. Isaacs, Travels, p. 56; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, pp. 237, 239; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 45, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 148, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 293, evidence of Mpambukelwa; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 318, 319, evidence of Mpatshana. An interesting comparison in terms of dress and status can be made with King Mpande's Thulwana ibutho, somewhat later. 'The Thulwana was made up of 'the Princes and nobility of Zululand ... the Select Ones', and were described as the 'best dressed' ibutho in all Zululand. (Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 239).

136. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 303, evidence of Lunguza.

137. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 643-45 Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 235; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 33, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 303, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 91, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 215, evidence of Maquza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 280, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 45, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 329, evidence of Mputshana; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, p. 83, 'Historical Notes', evidence of Ntshuku (?).

138. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 86, 94, evidence of Magidigidi; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 643.

139. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 597, and chapter 23; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 85, *evidence of Magidigidi*; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 177, 180, evidence of Mandhlakazi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 249, 253, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 273, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 271, evidence of Mmemi; K.C., Essery Papers, 'Zulu Royal Regiments', p. 128.

140. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 249, evidence of Mayinga.

141. Isaacs, Travels, pp. 204, 261.

142. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 103, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 180, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 61, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A. Vol. 2, p. 205, evidence of Mangati.

143. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 645; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 235; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 103, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 94, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 146, evidence of Nkando; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 216, evidence of Mkehlengana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 270, evidence of Mmemi; K.C., *Essery Papers*, 'Zulu Royal Regiments', p. 128.

144. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 91, 94, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 177, 181, evidence of Mandhlakazi; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, 'Historical Notes', evidence of Ndukwana.

145. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 47, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 81, evidence of Melapi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 271, evidence of Mmemi.

146. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, pp. 13, 24, 95, evidence of Socwatsha; K.C. Essery Papers, 'Royal Kraals', pp. 131, 132.

147. Near the confluence of the Mamba and Thukela, the presence of a huge island mid-river suggests that it would have been a major site for the crossing of large herds.

148. See above, p. 261.

149. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 252, evidence of Mayinga, also see above, p. 248.

150. See charts, pp.390-92 where of the nine izinduna whose own amabutho were known, four were of the emBelebele.

151. See below, p. 476; and note 155; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 199, 209, evidence of Mangati.

152. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 303, evidence of Lunguza.

153. Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 241.

154. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 643; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 103, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 85, 95, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 184, evidence of Mandhlakazi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 250-51, 258, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 51, evidence of Mbulo; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 210, evidence of Melapi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp.268, 270, evidence of Mmemi.

155. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 303, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 14, 20, 26, evidence of Mabonsa; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 47, 57, 60, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 96, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 277, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 81, evidence of Melapi;

K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, pp. 13, 24, 95, evidence of Socwatsha; J. Wright and A. Manson, The Hlubi Chiefdom of Zululand - Natal, Ladysmith, 1983, pp. 21-4; Fynn, Diary, p. 131; Lugg, Historic Natal, p. 126; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 605. Also see note 164.

156. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 123, 643; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 253, evidence of Mayinga.

157. D. Morris, The Washing of the Spears, London, 1966, p. 51.

158. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 125, 643; Isaacs, Travels, p. 65; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 8, evidence of Baleka; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 213, evidence of Kumalo; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 303, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 50, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 84, evidence of Melapi; also see J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 94, editors' note 1.

159. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 125, 643; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 8, evidence of Baleka; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 213, evidence of Kumalo; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 303, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 50, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 95, evidence of Magidigidi; Isaacs, Travels, p. 65; K.C., Essery Papers, 'Zulu Royal Regiments', p. 128. Also read J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 94, evidence of Dhlozi in conjunction with Bryant, Olden Times, p. 683.

160. Guy, Destruction, pp. 11-12.

161. Wright, 'Pre-Shakan age group formation', p. 27.

162. See below p. 434.

163. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 12, evidence of Baleka.

164. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 195, to be read in conjunction with p. 174, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 210, 215, evidence of Mkehlengana. Ndhlela's son Godide was born during Shaka's reign, (see J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 199, 201, 204, evidence of Mangati, where Mangati claims that Godide was born in Dingane's reign - but he contradicts himself, for Mangati himself was Godide's son, and was born in 1842. If Godide was born after Shaka's death, his son Mangati was born when Godide was only fourteen).

165. See above, p. 207.

166. Isaacs, Travels, pp. 35, 64, 129; Fynn, Diary, p. 30; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 586; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 85, evidence of Melapi.

167. Ibid.

168. Fynn, Diary, p. 30.

169. Isaacs, Travels, p. 35; Mayinga, (J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 253) claimed that the 'old men' were Zwide and his supporters, while Fuze (The Black People, p. 22) and Samuelson (Long, Long Ago, p. 247) claimed they were Mzilikazi and his followers. Nonetheless, all the accounts link the notions of 'old age', disability, cowardice and inadequacy.

170. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 174, 225-26; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 253-54, evidence of Mayinga. Also see above, pp. 293, 294.

171. Isaacs, Travels, pp. 54, 106, 134; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 22, evidence of Mabonsa.

172. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 180-81 evidence of Mandhlakazi.

173. Ibid., p. 179.

174. Ibid. p. 178.

175. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 108, 109, evidence of Dinya;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 330, evidence of Lunguza.
J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 179, 182, evidence of Mandhlakazi;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 257-58,evidence of Mayinga;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 270, evidence of Maziyana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 141, evidence of Mjobo.

176. A. Gardiner, Narrative of a Journey undertaken in Zoolu Country, London, 1836, pp. 47, 94.

177. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 314, evidence of Lunguza.

178. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 100, 108, evidence of Dinya;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 343, evidence of Lunguza;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 297, evidence of Maziyana.

179. J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 163, 164, evidence of Mkando.

180. See, for example, the case of Ndhlela,who was granted a large estate along the Thukela, at Mpaphala. By the 1870s his descendants dominated large tracts of land in the area. (Guy, Destruction, p. 28; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 59). Also see Zulu's estates, p. 179 above.

181. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 257, evidence of Mmemi.

182. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 60, notebook 25, evidence of Tununu.

183. Bryant, Olden Times and Zulu People;
Fuze, The Black People.

184. Gardiner, Journey, p. 32; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 301;
evidence of Mpatshana; K.C., Stuart Papers,
file 58, notebook 17, evidence of Mtshopi;
K.C., Stuart Papers, file 60, notebook 30,
p. 21, evidence of Mgidhlana.

185. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 301, evidence of Mpatshana.

186. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 594, 613; Fuze, The
Black People, p. 50; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 246, 270,
evidence of Mmemi.

187. J.S.A., Vol. 2. p. [illegible] evidence of Maziyana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. [illegible] idence of Mpatshana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. [illegible]6, evidence of Mcotoyi;
188. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 79, evidence of Magidigidi;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 197, evidence of Mkebeni.

189. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 180, 190, evidence of Jantshi.

190. Ibid., p. 180; also see p. 132 above.

191. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 202-3.

192. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 150, evidence of Jantshi.

193. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 247, evidence of Mmemi.

194. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 611, 613;
Fuze, The Black People, p. 64; see also the debate
between two of Stuart's informants, Jantshi and
Ndukwana on the precise status of Ngomane.
(J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 190).

195. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 671; Fuze, The Black People, p. 50; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 61, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 43, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 55, 66, evidence of Mcotoyi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 217, evidence of Mkehlengana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 268, evidence of Mmemi.

196. See above p. 385.

197. See above p. 293.

198. Guy, Destruction, pp. 31, 32.

199. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 313, evidence of Mpatshana.

200. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 60; Guy, Destruction, p. 28; Fuze, The Black People, p. 117; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 259, evidence of Mayinga.

201. See chart p.390.

202. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 165, evidence of M'ando; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 301, 317, evidence of Mpatshana.

203. The office referred to in this column is of induna. The names that appear in the column are those of the amabutho over which the man was appointed as an induna. The names in brackets are the exact name given in the source, whereas the name outside the bracket is usually the mere appellation of that unit. Where the names of more than one ibutho appear, both being inside, or outside of the brackets, they reflect claims that the man was induna at two units. Wherever the sources have indicated that the induna was a senior officer, this is represented on the chart as 'head induna'.

204. The names in brackets reflect the specific term used in the source.

205. Names in brackets reflect the original usage in the source.

206. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 213, evidence of Mangati; also see above, p. 382.

207. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 91, 92, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 273, evidence of Maziyana; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, evidence of Socwatsha.

208. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 279; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 61, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 208, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 43, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 55, evidence of Mcotoyi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 217, evidence of Mkehlengana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 258, 268, evidence of Mmemi also see above p. 386.

209. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 253-54, evidence of Mayinga, also see above, p. 293.

210. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 273, evidence of Maziyana.

211. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 659; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 268, evidence of Mmemi.

212. Ibid.

213. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 258, 259, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, 268, evidence of Mmemi.

214. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 18, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 212, evidence of Mangati;

J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 313, evidence of Mpatshana.
Also see above p. 227.

215. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 195;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 8, evidence of Baleni;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 71, evidence of Mageza.

216. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 237, evidence of Maquza;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 273, evidence of Maziyana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 216, evidence of Mkehlengana.

217. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 107, evidence of Dinya;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 180, evidence of Mandhlakazi;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 273, evidence of Maziyana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi;
also see p. 227 above.

218. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 81, evidence of Magidi.

219. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 292, evidence of Lugubu;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 90, evidence of Magidigidi;
Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 226-27.

220. Ibid. pp. 217, 693; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 57,
evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 243,
258, evidence of Mmemi.

221. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 247, 252, 258, evidence of Mayinga;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 268, evidence of Mmemi;
also see above p. 294.

222. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 102, evidence of Dinya;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 181, evidence of Mandhlakazi;
also see above p. 176-80.

223. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 227, evidence of Manyonyama.

224. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 91, 95, evidence of Magidigidi; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 685, to be read in conjunction with pp. 114-15.

225. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 100, evidence of Dinya.

226. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 112, evidence of Mahaya; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 269, 270, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 83, evidence of Melapi; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 526.

227. Ibid., p. 66; Kunene, Emperor Shaka, p. 400.

228. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 184, evidence of Mandhlakazi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 237, evidence of Maquza; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 19, evidence of Mbokodo; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi.

229. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 246, 254, evidence of Mayinga.

230. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 201, 202, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 37; Isaacs, Travels, p. 275; Fuze, The Black People, p. 171, editor's note 2.

231. Ibid., p. 81; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 102, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 88, evidence of Melapi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 245, 258, evidence of Mmemi.

232. See above p. 228.

233. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 429; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 165, evidence of Hayiyana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi.

234. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 199, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 259, evidence of Mayinga; Fuze, The Black People, p. 117.

235. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 108, evidence of Dinya.

236. Ibid.

237. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 59; Stuart, uKulumetule, pp. 37-8; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 128, evidence of Mini; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 199, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi; also see above p. 261.

238. Stuart, uKulumetule, p. 89; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 52, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 109, evidence of Mgidhlana.

239. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 113; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 216, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi.

240. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 355, evidence of Luzipo; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 201, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 227, evidence of Mkotana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi; Fuze, The Black People, p. 90.

241. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi.

242. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 257, evidence of Mayinga; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi.

243. Ibid., pp. 258, 268; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 217, evidence of Mkehlengana.

244. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi;
Bryant, Olden Times, p. 107.

245. Fuze, The Black People, p. 144; Cope, Izibongo,
p. 202; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 213, evidence of Mangati;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 179, evidence of Mkando;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 258, evidence of Mmemi.

246. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 103, evidence of Dinya;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 45, evidence of Mbovu.

247. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 622.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WOMEN'S LABOUR AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE EARLY ZULU STATE

In the previous chapter, consideration was given to the processes of socialization and integration into the new Zulu kingdom experienced by the bulk of Shaka's male subjects. This was largely effected, it was argued, through the amabutho system. The training of the amabutho at the ritually important amakhanda served to focus their loyalties on the person of the king, and created the perception that their welfare, and indeed, that of the nation, rested in the king's hands as the living representative of the Zulu ancestors. The amabutho system also served to locate individuals and groups within the social hierarchy, and to entrench and legitimate divisions between the privileged and unprivileged in the society. But what of the other half of the Zulu population not accommodated in the amabutho, the women? What were the ideological and material forms taken by their incorporation into the new nation?

Women, on the whole, remain hidden in the precolonial history of northern Nguni-speakers. The oral record consists primarily of formally recounted traditions, delivered by men, about men and concerning the male dominated spheres of politics and warfare. The history of women seems to be history of a different order to that of men, for although women undoubtedly recounted historical anecdotes in the domestic arena, they did

not do so at a public level. Similarly, the other source for the precolonial period, the accounts of the early traders in Zululand, contain only passing remarks on the position of women, for women's affairs and agricultural activities do not seem to have been their concern. There thus exists a dearth of direct evidence on the position of women in the early Zulu state.

One notable exception to the silence on precolonial women has been John Wright's seminal study of women and production in the Zulu kingdom.[1] Wright focuses on the oppression of Zulu women and the range of structural mechanisms by which a hierarchical and unequal relationship between men and women was maintained. He examines the ways in which a sexual division of labour was entrenched from childhood, and continually reinforced in marriage. He also examines the main forms of control exerted by men over the productive labour of women: men's positions as heads of households comprised of a number of rival segments; their monopolization of certain prerequisites for the households' subsistence - such as rituals for productivity, and iron manufacture; their management of cattle and dairy products; and their supervision of the main grain pits in the cattle enclosures to which women had only limited access.

The picture which emerges from Wright's study is one of the comprehensive control of women's labour in the homesteads which existed before the rise of the Zulu state. This, Wright suggests, would have intensified with the establishment under Shaka of

> a powerful ideological and coercive state apparatus [which] would presumably have served to strengthen the position of the authority holders at all levels in the hierarchy of command, including that of the homestead head vis-a-vis his wives.[2]

Wright draws most of his evidence on the position of precolonial women from twentieth century ethnographic studies, and extrapolates backwards to illuminate aspects of the precolonial past for which there is little or no contemporary evidence. This unavoidably static model presents a number of problems. The development of capitalism in the intervening period eroded the position of women, and subjected them to a vast new array of disabilities, many of which are reflected in the ethnographic studies, but which are not pertinent to the precolonial period.[3] The identification and disentanglement of these later effects from earlier forms of subordination is a difficult exercise. The transition to capitalism also saw the demise of certain aspects of precolonial society, probably those aspects most integral to a precolonial 'state apparatus', the recovery of which constitute a further problem.[4]

These difficulties of evidence unavoidably colour the picture of precolonial women in the homesteads, but they are compounded by Wright's tendency to consider 'women' as a homogenous stratum within Zulu society, resulting in a picture of their generalized subordination to men. What Wright largely neglects is the position of women in state institutions. On this subject a relative abundance of information exists in contrast to the dearth of evidence on the position of women in precolonial homesteads, probably because of the powerful political character assumed by these institutions, especially under Shaka. In particular, an extensive body of historical data, as yet untapped, exists on the position of women leaders who participated actively in what were usually male spheres of action and who became influential political figures. Such evidence, pointing to distinctions of status amongst precolonial women, demands for the analysis of their

position, a focus on the interaction of gender and class.

Although never analysed in terms of social stratification, women in state institutions have not been wholly ignored by scholars. Henry Slater's early analysis suggested that centralized aggregates of women in the form of female amabutho, represented state labour gangs comparable to the male amabutho.[5] Slater's formulation has been criticised on two counts. Such evidence as there is on the activities of the female amabutho, argues Wright, seems to show that they were 'largely ceremonial in nature'.[6] Wright further questions the ability of the Zulu state to intervene in homestead life to remove women's labour on the same scale as it appropriated male labour, and doubts that there is sufficient evidence to support such a contention. Rather, he suggests, the female amabutho should be seen as a further means for implementing the marriage controls which characterized Zulu society under Shaka.

The other means by which women were centralized in the Zulu kingdom, through the izigodlo (sing. isigodlo), has received less attention. In their characterization of the izigodlo, early writers like Fynn, Isaacs, and later Bryant, described the izigodlo women as 'houris', 'the king's seraglio', 'harem' or his 'concubines', in language derived from an earlier imperial experience at the courts of eastern potentates.[7] Thus their accounts stress the comeliness, grace and beauty of the women, suggesting these as the criteria for their selection to office. They contain extensive descriptions of their dancing abilities, details of their attire, and accounts of their performance of personal and domestic services for the king. These, it was implied, were all for the sensual gratification of the king.

> The whole time of the inmates of the main seraglio is taken up in decorating themselves according to the king's fanciful tastes and attending on him. Shaka usually passed his evenings with these girls often by joining in the dances and himself dancing in the centre of those dancing. They dressed in accordance with the modes in vogue at the respective seraglios they had come from. Such costumes were superb and far beyond anything the reader would imagine after taking into consideration the apparent absence of articles which would seem to be necessary for creating grand effects.[8]

The oral testimonies of Zulu informants are similarly limited on the subject of the izigodlo, a consequence of the many associated taboos and avoidances, and the great respect and deference afforded to its inmates. Only the king's favourites were permitted to address them, while the izigodlo areas could be entered solely with the king's permission, and even then, a man was expected to keep his eyes averted from the women.[9] It seems that most people were deliberately kept in ignorance of izigodlo matters.

The restrictions imposed on the movement and conduct of the izigodlo members were interpreted in the early travellers accounts and mission reports, along with the practice of polygamy, as evidence of the total abuse of Zulu womanhood. The so-called 'seraglios' were considered particularly heightened forms of such exploitation and evidence of the moral degeneracy of the Zulu monarchy. A closer look at the evidence shows that this emphasis on concupiscence was misplaced. While unmarried Zulu kings may have selected paramours from amongst the extensive ranks of the izigodlo, their functions extended beyond that of concubinage. Wright, for example, has argued that the izigodlo, as establishments of young women whom the king could dispose of in marriage as he wished, were primarily a source of royal patronage.[10]

However, the issues of both control over marriage through the amabutho, and the extension of royal patronage through isigodlo marriages, were responsive to changing historical conditions in a manner not accounted for by the structural-functionalism of either Slater's or Wright's models. One significant historical shift of which they take no account, was from the limitation of marriages of women in state institutions under Shaka, to their encouragement in the time of Dingane. This move was a response to the political instability of Dingane's reign, and a need for the extension of royal patronage through strategic marriage alliances. Consequently, Dingane's reign, in contrast to that of Shaka, is remembered for the low numbers of women in centralized state institutions.[11] An historical perspective therefore demonstrates a connection between limited royal patronage and expanded women's state institutions, and vice-versa. However, the exceptionally high numbers of women in Shaka's izigodlo and amabutho, and the low numbers under Dingane, cannot be accounted for solely in terms of patronage functions and marriage controls.

While the extensive marriages of Dingane's reign raise problems about the role of the amabutho in controlling marriage in that period, the same difficulty does not arise for the Shakan period when marriages were limited. The problem posed for the reign of Shaka is rather that of establishing the purposes of the izigodlo, beyond that of the extension of patronage through marriage. To answer this, we need to look more closely at the izigodlo themselves: at differentiation within the isigodlo, as well as the position of the izigodlo women vis-a-vis the rest of Zulu society.

Used locatively, the word isigodlo refers to the royal

reserve occupying a large segment at the upper end of the royal homestead, opposite the main entrance and across the cattle fold from it.[12] Significantly it dominated the settlement. Access to this area was strictly limited, and it was screened from the rest of the settlement by a high fence.[13]

Within, the isigodlo was divided into the black reserve ('isigodlo esiMnyama') and the white reserve ('isigodlo esiMhlope'), separated from each other by a fence. The black reserve housed the senior women of the isigodlo. Their numbers were made up of any royal women resident at the establishment, as well as the senior women of a specially designated section of the isigodlo known as the umndlunkulu. When in residence, the king slept in the black reserve.[14] The white reserve was, in turn, divided into two. On one side of the white reserve were the 'imvoko', a term usually translated as 'royal children'. Their ranks seem to have included the youngest additions to the isigodlo from outside the royal family, for the term is one also commonly applied to wards or dependents.[15] Baleni, one of Stuart's informants, described the imvoko as a section of the isigodlo made up of girls who did not bear children.[16] On the other side of the white reserve were the huts occupied by the remainder of the umndlunkulu women. These women were younger, less-favoured and lower-ranking than the umndlunkulu women of the black reserve. Samuelson described them as 'maids-in-waiting' as opposed to the 'maids-of-honour' of the black reserve.[17] The umndlunkulu women of the white reserve were also referred to as izigqila, a term normally applied to captives taken in battle and subsequently brought up in their captor's home.[18] Izigqila were also taken from homesteads within the kingdom destroyed for becoming overmighty.[19] It is likely therefore, that there was a distinction between

those umndlunkulu who were voluntarily sent to the izigodlo, and those who were included by force. The latter section appears to have been a harder labouring group, paralleling the status of the izigqila in the homesteads who performed menial tasks. The distinctions in status between the women of the various sections of the isigodlo were marked by differences of dress. Likewise all the women of the izigodlo were distinguished by their ornaments from the rest of the women in the *Zulu kingdom.*[20]

As was the case with the men's amabutho, the centralization and ranking of women in the izigodlo served to emphasize and entrench social stratification. Likewise, the izigodlo manifested considerable internal diversification. Two significant forms of differentiation have been identified: between the royal women of the isigodlo and the non-royal umndlunkulu; and between the privileged senior women in the umndlunkulu and the menial labouring women.

The overlap in the designation of a section of the izigodlo as the umndlunkulu, and the use of the term indlunkulu (and in some texts, 'umndlunkulu') for the chief 'hut' in a homestead, suggests that a *parallel might usefully be drawn between the homestead,* i.e. localised social relations, and wider, state organization, and in particular, Shaka's umndlunkulu. It seems that the assidious chronicler of Zulu affairs, the Rev. A.T. Bryant, may have made this connection, albeit intuitively, when he translated the umndlunkulu of the king's isigodlo, as the 'Great Hut Troupe', employing thus the idiom of the homestead to describe something that had been transformed into a state institution.[21] The parallels between the two establishments were not limited to the associated terminology.

A king or a wealthy man normally married a large number of wives and had numerous offspring. Thus his family would have included substantial numbers of young women whom he could dispose of in marriage. These marriages were a source of lobola for the father, and the means of creating alliances with other families. His sons, by contrast, remained within the family, and were often a source of division within the family. Both Shaka and Dingane however, expressly eschewed marriage and heirs, largely because the practice of polygamy tended to be a divisive factor subverting the cohesion required by a strong central authority. The absence of offspring would however have limited the extension of Zulu influence, and the potential for enrichment through favourable lobola transactions. It will be suggested that one of the functions of the izigodlo under Shaka was to fill this vacuum.

The way in which this occurred can best be grasped by referring back once again to the homestead. At that time, it was also common practice for a king or wealthy man to augment his polygamous domestic establishment through the system of ethula. Within the homestead, each hut affiliated to the indlunkulu (or chief) section of the homestead gave 'tribute' to the chief wife of that section under the system of ethula, either in the form of some cattle, or the promise of the lobola of one of its daughters (this was particularly the case where the indlunkulu hut provided the lobola cattle for a new wife, in another hut). Likewise in the igadi, yet another section of the homestead, the affiliated huts paid 'tribute' to their chief wife, who in turn through the ethula system paid 'tribute' to the indlunkulu.[22]

> Ukwethula is primarily a domestic feudal obligation on the part of junior to senior houses on the same side of the kraal and denotes the transfer of the eldest daughter of each house and the cattle received from her marriage to the head of its own particular section, ikholwa or umndlunkulu. [23]

Dependents would enter into an ethula arrangement in much the same way as they would take sisa cattle and would be bound closely to their patrons in whose debt they were then placed.[24] Through ukwethula a wealthy man could accumulate a large collection of his dependent's daughters, who would be brought up in his household, attached to the umndlunkulu section, and who were his to dispose of in marriage.

Zulu informants describing the king's umndlunkulu employ the same terminology used in the homestead, saying that girls were 'ethula'd' to the king,[25] which suggests that a similar system existed at state level. In defining the word umndlunkulu, Doke and Vilakazi describe them as girls 'of royal blood','maids-of-honour' in the royal household sent to the king as tribute by prominent chiefs, who waited on the king's wives, until married with the king's permission to some high official.[26] Bryant suggests that the umndlunkulu were accumulated from the gifts of 'favour currying sycophants'.[27] Other sources suggest it was the king's right to choose, according to his 'taste', the women for the umndlunkulu,[28] and there are indications that their numbers were also made up from raid booty.[29] The term umndlunkulu seems therefore to refer specifically to the ethula'd women in the izigodlo.

Evidence of the presence of young children in the isigodlo, who could not, on pain of death, have been the offspring of the secluded isigodlo women, seems to confirm that female children were given to the king under the ethula system, in a manner closely paralleling

its operation in the homestead.[30] In a homestead the first daughter of a marriage taken as due under the ethula system, would be reared as a daughter of that household. She joined it at the age of about six and grew up to think of herself as being part of that family and clan. Similarly, captives taken in battle were subject to the same sort of total incorporation.[31]

> A foundling is grafted into the family it joins and takes their isibongo. Should it be old enough to know its real isibongo this will not prevent the adoption of the new family isibongo, it will only affect it with regard to marriage.[32]

This mechanism of incorporation applied equally on a state level and provided the means for the small Zulu ruling elite to expand its numbers, without the marriage of the king, since the umndlunkulu were attached to the ruling lineage in the same way that foundlings were adopted into an ordinary homestead. This explains the apparent contradiction in the Doke and Vilakazi definition of the umndlunkulu, consisting at once of girls who were 'of' the royal house, yet were 'given' as tribute by subjects.

In this way, the umndlunkulu fulfilled the functions usually performed by a married king's wives, daughters and other female dependents. The major distinction between the umndlunkulu women and real daughters of the Zulu royal house however, lay in the fact that they were differently affected by the rules of exogamous marriage; in other words, the women of the umndlunkulu were a source of marriageable options open to members of the Zulu ruling elite within its wider limits, as occurred when Nomantshali kaZigu.ana of the Ntuli, a member of Shaka's umndlunkulu, married Mpande and bore Mthonga.[33] This meant that the effective monopolization of wealth and resources by a small group could occur despite exogamous marriage practices.

Where umndlunkulu girls married out of the ruling elite, they brought in high lobola as did royal daughters. They also brought Zulu influence to bear on the clan into which they married. This sphere of influence is investigated by Lancaster, who suggests that where the first daughter of a marriage is substituted for bridewealth, elders tend to retain control over their woman, and her descendants.[34] This suggests that the Zulu ruling lineage could expect to monitor and influence events in a clan into which an umndlunkulu girl had married. Furthermore, umndlunkulu women usually received substantial 'dowries' in the form of endisa cattle, which ensured them substantial independence of action in their new homes.[35] The high lobola demanded for an umndlunkulu girl encouraged further ethula arrangements, and also conferred greater status on her, outwardly demonstrated by the four brass neck rings which were the privilege of the umndlunkulu to wear.[36] This mark of favour was conferred by the king, and for the rest, the high rank of the umndlunkulu was due to their position vis-a-vis the monarch, as his wards, a relationship expressed in the kinship idiom of 'sisters'.

Like many other institutions in Zulu society, the izigodlo had antecedents in earlier chiefdoms, such as the Mthethwa, the Chunu, the Qwabe,'the clan of Mjezi' and the Zulu before the accession of Shaka. Where a chief, such as Qingiswayo, extended his authority over other chiefdoms, the izigodlo of the subordinate chiefdoms were appropriated by the paramount.[37] It seems therefore that the extension of control over centralized aggregates of women predated the rise of the Zulu kingdom, and characterized the expansion of a king's authority even where such kings were married. The extension of the izigodlo in these societies seems to have broadly paralleled the emergenc of the amabutho system amongst the pre-Shakan states.

The first mention of an umndlunkulu within the izigodlo however refers to the reign of Shaka. Moreover, under Shaka, the numbers of women involved were much greater than ever before, and well above the levels accounted for by diplomatic needs, or for that matter, necessary to perform the domestic labour of the king's household. Fynn estimated that Shaka's izigodlo comprised between five and ten thousand, and pointed out that many *members only glimpsed Shaka once in three years,*[38] whilst Bryant maintained that there were between twenty and two hundred women at every ikhanda.[39]

In order to account for the enormous extension of the izigodlo under Shaka, let us turn back to the comparison with the organization of the homestead. Zulu society was marked by a strict sexual division of labour,

> Able-bodied women and girls were primarily responsible for agricultural production and for domestic labour, including the rearing of children. Women also manufactured pottery and mats, thatched houses and did most portering work. Able-bodied men and youths were responsible for the husbandry of livestock, for building and repairing the framework of houses and the fences of homesteads. Men alone manufactured articles of wood, iron (this being the field of specialists), and basketry, and tanned hides. They were also expected to clear bush and long grass from land intended for agricultural use, and to cut bushes for fencing fields.[40]

The historical record indicates that the women of the izigodlo performed many of the tasks of women in the homesteads.

> The girls used to leave the isigodhlo, three and four at a time, to cultivate the fields. When there was amabele (sorghum) to be carried from the gardens one might see a large number of girls going out to fetch it.[41]

In particular, they were credited with working the 'king's fields', their own fields and 'imphi grounds' and with brewing the 'king's beer'.[42] However, their numbers were well in excess of the labour necessary

for the maintenance of the immediate royal household. From the accounts of the early traders and of Stuart's informants it is clear that the activities of these women extended to the provisioning of the king's 'guests'.

> The isigodhlo girls used to occupy themselves by making beer and food. They brewed the beer. This beer would be drunk by the king and by other people: i.e. those called to the king's hut or those seated at the men's assembly place in the cattle enclosure.[43]

Just how far this 'hospitality' extended, and just how agriculturally productive the izigodlo were, is not clearly indicated by the oral record.

The lack of evidence on the scale of the agricultural activities of the izigodlo has been read as indicative of their relative unimportance. However, the traditions of the northern Nguni-speakers were typically not concerned with issues like the agricultural production of women, either inside or out of the izigodlo. This silence on agriculture in the oral record is reflected in the neglect of agricultural production by scholars of the Zulu kingdom. Any discussion of agricultural practices under Shaka, must therefore draw on indirect evidence from a range of sources, and, for want of conclusive data, must be tentative.

The corollary of the silence on agriculture has been an emphasis on cattle keeping, although for slightly different reasons, in both the testimonies of Zulu informants and the accounts of scholars of that society. This has resulted in the notion that the Zulu army survived largely on the cattle slaughtered for it by the king. This was, however, a mark of prestige, and a form of conspicuous consumption.[44] Although there are no direct statements on the frequency with which cattle were slaughtered in Shaka's time, in the reign of Dingane, when the slaughter of cattle was held

to have been greater than ever before, cattle were slaughtered at the capital in 'small droves', of about ten at a time.[45] The slaughter of cattle for the amabutho occurred only 'two or three times a month',[46] or, as Lunguza, one of Stuart's informants implies, even more irregularly.[47] Mkando, another of Stuart's informants observed of meat consumption at the capital that 'one had to fight for one's food *in the Zulu country. You would get nothing unless* you did. This would take place when beasts were killed ...'[48] It seems that this kind of slaughter was confined to the capital, or the place where the king was then resident.[49]

The occasions when cattle were slaughtered for all the amabutho were when they were called up for service, after battle, and on ritual occasions.[50] Slaughtering in the traditions was most often mentioned in the latter context. Krige, in fact, argued that cattle in Zulu society were more important for their ritual than their economic value.[51] Guy is probably closer to the mark in locating the importance of cattle in his observation that in 'Zulu society, there was no large scale production of any form of permanent storable wealth: in other words, it was not possible for surplus labour to be materialized in any permanent storable form, that is, with the exception of cattle'.[52] 'Our great bank is cattle', commented Mbovu.[53] Cattle were thus the primary form of transferable wealth in Zulu society, and were not likely to have been slaughtered wholesale in the numbers necessary to sustain the entire Zulu army over time.

Grain must therefore have been an important aspect of the amabutho's diet. One indication of this is the frequent crises which arose when armies on campaign were deprived of corn supplies.[54] It has generally

been assumed that the grain needs of the amakhanda were provided for from the homesteads of the men based there.[55] This was probably the case whenever the amakhanda were located in reasonable proximity to the men's homesteads. Shaka's Njanduna ibutho, made up of Cele, had its ikhanda in Cele country.[56] Presumably it was supplied from the surrounding Cele homesteads. However, in most instances, this does not appear to have been the case. Insofar as the amabutho were age-sets or status units, they incorporated men of widely different localities, which meant that no matter where an ikhanda was situated, it was not likely to be readily accessible to the families of more than a small percentage of the men.[57] With the exception of the Njanduna, where an ibutho was made up of men from a single clan or chiefdom, it was invariably posted at the opposite end of the kingdom to its home area. Thus the iziYendane ibutho of the northern Hlubi manned the southernmost cattle posts in Natal,[58] while the Mpiyake ibutho, taken from the Mbo chief Zihlandhlo, resident on the Thukela, was quartered far to the north in Mhlabatini country.[59]

Furthermore, it would have been both difficult and hazardous for young girls to have undertaken the long journeys necessary without escorts. The terrain was broken by interminable, wide, crocodile-filled rivers, which were at best difficult to cross and which entailed continual ascent and descent of their valleys. As a consequence of the ravages and dislocation of continual war, the countryside was full of refugees, vagrants and even cannibals.[60] It is also difficult to see how the labour-power of those girls left at home (i.e. not drafted into the female amabutho or one of the izigodlo) could be spared for long periods and at great risk, from homesteads already debilitated by the departure of males over fourteen. David Hedges

has pointed out that high transport costs all over Zululand in this period, meant that a high volume trade in food was not viable.[61]

The homesteads surrounding the amakhanda did supply some of the products necessary for the maintenance of the army, often in the form of tribute.[62] However, in the 1820s first Qwabe, and then Cele country was extensively settled by the Zulu army and local populations would not have been able to meet the demands of supplying the highly centralized army.[63] The gap was at least partially closed by the use of amabutho labour. As was discussed in chapter five, the lands in which the amabutho successively settled were extremely fertile, and diminishing external pressures released their labour for agricultural labour. This productive role of the amabutho has been much stressed in the recent literature but the timing and specific location of its deployment has never been closely scrutinised.[64] One of the main arguments of this chapter is that while the labour of the amabutho was important, it was only important at specific times in the agricultural cycle, and that much that was crucial to provisioning at the capital and the amakhanda, was provided by the associated izigodlo. A close inspection of the crop regime and agricultural cycle of Shakan Zululand must thus be undertaken.

The coastal plain into which the amakhanda shifted was eminently suitable for maize production because of the overall high rainfall and highly fertile soils.[65] Although it seems that maize only became the dominant crop in the mid-nineteenth century, it was nonetheless cultivated in the lowlands in Shaka's time, apparently in small pockets.[66] The staple crops were rather amabele (sorghum) and uphoko (eleusine millet, used in

the making of 'beer'). Both of these crops were considerably more drought resistant than maize, an important factor given the periodic droughts experienced by the Zululand region. They also had a longer storage life than maize.[67] It seems, therefore, that a complex, mixed cereal production pattern prevailed, with the quick maturing maize being planted in a few select superior sites, such as at the mouth of the Mhlathuze, and on river banks, where residual moistness permitted planting before the first summer rains.[68]

The early maize crop would have yielded by mid-summer, the period known to the Zulu as the 'uNgcela-mkwekazi' moon, when 'a man's mother-in-law goes to visit her married daughter to ask for (cela) maize. She does so because she sees that people are now eating new maize.'[69] Maize thus provided an interim crop to augment the diminishing supplies of the previous season. After the first rains had fallen, usually in September known as 'uMandulo', 'the first-fields moon',[70] the main inland gardens were prepared, and sown with umabele and uphoko.

The ethnographic evidence indicates that the peak period in the agricultural cycle in terms of labour occurred in mid-summer, when the small maize crop had to be harvested, and when the major fields in which the new crops were *sprouting and beginning to ripen* had to be weeded and protected against birds and animals. This was the period which saw maximum male participation in the fields. It culminated in the great umkhosi, the centralized first-fruits ceremony which all the amabutho attended, as did representatives of *the rest of the nation.*[71]

The umkhosi demonstrated the king's control over agricultural production, his responsibilities to ensure

a good harvest and adequate rainfall through his intercession with the ancestors as their direct and living representative.

> The king is thus the leader in all agricultural operations, and at certain times, such as at the sowing of the seed and the eating of the first-fruits, he is strengthened with medicines so as to ensure a good harvest. Indeed, on no occasion is the king's position as representative of the tribe as a whole, and as a person on whom the strength of the army and success of the crops depends, more clearly seen than at the First Fruit Ceremonies.[72]

Little data exists on the umkhosi under Shaka, but the ceremony can be illuminated through comparison with its better known Swazi counterpart, the incwala. It is significant that an important aspect of the Swazi ceremony was the weeding of the fields of the Queen-mother, the king, and the other 'queens' by the amabutho, a point corroborated briefly for the Zulu in Bryant's description of the umkhosi.[73] It seems thus that the mid-summer period around the umkhosi saw the gathering of the amabutho at the central amakhanda and their concerted participation in centralized agricultural production for a period of about twenty days, under the immediate command of the king.[74] At the end of the umkhosi, the 'royal mind was made known on foreign affairs', the following campaigning season was planned, and the nation's affairs were debated in the umpakathi, a meeting of the men of the land.[75] Thereafter, the men dispersed from the capital, apparently not to gather again en masse until late February-March, when the major campaigns were embarked on.[76]

Both uphoko and amabele took some six months to mature. This suggests that the bulk of the harvesting, winnowing and storing of the crops occurred when the men of the amabutho and the udibi were not at the main amakhanda, and indicates that the role of women

in the agricultural production of the amakhanda was of major importance.

Direct evidence to support this is both elusive and suggestive. Informant John Kumalo commented to Stuart that while men used to work in the gardens along with their wives prior to the reign of Shaka,

> Tshaka ... terrible tyrant that he was, diverted the natural inclinations of men by establishing what was practically the whole people into a standing army. This spirit of aggressiveness caused men, when they were not actually engaged in battle, to lead a more or less indolent existence, casting the duty of labour chiefly upon women.[77]

The significance of women's agricultural labour, and in particular that of the izigodlo, is more concretely indicated by the large grain stores attached to the izigodlo within the amakhanda. Described as the 'kraals of the king's grain', the best known of these were the 'Cele store at Bulawayo, 'Seje' at Mgungundhlovu, and 'Yemvaneni' at Mhlambongwenya. Access to these stores was only possible through the izigodlo.[78]

These points suggest that the women in the izigodlo across the country, undertook agricultural production for the king, and through him, for his court, his diplomatic visitors, people who had come to khonza (i.e. to tender their allegiance), visiting amabutho, and the units based at the amakhanda.[79] It was most likely that this was made available primarily in the form of 'beer', brewed within the izigodlo. Fynn saw pots for beer brewing in the possession of the chief women of the izigodlo, which made over sixty gallons each.[80] According to Gardiner, who visited Zululand just after the death of Shaka, the amabutho received 'beer' in the morning, which they consumed together in the central enclosure of the ikhanda.[81] Krige noted that the warriors did not eat amasi (the soured milk staple in Zulu society), which could only

be eaten amongst one's family, but 'meat, beer and cooked mealies'.[82] The beer, she claimed, was made 'from the grain grown in the king's fields at the ikhanda...'.[83]

Under Dingane, however, izigodlo numbers were drastically reduced, and it was claimed that girls were no longer 'specially called up, as in Tshaka's day' to the amakhanda, but instead, that they used to 'carry food' to Mgungundhlovu.[84] This suggests that the reign of Shaka may have seen a far greater centralization of food production than that of his successors. While it was claimed that Dingane was generous with cattle, it was said that 'Tshaka used to be liberal in giving food'.[85]

It seems that, through the large izigodlo, the reign of Shaka saw a concentration of agricultural labour, and its products in the hands of the king. This would have provided a source of direct control over the men of the amabutho who were forbidden from entering the izigodlo on pain of death.[86] This argument is strongly supported by the presence of an isigodlo at every one of Shaka's amakhanda; and the parallel development and expansion of the izigodlo and the amabutho.[87]

In order to fully appreciate the significance of royal controls exerted through the izigodlo, it is necessary to examine the remaining sections of the izigodlo. The izigodlo were not made up only of women. They also harboured within their walls certain men. These included members of the royal family, and a special category of non-royal men, known as the izinceku (sing. inceku). Although neither eunuchs nor of a great age, the izinceku were permitted free access to the izigodlo where ordinary men entered only at the command of the king. The izinceku were exempted from military service,

although they were required to act as guards of the izigodlo.[88] They were essential to the autonomy of the izigodlo within the amakhanda, carrying out the activities which were traditionally performed by men only, such as the milking of the izigodlo cattle.[89] They attended the umphakati (meeting of important men for the settlement of disputes) where they exerted influence on behalf of the izigodlo.[90] They performed the necessary heavy labour of clearing bush, and of building. They frequently acted as the personal agents, messengers and spies of the izigodlo women.[91]

The izinceku were mostly refugees or individuals who had sought the protection of the Zulu king, and whose loyalties were due to his person. The izinceku were drawn into the extended royal lineage through mechanisms similar to those at work on the umndlunkulu, and in much the same way that dependents in small homesteads were absorbed.[92]

Since the izinceku were attached to the royal household as individuals, they depended directly on the ruling lineage for advancement. The oral record abounds with stories of izinceku who gained high positions through their loyalty to the Zulu royal house.[93] They were frequently rewarded with appointments as izinduna and placed in charge of amabutho where they represented the *interests of the ruling group with which they were so* closely associated. They did not draw support from the ranks of the men that they commanded, but from above, from the king to whom they owed their position. Izinceku were amongst the primary recipients of marks of the king's favour and were, to a large extent, free from the usual retribution that success drew from the state, in the burning of wealthy establishments, and the murder of over-influential subjects.[94] Often of shadowy origins, and evoking little comment

in the literature, the izinceku were nonetheless a vital component of the izigodlo, operating as one of the most public arms of the household corps, closely linked into the administration of the state and to the person of the king.

The isigodlo at each ikhanda was thus the local nerve centre of royal administration. The izigodlo contained huts for audiences,[95] and the king's own quarters, while the quarters of the most important men were found closest to the izigodlo.[96] This concentration gave the izigodlo a sense of being an inner cabal of limited access - the hub of the nation - where future events were determined.

The final major component of the izigodlo comprised the amakhosikazi - the older women, usually of royal blood - who were placed in charge of both the isigodlo and the ikhanda at which they were based.[97] As such, they were the chief figures amongst the royal administrative corps in the locality. The power of these women depended on their dual position as heads of both the izigodlo and the amakhanda, and it was through their offices that the two institutions were separately maintained. The amakhosikazi were responsible for the maintenance of izigodlo security and the enforcement of the range of taboos surrounding the izigodlo which was the basis of this division. The measures taken to separate the men of the amakhanda from the women included the use of 'night-police', escorts and high palisaded fences.[98] Through their control over the izigodlo, the amakhosikazi exerted a direct royal monopoly over access to the products of women's agricultural labour, and its redistribution to the men of the amakhanda. Gardiner described these leaders thus,

> The appellation Incosa-case (literally female chief) is applied to all women of high rank, many of whom, from the practice of polygamy are to be met with in every part of the country. These as well as the immediate relations of the King are generally placed as pensioners, one or two together, in the different military towns, where they preside, and are particularly charged with the distribution of provisions.[99]

The amakhosikazi also enforced controls over the marriages of the women of the izigodlo. The latter were considered to be of high status. They were valued by the king because of the high lobola which they commanded, and by the men whom they married because of the associated prestige, and the links forged through such a marriage with the Zulu rulers.[100] The amakhosikazi occupied thus a pivotal position between two of the most important institutions of state, as the direct representatives of royal power.

Mnkabayi kaJama, paternal aunt of Shaka and Dingane, was perhaps the most important prominent and powerful ikhanda - head ever. Her praise poem suggests that she wielded great power and influence, and was personally responsible for the destruction of many personages and groups of people. She was known to be a cunning plotter, 'the father of guile'.[101] She was also known to advance careers and protect those whom she favoured.

Mnkabayi's praise poem refers in two places to the Zulu ancestors from whom she, as a daughter of Jama, drew her authority. The ideological emphasis was a key feature of control by the amakhanda-heads over the izinduna under them. Propitiation of ancestral spirits was crucial to the successful pursuit of war, and war was increasingly becoming a way of life, 'the only ancestral clan gods (amakosi) that mattered now, since the foundation of the Zulu "nation", were those of the

Zulu clan.'[102] The preparations for the amabutho to go to war centered on Mnkabayi. First they were treated by the king's doctors, then they proceeded to the Makhosini, to the graves of the kings. Finally, they wound their way down to Mnkabayi's establishment.

> War has in the past had its seat in Mnkabayi's Mahlabaneni kraal. When the men of that place take the field, it is generally known that war has broken out in the land in earnest.[103]

Mnkabayi also ruled at Nobamba and at esiKlebheni.[104] Thus she controlled the areas central to the major rituals associated with war, rain, the agricultural cycle and the training camps of the amabutho.[105] Her sisters, Mawa and Mmama, were also amakhosikazi of great prestige and power.[106]

Certain of the surviving wives of Senzangakhona likewise became important amakhosikazi under Shaka, although they were not themselves of the ruling lineage. Pre-eminent amongst their ranks was Nandi, the mother of Shaka, who ruled at Nyakamubi and Ndulinde, and was in charge of the iziYendane ibutho. She had the power to put people to death.[107] Another was Langazana kaGubetshe of the Sibiya, who had been Senzangakhona's chief wife. At various times, she ruled at esiKlebheni, Zembeni, Mkonjeni, Ndlawayini and inTonteleni. She was known to have had 'many followers'.[108]

Politically, the amakhosikazi were extremely powerful. When Shaka returned to the Zulu on the death of his father, to claim the chieftaincy, it was his three paternal aunts, Mnkabayi, Mmama and Mawa who ensured his successful candidature. They rejected the designated heir Sigujana in favour of Shaka on the grounds that Mphikase, mother of Sigujana, was not a woman of rank, whereas Nandi, daughter of Mbhengi was.[109] After the assassination of Shaka, and the murder of Mhlangana, both of which Mnkabayi was credited with

engineering,

> She was summoned either to Dukuza or Bulawayo. She was dressed as a man. She had a white shield with a black spot, assegais, also imphendhla with which she dondalazela'd - she chose bingaan.[110]

She was appropriately praised as the little mouse that started the run's at Malandela's, for she determined the course of Zulu history. It seemed that she was able to make and unmake kings.[111]

The enormous authority invested in certain of the king's female relatives in this period, is best explained through further reference to the homestead. In northern Nguni-speaking societies, the expansion of the individual homestead of a sub-chief or umnumzana was facilitated by the movement away from the original homestead of some of its sections, under the authority of a wife of the homestead. In a wealthy expanding homestead, the first wife married, known as the isokangqi (as was her son), was frequently given her own separate establishment.[112] The ikholwa, another section of the homestead, was also usually built separately under its chief wife, and included the huts of those wives affiliated to it.[113] A separate homestead was also established when a new wife was presented by the king to a man who had already appointed his own chief wife, as a mark of respect and to preserve her status.[114] When the sons of these women left their homes and *built their own establishments, it was common for them* to take their elderly mothers with them and to place them in charge of one of their new establishments.[115]

A homestead head relied on his mother and his wives to look after his interests and to exert his authority over a greater number of dependents, a wider geographical area and a larger number of resources than he personally was capable of administering. Thus the expansion of an individual homestead depended on the

expansion of this group of 'administrators'. A mother or chief wife drew her authority in part from the *position of her husband, but also from the direct* control which she exerted over the agricultural production of her household. This control was imposed not only on the co-wives and their offspring, but also on distant kin and other dependents resident with the chief women. A man was able to repose the greatest confidence in his mothers and wives, not only because it was supposed that their interests were congruent, but also because they were excluded as potential loci of opposition to him by their gender. Unlike a brother or an uncle, a woman was excluded from succession in her own right. Curtailed in her activities, she was dependent on her husband or son in a way that male relatives were not. Precisely those features which characterize the different status of a woman, interpreted by Wright as responsible for her total subordination, made her an eminently suitable administrator, albeit on behalf of her husband or son. Thus although the prevailing ideology denied her an existence independent of her menfolk, her gender did not prevent her from holding a position of authority and commanding respect from those males under her.[116]

While a wife was excluded from the succession in her own right, her sons were not. As her sons attained adulthood, and began to *fulfill adult male functions*, it was possible for a wife to become independent of her husband through her sons, and ultimately for them to challenge his authority or contest the succession. Thus the system of the expansion of a man's authority through the system of polygamous marriage while offering *the means for the extension of his influence*, was ultimately inherently divisive.

The extent to which the basic principles of administration

of the extended homestead of an individual were applied on a state level can only be observed for the somewhat later reign of Mpande, since he was the first Zulu monarch to marry, and to set up establishments of wives which functioned to extend his authority in this manner, and which ultimately divided the Zulu nation.

The major establishments of Mpande's reign included that of Mdumezulu, which had separated off from esiKlebheni (in the same way that the ikholwa section might separate off from its original homestead) under Mpande's wife, Nomantshali with her son Mthonga. Prior to this, Nomantshali had ruled at Nodwengu, another of Mpande's settlements.[117] Fudukazi kaMgobamne, also a wife of Mpande, was the inkosikazi at Bulawayo,[118] while Gudayi kaMqomboli was in charge of Ndabakawombe.[119] Cetshwayo's mother, Nqumbazi was inkosikazi at Gqikazi, from which Ondini, Bangibone and other establishments of Cetshwayo later sprang. Gqikazi was known as one of Mpande's own establishments, but was considered too far away for him to visit himself,[120] which indicates the measure of independence allowed to Nqumbazi. These wives begat sons with aspirations to the throne, and internal conflict and civil war resulted, culminating in the battle of Ndondakusuka in 1856, involving seven sons of Mpande.

The bachelor kings Shaka and Dingane strictly avoided this situation. According to the oral record, Nandi once attempted to raise a son of Shaka's in secret, but was discovered, and the child was killed.[121] Under Shaka and Dingane, the duties normally fulfilled by a king's wives, were assigned to the amakhosikazi.[122]

The crucial difference between the amakhosikazi and wives that the kings might have married is noted in the lines of Mnkabayi's praise poem referring to her

rejection of men and marriage:

> Intomb' ethombe yom' umlamo,
> Zase ziyihlab' imithanti ezawonina.
>
> (Maid that matured and her mouth dried up,
> And then they criticised her among the old
> women).[123]

The amakhosikazi were all women past child-bearing age, and were usually without heirs. Bryant described the amakhosikazi as 'bold and independent hussies. They evinced aversions to the bonds of matrimony and preferred to remain queans'(sic). [124] Mostly the amakhosikazi were old female relatives, particularly aunts of the kings, but were sometimes appointed from the ranks of ex-izigodlo girls who had no issue.[125] As Lancaster indicates, the demands of child care and concomitant domestic labour tend to keep women out of the political arena.[126] Under the Shakan regime however, this limitation fell away with the ban on marriage and hence certain women had opportunity to penetrate the political sphere. Since the amakhanda *heads had no heirs, usually no longer even the possibility* of conceiving, and were excluded from the succession themselves by their gender, they could not constitute foci of rival factions. Furthermore, since most of these female amakhanda heads were beyond menopause, they were no longer restricted by the cattle taboos and other avoidances observed by menstruating women. Old women were also released from the hlonipha taboos of speech that dominated the life of the young bride.[127] This meant that the amakhosikazi, to all intents and purposes, functioned as 'men' within Zulu society and as if confirming this, the praise poems of both Mnkabayi and Nandi address their subjects as men.[128] These women also derived added status by virtue of their great age, which demanded that young men accord them respect. They were able to use their position within the ruling lineage, as elders, to

influence the king. Until a man was married, he remained attached to the household of his mother, and of course neither Shaka nor Dingane ever married. The influence of Nandi over Shaka is demonstrated by the king's izibongo which closely associates many of his actions with his mother, and by the many tales concerning their inter-relationship.[129]

On the basis of their positions within, or in relation to, the royal family, the amakhosikazi commanded a ritual authority which their great age enabled them to exploit as 'men', while their positions as dual heads of the amakhanda and izigodlo constituted the material basis of real power. In placing the amakhosikazi in high positions in some of the most remote areas, the Zulu king was able to exploit this conjunction, secure in the knowledge that their gender mitigated against any usurpation of his position.

The pre-eminent position of the amakhosikazi represents an important modification of the notion of the generalized subordination of women under Shaka, and illuminates the stratification of Zulu society from a new angle. While it is not possible to move beyond Wright's thesis on the position of the majority of Zulu women in the homesteads, the focus on the izigodlo demonstrates differences in the position of various women in the kingdom and further illuminates the processes of the entrenchment of the Zulu ruling group. The development of the izigodlo as state institutions modelled on the known structures of local homestead administration, also indicates the parameters of the operation of pre-colonial ideologies, and the continuity of a broad framework of kin-based relations.

The picture which emerges of the izigodlo under Shaka is of an institutionalized system for drawing on the labour power of women, in a manner parallel to that of

the male amabutho system. In the centralization of labour power, the controls enforced over marriage, and, presumably, the socialization process which occurred in the amakhanda, the functions of the izigodlo mirrored those of its male counterpart, although on a smaller scale. The extension of the izigodlo, and their assumption of responsibility for agricultural production at the amakhanda, allowed the king to monopolize access to agricultural produce in the amakhanda over and above the control which he wielded over the nation's agriculture through the umkhosi. In this respect, the izigodlo's functions were very different from the amabutho, for the newly extended izigodlo provided a direct means of control over the men at the amakhanda. As such, they became the basis of power of the great amakhosikazi who represented royal interests in the amakhanda.

1. J. Wright, 'Control of Women's Labour in the Zulu Kingdom', in J.B. Peires (ed.), Before and After Shaka, Grahamstown, 1981, pp. 82-95.

2. Ibid., p. 91.

3. See, for example, H.J. Simons, The Legal Status of African Women, London, 1968; B. Bozzoli, 'Marxism, feminism and South African studies', Journal of Southern African Studies, 9, 2 (1983), pp. 139-71; J. Beale, 'The changing role and status of African women in the political economy of colonial Natal', unpublished paper presented to the thirteenth annual congress of the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa, Durban, 1982.

4. Krige, in The Social System of the Zulus, pp. 234-35, for example, mentions the izigodlo only insofar as they were a feature of the King's 'kraal', and draws her information entirely from late nineteenth century historical sources.

5. Slater, 'Transitions', pp. 302, 308.

6. Wright, 'Control', pp. 92-3.

7. Fynn, Diary, p. 25; Isaacs, Travels, Vol. 1, pp. 99, 202; Bryant, Zulu People, see especially p. 577.

8. Fynn, Diary, p. 26.

9. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 310, 326, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 179, evidence of Mandhlakazi.

10. Wright, 'Control', pp.92-3.

11. Fynn, Diary, p. 164; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73, p. 139, evidence of Ndukwana; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 196, 197, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 316, evidence of Lunguza.

12. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 473, K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, p. 2, evidence of Ndukwana.

13. Ibid; Krige, Social System, p. 42.

14. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 473; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, pp. 246 - 53; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 1, evidence of Baleni.

15. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 473; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 837.

16. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 28, evidence of Baleni.

17. Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 214; also see K.C., Stuart Papers, file 72, p. 1.

18. Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 214; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 60, notebook 6, evidence of Mkando; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 72, pp. 1, 3-6, evidence of Mkando.

19. Ibid; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 60, notebook 7, evidence of Mkando; also see Stuart's discussion, uKulumetule, chapter 2.

20. See note 17.

21. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 428.

22. Krige, Social System, p. 39; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 250.

23. Krige, Social System, p. 180.

24. Sisa cattle were lent to destitute relations or dependents who sought the patronage of a wealthy homestead head. The dependent cared for the cattle on the owner's behalf, but was entitled to keep the products and offspring that ensued. In this manner, a man of resources was able to build up a substantial following. The sisa'ing of cattle brought a wealthy man an immediate return in the form of the labour of his client in caring for his cattle. Ethula'd cattle, by way of contrast, constituted a more long term investment, for the cattle concerned were permanently disposed of, and the daughter given in exchange had to be reared before her lobola cattle could be realised.

25. Isaacs, Travels, Vol. 1, p. 29, Vol. 2, p. 286; Hedges, 'Trade and Politics', p. 76.

26. Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 540.

27. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 577.

28. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 60, notebook 5, evidence of Mkando.

29. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 53, 'The Life of Tshaka'.

30. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 473; Doke and Vilakazi, Dictionary, p. 252.

31. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 60, notebook 6, evidence of Mkando.

32. Krige, Social System, p. 34.

33. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 27, evidence of Baleni.

34. C.S. Lancaster, 'Women, horticulture and society in sub-Saharan Africa', American Anthropologist, Vol. 78 (1976), pp. 539-64.

35. Krige, Social System, p. 177; National Archives, Pietermaritzburg, 'Zululand Archive', report of resident magistrate J. Knight on lobola rates.

36. Isaacs, Travels, p. 221.

37. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 70-1, evidence of Mandhlakazi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 47, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 29, evidence of Mabhonsa; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 53, 'The Life of Tshaka'; also see Bryant, Olden Times, chapter 12.

38. Fynn, Diary, pp. 24-5.

39. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 478; Isaacs Travels, Vol. 1, pp. 56, 149.

40. Wright, 'Control', pp. 82-3.

41. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 45-46; also see pp. 38-9, evidence of Baleni; and for further discussion of the izigodlo's cultivation of amabele see J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 153, evidence of Mkando.

42. Gardiner, Journey, p. 40; Krige, Social System, p. 238; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 25, 38, 45, evidence of Baleni.

43. Ibid.,p. 38; Fynn, Diary, pp. 27, 31; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 320, evidence of Lunguza.

44. See, for example, Fynn, Diary, p. 77.

45. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 343, evidence of Lunguza.

46. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 107, evidence of Mgidhlana.

47. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 323, evidence of Lunguza.

48. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 162, evidence of Mkando.

49. Fynn, Diary, p. 31; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 343, evidence of Lunguza.

50. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 69, evidence of Bikwayo; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 124, evidence of Dunjwa; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 159, evidence of Gxubu; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 341, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 80, evidence of Magidi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 180, evidence of Mandhlakazi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 108, evidence of Mgidhlana; J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 296, 298-99 300, 303, 306-13, evidence of Mpatshana (for later period); K.C., Stuart Papers, File 73, p. 158, evidence of Ndukwana.

51. Krige, Social System, pp. 187-88.

52. J. Guy, 'The Destruction and Reconstruction of Zulu Society', paper presented to the South African History Conference, 1980, p. 4.

53. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 28, evidence of Mbovu.

54. Fynn, Diary, pp. 10, 17, 64, 124, 143; Slater, 'Transitions', p. 279.

55. Guy, Destruction, p. 11; J. Cobbing, 'Zulu amabutho', p. 4; J. Peires, in Before and After Shaka, (ed), J. Peires, Grahamstown, 1981, p. 11.

56. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 239, evidence of Maquza;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 296, evidence of Maziyana.

57. See chapter six.

58. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 20, evidence of Mabhonsa.

59. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 53, evidence of Madikane.

60. See pp. 260, 473;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 53, evidence of Bazley;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 90, evidence of Dabula;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 201, evidence of Jantshi;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 301, 302, evidence of Lunguza;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 31, evidence of Mabhonsa;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 202, evidence of Mangati;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 277, evidence of Maziyana;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 267, evidence of Mbovu.

61. Hedges, 'Trade and Politics', p. 42.

62. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 330, evidence of Lunguza.

63. See chapters three and eight.

64. Wright, 'Pre-Shakan age-group formation', p. 25; Slater, 'Transitions', chapter 9.

65. Hedges, 'Trade and Politics', p. 30;
B.E. Beater, Soils of the Sugar Belt, National Regional Survey Report, 5,(1962).

66. Maize was not listed by Fynn as an important Zulu crop (Diary, pp. 304-5); also see Hedges, 'Trade and Politics', pp. 36-9, on the dating of the introduction of maize into south-east Africa. For references to the cultivation of maize, see J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 142, evidence of Gama; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 203, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 148, evidence of Mkando; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 84, evidence of Sivivi.

67. Fynn, Diary, pp. 304-5; Hedges, 'Trade and Politics', pp. 40-4; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 113, evidence of Mahaya.

68. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 62, notebook 61, p. 10, evidence of Mkehlengana and Socwatsha. Also see Kuper, An African Aristocracy, p. 35, for comparative planting strategies amongst the neighbouring Swazi.

69. Ibid., p. 35; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 148, evidence of Mkando.

70. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 254.

71. Ibid., pp. 464, 509; Krige, Social System, p. 253; Kuper, An African Aristocracy, p. 35.

72. Krige, Social System, p. 249.

73. Kuper, An African Aristocracy, p. 221, Bryant, Zulu People, p. 509.

74. Krige, Social System, p. 253.

75. Ibid., p. 267; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 464.

76. On campaigning in late February, March and April, see Fynn, Diary, pp. 60,91, 137, 143; Isaacs, Travels, Vol. 1, pp. 79, 179, 180, 227; on campaigning in September, see Fynn, Diary, p. 156, and Isaacs, Travels, Vol. 1, p. 258.

77. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 255, evidence of Lunguza.

78. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 24, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 91, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 150, evidence of Mkando; Stuart, uKulumetule, chapter 2. It should be noted that this evidence draws on data from the post-Shakan era to flesh out and contextualize the few references to 'grain kraals' at Shaka's establishments.

79. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 38, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 211, evidence of Kambi; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 60, pp. 14-15, evidence of Tununu.

80. Fynn, Diary, p. 269.

81. Gardiner, Journey, p. 51.

82. Krige, Social System, p. 383; see also J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 25, evidence of Baleni.

83. Krige, Social System, p. 265.

84. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 73, p. 138, evidence of Ndukwana. On reduction of izigodlo numbers under Dingane see ibid.; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 316, 343, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 196-97 evidence of Jantshi.

85. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 323, evidence of Lunguza;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 19, evidence of Baleni.

86. Ibid., pp. 37-8;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 310, evidence of Lunguza;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 179, evidence of Mandhlakazi;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 153, evidence of Mkando.

87. Fynn, Diary, pp. 25, 298; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 61, notebook 39, evidence of Mqidi; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 497; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 149, 153, evidence of Mkando. On specific amakhanda see Fynn, Diary, p. 82; J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 16, 24, 33, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 197, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 91, evidence of Magidigidi; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 661.

88. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 60, notebook 5, evidence of Mkando; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 475.

89. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp.25, 33, evidence of Baleni;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 328, evidence of Lunguza;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane;
J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 208, evidence of Mangati;
Ritte, Social System, p. 238.

90. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 62, notebook 84, evidence of Sivivi.

91. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 179, evidence of Jantshi.

92. J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 179-83, evidence of Mandhlakazi; Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 250. Also see the famous stories of Zulu kaNogandaya, pp. 176-80, and that of Ngqengelele, p. 293.

93. Ibid; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 62, notebook 74, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 107, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 19, evidence of Mabhonsa.

94. See notes 90, 91.

95. Fynn, Diary, p. 27.

96. Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 473-75.Krige, Social System, p. 42; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 311, evidence of Lunguza.

97. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 497; Fynn, Diary, p. 284; Gardiner; Journey, p. 146.

98. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 474;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 178, evidence of Jantshi and Ndukwana;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 310, 343, evidence of Lunguza;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 150, evidence of Mkando;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 37-8, evidence of Baleni.

99. Gardiner, Journey, p. 146.

100. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 29, evidence of Mbovu;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 152, evidence of Mkando;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 332, evidence of Lunguza.

101. Isibongo of Mnkabayi kaJama in Cope, Izibongo, p. 172. Note that one of Stuart's informants commented that she was the first Zulu woman to become 'queen and sovereign' (K.C., Stuart Papers, file 57, notebook 7).

102. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 603.

103. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 61, notebook 45, evidence of Ngidi.

93. Ibid; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 62, notebook 74, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 107, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 19, evidence of Mabhonsa.

94. See notes 90, 91.

95. Fynn, Diary, p. 27.

96. Bryant, Zulu People, pp. 473-75.Krige, Social System, p. 42; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 311, evidence of Lunguza.

97. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 497; Fynn, Diary, p. 284; Gardiner; Journey, p. 146.

98. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 474;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 178, evidence of Jantshi and Ndukwana;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 310, 343, eviden. of Lunguza;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 150, evidence of Mkando;
J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 37-8, evidence of Baleni.

99. Gardiner, Journey, p. 146.

100. J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 29, evidence of Mbovu;
J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 152, evidence of Mkando;
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102. Bryant, Zulu People, p. 503.

103. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 61, notebook 45, evidence of Ngidi.

104. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 252, evidence of Mayinga; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 60, notebook 29, evidence of Ndukwana and Madikane.

105. Fynn, Diary, pp. 29, 140; see above, pp. 224, 338-40.

106. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 41-4. See, for example, the story of Mawa, and her followers crossing into Natal (J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 200, evidence of Jantshi); on Mmama's activities see J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 194, evidence of Jantshi.

107. J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 20, evidence of Mabhónsa. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 7, evidence of Baleka. J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 193, evidence of Mandhlakazi.

108. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 20, 36, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 256, evidence of Mayinga.

109. Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 41, 42, 46, and also see pp. 659, 669; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 47, 51, evidence of Madikane; K.C., Stuart Papers, file 61, notebook 39, evidence of Ngidi.

110. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 58, notebook 23, evidence of Socwatsha.

111. Isibongo of Mnkabayi, in Cope, Izibongo, p. 172.

112. Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 250; on separate homesteads also see M. Wilson, 'The Nguni People', Oxford History, Vol. 1, p. 119.

113. Samuelson, Long, Long Ago, p. 250.

114. Ibid., pp. 250-51.

115. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 42, item 28.

116. Fynn, Diary, p. 300.

117. J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 27, 39, evidence of Baleni.

118. Ibid., p. 29.

119. Ibid., p. 33.

120. Ibid., pp. 36, 40; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 208, evidence of Mangati.

121. Fynn, Diary, p. 29.

122. Krige, Social System, p. 247; Bryant, Zulu People, p. 476.

123. Isibongo of Mnkabayi, in Cope, Izibongo, pp. 172-73.

124. Bryant, Olden Times, p. 41.

125. K.C., Stuart Papers, file 60, notebook 21, evidence of Mdabukelwa.

126. Lancaster, 'Women', p. 540.

127. Krige, Social System, p. 30.

128. Izibongo of Mnkabayi in Cope, Izibongo, pp. 172-75. Mnkabayi is addressed as a man, as is Nandi, in the praise 'Sontanti'.

129. Ibid., p. 88.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RELATIONS OF EXPLOITATION AND THE IDEOLOGY OF SUBORDINATION: THE CASE OF THE AMALALA

The preceeding chapters have examined the move of the Zulu amakhanda onto the coastal plain between the Thukela river and the Port Natal trading settlement. The region in which the Zulu capital, Dukuza, was built was occupied by the Cele, the Thuli, and other peoples subordinate to them. Zulu cattle posts extended still further south, as far as the Mzimkhulu river. This move, it was suggested, was prompted by a combination of strategic and environmental considerations which came to bear at a particular moment in Zulu history.

This chapter turns to an analysis of the articulation of Zulu state politics with those of the chiefdoms on the periphery of the kingdom. In the first section, the background to the Cele and Thuli occupation of the Natal coast will be examined, as will the nature of Zulu intervention in their internal affairs.

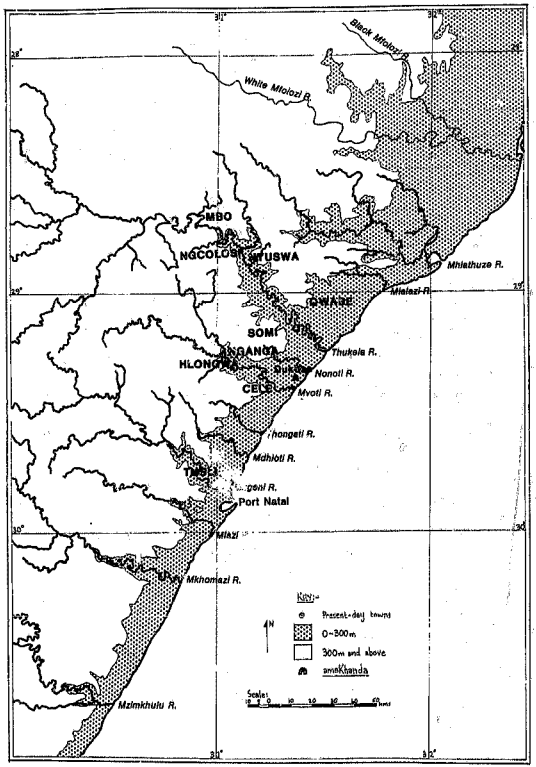
In the second section, the subordination of the Natal coastal chiefdoms to the Zulu state will be examined. It will be argued that, while chiefdoms north of the Thukela which were politically aligned with the Zulu aristocracy, enjoyed the status of full subjects of the kingdom, the chiefdoms on the periphery of the kingdom became 'super-exploited' tributaries, in

terms of cattle, land and labour, and were denied the rights of Zulu citizenship. The similar experience of another major group of chiefdoms on the Zulu periphery, situated in and around the mid-Thukela valley, will also be analysed, with a view to demonstrating that their tributary relationship with the Zulu closely paralleled that of the Natal coastal chiefdoms. It is suggested that it was these conditions of exploitation which led to both groups being collectively designated amalala

In the final section of this chapter, the means by which the Zulu state was able to maintain relations of 'super-exploitation' with their tributaries will be considered. It will be argued that this was effected on the one hand through the cooption of a small stratum of local chiefs, and on the other hand, through a combination of direct coercion and the development of powerful ideological forms of subordination - notably the creation and manipulation of ethnic identities. The formation of a number of ethnic identities, notably that of amantungwa, has already been discussed. It will be argued that while the amantungwa identity was used to define and legitimate access to power and resources, the ethnic identity with which the inhabitants of Natal and the Thukela valley were associated, was used to justify their lack of rights, and the heavier obligations which characterized their relations with the Zulu state.

The establishment of [illegible]hakan Thuli and Cele paramountcies in Na[illegible].

On the eve of Zulu in[illegible]on south of the Thukela, a loose Cele paramountcy seems to have extended along the Natal coastal plain down towards Port Natal. Cele dominance in this area was comparatively recent



The southern periphery of the Zulu kingdom, c.1827.

Author Hamilton Carolyn
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