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Hamilton, Carolyn

1987-02-14T06:45:31Z
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HWS 160

'The secret of ancient wisdom lies in the names of things and their forgotten meanings'

- Maqandeyana Nthuli

1987 HAMILTON

TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN AND THE IDEOLOGICAL APPROPRIATION OF THE PAST IN THE ZULU KINGDOM UNDER SHAKA

C. A. HAMILTON

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GLOSSARY

isiBongo: clan-name.

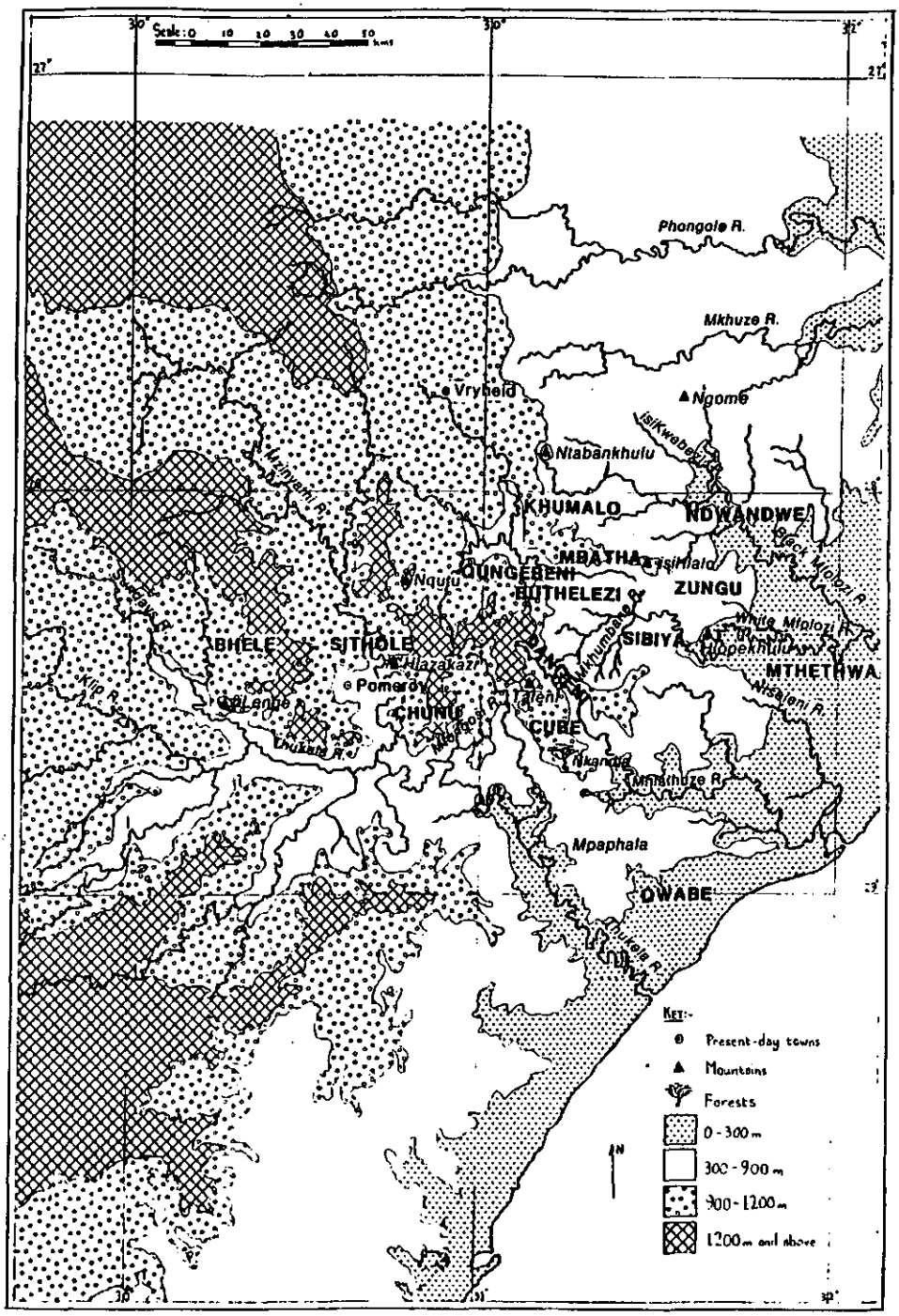
iButho (amaButho): age-group or similar unit, performing labour and coercive functions, so-called 'regiment'.

isiGodlo (iziGodlo): (a) king's (or important chief's) private enclosure at the upper end of a residential establishment containing the huts of his household; (b) women resident in the king's enclosure.

iKhanda (amaKhanda): establishment erected and occupied by the amabutho.

isiLulu (iziLulu): a large rounded basket made of plaited grass used for storing grain.

isiThakazelo (iziThakazelo): address-name associated with a particular isibongo.



The defensive Zulu state, c.1820

INTRODUCTION

The Zulu kingdom which emerged in the early 1820s in south-east Africa was forged out of a number of disparate chiefdoms practising different customs, speaking different dialects and claiming varied historical origins. Some of the chiefdoms submitted voluntarily to Zulu rule, others were forcibly incorporated into the Zulu kingdom, and some, with varying degrees of success, resisted Zulu domination for a number of years. Not all the chiefdoms which became part of the Zulu kingdom did so on the same terms. Indeed, this period saw the development of a sharp, ethnically-based distinction between a relatively more privileged group of Zulu subjects - known as the amantungwa - and a relatively less privileged group of Zulu tributaries known as the amalala, amanhlengwa and the like.

The incorporation of the component chiefdoms and the emergence and maintenance of social cleavages within the new polity was facilitated by the development of a sophisticated coercive apparatus concentrated in the hands of the small Zulu ruling class.[1] In addition, a hegemonic ideology legitimating Zulu domination and these distinctions of status emerged. It will be argued in this paper that this ideology was not simply invented and imposed on Zulu society by its rulers. Rather, its component elements were drawn from ideas about the past which existed at the time. The selection of these elements, and the reworking which they underwent during the reign of Shaka was likewise not dictated only by the interests of those in power, but was also shaped by the struggles of subordinate chiefdoms attempting to

resist ideological and political subjection. The articulating principle, to borrow a phrase of Gramsci's, of the new ideology was provided by the hegemonic group and the central role which it played in the relations of production, but its form was shaped by the necessity of articulating a number of different world-views and the neutralization of their political antagonisms. [2]

These processes occurred in the ideologically powerful domain of history, and in particular, in the realm of traditions of origin. The reason for this lay in the limitations placed on the range of ideological traversal that was possible under the conditions which prevailed at the time of Shaka's accession. Insofar as former relations of production continued to survive and lend form to new relations of production in a transitional society like that of the Zulu, old ideological forms tended to serve as both 'the material and ideological scheme of representation for new social relations'. [3] As Thompson has noted at the level of language, 'to say new thing you have to squeeze new meanings out of old words'. [4] The residual survival of old forms created a sense of continuity with the past, and functioned in that way to lend legitimacy to the new social order. This would have been especially significant in a society such as that of the Zulu where ancestors wer understood to be able to influence the present. As long as an 'ancestor cult' was maintained as the basis of chiefly or kingly power in south-east Africa, notions of common descent as important to social cohesion could be modified, but not completely jettisoned. In terms of these constraints on the emergence of a hegemonic ideology in the Zulu kingdom,

traditions of origin, the basis of claims of common descent, were a prime terrain of ideological struggle.

Through examination of traditions of origin, this paper will trace some of the major ideological shifts associated with the emergence of the Zulu kingdom, which served to legitimate Zulu overrule, and which underlay the emergence of a number of new ethnic affiliations in the 1820s.

It will be suggested that the evidence of ideological struggles in the past, and of changes in the hegemonic ideology lies in the 'fault-lines' of the oral traditions. The contradictions within and between traditions are seen, not as an inherent weakness of the evidence, but as the very means by which the historian can move beyond and behind expressions of the hegemonic ideology which prevailed at the time of the recording of the tradition, and in so doing can identify ideological change in the past. [5]

BORN UNDER THREAT: THE ZULU KINGDOM c.1818 - c.1821

The defeat of Dingiswayo in 1818, and the attendant collapse of the Mthethwa paramountcy at the hands of the Ndwandwe, heralded the rise of a small chiefdom previously subject to the Mthethwe, that of Shaka's Zulu.

Either by fate or through cunning, the Zulu contingent of the Mthethwa army had avoided encountering the forces of the Ndwandwe, and remained intact under Dingiswayo's general in the west, Shaka. It was not long before Zwide, the Ndwandwe chief,

led his armies out against the Zulu, and their neighbours and allies, the Buthelezi, the Qungebeni and sections of the Langeni and Mbatha. The Zulu embarked on a tactical withdrawal south, towards the great forest fortresses of Dlize and Nkandhla, razing the ground as they went, and burying grain where they could. Their scorched-earth policy effectively weakened the Ndwandwe army. Together with Zulu trickery in the famous Kisi battle (so-called because the Zulu slipped in among the Ndwandwe forces, under cover of dark, using 'kisi' as the password to distinguish friend and foe, and slaughtered many Ndwandwe as they lay sleeping), this tactic allowed the Zulu to survive the encounter. The victory was by no means decisive, but a respite had been won. It was clearly not the last the Zulu had seen of Zwide. [6]

Despite the addition of the Buthelezi, Qungebeni and sections of the Langeni and Mbatha to the Zulu forces while Dingiswayo was still alive, the Zulu army remained the numerical inferior of that of the Ndwandwe. Shaka was faced with an urgent need to strengthen his chiefdom if it was to stay the Ndwandwe. This was to be achieved primarily through strategic local expansion and the close assimilation of neighbouring chiefdoms.

The precise sequence in which the Zulu extended their control over a still wider range of their neighbours cannot be established with precision for the period prior to the arrival of the first documenters of Zulu history, the white traders who arrived in 1824. However, the rough order 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 surroundings chiefdoms, their proximity to the Zulu chiefdom, and the resources which they could offer the Zulu.[7]

At the time of Dingiswayo's death, the Qwabe were, next to the Ndwandwe, the most powerful polity in south-east Africa. Qwabe support quickly became an issue of necessity rather than choice for the Zulu who had barely survived their recent encounter with the Ndwandwe. Zulu interest in the Qwabe chiefdom seemed to have been shaped by the need to remove themselves from the Ndwandwe border, to augment their small fighting force, to secure for themselves strategic retreats such as the Nkandhla forest, and most immediately, to acquire grain for consumption and as seed for the following season. The area occupied by the Qwabe was superb for the production of cereals. Multiple cropping was possible in the lowlands and broad river valleys of the Qwabe chiefdom. The upland Zulu area was, in contrast, poor agricultural land.

Shaka appealed to Phakathwayo for protection and requested from him supplies of grain for the hard-pressed Zulu. The Qwabe chief refused to help, and according to some sources, countered with a demand that the Zulu tender tribute to him. Instead of support, the Zulu found a new threat to their society emerging in the south-east. [8]

The growing crisis in which the Zulu found themselves in the winter of 1818 led them to gamble everything in a surprize attack

on the Qwabe. Phakathwayo was killed and the Qwabe army defeated at the Hlokohloko ridge. [9]

After victory, Shaka's policy was to assimilate the Qwabe as quickly and as closely as possible. The Qwabe were drawn into all the major Zulu institutions - the amabutho, the izigodlo and the great Zulu amakhanda. They were required to undergo significant resocialization and retraining, the Zulu way, to take up the military ideology of the Zulu amakhanda, and to participate in rituals stressing the ideological preeminence of the Zulu king. It seems, however, that Shaka wished the yoke of conquest to rest lightly on the Qwabe, hoping to preempt thus Qwabe resistance to Zulu domination. The old Qwabe chiefdom was left intact; married Qwabe men drafted into Zulu amabutho were permitted to retain the senior status of headringed men; special concessions were extended to certain Qwabe over marriage restrictions; Qwabe cattle taken in battle were returned; and no attempt was made to dismantle the Qwabe chiefship, although the new incumbent, Nqetho, was chosen for his loyalty to Shaka. The Qwabe were to be offered a share in power holding, but it had to be in circumstances which assured that they identified closely with the Zulu. It was especially important that Qwabe men serving in the Zulu amabutho recognized the ideological preeminence of the Zulu king. [10] It seems that one of the ways in which this was achieved was through the claim of a genealogical connection between the Qwabe and the Zulu, through the figure of a common progenitor, Malandela.

THE STORY OF MALANDELA - THE FOUNDING MYTH OF THE ZULU AND THE QWABE PEOPLES

The claims that the Zulu of Senzangakhona's (Shaka's father) chiefdom, and the Qwabe, one of the largest chiefdoms to be subjected by the Zulu, sprang from a common ancestor, is widespread in the relevant literature. That it has gone unquestioned for so long is probably a consequence of its unhesitating reproduction in the Rev A. T. Bryant's seminal account, Olden Times in Zululand and Natal (1929). [11]

Bryant relates that Malandela trekked from the 'up-country', over the Mthonjaneni heights and down to the Mhlathuze river where he erected the first known establishment of Zulu history, oDwini. The story goes on to describe extensive cultivation of the banks of the Mhlathuze by Nozinja, one of Malandela's wives, and the mother of two of his sons, Qwabe and Zulu. Much ujiba (millet) was produced, and with the surplus corn, first goats, and then a herd of cattle were obtained. The cattle were coveted by the elder son, Qwabe. This led to dissension and ultimately to the flight of Nozinja and her younger son Zulu. Bryant recorded that they finally found refuge amongst the Qungebeni, and settled in the Mkhumbane valley, later to become the heart of the Zulu kingdom. Qwabe and his followers remained in situ, on the Mhlathuze river, where they too developed an independent chiefdom.

Variations on this account of Zulu-Qwabe origins have been accepted uncritically by recent studies of Qwabe incorporation under the Zulu. It is assumed that it was this remote biological

connecion which allowed the numerous Qwabe subjects of the Zulu king to feel that they shared common ancestors with whom the Zulu king could effectively intercede on their behalf.[12]

Close examination of the Malandela tale suggests that it may be little more than fiction. While it was widely claimed that the Qwabe as a whole were related to the Zulu, none of the component lineages of the Qwabe chiefdom connect either with the figure of Malandela, or with individual Zulu lineages. [13] Indeed, Qwabe traditions of origin centre around the idea of a lowland identity, in sharp contradistinction to the upland Zulu. [14] The ciruclar route of what was to become the Zulu migratory passage under Malandela - from Babanango, down to the Mhlathuze, and then back into the Babanango area, where the Zulu polity was to emerge - seems to be suspect. It suggests that the Qwabe interlude may be little more than a latter-day interpolation in Zulu history. This impression is reinforced by the point that the migratory account is geographically fixed by only one other element, the oDwini residential establishment. oDwini was, in fact, the name of a famous latter-day Qwabe residence, probably built in the late 18th century. Had oDwini actually existed in Malandela's time as his chiefly establishment, it was likely to have been the site of his grave. The ritual significance of such a site would have been enormous, and there would have been a powerful imperative for the preservation of memory of its exact location. [15]

It is a significant omission in the traditions that the grave

site of neither Malandela nor Qwabe are known. It is also surprizing that they were never 'rediscovered' by later chiefs since they would have constituted an ideologically powerful resource. Knowledge of the grave sites of later Zulu and Qwabe chiefs was, in contrast, carefully preserved for over ten generations to the names immediately succeeding those of Malandela, Qwabe and Zulu. It seems unlikely that the lack of information about the very earliest graves was simply a funcion of evidence deterioration over time, since information about graves from a period only slightly later in time shows no similar wear, and indeed, was unlikely to, given the ritual importance of grave sites. [16]

A closer scrutiny of the Malandela tradition shows that it shares many of the features of traditions of genesis analyzed in other parts of Africa. Traditions of genesis have attracted considerable attention and have spawned their own particular methodology. This is a consequence of the complexity of their form, the characteristic proliferation of archaisms which occur and the frequent collapse of their chronology into single timeless moments in the past. Moreover, it has been recognized that into these accounts of the past are constantly compacted the concerns of the present. Although it has been argued that traditions must be read as living cultural documents, historians have persisted in seeing in genesis traditions, the history of the remote past as it really happened.

One exception has been the work of Robert Harms on the Bobangi. [17] Harms suggest that traditions of origination usually take

the form of a personalized metaphor (like the 'Malandela' tradition) for a sociological process. Disparate groups either identify with or are excluded from identification with the mythical founding figure, and in this way, traditions of origination are used to express symbolically and to legitimate the ideals of the present social order. The problem for the historian using genesis traditions apparently concerned with the remote past is to establish what 'recent social order' is referred to. In the Qwabe case, the disintegration of the chiefdom in the 1830s provides an important marker for this question, and allows the historian to distinguish, at least in some measure, between the use to which the remote past was put by the Shakan regime immediately prior to the Qwabe collapse, and the use to which the same area of the past was being put at the time when the genesis traditions were recorded.

The Malandela myth seems to fall within this category of genesis tradition. A key pointer to this lies in the division in the Qwabe chiefly genealogies between the earliest figures listed and the remainder of the names which mirrors a break in the known grave sites of Qwabe chiefs. Likewise, what Vansina has called the 'floating gap', [18] and Miller the 'hour-glass', [19] demarcates the traditions of genesis quite clearly from the rest of the body of historical data. [20]

If we turn now to look at the tradition of a common Qwabe-Zulu origin in Malandela from the Zulu point of view in the Zulu traditions, we find a similar absence of corroborative data, and

a similar pattern of gaps between the tradition of Malandela and later Zulu history as characterize the traditions of the Qwabe people. Clans which claim to be related to the Zulu, or to have originated with the Zulu, do not claim connection with the Qwabe, nor are there elements in their testimonies concerning their genesis which echo anything in the various Qwabe tales. Yet it should be noted at the same time that the connection between the Zulu and the Qwabe was widely acknowledged by Zulu informants. [21]

In summary, the story of a common origin for the Zulu and Qwabe peoples in the person of a common progenitor, Malandela, seems unlikely to represent literal historical truth for a number of reasons. The story of Malandela's travels, and the associated historical details lend no strength or conviction to the tale. Later Qwabe and Zulu history can only be linked to the genesis tales with difficulty, and with major problems where chiefly genealogies were concerned. Lastly, there is no data from the histories of individual lineages to confirm the tale, and there is much which is contradictory. If the tale does not represent the literal truth, the question is raised as to what the tradition owes its existence. Clearly, its chief purpose was to suggest that the Qwabe and the Zulu were kinsfolk. In other versions it was further claimed that Malandela had yet another son, Mchunu, from whom sprang the Chunu people, another group claiming close genealogical connection with the Zulu. [22] Likewise, it was claimed by the Khanyile that they too were descendants of the offspring of Malandela. There seems to be

even less substance to these claims than the Qwabe assertions, and no corroboration from other sources. [23]

It does not seem too great a leap to suggest that these claims, lacking in historical foundations as they are, emanated from the time when the small Zulu chiefdom first attempted the asssimilation of a number of other nearby chiefdoms and the creation of a single nation under Zulu hegemony.

However, at much the same time the Zulu also incorporated a number of other chiefdoms which never claimed to be the direct descendants of Malandela. One of the reasons for the claim of a closer and more intimate connection between the Zulu and the Qwabe than between the Zulu and most of their other subjects, may have been the dire straits the Zulu found themselves in, on the eve of their repulse by the Ndwandwe. Another reason lay in sustained resistance by large sections of the Qwabe to Zulu domination. [24] The Malandela tradition served to unite the very different lowlander Qwabe, with the uplander Zulu in an ideologically powerful manner. However, the relationship was situated so far back in time as to allow for the cultural, linguistic and historical differences between the two groups.

Situated as it was, in the very most remote past, the Malandela tale did not conflict with the existing body of history, either of the Zulu or the Qwabe. The Qwabe were originally lowland people, and indeed the structure of the tradition allows that the split between Qwabe and Zulu occurred and the Qwabe lineage <u>per se</u> came into existence. The Zulu were originally uplanders,

claiming origin in the Babanango mountains, and indeed, the tale accounts for this, acknowledging that Malandela started out from there, and it goes on to relate that Zulu later returned there. The story, in essence, simply predated other ideas about the past and could be credited without too much difficulty, for it was situated in a realm beyond the reach of historical challenge. Yet the Malandela myth did more than establish a common ancestry and a shared history for the Qwabe and the Zulu.

The story can be further illuminated through a consideration of the Rev. Callaway's excellent set of interviews with informants in Zululand-Natal in the mid-nineteenth century on the subject of what he called the 'Creator', for which the Zulu word is 'Unkulunkulu'. [25] Callaway discovered that the figure of Unkulunkulu, from whom it was believed that all people sprang, was not considered by his informants to be an omnipotent 'Creator' in the Christian sense, nor was he thought to be one of the amadhlozi, the spirits of the ancestors, who were prayed to for intercession in the present on behalf of their descendants. He was, rather, a progenitor. He was also known as 'Umdabuko', the one from whom the others broke off. 'Unkulunkulu', Callaway observed, was not credited with an isibongo. [26] Significantly, early chroniclers of Zulu history could not establish an isibongo for Malandela. Likewise, it was noted that the grave of Malandela was not known. This, it was remarked, was strange, given the ritual significance and power of the grave sites of ancestors. The absence in the historical record of the grave site suggests that perhaps Malandela was not invoked or

worshipped in the same way as other Qwabe or Zulu chiefs. It was also noted that Malandela was not praised after the fashion of other chiefs. Moreover, these same reservations applied to the figures Qwabe and Zulu as well. [27]

These points suggest that the character ascribed to Malandela, Qwabe and Zulu was, in fact, not that of ancestors, but much closer to that of 'Unkulunkulu' figures. The tradition about Malandela was used to suggest that Malandela was the one from whom a much wider group of people emanated, even groups who, unlike the Qwabe, might not be able to trace a direct link to Malandela. This group seems to be those with whom the Zulu asserted a new, loose form of kinship in a non-specific way, viz., the amantungwa, the ones who, in words attributed to Shaka, 'share a common origin'. [28]

'UKWEHLA NGESILULU' [29]: THE EMERGENCE OF THE AMANTUNGWA

At much the same time as the Zulu began to bring the Qwabe under their control, they also sought to secure the intervening area between the Zulu chiefdom and the Ndwandwe in the north, both as a buffer zone and as an area of rich and diverse resources. The Sibiya, Zungu and Mpungose rapidly came under Zulu rule. Shaka then moved against the strong and wealthy Thembu in the west, and their allies, the Sithole, Mabaso and Mbatha. The Chunu and the Cube peoples, both famed for their skills as iron-workers and armament manufacturers were also subjected to Zulu overrule at this time. Sections of these groups resisted the Zulu onslaught, and fled southwards. Others remained and were closely

assimilated into a new and increasingly powerful Zulu polity. Many Bhele too, joined the Zulu, although Shaka was obliged to attack and defeat one of their chiefs, the notorious cannibal, Mhlaphahlapha. [30]

Another group which became the object of Zulu attention in the early years of Shaka's reign was the Khumalo, residing in the north, under four chiefs. Evidence on Khumalo-Zulu relations under Shaka is characteristically uneven, making close periodization of their subjugation a difficult exercise. While it seems that the Khumalo initially submitted to the Zulu early in the reign of Shaka, 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 recognized Zulu overrule, Beje and Mlothsha, refused to participate. They subsequently resisted Shaka for three seasons, until 1826, when Shaka was obliged to call on the fire power of the traders at Port Natal to re-establish control over them. The rebellion of yet another Khumalo chief, Mzilikazi, is well-known, and its details need not be rehearsed here. [31]

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.

The first stage of a model of state expansion developed by Bonner

for the Swazi case can be appropiately applied to the Zulu. In the 1810s, when the Zulu nucleus was still small and vulnerable, its 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). [32] 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.

However, like the Malandela myth, the claim that all the groups incorporated in the first phase of Zulu expansion were related as 'brother' amantungwa is contradicted in the traditions in a variety of ways. The origin accounts of the individual groups concerned indicate origins very different from one another. In many cases contradictions of this kind between individual group origins and more general and wider origin claims were consciously effaced by twentieth century recorders of oral tradition. Close examination of these traditions often reveal the existence of palimpsests, where new traditions of origin were laid over previous traditions not fully erased. Where one point of origin replaced another, the informants tended to drop one location in favour of another, but retained ingredients of the original story and continued tacitly to point to the first point of origin. This gave rise to implicit contradictions within the text. [33]

Close examination of the izithakazelo of the groups who claimed to be amantungwa suggests that they too were extensively tampered with to establish a common identity between unrelated groups. [34]

Widespread daily use of izithakazelo made these names 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. Where the Zulu found resistance to their dominance, such as amongst the Khumalo, ideological co-option took the form of the appropriation of izithakazelo by the Zulu so as to suggest an historic relationship between rulers and the ruled, and to lend legitimacy to the new relations of dominance. [35]

The Qwabe isithakazelo 'Gumede', and the designation 'Nguni' were both appropriated by the Zulu under such conditions of widespread Qwabe resistance to Zulu domination. Qwabe response to incorporation into the Zulu kingdom was not uniform. Informants whose families had gone over to the Zulu side in the 1820s readily subscribed to the amantungwa ethnic identity. [36] In the testimonies of informants whose lineages were less clear, or who had a history of active resistance to Shaka, the origins of the Qwabe, and their ethnic character were contested. One form which this took was the assertion that the Qwabe were not amantungwa, but Nguni. [37]

Today the term Nguni is more familiar than the seldom-heard

amantungwa, and is widely used as a collective term for the peoples of south-east Africa, distinguished in language and culture from the Thonga to the north, and the Sotho peoples of the interior. In his paper 'Politics, ideology and the invention of the 'Nguni'', John Wright examines the history of the term and the development of its present extended meaning. Wright suggests that its modern meaning is the result of the appropriation and transformation over time of 'a concept that was previously used in a number of different ways for a number of different purposes, within certain of the African societies of south-east Africa.' [38] Wright's historical explanation of the phenomenon is highly nuanced and tightly periodized, and lends a new coherence to the daunting body of evidence on origins, and on generic designations. He skillfully unravels a number of apparent contradictions to distinguish three regionally distinct meanings of the term Nguni in the nineteenth century,

> South of the Thukela, the term designated primarily the Xhosa peoples. North of the Thukela, in the Zulu kingdom, it designated the dominant Zulu clan and closely related clans, to the exclusion of the great majority of the clans that had been incorporated into the kingdom. Among the Sotho and Thonga, the word designated the people of the Zulu kingdom as a whole. [39]

Wright notes that the claims of these lineages as to their 'Ntungwa' and/or 'Nguni' identities were often conflicting, but omits to give consideration to the claims of the Zulu and their supporters to an 'Ntungwa' identity for the Zulu. This, in my view, leads him astray. He seems to suggest that, in an effort to legitimize the lineage's newly achieved political dominance,

the Zulu royal house sought to throw off the perjorative appellation intungwa in favour of a claim to more ancient 'Nguni' origins. Wright considers the contradictions in the traditions recorded around the turn of the century to be a relatively recent consequence of the disarray of the Zulu royal house, following the civil wars of the 1880s, such that a negative view of Zulu origins could be reasserted. [40]

Wright's formulation is probably correct for the opprobrius term 'Lubololwenja' (lit. the penis of the dog), the early Zulu isithakazelo, which, it was alleged, Shaka also caused to die out, but which surfaced again as a designation for the Zulu after the death of Cetshwayo. [41] The history and incidence of the term amantungwa, however, differed markedly from that of Lubololwenja. Intungwa, and the associated features of upland origins, the descent tradition of having 'rolled down in a grain basket', and the 'Sutu' connection claimed by the amantungwa, enjoyed far greater currency, survived with remarkable resilience, and were asserted not only by the subjects of the Zulu, but by Zulu informants, by informants of other lineages closely associated with the Zulu, and by lineages which were known Zulu loyalists. [42] The designation intungwa was not eschewed by Shaka as readily as Wright supposes. [43] Furthermore, Wright's formulation does not account for the occurence of conflicting 'Nguni'/'Ntungwa' claims with regard to the Qwabe, as opposed to the Zulu. [44] His argument suggests how and why the Zulu, who were originally 'Ntungwa' may have claimed to be 'Nguni', but it does not explain why the Qwabe, who

were probably 'Nguni' or claimed that, also came to claim that they were 'Ntungwa'.

Finally, given that Nguni was a term with connotations of historical primacy, as Wright himself observes, the late nineteenth century, when the data on Nguni and 'Ntungwa' was recorded, would have been a period when 'claims to Nguni descent would have been proliferating'. [45] This was a period of crisis for lineage leaders in which the 'claiming of Nguni descent would possibly have represented one means of attempting to shore up their crumbling power', [46] and one which would have been a natural response to the colonial emphasis on paramountcy of chiefs, and their historical primacy in their areas. If we look closely at the claims to Nguni and 'Ntungwa' origins which Wright quotes, 'The Zulu are not abaNguni, for they did not originally use this term in respect of themselves', 'the amaNtungwa (the Zulus, Qwabes and Cunus) have a keen desire to speak of themselves as abaNguni', '... the Qwabes and Zulus who are really amaNtungwa, speak of themselves nowadays as abeNguni', [47] we see that the emphasis of the informants is on the assertion of Nguni-ness in the present-time of the interview, i.e. around c.1900. It seems, therefore, that the term Nguni gained in significance in the post-Shakan era. This would have affected the emphasis placed on the term for the early nineteenth century by informants looking back to that period from the early twentieth century. This suggests that the term Nguni may have been less important in the early period than is initially indicated by the traditions, and conversely, that greater

significance may have been accorded to the 'Ntungwa' designation than there first appears to be.

The Khumalo isithakazelo of Ndabazitha was also assumed by Shaka. Like Gumede and Nguni, the appropriation of the Ndabazitha isithakazelo by the Zulu had the effect of suggesting common origins and genealogical connections between the Zulu and Khumalo, and groups related to the Khumalo such as the Mbatha, Mabaso and Thembu. [48]

Zulu attempts to create a common identity between the recalcitrant Khumalo and the Zulu were not limited to the manipulation of the Ndabazitha isithakazelo. In the same way the Zulu appropriated the Nguni appellation, a distinctively Qwabe identity, they also laid claim to an appellation that was widely attested to as originally being a Khumalo identity, that of intungwa. The Nguni identity was mobilized by dissident Qwabe to assert the greater antiquity of the Qwabe vis-a-vis the Zulu, and as a form of resistance to incorporation into a wider Zulu identity. Shaka's appropriation of the Nguni identity, in turn, was an attempt to nullify this assertion of independent status. Adoption of the intungwa identity served similarly to negate the apparent distinctiveness, and the independent status of the Khumalo. Unlike the Nguni identity, however, amantungwa came to be applied far more widely than to simply the Zulu. [49]

Stuart's informants claim that the term intungwa, while originally applicable to the Khumalo only, 'came into vogue principally in Tshaka's day', [50] and this claim is supported by

evidence from a range of sources 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. [51]

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 other 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 the amaNtungwa are said to have come down in a grain basket (isilulu), by means of a grain basket (ngesilulu) [52]

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 ...) [53]

whilst informants interviewed more recently simply repeated the story and evinced amusement at the imagery. [54]

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. [55]

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 other instances of its occurrence, 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 version 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. [56] They were thus an appropriate sort of symbol for the movement of peoples across difficult terrain.

A significant comment made by two informants was that the tradition only ever referred to there being a single isilulu. [57] 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 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 the 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. [58]

Whereas the Nguni designation stressed the antiquity of occupation of a region by that group, the amantungwa-associated isilulu tradition was concerned to emphasize 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. [59]

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 in a manner that distinguished the amantungwa from the rest of Zulu society who were not considerd to be amantungwa.

The name amantungwa, unlike that of Nguni, has no echoes in European records prior to 1824. It may have had pre-Shakan resonances which have not survived, or 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. However, the origins of the term are suggested by the correspondence which exists between the distribution of the groups who claimed to be amantungwa 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'. [60] inTunga is also an important thatching grass, and it should be noted that the large grain izilulu were typically made of such thatching grass. [61] Certainly, the 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. [62]

The intungwa 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 occurence 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 oral informants, and by claims that the associated isilulu tradition sprang up at that time. [63] Survey of the history of incorporation under Shaka of all groups designated amantungwa confirms these claims. 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 broad territorial association. The distinctiveness conferred by the amantungwa ethnic identity functioned to distinguish the amantungwa from the rest of Zulu society.

Members of the amantungwa seem to have enjoyed a monopoly over access to privilege and appointment to high office. Of the thirty-six officers of Shaka's amabutho about whom data survives, twenty-two came from the amantungwa. Of the remaining fourteen, twelve were refugees to the Zulu kingdom from neighbouring states who enjoyed the individual and special patronage of the king, while two were of the family of the queen mother and thus enjoyed exceptional status. There were no officers drawn from non-privileged clans. [64] Outside of the army, almost all of the major power-holders who loom large in the body of oral tradition were amantungwa. [65]

It has been argued that the survey of the origin traditions of the groups incorporated in the first phase of Zulu expansion suggests that the Malandela tradition and the amantungwa category were products of the emergence of the Zulu kingdom. The

Malandela tradition functioned to link the Zulu to the Qwabe, probably their most important subordinates, in an ideologically powerful way which slotted in with the development of the amantungwa ethnic category, but which allowed for both greater identification between the Zulu and Qwabe, and for the existence of enormous cultural, linguistic and historical difference between them. The Malandela myth also constituted a 'tradition of creation', rather than an origin tradition, for the new Zulu kingdom as a whole. As such it was a fundamental cultural document concerned with the central dynamic of socio-political life in Zululand-Natal, and with the role of origins in the establishment of group identities in a society in which social cohesion continued to depend on notions of common descent, however vague. In the broadest sense, it constituted the framework of the prevailing ideological discourse, the final limits of both resistance and domination.

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 component chiefdoms of the young state. Ideas about their common origin were probably bouncing off the existing traditions of genesis of the individual groups in an unsystemmatic fashion. At that time, the primary cohesive force would have arisen out of the need for concerted action by a number of disparate groupings against the Ndwandwe. At the same time, the reformed amabutho system facilitated the emergence of a national unity as the loyalties of the men of numerous, different backgrounds were focussed 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 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 in its development. The sharper focus of the amantungwa identity can be traced to a particular phase in the development of this pre-capitalist system. 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.

The chiefdoms on the periphery of the kingdom which were conquered by the Zulu during the second phase of their expansion, were incorporated along very different lines from the core chiefdoms incorporated earlier. The chiefdoms on the periphery tended to be incorporated less as new subjects, and more as super-exploited tributaries. Their chiefly houses were required to maintain identities clearly separate from the Zulu royal house, and their young men, far from being recruited into the ranks of the amabutho, were put to work at menial tasks like herding cattle at outlying royal cattle posts. Altogether, members of these lineages seem to have had fewer rights and heavier obligations than members of the lineages of the

heartland. [66]

In ideological terms, the exclusion of members of some lineages from the rights and benefits of Zulu citizenship and their subordination to others was effected through their derogatory designation as separate and inferior ethnic groups. The subordinate chiefdoms on the southern periphery of the kingdom were denigrated as the amalala, while members of the commoner Ronga chiefdoms in the north were called amanhlengwa by the Zulu. These categories operated both to distinguish these chiefdoms from the amantungwa of the heartland, to justify their subordination and, by inducing feelings of shame and inadequacy amongst those thus denigrated, to inhibit mobilization for resistance. [67]

As is the case with the amantungwa origin traditions, close examination of the early history of the amalala chiefdoms gives lie to these claims of historic unity. Analysis of their traditions of genesis reveals a pattern of contradictions between the assertion that they all shared a common origin and other highly disparate origin claims of individual groups. Elsewhere, John Wright and I have argued that such evidence as there is on the origins of the term amalala indicates that it was invested with new meaning in the Shakan era. We argued that before the rise of the Zulu kingdom, the word ilala as used in the Thukela-Phongolo region meant something like 'menial'. With the emergence of the Zulu kingdom, the word was taken up by the Zulu rulers and applied as a term of abuse to a particular category of people tributary to the Zulu king, the partially incorported

peoples of the kingdom's southern periphery. [68]

It seems likely that Shaka's manipulation of the amalala category involved two steps. The first was the invigoration of the existing term 'lala', imbuing it with added meaning, and its application to a group of people who did not previously call themselves amalala, but whom the Zulu king was concerned to subordinate and to denigrate. A section of this group was probably already distinguished from other groups in Zululand-Natal by differences of language, culture and history, and these markers were picked up and associated with the designation amalala.

The second step in the evolution of the amalala identity involved the extension of these markers to a wider group, whose numbers included people who did not speak that dialect or claim such origins, but whom the Zulu rulers were concerned to subordinate in the same way as those who did. The generic category amalala was thus made up of groups who were markedly different from the Zulu, and others who were not, but who were required to adopt the characteristics of being different. This is evidenced by the lack of homogeneity in the amalala claims of origin discussed above. Even more persuasive is the evidence that certain sections of groups like the Buthelezi, which only split from each other in the reign of Shaka, were assigned different identities, with those sections which moved into Natal being designated amalala, while those who were incorporated by Shaka claimed to be amantungwa. [69] Further evidence is provided by claims that

certain of the groups, such as the Cele, who were designated amalala, did not originally speak the amalala dialect of tekela, but were required to adopt it. [70]

Conversely, there were groups and individuals who occupied high office and other positions within the Zulu heartland who shared the origins and dialect of the amalala chiefdoms, but whom the Zulu, for historically specific reasons, were anxious not to stigmatize but to support. They were designated 'non-lala', and encouraged to relinquish their amalala attributes. This too is evidenced by contradictory data on origins. It is further confirmed by evidence that there were tekela speakers at the Zulu capital who were forced to adopt the official Zulu dialect. [71]

Within both amalala speech (i.e. tekela) and amantungwa speech (i.e. that spoken at the Zulu court) there was considerable variety. The division between the two forms of speech was by no means clear cut, and indeed in the 1850s it was recorded that the process of language realignment was known as the 'nkukulumanje' which Bleek translated as 'the slaughter of the languages', which suggests a high level of awareness of the manipulation of language markers which occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century. [72]

Further confirmation of the creation of derogatory identities for highly exploited tributaries of the Zulu state, which involved the reworking and manipulation of existing differences, is provided by the Ronga chiefdoms on the north-eastern periphery of the Zulu kingdom.

The Ronga chiefdoms appear to have experienced Zulu incorporation later, rather than earlier, in the reign of Shaka. Like the amalala, they entered into harsh tributary relation with the Zulu kingdom, although they gave tribute in the form of metals, beads, plumes and skins, rather than cattle, and their country was not directly settled on by the Zulu. However, they too were clearly distinguished from the chiefdoms of the heartland. They were designated the amanhlengwa by the Zulu. Although the language spoken by the Ronga was slightly different to that of the amalala, both variants were described as tekela, while both groups were further denigrated as 'fish-eaters', something which the amantungwa expressly denied doing. The Ronga case, in conjunction with that of the amalala chiefdoms, suggests that the identities of the peripheral chiefdoms were shaped both by existing markers amongst some of the peripheral chiefdoms, but also by the amantungwa identity that was emerging and assuming a particular form within the Zulu heartland. The identities of the peripheral chiefdoms were defined in linguistic, cultural and historical terms as being that which amatungwa was not. [73]

This form of definition in opposition to amantungwa was particularly the case with the amalala. It was remarked by an ilala informant that Shaka used to say that 'we were Lala ... We could not speak in the Ntungwa fashion'. [74] Similarly, it was claimed by another informant, 'We are not Amantungwa who came down in a grain basket. We are Amalala', [75] while yet another remarked, 'The Ngcobos are not amaNtungwa; they are amaLala.' [76] The reason for constant contrast between intungwa and ilala

is probably a result of the movement of the predominantly amantungwa amabutho into the heart of the amalala country. [77] It is likely that this was a period of direct confrontation of the privileged orders and the unprivileged in Zulu society, and that it was at this time that the two identities crystallized fully and in clear opposition to each other.

Co-opted and rearranged, it is argued that these ideas developed into an ideology of ethnicity. The social cohesion conveyed by ethnicity developed out of residual notions of kinship insofar as ethnic identities imply common origin and descent for all the groups concerned, but it differed from an ideology of kinship in two ways. Within a lineage-based society, an ideology of kinship functions to unite all the members of that society or polity. In contrast, the coexistence of a number of ethnic groups within a polity allows for both exclusion and inclusion within the polity, fostering a corporate sense of the superiority of elites and inculcating a sense of common identity and obedience in inferiors, making it an especially appropriate response to a situation characterized by conflicts over resources. Ethnicity also differs from an ideology of kinship in failing to reproduce the rigidity of traceable (fictive or genuine) genealogical connections. The greater flexibility and highly situational nature of ethnicity makes it especially effective in societies undergoing transitions and in the restructuring of social relations.

However, the capacity of ethnicity to refer to complex and

contradictory, shifting patterns of consciousness, renders the ethnic identities of historically remote societies elusive. In the case of the early Zulu kingdom, the problem is compounded by the relative briefness of Shaka's reign. While ethnic categories dating to that period continued to have a currency and relevance long afterwards, changing conditions in the 1830s, notably the incorporation of a large sector of the commoner echelon of Zulu society into the new colony of Natal, meant that the system of social stratification and the associated ideology which prevailed under Shaka was never fully systematized and universalized.

CONCLUSION

The coercive model as an explanation of Zulu state formation does not provide an adequate conceptualization of the aggregative processes which underlay the emergence in the 1820s of the vast and heterogeneous Zulu kingdom. Expansion was effected through a variety of devices which differed regionally in response to local conditions. The extension of Zulu dominance exploited a range of options from naked repression to co-option, either singly or in combinations.

The new Zulu rulers sought the means to legitimate their political dominance. This was attempted through the creation of a new ideological system which served to sanction the reservation of power and privilege for certain groups and the exclusion of others, through reference to the remote past. The processes involved in the emergence of the new ideological system were not those of invention, but rather of transformation and

rearrangement, as a new ideology emerged, in the course of political and economic struggles, out of existing ideological complexes. It represented more than simply the narrow interests of the new rulers, and attempted to articulate difficult and opposing visions of the world in such a way that their potential antagonisms were neutralized.

NOTES

1 On the Zulu amabutho system under Shaka, see C. A. Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985, chapter six.

2 This conception of ideology is informed by the work of A. Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, London, 1971; and E. Laclau, Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory, London, 1977.

3 M. Godelier, Perspectives in Marxist Anthropology, Great Britain, 1977, chapter four; also see T. Spear, '"Oral Traditions": Whose History?', History In Africa, 8 (1981), pp. 173-4, on 'the lack of alternatives in "traditional" thought'.

4 P. Thompson, 'Report on the Fourteenth History Workshop, 1980', Oral History, 9,1 (Spring 1981), p. 7

5 This view of the making and reshaping of oral traditions is more fully developed in Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', chapter one; and in C. A. Hamilton, 'Ideology and oral traditions: listening to the voices "from below"', paper presented to the workshop on precolonial history, University of Cape Town, July 1986.

6 H. Fynn, 'Occurrences Among the Native Races', in J. Bird, The Annals of Natal 1495 -1845, Vol. 1, Pietermaritzburg, 1888, p. 65; A.T. Bryant, Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, London, 1929, pp. 174-5, 193, 197; The James Stuart Archive (J.S.A.), eds. C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright, Pietermaritzburg and Durban, Vol. 1, p. 17, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 103, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 209, evidence of Mangati; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 269, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., vol. 3, pp. 270-1, evidence of Mmemi.

7 On the position and strategy followed by the Zulu chiefdom just after the death of Dingiswayo see Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 172-3, 246-264.

8 Bryant, Olden Times, p. 192; A.T. Bryant, A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes, Cape Town, 1964, p. 135; J.S.A. vol. 1, p. 182, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 177, evidence of Mandhlakazi; J.S.A., vol 3, pp. 240, 247,260, evidence of Mmemi; H. Flynn, The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, ed. J. Stuart and D. Mck. Malcolm, Pietrmaritzburg, 1950, p. 16.

9 Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 197 - 9; Bryant, History, pp. 61,135; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 168, evidence of Makuza; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 242, evidence of Mmemi; J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 194,

evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 209, evidence of Kambi; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 178, evidence of Mandhlakazi; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 100, evidence of Meseni.

10 J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 31., evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., vol. 3, pp. 249, 270, evidence of Mmemi; and pp. 240, 242, 247, evidence of Mmemi and Meseni; J.S.A., vol. 1, pp. 95, 110, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 194, evidence of Jantshi; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 169, evidence of Makuza; J.S.A., vol. 1, pp. 8, 12, evidence of Baleka; J.S.A., vol. 1, pp. 210, 211, evidence of Kambi; Bryant, History, p. 61; Bryant, Olden Times, p. 391; Killie Campbell Library (KC), Zulu Essay Competition, essay by Sabelo, pp. 6-7; Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 175-81.

11 Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 18-21

12 See, for example, D. W. Hedges, 'Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1978, p. 169.

13 The origin traditions of the various Qwabe lineages and the lack of connections with the Malandela story are discussed in detail in Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 155-64.

14 The significance of the upland and lowland identities in the origin traditions of the Zulu and Qwabe is discussed in detail in Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 164-5.

15 It may be, of course, that a later QWabe chief (Khondlo) revived the name of his ancestor's establishment, but the name 'oDwini', meaning 'hornet's nest', was of greater pertinence in Khondlo's reign, fraught as it was with succession disputes and internal wrangles, than in Malandela's time. It is equally probable that the very custom of keeping old establishments 'alive' by reusing old names may have lent authenticity to the story of Malandela. The repetition of the name 'oDwini' through a number of generations of Qwabe chiefs served to emphasize the link between the Qwabe founder, and the primogenitor, Malandela. A.T. Bryant, The Zulu People as they were before the white man came, Pietermaritzburg, 1949, pp. 515, 523-5; E.J. Krige, The Social System of the Zulus,' Pietermaritzburg, 1936, p. 271.

16 Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 21-41, 86; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 110, evidence of Mgidhlana; J.S.A., vol.3, pp. 239, 259, evidence of Mmemi; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 30, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 175, evidence of Jantshi.

17 R. Harms, 'Bobangi Oral Traditions: Indicators of Changing

Perceptions', in J. Miller, ed., The African Past Speaks, Folkestone, 1980, pp. 178-98; Miller's introduction to The African Past Speaks, 'Listening to the African Past' raises a number of related issues, see p. 33.

18 J. Vansina, 'Comment: Traditions of Genesis', Journal of African History, 15 (1974), p. 319.

19 Miller, 'Listening', p. 36.

20 For a detailed discussion of a marked break in the Qwabe chiefly genealogies between the name Malandela and later chiefs, and of oral informants' difficulties in linking the two sections of the genealogies, see Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 168-70.

21 Bryant, Olden Times, pp. 25, 29; J.S.A., vol. 1, pp.21, 29, evidence of Baleni.

22 J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 26, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., vol. 3, pp. 259, 262, evidence of Mmemi; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 84, evidence of Magidigidi.

23 J.S.A., vol. 3, pp. 259, 265, evidence of Mmemi; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 129, evidence of Mini; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 26, evidence of Mbovu; neither Bryant nor M. M. Fuze (The Black People and whence they came, Pietermaritzburg, 1979) mention this relationship, nor is it born out by the Chunu and Khanyile izithakazelo in the list in Olden Times, pp. 681-97.

24 On Qwabe resistance to Zulu domination see Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 184-6.

25 H. Callaway, The Religious System of the AmaZulu, Pietermaritzburg, 1870, section one.

26 Ibid.

27 J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 169, evidence of Hoya.

28 J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 214, evidence of Mkehlengana.

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

30 The conquest and/or incorporation of these groups is discussed individually and at length in Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 248-62.

31 On Khumalo resistance to the Zulu, see Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 262-4.

32 For the two phase model see P. L. Bonner, Kings, commoners and concessionaires: the evolution and dissolution of the

nineteenth century Swazi state, Cambridge, 1983, chapter three; for the bemdzabuko, see H. Kuper, An African Aristocracy, London, 1947, pp. 13-4.

33 These differences and contradictions between and within individual traditions ofthe amantungwa are discussed in detail in Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', chapter five.

34 Ibid., especially pp. 273-8.

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

36 See, for example, the testimonies of two sons of one of Shaka's personal favourites, Zulu kaNogandaya: J.S.A., vol. 3, testimony of Mkehlengana and Mkotana, especially p. 215; and the testimony of Mmemi, a nephew of another of Shaka's protegees, Mbokazai: J.S.A., vol. 3.

37 J.S.A., vol. 3, pp. 262-4, evidence of Mmemi; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 215, evidence of Mkehlengana; J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 29, evidence of Baleni; Fuze, The Black People, p. 1.

38 J. B. Wright, 'Politics, ideology and the invention of the "Nguni"', paper presented to a joint seminar of the African Studies Institute and the Department of History, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983.

39 Ibid., p. 5.

40 Ibid., pp. 22-3

41 Ibid., p. 23

42 J.S.A., vol. 3, see the testimonies of Mkehlengana, Mkotana and Mmemi; also see J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 64, evidence of Dinya.

43 See, for example, the discussion of the status of Zulu kaNogandaya, in Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', p. 177.

44 J.S.A., vol. 2, pp. 115-6, evidence of Mahaya; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 281, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., vol. 3, pp. 259, 262-4, evidence of Mmemi.

45 Wright, 'Politics', p. 25.

46 Ibid., p. 24.

47 Ibid., p. 23.

48 See the detailed discussion of the Ndabazitha isithakazelo in Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 275-7.

49 K.C., Stuart Papers, file 41, p. 12, 'Historical notes on Zululand', evidence of Socwatsha; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 211, evidence of Mkehlengana; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 12, evidence of Mabonsa; also see J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 292, evidence of Lugubu; J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 264, evidence of J. Khumalo.

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

51 See the detailed discussion of amantungwa references and the history of incorporation into the Zulu kingdom of the groups concerned in Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', chapter five.

52 J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 134, evidence of Mini.

53 Ibid.

54 Interview with Sidlane Simelane at Ntshaseni, Swaziland, 9.07.1983; interview with Simbimba Ndlela at Tibondzeni, Swaziland, 17.08.1983.

55 J.S.A., vol. 2, pp. 202-3, evidence of Mangati.

56 Interview with laLukhele at Mahagane, Swaziland, 12.07.1983.

57 J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 281, evidence of Maziyana and Socwatsha.

58 J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 57, evidence of Madikane.

59 Ibid.

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

61 Pers. comm. Henry 'Hlahlamehlo' Dlamini, Swaziland, 1983.

62 J.S.A., vol. 4, p. 176, evidence of Ndambi; I am indebted to J. Wright for bringing this to my notice.

63 J.S.A., vol. 2, pp. 53-4, 57, evidence of Madikane.

64 The evidence from which these figues is drawn is discussed in detail in Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 379-88, 390-2.

65 See the extensive discussion of office-holders outside of the amabutho in Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 292-7.

66 C. A. Hamilton and J. B. Wright, 'The Making of the Lala: ethnicity, ideology and class-formation in a precolonial context', paper presented to the History Workshop,

University of the Witwatersrand, 1980; Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', chapter eight.

67 Ibid.

68 Hamilton and Wright, 'The Making of the Lala'.

69 Bryant, Olden Times, p. 28; J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 283, evidence of Lugubu; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 42, evidence of Siganandа, and p. 45, evidence of Mbovu.

70 J.S.A., vol. 3, pp. 53, 56, evidence of Mcotoyi; J.S.A., vol. 3, pp, 75-6, evidence of Melapi; also see J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 107, evidence of Dinya.

71 J. L. Dohne, Zulu-Kafir Dictionary, Cape Town, 1857, p. xv; South African Library (SAL), Bleek Collection, storage box marked 'Papers 3'.

72 On variations in the tekela dialect see J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 57, evidence of Mcotoyi; S.A.L., Bleek Collection, storage box marked 'Papers 2'; The Natal Diaries of Dr. W. Bleek, ed. O. H. Spohr, Cape Town, 1965, pp. 76,77; C. Faye, Zulu References, Pietermaritzburg, 1923, p. 63; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 28, evidence of Mabonsa; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 70, evidence of Mageza.

73 Ibid., pp. 34, 36, 76; Fynn, Diary, p. 46; J.S.A., vol. 1, pp. 24, 41, evidence of Baleni; J.S.A., vol. 1, pp. 238, 240, evidence of Kumalo; J.S.A., vol. 1, p. 322, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A., vol. 2, pp. 143, 145, 147, 149, evidence of Mahungane; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 230, evidence of Maputwana; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 45, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 157, evidence of Mkando; J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 279, evidence of Maziyana; J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 144, evidence of Mkakwa; Fuze, The Black People, p. 66; Bleek, Diary, pp. 36, 76; S.A.L., Bleek Collection, MSB. 71, notebook marked 'Africa'.

74 J.S.A., vol. 2, pp. 54-5, evidence of Madikane.

75 J.S.A., vol 3, p. 150, evidence of Mkando.

76 J.S.A., vol. 2, p. 279, evidence of Maziyana.

77 Hamilton, 'Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power', pp. 358-63.