

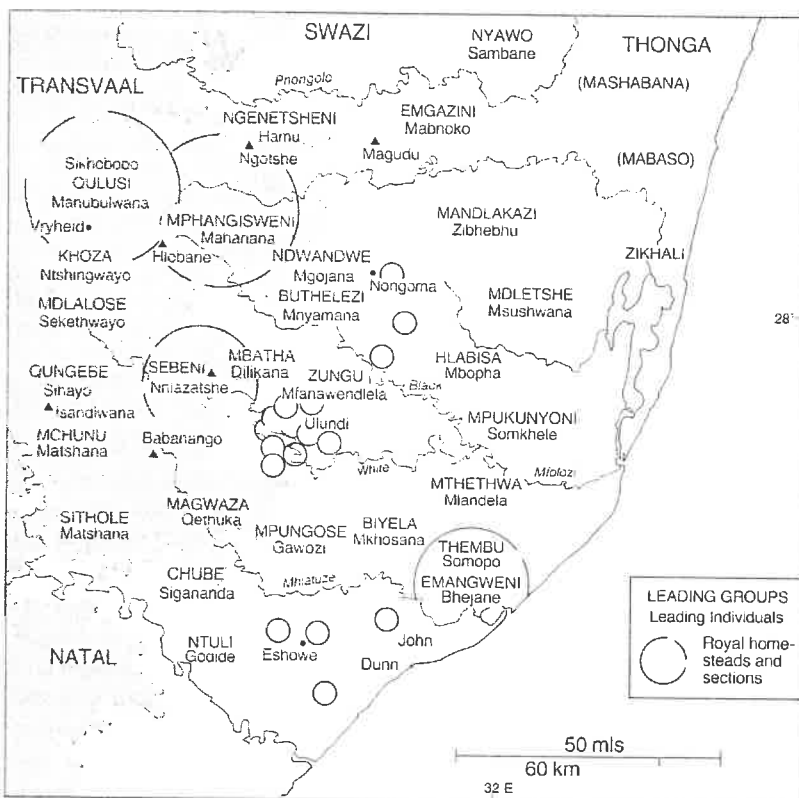
The political structure of the Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo kaMpande

Clan, chiefdom and kingdom

When Cetshwayo kaMpande succeeded his father in 1872 at the age of forty he became ruler of some 300 000 people, most of them concentrated between the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers and the valley of the Phongolo. The Colony of Natal and the Transvaal were situated on the kingdom's southern and western borders while to the north lay the Swazi kingdom, and in the north-east the direct authority of the Zulu king shaded into the tribute areas of the Thonga chiefdoms.

Only half a century separated Shaka's rule from that of Cetshwayo and many of the features of Shaka's kingdom could still be discerned in the kingdom ruled by his nephew. As successor to the founder of the kingdom Cetshwayo was held to own the land on which his people lived. Those who gave their allegiance to the king were given the right to occupy and work the land, and they could retain a substantial part of the fruits of their labour. Surplus was still extracted, largely through the labour all men gave in the royal army. There had of course been many changes; the area directly controlled by the king had been reduced and although the collection of tribute continued this was restricted and raiding had ceased. Kinship ties were closely linked to the productive system and the people of the kingdom still saw themselves as members of clans and lineages whose origins could be traced to pre-Shakan times. This continuity was a reflection of the fact that the productive forces had not undergone radical changes in this period.

The Zulu kingdom can be seen as the social integration of two systems, which although they must be analysed separately can only be understood in their interaction. On the one hand there was social power based on production, coming from the production units – the homesteads (*umuzi/imizi*) – and expressed in terms of kinship and the clan: on the other hand there was the power of the state coming from above, and based on the



Map V The Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo: a schematic representation

extraction of surplus, mainly in labour through the military system.¹

In the first chapter we saw how production in the Zulu kingdom took place in the tens of thousands of homesteads scattered through the country. These *imizi* were of different sizes, according to an individual's status and wealth, but it has been estimated that 90 per cent of them were commoners' homesteads consisting of a man (the homestead-head, *umumuzana*), two or three wives, their offspring, cattle and smallstock, grazing and agricultural land. The men worked with the livestock, the women in agriculture, the two fundamental branches of production and there was a clear sexual division of labour in the many supporting tasks. The wives were ranked and housed separately within the homestead. Schematically the homestead can be portrayed as in Fig. 1.²

On the death of the homestead-head or, in special cases of men of status,

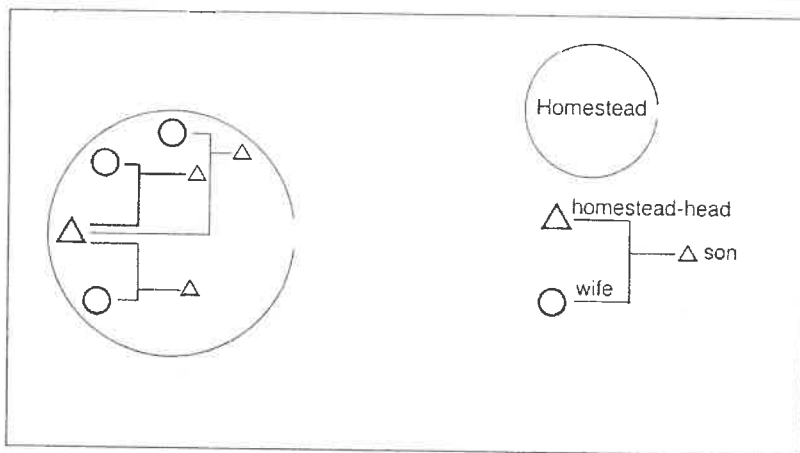


Fig. 1 The homestead

when his children matured, the homestead would break up (segment) and the sons of each house would establish homesteads of their own (Fig. 2).

These basic principles of production and reproduction were expressed in terms of kinship. Anthropologists looking at this and similar social processes called it a patrilineal, segmentary, lineage system. The total unit is called a clan; that is, a social unit made up men and women who believe they have descended from a common ancestor, through the male line, and which can be depicted as in Fig. 3.

Note, however, that at another level of analysis these kinship relations can also be seen in terms of production and reproduction - the male triangle representing the productive unit, the homestead.

Two further points of great importance must be made here. First, marriage within the clan was prohibited and wives had therefore to be drawn from other clans. This transaction was marked by the movement of cattle: cattle were given to a wife's father on marriage or, in other words, cattle were received by a daughter's father when she left his homestead to marry. Secondly, the lineages and homesteads within the clan were not egalitarian units. The chief son of a homestead inherited the bulk of his father's property, most of it in cattle, and he could therefore obtain more wives and, through this, increase the size of his particular lineage. There was thus a concentration of wealth within the chiefly lineage, and the members of the chiefly house could trace their dominant position back to the original clan-founder. The material basis of the status of the chief was the large number of cattle he possessed which he could exchange for wives and transform into more lineages, that is, more

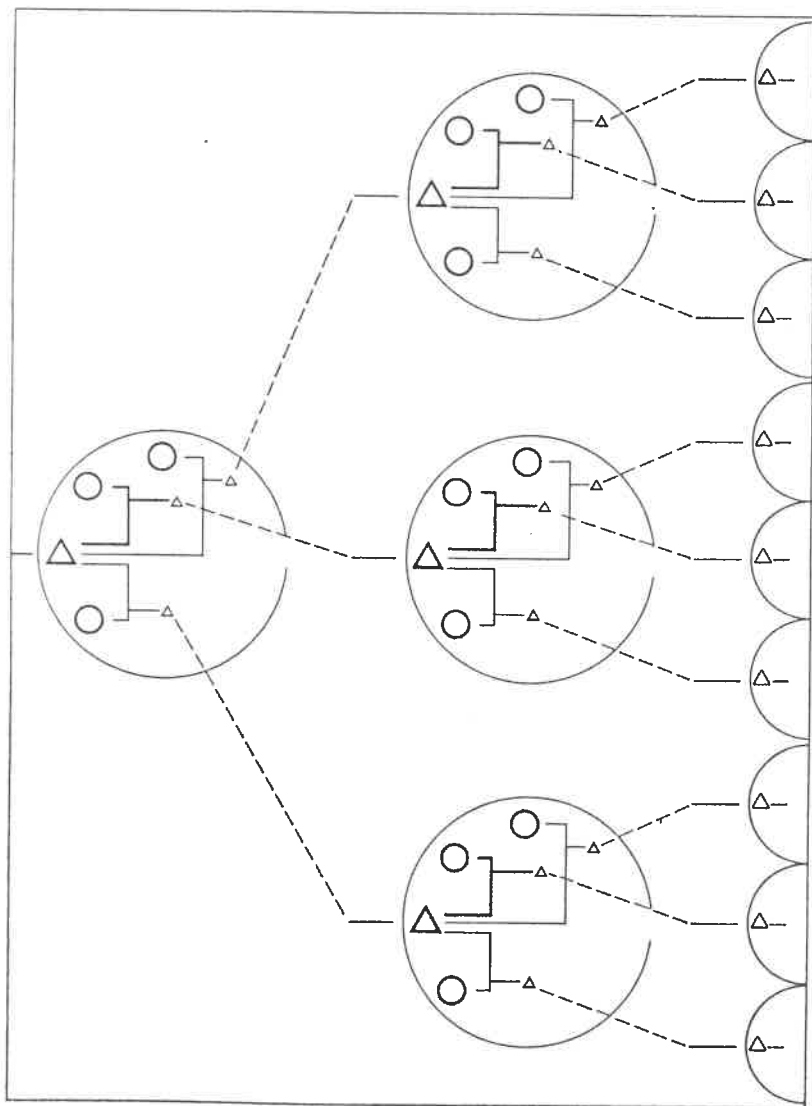


Fig. 2 Homestead segmentation

productive workers to support the homestead. The process can be depicted as in Fig. 4.

At some time in the past the clan was possibly a discrete unit – it certainly appears to be a social form suited to an increasing population in

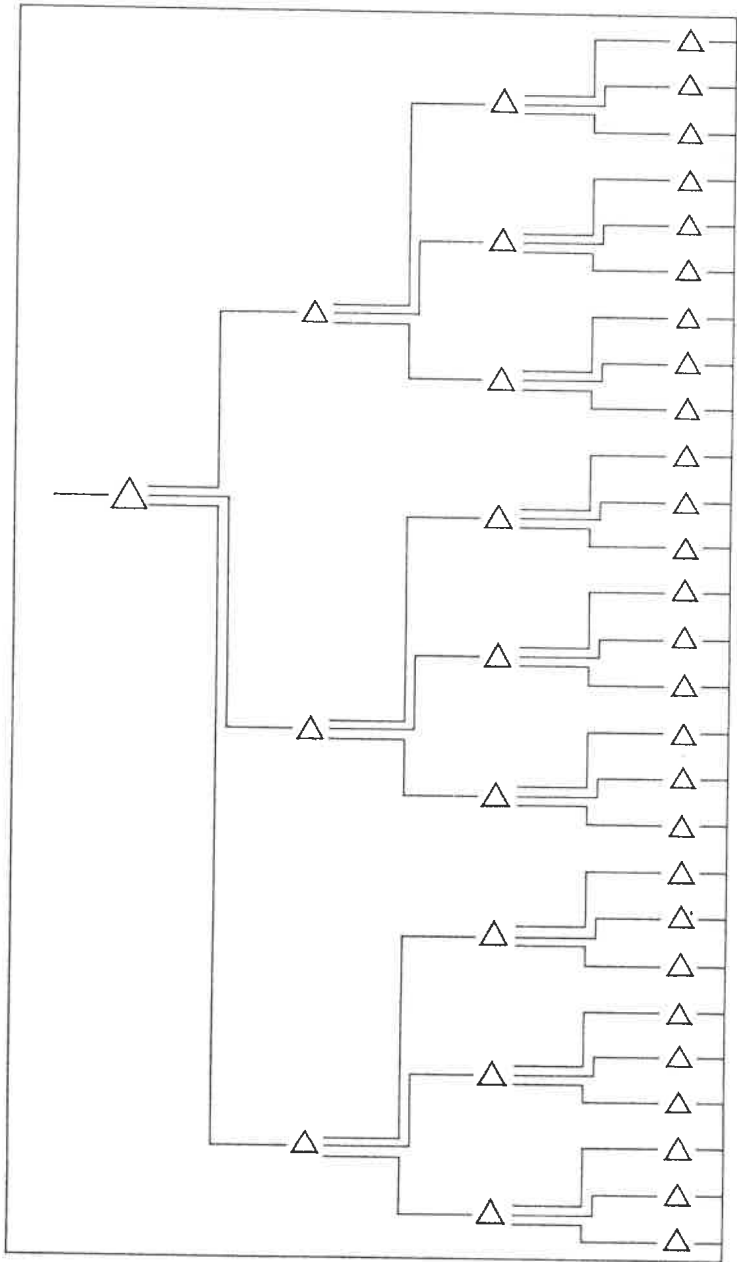


Fig. 3 The clan

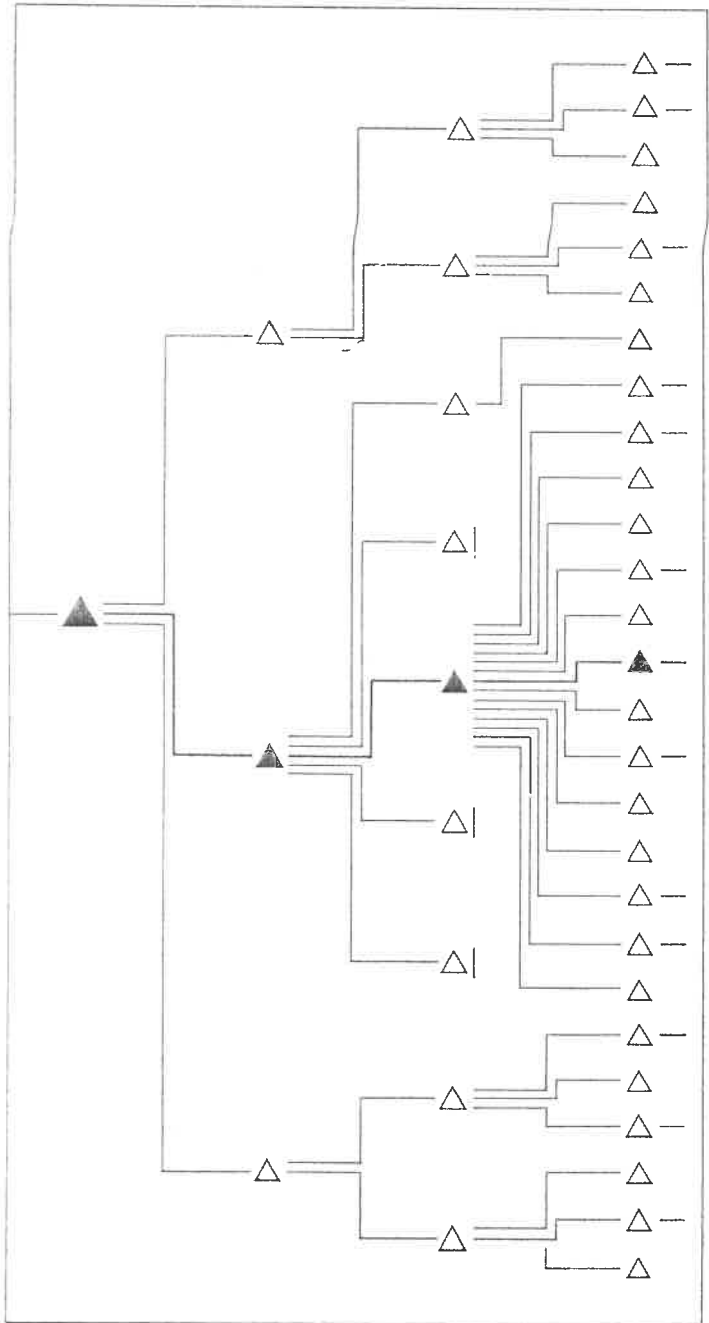


Fig. 4 The dominant lineage of the clan

a favourable environment which offers no great obstacles to expansion. However we have no records of autonomous clans in south-east Africa and by the eighteenth century they formed only a part of the major political unit – the chiefdom.³ The chiefdom consisted of members of different clans, one of which was politically dominant and can be depicted schematically as in Fig. 5.

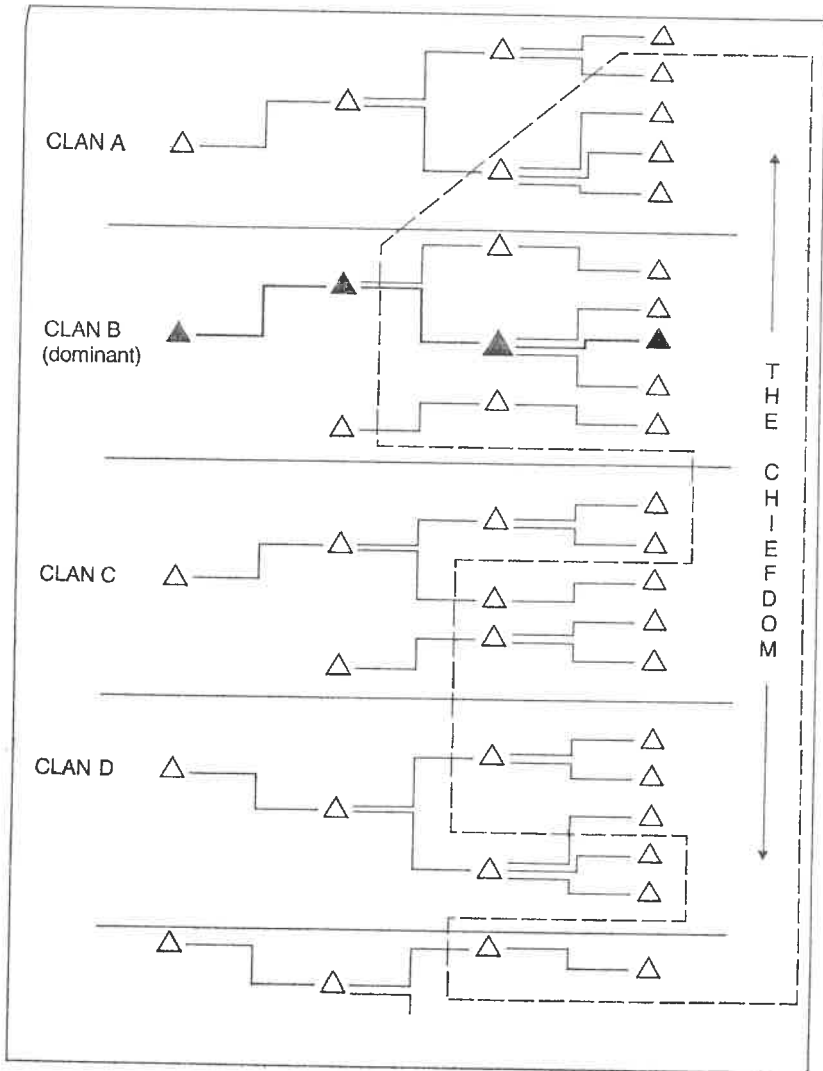


Fig. 5 The chiefdom

The wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were struggles between large chiefdoms like the Ngwane, the Ndwandwe, and the Mthethwa, whose leaders were attempting to increase their power by the forcible acquisition of land and the incorporation of different peoples into their chiefdoms. Out of this violence the Zulu chiefdom under Shaka emerged victorious. Shaka built up a society of a scale hitherto unknown in the region and the chiefdoms which survived the struggle became units within the kingdom, becoming known to outsiders by the name of the dominant clan – the Zulu. And it must be remembered that when I refer to important individuals within the kingdom – like Mnyamana kaNgqengelele of the Buthelezi clan, or Sekethwayo of the Mdlalose – the men directly under them were drawn from a large number of different clans, although members of the clan to which the chief belonged probably predominated.

During the violence which took place in the early part of the nineteenth century the clans of the region suffered the same fate as the people – annihilation, dispersion, fragmentation, and of course incorporation. However, in the sixty years during which the Zulu kingdom was in existence the process of clan formation continued, reflecting the essential continuity of the production process. And during this time the size and strength of the clans changed with the fortunes of their leading members. Over two or three generations lineages which had retained the support of the Zulu king, and therefore ensured they had access to cattle, could come to dominate large areas within the kingdom. As has been pointed out the capacity of a lineage to expand in a short period of time was considerable.⁴ Consider for example the Ntuli. Sompisi was a refugee from the Ntuli clan who gained the protection and the favour of Shaka's father. Sompisi's son, Ndlela, was one of Shaka's leading warriors and his king appointed him over a tract of land in the southern parts of the country. Ndlela was Dingane's chief minister and his sons reached positions of great status under Mpande. Godide was a member of the king's council and Mavumengwana a commander of the Zulu army and an important local official. They retained these positions under Cetshwayo and, by the 1870s, the Ntuli descendants of the wanderer who had entered the kingdom two generations previously had come to dominate large tracts of southern Zululand.⁵

While it was production in the homestead and the social strength of the lineage within the clan based on this production that provided the basis for the material strength of the Zulu kingdom, it was power from above, from the Zulu state, that identified which individuals and which groups would achieve status within the kingdom. Zulu state power was based ultimately

on the surplus labour drawn from every homestead in the land. While various forms of tribute passed up through the social hierarchy it was labour in the military homesteads of the royal house – the *amakbanda* – which formed the most important basis of state power. From the age of puberty until their late thirties most Zulu men worked in the *amakbanda* for considerable periods of time. Here the sexual division of labour of the conventional homestead broke down and the men were occupied, as the king said, in ‘Building military kraals, planting, reaping, and making gardens for the king. These are the men who look after the king.’⁶

When Cetshwayo came to the Zulu throne there were about a dozen royal residences on the Mahlabathini plain and they served as barracks for the men attending the king. Cetshwayo built Ulundi there as his chief homestead and it became the political and administrative centre of the kingdom, where meetings of state and national ceremonies took place. State power thus spread outwards from the geographical heart of the kingdom and, as one of Stuart’s informants said, ‘all paths ultimately found their way to the king’s kraal’.

The king ruled with the *izikhulu* – the great ones – of the kingdom. The *izikhulu* represented the great pre-Shakan chiefdoms, incorporated by the founder into the kingdom, although in fact their relative size and status had changed during the half century since Shaka’s death, reflecting to a large degree, the changing fortunes of leading individuals within the kingdom. The king with the *izikhulu* comprised the *ibandla*, the highest council of state, and without the *izikhulu* the king could make no decisions of national importance. The status of the *izikhulu* depended primarily on birth and they were seen as the living representatives of the dominant lineages of the chiefdoms of the kingdom. In reality the dominant lineages had frequently been ‘raised up’ by the interference of the Zulu kings in the affairs of the clan. Furthermore birth was not the only factor; the *izikhulu* had to show political acumen as well, and not all men of the highest hereditary rank – the *izilomo* – were members of the *ibandla*. And not all *izikhulu* were members of a dominant lineage: for example, Mbopha kaWolizibi of the Hlabisa was an *isikhulu* as a result of his kinship links with the royal house (his father was the brother of Mpande’s mother) and because he was a great favourite of Mpande. And, in spite of his youth, Zibhebhu, a relative of Cetshwayo, was also an *isikhulu*, probably because of his independent power in the north-eastern corner of the kingdom and his aggressive self-confidence.

Most of the *izikhulu* within the kingdom were in fact older than the king, Cetshwayo, having reached their positions during the reign of his father.⁷ And there is evidence that there was tension between the younger

monarch and these older men, and that they probably obstructed the appointment of Cetshwayo's contemporaries.⁸ Sihayo of the Qungebe, a favourite of the king, was excluded from the council. Also younger chiefs, who had lived under the shadow of an ageing parent of great status, like Msushwana of the Mdletshe, Sokwetshata of the Mthethwa, Mkhosana of the Biyela, and Ndabankulu of the Ntombela, seem, despite their large followings in the country and their importance in the political matters of the land, not to have been members of the highest council of the land.

While the *ibandla* represented the authority of the state at its highest level, state meetings were frequently much more widely based and included the younger chiefs, men of note within the kingdom, the large number of officers in charge of the homesteads and the regiments of the state, and the confidential advisers to the king. The control and administration of the kingdom depended on the work of a vast number of state officials of differing rank and status. These were the *izinduna* (sing. *induna*) of the kingdom, the army commanders, regimental officers, personal attendants to the king, messengers, tribute collectors, and so on.

State power was devolved from the king to the *izikhulu*, to the heads of the administrative areas within the kingdom, with local affairs being the responsibility of the resident homestead-heads. These *abanumzana* were responsible for the allocation of land, the implementation of the law and the resolution of disputes in their areas. They were also the channels connecting the people under them to higher authorities.

The integration of state authority and the productive base within the kingdom is well illustrated if we consider the terms *induna* and *umnumzana*: they do not refer to a group of officials and another of homestead-heads, but to an individual's functions within the state. All married men in the kingdom were homestead-heads (*abanumzana*) and many of these men were also state officials. As the king expressed it, 'An induna is called a headman [*umnumzana*] when he is in his own district, and an induna when he is at the military kraal.'⁹ And it is this integration which is the crucial point to grasp: administrative authority was related to productive capacity, the extent of the chieftom to the strength of the clan, the size of the lineage within the clan to access to political power.

*The distribution of political power*¹⁰

The centre of royal authority was situated on the Mahlabathini plain. From a point just north of this (see Map V on page 22 and refer throughout this section) the homesteads of the most powerful man in the country

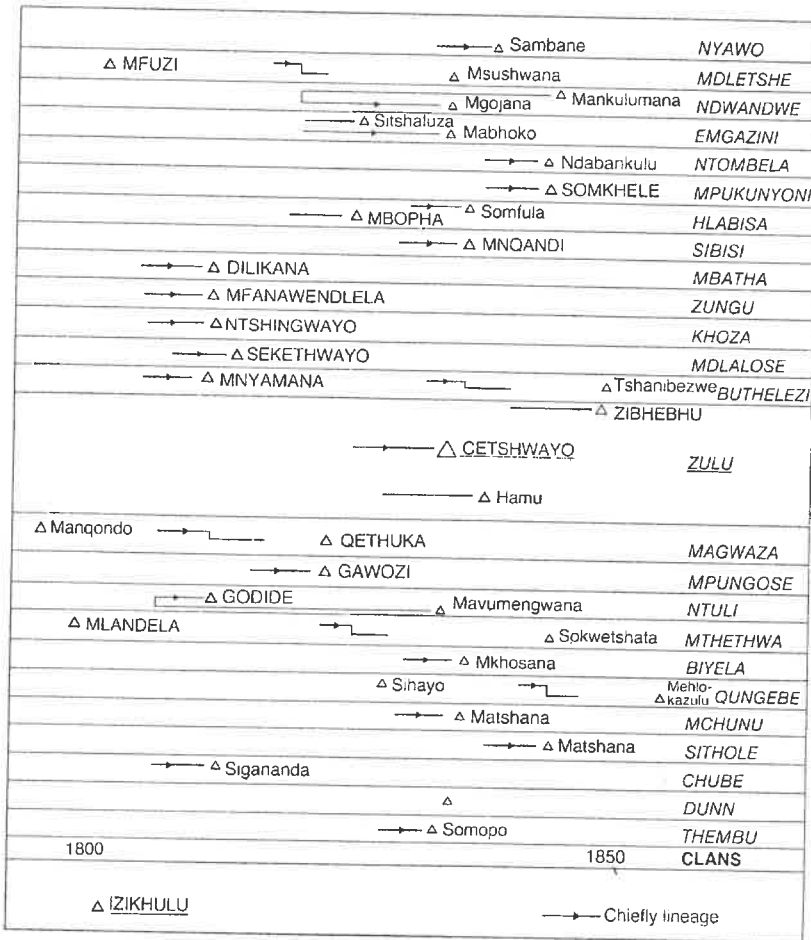


Fig. 6 Some leading figures in the Zulu kingdom

next to Cetshwayo were to be found. He was Mnyamana kaNgqengelele of the Buthelezi clan, the king's chief minister. Mnyamana's father had achieved his position under Shaka, and Mnyamana had been a man of importance under Mpande. He succeeded to the post of chief minister when Cetshwayo came to the throne. His personal homestead was near the Sikhwebezi river but he had homesteads in the Black Mfolozi valley and his territory stretched from the area just north of the Mahlabathini plain, through the middle reaches of the Black Mfolozi, to the Phongolo river and beyond. He was an exceptionally intelligent and shrewd man,

and his tragic history is summed up in the line from his praise poem, 'He who succeeds when there is no hope of success'.¹¹ He was held in great respect by the Zulu people; when Mpande's sons were drafted into the Thulwana regiment it was Mnyamana who was appointed chief *induna* as the only man who the Thulwana 'would stand in awe of'.¹²

To the north and north-west of Ulundi were the Zungu of Mfanawendlela, an *isikhulu* whose father had been assassinated by Shaka and who had lived on the Mahlabathini plain until Mpande established the royal homesteads there. In the vicinity lived many of the Mbatha whose chiefly line had been terminated by Shaka, who had then raised up another line which had served the royal house faithfully. The foremost of these was the *isikhulu* Dilikana, in Cetshwayo's time a very old man. He lived near the Nhlazatshe mountain, as did the *isikhulu* Mngandi of the Sibisi.

In the north-western parts of the country lived Sekethwayo, chief of the Mdlalose clan and *isikhulu* to Mpande and Cetshwayo. His neighbour, Ntshingwayo, was commander of the Zulu army and *isikhulu* of the Khoza. In the mountains near the present-day Vryheid lived the Ntombela under Ndabankulu kaLukwazi whose father, an *isikhulu*, had died in the 1870s. Eastwards near where Nongoma stands today, lived the remainder of the once great Ndwandwe chieftom under Mgojana. To the north the powerful Emgazini clan,¹³ built up by Mnyamana's predecessor as chief councillor to the king, Masiphula. His successor was too young to take the chieftainship and Sitshaluza, Masiphula's brother was regent, with Mabhoko, Masiphula's eldest son as the most powerful man among the Emgazini.

Situated in a great arc running down the Nongoma ridge to its southern spurs, then swinging in a south-easterly direction along the high ground on the northern edge of the tsetse-infested Black Mfolozi valley, were a number of groups established by the Zulu kings. Some of Mpande's closest associates had their homesteads here, including Mbopha of the Hlabisa, whose status within the state structure of the kingdom overshadowed the heir to the Hlabisa chieftainship, Somfula.¹⁴ To the east again were the Mdletshe under Mfuzi who died late in the 1870s and was succeeded by Msushwana.

Moving back to the central parts of the kingdom, Sihayo of the Qungebe, the 'progressive' chief¹⁵ whose sons' escapades provided one of the pretexts for the British invasion, lived east of Ulundi, on the western borders of the kingdom. He was popular with Cetshwayo but unpopular with older men.

South of Mahlabathini lived the Mpungose under the *isikhulu* Gawozi. They had supported the Zulu kings from Shaka's time and the lineage had

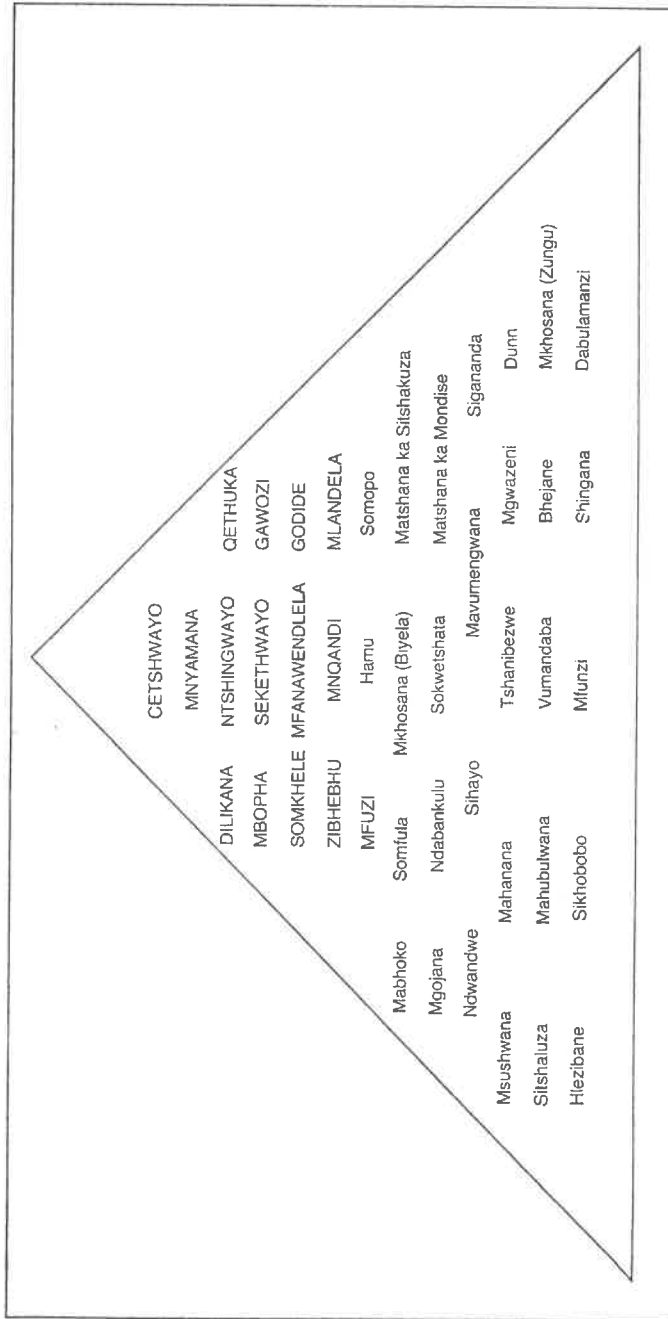


Fig. 7 Some members of the political hierarchy in Zululand

spread from the White Mfolozi across the Mhlatuze river. Gawozi was also a favourite of the king's but was suffering from a crippling illness. East of the Mpungose were the Biyela under Mkhosana, one of the few Zulu of note to die in the Anglo-Zulu war.

Much of the country in southern Zululand is broken, deeply incised, and was dominated by the great temperate forests of the Nkandla and the Qudeni. The people most closely associated with the Nkandla were the Chube (or Shezi). They had not been conquered by Shaka and their ruling lineage was unbroken. Zokufa, still alive in the 1870s and then nearly one hundred years old, had been succeeded by Sigananda, recalled from Natal by Cetshwayo to assume the chieftainship of his people.¹⁶ To the north-west of the Nkandla were the related Magwaza and Langeni clans, the Langeni under Ndwandwe and the Magwaza in the charge of Manqondo, an elderly *isikhulu*, and his son Qethuka was also an *isikhulu* and a commander in the Zulu army.¹⁷

Near the junction of the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers were the descendants of two large pre-Shakan chiefdoms. The Sithole under Matshana kaMondise had entered Zululand as political refugees from the Natal colonial government in 1858 when their chief had a brush with John Shepstone. North of them were the Mchunu under Matshana kaSitshakuza who ruled a small portion of the clan which, a century before, had dominated the area.

Near the coast, in the more open country of the Lower Thukela valley lived the Ntuli under the *isikhulu*, Godide, and Mavumengwana.¹⁸ The coastal belt was dominated by John Dunn, who was born in 1833 and came to Zululand in the mid-1850s. Dunn's life also demonstrates how access to cattle enabled an individual to spread his influence over a large area in a short time. When Dunn died in 1895 he left perhaps forty-eight wives and over one hundred children¹⁹ spread among seven homesteads situated between the Thukela and Mhlatuze rivers.

North of the Mhlatuze was the great Mthethwa chiefdom. Mlandela, the *isikhulu*, had been appointed from an inferior lineage, and the Zulu kings had presented him with some of their leading women. In Cetshwayo's time the old man still ruled, but he was now senile and strongly under the influence of John Dunn whose hunting and trading route passed through the Mthethwa chiefdom. Somkhele, chief of the Mpukunyoni and *isikhulu*, lived north of the Mthethwa and east of the St Lucia estuary. To the north again, across the Black Mfolozi were the Mdletshe, forming a link between the coastal peoples who had once been part of the Mthethwa chiefdom and the people of the north-east, in the country which had been under the Ndwandwe before their conquest by Shaka.

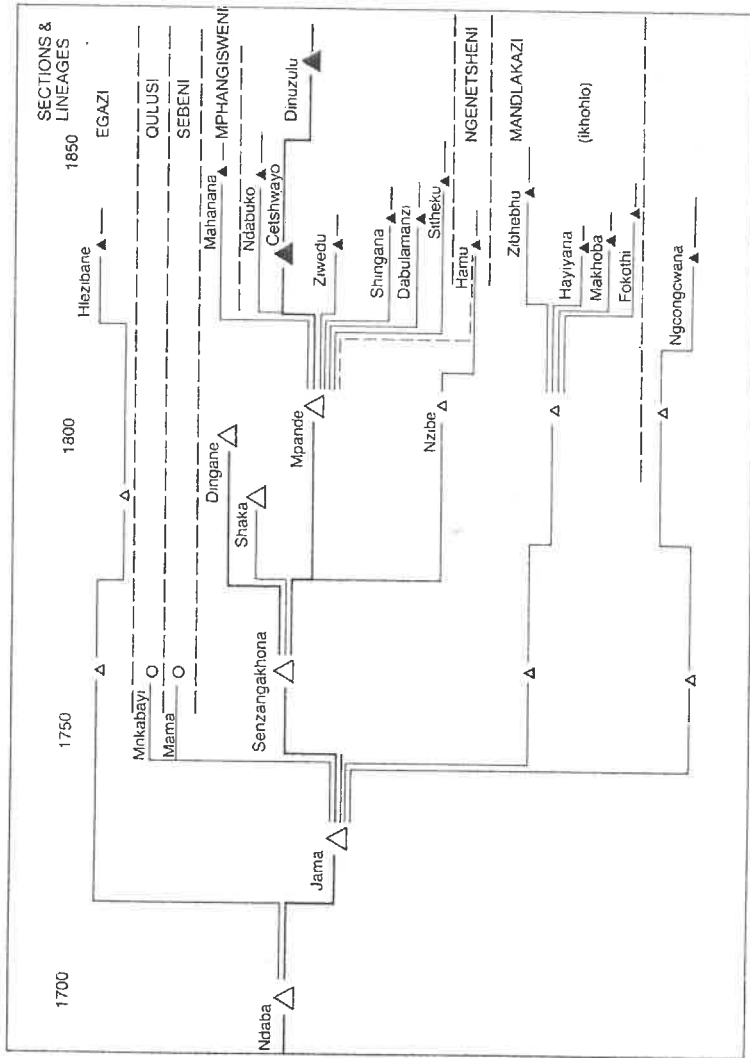


Fig. 8 Some leading members of the Zulu clan

Spread among these different clans and chiefdoms were the lineages of the royal clan itself.²⁰ The homesteads of the king, the *amakhandas*, were concentrated around his personal homestead, Ulundi, on the Mahlabathini plain. The size and physical structure of the *amakhandas* reflected the enormous amount of social power concentrated in the royal lineage. Situated at the head of the *ikhandas*, opposite the entrance, was the royal area containing the king's private house, that of the female relative in charge of the *ikhandas*, who might be an elderly member of the royal lineage, a widow of Mpande, or one of the king's wives. Also living and working here was the *umdlunkulu* – girls presented to the king by the leading men of the nation, and his servants and retainers. Stretching in huge arcs around the cattle kraal and parade ground were the hundreds of houses used by the soldiers attached to the *ikhandas* when they were in residence.

It was estimated that there were about a dozen *amakhandas* in the Mahlabathini area and about the same number in outlying districts where they served as local centres of influence and recruiting points.²¹ Some had originally been the homesteads of Cetshwayo's ancestors, although of course their geographical situation and the composition of their residents and regiments had changed over the years. Others in different parts of the kingdom were originally homesteads of Mpande or created from these, according to the principles of lineage segmentation, by Cetshwayo. The district *amakhandas* were served by people drawn from the area in which they were situated and their *izinduna* were usually local dignitaries. In the case of some of the oldest *amakhandas* the importance of the *amakhandas* had eclipsed the importance of the clan in so far as the relations of its members to the state were concerned.

The Qulusi people were the best example of this. After driving out the inhabitants of the region around Hlobane, Shaka sent Ntlaka of the Mdlalose to establish an *ikhandas* known as Qulusi in the area. The first two Zulu kings did not take wives so it was placed in the charge of a senior, female member of the Zulu lineage, Mnkabayi, daughter of Shaka's grandfather, Jama. The people, of different clan origins, who were attached to this royal homestead as officers tended in time to establish their private homesteads in the vicinity, and others were sent by the king to settle in this area associated with the Qulusi royal homestead. By the time Cetshwayo came to the Zulu throne they numbered thousands. 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. They were in the charge of *izinduna*, the leading

ones being important men within the nation, including Sikhobobo and Mahubulwana.

Another important royal section which originated in Shaka's time was the Mphangisweni, situated around the sources of the Black Mfolozi river and in the charge of Mahanana, a son of Mpande.²² Further south near the Nhlazatshe mountain was the Sebeni, originally under Mama, twin sister of Mnkabayi. The royal sections represented the most radical departure from the pre-Shakan past, and reduced the importance of the independent clan, as is reflected in Mnkabayi's praise-poem in which the lines

The opener of all the main gates so that people may enter,
The owners of the home enter by the narrow side gates²³

have been interpreted to mean that Mnkabayi was 'an avenue of advance for people, regardless of status'.

The same process can be observed happening around the Emangweni homestead²⁴ of Mpande, where Cetshwayo lived before coming to the throne. It was situated on the waggon road which linked Dunn and Zibhebhu to the north. Somopo, chief of the Thembu clan, lived close by and was in charge of the Emangweni, and Bhejane of the Cebekhulu, personal aide to Cetshwayo, was an *induna*. Their positions within the Emangweni homesteads seemed to overshadow their positions as leading members of their lineages.

Then there were lineages of the Zulu clan which had separated from the chiefly line before the rule of Shaka's father, Senzangakhona. The most important of these was the Mandlakazi under Zibhebhu. Maphitha, Zibhebhu's father, was, like the first three Zulu kings, a grandson of Jama, and had been placed in the north-eastern part of the country in the early years of the kingdom and had built up a large following there. He apparently held a unique position within the kingdom – he is described not only as an *isikhulu* but as an *umntwana*, a child of the king, with *izikhulu* of his own. One of the reasons for this semi-independent position within the kingdom was possibly the distance of the Mandlakazi districts from the centre of power, and its access to the north, particularly towards the Thonga who supplied so much tribute to the Zulu state. Maphitha was said to have particular responsibility for the people living on and beyond the Lubombo range to the north-east of the kingdom. When he died in 1872 he was succeeded by Zibhebhu, the eldest son of Maphitha's great house. As we have seen Zibhebhu was a young man of considerable independence, involved in trading ventures to the north. His father had viewed this with suspicion and there are stories of disputes between him and his son, and also tension between Zibhebhu and his king. He also

quarrelled with the *ikboblo* or left-hand segment of his father's homestead over cattle. The *ikboblo* was led by Maphitha's eldest son, Haiyana, and included Fokothi and Makhoba. Other important lineages in the northern districts were the Ngenetsheni of Hamu in the west, and the Egazini of Hlezibane living nearby.

Finally there were the *abantwana*, the children of Mpande, the princes of the kingdom. Among the most important was Dabulamanzi in the south at Ezulwini near Entumeni, Ziwedu on the southern spurs of the Nongoma range, and Sitheku near the Kwamagwaza mission south-east of Emthonjaneni. Shingane had his homestead near Emakhosini, the place of the kings, where the original chiefs of the Zulu clan had lived and were buried. Ndabuko, Cetshwayo's full brother, lived at kwaMinya, in the Ivuna valley.

Even this simplified sketch which serves only to introduce some of the leading personalities and groups within the kingdom shows something of the complexity of the links between the king and his people. From the centre of the polity the Zulu clan, in close association with the military system, spread its influence through the kingdom. To the centre were drawn the people of Zululand represented by their chiefs. The segmentary lineage system, giving social expression to basic productive processes, worked as part of the political system through which authority was delegated from the centre outwards to increasingly smaller units. Cetshwayo's rule was a personal one: the territory was compact and he was well acquainted with it; he knew the officers within the kingdom, their histories and those of the people over whom they ruled; he married their daughters and gave his sisters to them in marriage and he was for the Zulu the living symbol of the mighty Zulu state, its unique history, and was responsible for its continued well-being.

I am not however suggesting that the Zulu kingdom was 'static' or perpetuated by 'a system of checks and balances'. Wealth was concentrated in the hands of the king and his higher officials, and men, until they were close to middle-age, and women spent much of their time labouring for others. At the same time the homestead, and the houses within the homestead, retained considerable autonomy, and all men at some time in their lives could expect to become homestead-heads. But, as one might expect with age determining to a large extent the amount of surplus extracted from an individual, 'inter-generational' conflicts caused Cetshwayo considerable difficulty. The older Thulwana regiment and the younger Ngobomakhosi fought in the central barrack area early in 1878 and some were killed. On another occasion an older regiment was given permission to marry but many of the girls in the female age-sets from which they were

supposed to take wives had already taken lovers from the men in the younger regiments. They refused to accept the older men and this led to a number of executions. As I have tried to show, 'marriage' in the Zulu kingdom was closely linked to the availability of resources, growth of population, productivity and political power, and the delay in marriage suggests internal difficulties within the Zulu state.

Nevertheless these tensions and divisions within the kingdom never developed into large-scale internal conflict. In 1879 the British invaded the kingdom and, faced by a severe external threat, the Zulu fought to preserve their independence and way of life. Only one man of importance, Hamu, defected. In the tactics and organisation of the army they sent against the British the Zulu demonstrated the social continuity that existed between the kingdom created by Shaka and the one ruled by Cetshwayo. And perhaps there is no greater indication of the real nature of the Zulu kingdom in 1879 than the fact that when faced with invasion, the Zulu king could put 30 000 men into the field in an attempt to preserve the Zulu state.

Notes

- 1 Any comprehensive analysis of the structure of the Zulu kingdom raises difficult problems of conceptualisation which deserve more space than I can give here. For a more lengthy discussion see my 'Production and Exchange in the Zulu kingdom' in *Mobhomi: Journal of Southern African Historical Studies*, ii, 1978.
- 2 It must be stressed that Figs 1-5 are schematic and attempt to convey social principles and not historical actuality.
- 3 For further discussion on this point see M. Wilson, 'The Nguni People' in M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds), *The Oxford History of South Africa*, Oxford, 1969, i, pp. 118ff.
- 4 M. Wilson, 'Changes in social structure in southern Africa: the relevance of kinship studies to the historian' in L. Thompson (ed.), *African Societies in Southern Africa*, London, 1969, pp. 78-9.
- 5 A. T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, London, 1829, pp. 58-60, and the evidence given to James Stuart by Mangati kaGodide, 12 July 1920 in notebook 37 in the Stuart Papers (KC).
- 6 Reply to question 44, Supplementary Minutes of Evidence, in *Cape Native Laws and Customs Commission*, Cape Town, 1883, p. 519.
- 7 I have attempted to depict this in Fig. 6 by placing the leading figures according to their year of birth. It must be remembered however that it is extremely difficult to do more than estimate the age of the various leading Zulu.
- 8 BPP, C.1137: 1, enc. 1, T. Shepstone, Report of expedition to install Cetshwayo, pp. 9 and 19; KC, Stuart Papers: Evidence of Ndukwana, 2 Dec. 1900.
- 9 Reply to question 174, Supplementary minutes of evidence, *Cape Native Laws and Customs Commission*, p. 525.