

years their value slumped as the Zulu lost interest in acquiring more. See J. J. Guy, "A note on firearms in the Zulu kingdom with special reference to the Anglo-Zulu war, 1879", Journal of African History XII, p. 4 (1971).

14. Karl Marx, Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations (New York, 1965), p. 84.
15. British Parliamentary Papers, C. 3466; No. 18, enclosure, p. 36.

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE ZULU KINGDOM
DURING THE REIGN OF CETSHWAYO KAMPANDE

J. J. GUY

(i)

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 South African Republic (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.

There was only half a century separating 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 intergration of two systems, which although they must be analysed separately can only be understood in their coming from the productive units - the



homesteads (umuzi/imizi) - and which was expressed in terms of kinship and the clan: on the other there was the power of the state coming from above, and based on the extraction of surplus, mainly in labour through the military system.¹

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% of them were commoners' homesteads consisting of a man (the homestead-head, umnumzana), 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 like this:²

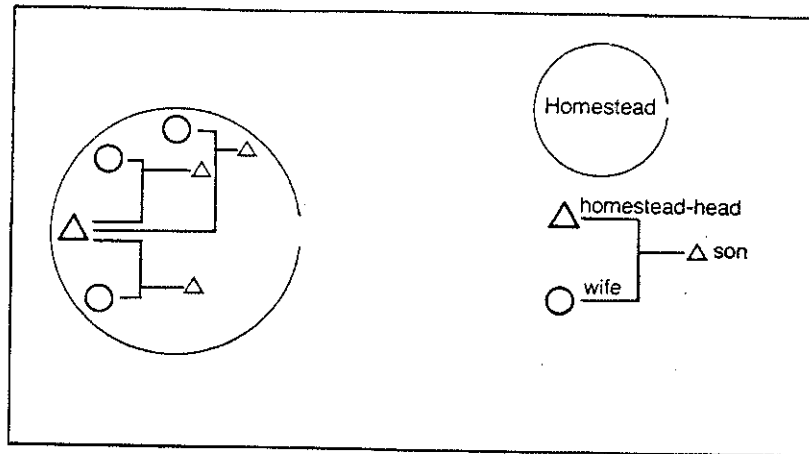


Fig. 1 The homestead

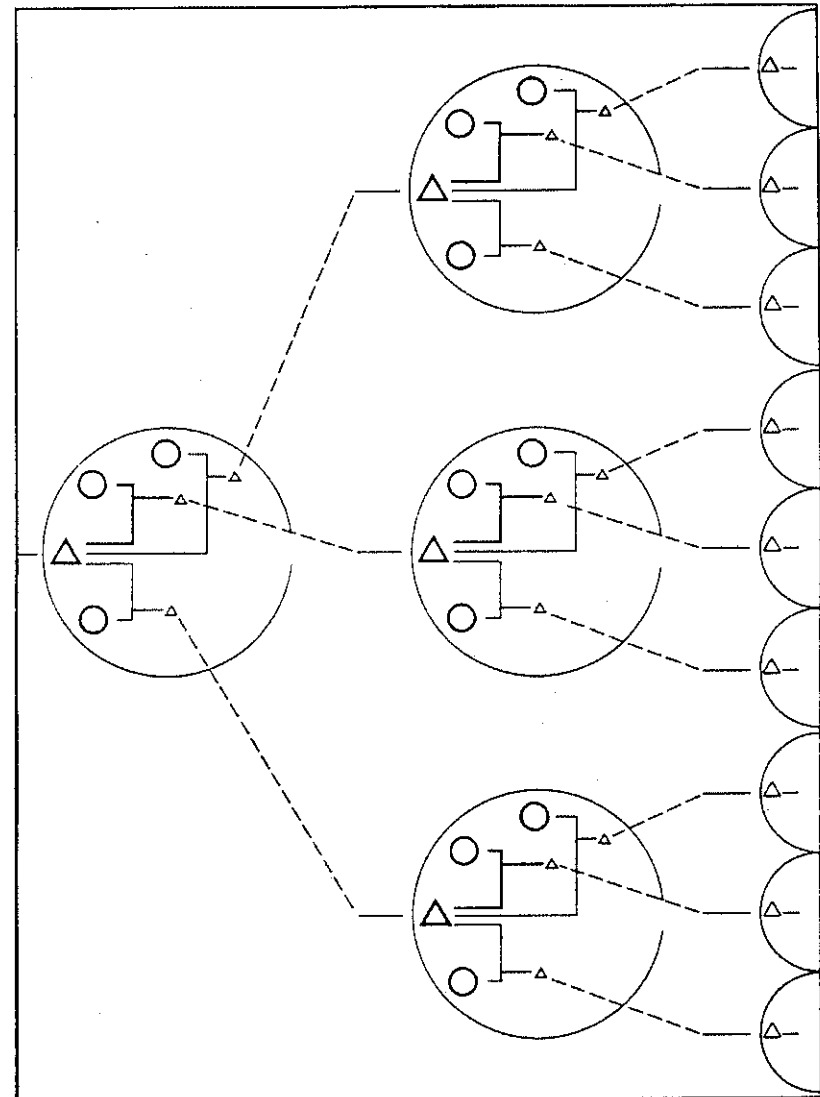


Fig. 2 Homestead segmentation

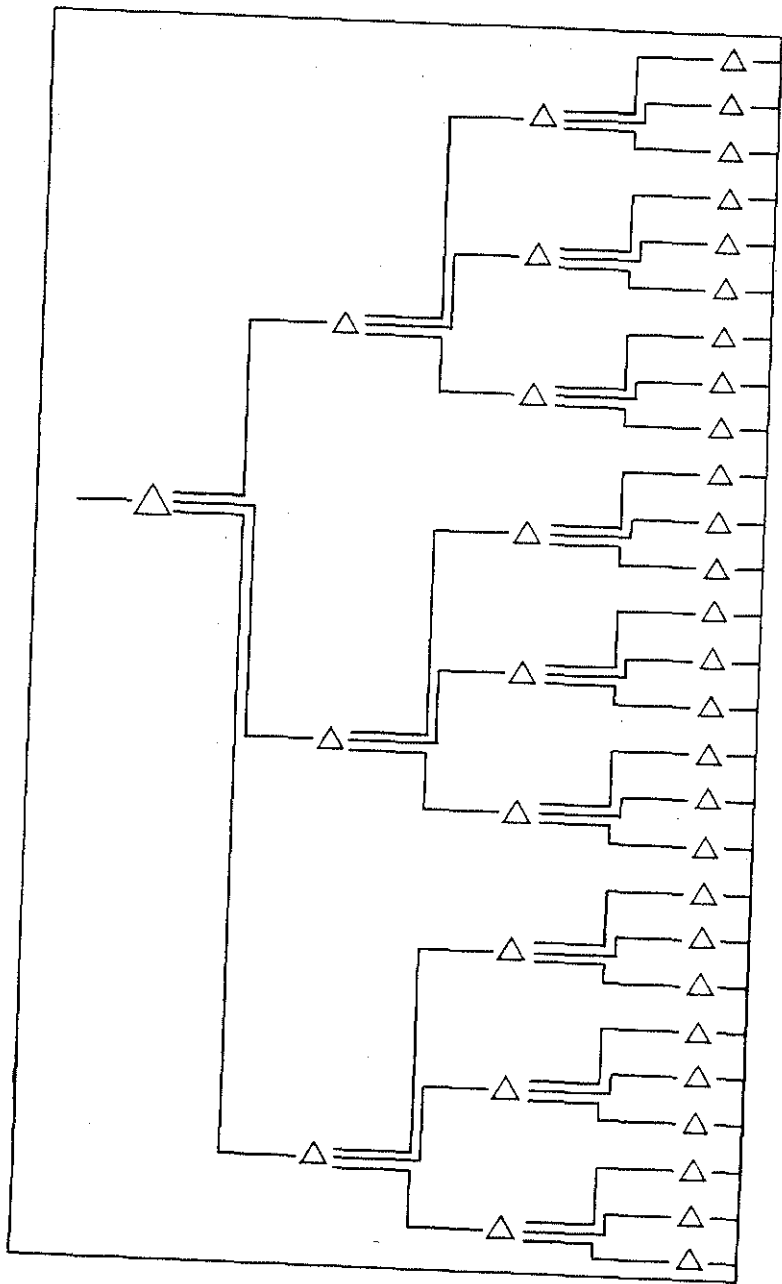


Fig. 3 The clan

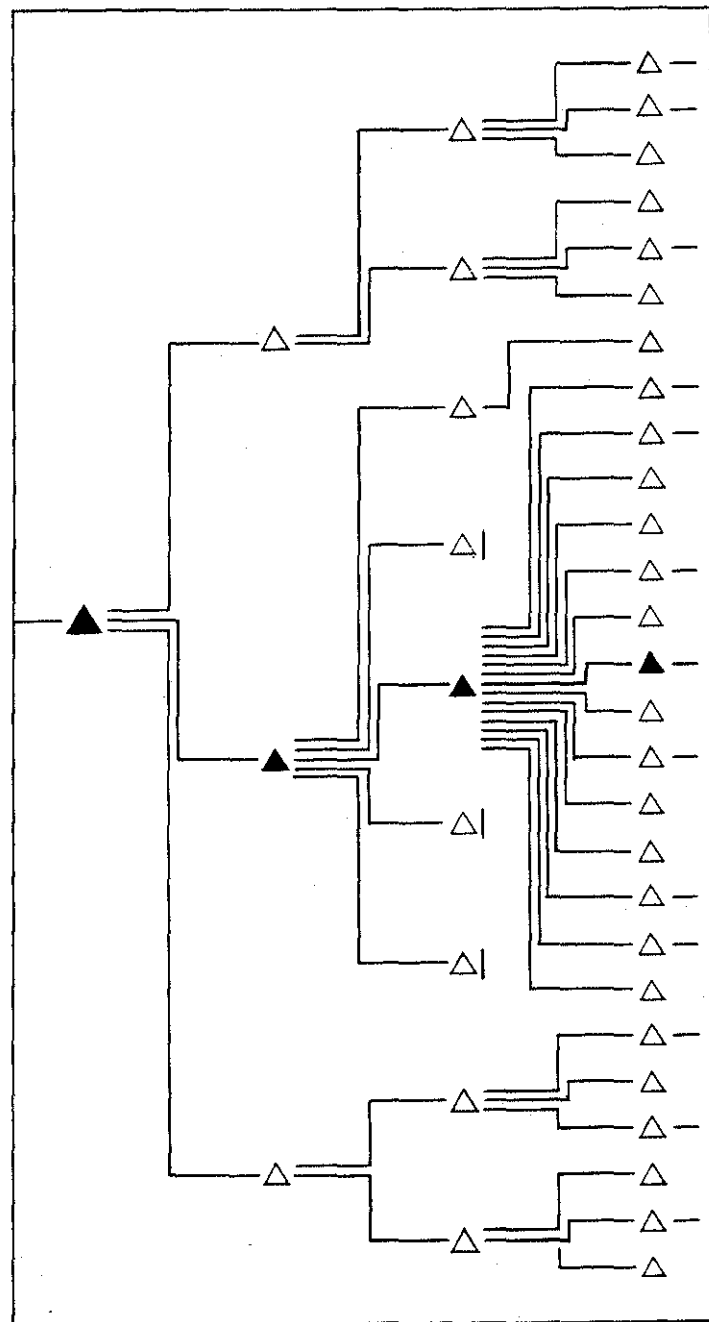


Fig. 4 The dominant lineage of the clan

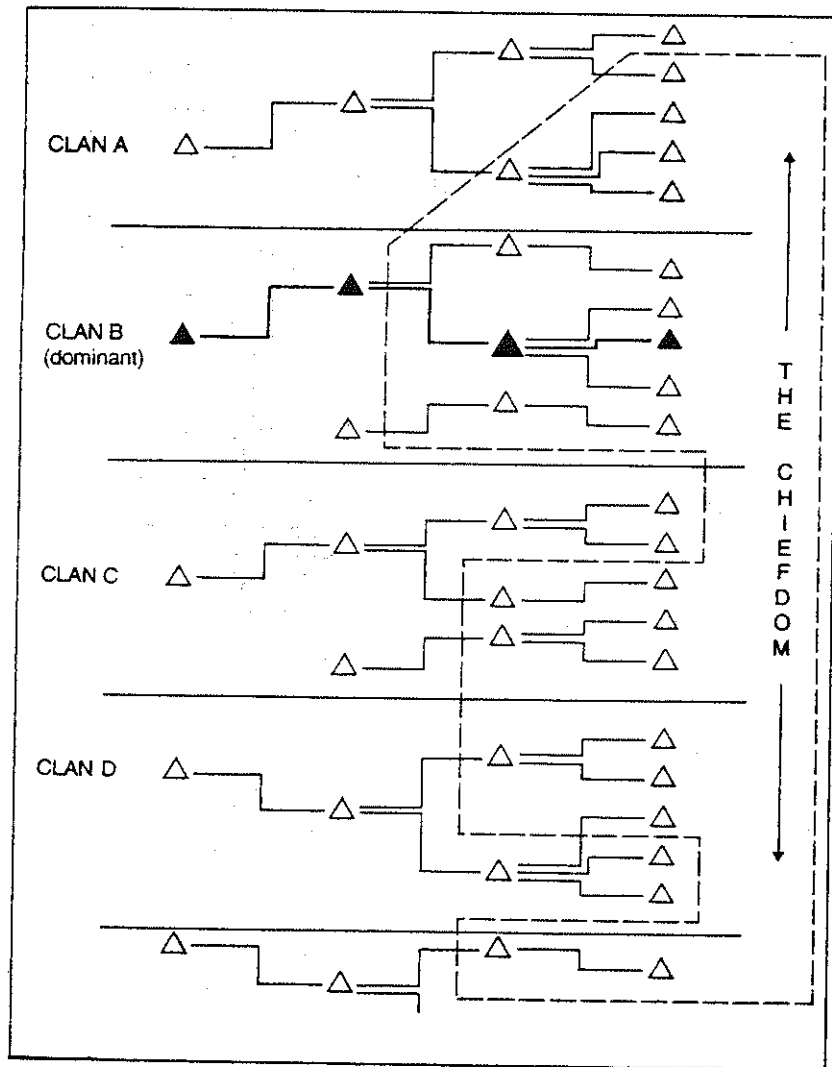


Fig. 5 The chiefdom

Fig. 1
The Homestead

On the death of the homestead-head, or, in special cases of men of status, when his children were mature, the homestead would break up (segment) and the sons of each house would establish homesteads of their own.

Fig. 2
Homestead segmentation

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 of men and women who believe they have descended from a common ancestor, through the male line, and which can be depicted thus.

Fig. 3
The Clan

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. Firstly, 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 productive workers to support the homestead. The process can be depicted like this.

Fig. 4

The dominant lineage in the clan

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 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 like this.

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 - 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 is 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 now dominated 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, which 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 amakhandā - which formed the most important basis of state power. From the age of puberty until their late thirties the majority of Zulu men worked in the amakhandā 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 ka Wolizibi 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 Ntom-bela, 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 (s. 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, the resolution of disputes in their areas, and they were 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

chiefdom to the strength of the clan, the size of the lineage within the clan to access to political power.

(ii)

The distribution of political power¹⁰

The centre of royal authority was as we have seen situated on the Mahlabathini plain. From a point just north of this the homesteads of the most powerful man in the country next to Cetshwayo were to be found. He was Mnyamana kaNqengelele 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 until Mpande had 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. They lived near the Nhlazatshe mountain, as did the isikhulu Mnqandi of the Sibisi.

In the north-western parts of the country lived Sekethwayo, chief

of the Mdallose 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 remains of the once great Ndwandwe chiefdom 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 amongst the Emgazini.

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 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 king as from Shaka's time and the lineage had 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 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 nearly one hundred years old, had been succeeded by Sigandanda, 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 kaSithshaluza 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. The coastal belt was dominated by John Dunn. Born in 1833 and coming 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 children¹⁸ spread amongst 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.

Spread amongst these different clans and chiefdoms were the lineages of the royal clan itself.¹⁹ The homesteads of the king, the amakhanda, were concentrated around his personal homestead, Ulundi, on the Mahlabathini plain. The size and physical structure of the amakhanda reflected the enormous amount of social power concentrated in the royal lineage. Situated at the head of the ikhanda, opposite the entrance, was the royal area containing the king's private house, and that of the female relative in charge of the ikhanda, 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 ikhanda when they were in residence.

It was estimated that there were about a dozen amakhanda in the Mahlabathini area and about the same number in the outlying districts where they served as local centres of influence and recruiting points.²⁰ 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 those created from these, according to the principles of lineage segmentation, by Cetshwayo. The district amakhanda 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 amakhanda the importance of the amakhanda 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 ikhanda 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 in their 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 after all 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, and included Sikhobobo and Mahubulwane.

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.²¹ Further south near the Nhlazatshe mountain was the Sebeni, originally under Mama, twin sister of Mnkabayi. The royal sections represent the most radical departure with 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 gates"²²

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 homestead²³ of Mpande, where Cetshwayo lived before coming to the throne. It was situated on the important waggon road which linked Dunn, and Zibhebhu to the north. Somopo chief of the Thembe 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 a isikhulu but as a mntwana, 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 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 quarreled with the ikhohlo or left-hand segment of his father's homestead over cattle. The ikhohlo was led by Maphitha's eldest son, Hayiyana, and included Fokothi and Makhoba. Other important lineages in the northern districts were 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. Amongst the most important was Dabulamanzi in the south at Ezulwini near Entumeni, Ziweddu 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 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 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 with the Zulu state.

Nonetheless these tensions and divisions within the kingdom never developed into large-scale internal conflict; in 1879 the British invaded the kingdom. 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 organization 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 deserves more space than I can give here. For a more lengthy discussion see my "Production and Exchange in the Zulu Kingdom" in Mohlomi: Journal of Southern African Historical Studies, II.
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), p. 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. 78-79.
5. A. T. Bryant, Olden Times in Zululand and Natal . . . (London, 1929), pp. 58-60 and the evidence given James Stuart by Mangati kaGodide, 12 July 1920 in notebook 37 in the Stuart Papers.
6. Reply to question 44, Supplementary Minutes of Evidence, Cape Native Laws and Customs Commission (Cape Town, 1833), p. 519.
7. I have attempted to depict this in Fig. 6 by placing the leading figures according to the 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. C. 1137, No. 1, Enc., T, Shepstone, Report of expedition to instal Cetshwayo, p. 9 and 19; Stuart Papers, Evidence of Ndukwana, 2 December 1900, notebook 19.
9. Reply to Supplementary minutes of evidence, question 174, Cape Native Laws and Customs Commission, p. 525.
10. The purpose of this section is to introduce some of the leading figures in the Zulu kingdom during Cetshwayo's reign, in the light of the subsequent narrative. The greatest problem in the writing of this section has been to decide on which personalities and which groups to exclude. To clarify the text I have drawn a number of illustrations. Fig. 6 groups the leaders around the king, according to clan and age. Fig. 7 attempts to place them in a political hierarchy and Fig. 8 spatially on a map. I must stress that I have had to exclude certain important individuals and groups, that I discuss only the highest levels of the political structure.

11. J. Stuart, uBaxoxele (London, 1924), p. 38, (translation).
12. Stuart Papers: evidence of Ndukwana, 1 October 1900, In this section the information is drawn from references scattered through the records of the period which followed the invasion of 1879, and in the Stuart papers. The evidence Stuart collected from Ndukwana is of particular importance. Bryant's Olden Times is fundamental to any reconstruction of Zulu history, and the pamphlet published by the military authorities, at the time of the invasion, based on information collected by B. F. Fynney, The Zulu Army, and Zulu Headmen (Pietermaritzburg, April 1879) is of great importance.
13. J. Y. Gibson, The Story of the Zulus (London, 1911), p. 224. The Emgazini clan has been confused on many occasions with the Egazini lineage of the Zulu clan.
14. See above, p. 37
15. See above, p. 24
16. "Sigananda and his Tribe", 23 December 1906; Stuart Papers.
17. Notes on Qethuka, Book of Eulogies, Vol. I; Stuart Papers.
18. This is the figure given on p. 3 of the Natal Regional Survey, Add. Report No. 4, The Dunn Reserve Zululand (Pietermaritzburg, 1953). For another estimate see n. 2, on p. 8 of S. Marks, Reluctant Rebellion (Oxford, 1970).
19. See Fig. 8 for an illustration of some leading members of the Zulu clan, spaced according to age, and divided amongst various lineages and homesteads.
20. I have not discussed any specific royal homesteads here. For a fuller description see J. J. Guy, "The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: the Civil War in Zululand, 1879-1884 (Doctoral Dissertation, University of London, 1975), p. 42ff.
21. Ndukwana, one of Stuart's main informants, had been linked to this homestead because his father had been one of the founders. See the life of Ndukwana Ka M'mbengwana, notebook 30091 in the Stuart Papers.
22. T. Cope (ed.), Izibongo, Zulu praise-poems (Oxford, 1968), p. 172.
23. There are references to the Emangweni in Misc. vol. 29393 in the Stuart papers and useful information in the File on Competitions, Zulu essays, 1942. Historical records by C. J. Magwaza in KC.

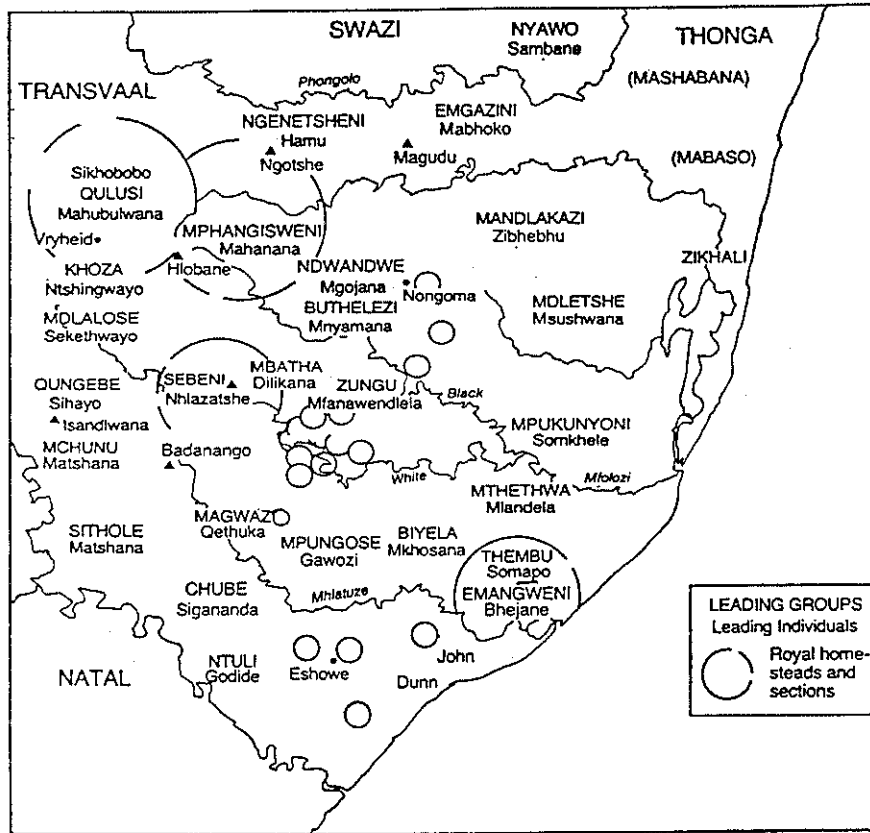
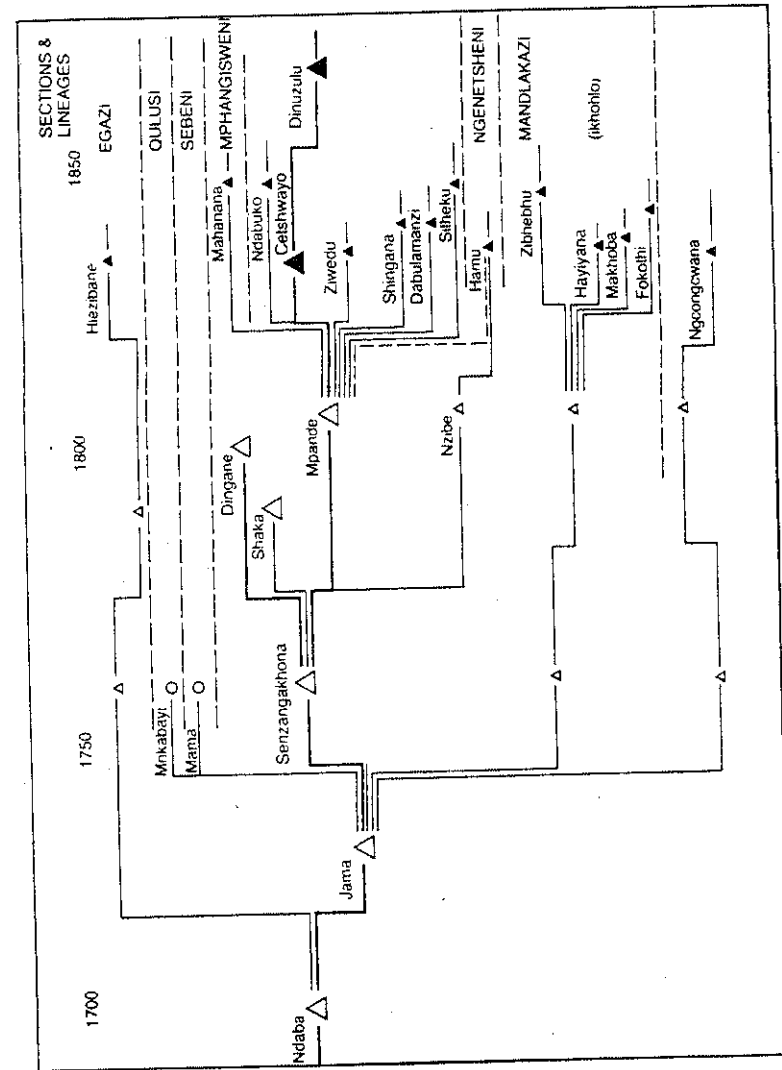


Fig. 8. The Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo: a schematic representation



Some leading members of the Zulu clan